

The Hemshin

History, society and identity in the Highlands of Northeast Turkey



Edited by Hovann H. Simonian

The Hemshin

The Hemshin are without doubt one of the most enigmatic peoples of Turkey and the Caucasus. As former Christians who converted to Islam centuries ago yet did not assimilate into the culture of the surrounding Muslim populations, as Turks who speak Armenian yet are often not aware of it, as Muslims who continue to celebrate feasts that are part of the calendar of the Armenian Church, and as descendants of Armenians who, for the most part, have chosen to deny their Armenian origins in favour of recently invented myths of Turkic ancestry, the Hemshin and the seemingly irreconcilable differences within their group identity have generated curiosity and often controversy.

The Hemshin is the first scholarly work to provide an in-depth study of these people living in the eastern Black Sea region of Turkey. This groundbreaking volume brings together chapters written by an international group of scholars that cover the history, language, economy, culture and identity of the Hemshin. It is further enriched with an unprecedented collection of maps, pictures and appendices of up-to-date statistics. *The Hemshin* forms part of the *Peoples of the Caucasus* series, an indispensable and yet accessible resource for all those with an interest in the Caucasus.

Hovann H. Simonian is a PhD candidate in the Department of Political Science of the University of Southern California. He is Swiss of Armenian origin and is the co-author (with R. Hrair Dekmejian) of *Troubled Waters: The Geopolitics of the Caspian Region*.

Caucasus World

Peoples of the Caucasus

Series editor: Nicholas Awde

This series of handbooks provides a ready introduction and practical guide to the many peoples and languages of the Caucasus. Each handbook includes chapters written by experts in the field, covering all aspects of the people, including their history, religion, politics, economy, culture, literature and media, plus pictures, chronologies and appendices of up-to-date statistics, maps and bibliographies. Each volume in the *Peoples of the Caucasus* series will be an indispensable resource to all those with an interest in the Caucasus.

The Abkhazians

*Edited by
George Hewitt*

The Circassians

Amjad Jaimoukha

The Chechens

Edited by Amjad Jaimoukha

The Armenians

*Edited by Edmund Herzig and
Marina Kurkchian*

The Hemshin

Edited by Hovann H. Simonian

The Kalmyks

Elza-Bair Guchinova, translated by David Lewis

Other books in Caucasus World include:

The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus

J. F. Baddeley, with a Preface by Moshe Gammer

Small Nations and Great Powers

Svante E. Cornell

Storm Over the Caucasus

Charles van der Leeuw

Oil and Gas in the Caucasus and Caspian

Charles van der Leeuw

After Atheism

*Elza-Bair Guchinova translated by
David C. Lewis*

Daghestan

Robert Chenciner

Madder Red

Robert Chenciner

Azerbaijan

Charles van der Leeuw

Georgia: In the Mountains of Poetry

Peter Nasmyth

The Literature of Georgia

Donald Rayfield

The Russo-Caucasians of the Iranian Left

Cosroe Chaqueri

Society, Politics and Economics in Mazadaran

M. A. Kazembeyki

The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia during the Crusades

Jacob G. Ghazarian

The Kingdom of Armenia

M. Chahin

A Bibliography of Articles on Armenian Studies in Western Journals 1869–1995

V. N. Nersessian

Armenian Perspectives

Edited by Nick Awde

Armenian Sacred and Folk Music Komitas

*Soghomon Soghomonian, translated by
Edward Gulbekian*

The Armenian Neume System of Notation

R. A. Atayan, translated by V. N. Nersessian

Ancient Christianity in the Caucasus

Edited by Tamila Mgaloblishvili

Pilgrimage

Edited by Mzia Ebaoizide and John Wilkinson

The Man in the Panther's Skin

*Shot'ha Rust'haveli, translated by Marjory
Scott Wardrop*

Chechen Dictionary and Phrasebook

Nicholas Awde and Muhammed Galaev

Azerbaijani Dictionary and Phrasebook

Nicholas Awde and Famil Ismailov

The Hemshin

History, society and identity in the
Highlands of Northeast Turkey

Edited by
Hovann H. Simonian

First published 2007
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2007.

“To purchase your own copy of this or any of Taylor & Francis or Routledge’s collection of thousands of eBooks please go to www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk.”

© 2007 Editorial matter and selection, Hovann H. Simonian; individual chapters, the contributors

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

The publisher makes no representation, express or implied, with regard to the accuracy of the information contained in this book and cannot accept any legal responsibility or liability for any errors or omissions that may be made.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN 0-203-64168-X Master e-book ISBN

ISBN10: 0-7007-0656-9 (Print Edition)

ISBN13: 978-0-7007-0656-3

Contents

<i>List of plates</i>	viii
<i>List of figures</i>	x
<i>List of maps</i>	xii
<i>List of tables</i>	xiii
<i>List of appendices</i>	xv
<i>Notes on contributors</i>	xvi
<i>Foreword</i>	xviii
<i>Preface</i>	xx
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xxiv
<i>Note on transcription and transliteration</i>	xxvi
Part I	
History	1
1 Morale, cohesion and power in the first centuries of Amatuni Hamshen	3
ANNE ELIZABETH REDGATE	
2 Hamshen before Hemshin: the prelude to Islamicization	19
HOVANN H. SIMONIAN	
3 The manuscript painting of Hamshen	42
CHRISTINA MARANCI	
4 Hemshin from Islamicization to the end of the nineteenth century	52
HOVANN H. SIMONIAN	
5 Ottoman political and religious élites among the Hemshin: the mid-nineteenth century to 1926	100
ALEXANDRE TOUMARKINE	

- 6 Interactions and mutual perceptions during the
1878–1923 period: Muslims of Armenian
background and Armenians in the Pontos** 124
HOVANN H. SIMONIAN

Part II
Geography, economy and architecture 139

- 7 Notes on the historical geography and present
territorial distribution of the Hemshinli** 141
HAGOP HACHIKIAN

- 8 Social and economic structures of the
Hemshin people in Çamlıhemşin** 191
ERHAN GÜRSEL ERSOY

- 9 Hemshin folk architecture in the Akbucak,
Ortayol and Uğrak villages of the county of Pazar in Rize** 235
GÜLSEN BALIKÇI

Part III
Language 255

- 10 Homshetsma: the language of the Armenians of
Hamshen** 257
BERT VAUX

- 11 Armenian in the vocabulary and culture of the
Turkish Hemshinli** 279
UWE BLÄSING

Part IV
Identity, state and relations with neighbours 303

- 12 Some particulars of Hemshin identity** 305
HAGOP HACHIKIAN

- 13 The Hemshin People: ethnic identity, beliefs and
yayla festivals in Çamlıhemşin** 320
ERHAN GÜRSEL ERSOY

14 Hemshinli–Lazi relations in northeast Turkey	338
ILDIKÓ BELLÉR-HANN	
15 Turks and Hemshinli: manipulating ethnic origins and identity	353
RÜDIGER BENNINGHAUS	
<i>Index</i>	389

Plates

Section 1

- 3.1 Raised endband
- 3.2 Binding, front cover
- 3.3 Binding, back cover
- 3.4 Fore-edge flap
- 3.5 Arabesque design
- 3.6 Headpiece
- 3.7 Marginal ornament
- 3.8 Bifolio with marginalia
- 3.9 Marginal ornament of bird
- 3.10 Bifolio with marginalia
- 3.11 Headpiece
- 3.12 Bifolio with chapter heading
- 3.13 Bifolio with marginalia
- 3.14 Gregory the Illuminator
- 3.15 King Trdat
- 3.16 Gregory's Vision
- 3.17 Gregory and an angel
- 3.18 Daniel, Anania, Misayel and Azarya

Section 2

- 6.1 Distribution of Hemshin villages and administrative divisions in the province of Rize – the present vs. 1881
- 6.2 The Hemshin Sancak according to Karl Koch's *Karte von der kaukasischen Isthmus und Armenien*
- 6.3 One of the stately houses that gave the Makrevis Quarter its current name of Konaklar
- 6.4 A view of Zil Kale
- 6.5 The Firtına Valley is usually covered by mist
- 6.6 Another view of the Firtına Valley
- 6.7 One of the stone-arched bridges that dot the region

- 6.8 A *konak* (mansion)
- 6.9 A view of Varoş Kale
- 6.10 Elderly ladies and their grandchildren in Elevit
- 6.11 A young Hemshin woman looks out of her window
- 6.12 A dignified lady in her mansion
- 6.13 A Hopa Hemshin child enjoying the summer vacation
- 6.14 A group of Hopa Hemshin youth in the *yayla*



Plate 3.1 Raised endband, Philadelphia Free Library, Frederick Lewis Oriental ms. 123.



Plate 3.2 Binding, front cover, Philadelphia Free Library, Frederick Lewis Oriental ms. 123.



Plate 3.3 Binding, back cover, Philadelphia Free Library, Frederick Lewis Oriental ms. 123.



Plate 3.4 Fore-edge flap, Philadelphia Free Library, Frederick Lewis Oriental ms. 123.

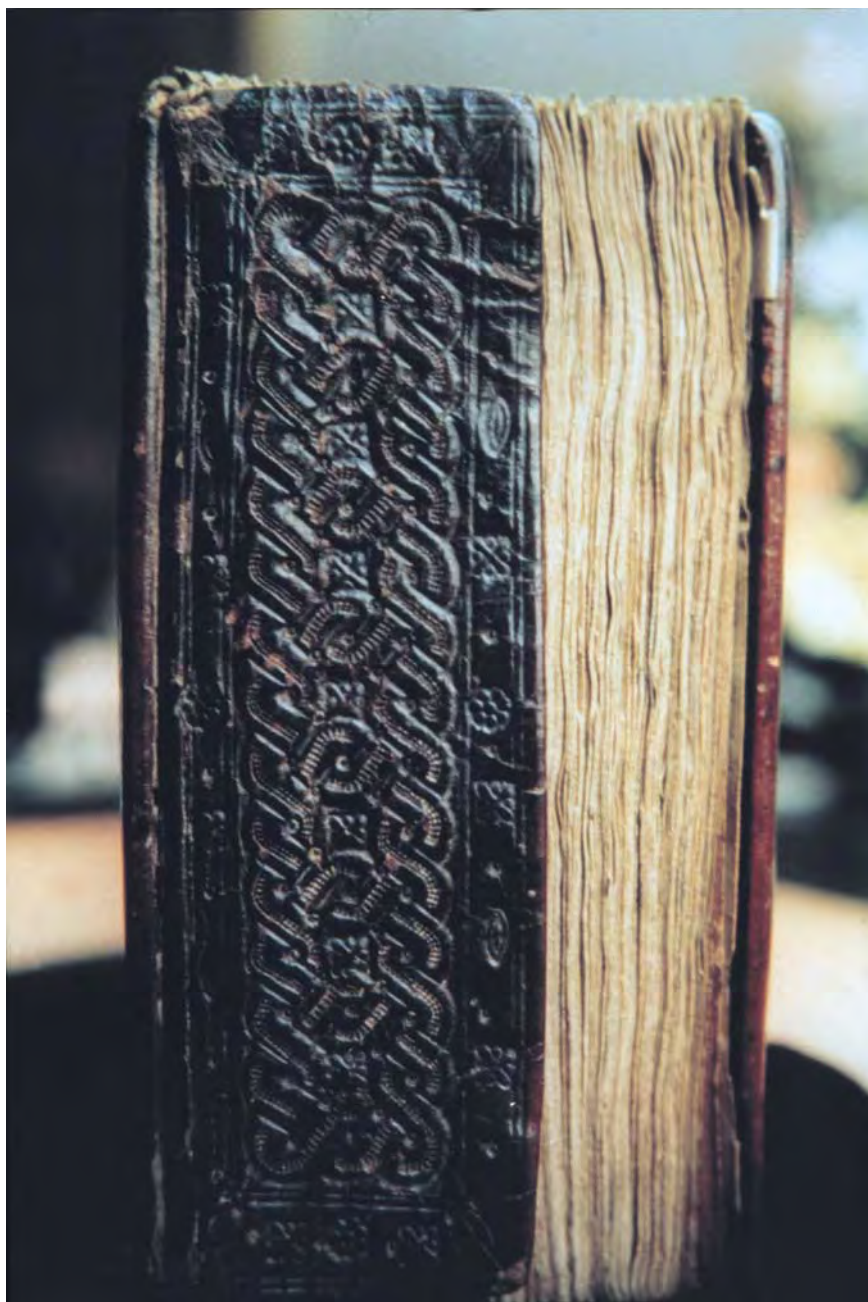


Plate 3.5 Arabesque design, fol. 61, Philadelphia Free Library, Frederick Lewis Oriental ms. 123.



Plate 3.6 Headpiece, fol. 7, Philadelphia Free Library, Frederick Lewis Oriental ms. 123.

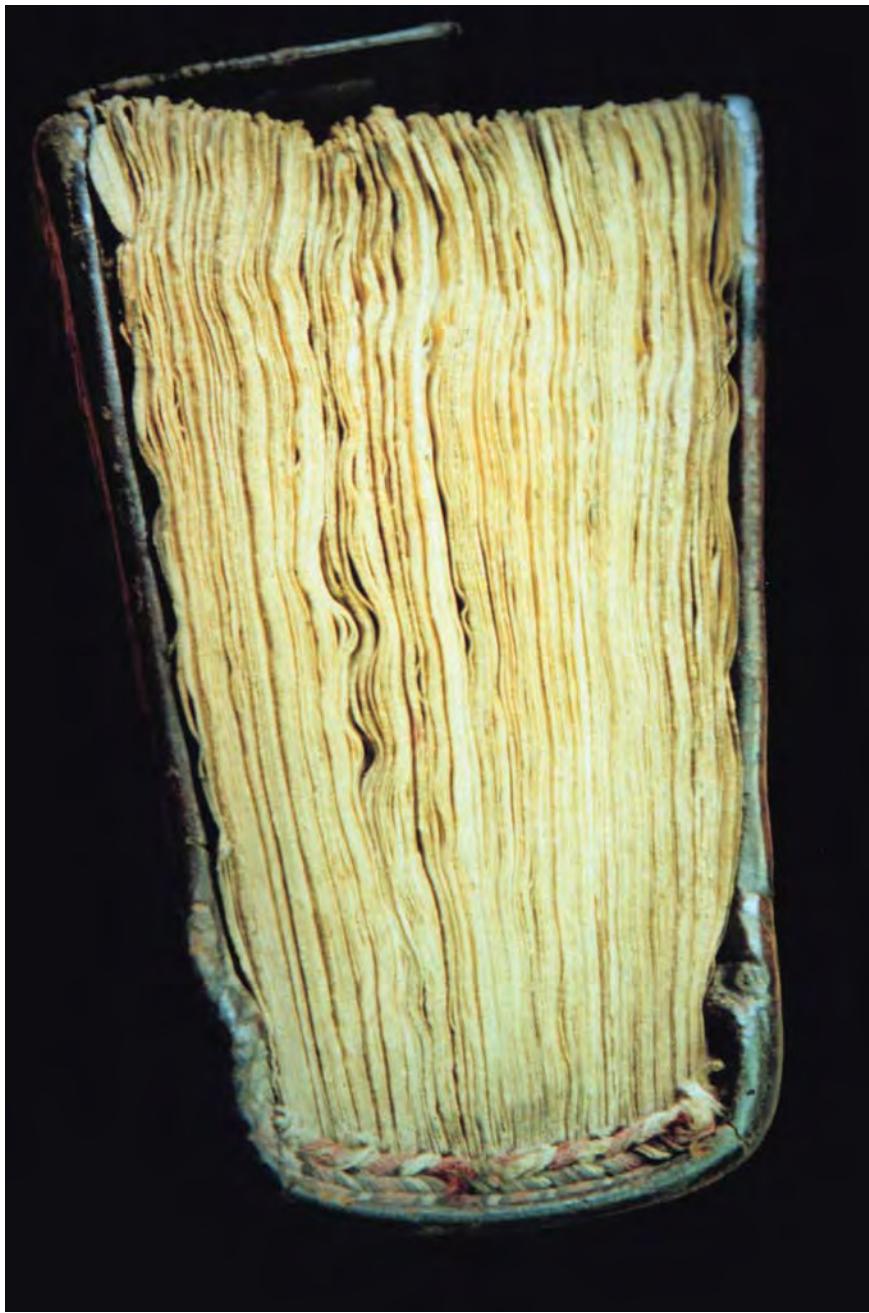


Plate 3.7 Marginal ornament, fol. 107v, Philadelphia Free Library, Frederick Lewis Oriental ms. 123.



Plate 3.8 Bifolio with marginalia, fols. 14v–15, Vienna, Mekhitarist Monastery, ms. 119.



Plate 3.9 Marginal ornament of bird, fol. 39, Vienna, Mekhitarist Monastery, ms. 119.



Plate 3.10 Bifolio with marginalia, fols 44v–45, Vienna, Mekhitarist Monastery, ms. 119.



Plate 3.11 Headpiece, fol. 5, Vienna, Mekhitarist Monastery, ms. 119.



Plate 3.12 Bifolio with chapter heading, fols 66v–67, Vienna, Mekhitarist Monastery, ms. 431.



Plate 3.13 Bifolio with marginalia, fols 81v–82, Vienna, Mekhitarist Monastery, ms. 431.



Plate 3.14 Gregory the Illuminator, fol. 41v, British Library, Or. 6555.



Plate 3.15 King Trdat, fol. 195v, British Library, ms. Or. 6555.



Plate 3.16 Gregory's Vision, fol. 231, British Library, ms. Or. 6555.



Plate 3.17 Gregory and an angel, fol. 242v, British Library, ms. Or. 6555.

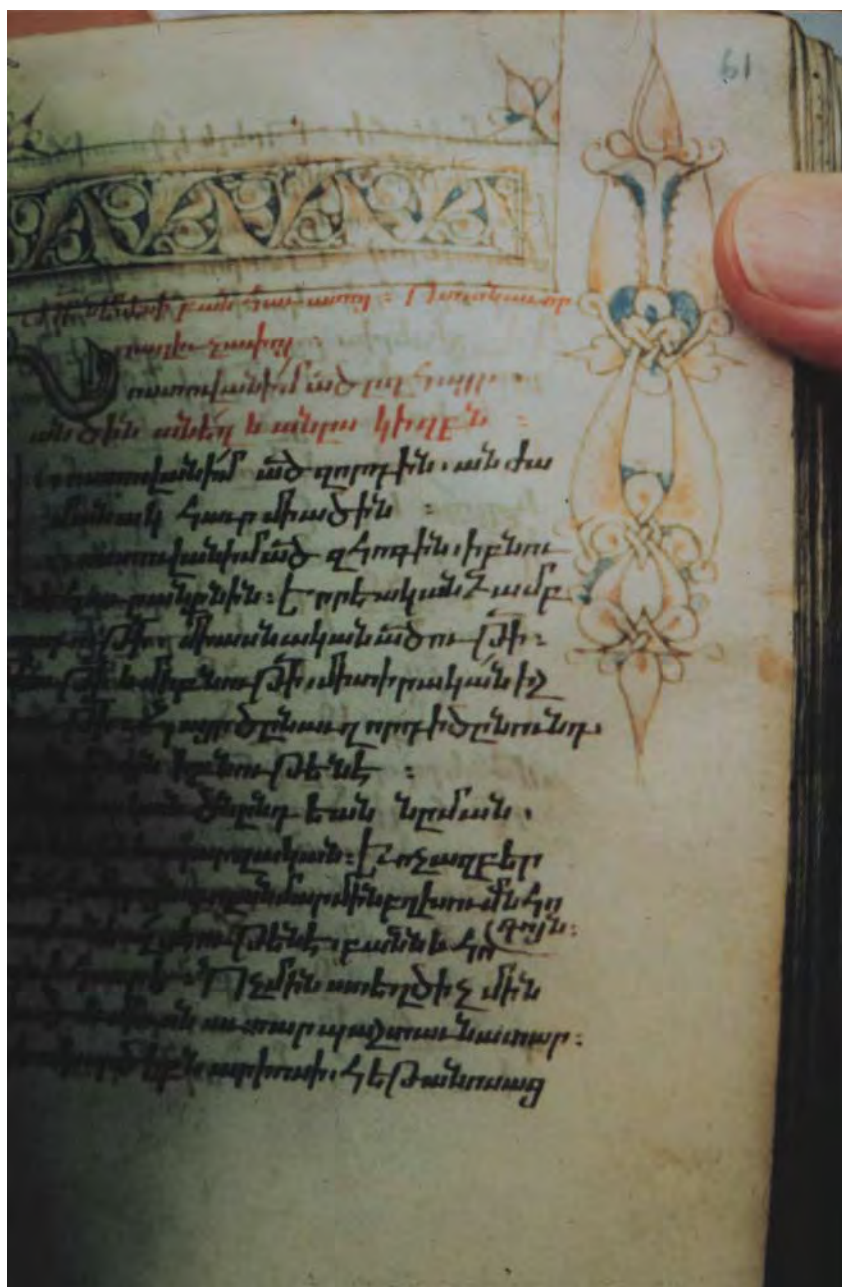


Plate 3.18 Daniel, Anania, Misayel and Azarya, fol. 441, British Library, ms. Or. 6555.

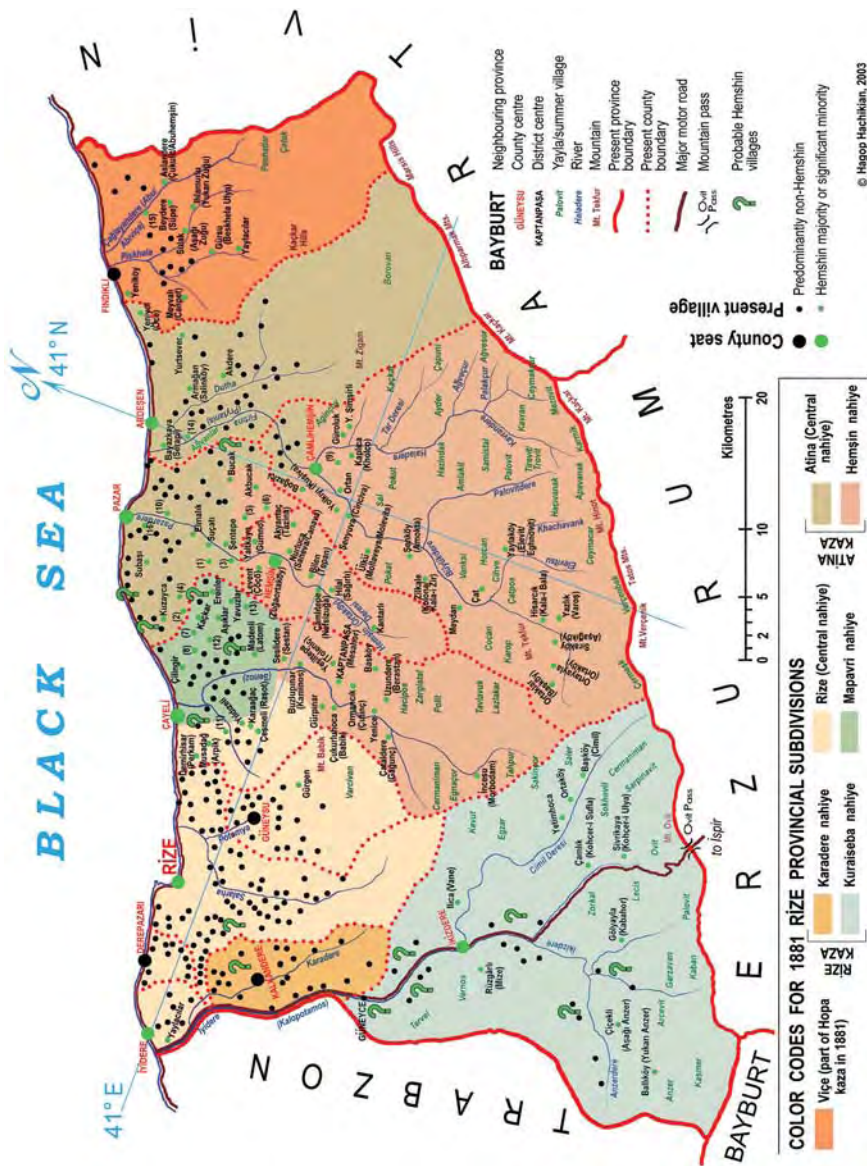


Plate 6.1 Distribution of Hemshin villages and administrative divisions in the province of Rize (present vs. 1881).



Plate 6.2 The Hemshin Sancak according to Karl Koch's *Karte von der kaukasischen Isthmus und Armenien* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1850).



Plate 6.3 One of the stately houses that gave the former Makrevis Quarter its current name of Konaklar (*mansions* in Turkish).



Plate 6.4 A view of Zil Kale.



Plate 6.5 The Firtina Valley is usually covered by mist.



Plate 6.6 Another view of the Firtina Valley. The areas in emerald green, where tea is planted, contrast with the darker colours of the forests.



Plate 6.7 One of the many stone-arched bridges that dot the region.



Plate 6.8 A konak (mansion).



Plate 6.9 A view of Varoş Kale.



Plate 6.10 Elderly ladies and their grandchildren in Elevit.



Plate 6.11 A young Hemshin woman looks out of her window.



Plate 6.12 This dignified lady now lives alone in her mansion. Her children have left to live in either Istanbul or Ankara.



Plate 6.13 A Hopa Hemshin child enjoying the summer vacation in the *yayla* (mountain pasture).



Plate 6.14 A group of Hopa Hemshin youth in the *yayla*.

Figures

4.1	The ruins of a Christian chapel in the Firtına Valley in 1957	54
5.1	Mehmed Ali Pasha	103
5.2	Hayriye Hanım Sultan, daughter of Mehmed Ali Pasha	104
5.3	Mehmed Ali Pasha	106
5.4	Mehmed Necati Bey Memişoğlu	117
8.1	A typical view of the lush forests of the Hemshin highland in the county of Çamlıhemşin	193
8.2	A view of the centre of Çamlıhemşin	194
8.3	The Sirt mahalle near Çamlıhemşin	196
8.4	A traditional food store (<i>serender</i>)	197
8.5	Traditional large houses (<i>konaks</i>)	198
8.6	Control room of a steel cable lift (<i>teleferik</i>) in the Makrevis (Konaklar) mahalle	202
8.7	Women sorting tea-leaves	211
8.8	The Upper Kavron yayla (pasture)	215
8.9	Local transhumance in Palakçur yayla	220
8.10	Women engaged in handicraft activities after finishing work in the yaylas	221
8.11	Old man and his grandchild, who is wearing the traditional Hemshin headscarf	224
9.1	Village settlement	236
9.2	Village settlement	236
9.3	A road and a house in a Hemshin village	237
9.4	A village house	238
9.5	<i>Ocaklık</i> (fireplace oven)	239
9.6	A deer horn hung over the door of a residence	240
9.7	A <i>serender</i> and house side by side	242
9.8	Serender	243
9.9	<i>Lisers</i> on the tops of poles designed to keep mice out of the serender	244
9.10	Air holes in the serender	244
9.11	Lower part of the serender	245
9.12	Corn hanging in a serender	245

9.13	Food stored in a serender	246
9.14	<i>Kenaf</i>	246
9.15	Kenaf	247
9.16	Entrance to a kenaf	247
11.1	Cross-section of the stable floor	284
11.2	<i>Gogar</i> and <i>geroç'</i>	286
11.3	<i>Gidal</i>	286
11.4	Simple yoke with <i>samin</i>	286
11.5	<i>Xeneç'i</i>	287
11.6	İki telli ç'orap	289

Maps

2.1	Historical Hamshen and Hemshin Kaza	23
7.1	Hemshin villages in the province of Artvin	152
7.2	Hunut, Khodorchur and Khevak: the environs of Hamshen	154
7.3	Islamicized Armenians of Karadere (Trabzon)	156
7.4	Hemshin settlement in western Black Sea areas	160
7.5	Map of Turkey	162

Tables

7.1	Ottoman and Turkish administrative designations	142
8.1	The population of the county of Çamlıhemşin since 1940	199
8.2	Population, houses and outhouses in some Hemshin town quarters and villages	200
10.1	Homshetsma orthography	258
10.2	Original Armenian voiceless unaspirated stops	259
10.3	The second singular pronoun	259
10.4	Present and imperfect indicative tenses	260
10.5	The ablative singular ending	260
10.6	Special locative suffix	260
10.7	The imperfective clitic	261
10.8	The use of Common Armenian	262
10.9	Formation of present and imperfect tenses	263
10.10	The use of ‘have’ as a progressive marker	263
10.11	The root form ‘brood hen’	263
10.12	The descent of Homshetsma epi ‘he/she/it carried’ from Indo-European *eb ^h eret	265
10.13	New verbs	266
10.14	The <i>u</i> -conjugation in the Middle Armenian period	266
10.15	Rule change	267
10.16	Plural forms of the imperfect	268
10.17	Eastern Homshetsma forms	268
10.18	Northern Homshetsma paradigm for ‘hit’	269
10.19	Lexical idiosyncrasies	270
10.20	Lexical differences	271
10.21	Phonological differences	271
10.22	Köprücü subdialect	272
10.23	Eastern Homshetsma dialect	272
10.24	The regular definite plural suffix <i>-niye</i>	273
11.1	Names of the months	281
11.2	Phonetic rendering of the Turkish of Hemshin	296
11.3	Contrast in loanwords	297

11.4	Comparison of dialects	297
11.5	The Armenian alphabet and its transliteration	299
14.1	Marriages in the Pazar county	346
14.2	The composition of Hemshinli–Lazi couples in the Pazar county	346

Appendices

7.1	Translation of the Turkish Interior Ministry directive regarding changes of village names	165
7.2	Translation of Minister of War Enver Pasha’s directive regarding the wholesale substitution of toponyms	166
7.3	List of Hemshinli-inhabited villages and population figures	168
12.1	Armenian-derived family names among the Hemshinli and neighbouring Islamicized Armenian communities	313

Contributors

Gülşen Balıkcı is a folklore researcher at the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism. She is currently researching regional traditions, beliefs and customs throughout Turkey.

Ildikó Bellér-Hann is a researcher at the Centre for Oriental Studies at the Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg. Dr Bellér-Hann's work currently focuses on the historical and contemporary culture of the Uyghur, a Turkic-speaking Muslim population which forms the largest ethnic group in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region in northwest China.

Rüdiger Benninghaus is a freelance researcher of minority studies, ethnicity, ethno-history and religious studies. He has a particular interest in Turkey, the Near East, the southern Balkans, Caucasia and Germany.

Uwe Bläsing is a researcher in the Department of Comparative Linguistics at the University of Leiden, the Netherlands. Dr Bläsing has a particular interest in current linguistic and anthropological situation of Hamshen Armenians and in anthropological linguistics in general.

Erhan Gürsel Ersoy is assistant professor in the Department of Anthropology in Hacettepe University, Turkey. Dr Ersoy's current research interests include environmental anthropology and traditional environmental knowledge systems.

Hagop Hachikian is a freelance researcher. His work focuses on the peoples, politics and history of the Caucasus and its adjacent areas.

Christina Maranci is associate professor of Western Medieval and Byzantine Art and Architecture at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Her research focuses on medieval Armenia and cross-cultural relations with the Byzantine, Sasanian and Islamic worlds, as well as problems of historiography.

Anne Elizabeth Redgate is lecturer in history at the University of Newcastle, UK. Specializing in the early medieval period, and in Armenia, she has particular interests in comparative history, interdisciplinary approaches and issues of identity. Her book, *The Armenians*, covers the twelfth century BC to the eleventh century AD.

Hovann H. Simonian is a PhD candidate in the Department of Political Science at the University of Southern California. He is the co-author, with Professor R. Hrair Dekmejian, of *Troubled Waters: The Geopolitics of the Caspian Region*.

Alexandre Toumarkine is a researcher at the Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes in Istanbul. He is also the author of *La politique turque dans les Balkans*.

Bert Vaux is University Lecturer in Phonology and Morphology at the University of Cambridge. He has published extensively on the history, linguistic structure, and dialects of Armenian, including *The Phonology of Armenian* (Oxford University Press, 1998) and *Eastern Armenian: A Textbook* (with Kevork Bardakjian, Caravan Books, 1998).

Foreword

Before the end of the Cold War era, to anyone researching the peoples of the Middle East, Caucasus and Former Soviet Union, the subject of the Hemshin would always seem to draw a blank. The available reference books were frustratingly incomplete as were the travelogues and ethnographic studies, and there was an even greater scarcity of linguistic information – surely the most basic study portal to even the most inaccessible peoples. What little mention there was often proved to be no better than footnotes from research in other subjects.

Of course, in the West, there had been a growing literature on higher profile peoples such as the Jews of Istanbul, Kurds, Alevis, Circassians, Abkhaz and Chechens, but in general there was a paucity of material about Middle Eastern and Soviet minorities. While the application of hard work and guesswork did make it possible to learn about vanished or vanishing minorities such as the Ubykhs, mountain Jews, Black Sea Greeks and Yazidis, the Hemshin proved more elusive. To find information in Turkey itself was a problem – understandable given the nationalist policies enshrined in the republic's constitution, as well as its having been pushed by the Cold War powers into the role of regional policeman along its sensitive Soviet border. And despite the increase in reliable scholarly ethnographic work coming over from the Soviet Union itself, mention of the Hemshin generally remained as mere references in works on other subjects.

On a personal level, the Turks I knew shrugged when asked about the Hemshin, as did the Armenians – the two sides united there in a rare moment. But behind the professed ignorance was a palpable touch of what seemed to be embarrassment. Even the name caused confusion: 'It's really Khamsin, peoples scattered around Anatolia'. 'It's Khamaashin, a medieval khanate and just the name for unrelated people who still live in the area'. 'It's just the name for Armenians who moved to Abkhazia'.

It was by going to Lazistan in northeastern Turkey in the mid-1980s that I myself learned something concrete about these people, meeting with Hemshin there and learning to utter my first words in the Hemshin dialect of Armenian. But this was not the moment to push further. Research on small peoples, even in the spirit of learning and enlightenment, understandably sparks interest from the outside world, inevitably other countries. This is frequently interpreted as 'meddling' by the local government and can provoke negative attention from the

authorities, particularly if a minority, as is so often the case, inhabits an area that is sensitive politically or strategically. The Hemshin have always instinctively known this and so survived by keeping quiet – as have their neighbours.

But in the early 1990s, when I conceived the *People of the Caucasus* series as part of the now defunct Caucasus World imprint, attitudes were beginning to change. This was an exciting time as new republics were rising from the ashes of the ex-Soviet Union, and furthermore Turkey, emboldened and freed from Cold War pressures, began to relax many of its nationalities policies, for the first time tolerating non-Turkish minorities to rejoice in their heritage and to establish active ties with their kin in other countries.

Still, there has persisted a dearth in basic documentation of the tapestry of cultures in Anatolia. The commendable work of ethnographers and linguists continues to be sullied by political considerations. Given the history of both Turkey and Armenia, it is hardly surprising that researchers in both nations have been reticent on the subject of the Hemshin. So, while the Çerkez (Kabardians, Circassians, Abkhaz, Abaza), Laz, Georgians, Sephardic Jews, Assyrians, Arabs, Balkans, Roma, Alevis and, of course, Kurds and even the Armenians of Istanbul have something to celebrate, the Hemshin appeared fated to be shrouded in obscurity.

And so Hovann Simonian's journey towards the completion of this book has been a long – and unfunded – one that reflects this complex nature of the 'mystery' surrounding the Hemshin. The result is a unique chronicle of their history, culture and aspirations. Indeed, *The Hemshin* is a much-needed resource book for those wishing to learn more about these people and at the same time something of which the Hemshin people themselves may feel justly proud.

We have entered an era when concerns are growing for the preservation and documentation of dying languages and cultures, yet the Hemshin have benefited little if at all from such largesse. That they have survived this long without such support is a testament to the spirit of a people that has needed no national focus. Having made the cultural assimilation required of them by the vagaries of history and geography, the Hemshin have nevertheless quietly preserved their half-forgotten heritage until today.

There is an unavoidable political element to this book. Given the difficult history of the Caucasus and Anatolia in general, and Armenia and Turkey in particular, the mere fact of this book's writing will cause controversy. This is hardly surprising, given that scholars have hitherto rarely achieved consensus even on the identity of the Hemshin, an area muddled by political expediency. The result has been that study has been sporadic and, on occasion, distorted. Any debate, therefore, sparked by this study will only begin to remedy this situation. The editor's remarkable tenacity in ensuring it came to reality should be for positive gain only. Furthermore, this work should also help create a sense of renewed pride among the Armenians and Turks who have given birth to a remarkable people.

Our hope, therefore, is that *The Hemshin* will be used not only to stimulate deeper study of the Hemshin and their culture, but also as an inspiration for the other forgotten peoples of the world.

Nicholas Awde

Preface

In the summer of 1962, the renowned French linguist Georges Dumézil was introduced in Istanbul to a young man said to speak a ‘strange idiom’ as his first language. This ‘strange idiom’ was in fact a dialect of Armenian called *Homshetsma* which was spoken in some two dozen villages in northeastern Turkey by the Hemshin, the descendants of Islamicized Armenians from Hamshen. For one month, Dumézil would meet every evening with this young man, İsmet Akbıyık, to study his dialect. The result of Dumézil’s research would appear in four articles published between 1964 and 1986. The most fascinating part of the story, however, was that the young Hemshinli did not know that he spoke an Armenian dialect and was most surprised when Dumézil informed him of this fact. İsmet Akbıyık, who came from the village of Ardala in Hopa, had been living in Istanbul for ten months, and had noticed while at the beach that he could understand parts of conversations held in a non-Turkish language (i.e. Armenian spoken by Istanbul Armenians), but had not pushed the matter further.¹

Anecdotes which tell of accidental meetings between Istanbul Armenians and Hemshin and describe the surprise of the latter to learn that they speak Armenian are not uncommon.² They add to the mystery surrounding the Hemshin as former Christians who converted to Islam centuries ago yet did not assimilate into the culture of the surrounding Muslim populations, as Turks who speak Armenian yet are not aware of it, as Muslims who continue to celebrate feasts that are part of the calendar of the Armenian Church, and as descendants of Armenians who, for the most part, have chosen to deny their Armenian origins in favour of recently invented myths of Turkic ancestry.

It must be said that the protection offered by the formidable mountains of the Caucasus and Pontos have created from times immemorial a milieu particularly favourable to the survival of numerous tribes and communal groups. The Pontic Mountains, which run parallel to the Black Sea, separate the coastline of Asia Minor from the interior Anatolian Plateau, resulting in a geographical setting similar to that of Lebanon and the Caspian provinces of Iran, which throughout centuries have been known to provide a refuge to minority groups. The eastern Black Sea region of Turkey, composed of a succession of valleys running south to north, from the mountains to the sea, has thus been a repository of cultural, ethnic

and linguistic diversity. In addition to the Hemshin, the region is home to Islamicized communities speaking Greek, Lazi and Georgian.

However, even within this highly diversified ethnic and linguistic context, the Hemshin constitute a unique group in many aspects. One circumstance that sets them apart from other groups living in this region, such as the Lazi and the Georgians, is that they are divided into two communities almost oblivious to one another's existence, and separated by language, culture and territory. The counties (*ilçes*) of Camlıhemşin and Hemşin in the highlands of the province (*ils*) of Rize are the heartland of the now Turkish-speaking western Hemshinli, or Bash Hemshinli. This group is isolated by the exclusively Lazi county of Arhavi from the Armenian-speaking eastern Hemshinli, or Hopa Hemshinli, who are mostly settled in the Hopa and Borçka counties of the Artvin province. Moreover, these two Hemshin groups are unaware of the existence of yet a third related community speaking a close if not identical dialect, namely the Christian Hamshen Armenians of Abkhazia and Krasnodar in Russia.

The Bash Hemshin are estimated to number around 29,000 individuals in the Rize province, while the Hopa Hemshin are estimated at around 26,000. To these figures must be added the dozen or so villages in the northwestern provinces of Düzce and Sakarya, settled by the Hemshin during the last decades of the nineteenth century, with a population of around 10,000. Large communities of Hemshin are also to be found in regional centres, such as Trabzon and Erzurum, and in the large cities of western Turkey, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. Hemshin living in the latter cities probably now outnumber those who stayed in their home villages. In addition, an estimated 3,000 Hemshin live in the former Soviet Union. Consequently, a total figure of approximately 150,000 individuals may be given as a realistic estimate.³

In *Nations and Nationalism*, Ernest Gellner, using language as a criterion, gives a figure of approximately 8,000 minority groups on Earth. Of these 8,000 groups, he continues, barely one-tenth have developed any sort of ethnically based cultural and political agenda.⁴ The Hemshin, like their Lazi neighbours, clearly belong to the 90 per cent of groups that have chosen not to mobilize on the basis of their ethnic identity.⁵ Moreover, they do not consider themselves to be an ethnic minority and certainly do not want to be perceived as such by others. Yet the Hemshin do constitute a minority group with a strong sense of solidarity and a collective identity, the distinction of which is recognized both by their neighbours and outside observers. Their continued existence as a specific group on the threshold of the twenty-first century in both Turkey and Caucasia deserves the inclusion of a volume on the Hemshin in the *Peoples of the Caucasus* series.

Plan of the volume

The first part of this book is devoted to history. In Chapter 1, Anne Elizabeth Redgate focuses on the conditions in late eighth century Armenia that led to the foundation of Hamshen. The history of Hamshen between its foundation and the early Ottoman period is discussed in Chapter 2, which also provides a brief

geographical description of the Hamshen region. Chapter 3 by Christina Maranci presents the art of manuscript painting in Hamshen and by Hamshenite monks outside their native region. The history of Hemshin from its Islamicization to the end of the nineteenth century is covered by Hovann Simonian in Chapter 4. The spectacular rise of Hemshin in the nineteenth century among the Ottoman religious and secular elites is studied by Alexandre Toumarkine in Chapter 5. The final chapter on history by Hovann Simonian investigates the relations between Armenians and the Hemshin and other Islamicized Armenians of the Pontos between 1878 and 1923.

The geography, economy and domestic architecture of the Hemshin are examined in Part II. In Chapter 7, Hagop Hachikian discusses both the historical geography and the present territorial distribution of the Hemshin. The social and economic structures of the Hemshin in their historic heartland, the county of Çamlıhemşin, are analysed by Erhan Gürsel Ersoy in Chapter 8. The domestic architecture of the Hemshin is presented by Gülsen Balıkcı in Chapter 9, with case studies from three villages in the county of Pazar in Rize.

Part III comprises two chapters dealing with language. In Chapter 10, Bert Vaux presents an analysis of Homshetsma, the Armenian dialect spoken by the Hopa Hemshin and the Hamshen Armenians now living in Abkhazia and southern Russia. Armenian loanwords in the Turkish dialect spoken by the Hemshin in the traditional Hemshin region, in the province of Rize, are discussed by Uwe Bläsing in Chapter 11.

Four chapters are devoted to the central issue of identity. In Chapter 12, Hagop Hachikian provides some insight into the main characteristics of Hemshin identity as it has developed in the traditional or Bash Hemshin area and in Hopa, underlining similarities and differences between the two regions. The ethnic identity and beliefs of the Hemshin of the county of Çamlıhemşin, in particular in the context of the yearly festivals they hold in their summer pastures, are analysed by Erhan Gürsel Ersoy in Chapter 13. In Chapter 14, Ildikó Bellér-Hann studies relations between the Hemshin and their closest neighbours, the Laz, attempting along the way to dissociate facts from stereotypes with the help of official statistical data. The influence of state historiography on Hemshin perceptions of their origins is discussed by Rüdiger Benninghaus in the final chapter of this volume.

Given that the total number of contributions received greatly exceeded what could be contained in a single volume, it has been decided to publish a second volume devoted to the Hemshin of the former Soviet Union. This second tome will also include the general bibliography.

Notes

- 1 Georges Dumézil, 'Notes sur le parler d'un Arménien musulman de Hemşin', *Académie Royale de Belgique, Mémoires, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques* (Brussels, 1964), 57, no. 4, p. 6. The other three articles are 'Notes sur le parler d'un Arménien musulman d'Ardala (Vilayet de Rize)', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1965), n.s. 2, pp. 135–42; 'Trois récits dans le parler des Arméniens musulmans de Hemşin',

- Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1967), n.s. 4, pp. 19–35; and ‘Un roman policier en arménien d’Ardala’, *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1986), n.s. 20, pp. 7–27.
- 2 Verzhine S. Svazlian, *Polsahayots ‘Banahiwsut’ iwně*; [*The Folklore of the Armenians of Constantinople*] (Erevan: ‘Gitutiun’ Publishing House of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, 2000), p. 370; ‘Hēmshints’inerě Bawakan Ush Andradardzan, or Irenk’ Haykakan Tsakum Unin’ [The Hemshin Realized Quite Late That They Have Armenian Origins], *Marmara* (Istanbul, 1996), 25 November; reprint, *Abaka* (Montreal, 1996), 30 December, p. 3.
 - 3 See Chapter 7 by Hagop Hachikian (this volume).
 - 4 Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 43–50.
 - 5 Chris Hann, ‘Ethnicity, Language and Politics in North-east Turkey’, in *The Politics of Ethnic Consciousness*, ed. Cora Govers and Hans Vermeulen (London: Macmillan, 1997), p. 122.

Acknowledgements

The editor and contributors of *The Hemshin* would like to thank the numerous individuals who selflessly devoted their time, talent and efforts towards the realization of this volume, the completion of which would not have been possible without their generous support.

A particular debt of gratitude is owed to those who translated into English the contributions originally written in other languages: Michael Papazian for German, Nick Chuvakhin for Russian, Kevin Smith for Turkish and John Bezazian for French and Armenian. Kevork Panoyan should also be thanked for help with texts in Classical Armenian or *Grabar*, Adelina Mikaelian and Amy Obrist for assistance with books and articles in Russian, Vahe Akpolat for Turkish, Andreas Riedlmayer for advice on transliteration and Zeynep Türkylmaz for her translation of various Ottoman documents. Similarly, the authors are indebted to M. Hanefi Bostan for supplying information from several Ottoman registers, or *defters*, and for his explanation of some obscure points in these texts.

Libraries and archives all around the world were consulted in this endeavour, and the efforts made by their committed personnel to obtain obscure materials are greatly appreciated. In particular, Betty Clements at the Claremont School of Theology Library; Gohar Ter-Khachatryan, Marine Karapetyan, Susanna Galstyan and Zhanna Sahakyan at the Armenian National Library in Erevan; Heghine Muradyan, Gurgen Gasparian, Ruben Grigoryan and Melanya Yeghiazaryan at the library of the Museum of Art and Literature of Armenia; Gia Aivazian at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA); Grégoire Elvin at the archives of the French Foreign Ministry; Levon Avdoyan at the Library of Congress; Vrej Nersessian at the British Library; Margit Heumüller and Theo Bauer at the Bavarian State Library; and Raymond Kévorkian and Vahé Tachdjian at the Nubarian Library in Paris all provided invaluable advice and support. Thanks as well to Aram Topchyan at the Matenadaran (Institute of Medieval Manuscripts, Erevan) and Karen Yuzbashyan at the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the St Petersburg State University for supplying otherwise inaccessible documents from their respective institutions, to Margarita Poutouridou and Armand Mirijanian for placing at our disposal books and articles from their private collections, and to Sevan Nişanyan for graciously allowing us to use some of his pictures of Hemshin.

Shirin Akiner, George Hewitt, Armen Haghazarian, Sarkis Seropyan, Sergey Vardanyan, and Anthony Bryer, the father of Pontic studies, offered enthusiastic support in the early phase of this project and constant encouragement thereafter. Alfred Haft, Hratch Tchilingirian, Razmik Panossian, Alain Ucari and Aram Nigogosian were another source of encouragement. Ara Sanjian and Talinn Grigor proofread several chapters of this volume and provided most useful comments. Particular thanks are due to Amy Obrist, without whose meticulous proofreading and editing many mistakes would have found their way into the text.

The travelling companions of the editor to Hemshin in the summer of 1998 – Margrit Haghazarian, Hanjo and Deniz Breddermann and Mahmut Laçiner – also must be mentioned here, both for the experience they brought to the journey and their pleasant companionship.

The editor wishes to thank the Department of Political Science at the University of Southern California and his supervisor R. Hrair Dekmejian for allowing him to delay the completion of his PhD during the preparation of this volume.

The editors at Routledge, Heidi Bagtazo, Grace McInnes and Harriet Brinton, are to be thanked for their patience and professionalism. Nick Awde deserves particular praise, both for creating the *Peoples of the Caucasus* series and for including *The Hemshin* in it. Without his vision, this volume would not have been possible. All the Hemshin people who helped us at various stages of this project are also to be thanked. Any mistakes and inaccuracies, however, remain the full responsibility of the editor.

Note on transcription and transliteration

In preparing this study for publication, it was necessary to address the issue of which transcription systems to adopt for the various languages and dialects the Hemshin are associated with, as well as for other languages, such as Russian, commonly used in source materials about the Hemshin. The choices that had to be made were not always easy. Russian, mostly used in references, has been transliterated according to the Library of Congress (LC) system. Similarly, Armenian has been transliterated according to the LC system, because this system is the most widely used by libraries worldwide to catalogue their Armenian-language holdings. Moreover, the phonetic values of this scheme, based on Classical and eastern Armenian, reflect faithfully the information contained in the large number of medieval sources used in various contributions to this volume. Yet *Homshetsma*, the Armenian dialect spoken by the Hopa Hemshin and Hamshen Armenians, and neighbouring dialects, such as those spoken in Khodorchur or Trabzon, belong to the western Armenian family of dialects. Consequently, whenever the rendition of a toponym according to the LC transliteration system appeared awkward or too distant from local pronunciation, a western Armenian rendition was substituted; hence Khodorchur has been used instead of Khotorjur, or Pertakarag instead of Berdagarak. The transliteration of these toponyms according to the LC transliteration system has been provided in parenthesis the first time they are mentioned. Other exceptions to the LC system have been made for the word *Hamshēn*, which has been simplified to *Hamshen*, and for the ending of Armenian family names, where the proper transliterated form *-ean* has been replaced by the romanized and more familiar form *-ian*.

For Turkish, modern Turkish orthography has been retained, with two exceptions. The first exception consists of a few terms for which the English equivalents have become the norm and/or may be found in an unabridged English dictionary. Thus *pasha* has been used instead of *paşa*, *agha* instead of *ağa*, and *firman* instead of *ferman*. The second exception is the replacement of the Turkish forms *Hemşin* and *Hemşinli* by *Hemshin* and *Hemshinli*, made in order to simplify the reading of these two names for English-language readers, since these words are repeated many times over in this work. While *Hemshin* and *Hemshinli*

are used to describe the region at large and the people carrying this name, the spelling of past and present place names and administrative units, such as the sixteenth-century *nahiye* of Kara-Hemşin or the counties (*ilçes*) of Hemşin and Çamlıhemşin, follows modern Turkish orthography.

The Armenian alphabet and its transliteration

Classical and Standard Eastern Armenian			Western Armenian
ա	a	a in <i>ha</i>	
բ	b	b	p (unaspirated, as in <i>pot</i>)
գ	g	g in <i>gate</i>	k (unaspirated, as in <i>cat</i>)
դ	d	d	t (unaspirated, as in <i>top</i>)
ե	e	e in <i>less</i> , word initial ye as in <i>yes</i>	
զ	z	z in <i>zone</i>	
է	ē	e in <i>less</i>	
ը	ě	e in <i>butter</i>	
թ	tʰ	tʰ (aspirated, as in <i>top</i>)	
ժ	zh	s in <i>measure, leisure</i>	
ի	i	i in <i>bit</i> or <i>magazine</i>	
լ	l	l	
խ	kh	ch in Scottish English <i>loch</i>	
ծ	ts	ts (unaspirated)	dz (dz, as in <i>adze</i>)
կ	k	unaspirated k, as in <i>scat</i>	g (g in <i>gate</i>)
հ	h	h in <i>have</i>	
ձ	dz	dz	ts (ts, unaspirated)
ղ	gh	gh (fricative, as the French r)	
ճ	ch	unaspirated ch, as in <i>mischief</i>	j (j in <i>jam</i>)
մ	m	m	
յ	y	y in <i>yes</i> ; h when at beginning of word	
ն	n	n	
շ	sh	sh in <i>shape</i>	
ո	o	o in <i>note</i> ; word-initially vo, as in <i>vote</i>	
չ	chʰ	aspirated ch, as in <i>church</i>	
պ	p	p (unaspirated, as in <i>spot</i>)	b
ջ	j	j in <i>jam</i>	ch (ch, unaspirated, as in <i>church</i>)
ր	ř	r (trilled, like Spanish rr in <i>perro</i> ‘dog’)	
ս	s	s in <i>still</i>	
վ	v	v in <i>van</i>	
տ	t	t (unaspirated, as in <i>stop</i>)	d
ր	r	r in <i>rose</i>	
ց	tsʰ	tsʰ (aspirated)	
լ	w	v in <i>love</i>	
փ	pʰ	pʰ (aspirated, as in <i>pot</i>)	
ք	kʰ	kʰ (aspirated, as in <i>cat</i>)	
օ	ō	o in <i>note</i>	
ֆ	f	f in <i>fine</i>	
ու	u	u as in <i>you</i>	

The Turkish alphabet

a	a in <i>ha</i>
b	b
c	j in <i>jam</i>
ç	ch in <i>church</i>
d	d
e	e in <i>less</i>
f	f
g	g in <i>gate</i>
ğ	gh (voiced velar or uvular fricative; not pronounced in Standard Turkish)
h	h in <i>have</i>
ı	e in <i>butter</i>
i	i in <i>inter</i>
j	s in <i>leisure</i> ; French j
k	k in <i>key</i>
l	l
m	m
n	n
o	o in <i>note</i>
ö	German ö
p	p
r	r (trilled)
s	s in <i>sit</i>
ş	in <i>shape</i>
t	t
u	u in <i>Luke</i>
ü	German ü
v	v
y	y in <i>yes</i>
z	z in <i>zone</i>

Plurals have been composed by adding ‘s’ to the singular version of a Turkish word, for example, *kazas* rather than the Turkish plural form *kazalar*, or *Kumbasaroğlu* rather than *Kumbasaroğulları* (the same choice has been made for Armenian, hence *nakharars*). The modern Turkish equivalents of personal or place names have been provided in parenthesis next to the rendition of these names in nineteenth-century English or German sources; hence Sichianoglu Memiş Ağa has been supplemented with Sıçanoğlu Memiş Ağa, Kumpusarowa Soliman Ağa with Kumbasaroğlu Süleyman Ağa, and Dschimil/Gemil with Cimil.

In this volume, two forms, ‘Hemshin’ and ‘Hemshinli’, have been adopted to describe the Islamicized Armenians. Some authors preferred the first solution, arguing that Hemshin describes more properly members of the ethnic group, while Hemshinli is more a geographic description. Others opted for Hemshinli, as the term, according to them, is used exclusively to describe members of the group and would not be used to designate outsiders – even if they were to settle in one of the many settlements with a name containing the word Hemshin.

Some authors used both forms interchangeably. Rize, Bash, or western Hemshin or Hemshinli have been used to describe the members of the group living in the traditional Hemshin region, in the province of Rize. Hopa or eastern Hemshin or Hemshinli have been used for the members of the group settled principally in the Hopa *ilçe* (county) of the province of Artvin. ‘Hamshen Armenians’ or ‘Hamshenite Armenians’ refers to the Christian ancestors of the Hemshin and the descendants of those who refused to convert to Islam, now settled primarily in Abkhazia and southern Russia. ‘Hamshen’ will generally be used to designate the district prior to the Ottoman conquest and ‘Hemshin’ for the period after it.

The term ‘Pontos’ is treated as an equivalent of the eastern Black Sea region (*Doğu Karadeniz bölgesi*). The former Ottoman administrative divisions, *vilayet*, *sancak*, *kaza* and *nahiye*, in decreasing rank importance, have been maintained in the text, while the present-day administrative units of *il*, *ilçe* and *bucak* have been replaced respectively by province, county and district throughout the volume. The three remaining Turkish terms most frequently employed here, *dere*, *yayla* and *mahalle*, mean valley, summer pasture or village, and city or village quarter respectively. The non-English vocabulary of note is italicized when it is first used, and not afterwards.

Part I

History

1 **Morale, cohesion and power in the first centuries of Amatuni Hamshen**

Anne Elizabeth Redgate

The foundation of Hamshēn, in about AD 790, came at the end of almost a century in which the fortunes of Armenians in Armenia had steadily declined, a period and a process that culminated in the transformation of the political organization of Armenia, a transformation to which the foundation of Hamshen itself contributed. The preceding, seventh, century had not, of course, been a period of undisturbed calm.¹ There had been Arab raids, and disagreement among the Armenian élite, the *nakharars*, regarding whether to offer submission or resistance to Arab rule; there had been changes of policy in respect of relations with Arabs and Byzantium, and there had been negotiations about church union with the Byzantine Empire and disagreements about that. However, by and large, the Armenians had still had considerable independence and prosperity. The *nakharars* retained their hereditary rights and played a part in the appointment, from among themselves, of the presiding prince of Armenia who was charged by the Arabs, or by Byzantium, whichever was the current overlord, with overseeing Armenia. The economy was strong, probably benefiting from wars further south which encouraged the use of trade routes that ran through Armenia rather than those through Mesopotamia. The seventh century was a golden age for the building of churches, which continued in its later years, and there was no noticeable decline in scholarship and intellectual life. But in the eighth century the Arab grip became more direct, harsher and less comfortable. Although the office of presiding prince was not abolished, once Armenia was incorporated into an Arab province, at the beginning of the century, Armenians had to cope with an *ostikan* (Arab governor) who was resident nearby, and with Arab military garrisons. Taxation became heavier and there were several episodes of financial demands followed by resistance followed by repression. Prosperity was disrupted by Khazar invasions from the Caucasus, and economic decline may be one of the causes of the almost complete absence of church building in the eighth century. Another of course was that the Arab authorities did not encourage Christian building. There were also some attempts to convert Armenians to Islam. The picture was not all dark; intellectual activity did not die out in the church, there was a large monastic community in Siwnik² in the 780s, and some monasteries and churches were still wealthy and economically active. But financial oppression, the failure of the Armenian rebellions against Arab rule of 747 to 748 and 774 to 775, and increasing Arab

settlement (encouraged by the confiscation of the lands of dead or fled rebels and of refugees), changed the political landscape. Whereas around AD 500, according to Cyril Toumanoff, the Armenian élite comprised about thirty-five aristocratic houses and twenty-two dynasties, by 800 there were only twenty houses and twelve dynasties left.² The Mamikonians, for centuries the most powerful and pre-eminent family, had gone into a political decline from which they never recovered; their rivals throughout the eighth century, the Bagratunis, who enjoyed Arab favour, had become the leading family; the Artsrunis were poised to become the Bagratunis' main rivals in the ninth and tenth centuries, a period in which only one other family really counted, the one which held Siwnik'.³

As the end of the eighth century approached the future must have seemed both bleak and uncertain, the present being inauspicious to say the least: harsh direct rule; the economic resources of towns and control of trade routes firmly in Arab hands; a strong Caliphate, not yet showing signs of the weaknesses which would beset it in the mid-ninth century, and which would ameliorate the Armenians' lot; little prospect of effective support from Byzantium, because there the efforts of the Empress Irene (797–802) to entrench herself in power led to purges, rebellion and a loss of the military gains of Constantine V (741–775) and Leo IV (775–780) against Bulgars and Arabs. Moreover, iconoclasm, which had riven Byzantine society in the eighth century, was only temporarily defeated. Like the Caliphate's weakness, Byzantine revival was a ninth-century phenomenon.⁴

Different Armenian families had adopted different policies in response to Armenia's troubles. The Bagratunis had dabbled with resistance to the Arabs, with Byzantine alliance and with migration. The Bagratuni presiding prince who had been appointed in 693 led revolts with imperial assistance in 703 and 705, and after being defeated was settled with his nobles in Lazica (on the eastern coast of the Black Sea) by the emperor, but returned to Armenia the following decade. Some Bagratunis were allies of Gregory and David Mamikonian in 745, fermenting a rebellion which, however, broke out only in 747. In the 747 rebellion, led by the Mamikonians, the presiding prince Ashot Bagratuni participated, but only reluctantly, deserted, and was blinded for his desertion.⁵ One of his nephews went to Kgharjk' (Klarjet'i) in Iberia where he founded that branch of the family which was to take over there in 813.⁶ A later Ashot Bagratuni was steadfastly against the 774 to 775 revolt which, like that of 747, was led by the Mamikonians.⁷ In general the Bagratunis enjoyed Arab favour; the office of presiding prince which the Arabs allowed them to hold, in preference to the Mamikonians, gave them status and power, which may explain why Gregory Mamikonian, according to the *History of Ghewond*, wanted to replace Ashot,⁸ and they seem to have tried to remain on good terms with the winning side. Certainly the Mamikonians suffered tremendously from their consistent policy of resistance to Arab rule.

Like the Mamikonians, the Artsrunis had favoured resistance, but unlike them did not suffer politically for it. Two Artsrunis were killed resisting Arab invasion in 762, and two were martyred in 786.⁹ These deaths offered scope for building prestige, as examples of heroism and piety, without depleting Artsruni strength.

Far from losing lands, as did those families who were in decline, the Artsrunis acquired them; namely the estates of the ancient family of the Rshtunis and, by the end of the century, part of the lands of the Amatunis,¹⁰ the family to which the nakharars Shapuh Amatuni and his son Hamam, the leaders of the migrants to whom the foundation of Hamshen is attributable, belonged. The Amatunis themselves had joined in the 774 to 775 rebellion.¹¹ Both their loss of lands and their migration must have been results of and responses to its aftermath.

According to the *History* by Ghewond, the establishment of the migrants – that is, the two Amatuni leaders, some other nakharars, their cavalry and a mass of others – in their new home took place *c.*790.¹² As I have pointed out elsewhere,¹³ if it could be proved that the text of Ghewond's *History* post-dates the eleventh-century *Universal History* by Stephen Asoghik of Tarōn (Step'anos Tarōnets'i or Asoghik), as has been suggested, there would be a case for re-dating the settlement to the 750s,¹⁴ since this is the time Asoghik seems to imply that it took place. However, the arguments for such a revised dating of the *History* are not entirely compelling and there are good reasons for maintaining the traditional and generally accepted date of the late eighth century as the date of Ghewond's work. There is no ambiguity in his account: the position of the episode in the text as well as the names of the Caliph (Harun al-Rashid, 786–809) and of the governor (Sulayman Ibn Yazid al-'Amri, who held office from 788 to 790) behind the oppression which provoked it point clearly to *c.*790. Ghewond does not record that there was debate and discussion about the possibility and prospect of migration, let alone suggest the content of such debate, either among the Amatunis or between them and other nakharars. But it is inconceivable that such discussion, involving disagreement, did not take place, in the same sort of way that it did before and during the 747 to 748 and 774 to 775 rebellions, as Ghewond recounts.¹⁵ It is also highly unlikely that the Amatunis' journey was undertaken without any prior communication with the Byzantine authorities, who at its end welcomed the aristocrats with honours and settled the masses on good land, a probability which likewise suggests deliberation preceding planning. The migration cannot have been a sudden, idiosyncratic venture. The very terms in which Ghewond reports the exodus, though brief, reveal that it reverberated through Armenian élite society. Medieval historical writers throughout Christendom included biblical references in their accounts in order to make parallels and comparisons between biblical events and persons on the one hand, and those that they were recounting on the other. They did this to give meaning, in terms of God's plan for the world, to what they were recording. Such references are often very allusive, but their audience comprised clerics and élite laity who, even if not bookish or even literate, would have been exposed to clerical preaching and would have had access to clerics, monasteries and bishops. Their audience, that is, one which was familiar with the Bible, with other texts rich in religious allusion, and with art and architecture that incorporated biblical stories and Christian teaching. Such an audience, in Armenia as in Western Europe, will have understood historians' biblical allusions. They will also have shared their habits of mind and patterns of thinking in a general sense, though of course the fact that particular authors advanced particular interpretations and particular causes shows

that on particular points authors, or their patrons, were not reflecting opinion but seeking to influence it.

The biblical allusions in Ghewond's account of the Amatuni migration occur in his references to over 12,000 migrants and to the half of the population which stayed behind being, in servitude and poverty, 'woodcutters or water-carriers' like the Gibeonites. We should not, after all, believe that woodcutting and water-carrying were the only occupations available to or filled by the non-migrants, or that Ghewond meant that this was the case. By the same token, although we should interpret his 12,000, apparently half the population, to mean that he thought the number of people involved to be very large and substantial, a significant proportion, not only of the people associated with the Amatuni family and its territories, but also of Armenians as a whole, we should not assume that this number comes from some sort of statistical record or calculation. This is not because there is any doubt that records and statistics could be kept at this time; they certainly could, as is perfectly clear from Ghewond's account of the Arab governmental financial oppression which lay behind the Amatuni migration. Rather, it is because, as Robert Thomson has shown, early Armenian writers were aware of and interested in number symbolism.¹⁶ Ghewond, like other medieval writers, was probably more concerned to communicate by allusion an important moral truth than to record a less important literal one. To take a Western analogue, where the early ninth-century British writer Nennius claims that St Patrick, who converted Ireland to Christianity, consecrated 365 or more bishops and converted and baptised 12,000 men in a single region (and did other things involving significant numbers, such as nine, seven and three), he is probably doing so not because he regards these assertions as actual, literally true, facts, but in order to demonstrate the importance of Patrick, 'like the Apostles', to God and to the Irish.¹⁷ In the Bible, in both the Old and the New Testaments, the numbers twelve and 12,000 recur. They seem to be numbers favoured by God in His activity in history. They are associated particularly with the People of Israel and with the Heavenly City. For example, in *The Book of Numbers*, after God tells Moses to avenge the children of Israel, Moses tells them to arm 1,000 men per tribe, and so he had 12,000 armed for war; in *The Revelation of St John the Divine*, 12,000 from each of the twelve tribes are redeemed, with the Father's name written on their foreheads. These numbers, twelve and 12,000, therefore have connotations of 'being chosen', by God and by His agents, and of salvation. As for Ghewond's Gibeonites, they appear in the Old Testament story of Joshua's conquest, for the Israelites, of their Promised Land. The Gibeonites are rightly afraid that Joshua will destroy them, as he has destroyed Jericho, so they dupe him, by pretending that they are not natives but travellers, into agreeing to a league of peace. After discovering the Gibeonites' ruse, Joshua honours his agreement but decrees that in future they will be bondmen, woodcutters and water-carriers for the Lord's altar and congregation. They are the only people native to the Promised Land to make peace with Joshua and so survive; the others, with their hearts hardened, fought him and were annihilated.¹⁸

The allusion to the Gibeonites thus encourages, if it does not compel, the audience to think of Joshua, despite his not being named, and to contemplate

modern parallels. Ghewond's report of the migration offers one such parallel explicitly, giving the non-migrant Armenians the status of Gibeonites: their hearts are not hardened, yet they are not God's chosen, and they are condemned to servitude. In the Bible this servitude was to Joshua and his Israelites; in Armenia it was subjection to the Arabs. It would however be surprising, given the political and religious context, if Ghewond had had Arab and Muslim potentates in mind as the equivalent of Joshua and so as a new Joshua. It is far more likely that Ghewond mentally connected Joshua with Hamam Amatuni, the son of his fellow leader Shapuh. For Joshua was, although not the son, the successor of Moses, and the continuator of the task, which Moses had begun, of leading the Israelites out of servitude in Egypt to their Promised Land. Again Nennius offers us an analogy. Nicholas Higham suggests that in his account of Arthur, which is one of our major sources for the question of whether King Arthur really existed, Nennius is asserting that Arthur was a new Joshua, successor to St Patrick, whom Nennius explicitly compares to Moses. Nennius makes this assertion very allusively indeed, by his use of the number twelve in his list of Arthur's battles, and of a phrase, to describe Arthur, leader of battles (*dux bellorum*) which is similar to one used once of Joshua in the Latin Vulgate, when, after the death of Joshua, the children of Israel wonder who will be their leader in battle (*dux belli*).¹⁹

It is also very unlikely that the comparisons which Ghewond was making and implying will not have occurred, or been known, to the Amatuni migrants. They belonged after all to the same culture. And since their migration and their beating off of Arab pursuit can scarcely have been an easy undertaking, they will have tried to keep up their spirits and hopes in the process. It is inconceivable that in such attempts biblical parallels and encouragement will have been overlooked, even if other mechanisms, such as the telling of tales of heroic deeds by Armenians, were also employed. In sum, Ghewond's biblical allusions suggest, first, that he, his audience and the Amatuni migrants saw the Amatuni migration as an event of great importance and significance in Armenian history, for the Armenians and in God's plan for them; second, that Shapuh and Hamam Amatuni were perceived by their followers and other contemporaries not only, as we may deduce from Moses of Khoren's (Movsēs Khorenats'i) account of Amatuni ancestry,²⁰ as descendants of Manue, the father of the biblical hero Samson who had done great deeds for the Israelites against the dominion of the Philistines, but also as a new Moses and a new Joshua, leaders of a new People of Israel, taking them from servitude to a new Promised Land where they would enjoy God's favour and far greater power than those who had stayed behind.²¹

This was a powerful image. Its power may be part of the explanation for what may seem a puzzling lack of early sources and detail relating to the Hamshen community. The Bagratunis' likely lack of enthusiasm for the new Amatuni image will have been an encouragement to Ghewond to be allusive and concise rather than explicit and detailed in his account, for Ghewond's *History* demonstrates sympathy for the Bagratunis' point of view, and he was writing for a Bagratuni patron.²² For the Bagratunis, clawing their way to the top of the political hierarchy, the boost to Amatuni prestige will have been a dangerous blow. It came, very

probably, not long after a remarkable attempt to strengthen their own image. Western scholars generally regard the *History of the Armenians* by Moses of Khoren, despite his claim to be a contemporary of the early fifth-century patriarch Sahak, and one of the circle of Mesrop, the inventor of the Armenian alphabet, as an eighth-century work.²³ It was probably composed in the third quarter of the eighth century, and one of its purposes, perhaps the major one, was to justify Bagratuni pre-eminence in the present, that is in the eighth century, by painting a picture of Bagratuni pre-eminence in the remote as well as in the Christian past, even though this enterprise necessitated extensive fabrication.²⁴ Moses asserts that the Bagratuni family was originally a Hebrew one, prominent in ancient Israel.²⁵ He thereby gave the Bagratunis not only antiquity with regard to position and status (which, in reality, as descendants of the early Orontid kings of Armenia,²⁶ they had already), but great antiquity, and, as Jews and part of the People of Israel, a long history of a special relationship with God and of steadfastness in the face of attempts, other than Christian attempts, to persuade them to change their religion. But Moses did not give the Bagratunis a relationship with any particular biblical hero. In this respect the Amatunis, with Samson as a kinsman, had the edge.

I have suggested elsewhere that it was the ideological challenge presented by the Amatunis c.790 that prompted the Bagratunis' claim to be descended from the Old Testament King of Israel, David, a response formulated fairly promptly in an attempt to boost their own authority and prestige among and over fellow Armenians in general and in the regions neighbouring the new Amatuni community in particular.²⁷ The evidence for the date when this Davidic claim was developed is unfortunately not concrete: it is the cumulative weight of several elements, from different sources, most of the individual dates of which are regrettably also open to challenge. First, it is generally acknowledged that Moses of Khoren, had he known of the claim to descent from David, would have reported it: therefore it may be regarded as post-dating the third quarter of the eighth century if this is indeed the date of Moses' work.²⁸ Second, the claim is known to the early tenth-century historian the Armenian Catholicos John (Yovhannēs Kat'oghikos Draskhanakertts'i):²⁹ therefore it pre-dates c.900. Third, it is first mentioned in a Georgian history which is generally accepted as having been composed c.800.³⁰ This first reference relates to the Ashot Bagratuni³¹ who was the grandson of Ashot the Blind and who became presiding prince of Iberia in 813 with a grant of lands and recognition from the Caliph and the title of *curopalate* from the Byzantine emperor,³² so it may well be that the Davidic claim originated in this Ashot's circle. Fourth, its association with Ashot is apparently confirmed by a sculptured relief from the church of St John the Baptist at the monastery of Opiza in Tao-Klarjet'i (Tayk'-Kgharjk'). The relief shows, on the left-hand slab, an Ashot presenting a church to, on the right-hand slab, Christ, who is blessing it and on whose other side, slightly tucked away, is a David, depicted in a gesture of supplication. This relief is traditionally interpreted as a contemporary depiction of this curopalate Ashot (Ashot I) with Christ and the biblical King David. Its inscriptions, unfortunately, are minimal. 'Ashot' is inscribed and must refer to the

‘curopalate Ashot’ who was named in a painted inscription in the church, now lost, as its ‘second builder’.³³ The fact that King David is meant is indicated, according to Toumanoff, by the letters for CDVT‘, which stand for the words ‘Prophet David’. Of these letters it is the first that is crucial, the other three being an abbreviation of ‘David’.³⁴ There is another, more recent interpretation by N. Šošašvili, that the relief is actually from 923 to 937 rather than an early ninth-century work, depicting a later curopalate Ashot (Ashot IV), son of the first king of Georgia, Adarnase, and this Ashot’s elder brother David, King of Georgia from 923 to 937. This identification fits with the expansion and remodelling of the church which is dated to the mid-tenth century.³⁵ This suggestion is not unconvincing but it is not conclusive, and it is not completely unproblematic³⁶ – for example, in the lack of prominence of David compared to his junior brother³⁷ – and it seems more natural to assume that Christ and David belong together and contrast with Ashot, as it were, on a different plane and in the same place, which in this case would be the court of Heaven.

Since his work is lost, we do not know what, if anything, the ninth-century historian Shapuh Bagratuni said about the Amatunis and Hamshen. John Catholicos has nothing. It is possible that John drew on Ghewond’s *History* as a source via Shapuh; he certainly seems to have no direct knowledge of it,³⁸ so his omission of the migration may not have been John’s own choice. But if he had had the option it is more likely than not that he would have chosen to omit it, as indeed any information about ninth- and tenth-century Hamshen which happened to come his way. John was partial to the Bagratuni cause, and this cause needed buttressing at the time he was writing. In 884 Ashot Bagratuni, having built on the territorial acquisitions of his predecessors and profited from the international situation, had become king, by unanimous wish, John says, perhaps truthfully, of the Armenian *ishkhans* and nakharars, and with Caliphal and Byzantine imperial recognition. His reign was a success, but things went badly awry under his successor King Smbat (890–913). Internal strife and war with the Arab governor culminated in the co-existence of three kingships: that of Smbat’s successor, his son Ashot II (913–928); a rival anti-kingship of Ashot II’s (Bagratuni) cousin, also called Ashot; and the Artsruni kingship of King Gagik Artsruni in Vaspurakan, the refuge where John finished his *History of the Armenians*, since Gagik’s realm was the most powerful at the time.³⁹ The early tenth-century Bagratunis were overshadowed not only in terms of practical power but also with regard to image-building and prestige. They could, certainly, glory in King Smbat’s personal piety and martyrdom and in the healing of the sick by soil where his blood had dripped,⁴⁰ but they could at that time offer no competition to the programme of church building undertaken in Siwnik’ and by the Artsrunis. The Artsrunis’ crowning glory was twofold. There was the *History of the House of the Artsrunis*, begun by Thomas Artsruni (T’ovma Artsruni) and continued by an anonymous continuator, which essentially did for them what Moses of Khoren had done for the Bagratunis⁴¹ and which presents King Gagik in the most flattering light, a pious and successful warrior, rich and powerful, a king like the Old Testament ones favoured by God.⁴² The same messages about Gagik were spelt out in stone

and painted in his palace⁴³ and in its chapel (which survives, in ruins) on the island of Aght'amar on Lake Van.⁴⁴ The greatest Siwnian monument was the church at Tat'ew, finished in 906 (and notable for its internal decoration by painters, commissioned in 930, from Western Europe⁴⁵): the dedication of the church was attended by a host of notables and could have been recorded by John Catholicos as an event, even a symbol, of Armenian unity had he chosen. He was at the ceremony.⁴⁶ But its inclusion would inevitably have highlighted the fact that the Bagratunis could not yet run to anything similar. Later in the century they could, and did.⁴⁷

The most problematic of our sources is the *History of Tarōn* by Ps. John Mamikonian of Tarōn (Yovhannēs Mamikonian), a work which Levon Avdoyan has shown to be a late tenth-century composition (between 966 and 988), though it purports to be much earlier, whose author was working to enhance the status of the monastery of Glak in Tarōn.⁴⁸ It includes a brief tale of a prince, Hamam. In this story, Hamam alerts Tiran Mamikonian, Prince of Tarōn, who is in alliance with the (seventh-century) Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, that Vashdean, Prince of Georgia, Hamam's uncle, is in league with the King of Persia against him. The Prince of Georgia is so enraged to discover what Hamam has done that he has Hamam mutilated; he invades his territory; Hamam's city, Tambur, is struck with sword and fire; the invader is cursed by Manknos, Bishop of Tambur, and destroyed; Hamam rebuilds his city and calls it 'by his own name' Hamamashēn.⁴⁹ The names Hamam and Hamamashēn and the location suggest that the story is indeed about Hamshen despite the impossibility that the chronological setting is correct. Levon Khach'ikyan thought that the tale contained a memory of strife between the original Amatuni newcomers and the 'natives'; Robert Edwards that it relates to the second generation of the settlers and that it suggests that the Byzantine emperor had exceeded his authority in granting this particular land to the settlers, and that the Georgians had had a claim to it, which in the early ninth century they tried to reassert.⁵⁰ Avdoyan feels, probably rightly, that no historical conclusions can be based on Ps. John's fabrications and garbling.⁵¹ But we should also consider the historical significance of the fact that the story is garbled, of how it is garbled, and of why. Its reference to Hamamashēn, meaning Hamshen, is both strange and original. Avdoyan comments that he would have liked to conclude that it was an interpolation based on a later (that is, later than the late tenth century) interpolator's own awareness of Hamshen, but that the manuscripts make such a conclusion untenable.⁵² We must therefore accept that in the late tenth century in the monastery of Glak in Tarōn in southwest Armenia there was an awareness of the community of Hamshen, a distant settlement in the north, beyond the mountainous border of Armenia, approaching the Black Sea coast. Ps. John perceived this community to be the sort of community that had a notable history, as the sort of community whose earlier princes were involved in politics and wars, not only with other Armenians and with neighbouring Georgians, but also with great kings and emperors, whose reigns are notable in world history for straddling the ancient world and the medieval world which was ushered in by the rise of Islam.

Not all the Amatunis fled the oppression of the late 780s to the brave new world of Hamshen. The family seems to have held on to its estates in Artaz,⁵³ and several Amatunis appear in the text of Thomas Artsruni's *History* as followers and supporters of the great Artsruni princes. In 850 when the *ostikan* gathered troops to assist in the collection of the tribute, Bagarat Bagratuni, the presiding prince, sought the aid of Ashot Artsruni of Vaspurakan in his resistance. Thomas Artsruni lists Ashot's forces: a Shapuh Amatuni with eight relatives and their troops appear in fourth place, after Ashot Artsruni himself and his two brothers, sixteen other Artsrunis and one Bagratuni.⁵⁴ In the resistance to the forces of the general commanding the forces of the Caliphate, the Turk Bugha, who campaigned in Armenia from 852 to 855, Ashot's brother Gurgēn commanded nobles who included three Amatunis, listed in fourth place in a list of nine groups.⁵⁵ Apusakr, Prince of the Amatunis, was among the companions of Gregory-Derenik Artsruni, father of King Gagik, when he was treacherously murdered by the Arab emir of Her (now Khoy). We are told that he (Gregory-Derenik) looked to his 'valiant companions, to see whether there would be any who might bring him some aid. But... they fled to their own lands. Only Apusakr, prince of Amatunik' did they capture'.⁵⁶ Subsequently, three Amatuni brothers were leading conspirators with the future king, Gagik, to murder Gagik Apumruan, who was keeping Gagik's brothers Ashot and Gurgēn imprisoned, to release them and 'win back their principality'.⁵⁷ The Amatuni Bishop Gregory helped keep going armed resistance against Arab invasion of Vaspurakan: when T'adeos Akēats'i wrote 'to find some reason for the attack which had befallen them', the bishop 'returned a response full of encouraging advice and exhortation to the hope of a martyr's crown'.⁵⁸ This close association of the Amatunis with the Artsrunis, providing support over three generations, recorded by Thomas, must have been a factor in the power and success of the ninth- and early tenth-century Artsrunis. We may conclude that Amatuni power itself fed into Artsruni-Bagratuni rivalry: that is, that the Amatunis were a danger to the Bagratunis inside as well as outside Armenia. There is no direct evidence that the two branches of the Amatuni family remained in touch, but this lack of evidence does not warrant a firm conclusion that they did not, and if there was an awareness of the Hamshen community in late tenth-century Tarōn, it is likely that there was also in ninth-century Vaspurakan.

These reflections prompt the inference that the Amatunis were of major political importance in the ninth and tenth centuries, and, further, a question why no *History* of the Amatunis was produced. Shapuh and Hamam Amatuni and all those whom they led over the mountains c.790 belonged to a society in which oral tradition was strong. Their near contemporary, Moses of Khoren, drew on 'songs about Artashes and his sons', that is, about the King Artaxias who ruled from 189 to 160 BC and his dynasty, in his *History*.⁵⁹ *The Wild Men of Sasun (Sasna Tsrer)*, which has been called the Armenian national epic, is a compilation of stories which, though collected and written in 1873, dates back to the tenth century and earlier. Some elements of Armenian history, including Bagarat of Tarōn's resistance of the tax collector and the invasion of Bugha, are reflected in the epic, and some names of leaders likewise – a 'king Gagik' may be reminiscent of Gagik of Vaspurakan.⁶⁰

The strength of oral tradition means that it was unlikely that any hypothetical Amatuni historian would have lacked material or been entirely reduced to using previous Armenian histories, excerpting from them and altering them to produce something with an Amatuni slant. One can imagine some possible content of an *Amatuni History*: prominence in Israel at the time of Samson's beginning the delivery of the Israelites from the Philistines; prominence as the Jewish royal family of Adiabene in Roman times;⁶¹ heroism in the fifth- and eighth-century rebellions against Persians and Arabs respectively; and heroism of the new Moses and new Joshua leading a new People of Israel to a new Promised Land.

It is highly probable that the inhabitants of Hamshen developed a strong sense of community identity. Scholars who study ethnicity and senses of identity agree that shared experience can be a bonding factor for a collection of people: the experiences of the followers of Shapuh and Hamam Amatuni, that is, the migration, the travel, the pursuit by the Arabs and the subsequent battle, and the settling in a new land will all have reinforced the exiles' sense of being a single community. We know that for centuries they retained their Christianity as well as their Armenian language. Since the people of Hamshen shared religion and language with their stay-at-home, Gibeonite, fellow Armenians, they were not set apart from them thereby; nevertheless their particular community will not have been immune from what Adrian Hastings has described, the general tendency in history for Christianity, via the Bible, to stimulate nationhood. The Bible has provided a stimulus to nationhood, he has pointed out, in two major respects. It refers continually to peoples and it envisages the world as a world of nations – as, for example, in the *First Epistle General of Peter*, ch. 2 v. 9, where believers are told that 'you are' 'a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar [meaning distinct] people' – in both Old and New Testaments. Second, the political model that the Bible offers Christians (and which the Western Christian barbarian states used enthusiastically), the kingdom of Israel, in the Old Testament, is that of a nation-state. The Old Testament provides a picture of a God-centred nation, with its own laws, vulnerable to punishment by God for the sins of the people and of its leaders.⁶² Hastings also points out that clergy have historically mediated identity between ruler and ruled, the existence and work of village priests ensuring that the articulation of a nation was shared by every class.⁶³

The stimulation of national or national-like identity by the Church could then have been done in Hamshen as elsewhere simply by using vernacular literature to instruct the people in religious doctrine and values and by ensuring exposure to the Bible. The liturgy has offered further opportunities. Roughly contemporaneously with the first years of the Amatuni settlement, the Western Emperor Charlemagne used, as Yitzhak Hen has shown, the patronage of liturgy as machinery for royal propaganda: acclamations for the king, his family, the Frankish nobility and the Frankish Church appear; prayers for king and kingdom, particularly at times of crisis, are promoted and ordered; litanies to obtain and celebrate military victory are encouraged. The political messages are consensus, solidarity, peace and victory. Unity and a consciousness of being one community are particularly stimulated by the prayers for king and kingdom in times of crisis,

since they ‘made each...subject personally responsible for the welfare of the ruler and of the kingdom as a whole’.⁶⁴ Of course, not all opportunities are taken by everyone. Charlemagne himself did on a much grander scale things which his predecessors had also done. But we should appreciate what the possibilities were, and it seems unlikely that the Amatuni migrants would not have prayed, under the guidance of clerics who were closely in touch with the Amatuni leaders, and prayed for success, victory, safety and prosperity. Oath-taking, clerical exhortation, prayer and services are recorded, after all, in the Armenian historians’ accounts of the rebellions against Persia and the Arabs in the fifth and eighth centuries, and of military resistance to the Arabs in the ninth and tenth. It is more likely than not that the liturgy stimulated bonding among and a sense of special identity in all those involved in Hamshen.

We cannot know for certain why there is no surviving Amatuni *History*, which would perhaps have recorded and reflected these processes. But we might consider whether there was, in this early period, ever a need for one. By and large scholars’ analyses of written histories of particular saints or kings or families or peoples tend to identify a particular need and projected use for the text and its ‘message(s)’ – for the Anglo-Saxons, for example, this is true of the *Lives* of the great seventh-century Northumbrian Saint Cuthbert, of the *Life* of the ninth-century West Saxon King Alfred and even of the eighth-century Venerable Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History of the Nation of the English*,⁶⁵ just as for the Armenians it is true of the works of Moses of Khoren and Thomas Artsruni. When the *History* is of a group, the need seems to be to promote and to reinforce a current sense of bonding and identity even more than to express any previously existing sense – that is, the text expresses the sentiments of the writer and/or the patron in the hope that others will come to share them. This may be a tacit statement that they, or too many of them, in the author’s or patron’s opinion, do not.⁶⁶ Thus although we have a biography of King Alfred we have none of his grandson King Aethelstan, a shadowy but incontestably great ruler, an ‘English Charlemagne’.⁶⁷ Alfred was great, certainly, but he had to engage in extensive image-building to justify his actions and persuade an often unenthusiastic people to do his bidding.⁶⁸ Aethelstan was perhaps less in need of ‘spin-doctoring’, more secure, his people more firmly behind him. By analogy we might surmise, from its lack of a written history, that the community of Hamshen in the ninth and tenth centuries was successful, strong and cohesive, the inference that we have already independently drawn from other considerations. This may explain, and is certainly consistent with, the impression that Ps. John Mamikonian in Tarōn had of it in the late tenth century. Or, to put it another way: if history is written by the victors, which is a common complaint, there was no war in Hamshen.

Notes

- 1 For a more detailed overview of the seventh and eighth centuries, see Anne E. Redgate, *The Armenians*, Peoples of Europe Series (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), pp. 166–73.

- 2 Cyril Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1963), pp. 227–29.
- 3 Redgate (1998), pp. 174–76 and 200–05 for the balance of power.
- 4 For the Caliphate, see Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century* (London and New York: Longman, 1986), Chapters 5 and 6. For Byzantium, see Mark Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium, 600–1025* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1996), Chapters 6–9.
- 5 Ghewond, *Patmut' iwn Ghewondeay Metsi Vardapeti Hayots' [History of Ghewond, the Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians]*, edited by Karapet Ezians' (St Petersburg: I. N. Skorokhodov, 1887), pp. 121–27. English translation in Zaven Arzoumanian, *History of Lewond, the Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians. Translation, Introduction and Commentary* (Wynnewood, PA: St Sahag and St Mesrob Armenian Church, 1982), pp. 118–21 (Ghewond, Chapters 25 and 26), and see p. 177 n. 4.
- 6 Arzoumanian (1982), p. 177 n. 4; Robert W. Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History: The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles: The Original Georgian Texts and the Armenian Adaptation. Translated with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 248 and n. 47.
- 7 Ghewond (1887), pp. 142–46; Arzoumanian (1982), pp. 132–34 (Ghewond, Chapter 34).
- 8 Ghewond (1887), pp. 113–14 and 119–21; Arzoumanian (1982), pp. 113–14 and 118–19 (Ghewond, Chapters 21 and 25).
- 9 Ghewond (1887), pp. 130–31 and 161–66; Arzoumanian (1982), pp. 124–25 and 144–47 (Ghewond, Chapters 30 and 40) and 194 n. 7.
- 10 Redgate (1998), pp. 175–84 for the foundations of aristocratic power c.640 to 884.
- 11 Ghewond (1887), pp. 144–46; Arzoumanian (1982), pp. 133–34 (Ghewond, Chapter 34).
- 12 Ghewond (1887), pp. 168–69; Arzoumanian (1982), pp. 149 (Ghewond, Chapter 42) and 195 n. 3.
- 13 Anne E. Redgate, 'The Foundation of Hamshen and Armenian Descent Myths: Parallels and Interconnections', in *The Armenian Communities of the Black Sea – Pontus Region*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian, Proceedings of the Tenth UCLA Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces Conference, May 2002 (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, forthcoming).
- 14 For a résumé of questions raised concerning the authenticity of Ghewond's *History*, and reasons for accepting its traditional date of not long after 788, see Jean-Pierre Mahé, 'Le problème de l'authenticité et de la valeur de la chronique de Lewond', in *L'Arménie et Byzance: Histoire et culture*, Byzantina Sorbonensia no. 12 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), pp. 119–26. The problem with the date of the migration is that Stephen Asoghik records it as following the oppression which the Armenians suffered during the reign of Caliph Abu 'l-'Abbas (750–754), whereas Ghewond reports it as following oppression in the 780s which itself followed the failed rebellion of 774 to 775. Stephen does not include material for the period 755 to 788. Stephen Asoghik of Tarōn [Step'anos Tarōnets'i (Asoghik)], *Patmut' iwn Tiezerakan [Universal History]*, edited by Step'an Malkhasiants', 2nd edn (St Petersburg: I. N. Skorokhodov, 1885); Part I is translated into French: Édouard Dulaurier, *Histoire Universelle par Etienne Açogh' ig de Daron. Traduite de l'arménien et annotée*, vol. 1, Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, no. 18 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1883), pp. 161–62.
- 15 Ghewond (1887), pp. 121–24 and 137–52; Arzoumanian (1982), pp. 119–21 and 129–38 (Ghewond, Chapters 26 and 34).
- 16 Robert W. Thomson, 'Number Symbolism and Patristic Exegesis in Some Early Armenian Writers', *Handes Amsorya [Monthly Review]* (Vienna, 1976), 90, cols 117–38. Thomson's discussion includes both twelve and 1,000, but not 12,000.
- 17 Nennius, *Historia Brittonum [History of the British]*, Chapter 54, in John Morris, editor and translator, *Nennius. British History and the Welsh Annals* (London and Chichester/Totowa, NJ: Phillimore/Rowman and Littlefield, 1980), pp. 34 (English translation) and 75 (Latin text).

- 18 The biblical references cited are to the King James English translation, *Numbers*, Chapter 31, verses 1–4, *Revelation*, Chapter 7, verses 4–8, Chapter 14, verses 1–4, *The Book of Joshua*, Chapter 9 and Chapter 11, verses 19–20.
- 19 Morris (1980), pp. 35 and 76 (Nennius (1980), Chapters 55 and 56); Nicholas J. Higham, *King Arthur: Myth-making and History* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 136–57, esp. pp. 141–43. The biblical reference is *The Book of Judges*, Chapter I, verse 1.
- 20 Moses of Khoren [Movsēs Khorenats'i], *Patmut'wn Hayots'* [*History of the Armenians*], edited by M. Abeghian and S. Harut'wnian (Tiflis: Elektratparan Or. N. Aghaniani, 1913; reprint, Classical Armenian Text Reprint Series, ed. John Greppin, Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1981), p. 187; English translation in Robert W. Thomson, *Moses Khorenats'i. History of the Armenians. Translation and Commentary on the Literary Sources* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 199–200 (Moses of Khoren, Book II, chapter 57).
- 21 For a fuller exposition of the foregoing argument, with the British parallel here cited and Anglo-Saxon parallels regarding the making and understanding of biblical allusion and with Byzantine and Western European parallels to the tendency of early medieval Armenian Christian society to view itself as a 'new Israel', a tendency towards an Old Testament self-image being discernible throughout Christendom, see Redgate (forthcoming).
- 22 Ghewond (1887), p. 170; Arzoumanian (1982), pp. 150 (Ghewond, Colophon) and 196 n. 3.
- 23 Toumanoff (1963), pp. 330–34. Thomson considers Moses as historian (Thomson (1978), pp. 1–61). He summarizes the 'various historical clues' in Moses' text which suggest that the fifth-century date is wrong (pp. 58–61), but far more important in the rejection of this traditional date is the fact that 'Many of the texts known in Armenian to Moses were either translated or composed after the time at which he claims to be writing' (p. 58). See also Thomson (1996), p. xxxiv. This revisionist view is not accepted by scholars in Erevan, the capital of the Republic of Armenia (nor by all scholars outside Armenia).
- 24 Thomson (1978), pp. 56–59; Redgate (1998), pp. 183–84.
- 25 In the time of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, the Armenian king asked Nebuchadnezzar for one of his Jewish captives, a captive Hebrew leader, Shambat: from this Shambat the Bagratunis descend. Moses of Khoren (1913), pp. 68–69; Thomson (1978), pp. 110–11 (Moses of Khoren, Book I, chapter 22).
- 26 Toumanoff (1963), pp. 201, 306 and 320–24.
- 27 Redgate (forthcoming).
- 28 Toumanoff (1963), p. 234; Thomson (1978), p. 59.
- 29 John Catholicos [Yovhannēs Kat'oghikos Draskhanakertts'i], *Draskhanakertets'woy Patmut'wn Hayots'* [*History of the Armenians by John Catholicos Draskhanakertts'i*], edited by Nikola Osipovich [Mkrtich'] Emin (Moscow, 1853; reprint, Tiflis: N. Aghanians', 1912, and Classical Armenian Text Reprint Series, ed. John Greppin, Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1980), pp. 16–17; English translation in Revd Krikor H. Maksoudian, *Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'i. History of Armenia. Translation and Commentary* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987), p. 73 (John Catholicos, Chapter IV, section 10); Toumanoff (1963), p. 329.
- 30 Toumanoff (1963), p. 328; Thomson (1996), p. 248.
- 31 The reference is in Juanšer, *The History of King Vaxt'ang Gorgasali*, in Thomson (1996), p. 248.
- 32 Toumanoff (1963), p. 353 and n. 54.
- 33 The monastery was apparently founded in the fifth century by Artavaz, foster-brother of King Vaxt'ang Gorgasali according to Juanšer (see note 31 above), trans. Thomson (1996), p. 195. Wachtang Djobadze, *Early Medieval Georgian Monasteries in Historic Tao, Klarjet'i and Šavšet'i* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), pp. 15–16, points out that it has been established that the reference in this sentence to the monastery of Opiza has been added later and argues that the monastery was founded in the mid-eighth century. He shows also that phrases such as 'second builder' or 'built a second time' should not be given a numerical value.

- 34 Toumanoff (1963), p. 328; Djobadze (1992), p. 14 n. 27 states that what Toumanoff read as the letter 'c', indicating 'prophet', is really 'a so-called 'qanc'ili'.
- 35 For a summary, see Antony Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), pp. 222–24. His references for the dating are N. Šošiašvili, *Ağmosavlet' da samxret' Sak'art'velo (V–X ss)* [*West and South Georgia (Fifth–Tenth Centuries)*], K'art'uli carcerebis korpusi, Lapidaruli carcerebi [Corpus of Georgian inscriptions, Stone inscriptions], no. 1 (Tbilisi: Mec'niereba, 1980), p. 286, and Djobadze (1992), pp. 9–15.
- 36 Eastmond (1998), p. 224 notes that it adds to the question of stylistic progression in Georgian art and the use of donor images as political devices, and addresses the question on pp. 17–19. He suggests that there was no coherence to the depiction of power within the family, even within only one branch.
- 37 Antony Eastmond and Lynn Jones, 'Robing, Power, and Legitimacy in Armenia and Georgia', in *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. Stewart Gordon (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 169–70.
- 38 Mahé (1996) pp. 122–23. For references to Shapuh's work see John Catholicos (1853), pp. 5, 63, 74 and 79; Maksoudian (1987), pp. 64, 115, 125 and 129 (John Catholicos, Preface, section 14, Chapter XXIV, section 18, Chapter XXVII, sections 2–6, Chapter XXIX, section 21): for commentary on John's use of Shapuh's work, see Maksoudian (1987), pp. 257, 258 and 262 (notes to John's Chapter XXI, sections 1–3, 4–5 and Chapter XXIV, section 18 pointing out that this is the main source for John's Chapters XXIV–XXIX; John Catholicos (1853), pp. 54, 63 and 61–79): for John's lack of knowledge of Ghewond's work see Maksoudian (1987), pp. 45, 255, 256 and 257 (Introduction, and notes to John's Chapter XX, sections 2–3, 23 and Chapter XXI, sections 1–3; John Catholicos (1853), pp. 51 and 54).
- 39 For John's attitude, see Redgate (1998), pp. 219–20 disagreeing with Maksoudian (1987), pp. 48–49: for an overview of the period see Redgate (1998), pp. 200–05: for Ashot's accession, John Catholicos (1853), pp. 77–78; Maksoudian (1987), pp. 128, 129 (John Catholicos (1853), Chapter XXIX, sections 4–6, 13).
- 40 John Catholicos (1853), pp. 130–32; Maksoudian (1987), pp. 176–77 (John Catholicos, Chapter XLIX, sections 5–17). Jones suggests that though the Bagratuni kings' 'secular powers were secondary to those of Gagik Artsruni', Gagik's image-building options were limited by the Catholicos' excommunication of his elder brother Ashot for oath-breaking, whereas 'the spiritual prestige of the Bagratid Kings was incomparable'. Eastmond and Jones (2001), pp. 162–63 and 186–87 nn. 79 and 80. But John Catholicos recorded that the Bagratuni King Ashot II also committed oath-breaking, though he did not excommunicate him and that everyone lost faith in him. John Catholicos (1853), pp. 165–66 and 170; Maksoudian (1987), pp. 208, 212 (John Catholicos (1853), Chapter LIX, section 20, Chapter LX, sections 33–34). Jean-Pierre Mahé points out that after Ashot's blinding of Sahak of Gardman and his son, John 'salut ironiquement' Ashot, using the foreign title of šahnšah, king of kings, 'conforme à ses ambitions' reserving the Armenian title for king for Gagik Artsruni. Jean-Pierre Mahé, 'Le rôle et la fonction du Catholicos d'Arménie du VII^e au XI^e siècle', in *Des Parthes au Califat: Quatre leçons sur la formation de l'identité arménienne*, ed. Nina G. Garsoïan and Jean-Pierre Mahé (Paris: De Boccard, 1997), p. 96.
- 41 Robert W. Thomson, 'T'ovmay Arcruni as Historian', in *Medieval Armenian Culture: Proceedings of the Third Dr. H. Markarian Conference on Armenian Culture (University of Pennsylvania, 1982)*, ed. Thomas J. Samuelian and Michael E. Stone (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984), pp. 69–80; Robert W. Thomson, *Thomas Artsruni. History of the House of the Artsrunik'. Translation and Commentary* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1985), pp. 20–8.
- 42 Thomas Artsruni [T'ovma Artsruni], *Patmut'iwn Tann Artsruniats' [History of the House of the Artsrunis]*, edited by K. P. Patkanov (St Petersburg: I. N. Skorokhodov, 1887), pp. 303–05; English translation, Thomson (1985), pp. 365–67 ((Continuator) Book IV, chapter 11).

- 43 Jones stresses that in his portraits Gagik chose to stress his power through the appropriation of Islamic courtly iconography and the representation of Islamic regalia while the Bagratuni portraits stressed personal piety and lacked foreign regalia. Eastmond and Jones (2001), pp. 159–62.
- 44 Thomas Artsruni (1887), pp. 295–96; Thomson (1985), pp. 356–58 ((Continuator) Book IV, chapter 7); John G. Davies, *Medieval Armenian Art and Architecture: The Church of the Holy Cross, Aght'amar* (London: Pindar Press, 1991); Redgate (1998), pp. 205–07.
- 45 Nicole Thierry and Jean-Michel Thierry, 'Peintures murales de caractère occidental en Arménie: Église Saint-Pierre et Saint-Paul de Tatev (début du X^{me} siècle)', *Byzantion* (Brussels, 1968), 38, pp. 180–242.
- 46 Stephen Orbelian [Step'annos Ōrbēlian], *Patmut'awn Tann Sisakan [History of the House of Sisakan]*, edited by Mkrtich' Emin (Moscow: Lazarian Institute of Oriental Languages, 1861), pp. 187 (paintings) and 165 (church); French translation: Marie-Félicité Brosset, *Histoire de la Siounie par Stéphanos Orbélian. Traduite de l'arménien par M. Brosset*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg: Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1864), pp. 150 and 135.
- 47 See Jean-Michel Thierry, Patrick Donabédian and Nicole Thierry, *Armenian Art* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1989), pp. 119–24 and 164–74 for ninth- and tenth-century building.
- 48 Levon Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean, The History of Tarōn [Patmut'awn Tarōnoy]: Historical Investigation, Critical Translation, and Historical and Textual Commentaries* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993), pp. 25–48.
- 49 Ps. John Mamikonian [Yovhannēs Mamikonian], *Patmut'awn Tarōnoy [The History of Tarōn]*, edited by Ashot Abrahamyan (Erevan: Matenadaran, 1941), pp. 283–85; English translation, Avdoyan (1993), pp. 159–60.
- 50 Robert W. Edwards, 'Hamšēn: An Armenian Enclave in the Byzanto-Georgian Pontos. A Survey of Literary and Nonliterary Sources', *Le Muséon* (Louvain, 1988), 101, pp. 403–22; pp. 405–06 and n. 9 for résumé of Khach'ikyan.
- 51 Avdoyan (1993), p. 249.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Toumanoff (1963), pp. 197–98 and note, gives a résumé, with references, of Amatuni history.
- 54 Thomas Artsruni (1887), p. 109; Thomson (1985), p. 176 (Thomas Artsruni, Book II, chapter 6).
- 55 Thomas Artsruni (1887), pp. 146–47; Thomson (1985), p. 213 (Thomas Artsruni, Book III, chapter 4).
- 56 It is not clear in the Armenian text who it was who looked to the companions. As the subject of the sentence, Gregory-Derenik may in Thomson's view be preferable to the [everyone] which he inserted in his 1985 translation (private communication from the editor). Thomas Artsruni (1887), pp. 226–27; Thomson (1985), pp. 289–91 (Thomas Artsruni, Book III, chapter 20).
- 57 Thomas Artsruni (1887), p. 238; Thomson (1985), p. 301 (Thomas Artsruni, Book III, chapter 24).
- 58 Thomas Artsruni (1887), pp. 258–59; Thomson (1985), pp. 321–22 (Thomas Artsruni, Book III, chapter 29).
- 59 Moses of Khoren (1913), pp. 84, 176 and 179; Thomson (1978), pp. 120–21, 189, 190 and 192 (Moses of Khoren, Book I, chapter 30, Book II, chapters 48, 49 and 50). See also James R. Russell, 'Some Iranian Images of Kingship in the Armenian Artaxiad Epic', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1986–1987), n.s. 20, pp. 253–70.
- 60 English translation: Mischa Kudian, *The Saga of Sassoun: the Armenian Folk Epic Retold* (London: Kaye and Ward, 1970). For these reflections and 'identifications' see Chaké Der Melkonian-Minassian, *L'Épopée populaire arménienne David de Sassoun: Étude critique* (Montreal: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1972), pp. 78–79, 104–05 and 108–09.

- 61 Jacob Neusner, 'The Conversion of Adiabene to Christianity', *Numen* (Leiden, 1966), 13, pp. 144–50, suggests (pp.145–46) that the Amatunis were descended from the royal, Jewish, house of Adiabene and that it is this descent which lies behind Moses of Khoren's ((1913), p. 187; Thomson (1978), pp. 199–200 (Moses of Khoren, Book II, chapter 57)) assertion that they were by origin Jewish, descendants of Manue, father of Samson.
- 62 Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 14 and ch. 8, esp. pp. 195 and 198; Adrian Hastings, 'Christianity and Nationhood: Congruity or Antipathy?', *Journal of Religious History* (Sydney 2001), 25, no. 3, pp. 247–60.
- 63 Hastings (1997), p. 193.
- 64 Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2001), pp. 89–95.
- 65 The literature about Bede, the purposes and effects of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and about King Alfred and the various texts associated with him is extensive. For the particular point here, for Bede and the *Lives* of Cuthbert, see Walter Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 235–328; for Alfred, see James Campbell, 'Asser's Life of Alfred', in *The Inheritance of Historiography, 350–900*, ed. Christopher Holdsworth and Timothy P. Wiseman (Exeter/Atlantic Highlands, NJ: University of Exeter, 1986), pp. 115–35. See also Ian Wood, 'The Use and Abuse of Latin Hagiography in the Early Medieval West', in *East and West: Modes of Communication, Proceedings of the First Plenary Conference at Mérida*, ed. Evangelos Chrysos and Ian Wood, Transformation of the Roman World, no. 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 93–109, esp. pp. 104–07 for clusters of hagiographical texts being related to debates, competition or crises in Ireland, Merovingian Gaul and Francia in the seventh and eighth centuries.
- 66 See e.g. Patrick Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origins of the *Gens Anglorum*', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. Patrick Wormald, Donald A. Bullough and Roger Collins (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 99–129, showing that from the later seventh century the various groups of peoples whom we know as the 'Anglo-Saxons' were exposed to a Papally inspired view of themselves as a single people, an ideal which through the work of Bede and King Alfred generated an English communal identity. Since Susan Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium* and the Community of the Realm', *History* (London, 1983), 68, pp. 357–90, the literature about the identities, real, imagined and forged, of late antique and early medieval 'peoples' has become extensive.
- 67 Michael Wood, 'The Making of King Aethelstan's Empire: an English Charlemagne?', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. Patrick Wormald, Donald A. Bullough and Roger Collins (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 250–72.
- 68 Ralph H. C. Davis, 'Alfred the Great: Propaganda and Truth', *History* (London, 1971), 56, pp. 169–82; Patrick Wormald, 'The Ninth Century', in *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. James Campbell, Eric John and Patrick Wormald (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1982), pp. 132–59, esp. pp. 149–57; Richard Abels, *Alfred the Great. War, Kingship and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), pp. 341–43, offers a brief bibliography for Alfred's programme of renewing religion and learning, his literary works and his political thought.

2 Hamshen before Hemshin

The prelude to Islamicization

Hovann H. Simonian

The history of the Hemshinli is at many junctures mired in obscurity. It has often been regretted that Hamshen did not have its native historian, since both the paucity of existing sources and their laconic nature render the study of Hamshen Armenians and their Islamicized descendants, the Hemshinli, an arduous challenge.¹ As examples, medieval Armenian chroniclers, such as Ghewond, and Step'anos Tarōnets'i, or Asoghik (Stephen Asoghik of Tarōn), provide us with only a few lines on the migration of Armenians to the Pontos and the foundation of Hamshen, which they believe to have occurred in the second half of the eighth century, while a third chronicler, Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonian (John Mamikonian), in his history of Tarōn, places these events in the early decades of the seventh century.² A brief description of the geography and climate of Hamshen is given by the historian Het'um of Korykos (Frère Hayton) at the beginning of the fourteenth century.³ A little more information is available on the principality of Hamshen during the fifteenth century thanks to the colophons (scribal memorials)⁴ of Armenian manuscripts and the diary of Castilian ambassador Ruy González de Clavijo.⁵ Ottoman registers (*defters*) become an important source for the period following Ottoman conquest in the late fifteenth century, especially through the statistics provided on the demographics and economics of the area.

The conversion of part of Hamshen's Armenian population to Islam and the exodus of those who remained Christians greatly reduced the access of Armenians to an already isolated region, and thus the ability of their scholars to gather material for its history. Moreover, Armenian historians and ethnographers who studied the case of the Hemshinli placed most of the emphasis of their studies on the coercive nature of the conversion process and of the linguistic Turkification that followed a few centuries later, to the neglect of other aspects of the history of Hamshen/Hemshin. Turkish scholars, including local historians of Hemshinli descent, have been mainly concerned with the objective of establishing, or more correctly forging, the credentials of the Hemshinli as an authentic Turkic tribe having no links whatsoever with Armenians. Consequently, the history of Hamshen before Hemshin is often considered an enigma, particularly by those who lack knowledge of the Armenian language. It is no surprise then that the title of a book published recently in Istanbul was *Hemşin Gizemi* (the mystery of Hemshin).⁶

The lack of knowledge about the history of Hamshen prior to Islamicization also has the unfortunate consequence of distorting any discussion of the latter

phenomenon in Hemshin. Figures from an Ottoman register of the early 1520s showing a high percentage of Muslims in the Hemshin *kaza* have led to the assumption that Hamshen Armenians were among the early converts to Islam in the Pontos.⁷ It has even been suspected that Islam had already begun to make inroads into the region by the early fifteenth century.⁸ As will be shown in this chapter, however, mass conversion to Islam in Hemshin is a later development, having mostly taken place in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is therefore important to properly establish the historical background of Hamshen in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, before moving on to an analysis of subsequent periods of its history.

Between myth and reality: the origins of Hamshen

A majority of historical accounts that have reached us trace the genesis of Hemshin history to the period of Arab dominion over Armenia at the end of the eighth century. Pursuing the Abbasid Caliphate's harsh policy of the period *vis-à-vis* Armenians, the *ostikan* (governor) of Armenia, Sulayman Ibn Yazid al-'Amri, who, according to Armenian historian Ghewond, was more 'ferocious and perfidious than all of his predecessors', drastically increased the already heavy fiscal burden of the country following his appointment in 789.⁹ As a result, to escape the heavy taxes imposed by the Arabs, 12,000 men and their families, led by Prince Shapuh Amatuni and his son Hamam, left their ancestral home of Ōshakan in the Aragatsotn canton.¹⁰ After an encounter in the canton of Kogh (now Göle, near the sources of the Kur River) with Arab troops pursuing them, the fugitives reached the Byzantine-ruled Pontos, located to the northwest of Armenia. Byzantine Emperor Constantine VI (780–797) welcomed the two Amatuni *nakharars* (lords) and the other princes accompanying them, bestowing honours upon them, their nobles and their cavalry, and granting the common people fertile lands in the region.¹¹ Another historian, Stephen Asoghik of Tarōn, places these events a few decades earlier, in the 750s, but the political context of the late 780s, marked by the heavy climate of repression following the defeat of the anti-Arab Armenian revolt of 774 to 775, makes the latter time period more plausible.¹² As is pertinently pointed out by Elizabeth Redgate in this volume and elsewhere, one should be careful here not to take the figure of 12,000 men literally, since it probably has a larger symbolic significance than a statistical one.¹³ Interestingly, the author of an 1898 article on Black Sea Armenians was told by an elderly informant of Hamshenite background that Prince Hamam had come to the Pontos with a total of 4,000 migrants.¹⁴

The account by a third chronicler, although it should be received with much caution, sheds some light on the situation in the territory settled by the Armenian migrants and the possible motivations of the warm welcome given to them by Constantine VI of Byzantium. In his history of Tarōn, Ps. John Mamikonian describes a war that takes place between Hamam, who is ruling over the Armenian settlers in the city of Tambur, and his maternal uncle, the Prince of Georgia Vashdean. According to Robert Edwards, this narrative could more likely refer to events having taken place in the early ninth century, a few decades after the initial Armenian migration, rather than to the early seventh-century date provided by Ps. John Mamikonian.¹⁵ Shapuh's marriage to a Georgian or a Laz princess

raises the possibility that the Amatunis moved to Chaneti (Lazia) because they were already familiar with the region, over which their in-laws may have had a nominal or actual claim. Furthermore, the war between Hamam and Vashdean could represent a dramatized account of conflict having taken place between the Armenian settlers and their new neighbours.¹⁶ The Byzantines generally encouraged Armenian immigration to win over soldiers for a future campaign against the Arabs. Edwards wonders pertinently whether they were not also recruiting in this case colonists who would help them bring order to border districts inhabited by unruly Tzan and other Kartvelian tribes over which the Byzantine administration had little control.¹⁷ After rebuilding Tambur, which had been destroyed by the Persian (i.e. Arab) troops brought by Vashdean, Hamam called the city by his own name, *Hamamashēn* (built by Hamam).¹⁸ With time, Hamamashēn became *Hamshēn*, which came to designate the entire area inhabited by the Armenian immigrants and their descendants.

Two other hypotheses concerning the origins of Hamshen deserve to be examined. The first and least plausible one links the foundation of Hamshen with the destruction of the Armenian capital Ani by the Seljukid Turks in 1064. A group of fugitives from Ani is believed to have found refuge in the forests of Hamshen, 'which until then had never seen any human face'.¹⁹ This account, which was transmitted to nineteenth-century travellers by Hamshen Armenians and Muslim Hemshinli, remains widespread to this day in the oral tradition of both groups.²⁰ A Hemshinli mullah residing in Kyrgyzstan – where the Hemshin of Ajaria were deported by Stalin in 1944 – still took pride in the 1980s in being a descendant of Ani's inhabitants.²¹ The popularity of this thesis, however, may have more to do with the prestige of Ani and the desire of many Armenians to trace their origins to the famed 'city of a thousand and one churches' than with historical fact. Migrants from Ani chose as their new homes cities that were important trading centres rather than a rural, mountainous canton (*gawar*) such as Hamshen. Many did indeed move to the Pontos, but their destination was the city of Trebizond and not Hamshen.²² Father Minas Bzhshkian was careful to note in his history of Pontos the differences in dialect and pronunciation between the Trebizond Armenians, who hailed from Ani, and the Hamshen Armenians.²³

The final hypothesis concerning the origins of Hamshen connects it with the immediate areas to its south, Ispir and Pertakrag (Armenian Berdagrak, Ottoman Peterek).²⁴ Following the initial settlement under Shapuh and Hamam Amatuni, the Armenianization of Hamshen could have been advanced by a gradual infiltration of migrants from the south.²⁵ Similarities have indeed been noted between the dialect of the Khodorchur (Armenian Khotorjur) Valley of Pertakrag and the one of Hamshen.²⁶ These parallels, however, could reflect contacts between the two areas throughout the centuries rather than a common origin. It is possible that the process of Armenianization was completed when the newcomers assimilated – or expelled – the area's sparse Tzan population, if such a population existed at all near the head-waters of the Prytanis (Firtina). Anthony Bryer advances the attractive, yet unfortunately unsubstantiated, supposition that the Hemshinli, 'a singular people with certain traditional Tzan characteristics', were Armenianized by the Bagratunis (Bagratids) of Sper/Ispir between the seventh and eleventh centuries.²⁷ Nevertheless, the hypothesis linking Hamshen with Ispir

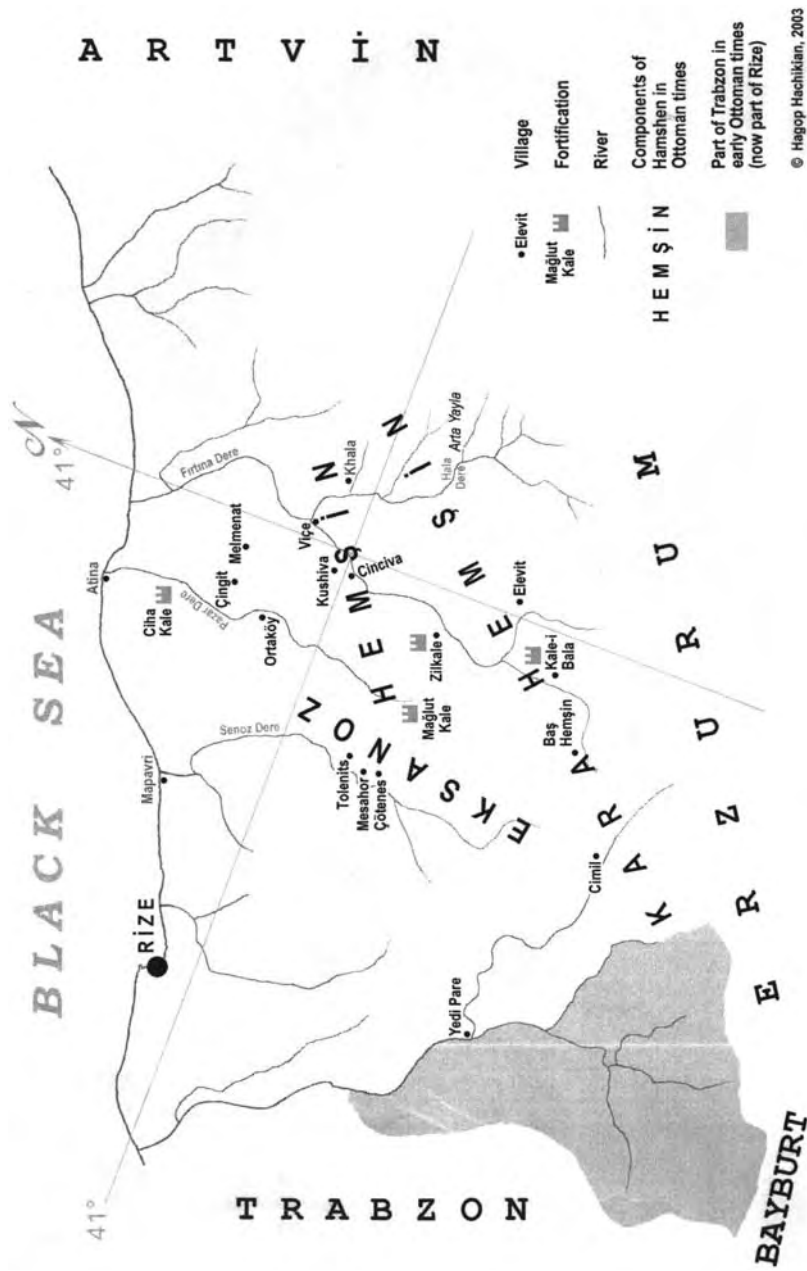
and Pertakrag is highly interesting and very useful, if only to remind us that despite the formidable Paryadres (Barhal) Mountains, Hamshen Armenians were not isolated from their compatriots to the south. Hamshen may have thus been less an Armenian enclave in the Pontos than a northern extension of the Armenian settlements of Ispir and Pertakrag (see Map 7.2).²⁸ In later centuries it was the large city to the south, Erzurum, which would attract the Islamicized Hemshinli. One may agree with Bryer that ‘any controller of Varoş [Varoş Kale, the upper castle of Hemshin] in the land of Arhaket would look to Ispir, rather than to the remote and inaccessible Trebizond, for the nearest power’.²⁹

Geographical setting

It is probably in the vicinity of Varoş Kale (at the altitude of 1,800 m), also known as Yukarı Kale or Kala-i Bâlâ/Hemşin-i Bâlâ (from the Persian *bâlâ*, upper), that the semi-mythical town of Tambur, later Hamamashên and Hamshên, must have been located.³⁰ Ruins near the fortress seem to indicate the presence of a town of larger importance than the current villages around Varoş Kale.³¹ In any case, the initial Armenian settlement on the north side of the Pontic mountains was in the highland district encompassing the valleys formed by two branches of the Firtina River (the Prytanis, Portanis, or Pordanis of earlier times) – the smaller Hala (Khala) branch and the main Büyük Dere branch – and corresponding to the present-day Çamlıhemşin county (*ilçe*) of the Rize province (*il*). This heartland was protected from a northern intrusion by Aşağı Kale, or Zil Kale/Kala-i Zîr/Hemşin-i Zîr (from the Persian *zîr*, lower, alt. 750 m), the former Kolonea/Kolona, located around 40 kilometres inland (see Map 2.1).³²

The easternmost section of the Pontic Alps was once known as the Paryadres (Barhal or Parhal) chain, while the current appellation, the Kaçkar Range, refers to a more limited section of the mountains which forms the southern border of Hamshen. It is in this section that the Pontic Mountains, which run parallel to the Black Sea, reach their highest altitude, with an average of over 3,000 metres, and are closest to the coast, in some areas at less than fifty kilometres. On sunny days one can see from the place where the Firtina flows into the sea the Kaçkar (3,932 m), the Tatos (3,560 m), and the Verçenik (Varshamak or Varshambek in Armenian sources, at 3,711 m) peaks. According to the authors of a travel guide to the region, ‘those are some of the highest spots that can be seen at sea level anywhere on earth, rivaled only by a few points on the Andes and in New Guinea’.³³ Clear days, however, are rare, since the mountains hold the clouds coming from the sea, provoking abundant rainfall. Travellers to the region, such as the nineteenth-century German botanist Karl Koch, have depicted the contrast between the valleys covered with mist and the sunbathed mountain summits and pastures (*yaylas*) above the line of clouds.³⁴ With a yearly average of 250 days of rain, Hemshin is one of the most humid areas in Turkey. The consequence of the rain is ‘a natural flora of astonishing wealth and diversity: a quasi-tropical luxuriance that surpasses any other part of the Black Sea coast’.³⁵

The other notable physical characteristic of Hamshen is its difficulty of access, if not outright inaccessibility. In addition to the Paryadres/Kaçkar Mountains to



Map 2.1 Historical Hamshen and Hemsin Kaza.

Source: © Hagop Hachikian (2003).

the south, entrance to the region from the coast is restricted by steep, rugged relief and dense forests, which also hinder travel and transport within Hemshin itself. Some of the paths are too narrow to be taken by horses and mules, leaving to humans the charge of sumpter beasts.³⁶ The quasi-permanent fog that covers Hamshen, as well as the impediment to access caused by its forests, mountains and ravines, have left a strong impression on the rare visitors, or writers who had heard of it. In *La Fleur des histoires de la terre d'Orient*, Het'um of Korykos, of the royal Armenian house of Cilicia, the Frère Hayton of French sources, writes:

In the realme of Georgi appered a gret meruayle, which I darred nat tell nor reherse yf I hadde nat sene it. But for bycause I was there and se, I dare say that in Georgi is a prouynce which is called Haynsen, the which is well of iii dayes iourney of length or there about; and as long as this sayd prouynce lasteth, in euery place is so great obscurite that no man is so hardi to come into the sayd lande, for they can nat cum out agayn. And the dwellers within the same lande sayde that often tymes there cometh noyse of men, cockes crowyng, and horses neynge; and by a fludde that cometh out of that place come tokens appering that there is resorting of people. Verily they fynde in histores of Armeny redyng, and Georgi, that there was a cruell emperour in Persy name Sauorelx. This emperour worshypped the ydols, and cruelly persecuted the Cristen men. . . . And than the sayd Cristen men made a gret cry to Our Lorde God, and sone after came this great darknes that blinded temperour and all his men; and so the Cristen men scaped, and the sayd Emperour with his men taryd in the sayd darknes. And there thei shall abyde, as they beleue, to the worldes ende.³⁷

Het'um's work, including the passage on Hamshen, would be reproduced three centuries later by English traveller Samuel Purchas, who believed that 'Hamsem' was the location of the original Cimmerian gloom of Homer's *Odyssey* (XI, 14).³⁸ Difficulty of access, however, did not imply complete isolation. Medieval merchants and caravans travelling between the coastal regions to the Armenian plateau sometimes went across Hamshen, borrowing a once paved road along the Firtina. Various mountain paths connected Hamshen to Ispir and Pertakrag (Kiskim), on the other side of the Paryadres chain.³⁹ Father Ghukas Inchichian of the Venice branch of the Armenian Catholic Mekhitarist congregation, informs us in his early nineteenth-century *Geography* that every spring, 'Laz' people crossed Khodorchur (now Sirakonaklar), and by necessity Hemshin, to go to Erzurum.⁴⁰ Later in that century, it was the Armenian Catholics of Khodorchur who hired Hemshinli guides to reach Rize via Hemshin. Unfortunately, it was often 'Laz' – a generic appellation used to describe all Muslims from the Pontos, including the Hemshinli – bandits who came through these mountain paths from Hemshin to plunder Khodorchur. Other tracks allowed communication between the Firtina and parallel valleys.⁴¹

Throughout the centuries, Hamshen Armenians spread from their heartland in the Firtina to the highland sections of neighbouring valleys, such as the Adienos (Senes or Senoz Dere, the Kaptanpaşa district (*bucak*) of the Çayeli county) and the Kalos or Kalopotamos (İkizdere) Rivers. Unlike the situation in the upper Firtina Valley,

which was possibly uninhabited prior to the arrival of Hamam and his followers, there is little doubt that expansion in these adjacent valleys was largely made at the expense of the original Tzannic populations of these valleys. Echoes from hostile encounters between the original population and Armenian newcomers may be found in the oral tradition of the Hemshinli of the Abu Viçe Valley (in the Fındıklı county). This narrative relates how migrants coming from Hemshin ‘centuries ago’ scared away and expelled the ‘Georgians’ (i.e. Tzan or Laz) inhabiting the villages of this county now populated by Hemshinli. The narrative also mentions that tension continued for a long time between the two groups.⁴² The valley of the Zagatis River (Susa or Zuğa Dere, the modern Pazar or Hemşin Dere) must certainly have been one of the earliest they occupied. Hamshenite settlement follows the river almost along its entire length, coming to a halt at a short distance from the coast. The Susa Dere is thus likely to have constituted an integral part of the principality of Hamshen. Cihar (Kise) Kale, located eight kilometres inland from Pazar (Athenai), together with the two fortresses on the Firtına, Varoş/Yukarı Kale and Aşağı/Zil Kale, appears to have been part of the defensive system of the barons of Hamshen. According to Anthony Bryer and David Winfield, these three fortresses, and even the castle of Athenai, on the coast, ‘may be considered as a group on grounds of construction’.⁴³

This raises the question of the northern borders of Hamshen. Did the principality of Hamshen have an outlet to the sea? Despite similarities in style with the inland fortresses, Bryer and Winfield doubt that the castle of Athenai (Pazar) ever belonged to Hamshen, since the emperors of Trebizond controlled the coast.⁴⁴ The locality closest to the mouth of the Firtına, however, has an Armenian-sounding name: Ardeşen. Richard Kiepert’s 1913 map of Asia Minor (*Karte von Kleinasien*) shows a promontory named *Armene* just to the east of Ardeşen.⁴⁵ Alexandre Toumarkine reports the story, told to him by Lazi informants, that the villages of Seslikaya (former Ağvan), Köprüköy (Temisvat), Çayırdüzü (Guvant), Akkaya (Pilercivat) and Duygulu (Telikçet), all located on the lower stretches of the Firtına valley not very far from Ardeşen and the coast, were formerly inhabited by the Hemshin, prior to their expulsion by the Lazi.⁴⁶ While the political boundaries of Hamshen may never have reached the coast, they were not very far from it. In subsequent centuries, large sections of the northern borders of the *sancak* (Ottoman subprovince) of Hemshin, as described by Koch, were close to the sea.⁴⁷

The principality of Hamshen

Aside from the commentary by Het’um of Korykos, the only other mention of Hamshen in historical sources in the 600 years between the late eighth and early fifteenth centuries is a reference to a monk from Hamshen who received a manuscript copied in Rome in 1240 while he was a resident there (Erevan, Matenadaran, manuscript 218).⁴⁸ A legend which could be linked to events that actually took place during that period is brought to us by ethnographer Sargis Haykuni. Two notables of ‘royal race’, Grigor and Martiros, come to blows after Grigor refuses to give his daughter in marriage to Artashēn, the son of Martiros. The latter invades the territory of Grigor, vanquishes him, and marries his son to

Grigor's daughter. Artashēn then builds in the domain of his father-in-law, on the upper reaches of the 'large Hamshen river', a castle named after himself.⁴⁹ A curious fact here is the existence of the other Ardeşen on the coast, about the origins of which we know nothing, but a link between the two should not be excluded. One may reasonably wonder whether Ardeşen on the coast was founded by people from Artashēn (in western Armenian, Ardashēn).

If the 'large Hamshen river' meant the Büyük Dere, the main branch of the Fırtına, the tale transcribed by Haykuni could be a reference to the building of Varoş Kale. Koch, however, tells us of a yayla called Artä or Arta (now Ayder), near the sources of the Hala Dere, the smaller branch or affluent of the Fırtına.⁵⁰ A fortress on the Hala Dere filling the same role played by Varoş on the Büyük Dere (i.e. control of access to Hamshen from the south) indeed makes sense from a defence perspective. Bzhshkian mentions the existence of other castles along the Fırtına, in addition to Zil Kale.⁵¹ One could easily imagine that these fortresses were built by either the main princes of Hamshen, or by lesser barons who held some of the affluents of the Fırtına or its adjacent valleys.⁵² As an example, a booklet prepared in Hemşin Ortaköy (Zuğaortaköy, or Pazar Hemşin) on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Turkish Republic in 1998 mentions that in proximity to Kantarlı, the highest and southernmost village of the county, stand the ruins of Mağlut Kale.⁵³ This fortress, however, is not included in any of the major works on the historical monuments of the region, and it could be no more than a minor building, the importance of which has been blown out of proportion by local villagers.⁵⁴ Besides the fortresses of Zil, Varoş and Mağlut, there were also, according to Şerif Sayın, an amateur Hemshin historian, a number of watch towers on the territory of Hamshen, located in the villages or pastures of Kızıltoprak, Çoço, Kanlıboğaz, Üsküd and Tağpur.⁵⁵

Not only Armenian, but also Georgian, Byzantine, Trapezuntine and Turkish sources are silent about Hamshen. The answer to the question asked earlier about the absence of an indigenous historian in Hamshen might simply be, as judiciously discussed by Elizabeth Redgate, that there was no need for such a history, because there were no wars in Hamshen.⁵⁶ We can only deduce that the principality of Hamshen must have lived through these centuries as a vassal of the larger powers surrounding it, such as the Bagratid Armenian kingdom, the Byzantine Empire, its successor the Empire of Trebizond, the Jalāyirids, and the Kara Koyunlu and Ak Koyunlu Türkmen Confederations. The Georgian option should also be considered, especially during the period of apogee of the Georgian kingdom in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Links between Hamshen and Georgia may provide the rationale for Het'um's placement of his narrative on the darkness of Hamshen in the chapter on Georgia.⁵⁷

Writing one century after Het'um, however, Castilian ambassador Ruy González de Clavijo notes that he left Georgia – of which he considered Ispir (*aspri*) a part – to enter 'la tierra de Arraquiel' on 13 September 1405.⁵⁸ The passage on Arraquiel in the diary he left has become what Bryer and Winfield call the *locus classicus* of Hemshin history.⁵⁹ Clavijo relates that the Muslims (*los moros*) of this land were discontented with their lord, named Arraquil (in Armenian Arak'el or Arak'eal, a first name meaning 'the apostle'), and asked the Muslim lord of Ispir – the *Spiratabec* or Atabeg of Ispir – to extend his authority over them. Accepting their

proposal, the lord of Ispir replaced Arraquil with a Muslim, to whom he gave a Christian deputy. Following a description of the rough mountains, narrow paths and lack of bread in the country, Clavijo says that the Castilians felt threatened by the men of Turkey (*con los de turquía*). The text here becomes confusing, for in the next sentence these same men of Turkey, described as bad people of bad character (*mala gente de mala condición*) who would not let the envoys leave the region without giving them part of their goods, are also said to be Armenian Christians (*cristianos armenios*).⁶⁰ In the version edited by Argote de Molina and published in 1582, *turquía* is replaced by *esta tierra*, which would make the text more logical, but the two earliest manuscripts of Clavijo's diary, held in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid and the British Library, have unequivocally *turquía*.⁶¹ Arraquel thus appears to have been a land populated by both Muslims and Armenians, or alternatively a territory raided by Türkmens who worried the Castilian diplomats, and inhabited by Armenians who extorted goods from them.

Based on this excerpt and on Ilia Zdanévitch's studies which indicate that Clavijo's itinerary led through the Kalopotamos Valley and not the Firtina, Edwards comes to the conclusion that Arraquel was not Hamshen, but a territory further to the west, on the Kalopotamos River.⁶² The land of Arraquel, along the Kalopotamos, populated by a mix of Turks, Armenians and Greeks, could not be, according to Edwards, the homogeneously Armenian Hamshen. It was rather a personal conquest of Arak'el, and was hence named after him.⁶³ One could imagine a scenario under which a power vacuum in the Kalopotamos Valley, provoked by Türkmen infiltrations or other causes, gave Arak'el the opportunity to intervene in this area and establish control over it. To do this he had only to advance downstream from the Cimil Dere, a tributary river of the Kalopotamos, the valley of which had constituted an integral part of the Hamshen principality from much earlier on.⁶⁴ Dissatisfied with Arak'el's domination, the Turks of the region, who by then probably constituted a sizeable percentage of the population, called to their rescue the ruler of Ispir, who evicted Arak'el from the Kalopotamos Valley and replaced him with a Muslim. This Muslim was given a Christian deputy to quell any discontent among the Greeks and Armenians of the district, who still made up the majority of the population. Centuries later, the Kalopotamos Valley, a 'corridor by which new settlers have entered the coastal lowlands from the Pontic mountains and from Anatolia',⁶⁵ was as mixed as it had been when Clavijo went through it. Its headwaters were populated by Hemshinli, while its lower sections were inhabited by other Muslims. Koch was the guest of Kumpusarowa Soliman Agha (Kumbasaroğlu Süleyman Agha), the Hemshinli *derebey* (valley lord) of Dschimil (Cimil). The German botanist believed that the physiognomy of Süleyman Agha, especially his profile, betrayed an Armenian origin and wondered if he was not a descendant of Hamam.⁶⁶ While Süleyman Agha's descent from Hamam is to be doubted, his adventures, including rebellion, imprisonment, escape and even piracy – a remarkable feat for a mountaineer – could have deserved him a mention, if not a place of honour in the *mala gente de mala condición* category of Clavijo.⁶⁷

The main element arguing in favour of differentiation between Arraquel and Hamshen, however, is the survival of the Armenian princes of Hamshen for another

eight decades. Arak'el himself, or a namesake of his, is likely to have continued to rule over Hamshen, since a manuscript from the K'oshtents' Monastery of the canton mentions that it was copied in 1422 'at the request of the baron of barons, Baron Arak'eal and his son Tēr [lord] Sargis' (Jerusalem, St James Monastery/Armenian Patriarchate, ms. 1617).⁶⁸ The title of 'baron of barons' and of 'first baron' used in manuscripts leads us to believe that there were, below the paramount prince, secondary barons or chieftains in Hamshen. Sargis was probably a younger son who became the bishop of Hamshen, since an addendum to the same manuscript was composed in 1425 'at the behest of Baron Dawit' [David], baron of barons... during the patriarchy of the lord Pōghos, the kingship of Sk'andar Pak, the barony of Baron Dawit', the episcopate of Tēr Sargis'.⁶⁹ The lord Pōghos is the Catholicos Pōghos [Paul] II (1418–1430), thus showing the continuing loyalty of Hamshen Armenians to the Armenian Apostolic – and non-Chalcedonian – Church. Sk'andar Pak is Iskandar Bey of the Kara Koyunlu (1420–1438), and his mention is a clear indication of where the allegiance of the Hamshen princes lay in the aftermath of Timur's invasions, namely with the Kara Koyunlu to the south, rather than with Trebizond or one of the Georgian kingdoms. The connection between the barons of Hamshen and their Kara Koyunlu suzerains is confirmed in yet another section of the same manuscript, which reproduces a letter sent to Baron Dawit' by *Khoja* (title given to rich merchants) Shamshadin, an Armenian merchant from Trebizond, also known for his endowments of Armenian churches in Trebizond and Caffa in the Crimea. In his missive, Khoja Shamshadin requests Dawit' to protect both Christian and Muslim travellers and not to levy excessive taxes on their merchandise. Dawit' is also asked to obtain from the lord of Sper (Ispir) a list of customs fees and other charges on goods being transported through his territory.⁷⁰

To receive such a request from Shamshadin, Dawit' must have clearly been on good terms with his neighbour, the Muslim lord of Ispir and their common overlord, Iskandar Bey of the Kara Koyunlu, and this fact must have been well known throughout the region. As discussed earlier, Hamshenite allegiance to a power holding Ispir to the south made sense from a geographical perspective, taking into account that the centre of gravity of the small principality lay so far up in the Kaçkar Range. It also made sense in the context of the period, when the Kara Koyunlu, and subsequently their Ak Koyunlu rivals and successors, were the dominant regional power. One cannot help question, however, whether religious issues did not play a role in the political orientation of the canton. Hamshen was located in a predominantly Orthodox milieu, with Greek and Laz populations to the north, and to the southeast the Georgians and Chalcedonian Armenians of Tao/Tayk', who followed the Georgian-Orthodox rite, but had kept the usage of the Armenian language.⁷¹ In spite of this environment, Hamshen Armenians had clung to the Armenian Apostolic Church and its non-Chalcedonian faith. A small canton such as Hamshen maintained three monasteries, in the scriptoria of which a fairly large number of manuscripts were copied. Moreover, Hamshen also produced religious scholars, scribes and artists, known outside of their native region with the *Hamshēnts'i* epithet, and who served in places from the relatively close Baberd (Bayburt), Erzinka (Erzincan) and Koloneia (Şebinkarahisar), to the

distant Rome.⁷² Ispir, which was exclusively Armenian well into the seventeenth century, and which remained predominantly so until the exodus following the Russian–Turkish war in 1828 to 1829, was Hamshen’s only neighbour with a population belonging to the same monophysite, non-Chalcedonian creed.⁷³ The importance of Ispir cannot be underestimated, since it constituted a link between Hamshen and other regions of Armenia, preventing Hamshen from becoming an isolated Armenian enclave in an Orthodox, Chalcedonian, sea. Good relations with rulers of Ispir were thus an absolute necessity for the princes of Hamshen. Religious affiliation also possibly answers the vexing question of the absence of any mention of Hamshen in Trapezuntine and Georgian sources, despite the prominent role played until the last decades of the sixteenth century by the Gurieli princes of Guria and the Jaqeli Atabegs of Samtzkhe in Chaneti (Lazia) and Tao/Tayk’, to the immediate north and south of Hamshen.

Dawit’ is remembered again, along with his young son Vard, in the colophon of a manuscript copied in 1440 in the Khuzhka Monastery of Hamshen (Matenadaran, ms. 7263). Another manuscript, copied in 1460 and now held in Jerusalem (ms. 3701), informs us that the youthful Vēk’ē, son of Baron Vard, the lord of Hamshen, was captured in that year by a certain Shahali and delivered by him to Sōfun, ‘whom they called Shēkh’.⁷⁴ The unfortunate and misnamed child (Vēk’ē is an abbreviated form of Vigen, an Armenian first name derived from the Latin *Vincentius*, meaning ‘victorious’⁷⁵) probably did not survive his captivity, for he is not mentioned again. We have no definitive answers about the identity of Shahali and Sheikh Sōfun, but the latter was in all likelihood the Safavid Junayd of Ardabil, who had attacked Trebizond a few years earlier, in around 1456.⁷⁶

The Kızılbaş attack was the forerunner of the coming fall of the principality of Hamshen. In 1474 it was still in Armenian hands, since the Venetian ambassador Ambrogio Contarini, who wanted to meet Uzun Hasan, the Ak Koyunlu leader, was advised by an Armenian of Caffa to sail to Tina (Athenai?), from where he could reach in a four-hour horse ride the castle of one Ariam, a subject of Uzun Hasan.⁷⁷ Ariam or Aram may have been the name of the new prince of Hamshen or of a secondary baron holding the valley of the Zagatis (Pazar Dere) River. His castle could have been Cihar, or the more enigmatic Mağlut further upstream. The other information regarding Hamshen in the period following the Turkish conquest of Trebizond in 1461 comes from Ottoman sources. According to Mehmet Bilgin, who unfortunately does not provide any citation, the newly acquired Ottoman areas of Rize and Atina (Athenai, the modern Pazar) were the targets of three major raids during the 1461 to 1483 period. The first of these attacks, the objective of which was plunder, was led by Georgians, the second by Georgians and Armenians, and the third by the ‘Mamyān kafiri’ (the ‘infidels of Mamyā’, i.e. the Gurieli Mamia or his successor Kakhberi). The Armenians of Hamshen obviously come to mind, since they were the only ones who could have made an incursion into Rize and Athenai, given the vicinity of these towns to Hamshen.⁷⁸

This type of activity – if it happened at all – could not have lasted long, since by 1489 Hamshen had fallen to the Ottomans. Its last prince, Dawit’ [II], was residing in that year in Ispir, where a manuscript was produced under his protection

(Matenadaran, ms. 7638). The monk who copied the manuscript ‘during our exile’ remembered him in a colophon as ‘Baron Dawit’, who was lord of Hamshēn, who has been exiled and has settled in the land of Sper by the nation of Ch‘it‘akh [Ottomans]’. Two other figures were mentioned in addition to ‘the holy Dawit’, namely ‘the prince of the Muslims Datay’, probably the ruler of Ispir and the host of Dawit’, and ‘Sultan Eaghup, lord of the Orient’ (i.e. Yakub, son of Uzun Hasan, overlord of Ispir and Hamshen prior to the Ottoman conquest).⁷⁹ Edwards believes that prominent Armenians of Ispir facilitated the migration of Dawit’ to Ispir.⁸⁰ That Dawit’ took refuge in Ispir and not in Georgia is a further confirmation of his political loyalty to the Ak Koyunlu. The hopes, if any, of regaining Hamshen, even with Ak Koyunlu support, must have been quite dim. The Ak Koyunlu were no longer a threat to the Ottomans, and unlike his father, Yakub appears to have maintained the most cordial of relations with the Ottomans, as shown by his correspondence with the future Sultan Selim (1512–1520), then governor of Trebizond.⁸¹

The most famous member of the princely family of Hamshen, however, was not Arak‘el or one of his successors, but the *vardapet* (doctor in theology) Yovannēs Hamshēnts‘i. This eminent scholar, called *rabunapet* (derived from Hebrew, and meaning ‘headteacher’) and a ‘powerful orator’, around whom gathered students from all corners of Armenia, resided first in the Avag Monastery and then in the Surb Yakob (St James) of Kayp‘os or Kapos Monastery, both located at the foot of Mount Sepuh (now Köhnem Dağı), in the region of the modern Erzincan. Yovannēs, who died in 1497, is described in one manuscript as ‘lord and captain of the Hamshēn canton, son of a baron’, and in another as being of ‘royal race’.⁸² This royal claim raises the question of the identity of the family ruling over Hamshen in the fifteenth century. Already in the tale transcribed by Haykuni, Grigor and Martiros, the two feuding notables, were said to be of royal lineage. This led Levon Khach‘ikyan to ponder a possible connection between the Hamshen princes and the Armenian royal Bagratuni dynasty, the origins of which were in Ispir. Khach‘ikyan also suggested that the Hamshen princes may have descended from the Komnenoi (Comneni) of Trebizond through a female line, following a matrimonial link between the two houses.⁸³ A priest visiting the region of Erzurum in the 1870s mentions a small village populated by seven families of migrants from Hamamashēn, ‘which was called after Hamam Prince Bagratuni’.⁸⁴ The priest or the villagers who informed him could have simply confused Bagratuni with Amatuni. This confusion or mistake could also possibly have been caused by a dynastic change, with the replacement at some point of the Amatunis by the Bagratunis of Ispir. In such cases, the confusion of the villagers would reveal what the French call *un lapsus révélateur*. Regional history may have been rewritten by the new rulers, and the belief spread that Hamam was a Bagratuni, similar to the belief among Hemshinli in the modern Turkish Republic that they are an authentic Turkic tribe from Central Asia.

The later princes of Hamshen, however, may simply have belonged to a newly emerged family, or had been descendants of Shapuh and Hamam Amatuni. In an age where the various Turkish and Mongol invasions had almost eradicated the Armenian nobility, descent from a princely house like the Amatunis, which by the fifteenth century was over a thousand years old – the first recorded Amatuni

flourished in the fourth century – would give one immense prestige and allow a claim to ‘royal’ lineage. A possible confirmation of the Amatuni origins of the fifteenth-century ‘barons of barons’ of Hamshen is in the list of Georgian princely families provided in an annex to the 1783 Treaty of Georgievsk between Georgia and Russia. In the section on houses of foreign origin is an Amatuni family, possible descendants of Dawit‘, last prince of Hamshen.⁸⁵ This hypothesis would answer the question of what happened to Dawit‘ and his family members after 1489, but, in the absence of proof, remains only a hypothesis.

The Ottoman period

Ottoman conquest must have happened a few years before 1489, because a register dated from around 1486 shows Hamshen as an Ottoman possession, and gives the names of two of its officials. Nişli Karaca is the *zaim* (governor) of Hemshin, and İsmail Bosna its military commander (*serasker*).⁸⁶ It is interesting to note that Hamshen has taken the form *Hemshin* in the very first Ottoman document mentioning it.⁸⁷ A register from 1515 mentions Hemşin-i Bâlâ, the upper castle of Hemshin, with a garrison of thirteen soldiers, two of whom are newly settled Muslims, and gives the name of the district’s serasker, one Ali. The brevity of information on Hemshin in the 1486 and 1515 registers, when compared with other *kazas* (counties) of the Trebizond *liva* (subprovince), demonstrates the very recent nature of the conquest. Hemshin had been annexed, its fortresses garrisoned and Ottoman officials appointed there, but the district had yet to be fully absorbed into the administrative system of the empire. Hemshin is sometimes presented as a *vilayet* (province), as is the case in a 1518 register, or as a lower ranking *nahiye* (district), but it is under the form of separate kaza of the Trebizond *liva* or *sancak* that it most often appears.⁸⁸

In 1520, the Hemshin kaza contained thirty-four villages and was divided into three nahiyes: Hemşin, Kara-Hemşin and Eksanos.⁸⁹ The Hemşin nahiye, with fourteen villages, corresponded to the non-coastal section of the Susa or Zuğa Dere Valley (the modern Pazar or Hemşin Dere, i.e. the Hemşin county of Rize), to the valley of the Hala branch of the Fırtına, and to the lower and middle sections of the Fırtına Valley; Kara-Hemşin – a probable reference to the fog covering the region – encompassed the upper area of the Fırtına Valley and the Cimil Valley, and comprised eleven villages while Eksanos, with nine villages, included the upper Senes or Senoz Valley (i.e. the present-day Kaptanpaşa district of Rize’s Çayeli county) (see Map 2.1).⁹⁰ In addition to Hemşin-i Bâlâ (Yukarı Kale/Varoş), the garrison of which had grown to forty men, the lower castle (Aşağı Kale), Hemşin-i Zîr, was noted for the first time, manned by a garrison of thirty. The registers also provide us the allowance received by these soldiers and their officers, and their annual wheat and millet consumption. Mahmud Çelebi was the zaim of the kaza, and Ali Koruk the serasker.⁹¹

That Hemshin was under Ottoman control in the 1520s is confirmed by the colophon of a manuscript anthology on the poetical works of Nersēs Shnorhali and other authors, now deposited in the Free Library of Philadelphia (John Frederick

Lewis Collection, ms. 123). The manuscript was written at the churches of Surb Astuatsatsin (mother of God) and Surb Siovn (Sion) 'in the monastery where the relics of the father St Khach'ik and St Vardan along with his companions have been placed for the glory and protection of our *gawaṛ* [canton] of Hamshēn'. It was completed on 9 June 1528, 'during the sultanate of Sulayman [I, 1520–1566], the reign of Skandar Pasha in Trebizond [İskender Pasha, 1513–1534], when our fortresses were controlled by the aghas Darvëshali and Siminaws, during the episcopate of Tēr [lord] Mart'.⁹² Darvëshali is probably Derviş Ali, while Siminaws corresponds to the Greek-sounding Siminos or Simonos, thus indicating that the latter was probably still Christian. In spite of Siminaws' possible Christian identity, one would agree with Edwards that 'one detects a certain air of resentment' at the mention of *our* fortresses being controlled by the aghas.⁹³

Hemshin is absent from Ottoman registers for the 1536 to 1553 period, during which, according to local Hemshinli historians, it was administratively attached to the Ispir sancak.⁹⁴ By 1554, a new nahiye, Kuşova, had appeared, thus increasing to four the number of nahiye of the Hemshin kaza, while the number of villages was reduced by three to thirty-one.⁹⁵ Given the location of Kuşova (Kuşiva, now Yolkiyi) in the Fırtına Valley, it may be deduced that this new nahiye was probably created by separating the lower Fırtına and Hala Valleys (now part of the Çamlıhemşin county) from the Hemşin nahiye, leaving to the latter the valley of the Zuğa (Pazar) Dere. Hemshin is not mentioned again in Ottoman sources until 1562, when its *ze'âmet* (fief) is attributed to Hasan Bey, the *sancakbey* (governor of a sancak) of Batum. In 1566, the Hemshin kaza was a dependent of the Gönye (Batumi) sancak, to which it still belonged in 1583. No information can be gleaned from any of the registers on which town or village was the administrative centre of the Hemshin kaza.⁹⁶ Armenian medieval cantons often lacked an administrative centre, and the Hemshin kaza was probably continuing this pattern.

In addition to administrative divisions and state officials, Ottoman documents provide us with figures on the population of Hemshin during the sixteenth century. According to defter no. 387, in the early 1520s, 671 households made up the Hemshin kaza's thirty-four villages, divided into 214 Muslim and 457 Christian families. The district also counted eleven bachelors (*mücerreds*), of which three were Muslims, seven Christians, and one undetermined. This brought the total number of *nefers* (adult men, married and bachelors) to 682, 752 when counting the seventy men garrisoned in the two fortresses of the Kaza.⁹⁷ The population of Hemshin was thus 3,619 individuals, with 1,331 Muslims and 2,288 Christians.⁹⁸ According to a 1554 register, however, first made available to us by M. Hanefi Bostan, the Muslim population of the Hemshin kaza had dwindled to sixteen families and one bachelor (i.e. a total of eighty-one individuals), while Christians were shown as numbering 706 families and 113 bachelors, or 3,643 individuals.⁹⁹ If we are to believe Ottoman registers, Hemshin had in thirty years been transformed from the kaza of Trebizond with the highest percentage of Muslims to the one with the lowest. Bostan believes that a mistake could have been made in 1520 by Ottoman notaries who registered all those engaged in military service in lieu of tax payment (*müsellemân*) as Muslims (*müslimân*), or that a major outmigration of Muslims had taken place in the

intervening years, between 1520 and 1554.¹⁰⁰ Given the absence of any data on a Muslim exodus, it appears obvious that one of the two figures provided is simply wrong.

The surprisingly high ratio of Muslims (32 per cent of households, 37 per cent of total population) in the 1520 register – which was first published by M. Tayyib Gökbilgin in 1962 – has led one to wonder whether Hemshin Armenians were early converts to Islam.¹⁰¹ Conversion to orthodox or heterodox forms of Islam among Armenians occurred frequently throughout the Middle Ages.¹⁰² Early leanings of Hamshen Armenians towards Islam would help explain Clavijo's episode on the Muslims of Arraquel petitioning the ruler of Ispir for the removal of their Christian prince. As we have seen, however, Arraquel was probably not Hamshen, which continued to be ruled by its native Christian Armenian princes for almost another century after Clavijo's journey. The 1520 statistic is also vexing because it makes Hemshin appear to be an enclave with an exceptionally high percentage of Muslims, while Islam had not yet made any inroads into any of its surrounding districts. Christians still predominated numerically in the rest of the Pontos, with a ratio of ten to one, in Ispir, with 96.5 per cent of the population, and in Pertakrag (Kiskim), which still belonged to the Georgian rulers (*atabegs*) of Samtzkhe.¹⁰³ Another problem with this statistic is the less than twenty households per village figure, a low count even for a mountainous canton, a possible indication of people hiding from the *kâtib* (notary) to escape taxation. Furthermore, Hemshin still had a bishop in 1528, named Mart, and monastic activity, including the copying of manuscripts, appears to have continued unabated throughout the sixteenth century. It is difficult to imagine how 456 or 457 Christian families would have been able to sustain the three large monasteries of the region.¹⁰⁴

The question which can then be raised is whether Ottoman control over Hamshen or Hemshin in the first half of the sixteenth century was consolidated enough to allow for a valid survey to be carried out. Hemshin was certainly in Ottoman hands during that period. A manuscript copied in 1531 informs us that Armenian boys were taken for the *devshirme* (child levy) from 'Trebizond, Hamshēn, Sper and Baberd... to the shores of the lake of Van, and who can describe the misery and tragedy of the parents' (Matenadaran, ms. 6272).¹⁰⁵ However, Hemshin was very much a border district until at least the mid-sixteenth century, which could explain the general brevity of registers on its topic.¹⁰⁶ The province of Tao/Tayk', to its southeast, was in the possession of the Jaqeli atabegs of Samtzkhe until it was taken by the Ottomans in 1549–1550.¹⁰⁷ The colophon of a medical manuscript copied in Sebastia (Sebasteia, Sivas) in 1550 informs us that 'there was great mourning [among the Christians] in the city [of Erzurum] because they [the Ottomans] took control of the valleys of Tortum'.¹⁰⁸ The second canton neighbouring Hemshin, Ispir, was occupied in the early years of the sixteenth century by the atabeg of Samtzkhe, Mzechabuk (1502–1515), who had thus taken advantage of the dissolution of the Ak Koyunlu state following the death of Yakub.¹⁰⁹ The colophon of a manuscript copied in Hemshin in 1503 (Matenadaran, ms. 1643) mentions that 'around these days, the Ottomans took

Baberd from the Sofis [the Safavids], and the arrogant Georgians took Sper [Ispir] and two other fortresses'.¹¹⁰ We even know the name of the lieutenant and probable relative of Mzechabuk who was in charge of Ispir during all or part of that period, since a colophon added in 1512 to a manuscript originally copied in 1283 informs us of the 'principality over Sper [Ispir] of Baron Kitevan, from the Georgian nation'.¹¹¹ Mzechabuk, who pursued a policy of appeasement with the Ottomans, surrendered the keys of Ispir to Sultan Selim in October 1514 and those of the fortress of Hunut (western Armenian Hunud, now Çamlıkaya), in the Ispir canton, a little later, in 1515.¹¹² In 1548, both Ispir and Bayburt were taken and destroyed by the Safavid Shah Tahmasp.¹¹³

To the north of Hemshin lies Chaneti (Lazistan), the western part of which, perhaps including Athenai, was taken by the Ottomans in the years immediately following the conquest of Trebizond.¹¹⁴ The rest of Chaneti, however, was alternately ruled by the Jaqelis of Samtzkhe and the Gurielis of Guria until 1547, when the Ottomans took the area and built a citadel in Batumi (Bathys) and then one in Gonia (Göniye or Gönye).¹¹⁵ Thus, until 1514, Ottoman access to Hemshin was rather restricted and only possible from the mouths of the Pazar or Firtina rivers, in a region, Chaneti, which was more or less a constant theatre of war until at least 1547, and probably even later. The confiscation of Chaneti by King Bagrat of Imeretia in 1535 from Atabeg Qwarqware and its transfer to the Gurieli Rostom – an enemy of the Ottomans – may have further restrained access to Hemshin from the coast. This could explain the Ottoman administrative rearrangement of 1536 which, according to local Hemshinli historians, made Hemshin a dependency of the Ispir sancak.¹¹⁶

The political situation in the region during the first half of the sixteenth century could explain why the registers of that period did not carry creditable figures. In contrast, the political conditions of the 1554 survey were certainly more propitious, since it was carried out when the entire region was under the firm control of the Ottomans, who had consolidated their conquests of the preceding years through a peace treaty with the Safavids in 1553.

In conclusion, the hypothesis that the Islamicization of Hamshen Armenians had started in the sixteenth century and even as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time of Clavijo's passage, should be dismissed. No religious change affected the area during the sixteenth and early decades of the seventeenth century, Hemshin remaining a quasi-exclusively Christian district for almost a century and a half following Ottoman conquest during the 1480s. The developments which led to the transformation of Christian Hamshen into Muslim Hemshin clearly belong to later periods.

Notes

- 1 H. Hakovbos V. Tashian, *Tayk', Drats'ik ew Khotorjur: Patmakan-Teghagrakan Usumnasirut'awn* [*Tayk, Neighbours and Khotorjur: Historico-Geographical Study*], vol. 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1980), pp. 41–42; Robert W. Edwards, 'Hamsēn: An Armenian Enclave in the Byzanto-Georgian Pontos. A Survey of Literary and Nonliterary Sources', *Le Muséon* (Louvain, 1988), 101, nos 3–4, p. 408.

- 2 Ghewond, *Patmut'wn Ghewondeay Metsi Vardapeti Hayots'* [History of Ghewond, the Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians], edited by Karapet Ezians' (St Petersburg: I. N. Skorokhodov, 1887), Chapters 41–42; English translation, Zaven Arzoumanian, *History of Lewond, the Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians. Translation, Introduction and Commentary* (Wynnewood, PA: St Sahag and St Mesrob Armenian Church, 1982), pp. 147–49; Step'anos Tarōnets'i (Asoghik), *Patmut'yun Tiezerakan [Universal History]*, translated, introduced and annotated by Vardan H. Vardanyan (Erevan: Erevan University Publications, 2000), pp. 185–86; French translation, Édouard Dulaurier, *Histoire Universelle par Etienne Açogh'ig de Daron. Traduite de l'arménien et annotée*, vol. 1, Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, no. 18 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1883), pp. 161–62; Yovhannēs Mamikonian, Bishop of Mamikoniank', *Patmut'wn Tarōnoy [History of Tarōn]*, edited by Ashot Abrahamyan (Erevan: Matenadaran, 1941), pp. 283–85; English translation, Levon Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean, The History of Tarōn [Patmut'wn Tarōnoy]: Historical Investigation, Critical Translation, and Historical and Textual Commentaries* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993), pp. 159–60 and 248–49.
- 3 Édouard Dulaurier (ed.), *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Documents arméniens*, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1906), pp. 129–30 and 268–69; Het'um of Korykos, *Het'um Patmich' T'at'arats', Yegheal i Latin Ōrinakē i Hay Barba'* [Het'um the Historian of the Tatars, translated from Latin into Armenian], translated by H. Mkrtich' Awgerian, 2nd edn (Venice: St Lazarus Monastery, 1951), p. 15.
- 4 Colophons are scribal memorials, usually short writings by scribes whose task it was to copy manuscripts. After or during the arduous task of copying a long text, the scribe often inserted something about himself and about the conditions of copying, almost always including, in the Armenian experience, the date, place and patron of the manuscript. In most cases the colophon was written at the end of copying, but not infrequently during the work. With the invention and progress of printing, the colophon became what we now call the front material or the information on publication. This information continued to be placed at the end of printed books in textual paragraph form well into the sixteenth century. I am indebted to Dr Dickran Kouymjian for this definition of colophons.
- 5 Ruy González de Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamorlán*, edited, introduced and annotated by Francisco López Estrada (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1999), pp. 352–53; the most exhaustive survey of medieval sources on Hamshen are provided in the excellent articles by Levon Khach'ikyan and Robert W. Edwards, upon which this chapter relies heavily. Levon Khach'ikyan, 'Ējer Hamshinahay Patmut'yunits'' [Pages from the History of Hamshen Armenians], *Banber Erevani Hamalsarani [Bulletin of Erevan University]* (1969), no. 2 (8), pp. 115–44, and Edwards (1988), pp. 403–22.
- 6 Levon Haçikyan [Levon Khach'ikyan], *Hemşin Gizemi: Hamşen Ermenileri Tarihinden Sayfalar*, translated and edited by Bağdik Avedisyan (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1996).
- 7 M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, 'XVI. Yüzyıl Başlarında Trabzon Livası ve Doğu Karadeniz Bölgesi', *Belleten* (Ankara, 1962), 26, no. 102, pp. 322–23.
- 8 Antony Bryer and David Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1985), p. 336; Anthony Bryer, 'The Crypto-Christians of the Pontos and Consul William Gifford Palgrave of Trebizond', *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon* (Athens, 1983), 4, p. 22.
- 9 Ghewond (1887), Chapters 41–42; Arzoumanian (1982), pp. 147–49.
- 10 The Amatunis had acquired Ōshakan in the fourth century. Their original domain was the Artaz canton, the modern-day Iranian district of Maku. The Artaz branch does not seem to have participated in the migration, since family members appear in possession of their domains in the ninth century, as vassals of the Artsruni princes and later kings of Vaspurakan. The Armenian princes who held Maku and Artaz until the mid-fifteenth century could possibly be their descendants. A branch of the family may

have remained in Aragatsotn itself, since the Vach'utian princes which ruled in later centuries (twelfth to fifteenth centuries) over Aragatsotn and neighbouring districts claimed Amatuni descent. However, the validity of their claim is a subject of discussion among historians.

- 11 Ghewond (1887), Chapters 41–42; Arzoumanian (1982), pp. 147–49; René Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071* (Paris: Payot, 1947), pp. 320 and 338; Khach'ikyan (1969), pp. 115–17; Edwards (1988), pp. 404–05.
- 12 Dulaurier (1883), pp. 161–62; Step'anos Tarōnets'i (Asoghik) (2000), pp. 185–86; Arzoumanian (1982), p. 134; Grousset (1947), pp. 320 and 338.
- 13 See Anne E. Redgate, 'The Foundation of Hamshen and Armenian Descent Myths: Parallels and Interconnections', in *The Armenian Communities of the Black Sea – Pontus Region*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian, Proceedings of the Tenth UCLA Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces Conference May 2002 (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, forthcoming); and see Chapter 1 (this volume).
- 14 Hakob Muradians', 'Sew Tsovi Ap'erin' [On the Shores of the Black Sea], *Murch* [*The Hammer*] (Tiflis, 1898), 10, no. 4, p. 471.
- 15 Edwards (1988), pp. 405–6; Yovhannēs Mamikonian (1941), pp. 283–85; Avdoyan (1993), pp. 159–60 and 248–49.
- 16 Khach'ikyan (1969), p. 117.
- 17 Edwards (1988), p. 406.
- 18 Avdoyan (1993), p. 160.
- 19 Sargis Haykuni, 'Nshkharner: Korats u Mořats'uates Hayer' [Fragments: Lost and Forgotten Armenians], *Ararat* (Vagharshapat, 1895), no. 8, p. 296; H. Minas Vardapet Bzhshkian, *Chanaparhordut'iwñ i Lehastan ew yayl Koghman Bnakeals i Haykazants' Serelots' i Nakhneats' Ani K'aghak'in: Sharagrel Handerdz Zanazan Banasirakan Teghekut'eambk'* [Travels to Poland and other Places Populated by Armenians Descending from Forefathers from the City of Ani: Annotated with Various Philological Informations] (Venice: St Lazarus Monastery, 1830), p. 84.
- 20 Harut'iwñ Gat'ēnian, 'Ch'ors Tari Shavshēt'-Imerkhēvum Shragayut'ean Ardiwnk'its'' [From the Result of a Four-year Tour of Shavshet-Imerkhevi], *Mshak* [*The Tiller*] (Tiflis, 1888), 16, no. 83, 23 July, p. 2; Pirō, 'Tachkats'ats Hayer' [Turkified Armenians], *Nor-Dar* [*New Age*] (Tiflis, 1893), 10, no. 227, 21 December, p. 3; Barunak T'ořlak'yan, 'Hamshenahayer' [Hamshen Armenians], *Grakan T'ert'* [*Literary Paper*] (Erevan, 1968), 36, no. 21 (1432), 24 May, p. 4.
- 21 Sergey Vardanyan, 'Hamshents'i Musulman Hayeri Usumnasirut'yan Patmut'iunits'' [From the History of Research on the Muslim Armenians of Hamshen], *Iran-Nameh: Armenian Journal of Oriental Studies* (Erevan, 1998), nos 29–31, p. 7.
- 22 Khach'ikyan (1969), pp. 118–20 n. 12.
- 23 H. Minas Vardapet Bzhshkian, *Batmut'iwñ Pontosi vor ē Seaw Tsov* [History of the Pontos which is the Black Sea] (Venice: St Lazarus Monastery, 1819), p. 82; this is also confirmed by Hrach'eay Acharian, *K'nnut'yun Hamsheni Barbari* [Study of the Hamshen dialect] (Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 1947), p. 11.
- 24 İspir corresponds to the Syspiritis of classical times, to the Sper canton of Bardzr Hayk' (Upper Armenia) province, and to the modern-day İspir county (*ilçe*). Pertakrag (Arm. Berdagrak), known in Ottoman times as Peterek, was the Arseats'p'or canton of Armenian Tayk'/Georgian Tao province, the Ottoman Keskim or Kiskim *kaza*, and the modern-day Yusufeli county of the Artvin province.
- 25 Khach'ikyan (1969), pp. 119–20.
- 26 See Chapter 10 by Bert Vaux (this volume). The present-day name of Khodorchur is Sirakonaklar. The small valley is now part of the İspir county.
- 27 Anthony Bryer, 'Some Notes on the Laz and Tzan (I)', *Bedi Kartlisa: Revue de kartvelologie* (Paris, 1966), 21–22 (50–51), pp. 192–94; reprinted in *Peoples and Settlement in Anatolia and the Caucasus, 800–1900* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988).
- 28 Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 31.

- 29 Bryer and Winfield (1985), p. 342.
- 30 While Varoş and Kala-i Bâlâ refer to the same fortress, they also correspond to two separate villages near it. These villages are now mostly depopulated and used predominantly in summer as yaylas. Varoş is now Yazlık, and Kala-i Bâlâ is Hisarcık.
- 31 Bryer and Winfield (1985), p. 337; Edwards (1988), p. 415.
- 32 On Zil Kale, see Bryer and Winfield (1985), p. 341; G. Grenville Astill and Susan M. Wright, 'Zil Kale', *Archeion Pontou* (Athens, 1977–78), 34, pp. 28–48; Antony Bryer, 'Historical Note on Zil Kale', *Archeion Pontou* (Athens, 1977–78), 34, pp. 49–56. I am indebted to Hagop Hachikian for his explanation of the meaning of *bâlâ* and *zîr*.
- 33 Sevan Nişanyan, Landon Thomas and Gabriele Ohl, *Zoom in Black Sea: A Traveler's Guide to Turkey's Black Sea Region* (Istanbul: Boyut Yayın Grubu/Boyut Publishing Group, 1990), p. 117.
- 34 Karl Koch, *Wanderungen im Oriente während der Jahre 1843 und 1844*, vol. 2, *Reise im pontischen Gebirge und türkische Armenien* (Weimar: Landes Industrie Comptoirs, 1846), pp. 32–33.
- 35 Sevan Nişanyan and Müjde Nişanyan, *Karadeniz: Meraklısı İçin Gezi Rehberi – Black Sea: A Traveller's Handbook for Northern Turkey* (Istanbul: Boyut Yayın Grubu, 2000), p. 140.
- 36 Ibid.; Clavijo (1999), p. 352–53; P. T'umayian, 'Pontosi Hayerē: Ashkharhagragan ew K'aghak'akan Vichak Trapizoni' [The Armenians of the Pontos: Geographic and Political Situation of Trebizond], *Lumay: Grakan Handēs* [*Luma: Literary Journal*] (Tiflis, 1899), 4, no. 2, p. 164; for a physical description of the Pontos see Anthony Bryer, 'Greeks and Türkmens: The Pontic Exception', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (Washington, DC, 1975), 29, pp. 118–20; reprinted in *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980); Bryer and Winfield (1985), pp. 1–7 and 54–57; and Xavier de Planhol, *Minorités en Islam: Géographie politique et sociale* (Paris: Flammarion, 1997), pp. 53–54 and 132–33.
- 37 Glenn Burger (ed.), *Hetoum, A Lytell Cronycle: Richard Pynson's translation (c 1520) of La Fleur des histoires de la terre d'Orient (c 1307)* (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 1988), pp. 14–15.
- 38 Burger (1988), p. xi; Bryer and Winfield (1985), p. 337; Samuel Purchas, *Pvrchas his pilgrimage. Or Relations of the world and the religions observed in all ages and places discovered, from the Creation vnto the present*, 2nd edn (London: H. Fetherstone, 1614), p. 342.
- 39 Khach'ikyan (1969), pp. 126–27; Edwards (1988), p. 410; Bryer and Winfield (1985), pp. 54–57 and 341–42; see also the articles by W. Rickmer Rickmers, 'Lazistan and Ajaristan', *Geographical Journal* (London, 1934), 84, no. 6, pp. 465–80; and by G. Stratil-Sauer, 'From Baiburt via İspir to Lâzistan', *Geographical Journal* (London, 1935), 86, no. 5, pp. 402–10.
- 40 H. Ghukas Vardapet Inchichian, *Ashkharhagrut' iwn Ch'orits' Masants' Ashkharhi: Asioy, Ewropioy, Ap'rikoy, ew Amerikoy* [Geography of the Four Parts of the World: Asia, Europe, Africa, and America], part 1, *Asia*, vol. 1, *Hayastan* [Armenia] (Venice: St Lazarus Monastery, 1806), p. 133.
- 41 Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 201 n. 200.
- 42 Halim Diker, 'Marsis'in Taş Basamakları Abu Viçe (Çağlayan Vadisi)', *Atlas: Aylık Coğrafya ve Keşif Dergisi* (Istanbul, 2002), no. 107, p. 35.
- 43 Bryer and Winfield (1985), pp. 337 and 339–40.
- 44 Ibid., p. 337.
- 45 Richard Kiepert, *Karte von Kleinasien*, folio A VI, *Tirabzon* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer [Ernst Vohsen], 1913); P. Jacobus Vard. Dashian [H. Hakovbos V. Tashian], *La Population arménienne de la région comprise entre la mer Noire et Karin (Erzeroum): Rapide coup d'oeil historique et ethnographique*, translated by Frédéric Macler (Vienna: Imprimerie des Méchitaristes, 1922), p. 25.

- 46 Alexandre Toumarkine, *Les Lazes en Turquie (XIX^e-XX^e siècles)* (Istanbul: Isis, 1995), p. 94 and n. 125; see Chapter 7 by Hagop Hachikian (this volume).
- 47 Koch (1846), vol. 2, pp. 23–25.
- 48 A. Mat'evosyan (ed.), *Hayeren Dzeñagreri Hishatakaranner, XIII Dar [Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, Thirteenth Century]* (Erevan: Publications of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 1984), pp. 218–19. The text of the colophon was misread by Edwards who believed that the monk from Hamshen was the copyist rather than the recipient of the manuscript. See Edwards (1988), p. 408.
- 49 Haykuni (1895), pp. 296–97.
- 50 Koch (1846), vol. 2, pp. 105–6; Tashian (1980), vol. 2, pp. 5, 13, 26, 74–78 and 113–14.
- 51 Bzhshkian (1819), p. 97.
- 52 Edwards (1988), p. 408.
- 53 M. Ali Sakaoglu et al. (eds), *Cumhuriyetimizin 75. Yılı Kutlamaları Çerçevesinde 1. Hemşin Bal, Kültür ve Turizm Şenlikleri, 22–23 Ağustos 1998* (Ankara: Hemşin Hizmet Vakfı, 1998), p. 29. *Maghul* is a variety of blackberry in Armenian. In a recent source, this site is described as 'Mağlutkale lost beneath the needles of the blackberry bushes the locals call mağol [maghol]' ('yöre insanının mağol dediği böğürtlen dikenleri altında kaybolan Mağlutkale'). Cemal Gülas, 'Kaçkarlar'da Tek Başına: Bulutların Ülkesi Hemşin'e Seyahat', *Atlas: Aylık Gezi Dergisi* (Istanbul, 1993), no. 1, p. 17. I am indebted to Hagop Hachikian for this explanation.
- 54 Mağlut Kale is neither mentioned in Bryer and Winfield (1985), nor in Thomas Alexander Sinclair's *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey*, vol. 2 (London: The Pindar Press, 1989), which has a section on Hemshin (pp. 158–162), nor in Haşim Karpuz's *Rize* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), pp. 59–61.
- 55 Tağpur is sometimes pronounced Tahpur. Şerif Sayın claims that another fortress of the region, Zeleğli Kale, belonged to Hemshin. Zeleğli Kale, if it is identical to the fortress described by Bryer and Winfield as Kordyla-Kalecik or Sivri Kale, is not likely to have been a part of Hemshin, however, given its location on the coast, between Atina (Pazar) and Mapavri (Çayeli). As seen above, the territory controlled by the princes of Hamshen did not extend to the coast. Şerif Sayın, *Hemşin Tarihi* (Ankara: unpublished manuscript, 1992–93), p. 21; Bryer and Winfield (1985), p. 334.
- 56 See Chapter 1 by Anne Elizabeth Redgate (this volume).
- 57 Burger (1988), pp. 14–15.
- 58 Clavijo (1999), p. 352.
- 59 Bryer and Winfield (1985), p. 336.
- 60 Clavijo (1999), p. 353; Edwards (1988), pp. 417–18.
- 61 Clavijo (1999), pp. 54–55 and 353.
- 62 Elie Zdanévitch, 'Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo en Géorgie: Observations sur son chemin d'Avnik à Trébizonde du 5 au 17 Septembre 1405', in *Actes du XII^e Congrès international d'études byzantines, Ochride, 10–16 septembre 1961*, vol. 2 (Belgrade: Naučno Delo, 1964), pp. 249–55; Ilia Zdanévitch, 'L'itinéraire géorgien de Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo et les Églises aux confins de l'Atabégat', *Bedi Kartlisa: Revue de kartvélogie* (Paris, 1976), 34, pp. 143–49; Edwards (1988), pp. 416–20.
- 63 Edwards (1988), p. 419.
- 64 Cimil may even have contained a monastery of relative importance where manuscripts were copied. A Bible, restored in 1621 and known as *Cimili Awetaran* (the Gospel of Cimil), was originally copied there some three centuries before, in the early fourteenth century. This Bible was taken for safekeeping to a village in Ispir when Cimil was Islamicized in later times. See M. Sanosian, 'Speri Hnut'iwnnerë' [Antiquities of Sper/Ispir], *Arewelk' [Orient]* (Constantinople, 1904), 21, no. 5579, 29 May, p. 1.

- 65 Michael E. Meeker, 'The Black Sea Turks: Some Aspects of their Ethnic and Cultural Background', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (London, 1971), 2, no. 4, p. 343.
- 66 Koch (1846), vol. 2, p. 23.
- 67 Ibid., pp. 31–32; see also Karl Koch's 'Reise von Redut-Kaleh nach Trebisond (Kolchis und das Land der Lazen)', in *Die Kaukasischen Länder und Armenien in Reiseschilderungen von Curzon, K. Koch, Macintosh, Spencer und Wilbraham*, ed. Karl Koch (Leipzig: Carl B. Lorck, 1855), p. 112.
- 68 Edwards (1988), p. 409; Khach'ikyan (1969), p. 126. The West European title of baron had been adopted by Armenians at the time of the Crusades.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Khach'ikyan (1969), pp. 126–27; Edwards (1988), p. 410.
- 71 Tao/Tayk' corresponds to the modern Turkish Yusufeli county of Artvin, and the Tortum, Oltu, Narman, Olur and Şenkaya counties of Erzurum. On the Armenian-speaking Chalcedonians of Tao/Tayk', see Yakovb Karnets'i, 'Erzeroum ou Topographie de la Haute Arménie', translated by Frédéric Macler, *Journal Asiatique* (Paris, 1919), 13 (11th series), no. 2, pp. 175–78; Dashian [Tashian] (1922), pp. 66–67; and Mesrop Ts.-V. G. Grigorian, 'Hay-K'aghkedonakanneru Hetk'er Dzeragrats' mech'' [Traces of Chalcedonian Armenians in Manuscripts], *Handes Amsorya [Monthly Review]* (Vienna, 1969), 83, nos. 10–12, pp. 505–10. On relations between Armenians and Greeks in the theme of Chaldia and later the Empire of Trebizond, see Bernadette Martin-Hisard, 'Trébizonde et le culte de Saint Eugène (6^e–11^e s)', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1980), n.s. 14, pp. 307–43; and Robert W. Edwards, 'Armenian and Byzantine Religious Practices in Early Fifteenth-century Trabzon: A Spanish Viewpoint', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1992), n.s. 23, pp. 81–90.
- 72 The monasteries are K'oshtents', Khuzhka and St Khach'ik Hawr. Located in the *vichak* or diocese of Khach'ek'ar, the latter monastery was also sometimes known as Khach'kavank'. See Father Hamazasp Oskian, *Bardzr Hayk'i Vank'erë [The Monasteries of Upper Armenia]* (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1951), pp. 183–89 and 199; Khach'ikyan (1969), pp. 132–34; Edwards (1988), pp. 408, 410 and 413–14.
- 73 See Yakovb Karnets'i (1919), pp. 173–75; İsmet Miroğlu, *XVI. Yüzyılda Bayburt Sancağı* (Istanbul: Anadolu Yakası Bayburt Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği Yayınları, 1975), pp. 114 and 117; Lusine Sahakyan, 'Baberd Gavaři Teghanunnern u Êt'nik Kazmë 16 d. Ösmanyân T'ahrir Davt'arnerum' [The Toponyms and Ethnic Composition of the Baberd (Bayburt) Canton in Sixteenth Century Ottoman Tahrir Defters], *Iran-Nameh: Armenian Journal of Oriental Studies* (Erevan, 1996–97), nos. 22–23 (6–7), pp. 21–30; and her 'Sper Gavaři Bnakavayrern Zhoghovrtagrut'yunë 16-rd Dari Ösmanyân T'ahrir Davt'arnerum' [The Settlements and Demography of the Sper (Ispir) Canton in Sixteenth Century Ottoman Tahrir Defters], *Iran-Nameh: Armenian Journal of Oriental Studies* (Erevan, 2000), no. 35, pp. 86–99.
- 74 Norayr Eps Pogharian and Arp'ine H. Srchuni (eds), 'Zhamanakagrut'yun (XI–XVIII DD.)' [A Chronology (Eleventh–Eighteenth Centuries)], *Banber Matenadarani [Bulletin of the Matenadaran]* (Erevan, 1969), 9, p. 269; Khach'ikyan (1969), pp. 127–28.
- 75 Hrach'eay Acharian, *Hayots' Andznannuneri Bararan [Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names]*, vol. 5 (Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 1962), p. 121.
- 76 Michel Kurşanskis, 'Autour de la dernière princesse de Trébizonde: Théodora, fille de Jean IV et épouse d'Uzun Hasan', *Archeion Pontou* (Athens, 1977–78), 34, p. 78; Rustam Shukurov, 'The Campaign of Shaykh Djunayd Safawî against Trebizond (1456 AD/860 H)', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* (Oxford, 1993), 17, pp. 127–40.
- 77 Bryer and Winfield (1985), p. 337; Zdanévitch (1964), p. 252; Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini, *Travels to Tana and Persia*, translated by William Thomas and Eugene A. Roy, and edited by Lord Henry Stanley (London: Hakluyt Society, 1873), p. 116.

- 78 Mehmet Bilgin, 'Rize'nin Tarihine Bir Bakış', in *Rize*, ed. H. Örcün Barışta and Seyfi Başkan (Ankara: TC Kültür Bakanlığı, 1997), p. 32. The Gurieli Kakhaberı distinguished himself by his resistance to Ottoman Turks. See Jules Mourier, 'Batoum et le bassin du Tchörök', *Revue de Géographie* (Paris, 1886), 19, p. 127.
- 79 The manuscript was copied in the Kornkan village of İspir. Khach'ikyan (1969), p. 129; Edwards (1988), pp. 411–12.
- 80 Edwards (1988), p. 411.
- 81 Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont and Chahryar Adle, 'Notes et documents sur Mzé-Čâbük, atabeg de Géorgie méridionale (1500–1515), et les Safavides. Études turco-safavides V', *Studia Iranica* (Paris, 1978), 7, no. 2, p. 215.
- 82 Oskian (1951), pp. 12–20 and 75–81; Grigor Vardapet Kamakhets'i, *Zhamanakagrut'ıwn Grigor Vardapeti Kamakhets'woy kam Daranaghts'woy* [*Chronicle of Grigor Vardapet of Kamakh or Daranaght*], edited with an introduction and appendices by Mesrop Vardapet Nshanian (Jerusalem: St James Monastery, 1915), p. 405; Khach'ikyan (1969), pp. 131–32; Edwards (1988), pp. 410–11.
- 83 Khach'ikyan (1969), p. 131.
- 84 Tēr Hovhannēs K'ahanay Vagharshakertts'i, *Chanaparhort'ut'ıwn T. Hovhannēs K'ahanayē Vagharshakertts'oy i Sahmans Bardzr Hayots'* [*Travel of Father John of Vagharshakert to the Borders of Upper Armenia*], vol. 1 (Constantinople: Tpagrut'ıwn Petros Chēzvēchian, 1870), pp. 24–25; Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 83 n. 80b.
- 85 Cyrille Toumanoff, *Les maisons princières géorgiennes de l'empire de Russie* (Rome, 1983), p. 60. The claim of these neo-Amatunis, however, could have been fictitious. They could also have been descendants of the Vach'utian family or of the princes of Maku (see n. 9, above).
- 86 Bilgin (1997), p. 30. According to Ömer Lütfi Barkan, who first used it, this register, which is not dated, was probably written between 1481 and 1486. See Heath W. Lowry, *Trabzon Şehrının İslâmlaşma ve Türkleşmesi* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1981), p. 18; and the discussion in Hanefi M. Bostan, *XV–XVI. Asırlarda Trabzon Sancağında Sosyal ve İktisadî Hayat* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002), p. 9.
- 87 Tashian (1980), vol. 2, pp. 70–71; Oskian (1951), p. 186; Edwards (1988), p. 411. Hemshin is probably derived from *Hamshin*, the form taken by Hamshēn when a suffix is added to it, as in *ı yerkins Hamshinu* (i.e. in our land of Hamshen). The letter *ł* (transliterated as 'ē') located in the last syllable of a word is usually transformed into an *ı* ('i') when a suffix is added to that word, as in the genitive form.
- 88 Bostan (2002), pp. 23, 25, 39–40, 47, 101 and 221.
- 89 Gökbilgin (1962), pp. 322–23.
- 90 Ottoman register no. 387 provides the list of the villages of the Hemshin kaza. The Eksanos nahiye includes the villages of Balahor, Çivitniz, Hahonç, Holvalı, Kağından, Mesahor, Meydān, Müsellemān-Komanos and Nolanıh (?). The villages of the Hemshin nahiye are Abışlovıh, Arovıh, Aşodovıh, Çinçiva, Hala, Müsellemān-Andervad, Müsellemān-Monvıh (?), Müsellemānlar, Nahiye-i Kuş-ova, Nikorid, Pendavıh, Sodsı, Viçna and Zuğa. The last nahiye, Kara-Hemshin, is composed of Askarakıh, Baş, Bolvaç, Cimil, Çat, Makri-Toma, Molahiş, Ogovıd, Tap/Tat, Varoş and Vartor. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, *387 Numaralı Muhāsebe-i Vilāyet-i Karaman ve Rûm Defteri (937/1530)*, vol. 2 (Ankara: Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Bakanlığı, 1997), pp. 155–59.
- 91 Gökbilgin (1962), p. 323; Bostan (2002), pp. 101, 221, 277–83 and 453.
- 92 Mart is an abbreviated form of the Armenian first name Martiros. Avedis K. Sanjian, *A Catalogue of Medieval Armenian Manuscripts in the United States* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, CA/London: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 677–84; Thomas F. Mathews and Roger S. Wieck (eds), *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts* (New York/Princeton, NJ: Pierpont Morgan Library and Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 198–99 (cat. no. 72). The section on Mart was not

- translated into English by Sanjian, and was consequently missed by Bryer and Winfield (1985, p. 336 n. 9) and by Edwards (1988, pp. 412–13).
- 93 Edwards (1988), p. 413.
 - 94 Sakaoğlu *et al.* (1998), p. 14.
 - 95 Bostan (2002), pp. 25, 40, 47 and 222.
 - 96 *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 48–49 and 221.
 - 97 *387 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Karaman ve Rûm Defteri (937/1530)*, vol. 2, pp. 50–51; Gökbilgin (1962), p. 323.
 - 98 Bostan (2002), p. 221.
 - 99 *Ibid.*, pp. 221–23 and 260.
 - 100 *Ibid.*, see also *387 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Karaman ve Rûm Defteri (937/1530)*, vol. 2, p. 50 and n.
 - 101 See Bryer (1966), p. 194; and Bryer and Winfield (1985), p. 336.
 - 102 Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shiites: The Ghulat Sects* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1988), p. 434. See also Seta B. Dadoyan, *The Fatimid Armenians: Cultural and Political Interaction in the Near East* (Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 1997).
 - 103 See Gökbilgin (1962); Bryer (1966); and Bryer and Winfield (1985), p. 336; Miroğlu (1975), p. 114 and 117; and Sahakyan (2000).
 - 104 Sanjian (1976), p. 684; Oskian (1951), pp. 183–88; Khach'ikyan (1969), pp. 132–34; Edwards (1988), pp. 412–13.
 - 105 M. K. Zulalyan, ‘“Devshirme”-n (Mankahavank’ë) Ōsmanyany Kaysrut’yan mej ěst T’urk’akan ev Haykakan Aghbyurneri’ [The “Devshirme” (Recruitment of Children) in the Ottoman Empire according to Turkish and Armenian Sources], *Patma-Banasirakan Handes [Historico-Philological Review]* (Erevan, 1959), nos. 2–3 (5–6), p. 251. I am greatly indebted to Ruben Melk’onyan for informing me about this important source.
 - 106 See Bostan (2002), pp. 476, 479, 482, 514, 515, 518, 521 and 524.
 - 107 ‘Histoire du Samtzhé ou Saathabago et du Clardjeth, par le Tsarévitch Wakhoucht’, in *Histoire de la Géorgie: Depuis l’antiquité jusqu’au XIXe siècle*, ed. and trans. Marie-Félicité Brosset, part II, *Histoire moderne*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg: Imprimerie de l’Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1856), p. 217.
 - 108 Giwt A. K’ah Aghaniants (ed.), *Diwan Hayots’ Patmut’ean [Archives of Armenian History]*, vol. 10, *Manr Matenagirk’, 15–19 Dar [Minor Documents, Fifteenth-Nineteenth Centuries]* (Tiflis: 1912), p. 102.
 - 109 Bacqué-Grammont and Adle (1978), p. 216.
 - 110 Oskian (1951), p. 186.
 - 111 Tashian (1980), vol. 2, pp. 223–24.
 - 112 Bacqué-Grammont and Adle (1978), pp. 221–23. The authors are mistaken in confusing Hunut, near Ispir, with Ġinis (Cinis), a place east of Aşkale and west of Erzurum.
 - 113 Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 231.
 - 114 Bryer and Winfield (1985), p. 337.
 - 115 ‘Histoire du Samtzhé ou Saathabago et du Clardjeth, par le Tsarévicht Wakhoucht’, pp. 208–9 and 213–15; ‘Histoire de l’Egris, Apkhazeth ou Iméreth, par le Tsarévitch Wakhoucht’, in *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ed. Brosset (1856), part II, vol. 1, pp. 256–57.
 - 116 *Ibid.*, Sakaoğlu *et al.* (1998), p. 14.

3 The manuscript painting of Hamshen

Christina Maranci

In the scholarship on Armenian manuscript painting, certain traditions are repeatedly celebrated as cultural high points: for example, Bagratid illumination of the tenth and early eleventh centuries in Greater Armenia, and particularly the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. In contrast, it is striking to consider the reception of the manuscript illumination of Hamshen, an Armenian district on the Black Sea coast. Few scholars mention the area,¹ and its manuscript art has been hitherto neglected. Admittedly, the area did not produce the kind of sumptuous codices for which the traditions mentioned above are famous; yet it was home to a lively community of scribes and artists, whose manuscripts are today housed in the Matenadaran,² the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem,³ the Philadelphia Free Library in the USA, the British Library, and the Mekhitarist monasteries in Venice and Vienna. Furthermore, the Hamshen manuscripts were produced during the sixteenth century, a period in which book production declined sharply in Greater Armenia. Hence the codices present a challenge, if modest, to the theory of a 'Dark Age' in medieval Armenian manuscript illumination.

This chapter will explore a sample of Hamshen manuscript illumination and attempt to locate it within the broader context of Armenian illumination. We will also attempt to determine whether a specific Hamshen style of painting can be identified – a reasonable supposition, given the geographical insularity of the region.⁴ Such endeavours are difficult, however, due to the small number of illustrated manuscripts that survive, and the paucity of their imagery. Furthermore, most of the extant manuscripts are difficult to access, and even of those that have been published, their illustrations, typically, have neither been described nor reproduced. The works of Levon Khach'ikyan and Robert Edwards, along with library and exhibit catalogues, constitute the sum of the literature.

As Edwards has noted, evidence for a rich manuscript tradition in Hamshen extends from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries. In 1240, a scribe named Step'anos, who was born and possibly trained in Hamshen, received a manuscript in Rome while in residence with the Armenian community there.⁵ Further testimony to scribal activity appears with a miscellany dating to the fifteenth century, of which the first part was produced in 1422 at the K'oshtents' Monastery of Hamshen.⁶ In 1499, we are told that a certain Karapet copied a

book on medicine in the region of Hamshen at the village of Eghnovit'. An anthology of the poetical works of Nersēs Shnorhali survives from the following century, as well as texts by other authors, such as Grigor Tat'evats'i.⁷ Scribal activity continued into the seventeenth century, and it also attracted visitors to the district, as in 1630, when a certain Karapet Jughayets'i came to Hamshen for the purpose of copying the Book of Psalms.⁸

The variety of texts is significant. Ranging from service books to poetical and scientific works, the surviving manuscripts demonstrate that despite its isolated location, Hamshen hosted an intellectual and scientific centre of some significance. The excellence of its scriptoria and libraries is further attested by the visit of Karapet Jughayets'i, among others. The mobility of local scribes is also noteworthy; besides the mention of Hamshen Armenians in Rome, a number of colophons identify scribes with the surname *Hamshēnts'i*, leading Edwards to the assumption that 'the clerics of Hamshēn not only had well-established traditions for religious training and scribal production at home, but their scholars were respected abroad'.⁹

Frederick Lewis Oriental ms. 123

The first manuscript to be considered is located in the Philadelphia Free Library.¹⁰ A copy of the poetical works of Nersēs Shnorhali and other writers, it was produced, according to the colophon, at the churches of Surb Astuatsatsin and Surb Sion, 'in the monastery where the relics of the father St Khach'ik and St Vardan... have been placed for the glory and protection of our *gawar* [canton] of Hamshēn'.¹¹ The colophon also offers other valuable details. Relating that the codex was completed on 9 June, 1528, it also tells of a number of significant historical synchronisms: the production of the manuscript took place during the Sultanate of Süleyman (I, 1520–1566) and during the reign of Skandar Pasha in Trebizond (Trabzon), 'when our fortresses were controlled by the Aghas Darvēshali and Siminaws'.¹² The name of the illuminator is not mentioned; however, the scribes are named as Priest Karapet, Karapet the Younger and Vahram.

In general, the manuscript is in a good state of preservation. The 256 folios are made of vellum (rather than paper, as was also used by this time) and are fairly large.¹³ Neat lines of *bolorgir* script are arranged in single columns on the page; the folios, punctured with V-shaped notches at the spine, are fastened to the binding with knotted cord, and the top of the spine features a raised endband of multicoloured silk thread (Plate 3.1). The text block is bound with traditional Armenian leather covers, which appear to be original.¹⁴ The design of the binding is particularly striking: decorated with blind tooling of guilloche and interlace patterns, the front and back covers feature two varieties of interlaced rectangle designs (Plates 3.2 and 3.3). The characteristic fore-edge flap is also blind-tooled with an interlaced rectangle, framed by a border of punches, florets and a concentric, almond-shaped stamp (Plate 3.4). As Sylvie Merian has pointed out, there is also evidence for the traditional leather strap fastenings.¹⁵

The ornamentation, which occurs at intervals throughout the text, is also typical of Armenian manuscript illumination; it features decorated incipit letters, marginal arabesques and headpieces. Light blues and pinks predominate, but their lack of intensity is most likely the result of fading. The artist has also made use of the neutral colour of the background vellum in building the design; the arabesque on fol. 61 (Plate 3.5), for example, is defined through narrow outlines rather than positive forms. The result is not a carpet of decoration but rather delicate, interlocking bands woven through empty spaces.

The headpieces that crown the text most often feature stylized plant forms, or palmettes. On fol. 7 (Plate 3.6), such forms are framed by half palmettes. At the base of the motif, the stem bifurcates and weaves together into an intricate band, which divides and frames the vegetal forms in box-shaped frames. The background colour is blue, while the palmettes themselves are accented with rose at the base of their leaves. The decorated incipit letters, like the headpiece, are also typical of medieval Armenian painting. In the *nomina sacra* of Christ, each letter is divided into zones which alternate between rose and blue, and bear a foliate motif at their terminations. The marginal ornament at the right of the text is also of the characteristic arabesque type, in which pointed floral forms undulate gracefully in and out of knots, creating a series of loops that end in pointed leaves.¹⁶

Another kind of headpiece design appears on fol. 61r (Plate 3.5). Again rectangular, the outline is filled with a succession of stylized acanthus leaves, oriented alternately up and down, and the spaces between them are filled with softly curving leaves. On this page, the decorated initial is figural, consisting of a bird-like creature with a long, thin, knotted neck and a protruding tongue. More striking decorations in the same vein occur on fol. 107v (Plate 3.7), where the capitalized letter *be* has been conceived as a pair of birds, ornamented with multicoloured horizontal strips. One longer, larger bird, again with a knotted neck, creates the curved portion of the letter, while a smaller, standing bird, which appears to be piercing the stomach of its partner, forms the central upright. Next to the letter, in the margin, is an unusual flourish. Unlike the standard arabesque ornamentation, this form resembles a bow with an arrow that gradually narrows into an elegant line with spiral terminations. The central leaves are also adorned with small, circular forms, possibly a reference to berries. Both the letter and the marginal ornament of this folio employ an unusual colour scheme; the forms are painted in deep navy blue and a light green, rather than rose and light blue. Despite this discrepancy, the motifs display the same interest in linear design and multicoloured patterns evident in the other ornaments of the manuscript.

Vienna, Mekhitarist Monastery ms. 119

Two additional illustrated manuscripts from Hamshen are located in the Mekhitarist Library in Vienna,¹⁷ of which the first to be discussed is a collection of the writings of Grigor Tat'evats'i. The manuscript is large, measuring 18 × 13 centimetres on its exterior, and is written in *bolorgir* of medium size.¹⁸ The binding consists of wooden boards covered with ornamented leather,¹⁹ and the current

state of the manuscript is poor.²⁰ The colophon, which lacks information regarding the date, location and scribes of the manuscript, remembers ‘the brave rhetor of Hamshēn, and also excellent *vardapet*²¹ who was, we are told, knowledgeable and always prepared to answer scriptural or theological questions. Although no date is provided, the codex most likely dates between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

While full-page images are absent, as with the previous example, most of the chapter headings feature headpieces, and many pages bear marginal ornaments. Fols 14v–15 (Plate 3.8) provide a representative example of the page layout with regard to text and image. The typical, arabesque-style ornament is somewhat smaller here than in the Philadelphia manuscript. The marginalia of the Vienna manuscript, however, is striking for its variety; on fol. 15 is the first and most standard arabesque type, with pointed leaf terminations; however, a number of interesting variations occur, as on fol. 39, where a bird appears in the margin, standing on a decorative leaf and biting a tendril (Plate 3.9), and on fol. 45, in which the artist has broadened the base of the arabesque form, creating a triangular effect highlighted with a wash of light blue (Plate 3.10).

The most elaborate decoration of the manuscript occurs on fol. 5 (Plate 3.11). The page is dominated by an elaborate, arched headpiece, which features a series of vinescroll rinceaux of rose and white, backed in light blue. The profile of the interior ‘arch’ of the headpiece is particularly notable, bearing a complex profile of lobes and, near to the base, pointed horizontal cut-outs. Such elaboration on the arched design of the headpiece may be found beginning in the thirteenth century in both Cilicia and Greater Armenia, and has been connected, as Priscilla Soucek has discussed, to Islamic and Mongol art.²² In the fifteenth-century manuscript of Boladzor, also in Vienna and dated 1484,²³ we see the same interest in elaborating on the headpiece with the creation of pointed segments.²⁴

Vienna, Mekhitarist Monastery ms. 431

Another manuscript from Hamshen contains a collection of apotropaic prayers, some of which are authored by Cyprian, fifth-century bishop of Carthage. The colophon, which refers to the codex as a medical prayer-book, states that the text was written in 1517:

under the sign of the ram, May 12, from a good and worthy copy, by the hands of the worthless Yohannēs Malghi, in the land of Hamshēn at the monastery of Surb Khach’ik, the spiritual overseer of the churches of Surb Astuatsatsin and Surb Vardanants’, at the behest of the deacon Step’annos, for the enjoyment of him, and in memory of himself and his parents Dawit’ and Eghisabet’.

Today in poor condition, the manuscript is quite small, measuring only 9 × 6.5 centimetres in its exterior proportions. With its diminutive size, the manuscript would have been particularly appropriate for the frequent travels of the professionals

of Hamshen, and it is tempting to imagine that it accompanied a local cleric on house visits. Several of the folios contain marginal ornaments and headpieces of the standard type. The chapter heading on fol. 67 (Plate 3.12) features three standing palmettes which bear a resemblance to the headpiece of the Philadelphia manuscript (Plate 3.6). Most interesting, however, is a motif occurring on fol. 82, featuring a long-necked bird which forms the Armenian letter *ho* (Plate 3.13). Its lower body faces to the left, while its long neck twists to the right, forming the upper diagonal of the letter.

British Library ms. Or. 6555

Another manuscript connected to the region of Hamshen presents more striking marginalia, in this case involving figural scenes.²⁵ A menologium,²⁶ the codex is housed today in the British Library, and measures externally 15 by 10.5 inches. The colophon relates that it was completed in 1488, at the request of the 'divinely honored and gentle Nersēs the priest . . . in memory of himself and his parents, and his wife Eranuhi, and of his issue by her, Step'annos the priest'.²⁷ The colophon also indicates those involved with the preparation of the manuscript. A certain Nersēs Malaz smoothed the vellum²⁸ and helped in the copying of the text, but the majority of writing was undertaken by the 'sin-stained and unintelligent' monk Movsēs. An illustrator is not mentioned, and we may presume that in this case, as with other manuscripts that have less ambitious pictorial cycles, the scribe also painted the images.

Movsēs, we are told, is from the canton of Hamshen (*Hamshēnts'i*), and the manuscript was produced in 'the canton of Khakhtik', which is now called Babert', in the monastery called Bert'ak'.²⁹ A town in the vicinity of Erzurum in northeast Turkey, Babert' (or Baberd, the modern Bayburt) lies outside the canton of Hamshen, and the two areas seemed to have enjoyed frequent cultural interactions, particularly in the domain of book production.³⁰ For the purposes of this chapter, it is unfortunate that the place of Movsēs' training was not mentioned in the colophon. However, considering the apparently high reputation of *Hamshēnts'i* scriptoria in the late medieval era, it is quite likely that Movsēs received his scribal training in the area of his birthplace.

The manuscript's margins are copiously illustrated with vegetal and figural ornament. Appearing either singly or in groups, the figures possess regular proportions, if sometimes rather elongated limbs. Often bearded, faces are represented in outline, and the eyes are particularly notable, for at their outer corner the bottom and top lids join in a single line extending outward. This feature is commonly found in fifteenth-century manuscript painting in Greater Armenia, occurring both in Vaspurakan and in the north, as in a manuscript produced in Erzinjan in 1449, now located in the Princeton University library.³¹ The main colour scheme consists of red, orange and several tones of blue, including silver blue, light blue and navy.

The marginalia often consist of narrative scenes, and a few representative examples have been chosen here for description. The first figural scenes occur on

fol. 41v (Plate 3.14), in which we see the standing figure of Gregory the Illuminator. The bearded saint glances and gestures at the text to his right, and he wears a pointed hood. He is dressed in a voluminous episcopal robe of red, hemmed in blue and decorated with blue crosses at the breast. Certain features of the costume deserve special note: instead of the usual open, skirted toga typical of earlier medieval images of saints, Gregory wears red trousers, and traditional sandals are replaced with pointed boots. Similar iconography may be found in contemporary Armenian manuscript illumination of the Lake Van area, and suggests contact – if indirect – with Islamic and Mongol visual culture. The same style of costume, with trousers and pointed boots, appears, for example, in the Gospels of Khach'atur Khizants'i of 1455.³²

The treatment of the drapery allows only a vague sense of the body underneath. Gregory's right elbow may be discerned among the folds at left, and the artist has carefully observed the gatherings of drapery at his wrist, from where the cloth cascades down in series of rhythmic curves. These curves, as well as the drapery on his left side, completely obscure the figure down to the lower legs. The abstraction of drapery into linear patterns is also evident in the presence of diagonal strokes at the hem of the cloak and trousers.

On fol. 195v (Plate 3.15), another protagonist of the conversion story appears: the pagan king Trdat. It is particularly interesting to note how a fifteenth-century Armenian envisioned the fourth-century ruler. Large-headed and stocky in figure, Trdat wears a nimbus and crown, the familiar pointed boots, and an elaborate cloak, which falls in complex folds over his left arm. He holds a cross in his left hand, on which he also wears a large ring, and in his right hand he carries a long staff, the top of which takes the form of the head of a bridled donkey or horse. Unlike Gregory, Trdat appears with a moustache and curled, shoulder-length hair.

One of the most interesting scenes occurs on fol. 231r (Plate 3.16), depicting the vision of Gregory. According to the *History of the Armenians* by Agathangelos, Trdat cast Gregory into a deep pit, where he experienced a heavenly vision.³³ Located at the bottom of the page, the composition features Gregory, seated in three-quarter position on a curvilinear, amorphous form that is undoubtedly meant to represent his rocky prison. With closed eyes and hunched shoulders Gregory leans forward, head in hand, lost in his dream. An angel, depicted only in half-length, descends towards him holding a scroll. His wings are particularly striking, decorated with pink tips and horizontal blue lines. Gregory's form is also noteworthy. Although shown in a three-quarter view, he is depicted with only one arm and leg (and it is the left leg, rather than the right, that is shown). This indifference to anatomy is, once again, a typical feature of late medieval Armenian manuscript illumination, as in the Khizan Gospels mentioned above and in the Armenian Gospels of 1457 from Vaspurakan.³⁴ No shading models the figures, who are, as previously, articulated principally through line. Like the earlier figure of Trdat, the artist reveals here a greater interest in the patterns of drapery than in the figure itself.

Gregory reappears on fol. 242v (Plate 3.17), here in conversation with an angel. Although again in clerical costume, Gregory is now barefoot. The most

drastic change involves his proportions, however, which have become extremely elongated; the saint occupies more than half the length of the text column. The artist, however, has not chosen to lengthen Gregory's arms, and thus his elbows reach only to chest level. His visible hand again reveals a lack of interest in anatomy; not only is it unnaturally large with attenuated fingers, it also appears to be a left hand, although attached to his right arm.³⁵ Gregory gestures to the angel depicted at right, who appears only in bust form³⁶ and is actually positioned within the column of text, next to the uncial letter of the new chapter. The placement of the images is noteworthy, since it calls attention to the relationship between the margins and the text.

Fol. 441 (Plate 3.18) presents a different kind of marginal image. It illustrates a reading for 15 March, featuring a scene of the prophet Daniel, with his friends Anania, Misayel and Azarya (who were renamed as the famous Shadrach, Mishach and Abednego).³⁷ The four young men kneel within a lobed frame, wearing draperies of red and blue. While the two central figures are obscured for the most part, the flanking figures are in full view. They wear tunics, and the excess drapery has been drawn up to expose the lower legs. This is particularly evident in the leftmost figure, who sits with his right leg folded beneath him and his left leg bent upright before him. At the far right, the figure holds his leg bent in front of him, and, in a naturalistic movement, grasps it with his hand.

The single headpiece that adorns the manuscript is located on fol. 288. Large and richly ornamented, it is rectangular in form, featuring a central, lobed, profiled arch, filled with decorative motifs. These consist of a repeating, interlaced floral design, in which the forms are joined to each other by the interweaving of leaves and stems. In its general design and the use of shading at the base of the flowers, the headpiece finds similarities with that of the Philadelphia manuscript, as with many others of fifteenth-century Armenia. Above the headpiece, two birds confront a central vessel, although both, interestingly, glance to the right. A marginal ornament appears to the right of the headpiece, composed of a floral motif. Below, the first line of text consists of large, decorated uncials, featuring a typically compartmentalized design of alternating red, blue and white bands.³⁸ As with the Philadelphia manuscript, red, spiky lines emanate from the central motifs, perhaps meant to indicate the sections of leaves.

Conclusion

The manuscripts produced by the scribes of Hamshen testify to a lively artistic tradition, evident in the marginalia and ornamental decorations. The complex interlaced designs of the arabesques and chapter headings may be compared with fifteenth-century examples from Greater Armenia, as may the faces and figures of the British Library manuscript. The leather binding of the Philadelphia manuscript, with its intricate patterns, is also suggestive of a developed tradition of book production in the area. Such evidence for artistic contact is all the more noteworthy when we consider the state of manuscript painting in Greater Armenia in the same era.

With the increase in Ottoman power by the sixteenth century, the internal feudal system of Armenia, the *nakharars*, had virtually disappeared,³⁹ and many Armenians left their homelands for the imperial capital of Constantinople. As a result of this pattern of migration, the Armenian population in Trebizond, for example, dropped by 50 per cent.⁴⁰ The Ottoman-Safavid wars of this era also wreaked havoc; in 1523, Erzurum, one of the Ottoman army's staging points for attack, stood empty and in ruins.⁴¹ The political and economic decline of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire had expected consequences for artistic and architectural production. Regarding monastic complexes, little construction occurred during this period, other than repairs. Manuscript illumination met a similar fate; as Dickran Kouymjian has noted, far fewer manuscripts survive from the sixteenth century than from the fifteenth. He also remarks that during the years of Sultan Süleyman's eastern campaigns, between the early 1520s and early 1540s almost no manuscripts were copied.⁴² At this very time, however, the region of Hamshen, protected by a natural line of fortifications, continued to enjoy relative political autonomy, and, as we have seen, a continuing tradition of manuscript production. Hence, in the illuminations of the region, we witness a rare survival of age-old traditions, during what has been known as one of the darkest periods in the history of medieval Armenian art.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Hovann Simonian, Bert Vaux and Hagop Hachikian, as well as Father Hovan Hovagimian of the Mekhitarist Monastery in Vienna and Vrej Nersessian of the British Library for their assistance in the preparation of this chapter.

Notes

- 1 The most up-to-date study of the topography, archaeology and history of the area is Robert Edwards, 'Hamšen: An Armenian Enclave in the Byzanto-Georgian Pontos. A Survey of Literary and Non-Literary Sources', *Le Muséon* (Louvain, 1988) 101, nos. 3–4, pp. 403–42. See also his earlier studies on the fortification architecture of the Pontos: 'The Fortress of Şebinkarahisar (Koloneia)', *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* (Ravenna, 1985), 32, pp. 23–64 and 'The Garrison Forts of the Pontos: A Case for the Diffusion of the Armenian Paradigm', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1985), n.s. 19, pp. 181–284. For a critical review of Edwards' works on fortification architecture, see Christina Maranci, *Medieval Armenian Architecture: Constructions of Race and Nation* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001).
- 2 Among the Hamshen manuscripts in the Matenadaran are ms. 7056, which was copied in 1506 by Hayrapet, 'a religious man from *Hamamashēn*' (Edwards (1988), p. 410 n. 23) and ms. 218, dated to 1240 (Edwards (1988), p. 408).
- 3 Among these is a collection of the writings of Grigor Tat'evats'i, produced at the monastery of K'oshtents', catalogued as ms. 1617. See Norayr Pogharian (ed.), *Mayr ts'uts'ak Dzeñagrats' Srbots' Hakobeants'* [*Grand Catalogue of St James Manuscripts*], vol. 5 (Jerusalem: St James Monastery, 1971), pp. 417–18.
- 4 The cohesiveness of the area is attested elsewhere, as in the distinctive dialect that emerged in the region, discussed by Bert Vaux in Chapter 10 (this volume).

- 5 Edwards (1988), p. 408.
- 6 See p. 1, n. 2, and Edwards (1988), p. 409.
- 7 The work of Shnorhali is preserved in the Philadelphia ms. 123, and that of Tat'evats'i appears in Jerusalem ms. 1917 and Vienna ms. 119.
- 8 See Edwards (1988), p. 413 and n. 36. This Psalter was also illustrated.
- 9 Ibid., p. 411.
- 10 This codex is published in Avedis K. Sanjian, *A Catalogue of Medieval Armenian Manuscripts in the United States* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, CA/London: University of California Press, 1976), p. 675. A more up-to-date commentary and bibliography appears in Thomas F. Mathews and Roger S. Wieck (eds), *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts* (New York and Princeton, NJ: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1994), pp. 198–99 (cat. no. 72).
- 11 Edwards (1988), p. 412.
- 12 Ibid., p. 413.
- 13 Measuring 14.7 by 10.7 cm.
- 14 The boards are arranged, as is usual for Armenian manuscripts, with the wood grain running horizontally, rather than vertically, as in other cultures. For further discussion, see Mathews and Wieck (1994), pp. 130–34.
- 15 Mathews and Wieck (1994), p. 199.
- 16 The marginal ornament is almost identical to that of fol. 7.
- 17 The two manuscripts from Hamshen to be discussed below are housed in the Vienna Mekhitarist Monastery, catalogued as mss. 119 and 431, and published in H. Hakovbos V. Tashian (ed.), *Ts'uts'ak Hayerēn Dzeragrats' Matenadaranin Mkhit'areants' i Vienna [Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts in the Library of the Vienna Mekhitarists]* (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1895), pp. 400–2 and 882–83, respectively.
- 18 The manuscript contains 163 folios.
- 19 Unfortunately, this author was not able to visit the Vienna manuscripts, and hence is unable to comment on issues of codicological construction.
- 20 Almost every page, according to Tashian, shows signs of wear, age and restoration.
- 21 See Edwards (1988), p. 411, and Tashian (1895), p. 402. A vardapet is a doctor in theology.
- 22 See Priscilla Soucek, 'Armenian and Islamic Manuscript Painting: A Visual Dialogue', in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society*, ed. Thomas F. Mathews and Roger S. Wieck (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1998). Soucek notes the profiled niche head in the Cilician Gospel of Marshal Ōshin, dated to 1274, and connects it to Islamic tomb portals and ceramics. Her argument is interesting in our context, although one cannot rule out that such lobed forms could have also reached Cilicia from the West. The predominance of the pointed trefoil both in Cilician painting and the Gothic style raises this question.
- 23 Ms. 403.
- 24 See Heide Buschhausen Helmut Buschhausen and Eva Zimmermann, *Die illuminierten armenischen Handschriften der Mechitaristen-Congregation in Wien* (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1976), pl. 65, fig. 188.
- 25 F. C. Conybeare, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum/Longman, 1913), pp. 165–67.
- 26 A menologium is a collection of saints' lives arranged according to the calendar.
- 27 Conybeare (1913), p. 166.
- 28 Presumably with a pumice stone. See Mathews and Wieck (1994), pp. 125–26 for a discussion of the making of an Armenian manuscript.
- 29 Conybeare (1913), p. 166. The colophon also mentions a certain Melik', the steward, and his daughter Emin, 'who took great pains to minister to us while we were writing this book' (Conybeare (1913), p. 166).
- 30 For example, Edwards relates that in 1637, a certain Tēr Yakop Hamshēnts'i purchased a manuscript from Babert' and probably brought it with him to Hamshen. See Edwards (1988), p. 413, and idem (1985), p. 39.

- 31 Garret ms. 18. For a representative illustration, see fol. 15v, the dedication page of the manuscript, reproduced in Mathews and Wieck (1994), pl. 28.
- 32 As in the scene of the Raising of Lazarus or the Marriage at Cana. Illustrations of these images are reproduced in Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, MD: The Trustees, 1973).
- 33 Robert W. Thomson, *Agathangelos. History of the Armenians. Translation and Commentary* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1976a).
- 34 As we see in the figure of Christ in the Baptism scene of a Van Gospels now in Southfield, Michigan, reproduced in Mathews and Wieck (1994), pl. 27.
- 35 Although one wonders here whether it is fair to impose such preconceptions on the images. Speaking broadly, the representation of correct and lifelike proportions was of course not often the main goal of medieval art. Yet there is a difference between the abstraction of the human figure, so common to the tradition, and what appears to be very pronounced anatomical distortions. Along with the reversed hands of Gregory, one may also note the figures of John and Prochoros in the Gospels of 1211 (Matenadaran ms. 4823) by Princess Vaneni, in which we witness not only a 'naive' canon of the figure, but also what seems to be a very deliberate alteration to it, namely, the placement of both ears on the right side of the figures' heads! As with the manuscript of 1211, it would be difficult to attribute Gregory's reversed hands simply to the lack of training, and hence one wonders whether such changes held some special significance.
- 36 The image is smudged in this area.
- 37 From the Book of Daniel, ch. 1, v. 6.
- 38 They are non-figural, but at the same time have an almost bird-like appearance.
- 39 Dickran Kouymjian, 'Armenia from the Fall of the Cilician Kingdom (1375) to the Forced Emigration under Shah Abbas (1604)', in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, vol. 2, *Foreign Dominion to Statehood: The Fifteenth Century to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (New York: St Martin's Press, 1997), p. 29.
- 40 Ibid., p. 28.
- 41 Ibid., p. 28.
- 42 Ibid., p. 43.

4 Hemshin from Islamicization to the end of the nineteenth century

Hovann H. Simonian

Beginning of conversion

Little is known of the exact circumstances that led to the transformation of what was still an almost exclusively Christian district in the early seventeenth century into a mostly Muslim one a few centuries later. Accounts from historians and travellers to the region differ on the date at which Islam began to gain a foothold among Hamshenite Armenians. Protestant missionaries H. G. O. Dwight and Eli Smith, who wrote during the 1830s, were told by an Armenian Catholic of Trebizond that conversion had taken place some 200 years ago (i.e. during the 1630s).¹ Father Ghukas Inchichian of the Venice branch of the Armenian Catholic Mekhitarist congregation – as well as Father Manuēl K'ajuni, who probably used Inchichian as source – provides the later date of the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth.² P. T'umayian similarly indicates 1690 to 1700 as the period of the Islamicization of 'the large Hamshēn canton'.³ According to Father Hakovbos V. Tashian (Jacobus V. Dashian) of the Vienna Mekhitarists, 'Hamshen was still an Armenian Christian country until 1700',⁴ since Islamicization had begun by the end of the seventeenth century but made significant progress only in the eighteenth century.⁵ Another Venice Mekhitarist, the prominent scholar Ghewond V. Alishanian, dated the conversion period to the mid-eighteenth century.⁶

Ottoman registers (*defters*) show that Hemshin was still overwhelmingly – if not exclusively – Christian until the late 1620s. The district paid a large amount of poll tax (*cizye*), the tribute owed by Christians under Muslim rule, in the form of honey, beeswax (with which candles were made) and clarified butter sent to the Imperial Palace in Istanbul. In 1609–10, some 5,541 *vukıyyes* (7,090 kg) of honey and 2,000 *vukıyyes* (2,560 kg) of beeswax were thus paid. According to a register, the quantity of beeswax had been increased to 3,000 *vukıyyes* (3,840 kg) by 1626–27.⁷

Changes may have started to affect the area in the years immediately following this increase. Information gleaned from an Armenian manuscript copied in 1630 (Venice, Mekhitarist Monastery, ms. 52) points to possible changes taking place around that period. The monk who illuminated the manuscript remembered in a colophon his tutor, Tēr Awetis from Pontos, 'a bishop alike an apostle'.⁸ Tēr Awetis not only hailed from the Pontos, but he was probably the same person

as the Metropolitan Awetik⁴, who was the Armenian bishop of Trebizond until his death in 1648.⁹ The first ever mention of a bishop of Trebizond in a manuscript copied in Hamshen and the concomitant absence of reference to a local bishop may be interpreted as a sign of the decline or disappearance altogether of the Hamshen diocese, and of the annexation of its remnant to the Trebizond diocese. A second element corroborating the hypothesis of a decline during that period is the severe diminishing and perhaps even interruption of scribal production that appears to have taken place after 1630, since no manuscripts copied in Hamshen for the rest of the seventeenth and the entire eighteenth century have reached us. The commencement of the process which would result in the conversion to Islam of part of the Hamshen Armenians and the exodus of those remaining Christian appears to have been the cause of the demise of the Hamshen diocese and of the decline or interruption of scribal production in its monasteries.

As plausible as this hypothesis may be, the possibility should also be explored that the Islamicization of Hemshin was not the impetus of the disappearance of the Hamshen diocese, but was rather a consequence of its decline. Speros Vryonis has pointed to the decline of the Byzantine Church as one of the main causes of the passage to Islam of the Greek population of Anatolia.¹⁰ A similar process could have taken place in seventeenth-century Hemshin. Impoverishment or disappearance of the Hamshen diocese following one event or another, such as confiscation of its lands, could in turn have facilitated the transition to Islam of a large section of its flock. Left defenceless by the absence of spiritual leaders, Hamshen Armenians may have been more likely to succumb to the pressure or temptation of conversion.

In spite of its weakened condition, however, the diocese of Hamshen did possibly linger on until the end of the seventeenth century. Its centre, the monastery of Khach'ik Hawr (also known as Khach'ek'ar or Khach'ik'ear), was noted as the seat of a bishopric on a 1691 map of the Armenian Church that a Bolognese aristocrat, Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, commissioned an Armenian scholar of Constantinople, Eremia Çelebi K'ēōmiwrchian (Kömürçüyan), to prepare. Unfortunately, the inscriptions on the map do not indicate whether the diocese still existed in 1691, or was a thing of the past.¹¹ The monastery itself survived much longer, possibly until 1915.¹²

Surprisingly, the Matenadaran of Erevan holds a manuscript copied in Hamshen in 1812 (Matenadaran, ms. 7291). The presence of this manuscript is difficult to explain, since it was produced almost two centuries after the last manuscript preceding it, namely the 1630 manuscript now deposited in Venice. Either the manuscripts, although in reduced numbers, were still produced in the monastery between 1630 and 1812, or the 1812 manuscript was the result of a brief resurgence of scribal production after almost two centuries of interruption. The presence of the monastery as the sole remnant of the diocese of Hamshen would explain why Eghiovit/Elevit, the village near which it was located, remained Christian until the early nineteenth century (see Map 2.1). Even though it was still called a *vank'*, or monastery, by Father Minas Bzhshkian and recorded as such in documents of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1913, by that date it was probably



Figure 4.1 The ruins of a Christian chapel in the Firtina Valley in 1957. Unfortunately, the exact location of these ruins is unknown today.

little more than a modest church with a *k'ahanay*, or *erēts* ' (i.e. a married priest, the lowest rank in the hierarchy of the Armenian Church) as pastor.¹³

The decline of the Armenian Church may have been paralleled by the progression of Islam in the district from as early as the 1640s on. A warrant (*berat*) issued during the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Ibrahim (1640–1648) refers to the restoration of a mosque – perhaps the conversion of a church into a mosque – in the village of Çötenes, along the Senoz Dere (now Ormancık, in the Kaptanpaşa district (*bucak*) of the Çayeli county (*ilçe*)).¹⁴ This building was probably one of the first mosques in the *kaza* of Hemshin, and its presence stands as proof that Islam was making its first inroads into the district. Unfortunately, we do not know if the congregation that worshipped in this mosque was composed of converts or of Muslim migrants, such as soldiers, *timar* (military fief) holders, or other state officials.

Islam probably recorded greater advances during the second half of the seventeenth century. Thus the oldest Muslim tombstone in Hemshin is dated 1699 to 1700 (Hijri 1111). The epigraph inscribed on the tombstone gives the name of one Hacı Abdullah-zâde Müsellim Osman Efendi (*efendi* was a title given to literate people).¹⁵ Abdullah-zâde, or son of Abdullah, was a frequent appellation for slaves and converts in Islam, and this individual may have converted to Islam at some point during the second half of the seventeenth century, a few years or decades before his death.

The differences in dates of conversion between sources are a probable indication that Islamicization in Hemshin was an ongoing process, as Tashian pertinently suggested, rather than an abrupt one.¹⁶ Inchichian, describing the situation at the end of the eighteenth century, says that the Khala (Hala) Valley had lost its Armenian inhabitants little by little due to conversion, and that Armenians could no longer be found there, nor in the Upper and Lower Vizha villages (Viçe, now the Upper and Lower Çamlıca quarters (*mahalles*) of the town Çamlıhemşin). In contrast, Tap' or Ch'at' (now Çat), Koluna (Kolona, now Zilkale), K'oshtints' (or K'oshtents', also the seat of a monastery, location unknown), Amogda (Amokta, now Şenköy), Metsmun (or Medzmun, the Mezmun quarter of Ülkü), Zhanëntnots' (location unknown), Molëvints' (Molevis or Mollaveys, now Ülkü), Uskurta (now a quarter of Şenyuva), Shnch'iva (Cinciva or Çinçiva, now Şenyuva), Gushiva (Kushiva, now Yolkiy), Ordneints' (Ortnets, now Ortan or Ortanköy), Makrëvints' (Makrevis, now the Konaklar quarter of Çamlıhemşin) and Khapag (the Kavak quarter of Çamlıhemşin) had a mixed Armenian and Muslim population. One last village, Evoghiwt or Eghiovit (Elevit, now Yaylaköy), 'located at the head of the Hamshên Vichak [diocese], was entirely Armenian until recently [i.e. the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century], when half of its population converted to Islam'.¹⁷

An examination of the location of the villages which had lost all of their Christian inhabitants by the end of the eighteenth century provides clues to a possible cause of Islamicization in Hemshin. The Hala Valley and Lower and Upper Viçe abut directly on two Laz-populated regions, the valleys of the Zigam Dere and of the lower stretch of the Firtına (see Map 2.1 and Plate 6.1). The Lazi are believed to have started to convert to Islam in the 1580s, soon after the Ottoman conquest.¹⁸ Once Islamicized, the Laz had a clear advantage over the Armenians of Hemshin, which may have disturbed the traditional balance between the two neighbouring groups. The episode reported by Laz informants to Alexandre Toumarkine in the early 1990s about the expulsion of Armenians from five villages in the lower Firtına Valley could well have taken place during that initial period, when the Lazi were already Muslims and the Hamshen Armenians still Christians. Hamshen Armenians, had they remained Christians, may have found themselves in a position of subordination *vis-à-vis* the Laz similar to that of their compatriots living on the Armenian Plateau with regard to the Kurds – their lives and property at the mercy of the latter.¹⁹

The threat of seeing their land and property taken over by the Laz probably precipitated the conversion of the population of those Hemshin villages adjoining Laz settlements. By converting, Hemshin Armenians of the Hala Valley and of the two Viçe villages would have re-established the previous equilibrium in their relations with their Laz neighbours. Their conversion would also have created a buffer area protecting the other villages of Hemshin, located further up the Firtına River, both from the Laz and, to a lesser degree, from Muslim clerics and other Ottoman officials with a proselytizing zeal. Islamicized Hemshin Armenians would thus have played a role similar to that of the Pashai people of Afghanistan, who stood between the Muslim lowlands and Kafiristan until the conversion of that

region to Islam in 1895.²⁰ This protection, diminishing pressure on the highland villages of the upper Fırtına to convert, would explain how a small percentage of the population of Hemşin could have remained Christian until the early nineteenth century. The configuration of the population in the valleys of the Fırtına and Susa (Zuğa) Dere would have followed a three-tier pattern from the second half of the seventeenth century on, with the Laz on the coast and the lowest stretches of these rivers, Islamicized Hamşen Armenians, i.e. Hemşin or Hemşinli, in the lower and middle stretches of these rivers and the entire Hala Valley, and Christian Armenians along the middle and upper Fırtına. This latter section would have been reduced with time, since most of its population went over to Islam, leaving only Eghiovit/Elevit as an exclusively Christian village by the early nineteenth century. The modern-day 'rivalry' between the Hemşin inhabiting the valley of the main branch of the Fırtına Dere and those of the Hala Dere, noted by Erhan Ersoy, may reflect differences in the periods of conversion of the two groups.²¹

Local circumstances, such as the Islamicization of the Laz, were not alone in bringing about the mass conversion of Hemşin Armenians. Other factors, which had a wider regional or state-level character, were at play. The seventeenth century was a time of trouble for the Ottoman Empire, with the multiplication of signs of decline. The need to find resources to finance costly military campaigns, buy off janissaries' revolts, and pay for the sometimes extravagant spending of the sultans and their court as well as other state expenditures was a constant problem throughout the period. The demands of the budget often translated into increased tax pressure, in the form of poll tax (*cizye*), land tax (*haraç*) and tithe (*ispence*), on religious minorities. İnchichian mentions fiscal oppression as the reason for the conversion of Hamşen Armenians.²² Indeed, an unbearable tax burden is cited throughout history as one of the primary motives of conversion for religious minorities living under Islamic rule.

The case of the district of Tortum, located to the south of Hemşin and separated from it by Pertakrag (Kiskim, now Yusufeli), illustrates the role of taxation as a cause of Islamicization. According to contemporary Yakovb Karnets'i (Jacobus of Karin), one Mullah Jafar, 'mean and enemy of the Christians', received in 1643 the order from Istanbul to organize a census of the population of the districts around Erzurum. The census resulted in excessively heavy taxes, to escape from which the Armenian-speaking 'Georgians' (i.e. members of the Georgian Church or Chalcedonians) of Tortum converted *en masse* to Islam. In his text, Karnets'i rejoiced that unlike the 'Georgians', the Apostolic Armenians of Tortum remained steadfast in their faith.²³ Certain taxes such as the tithe, however, were fixed at the district level and were not reduced when the Christian population of a district diminished.²⁴ Consequently, the conversion of the 'Georgians' meant that the Armenians, who constituted half of Tortum's population, were left alone to carry the burden of taxation for the entire district (i.e. a doubling of their already unbearable charge). If at the time of Karnets'i's writing, in the 1660s, the Armenians of Tortum had not yet converted the increased tax pressure would soon lead many to do so in following decades.²⁵ The arbitrary process by which the *haraç* was increased and the resulting misery of the Armenian population is described in detail in the colophon of a 1694 manuscript copied in Baberd (Bayburt), then a

sancak (subprovince) of the Erzurum province. Grigor, the scribe who authored the colophon, writes that the manuscript was copied 'in these difficult times, when we were, like a ship surprised by storm, in the hands of impious and cruel tyrants. They stole and plundered without distinction'.²⁶

Erzurum officials did not have jurisdiction over Hemshin, and one should be careful to avoid outright projections. Yet, as confirmed by Inchichian, oppressive taxation is highly likely to have played in the conversion of Hemshin a role similar to the one it played in Tortum. Bzhshkian also implicitly supports this idea when discussing the poverty of Hemshin, to escape from which some moved towards Trebizond, Sürmene and Khurshunli, while 'the ones who stayed behind became Muslims'.²⁷ This last sentence is very important, since it shows that conversion was a means to escape poverty, which was at least partly caused by excessive taxation. Hemshin, a mountainous district lacking arable lands, was already not particularly prosperous, and it is not too difficult to imagine the disastrous consequences that an increase in taxation could have provoked there.

An example of a tax increase during the seventeenth century is provided in Ottoman registers. Between 1609–10 and 1626–27, the quantity of beeswax paid by the Christians of the Hemshin district was increased from 2,000 vukiyyes (2,560 kg) to 3,000 vukiyyes (3,840 kg).²⁸ The conversion of part of the population would have compounded tax increases similar to this one, since fewer people would have been left to pay much more, thus precipitating further conversions and an exodus of Christians.

The experience of dealing with oppressive taxation must certainly have been traumatic enough for some migrants from Hemshin to choose to keep secret from outsiders the location of their newly built settlements in the hinterland of Platana (now Akçaabat).²⁹ These settlers had reason to hide, since migration was often not enough to escape from taxation. In the early nineteenth century, descendants of migrants who had left Hemshin decades and even over a century earlier and who had settled in the city of Trebizond were still required, together with their compatriots living in villages around Trebizond, to contribute to an annual shipment of beeswax to the Imperial Court.³⁰

In addition to increased taxation, Ottoman troubles may have been responsible for increased intolerance *vis-à-vis* Christian minorities in the mid-seventeenth century, during the reign of Sultan Mehmed IV (1648–1687). The Surb Step'annos (St Stephen) Armenian church, located within the fortress of Erzurum, was converted into a mosque in 1662, leaving only one church outside the walls of the fortress to cater to the spiritual needs of the 2,000 Armenian households in the city.³¹ According to Anthony Bryer, this rising intolerance translated into a wave of persecution of Pontic Greeks during the 1650s and 1660s. Three martyrs were noted during the 1650s, and the St Philip Greek-Orthodox Cathedral in Trebizond was turned into a mosque in 1665 or 1674.³² The Armenians of Trebizond may have been affected as well, if the martyrdom of two Armenians from that city noted a few years later, in 1678 and 1698, was linked to the same wave of persecution.³³ Ottoman military reverses in the first Russo–Turkish war (1676–1681), which was brought to an end with the Treaty of Radzin, probably contributed to increased scrutiny of local Christians as potentially

suspicious elements, heightening existing hostility towards them. Further setbacks against Russia and other European powers during the last two decades of the seventeenth century, followed by the signature of the treaties of Karlowitz (1699) and Constantinople (1700), which ratified the Ottoman defeats, did little to improve Muslim citizens' attitudes towards the Christian subjects of the Sultan.³⁴

In what measure this religious persecution influenced the conversion of Hemshin Armenians is a justifiable question. Although no specific document is available, we know that an outflow of Armenians from Hemshin was taking place during this period. In 1676, the Surb P'ilipos (St Philip) Church was built in the hamlet of K'ean (K'yan, Kân, now Kayabaşı, in the Yomra county of Trabzon).³⁵ The builders of the chapel were in all likelihood among the first refugees from Hemshin fleeing the Islamicization of their native district. The presence in K'ean of Hamshenite Armenians is a clear indication of a religious shift affecting Hemshin during the second half of the seventeenth century.

In the case of the Pontos, the intolerance of which the Christians, both Greeks and Armenians, were victims was not so much implemented by central authorities as by valley lords (*derebeys*). The crises that affected the Ottoman Empire during the seventeenth century led to the weakening of central government in Anatolia. From the mid seventeenth century on, timariots, or holders of *timars*, and other adventurers became transformed into derebeys, having attained a status of almost complete autonomy from Istanbul and taken local government into their own hands. As explained by Bryer, the rule of the derebeys was difficult for everyone, but especially for Christian villagers, who were often reduced to a position of serfdom. Moreover, the wars which opposed the derebeys to one another or to central authorities – represented by the pashas of Trebizond – caused the instauration of a climate of violence and anarchy, which lasted until the power of the state was reasserted during the 1830s and 1840s.³⁶ Thus the Armenian population of Trebizond was greatly reduced between 1765 and 1772, many choosing to leave a city ravaged by conflict between derebeys, and three churches were abandoned because of persecution.³⁷ To escape from this regime of duress and lawlessness, many Christian subjects (*rayas*) sought refuge in conversion. Sometimes Christians were directly coerced into conversion, as in Sürmene, where according to Father Abel Mkhit'ariants', the houses of Armenians and Greeks were burned down by the derebeys, and the populations were forced to accept Islam during the same period (i.e. the 1760s and 1770s).³⁸

It should be noted that some persecution of Hemshin Christians by local officials was already taking place in the first decades of the seventeenth century, prior to the rise of the derebeys. This persecution was certainly important enough to provoke disruptions in the flow of honey, beeswax and clarified butter sent as tribute to the Imperial Palace. Consequently, to ensure the arrival of these goods, the administrator of the Sultan's kitchens had to procure 'a special rescript protecting the peasant producers from the exactions of local dignitaries'.³⁹ Yet, in times when central authority was collapsing, as in the second half of the seventeenth century, such edicts were no longer sufficient to restrain the religious fanaticism or cupidity of derebeys and other local officials and ensure the safety of the local Christian population.

Indeed, the derebeys may have carried the flag of Muslim intolerance against Hamshen Armenians, their emergence being the primary cause for the Islamicization of the latter. Orally transmitted histories among families of Hamshenite origin about their exile and settlement in other regions of the Pontos constitute a supplement to the paucity of written sources. These oral accounts corroborate the hypothesis that persecution by derebeys was the main factor in conversion. According to Armenian writer Malkhas, who cites such oral traditions, Hamshen Armenians were subjected to severe persecution, since derebeys could not tolerate the presence of Christians in areas under their control. This extreme pressure led to the conversion of some Armenians and to the exodus of others.⁴⁰ The oral tradition of Hamshen Armenians settled in the region of Ordu tells the story of derebeys inviting themselves to weddings in Armenian villages and forcing women to dance with them. During one such event, which took place in the early eighteenth century, a derebey raped one woman, following which he was killed by young Armenian men. The latter then fled to Ordu, but some of them were caught during their escape and had to convert to Islam to save their lives. According to this narrative, the Islamicized Hemshinli are the descendants of these converts.⁴¹

Oral accounts from Mala, a village of Platana (now the Akçaabat county) founded by Hamshen Armenians, similarly confirm the role of persecution by derebeys in the Islamicization of Hemshin. Four similar – but not identical – accounts of the settlement of Mala have reached us.⁴² As is unfortunately often the case with orally transmitted histories and traditions, these accounts are at times unreliable, particularly with regard to dates, and consequently, much caution must be exercised when using them. For example, Malkhas, who transcribed one of these accounts, describes the years from 1680 to 1700 in one of his studies and from 1720s to 1730s in another as the period of exodus from Hemshin.⁴³

All four versions agree that a group of Hamshen Armenians, under the leadership of a young man name Husēp' (Hovsēp', or Joseph in local dialect), fled their native district to escape oppression and settled in the densely forested valley of the Sera Dere, to the east of Platana (now Akçaabat; see Map 7.3). There they founded the village of Mala (now Cevizlik) and chose to keep its existence secret from outsiders, mainly to avoid interference by central government or derebeys, including demands for the payment of taxes. The decision of Husēp' and the other villagers to keep the existence of Mala secret is a confirmation of the role of oppressive taxation and persecution by derebeys in Hemshin, which left to its population only the choice between conversion and migration. As a result of their decision, Mala inhabitants were prevented from leaving the perimeter of the village and lived in total autarky. After thirty such years, the village was discovered when some of its inhabitants ventured to Trebizond (or Platana in some versions), following which officials were sent to Mala to collect the taxes owed by the villagers. The versions then differ. In most versions, the *yuzbaşı* (centurion) of the janissaries who had come to impose taxation was killed by Husēp'. The latter then went to Trebizond, where he managed to reach an agreement with officials that taxes for the past thirty years would be forgiven, and that from that date on, the village head would go once a year to Trebizond to negotiate with local authorities

the amount of taxes to be paid by Mala inhabitants. This agreement remained in place until the 1908 Revolution.⁴⁴

Sargis Haykuni, one of the founders of modern Armenian anthropology and a native of the Pontos, provided in his biography about the bandit Abrieōm one of the versions of the Mala events.⁴⁵ In this version, the man killed by Husēp' was an Armenian from Mala who had converted to Islam and was harassing his former fellow villagers out of jealousy for Husēp'. What ensued after the renegade's death was an attack on the village by janissaries, who killed Husēp'. His oldest son, Nahapet, was executed after refusing to save his life by converting to Islam, thus becoming a martyr. The youngest son, named Movsēs, accepted conversion and was taken to Platana, where he was married to a Turkish girl and became the founder of the Musli-oghli family.⁴⁶ In his introduction to Misak' T'orlak'ian's autobiography, Malkhas (Artashēs Hovsēp'ian), a native of the region and himself a descendant of Husēp', confirms that the members of the large Hovsēp'ian clan who settled in the Sera Dere, downstream from Mala, converted to Islam (see Map 7.3).⁴⁷ The middle son, Ōvanēs, fled to forests southeast of Trebizond, where he lived a savage's existence until he was discovered and taken in by Armenian villagers from Kalafka. Ōvanēs was married to a girl from Kalafka and was the ancestor, four generations back, of the bandit Abrieōm.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, key dates are inconsistent within Haykuni's text. He writes that Armenians were already settled in the village of Mala, in the district of Platana, 'some two hundred years ago'.⁴⁹ He does not tell us if the Armenian presence in Mala was two hundred years anterior to his visit to the village in 1858 to 1859, to the writing of his book in 1867 to 1890, or to its publication in 1905. Moreover, he states that Mala inhabitants lived an autonomous and secure existence in the 1730 to 1760 period, implying that the Mala massacre took place in the 1760s. His hero, Abrieōm, was born in 1795, and one wonders how four generations could have succeeded between 1760 and 1795, especially as Ōvanēs reportedly spent five to seven years in the forests and was married for twenty-five years before his wife gave birth to their son Husēp'.

It should be noted here that the original idea of using oral accounts from Mala to determine the period of Islamicization of Hemshin is to be credited to Barunak T'orlak'yan, the foremost expert on Hamshen Armenians in the Soviet Union and himself of Hamshenite descent. Unfortunately, T'orlak'yan relied solely on the account collected by Sargis Haykuni, which, as we have seen, is not without problems, and took at face value the dates provided by Haykuni, even though some of these dates contradicted one another.⁵⁰

The most reliable date in Haykuni's narrative is the 1795 birth date of the bandit Abrieōm, whose son Karapet was the godfather of Haykuni, himself born in 1838. If one takes an average of twenty-five years between generations, and adds another thirty years for the time Ōvanēs supposedly spent in the forests and was childless, Ōvanēs would have been born around 1670, and the Mala events would have taken place when he was around 20 years old, *circa* 1690. His father Husēp' would have been born around 1640 to 1645, and would have led the migration from Hemshin during the 1660s when still a young man. This calculation,

which falls relatively close to the 1680 to 1700 date provided by Malkhas in his autobiography, points to the second half of the seventeenth century as the period during which the rise of intolerance against Christians and their persecution by derebeys led to the conversion of part of Hemshin's population and the exodus of those refusing Islamicization.⁵¹

Migrations and further conversions: the cases of Karadere and Khurshunlu

Outmigration of Christians was the counterpart to conversion and the second most important development in the history of Hemshin for the period between the 1630s and the 1850s, and possibly even later. As seen in the case of Mala, however, migration to other areas of the Pontos was not sufficient to preserve oneself and one's family from Islamicization. Fugitives from Hemshin who settled in other parts of the Pontos were often caught up by religious persecution in their new locations and ultimately forced to convert. In addition to Mala, two other communities established by Hamshenite Armenians were subjected to Islamicization: Karadere (now the Araklı county) and Khurshunli (also known as Khurshunlu or Kurshumli, to the south of Çarşamba).

The Karadere (Hyssos, Sew Get in Armenian) Valley, located to the east of Trebizond, was one of the major routes of passage connecting Bayburt and the Anatolian hinterland with the Pontic coast (see Map 7.3). This valley constituted the western part of the Sourmaina/Sürmene district in Trapezuntine and Ottoman times.⁵² This district seems to have had some Armenian population from the Middle Ages on. Armenian sources mention the presence of three medieval monasteries, two of which (St Vardan and St Isaac) were located 'in the town of Sürmene', and one, Surb Khach' (Holy Cross) of Asamut or Arsumat, in the upper reaches of the district, within an hour's walk southward from Madur Tepesi. However, aside from their names, little else is known about these monasteries, and no manuscripts possibly copied in them have reached us.⁵³

A second migration wave seems to have started in the sixteenth century, originating mostly from Baberd (Bayburt), located to the immediate south of Karadere, and to a lesser extent from Ispir. Place names in Karadere identical to ones in Bayburt indicate that migrants named their new settlements after their villages of origin.⁵⁴ Armenian presence is attested in Ottoman registers, which list first names such as Merkul, Kirkor, Tomas, Asdor, Ovenes and Mardaros for inhabitants of the Mincano village.⁵⁵ According to T'umayian, Armenians who settled there to flee 'violence and oppression' were invited by the derebeys – or timar holders, since derebeys appeared later – of Karadere/Sürmene to 'cultivate the land or to fight their enemies'.⁵⁶ A similar influx of Greeks fleeing the Islamicization of the Of district is reported to have taken place during the same period.⁵⁷ The immigration of Greeks and Armenians could explain the sudden rise in population and number of villages of the Sürmene district reported in Ottoman registers for the period between 1553 and 1583.⁵⁸ Construction of the large Armenian church in the village of T'rëts'or (later Tsimla, Cimla or Zimla),

built – according to oral traditions – around the end of the sixteenth century and transformed in 1850 into a hayloft, can probably be credited to migrants from Bayburt.⁵⁹ In some cases, migration appears to have taken place even earlier, as in the case of Mincano, where Armenian names are listed in a 1515 to 1516 register.⁶⁰

The Armenian population of the district was increased during the seventeenth century, when settlers from Bayburt were joined by fugitives from Hamshen.⁶¹ The latter must have been much more numerous than the former and assimilated them, because refugees who fled Karadere during the eighteenth century would identify themselves and be known by other Armenians as *Hamshēnahayer*, or Hamshen Armenians. Another possible explanation of the Hamshenite dominance in Armenian rural communities all along the Black Sea coast could be that, when forced to flee, settlers from Bayburt returned south to their district of origin in the Armenian Plateau rather than moving westward towards other areas of the Pontos with Hamshen Armenians. Indeed, one-tenth of the fugitives from Karadere are estimated to have fled towards Bayburt.⁶²

Haykuni collected and transcribed in an article published in 1895 in the journal *Ararat* the oral account of the Islamicization of Karadere Armenians.⁶³ He thus provided us with a highly detailed – albeit romanticized and transformed with the passage of time – account of the conversion process as it took place in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Pontos. Before starting the narrative, Haykuni mentioned two factors which facilitated the conversion of Karadere. The first factor was the hostility between Armenians and Greeks, which continued even after the Greeks of Of and the Armenians of Karadere had passed over to Islam. The second factor was the lack of spiritual leaders, since the thirty-six villages of Karadere were served by only one priest.⁶⁴ Both of these elements mirrored the context of Hemshin, where the rivalry between Laz and Armenians and the weakness of the Church following the decline of the Hamshen diocese may have played a significant role in the conversion process.

In the oral account provided in Haykuni's article, however, outright persecution was the main factor leading to the Islamicization of Karadere, with one *Ghuruf-oghli* (probably *Rauf-oghli*) *Mōlla Mēhmēt* playing the role of chief culprit. According to this account, Mehmed Raufoglu was a mullah from Sürmene who was 'so fanatic that he intended to obtain the conversion of all Christians to Islam within a twinkling'.⁶⁵ Mehmed Raufoglu recruited and indoctrinated forty young men who were then sent to the Karadere Valley to preach the Muslim faith. Raufoglu and his newly ordained mullahs registered some success in their missionary activity, finding a number of Armenians willing to listen to their sermons and even to acknowledge that 'Muhammad was a true prophet and the Qur'an holy'. Haykuni believes Armenians were acting out of fear and responding 'to the necessities of the time and to politics', as the mullahs often mixed threats with persuasion, claiming that a 'great army would be sent by the Sultan to punish Armenians if they did not convert'.⁶⁶ Interpreting the response as acceptance of Islam, the mullahs proselytizing in Karadere gave reports to their co-religionists in Sürmene and elsewhere about the number of converts in every village of the district. After ten years of such proselytizing, the people who had appeared favourable to the speeches of the mullahs were invited to officially accept Islam. The reaction of

the people that Raufoğlu and his companions had considered to be won over to their cause was, however, negative, and the mullahs were expelled from Karadere.

Humiliated by this rejection, the mullahs resorted to treachery and announced that the Armenians of Karadere were about to officially convert and that they had invited the mullahs to organize a great ceremony to mark the event. The mullahs claimed that it was the duty of all good Muslims to be present at such a ceremony. Consequently, a few thousand men gathered in a cortege led by Raufoğlu and entered the Karadere Valley. Upon entering the first Armenian village, the mullahs asked individuals who had accepted Islam to come forward. When villagers told them that there was no one willing to become Muslim in the entire district, the mullahs interrogated those whom they had considered to have assented to conversion on the reasons for this staunch negative attitude. The answer of those interrogated was that the soul of Christian resistance in Karadere was embodied in the priest Tēr Karapet from the village of T'orosli, who enjoyed the overwhelming support of the population. Moreover, any converts would be punished immediately by the Armenians. The Muslim crowd then headed towards T'orosli (Toroslu, now the Kayaici village of the Araklı county), where they were stopped at the entrance of the village by a hundred armed men sent by Tēr Karapet. Threatening a fight to the death, the Armenians asked the mullahs and their followers not to enter the village and to leave immediately. Seeing that they were surrounded by Toroslu's population, the mullahs and their followers wisely chose to withdraw.

The discomfiture of Raufoğlu, his mullahs and other honourable Muslims was widely considered an offence to Islam. Gathered in Sürmene, muftis, judges (*kadis*) and other learned religious figures expressed the opinion that although the Qur'an ordered the protection of Christians, the actions of the Armenians constituted apostasy, which was punishable by death. Karadere Armenians had not only fooled God's Prophet, but they were also rebels, and not only their adults but their children as well must be passed by the sword 'to extirpate this race of unbelievers from the face of the earth'. This opinion was transmitted to the authorities in Trebizond, who sent forces to join a large Muslim mob preparing to march on Toroslu.⁶⁷

The village was surrounded by surprise on Holy Saturday (Easter Eve), when all its inhabitants were in the church. Tēr Karapet was the first to be killed and his body cut into pieces, following which a large number of people, including children and the elderly, were massacred. The killing continued until the 'cowards' begged for its halt, promising to convert the next day. During the night, those committed most devoutly to their religion gathered their families and fled westward into the deep forests of the district. The remains of Tēr Karapet's dismembered body were assembled and carried away by some of the fugitives. His family settled in the village of Kalafka (now Kōmürçü, in the Yomra county), where part of his remains were buried, with the rest taken to Bayburt. The Toroslu scenario was repeated the same day in all the villages of Karadere. The next day, on Easter Sunday, five hundred of the most prominent men of the district gathered near the church of Toroslu and officially converted. A week later, a ceremony was held for the conversion of the relatives of these men.⁶⁸

A slightly different version of the Karadere events is available in T'umayian's study on Armenians of the Pontos. As in Haykuni's article, Mehmed Raufoğlu is

presented as a fanatic, albeit as a derebey, not a mullah. He did not indoctrinate forty young Turks, but organized a ceremony in the village of Tsimla for the conversion of forty young Armenians. The river running by the village was turned red by blood during the three days of the ceremony. Horrified by the bloodshed and the excesses of Raufoğlu, some of the mullahs disavowed his actions and turned their backs on him. The next day, when the derebey was marching on the last remaining Armenian village of the district, P'irvanē (Pervane), with the intention of Islamicizing it, he was ambushed and killed by his enemies. It was in this way that Pervane was saved from conversion.⁶⁹ According to yet another version, Pervane was saved because a local agha, Mahmud Suiçmezoğlu, wanted to keep the fifteen or sixteen Christian households of the village to guard his harem, 'because derebeys did not trust Turks for that function'.⁷⁰

Whether they took place in Toroslu or Tsimla, the extreme acts of violence committed during the conversion of Karadere Armenians left an indelible mark on their descendants, both Christians and Muslims, for centuries to come. Thus an elderly woman, who was a devout Muslim, told Haykuni that her ancestors accepted Islam as the true faith only after the prophet Muhammad accomplished the 'miracle of turning Karadere into blood for seven days'.⁷¹

The differences between these versions show again how much caution must be used when consulting oral history. The problems with the use of such accounts are summarized by Margarita Poutouridou who, in her article on the Of district, explains that as

time passes, the memory of historical events tends to metamorphose and become codified. Later generations often improvise when it comes to filling in the gaps in their local histories. On occasion, stories are improved so as to better express the ideals of the group. The community's accumulated experiences and the changes in living conditions also play a role in how collective memory is passed on.⁷²

Like the narratives of Greek scholars studying the Islamicization of the Of district, Haykuni's historical account also reflects the patriotic and even nationalist preoccupations of the author and his time. These preoccupations could help explain the emphasis on religious oppression and the bloody nature of Islamicization as the almost exclusive rationale for conversion.⁷³ Nevertheless, once these considerations have been taken into account, the oral tradition collected by Haykuni provides important knowledge which can help clarify the picture of the conversion process in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Pontos. The rivalry between Armenians and Greeks, the weakness of the Armenian clergy in the region, the role of the Islamic religious establishment and of the derebeys, the overall climate of persecution, the use of coercion, and the swift conversion of the wealthy to preserve their possessions emerge as some of the factors which played an important role in the Islamicization of Karadere Armenians.

Authors disagree on the timing of the Karadere events. According to Haykuni, the Karadere massacre took place in 1708 to 1710, while the eminent linguist Hrach'eay

Acharian places it in 1715.⁷⁴ Citing a manuscript he saw in the village of Uzi Samira, T'umayian argues that Islamicization, although it had started decades earlier, was ultimately not achieved until 1780, when the village of Khakhagh, at the upper end of Karadere, was converted.⁷⁵ The only problem with his assertion is that Khakhagh is unheard of in other sources, and we do not know to what modern village it corresponds, if it ever existed at all.⁷⁶ In support of T'umayian, however, Mkhit'ariants' mentions that the derebays of Trebizond, including one named *Momosh* (probably a corrupt form of Memiş), burned down the houses of the Greeks and Armenians of Sürmene and Islamicized them at some point during the 1760s to 1780s.⁷⁷ This episode, or the one narrated by T'umayian, is possibly corroborated by a 1783 document from the Ottoman archives, which mentions that one *sipahi* named Mehmed committed *zorbalıklar* (i.e. acts of tyranny, violence) in the Sürmene *nahiye* (district).⁷⁸ The activity of bandits such as the Sipahi Mehmed appears to have even extended to the southern side of the Pontic Mountains, since an attack by the 'Laz' (i.e. Muslims from the Black Sea region) is reported to have taken place around that period in Bayburt. The villages of the district were plundered and destroyed, and some of the inhabitants were forced to convert to Islam.⁷⁹

The pervasive *Hamshēnahay* self-description, and the absence of a *Karadērēahay* (or *Sewgetahay*) one in Armenian rural communities of the Pontos may weigh in favour of the earlier conversion date, as they could be a reflection of the little time spent by Hamshen refugees in Karadere. The brevity of their stay in the district may not have allowed for a Karadere identity to take hold and replace the emotional bond with Hamshen. Around sixty years would separate the likely arrival date of the first families from Hemshin during the 1650s from the Karadere events, had these events taken place around 1708 to 1715. One last possibility is that two waves of persecution could have affected the Karadere/Sürmene district, one at the beginning of the eighteenth century and one towards its end, translating into two separate periods of Islamicization and thus reconciling the two divergent opinions on the date of conversion. Yet this hypothesis does not provide us with any answer on whether Mehmed Raufoğlu really existed, and if he did, on the period in which he was active. It would be tempting of course to link the Sipahi Mehmed of the Turkish sources or the Memiş mentioned by Mkhit'ariants' with Mehmed Raufoğlu, but any such attempt would be purely speculative, given the very large number of individuals called Mehmed or Memiş.

Whether Mehmed Raufoğlu existed or not, what is certain is that Armenians suddenly disappeared from the Karadere Valley. Turkish sources confirm a reflux towards the Armenian Plateau. Bilgin explains an outmigration of 'Gregorian Turks' – a preposterous term invented by Turkish nationalist authors in an attempt to deny any historical Armenian presence in Anatolia – in terms of a sudden climate change. As explained by Hagop Hachikian in this volume, however, his argument is not convincing, because people wanting to escape the new, colder climate would have little incentive to move to the even colder eastern Anatolian region.⁸⁰ Without citing any causes for their departure, Bilgin also mentions that the Armenians – this time using the term 'Armenians' and not 'Christian Turks' – of Karadere moved to eastern Anatolia and Russia, and that the few who remained were gathered in

Pervane and Mahtile.⁸¹ The change of climate that led to the disappearance of the Armenian community of Karadere/Sürmene was without doubt more of a political than a meteorological sort.

According to Haykuni, one-tenth of the fugitives from Karadere went to Bayburt, one-fifth to villages around Trebizond, and the rest to the sancak of Canik.⁸² The villages where they settled, located in the hills above the coastal towns and cities of Yomra, Trebizond, Platana (Akçaabat), Ordu, Fatsa, Ünye, Terme, Çarşamba, Samsun, Bafra and Sinop, most likely already housed an Armenian population that had arrived directly from Hemshin without going through Karadere. One of the earliest established groups of Hamshenite villages in Canik was Khurshunli (also known as Khurshunlu or Kurshumli, in the kaza of Çarşamba, to the south of the city of the same name). Bzhshkian's text seems to imply that the inhabitants of Khurshunli had come directly from Hamshen, while according to Mkhitar'iants' and T'umayian, Khurshunlu's Armenians hailed from Karadere.⁸³

We have seen with the case of Mala that migration was often not sufficient to preserve a population from forced Islamicization. T'umayian states that many of the fugitives from Karadere were later forced to convert. Such was, according to him, the case of all those who went to Canik. Mkhitar'iants' states that the ones who went to Canik and settled in the 'Ghurshunlu Dere' had already been Islamicized in Sürmene (Karadere).⁸⁴ This claim, although unlikely, since the main goal of people leaving their native district was to escape conversion, is not completely implausible. The abuses by the Sipahi Mehmed mentioned in Turkish sources could have caused an exodus out of Sürmene not only of Christians, but also of recently Islamicized Armenians.⁸⁵ Notwithstanding the moment and place of their conversion, the Islamicized Armenians that settled in Canik secretly maintained their Christian faith.⁸⁶

It is in this context that the episode of the Khurshunlu Armenians' return to Christianity took place, an episode that deserves mention because of its character, as remarkable as rare. In 1789, the former governor (*vali*) of Trebizond Canikli Battal Hüseyin Pasha betrayed the Sultan and went over to Russia. During his stay in St Petersburg, he received 'honours and help' from Archbishop Hovsēp' Arghut'iants', Primate of the Armenians of Russia and future *Catholicos*, and enjoyed the protection of the latter, who was quite influential at the court of the Romanovs. Moved by gratitude, Battal Hüseyin Pasha promised the Archbishop that he would grant freedom of worship to the Islamicized Armenians living in his fief of Canik. Upon his return to the Ottoman empire in 1799, where he recovered and held his former position of governor of Trebizond until his death in 1801, Battal Hüseyin Pasha respected his promise and ordered Islamicized Armenians to revert to Christianity.⁸⁷ As a probable result of this authorization, the Surb Geōrg (St George) Church of Khurshunlu, the first Armenian church built by Hamshen Armenians in Canik, was consecrated in 1799.⁸⁸ Bzhshkian, who passed through the region a few years later, around 1817, described Khurshunlu Armenians in the following terms:

They are Armenians from Hamshēn. All are registered as hereditary soldiers, and they have [as] a commander an Armenian prince who rules over them. They fear no one. They only go to war with the derebey, and they are strong men.⁸⁹

Islamicization and crypto-Christianity

The presence of a small number of Christians in Hemshin at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a century and a half after the beginning of the conversions, demonstrates the extent of time necessary to achieve Islamicization.⁹⁰ The Christian presence also meant that most of the villages of Hemshin – with the possible exclusion of Lower and Upper Viçe and the Hala Dere, which may have become entirely Islamicized early on – had a mixed population between the mid-seventeenth and the early nineteenth centuries. The composition of the population mix, however, varied throughout this period, with a gradual decline in numbers of Christians and a converse increase in the share of Muslims. The religious context was, however, more complicated than that, since the boundary between Christians and Muslims in Hemshin was blurred by the existence of yet a third category composed of crypto-Christians known as *kēskēs* (Arm. half-half).

Thus, while the village of Çötenes (now Ormancık, in Kaptanpaşa) may have possibly had a mosque as early as the 1640s,⁹¹ the Senoz Dere area of Hemshin in which it was located still had a substantial Christian population a few decades later. A colophon added in 1710 in the village of Dölēnits' (Tölēnits', Tolenic or Tolones, now Yeşiltepe) to a manuscript originally copied in Karin (Garin, Erzurum) in 1673 mentions the passing away of the priest Tēr Vardan, and provides the names of members of his family.⁹² Similarly, according to oral traditions, the village of Tepan in the valley of the Susa or Zuğa Dere (now Bilen, in the Hemşin county) held out for some time after neighbouring villages had converted, thus becoming the last village of the valley to accept Islam.⁹³ These examples of a simultaneous Christian and Muslim presence in nearby villages or even within the same village were in all likelihood replicated in most other areas of Hemshin.

It is not known whether conversions were taking place at a regular, steady pace following the first conversions of the mid-seventeenth century, or whether Islamicization progressed through episodic crisis periods with a high number of conversions, between which intervened years of lull in shift of religious allegiance. Such a crisis could have taken place during the 1720s, some seventy years after the beginning of the conversion process in Hemshin. Malkhas mentions an exodus from Hemshin during the 1720s and 1730s, which he blames on oppression by the derebeys.⁹⁴ Another author, Atrpet, writes that Arif-Ahmed Pasha forced some Hamshen Armenians to convert in 1723.⁹⁵ Arif-Ahmed Pasha, or Ârifi Ahmed Pasha, was placed in charge of military operations in Georgia and Iran in 1722 to 1723.⁹⁶ Did Ârifi Ahmed Pasha inaugurate operations against enemies outside the empire by a campaign against elements deemed suspicious inside? Was there a will to consolidate border areas against the looming Russian threat by eliminating Christians? Unfortunately, in the absence of sources confirming such action on Atrpet's part, it is difficult to provide any answers to these questions and determine the role – if any – played by Ârifi Ahmed Pasha in the conversion of Hamshen Armenians.

Whether Ârifi Ahmed Pasha played a role in it or not, the rate of conversions increased during the first decades of the eighteenth century. Tashian's statement that the Islamicization of Hamshen started at the end of the seventeenth century

but made significant progress only in the eighteenth is vindicated by the recently published work of two local Hemshinli historians, Veysel Atacan and Serdar Bekar, on the subject of Ottoman tombstones in Hemshin.⁹⁷ Of the 151 tombstones recorded by these two authors for the period between 1699 and 1925, only thirty-two belong to the eighteenth century, seventy-three to the nineteenth, and forty-six to the first quarter of the twentieth century. The median year is 1884, with half of the tombstones preceding that date and half following it.⁹⁸ This statistic must obviously be treated with caution, since older tombstones are more likely to have fallen into decay or been destroyed. Such must have been the case of the tombstones of sixteenth-century Ottoman officials and soldiery who were posted in Hemshin, none of which were found by Atacan and Bekar. Yet, even taking this into consideration, the numbers are compelling. There are twice as many tombstones for the nineteenth century as for the eighteenth. Within the eighteenth century there are only nine tombstones for the first half of the century against twenty-three for the second half. Given the absence of a population boom in Hemshin during that period, the increase in the number of recorded Muslim tombstones may be explained in terms of an increase in the number of converts during the first half of the eighteenth century.

The building of mosques should normally accompany conversion to Islam. Bryer, who on the basis of Gökbilgin's 1962 article in *Belleten* believed that the Hemshinli had started to convert in the sixteenth century, wrote that the 'Hemşinli and Laz may have been converted early to Islam, but they have no mosque earlier than of the twentieth century to show for it'.⁹⁹ Bryer was slightly mistaken, because there were some mosques in Hemshin before the twentieth century, yet they were so few that he cannot be blamed entirely. Aside from the seventeenth-century mosque in Cötenes/Ormanlık – about which we know only through the berat mentioned by Atacan and Bekar, the present building having been constructed in 1826 – there are only two mosques built before the late nineteenth century. Both of these mosques, built in 1774 and 1791 respectively, are located within the Mutlu quarter (formerly the Bodullu village) of Hemşin Ortaköy (Zuğaortaköy).¹⁰⁰ Meanwhile, churches remained standing in villages which still had some Christian population at the time of Inchichian's writing in the early nineteenth century even though there were no clergymen to serve in these churches, except for the priest of Evoghiwt (Eghiovit or Elevit), who visited them a few times a year.¹⁰¹

The rarity of mosques in a district where a substantial portion of the population had accepted Islam may be linked to the circumstances of conversion. Having taken place under duress, the Islamicization of Hemshin Armenians remained superficial for decades if not centuries to come. As in the case of the Pontic Greek communities of Kromni (Kurum), Santa and Stavri, Hamshen Armenians developed their own brand of crypto-Christianity following their conversion. Inchichian writes that 'the Muslims speak Armenian to this day; in the villages they use the names *knk'ahayr* [godfather; italics added in this and the next quote] and *knk'amayr* [godmother]; they keep Lent and other rites and rules of the Christian faith; they attend church, etc.; some are *kēskēs* by faith, showing only outwardly

to being Muslims'.¹⁰² Another Mekhitarist, Bzhshkian, who visited the region in 1817, states:

The Hamshēnts'ik' are *kēskēs* [italics added in this quote], many have converted, but they have kept the Christian customs and do not miss prayers and alms-giving; at *Vardavar* [Transfiguration of Christ] and *Verap'okhum* [Assumption] almost all go to church, light candles, and make sacrifices for the souls of their ancestors; all speak Armenian.¹⁰³

Kēskēs (western Armenian *gēsḡēs*), or half-half, the name with which the crypto-Christians of Hemshin were described, was the Armenian equivalent of the Greek terms *linovamvakoi* (linen-cottons) and *meso-meso*, used respectively in Cyprus and in the Pontos.¹⁰⁴ In the Armenian experience, crypto-Christians known as *kēskēs* were not limited to Hamshen. Inchichian notes that in the neighbourhood of Chipin (Jibin, now Saylakkaya, near Halfeti in the Şanlı Urfa province), on the left bank of the Euphrates, stood three villages, Arah, Hayni and K'ēshishlik', the *kēskēs* population of which spoke an Armenian dialect close to *Grabar*, or Classical Armenian.¹⁰⁵ *Kēskēs* could even be found further south in Tripoli, in today's Lebanon. In 1659, Capuchin missionaries from Touraine reported that a destitute Armenian pilgrim on his way to Jerusalem was given alms by crypto-Christians. The latter were said to be called '*gues ou Guez* [italics added], qui veut dire moitié par moitié, paroissants turcs et secrètement reçoivent les Sacrements des Arméniens et jeusnent tant qu'ils peuvent'.¹⁰⁶

In his study on crypto-Christians of Turkey, R. M. Dawkins distinguished between four categories of people with divided or ambivalent religious affiliations. The first group consisted of individuals who had converted to Islam through dervish proselytism and adhered to the syncretism between Christianity and Islam preached by Sufi brotherhoods. Some of the latter also spread 'indifferentism and the doctrine that salvation was to be won by faithfulness to a man's own religion, whatever it was'.¹⁰⁷ The second category sprang partly from this doctrine, and comprised people who were indifferent to religious matters. These people simply wanted the best from both sides, 'anxious for all that can be got in the way of spiritual but especially material help from whatever holy man and holy places and rites may be at hand'.¹⁰⁸ The third category included the 'imperfectly converted', whose love of their former faith made it difficult for them to abandon all elements of it, especially in cases of forced conversion. Having retained elements of their former religion because they 'may well have found it impossible to destroy what they held so sacred', these people were thus caught in 'struggles and hesitations'.¹⁰⁹ Yet there is no evidence to determine in what religion, old or new, they believed more. Meanwhile, genuine crypto-Christians, the fourth category, were supposed 'to believe in Christianity and hate Islam'. What also separated the 'imperfectly converted' from authentic crypto-Christians was concealment, 'which is of the very essence of Crypto-Christianity'.¹¹⁰ In the case of Hemshin, the first category may be eliminated at the outset, since no Sufi influences were at play in provoking conversion. Yet the little evidence that is

available makes it difficult to determine into which of the other three categories the Hemshinli, the converted Armenians of Hemshin, could be classified. Were the Hemshinli who perpetuated various Christian customs imperfect converts or genuine crypto-Christians? Was a woman who prayed in a church for the recovery of her sick child religiously indifferent, trying to get help from every corner, or was she an authentic crypto-Christian? Similarly, what was the status of the Muslims who took the pilgrimage to the Khach'ik'ear (Khach'ek'ar) Monastery,¹¹¹ 'religious indifferents' or crypto-Christians?

The observation of the Transfiguration of Christ, or *Vardavař* (western Armenian *Vartavař*), best symbolizes the complexity of the religious status of converted Hemshinli with regard to crypto-Christianity. This celebration initially had a clear religious content; in the early decades of the nineteenth century, at the time of Bzhshkian's writing, it was the occasion of a visit to church. The celebration of Vardavař probably maintained at least part of its religious character until the latter half of the nineteenth century, and was interpreted as such by Muslim religious authorities. In 1893, Hemshinli then working in southern Russia told the local correspondent of the Tiflis (Tbilisi) Armenian-language paper *Nor-Dar* that they still continued to observe Vardavař and that when they had been ordered by the *Sheikh ul-Islam* to stop doing so, they had replied that 'they would still celebrate it even if tied to the mouth of a cannon'.¹¹² Yet Vardavař, celebrated to this day by Rize Hemshinli, lost all religious meaning at some point during the twentieth century.¹¹³ Even less is known about the context in which Vardavař was celebrated by converted Armenians in other regions, such as Erzuka (Erzincan) or Sasun.¹¹⁴

The perpetuation of baptism until the late nineteenth century is, after Vardavař, the most widely publicized Christian custom retained by the Hemshinli, as it was reported by Vital Cuinet in *La Turquie d'Asie*. Cuinet described how Hemshinli families – which he called *Hamchounlis* – kept 'holy water' preciously (chrism, *miwřon* in Armenian) to baptise their children. The water diminished by usage or evaporation was replenished with ordinary water, which, mixed with the older water, received the sacred character necessary for baptism ceremonies.¹¹⁵ In the absence of churches and priests, Hemshinli had transferred to the private sphere rituals normally performed by clergy, and in the case of the consecration of the chrism, or *miwřonōrhñēk'*, this extended to a ceremony which could take place only with the participation of the supreme head of the Armenian Church, the Catholicos. Not all families, however, appeared to renew chrism in their homes. According to Hemshinli informants, on 6 January, the day of Epiphany, mothers would force their children to enter water and swim, because on that day 'the Holy Cross was present in the water'. The regret of not having chrism at their disposal was expressed in the moving statement made to their children on this occasion that 'we do not have miwřon on our faces, hence we do not have shame; this water purifies you, Swim, our ancestors have always done so'.¹¹⁶

In 1775 a Venice Mekhitarist, Father Poghos Mēhērian, commissioned a deacon in Karin (Erzurum) who also happened to be a peddler to buy manuscripts while touring the provinces for his trade. The peddler, who stayed in the home of a Muslim family in Hamshen on a Saturday night, noticed a lamp burning at

a distance. The peddler was told that the lamp was lighted every Saturday evening in honour of the *Incil* (Gospel) they had inherited from their ancestors. The family had been forced to convert to Islam some sixty years earlier, around 1715, because of 'Turkish [i.e. Muslim] oppression'. The peddler, seeing the venerable manuscript – which was not a Gospel but a *Mashtots* (book of rituals) copied in the ninth or tenth century – proposed to buy it, but the owners first refused, saying they did not want to sell the manuscript, which they considered the blessing (*bereket*) of their home. After much insistence on the peddler's part, the owners finally relented and sold him the manuscript for the amount of sixty *paras*. The peddler took it to Mēhērian in Karin, from where it was sent to the Mekhitarist monastery on San Lazzaro island in Venice (ms. 457).¹¹⁷ This last narrative leaves unanswered the question of the religious identity of the Hemshinli family owning the manuscript. The lighting of the lamp and the respect displayed towards the manuscript may indicate a crypto-Christian identity reminiscent of *Marranos* practices.¹¹⁸ However, the text may alternatively lead one to believe that the family was more 'imperfectly converted' than crypto-Christian, given the quasi-superstitious character of their use of the manuscript as a bearer of blessing to their home along with their ultimate willingness to part with it in exchange for a modest sum of money.

Mēhērian also provides in his unpublished travel notes another instance in which the affection of converts towards their former faith is displayed. In September 1776, he visited the village of Khewak (Khevag/Khevak/Heveg-i Kiskim, now Yaylalar, in the Yusufeli county of the Artvin province), which counted some two hundred Islamicized households and five or six openly Christian ones. Khevak, located to the south of the Kaçkar/Barhal Mountains, was not part of Hemshin, but was located immediately to its southeast, which may explain why it was considered to be part of Hemshin by both Mēhērian and Inchichian.¹¹⁹ The Islamicization of Khevak had taken place during earlier decades of the eighteenth century.¹²⁰ Mēhērian describes how, when he entered the village, 'peasant men and women who had been Turkified [i.e. Islamicized] came from left and right to kiss my hand'. Having noticed that the villagers knelt down to listen to the Mass given on a portable altar by one of the priests accompanying him, Mēhērian 'deduced that these people had converted from the Armenian faith, but had not forgotten it'. He looked for the village church, found it had been abandoned, had it opened and cleaned, and celebrated Mass in it on the day of *Surb Khach* (Holy Cross). Although he tried to prevent them from entering the church, the 'Armenians who had forsaken their faith forced the doors of the church and attended the service'. After Mass was over,

those who had denied their Christian faith implored me to bless the graves of their forebears, because I was told, their departed kin were, after all, Christians. Others bewailed the renouncing of their faith and begged to confess their sins, especially the elders. I ministered to the spiritual needs of the older women who had not forsaken their faith and granted them forgiveness. I asked the newly ordained priest, Father Sērobē, to take care of their spiritual needs.¹²¹

Differences in religious practice between genders emerge from this and other examples, with women remaining more faithful to Christianity than men. Pirō, the author of the 1893 article on the Hemshinli in *Nor-Dar*, wrote that ‘mothers have remained more Armenian than fathers...[and] they worship to this day Armenian monasteries and churches’.¹²² According to this article, mothers often asked their sons to take them on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. As a result of the religious schism between genders, many Hemshinli families had a Muslim father and a Christian mother.¹²³ To further complicate the picture, the religious divide cut not only across genders, but in some families separated brothers as well, with one being Christian and the other Muslim.¹²⁴

Moreover, religious affiliation and practices sometimes varied according to geography, or more precisely, altitude. It is interesting to note that Mutlu (Bodullu), where the two mosques built in 1774 and 1791 are to be found, is located in a low-lying area not too distant from the coast, on the northern edge of Hemshin. This would tend to confirm the hypothesis that Islamicization progressed from the coast up, with inhabitants of northernmost villages becoming more wholeheartedly Muslim earlier than those of mountainous settlements. The Islamicization process of northern villages may have been facilitated by the large-scale migration of Christians out of the district beginning in the mid-seventeenth century. Outmigration may have been complemented by inner migration, with the remnants of the openly Christian population of northern, low-lying villages taking refuge in areas of Hemshin located deeper in the mountains, in a ‘flight to the highlands’ similar to that which took place among the Pontic Greeks.¹²⁵ The last Christian village of Hemshin, Eghiovit/Elevit, was obviously the primary destination of these migrants. In addition to its operating church, Eghiovit offered easy access through mountain paths to the relative safety of the Armenian Catholic stronghold of Khodorchur (Armenian Khotorjur), south of the Kaçkar range, where a number of families from Hamshen ultimately settled (see Map 7.2).¹²⁶

Yet the hypothesis that openly Christian populations prevailed longer in highland areas of Hemshin is not unproblematic. The intervention of other factors even makes the altitude argument sometimes appear outright inaccurate, as in the case of the Khala/Hala Valley, Islamicized in its integrity, irrespectively of altitude, probably due to its vicinity with the Lazi.¹²⁷ In the valley of the Senoz Dere, the village of Cötenes/Ormançık, where a mosque was supposedly built in the 1640s, stood at a higher altitude than Tolones/Yeşiltepe, which had a church and a priest until at least 1710 (see Map 2.1).¹²⁸ Similarly, while Inchichian reports that Eghiovit/Elevit was still Christian until the early nineteenth century, he also mentions that the inhabitants of ‘Bash Hamshen’ (i.e. most probably the village also known as Aşağı Hemşin, now Sıraköy), located at the same altitude and in the same valley, ‘were generally Muslims’.¹²⁹ The difference in religious affiliation between these two settlements may have to do with the absence of a church in Bash Hamshen and the presence of one – the former Khach‘ek‘ar Monastery – in Eghiovit, which helped fend off Muslim encroachments. Moreover, the building of the mosques in Mutlu in 1774 and 1791 took place almost simultaneously with or preceded by only a few years the conversion of half of the population of Eghiovit. The two events may have

both been part of one same and final push aimed at completing the Islamicization process of the Hemshin district by furthering the Islamicization of already converted people and achieving the conversion of any remaining Christians. Thus the highland refuge of Eghiovit/Elevit did not survive by much longer the Islamicization of the northernmost lowlands of Hemshin. The remaining Christians of Elevit gradually abandoned the village during the nineteenth century. Such was the case of four families who, led by their priest Tēr Karapet Hamashēnts'i, moved to the village of Khach'kavank', near Erzurum, in May 1858. Britain's consul in Trebizond, William Gifford Palgrave, was obviously mistaken when he reported to his superiors that the 'Hamsheen Nahiya' counted some 3,000 Armenians out of a total population of 20,000 in 1868. By his own admittance, he had not yet visited the district when he gave this estimate.¹³⁰ In later writings, Palgrave would adopt the much lower figure of twenty-three Armenian families, in line with the official Ottoman statistics of that period.¹³¹ Thus, according to the *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi* (yearbook of the Trebizond province), the Hemshin nahiye counted only twenty-four Armenian families in 1869 and twenty-three in 1870.¹³²

Although mountains were thus not able to offer shelter to openly Christian people in Hemshin, they nevertheless played a role in the development of Hemshin identity. Bryer once noted that 'the bounds of the Ottoman Empire were not two-dimensional but vertical too, ending (as in the Pontos) at between 1,000 and 2,000 m, above which the mountains offered a kind of freedom'.¹³³ This freedom, while insufficient in the case of Hemshin to preserve an openly Christian population, allowed for various Christian rites and customs practised by converted populations, either crypto-Christians or 'imperfect converts', to survive. Conversely, mountains also permitted newly converted populations to get away with half-hearted acceptance of Islam and lack of zeal in following rules and precepts prescribed by it. It seems likely that some Hemshinli had two or even three sets of religious behaviour, with the practice of Islamic rituals increasing while visiting the coast, diminishing in their villages, and disappearing completely in their summer pastures. It is doubtful that the unique, modern-day Hemshinli identity could have emerged without the perpetuation of various Christian traditions made possible by the freedom of life in the mountains, even if these traditions have lost their original religious meaning with time.

To conclude this section, it may be said that of the four categories described by Dawkins, three – religious indifferents, imperfectly converted and genuine crypto-Christians – were probably present in Hemshin during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as may be seen from the illustrations provided above. Genuine crypto-Christianity was probably predominant in the early stages following conversion, but faded away with the passage of time, leaving in its place only relics of Christian rites and customs which an 'imperfectly converted' population found difficult to part with. In some cases, these relics may have lost with time some of their original religious meaning and amounted to little more than superstitious practices. The Islamicization of Hemshin was largely accomplished by the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1869, the Hemshin nahiye counted some fifteen mosques (*camis*) and forty smaller ones (*mescits*).¹³⁴

Outside Elevit, the Christian faith probably had only a limited, feminine following, and genuine crypto-Christianity was much reduced by then. That Islam had been accepted by the population of Hemshin is proved by the large number of doctors in theology (*ulemas*) which the district produced from the second half of the nineteenth century to the fall of the Ottoman Empire.¹³⁵ Yet acceptance of Islam remained lukewarm, despite the mosques and the local ulemas. Palgrave, who reached the centre of the district of 'Hamshun' in the summer of 1872 after 'three days of such breakneck scramble as even Turkish mountain-track had never before afforded me', confirmed that 'the Mahometan system' was not professed 'over-zealously' by the local population.¹³⁶

Crypto-Christianity in Karadere and attempts at reverting to Christianity

Genuine crypto-Christianity may have been more vigorous in Karadere than in Hemshin by the mid-nineteenth century, not only because conversion was more recent in the former, but also because of the abrupt and violent conditions under which it had taken place. The overwhelming majority of Karadere Armenians were refugees who had fled religious persecution in Hamshen only to be forced to accept the Muslim faith under much duress. As such, they were more likely to have secretly retained loyalty to Christianity, and conversely to have despised Islam. It may also be that more accounts of crypto-Christian behaviour – some perhaps apocryphal – are available on Karadere (Sürmene) than on Hemshin simply because the former area, located in the vicinity of Trebizond, was more accessible to Armenians up until the First World War. Moreover, geographical proximity with Armenian communities around Trebizond – which shared the same Hamshenite origins – may have helped the Islamicized Armenians of Karadere to maintain elements of crypto-Christianity and the Armenian language. Bzhshkian mentions that at the time of his passage in 1817, the converted Armenians of Karadere still carried Armenian last names and spoke Armenian; old people knew Christianity, worshipped the Cross and offered alms (*oghormut iwn*).¹³⁷ A particularly active role was played by the descendants of the martyred priest Tēr Karapet of Toroslu. Starting with his son, who was anointed as a priest, members of the family provided until 1820 a line of priests – all of whom were named Karapet after their ancestor – who secretly visited the converted Armenians of Karadere and catered to their spiritual needs. After a hiatus of twenty years, this missionary activity was resumed in 1840 by a new priest, also named Tēr Karapet, but from another family (Tavlashian), to whom was also entrusted the care of the remaining twenty-five to thirty openly Christian families of Karadere.¹³⁸

Haykuni describes various expressions of attachment to Christianity, mostly on the part of elderly women, in Islamicized villages of Karadere. Feelings of sorrow at having been forced to renounce their former faith often come out in these poignant testimonies, which cannot help but touch whoever reads them, independently of religious affiliation. Thus Haykuni, having asked an elderly woman why they had become 'Turkified', i.e. Islamicized, received the answer that 'Jesus-Christ, I would die for the Armenian faith, in what days are we forced to live

now!’ Similarly, Tēr Karapet Tavlashian, who befriended the lords (*beys*) of Hamshen – or rather Karadere, given the frequent confusion of the two regions by Haykuni – was told by the ‘great bey’ that ‘Turkishness [Islam] is not mine. What can we do? We are Turkified [Islamicized] now; we have fallen in the fire of God’. In addition, until the early 1860s, Islamicized women from Karadere reportedly ‘took their children to Trebizond to be raised as Armenians and told their husbands that the children had drowned or been taken away by wild animals’.¹³⁹

As in Hemshin, some of the Christian traditions and artefacts kept by Karadere converts may have belonged more properly to Dawkins’ ‘imperfectly converted’ or ‘religiously indifferent’ categories rather than to genuine crypto-Christianity. In Tsimlakova (Cimla or Zimla Kava, now Yüceyurt, in the Araklı county), a mullah told Tēr Karapet Tavlashian that his family, descended from a priest, was known as Keshishoghli (i.e. sons of the priest). The family had also kept all the sacerdotal clothing of their ancestor, refusing to sell them to Armenian and European travellers out of fear of bringing bad luck to their household. That conversion did not appear to have prevented religious vocation from running high in certain families is shown in another story, in which a young mullah told Tēr Karapet that his great-grandfather was an Armenian priest, and that women still spoke Armenian in their home.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, most accounts reported the particular emphasis placed by elderly women on chrism as a symbol of their attachment to Christianity.¹⁴¹

Yet it was neither declarations, however touching, nor the application of chrism to the face of children that most convincingly proved the attachment of many converted Karadere Armenians to their former faith. The sincerity of these feelings was perhaps better authenticated by attempts to revert to Christianity when the opportunity arose. Efforts to revert to Christianity increased during the 1840s and 1850s after the promulgation of the *Gülhane* edict by Sultan Abdülmecid (1839–1861) in 1839, which inaugurated an era of reforms (*Tanzimat*) in the Ottoman Empire, among which was included freedom of religion. The most serious attempt took place following the promulgation of the *Hatt-i Hümayun* decree by Abdülmecid in February 1856, which reconfirmed in even stronger terms the religious equality between Muslims and non-Muslims proclaimed sixteen years earlier. When three high-ranking officials came from Istanbul to Sürmene, Islamicized Armenians informed the local agha, a member of the Suiçmezoğlu family, of their intention to revert to the church of their ancestors, and asked for his authorization and help in dealing with the commission from Istanbul. Suiçmezoğlu promised his support and asked converted Armenians to prepare a list of those willing to return to Christianity. Mullahs from Of, however, reluctant to see apostasy happen, foiled the attempt by maliciously asking permission to revert to Christianity themselves, since they were descendants of converts to Islam from Greek-Orthodoxy. Given the risk of scandal that the apostasy of Muslim clerics would incur, officials from Istanbul chose promptly to leave the area, promising to return at some other time. According to Tēr Vahan Khoyian, who would later succeed Tēr Karapet Tavlashian as the pastor of Karadere Armenians and who provided these details, ‘the population of Karadere understood too late the machination it was made a victim of’.¹⁴² Nevertheless, some Islamicized families in Karadere reportedly managed to revert to Christianity around 1858.¹⁴³

In addition, another group of families reverted to Christianity some ten years later, in 1869.¹⁴⁴ This last event did not actually take place in Karadere, but in the Yomra district, located further west. The Islamicized Armenians established there could be referred to as ‘converts of the third wave’, since they had escaped persecution first in Hemshin, then in Karadere, only to be forced to become Muslims in their new settlements in Yomra or Platana (Akçaabat). As more recent converts, they were indeed likely candidates to desire to take advantage of the newly offered freedom of religion. Palgrave reported in a letter sent in April 1869 to his superior in Istanbul, British Ambassador Sir Henry Elliot, that some fifty families from the village of ‘Kaleefa’, i.e. Kalafka (now K  m  rc  , in the Yomra county; see Map 7.3), had ‘declared themselves “Armenian” Christians’. In a petition addressed to the foreign consuls in Trebizond, these families had stated that ‘although for four centuries they have professed Islam, they have always been Christian at heart’. The mention of 400 years may have been added by Palgrave himself, or was a misconception by the petitioners, since the Islamicization of these families was clearly more recent. Palgrave was also informed that, should these families obtain their wish, some 2,000 more families would follow suit.¹⁴⁵ It should be noted here that even though the 1869 attempt to revert to Christianity did not directly concern Karadere, the mention in the petition of 2,000 additional families wanting to apostatize from Islam is a clear reference to the Karadere region, since Yomra and Platana certainly did not contain such a large number of Islamicized families. In addition, many of the families that did manage to revert to Christianity from the late 1850s on, fearing reprisals for having apostatized, found it safer to move to other villages, such as Apion (Abyon, now Reşadiye, in Yomra) and Samera (or Samaruksa, now the villages of Yeşilyurt and İkişu, in Yomra), where they were known as *tenesur* (*tanassur* in Turkish), or apostates.¹⁴⁶

Palgrave, who had little sympathy for converts – despite having himself converted many times during his lifetime – had argued that the conversion to Christianity of the Islamicized Armenians, like that of the Islamicized Greeks of Kromni, was not motivated by worthy spiritual aims, but was driven primarily by the lowly desire to obtain exemption from military service.¹⁴⁷ Yet such wishes of avoiding conscription were dashed, since official acceptance of the new status of these families as Christians was not extended to military obligations. The Islamicized Armenians who reverted to Christianity continued to be conscripted as before in the army. As a result, a new migration took place, this time to the Russian shores of the Black Sea.¹⁴⁸

Language

An unintended consequence of the desire of the Islamicized population of Karadere to revert to Christianity was, ultimately, the loss of the Armenian language. Local authorities – either at the sancak level in Trebizond, at the kaza level in Of, or at the more subaltern nahiye level in S  rmene – proceeded to the adoption of urgent measures to stem apostasy from Islam. Turkish schools were opened in the district, where Muslim preachers, particularly from Of, were also

dispatched. According to both T‘umayian and Haykuni, a campaign was launched against the use of the Armenian language. Speaking Armenian was declared a sin by mullahs who stated that ‘seven Armenian words were an insult for a Muslim’.¹⁴⁹

This campaign was ultimately successful, since within a few generations Armenian had almost died out in Karadere, and by the early twentieth century it was only spoken by elderly people.¹⁵⁰ T‘umayian’s statement, written in 1870, that Islamicized Armenians would preserve their language, ‘since Mohammedan Greeks and Georgians had managed to do so’, appeared in retrospect to be overly optimistic.¹⁵¹ The decline was already perceptible in the late 1870s. Haykuni, noticing differences in the practice of the Armenian language from one village to another, wrote that Armenian was more widely used in T‘rëts‘or (Tsimla/Zimla), thus implying that it was spoken less elsewhere.¹⁵²

The circumstances of the disappearance of Armenian in Hemshin are largely unknown. In the 1830s, according to Protestant missionaries Smith and Dwight, the Hemshinli spoke Armenian, and ‘many of their women know no other language’.¹⁵³ A few decades later, the situation had changed considerably. Cuinet’s statement that the inhabitants of Hemshin ‘bien que pratiquant la religion musulmane, parlent la langue arménienne’, was probably outdated, as the use of Armenian had declined greatly by 1890.¹⁵⁴ A 1893 article in *Nor-Dar* admitted to this fact by noting that ‘they have not yet forgotten the mother language, and if they often speak Turkish, it is because of their fear of government; but, in spite of all, many know and speak Armenian’.¹⁵⁵ By the early twentieth century, Armenian had almost disappeared from Hemshin. According to A. P. Meghavorian, who wrote in 1904, one would occasionally meet elderly people speaking Armenian. The situation was the same among the few dozen families from Hemshin who had moved to the Akçakoca district in northwestern Anatolia, as only the elderly could still speak Armenian. The eminent linguist Nikolai Marr, in his 1910 article on Turkish Lazistan, stated that ‘the Hemshin who border the Laz to the south are Armenian Muslims. They have not only changed their faith, but to a great extent have completely forgotten their native language’.¹⁵⁶

Was government pressure, as indicated in Armenian sources, indeed the cause of the decline of Armenian in Hemshin and Karadere? In the conservative milieu of the Pontos, religious and secular authorities generally did not share the liberal ideas coming from Istanbul. Not only did they not display any zeal in implementing the new reforms, but often they did their best to obstruct them. The appearance of people wishing to renounce Islam for Christianity was certainly not a development that local Muslims would have welcomed at any time. A contemporary of the events and author of a history of Trebizond, Şakir Şevket, describes his shock at seeing some of his former schoolmates, with whom he had prayed in mosques, convert to Greek-Orthodoxy and change their names from Ahmet and Hasan to Nikola and Yorgi.¹⁵⁷ Coming less than three decades after the Greek insurgency and the 1828–29 Russo-Turkish War and on the heels of the Crimean War, which again pitted the Ottomans against Orthodox Russians, this new phenomenon raised serious concerns and was probably deemed unacceptable among many within the local élites, even if the pasha of Trebizond and a few officials

pretended to put a brave face on it.¹⁵⁸ Consequently, it would not be too far-fetched to imagine that certain measures, including an increase in Islamic religious instruction and the forbidding of the Armenian language, were taken in Trebizond – or at a more subaltern level in Sürmene or Rize – to curtail the movement among Armenian-speaking Muslims.

Yet persecution by state authorities was probably not the exclusive cause of the disappearance of the Armenian language from Karadere and Hemshin. Other factors were probably also at play, some having their roots in the older religious structure of Ottoman society, and some in the new social and economic developments affecting this society, in the Pontos and the rest of the empire.

In the pre-national context of the Ottoman Empire, people identified themselves in terms of their membership in a particular religious community, or *millet*. Thus being ‘Armenian’ prior to the import of the European idea of nation to the Ottoman Empire meant belonging to the Armenian Apostolic Church and the millet it comprised. Leaving the Armenian Church to join another Christian denomination or Islam also meant that one stopped being part of the Armenian ‘nation’. Koch, told by his guides in the Kiskim district (now Yusufeli) that he would be taken to a village inhabited by ‘Franks’, wondered along the way how a European colony had settled in such a remote place. Once he arrived in Garmirk‘ (or Garmenik‘, Arm. Karmirk‘), he realized that there were, indeed, no Europeans there; the local population was composed exclusively of Armenians, called *Firengi* due to their Catholic creed. Reflecting on differences in the understanding of the idea of nation, Koch – who came from Germany, where the idea of nation was fermenting – stated that ‘in Asia, peoples [*völker* in the text] are more frequently differentiated by religion than by descent’.¹⁵⁹ Thus ‘Armenian’ was used interchangeably with ‘Christian’, and ‘Turk’ with ‘Muslim’ – and continues to be done so to this day by most of Turkey’s rural population. That one could possibly be a ‘Christian Turk’ or an ‘Armenian Muslim’ was a concept beyond the grasp of most of the Ottoman Empire’s inhabitants, an anomaly.

The amalgamation of nation and religion was sometimes extended to language: Bryer was once told by a local peasant that some villages in his region spoke ‘Christian’.¹⁶⁰ Even though certain languages were thus associated with certain religions, there was in theory no legal or religious obstacle for members of any millet to speak any language. There were frequent cases all over Asia Minor of Armenians speaking Turkish – or Kurdish for that matter – as their first or even as their only language. Since Turkish was the medium of communication among the peoples of the empire, it was a logical development that Armenians or members of other minority communities chose to adopt it. The reverse case, in which members of the dominant Muslim millet spoke a language identified with the *gāvur* (giaour, i.e. infidels), was a much rarer occurrence, and constituted a paradox, if not a sin. Thus Muslims of the Artvin region who spoke ‘Georgian-Christian’ confessed to Koch that they were aware of committing a sin by using in the homes of believers ‘a language of giaours which, however, they had received from God with their mother’s milk’. Yet their hopes of going to Paradise were not lost, since they knew ‘the holy Turkish language’, and hence ‘God and the angels would be

understanding'.¹⁶¹ Similarly, the agha of Atina (Pazar) told the German linguist Georg Rosen that speaking Laz was comparable for him to committing a sin.¹⁶² By dropping Armenian for Turkish, the Islamicized Armenians of Hemshin and Karadere had put an end to what amounted at the very least to a paradoxical situation and was often held as a sin. They had also completed, in the words of Bryer, religious conversion with 'social conversion' and achieved their transition from the Armenian millet to the Muslim one.¹⁶³

In addition, the Pontos had entered a new era during the 1840s, marked by the submission of the derebeys and the reassertion of central power. This new era offered opportunities for social and economic mobility that may have contributed to the abandonment of the Armenian language. The careers of Mehmed Ali Pasha – who became Grand-Admiral, Grand-Vizier, and married a daughter of the Sultan – and of numerous ulemas epitomize the advancement of Hemshinli in Muslim Ottoman society, or as Michael Meeker calls it, 'the imperial system'.¹⁶⁴ The correlation between social status and loss of language was visible as well among the Lazi during the second half of the nineteenth century, since it was often men of influence and wealth who expressed to European travellers contempt for their native language.¹⁶⁵ Even the Hemshinli who did not accomplish prestigious careers may have felt it necessary to adopt Turkish as a first language in lieu of Armenian. Migrations – as well as military conscription – are likely to have played a central role in the language switch. Driven by economic necessity to larger coastal towns or to Istanbul where they primarily spoke Turkish, Hemshinli men may have continued to do so after returning to their villages. The fate of Armenian in Karadere and Hemshin may have been similar to that of another regional language, Breton. The loss of the latter is believed to have been caused to a larger extent by soldiers who continued to speak the French they had grown accustomed to in the trenches of the First World War after returning home to Brittany than by the mandatory education of children in French, introduced a few decades earlier.¹⁶⁶

The weakness of the rationale linked to economic and social mobility, however, is its failure to explain why, placed in similar conditions, various Georgian, Lazi (*Lazuri*) and Greek-speaking Muslim communities managed to cling to their ancestral languages, while the Hemshinli and others abandoned them.¹⁶⁷ In addition, language is primarily transmitted by mothers, not by fathers, and the migration factor does not explain how Hemshinli women, who did not attend school and remained in their home villages, came to stop speaking Armenian. The answer to these questions may be that the Armenian language in Hemshin went underground rather than disappeared. Writing on the Islamicized Armenians of the Çoruh Basin, in Olt'ı (Oltu) and elsewhere, Atrpet complained that they had lost their language, while the Islamicized Georgians of Ajaria had managed to preserve theirs. Yet he noticed that while these villagers had lost Armenian for Turkish, 'their tone, pronunciation, declamation and phrase structure were those of Armenian, and even in their spoken dialect many Armenian words continued to be used'.¹⁶⁸ The same happened in Hemshin, as the local Turkish dialect replacing Armenian contained numerous Armenian loanwords.¹⁶⁹ The importance of these loanwords, often used in emotionally attached activities, has led

Wolfgang Feurstein to write that the linguistic context in Hemshin would be more correctly described as a transfer of essentially Armenian elements into a new medium, the Turkish language, rather than as a displacement of Armenian.¹⁷⁰

In addition to loanwords, Hemshin families continued, until the adoption of a law reforming names in 1934, to carry Armenian surnames, such as Apeloğlu, Arakeloğlu, Avedikoğlu, Kirkoroğlu or Matoslar.¹⁷¹ Armenian first names were reported to be in use among Hemshinli women during the 1890s.¹⁷² Moreover, in another astonishing development, the Armenian dialect of Hamshen, or *Homshetsma*, continued to be spoken by one Muslim community, namely the Hemshinli who had settled in the region of Hopa, to the east of Hemshin.

Hopa Hemshin

The date of the migration of the Hemshinli to the districts of Hopa (Khopa, central district) and Makrial or Makriali (the present-day Kemalpaşa district of the Hopa county), to the east of Hemshin, remains unknown (see Map 7.1). According to T'orlak'yan, who estimates that 10 to 15 per cent of the total population of Hemshin moved to Hopa, the migration took place during the second half of the seventeenth century. The same approximate date is given by Minas Gasapian.¹⁷³ Russian sources indicate a later date of settlement, around 1780 for N. N. Levashov, and the early nineteenth century for E. K. Liuzen. The latter was told in 1905 by an elderly Hemshinli woman that her ancestors had come to the Makrial district a century before.¹⁷⁴

A second and more perplexing issue is whether these people were already converted to Islam or still Christians at the time of their settlement in Hopa. Both written sources and the oral accounts of the Hopa Hemshin – who call themselves *Homshetsik* – fail to provide any answer to this question. Oral tradition only indicates that one of the two constitutive groups of the Hopa Hemshinli, the *Turtsevantsi* (probably from the western Armenian *trsets'i*, meaning outsider) converted to Islam much earlier than the other group, the *Ardelets'i* (from the village of Ardala, now Eşmekaya, in the Hopa county). This earlier conversion period would also explain why the Turtsevantsi believe themselves to be less fluent in their Armenian dialect, *Homshetsma*, than the Ardelets'i.¹⁷⁵

A study published recently in Turkey advances a radically new hypothesis on the question of the date of the migration to Hopa and the period of conversion of the Hopa Hemshinli. According to the author, Ali Gündüz, the migration took place in the early sixteenth century, during the reign of Ottoman Sultan Selim I. The Hemshinli, who were then still Christians, were settled as timariots (fief holders) in this borderland district to defend it against 'Georgian and Abaza pirates'. Conversion would have taken place some 200 years later, at the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹⁷⁶ However, aside from the author's failure to provide any proof to substantiate his claims, this theory, although interesting, presents a few problems. The first is that, with the exception of a small hamlet – now disappeared – called Little Hemshin, there are no Armenian toponyms in Hopa and Makrial, but only Lazi and Turkish ones, which would tend to indicate a relatively recent date of migration.¹⁷⁷ The second is that unlike their Laz, and

particularly Ajar neighbours – whose warlike character was widely reported – little is known about any military tradition among the Hopa Hemshinli. Had Hemshinli timariots existed in Hopa they would have probably evolved, like timar holders elsewhere in the Pontos, into derebeys towards the end of the seventeenth century, following the breakdown of central administration. Yet Hemshin derebeys or aghas are unheard of in Hopa, where Hemshin appeared to have been relatively poor and not to have owned much land. In an early twentieth century article on the region, they are described as tilling fields belonging to the Laz.¹⁷⁸

It was not for being wealthy landowners, but for their activity as pastoralists and their practice of transhumance, that Hopa Hemshinli were mostly known in nineteenth-century reports by Russian and other European travellers. In the summer, they took their flocks to *yaylas* located in the Şavşet area, relatively far from their villages. The men dressed like Ajars, with turbans wrapped around their heads, while women dressed similarly to Kurds. According to Liuzen, they were taken for Kurds throughout the entire Artvin region because of their way of life, and people were surprised to learn that they spoke Armenian.¹⁷⁹ To add further confusion to the matter, there was a small group in the Hopa region known as Kurdo-Hemshin, which in spite of its name was neither Armenian nor Kurdish speaking, but Turkish speaking.¹⁸⁰ According to an article published in 1888, the Hopa Hemshin numbered 600 households, divided between 423 families in Turkey and 177 in Russia – compared to a figure of around 2,200 households for the traditional, or Bash Hemshin area.¹⁸¹

It is likely that this marginal existence as pastoralists allowed for the survival of the Armenian language in the Hopa/Makrial region. The Hopa Hemshinli were too unimportant to be a cause of worry, and they were certainly not worth the same type of government pressure – involving the opening of Turkish schools and missionary activity by mullahs – that contributed to the abandonment of Armenian in Karadere. In addition, provincial secular and religious authorities, as Russian officials in later times, may simply not have been aware of or even have suspected that this small Muslim community, which some believed to be Kurdish, was actually Armenian speaking. A second possible reason for the preservation of the Armenian language lies in the absence of economically induced migrations among the Hopa Hemshinli, who did not share the economic mobility of their compatriots in Bash Hemshin (i.e. Hemshin proper, to distinguish the original Hemshin district from Hopa Hemshin).¹⁸² The Hopa Hemshinli also did not participate in the sometimes spectacular social ascent enjoyed by the Bash Hemshinli beginning in the 1850s or even earlier. Less integrated into the ‘imperial system’ as it developed in nineteenth-century Pontos, the Hopa Hemshinli had consequently fewer incentives to abandon their mother tongue.

Political and economic developments in Bash Hemshin

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Hemshin was still a kaza of the Gönye (or Günye) sancak, to which it had been attached in 1566.¹⁸³ In centuries to come, the administrative rank of Hemshin would vary, as it would often be demoted to the

level of a *nahiye* or, more exceptionally, be promoted to that of a *sancak*. Its political destiny, however, would remain linked to that of the coastal region to its north, rather than to areas located to the south of the Pontic Mountains. As with the other districts of the Pontos, Hemshin would be ruled by *derebey*s following the breakdown of Ottoman administration towards the end of the seventeenth century.

The first mention in a written source of a Hemshin *derebey* comes from a 1788 list of *ayân* (landed gentry, notables) of the Trebizond province who were summoned with their levies to reinforce the fortress of Anapa in a campaign against Russians. Sıçan Hacı Hüseyin of Hemshin is reported to have responded to the call with a contingent of one hundred men, out of a total of 3,500 gathered in total for the region between Vakfikebir in the west to Hopa in the east (i.e. the modern-day provinces of Trabzon and Rize along with the coastal sections of Artvin).¹⁸⁴ A second mention of *derebey*s in Hemshin is made by Inchichian, who says that ‘the lordship of the country was in the hands of two aghas, one of whom was of Armenian ancestry’.¹⁸⁵ A valley lord of Armenian background was quite exceptional, since *derebey* families were generally believed to have been of Turkic or Laz origins rather than Greek or Armenian.¹⁸⁶ The presence of a *derebey* of Armenian descent reinforces the hypothesis that the desire to maintain a dominant position in their valleys and not to allow newcomers to supplant them must have constituted one of the primary motives of conversion among many leading Hamshen Armenians.

Inchichian was either not aware of the presence of other *derebey*s, or the number of *derebey*s increased over the next few decades, for Koch mentioned the presence of four valley lords in Hemshin, then a *sancak*, at the time of his visit in early 1840s. Below the paramount chief, who carried the title of *voyvod* and dominated the largest section of Hemshin, composed of valleys of the Fırtına and all its tributaries, stood three *derebey*s, with the title of *ayân*, who controlled the smaller valleys of the *sancak*. Thus a pattern almost identical to that of the medieval principality of Hamshen, with its prince or ‘baron of barons’ and his subaltern lords, was reproduced. The first of the *derebey*s of Hemshin resided in Cimil (now Başköy, in the İkizdere county), the second in Ortaköy (in all likelihood Mesahor, now Kaptanpaşa, in the same name district of Çayeli) in the valley of the Senoz Dere, and the third in Marmanat (or Melmanat, now Akbucak in Pazar), while the *voyvod* resided in Kale (now Hisarcık, in Çamlıhemşin) during the winter and in the village ‘Hemşin’ (i.e. one of the three villages known as Lower, Middle and Upper Hemşin) during the warm season (see Map 2.1 and Plate 6.1).¹⁸⁷

Aside from Inchichian’s indication that one of the aghas of Hemshin came from an Armenian background – and conversely, that the other was of non-Armenian origin – there is little or no information on the *derebey*s’ families. It would be tempting to imagine a genealogical connection between the earlier families of ‘barons’ of Hamshen and the later *derebey* families who were of Armenian origin. Thus Koch wondered whether one *derebey*, Süleyman Agha Kumbasaroğlu, was not the descendent of Prince Hamam Amatuni.¹⁸⁸ Yet any such conclusion would be purely speculative given the complete silence of sources on this topic. Equally speculative is Mehmet Bilgin’s undocumented claim, probably created to serve the author’s nationalist agenda, that the same Kumbasaroğlu was a descendant of

Kubasar, a Kipchak Turk (Cuman) general who served at the court of the Georgian kings in the twelfth century.¹⁸⁹ Had the Kumbasaroğlus been newcomers, they would have arrived in Hemshin at the earliest during the time of Ottoman conquest, and not in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Furthermore, the issue of their ethnic origins, and that of all derebey families descending from Muslim settlers, would still not be solved; since derebey families descended in all likelihood from timar holders or other officials appointed to Hemshin, and in some cases from adventurers, these families may have hailed from virtually any part of the vast expanses dominated by the Ottoman Empire, and even beyond. While some families were certainly of Turkish background – and the Kumbasaroğlus may indeed have been so – others could have had Balkanic, Laz, Georgian or Kurdish roots.¹⁹⁰

The immigration of Muslims, mostly Ottoman officials, soldiers, timar holders or derebeys, did probably play a role, albeit a minor one, since only a few dozen families were involved at most in the process of Islamicization and linguistic Turkification of Hemshin. A certain number of the civilian and military functionaries appointed to Hemshin must have chosen to remain there. Thus the descendants of Ali Koruk, the military commander (*serasker*) of Hemshin in the 1520s, remained in the region, later adopting the last name Doruk. The names of other officials buried in the district are also available.¹⁹¹ The likelihood of officials choosing to stay in the region may have increased in cases where they married local Hemshinli girls. According to a local story, the Hemshinli are the descendants of a Turkish pasha married to an Armenian woman. This legend may not only be a metaphor representing the combination of Armenian and Turkish elements in Hemshin culture, but it may also be a direct reference to the mixed marriages which took between Ottoman officials and Hemshinli women. In this story, though, the Pasha ultimately abandoned his wife and children when his duty in the region ended.¹⁹² Migrants may have contributed to the Islamicization and Turkification of Hemshin, yet assimilation worked to a much larger extent in the reverse direction, provoking the ‘Hemshinization’ of the settlers. The latter, who constituted only a tiny minority, became so integrated into the surrounding culture as to become indistinguishable from other Hemshinli within a few generations.

While receiving – and assimilating – Ottoman officials, Hemshin contributed its own share to the empire by producing an impressive number of high-ranking Islamic clerics, civil servants and military leaders for a canton of its size. The ascent in the Ottoman religious and secular hierarchy of individuals known as ‘Hemshinli’ – a reminder of Armenian religious scholars with the epithet ‘Hamshēnts‘i’ of medieval times – is generally linked to the social and economic changes affecting the Pontos in the second half of the nineteenth century. The achievement of prestigious careers by many Hemshinli migrants demonstrates the extent to which Hemshin opened up to the rest of the empire and the high level of integration into Muslim Ottoman society it achieved in ensuing years. The social advancement of the Hemshinli, however, may have started earlier than the mid-nineteenth century, since Grand-Admiral and Grand-Vizier Mehmed Ali Pasha and the multitude of Hemshinli ulemas had two eighteenth-century predecessors. The first was one Hemshin Pasha, who after having been in charge of the *eyalet* (province) of

Karaman, was appointed governor of the Diyarbekir province on 11 August 1739.¹⁹³ The second was Abdullah Efendi, a scholar versed in Arabic language works of science, who died in Istanbul in 1776 and thus could possibly claim the title of first Hemshinli ulema.¹⁹⁴ While information is available on Abdullah Efendi and his studies, complete mystery surrounds Hemshin Pasha. It is highly probable that he was called so after his birthplace, yet it is possible that he was not of Hemshinli origin and received this name only after serving in Hemshin for a while.

Outmigration in the second half of the nineteenth century was not only motivated by the superior opportunities offered to ambitious young Hemshinli by large urban centres such as Erzurum and Istanbul. It was also linked to a decline in the economy of the rural areas of the Pontos in the aftermath of the last derebey revolts, which may have induced even those with little or no ambition to leave their native district. Bryer cites the devastation caused by government troops crushing derebey revolts and the ensuing loss of regional autonomy as the starting point of mass migration from Lazistan.¹⁹⁵ The same phenomenon applied in Hemshin, which also suffered from natural conditions – rugged relief and a concomitant lack of arable land – less favourable than those of neighbouring Lazistan. Bzhshkian mentioned the poverty of Hamshen, which had pushed many of its inhabitants in previous centuries to move to Trebizond.¹⁹⁶ Yet the poverty described by Bzhshkian was at least partly a consequence of excessive taxation of Christians and of their oppression by derebeys. Once past the initial exactions that led ultimately to the disappearance of Christians, and aside from the occasional havoc brought by infighting, the period of rule of the derebeys between the end of the seventeenth century and the late 1830s was probably not a very difficult time overall for the Muslim population of Hemshin.

In Hemshin and elsewhere, moreover, the era of derebeys appeared in retrospect relatively benign in view of the period which succeeded it. Thus T'umayian, who wrote in 1870, considered the situation of the rural population of the Pontos to have been much better and more secure some twenty or thirty years earlier (i.e. in 1840 or 1850), despite the exactions committed by the derebeys, as government taxes were much lower then. According to him, poverty was pushing many, independently of religious affiliation or ethnicity, to envisage leaving their homeland.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, valley lords and their regime were assessed in positive terms by several European witnesses who had the opportunity to visit the area. Koch attributed the higher prosperity and the more developed transport and housing infrastructure of Pertakrag, Hemshin and especially Lazistan, when compared to the rest of the Orient, to the presence of the derebeys and to the total absence of other Ottoman officials.¹⁹⁸ *Déré-Begs* had a fervent supporter in Palgrave, who rarely missed an opportunity to express his regret of their suppression and his fervent dislike of the functionaries appointed by the central government who replaced them. Palgrave argued somewhat pertinently that derebeys had an interest in the prosperity of the region they lived in, while the corrupt functionaries who succeeded them had little or no concern for the welfare of areas in which they were posted for a limited amount of time. In addition, Palgrave continued, the derebeys spent locally what they took, even if sometimes abusively, from the inhabitants of districts under their control, while most of the taxes collected locally were sent to Istanbul following the re-establishment of central rule.¹⁹⁹

A quick look at the Trabzon yearbooks (*salnames*) shows the frequent change in the officials in charge of administering the Hemshin nahiye during the 1870s. The officials (*müdür*, i.e. director) placed at the head of a nahiye served at most one year between 1870 and 1881, with only two exceptions, Mecid Efendi and Hüseyin Hüsnî Efendi, who managed to keep their position for a period of between one and two years. Only the secretary (*katib*) of the district, one Halid Efendi, retained his position between 1870 and 1878.²⁰⁰ The *salnames*, unfortunately, do not tell us much about the economy of Hemshin during that period. A single short paragraph, repeated for each year of the 1870 to 1881 period, listed as locally manufactured export products thread used to make fish and anchovy (*hamsi*) nets, linen similar to Rize cloth, woollen socks and a woollen cloth known as *zekve* and used to make for trousers (*şalvar*). Another export of the region to Istanbul was wood from walnut tree and alder. The 1878 volume, which provided cattle figures for the Hemshin nahiye, and the 1879 volume, with figures on agricultural production, were exceptions. Thus the Hemshin nahiye counted some 257 horses, 434 oxen, 4,335 cows, 1,770 goats and 1,893 sheep in 1878; it produced 275 *keyl* (bushels) of wheat, 39,090 of maize, 4,930 of beans and 2,460 of barley, as well as 3,195 *kıyye* (a measure equivalent to 128 kilograms) of hemp, 29,780 of squash, 56,505 of hay and 89,490 of various fruits in 1879.²⁰¹

Palgrave, in his extensive report on the region between the Russian border and Trebizond, gave a more comprehensive description of the timber production and of other aspects of Hemshin's economy and trade during the early 1870s. According to the report, in addition to its beech, pine and fir forests, Hemshin was also endowed with many acres of very fine boxwood bushes. The wood was mostly exported through an English company, Gardiner & Co, which had offices in Poti, in Russia. According to Palgrave, the growth of the industry was threatened by the unskillfulness of 'peasant cutters'. The timber industry was also hindered by the authorities, who eventually realized that the export of boxwood was very profitable, and began to tax it so heavily as to provoke a fall in exports. Honey and beeswax continued, as in past centuries, to be high on the list of items produced in the district, but their combined value was much less than that of maize. The open spaces above the tree line were occupied by fields of rye and barley, and especially by mountain pastures known as *yaylas*. Sheep rearing, however, was affected by disease and by 'an injudicious augmentation of the sheep-tax levied by government'. Indeed Hemshin, with its rich pastures, could have sustained more than the 1,893 sheep and 1,770 goats indicated in the 1878 *salname* – unless farmers had purposely undercounted their livestock to evade taxes. The statistics provided in Palgrave's report also showed that the total amount of taxes paid by Hemshin was much higher than the value of its exports; hence the district's increasing poverty.²⁰²

Palgrave also provided some statistics on the Hemsin district, with numbers taken mostly from Ottoman statistics of the period. Hemshin had thirty villages and 13,190 inhabitants, divided into 1,584 households, of which twenty-three were Armenian, and the rest, 1,561 families, Muslim. He commented on the Armenian origins of the overwhelmingly Muslim population of the district and their conversion, which he believed to have started 150 years previously (i.e. around 1720), and which, he noted, was still continuing. The most interesting,

however, was yet to come since, despite his sympathy for their tax burden and suffering at the hands of venal officials, the Hemshinli were not spared Palgrave's notoriously prejudiced comments. According to him,

Both Mahometans and Christians are considered, and rightly, as the most uncivilized, indeed savage, natives of this part of the Empire; neither in type nor character have they anything in common with the Laz population around. But they are no less averse to Turkish rule than the Laz themselves and it is very seldom that an Ottoman official ventures among them. To myself however, as a stranger, the Mahometans of Hamsheen were very hospitable and friendly after their manner.²⁰³

The Russian translation of Palgrave's report, which appeared in 1882, also mentioned that the Hemshin were known as bear hunters and were usually armed. This characterization of the Hemshinli as the most uncivilized people of the region was taken at face value by I. I. Stebnitskii, who quoted Palgrave as his source. In addition to being boors and savages, the Hemshin also had a reputation of being robbers. In an 1874 article on Lazistan, Osman Bey (Frederick Millingen) wrote that the paths of the mountains of Cimil and Hemshin were dangerous because of robbers hiding in them. Dimitri Bakradze also concurred that the 'Kurdo-Hemshin' (i.e. a term that could apply to all Hopa Hemshinli or to their Kurdo-Hemshin subdivision *stricto sensu*) were a plague to the Batum region and that their appearance was accompanied by constant theft and robbery. Harut'iwn Gat'ēnian wrote that the Hopa Hemshin attacked and robbed Armenians on the roads prior to the Russian occupation in 1878.²⁰⁴ Similarly, bandits from Hemshin were a scourge to their Armenian neighbours of Khodorchur. Yet it may be wondered to what extent this reputation was deserved. The robbers mentioned by Osman Bey were not necessarily of Hemshin background, even if they hid in the mountains of the district. Moreover, one author, Meghavorian, offered a quite different opinion of the Hemshinli, describing them as a peaceful lot, carrying at most a pocket-knife, while their quarrelsome Ajar neighbours were always armed.²⁰⁵

Two other items about Hemshin were cited by both Palgrave and the Trabzon yearbooks. The first of these items were the castles of Hemshin, Kale-i Bâlâ and Zîr, which Palgrave believed to be of Georgian construction. The second item was the hot spring at Arder (later called Ayder), the waters of which, according to Palgrave, 'are copious and seem to contain carbonate of soda'. The salnames mentioned its 'proven' therapeutic effects against rheumatism and its 'unique flavour unmatched by any other mineral water'. The salnames also provided another small piece of information, that small boats could sometimes borrow the Firtina Dere.²⁰⁶

The 1878 War, Russian occupation and migrations

The most marked political development in the Pontos, after the crushing of the derebeys and the reassertion of central power during the 1830s and 1840s, was the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–78. The material damage caused by the conflict, as

well as the climate of demoralization and the economic downturn which followed the war, set in movement a train of migration to the Kocaeli and Bolu sancaks of northwestern Anatolia (see Map 7.4). This migration affected Muslim and Christian communities alike. The Hopa Hemshinli were more affected by migration than were the Bash Hemshinli, since the areas inhabited by them were directly affected by war operations and were partly annexed to Russia following the end of the conflict. It is possible that a similar migration, probably on a much lesser scale, had already taken place following the Crimean War some twenty years earlier, leading to the settlement of Hopa Hemshinli around Hendeğ (now Hendek county, in the province of Sakarya).²⁰⁷ In addition, Hamshen Armenians had started to move to the area prior to the war, as a group from Ordu had founded the village of Aram Giwgh (or Kızılcık) in 1873.²⁰⁸ Even though Hemshin proper was not touched directly by the war, a few of its inhabitants took part in the migration as well, settling in what is now the Hemşin village of the Akçakoca county, yet in much lower numbers than the Hopa Hemshinli. The *apōets* 'i (western Armenian *abōets* 'i, or *aboetsi*) appellation by which their Hopa Hemshinli neighbours were described probably indicates that these migrants originated from the Abuhemşin village (now Aslandere in the Fındıklı county of Rize).²⁰⁹

In contrast to this marginal migration towards northwest Anatolia, it is labour migration to Russia that would assume much greater proportions among the Bash Hemshinli in the years following the 1878 War. The Hemshinli may have learned about prospects in Russia from their neighbours to the south, the Armenian Catholics of Khodorchur, who hired Hemshinli guides to reach the sea on their way to Russia, where they had worked as bakers and pastry cooks since the mid-nineteenth century. From Batum to Warsaw and Riga, there were few cities of the Russian Empire that did not have bakeries and pastry shops operated by Hemshinli. Khodorchur Armenians and the Hemshinli were soon joined by the Laz, with whom the Hemshinli set up business ventures, the Hemshinli supplying the capital and the Laz the workforce. With time, the Laz would become independent and compete with their former Hemshinli employers or partners. Marr spoke with irony of the fact that both Hemshin and Laz, while coming from a country that produced little bread, made their fortune on bread in a country to which bread is native.²¹⁰

Some Hemshinli men took Russian or Armenian brides, who were abandoned in some cases and brought to Hemshin in others when their husbands had reached retirement age. With the fortunes made in Russia, the Hemshinli often built magnificent mansions (*konaks*), the exquisite decorations of which included samovars, imperial tableware and even pianos, as a reminder of their sojourn in Russia.²¹¹ The Russian Revolution of 1917 brought this golden era to an abrupt end, forcing most Hemshin to return to Turkey. A few remained in Russia until the complete nationalization of the economy by Stalin from the late 1920s on made the ownership of private businesses impossible; some were unable to return home when borders between the Soviet Union and Turkey were sealed in the late 1930s. With the passage of time, the memory of this labour migration has taken on almost mythical proportions among the Hemshinli. The former Makrevis village has been rebaptized Konaklar after the many mansions it contains. Visitors are not

only informed that the konaks were built with money earned in Russia, but are also reminded that the 'valley lost whole fortunes in the Bolshevik Revolution'.²¹²

Conclusion

From the mid-seventeenth century on, a number of developments would gradually transform Hemshin from an almost entirely Christian-populated district into an overwhelmingly Muslim one. The developments which led to the Islamicization of Hemshin included, in order of appearance, the conversion of their Laz neighbours, fiscal oppression, the rise of Muslim intolerance *vis-à-vis* Christians following a series of Ottoman defeats at the hands of Russia, the breakdown of central authority in the late seventeenth century and the ensuing climate of anarchy when the region was at the mercy of warlords known as derebeys. As a consequence of these factors, part of the population of the old Armenian Hamshen canton converted to Islam, while another part chose to leave its homeland to preserve its Christian faith. Exile, however, was not always sufficient to protect oneself and one's family against forced conversion, as shown in the case of the Hamshen Armenians who settled in the village of Mala or in the Karadere district.

Islam is believed to have progressed from the coast up, with highland villages remaining Christian for a longer time than lowland ones, although there were exceptions to this rule, as in the case of the Hala Dere Valley, Islamicized in its entirety from early on. A necessary implication of the extended period of time needed to achieve Islamicization was that Christians and Muslims co-existed in the region during the duration of this process. The religious context during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was, however, more complicated than that, since the boundary between Christians and Muslims in Hemshin was blurred by the existence of yet a third category composed of crypto-Christians. Thanks to the protection and isolation offered by the mountains, the crypto-Christians of Hemshin were able to attend church, secretly baptise their children, and continue to celebrate various Armenian religious feasts such as Vardavar and Verap'okhum. With time, however, crypto-Christianity diminished, coming to an end in the second half of the nineteenth century, with the last reports of crypto-Christian practices dating to the 1890s. Time may also have affected the meaning of these practices, gradually voiding them of their original religious character and turning them into superstitious rituals. Crypto-Christianity may have been more vigorous in the Karadere Valley, as attested by the attempt of some of the Islamicized Armenians there to revert to Christianity during the 1850s and 1860s.

The Islamicization of Hemshin was completed when the Armenian language fell out of usage and was replaced by Turkish during the second half of the nineteenth century. The abandonment of Armenian has often been explained in terms of pressure by local religious and political officials to put an end to what could have been considered an anomaly (i.e. members of the Muslim community speaking a language associated with a Christian minority group). The increased integration of the Hemshin into Ottoman Muslim society and the spectacular rise of some of the members of the group within the Ottoman Empire's élite may also

have played a significant role in the language switch. This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that Armenian continued to be spoken by the Hemshinli residing around Hopa who, unlike their kin residing in the traditional Hemshin area, were not able to take advantage of the opportunities for social advancement that were available from the 1840s on in the Pontic region. However, it should be noted that Armenian did not entirely disappear from Hemshin, since the Turkish dialect that developed there contains a large number of Armenian loanwords.

Throughout the centuries, inhabitants of Hemshin have practised migration as a means to escape the poverty of their homeland. The new opportunities for social and economic advancement that appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century could be achieved only through migration to large regional centres such as Trabzon or Erzurum, or to the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul. After the 1877–78 Russo-Turkish War, a new type of migration became popular, this time to Russia, where migrant workers from Hemshin engaged mostly in the bakery business. The Russian Revolution put an end to this enterprise, forcing most Hemshin back to Turkey.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, the Hemshin appeared as a community well integrated into the Ottoman ‘imperial system’, able to take advantage of the opportunities it afforded and to propel its sons into membership among the empire’s religious and political élites. The Hemshin had also managed to take advantage of opportunities lying further away, outside of the Ottoman Empire. These achievements, which should by no means be underestimated, are all the more remarkable if one considers that unlike other Armenians who converted to Islam, the Hemshin did not assimilate to the surrounding Muslim groups, but managed to preserve throughout these centuries essential aspects of their old culture, religion and language. This allowed them to develop a unique group identity and distinctiveness that have survived to this day.

Notes

- 1 Eli Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia; including a journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas*, vol. 2 (Boston, MA: Crocker and Brewster, 1833), pp. 324–25.
- 2 H. Ghukas Vardapet Inchichian, *Ashkharhagrut ‘iwn Ch ‘orits’ Masants’ Ashkharhi: Asioy, Ewropioy, Ap ‘rikoy, ew Amerikoy* [Geography of the Four Parts of the World: Asia, Europe, Africa, and America], part 1, Asia, vol. 1, *Hayastan [Armenia]* (Venice: St Lazarus Monastery, 1806), p. 396; H. Manuël V. K ‘ajuni, *Askharhagrut ‘iwn Hin ew Nor Hayastaneayts’ Dpratants’ Tghayots’ Hamar* [Geography of Ancient and Modern Armenia for Seminary Students] (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1857), p. 206.
- 3 P. T ‘umayian, ‘Pontosi Hayerē: Ashkharhagrakan ew K ‘aghak ‘akan Vichak Trapizoni’ [The Armenians of the Pontos: Geographic and Political Situation of Trebizond], *Lumay: Grakan Handēs [Luma: Literary Journal]* (Tiflis, 1899), 4, no. 2, pp. 157 and 175.
- 4 H. Hakovbos V. Tashian, *Tayk’, Drats ‘ik ew Khotorjur: Patmakan-Teghagrakan Usumnasirut ‘iwn* [Tayk, Neighbours and Khotorjur: Historico-Geographical Study], vol. 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1980), p. 129.

- 5 P. Jacobus Vard. Dashian [H. Hakovbos V. Tashian], *La Population arménienne de la région comprise entre la mer Noire et Karin (Erzeroum): Rapide coup d'oeil historique et ethnographique*, translated by Frédéric Macler (Vienna: Imprimerie des Méchitaristes, 1922), p. 29.
- 6 H. Ghewond V. Alishanian, *Teghagir Hayots' Metsats' [Topography of Greater Armenia]* (Venice: St Lazarus Monastery, 1855), p. 39.
- 7 Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts, and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 77 and 360 n. 18.
- 8 Tashian (1980), vol. 2, pp. 72–73 and 121; Robert W. Edwards, 'Hamšēn: An Armenian Enclave in the Byzanto-Georgian Pontos. A Survey of Literary and Nonliterary Sources', *Le Muséon* (Louvain, 1988), 101, nos. 3–4, p. 413.
- 9 Abel Vardapet Mkhit'arants', *Vēp Gaght'akanut'ean Hayots' Trapizonu [History of the Armenian Community of Trebizond]* (Istanbul: Masis, 1857), pp. 37–39.
- 10 Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 348–50.
- 11 Long considered to be lost, the map was rediscovered in 1991 in the collections of the University of Bologna. Gabriella Uluhogian, *Un'antica mappa dell'Armenia: Monasteri e santuari dal I al XVII secolo* (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 2000), pp. 109–10. In addition to the monastery in Hamshen, the map also mentioned 'the panoramic Mount where the Apostles of Christ placed the shroud [varshamak in Armenian] which was not with the other clothes, but by itself, folded in a corner of the Sepulchre. No one to this day can climb or enter that mountain, because around it are clouds and snow' (p. 110). On the Armenian and Byzantine tradition about Mount Varshamak (now Verçenik), see Alishanian (1855), p. 39; Bernadette Martin-Hisard, 'Trébizonde et le culte de Saint Eugène (6^e–11^es)', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1980), n.s. 14, pp. 307–43; and Robert W. Edwards, 'Armenian and Byzantine Religious Practices in Early Fifteenth-century Trabzon: A Spanish Viewpoint', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1992), n.s. 23, pp. 81–90.
- 12 Raymond H. Kévorkian and Paul B. Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire ottoman à la veille du Génocide* (Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire ARHIS, 1992), p. 57.
- 13 Inchichian (1806), p. 396; H. Minas Vardapet Bzhshkian, *Batmut' iwn Pontosi vor ē Seaw Tsov [History of the Pontos which is the Black Sea]* (Venice: St Lazarus Monastery, 1819), p. 97; Kévorkian and Paboudjian (1992), p. 57.
- 14 Veyssel Atacan and Serdar Bekar, *Rize Hemşin Yöresi Osmanlı Mezar Taşları ve Kitabeleri – Ottoman Tombstones and Epigraphes in Hemşin Area of Rize* (Ankara: Türk Halk Kültürünü Araştırma ve Tanıtma Vakfı, 2001), p. 102; the authors say that the translation of the berat is incomplete because parts of the original manuscript document were left out of the photocopy provided to them. The mosque must have disappeared in later times, since the current mosque in Ormançık was built in 1826; see Haşim Karpuz, *Rize* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1992), pp. 50–52.
- 15 Atacan and Bekar (2001), p. 95.
- 16 Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 129.
- 17 Inchichian (1806), p. 397.
- 18 Anthony Bryer, 'The Tourkokratia in the Pontos: Some Problems and Preliminary Conclusions', *Neo-Hellenika* (Austin, TX, 1970), 1, p. 42; reprinted in *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980); Alexandre Toumarkine, *Les Lazes en Turquie (XIX^e–XX^e siècles)* (Istanbul: Isis, 1995), p. 2.
- 19 Toumarkine (1995), p. 94 and n. 125; on the role of the Lazi as the 'local Kurds', see Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 191.
- 20 Robert Catu, 'Le peuple Pashai', *Central Asian Survey* (London, 1995), 14, no. 3, pp. 449–61.

- 21 See Chapter 13 by Erhan Ersoy (this volume).
- 22 Inchichian (1806), p. 396.
- 23 Yakovb Karnets'i, 'Erzeroum ou Topographie de la Haute Arménie', trans. Frédéric Macler, *Journal Asiatique* (Paris, 1919), 13 (11th series), no. 2, pp. 156–57 and 176–77.
- 24 Anthony Bryer, 'The Crypto-Christians of the Pontos and Consul William Gifford Palgrave of Trebizond', *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon* (Athens, 1983), 4; reprinted in *Peoples and Settlement in Anatolia and the Caucasus, 800–1900* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988), p. 24.
- 25 Dashian [Tashian] (1922), p. 74; Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 175.
- 26 Dashian [Tashian] (1922), p. 45; Tashian (1980), vol. 2, pp. 172–74 n. 182.
- 27 H. Minas Vardapet Bzhshkian, *Chanaparhordut'iwn i Lehastan ew yayl Koghman Bnakeals i Haykazants' Serelots' i Nakhneats' Ani K'aghak'in, Sharagreal Handerdz Zanazan Banasirakan Teghekut'eambk'* [*Travels to Poland and other Places Populated by Armenians Descending from Forefathers from the City of Ani, Annotated with a Variety of Philological Information*] (Venice: St Lazarus Monastery, 1830), p. 84
- 28 Faroqhi (1984), pp. 77 and 360 n. 18.
- 29 See the passage on Mala below.
- 30 Bzhshkian (1819), p. 82.
- 31 Yakovb Karnets'i (1919), pp. 156 and 203–04. Victor Fontanier, who visited Erzurum during the 1820s, wrote that the largest of the twenty mosques of the city was the former St Stephen Church; see his *Voyages en Orient entrepris par ordre du gouvernement français de l'année 1821 à l'année 1829. Turquie d'Asie* (Paris: Librairie Universelle de P. Mongie Aîné, 1829), p. 55.
- 32 Bryer (1970), pp. 42–43; see also his 'The Last Laz Risings and the Downfall of the Pontic Derebeys, 1812–1840', *Bedi Kartlisa: Revue de kartvêlologie* (Paris, 1969), 26, p. 196.
- 33 Mkhit'ariants' (1857), pp. 39–45.
- 34 Bryer (1970), p. 43; also see Claire Mouradian, 'Aperçu sur l'islamisation des Arméniens dans l'Empire ottoman: Le cas des Hamchentsi/Hemşili', in *Conversions islamiques: Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen – Islamic Conversions: Religious Identities in Mediterranean Islam*, ed. Mercedes Garcia-Arenal (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2002), pp. 407–08.
- 35 Barunak T'orlak'yan, *Hamshenahayeri Azgagrut'yunë* [*The Ethnography of Hamshen Armenians*] (Erevan: Publications of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 1981), pp. 40–41 and 41n. 10; A. Kh. Safrastyan, 'Kostandnupolsi Hayots' Patriark'arani Koghmits' T'urk'iayi Ardaradatut'yan ew Davanank'neri Ministrut'yan Nerkayats'vats' Haykakan Ekeghets'ineri ew Vank'eri Ts'uts'aknern u T'ak'rirnerë' [Lists and Reports of Armenian Churches and Monasteries Presented by the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul to the Turkish Ministry of Justice and Cults], *Ėjmiatsin* (1966), 23, no. 6, p. 42.
- 36 Bryer (1970), pp. 43–45; Bryer (1969), pp. 191–97; Malkhas [Artashēs Hovsēp'ian], Foreword to Misak' T'orlak'ian's *Örerus Het* [*With My Days*] (Los Angeles: Horizon Press, 1953), p. 17.
- 37 Mkhit'ariants' (1857), pp. 45–47 and 53. Much fighting took place from 1758 to 1759 between derebeys and the pasha, supported by the janissaries, as well as within rival janissary companies; see Bryer (1969), p. 196 and n. 6.
- 38 Mkhit'ariants' (1857), p. 47.
- 39 Faroqhi (1984), p. 77.
- 40 Malkhas [Artashēs Hovsēp'ian], *Chambus Vray* [*Along My Way*], vol. 1 (New York, 1950), pp. 280–81; Malkhas (1953), p. 16.
- 41 Minas G. Gasapian [Farhat], *Hayerë Nikomidioy Gawarî mej* [*The Armenians of the Nicomedia District*] (Partizak, Turkey: Azatamart, 1913), p. 82n.
- 42 Sargis Haykuni, *Husēp'ts'i Azgatohm ew Tarōrinak Awazak Abrieōm Trabizoni Hay Giwgheru mej 1795–1840* [*The Clan of Husēp' and the Curious Bandit Abrieōm in the*

- Armenian Villages of Trebizond 1795–1840* [Vagharshapat: Press of the Holy See of Ejmiatsin, 1905], pp. 17–25; Hovakim Khushpulian, ‘Mala Giwghê’ [The Village of Mala], in *Patmut’iwn Haykakan Pontosi* [History of Armenian Pontos], ed. Hovakim Hovakimian [Arshakuni] (Beirut: Mshak Press, 1967), pp. 446–49; Misak’ T’orlak’ian, *Örerus Het* [With My Days] (Los Angeles, CA: Horizon Press, 1953), pp. 108–11; Malkhas (1950), pp. 280–87.
- 43 Malkhas (1950), p. 280; Malkhas 1953, p. 16.
- 44 Malkhas (1950), pp. 280–86; T’orlak’ian (1953), pp. 108–11; Khushpulian (1967), pp. 446–49.
- 45 Sargis Haykuni [Ghazarian] was born in 1838 in the village of Zefanos (in the Yomra county of Trabzon). On his life and works, see the monograph by Verzhine G. Svazlyan, *Sargis Haykuni* (Kyank’n u Gortsuneut’yunê) [*Sargis Haykuni* (His Life and Works)] (Erevan: Publications of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 1973).
- 46 Haykuni (1905), pp. 17–20.
- 47 Malkhas (1953), pp. 17 and 18n.
- 48 Haykuni (1905), pp. 21–25.
- 49 Ibid., pp. 8–9.
- 50 Barunak T’orlak’yan, ‘Ējer Hamshenahayeri XVII–XVIII Dareri Patmut’ynits’ ’ [Pages from the Seventeenth–Eighteenth Centuries History of Hamshen Armenians], *Patma-Banasirakan Handes* [Historico-Philological Review] (Erevan, 1972), no. 4 (59), pp. 133–36.
- 51 Malkhas (1950), pp. 280–81.
- 52 In Ottoman times, the modern-day counties of Araklı and Sürmene were part of a single administrative unit called Sürmene, with its centre in the town of Araklı, while the present Sürmene was called Hamurgân; see Antony Bryer and David Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1985), pp. 323–24.
- 53 Sargis Haykuni, ‘Nshkharner: Korats u Morats’uats Hayer’ [Fragments: Lost and Forgotten Armenians], *Ararat* (Vagharshapat, 1895), no. 8, p. 294; Trdat Eps Palian, ‘Hay Vanorayk’ ’ [Armenian Monasteries], *Biwzandion* [Byzantium] (Constantinople, 1900), 4, no. 1027, 9 March, p. 1 and (1901), 5, no. 1386, 6 May, p. 1. Tashian (1980), vol. 2, pp. 121–22n. 125; and Father Hamazasp Oskian, *Sebastiayi, Kharberdi, Tiarpek’iri ew Trapizoni Nahangneru Vank’erê* [The Monasteries of the Provinces of Sebastia, Kharberd, Diyarbekir, and Trebizond] (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1962), pp. 233 and 236. Mehmet Bilgin believes that St Vardan was located in the modern-day Arpalı village, in the southernmost part of Sürmene, and that the mosque of the village was built over it. The village of Vartan, along with a yayla of the same name, once stood close to Arpalı; only the yayla, which now falls under the administrative jurisdiction of the Çaykara county of Trabzon, remains today; see Mehmet Bilgin, ‘Sürmene Tarihi’, in *Sürmene*, ed. Mehmet Bilgin and Ömer Yıldırım (Sürmene: Sürmene Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 1990), pp. 227–28.
- 54 T’umayian (1899), p. 175; see also Chapter 7 by Hagop Hachikian (this volume).
- 55 Bilgin (1990), pp. 220–21.
- 56 T’umayian (1899), p. 175.
- 57 Margarita Poutouridou, ‘The Of Valley and the Coming of Islam: The Case of the Greek-Speaking Muslims’, *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikou Spoudon* (Athens, 1997–98), 12, pp. 52–53.
- 58 Bilgin (1990), p. 158.
- 59 Haykuni (1895), p. 243; Bilgin (1990), p. 189. The village, divided in two, is now known as Kestanelik and Keçikaya, for respectively Büyük and Küçük Zimla.
- 60 Bilgin (1990), pp. 220–21.
- 61 Bzhshkian (1819), p. 93; T’umayian (1899), p. 175. I am indebted to Hagop Hachikian for his explanation.

- 62 Haykuni (1895), p. 242.
- 63 Haykuni's article, 'Nshkharner: Korats u Mo'rats' uats Hayer' [Fragments: Lost and Forgotten Armenians], was published in two parts in the July and August 1895 issues of *Ararat* (pp. 239–43 and 293–97).
- 64 Ibid., p. 240. Haykuni is obviously confused in saying that Karadere and Hamshen had only one priest for thirty-six villages. It should be noted here that Haykuni tended to lump together the two areas and to believe they shared borders, which they did not. From its contents, it is clear that the text applies to Karadere, and any information presented as pertaining to Hamshen is most likely to actually refer to Karadere rather than to Hamshen, which does not appear to have been visited by Haykuni.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Ibid., p. 241.
- 68 Ibid., pp. 241–42.
- 69 T'umayian (1899), p. 176.
- 70 Hovakim Hovakimian [Arshakuni] (ed.), *Patmut' iwn Haykakan Pontosi* [History of Armenian Pontos] (Beirut: Mshak Press, 1967), p. 62.
- 71 Haykuni (1895), pp. 242–43.
- 72 Poutouridou (1997–98), p. 53.
- 73 Ibid., p. 50.
- 74 Haykuni (1895), p. 239; Hrach'eay Acharian, *K'nnut'yun Hamsheni Barbari* [Study of the Hamshen Dialect] (Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 1947), p. 5.
- 75 T'umayian (1899), p. 176.
- 76 See T'orlak'yan (1972), p. 135 n. 11.
- 77 Mkhitar'iants' (1857), p. 47.
- 78 Yücel Özkaya, 'XVIII. Yüzyılda Trabzon'un Genel Durumu', in *Birinci Tarih Boyunca Karadeniz Kongresi Bildirileri, 13–17 Ekim 1986*, ed. Mehmet Sağlam et al. (Samsun: Eser Matbaası, 1988), p. 141 n. 22.
- 79 Maghak'ia [Tēr Babgēn K'ahanay] Arslanian, *Baberd ew ir Shrjannerē* [Baberd (Bayburt) and its Districts] (Paris, 1955), p. 15.
- 80 Bilgin (1990), pp. 186–87, 205, 206 n. 1 and 227–28. See the excellent discussion by Hagop Hachikian on this topic in Chapter 7 (this volume).
- 81 Ibid., pp. 314 and 328.
- 82 Haykuni (1895), p. 242.
- 83 Bzhshkian (1819), pp. 49 and 97; Mkhitar'iants' (1857), p. 47; T'umayian (1899), p. 177.
- 84 Mkhitar'iants' (1857), p. 47; T'umayian (1899), p. 177.
- 85 Özkaya (1988), p. 141 n. 22.
- 86 Mkhitar'iants' (1857), p. 47.
- 87 Mahmut Goloğlu, *Trabzon Tarihi: Fetihden Kurtuluşa Kadar* (Ankara: Kalite Matbaası, 1975), pp. 122–26; Mkhitar'iants' (1857), pp. 47–48; T'umayian (1899), p. 177.
- 88 T'orlak'yan (1981), p. 96.
- 89 Bzhshkian (1819), p. 49.
- 90 Inchichian (1806), p. 397; Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 129.
- 91 Atacan and Bekar (2001), p. 102.
- 92 Babkēn At'orakits' Kat'oghikos Kiwlēsērian (ed.), *Ts'uts'ak Dzeragrats' Ankiwrioy Karmir Vanuts' ew Shrjakayits'* [Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Red Monastery of Angora and the Surroundings] (Antelias: Press of the Armenian Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, 1957), pp. 997–1000.
- 93 Orkun Yaman, 'Etniklik ve Hemşin Üzerine (Bulutların Ülkesi Hemşin 4)', *Halkbilimi: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Türk Halk Bilimi Topluluğu* (Ankara, 1998), no. 7, p. 56.
- 94 Malkhas (1953), p. 16.
- 95 Atrpet [Sargis Mubayajian], *Chorokhi Awazanē* [The Basin of the Çoruh] (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1929), p. 110.

- 96 Sekhnia Tchkhéidzé, 'Chronique de Géorgie', in *Histoire de la Géorgie: Depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIX^e siècle*, edited and translated by Marie-Félicité Brosset, part II, *Histoire moderne*, vol. 2 (St Petersburg: Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1857), p. 39 and n. 2. On Ârifi Ahmed Pasha, see Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî: Osmanlı Ünlüleri*, edited by Nuri Akbayan and transliterated into modern Turkish script by Seyit Ali Kahraman (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ile Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), vol. 1, pp. 219 and 321; Fahameddin Başar, *Osmanlı Eyâlet Tevcihâtı (1717–1730)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997), pp. 92 and n. 213, and 282.
- 97 Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 129; see also Atacan and Bekar (2001).
- 98 Atacan and Bekar (2001), pp. 108–12.
- 99 Antony Bryer, 'Historical Note on Zil Kale', *Archeion Pontou* (Athens, 1977–78), 34, p. 55.
- 100 Atacan and Bekar (2001), p. 102; Karpuz (1992), pp. 50–52 and 59–60; M. Ali Sakaoğlu *et al.* (eds), *Cumhuriyetimizin 75. Yılı Kutlamaları Çerçevesinde 1. Hemşin Bal, Kültür ve Turizm Şenlikleri, 22–23 Ağustos 1998* (Ankara: Hemşin Hizmet Vakfı, 1998), p. 33.
- 101 Inchichian (1806), p. 396.
- 102 *Ibid.*, p. 396.
- 103 Bzhshkian (1819), p. 97.
- 104 R. M. Dawkins, 'The Crypto-Christians of Turkey', *Byzantion* (Brussels, 1933), 8, no. 1, pp. 254 and 257 n. 3; Bryer (1983), p. 16.
- 105 Inchichian (1806), pp. 341–42.
- 106 Bernard Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la Réforme catholique (Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles)* (Rome: École française de Rome, Palais Farnèse, 1994), p. 618.
- 107 Dawkins (1933), p. 271.
- 108 *Ibid.*, p. 273.
- 109 *Ibid.*, p. 269.
- 110 *Ibid.*, pp. 268–73.
- 111 Bzhshkian (1819), p. 97.
- 112 Pirō, 'Tachkats'ats Hayer' [Turkified Armenians], *Nor-Dar [New Age]* (Tiflis, 1893), 10, no. 227, 21 December, p. 3; Bzhshkian (1819), p. 97.
- 113 On Vardavar, see Chapter 13 by Erhan Ersoy, as well as Chapter 11 by Uwe Bläsing and Chapter 15 by Rüdiger Benninghaus (this volume).
- 114 G. Amatuni [Garegin Amatian], 'Dareru Ēnt'ats'k'in T'rk'ats'ats Hayer, K'rtats'ats Hayer' [Armenians Turkified and Kurdified throughout the Ages], *Nayiri* (Beirut, 1980), 25, nos. 3–4, 31 May, p. 15 and nos. 7–8, 30 June, p. 13.
- 115 Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie: Géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie-Mineure*, vol. 1 (Paris: E. Leroux, 1890), p. 121.
- 116 Pirō (1893), p. 3.
- 117 H. Barsegh Sargsian and H. Grigor Sargsian (eds), *Mayr Ts'uts'ak Hayerēn Dzeṛagrats' Matenadaranin Mkhit'areants' i Venetik [Grand Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts in the Library of the Venice Mekhitarists]*, vol. 3 (Venice: St Lazarus Monastery, 1966), pp. 4–5. An Italian-language version of the episode is available in Gabriella Uluhogian, 'La collezione di manoscritti della biblioteca di San Lazzaro', in *San Lazzaro degli Armeni: L'isola, il monastero, il restauro*, ed. Michela Maguolo and Massimiliano Bandera (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1999), p. 129.
- 118 Mouradian (2002), pp. 408–09.
- 119 Inchichian (1806), p. 397; see Chapter 7 by Hagop Hachikian (this volume).
- 120 Tashian (1980), vol. 2, pp. 216–19.
- 121 Father Poghos Mēhērian, 'Patmutiun Varuts' Teān H. Poghos Vardapeti Mēhērian, Sharagreal Yiwmē 1811 Venetik, i Vans Srboyn Ghazaru' [History of the Life of Father Poghos Mēhērian, Composed by Him, Venice, 1811, in the monastery of

- St Lazarus], Library of the Mekhitarist Congregation of Venice, Manuscript 560, pp. 161 and 168–69; quoted in Vardanyan (1998), pp. 2 and 8 n. 3 and 4; H. B. Sargisian, ‘Vichakagrakan Nor Tesut’iwn mẽ i Npast Ankakh Hayastani’ [A New Statistical Analysis in Favour of Independent Armenia], *Bazmavep* [Polyhistory] (Venice, 1919), 77, no. 9, pp. 284–85.
- 122 Pirō (1893), p. 3.
- 123 According to Islamic law, Christian women can marry Muslim men and keep their faith, while Christian men cannot marry Muslim women without converting to Islam.
- 124 Pirō (1893), p. 3.
- 125 Bryer (1970), pp. 46–47.
- 126 Harut’iwn V. Hulunian and Matt’ēos V. Hachian (eds), *Hushamatean Khotorjuri* [Memorial Book of Khotorjur] (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1964), p. 165.
- 127 Inchichian (1806), p. 397.
- 128 Atacan and Bekar (2001), p. 102; Kiwlēsērian (1957), pp. 997–1000.
- 129 Inchichian (1806), pp. 396–97.
- 130 W. Gifford Palgrave, ‘Report by Consul W. Gifford Palgrave on the Provinces of Trebizond, Sivas, Kastemouni, and Part of Angora’, *Commercial Reports Received from Her Majesty’s Consuls, Accounts and Papers* (1868), 59, no. 9, p. 363. Palgrave’s mistaken figure was reproduced by Tsate Batsaşi in his otherwise excellent chapter ‘Hemşinliler’, in *Trabzon’dan Abhazya’ya: Doğu Karadeniz Halklarının Tarih ve Kültürleri*, edited and translated from Georgian into Turkish by Hayri Hayrioğlu (Istanbul: Sorun Yayınları, 1998), p. 72. On Palgrave’s frequent inaccuracies, see Bryer (1983), pp. 27–28 and n. 31, and his ‘Late Byzantine Rural Society in Matzouka’, in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, ed. Anthony Bryer and Heath Lowry (Birmingham/Washington, DC: University of Birmingham, Centre for Byzantine Studies/Dumbarton Oaks, Research Library and Collection, 1986), p. 57 n. 6.
- 131 W. Gifford Palgrave, ‘Report, on the Lazistan Coast and the Corresponding Inland Districts between Shefkatefl or Port St. Nicholas on the Russo-Caucasian Frontier and Trebizond, in the Summer of the Year 1872’, Great Britain, Public Records Office/Foreign Office (PRO/FO) 526/8, 29 January 1873, p. 33.
- 132 H. Hakob K’ōsian (ed.), *Ts’uts’ak Hayerēn Dzeragrats’ Artsnean Varzharani ew Karnoy Giwgheru* [Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts from the Artsnean School and the Villages of Erzurum] (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1964), p. 67; Edwards (1988), p. 421. On Khach’kavank’, see Tēr Hovhannēs K’ahanay Vagharshakertts’i, *Chanaparhort’ut’iwn T. Hovhannēs K’ahanayē Vagharshakertts’oy i Sahmans Bardzr Hayots’* [Travel of Father John of Vagharshakert to the Borders of Upper Armenia], vol. 1 (Constantinople: Tpagrut’iwn Petros Chēzvēchian, 1870), pp. 24–25, and Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 83 and n. 80b. *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, edited and transliterated from Ottoman Turkish by Kudret Emiroğlu, vol. 1, 1869 (Ankara: Trabzon İli ve İlçeleri Eğitim, Kültür ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Vakfı, 1993), p. 145; vol. 2, 1870 (1993), p. 185.
- 133 Bryer (1983), p. 22.
- 134 *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 1, 1869 (1993), p. 155.
- 135 See Chapter 5 by Alexandre Toumarkine (this volume).
- 136 W. Gifford Palgrave, ‘Vestiges of Glacial Action in North-Eastern Anatolia’, *Nature* (London, 1872), 6, no. 157, p. 538.
- 137 Bzhshkian (1819), p. 93.
- 138 Haykuni (1895), p. 242. Haykuni provides a vivid portrait of Tēr Karapet and describes one of his visits to Karadere in the biography of the bandit Abrieōm; see Haykuni (1905), pp. 44–59, and Hovakimian (1967), pp. 62–63.
- 139 Haykuni (1895), p. 242–43.
- 140 Hovakimian (1967), pp. 64–66; Haykuni (1895), p. 243.
- 141 Haykuni (1895), p. 243; Haykuni (1905), pp. 54–58; Hovakimian (1967), pp. 63–65; T’orlak’ian (1953), p. 259.

- 142 Hovakimian (1967), pp. 67–68.
- 143 T‘umayian (1899), p. 175.
- 144 Hakob Muradians‘, ‘Sew Tsovi Ap‘erin’ [On the Shores of the Black Sea], *Murch [The Hammer]* (Tiflis, 1898), 10, no. 4, pp. 473–74.
- 145 William Gifford Palgrave, ‘Letter to the Honorable H. G. Elliot’, Great Britain, Public Records Office/Foreign Office (PRO/FO) 195/953, letter no. 20, 6 April 1869, pp. 64–66; copy in PRO/FO 524/14, pp. 32–33 (henceforth Palgrave (1869)). ‘Kaleefa’ is spelt ‘Kalfah’ in another instance (PRO/FO 524/14, p. 48). Palgrave describes it as a ‘coast-village about twenty miles Eastward’ of Trebizond. Since there is no settlement named Kaleefa on the coast, it is likely that the reference is actually to the village of Kalafka, which, however, is located inland. Palgrave did not judge it necessary to send the original petition to the ambassador, so it is not known whether the mention of 400 years was indeed included in it. The petition is also mentioned by A. Derché, the French consul at Trebizond; like Palgrave, he fails to include the original in the letter sent to his superiors; see A. Derché, ‘Envoi d’une requête adressée par les Croumlys’, France, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance Politique des Consuls, Turquie, Trébizonde, tome 4, letter no. 18, 5 April 1869, p. 162. On the Islamized Armenians of Yomra and Platana (Akçaabat), see Hovakimian (1967), p. 67.
- 146 T‘orlak‘yan (1981), p. 40.
- 147 Palgrave (1869). On Palgrave’s despise of crypto-Christians and of their desire to revert to open worship of Christianity, and on his own multiple conversions, see Bryer (1983).
- 148 Haykuni (1905), p. 59n.; ‘Lazistani Hayer’ [The Armenians of Lazistan], *Mankavarzhanoṭs’*: *Mankavarzhakan ew Grakanakan Amsagir* [Pedagogical School: Pedagogical and Literary Monthly] (St Petersburg, 1887), 4, no. 1, p. 14. The Greeks of Kromni (Kurum) were also forced to continue serving in the army, even though their new status as Christians had been officially recognized; see PRO/FO 524/16, pp. 171–75, 188–90 and 239–41.
- 149 T‘umayian (1899), p. 175; Haykuni (1895), pp. 242 and 297; Hovakimian (1967), p. 68; on the abuses and exactions perpetrated by Hasan Efendi, a mullah from Of, see Bryer (1983), pp. 48–49.
- 150 Haykuni (1895), pp. 243 and 297; T‘orlak‘ian (1953), p. 259; Hovakim Khushpulian, ‘K‘ēmalakan Arhawirk‘nerē’ [The Kemalist Atrocities], in *Patmut‘iwn Haykakan Pontosi* [History of Armenian Pontos], ed. Hovakim Hovakimian [Arshakuni] (Beirut: Mshak Press, 1967), pp. 304–05.
- 151 T‘umayian (1899), p. 176.
- 152 Haykuni (1895), p. 243.
- 153 Smith (1833), pp. 324–25.
- 154 Cuinet (1890), p. 121.
- 155 Pirō (1893), p. 3.
- 156 A. P. Megavorian [Meghavorian], ‘K voprosu ob etnograficheskikh usloviiax razvitiia narodnostei Chorokhskaḡo basseina’ [On the Question of Ethnographic Circumstances in the Development of the Nationalities of the Chorokh Basin], *Izviestiiia Kavkazskago otdiela Imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestva* [Bulletin of the Caucasian Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society] (Tiflis, 1904), 17, no. 5, p. 367; Gasapian (1913), pp. 145–46; Nikolai Iakovlevich Marr, ‘Iz poiezdkii v Turetskii Lazistan: Vpechatleniia i nabliudeniia’ [Travels in Turkish Lazistan: Impressions and Observations], *Izviestiiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk – Bulletin de l’Académie Impériale des Sciences de St-Petersbourg* (1910), 4 (6th series), no. 8, 1 May, p. 608.
- 157 Şâkir Şevket, *Trabzon Tarihi: İlk Türkçe Şehir Tarihi*, edited by İsmail Hacıfettahoğlu (Ankara: Trabzon Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları/Atlas Yayıncılık, 2001), pp. 105–06.
- 158 Bryer (1983), pp. 16 and 35–36.

- 159 Karl Koch, *Wanderungen im Oriente während der Jahre 1843 und 1844*, vol. 2, *Reise im pontischen Gebirge und türkische Armenien* (Weimar: Landes Industrie Comptoirs, 1846), pp. 55–58. The trip to Karmenik was not all lost, given the excellent brandy prepared in the village which, to Koch's surprise, was also highly appreciated by his Turkish guides.
- 160 Bryer (1970), p. 45 n. 45.
- 161 Koch (1846), vol. 2, p. 167.
- 162 Georg Rosen, *Über die Sprache der Lazen* (Berlin: Lemgo and Detmold, Meyersche Hofbuchhandlung, 1844), p. 2; Toumarkine (1995), p. 46.
- 163 Bryer (1983), pp. 24–25.
- 164 See Chapter 5 by Alexandre Toumarkine (this volume). See also, Michael E. Meeker, *A Nation of Empire: The Ottoman Legacy of Turkish Modernity* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2002).
- 165 Toumarkine (1995), p. 46.
- 166 Gaëlle Dupont, 'Le Parler Breton s'est Perdu dans les Tranchées', *Le Monde* (Paris, 1998), 6 November, p. 12.
- 167 This question was first asked by Meghavorian in 1904; see Megavorian [Meghavorian] (1904), p. 367.
- 168 Atrpet (1929), pp. 197–98.
- 169 See Chapter 11 by Uwe Blaesing (this volume).
- 170 Wolfgang Feurstein, 'Bemerkungen zur Ethnologie der Hemschinen', forthcoming.
- 171 Rüdiger Benninghaus, 'Zur Herkunft und Identität der Hemsinli', in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, ed. Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rüdiger Benninghaus (Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989), p. 479 and n. 17; Hamdi Alemdar, *Rize İli 100. Yıl Örnek Köyü: Cimil Rehberi* (Samsun?, n.d.), p. 190. For a list of Armenian-derived family names, see appendix 12.1.
- 172 Pirō (1893), p. 3.
- 173 Barunak T'orlak'yan, 'Drvagner Hamshenahayeri Patmut'yunits' [Episodes from the History of Hamshen Armenians], *Banber Erevani Hamalsarani* [Bulletin of Erevan University] (1971), no. 2 (14), p. 199; T'orlak'yan (1981), p. 30; Gasapian (1913), p. 145.
- 174 N. N. Levashov, 'Zamietka o pogranichnoi linii i zonie, na razstoianii ot berega Chernago moria do goroda Artvina (s kartoiu)' [A Note on the Border Line and Zone, from the Coast of the Black Sea to the City of Artvin (with a Map)], *Izvestiia Kavkazskago otdiela Imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestva* [Bulletin of the Caucasian Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society] (Tiflis, 1880), 6, no. 2, pp. 227–28; E. K. Liuzen, 'Bereg Russkago Lazistana' [The Border of Russian Lazistan], translated by D. A. Levshin, *Izvestiia Kavkazskago otdiela Imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestva* [Bulletin of the Caucasian Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society] (Tiflis, 1905–06), 18, no. 3, p. 170.
- 175 Hasan Dursunovich Salikh-Oghli, 'Harts'azroyts' Hemshilneru Arachnordin Het' [Interview with the Patriarch of the Hemshils], interview by Artawazd T'ulumchian, *Asbarez* [Horizon] (Glendale, CA, 2002), 4 May, p. 18. For discussions on Ardeletsi and Turtsevantzi, see Chapter 12 by Hagop Hachikian (this volume), as well as Igor Kuznetsov's chapter in the forthcoming second volume of *The Hemshin*.
- 176 Ali Gündüz, *Hemşinliler: Dil – Tarih – Kültür* (Ankara: Ardanuç Kültür Yardımlaşma Derneği, 2002), pp. 63, 88, 99, 139 and 157–58.
- 177 G. Kazbek, 'Tri miesiatsa v Turetskoi Gruzii' [Three Months in Turkish Georgia], *Zapiski Kavkazskago otdiela Imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestva* [Notes of the Caucasian Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society] (Tiflis, 1876), 10, no. 1, pp. 99–101; Liuzen (1905–06), pp. 160–61; D. Bakradse [Dm. Z. Bakradze], 'Das türkische Grusien', trans. N. Von Seidlitz, *Russische Revue: Monatsschrift für die Kunde Russlands* (St Petersburg, 1877), 10, pp. 355 and 366.
- 178 Liuzen (1905–06), p. 169.

- 179 Harut'iwn Gat'ēnian, 'Namak Ardahanits'' [Letter from Ardahan], *Mshak [The Tiller]* (Tiflis, 1883), 12, no. 168, 5 November, pp. 2–3; idem, 'Ch'ors Tari Shavshēt'-Imerkhēvum Shrijagayut'ean Ardiwnk'its'' [From the Result of a Four-Years Tour of Shavshet-Imerkhevi], *Mshak [The Tiller]* (Tiflis, 1888), 16, no. 83, 23 July, p. 2; Levashov (1880), p. 228; Liuzen (1905–06), p. 168.
- 180 See the chapters by Sergey Vardanyan and Igor Kuznetsov in the forthcoming second volume of *The Hemshin*.
- 181 Gat'ēnian (1888), p. 2; *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 12, 1881 (1999), p. 271. The total for the Bash Hemshin population is calculated by adding to the figures for the Hemshin nahiye to those of the Hemshin villages (e.g. Cimil, Haçapit, Abuhemşin) located in neighbouring districts.
- 182 Benninghaus (1989), p. 485.
- 183 Hanefi M. Bostan, *XV–XVI. Asırlarda Trabzon Sancağında Sosyal ve İktisadî Hayat* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002), p. 40; Özkaya (1988), p. 134.
- 184 Goloğlu (1975), pp. 120–22; Bilgin (1990), p. 283.
- 185 Inchichian (1806), p. 396.
- 186 Bryer (1970), p. 45.
- 187 Koch (1846), vol. 2, pp. 23–24. Koch also mentions that he was never able to comprehend the difference between voyvod and another title, *mütesellim*, since both described the official in charge of an administrative entity known as a sancak. His supposition was that when a district was overwhelmingly Christian, its governor would be called a voyvod, while mütesellim would be reserved for Muslim-populated districts. See Chapter 5 by Alexandre Toumarkine (this volume) for derebeys, and Chapter 7 by Hagop Hachikian for an explanation of the titles of voyvod and mütesellim.
- 188 Koch (1846), vol. 2, p. 23.
- 189 On the Kipchaks in Georgia, see Peter B. Golden, 'Cumanica I: The Qıpçaqs in Georgia', *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* (Wiesbaden, 1984), 4, pp. 45–87, particularly pp. 78–80 on Kubasar.
- 190 On Turkic, particularly Çepni Türkmen, origins of derebey families, see Bryer (1969), p. 193.
- 191 Atacan and Bekar (2001), pp. 6, 10, 38, 42 and 99.
- 192 This story was told to Hagop Hachikian by a Hopa Hemshinli informant.
- 193 Orhan Kılıç, *18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdari Taksimatı – Eyalet ve Sancak Tevcihatı* (Elazığ, Turkey: Ceren Matbaacılık, 1997), p. 159.
- 194 Bursalı Mehmet Tahir Efendi, *Osmanlı Müellifleri, 1299–1915*, vol. 1, edited by A. Fikri Yavuz and İsmail Özen (Istanbul: Meral Yayınevi, 1971), p. 264.
- 195 Bryer (1969), pp. 209–10.
- 196 Bzhshkian (1830), p. 84.
- 197 T'umayian (1899), p. 166.
- 198 Koch (1846), vol. 2, p. 116; Tashian (1980), vol. 2, pp. 115–16 and 175.
- 199 Palgrave (1868), pp. 373–78; other excerpts by Palgrave on this topic are provided in Bryer (1969), pp. 193–94 and n. 2.
- 200 *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 2, 1870 (1993), p. 101; vol. 3, 1871 (1993), p. 113; vol. 4, 1872 (1994), p. 115; vol. 5, 1873 (1995), p. 117; vol. 6, 1874 (1995), p. 121; vol. 7, 1875 (1995), p. 199; vol. 8, 1876 (1995), p. 195; vol. 9, 1877 (1995), p. 135; vol. 10, 1878 (1999), p. 155; vol. 11, 1879 (1999), p. 183; vol. 12, 1881 (1999), p. 177.
- 201 Ibid., vol. 2, 1870 (1993), pp. 237–39; vol. 3, 1871 (1993), p. 257; vol. 4, 1872 (1994), p. 259; vol. 5, 1873 (1995), p. 217; vol. 6, 1874 (1995), p. 223; vol. 7, 1875 (1995), p. 293; vol. 8, 1876 (1995), p. 459; vol. 9, 1877 (1995), p. 383; vol. 10, 1878 (1999), pp. 237, 245 and 311; vol. 11, 1879 (1999), pp. 261, 271, 289 and 333; vol. 12, 1881 (1999), pp. 295, 305 and 363.
- 202 Palgrave (1873), pp. 33, 42 and 54; Russian translation [V. Dzh. Pal'grev], 'Otchet konsula Pal'grevu, za lieto 1872 goda, o beregie Lazistana i prilegaiushchikh k

- nemu vnutrennikh okrugakh mezhdu Shevketilem ili ukriepieniem Cv. Nikolaia, na russko-turetskoi granitsie, na beregu Chernogo moria, i Trapezondom', translated by A. A. Tsionglinskii, in *Materialy dlia opisaniia Aziatskoi Turtsii i Batumskoi oblasti. II. Otchet V. Dzhifforda Pal'greva o provintsiiakh Anatolii za 1867–68, 1869 i 1872 gody. Prilozheniia k VII tomu, 'Izvestiia Kavkazskago otdiela Imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestva'* [Materials for the Description of Asiatic Turkey and the Batum Region. II. W. Gifford Palgrave's Account of the Provinces of Anatolia for the Years 1867–68, 1869 and 1872. Appendix to Volume VII of 'Bulletin of the Caucasian Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society'], ed. E. G. Veidenbaum (Tiflis, 1882), pp. 70–74; *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 10, 1878 (1999), p. 245.
- 203 Palgrave (1873), p. 33; idem, Russian translation (1882), pp. 70–71. Curiously, in some cases, the Russian translation has more information than the English original. Either Palgrave provided Russian scholars with a more extensive version of his text, or some passages were added by the translator and his colleagues.
- 204 Russian translation (1882) of Palgrave (1873), p. 71; I. I. Stebnitskii, 'Pontiiskii khrebet. Otryvok iz orografiia Maloi Azii' [The Pontic Mountain Range. A Fragment of the Orography of Asia Minor], *Izvestiia Kavkazskago otdiela Imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestva* [Bulletin of the Caucasian Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society] (Tiflis, 1881), 7, no. 1, p. 62; Osman Bey [Frederick Millingen], 'Lazistan', *Izvestiia Imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestva* [Bulletin of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society] (St Petersburg, 1874), 10, no. 8, p. 359; Dm. Z. Bakradze, 'Zamietka o Batumskoi oblasti' [A Note on the Batum region], *Izvestiia Kavkazskago otdiela Imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestva* [Bulletin of the Caucasian Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society] (Tiflis, 1880), 6, no. 2, pp. 161–62; Gat'ënian (1883), pp. 2–3.
- 205 Megavorian [Meghavorian], p. 367.
- 206 Palgrave (1873), pp. 33–34; *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 1, 1869 (1993), p. 219; vol. 2, 1870 (1993), pp. 299–01 and 309; vol. 3, 1871 (1993), pp. 317–19, 327 and 335; vol. 4, 1872 (1994), pp. 325–27, 335 and 343; vol. 5, 1873 (1995), pp. 251, 259 and 265; vol. 6, 1874 (1995), pp. 255 and 257; vol. 7, 1875 (1995), pp. 327, 335 and 341; vol. 8, 1876 (1995), pp. 491, 501 and 507; vol. 10, 1878 (1999), pp. 337, 343 and 352; vol. 11, 1879 (1999), p. 333; vol. 13, 1888 (2002), p. 643.
- 207 Rifat Yüce, *Kocaeli Tarih ve Rehberi* (İzmit: Türk Yolu Matbaası, 1945), p. 193.
- 208 Gasapian (1913), pp. 81–100.
- 209 Ibid., pp. 143–47; see also Chapter 7 by Hagop Hachikian (this volume).
- 210 Hulunian and Hachian (1964), pp. 180–83 and p. 181 n. 1; Tashian (1980) vol. 2, p. 201 n. 200; Pirō (1893), pp. 2–3; Liuzen (1905–06), p. 168; Marr (1910), 15 April, pp. 552, 556–57 and 1 May, p. 618.
- 211 Hâle Soysü, 'Hemşinliler: Tulumla Konuşan Gururlu İnsanlar', *İkibin'e Doğru* (İstanbul, 1991), 5, no. 41, 8 December, p. 44; Sevan Nişanyan, Landon Thomas and Gabriele Ohl, *Zoom in Black Sea: A Traveler's Guide to Turkey's Black Sea Region* (İstanbul: Boyut Yayın Grubu/Boyut Publishing Group, 1990), pp. 121–22; Sevan Nişanyan and Müjde Nişanyan, *Karadeniz: Meraklısı İçin Gezi Rehberi – Black Sea: A Traveller's Handbook for Northern Turkey* (İstanbul: Boyut Yayın Grubu, 2000), pp. 150–51.
- 212 Hugh Pope, 'Market Scene', *Los Angeles Times* (1990), 7 August, p. 4; on the topic of migration to Russia, see Chapter 8 by Erhan Ersoy (this volume).

5 Ottoman political and religious élites among the Hemshin

The mid-nineteenth century
to 1926

Alexandre Toumarkine

The fall of the *derebeys* (1830s)

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the valleys of Hemshin, as well as most of the eastern coastal areas of the Black Sea, enjoyed almost complete autonomy from central Ottoman rule and its local representatives. These areas were dominated by *derebeys* which literally translated means ‘lord of the valley’. This appellation is well justified, since it refers to a system of clan rule which was both scattered and compartmentalized; indeed from one Pontic valley to another, at times within the same valley, there were changes in leadership. Georg Rosen, the linguist who visited Lazistan in August 1843 accompanied by the botanist Karl Koch, reminds us that internal conflicts between *derebeys* were common in the region. Regarding the Hemshin, he notes that it was against Laz *derebeys* that they usually fought.¹

In the wake of the Russian-Turkish war of 1828 to 1829, the successive accession to the position of *vali* (governor) of Trebizond by two brothers belonging to the Hazinedaroğlu family, Osman (1827–1842) then Abdullah (1842–1845), hastened the end of the quasi-independence enjoyed by the region. In three successive stages, from 1829 to 1840, Osman Hazinedaroğlu put down all regional rebellions. These uprisings were led by a great family from Rize, the Tuzcuoğlu, who had clashed with the pashas of Trebizond since the beginning of the century.² The Hemshin do not seem to have played a major role in the first two phases, even though, according to Şerif Sayın, their support of the Tuzcuoğlu is in no doubt. However, the *derebeys* of the Hemshin *sancak* (subprovince) took part in the September 1839 rebellion on the side of the *derebeys* of Of and Rize. This third and final revolt was named the ‘War of Of’, because it was led by the *derebeys* of the area of Of, located to the west of Rize.³

The details of the events as they unfolded in Hemshin in the autumn of 1839 are provided in the letters sent by the British Vice-Consul at Trebizond, Henry Suter, to the British Ambassador in Constantinople, Viscount John Ponsonby. Suter reports that disturbances started following a sharp increase in taxes enacted by Mussa Aga (i.e. Musa Agha), a newly appointed *mütesellim*. The inhabitants of ‘Amishon’, led by Sichianoglu Memish Aga (Sıçanoğlu Memiş Agha), declared

their inability to pay the sum of 400 purses requested by Musa Agha and refused compliance, arguing that the edicts (*firman*s) from the Porte did not authorize such exorbitant demands. A battalion of 150 men sent by the *Kaymakam* (governor) Memiş Pasha to the assistance of Musa Agha was routed by Sıçanoğlu's party, forcing Musa Agha to flee to Gemil (Cimil) and then to Mapavria (Çayeli). Learning about the events in Hemshin, the governor of Trebizond, Osman Pasha, ordered the mobilization of some 4,000 men in his Pashalik to quell the revolt. To prevent this punitive expedition, the notables of Hemshin, led by the mufti of the district, came to Trebizond to solicit pardon for those engaged in the disturbances and to confirm of their acceptance of all demands. In spite of this offer of submission, Osman Pasha decided to carry out the expedition and to send his men as far as Batum as a display of his authority. Kiayaoglu Emin Aga (Kahyaoğlu Emin Agha), who had come from Tireboli (Tirebolu) with the purpose of commanding the troops, was also in favour of proceeding forward, given the financial advantages the expedition would bring to him. When the expeditionary force reached Hemshin, it was met by a local delegation reassuring Emin Agha of the district's complete submission. Meanwhile, the leaders of the revolt had fled the district prior to the approach of Emin Agha. Thus Sıçanoğlu Memiş Agha was a fugitive in Ispir. Two other leaders, Ali Chavush (Çavuş) and his son, were brought to Trebizond, from where the Pasha intended to have them sent them to Constantinople. It was believed however that the two men would not be severely punished, given their relationship with Ali Rizeh (Rıza) Bey, a native of the region who held an appointment of importance in the capital. Recognizing that some of the complaints of the population were not unfounded, the authorities appointed a new mütesellim to replace Musa Agha, while troops were gradually recalled.⁴

The involvement of another Hemshin derebey in previous rebellions is known to us thanks to the travel account of Karl Koch. Kumbasaroğlu Süleyman Agha recounted his life to the German scientist, whom he welcomed a few years after the military campaigns of Osman Hazinearoğlu. Taken prisoner with his men by Osman Pasha, he was sent to Istanbul where he was incarcerated. He was able, however, to flee; he returned to his province and became derebey of the village of Cimil and its adjacent valley (the present-day village of Başköy, in the İkizdere county (*ilçe*) of the Rize province). As a consequence of a new rebellion by the Tuzcuoğlu in 1834, he was once again arrested and this time imprisoned in Izmir. By his own admission, he owed his freedom to the Austrian consul who had granted him asylum in the consulate.⁵

By 1840, Osman Hazinearoğlu was triumphant: after a ten-year confrontation he was able to crush the derebeys. Henceforth, no local uprising would disturb the peace established in the province. Soon, however, the political vacuum was filled; a representative of the governor of Trebizond, Ali Pasha, settled in the area.⁶

Koch, who had stayed in the valleys of Hemshin in 1843, notes that there were three derebeys in these valleys. While he mentions the name of only one of them, Kumbasaroğlu Süleyman Agha, the names of the two others, Halid Agha and Hüseyin Efendi, are provided by Muzaffer Arıcı. Each one of these was settled in a village and controlled a valley. Süleyman Agha resided in Cimil, Halid Agha

dwelt in Ortaköy (or Mesahor, now Kaptanpaşa, in the same name district (*bucak*) of the Çayeli county), located in the valley of the Senoz River, and Hüseyin Efendi resided in the village of Marmanat (present-day Akbucak, in the Hemşin county; see Map 2.1). However, there were other derebeys in other valleys where Hemshin villages had been implanted, such as the valleys located in the east of Hemshin. Koch specifies that the derebey of Kale (present-day Hisarcık) was recognized by the other derebeys as *primus inter pares*.⁷ In order to consolidate his ties with the derebeys, Ali Pasha married his daughters to representatives of the Tuczuoğlu, Kumbasaroğlu and Pirimoğlu families, as well as to two other derebeys named Hacı Osman Agha and Cevail Agha.⁸

Even though the derebeys accepted the supremacy of Ali Pasha as representative of the central government, they nevertheless engaged in continuous infighting to grab regional pre-eminence. In autumn 1843, Süleyman Agha assaulted the *konak* (residence) of the Ortaköy derebey, Halid Agha, who was forced to submit, together with his thirty-six followers, to the authority of the former.⁹ The following day, accompanied by Halid Agha, Süleyman Agha assaulted the *konak* of the derebey of Marmanat, but the solidly built walls of the mansion resisted the assault. That very evening, Süleyman Agha returned to his residence. Halid Agha remained in the area with his men, assuring Süleyman that he would settle the matter. Halid ordered the villagers to bring him cut hay and stems of corn. As soon as night fell, he set fire to the residence. The thick walls and the sloping roof of the dwelling saved the lives of its occupants. In the morning, Halid Agha, believing that there had been no survivors, entered the village of Çingit (present-day Uğrak, in the Pazar county). The derebey of Marmanat and his brother, however, had not perished in the fire. The two brothers had escaped through an underpass and followed Halid Agha to Çingit where, at night, they entered the house he was staying and stabbed him to death. Karl Koch, who arrived in the area during the period of this incident, said that he saw the ruins of the residence of the Marmanat derebey and confirmed that it had been set on fire by his enemy, the derebey of Cimil.¹⁰ The fall of regional war lords, brought about by internal conflicts, left the Hemshin with the possibility of social mobility only through administrative, religious and civil careers.

The formation of a great Ottoman family: the Hemshinlizâde

During the Ottoman period there was only a single Hemshin family among the great Ottoman families serving the state. This family was named after its most prestigious representative, *Damad Mehmed Ali Pasha Zâdeler* (i.e. the progeny of the (sultan's) son-in-law Mehmed Ali Pasha), but it was also known as *Hemshinlizâdeler* (the descendants of the Hemshinli) (Figure 5.1).¹¹

The patriarch of this great family, Mehmed Ali Pasha, was born in Hemshin in 1813 and died in Istanbul in 1868. His grandfather, Hacı Ali Agha, was a hazelnut dealer. It was while accompanying his father, Hacı Ömer Agha, to Istanbul that Mehmed Ali Pasha opened to himself the doors of a brilliant career. His father



Figure 5.1 Mehmed Ali Pasha.

was appointed *Galata Başağası*, or head functionary of the imperial palace of Galata. The sister of Mehmed Ali was given in marriage by her father to a pasha named Mehmed Cemil. Mehmed Ali was hired by Ahmed Pasha Pabuççuzâde, Grand-Admiral (*Kaptan-ı Derya*) of the Ottoman fleet from 1828 to 1840. This admiral was probably not from Hemshin, but he was a native of Rize. Mehmed Ali made his career in the Palace, which led him to occupy, among others, the function of Grand-Admiral six times; the same position as that of his ‘protector’ from Rize. Moreover, he was once appointed to the even more prestigious function of Grand-Vizier (*sadrızam*). In 1845, Mehmed married Âdile Sultan (1826–1899), a daughter of Mahmud II, which entitled him henceforth to bear the title *dâmad* (son-in-law of the sultan).¹² His mausoleum is located in Istanbul’s Eyüp neighbourhood, at the Bostan wharf. His daughter Hayriye Hanım Sultan (1846–1869) built a convent (*tekke*) next to the mausoleum of her father



Figure 5.2 Hayriye Hanım Sultan, daughter of Mehmed Ali Pasha.

(Figure 5.2). She was to be successively the wife of two pashas. Her children, who died when very young, were buried in the mausoleum of their grandfather. A second daughter of Mehmed Ali, whose name is unknown, married a brigadier general, Benli Mustafa, son of a Grand-Admiral. A brother by the name of Mahmud Edhem Pasha (1836–1886) studied at the Military Academy (*Harbiye*) and pursued a career that led him to the rank of marshal (*müşir*). Like his father, he married an imperial princess, Refia Sultan, daughter of Sultan Abdülmecid I.

What do we learn from this Hemshinli family which had reached the highest echelons of the Ottoman state? Social advancement had required three generations. As mentioned above, the grandfather was a hazelnut merchant. This trade is

habitually engaged in by those who inhabit the eastern coastal areas of the Black Sea, and not by those who, like the Hemshin, inhabit the higher valleys. From the fact that the grandfather, Hacı Ali, bore the title 'agha', which usually – but not exclusively – designates landowning status, it may be construed that the family was well-to-do. The grandfather, as well as the father of Mehmed Ali Pasha, were *hacıs*, which means that they had gone at least once to Mecca for pilgrimage. The family was therefore a godly one. However, the migration of Hacı Ömer Agha to Istanbul was unlike those undertaken by young Hemshin who went to the capital to study in religious schools (*medreses*), or those of Hemshin bakers who settled on the periphery of the Black Sea and in the cities of Anatolia. When he arrived in Istanbul, Mehmed Ali entered into the service of a Rize native – almost a provincial neighbour (Figure 5.3). One may therefore assume that this encounter was not fortuitous, that this Hemshin family knew how to take advantage of regional – and not only at the community level – affinities, connections and relations. The presence of people native to the Black Sea region engaged in maritime trades is hardly surprising, but the presence of a Hemshinli certainly is. Indeed, if their Laz neighbours are reputed to be competent in maritime trades, the Hemshinli have the reputation of being 'agrarians'. The family scheme soon went beyond the regional level to reach that of the great Ottoman families (the marriage of Mehmed Ali and his son to a daughter of the sultan). Indeed, we have here a 'new' family which needed, in order to consolidate its legitimacy, to add matrimonial alliances to its functions. The link with the native land seems to have been broken. It was in Istanbul, symbolically around the mausoleum of Mehmed Ali, that the Hemshinlizâde built the family memory. It had taken three generations to reach the highest ranks of the state; only one generation, however, had been sufficient to become thoroughly Ottomanized and break all ties with the Hemshin community.

The history of the rise of this Hemshinli family is indeed unique. For most Hemshinli it was the pursuit of a career as an *ulema* (doctor in theology) that constituted the fast track to higher social status.

The career of ulema as a traditional form of social mobility among the Hemshin

The Hemshin villages

Like many areas in the eastern Black Sea region (notably the Of district, inhabited by Greek-speaking Muslims), the valleys populated by the Laz and the Hemshinli have provided an impressive number of ulemas. It is sometimes difficult to take a census of all the Hemshin ulemas by distinguishing them from the Laz, since the names of cantons with a mixed population of Laz and Hemshin villages often provide the only information available on birthplaces. Furthermore, it is sometimes difficult today to find out the names borne by Hemshin villages during the final decades of the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, the fact that the modern-day counties of Hemşin and Çamlıhemşin, as well as the Kaptanpaşa section of the Çayeli



Figure 5.3 Mehmed Ali Pasha.

county, were merged at one point to form an administrative unit named the Hemshin *nahiye* (district) permits us to establish a list of about forty village names, the overwhelming majority of which were inhabited by Hemshinli. Absent from this list are only a few mixed Laz-Hemshinli villages around Ardeşen and Çayeli, the Hemshin or Laz-Hemshin villages close to Viçe (present-day Fındıklı), and those of the Hopa region. Thus the 1876 *Salname* (Ottoman provincial

yearbook) of the province of Trebizond gives for the Hemshin nahiye the following list of villages: Kamnos, Tulnos, Mesahor, Babik, Cunteş, Balahor, Berastan, Hahuç, Makribodam, Hemşinbaş, Hemşinorta, Hemşinaşağı, Kale-i Bâlâ, Vareş, Elevit, Çat, Meydan, Kolona, Mollaveys, Çinçiva, Kuşiva, Makrevis, Canoddobra, Holco, Kısmanmaliver, Livikçakışlı, Şirdenkadan, Sert, Viçe-i Ulya, Viçe-i Süflâ, Melmenat (Marmanat), Acaba, Çinkit, Meleskur, Gomno, Bodullu, Tazina, Zuğa Orta, Badara, Sanova, Tepan, Nefs-i Zuğa and Sağırlı (see Plate 6.1).¹³

Place of birth: villages and boroughs

About twenty-one administrative files on ulemas from the Hemshin nahiye have been preserved, covering the final decades of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴ To these may be added the file of an ulema from the village of Kolona, classified among natives of the Atina *kaza*. It is known that at least ten out of these twenty individuals were born in villages – Yabik (Babik?), Babek (Babik), Cötenez (Cunteş), Melmenat (Marmanat), Maladis (Makrevis or Mollaveys?), Yukarı-Kale Varoş (Kale-i Bâlâ or Vareş), Palahor (Balahor), Çinova (Çinçiva or Sanova)¹⁵ and Çençova (Çinçiva). Five of them seem to have been born in Hemşin Ortaköy (also known as Zuğa Orta or Ortaköy), a settlement not much larger than the villages, but considered a borough because it was the administrative centre of the Hemshin nahiye (and now of the Hemşin county), while the birthplace of the last five is not provided. The Salname of Trebizond for the year 1876 gives the size of the villages. If Melmenat with seventy-two households and 249 inhabitants is relatively populous, the other villages are often of a more modest size, having between twenty and forty households. Mollaveys has only twelve households with a total of 296 inhabitants. Vareş numbers seventy-two inhabitants divided into twenty-one households, while Kolona, with the same number of households, has 181 inhabitants. Berastan numbers thirty households with 108 inhabitants; Babik thirty-two households with 126 inhabitants; Balahor thirty-seven households with 167 inhabitants; Çinçiva forty households with 110 inhabitants. The ‘borough’ of Hemşin Ortaköy counts fifty-six households with only 244 inhabitants.

From the above data it does not seem that one particular village or even a few villages played a dominant role in the recruitment of ulemas; on the contrary, there is a wide distribution of villages, which indicates that this pattern of social mobility was established in numerous villages. Villages distant from the coast and in the proximity of mountain pastures, much like those of the present-day region of Çamlıhemşin, are known to have supplied ulemas. This is also the case for Melmenat or Hemşin Ortaköy, both closer to the sea.

Muslims... and Christians

In 1869, there was in the nahiye of Hemshin only one *medrese* (religious school) with one teacher (*müderriş*) and fifteen pupils, but there were fifteen mosques (*camis*) and forty small mosques (*mescits*). The presence of a church and two priests caring for the spiritual needs of twenty-four Armenian households with eighty-eight

individuals should be noted, while Muslims counted 1,843 households with 5,869 individuals. In 1870 this tiny Christian community was still there; the Salname notes that the tax collected from the Christians to exempt them from military service was credited to the account of the Hemshin nahiye. The same explanation is given in 1871 and 1872. Throughout the 1870 to 1875 period there were twenty-three Armenian households with 104 individuals, against 1,561 Muslim households.¹⁶

The social milieu

The ulemas were recruited from three distinct social groups: clergymen, landowners, and merchants and artisans. Hüseyin Avni Efendi of Hemşin Ortaköy was the grandson of a *naib* (deputy of a *kadı* or judge); Ömer Hulusi Efendi of Cötenez was the son of a teacher (*hoca*) of a *mekteb* (school), Abdülaziz Efendi; Yakub Hasib Efendi was the son of an ulema, Behlül Efendi; finally, Ahmed Hamdi Efendi was the son of Hacı Ali Efendi, mufti of Erzurum. Perhaps many more of the ulemas were sons of clergymen, but as the title 'efendi' which permits us to identify them is not set aside exclusively for clerics, it is impossible to know their exact number.

The father of Ahmed Galib Efendi was a merchant. This trade was also that of Mehmed Arif Agha (also a landowner), the father of Mehmed Efendi, and that of the father of Mehmed Hurşid Efendi, Ali Agha, a migrant from Ardahan. One also comes across the sons of artisans such as Receb Fehmi and Ahmed Galib Efendi of Çinova, whose respective fathers, Kürtzâde Ali Galib Efendi and Laz Alizâde Süleyman Agha, were both tanners.¹⁷ The father of Süleyman Sırrı Efendi of Kolona, el-Hacı Tahir Agha, was a baker (*fırıncı*), but he was the only one, although this trade was very common among the Hemshinli. Finally, the fathers of Abdülaziz Efendi (Bağcıoğlu Halil Agha) and of Yusuf Talat Efendi (Poduroğlu Mustafa Agha) were landowners.¹⁸ In fact, their position was determined more by the title of agha than by their *çiftçi* trade, which could indicate a landowner as well as a simple farmer.¹⁹ Other surnames with which the title 'agha' is associated may possibly refer to landowners, but it is impossible to be certain of this.

From an analysis of the surnames of the ulemas, it follows that most of them belonged – and this is not surprising – to prominent Hemshinli. It is advisable, nevertheless, to remain guarded. Some ulemas may have distorted reality by claiming to have come from well-to-do backgrounds when this was actually not the case. The lack of information regarding the organization of Hemshin village society unfortunately prevents us from reaching a more meaningful conclusion. It is practically impossible to ascertain whether these families had any ties to the early derebeys of the valleys and high plains of Hemshin.²⁰ It should be noted, nevertheless, that none of the ulemas was the son of one of the derebeys mentioned by Koch.

Local training

Aside from the mention of the presence of a medrese in the Trabzon Salname, we do not know much about religious education in the nahiye of Hemshin. Yet the

initial training of various ulemas in village schools indicates that the latter were adequate in providing such elementary education. Ahmed Galib Efendi of Çinova was educated by the imam of his village, Mehmed Memiş Efendi. His namesake from the village of Çençova studied in his village, much like Ömer Hulusi Efendi of Cötenez, or the two Mehmed Hurşid Efendi from the villages of Maladis and Melmenat. Sometimes, in order to pursue his studies, the pupil was sent to a neighbouring village: thus Edhem Efendi, born in Berastan, studied in Balahor. When the fathers were themselves clergymen, they assumed sometimes the role of first teachers of their sons, such as in the case of Yusuf Efendi of Hemşin Ortaköy, first educated by his father, Feyzullah Dehrizâde Abdülkadir Efendi, then by his paternal uncle, Ali Vehbi Efendi – perhaps following his father's death – and by an ulema resident of a Hemshin neighbourhood.

Neighbouring cities

For those who wished to pursue their studies, however, it soon became necessary to leave the village, and both Istanbul and its medreses were far away for the young Hemshinli. Most, therefore, chose a neighbouring city. Batum was overlooked and Trebizond, despite its status as a genuine regional capital, was rarely chosen. Only one student, Yakub Hasib Efendi, whose father Behlül Efendi was already an ulema, went to Trebizond to study in a local medrese named after one Yetim Hoca. In fact, the choice of medrese among students indicates the degree to which the Hemshinli were not attracted by coastal cities, but rather by the cities of inland Anatolia, such as Amasya. The destination may have been distant, but it was the choice of Süleyman Sırrı Efendi from the village of Kolona, and of Abdülaziz Efendi from Babik. But the provincial city *par excellence* in which the Hemshin chose to pursue their studies was Erzurum, the intellectual and religious centre of northeastern Anatolia. The medreses of this city were famed throughout the empire and even beyond; its ulemas sometimes went on to found real dynasties.

The role of Erzurum

In 1855, Erzurum had a population of 100,000. Certainly the city no longer possessed its ancient glory. The Russian-Turkish war of 1828–29 had weakened it, since the Russian army had occupied the area. The Russian-Turkish war of 1877–78, during which Erzurum was again occupied by Russian troops, ended with the loss of the eastern provinces of Kars, Ardahan and Batum, creating havoc within the city. Erzurum became the outpost of the empire against Russia. Tensions between Armenians and Muslims of the province slowly sapped the city's vitality during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Five out of twenty-two Hemshinli went to Erzurum. Hüseyin Avni Efendi, grandson of a *naib*, was the student of Hoca Mustafa Efendi. Ahmed Galib Efendi of Çençova, son of a tanner,²¹ had, among others, Hacı Ali Avni Efendi as his teacher. Receb Efendi, also son of a tanner, studied at the Sultaniye medrese,

having as his teacher Hacı Yusuf Efendi, former mufti of Erzurum. He was also the student of Osman Efendi, another mufti of Erzurum. Mehmed Hurşid Efendi of Maladis, son of a merchant from Ardahan who had migrated to Hemşin (and thus probably not a Hemşin) and Ali Necib Efendi of Hemşin Ortaköy, had the same eminent person as teacher, Hacı Osman Efendi, at the famed *Namerdanî*. This tie to Erzurum was not new, as the example of Ahmed Hamdi Efendi shows us. He was the son of a former mufti of Erzurum, Hacı Ali Efendi. After becoming a professor in the medreses of the Fatih mosque in Istanbul, Ahmed Hamdi Efendi had two Hemşinli, Hüseyin Avni Efendi and Ömer Lutfi Efendi, as his students.

Rise in Istanbul

Istanbul was, in fact, the final stage of the educational journey of these young students. Their objective was to be admitted to the medreses of the Fatih mosque, that of Beyazıt or that of Süleymaniye. Eighteen of the students went to Istanbul. One cannot help but notice that once there, even though only two of them had a teacher who originally hailed from their native region (Ahmed Efendi), the names of the same teachers reappear more than once, an indication that there was probably a network of contacts which allowed the students to plough their way through Istanbul.

At Fatih, Ahmed Asım Efendi was at once one of the teachers of Ali Necib Efendi and of Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, the son of the mufti of Erzurum. Hacı Hâfız Şakir Efendi was the teacher of Ahmed Galib Efendi of Çınova, that of Mehmed Hurşid Efendi of Melmenat, of Yusuf Talat Efendi of Yabık, and perhaps of Mehmed Hurşid Efendi of Maladis – his name appears as ‘el-Hac Hâfız Şakir Efendi’.

The hypothesis of the existence of a Hemşin-Erzurum-Istanbul network (Fatih)

Despite the modest scope of our sample, it follows that some Hemşinli who pursued their studies to become ulemas had at their disposal a three-pronged network: the school teachers in the Hemşin area, the teachers at the Erzurum medreses and the teachers of the medreses in the Fatih neighbourhood of Istanbul.

Teachers such as Hacı Ali Avni Efendi from Hemşin Ortaköy and Hacı Osman Efendi (whose birthplace is unknown) in Erzurum, and Hacı Hâfız Şakir Efendi (birthplace unknown), are the teachers of several students from Hemşin. The case of Ahmed Hamdi Efendi is illuminating; born in the Hemşin region, he was educated by his father, Hacı Ali Avni Efendi, mufti of Erzurum, then at Fatih by Ahmed Asım Efendi. In his turn he would become an instructor in Istanbul, having, among others, two students from Hemşin, as seen above.

Judges and teachers

Some ulemas chose a career in teaching. This was the case of Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, Yusuf Talat Efendi of Yabık and Yusuf Efendi of Hemşin Ortaköy, who

became teachers at Fatih. In addition, Edhem Efendi and Ahmed Midhat Efendi of Balahor taught respectively at the Beyazit and Süleymaniye mosques. However, beyond the teaching profession, it was the career of judge (*kadı*) and auxiliary judge (*naib*) that was their common lot. Gradually, the ulemas came to resemble religious functionaries of the state. Their professional pathways led them to enter the new school, established in 1853 as *Muallimhan-i Nüvvab*, which becomes *Mekteb-i Nüvvab* in 1884, then in 1911 *Medresetü'l-Kudât*, the function of which was to educate the new kadis and naibs. At least ten out of twenty-two students, if we take into account Süleyman Sırrı, were alumni of this school; in some cases they were admitted only after taking entrance examinations, for instance, Mehmed Hurşid Efendi of Melmenat and Yakub Hasib Efendi.

The Hemshinli at the Mekteb-i-Nüvvab

A religious yearbook published for the first time in 1916 furnishes a list of the principals of this school and of promotions from 1856 to 1915. These lists are valuable because they permit us to identify the ulemas whose administrative files were lost, and thus to reconstitute the corpus of ulemas from Hemshin. Unfortunately, the information furnished is limited to the year of promotion,²² the degree awarded, and sometimes the last professional position occupied.

The school was headed for seven months – from 23 December 1891 to 25 July 1892 – by a principal native to Hemshin whose name was Mehmed Salım Efendi.²³ His administrative rank (*Haremeyn-i Muheteremeyn*) was very high and it is regrettable that we do not have additional information regarding his background, education and career. It should be noted that there was no increase in the number of graduates from Hemshin during his brief tenure.

The first Hemshinli to be promoted, in 1869, was one Ahmed Vehbi Efendi.²⁴ In 1876, two were promoted: Süleyman Şahin Efendi and Yûnus Efendi.²⁵ In 1881 and 1882, two ulemas whose files have been preserved were promoted: Ömer Hulusi Efendi and Ahmed Galib Efendi (native of Çinova).²⁶ In 1885, one Reşid Fehmi was promoted;²⁷ in 1887, it was the famous Mehmed Hurşid of Maladis who appeared on the lists;²⁸ in 1888, one Ali Efendi; in 1889, Ali Necib Efendi, the Hemşin Ortaköy native mentioned above.²⁹ Yûsuf Efendi and Mehmed Ali Efendi graduated in 1896,³⁰ and Hâfız Süleyman Efendi and Halil Efendi in 1897.³¹ In 1903, Receb Efendi was a graduate.³² In 1905, Mevlûd Efendi and Edib Efendi (this was Ahmed Edib Efendi) graduated,³³ and in 1908, Ahmed Efendi (Ahmed Galib of Çençova) and Yakub Efendi (Yakub Hasib Efendi).³⁴ In 1910, the list announced Yunus Vehbi Efendi,³⁵ and in 1911, Hüseyin Avni Efendi, a native of Hemşin Ortaköy, son of Süleyman Efendi and grandson of a naib.³⁶ In 1912, Ömer Efendi (Ömer Lutfi Efendi),³⁷ and finally in 1913, İshak Nûreddin Efendi graduated from the school.³⁸

Of these twenty-two graduates, only nine are known to us in a more detailed manner through their administrative file. From 1876 to 1915, the Hemshin region supplied about one graduate every other year, while the total number of students per promotion is between fifteen and twenty. These are significant figures,

considering that this small mountainous area had, according to the Salname of Trabzon, a population of about 5,800 in 1876.

Local positions

During their career some would have the privilege to return, for a while, to their birthplace or a nearby area. Mehmed Hurşid Efendi of Maladis – though his father was not a native of Hemşin, but an immigrant from Ardahan – was naib of Atina (1311–1313), then of Hopa (twice between 1314 and 1320), before choosing to settle in Trebizond after his retirement. Receb Fehmi Efendi would do even better; he was appointed to his first position, during the same period as Mehmed Hurşid Efendi in Atina, as naib of the Hemşin nahiye. Ali Necib Efendi from Hemşin Ortaköy was named twice naib of Lazistan, from 1308 to 1314 and from 1326 to 1327. Hâfız Reşid Efendi was appointed as a teacher in a high school (*rüşdiye*) in Rize.

These local and regional appointments – more common among the Laz ulemas – are interesting, but their meaning is ambiguous. Was it the nostalgia of their native land that led these ulemas to ask for an assignment close to their region of origin? It is possible, but it must be observed that these appointments often represented only a minute portion of their career. Could it be that central administrative bodies were only too happy to accommodate these functionaries in poorly urbanized regions or areas remote from urban centres? This is also possible. The truth is probably half-way between the nostalgia of some and the interests of others.

... and prestigious careers

In any case, these stays in the region of origin were not always conducive to successful careers; they were, rather, professional dead-ends. With the exception of Ali Necib Efendi, none of the Hemşinli who reached a prestigious position had to their credit local service.

Indeed, among Hemşinli ulemas, there were those who were especially conspicuous. Ömer Hulusi Efendi of Cötenez would end up becoming kadı of Mecca; Mehmed Hurşid Efendi of Melmenat would be appointed kadı of the Mosul vilayet with a monthly salary of 4,500 *kuruş* – more than eleven times the income of a *dersiam* at Süleymaniye, Ahmed Midhat Efendi of Balahor. But the ultimate recognition was achieved by two instructors from Fatih, Yusuf Talat Efendi of Yabik and Yusuf Efendi of Hemşin Ortaköy, who became *muhatab* of the *huzur dersleri* of the Sultan. The *huzur dersleri* were scholarly talks that took place in the imperial palace in the presence – *huzur* – of the Sultan, generally during the period of Ramadan. While the *muhatab* was an ulema who only answered questions he was asked, the *mukkarer* was in charge of lectures. To be invited to participate in these lectures as a *muhtab* or a *mukkarer* was for an ulema a mark of imperial recognition. If Yusuf Efendi of Hemşin Ortaköy was the holder of a chair for only two years, Yusuf Talat Efendi of Yabik held it for more than eleven years.

We must finally mention the Hemshinli ulema who had, indisputably, the most unique career, Mehmed Hulusi Efendi of Vareş. After completing his studies in a secondary school of his village and then in the medrese of the village of Aysu (possibly the Lazi Apso village in the area of Atina), forgoing Istanbul, he went to study in Arabia, then in Turkestan, Afghanistan and among the Tatars. Returning to Anatolia, he settled in a medrese of the Fatsa borough, on the Pontic coast but in proximity to Ordu, in order to get a degree and teach. This exceptional educational path may be explained by the fact that Mehmed Hulusi Efendi belonged to the Qadiriya brotherhood.³⁹

The twenty-two ulemas studied above probably represent only a fraction of the clerics native to Hemshin. Unfortunately, the others whose files were lost or misplaced elude us today. There were also those who could not complete their studies and graduate. It is precisely for the latter that the informal network of Hemshin natives was valuable in obtaining ordinary positions, positions which permitted those who would never become ulemas to survive. The Hemshinli ulemas, much like their colleagues from the coastal areas of the Black Sea, were renowned for their orthodoxy and conservatism which verged at times, according to their critics, on narrow-mindedness. This reputation, however, is exaggerated. When in 1914 a complete reform of religious education was undertaken with the establishment of the *Darül-Hilafeti'l-Aliyye Medresesi*, a directorship of medreses, the number of instructors native to the coastal areas of the Black Sea was remarkable. Three Hemshinli were among these teachers: Şevket Efendi, Hamid Ferid Efendi and Yusuf Efendi (probably Yusuf from Hemşin Ortaköy).⁴⁰ Among the instructors appointed to the editorial board (*Kitabet*), one of the two who was a graduate of the theology faculty of the university (*Darülfünûn İlahiyat Şubesi*) was a Hemshin native, Ahmed Efendi.⁴¹

The religious yearbook *İlmiyye Sâlnâmesi*, published in 1916, provides a picture of the religious hierarchy of the time, mentioning ten ulemas from the Hemshin region. The one who reached the highest rank in the administrative hierarchy is well known to us, being none other than Mehmed Hurşid Efendi, who is introduced in the yearbook as the former naib of Nablus, in Palestine.⁴² Furthermore, we detect in the scientific hierarchy three personalities of which two have been mentioned above: Talat Efendi (probably Yusuf Talat Efendi) and Yûsuf Efendi (Yusuf Dehrî Efendi).⁴³ The third, Hamid Ferid Efendi, was also mentioned by Hüseyin Atay.⁴⁴ On a lower level,⁴⁵ we find six Hemshinli: two Ahmed Efendi, one of whom was probably the Ahmed Efendi mentioned by Atay; Şevket Efendi, also mentioned by Atay; Edhem Efendi (possibly the Edhem Efendi born in Perestan); Mehmed Remzi Efendi, who is otherwise unknown; and finally, Osman Efendi, similarly unknown.⁴⁶

New political and administrative Ottoman Hemshinli élites

Besides religious education, the final decades of the Ottoman Empire witnessed the emergence of new schools with more modern curricula. Among these schools,

one of the most important in educating Ottoman élites was the *Mülkiye*, the School of Public Administration founded in 1876. Among its graduates for the years 1876 to 1923 were four natives from the nahiye of Hemshin: Mehmed Ali (graduated in 1877), Ali Gaalib (1894), Ahmed Faik (Günday, graduated in 1908) and Ahmed Fuad Ferah (1911).⁴⁷

Social milieu

The family background of these personalities was not very different from that of the ulemas. The father of Mehmed Ali, Osman Agha, may have been the offspring of a navy rifleman (*kalyoncu*) as his surname, Kalyoncuzâde, indicates. He was relatively well-to-do, as attested by his title of agha. Ali Gaalib's father, Ahmed Necmi Efendi, was a member of the assembly of the kaza of Atina. He was therefore a prominent member of the local community. The brief account on Ahmed Fuad Ferah in the alumni yearbook states precisely that his father, Hacı Hüseyin Hüsnî Efendi, was a notable of the Hemshin nahiye and its former head (*müdür*). Finally, the father of Ahmed Faik, Mehmed Hurşid, was a kadı.

We have here a good sample of notabilities. It is striking that along with clerics and landowners, two of these graduates' fathers each held the position of head of the local administration.

Training

If, on the one hand, we ignore the exact birthplace of Mehmed Ali, on the other we know that Ali Gaalib and Ahmed Faik were born in the villages of Hayat (of unknown location) and Mollaveys, respectively. Ahmed Fuad Ferah was born in Hemşin Ortaköy. It is in examining the training of these graduates that one can assess the break with the traditional education of Hemshinli ulemas.

First educated locally, Mehmed Ali went to Istanbul to study in a high school (*rüşdiye*) of Beyazit and at Dâr-ul Maarif, a preparatory school which led to university. In 1897, accompanied by his uncle, Ahmed Faik went to Istanbul. He made his way to the borough of Fatih, in the marketplace of Malte, where he rented a room in a khan which served as student housing. He was to reside in that very same room during his entire ten years as a student.

Ahmed Faik and Ahmed Fuad were educated in a high school of the Atina borough before going to Istanbul to study in a lyceum. Ahmed Fuad Ferah completed his studies at the School of Law (*Hukuk Mektebi*) before entering the School of Public Administration (*Mülkiye*). Ali Gaalib was educated in a secondary school in Erzurum. He did not study at the lyceum but took the first cycle at the *Mülkiye*. This special remedial curriculum was designed to permit pupils to make up for not having attended high school.

The careers of two graduates allowed them to pass through the Erzurum province. Ali Gaalib served his administrative traineeship in the province for three years. In addition, he taught for a period of two years in a local lyceum. His first three appointments as governor (*kaymakam*) of a kaza were also in this province.

Mehmed Ali's refusal to accept a position in Erzurum, after having gone for a long time without an assignment, was probably due to an unattractive salary offer. Four years later, however, he accepted a new position in Erzurum with a salary of 1,575 kuruş. His next position would be in the same province.

After Erzurum, it was the province of Trebizond, to which the district of Hemshin belonged administratively, that seems to have attracted the most Hemshinli graduates. Ahmed Faik and Ahmed Fuad Ferah accepted temporary administrative traineeships in the province. Ahmed Faik was the only one out of the four graduates to have held a position in his native region, since he was governor (*mutassarıf*) of the Lazistan sancak between 1919 and 1921.

Concealed language

Regarding these graduates, we would like to note, finally, an interesting point about language knowledge. None of the Hemshinli ulemas mentioned Armenian as one of the languages that he knew, in contrast to the Laz ulemas, who often mentioned their familiarity with the Lazi language. Only one out of the four graduates from the Mülkiye, Ali Gaalib, claimed to speak Armenian. This dissimulation of the knowledge of mother tongue among the ulemas is disconcerting. Certainly, the young men educated in medreses left their native district at a young age, but having spent the first ten years or so of their lives in the area, they were familiar with the Armenian dialect of Hemshin. Is it because the knowledge of a language associated with Christian Armenians could be a disgrace for Muslim clergymen? Regrettably, we do not have sufficient data to answer this question. It is significant, however, that lay civil servants did not entertain the reticence shown by clergymen. The Mülkiye school, which numbered many Armenians among its graduates, often mentioned non-Armenian – and non-Hemshinli – graduates with a knowledge of Armenian. Indeed, this knowledge appears to have been most useful when high-ranking officials were appointed in provinces with strong concentrations of Armenians. It was mentioned above that Ali Gaalib had lived for a long period in the province of Erzurum. His knowledge of Armenian was assuredly valuable to the administration of the province.

The First World War

Unlike the situation in the 1877 to 1878 Russo-Turkish War, the territory of Hemshin was directly affected by the First World War. In February 1916, Ottoman units retreated westwards from Arhavi, establishing a new defence line along the mouth of the Fırtına River. In March, these units, fearing encirclement following a Russian landing on their rear near Atina (Pazar), retreated in panic southward up the Fırtına Valley, losing much of their artillery and some troops on the snow-bound mountain paths.⁴⁸ Some Hemshinli appear to have joined in the resistance against the Russian occupying forces. Such was the case of Süleyman Sırrı Efendi Kumbasarzâde, a descendant of the derebey of Cimil met by Koch. During one encounter, Kumbasarzâde reportedly forced a Russian unit composed of

800 infantry, 200 cavalry and four guns to withdraw, while he reportedly had only thirty men with him.⁴⁹ Ottoman forces recovered the area in February to March 1918, in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution and the ensuing withdrawal of Russian troops.

Hemshin deputies in the first Turkish parliament

None of the deputies from the vilayet of Trebizond in the Ottoman Parliaments from 1911 to 1919 was a native of Hemshin. In the Assembly elected in 1919, however, among the six deputies representing the sancak of Lazistan, there are two Hemshinli, Mehmed Necati Bey and Ziya Hurşid.

Social milieu

Mehmed Necati was born in 1879 in the village of Çiñçıva (present-day Şenyuva). His father Memişzâde Reşid Efendi was a merchant.⁵⁰ Ziya Hurşid is none other than the younger brother of Ahmed Faik, a graduate of the Mülkiye mentioned above. Unlike his brother, who was born in a village, Ziya Hurşid was born in Hemşin Ortaköy in 1890. As seen earlier, their father Mehmed Hurşid Efendi was a kadı and eventually became deputy *vali* (governor) of Erzurum.⁵¹ His social position was enviable. The educational profile of these two deputies is very different.

Education

The education of Necati calls to mind the education of a Hemshinli ulema. He first studied in his native region, in Rize, and then attended the medreses of Erzurum. He pursued his studies in Istanbul at a school for the training of teachers, the *Dar-ül Muallimin Mektebi*, then at the School of Law (*Mekteb-i-Hukuk*). After graduating in 1909, he was appointed district attorney in Giresun; he got involved in politics and became close to the Unionist Party. He eventually made his way to Istanbul and became an attorney and a teacher.

We do not know where Ziya Hurşid pursued his early education. We know, however, that he went to Germany to study naval and radio engineering. In 1920, he was an instructor of German at the Eskişehir Lyceum.

Political career

Mehmed Necati Bey's political career began during the First World War (Figure 5.4). In 1914, he enlisted as a volunteer with the title of army chaplain and was sent to the detachments stationed in the area of Rize. After seeing action in the region, he went back to Istanbul and successfully passed an examination to become regiment chaplain. He was appointed *imam* (religious leader) of a battalion on the Macedonian front, where he distinguished himself for gallantry. In April 1918, he was drafted into the Army of Islam, which was headed by the



Figure 5.4 Mehmed Necati Bey Memişoğlu.

youngest brother of Enver Pasha, Nuri, whose ambition was to conquer the entire Caucasus. After the armistice, he returned from Baku to Batum to organize the Ottoman resistance. As a consequence of his activities, he was noticed by the Kemalists who were in search of supporters to extend their rebellion in Anatolia. It was therefore natural that Mustafa Kemal proposed Mehmed Necati Bey to participate, as a delegate from Rize, in the Congress of Erzurum. Ziya Hurşid, who was younger than Necati Bey, was in Germany during the First World War. If Mustafa Kemal was interested in him, it was because of his father, Mehmed Hurşid, whom he wanted as an ally to his cause. In April 1920, like Necati Bey, Ziya Hurşid became a representative of Lazistan to the Assembly. Both took part in the activities as well as hostilities of the Turkish civil war and the war of liberation.

The opposition to Kemal Atatürk

The First Turkish Assembly was quickly divided into two camps that stood in opposition over the degree of support to be given to Atatürk as well as over the future of the regime. Within the opposition, a certain number of deputies from the Black Sea, natives of the region, stood out as a result of their activism. Clearly, the old cleavages between the proponents of centralized power of the Unionist Party and the liberals of the Ententist Party reappeared. The Black Sea area, which possesses a distinct political identity – a peculiar mixture of religious conservatism, political and economic liberalism, and provincial reaction to Istanbul – was the embodiment of this opposition, even though it supported wholeheartedly the Kemalists during both civil and liberation wars.

At the head of the ‘second group’, that of the opposition, were the MPs from Trabzon, Ali Şükri Bey and Ziya Hurşid. Necati Bey was in expectancy. On 7 January 1923, a deputy from the Turkish National Assembly proposed a change in the name of the Lazistan sancak to ‘sancak of Rize’, arguing that ‘its inhabitants are Turks’. The response of the leader of the ‘second group’, Ali Şükri Bey, of Necati Bey, and of a deputy from Lazistan was swift: they accused the intervenient speaker of discrimination. Given this reaction, the proposal to have the project examined by the government failed to obtain a majority.⁵²

In March 1923, the assassination of the representative from Trabzon by the chief of Mustafa Kemal’s personal guard soured relations between the two camps. Some of the leaders of the opposition, including Ziya Hurşid, held Kemal personally responsible for the assassination and called for retribution, but the ratio of power between the two groups was out of proportion. Neither Ziya Hurşid nor Mehmed Necati Bey pursued their careers in Parliament, but Ziya Hurşid’s brother, Ahmed Faik, was none the less elected deputy from Ordu, a coastal town on the Black Sea.

The İzmir assassination attempt

The final act of this confrontation took place three years later, when an assassination attempt on the life of Atatürk was foiled in İzmir on 17 June 1926. The organizer of the plot was quickly pointed out: it was Ziya Hurşid. He was soon arrested with his brother, Ahmed Faik, and Necati Bey. Out of forty-nine defendants, five were Hemshinli, including three MPs. The non-Turkish identities of the hired assassins, a Georgian shoemaker from Batumi named Yusuf and a Laz criminal from Atina named İsmail, were obligingly exploited by the authorities. Soon, however, the trial turned into a squaring of accounts with real or potential opponents to the regime. As to Ziya Hurşid, he would be executed; Mehmed Necati Bey was exiled for five years to Sinop; and Ahmed Faik was released. Mehmed Necati Bey would become a lawyer in Sinop. In 1946, he was one of the founding members of the local chapter of the Democratic Party, still displaying his opposition to the heirs of Kemalism twenty years later.⁵³

Epilogue

The disappearance from the political scene of two deputies native to Hemşin foreshadowed a long period during which deputies from the area grew fewer and fewer as representatives of their region. Only when the Democratic Party came to power did the Hemşinli occupy prominent places among the political élites. Tevfik İleri (1912–1961) was one of these distinguished figures who occupied various ministerial positions in the 1950s and in particular that of Minister of National Education on three successive occasions. Numerous deputies from Rize were Hemşin natives; at one time, four Hemşinli, Hasan Basri Albayrak, Erol Yılmaz Akçal, Zeki Köseoğlu and Sami Kumbasar, were filling all four of Rize's allotted positions in the lower chamber of the Turkish Parliament.⁵⁴ As for others, the traditional inclination of the Hemşinli to migrate throughout Turkey continued, but henceforth, alongside the Hemşinli bakers, we find also an educated youth which was being successfully integrated into administrative and political positions. The tendency to embrace careers in the public sector is recognized to this day as a Hemşin-specific characteristic by their Lazi neighbours, who were themselves always more attracted by the economic sphere. It must also be said that this predilection is the preserve of the Rize Hemşinli, while their Hopa Hemşinli cousins have failed – with the recent exception of Köksal Toptan, who served in various cabinets in the 1990s – to produce politicians of such stature.⁵⁵ Murat Karayalçın, a former Mayor of Ankara and deputy Prime Minister whose family was native to Çamlıhemşin, was in the late 1990s one of the heavyweights of the CHP, the People's Republican Party. Another Hemşinli, İbrahim Tez, who served as MP and as Minister of State, was also a member of the CHP. But it is especially the ANAP, the Motherland Party, which has established genuine electoral strongholds in Hemşin country, as well as in the remaining parts of the eastern Black Sea region, strongholds that only the Islamist parties have been able to curtail. Following the death of President Özal, Mesut Yılmaz became head of the Motherland Party. Yılmaz is usually presented as a Rize native (Rizeli), but his father is from a Hemşinli village, Çataldere (Gağunç), located in the Çayeli county.⁵⁶

The construction project of a hydroelectric plant in the Fırtına River Valley of Çamlıhemşin, advocated by Mesut Yılmaz while he was Prime Minister between 1997 and 1998, perhaps illustrates best the rupture between the élites native to the region and its inhabitants. During a visit to the region at the end of June 1998, Mesut Yılmaz launched the preliminary construction work for a hydroelectric plant named Dilek-Güroluk, in the Fırtına Valley. He was received by a hostile demonstration of environmentalists and local residents. The opponents of the project underlined the danger of an ecological catastrophe to a valley situated inside a national park with a very rich fauna and flora. In addition to the threat to animal and plant life, these critics also conjured up the dangers to which historical residences in the Konaklar quarter of Çamlıhemşin would be exposed as a result of tunnel drilling anticipated within the framework of the project.

The holding company in charge of the construction project of the plant was apparently headed by a native of the region, a friend of the Prime Minister, Bülent

Kuyumcu.⁵⁷ The Mayor of Çamlıhemşin, Galip Pelit, although he was of the same political party as the Prime Minister, opposed the project, as did his constituents.⁵⁸ In November 1998, the CHP Party asked for the establishment of a commission to investigate the project. The Karayalçın family was nevertheless divided on the question. If Okay Karayalçın, the elder brother of the CHP politician Murat, played a key role in his opposition to the project as president of the Hemşin-Çamlıhemşin project, their cousin Ayhan supported the building of the plant. Some people have maintained that his position may have been influenced by the fact that he was the owner of a piece of land expropriated for a huge price to allow the construction of the plant.⁵⁹ Despite many rulings ordering the halting of the project it continued, backed complacently by the authorities, who completely disregarded the court rulings. It further came to light that four other plants in the region were being contemplated for construction, another in Çamlıhemşin, and three others in Çat, Dikkaya and Ayder.⁶⁰ Alleging that the construction of plants will benefit regional development, politicians and businessmen native to the area have relied on the Turkish political system as well as on the political parties-bureaucracy-industry network to attempt to carry through successfully a project that may ultimately transform the paradise-like nature of the Hemshin region for mercantile interests. The future will tell if the local inhabitants will be able to raise their voices loud enough to prevent the realization of this project.

Notes

- 1 Georg Rosen, *Über die Sprache der Lazen* (Berlin: Lemgo and Detmold, Meyersche Hofbuchhandlung, 1844), p. 2.
- 2 Şerif Sayın advances the idea that the Tuzcuoğlu family could be native to Hemshin; the family may have left Hemshin after the Ottoman conquest of the region in the sixteenth century. To support his thesis, Sayın mentions the unconditional aid given by the Hemshin to the Tuzcuoğlus and adds that these uprisings were qualified by the inhabitants of the area as 'Hemshin rebellions'. Finally, Sayın notes that from 1830 to 1836, the Tuzcuoğlu family may have transferred its residence (*konak*) to the mountains of Hemshin, more precisely to the village of Mollaveys (present-day Ülkü). Şerif Sayın, *Hemşin Tarihi* (Ankara: unpublished manuscript, 1992–93), p. 29.
- 3 Anthony Bryer, 'The Last Laz Risings and the Downfall of the Pontic *Derebeys*, 1812–1840', *Bedi Kartlisa: Revue de kartvélologie* (Paris, 1969), 26, p. 206. Besides the article by Bryer, which uses British archival materials, one can also consult, regarding the 'War of Of', French diplomatic cables such as Affaires Etrangères, *Correspondance Politique des Consuls, Turquie* (1839), vol. 10, pp. 126, 165 and 203.
- 4 Henry Suter, 'Letter to His Excellency the Right Honorable The Viscount Ponsonby', Great Britain, Public Records Office/Foreign Office (PRO/FO) 195/101, letter nos 21–23, 25, 29 and 30, 11 September to 14 November 1839.
- 5 Karl Koch, *Wanderungen im Oriente während der Jahre 1843 und 1844*, vol. 2, *Reise im pontischen Gebirge und türkische Armenien* (Weimar: Landes Industrie Comptoirs, 1846), pp. 24 and 31–32; M. Münir Aktepe, 'Tuzcuoğulları İsyanı', *Tarih Dergisi* (Istanbul, 1953), 2, nos. 5–6, p. 48.
- 6 Şerif Sayın challenges the assertion of Arıcı that the administrative centre of the Hemshin region, where the representative of the vali of Trebizond resides, is located in the village of Mollaveys. Sayın maintains that the centre is located in the village of Padara (or Badara, present-day Bahar Mahallesi of Hemşin Ortaköy), of which he

himself is a native. According to him, this fact is common knowledge, and the old administrative building still stands. According to Sayın, this error results from the confusion between the temporary residence of the Tuzcuoğlu in Mollaveys and that of the representative of the vali of Trebizond. The 1878 *Trabzon Salname* indeed indicates Badara as the centre of the Hemshin *nahiye*. Sayın (1992–93), p. 29; Muzaffer Arıcı, *Her Yönüyle Rize* (Ankara: Odak Ofset, 1992), p. 71; *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, edited and transliterated from Ottoman Turkish by Kudret Emiroğlu, vol. 10, 1878 (Ankara: Trabzon İli ve İlçeleri Eğitim, Kültür ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Vakfı, 1999), p. 155.

- 7 Koch (1846), vol. 2, pp. 24 and 31–32; Arıcı (1992), p. 71.
- 8 Sayın (1992–93), p. 31. There is disagreement on the location of Ortaköy, as there was another village named Ortaköy (now Hemşin Ortaköy in the Hemşin county) in the valley of the Zuğa Dere (now Hemşin or Pazar Dere).
- 9 Arıcı (1992), p. 71.
- 10 Koch (1846), vol. 2, pp. 115–16.
- 11 Regarding this great family native to Hemshin, see Yılmaz Öztuna, *Devletler ve Handanlar: Türkiye, 1074–1990*, vol. 2 (Ankara: Ministry of Culture, 1989), pp. 614–15; and Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani: Osmanlı Ünlüleri*, edited by Nuri Akbayan and transliterated into modern Turkish script by Seyit Ali Kahraman (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ile Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), vol. 3, pp. 956–57; henceforth, *Sicill-i Osmani*.
- 12 On Âdile Sultan, see Ferdâ Mazak, *Sultan II. Mahmud'un Kızı Âdile Sultan: Hayatı, Vakıfları ve Hayratı* (İstanbul: Çamlıca Kültür ve Yardım Vakfı, 2000).
- 13 *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 8, 1876 (1995), pp. 375 and 377. On Hemshin villages, see chapter 7 by Hagop Hachikian (this volume).
- 14 Two other Hemshin ulemas having accomplished brilliant careers are mentioned for an earlier period: Zühdi İbrahim Efendi, who died in 1847 while serving in Mecca, and Ahmed Efendi, who died in 1880. See *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 5, p. 1719, and vol. 1, p. 170.
- 15 Most probably the reference is to Sanova. In his booklet on the borough of Hemşin and its surroundings, Sakaoğlu notes that the old name of the village of Nurluca is Çanava and not Sanova, as Rüdiger Benninghaus proposes. M. Ali Sakaoğlu, *Dünden Bugüne Hemşin: Karadeniz'den Bir Tarih* (İstanbul: Yeniyurt Yayınları, 1990), p. 45; 'Ethnic Groups Listed by Villages and Administrative Districts – Hemshinli: Turkish-Speaking', in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, ed. Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rüdiger Benninghaus (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989), p. 360.
- 16 *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 1, 1869 (1993), pp. 145 and 155; vol. 2, 1870 (1993), pp. 185 and 194–95; 1871, vol. 3, 1871 (1993), pp. 176–77 and 214–15; vol. 4, 1872 (1994), pp. 176–77, 200–1 and 214–15; vol. 5, 1873 (1995), pp. 176–77; vol. 6, 1874 (1995), pp. 182–83; vol. 7, 1875 (1995), pp. 258–59.
- 17 The birthplace of Ahmed Galib Efendi, transcribed as Çinova, is difficult to identify; it is probably Sanova (see note 15 above). It is, however, clearly stated that it is located in the Hemshin *nahiye*. It is possible that his grandfather was indeed of Lazi background as his surname indicates, but that he had settled in a Hemshin village.
- 18 Given his surname, and if the name refers indeed to a trade, one can conclude that Halil Agha is the son of a wine grower (*bağcı*); Mustafa Agha's surname may refer to the word *potur* which in Ottoman Turkish means trouser pleats.
- 19 It is to be noted that in 1843, of the three derebeys from Hemshin whose confrontations are mentioned above, two have the title 'agha', which refers to their affluence. As to the third, he is probably less well to do, since he is referred to as 'efendi', which does not necessarily denote a religious background.
- 20 The list of extended families – or clans – is yet to be made out. Arıcı, in the colour map key which appears at the end of his book, indicates three symbols of property belonging to Hemshin families: the Hacı Şahins, the M. İbrahims and the Hacı Hasans.
- 21 See n. 4 above.

- 22 Promotions were made on a yearly basis, exceptionally once every two years, or twice annually.
- 23 *İlmiyye Sâlnâmesi. Meşihat-i Celîle-i İslâmiyye'nin Ceride-i Resmîyyesine Mülhakdır: Osmanlı İlmiyye Teşkilâtı ve Şeyhülislâmlar*, edited and transliterated from Ottoman Turkish into Latin script by Seyit Ali Kahraman, Ahmed Neziḥ Galitekin and Cevdet Dadaş (Istanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 1998), p. 576.
- 24 Ibid., p. 583. No information is given on the last position he held.
- 25 Ibid., p. 187. Süleyman Şahin died while he was naib of Sinop; Yûnus died while he was deputy of Rize.
- 26 Ibid., pp. 590–91.
- 27 Ibid., he retired in 1916; his last position was kadı of Canik.
- 28 Ibid., p. 595; In 1916, he was kadı of Mosul.
- 29 Ibid., p. 596. Ali Efendi died while he was naib of Niğde; Ali Necib was kadı of Diyarbakır in 1916.
- 30 Ibid., p. 602. Yûsuf Efendi was *dersiam* at Fatih and *muallim* in two schools, MK and DHAM. Mehmed Ali Efendi is dead.
- 31 Ibid., pp. 603–4. In 1916, Hâfız Süleyman was kadı of Bafra, on the Black Sea, and Halil was kadı of Sürmene, also on the Black Sea and close to Hemşin.
- 32 Ibid., p. 607; In 1916, he was kadı of Osmancık.
- 33 Ibid., p. 608. In 1916, Mevlûd Efendi was kadı of Asir and Edib Efendi kadı of Bayburt, close to Hemşin.
- 34 Ibid., p. 610; in 1916, the first was kadı of Erbaa and the second of Palu.
- 35 Ibid., p. 612; he resigned from the position of kadı of Erganimadeni.
- 36 Ibid., p. 613, in 1916, he was kadı of Biga.
- 37 Ibid., p. 614, in 1916, he was kadı of Çemişgezek.
- 38 Ibid., p. 616, died while kadı of Zeydiyye.
- 39 We are poorly informed about the role played by religious brotherhoods in the Pontic coastal areas. The fact that no mention is made of brotherhood affiliation in the files of almost all the ulemas, except for Mehmed Hulusi Efendi, is no proof that other clerics did not belong to brotherhoods. Arıcı presents a letter addressed in 1847 to his son Mustafa, studying in Istanbul, by Şeyh (Sheikh) Hasan Efendi, from the village of Melmenat (Akbucak).
- 40 Hüseyin Atay, *Osmanlılarda Yüksek Din Eğitimi* (Istanbul: Dergah, 1983), pp. 271 and 276–77.
- 41 Ibid., p. 279.
- 42 *İlmiyye Sâlnâmesi*, p. 92. With the rank of *İzmir Pâye-i Mücerredî Aşâbı*.
- 43 Ibid., pp. 115 and 117. With the rank of *Haraket-i Hâric*. Talat was principal (*müdür*) of second class at the medrese *Mukâbeleci İbrahim Efendi*, while the second taught *fıkh* (jurisprudence) at the school *Sâlise-ilâmi'uddin Efendi*. He was also instructor (*muallim*) at Medresetül Kuzat.
- 44 Ibid., p. 122; Atay (1983), p. 271. The school where he taught *tefsir* (interpretation) was named *Dersîyye-i Hüseyin Paşa der-Fenâi*.
- 45 With the rank of *ibtidâ-i Hâric*.
- 46 Atay (1983), pp. 271 and 279; *İlmiyye Sâlnâmesi*. The first Ahmed Efendi (p. 126) is instructor (*müderris*) of Farsi (Persian) at the *Sâlise-i Mehmed Agha* school. The second Ahmed Efendi (p. 132) teaches at the Sâfîzâde school. Şevket (p. 130) teaches at the medrese Dersîyye-i Rüşen Ahmed Agha. Edhem Efendi (p. 132) teaches at the same medrese as the second Ahmed, the Sâfîzâde school. Mehmed Remzi (p. 134) teaches at the medrese *Hânkâh-ı Ruşen Dede*. Finally, Osman Efendi (p. 135) teaches at the *Medrese Sâmîne-i Ümm-i Veled*.
- 47 Regarding the biographical accounts of these four individuals, refer to Ali Çankaya, *Yeni Mülkiye Târîhi ve Mülkiyeliler*, vol. 3 (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1968–69), pp. 47–48, 620 and 1190, and vol. 4, p. 1467; the special issue of *Hemşinin Sesi* presents the biographical account of one El-Hac Ahmed İslâm

- Efendi born in 1268 in Hemşin Ortaköy, son of an ulema, and one Mahmud Hamdi Efendi, a graduate of Medresetül Kuzat. See *Hemşinin Sesi: Hemşin Ortaköy Mahallesini Kalkındırma ve Güzelleştirme Derneği* (Ankara, 1969), 1, no. 1, p. 16.
- 48 Mehmet Bilgin, *Madurdağı Savaşı* (Güneşli/Bakırköy, İstanbul: Köprübaşı Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği Kültür Yayını, 2003), pp. 20–24 and 36.
- 49 Kadir Mısıroğlu, *Kurtuluş Savaşında Sarıklı Mücahitler* (İstanbul: Sebil Yayınevi, 1967), pp. 307–8; Hamdi Alemdar, *Rize İli 100. Yıl Örnek Köyü: Cibil Rehberi* (Şamsun, n.d.), p. 23.
- 50 Memiş is a diminutive of Mehmed.
- 51 In fact, Mehmed Hurşid was President of the Criminal Court of Erzurum. When the Governor of Erzurum resigned, he took over the position during a crucial period in the history of the empire, the beginning of the Kemalist uprising. See Arıcı (1992), pp. 77–78.
- 52 Fahri Çoker (ed.), *Türk Parlamento Tarihi*, vol. 1, *Milli Mücadele ve TBMM I. Dönem, 1919–1923* (Ankara: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), pp. 720–21. From 1923 to 1926, the two terms ‘Lazistan’ and ‘Rize’ were used concurrently to refer to this administrative unit. It was only on 24 October 1926 – immediately after the İzmir trials – that by Resolution 4248 of the Council of Ministers, the name ‘Rize’ became the only legal one. *Türk Parlamento Tarihi, 1919–1923*, p. 33n.
- 53 Necati’s son, Mehmet Atif Tüzün, was elected several times to Parliament as a representative from Rize and other provinces. See Ali Gündüz, *Hemşinliler: Dil – Tarih – Kültür* (Ankara: Ardanuçlular Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği, 2002), pp. 45–46.
- 54 Sakaoğlu (1990), p. 81.
- 55 Köksal Toptan is a member of the Topaloğlu clan, which dominates the village of Hendek (former Garcı/Gvarci) in Hopa. See ‘Onursal Başkanımız: Köksal Toptan’, *Topaloğulları: Topaloğulları Derneği Yayın Organıdır* (Akçaabat/Trabzon, n.d), 1, no. 1, p. 23 (probably published between 1998 and 2000).
- 56 Mesut Yılmaz is said to be a Hemşinli on his grandfather’s side only. Through most of the republican years, the Yılmaz/Akçal clan has been influential in Turkish politics. Yusuf İzzet Akçal, the paternal uncle of Mesut Yılmaz, was a five-term parliamentarian from Rize and a minister of state in the cabinet of Adnan Menderes. The son of Yusuf İzzet, Erol Yılmaz Akçal, served three terms in Parliament and was twice Tourism Minister, in the 1960s and 1970s. I am indebted to Hagop Hachikian for providing me with this information.
- 57 See *Radikal* (İstanbul daily, 1998), 3 September, which quotes Yakup Şekip Okumuşoğlu, attorney at law and spokesman for the ‘Çamlıhemşin Initiative’ association, which fights against the realization of the project.
- 58 *Radikal* (İstanbul, 1998), 1 September.
- 59 *Radikal* (İstanbul, 1998), 3 September.
- 60 *Radikal* (İstanbul, 1999), 16 May.

6 Interactions and mutual perceptions during the 1878–1923 period

Muslims of Armenian background and Armenians in the Pontos

Hovann H. Simonian

Hemshinli under Russian rule

The border demarcation decided by the treaties of San Stefano and Berlin, signed in the aftermath of the Russo-Turkish War (1877–78), placed under the dominion of Tsarist Russia an estimated 200 Hopa Hemshin households in the vicinity of Makrial (now Kemalpaşa; see Map 7.2).¹ Thus, for the first time since the Ottoman conquest in the 1480s, a number of the descendants of Hamshen Armenians found themselves under the rule of a Christian power. Yet much had changed in the intervening centuries, as these descendants were now Islamicized, and one might wonder how their religious affiliation would be affected by the new political context created by the Russian conquest. Equally interesting to examine is the attitude of the Armenian Church and Armenian society at large towards Islamicized Armenians during that period, particularly in Russia, where the Church had more freedom to work with Islamicized Armenians if it so wished. Meanwhile, other territories inhabited by the Hemshinli, including Hemshin proper and Karadere, remained part of the Ottoman Empire. This chapter will address the remnants of crypto-Christianity in these districts, as well as relations between Islamicized Hemshinli and their Armenian neighbours from 1878 to the end of the First World War.

Reactions to Russian annexation: Hopa and Olti

The years following Russian annexation did not lead to any religious changes among the Hopa Hemshinli, who remained Muslims. During the same period, however, other Islamicized Armenians who passed under Russian control did take advantage of their new situation to attempt to revert to Christianity. Such was the case for some of the inhabitants of Ortlü (Ört'lu, Ortulu, also known as Hordori), a village in the district of Olti, who in 1880 presented the Armenian Bishop of Kars the request to be baptized and accepted into the Armenian Church. The delegation they sent to Kars brought with it old Armenian manuscripts and bibles, as well as church artefacts to prove their attachment to Christianity. The writer Atrpet (Sargis Mubayajian) reports how the villagers told the bishop that

‘our fathers had told us to bring you these belongings when light comes, and that we ask you to accept us in your midst’.² The difference between this case and that of the Hopa Hemshinli may have stemmed from the more recent date of the conversion of the inhabitants of Ortlü, Arsenyak and neighbouring villages, estimated to have taken place some fifty to seventy years before the Russian conquest in one source, and only some thirty years before in another one. According to P. F. Stepanov, who provided the later date, the cause of Islamicization in the Olti district had been the desire of the Turks, renewed in the aftermath of every Russo-Turkish war, to increase the percentage of Muslims and diminish that of Christians.³ Reversion to Christianity was less likely to take place among populations such as the Hopa Hemshinli, who had been Islamicized for a much longer period of time.⁴ The reaction of the Hopa Hemshin to the options offered to them by Russian domination may be considered an acid test of sorts to determine where their religious loyalties lay some two centuries after the beginning of the Islamicization process of Hamshenite Armenians. By remaining Muslims, even though retaliatory threats had disappeared with their inclusion into the Russian Empire, the Hopa Hemshin demonstrated the genuine nature of their adhesion to the Muslim faith. Had they attempted to revert to Christianity, as did the Islamicized Armenians of Ortlü, they would have proven the lack of sincerity of their acceptance of Islam.

Islamicized Armenians of Karadere and Armenians

Could the case of the Hopa Hemshin be generalized to the Hemshinli of Hemshin proper, or Bash Hemshin, and to the Islamicized Armenians of Karadere? As discussed in Chapter 5, it is highly probable that the Islamicization process of Hemshin proper was largely completed by the 1870s, and that the Bash Hemshinli too, had they been offered the choice, would not have reverted to Christianity, or at least not *en masse*. Reports of the period on surviving Christian practices in the Hemshin *kaza* – while such accounts are rare for the Hopa Hemshin⁵ – could lead one to guess that a small minority would have reverted to Christianity, while the large majority of the population would have remained Muslim.

The picture would probably have been more mixed in the case of Karadere (see Map 7.3), where attempts to revert to Christianity had taken place after 1856. Attitudes there towards Christianity during the 1860s and 1870s varied from one village to another, and in some cases from one individual to another within the same village. Thus, while some of the elderly whom anthropologist Sargis Haykuni interviewed in the village of Toroslu had leanings towards Christianity, others clearly appeared to be genuine and devout Muslims. Haykuni also mentions that women in the Yanbolu Valley, near the village of Aghrit (Ağrit, now Çamlıyurt in the Yomra county (*ilçe*)), although Armenian speaking themselves, were averse to anything Armenian (i.e. Christian). It should be noted here that even though time was certainly the determining factor in the Islamicization process, some members of the converted populations of Hemshin and Karadere

had probably become sincere Muslims from early on and had no feelings of attachment to Christianity whatsoever.

Along with their practice of crypto-Christianity, the Islamicized Armenians of Karadere had maintained feelings of kinship towards their Christian relatives, whom they used to greet with such names as *k'eri* (maternal uncle), *horeghbayr* (paternal uncle), and *horeghbor ordi* (paternal first cousin).⁶ Thus the mother of writer Lewon Kiwreghian related to him that when she was a new bride in 1852, she received as a guest at her husband's house in Trebizond a mullah with a 'dignified face', who had come to greet 'his *teyze*' (Turkish maternal aunt) 'in accordance with the old custom of kinship' – even though kinship between the two probably already reached a few generations back. The old man, said to be 'well-entertained and content' for the hospitality shown, then returned home.⁷ According to Haykuni, however, these feelings of kinship were on the verge of being extinguished by that period. Haykuni blamed religious propaganda by Muslim clerics as the cause of the estrangement between Karadere Muslims and their Christian cousins.⁸ Yet the loss of kinship sentiments may more simply be attributed to the increased degrees of separation that had taken place over the years, as a result of which members of the two groups were only very distant relatives by that period. Indeed, some family bonds were maintained until the First World War between Armenians and their more recently Islamicized relatives living around Yomra or Platana (Akçaabat), close to Trebizond. The latter could be referred to as 'converts of the third wave', since they had escaped persecution, first in Hemshin, then in Karadere, only to be forced to become Muslims in their new settlements. As more recent Muslims, these converts, unlike their Karadere counterparts, knew the Armenian families to which they belonged and 'tried to help their Christian relatives whenever possible'.⁹ Thus Malkhas, a member of the large Hovsep'ian clan, describes the warm welcome he was given in 1910 by his Islamicized relatives who lived in the Sera Dere, around Platana (see Map 7.3).¹⁰

Armenian attitudes towards Islamicized Armenians

There can be little doubt that part of the responsibility for the furthering of the Islamicization process and the distancing between Armenians and Muslims of Armenian origin lay with the Armenians themselves. Haykuni believes that if a decisive effort had been organized by the 1850s, it would have been possible to bring back the Islamicized Armenians of Karadere to the fold of the Armenian Church. Yet little was done by the Armenian Church to encourage the reversion to Christianity of Islamicized Armenians. Tēr Karapet Tavlashian, the only cleric who maintained contact with Islamicized Armenians, was unable to raise sufficient funds to pursue his activities, managing to receive only limited support from one or two Istanbul *amiras* (wealthy Armenian notables). Not only was support not forthcoming, but aspersions were also cast upon Tēr Karapet that he was misappropriating the funds raised for Karadere converts, as a result of which, discouraged and old, the poor man abandoned his missionary work. Haykuni argues that the

amiras – and, most likely, the church establishment – were probably scared to provoke Ottoman state authorities by throwing their support into a project that would have resulted in the apostasy of Muslims.¹¹ Similarly, Armenian clerics were not always willing to accommodate the wishes of Islamicized Armenians. Once, Tēr Karapet himself refused to give *miwron* (chrism) to an old woman, offering her only communion. On another occasion, a council of six priests appointed by the Bishop of Trebizond voted to reject the request of an old woman on her deathbed to receive communion. The old woman managed to get only one priest to bless a handful of earth that was secretly thrown on to her tombstone by her Armenian neighbour.¹²

The attitude of the Armenian Church was not much different in the Russian Empire. In 1887, Grigor Artsruni, the renowned publisher of the Tiflis Armenian-language newspaper *Mshak*, chastised Armenian Church authorities in an editorial for their carelessness and indifference towards Islamicized Armenians. He invited the Armenian Church to establish a missionary organization to work with the Islamicized Armenians of the regions annexed to Russia in 1878.¹³ Yet his demands went unheeded, and the Armenian Church made no effort to proselytize among Muslims of Armenian extraction. Moreover, not only did the Armenian Church lack the zeal to evangelize Islamicized Armenians, but it also multiplied obstacles to their conversion, in conjunction with the Russian Imperial bureaucracy, in the few cases where the Islamicized population itself expressed a desire to revert to Christianity. Thus the demand of Ortlu inhabitants was presented by the Bishop of Kars to the Catholicos, then it was transferred to the Russian Viceroy of the Caucasus, to be sent in 1883 to the Governor of Kars, whose deputy had to discuss the issue with the State Council. Atrpet, who reported this episode, was invited to go to the Olti region as a historian to collect information to determine whether the request of the local population could be accepted. Atrpet's story does not even tell us if the request of Ortlu villagers was ultimately accepted.¹⁴ While the behaviour of the Armenian Church could indeed be questioned, the hesitations of the Russian administration were more understandable. The Russians, after all, were not familiar with the region, and were being flooded with all sorts of demands, such as that expressed by some *Kızılbaş* (a subset of Shi'ite Islam) living around Kars to be registered as *yarem kristian* (*yarım Hristiyan*, half-Christian).¹⁵ One can imagine the surprise of conservative Russian bureaucrats with little or no knowledge of the religious syncretism flourishing in Asia Minor at the receipt of this request, which they probably deemed eccentric at best.

In addition to his objections about the indifference of Armenian Church authorities, Artsruni complained in his editorial that no one believed him when he mentioned that Islamicized Armenians lived in the areas annexed by Russia after 1878.¹⁶ It should be said that most of the Armenian population of the Russian Empire were simply not aware of the existence of Islamicized Armenians. In an initial article on Novo-Cherkassk, Pirō, a correspondent of the Tiflis-based Armenian newspaper *Nor-Dar*, did not even suspect that the Turkish migrants working as bakers in the city had Armenian origins. Realizing his mistake, he

then authored a second article in which he gave a description of the Hemshinli and of the Armenian traditions they had retained.¹⁷ Moreover, even if knowledge of the Hemshinli had been widespread, 'Muslim Armenian' would still have constituted a concept too anomalous to be comprehended by most, including progressive intellectuals. Indeed, despite his modern secularist ideas, Artsruni could not imagine that one could be both 'Muslim' and 'Armenian', as proven by his recommendation that the Armenian Church launch missionary work among Muslims of Armenian background.

Khodorchur and Hemshin

Unlike the Islamicized Armenians of Karadere and other areas of the Trebizond *sancak*, the Hemshinli of Hemshin proper, or Bash Hemshin, had little exposure to Armenians. Aside from the two dozen or so Armenians of Elevit, Hemshin itself had become an entirely Muslim district.¹⁸ Similarly, all of its surrounding areas had become overwhelmingly Muslim. The Lazi areas to the north had converted to Islam from the first days of Ottoman domination. Ispir, to the southwest of Hemshin, had lost most of its Armenian population to migration to the Russian Empire in the wake of the 1828–29 Russo-Turkish War. The Kiskim, or Keskin kaza (now Yusufeli), to the southeast, had become Islamicized following the conversion of its Georgian and Armenian inhabitants during the eighteenth century. Only the westernmost part of Kiskim, its Khodorchur (Armenian Khotorjur, now Sirakonaklar) *nahiye* (district), which bordered Hemshin to the south, had retained an exclusively Armenian population, thus constituting a Christian oasis in a predominantly Islamic environment (see Map 7.2). Relations between the Hemshinli and their only Christian neighbours, the Armenians of Khodorchur, thus offer a fascinating picture of how the Bash Hemshinli and Armenians viewed one another some two centuries after the Islamicization of Hemshin.

Aside from being the last Christians of the region, the inhabitants of Khodorchur had one more peculiarity, as all of them, unlike the majority of Armenians who belonged to the Armenian Apostolic Church, were Catholics. It was probably by becoming Catholic during the seventeenth century, and thus acquiring the status of *Frengi* (or *Firengi*, i.e. Frank) with the concomitant protection it implied under the wing of Catholic powers such as France, that the Armenians of Khodorchur and those of a few villages of Kiskim and Tortum had avoided forced conversion to Islam. Khodorchur may also have been spared due to its original poverty. The district, with a soil rocky in some areas and composed of marshes in others, lacked arable lands, as a result of which local agricultural production satisfied only half of the population's food consumption.¹⁹

The population of Khodorchur, whose amenity and simplicity of manners were noticed by many travellers, including Vital Cuinet, compensated for the lack of fertility of its homeland by the migration of most of their men to Erzurum, Trebizond, Istanbul and, from the mid-nineteenth century on, to Russia, setting an example that would be followed a few decades later by the Hemshinli. With the money earned abroad, and as the Hemshin would also do, Khodorchur Armenians

built beautiful mansions, from which is derived the modern name of the area, Sirakonak, or Sirakonaklar (i.e. 'row of mansions'). This prosperity also benefited the port of Rize as well as the rural districts neighbouring Khodorchur, from Hemshin to Ispir and Tortum, for which the Armenian Catholic enclave constituted a market for their agricultural production. Many men from neighbouring districts also came to Khodorchur to work as farm labourers.²⁰ To this day, almost a century after their disappearance, Khodorchur Armenians remain an object of admiration to their Muslim neighbours, including the Hemshinli.²¹

The proximity of Khodorchur to Hemshin obviously attracted some Armenians from the latter area seeking a refuge in this Christian oasis. The two communities were also linked by marriages involving Armenians from Elevit, the last village of Hemshin with a Christian population, and Khodorchur inhabitants.²² Contacts were not limited to the last Christians of Hamshen, however, as exchanges between Khodorchur and the Islamicized Hemshinli took place as well. Thus the songs in Armenian composed by the 'bandit Grjēl' (Armenian Krchēl) from Hemshin were well known in Khodorchur. Hemshinli were hired as guides by travellers from Khodorchur and as seasonal workers. The loyalty of the Hemshinli guards hired by Khodorchur Armenians to protect their villages was renowned.²³ The Hemshinli, in spite of their Armenian background and retention of various Armenian traditions, were invariably referred to as 'Laz from Hamshen' rather than 'Islamicized Armenians' by Khodorchur inhabitants, in accordance with the separation of communities (*millets*) along religious lines in the Ottoman Empire.

Aside from guards and farm workers, the Russia-acquired wealth of Khodorchur unfortunately attracted another category of Hemshinli, namely bandits – most of whom probably lacked the musical talents of Grjēl. The 'Laz from Hamshen' constituted a large portion of the bandits who targeted the population of Khodorchur in the second half of the nineteenth century. One such individual was Dursun T'oylōghli (Tüylüoğlu) from Bash Hemshin, who terrorized Khodorchur from the late 1870s on, and not satisfying himself with occasional plunder and violence, decided in 1886 to make his status permanent by having the population acknowledge him as their *bey* (feudal lord) and pay him the corresponding feudal dues. Khodorchur was saved from this scourge thanks only to the courage and sharpshooting of one of its sons, K'erovbē Oskian, a young man from Khodorchur working as a baker in Tiflis. K'erovbē, having heard of Tüylüoğlu's exactions, decided to return to his homeland to rid it of the bandit's presence. Confronting alone the criminal and his band, he managed to kill Tüylüoğlu and several of his accomplices before being himself fatally wounded by the shots he received in return. In 1890, much havoc was caused following an attack by 'Laz robbers' who came from the other side of the Barkhar (Barhal) Mountains (i.e. from Hemshin).²⁴ After two decades of relative calm, a new wave of attacks took place in 1911 to 1912, in which bandits from Hemshin similarly played a prominent role.²⁵

T'. Gevorgyan, in an article on Khodorchur, argued that the small district benefited from the fact that the Muslim populations surrounding it were overwhelmingly composed of Islamicized Armenians and Georgians. According

to him, the good relations between Khodorchur Armenians and their Muslim neighbours, which helped the district to be spared the Hamidian massacres in 1894 to 1896, were mainly attributable to the Armenian origins of these neighbours. He also explained that in the case of the raids coming from Hunut (now Çamlıkaya), a formerly Armenian-populated valley in the district of Ispir, the attackers were of Turkish origin. The family of Hüseyin Bey Şerifoğlu, the leader of a band which frequently targeted Khodorchur and burned down some 150 houses during one of their operations in 1878, had settled in Hunut and taken control of the valley after its Armenian population had been Islamicized.²⁶ At least in the case of Hemshin, however, Gevorgyan's argument may not be entirely convincing. We do not have any information on the ethnic origins of the bandits from Hemshin, such as the Tüylüoğlu, who terrorized Khodorchur's inhabitants. Yet, as seen above, the thorough 'Hemshinization' within a few generations of the very small number of Turkic or other Muslim families who settled in Hemshin would make attempts at distinguishing between these newcomers and Islamicized Armenians a vain exercise. In addition, even if the leaders of anti-Armenian attacks coming from Hemshin or Hunut were not of Armenian extraction, at least some of their followers must have been so. Thus the question as to whether the attacks on Khodorchur originating in Hemshin and other Islamicized areas – aside from the possibility that they were pure acts of banditry with no ethnic or religious connotation – perhaps reflected existing tensions between Islamicized and Christian Armenians may be pertinently raised.

Indeed, according to Atrpet, a deterioration in relations between Islamicized Armenians and the ones who remained Christians took place during the final two decades of the nineteenth century. Atrpet accused the Ottoman authorities of having played a key role in this deterioration by mounting Muslims of Armenian background against Armenians.²⁷ As a matter of fact, the policies of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876–1909) did consist in encouraging – and often creating – the hostility of his Muslim subjects against Christian minorities, particularly the Armenians. However, we do not know whether local officials had specific instructions to excite the Hemshin against Armenians. Given their increased assimilation within Ottoman Muslim society and their ever greater distance from their Armenian roots, it may only have been a natural development that the rising antagonism between Muslims and Armenians throughout the Ottoman Empire also extended to the attitude of the Hemshinli towards Armenians. A specific governmental policy *vis-à-vis* the Hemshin may not, in effect, have even been necessary. After all, the Hopa Hemshinli had not waited for the rule of Abdülhamid to rob the Armenian travellers who came their way, a practice that came to an end only with Russian annexation in 1878, at the onset of Abdülhamid's reign.²⁸

What the policies of Abdülhamid did, however, was provide an ideological justification to what would have otherwise constituted mere acts of banditry. In addition, the possibility of enrichment at the expense of their Armenian neighbours offered by the policies of Abdülhamid must clearly have constituted a powerful incentive for many Hemshinli to join in attacks against Armenians, as it did for many other Muslims. The case of the Hnay (or Khgher) *yayla* provides a

telling example of the climate of the period. Four or five poor families from the Çinçiva (or Cinciva, now Şenyuva) village of Hemshin started to rent the yayla from Khodorchur Armenians in 1887. Encouraged by state persecutions against Armenians, the Hemshinli stopped paying rent around 1900 or 1902, claiming that they were the owners of the pasture, where they were soon joined by some twenty to twenty-five other families. Throughout the Hamidian period, attempts by Khodorchur inhabitants to reclaim their property in court yielded no result. Following the 1908 Young Turk Revolution against Abdülhamid and the reinstatement of the Ottoman Constitution, a court decision ordering the Hemshinli to evacuate the yayla was obtained in 1910, yet this ruling was not enforced, and the Khodorchur Armenians were compelled to go to court again in 1912.²⁹

Not all Hemshinli, however, displayed hostility towards Armenians during the Hamidian era, as shown by the example of Abdullah Efendi Mamushoghlu (Memişoğlu), a former member of Tüylüoğlu's band, who became a most trusted friend of Khodorchur Armenians. In the same period when some Hemshinli were forcibly taking over property belonging to Armenians, Abdullah was helping to smuggle migrants from Khodorchur across the Russo-Turkish border, which was closed to Armenians by the Ottoman authorities in 1899. In 1914, Abdullah Efendi warned Khodorchur inhabitants of impending government plans against Armenians and urged them to leave for Russia. His advice was unfortunately not heeded, and the quasi-totality of Khodorchur Armenians was killed during the 1915 Genocide. In 1918 he intervened again, this time helping a group of Khodorchur Armenians who were being kept in gaol in Rize by managing to have their trial moved to Trebizond, where they could hope for better conditions.³⁰

Hemshinli-Armenian and Karadereli-Armenian relations in the context of the First World War

Developments in Hemshin during the First World War confirmed trends set in earlier decades, with the deportation of Khodorchur Armenians providing a renewed opportunity for a number of Hemshinli – and for other Muslims of Armenian descent, such as those of the Kiskim and Ispir kazas – to rob their neighbours and take over their property. Thus, in June 1915, Khodorchur was plundered by a mob from Hunut. Fugitives who had hidden in forests to avoid being deported were discovered by 'Laz' (i.e. Hemshinli) and Khevak Muslims (also of Armenian background), who engaged the Armenians in gunfight and informed authorities of their presence. The property of Khodorchur Armenians deported in 1915 went to, among others, people from Hemshin. One Hemshinli, Bekt'ash Bey Ch'al mashur-oghli (Bektaş Bey Çalmasıroğlu), was particularly well known for his cruelty and was considered by Khodorchur Armenians to be one of the main criminals responsible for the pillage and destruction of their villages. Pretending to want to help two families from Khodorchur in the name of their friendship and hospitality which he had enjoyed in the past, he offered them his protection and invited them to take refuge in Hemshin, only to rob them of all their possessions and clothing along the way, leaving them naked on the road

despite the freezing temperature. Khodorchur was occupied by Russian troops in the early months of 1916, following which a few survivors returned to their homes. In January 1918, in the aftermath of the withdrawal of the Russian army, Bektaş led mobs to plunder and murder these few survivors. When Khodorchur Armenians took refuge in one of the medieval fortresses of the region, Bektaş organized an assault against the fortress. His excesses were such that he was arrested at one point by the Turkish authorities and condemned to gaol, but ‘miraculously’ managed to escape one month later. Bektaş had been joined in the siege of the fortress by another Hemshinli, Süleyman Sırrı Efendi Kumbasarzâde (Kumbasaroğlu) with a contingent of 150 men.³¹

In the aftermath of the conflict, Khodorchur was partly repopulated by settlers from Hemshin, including Kumbasaroğlu himself.³² In fact, the poverty of Hemshin, with its rugged and forested terrain and its lack of arable lands, probably constituted an incentive at least as significant as religious antagonism in explaining the participation of the Hemshinli in acts of violence and abuse against Khodorchur Armenians in 1915 to 1918. As seen with the case of the Hnay yayla, land-starved Hemshinli viewed with envy the fields, meadowlands and mansions of their Armenian neighbours to the south. The migration of the Hemshin to places south of the Pontic range had in fact started decades earlier and had in some cases stretched much further south than Khodorchur. During the summer of 1841, while passing through the region of Tortum, the British vice-consul in Batum, Frederick Guarracino, had come across six families from ‘Hamshon in Lazistan’. The Hemshinli had settled in a formerly Armenian village, Zagghi, the population of which had migrated to the Russian Empire in the aftermath of the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–29.³³

One consequence of the war and of the 1915 Armenian Genocide was the elimination of any last vestiges of Christianity in the Hemshin nahiye, with the deportation and killing of its last Armenians, grouped in the village of Elevit/Eghiovit, and the definitive closure of the Khach’ek’ar Monastery. The building of the monastery was completely destroyed in subsequent years, with uncertainty now reigning over its exact location. As Muslims, the Hemshinli were obviously spared deportation and execution. Yet a few incidents appear to have taken place, which may indicate that the Islamicization of some of the Hemshin was perhaps not considered sincere by the Ottoman authorities. Thus it was reported that in the village of Gumno (or Gomno, now Yaltkaya in the Hemşin county), the Ottoman military seized a young man suspected of being an Armenian. All protests that the young Hemshinli was a Muslim were to no avail, and he was never seen again.³⁴ Similarly, some Hopa Hemshinli, mistaken for Armenians because of their use of the Armenian language, were killed during the Genocide period.³⁵

Some Hopa Hemshinli were also reported to have saved Armenians from Artvin by hiding them in their villages.³⁶ However, it was in the Karadere Valley and in regions closer to Trebizond that relations during the First World War between Islamicized Armenians and neighbouring Armenians villagers sharing the same Hamshenite origins took a very different turn to those in the Hemshin

kaza. As noted earlier, these relations had quite diminished during the last decades of the nineteenth century, even if they had not been completely extinguished. An interesting anecdote involving members of both groups had taken place in the immediate years preceding the war. The family of Tēr Karapet of Toroslu (now Kayaici), who had been martyred during the Islamicization of Karadere in the eighteenth century, had taken with them during their flight from Karadere the deeds of the properties they owned in the village of Toroslu and in its yaylas. Named Tērtērian because of their descent from a priest (*tērtēr*), the family kept these documents in its possession in the following centuries. Following the reinstatement of the Constitution in 1908, the Tērtērians, thanks to their property deeds, obtained a court decision restoring to them the lands their ancestors had held in Toroslu. For the following few years, until the beginning of the war, a member of the family went once a year to Toroslu to collect the dues owed to them by the local Islamicized Armenians.³⁷

It was, however, the vicissitudes imposed by the war which would create the final opportunities for interaction between Muslims of Armenian background and Armenians, and to bring as well a few testimonies on the condition of crypto-Christianity in Karadere during this period. Rather than attack Armenians to take over their property, as did the Hemshinli of Bash Hemshin, the Muslims of Armenian origin in Karadere actually helped Christian Armenians during the whole 1915 to 1923 period. Armenian fugitives were offered a warm welcome and a shelter in Karadere villages whenever they chose to hide there. Aziz, from the village of Kharuk'sa (now Dağbaşı in the Araklı county), became the 'blood-brother' of Gabriel Matilian by means of a ceremony in which the two men cut their index fingers to exchange their blood, and he always remained loyal to his Armenian friends.³⁸ According to Hovakim Khushpulian, who hid in their house in 1923, the family of Aziz spoke Turkish but still used a number of Armenian words. The only exception was the 90-year-old mother of Aziz, who knew the Hamshen dialect well. The old woman, who told her guest that 'we are lost in sin', kept a portrait of Jesus and the Virgin Mary, knew Christian prayers and made the sign of the cross. She also explained how, until the beginning of the war, the Armenian priest of Sürmene (probably Tēr Vahan Khoyian), who could not visit the region himself due to old age, sent local Islamicized Armenians miwron (chrism) hidden in apples. The old woman was particularly distressed at not receiving chrism following the massacres of Armenians, and at not being able to go to a mountain of the area to perform a pilgrimage because she feared being denounced to the authorities by 'Turks of Greek origin'.³⁹

The story of Aziz' mother was almost identical to the stories reported by Haykuni some half a century earlier, yet it was also a testimony of a world coming to an end. The old woman was the last of her family to speak the Hamshen Armenian dialect, and probably the last as well to have continued the crypto-Christian traditions of her ancestors. For all practical matters, crypto-Christianity and knowledge of the Armenian language in Karadere had become, by the early twentieth century, the exclusive domain of the elderly, and would disappear with them. A probable answer to how the tradition came to an end is provided in the

memoirs of Misak' T'orlak'ian, who briefly stayed during the spring of 1916 in the house of an elderly couple in the Karadere Valley. Having realized his guest was not a Turk, the old man started to speak Armenian and said that his ancestors had come from Hamshen. He also said it was the first time in his life that an Armenian had come into his house – which tells a lot about the distancing between Islamicized and Christian Armenians. He kept a Bible and knew religious songs, while his wife kept a cross that she placed under her pillow every night. Aside from these explanations, which have been frequently reported elsewhere, the most important aspect in the story of the old man was that because no 'Armenianness' had subsisted among their children, the old man and his wife kept secret from them their practice of crypto-Christian rituals.⁴⁰ At some point, the transmission of crypto-Christian traditions from one generation to the next had been cut, either because children had rejected these traditions or because parents had opted not to teach them to their offspring. The children could, in some cases, feel sympathy for Armenians and help them, yet they had become sincere Muslims and had no intention of reverting to Christianity even when the opportunity was there, as during the Russian occupation. In spite of Hovakim Hovakimian's mention of an awakening of 'national feeling' among Islamicized Armenians and Greeks during the Russian occupation in 1916 to 1918,⁴¹ there were no reports of reversion to Christianity during that period. The fact that Russian occupation was very brief and that many were possibly waiting for the final outcome of the war to take sides could be one factor explaining the absence of conversion to Christianity. However, the sincerity of the religious beliefs of most Islamicized Armenians is a more likely reason. Even Aziz, who risked his life fighting alongside Armenians, is not described in any of the sources mentioning him as expressing a desire to return to the religion of his ancestors.

Furthermore, sympathy towards the sufferings of Armenians and help provided to them during this period were not the exclusive domain of Islamicized Armenians. The case of the Şatırzâde family, one of the most prestigious Turkish families of the Pontos, which defended Armenians both during the Hamidian massacres in 1895 and the Genocide from 1915, constitutes a perfect illustration of this. Şevket Bey Şatırzâde lost his only son, Hüseyin, along with his vast fortune and property, defending Armenians, only to die in a prison cell in Georgia. His nephew, Ömer Bey, was for the same reasons forced to spend his life in exile, first in Russia, then in Lebanon, where he died in 1959. Another Turk, Mikdad Kabahasanoğlu, was killed in 1918 in retribution for protecting Armenians.⁴²

This chapter could not be complete without mention of the relations between Islamicized Armenians and Armenians during the short-lived period of the independent Republic of Armenia, in 1918 to 1920. In post-war negotiations, the projected boundaries of the new state were expected to encompass large sections of the *vilayet* (province) of Trebizond, including the city of Trebizond itself, Lazistan and Hemshin. It was perhaps in this context that a delegation representing the Islamicized Armenians of Lazistan reportedly visited Erevan to discuss their integration into the Armenian state. Interestingly, some of the delegates were

mullahs.⁴³ Yet the presence of populations of Armenian background was never used by Armenian delegates at international negotiations as an argument to claim districts of the Pontos; Armenian territorial claims to the region were expressed solely in terms of the new state needing access to the sea to ensure its survival.

As seen from this episode, no generalization can be easily reached with regard to interactions between Hemshinli and other Islamicized Armenians of the Pontos on the one hand and Armenians on the other during the 1878 to 1923 period. These relations varied considerably, often reflecting differences between the various Islamicized groups, with feelings of kinship and solidarity towards Armenians probably at their lowest in Hopa and at their highest in Karadere and the regions around Trebizond. The complexity of these relations and of mutual perceptions vitiate simplistic views presenting Islamicized Armenians of Hamshenite background as either authentic crypto-Christians waiting for the first opportunity to revert to Christianity and feeling a strong sense of solidarity with Armenians, or alternatively, as full-fledged Muslims having lost all memory of their Armenian and Christian past. Armenian responses to the presence of Islamicized Armenians were equally varied, ranging from the enthusiasm of a few intellectuals to 'redeem' these populations by bringing them back to the fold of the Armenian nation and Church to the indifference of many others.

Notes

- 1 Harut'iwn Gat'ēnian, 'Ch'ors Tari Shavshēt'-Imerkhēvum Shrjagayut'ean Ardiwnk'its'' [From the Result of a Four Years Tour of Shavshet-Imerkhevi], *Mshak* [*The Tiller*] (Tiflis, 1888), 16, no. 83, 23 July, p. 2. For the Hemshin under Russian and Soviet rule, see the chapters by Sergey Vardanyan and Igor Kuznetsov in the forthcoming second volume of *The Hemshin*.
- 2 Atrepēt [Sargis Mubayajian], *Chorokhi Awazanē* [*The Basin of the Çoruh*] (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1929), pp. 11–12.
- 3 P. F. Stepanov, 'Zamietka o Karsskoi oblasti' [A Note on the Kars Province], *Izvestiia Kavkazskago otdiela Imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestva* [*Bulletin of the Caucasian Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society*] (Tiflis, 1881), 7, no. 1, pp. 180–81.
- 4 Grigor Artsruni, 'Mahmetakan Hayer' [Muslim Armenians], *Mshak* [*The Tiller*] (Tiflis, 1887), 15, no. 13, 5 February, p. 1.
- 5 Igor Kuznetsov and Hagop Hachikian report a few crypto-Christian practices among the Hopa Hemshinli. See Igor Kuznetsov's chapter in the forthcoming second volume of *The Hemshin*, and Chapter 12 by Hagop Hachikian (this volume).
- 6 Sargis Haykuni, 'Nshkharner: Korats u Morats'uat Hayer' [Fragments: Lost and Forgotten Armenians], *Ararat* (Vagharshapat, 1895), no. 7, p. 242.
- 7 Lewon Kiwreghian, *Kars ew Artahan: Patmakan Hawastik' ew Hayrenawand Irawunk'* [*Kars and Ardahan: Historical Testimony and Ancestral Right*] (Venice: St Lazarus Monastery, 1949), p. 121 n. 2. I thank Hagop Hachikian for this reference.
- 8 Haykuni (1895), pp. 242 and 295; Idem, *Husēp'ts'i Azgatohm ew Tarōrinak Awazak Abrieōm Trabizoni Hay Giwgheru mej 1795–1840* [*The Clan of Husēp' and the Curious Bandit Abrieōm in the Armenian Villages of Trebizond 1795–1840*] (Vagharshapat: Press of the Holy See of Ejmiatsin, 1905), pp. 20n. and 63–64.
- 9 Hovakim Hovakimian [Arshakuni] (ed.), *Patmut'iwn Haykakan Pontosi* [*History of Armenian Pontos*] (Beirut: Mshak Press, 1967), p. 67.

- 10 Malkhas [Artashēs Hovsēp'ian], Foreword to *Ōrerus Het* [*With My Days*], by Misak' T'orlak'ian (Los Angeles, CA: Horizon Press, 1953), p. 18n.
- 11 Haykuni (1895), pp. 242–43; Haykuni (1905), pp. 58–59 n. 1; 'Lazistani Hayer' [The Armenians of Lazistan], *Mankavarzhanots': Mankavarzhakan ew Grakanakan Amsagir* [Pedagogical School: Pedagogical and Literary Monthly] (St Petersburg, 1887), 4, no. 1, pp. 14–15. The accusations against Tēr Karapet were unjustified and slanderous. From the descriptions we have of him, he appears as an exceptional figure who sacrificed his well-being for the sake of his parishioners, and was in return much beloved and admired by them. In addition to his missionary activities in Karadere, Tēr Karapet was also instrumental in fighting illiteracy among Armenian villagers by opening schools not only in his Sürmene parish, but also in other villages of the Trebizond area, such as Kalafka and Şana. This activity won him the respect of Protestant missionaries established in Trebizond, who wrote that without Tēr Karapet, most of the Armenians peasants of the region would have remained illiterate. See 'Die Entwicklung der christlichen Missionen in Vorderasien. Zweite Abtheilung: Kaukasien, Armenien, Kleinasien und Constantinopel', *Magazin für die Neueste Geschichte der evangelischen Missions- und Bibel-Gesellschaften* (Basel, 1847), no. 3, pp. 88–89, 94 and 103–4.
- 12 Hovakimian (1967), pp. 64–65.
- 13 Artsruni (1887), p. 1.
- 14 Atrpet (1929), pp. 11–12.
- 15 M. F. Grenard, 'Une secte religieuse d'Asie Mineure: Les Kyzyl-Bâchs', *Journal Asiatique* (Paris, 1904), 3 (10th series), no. 3, p. 521.
- 16 Artsruni (1887), p. 1.
- 17 Pirō, 'Novoch'erkask' [Novo-Cherkassk], *Nor-Dar* [New Age] (Tiflis, 1893), 10, no. 152, 2 September, pp. 2–3; idem, 'Tachkats'ats Hayer' [Turkified Armenians], *Nor-Dar* [New-Age] (Tiflis, 1893), 10, no. 227, 21 December, p. 3.
- 18 *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, edited and transliterated from Ottoman Turkish by Kudret Emiroğlu, vol. 12, 1881 (Ankara: Trabzon İli ve İlçeleri Eğitim, Kültür ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Vakfı, 1999), p. 271.
- 19 Khodorchur is taken in a wider sense here, including not only the Khodorchur Valley, but also the adjacent Mokhrkut (Arm. Mokhrkut) Valley. Khodorchur is now part of the Çamlıkaya district (*bucak*) of İspir. On Khodorchur, in addition to Chapter 7 by Hagop Hachikian (this volume), see Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie: Géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie-Mineure*, vol. 1 (Paris: E. Leroux, 1890), pp. 206–7, and H. Ghukas Vardapet Inchichian, *Ashkharhagrut'wn Ch'orits' Masants' Ashkharhi: Asioy, Ewropioy, Ap'rikoy, ew Amerikoy* [Geography of the Four Parts of the World: Asia, Europe, Africa, and America], part 1, *Asia*, vol. 1, *Hayastan* [Armenia] (Venice: St Lazarus Monastery, 1806), pp. 95 and 133. Indispensable studies on the area are of course Father Hakovbos Tashian's monumental *Tayk', Drats'ik ew Khotorjur: Patmakan-Teghagrakan Usumnasirut'wn* [Tayk, Neighbours and Khotorjur: Historico-Geographical Study], 3 vols (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1973–81), and Fathers Hulunian's and Hachian's no less impressive study, *Hushamatean Khotorjuri* [Memorial Book of Khotorjur] (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1964).
- 20 Hulunian and Hachian (1964), p. 143; T'. Gevorgyan, 'Khotorjur', *Banber Erevani Hamalsarani* [Bulletin of Erevan University] (1971), no. 3 (15), p. 213.
- 21 Raffaele Gianighian, *Khodorcir: Viaggio di un pellegrino alla ricerca della sua patria* (Venice: Casa Editrice Armena, 1992), pp. 18 and 39.
- 22 H. M. H. Gawaṛats'i [H. Matt'ēos Hachian], *Erger, Arakner, Hanelukner, T'erahawatut'wnner... Khotrjroy* [Songs, Riddles, Incredulities... from Khotorjur]. (Tiflis: Tp. K. Tavartkiladzē, 1903), p. 52; Hulunian and Hachian (1964), pp. 49n. and 165.
- 23 A. Erits'ian, 'Mi Eres Karnoy Noragoyñ Patmut'wnits' [A View of the Most Recent History of Karin (Erzurum)], *P'ordz* [Endeavour] (1879), 3, no. 1, pp. 191–94; Tashian (1980), vol. 2, pp. 139 and 201 n. 200.
- 24 Hulunian and Hachian (1964), pp. 184–89; François B. Boṛch'anyan, 'Mi Aknark Tayots' Khotorjri Ants'yalits' [A Look into the Past of Khotorjur of Tayk'], *Ējmiatsin*,

- (1950), 7, nos. 3–4, p. 50; Gevorgyan (1971), pp. 210–12; G. S., ‘Namak T’iwrk’iayits’ [Letter from Turkey], *Nor-Dar* [New Age] (Tiflis, 1890), 7, no. 67, 26 May, pp. 3–4; idem, ‘Namak T’iwrk’iayits’ [Letter from Turkey], *Nor-Dar* [New Age] (Tiflis, 1890), 7, no. 73, 6 June, p. 3.
- 25 ‘Ochir ew Goghut’iwn’ [Murder and Theft], *Haratch* [Forward] (Erzurum, 1911), 3, no. 121, 15 December, p. 3; L. Mëayon, ‘Awazaknerë Norën Glukh kë Bardzrats’nen’ [Bandits Raise their Heads Again], *Haratch* [Forward] (Erzurum, 1912), 4, no. 136, 4 December, p. 3.
 - 26 Gevorgyan (1971), pp. 210 and 212. On Şerifoğlu’s attacks, see also Erits’ian (1879), pp. 193–94, and Hulanian and Hachian (1964), pp. 185–86.
 - 27 Atrpet (1929), pp. 196–98.
 - 28 Harut’iwn Gat’ënian, ‘Namak Ardahanits’ [Letter from Ardahan], *Mshak* [The Tiller] (Tiflis, 1883), 12, no. 168, 5 November, pp. 2–3.
 - 29 Gëorg, ‘Amboghj Eayla më Bini kë Grawen’ [They Take Over by Force an Entire Yayla], *Haratch* [Forward] (Erzurum, 1912), 4, no. 70, 26 June, p. 3; Hulanian and Hachian (1964), p. 76 and n. 2, and p. 77 and n. 4. The yayla was also known as Hëynagrak or as Hërnagrak.
 - 30 Hulanian and Hachian (1964), pp. 181–82, 188 and 319–20; Gevorgyan (1971), p. 212; Gianighian (1971), pp. 25–26 and 41; V. H. Hovhannisyan, ‘Khotorjri 1918 T’vakani Herosamartë’ [The Heroic Battle of Khotorjur in 1918], *Patma-Banasirakan Handes* [Historico-Philological Review] (Erevan, 1966), no. 1 (32), p. 210.
 - 31 Hulanian and Hachian (1964), pp. 321, 336–37, 365, 533, 535–36 and 549. The total besieging force consisted of 8,000 regular and irregular troops opposing a hundred or so Armenians, of whom only forty-five carried weapons. Details of the siege are available in Hulanian and Hachian (1964) and in Hovhannisyan (1966).
 - 32 Ibid., p. 373; Gianighian (1971), p. 42; Hamdi Alemdar, *Rize İli 100. Yıl Örne Köyü: Cimil Rehberi* (Samsun?, n.d.), p. 23; İbrahim Timuşoğlu, ‘Hemşinden Hodiçor’a (Sırakonaklar)’, *Hemşin: Hemşin Yüksek Tahsil Talebe Cemiyeti* (Istanbul, 1962), 1, no. 1, p. 22.
 - 33 Frederick Guarracino, ‘Notes made on a Journey from Batoom by Adjarah, Shavshet, Ardanch, Ardahan, Ghivleh, Penek, and Olti, to Erzeroom’, Great Britain, Public Records Office/Foreign Office (PRO/FO) 526/2, 31 August 1841, p. 22. An expert of the region, Wolfgang Feurstein, mentions the presence of Hemshinli in Tortum., perhaps the descendants of the 1830s’ migrants. Wolfgang Feurstein, ‘Bemerkungen zur Ethnologie der Hemschinen, forthcoming.
 - 34 Feurstein (forthcoming).
 - 35 See the chapter by Sergey Vardanyan in the forthcoming second volume of *The Hemshin*.
 - 36 Ibid.
 - 37 Misak’ T’orlak’ian, *Örerus Het* [With My Days] (Los Angeles: Horizon Press, 1953), p. 143.
 - 38 Ibid., pp. 111 and 258–60; Hovakim Khushpulian, ‘K’ëmalakan Arhawirk’nerë’ [The Kemalist Atrocities], in *Patmut’iwn Haykakan Pontosi* [History of Armenian Pontos], ed. Hovakim Hovakimian [Arshakuni] (Beirut: Mshak Press, 1967), pp. 304–5; Hovakimian (1967), pp. 70 and 393–94; Barunak T’orlak’yan, *Hamshenahayeri Azgagrut’yunë* [The Ethnography of Hamshen Armenians] (Erevan: Publications of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 1981), p. 33.
 - 39 Khushpulian (1967), pp. 304–5.
 - 40 T’orlak’ian (1953), p. 259.
 - 41 Hovakimian (1967), p. 70.
 - 42 T’orlak’yan (1981), pp. 42–46; Hovakimian (1967), pp. 70 and 382–83; T’orlak’ian (1953), pp. 220, 231–41, 338, 352 and 362.
 - 43 Narciso Binayan, ‘The “Lost” Armenians’, *Ararat* (Saddle Brook, NJ, 1991), 32, no. 125, p. 25. This episode was reported to Narciso Binayan by one Sahag Barceghian.

Part II

Geography, economy and architecture

7 Notes on the historical geography and present territorial distribution of the Hemshinli

Hagop Hachikian

Introduction

Between the Black Sea in the north and the Pontic Mountain chain in the south is a strip of land measuring less than fifty kilometres wide in some places and containing the present-day Turkish provinces of Trabzon and Rize, as well as the coastal portion of Artvin. This strip is composed of numerous valleys inhabited by a few ethnic groups, one of which is known as the Hemshin or Hemshinli. Historically, the Hemshinli lived in the highlands of this area, although a number of Hemshinli have long resided on the coast due to a centuries-long trend of migration to the lowlands. As a result of this migration, Hemshinli-populated settlements have extended beyond the boundaries of the traditional Hemshin district, located in the mountains of the province of Rize.

This chapter will cover the historical geography of the Hemshinli and their Hamshen Armenian ancestors, presenting their past territorial distribution and patterns of migration. In this context, the Hamshen Armenian community of Karadere and the Hemshin settlements in the western Black Sea region will be discussed. I will also attempt to provide as comprehensive a picture as possible of the present territorial distribution of Hemshinli-populated settlements in the provinces of Rize and Artvin, as well as in the western Black Sea area.

A distinct theme will be to demonstrate that Hamshen was not a case of an ethnic enclave of an esoteric group of Armenians in the midst of other peoples – as has sometimes been portrayed – but was just one instance of northward expansion of the Armenian people towards the Black Sea. On its northern border the Armenian plateau abuts nearly the entire length of the Hemshin area and has been very much connected to it in many ways, as will be shown below. Brief surveys of the environs of Hamshen and their offshoot communities will hopefully provide the reader with a better understanding of the geography of the subject matter.

The village listings and the population figures given at the end of this chapter are an attempt to combine all existing statistics on this ethnic group. They are incomplete, yet they will allow the reader to comprehend the relative population size, dispersion and demographic trends of the Hemshinli.

A note on Ottoman and Republican administrative divisions

Turkish administrative designations and their classification changed considerably in the final years of the Ottoman Empire and during the Republican era. In Ottoman times, *vilayet* denoted a province under which was the subprovince known as *sancak*. The term *sancak* was discontinued in the early 1920s, when the large Ottoman provinces were dissolved and their subprovinces or *sancaks* were elevated to the rank of *vilayet*. The modern-day equivalent of *sancak* and *vilayet* is the *il*, the largest Turkish administrative division. Previously, both *vilayet* and *sancak* were comparatively larger units, containing several of today's provinces. The unit below the *il*, *ilçe* (county), is interchangeable with the older *kaza*. Note that *kazas* in the nineteenth century and before covered, on average, larger areas than their present equivalent, the *ilçes*. Finally, the smallest of all current administrative units, the *bucak* (district), is the equivalent of the older *nahiye* (Table 7.1).

The sources found in this chapter tend to be Armenian and Turkish works that were previously underused or not referred to at all for the subject at hand. A number of these are statistical and anthropological studies, while others are Turkish provincial publications containing miscellaneous regional information that is very useful for our understanding of Hamshen and the Hemshinli. With this in mind, travel accounts of the previous three centuries were revisited for this chapter. On rare occasions, interesting bits and pieces about the subject are to be found in Turkish and Armenian newspapers and are cited here when relevant. There are very useful data at growing numbers of Turkish Black Sea-related websites that certainly help bridge the gaps between the major works on the subject.

Hemshin-populated areas in the Ottoman and Republican administrative structures

Following Ottoman conquest in the late fifteenth century, Hemshin was made dependent on the larger province controlling the coastal region to its north (i.e. either Trabzon or Batum).¹ Thus Hemshin was part of the Trabzon *sancak* until the 1560s, when it was attached to the Gönje (Batumi) *sancak*, to which it still

Table 7.1 Ottoman and Turkish administrative designations

<i>Ottoman Empire</i>	<i>Early Republican Period</i>	<i>Current</i>
Eyalet, Vilayet	—	—
Sancak, Liva	Vilayet	İl (province)
Kaza	Kaza	İlçe (county)
Nahiye	Nahiye	Bucak (district)

belonged at the beginning of the nineteenth century.² In 1856–57, we see Hemshin as part of the Lazistan *liva*, a new enlarged unit designed to resist Russian pressure in the aftermath of the Crimean War.³ Under the jurisdiction of these entities, Hemshin and its highlands remained throughout the centuries an administrative unit separate from the coastal units populated by the Lazi and other groups. The presence of a distinct Hemshin unit was probably as much ethnically based as due to topography, very much as the neighbouring Lazi districts with which it was not mingled.⁴

The pattern of administrative units, irrespective of their geography and even status, enjoying direct relations with the provincial capital of the time, came to an end with the Ottoman jurisdictional reforms of 1864 to 1867. As a component of the improved central governance programme instituted by the first generation of European-trained Ottoman officialdom, a more hierarchical, territorial-administrative system was introduced in the eastern Black Sea area. The new system established an immediate primacy of provincial seats over large coastal settlements, which in turn subordinated the interior districts. A comparison of administrative divisions before and after the reforms makes it clear that all *nahiyes* were placed under *kazas* after the reorganization, instead of a mixed bag of *nahiyes* and *kazas* submitting to the provincial centre.⁵

Thus the new administrative situation of Hemshin differed from the traditional pattern existing before the 1864 to 1867 reforms. Hemshin, which remained a part of the Lazistan sancak, was no longer a *kaza* reporting directly to the provincial centre, but a *nahiye*, first under the Arhavi *kaza* until 1869, and then under the Atina *kaza*.⁶ The borders of the sancak were rearranged in the aftermath of the 1877–78 Russo-Turkish War. To compensate for the losses of Ajaria, which included the important centre of Batum, and of most of Livana, which encompassed Artvin, the Lazistan sancak was given Rize and its surrounding territories in 1881 (see Plate 6.1).⁷ As a result of the annexation of Batum to Russia, Rize became the new centre of the Lazistan sancak.⁸ The changes occasioned by the war did not directly affect Hemshin, which remained under Atina for the rest of the Ottoman period.

The Hemshin administrative unit underwent changes throughout the centuries of Ottoman rule. Demotions and promotions between a generally lower rank of *nahiye* and a higher one of *kaza* often accompanied territorial adjustments in direct relation with the new rank.⁹ A record from the early decades of the sixteenth century lists Hemshin as a *kaza* comprising three *nahiyes*: Hemşin, Kara-Hemşin and Eksanos (see Map 2.1).¹⁰ The Hemşin *nahiye* comprised the lower and middle Fırtına River Valley as well as the Susa or Zuğa Dere (today's Hemşin county). Kara-Hemşin included the villages located in the upstream part of the Fırtına Valley and the Cimil Valley.¹¹ Senoz or Eksanos (Ksanos) corresponds to the modern-day district of Kaptanpaşa in Çayeli county. In one instance during that same century, Hemshin's demotion to the rank of *nahiye* resulted in the removal of Eksanos (Kaptanpaşa) and in its reincarnation as a separate *nahiye* parallel to that of Hemshin under the Batum sancak.¹² Conversely, the most prestigious standing of Hemshin came about when it was briefly

elevated to a sancak. Georg Rosen, during his travels in 1843, was told that Hemshin was a sancak like Rize, and his travel companion, Karl Koch, confirmed that information.¹³ However, I have not seen any reference to a Hemshin sancak in Turkish sources, and this point requires further research. According to Karl Koch, beneath the district official, *voyvoda*, there were three lesser officials called *ayan*,¹⁴ in charge of Cimil (the Cimil Valley in İkizdere county), Senoz (Eksanos), and Marmanat (now the village Akbucak, in Pazar), respectively.¹⁵ By 1876, Hemshin, downgraded to a nahiye under the Atina kaza, had lost the valley of Cimil, which had been placed within the Kuraiseba (now İkizdere county) nahiye.¹⁶

In Turkish Republican times, a successor of sorts to the Lazistan sancak was the large province of Çoruh (*Çoruh Vilayeti*), which included the pre-1914 Lazistan sancak with Rize and Artvin, the latter recovered from Russia in 1921. This short-lived administrative unit, with its capital in Rize, lasted only between 1933 and early 1936, when it was split into the modern-day Rize and Artvin provinces.¹⁷ Having remained under the Rize province, the Pazar (formerly Atina) kaza and its Hemshin nahiye – with its centre in Hemşin Ortaköy (Zuğaortaköy) – were gradually reduced in size. The Senoz Valley (Kaptanpaşa) was already no longer part of Hemshin by 1928 and was adjoined to the newly created kaza of Çayeli in 1944. When Ardeşen was separated from Pazar and constituted into a separate kaza in 1953, the Fırtına Valley was given to it and made into its Çamlıca nahiye. In 1960, however, Çamlıca was separated from Ardeşen to form the Çamlıhemşin county (*ilçe*, the new administrative term replacing the kaza) while what was left of the former Hemshin nahiye (i.e. Hemşin Ortaköy was similarly detached from Pazar to become the county of Hemşin in 1990. Four villages which had belonged to the Hemshin nahiye in former times, Melmanat (now Akbucak), Acaba (Bucak), Cingit (Uğrak) and Meleskur (Ortayol), did not join the new county and remained within Pazar. Kaptanpaşa, made into a district (*bucak*) in 1954, has remained within Çayeli.¹⁸

Hopa, as one of the Lazi areas, was almost always politically associated with Lazistan during the late Ottoman period and with Rize during the early years of the Republican era. Thus during the 1870s, as part of the Lazistan sancak, Hopa constituted a kaza under which were placed the Arhavi and Gönye nahiyeler.¹⁹ In January 1936, when the Çoruh province was split into the Rize and Artvin provinces, Hopa was detached from Rize and transferred to Artvin in the interior.²⁰

The eastern section of Hopa, the Gönye nahiye, which included the Hemshin villages around Makrial (now Kemalpaşa), faired differently from that of Hopa proper. It was annexed by Imperial Russia after the 1877–78 Russo-Turkish War and administered by Russia until 1918, while Hopa itself remained under Ottoman control.²¹ When the Turco-Soviet border was established in 1921, Makrial was handed back to Turkey and was later made into the Kemalpaşa district of Hopa. Half a dozen of the easternmost villages inhabited by Hemshinli remained within the Georgian SSR, only to be depopulated through Stalin's deportation to Central Asia of the Hemshinli along with a number of other nationalities in the 1940s.²²

Hemshinli settlements in the province of Rize

Much of the hilly and mountainous region traversing the southern half of the Rize province is Hemshinli country. It covers nearly half of the province's surface area, bulging towards the sea at its midsection and tapering off to the east and west.²³ About 100 of the 375 or so settlements in the province have substantial numbers of Hemshinli residing in them (Plate 6.1). About half of these are within the confines of the historical Hemshin territorial entity.

Available historical materials from the Middle Ages confine the original Hamshen district to a small section of land consisting of the watersheds of the twin branches of the Fırtına River, running on the north slopes of the Barhal/Kaçkar Range, and encompassing today's county of Çamlıhemşin in the Rize province. The area on the southern side of the Barhal/Kaçkar Range and of the Hamshen district constituted part of Armenia and served as a refuge for Armenian princely houses in the early Middle Ages. This, together with the folklore surrounding the genesis of the colony, has led to the widely accepted conclusion that traditional Hamshen was initially restricted to the upstream portion of the basin of the Fırtına River.²⁴ From here the ancestors of the Hemshinli must have proceeded downstream as well as sideways into the adjacent valleys of Cimil (now in İkizdere county), of the Susa or Zuğa Dere (now Hemşin county),²⁵ and of the Senes or Senoz Dere (now the Kaptanpaşa section of the Çayeli county, the former Mapavri). The whole of this hilly and still wooded area abounds with major Armenian toponyms such as villages, summer villages, rivers and so forth, as well as minor ones such as springs, hills, meadows and village quarters.²⁶

It was from this geographical base that Hamshen Armenians spread out westward, eastward and towards the sea, establishing villages among the Lazi and the other population groups of the Rize province. Today, many Hemshinli communities may be found in the counties of Pazar, Ardeşen, Fındıklı, İkizdere and the Asferos (Aşıklar) Valley in coastal Çayeli, all of which grew out of the original Hemshinli population of Hemşin, Çamlıhemşin, Cimil and Kaptanpaşa. Thus the oral tradition of the village of Miloz (now Sefalı) in the Aşıklar Valley indicates that the central *mahalle* (quarter) of the village was founded in the late 1790s by migrants from the village of Sağırlı (now Hilal in the county of Hemşin), and that a group from Çinçiva (now Şenyuva in the county of Çamlıhemşin) founded the Kısırlar mahalle during the same period.²⁷

Similarly, the Hemshinli living in the easternmost county of Fındıklı (formerly Viçe) remember in their local folklore how their ancestors coming 'centuries ago' from Hemshin evicted the 'Georgians' (more probably the Lazi) living in the area before them.²⁸ It must be noted that the settlements in Fındıklı are somewhat isolated from the rest of the group, although they could communicate with the rest of the Hemshinli via mountain paths in pre-modern times.²⁹ In all of these places, their tendency was to settle in hilly areas, necessitated in part by their practice of animal husbandry as their primary base of subsistence. Except for a small cluster by the sea straddling the border with Ardeşen county, the Hemshinli villages in the county of Fındıklı are located along the upper reaches of the Piskhala and Abıviçe rivers.

The traditional Hemshin area

The villages which constituted Hemshin as it existed during most of Ottoman times are obviously the ones that are the best known. Independently of administrative designation, whether kaza, nahiye or, more rarely, sancak, Hemshin encompassed through most of Ottoman rule the modern-day Çamlıhemşin and Hemşin counties, the Kaptanpaşa district of Çayeli, and the Cimil Valley of İkizdere. Some Hemshin villages were mentioned in sixteenth-century Armenian manuscripts and Ottoman official registers (*defters*) while others were cited from the early nineteenth century on in the works of historians and geographers such as Fathers Ghukas Inchichian and Minas Bzhshkian, and in the accounts of Western travellers such as Karl Koch. As one goes further back in time, however, the number of unrecognizable village names increases. Many of the villages listed in *defter* (Ottoman register) no. 387, dating from the early 1520s, have either disappeared or changed names. Some, such as Oghuvand (Ogovid) and Ashodogh (Aşodovih) are now summer pastures.³⁰ Similarly, Tekurid, reportedly mentioned as a village in an early eighteenth-century *defter*, is now only a yayla.³¹ It should also be noted that as with the other types of toponyms, Armenian village names predominate in the highlands while there are only a few such appellations near the coast.

The number of villages cited within the Hemshin territorial entity throughout the ages hovers deceptively around thirty to thirty-five, despite the fact that many villages disappeared while new ones appeared, local administrative borders expanded or contracted, and villages were simply assigned to other villages as quarters. Thus *defter* no. 387 indicates thirty-four villages for the whole kaza in the 1520s, while another Ottoman register provides a figure of thirty-one settlements some thirty years later, in 1554.³² The *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi* (the yearbook compiled by the provincial government of Trabzon, henceforth Trabzon salname) show thirty-three villages for 1869 to 1875, but forty-three for 1876 through to at least 1881. This is because the Kaptanpaşa settlements were once again annexed to Hemshin. Half a century later, in 1928, thirty-three villages are noted in an official publication, the names of which are nearly all identical to the ones given in the 1877 salname. Missing in the 1928 listing are the villages of the Kaptanpaşa district, which was no longer part of Hemshin, as well as a few Hemshinli settlements in the county of Pazar. Closer to our times, the number of villages for the Hemshin area (Çamlıhemşin, Hemşin and Kaptanpaşa) has remained at around forty-three, the same figure as the one given in the 1876 salname, albeit with the appearance of several new villages and the disappearance of others.³³

Armenian sources name three separate *vichaks*, or dioceses, in this rather small region: Khach'ek'ar or Khach'evank' (a name that has survived in the yayla name of Haçivanak, which overlooks the village of Elevit), Khala, which comprised the villages in the Khala (now Hala) Valley, and Khewak (Khevak), which was by far the smallest, consisting of a few hamlets southeast of Hamshen.³⁴ *Vichak* in Armenian ecclesiastic parlance usually describes a diocese. However, its use

here is clearly in the sense of a parochial community, given the total lack of evidence of a separate bishopric for each miniscule area and population. In fact, the diocese of Hamshen that administered these jurisdictions earlier seems to have ceased to exist some time around the end of the sixteenth century.³⁵ It is not clear how the Hamshen settlements of Senoz (Kaptanpaşa), Atina (Hemşin and Pazar counties), Cimil (now in the county of İkizdere) and the coastal areas were organized ecclesiastically. Today the Khala Valley still contains far fewer villages than the main branch of the Fırtına River Valley, and all of the former's highland villages became yaylas centuries ago (Plate 6.1).

Most of the settlements of the Çamlıhemşin county mentioned by Inchichian in the early nineteenth century still exist in one form or another, whether as full-fledged villages, as quarters of other towns or villages, or as summer villages in the mountain pastures. A few of these names, however, are difficult to track down due to the merging of formerly separate settlements under the names of other, existing villages. Thus, Uskurta is now a quarter of Cinciva (present-day Şenyuva); Medzmun/Mezmun is part of Molevis/Mollaveys (Ülkü); Makrevis (Konaklar), Khabak/Kabak/Kavak, Sirt, Upper Viçe, and Lower Viçe (Upper and Lower Çamlıca) currently form five out of the six quarters of the town of Çamlıhemşin; Khala/Hala, described by Inchichian as a vichak, is still used as a collective name for a few villages at the lower end of the Hala River, especially for Güroluk and Yukarı Şimşirli (the other two Khala (Hala) villages are Kaplıca and Aşağı Şimşirli); Kavran³⁶ and Palovit³⁷ near the 'roof' of Hamshen had already been reduced to the status of summer villages, certainly by the second half of the nineteenth century, if not earlier, since no Ottoman or Armenian source mentioned them as villages after that time; Ordments/Ortnenç is Ortanköy; Egh(n)ovit/Elevit is now a yayla or summer village called Yaylaköy and has no year-round population.³⁸ In all likelihood, Koshtents and Zhanēndnots no longer physically exist in any form.³⁹ There are numerous historical references to Zilkale/Kala-i Zîr, on account of its fort, and the presumably older, Greek-sounding name Kolonea/Kolona in Ottoman documents.⁴⁰ Kushiva (Yolkıy) is attested as far back as 1504.⁴¹ There is no clue as to where Tambur, the legendary capital of Hamshen, was located. The only certain thing about it is that it clearly belonged to a much earlier time – if it existed at all.⁴²

Koch refers to another settlement named Sogorni, which was probably the southernmost and highest settlement on the main branch (the Büyük Dere) of the Fırtına River. Sogorni was already only a yayla at the time of Koch's passage, in the 1840s. The source of the Büyük Dere near Sogorni is very close to where the Cimil River starts, allowing for an easy passage between the two valleys.⁴³ There can be little doubt that it is by following this passage that Hamshen Armenians settled in the Cimil Valley. Early Hamshenite presence in the village of Cimil (now Başköy) and the valley of the same name is attested by the copying of an Armenian Gospel there in the early fourteenth century, and the restoration of the same manuscript some 300 years later, around 1621. When Cimil was Islamicized, the manuscript was taken to the village of Mat'useants' in Ispir, where it became known as the Gospel of Cimil.⁴⁴

Western extensions

Cimil and its two offshoots, Ortaköy (ex-Paşaköy) and Yetimhoca, appear to have served as the staging point of Hamshen Armenian and later Hemshin expansion into the valley of the İkizdere (the former Kalopotamos) River, of which the Cimil River is the easternmost affluent. The Kalopotamos River basin is where the Spanish envoy to the court of Tamerlane in Samarkand, Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo and his party, passed through on their way from İspir to the Black Sea coast in September 1405. Today, the motorway through this valley and the Ovit (< Armenian ‘valley’) Pass is still the best route between İspir (and hence Erzurum) and Rize on the Black Sea.

The ambassador’s description of an area with a mixed population composed of Greeks, Armenians and Muslims uniquely suits the İkizdere region.⁴⁵ The Turkish influx across the Ovit Pass into the Kalopotamos Valley in the early fifteenth century is proven by Clavijo’s mention of the presence of Muslims, at a time when local Christians had not yet undergone the mass conversions to Islam that took place a few centuries later. Greeks or Greek speakers were certainly the earliest of the three population groups. Their presence must have remained substantial in the İkizdere Valley in the centuries following Clavijo’s visit, given the large number of Greek loanwords and toponyms – along with Armenian ones – in the local Turkish dialect.⁴⁶ Whether relatively new in origin or not, village names such as Veliköy-i Rize, Kapse-i Rize, Kapse-i Of, Kabahor, Khomese, Mahura or Ksenit,⁴⁷ found in nineteenth-century Ottoman salnames, or the yayla in Anzer called Lapazalı Yatak, leased today by villagers from Of, indicate continuous interaction of İkizdere’s population with Greek speakers over long periods of time.⁴⁸

As to Armenians, it is not clear when their expansion in the İkizdere Valley began, whether at the time of Aṛak’el, the Armenian lord mentioned by Clavijo, or earlier.⁴⁹ Whatever the exact answer to this question, judging by the presence of a large number of Armenian family names in most of its villages in the late nineteenth century, the area of İkizdere beyond Cimil must have gone through a gradual Armenianization over several centuries. This process may have been a factor as to why the western half of the county, then still part of the Greek-speaking kaza of Kadahor (present Çaykara in Trabzon) according to Ottoman sources of the sixteenth century, joined with the Cimil Valley across the Kalopotamos River in recent centuries to form today’s county of İkizdere.⁵⁰

Information on late nineteenth-century Hemshinli presence in the county of İkizdere, the former nahiye of Kuraiseba (< Arabic for ‘seven villages’), is provided by the Armenian anthropologist Sargis Haykuni. Writing in 1895, Haykuni mentions a number of villages in the upper İkizdere Valley, including Vane (Vanē) and Kavkame (Kawkamē), located according to him near the source of the Cimil River where a stream flows between them, as well as Manlı, situated on the left bank of the Kalopotamos River (İkizdere), on the opposite side of its junction with the Cimil River. He also states that Hamshen starts from Yotı Para (Eōt’ē P’aray), which is twenty-four hours above Rize by foot.⁵¹ His details are mostly correct, except in the cases of Vane and Kavkame, which are not as far upstream

as he describes them to be. Vane is now called İlica, while Kavkame (now Çağrankaya) and Manli (now Kirazlı) are today quarters of the town of İkizdere.⁵² Yotı (< Armenian *eōt* 'ē 'seven') Para, from Yedi Pare (< Turkish *yedi* 'seven' + Turkish/Persian *pare* 'pieces', i.e. 'seven villages'; cf. the meaning of Kuraiseba), on the other hand, is quite probably the town of İkizdere itself. The village of Rüzgârlı (also known as Manli) and two other hamlets near Cimil, Kohçeri Ulya (now Sivrikaya) and Kohçeri Sufla (now Çamlık) just below the yayla of Ovıt (< Armenian *hovit* 'valley'), which lies to the immediate west of Cimil, appear to be inhabited by Hemshinli as well. A recent map of the eastern Black Sea region shows a yayla west of Ovıt carrying the name of Palovit, the same as that of the well-known pasture above the Hala/Khala Dere in Hemshin mentioned by Inchichian.⁵³

From Cimil, the Hemshinli may have moved not only northward, but also westward and sideways along other affluents of the İkizdere. Thus, according to one Hemshinli, his ethnic group inhabits the valley of the Anzer Dere, the westernmost affluent of the İkizdere River.⁵⁴ The villages of Upper and Lower Anzer (Ballıköy and Çiçekli) have many families with the same last names as those in Cimil villages. The best Hemshinli woollen socks, once prized as a dowry item, are said to be knitted in nearby Gölyayla. In all, most of İkizdere's villages are at least partially Hemshinli except a few villages in the north and east of the county. At the source of the Cimil River are the Sevkar (< Armenian *sew k'ar* 'black stone') Lakes fed by permanent glaciers. The pastures around Anzer are where the proverbial 'intoxicating' honey mentioned by Xenophon is produced.

A few Hemshinli villages seem to exist – or to have once existed – in the Kalkandere and Güneysu counties, located to the north of İkizdere. The two counties also host recently transplanted families from Cimil.⁵⁵ The 1877 salname lists villages in Karadere (today's Kalkandere county) that have Armenian-sounding names, but thus far I have been unable to establish any connection with the Hemshinli: Tonik (present Kızıltoprak town quarter), Arev (Yumurtatepe), and Seftar (Sevtar? – now Yolbaşı).⁵⁶

Northern limits

Koch described how the borders of Hemshin came quite close to the sea, stopping in some places, such as in the valleys of the Senes (or Senoz, now Büyük Dere), Susa (or Zuğa, now Hemşin/Pazar Dere) and Fırtına rivers, at a distance of only two or three hours' walk from the shore.⁵⁷ Hemshinli populations, however, expanded well beyond the borders of Hemshin, establishing villages or quarters in coastal areas, in a northward migration that continued well into the first half of the twentieth century.⁵⁸ The communities adjoining Hemshin constituted some sort of physical extension of its territory, while others could be more correctly considered islands in coastal areas populated by the Lazi and other groups.

Thus there are two places in Pazar, the village of Subaşı and the Gazi quarter of Pazar (former Haçapıt and Hoşnişin, respectively), where the Hemshinli live

close to the sea, as enclaves surrounded by the Lazi that cannot be considered physical extensions of Hemshin. Similarly, further west, a practically unknown coastal outpost with a possible Armenian connection may be found at the mouth of the İyidere River (the lowest part of the Kalopotamos), in what is today the county of İyidere near Rize. Mentioned by Tashian only in passing as Fıçıtışı and Aspet, this settlement is now called İyidere and incorporates nearby villages as suburbs, including one with the equally intriguing original name Liparit, now Yalıköy.

Aspet means ‘knight’ in Armenian, while Liparit is an Armenian first name, rarely used as a toponym. Moreover, a settlement named Petros is marked on Richard Kiepert’s detailed map between the villages Aspet and Liparit. This is presumably Botrozkomu or Bedroskomu (< Petros + western Armenian *kom* ‘stable’, i.e. Petros’ stable) noted in the Trabzon Salname for 1876 and is also now incorporated into the town of İyidere as a quarter. The closest place to İyidere where the rare name Liparit recurs is in the former Armenian stronghold of Khodorchur (Armenian Khotorjur), to the immediate south of the Barhal/Kaçkar mountain range and Hemshin, which could point to a link between the two places and their inhabitants.⁵⁹ In a map accompanying his book on Rize, Muzaffer Arıcı marks ‘Hemshinli’, ‘Libarit’ and ‘Askhurlu’ migrations into the province. Notwithstanding his revisionist approach in labelling these three groups as Turks, Arıcı may in fact be hinting at a common origin of these settlers.⁶⁰ Askhuros is a small river near Rize now called Taşlıdere. The village in this vicinity named Concik (Cancik? – now Taşpınar), along with two villages named Kaçeran (Kacharan? – now Elmalı and Zincirliköprü), may have been scattered, formerly Hamshen Armenian settlements.⁶¹

The Armenian connection of these quarters of İyidere, however, requires further scrutiny, as the name Petros/Botrozkomu could indicate a Greek connection, while the Armenian name Liparit also designates a village in the not-too-distant and formerly Greek-populated region of Torul. The inhabitants of Aspet, Liparit and Botrozkomu, even if they are partly of Hemshin origin, could also have mixed throughout the centuries with the surrounding population. Nevertheless, İyidere and the nearby village of Yaylacılar do currently have a Hemshinli presence in the form of transplanted families from Cimil.⁶² Lastly, the Hemshinli reside in large numbers in the Çorapçılar (ex-Sarahor?), Tophane (ex-Babik), and possibly other quarters of the city of Rize.

In contrast to the isolated coastal settlements around İyidere and Pazar, the Hemshinli villages in the Asferos or Aşıklar Valley of the county of Çayeli, which extend to the sea in the Yalı mahalle (former Galata), are continuations of the Kaptanpaşa and Hemşin Ortaköy communities of Hemshin. Numbering a dozen or so, these villages are almost always overlooked in research on Hamshen.

In addition, the boundary of Hemshinli settlements on the Fırtına River may have been situated further northward than it is nowadays. Historian Alexandre Toumarkine reports an oral Lazi tradition that the villages of Seslikaya (former Ağvan), Köprüköy (Temisvat), Çayırüzü (Guvant), Akkaya (Pilercivat) and Duygulu

(Telikçet) were formerly Hemshinli settlements until the Lazi expelled them.⁶³ In any case, it comes as no surprise that several miles east of the mouth of the Fırtına and not too far from the villages mentioned above, there is a Lazi-inhabited town with an Armenian appellation, Ardeşen (originally Artashen).⁶⁴ Finally, Tashian notes that the hilly southern part of Ardeşen once belonged to Hemshin. An account by a Hemshinli seems to support this.⁶⁵ The current Hemshinli settlements in the county of Ardeşen, however, are more likely to be the product of Hemshin migration that took place between the final decades of Ottoman rule and the mid-twentieth century than remnants of the medieval Armenian presence around Ardeşen.⁶⁶

Hemshinli settlements in the province of Artvin

Further east, the eastern or Hopa Hemshin group is found in a tiny portion of the Artvin province, scarcely 25 kilometres from the easternmost western or Bash Hemshinli village in the county of Fındıklı. This group is separated from the Bash Hemshinli by the exclusively Lazi-inhabited county of Arhavi in the Artvin province.⁶⁷ The Hopa Hemshin are concentrated in the narrow alluvial coastal plain and low-lying plateau that make up Hopa county and in a few villages adjacent to it in Borçka county bordering Georgia. In Hopa and its Kemalpaşa (the former Makrial)⁶⁸ district, they form a slight majority *vis-à-vis* the Lazi and others out of a total population of 33,000, while in Georgian-speaking Borçka they and the Lazi are minorities (Map 7.1). There are over thirty villages and towns in the Artvin province inhabited by some 20,000 or so Hemshinli.

Some authors consider the Hemshinli presence in Hopa as old as that of traditional Hamshen in Rize. This assertion lacks evidence and runs counter to both written and oral sources.⁶⁹ Tenuous evidence, such as the existence of villages called Şana in Trabzon/Karadere and Hopa, as well as some oral history, points to a possible migration from Karadere to Hopa.⁷⁰ However, even if proven, this hypothesis cannot possibly account for the point of origin of the larger section of the Hemshin population of Hopa. The latter is more likely to have simply been the result of migration from traditional or Bash Hemshin. Thus locals often recount stories of people from Hemshin settling in Hopa several generations ago. Furthermore, the residual Armenian vocabulary items found in the daily Turkish speech of the Rize Hemshinli are in most cases nearly identical to those in the Armenian dialect spoken by their Hopa counterparts.

Unlike their cousins in Hamshen proper, the descendents of the Hemshinli in Hopa do not live in a formerly ethnicity-based administrative unit of their own. In fact, it has been the Lazi who have held the lion's share of local political power and who have predominated in local commercial undertakings in their traditional stronghold of Hopa – until the Hemshinli outnumbered them a few decades ago. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the more withdrawn and isolated Hopa Hemshinli give the impression of descendants of stragglers and late-comers finding refuge in hilly areas of Hopa. Unlike Karadere, and of course Hamshen,



Map 7.1 Hemshin villages in the province of Artvin.

Source: © Hagop Hachikian (2003).

Hopa and its environs are poor in Armenian toponyms – another indication of the relatively recent arrival of the Hemshinli in the area.⁷¹

In contrast to Hemshin proper, Hopa with its coastal orientation is witnessing small increases both in percentage and in absolute numbers of Hemshinli, while the Lazi are leaving the county in increasing numbers to seek education and fortunes elsewhere. According to data from Turkish censuses, the Kemalpaşa

district of Hopa with its Hemshinli majority has seen the highest population increase anywhere in the three easternmost Black Sea provinces since 1970, thanks to a high birth rate, which is compensating for a sizeable outflow of people.

Hunut, Khodorchur and Khevak: the environs of Hamshen

Hamshen has never been an isolated community in the midst of other ethnic groups as some contemporary authors have come to regard it.⁷² Nor was it a unique phenomenon in the case of Hamshen that Armenians made their way out of their traditional homeland just south of the Pontic Mountains into the areas near the Black Sea littoral. In fact, a neighbouring area, Bayburt (Armenian Baberd), gave birth to Karadere in Trabzon and provided early economic and cultural orientation the way İspir did to Hamshen. After all, the Armenian Plateau borders these two areas and connects with them through a few natural passes and via numerous mountain paths.

Today, a number of peaks of the Pontic massif known as the Kaçkar Mountains delineate the provincial boundaries between Rize to their north and the İspir county of Erzurum together with a short section of Yusufeli county (variously referred to as Kiskim or Pertakrag in the past) in Artvin to their south.⁷³ Descending from these mountains to the Chorokh (Çoruh) River further south, the Çamlıkaya district of İspir (historic Sper) contains the parallel river valleys of Salachur (Armenian Salajur), Hunut, Khodorchur and Mokhrkut (Armenian Mokhrkut).⁷⁴ The next valley to the east of these, Khunkamek, with its villages Dokumacılar (Hungameksufla) and Yüncüler (Hungamekulya), is now administratively under the Kılıçkaya (former Ersis) district in the county of Yusufeli.⁷⁵ Individually smaller in surface area than Hamshen proper, these valleys are collectively larger. Mountain paths connect Hunut to the Fırtına Valley in Çamlıhemşin in the northwest. A small section of Kiskim called Khevak was similarly a conduit between the Khala Valley and the town of Yusufeli to the southeast (Map 7.2).

Now populated primarily by the descendants of local Armenians (who converted somewhat later than those in the Hamshen valleys) and relatively recent Hemshinli settlers, Hunut, Khodorchur and Khevak used to be at least as important to Hamshen as the sea coast is today for culture, trade and as a place of refuge.⁷⁶ In previous centuries when the present yaylas in Hemshin proper were year-round villages and sheep and cattle rearing was their mainstay, both the northern and southern slopes of the Kaçkar massif had much more in common with each other than with the Black Sea coast. Hamshen's political allegiance to İspir prior to and in early Ottoman times further underlines these ties.⁷⁷ The dialect of Khodorchur spoken a century ago bore a striking resemblance to the Hamshen dialect family.⁷⁸ As noted above, the fort of Liparit may have an association with the village of Liparit on the Black Sea coast.

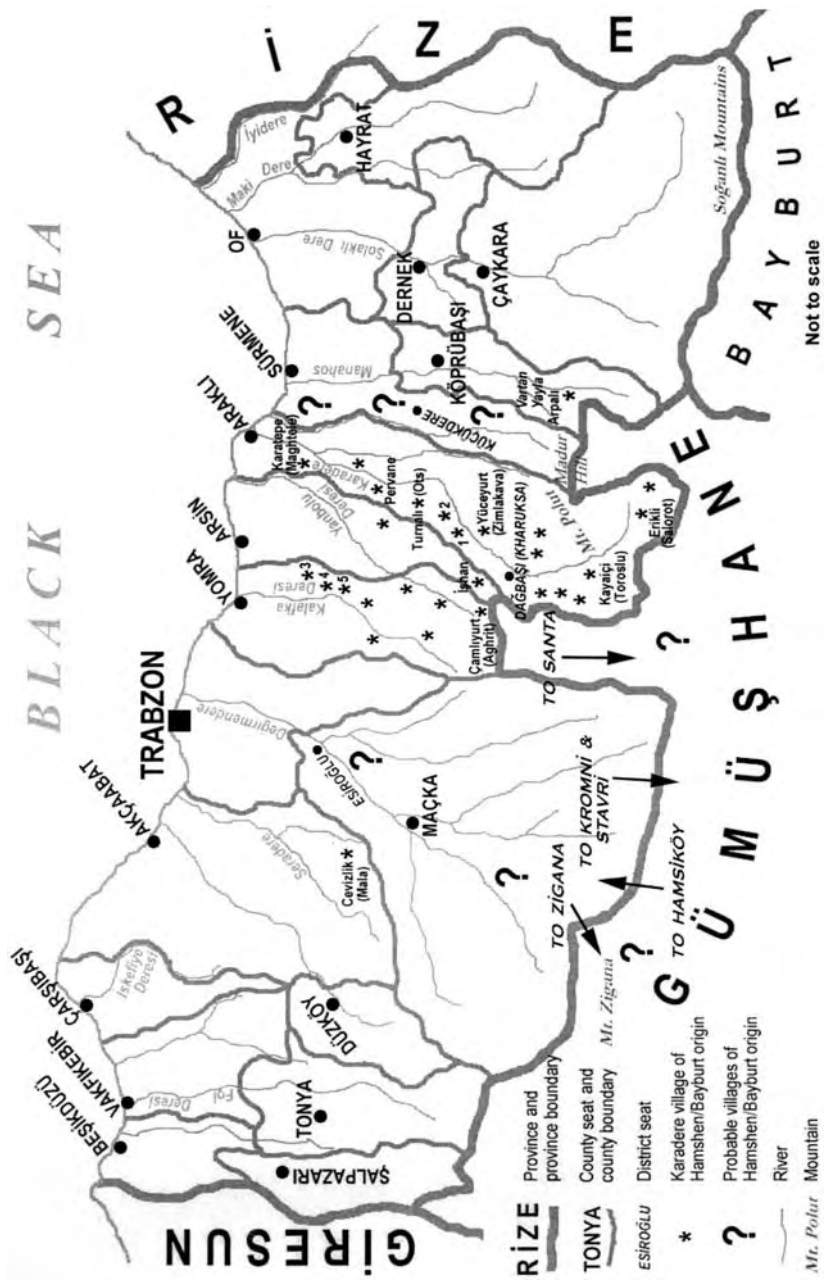
The small cluster of villages known as Khevak⁷⁹ is immediately southeast of Hemshin over the Kaçkar Mountains. From Khevak difficult paths would take a traveller to Yusufeli and thence, depending on the direction chosen, towards İspir, Erzurum, Ardanuç or Artvin. Heveg or Hevek to Turkish speakers, it was named

after the main village of a cluster of five smaller villages or rather hamlets. Despite being described as a *vichak* or precinct along with Khala and Khach'ek'ar in the Hamshen diocese according to Inchichian, it is highly unlikely that Khevak was part of Hamshen in a political or administrative sense at any time in the past several hundred years, unlike, say, Cimil occasionally was.⁸⁰ An Armenian Catholic priest, Father Poghos Mēhērian, passed through Khevak on his way to Hemshin in 1776 when the former's religious allegiance was already in flux and the village church had fallen into disuse. He relates in his memoirs that the villagers unlocked the church doors and cleaned it upon his arrival and participated in the religious services he held.⁸¹ Writing two decades later, Inchichian mentioned the presence of only five or six Christian families there out of a total of 200. When German botanist Karl Koch visited it about fifty years later in the 1840s, he found the same number of families professing the Christian faith, while most of the 1,000 to 1,200 inhabitants in 200 households were ostensibly Muslim.⁸² Subsequent data conclusively show, however, that the crypto-Christian phenomenon in Khevak was very much alive even as late as the turn of the twentieth century, whereas in Hemshin it was clearly coming to an end by that period.⁸³ Tashian cites that Khevak proselytes still understood the Armenian language in the early twentieth century but pretended not to – long after it had become unintelligible to nearly all Hemshinli in Hemshin proper.⁸⁴ From then on, there has been no information about the continued use of the language in this locality.

Of the valleys named above, only Khodorchur and its neighbour Mokhrgrut remained almost exclusively Christian up until 1915, presumably due to the presence of well-connected Armenian Catholic clergy in Khodorchur and the relative isolation of the area.⁸⁵ Putting aside the case of Khevak, the only other place containing unconverted Armenians in these valleys was the minority community in the village of Hunut itself (Map 7.2).⁸⁶ This represents a complete reversal of the confessional landscape in these valleys in less than two centuries. On a minor note, the existence of Catholics in Khevak (perhaps a majority of the Christians) is well established by the above-mentioned sources. Turning to Catholicism was an attempt by Christians of the region to preserve their faith. In the case of Khevak, unlike Khodorchur, the attempt was futile, since most inhabitants ultimately converted to Islam. The presence of a few 'Greeks' or 'Orthodox' in Khevak is still a mystery, as they could be a small community of Greeks, Georgians or Armenians of the Greek Orthodox faith.⁸⁷

The offshoot of Hamshen and Baberd: the Armenians of Karadere

A large block of settlements of Greek speakers⁸⁸ separates the western Hemshinli in Rize and villages in the province of Trabzon where inhabitants possess Hamshen roots; this last group is practically unknown in Western language sources.⁸⁹ This group dwells in around thirty villages located in the upland areas of the Trabzon counties of Araklı, Arsin, Yomra, and in smaller numbers in central Trabzon, Sürmene and Maçka (Map 7.3). The Karadere River (Sew Ked in



Map 7.3 The Islamized Armenians of Karadere (Trabzon).

Source: © Hagop Hachikian (2003).

Note

Key to the numbered villages: 1 Keçikaya (Büyük Zimla); 2 Kestanelik (Küçük Zimla). The Karadere villages: 3 Kömürcü; 4 Taşdelen; 5 Gülyurdu.

western Armenian, a literal translation of the Turkish name) has lent its name to these people who mostly dwell near it. Although these villagers do not regard themselves as Hemshinli, they nevertheless exhibit some awareness of their origin from Hemshin, and are therefore included in this chapter.

This area was the staging point of an earlier Armenian influx from Bayburt (Baberd) immediately to its south from the early sixteenth century on.⁹⁰ A minimum of six villages in Sürmene and at least that many in Araklı are known to have been established during the 1500s to 1600s.⁹¹ Given the role of the Bayburt region in the settlement of this area, a number of its villages served as namesakes for the new settlements in today's Araklı county of Trabzon.⁹² There is evidence that these colonists partially abandoned this area and some of them returned to the Armenian Plateau under uncertain circumstances in the seventeenth century.⁹³ Within a few decades, the conversion of much of Hemshin proper to Islam and continued pressures on those who refused to convert resulted in a new Armenian influx into Karadere, with the migrants from Hemshin probably assimilating the remainder of the earlier group.⁹⁴

A wave of religious persecution in the first decades of the eighteenth century resulted in another group of Armenian refugees and in a new group of converts left behind – this time in Karadere. Most of the exiles retreated westwards, settling closer to Trabzon, or pushing as far as Ordu and Çarşamba, while a minority fled southward to Tercan and Bayburt.⁹⁵ These two waves of persecution in Hemshin and in Karadere/Trabzon became enshrined into the culture of the Karadere Hamshen Armenians, whose descendants in Russia still have a memory of them in their oral traditions. As a result of the Islamic proselytization campaign in Karadere, only in the village of Pervane and in a quarter of a nearby village called Makhtele (now Karatepe) could one find a handful of Armenian Christians.⁹⁶ Their combined numbers, still relatively small in 1915, had nevertheless increased by a few fold in nearly two centuries.⁹⁷

Some elderly Karadere Muslims still called themselves *heyi* (< Armenian *hay* 'Armenian') and spoke Armenian as late as the early twentieth century.⁹⁸ Having been geographically separated from Hemshin for over two centuries now, and perhaps due to their mixing with the earlier group from Bayburt that may have somewhat diluted their sense of belonging to Hemshin, the Karadere villagers have not adopted the Hemshinli identity. Unlike the Hemshinli, there is little outside knowledge of their existence, and information about them is scarce, apart from the fact that they have a hazy memory of a connection to Hemshin. In all likelihood, they are by now linguistically fully assimilated into Turkish, with some residual Armenian vocabulary in their daily speech. The descendants of those from Karadere that did not convert do consider Hamshen as their original point of origin and call themselves Hamshents'i.

The Hemshinli settlement of the western Black Sea region

Originating from regions in eastern Anatolia and to a lesser degree from the Erevan Khanate of Persia, the earliest Armenian settlement of the western Black

Sea hinterlands east of Istanbul altered the newly acquired Turkish character of this region starting in the late sixteenth century. This colonization, encouraged by Ottoman authorities and aided by the local Turkish villagers, aimed to develop this sparsely populated area. The protracted Turco-Persian wars of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and the accompanying anarchy and devastation in the eastern realms of the Ottoman Empire and northwestern Persia caused large Armenian migrations to places further west than where Armenians had never previously settled in great numbers. Relevant references for Nicomedia from the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century are scant. However, after an Armenian bishopric was founded here towards the later part of the seventeenth century, documents become more plentiful.⁹⁹

The nineteenth century saw an even larger arrival of immigrants into this still thinly populated region: Muslims from the Balkans and northern Caucasus lands, Pontic Christians of Greek and Armenian origin, as well as numerous Pontic Muslims – Georgian, Lazi, Greek speakers and some Hemshinli. Among the Pontic peoples, Greeks from Ordu and Trabzon were the first to come, soon followed from 1873 onwards by Hamshen Armenians from Ordu, who desired to escape their sharecropper's status and continued religious persecution by the locals.¹⁰⁰ Shortly thereafter, the massive influx of Muslim groups into the area, including a few hundred Hemshinli from Hopa and Rize, took place during and following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78.

Hardest hit among the Pontic peoples were the Muslim Georgians and to a lesser degree the Lazi, many of whose lands were in the territories annexed by Russia after the war. Curiously, Muslims from Ordu, Giresun and Trabzon were also highly represented in the move, even though the war never went beyond Arhavi and Hopa along the coast, and Artvin in the interior.¹⁰¹ Turkish sources on the Black Sea region have tended to blame the actual fighting during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 to 1878 as the root cause of these massive migrations. In doing so, they have not given due consideration to the relatively small civilian losses suffered in the border areas and the disproportionately grave demoralization and mass hysteria the conflict generated in the rear areas far from the actual theatre of war, or for that matter the varying threat levels perceived by different ethnic groups.¹⁰² Granted, only a minority among each of these nationalities participated in the move to the west; the Hopa Hemshinli stand out as one of the least affected groups in this ordeal by virtue of their relatively small numbers making the journey in proportion to their total count. Moreover, the western Hemshinli, who unlike the Hopa group were far from the theatre of the war, are also underrepresented in the tally.¹⁰³

Overall, fifteen or so hamlets were established by the Ordu Armenians in today's provinces of Sakarya, Kocaeli, Düzce and Bursa. They were called 'Laz Armenians' by their non-Pontic co-nationals in their new environment (cf. the Greek appellation of 'Lazoi' for the Pontic Greeks). Evidence indicating that the older community of Armenians helped their compatriots from Ordu to put down roots may be gleaned from Minas Gasapian's detailed work on the Armenians of Nicomedia. These settlements were mostly established near the villages of either the older community of Armenians or the Pontic Greeks, but almost always in a

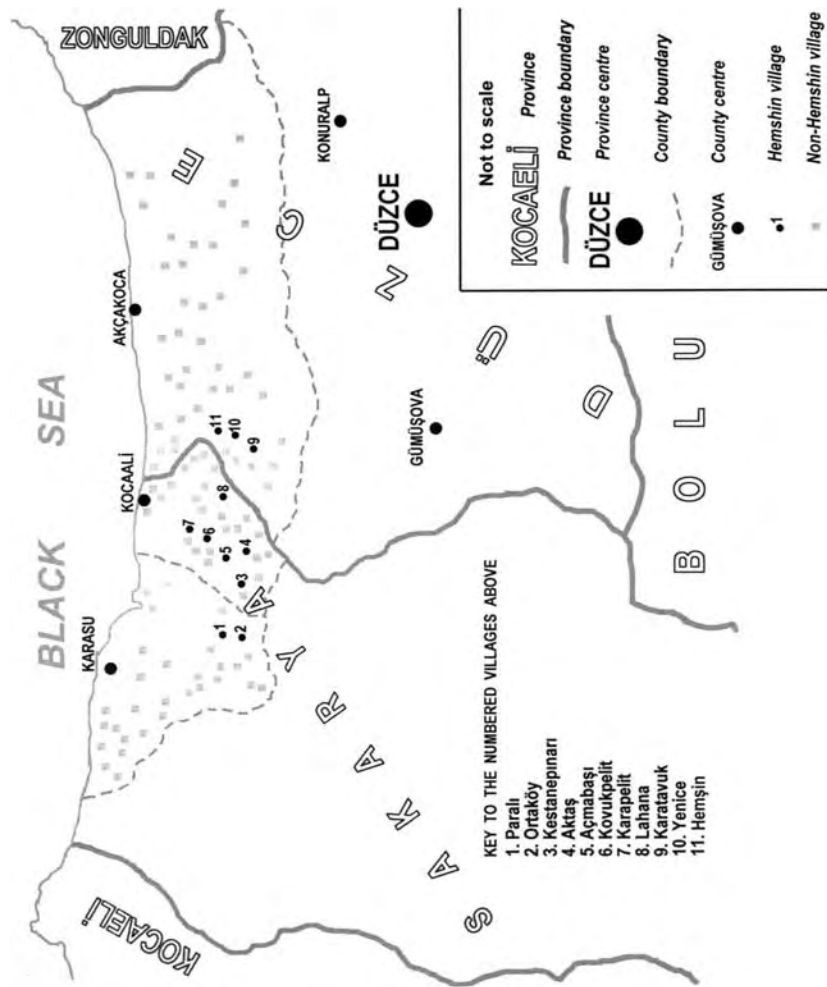
separate village or quarter. Similarly, the Hemshinli villages took root in close proximity to Lazi and Ordu Hamshents'i villages. In all likelihood the Hemshinli arrived in the area in small groups, usually mostly males like the Hamshen Armenians before them, to survey and explore suitable areas before bringing families or brides for final settlement.

Here the Hemshinli numbers increased during the Republican era due to the rising importance of cash crops in this area and the population pressures caused by the scarcity of land back east. Much of the western Black Sea region is now a single cash crop area, with hazelnuts being the produce of choice due to their dependable returns over the years in international markets. For at least one village in Akçakoca county, forestry was also an important source of income, while the traditional Hamshen practice of animal husbandry seems to be almost lost.¹⁰⁴

The western Black Sea Hemshinli colonies are no exception with regard to the general dearth of contemporary data on all Hemshinli areas save Çamlıhemşin. Scraps of information, primarily from the 1960s and 1970s, point to the Hemshinli's continuation of their traditional eastern Black Sea pattern of settlement in mono-ethnic villages, or failing that, in their own separate mahalle of a non-Hemshinli village. This holds true for settlements containing western and eastern Hemshinli, both of whom tend to occupy separate quarters and do not mix with each other or with non-Hemshinli.¹⁰⁵ There also seems to be a conscious decision to select the highest possible grounds by establishing their villages in upper river valleys – in an area that is generally low-lying.¹⁰⁶ Likewise, village quarters are separate hamlets located up to a few kilometres away from each other with widely scattered houses.¹⁰⁷ This stands in contrast to the situation in the larger cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, Samsun, Izmir and Bursa, where having separate quarters is almost impossible, and the Hemshinli families are widely scattered.

The Hemshinli are usually found in clusters of villages, notably in the Sakarya province (Central county);¹⁰⁸ the Karasu county villages of Yenidağ (formerly Ortaköy) and Paralı; the Kocaali county villages of Açımbaşı,¹⁰⁹ Kovukpeli,¹¹⁰ Karapeli,¹¹¹ Kestanepınarı, Aktaş and Lahana; and in the Düzce province (the Düzce town quarter of Aziziye and in the village of Karadere in the same county; and in the Akçakoca county village of Karatavuk). There are apparently more of them in the Gümüşova and Konuralp counties, but there are no details on the precise localities.¹¹² Yenidağ and Paralı are neighbouring villages, while Aktaş is situated further east and abuts the cluster of Hemshinli villages in the county of Kocaali.

Hemshinli residents were reported at the turn of the twentieth century in the town of Geyve¹¹³ in the Sakarya province and in the village of Elmalı¹¹⁴ in the county of İznik, Bursa province. Hopa Hemshinli were reported in the village of Yenice in Akçakoca county, Düzce province, and Bash Hemshinli in the neighbouring Hemşin village, the latter at some point rebaptized Armutlu and now again Hemşin.¹¹⁵ It is the northernmost village in a roughly north-to-south axis, followed by Yenice and then Karatavuk, with a few kilometres between each of them. They are also only a few kilometres east of the Kocaali Hemshin villages, which are in turn within the same distance from the Karasu group (Map 7.4).



Map 7.4 Hemshin settlement in western Black Sea areas.

Source: © Hagop Hachikian (2003).

Note

Only areas with significant Hemshin concentration are marked in detail.

In the central Black Sea region, there is reportedly a sizeable presence of the Hemshinli, mostly in the city of Samsun but also scattered into smaller localities such as Çarşamba and Ladik (in the province of Samsun), and Fatsa and Terme (in the province of Ordu).¹¹⁶

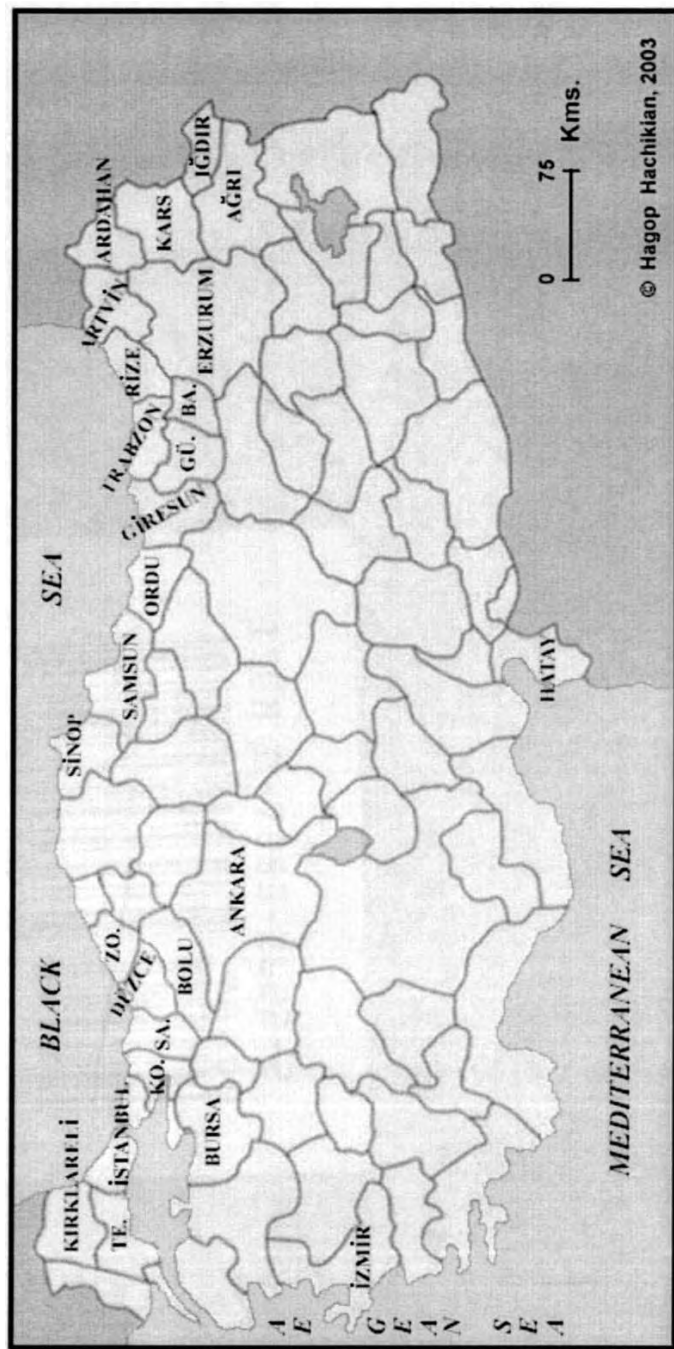
Pontic village name changes in recent times

At the start of the twentieth century, radical actions by successive Imperial and Republican regimes transformed the ethno-religious landscape of Anatolia into an exclusively mono-ethnic and Islamic one for all intents and purposes. In conjunction with these policies, there came a series of laws stamping out anything indicative of non-Turkish roots and promoting the assimilation of disparate Muslim nationalities into the dominant ethnicity. One such legislative act mandated the Interior Ministry and its dependent structures to rename villages across Turkey and inform all the provincial authorities of the substitutions. The effort was summarized succinctly in the Preface to *Köylerimiz 1981*, a government publication listing all the villages across Turkey:

In accordance with the directive that [stated] ‘[any] village name that is non-Turkish and gives rise to confusion shall be changed by the Interior Ministry within the shortest time possible upon receiving the remarks of the Provincial Permanent Commission’ as found in paragraph D of the second article of law number 5442 dated 10 June 1949, which was superseded by law number 7267 and dated 11 May 1959. Approximately 12,000 village names that are non-Turkish, understood to originate from non-Turkish roots, and identified as causing confusion have been examined and replaced with Turkish names, and put into effect by the Substitution Committee for Foreign Names functioning at the Directorate General for Provincial Governments in our Ministry.¹¹⁷

This effectively completed an exercise that was already being carried out in the late Ottoman and early republican periods. When the whole endeavour was brought to its conclusion in the late 1950s, no village name of ‘foreign origin’ escaped substitution anywhere in Turkey, save a handful that received new appellations by design resembling their original names but now having different, Turkish meanings.¹¹⁸ In fact, of the hundreds of names changed in the Trabzon, Rize and Artvin provinces alone, only one – two instances of *İşhan* – was spared.¹¹⁹ According to the Interior Ministry, some 12,000 out of 35,000 villages in all provinces were affected, not counting the massive number of changes made in the early twentieth century.¹²⁰

Incomplete yet crucial information has surfaced recently that sheds light on the origin of the Turkish village renaming policy. A Turkish website apparently run by nationalistic-religious circles has published lists of renamed villages in Rize based on a book about Ottoman documents on Rize written by two Turkish researchers close to these same circles. A more significant article published in 1999 provides further details on the objectives of this colossal undertaking in the eastern Black Sea provinces together with the archival references. It also informs us of the



BA. = BAYBURT
 GÜ. = GÜMÜŞHANE
 KO. = KOCAELİ
 SA. = SAKARYA
 TE. = TEKİRDAĞ
 ZO. = ZONGULDAK

Map 7.5 Map of Turkey.
 Source: © Hagop Hachikian (2003).

correspondences between these provinces and the Imperial capital as well as the progress of the project and some of the difficulties encountered.¹²¹ Likewise, its author does not hide his approval of the undertaking; indeed, he declares that the Turkish names are the 'deeds of the land' upon which the Turkish people live.¹²²

Overall, the entire eastern half of the Turkish Black Sea coast was given special attention within the project. Starting in Samsun, with its large Greek and Armenian minorities, the kazas of Ordu, Giresun, Trabzon, Gümüşhane and Rize – whose populations were overwhelmingly converts to Islam in recent centuries – were targeted first. The kaza of Rize and its nahiyes (i.e. the western part of the province) were the test case. On the orders of Enver Pasha, the Minister of War, the local government of Rize submitted to the Ministry a list of recommended substitutions for all non-Turkish toponyms within its jurisdiction as early as 1913. Enver had to issue another directive in December 1916, since the project was not proceeding as swiftly and evenly in some parts of the country as he had hoped. Around this time the Trabzon area seems to have made the switch to the new names, many of which were inspired by nationalist and religious themes. Among the new designations were a number that unabashedly celebrated the ruling İttihad ve Terakki party to which Enver himself belonged for example, İttihad (previously Giresun) kaza, Terakki (Lazistan) sancak, the villages İttihad (Horovi) and Terakki (Frankulli), both in Akçaabat/Trabzon, Teşkilat (Arhavi) nahiye, and Cihadiye (Hopa) kaza.¹²³ On a higher plane, the project bears witness to the İttihadist blueprints to purify the country of Greek, Armenian and Bulgarian geographical designations slightly ahead of the physical elimination of these ethnic groups from Ottoman lands. In fact, Enver's decree of January 1916 is explicit about the necessity to 'quickly take advantage of the propitious time' of war to realize this aim (*şu müsaîd zamanımızdan sûretle istifade edilerek*).¹²⁴

Although the First World War had afforded a good opportunity for the state to actualize this objective without international repercussions, it also hindered the completion of the project due to the strains it placed on logistics and communications. It may be gleaned from these references that not all local authorities complied with the War Minister's instructions in a timely manner, while others submitted incomplete or unsatisfactory recommendations. Regretting the haphazard and hasty execution of the operation, Ayhan Yüksel laments that some 'pure' Turkish names were mistakenly changed along with the 'foreign' ones.¹²⁵

The above sources confirm that this first attempt at universal toponomical revision in Turkey did not achieve the desired results. According to an official 1928 village index, only a handful of jurisdictions had successfully instituted all of their new Turkish names, while most still retained the old appellations. The western half of today's Rize province was the only area in the eastern Black Sea region to have completely accomplished this by the close of the First World War.¹²⁶ This mostly Turkish-speaking area of the province led the way in replacing noticeably 'foreign-sounding' village names with Turkified ones. This process may easily be demonstrated by comparing the village listings from the last detailed provincial salnames of the Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth century with those from the first

years of the Republican era.¹²⁷ That is, in the region stretching from the Trabzon-Rize provincial border to the Çamlıhemşin-Hemşin-Pazar line (i.e. Rize, Kuraşeba/İkizdere and Mapavri/Çayeli), foreign-sounding village names had been replaced with new ones by the time of the publication of the official village index in 1928. There were only very few exceptions when the old names were permitted to remain (e.g. Cimil Başköy which, nevertheless, saw 'Cimil' dropped in later decades).

Rize, with its border on the Russian realms, rather than the larger and more populous Trabzon, was chosen as the very first area to undergo the changes. However, it is not entirely clear why the majority of name substitutions took hold in the Turkish-speaking western portion of Rize but not in the rest of the province as planned. The same generally holds true for the Turkish-speaking parts of Trabzon. A stronger presence of the Lazi, Hemşinli and 'Pontic' identities (albeit secondary to the Turkish one), as well as the fact that much of these populations in the eastern portion of Rize, in coastal Artvin, and in portions of Trabzon still retained their respective languages, may have indirectly retarded the full implementation of the name substitution.¹²⁸ It is conceivable that the Interior Ministry did not want to antagonize these non-Turkish Muslim groups during such crucial times, when their continued cooperation with the state was paramount in securing Ittihadist war objectives. The directive of Enver Pasha referred to above also sheds light on the reason why some of the new names resemble the original ones. This way, it was hoped that the villagers would adopt the substitutions more easily than they might adopt some arbitrary appellation assigned from the centre.

In addition to village names, village and city quarters (*mahalles*) were also renamed as required by the same law. But the attempt to change mahalle names was not equally thorough, presumably because the emphasis of the law was on the village, which is the smallest settlement unit of government representation.¹²⁹ City names, on the other hand, had naturally been assimilated to more Turkish-sounding forms over the centuries and required little or no revision.¹³⁰

The campaign to rename villages was completed in these provinces and the rest of the country in the late 1950s. Despite their different outcomes, the Republican practice retained the broad imprint of the Ottoman attempt in programme scope, mode of operation and substitution criteria of the earlier attempt. Both instances occurred in times of intolerance towards ethno-religious minorities and their cultures. In practical terms, however, the later campaign diverged from the earlier one in its uniform, complete and top-to-bottom execution but had less emphasis on overtly chauvinistic and Islamic motifs. The new regime replaced most such names along with those that were reminiscent of the Ittihadist rule with more innocuous yet Turkish names.

Conclusion

The range of Hemşinli-inhabited areas has changed much since the time of authors Koch and Tashian who wrote extensively about the region in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Nowadays, there are large numbers of Hemşinli living in

the city of Rize as well as in other eastern Black Sea cities such as Trabzon, Samsun, Giresun and Ordu. Moreover, significant numbers of Hemshinli have dispersed to locations outside of the eastern Black Sea area, and many are settled in large Turkish cities such as Ankara, Izmir and Istanbul. Thousands of Hemshinli of both varieties are living in diaspora, mainly in Germany and the USA. One recent report even spoke of an ‘Armenian’ and ‘Greek’ presence among other Turkish settlers in the Turkish-occupied sector of Cyprus.¹³¹

Those remaining behind are increasingly flocking to coastal villages and nearby cities, while the highland settlements continue to depopulate to near extinction. This trend has also caused towns such as Ardeşen to sprawl along the coast as well as towards the hills. Among the major interior settlements in Rize, only Çamlıhemşin has witnessed even a minimal amount of construction of summer homes with contemporary amenities, as some richer expatriates return for vacations. It is only in Hopa that the population has not diminished in striking rates in recent decades.

These migration trends are worrying. Except in a small area in the Turkish northwest (especially in the provinces of Sakarya and Düzce) and in regions of the county of İspir (Erzurum province), where clusters of their villages exist in close proximity to each other, there is little semblance of an isolated community life for the Hemshinli outside the eastern Black Sea region, which places at risk the survival of the Hemshin and of their culture.

Appendix 7.1

The translation of the Turkish Interior Ministry directive regarding the village and village quarter name substitution for the Trabzon province as reproduced in Altay Yiğit’s book on Çaykara and its folklore (p. 6; see n. 129).

Republic of Turkey
Interior Ministry
IV. Ld. Directorate General
Directorate of 2nd Branch
No: 22105/7304

Summary: Regarding the
renaming of villages with
foreign names

Attachment: Dossier

To the Provincial Government of Trabzon

PERSONAL

This is in response to correspondences dated 31/10/1941 and 29/12/1956 from the Secretariat of the Permanent Commission number 100/4709 and the Secretariat of Correspondences number 4554/278:

1 – All of the village names within the jurisdictional subdivisions of your province have been studied, and having taken into consideration the village name vouchers sent for this purpose, those villages carrying foreign names have been changed by a commission of experts formed at our Ministry.

For this purpose, village name lists prepared in accordance with jurisdictional subdivisions of the province have been sent in a special dossier consisting of 31 individually sealed pages.

2 – This list consists of 36 pages and contains village and quarter names of confusing, foreign origin along with their newly Turkified names, as well as those village quarter names that were retained on account of their being Turkish; it was approved by the OFFICE OF THE MINISTRY [original emphasis – HH] on 3/3/1964.

(Official seal)
(identical to the original)

The original text:

T.C.
DAHİLİYE VEKÂLETİ
VI. Ld. G. M.
2. Ş. M.
Sayı: 22105/7304

Özü: Yabancı ad taşıyan
köylerin adlarının
değiştirildiği H.

Ek: Dosya

Trabzon Valiliğine

ZATA MAHSUS

31/10/1941, 29/12/1956 gün ve Daîmî Encümen Kalemi 100/4709; Yazı İşleri Kalemi 4554/278 sayılı yazılarınızın karşılığıdır:

1 – Vilâyetiniz idarî taksimatına dahil bütün köylerin adları, bu hususta gönderilen köy esamî fişleri de nazara alınarak, Vekâletimizde teşkil edilmiş bulunan ihtisas komisyonunca tetkik edilmiş olup, bunlardan yabancı ad taşıyan köylerin adları değiştirilmiştir.

Bu maksatla ve Vilâyetin idarî taksimatına göre hazırlanan köy esamî listeleri, her sahife mühürlenmek suretile, (31) sahifeden ibaret olarak, mahsus bir dosya içerisinde gönderilmiştir.

2 – Trabzon ilinin, yabancı olan ve iltibasa yer veren köyü [sic] mahalleleri adlarının Türkçeleştiren yeni adlarını ve Türkçe olduğu için alakonan [sic] eski mahalle adlarını ihtiva eden ve (36) sayfadan ibaret olan işbu liste 3/3/1964 tarihinde BAKANLIK MAKAMINCA [original emphasis – HH] onanmıştır.

Resmî mühür
Aslının aynıdır [sic]

Appendix 7.2

Translation of Minister of War Enver Pasha's directive regarding the wholesale substitution of toponyms as reproduced in Ayhan Yüksel's article on 'Attempts at

Revision of Place Names and the Administrative Structure in the Province of Trabzon' (p. 209; see n. 121).

Secreteriat of the Istanbul Province

Copy

1. It has been decided to convert into Turkish all names of provinces, sancaks, towns, villages, mountains, rivers . . . etc., all names in Ottoman realms that are currently derived from Armenian, Greek, and Bulgarian, in short, from the languages of non-Muslim [nations]. I ask your assistance in realizing this objective in order to swiftly take advantage of this opportune moment.

2. In the first place, let the leadership of the law enforcement bodies and the military get together with the civil servants of each jurisdiction to prepare the substitution lists in the first place and dispatch them in installments to the administrative headquarters at the vilayet, sancak, and kaza centres. After deliberation and scrutiny to alter those names that are very similar to each other, the lists gathered will be sent to the Interior and Postal ministries for circulation and execution.

3. It is imperative that the new names always embody pride for our military past in order to establish examples and high standards. Those places exposed to instances of war past or present must be able to evoke the glorious events peculiar to that locality; and if this is not the case, now deceased, honorable individuals of beneficial service to the country must be memorialized; in other cases, names recalling the abundant and renowned produce, industry, and commerce or befitting the position and geography of the locality must be found. In short, when school teachers instruct their students on the geography of every corner of our homeland, they should be able to identify beneficial subjects about the glorious past, the produce, the crafts, and the commerce of each locality in its name. Additionally, the natural abilities of the population should be taken into consideration, and accordingly, care should be taken to find suitable names because a hasty replacement of these foreign names that have somehow taken root in the language with words that are phonetically altogether dissimilar will open the way for errors and cause the lingering of the old names in their original forms among the populace. For instance, if it is impossible to find names according to the principle described above, in all likelihood no injustice to old habits would be caused by substituting 'Erekli' or 'Eraklı' for Ereğli and 'Velibolu' for 'Gelibolu'.

Vice-Commander-in-Chief

Enver

23 December 1915

The original text in modern Turkish transliteration as it appeared in the article:

İstanbul Vilâyeti
Mektupçuluğu
Sûret

1. Memâlik-i Osmâniyye’de Ermenice, Rumca veya Bulgarca, hâsılı İslâm olmayan milletler lisaniyle yâd edilen vilâyet, sancak, kasaba, köy, dağ, nehir...ilâ-âhir bi’l cümle isimlerin Türkçe’ye tahvîli mukarrerdir. Şu müsâid zamânımızdan sûretle istifade edilerek bu maksadın mevki’-i fi’le konması husûsunda himmetinizi recâ ederim.

2. Mintikanız dâhilindeki ahz u asker rüesâsı ve me’mûrin-i mülkiyye ile birleşerek bu tahvîlâtı müş’ir cedvelleri tertib etsinler ve evvel-emirde vilâyet, sancak, kazâ merkezlerinden başlayıp biten cedvelleri pey-der-pey karârgâh-ı umûmiyye göndersinler. Toplanan cedvellerde tedkikât-ı icrâ ve yekdiğerine çok benzeyen isimler bi’l-muhâbere tebdîl olunduktan sonra bunlar Dâhiliye ve Posta Nezâretlerine ta’mîm ve tatbîk edilmesi için gönderilecektir.

3. Yeni konacak isimlerin daima çalışmakta ibret ve mi’yâr olacak tarihi mefâhir-i askeriyyemizi şâmil olması müstelzemdir. Gerek şimdi ve gerek evvelce vekayi’-i harbiyyeye ma’ruz kalmış olan mevkiler oraya mahsûs şanlı geçen hâdisatı hatırlamalı ve bu vâki’ değilse en namuslu ve memleketine nâfi’ hizmetlerde bulunup da vefât etmiş zâtların isimleri zikredilmeli veyahut mevki’in dâima mebzûl ve ma’rûf olan mahsulât, sanâyi’ ve ticâretine dâima sâbit kalacak vaz’iyyet ve şekl-i coğrâfiyesine yakışan isimler bulunmalı ve’l-hâsıl mekteb hocaları talebelerine coğrafya öğrettikleri sırada vatanımızın her parçasını zikr ederken onlara aynı zamanda her mevki’in şanlı tarihine, iklim, mahsûl, san’at ve ticâretine aid fâideli mevzûlar bulabilmelidirler. Bir de ötedenberi yabancı da olsa nasılsa lisanen ülfet edilmiş isimlerin birden bire başka lâfzen hiç de müşâbeheti olmayan isimlerle tahvîli hem bazı yanlışlıklara hem de alâ-hâlihî ahâli ağzında eski isimlerin dolaşmasını mûcib olacağından ahâlinin kâbiliyet-i fitriyyesi nazar-ı mülâhazaya alınmalı ve ona göre isim bulmağa i’tinâ edilmelidir. Meselâ; bu zikr edilen esas dahilinde isim bulmak kabil olmaz ise ‘Ereğli’ye ‘Erekli’ veyahut ‘Eraklı’, ‘Gelibolu’ya ‘Velibolu’ demekle herhalde ülfet-i sâbika ihlâl edilmemiş olur.

Başkumandan Vekili
Enver

23 Kanûn-ı evvel 331
[1331 – HH]

Appendix 7.3

Hemshinli villages and their populations by province

The list below does not reflect the total numerical strength of the Hemshinli; nor does it necessarily provide their precise count for any given village or entire province. The Turkish censuses do not enumerate the Hemshinli separately. Therefore, their dispersion from their original villages to areas of western Turkey makes them virtually untraceable. Another obstacle is that some of their villages contain more than one ethnic group – even their nearly mono-ethnic villages may have a few non-Hemshinli spouses, school teachers, health personnel and other government officials. Nevertheless, the following compilation does establish a

rough minimum population total (which is much larger than most countrywide estimates in earlier publications) and does provide a basis for a reasonable estimate of the dispersed majority. It also helps to illustrate migration patterns from the eastern Black Sea region.

This list does not usually contain figures for the large urban centres across Turkey, including the city of Rize where the Hemshinli reside in large numbers in Çorapçılar (ex-Sarahor?), Tophane (ex-Babik), and other quarters. There are also a number of villages across Rize that require further scrutiny to identify if they contain significant numbers of Hemshinli in them. They are not listed here.

Eastern Black Sea Provinces

RİZE PROVINCE

ARDEŞEN COUNTY: The Hemshinli inhabit seven of its thirty-seven villages, sometimes together with Lazi, who form a majority in the county. No estimates are available for the town of Ardeşen or its Elmalık mahalle, where Hemshinli are also known to live. The village of Yurtsever did not exist as a separate settlement prior to the 1970 census; likewise, the villages of Akdere and Serindere are newly created.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1997 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>1965 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>
Akdere	151	—	—	Khocibati
Armağan	454	1,026	891	Salinköy
Beyazkaya	257	221	186	Serapi, Ağeni (?)
Serindere	77	—	—	Çaskuri
Yamaçdere	526	884	717	Bakoz
Yeniyol	443	496	555	Öce
Yurtsever	188	255	—	Zenimos
Total	2,096	2,882	2,349	

ÇAMLIHEMŞİN COUNTY: A few Lazi and others live in its twenty Hemshinli settlements. However, the other six villages of this region are home to several thousand Lazi who outnumber the Hemshinli in the county. The latter become a majority during summertime when thousands of expatriates come to spend their vacations in their villages of origin. Boğaziçi and Ortan did not exist as separate settlements in the 1965 census. The latter was a full-fledged village in the nineteenth century.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1997 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>1965 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>
Aşağı Şimşirli	115	569	483	Canotdobira, Conottobra
Boğaziçi	49	216	—	Bogiva, Tumaslı mahalles
Çamlıhemşin	2,008	1,903	2,306	Incl. Makrevis, Khabak/ Kavak (Sirdenkadan), Sirt, Upper and Lower Viçe mahalles

(Continued)

(Continued)

<i>New name</i>	<i>1997 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>1965 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>
Çat	10	100	97	Tap?
Güroluk	90	299	293	Livikçakışlı
Hisarcık	7	58	72	Kala-i Bâlâ
Kaplıca	146	212	303	Kholco
Meydan	22	217	174	Meydan Kapuca?
Ortaklar	49	137	50	Yukarı Hemşin, Başhemşin? ¹³²
Ortan	26	168	—	Ortnets
Ortayayla	6	111	36	Ortahemşin
Sıraköy	8	98	212	Aşağı Hemşin, Başhemşin?
Şenköy	14	152	179	Amokta
Şenyuva	96	553	519	Cinciva/Çinçiva
Ülkü	96	587	596	Mollaveys/Molevits
Yaylaköy	0	9	17	Elevit/Eghnovit
Yazlık	3	31	43	Varoş
Yolkıy	81	471	548	Kuşiva
Yukarı Şimşirli	122	344	370	Kismenmelivor
Zilkale	17	167	182	Kala-i Zîr/Kolona
Total	2,965	6,402	6,480	

ÇAYELİ COUNTY, CENTRAL DISTRICT: Hemshinli live in at least twelve of its thirty-four villages. Most of the villages below are in the Aşıklar Valley, which extends to the sea via the Çataklıhoca and Yalı mahalles (the former villages of Kavalyoz and Galata) of the town of Çayeli. These two settlements were separate Hemshinli villages in the past, but are now quarters of the town of Çayeli. Other Hemshinli mahalles are believed to exist in the town, for which there is no separate Hemshinli population figure available. Şirinköy (Lesser Arpik), Erdemli, Köprübaşı, Sirt, Yeşilırmak, Çınartepe and Zafer are probably Hemshinli too but are not included in the totals below due to lack of corroborating data. A number of villages below did not exist as individual settlements in earlier censuses.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1997 census¹³³</i>	<i>1990 census¹³⁴</i>	<i>1970 census¹³⁵</i>	<i>1965 census¹³⁶</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>
Abdullahhoca	259	388	385	—	Asrifos/Asferos/Arsevos
Aşıklar	1,003	1,179	1,244	1,165	Asrifos/Asferos/Arsevos
Çilingir	496	740	744	616	—
Demirhisar	529	911	1,054	887	Perkam
Düzgeçit	175	398	—	—	Medzdap
Erenler	221	432	728	896	—
Kaçkar	205	156	—	—	—
Kestanelik	175	430	315	279	Abancernoz?, Miloz?
Madenli	3,530	3,500	2,292	1,783	Ladom
Musadağı	350	568	762	946	Arpik
Sefalı	446	689	670	574	Miloz, Kesmetaş
Yavuzlar	121	181	—	—	—
Total	7,510	9,572	8,194	7,146	

ÇAYELİ COUNTY, BÜYÜKKÖY DISTRICT: Hemshinli reside in at least three of its nine settlements. These villages, except Gürgenli, used to form a single settlement called Raşot. Other villages may also have Hemshinli residing in them.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1997 census</i>	<i>1990 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>1965 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>
Çeşmeli	279	554	928	800	Raşot Ortaköy (including Piboslu, Karer, Saladop mahalles)
Gürgenli	441	723	1,006	889	Partal
Karaağaç	371	674	992	867	Raşot (including Boğoslu and Tumaslı mahalles)
Total	1,091	1,951	2,926	2,556	

ÇAYELİ COUNTY, KAPTANPAŞA DISTRICT: Its twelve settlements are nearly all Hemshinli. Başköy and Gürpınar did not exist as separate settlements in the 1965 census. However, Başköy was a full-fledged village in the nineteenth century.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1997 census</i>	<i>1990 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>1965 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>
Başköy	61	224	431	—	Hemşin Başköy
Buzlupınar	548	<i>omitted</i>	1,118	1,465	Kaminos, Soğuksu
Çataldere	290	465	867	653	Gağunç/Hoheneç/Hahoneç
Çukurluhoca	217	416	678	801	Babik
Gürpınar	194	320	529	—	Biberos
İncesu	85	143	169	143	Morbodam/Makribodam
Kaptanpaşa	625	930	1,016	881	Senoz, Mesahor
Ormancık	138	326	554	526	Çutınç, Çotnes/Cuntes?, Çötenes, Hopnes?
Seslidere	275	361	417	<i>omitted</i>	Sasten
Uzundere	84	219	469	444	Perastan/Berastan and Çağak
Yenice	141	364	501	445	Balahor, Karagöl
Yeşiltepe	286	527	657	623	Tolenits/Tolenic/Tolnos/Tolones?
Total	2,944	over 4,295	7,406	over 5,981	

FINDIKLI COUNTY: Mostly Hemshinli live in nine of its twenty-one villages, sometimes together with Lazi, who form the majority in the county. No estimates are available for the town of Fındıklı.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1997 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>1965 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>
Aslandere	384	442	<i>omitted</i>	Çukulit, Abuhemşin, Peynirciler
Beydere	527	690	559	Süpe
Çağlayan	510	834	781	Yukarı Abu

(Continued)

(Continued)

<i>New name</i>	<i>1997 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>1965 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>
Gürsu	266	462	447	Yukarı Piskhala/Beskhila Ulya
Ihlamurlu	407	712	682	Yukarı Zuğu
Meyvalı	285	889	874	Canpet
Sulak	315	668	642	Aşağı Zuğu
Yaylacılar	174	290	281	—
Yeniköy	247	429	430	Kurupit
Total	3,115	5,416	over 4,696	

HEMŞİN COUNTY: All of its nine settlements are Hemshinli. Hemşin Ortaköy is composed of the quarters of Mutlu (former Bodullu), Ortaköy (Zuğaortaköy), Yeniköy and Bahar (Badara), which were previously separate villages.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1997 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>1965 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>
Akyamaç	191	815	824	Tezina
Bilen	53	348	325	Tepan
Çamlıtepe	110	328	356	Nefsizuğa
Hemşin Ortaköy	2,766	<i>omitted</i>	2,674	Zuğaortaköy
Hilâl	47	212	237	Sağırılı
Kantarlı	92	448	453	—
Levent	176	364	—	Çoço
Nurluca	152	651	605	Sanova
Yaltkaya	183	652	636	Gumno
Total	3,770	over 3,818	6,110	

İKİZDERE COUNTY: Presumably most if not nearly all of İkizdere is Hemshinli, judging by the large number of Armenian family names. However, included below are only the ten villages for which there are direct references to Hemshin inhabitants. The former villages of Çağrankaya and Kirazlı (now quarters of the town of İkizdere) are Hemshinli, as is the town of İkizdere itself, which may be the elusive Hemshinli village of Yotı Para.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1997 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>1965 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>
Balıköy	15	391	445	Yukarı Anzer/Andzer
Başköy	62	332	380	Cimil, Demirdağ
Çamlık	349	696	678	Aşağı Köhser/Keoghtser
Çiçekli	31	400	126	Aşağı Anzer/Andzer
Gölyayla	62	577	741	Kabahor
Ilıca	427	1,327	1,240	Vane
Ortaköy	5	250	300	Cimil Paşaköy
Rüzgârlı	157	434	463	Manlı?, Mize?
Sivrikaya	117	360	427	Yukarı Köhser/Keoghtser
Yetimhoca	14	123	180	Cimil Aşağıköy, Güvenköy
Total	1,239	4,890	4,980	

PAZAR COUNTY: Mainly Hemshinli and some Lazi reside in fifteen of its forty-nine villages. No estimate is available for the town of Pazar, although at least one neighbourhood called the Gazi mahalle was formerly a separate Hemshin village called Hoşnişin. The 1970 census figures for Şendere and Tektaş are identical and hence suspect, as they used to be a single village. The Lazi villages of Balıkçı, Darılı, Hisarlı, Kaygantaş, Örnek, Şehitlik and Yücehisar are also thought to contain some Hemshinli, but this requires further scrutiny. The Lazi form a majority in the county.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1997 census</i>	<i>1980 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>1965 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>
Akbucak	210	480	755	760	Melmanat
Akmescit	367	534	668	558	Cacivat
Başköy	359	641	904	822	—
Bucak	193	540	399	364	Acaba
Derinsu	229	423	475	400	Zağnat
Elmalık	359	674	943	830	Kuzika
Kocaköprü	629	880	986	886	Hotri, Abdoğlu
Kuzayca	315	519	560	489	Surminat
Ortayol	127	224	544	514	Meleskur
Subaşı	418	269	963	864	Haçapit/Khaçaptit
Suçatı	529	970	1,090	920	Apso
Şendere	186	465	450	—	Bogina
Şentepe	47	106	226	297	Gulivat
Tektaş	294	465	429	744	Bogina
Uğrak	43	175	403	421	Cingit
Total		under			
	4,305	7,365	9,795	8,869	

ARTVIN PROVINCE

The eastern Hemshinli are concentrated in Hopa and Borçka counties, although some may be found scattered in the city of Artvin, and in the counties of Ardanuç (the village of Irmaklar-Hemşin is mentioned in one source)¹³⁷ and Murgul. There may be a few western Hemshinli in the county of Arhavi.

BORÇKA COUNTY, CENTRAL DISTRICT: Three out of its eighteen villages contain mostly Lazi and an unknown number of Hemshinli. The Georgians form a majority in the country.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1997 census</i>	<i>1990 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>
Çifteköprü	560	764	588	Tsurkhinci
Demirciler	1,075	1,753	1,714	Mamanat
Düzköy	1,121	1,213	981	Çkhala
Total	2,756	3,730	3,283	

BORÇKA COUNTY, MURATLI (MARADİT) DISTRICT: Four out of its eight villages contain mostly Lazi and an unknown number of Hemshinli. Yeşilköy was newly established at the time of the 1970 census.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1997 census</i>	<i>1990 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>
Çaylıköy	479	924	815	—
Güreşen	1,742	2,534	2,632	Beğlevan
Şerefiye	311	659	674	—
Yeşilköy	57	291	—	Manastır?
Total	2,589	4,408	4,121	

HOPA COUNTY, CENTRAL DISTRICT: Hemshinli live in twelve of its seventeen villages, sometimes along with some Lazi and others. The town of Hopa had 4,688 people in 1970, and at that time most of them were probably non-Hemshinli. That seems to have changed in light of subsequent immigration from mostly Hemshin villages into the town, the population of which swelled to 11,507 in 1990, 13,811 in 1997 and 15,447 in 2000. Çimenli and Güneşli were newly established at the time of the 1970 census, and their figures were included in other villages.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1997 census</i>	<i>1990 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>
Balıkköy	174	339	341	—
Başoba	879	1,247	372	Khigi/Higoba
Çavuşlu	770	742	664	—
Çimenli	429	459	—	—
Eşmekaya	455	490	1,067	Ardala
Güneşli	183	363	—	Zargina
Güvercinli	197	310	312	Büce
Hendek	395	593	534	Garci/Gvarci
Koyuncular	860	1,018	730	Zaluna
Pınarlı	211	289	263	Añcorokh
Subaşı	359	451	337	İskaristi
Yoldere	647	856	751	Zurbici
Total	5,559	7,157	5,371	

HOPA COUNTY, KEMALPAŞA DISTRICT: Hemshinli live in twelve villages out of thirteen alongside Lazi and some others. Akdere and Gümüşdere were formerly part of the village of Karaosmaniye.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1997 census</i>	<i>1990 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>
Kemalpaşa	3,742	2,658	1,215	Makrial
Akdere	182	—	—	—
Çamurlu	647	669	450	Çaңcakhana
Dereçi	168	218	329	Malinoğlu/ Manelogli
Gümüşdere	224	—	—	—
Karaosmaniye	214	919	675	—
Kaya	631	944	781	Şana
Kazımiye	281	376	241	—

(Continued)

<i>New name</i>	<i>1997 census</i>	<i>1990 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>
Köprücü	967	1,314	1,296	—
Osmaniye	480	699	663	—
Sarp	447	749	383	—
Üçkardeş	189	215	203	Sumcuma
Total	8,172	8,761	6,236	

Western Black Sea Provinces

These settlements came into being less than 150 years ago. The listing covers both eastern (Hopa) and western (Rize) Hemshin villages.

DÜZCE PROVINCE

There are reportedly some Hemshinli in the counties of Gümüşova and Konuralp, but their place of origin is not given.

AKÇAKOCA COUNTY: Three of its forty-three villages are mostly Hemshinli.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1990 census</i>	<i>1965 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>	<i>Place of origin</i>
Hemşin	408	424	Armutlu	Bash Hemshin
Karatavuk	373	557	—	Hopa Hemshin
Yenice	327	413	—	Hopa Hemshin
Total	1,108	1,394		

CENTRAL COUNTY, CENTRAL DISTRICT: Hemshinli live in only one out of its ninety-seven villages and in the mahalle of Aziziye (not included in the list).

<i>New name</i>	<i>1990 census</i>	<i>1965 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>	<i>Place of origin</i>
Karadere	620	450	—	Both Bash and Hopa Hemshin
Total	620	450		

BURSA PROVINCE

İZNİK COUNTY: Hemshinli live in one out of its thirty-nine villages.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1990 census</i>	<i>1965 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>	<i>Place of origin</i>
Elmalı	780	829	—	Undetermined
Total	780	829		

SAKARYA PROVINCE

There are reportedly some Hopa Hemshinli in the central county and possibly some Hemshinli of undetermined origin in the town of Geyve.

KARASU COUNTY: Hemshinli live in two out of its thirty villages.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1990 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>	<i>Place of origin</i>
Ortaköy	896	504	Yenidağ	Hopa Hemshin
Paralı	427	405	—	Bash Hemshin
Total	1,323	909		

KOCAALİ COUNTY, CENTRAL DISTRICT: Hemshinli live in four out of its fifteen villages.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1990 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>	<i>Place of origin</i>
Açmabaşı	561	617	—	Hopa Hemshin
Karapelit	404	506	—	Hopa Hemshin
Kestanepınarı	1,232	934	—	Both Bash and Hopa Hemshin
Kovukpelit	1,344	1,540	Kegham	Bash Hemshin (with some Hopa Hemshin?)
Total	3,541	3,597		

KOCAALİ COUNTY, LAHANA DISTRICT: Hemshinli live in two out of its nine settlements.

<i>New name</i>	<i>1990 census</i>	<i>1970 census</i>	<i>Old/other name</i>	<i>Place of origin</i>
Aktaş	807	596	—	Both Bash Hemshin and Hopa Hemshin
Lahana	1,929	2,008	—	Hopa Hemshin
Total	2,736	2,604		

Acknowledgements

This chapter pertains principally to the Muslim descendants of Hamshen Armenians. Those remaining Christian, referred to here as Hamshen Armenians or Hamshents'i, are addressed only in terms of their interaction with the Hemshinli or comparisons between the two. Thanks are due to Bert Vaux and Robert Krikorian for reading this chapter and to Hovann Simonian for graciously supplying me with some rare sources.

Notes

- 1 Hemshin was usually part of the Batum sancak, itself part of the Trabzon *eyalet* (an equivalent of *vilayet* or province). At some point during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, the centre of the *eyalet* moved to Batum, leading in turn to a change in the name of the province to the Batum *eyalet*. Similarly, the Batum sancak was sometimes called the Gönye sancak when its governor resided in the latter town. To complicate matters further, Batum and Gönye were sometimes made into separate sancaks. Orhan Kılıç, 'XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Trabzon Eyaleti'nin İdarî Taksimatı ve Tevcihati', in *Cumhuriyeti'nin 75. ve Osmanlı Devletinin 700. Yılında Trabzon Tarihi İlmi Toplantısı (6–8 Kasım 1998): Bildiriler*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, Kenan İnan, Hikmet Öksüz and Abdullah Saydam (Trabzon: Trabzon Belediyesi Kültür Müdürlüğü/Türk Ocakları Trabzon Şubesi, 1999), pp. 180–82.
- 2 M. Hanefi Bostan, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Trabzon Sancağında Sosyal ve İktisadî Hayat* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002), pp. 40 and 48–49; Yücel Özkaya, 'XVIII. Yüzyılda Trabzon'un Genel Durumu', in *Birinci Tarih Boyunca Karadeniz Kongresi Bildirileri, 13–17 Ekim 1986*, ed. Mehmet Sağlam *et al.* (Samsun: Eser Matbaası, 1988), p. 134.
- 3 Alexandre Toumarkine, *Les Lazes en Turquie (XIX^e-XX^e siècles)* (Istanbul: Isis, 1995), p. 10. The Lazistan liva was in turn part of the Trabzon province. Liva is an equivalent of sancak. Tuncer Baykara, *Anadolu'nun Tarihi Coğrafyasına Giriş*, vol. 1, *Anadolu'nun İdarî Taksimatı* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1988), pp. 30, 32, 249 and 251. In this important source for Ottoman territorial subdivisions, the blame for the ethnically labelled Lazistan liva and sancak – created and named so only from 1850 on according to the author – is laid at the door of Ottoman reformists who heeded 'the advice of European experts', implying that this was a case of European encouragement of ethnic separatism (pp. 122–26 and 159–60).
- 4 An autonomous coastal Theme of Lazia existed during the period of the Empire of Trebizond. The two Laz districts of Ottoman times, the first making up Atina (Pazar including Ardeşen) and the second the Arhavi-Hopa areas, could be considered the successors of the Theme of Lazia. As shown by the Trabzon salnames of the nineteenth century, the borders of these two districts remained basically identical over 300 years later. In addition, a small subunit called the Laz nahiye contained today's county of Arhavi under early Ottoman rule. Anthony Bryer and David Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1985), p. 335; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, 'XVI. Yüzyıl Başlarında Trabzon Livası ve Doğu Karadeniz Bölgesi', *Belleten* (Ankara, 1962), 26, no. 102, pp. 324–25; Toumarkine (1995), p. 8.
- 5 Baykara (1988), pp. 130–31.
- 6 See *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, edited and transliterated from Ottoman Turkish by Kudret Emiroğlu, vol. 1, 1869 (Ankara: Trabzon İli ve İlçeleri Eğitim, Kültür ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Vakfı, 1993), p. 145; vol. 2, 1870 (1993), p. 185; vol. 12, 1881 (1999), p. 177; vol. 13, 1888 (2002), p. 617.
- 7 The transfer of Rize to Lazistan must have taken place in 1880 or 1881. The official Trabzon yearbook (*Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*) for 1881 mentions that Rize was part of the Lazistan sancak at that date, but the change had not yet been integrated into the statistics presented in the volume, an indication that the administrative change was still recent. *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 12, 1881 (1999), pp. 269–71 vs. 361.
- 8 Toumarkine (1995), p. 10.
- 9 The definitions of terms such as vilayet, kaza, and nahiye did not remain static over the centuries; the term sancak appeared later than the rest but disappeared earlier, at the start of the twentieth century.
- 10 Gökbilgin (1962), pp. 322–23 provides the names of the nahiyes of Hemshin at the beginning of the sixteenth century but does not locate them. In his otherwise

excellent article on Hamshen, Robert Edwards refers to the Gökbilgin article above and subsequently makes some mistaken assumptions about the constituent parts of Hemshin. He errs by placing Eksanos 'west of Ziam Dağ' and by assimilating the nahiye of Hemşin to Çamlıhemşin 'on the Pazar Dere'. Robert W. Edwards, 'Hamşen: An Armenian Enclave in the Byzanto-Georgian Pontos. A Survey of Literary and Nonliterary Sources', *Le Muséon* (Louvain, 1988), 101, nos. 3–4, p. 416. The five quarters of the town of Çamlıhemşin are the last settlements west of Mt. Ziam. The town of Çamlıhemşin is a conglomeration of five villages (now quarters of the town) and did not exist fifty years ago. Further, the town of Çamlıhemşin is not on the Pazar River but on the Fırtına. Edwards' mistake stems from the fact that the administrative centre of Hemshin moved between today's counties of Hemşin and Çamlıhemşin during Ottoman times. Thus, for several decades in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, the administrative centre of Hemshin was indeed in Hemşin Ortaköy, located on the Pazar Dere, and not on the Fırtına Dere (i.e. in today's Çamlıhemşin county). *Rize 1973 İl Yıllığı* (Ankara: Tisa Matbaası), p. 54. The duplication of village names in the area is very evident and causes confusion. Both the Kaptanpaşa district and Çamlıhemşin county contain a village called Hemşin Başköy. Furthermore, Çamlıhemşin and Hemşin each have settlements called Ortaköy, while Kaptanpaşa itself was until recently called Mesahor, the equivalent of Ortaköy in Greek.

- 11 Records for 1554 show a fourth nahiye, Kuşiva (apparently a short-lived one), presumably comprising the lower and middle Fırtına Valley, and perhaps the Hala Dere as well. Bostan (2002), p. 40.
- 12 This information is provided by Baykara who does not say, however, when exactly during that century Hemshin and Eksanos were separate nahiyes. Baykara (1988), p. 212.
- 13 Karl Koch, *Wanderungen im Oriente während der Jahre 1843 und 1844*, vol. 2, *Reise im pontischen Gebirge und türkische Armenien* (Weimar: Landes Industrie Comptoirs, 1846), p. 23; Toumarkine (1995), p. 9; Levon Khach'ikyan, 'Ėjer Hamshinahay Patmut'yunits'' [Pages from the History of Hamshen Armenians], *Banber Erevani Hamalsarani* [*Bulletin of Erevan University*] (1969), no. 2 (8), p. 121.
- 14 An administrative official below the rank of *mütesellim*. See Baykara (1988), p. 38. This term of Balkan origin is often used as an equivalent to *derebey* or 'valley lord' in Turkish. *Ayan* was the lowest rank among official titles. Karl Koch calls the rulers of Hamshen and İspir *voyvod*. H. Hakovbos V. Tashian, *Tayk', Drats'ik ew Khotorjur: Patmakan-Teghagrakan Usumnasirut'iwn* [*Tayk, Neighbours and Khotorjur: Historico-Geographical Study*], vol. 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1980), p. 3.
- 15 Toumarkine (1995), p. 9; Khach'ikyan is off the mark in placing Ortaköy (Hemşin Ortaköy/Zuğaortaköy) by the Mapavri River (Senoz Dere) instead of Ortaköy/Zuğa Dere (i.e. Pazar or Hemşin Dere). Khach'ikyan (1969), p. 121. In addition, Raymond Kévorkian and Paul Paboudjian are mistaken in equating Ortaköy with Marmanat. Raymond H. Kévorkian and Paul B. Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire ottoman à la veille du Génocide* (Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire ARHIS, 1992), p. 204.
- 16 *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 8, 1876 (1995), pp. 341 and 375–77; and vol. 9, 1877 (1995), pp. 283 and 316–19.
- 17 G. Jäschke, 'Die grösseren Verwaltungsbezirke der Türkei seit 1918', *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen. Zweite Abteilung: Westasiatische Studien* (Berlin, 1935), 38, pp. 87 and 95.
- 18 The Fırtına Valley was made into a nahiye of Ardeşen named Çamlıca in 1953. In 1957, the town of Çamlıca was constituted by the merging of several villages around the village of Viçealtı (Lower Viçe). The formation of the town allowed the transformation of the nahiye into the higher-ranking ilçe (county) in 1960 under the name of

- Çamlıhemşin. Dâhiliye Vekâleti Nüfus Müdüriyeti Neşriyatı, *Son Teşkilat-ı Mülkiyede Köylerimizin Adları* (Istanbul: Hilâl Matbaası, 1928), p. 620 (henceforth, *Son Teşkilat-ı Mülkiyede Köylerimizin Adları*); *Rize 1967 İl Yıllığı* (Ankara: Önder Matbaa, 1968), pp. 59–63; *Rize 1973 İl Yıllığı* (Ankara: Tisa Matbaası, 1973), pp. 31–37 and 51–54.
- 19 See e.g. *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 7, 1875 (1995), p. 259.
- 20 *Artvin 1973 İl Yıllığı* (Ankara: Mars Matbaası, 1973), p. 61.
- 21 *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 9, 1877 (1995), pp. 307–9 and 323. Geographically, Makrial and Hopa each have a separate valley system, and there has been no change in the allotment of villages between the two for well over a century.
- 22 See the contributions by Sergey Vardanyan and Igor V. Kuznetsov on the Hemshin in the former Soviet Union in the forthcoming second volume of *The Hemshin*.
- 23 Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 5.
- 24 In what is the first substantive work on Hamshen in the English language, Robert W. Edwards summarizes the medieval historical accounts, especially those of Ghewond and Yovhannēs Mamikonian, on the origins of the settlement; see Edwards (1988).
- 25 A good source of village quarter names in Armenian for the county of Hemşin is the collective booklet prepared by M. Ali Sakaoğlu *et al.* (eds), *Cumhuriyetimizin 75. Yılı Kutlamaları Çerçevesinde 1. Hemşin Bal, Kültür ve Turizm Şenlikleri, 22–23 Ağustos 1998* (Ankara: Hemşin Hizmet Vakfı, 1998). One can find in it names such as Bagenli, Ser, Pazapun, Eğmut, Karap, Ağurtepesi and Papager. There is a larger settlement called Karap (now Yedigöze) in the neighbouring province of Erzurum, in the county of İspir.
- 26 Many minor toponyms have been listed by Uwe Bläsing in *Armenisch – Türkisch: Etymologische Betrachtungen ausgehend von Materialien aus dem Hemşingebiet nebst einigen Anmerkungen zum Armenischen, insbesondere dem Hemşindialekt* (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1995), pp. 124–36; and in *Armenisches Lehngut im Türkei-türkischen: Am Beispiel von Hemşin* (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1992), p. 111; see also his Chapter 11 (this volume). Rüdiger Benninghaus provides some toponyms in ‘Zur Herkunft und Identität der Hemşinli’, in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, ed. Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rüdiger Benninghaus (Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989), pp. 479 n. 16 and 482 n. 38. Other examples may be found scattered in various sources, such as Galinoğ ‘threshing-place ridge’, Ardidak ‘place below the sowing field’, and Enguzut ‘walnut grove’ (supplied by an informant); Taşte yayla (<western Armenian tashtë ‘the field’, ‘the plain’), in Turgut Günay, *Rize İli Ağızları: İnceleme-Metinler-Sözlük* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı/Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1978), p. 254. See Plate 6.1 for stream and yayla names. Benninghaus’ article (noted above) has been by far the most informative and incisive source on the Hemshinli among non-Armenian publications.
- 27 Nazmi Arıcı, *Altaylar’dan Kaçkarlar’a Hemşin* (Istanbul: Elif Yayınları, 2004), p. 62. Even though it is unlikely, local tradition claims that the migration to the Asferos Valley started some 800 years ago. According to local folklore, the village of Aşıklar was the first settlement in that valley, established some 800 years ago and first inhabited by individuals known as Murat, Hugos (presumably Ghugas) and Kosta. The latter name is noteworthy as that part of the county was Greek speaking before the Armenians came. It is said that there is a ruined church in the village. ‘Aşıklar Köyü’, online, available <<http://www.cayelidernegi.com/mahalle/asiklar.htm>> (accessed 2 October 2003).
- 28 Halim Diker, ‘Marsis’in Taş Basamakları Abu Viçe (Çağlayan Vadisi)’, *Atlas: Aylık Coğrafya ve Keşif Dergisi* (Istanbul, 2002), no. 107, p. 35.
- 29 There are rarely direct motorways between any two highland areas. Today, the fastest way to travel from one valley to the other is to take a motor vehicle to the coast, then take the coastal road to the mouth of the valley, and finally to proceed up the valley.
- 30 Thirty-four villages are listed for the early 1520s in defter no. 387. The inherent difficulty in transliterating Armenian into Turkish and the intricacies in deciphering

- Ottoman Turkish handwriting contribute to the deformation of some names. The villages names are as follows: in the Hemşin nahiye, Aşılovih, Arovih, Aşodovih, Hala, Müsellemân-Andervâd, Müsellemân-Monvih, Müsellemânlar, Nahiye-i Kuş-ova (now Yolkiyi), Çinçiva (now Şenyuva), Nikorid, Pendavih, Sodsu, Viçna (probably Viçe mahalles of present) and Zuğa (probably current Hemşin Ortaköy); in the Kara-Hemşin nahiye, Askarakih, Baş, Bolvaç, Cimil, Çat, Makri-Toma, Molahiş, Ogovid, Tap/Tat, Varoş and Vartor; in the Eksanos nahiye, Balahor, Çivtniz (now Ormancık), Hahonç (now Çataldere), Holvalı, Kağından, Mesahor (now Kaptanpaşa), Meydân, Müsellemân-Komanos (probably current Buzlupınar) and Nolanih. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, *387 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Karaman ve Rûm Defteri (937/1530)*, vol. 2 (Ankara: Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Bakanlığı, 1997), pp. 155–59 (henceforth, *387 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Karaman ve Rûm*).
- 31 Ali Gündüz, *Hemşinliler: Dil-Tarih-Kültür* (Ankara: Ardanuçlular Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği, 2002), p. 62.
 - 32 *387 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Karaman ve Rûm*, pp. 155–59; Bostan (2002), p. 222.
 - 33 In 1950 the villages in the Hemşin nahiye (today's Hemşin and Çamlıhemşin counties) numbered thirty, while Kaptanpaşa remained detached. *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 9, 1877 (1995), pp. 317–19; *Son Teşkilat-ı Mülkiyede Köylerimizin Adları*, p. 620; Abdullah Taymas, *Yeşil Rize ve İli* (Ankara: Doğu Matbaası, 1950), p. 36.
 - 34 Tashian (1980), vol. 2, pp. 65, 73–74 and 132. The Khala River hamlets along with today's yaylas of Palovit and Kavran further upstream must have made up the vichak of Khala. Edwards was the first to suggest that these vichaks were merely precincts or parishes. Edwards (1988), p. 413. For Khevak, see below. Other names with religious connotations include the village of Haçapit (< *khach* 'ap' 't'it' 'garden of the church', now Subaşı village in Pazar); the yaylas of Haçipos (< *Khach* 'ip' 'os' 'plain of the church' in Çayeli-Kaptanpaşa), Haçivanak (< *Khach* 'avank' '[Holy] Cross Monastery'), Meğvor (< *meghavor* 'sinner') and Kavran (see n. 31 above), Venek (now Örnek) village and Vanksi yayla (both probably deriving from *vank* 'monastery') in Çamlıhemşin; minor toponyms such as Kilise Sırtı (< Turkish 'church ridge') of Elevit, presumably around the monastic complex at Haçivanak. Benninghaus (1989), p. 482. From toponym indexes in Bläsing's volumes, we have examples such as Haçındag 'below the church', Haçinedev 'behind the church', nearly all of them in the Çamlıhemşin area; See Bläsing (1992 and 1995), as well as his Chapter 11 (this volume). Yalı mahalle of Çayeli has a Kilise Tepesi 'church hill'.
 - 35 See chapters 2 and 4 (this volume) by Hovann Simonian on the history of Hamshen prior to and during Islamicization.
 - 36 Probably derived from the Armenian *k'awaran* 'place of penance', 'purgatory'. A type of beehive is also called kavran in the region. The forms 'Kavrun' and 'Kavrin', also in currency, are corruptions of yet another version, 'Kavron', which itself is the result of the sound shift from 'a' to 'o' before the consonants of 'm' and 'n' – a feature uniformly found in the variegated subdialects among the Hamshen groups. Hrach'eay Acharian, *K'nnut'yun Hamsheni Barbari* [Study of the Hamshen Dialect] (Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 1947), pp. 22–24 and others. Another occurrence of the word is found in the last name of the once famous, Rize-born entertainment mogul Osman Kavran.
 - 37 Meaning 'valley of fog' in Armenian. In the early nineteenth century, Palovit was already described as a summer settlement used by Khala villagers and not a village inhabited year round. H. Ghukas Inchichian, *Ashkharhagrut' iwn Ch'orits' Masants' Ashkharhi: Asioy, Ewropioy, Ap'rikoy, ew Amerikoy* [Geography of the Four Parts of the World: Asia, Europe, Africa, and America], part 1, *Asia*, vol. 1, *Hayastan [Armenia]* (Venice: St Lazarus Monastery, 1806), pp. 397–98.
 - 38 The Turkish census of 1997 notes that the corporate status of the village is kept intact even though it has no permanent residents. Its houses are said to be well kept even after

- a major fire in the 1990s. Online, available <<http://www.byegm.gov.tr/yayinlarimiz/TURKHABER/92/T26.htm>> (accessed 24 August 2002). The Turkish census of 1970 had put its year-round inhabitation at only nine people. *Rize 1973 İl Yıllığı*, p. 58. Elevit has been in existence since at least 1500, as evidenced by a manuscript recorded there. Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 65.
- 39 Inchichian, pp. 396–97; Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 131; Benninghaus (1989), pp. 483–84.
- 40 A compound of *kale/qala* ‘a’ (< Turkish/Arabic ‘fort’) and *zîr* (< Persian ‘lower’); conversely, *bâlâ* (< Persian ‘upper’). Another name for the village is Ziyamet, derived from *zeamet* (< Turkish/Arabic ‘fief’), signifying a local centre of military administration in the past. İller İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, *Köylerimiz 1981*, vol. 1 (Ankara: TC İçişleri Bakanlığı/Yenigün Matbaası, 1982), p. 601 (henceforth, *Köylerimiz 1981*).
- 41 There is a reference to a priest named Grigor from Kushiva in a manuscript dating from 1504. Tashian (1980), vol. 2, pp. 67 and 68, n. 65.
- 42 There is some name similarity between Tambur and a yayla known as Tahpur or Tağpur, located in the heights of Kaptanpaşa.
- 43 Koch only saw the Sogorni yayla (Sogorni Jailanun Baschi), which he believed to be the summer residence of the inhabitants of a village named Sogorni. Yet no Sogorni village is attested in any source, and it is likely that it never existed, Sogorni being only the name of a yayla. Visiting the region some nine decades later, W. Rickmer Rickmers describes Sogorni as a yayla with ‘miserable stone huts’ near Mount Verçenik and the village of Başköy in Çamlıhemşin. Tashian believes Sogorni is identical to another village called Kch’an, but the two are most likely different settlements. *Deutsche Heereskarte*, plate C-XIV, shows a settlement called Kaçan where Tozluköy stands today. I am sceptical that Tozluköy (ex-Mahura) could be Kch’an. Koch (1846), vol. 2, pp. 24–25; Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 18; W. Rickmer Rickmers, ‘Lazistan and Ajaristan’, *Geographical Journal* (London, 1934), 84, p. 478.
- 44 M. Sanosian, ‘Speri Hnut’iwnnerë’ [Antiquities of Sper/İspir], *Arewelk’ [Orient]* (Constantinople, 1904), 21, no. 5579, 29 May, p. 1; Bryer and Winfield (1985), p. 353.
- 45 Khach’ikyan (1969), pp. 124–26; Edwards (1988), pp. 416–20. See also Chapter 2 by Hovann Simonian (this volume).
- 46 The people of Cimil still use the term Horum (< colloq. western Armenian *Horom* ‘Greek’) for the inhabitants of the city of Rize and other Hemshinli are also aware of its meaning. Nazlı Keçe and Cüneyt Oğuztüzün, ‘Yükseklerin Beyi Cimil Vadisi’, *Atlas: Aylık Coğrafya ve Keşif Dergisi* (Istanbul, 1999), no. 78, p. 48. There is a Horom Pass near the Palovit yayla.
- 47 *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 8, 1876 (1995), p. 341. The above-named villages are now known respectively as Yağcılar, Ayvalık, İhlamur, Gölyayla, Demirkapı, Tozköy and Diktaş. There are also some Greek-sounding family names like Paskaloğlu and Vasioloğlu in some of these villages. Özcan Soysal, ‘(Tapu Kayıtlarına Göre) 1872–1884 Yılları Arası Köylerimizdeki Akrabalar’, online, available <<http://f1.parsimony.net/forum789/messages/13044.htm>> (accessed 18 December 2003).
- 48 The Lapazalı Yatak yayla is mentioned in a recent article of *Atlas Magazine*. Oktay Uludağ and Cüneyt Oğuztüzün, ‘Anzer: Vadideki İksir’, *Atlas: Aylık Coğrafya ve Keşif Dergisi* (Istanbul, 2002), no. 111, p. 96.
- 49 See the discussion by Hovann Simonian on this topic in Chapter 2 (this volume).
- 50 See village listings in 387 *Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Karaman ve Rûm*, pp. 155–59.
- 51 Sargis Haykuni, ‘Nshkharner: Korats u Mořats’uats Hayer’ [Fragments: Lost and Forgotten Armenians], *Ararat* (Vagharshapat, 1895), no. 8, 1895, p. 296.
- 52 As its current name, İlica, suggests, there are hot springs nearby; see most Trabzon salnames and Mahmut Goloğlu, *Trabzon Tarihi: Fetihden Kurtuluşa Kadar* (Ankara: Kalite Matbaası, 1975), p. 226. For Kavkame and Manli, see the website on İkizdere, available <<http://www.ikizdere.8k.com>> (accessed 5 May 2002).
- 53 Özcan Yüksek *et al*, *Karadeniz Bölgesi: Artvin, Rize, Bayburt* (Istanbul: Atlas Dergisi Kartografya Servisi, 2001), Supplement to *Atlas: Aylık Coğrafya ve Keşif Dergisi*

- (Istanbul, 2001), no. 95. Turgut Günay notes that villagers of Çamlık own the yayla of Taşte (< western Armenian *tashtë* ‘the field’, ‘the plain’). Günay (1978), p. 254. Haykuni (1895 p. 296) records the mountain nearby as K’ēogh̃ts‘er, which is possibly the same as Köksor (< western Armenian *koktsor* ‘flat valley’) cited elsewhere. Note that many locals transcribe the ‘ts’ sound with the character ‘ç’ in Turkish.
- 54 See the article by Köksal Hapeloğlu, online, available <<http://www.ritur.com.tr/html/08.html>> (accessed 20 September 2002).
- 55 The village of Gürgen in Güneysu county has several households of recent Cimil origin, while some families from Cimil are scattered around Kalkandere county. Hamdi Alemdar, *Rize İli 100. Yıl Örnek Köyü: Cimil Rehberi* (Samsun?, n.d.), pp. 112–66. Venek (possibly derived from the Armenian *vank* ‘monastery’ – now Örnek) in Atina (Pazar), long inhabited by the Lazi and Turks, is attested as early as the 1500s, as noted by Gökbiğgin (1962), p. 324.
- 56 *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 9, 1877 (1995), p. 285.
- 57 Koch (1846), vol. 2, pp. 23–24.
- 58 Chris Hann, ‘Ethnicity, Language and Politics in North-east Turkey’, in *The Politics of Ethnic Consciousness*, ed. Cora Govers and Hans Vermeulen (London: Macmillan, 1997), p. 129; Ildikó Bellér-Hann and Chris Hann, *Turkish Region: State, Market and Social Identities on the East Black Sea Coast* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press, 2001), pp. 200–1, n. 8.
- 59 Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 6 n. 7. Fıçıtası mahalle is still the name by which this part of the town is known. İyidere’s status was elevated to that of a county in 1991. Liparit was recorded in the yearbook of the Trebizond province (*Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*) of 1876 as Liparit Ustupiler. The male appellation Liparit was borrowed into Armenian from Georgian after the thirteenth century. The *Rize İl Yıllığı* for 1967 mentions both Aspet and Liparit. There is a quarter of Lipaytints‘ (literally ‘of Liparit’s folks’) and a nearby fort called Lipaytints‘ Berd, both located in the hamlet of Kisak in Khodorchur. Only the ruins of this fortification and the tombstone of a certain Liparit existed until the early twentieth century. His descendants were still living in the village then. Liparit seems to have been a petty ruler who lived only a few centuries ago, as none of the prominent princes named Liparit in Armenian medieval history had any connection with this area. See below for Khodorchur’s ties with Hamshen. *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 8, 1876 (1995), p. 333; Hrach‘eay Achařian, *Hayots‘ Andznannuneri Bařaran* [*Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names*], vol. 2 (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1944), p. 430; *Rize 1967 İl Yıllığı*, p. 114; Harut‘iwn V. Hulunian and Matt‘eos V. Hachian (eds), *Hushamatean Khotorjuri* [*Memorial Book of Khotorjur*] (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1964), pp. 28–29; T‘. Gevorgyan, ‘Khotorjur’, *Banber Erevani Hamalsarani* [Bulletin of Erevan University] (1971), no. 3 (15), p. 207.
- 60 The map is included in Muzaffer Arıcı’s book *Her Yönüyle Rize* (Ankara: Odak Ofset, 1992).
- 61 *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 9, 1877 (1995), pp. 279 and 281.
- 62 Alemdar (n.d.), pp. 112–66.
- 63 Toumarkine (1995), p. 94. The author does not provide a date for this event.
- 64 The Lazi version of the region’s name is Artasheni; see Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 5, for a reference in passing about Ardeşen’s connections with Hamshen.
- 65 Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 5; Köksal Hapeloğlu at <<http://www.ritur.com.tr/html/08.html>> (accessed 7 September 2001). Hapel is a version of Apel/Abel in Armenian.
- 66 Nikolai Iakovlevich Marr, ‘Iz poiezdkı v Turetskii Lazistan: Vpechatleniia i nabliudeniia’ [Travels in Turkish Lazistan: Impressions and Observations], *Izviestiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk – Bulletin de l’Académie Impériale des Sciences de St-Petersbourg* (1910), 4 (6th series), no. 8, 1 May, pp. 609–12; Hann (1997), p. 129; Bellér-Hann and Hann (2001), pp. 200–1 and n. 8.

- 67 One written source and informants have noted that there are small numbers of Hemshinli (apparently of the western type) in the neighbouring Arhavi county. It is not certain whether they live in Arhavi permanently or visit its yaylas from other areas only in the summer. 'Karadeniz Uşakları', *Yeni Yüzyıl* (Istanbul, 1996), 25 November; reprinted in Levon Haçikyan, *Hemşin Gizemi: Hamşen Ermenileri Tarihinden Sayfalar*, translated and edited by Bağdik Avedisyan, 2nd revised edn (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1997), p. 90.
- 68 Greek for 'long beach'. Bryer and Winfield (1985), p. 338.
- 69 Benninghaus (1989), p. 482.
- 70 Check the section below on Karadere. A thorough investigation of the Karadere and Hopa subdialects may yield further clues on the relationship of the two populations. According to Barunak T'orlak'yan, Şana (now Kaya) in Hopa is possibly a namesake of the present villages of Çınarlı and Çukurköy (Greater and Lesser Şana) in the Yomra county of Trabzon. Barunak T'orlak'yan, *Hamshenahayeri Azgagrut 'yunē [The Ethnography of Hamshen Armenians]* (Erevan: Publications of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 1981), p. 31.
- 71 For a discussion of the migration of the Hemshinli to Hopa, see Chapter 4 (this volume).
- 72 Notably Edwards in his otherwise excellent article on Hamshen. See Edwards (1988).
- 73 More precisely, İspir's central and Çamlıkaya districts and the Kılıçkaya district of Yusufeli.
- 74 At the turn of the century, Khodorchur and Mokhrkut were under the kaza of Kiskim, which covered much of today's Yusufeli. Among the extant villages in Hunut are Karakale, Sırakonak and Aksu (formerly Mokhrkut, Khodorchur and Salachur, respectively, or Mohurgut, Hodeçur/Hodoçur and Salaçur to a Turkish speaker), along with the district seat in the village of Çamlıkaya (Hunut).
- 75 < Arabic *ulya* 'upper', and *sufla* 'lower'.
- 76 Near İspir, a hamlet or yayla by the name of Hemşin is noted on the map *Deutsche Heereskarte*, plate C-XIV, 1941, scale 1:200,000. Khodorchur is now inhabited by year-round and summertime Hemshinli residents. Uwe Bläsing says the Hemshinli villagers of Erenler in Çayeli ascend to Salaçur for the summer. Bläsing (1995), p. 134. Some Akyamaç residents (Tezina in Hemşin county) use Hodeçur (Khodorchur) for the same purpose. Sakaoğlu *et al.* (1998), p. 28.
- 77 Hamshen may have been under the İspir sancak in 1536. Sakaoğlu *et al.* (1998), p. 14.
- 78 See e.g. H. Matt'ēos Hachian [H. M. H. Gawaṛats'i], *Hin Awandakan Hēk'eat'ner Khotorjroy [Old Traditional Tales of Khotorjur]* (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1907).
- 79 Khevak is the present Yaylalar village in the Sarıgöl/Taşkıran district (formerly Zigapor) in the county of Yusufeli in Artvin. In older Turkish sources, it is referred to as Hevegikiskim or Hevekikiskim – not to be confused with Bıçakçılar (Hevegilivane or Hevekilivane), whose population is reportedly of Georgian background. 'Ethnic Groups Listed by Villages and Administrative Districts – Georgian', in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, p. 422.
- 80 Inchichian sees Khevak as part of Hamshen in a temporal as well as an ecclesiastical sense. If this was ever true, it must have pre-dated Ottoman times. When Koch visited the area, he found Khevak under the jurisdiction of Berdagrak/Kiskim. Citing Koch's observation that the Kaçkar Mountains overlooking the village are snow-clad all year round, Tashian is sceptical that Hamshen and Khevak were once a single territorial jurisdiction and believes communication difficulties between the two places would make that impossible. However, the latter's reservations on account of geographic encumbrances are not entirely well founded. Bryer describes two ancient paths from the coast to İspir through this area. In addition, no fewer than three paths may be taken from Çamlıhemşin yaylas of Apevanak, Ceymakçur, and Palakçur to Khevak, especially in the summer. In fact, a newly thriving mountain-trekking tourist industry between the two areas has sprung up. Koch (1846), vol. 2, pp. 98–99; Tashian (1980),

- vol. 2, pp. 10 and 197; M. Reşat Sümerkan, *Doğu Karadeniz’de Dağlar Yaylalar ve Turizm* (Trabzon: Trabzon Lions Derneği Kültür Yayınları, 1997), pp. 80 and 84, and the map on pp. 82–83; Bryer and Winfield (1985), pp. 56–57 and 342.
- 81 Step’an K. Poghosyan, *Sev Tsovit’s ‘Vana Tsov – Hing Amis Hing Ör* [From the Black Sea to Lake Van – Five Months Five Days] (Erevan: KP’H, 1992), p. 22.
- 82 Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 217.
- 83 Tashian rightly doubts the Koch and Inchichian figures for the Christians. Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 218. The migrations of Armenians from Khevak in the intervening years could not possibly have happened if many who were hiding their identity did not revert to Christianity. Thus it is hardly a surprise to see a further ten Armenian households adopting Islam in 1915 in a place that supposedly no longer had any non-Muslims (‘Khevak’ entry in *Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia*, vol. 5, p. 47) or an exodus of some forty Armenian households from the Kōrahmet mahalle of Khevak (Yaylalar) in 1952 to 1953. ‘Catalogue of Ethnic Groups: Armenians’, in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, p. 128. For the location of this quarter see *Deutsche Heereskarte*, plate C-XIV, 1941. The official Turkish censuses for the Artvin province have not reflected the Armenian numbers or their confessional breakdowns accurately:
- 1935 census: 2,031 persons with Armenian as mother tongue; one Catholic person
 1945 census: 1,300 persons with Armenian as mother tongue; three Orthodox persons
 1950 census: 111 persons with Armenian as mother tongue; no religion data
 1955 census: 281 persons with Armenian as mother tongue; ten Catholics and two Christians (undetermined)
 1960 census: twenty-nine persons with Armenian as mother tongue; thirty-five ‘Gregorian’ (Apostolics), three Catholics, one Orthodox
 1965 census: one person with Armenian as a mother tongue; one ‘Gregorian’ (Apostolic), three Catholics, four Protestants.
- 84 Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 150. Here, as in Hemshin, Armenian surnames such as Keşişoğlu, Magaroğlu and Minasoğlu were still in currency. Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 219. A native of Çamlıhemşin informed me that the people of Khevak were mostly Hemshinli. Whether the villagers’ self-identification is indeed Hemshinli is something that needs to be ascertained.
- 85 It appears that these two factors together were more effective than the measure of protection afforded in just embracing Catholicism in the seventeenth century. More impressive is the fact that the local clergy had access to the European envoys in Turkey. François B. Bořch’anyan, ‘Mi Aknark Tayots’ Khotorjri Ants’yalits’ [A Look into the Past of Khotorjur of Tayk’], *Ėjmiatsin* (1950), 7, nos. 3–4, p. 50. It is noteworthy that many members of the two branches (Venice and Vienna) of the Armenian Catholic Mekhitarist Order hailed from this small valley, including the historians of Khodorchur and Hamshen, Fathers Tashian, Hamazasp Oskian and Matt’ēos Hachian.
- 86 Sixteenth-century Ottoman records testify to a dearth of Muslims in Ottoman registers for İspir as shown by Lusine Sahakyan’s commentary dealing with the treatment of sixteenth-century Ottoman census information by İsmet Miroğlu, *XVI Yüzyılda Bayburt Sancağı* (İstanbul: Anadolu Yakası Bayburt Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği Yayınları, 1975). Lusine Sahakyan, ‘Sper Gavari Bnakavayrern Zhoghovrtagrut’yunē 16-rd Dari Ōsmanyant T’ahrir Daft’arnerum’ [The Settlements and Demography of the Sper (İspir) Canton in Sixteenth Century Ottoman Tahrir Defters], *Iran-Nameh: Armenian Journal of Oriental Studies* (Erevan, 2000), no. 35, pp. 93, 94 and 99. Hunut and the rest of İspir were mostly Christian until 1828, but after the Russo-Turkish war most Christians left for Russia. Tashian (1973), vol. 1, 1973, p. 145. Archbishop Garegin Srvandztyants’ cites 260 Armenian individuals in Hunut in the 1870s and 3,000 in all of İspir compared to 15,000 İspir refugees in Russia, and 12,000 Turks and ‘Laz’. Garegin Srvandztyants’, *Erker* [Works], vol. 2 (Erevan:

Publications of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 1982), pp. 505, 508 and 509. The Armenian Church reported only 197 Armenians in forty-five homes in Hunut at the turn of the twentieth century – a further decline. Kévorkian and Paboudjian, p. 442. Another village, K'arakamurj near Mokhrhut, seems to have converted to Islam sometime in the nineteenth century. Continued Islamicization as late as the nineteenth century was also in evidence in the vale of K'its'kha in the nearby Tortum kaza and the village of Aghtvants' in the Kiskim kaza. Tashian, vol. 2, 1980, pp. 146 and 280–81. After centuries of conversion and large-scale exodus of Armenians in the nineteenth century, there were only small numbers of Christians (some 3,000) left in the town of İspir and 16 other localities, as evidenced by both official Ottoman and Armenian Church figures. Even tiny Khodorchur had twice as many Christian Armenians as all of İspir. Karpat, p. 170 and Kévorkian and Paboudjian (1992), pp. 446–47.

- 87 The existence of the Orthodox is confirmed in Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 218.
- 88 Tashian correctly points out the error in Haykuni's assertion that the Hemshin-populated areas in Rize border Karadere in Trabzon. Tashian (1980), vol. 2, pp. 2, 3, 6 and n. 7, and 7. Haykuni's mistake was compounded by the fact that there is a Karadere region of Rize (now renamed Kalkandere) abutting Hemshin. A cursory look at any detailed map of the region will show that the Greek-speaking valleys of Sürmene and Of/Hayrat are located between the two Karaderes. While mistaken in believing that the Karadere region of Trabzon abutted Hamshen, Haykuni, however, knew of the existence of the second Karadere district near Rize. Haykuni (1895), p. 296 and n. 1. For a partial list of the settlements of Greek speakers in Trabzon, see 'Ethnic Groups Listed by Villages and Administrative Districts – Greek-Speaking Muslims: Pontic', pp. 373–74.
- 89 Barunak T'orlak'yan thinks they originated from İspir as well as Baberd and Hamshen. T'orlak'yan (1981), p. 18. Elsewhere, Barunak T'orlak'yan repeats P. T'umayian that the early Karadere settlers were from Sper (İspir) and Baberd (Bayburt), especially the village of T'orosants' in Bayburt. Barunak T'orlak'yan, 'Ėjer Hamshenahayeri XVII-XVIII Dareri Patmut'ynits'' [Pages from the Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries History of Hamshen Armenians], *Patma-Banasirakan Handes [Historico-Philological Review]* (Erevan, 1972), no. 4 (59), p. 136.
- 90 Detailed registers of title deeds for the Trabzon province (*Trabzon Sancağı Mufasssal Tapu Tahrir Defterleri*) of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries provide important clues to the existence of several highland settlements of Armenians in the adjacent valleys of the present counties of Sürmene and Araklı. Mehmet Bilgin, 'Sürmene Tarihi', in *Sürmene*, ed. Mehmet Bilgin and Ömer Yıldırım (Sürmene: Sürmene Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 1990), pp. 180–238. Mehmet Bilgin, like many of his Turkish colleagues who have dealt with Black Sea ethnic issues, maintains that these early settlers (and the latter ones from Hamshen) were in fact Turks of 'Gregorian' Christian faith (that is, the creed traditionally identified exclusively with the Armenians) from eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus (e.g., pp. 186–87 and 221–22). Common but misspelled Armenian names such as 'Kirkor, Ovanes, Merkul, Tomas, Asdor' and 'Mardaros' carried by the villagers are presented as a proof of it (pp. 221–22).
- 91 Documented are the villages of Mincano, Vartan, Hoç (equated by Bilgin with another village Coşk found in local folklore for lack of any other reference to it), Yarımcı, Eski Kilise (near Aşot yayla), and Arpalı in Sürmene; Aşa, Ayven, Bahçecik, Zimla, Salorot, Otskegh/Ostukh, Dirdon (or Polut – non-existent in recent centuries), Toros (also known as Torosants/Toroslu), and others in Araklı. Bilgin (1990), pp. 186–89, 205, 219, 222–23 and 227–28. Arpalı in Sürmene and all of the Araklı villages still exist. The rest of the Sürmene settlements named above have been summer pastures for centuries. Note that today's counties of Sürmene and Araklı were

a single unit called Sürmene with its centre in the town of Araklı during most of the last years of the Ottoman era.

- 92 Villages named Torosants (now Sorkunlu), Ishkhanats (Üzengili) and Otsukh (Nişantaşı) of Bayburt also existed in Araklı and are known today respectively as Kayaıçı, İshan and Turnalı – all six of them located within a thirty-kilometre radius. The founders of the former village of Vartan in Sürmene possibly originated from Vartanants (Güloba) in Bayburt. According to its inhabitants, the Torosants quarter in the village of Satari (Kaleönü) in Akçaabat county was also named after Torosants in Araklı, as their ancestors were refugees from that village. T'orlak'yan (1981), p. 71. Toroslu (Kayaıçı) was reportedly greatly damaged in a fire in 2000. *Milliyet Daily*, 18 December 2000, p. 4. The former village of Goshana in Hamshen (cited by T'orlak'yan) possibly gave rise to Gushana in Yomra. T'orlak'yan (1981), p. 42, n. 11.
- 93 Bilgin cites alleged abrupt climatic changes as the reason for the migration out of the area. Bilgin (1990), pp. 186–87, 205–6 and 227. One would be hard pressed to believe that the 'new' cold and foggy climate would persuade hardy Armenians to move back to the even colder environment of eastern Anatolia, or that the cold and the fog of the highlands were not permanent features of that environment but rather new phenomena. This hypothesis also fails to explain why the neighbouring valleys did not depopulate under the same harsh conditions. The destinations of the refugees are listed in Bilgin (1990) as eastern Anatolia, the village of Santa (now Dumanlı in Yağmurdere county, Gümüşhane province) and the Tercan region. Judging by the absence of references to it in Armenian sources on Karadere, Arpalı (pop. 299 in 1984; Bilgin (1990), p. 490) may possibly be the only existing village in that area tucked away in the hills in which the fugitives from Hamshen never settled or merged with the earlier colonists. However, T'orlak'yan has heard of other former Armenian villages in Sürmene proper, for which the non-Greek-speaking villages of the nahiye of Küçükdere are the only plausible candidates (see Andrews' *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey* for the extent of Greek speech in the county of Sürmene).
- 94 Tashian notes that the latest known manuscript produced in Hamshen is dated from 1630. Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 121. This confirms Khach'ikyan and T'orlak'yan's assertions that the bulk of the Hamshen population began embracing Islam in the seventeenth century. Khach'ikyan (1969), p. 136; T'orlak'yan (1972), p. 136.
- 95 For further information on the subject, the reader should consult T'orlak'yan (1981) and Hovakim Hovakimian [Arshakuni] (ed.), *Patmut' iwn Haykakan Pontosi [History of Armenian Pontos]* (Beirut: Mshak Press, 1967). Sargis Haykuni thought that perhaps one-tenth of the Karadere Armenians went to Baberd. Haykuni (1895), p. 242.
- 96 Anywhere from fifteen to thirty households did not convert and stayed in Karadere. Hovakimian (1967), pp. 61 and 70. Here, Bilgin is in conformity with the local oral histories that a second exodus took place out of Karadere but without any discussion of the cause. Bilgin (1990), p. 328. A portion of Pervane's Muslim populace is said to have taken up residence at Hamsiköy in Maçka several decades earlier. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
- 97 Prior to 1915, the number of these survivors had increased to seventy-eight households (741 individuals) in eight hamlets, mostly in the neighbourhood of the villages of Pervane and Makhtele in today's counties of Araklı and Sürmene. These figures were given by Minas Minasian, the village headman of the Armenians for all of the eight settlements. T'orlak'yan (1981), p. 34. The Armenians in the nearby hamlets of Elemenos, Maghtesh and Fosha, which in some sources were counted within the totals for Sürmene, were in fact part of Yomra administratively and are not included in the above total. The corresponding Ottoman government figures for Sürmene indicate a vast undercount of Armenians as evidenced by the excessive increases between enumerations, especially in the number of women, at a time when emigration, not in-migration, of the men was taking place: 89 men (1870 salname); 107 men, 71 women (1880 salname); 129 men, 149 women (1900 salname); 132 men, 150 women (1905 salname); 323

- individuals (1911–1912 figures as reported in the 1914 Ottoman census in Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830–1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 180). Another case of a single village headman for all Armenian settlements in an administrative unit may be seen in nearby Vakfikebir. *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 9, 1877 (1995), p. 247.
- 98 Haykuni (1895), pp. 240 and 243; Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 138; Hovakimian (1967), p. 63.
- 99 See Minas G. Gasapian [Farhat], *Hayerē Nikomidioy Gawari mej* [*The Armenians of the Nicomedia District*] (Partizak, Turkey: Azatamart, 1913). This volume is rich in documentary and oral materials on the arrival of the Armenians into the region (see esp. pp. 85–86 and 106–11).
- 100 Ibid., pp. 85–86.
- 101 Russia ended up annexing the modern-day Kemalpaşa district of Hopa, as well as Artvin further south, which it had occupied in the war. See the Hopa map (Map 7.2) for the occupied area. Villages of Ordu, Rize, Giresun and Görele (Korala) origin are listed in Mecdi Emiroğlu, *Akçakoca'da Nüfus, Yerleşme ve Ekonomik Faaliyetler* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1970), p. 49.
- 102 The exodus may have caused more civilian deaths than the hostilities themselves. The mass flight is said to have cost 15,000 lives. Gündüz (2002), p. 31. The same source alludes to a ballad in Turkish (*hicret eyle destanı*) attributed to Russians wishing to encourage the exodus.
- 103 For instance, the Muslim Georgians, the easternmost and presumably the worst-off group, were established in several dozen villages mostly in the middle and, to a lesser extent, in the western Black Sea areas. There is also a sizeable concentration of Lazi villages in the latter region. See the village lists in Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rüdiger Benninghaus (eds), *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989) for these nationalities and corresponding provinces.
- 104 Emiroğlu (1970), p. 106.
- 105 See also Benninghaus (1989) for other examples of the insulated co-existence between the two Hemshinli groups.
- 106 Emiroğlu (1970), p. 48.
- 107 Ibid., pp. 48 and 69. For example, the village of Karatavuk has two such settlements separated from each other by over three kilometres.
- 108 Fevzi Torun, *Her Yönüyle Artvin ve Örnek Bir Köy İncelemesi* (Adapazarı: Sakarya/ Artvin Turizm ve Folklor Derneği/Fakülteler Matbaası, 1998), p. 41. Eastern Hemshinli presence is noted here without the specifics.
- 109 Its presence as a village inhabited exclusively by Hopa Hemshinli at the start of this century is also attested by Gasapian (1913, pp. 91 and 143–47, who had firsthand information about the origins and size of the settlement (forty-two households in 1911) and recorded some phrases from their *Homshetsma* dialect.
- 110 Gasapian (1913), p. 89. Also spelled as Koğukpelit. This seems to be the village known to Armenians as Gegham, made up of four quarters immediately below Açımbaşı and established by Hamshen Armenians originally from Ordu in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Benninghaus cites western (and possibly eastern) Hemshinli there. See 'Ethnic Groups Listed by Villages and Administrative Districts – Hemshinli: Armenian-Speaking and Turkish-Speaking', pp. 359 and 361. The Hemshinli could have taken it over in the first two decades of the twentieth century as I have found no record of its Christians converting *en masse*.
- 111 'Ethnic Groups Listed by Villages and Administrative Districts – Hemshinli: Armenian-Speaking', p. 359. The village may actually be one of the former quarters of Koğukpelit named Karapelit. Gasapian (1913), p. 89.
- 112 Gündüz (2002), p. 65.

113 Gasapian (1913), p. 143.

114 'Almalu' is mentioned by Gasapian (1913, p. 143) without specification of its origins. Although the pre-First World War İzmit (ex-Nicomedia) province now comprises mainly the provinces of Sakarya (Adapazarı) and Kocaeli (İzmit), this village now appears to fall within the neighbouring Bursa province (İznik county).

115 *Köylerimiz 1981*, vol. 1, p. 686; Gasapian (1913), pp. 145–46. Gasapian, who received this information from informants, cites a mahalle of forty Hopa Hemshinli households and another of twenty-five Bash Hemshinli households located an hour from each other early in the twentieth century. The Hopa Hemshin mahalle is now the village of Yenice, while the quarter populated by the Bash Hemshin is now the village of Hemşin. Perhaps equally interesting is his note that the Bash Hemshinli there are called *Aboetsi* by the Hopa Hemshinli, possibly pointing to an origin from Abuhemşin (now Aslandere) in the Abıvçe (now Çağlayandere) Valley or the other Hemshinli villages in the adjacent valley immediately to its west. These villagers are referred to as 'Pazarlı' in Emiroğlu (1970), p. 49, which may refer to any place from Pazar proper in the west to perhaps Ardeşen in the east, but not quite as far as Fındıklı.

116 For example, the village Aktepe in the county of Çarşamba. Gündüz (2002), pp. 52 and 54.

117 The original Turkish text reads as follows: '10 Haziran 1949 gün ve 5442 Sayılı İl İdaresi [sic] Kanununun 11 Mayıs 1959 gün ve 7267 Sayılı Kanunla değiştirilen 2. maddesinin "D" fıkrasında yer alan "Türkçe olmayan ve iltibasa yer veren köy adları, Alâkadar Vilâyet Daimî Encümeninin mütalâası alındıktan sonra en kısa zamanda İçişleri Bakanlığınca değiştirilir" hükmü gereğince, Türkçe olmayan ve yabancı kökten geldiği anlaşılan ve iltibasa yol açtığı belirlenen, yaklaşık 12.000 köy adı Bakanlığımız İller İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğünde çalışan "Yabancı Adları Değiştirme Komisyonu" tarafından incelenerek Türkçe adlarla değiştirilmiş ve kullanma alanına konulmuştur'. *Köylerimiz 1981*, p. 3.

118 In practice, the definition of 'Turkish origin' included many Arabic and Persian personal names and loanwords of long standing (e.g. Pervane, a village in Araklı, Trabzon) that were retained. Among the villages receiving names reminiscent of their former ones are Ormanlı (Omana), Oruçlu (Orocok), Çimenli (Cimerk), Hızarlı (Hezar) and Ortaköy (Berta), all in the central county of Artvin.

119 Ishkhan (< Armenian 'prince') – one each in Arsin county in Trabzon and in Yusufeli county in Artvin (see *Köylerimiz 1981* and *Artvin 1973 İl Yıllığı*). The meaning imputed to the name is 'commercial/office building' or *işhanı* (from *iş* 'work' + *han* 'inn') in Turkish. Curiously, İşhanlar, in Viranşehir, Urfa province (despite its Turkish plural suffix 'lar') and İşhinsor (iskhan + < Armenian *dzor* 'valley') in the province of Bayburt were deemed unacceptable and had to be replaced.

120 See the Preface to *Köylerimiz 1981*.

121 *Osmanlı Döneminde Rize*, online, available <<http://www.geocities.com/rizemiz>> (accessed 1 July 2002), based on the book *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Rize* by Muhammet Safi and Zeki Hacıbrahimoğlu (year and place of publication unknown). I have not seen the book. The other article is by Ayhan Yüksel, 'Trabzon Vilâyetinde Yer Adlarını ve İdari Yapıyı Değiştirme Teşebbüsleri', in *Cumhuriyet'in 75. Osmanlı Devleti'nin 700. Yılında Trabzon Tarihi İlmî Toplantısı (6–8 Kasım 1998): Bildiriler*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, Kenan İnan, Hikmet Öksüz and Abdullah Saydam (Trabzon: Trabzon Belediyesi Kültür Müdürlüğü/Türk Ocakları Trabzon Şubesi, 1999). Both sources point to the Turkish Prime Ministerial Archives as the source of their data (BA, DH IUM, especially, nos. 48/6, 48/10, 48/17, 48/18).

122 Yüksel (1999), p. 201.

123 Teşkilat is a reference to the Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa or Special Organization notorious for the elimination of the regime's opponents and the mass murder of Armenians, while Cihadiye is an allusion to the importance of Hopa as a bastion in the 'jihad' waged against First World War enemies. The substitution list is from Yüksel (1999) and from

- the Karalahana website, online, available <<http://www.karalahana.com/akcaabat.htm>> (accessed 24 August 2001).
- 124 Yüksel (1999), p. 209. During the First World War, Bulgaria joined Turkey and Axis Powers in October of 1915. The Bulgarian population of eastern Thrace in Turkey suffered the least and was mostly exchanged with Muslims from the Balkans in the 1910–1920s.
- 125 Ibid., p. 204.
- 126 *Son Teşkilat-ı Mülkiyede Köylerimizin Adları*, pp. 615–18.
- 127 The provincial appellation ‘Lazistan sancak’ was struck from use in 1926, and the town of Atina was renamed Pazar in 1928. *Rize 1967 İl Yıllığı*, p. 60.
- 128 The following directive points to the completion date of the undertaking for the Trabzon province (*Trabzon 1973 İl Yıllığı*, p. 50):
- Those villages with foreign names found within the jurisdiction of Trabzon province have been Turkified in accordance with Interior Ministry Circular 22105–7304, dated 25 June 1958. In the original Turkish, ‘Trabzon İl’ine bağlı ve yabancı ad taşıyan köylerin adları İçişleri Bakanlığının 25.6.1958 tarih ve 22105–7304 sayılı genelgesiyle Türkçeleştirilmiştir’.
- 129 Altay Yiğit, *Çaykara ve Folkloru* (Ankara: Kent Matbaa, 1981), p. 6. Thus one could still find mahalles like Kadahor and Şinek in the town of Çaykara in Trabzon province in the early 1970s (*Trabzon 1973 İl Yıllığı*, p. 72); upper and lower Viçe in the town of Çamlıhemşin; and Noğadiha in the town of Pazar (*Rize 1967 İl Yıllığı*, p. 45). I have come across a few spared Armenian quarter names like Hoşneşin, which is the Hemshinli village of Khoshneshin in Pazar (*Rize 1967 İl Yıllığı*, p. 45); Tumasli and Boğoslu in Çayeli county, ‘Mahalle ve Köylerimiz’, online, available <<http://www.rasot.8m.com>> (accessed 19 July 2003); and Pokoçur, Karap and Bagenli. in Hemşin county (Sakaoglu *et al.* (1998), pp. 26–29). Khoshneshin has now become the Gazi mahalle of Pazar; online, available <<http://www.rizepazar.com>> (accessed 5 November 2003).
- 130 Only three provincial cities were renamed in Republican times: Kırklareli (former Kırkılise ‘forty churches’), Karaköse/Ağrı (former Karakilise ‘black church’), and Tekirdağ (former Tekfurdağ, from *tekfür* ‘Byzantine governor or petty ruler’ < western Armenian *t’akawor* ‘king’ + *dağ* ‘mountain’ in Turkish). All three substitutions were necessitated by their obvious non-Turkish and non-Islamic references. Among the undesirable categories were the ethnic designations such as Arap (Arab), Kürt (Kurd), Çerkez (Circassian), Laz, Gürcü (Georgian), Ermeni (Armenian) or Boşnak (Bosnian) that betrayed a non-Turkish connection, and Christian religious appellations such as haç (cross), kilise (church), gâvur (infidel), keşiş (monk), vank/venk (monastery). At the same time, a number of village names that were indeed Turkish but deemed odd, inappropriate, or disgraceful were purged.
- 131 An article in *The Armenian Reporter International* (New York, 1998), 28 November, p. 18, reported that Armenian and Greek speakers were among the colonists from the Black Sea region sent to repopulate former Greek villages in the Turkish-occupied sector of Cyprus. Earlier, the Greek-speaking county of Çaykara in Trabzon had sent 160 families to the province of Van in 1965, 408 families to Kırıkhan in the province of Hatay in 1966, and sixty-one families to the island of Gökçeada (Imbros) in the Aegean Sea in 1973. *Trabzon 1973 İl Yıllığı* (Ankara, 1973), p. 214.
- 132 The Trabzon salnames show the village of Yukarı (Upper) Hemşin as Başhemşin, while a map drawn by Austrian geologist Rudolf Leutelt designates Aşağı (Lower) Hemşin as being Başhemşin. The location of Aşağı Hemşin proximity to Varoş Kale makes it a more logical choice to be Başhemşin with ‘Baş’ here meaning ‘main’ or ‘principal’, than ‘upper’. *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, vol. 9, 1877 (1995), p. 317; Rudolf Leutelt, ‘Glazilgeologische Beobachtungen im Lasistanischen Hochgebirge’, *Zeitschrift für Gletscherkunde* (Leipzig, 1935), 23, nos. 1–3, September, p. 73.

133 Official census results.

134 Official census as quoted in *Çayeli İlçe Yıllığı*.

135 Official census as quoted in *Rize 1973 İl Yıllığı*.

136 Official census as quoted in *Rize 1973 İl Yıllığı*.

137 Tefvik Tarkan, *Orta ve Aşağı Çoruh Havzası: Beşerî ve İktisadî Coğrafya Bakımından Bir Bölge Araştırması* (Erzurum/Ankara: Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları/Sevinç Matbaası, 1973), p. 95.

8 Social and economic structures of the Hemshin people in Çamlıhemşin

Erhan Gürsel Ersoy

In order to understand the social and economic structures of the Çamlıhemşin area where the Hemshin people settled hundreds of years ago, it is necessary to first understand the natural environment of that region. It is a widely accepted fact that natural environment affects social life in many ways. In the field of anthropology, the effects of ecology have been recognized since this branch of science was established. Moreover, the concept of ecosystem that has developed since the 1960s has made an important contribution in demonstrating the existence of complex interactions between cultural systems and the natural environment.¹ In almost every part of the world, many of the institutions and processes that develop within cultural systems are influenced by the environment. The main aim of the discipline of cultural ecology first advanced by Julian Steward was to discover the links between the environment and units of economic organization and means of subsistence in various cultural settings.² In some subsistence economies, activities such as hunting-gathering, horticulture and pastoralism, which are the main base of production, have a strong link with the physical environment.³ For example, in pastoral communities, the selection of animal type and suitable pastoral techniques is directly linked to local environmental conditions.⁴ This same principle has yielded important findings in the study of Hemshin cattle transhumance in the summer pastures (*yaylas*), the details of which will be given in this chapter. I would also like to mention the very important role that the ecosystem played in the strategies adopted by the Hemshinli when they moved into tea cultivation.

It is necessary to point out here that the main aim of this study is to give some idea of the social organization and means of subsistence of the Hemshin people in their own region rather than to test a certain theoretical approach using the Hemshinli as a case study. For this reason, I will not go into the details of ecosystem as a concept but will instead try to outline the specific features of the Hemshin people's means of subsistence in their own area as well as some of the major characteristics of their natural environment. To accomplish this, it was necessary to look at the circle of migration that takes the Hemshinli both from the villages in the lower areas to the higher *yaylas* and also outside of their own geographical area.

It must be admitted here that gathering data capable of supporting a unified, integrated theory for a community engaged on the household level in various and

different economic activities was extremely difficult, even more so because the community is spread over a wide geographical area. These difficulties meant that I always had some doubt as to the success of such a study, but I will leave it to the readers to evaluate that.

General characteristics of the ecosystem in the Çamlıhemşin region

Along with Çayeli, the Çamlıhemşin county (*ilçe*), centred in the town of the same name, has the steepest and roughest topography in the province of Rize. The county lies in the Kaçkar Mountains, which are the highest mountains in the eastern Black Sea range, having an average height of 3,000 metres.⁵ Dominated by mountains, the region is characterized by a dense network of flowing water linked to the high rainfall in its deep valleys (dendritic drainage system – see Figure 8.1).⁶ For this reason the Fırtına River, which flows from the area to the Black Sea, is one of the major rivers of the Rize province.

The winter months in this region are severe in comparison to those of the coastal areas. For example, in the winter of 1985, the region was covered in snow for a period of sixty-three days to a depth of up to two metres. During the summer season, the high rainfall and humidity as well as the rough terrain and the thick vegetation of the ecosystem place significant pressure on the lives of the Hemshin people. H. F. B. Lynch's observations about the dominance of mist are worthy of attention:

Copious rainfall and abundant vegetation are characteristic of the northern peripheral mountains of Armenia. In some of the valleys the clouds settle for several months in the year, seldom lifting to disclose a view of the sun. It may often happen that during several weeks, or even months, crests and depressions alike will be shrouded in mist.⁷

The administrative centre (*merkez*) of the county does not have a weather station to record the temperatures of the county, which are certainly lower than coastal temperatures due to the distance from the sea, but they are probably comparable to those in Kaptanpaşa, which is in a similar location, so the average yearly temperature is probably in the vicinity of 10–11 degrees centigrade. There are permanent habitations up to a height of 1,000 m. and with increased altitude, these temperatures drop sharply.

The region is humid and has abundant running water, so the plant cover is very rich. The *Colchian* flora, which is dominant from the coast up to an altitude of 1,000 m, encompasses a large number of tree and shrub species.⁸ Above 1,000 metres, conifers dominate, especially spruce trees.⁹ Alders and *Pontic* *Rhododendrons* grow alongside spruces to the 2,000-metre level although the *Rhododendrons* may be found as high as 2,500 to 3,000 m. According to Sirri Erinç, who studied the physical geography of the eastern Black Sea, the flora of the region forms part of the 'Paleoboreal Eurasian Forest Flora'.¹⁰



Figure 8.1 A typical view of the lush forests of the Hemshin highland in the county of Çamlıhemşin. The deep gouges of the valley of Fırtına are easily visible in the picture.

The main animals inhabiting the forests and mountains of the region are red deer, roe-deer, bears, boars, wolves, foxes, lynx, wild cats and martens. In the high, inaccessible areas of the Kaçkar Mountains, there are also small populations of mountain goats as well as birds of prey such as kites, hawks, falcons, eagles and vultures; in addition, trouts may be found in most of the streams of the region.¹¹ Furthermore, Willi Rickmer Rickmers, publishing his observations made at the beginning of the twentieth century, stated that he had seen a large number of *Laemmergeier*.¹² He recorded many types of small birds as well as various birds that may be hunted such as blackcock, moorhen, quail, partridge and pheasant.

Rural habitation, houses and outbuildings

The uneven nature of the region's topography is reflected in the pattern of habitation of the administrative centre and its surrounding area. The administrative centre consists of buildings on either side of a narrow road next to the Fırtına River and a small shopping centre (see Figure 8.2), but 94 per cent of its town quarters (*mahalles*) and villages are built on steep and inaccessible terrain. Ninety-two per cent of the villages are built on top of ridges, and 71 per cent of the villages consist of scattered settlements.¹³ Habitation in the river valleys is unsuitable due to their narrow, rocky nature and the unpredictable water flow in the region, so the



Figure 8.2 A view of the centre of Çamlıhemşin. The only motorway connecting the Hemshin lands to the coastal areas passes through this small town.

people have tended to choose higher ground where they can take more advantage of the sun. For this reason, they usually choose ridges or south-facing slopes.

A general feature of village settlements in the mountainous and forested areas of Çamlıhemşin where the Hemshinli live is that they do not have any real nucleus. There is documentation to prove that this characteristic of rural habitation has not changed for at least a hundred years. Two important documents relating to Hemshin topography of the nineteenth century are studies by Karl Koch and the Armenian ethnologist Sargis Haykuni. Below are some of Haykuni's observations cited in Haçikyan:

In Hamshen the natural conditions – impassible forests and rough terrain – do not give the opportunity for populous centres of habitation. In this area the villages are usually at least 1–3 km or even further apart and consist of 20–30 or at most 50 habitations or separate houses.¹⁴

Hemshin villages of today conform totally to this pattern (see Figure 8.3), but this type of habitation is not restricted to this area. For example, Anthony Bryer states that the spread-out village with no real centre is an extension of patterns of habitation found in the Caucasus and says that this has been a general feature of habitation in the eastern Black Sea region since ancient times.¹⁵ According to Bryer, in the Hellenistic era no towns were to be found in the mountainous interior of the

Pontic Alps, and habitation was restricted to groups of villages known as *choria*.¹⁶ During the same period, coastal towns were little more than either administrative or trade centres. Another of Bryer's observations is that on market days, which have now been established in many of the towns, the population of towns with a market can double. This may be easily seen in a quiet county such as Çamlıhemşin. Every Friday people flood from the quarters of the town and from the villages into the administrative centre, where a market is held; in contrast, during the rest of the week the centre is rather quiet.

As well as being an inescapable result of the uneven topography, the scattered village type of habitation is also suited to people's desire to live near the land they have devoted to agriculture. Whether the preference to place one's house in the middle of agricultural land is linked to practical reasons of land maintenance and facility of harvest or whether it is to maintain a distance from forests inhabited by dangerous predators such as bears and boars is not clear, but this is the generally preferred location, even though it is not always possible. Another advantage of the scattered village habitation pattern is that it decreases the number of disputes between inhabitants.¹⁷ Disputes over land are very rare in Çamlıhemşin.¹⁸

As far as the actual buildings in the villages are concerned, they are very much in keeping with local architectural style and environmental factors and are very functional. Houses are normally made of wood constructed on a stone foundation. They comprise of two or three storeys, with the lower floor being used as a stable and the upper portion for living. The loft (*oçğan*) is usually high and spacious and is mostly used to store hay in winter. The roofs are now covered with corrugated iron, which is cheaper and more practical than roof tiles. It is not as good a material as tiles, however: besides rusting, it also makes a lot of noise when it rains. The stable downstairs is only used to give shelter to cattle; sheep and goats are left outside.¹⁹ An important annexe of the house is the food store, which is called *nayla* or *nalya* in the Hemshin dialect and *serander* (pronounced *serander* in the eastern Black Sea region) in Turkish (see Figure 8.4).²⁰ The serander is a square-shaped, roofed, wooden larder, which is built away from the ground on four tree trunks. It is located away from the house and is accessed by a removable ladder. Wide wooden disks are placed around the tree trunks to protect the foodstuffs stored in the serander from mice and other rodents which cannot then climb into the food store. In the autumn when winter stocks are being prepared, fruit, grain and vegetables are placed in the serenders, usually corn, beans, barley, apples and pears. A similar but rather simple square building, known as an *iskinaf* in the local dialect, is also built on stilts in the courtyard of the house and is used to store animal food (especially dried hay).

In all of these buildings, natural stone or wood materials are used which are in keeping with the ecosystem; these are the best possible materials given the rainy climate and the damp. Since the 1970s all villages have been connected to the national power grid, so most houses now have refrigerators, which means that some foods are kept in fridges rather than in the serander, but these traditional food stores are still used.

The most striking buildings in Çamlıhemşin are the mansions of the Konaklar (former Makrevis) mahalle (see Figure 8.5). Some of these have fourteen or



Figure 8.3 The Sirt mahalle is one of the smallest rural settlements near Çamlıhemşin. The clustered settlement pattern dominated by broken topography is discernible. While the backyards are generally forested, the frontyards of the houses are often used to cultivate maize, beans, potatoes and other vegetables for consumption.

fifteen rooms and were built to accommodate the extended families, a living arrangement which was more common in former times.²¹ Their owners say that these impressive mansions were built by hand using the money their forefathers earned in Russia and that the materials and labour were all paid for using vast amounts of gold coin. The owners of these mansions often belong to the wealthy families who now own patisseries or restaurants in the big cities, and most now remain empty year round.



Figure 8.4 A traditional food store *serender* (also called *nalya* in Hemshin) in the Makrevis mahalle. Two important characteristics of these stores are their very good ventilation and fixed discs on each wooden column – here galvanized iron plates are used for the same function – to protect the stored foods from rodents.

Houses are privately owned and it is very rare for them to be rented or sold to strangers. If the house is not being used, it is left empty or used by a relative who needs it, in return for rent or for the occupant maintaining the house and gardens. It is common for the ownership of the house to be shared by a number of brothers in line with the tribal patrilineal system. This along with the lack of land and the financial difficulty of building a new house means that houses are often shared between several families, a situation that can lead to disputes between brothers.



Figure 8.5 The traditional large houses (*konaks*) belonging to prominent Hemshinli families are remarkable in the Makrevis (Konaklar) mahalle. Some of them have brush wood gates (*çeşgar*) at the entrance of their gardens.

Rural settlements and their population

The population of the Çamlıhemşin county is continually decreasing due to migration away from the area (see Table 8.1). According to figures for 1997, the population of the region is 8,012. The percentage of the population that lives in the countryside is relatively high. Seventy-five per cent of the population (6,004 people) live in villages, with the remaining 25 per cent (2,008 people) living in the *merkez* (administrative centre) and its associated mahalles. If we take into account the fact that the town quarters linked to the administrative centre were originally all villages themselves, then the percentage of country dwellers is much higher. Another striking fact is that, in the rural areas, women form a higher percentage of the population than men (56.5 per cent women to 43.5 per cent men); the main reason for this is the migration of men away from the area, particularly to the big cities, to find work. This imbalance has existed since the 1970s.²²

According to today's administrative divisions, nineteen of the county's twenty-seven villages and five of the mahalles tied to the Çamlıhemşin administrative centre belong to the Hemshin people.²³ The Hemshinli town quarters constitute 58 per cent of the population of the region's administrative centre,²⁴ whereas the Hemshin villages make up only 15.9 per cent of the total village population of 6,004 people. The remaining 84.1 per cent are made up of the Lazi

Table 8.1 The population of the county of Çamlıhemşin since 1940

Year	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	1997
Population	11023	10815	10327	10421	10856	10566	8012

Notes

The figures for 1940–1970 are from the *Rize 1973 İl Yıllığı*, p. 13; figures for 1980 are from BDIE (1983), p. 6; for 1990 from BDIE (1993), p. 24; and the figure for 1997 is from the results of the census held on 30 November 1997.

population. It is an interesting paradox that the Hemshinli, who occupy 83 per cent of the administrative units (not including the administrative centre itself but including the five Hemshin quarters tied to it and the nineteen Hemshin villages) form a smaller percentage of the population than the Lazi, who occupy only eight villages.²⁵ This is because the structure of the Hemshin villages takes the form of scattered quarters without a nucleus, many of which have a small population. When migration to the towns is taken into account, it is no exaggeration to say that many of the Hemshin villages' populations are no greater and may even be less than that of a mahalle. According to the 1997 census, the average population of the nineteen villages is 50.4, making them relatively small units of population. If it is taken into account that some of the settlements which are administratively considered villages are in fact yayla settlements that are only seasonally occupied,²⁶ then the population of the countryside for the whole of any one year must be much less than the above figures indicate.

The numbers of houses and inhabitants of some of the town quarters and villages are given below (see Table 8.2). The population for 1985 has been specifically chosen, as that year saw an inventory taken for the buildings. The table shows how the population figures given above are distributed among the houses as well as the number of houses themselves. The average number of houses in the five areas of population shown does not exceed fifty houses, and the average number of occupants per house is approximately five. However, we estimate that any calculation based on the numbers of people who stay in the villages all year round would yield much lower averages. For example, the village head (*muhtar*) of the Yukarı Çamlıca town quarter said that the number of houses occupied all year round did not exceed twenty.

The Lazi villages are very different from the Hemshin villages; two of their villages (Topluca and Dikkaya) have more than 1,000 inhabitants and another (Çayırdüzü) has almost 1,000 inhabitants. The average population for the Lazi villages is 630.87, whereas a permanent population of 100 for a Hemshin village is remarkable. The Hemshin villages are on much rougher terrain than the Lazi villages, and their agricultural land is very restricted. Furthermore, and for the same reasons (rough terrain and limited land), there has always been migration away from the villages. By comparison, the Lazi villages are built on much more suitable terrain and have more land; because they are nearer to the coast and at lower altitudes, their land is much better suited to tea cultivation. Consequently, they produce more and so earn more.

Table 8.2 Population, houses and outhouses in some Hemshin town quarters and villages

<i>Villages or mahalles</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Number of inhabited dwellings</i>	<i>Average number of inhabitants per household</i>	<i>Empty dwellings</i>	<i>Serender (i.e. dying larder)</i>	<i>İskinaf (hay store)</i>	<i>Sheds</i>	<i>Mills</i>
Yukarı-Çamlıca	205	35	5.8	2	27	1	2	0
Mikron (Kavak)	253	44	5.7	3	28	2	2	4
Sırt	73	16	4.5	0	11	3	3	1
Yukarı-Şimşirli	236	47	5	6	10	15	3	2
Güroluk	216	49	4.4	2	8	0	0	4

Source: Çamlıhemşin Buildings List produced by the BDİE for 1985.

Modernization of Hemshin villages and public services

Çamlıhemşin is probably the most neglected county in the Rize area. This has as much to do with socio-economic factors as it has to do with geographical isolation. It is also a fact that many of those local inhabitants who have migrated out have tried to effect change in this region that has been neglected due to economic migration. With this in mind, from the 1960s onwards various cultural and development associations have been formed. Among these are the Makrevis quarter, the Kale (Hisarcık and Yazlık) village and the Upper Çamlıca quarter development associations. In addition, periodicals such as *Seyran (Pokut)*, *Hemşin*, *Kale* and *Yeşil Hemşin* that were produced by these centres have published articles which focused especially on opinions and suggestions as to how to develop the region, ideas which we shall deal with below. All this came about because the financially well-off Hemshinli found themselves grouping together, especially in the large cities to which they had migrated. These associations were not only a means to secure local services such as roads, schools, tea houses and mosques for the people of the mahalles and villages of the region, but perhaps more importantly provided people from Çamlıhemşin who had migrated to cities with the opportunity to meet up for various social events such as Hemshin nights and excursions, which in turn facilitated the development of Hemshin communities in large urban centres. These types of associations are still in existence, although the magazines they published were generally more short-lived. One of the most frequented places in Ankara for the Hemshinli to meet is the *Rizeliler Derneği* (Association of People from Rize), and this association still publishes a magazine entitled *Rize'nin Sesi* (The Voice of Rize).

Transportation and communications

The county of Çamlıhemşin is now connected to the Black Sea coastal road by an asphalt road. Via this road, the people of the region are now linked to the towns

of Pazar and Ardeşen on the coast. For short distances the principal means of transport is the *dolmuş* (shared minibus taxi). Dolmuşes, which can carry loads on their roofs, transport all kinds of necessary goods from the administrative centre to the quarters and villages. Larger items such as cattle, building materials, hay, fuel and timber are carried by truck or lorry, and transportation is possible right up to those yaylas that have roads. Because people prefer to go to the two more developed coastal towns of Pazar and Ardeşen for work and to buy things, Çamlıhemşin is little more than a resting place or a crossroads for people on the way to these coastal towns. However, particularly in the summer, it is a little more lively than it used to be. In addition to the regular, seasonal migration to the yaylas, in recent years people also pass through on their way to the Ayder *Mezra* (pasture) and the Kaçkar Mountains, which have become tourist centres.

There are, however, still problems with the transportation between the administrative centre and the villages. Donations gathered by the associations founded by the Hemşinli living in cities, along with local labour and bulldozers that have been provided to the villages, have all contributed to road-building in some of the mahalles and villages that did not previously have them. For example, the road to the Yukarı Çamlıca mahalle (Upper Çamlıca, formerly Viçe) was built this way in 1991. However, the dangers of building in mountainous areas are considerable, especially from landslides; combined with difficulties in acquiring land, this means that roadwork is very difficult. Especially on the ridges and mountainsides, finding a suitable route to link all the areas of habitation is one of the most intractable problems.

For example, the shared road to a group of four villages known collectively as Hala is an asphalt road along the Fırtına River to Ayder,²⁷ but most of the inhabitants of the villages initially have to make their way down to the road on foot along paths. This problem is the same for nearly all the habitations in the Hemşin countryside for the reason stated above, namely that villages are not normally found on the valley floors.

In order to transport heavy loads and provisions from the roads in the valley bottoms to the high areas of habitation, the Hemşinli use a type of cable car, which they call a *teleferik*. This consists of a wagon drawn along a fixed cable by electricity (see Figure 8.6). This system, which has been used for a long time, works as follows. A signal is sent to the people in the house at the top by hitting the cable with a stick. When this message is received the car is sent down from the house, and when it is loaded up, a second signal is given to indicate that it is time to bring the load up. These days, however, many of the Hemşinli find it more practical to take advantage of recent advances in telecommunications technology by using short-wave radios to communicate.

The most extensive development in communications in the 1990s has been the construction of a 17-kilometre, two-lane asphalt road to the Ayder *Mezra*. The completion of this road saw a large increase in the number of people going to Ayder and the yaylas above it.

Like the road network, the connection of many of the town quarters and villages to the national power grid happened relatively recently; many of the mahalles and villages that I visited were only connected between 1982 and 1985. Likewise, by



Figure 8.6 Control room of a steel cable lift (*teleferik*) in the Makrevis (Konaklar) mahalle. These systems are used to transport heavy loads from roads on valley floors to houses which have no motor vehicle access.

1990 telephone lines had been laid to most of the villages, but the connection of individual houses was only just beginning to happen. The advent of electricity was accompanied by a rapid increase in the use of electrical appliances for the home. Within five years of the arrival of electricity, all households had TV, 89 per cent had radios, 69 per cent had fridges and 44 per cent had washing machines. This high level of modernization is extremely surprising given that the only physical access to many homes was still by path or by winch; that they managed to bring in so many large appliances was largely due to help received from relatives in the cities and even from neighbours. The thing that has changed the least is the way

people cook. People still use traditional stoves known as *pilita* (*kuzine* in Turkish) in their houses rather than electric cookers or stoves.²⁸ The reason for this is basically practical and relates to available sources of energy – wood is still the most economical and dependable fuel in Hemshin villages. Each house still has a portion of forest allotted to it for the collection of firewood. The traditional stove (*pilita/kuzine*) is also more practical in that it provides heating as well as a means of cooking. Houses that still have the traditional hearth rather than a stove have a special tray (*sacayağtı*) that they use to cook and heat, or they use a *gilimur* (iron chain for cauldrons) hanging from the ceiling.²⁹

All mahalles and villages in the region were joined to the telephone network at the beginning of the 1990s, but not many people made use of them initially. Today, however, almost every house has a phone.

Health

The Çamlıhemşin Health Centre is located in the Konaklar (Makrevis) mahalle. In 1990, one chief doctor (*başhekim*), two general practitioners and four nurses worked there. Services provided by the centre included x-ray, lab work, electrocardiography, intensive care and maternity. According to information provided by the principal doctor in the same year, 30 to 40 per cent of the cases seen at the centre were for goitre.³⁰ Rheumatism and high blood pressure were the second most common cases. The reasons he cited for these two problems were the unsuitability of local clothing for the prevailing climatic conditions, in particular the high moisture levels (especially the wearing of shoes made from plastic known as *kara lastik*), and a diet that typically includes large amounts of animal fat and butter as well as foods high in sugar content. The most common complaints for the women of the region, who carry heavy workloads for a large part of their lives, were traumatic illnesses, to the point that it is very unusual to find an elderly Hemshinli woman who does not have a hunchback.

A major health problem in the eastern Black Sea region is the occurrence of hookworm (*ankylostoma*). We were unable to collect any information on the existence of this parasite, which is spread by carnivores such as cats and dogs in the Hemshin region.

Education

It is very common for the Hemshinli who live in towns to have completed higher education. We were often told by the Hemshinli that they were more educated and more civilized (*medeni*) than the Lazi. They often explain that one of the oldest middle schools (*rüşdiye*) in the country was established in Çamlıhemşin in the village of Şenyuva (formerly Çinçiva), which is evidently something they feel very proud of. Among the historical figures of the region are various religious scholars (*ulemas*). Here we should mention Necati Efendi, a member of the Memişoğlu family, which is still much loved in Çinçiva, who was a religious scholar before being elected to the Turkish National Assembly. Ziya Hurşid from

Mollaveys, who was a representative to the Turkish National Assembly for Lazistan in the 1920s before being executed for having planned the Izmir assassination attempt, was a German teacher before he became a member of the Assembly.³¹

The education system that currently applies in Çamlıhemşin is as follows: the administrative centre of the county has two primary schools and one middle and one high school (there have been changes due to the law that makes eight years of education compulsory) and one religious (*imam hatip*) high school. Of the 197 middle and high school pupils that were educated in state schools in 1990, the percentage of girls to boys was very low – 40.6 per cent girls and 59.4 per cent boys. The relatively high number of girls who do not study after finishing primary school is a striking feature here, as it is in other areas of rural Anatolia.

According to the records of the *Çamlıhemşin Halk Eğitim Merkez* (People's Education Centre of Çamlıhemşin), the literacy rate for the region in 1989 was 97 per cent.³² Other courses provided in the same year at the centre were folk dancing and sewing/needlework classes. We were told that many of those attending the sewing classes were young girls who were there to prepare their own trousseaus.

Migration and its effects on the social life of the Hemshin people

We have already mentioned the fact that many men in the Hemshin region leave home in order to find work, and we saw how this was reflected in the inequality in the numbers of women and men resident in the rural population. The main reason for this migration, widespread in the region and documented as far back as the Ottoman Empire, is to achieve a better standard of living.³³ For example, the *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi* (provincial yearbook) for 1902 (1320 AH), which includes the Hemshin area, mentions migration beyond the borders of the Empire under the entry for the administrative district Atina:

Many of the inhabitants of the district leave each year to work as bakers, tobacco sellers and unskilled labourers in the Caucasus, southern provinces of Russia, Romania and Bulgaria whereas those who remain usually principally work in agriculture but also in other occupations such as ferryman, fishing, stonemasonry and carpentry.

Migration beyond the borders of the empire – especially to Russia, but also to countries of Eastern and Central Europe – during Ottoman times was unavoidable due to the lack within the empire of suitable employment possibilities – apart from general unskilled labour jobs. Some Hemshinli state that the first Hemshin migration was as long ago as the time of the Passarowitz Treaty of 1718, which seems a little difficult to believe. Those who went first took up jobs making pastry and bread and acted as mentors to those who came after them. Those of the Hemshinli who were still there when the Soviet Union was established were

forcibly returned to Turkey (even though some did remain) and so they now moved to the major towns of Turkey and set up their own businesses.³⁴ To this day the two traditional areas of occupation in which the Hemshinli are employed are patisseries and bakeries (*fırın* or *fırın* in the Hemshin dialect). Today a significant number of the patisseries and bakeries in large cities and towns such as Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir belong to Hemshinli.³⁵

The Hemshinli are not restricted to these two professions, however, and it is common to find the Hemshinli in the tea house, coffee shop, restaurant, *meyhane* (tavern), hotel and cafeteria businesses. A noticeable feature of the patisseries owned by the Hemshinli – especially long-established ones in the large cities – is that they usually have European names.³⁶ The main reason for this is that until fairly recently, the consumption of pastries was more widespread among the bourgeois, petit-bourgeois and state official classes than among the ordinary people. This is supported by the fact that the patisseries of the type mentioned were all to be found on main roads in bourgeois areas such as Çankaya, Kavaklıdere and Küçüksat. However, the recent spread of luxury patisseries with names associated with the Hemshin region such as *Serender* and *Pilita* show the growing popularity of regionalism today as well as the changing attitudes of the Hemshinli. Tea-rooms, bakeries and restaurants, unlike the patisseries, always carried names that were in line with their ethnic and geographical background such as *Salon Hemşin* (Hemşin Tea-Room), *Kaçkar Ekmek Fırını* (Kaçkar Bakery) or *Güzel Karadeniz Lokanta* (Beautiful Black Sea Restaurant). This is due to the fact that the tea-rooms, bakeries and to some extent restaurants were always in conformity with the traditional culture of the majority of the people, so there was no need to distinguish them with foreign names, and it was natural for businesses that were trying to serve the general population to choose local names.

The small agricultural holdings and relatively low agricultural yields of the Hemshin area meant that it was difficult for the Hemshinli to provide for the traditional large family groupings of former times, so they were left with no other alternative than to migrate to find work. Because it was usually the men who made the decisions about production in the household (typically the male head of the household) and because it was the women who did most of the work of the household, a system emerged that led to the men leaving the household to find paid labour. We can establish that in 90 per cent of households at least one member had left the region to find work, and all of these were men. This situation is not restricted to the Hemshinli, however, and similar processes are to be found in many other patriarchal village communities.³⁷ The theme of migration (*gurbet*) is often encountered in magazines published by the Hemshinli living in towns.³⁸ The term 'migration lads' (*gurbet uşakları*) is used to describe youths who go to the towns to work has a rather harsh ring to it, but the fact is that among young men in Hemshin, going to the big towns to start a business is something of an ideal, and so unmarried young men are usually sent to a relative or acquaintance in the city who owns a business to establish them in a job or a trade.³⁹ The patriarchal system also imposes on young men the obligation (*mecburiyet*) of following in the footsteps of their father or grandfather's profession, and they are often forced

to migrate to the towns.⁴⁰ Young girls can only leave the home when they get married.⁴¹ Hemshinli women, like the men, do not usually have the right to choose their own profession. Most of them are agricultural workers or housewives.⁴² Although it is rare, some daughters of wealthy Hemshinli families who live in cities enjoy the same freedom as the boys from these families to choose their education and profession.

The Hemshinli, who initially migrated to the big cities in order to work in transient seasonal jobs and would return almost every summer to help their families with the work in the fields and yaylas or to spend their holidays there, have mostly now permanently settled in the big cities.⁴³ Despite this, most Hemshinli men try to visit their native region each summer, accompanied by their family, or will at least send their wives and children home to help elderly parents and keep them occupied during the summer holidays.

Social status and gender roles

The social status of men is greater than that of women. Men who own businesses in the towns have higher status than male householders who are paid workers or who work on the land. Such businessmen often acquire the kind of respect and influence usually reserved for feudal leaders like *beys*, and in their role as employers (*işveren*), it is common for them to employ people from their own village as paid workers. Situations such as this, where a seemingly capitalist relationship is masking a more traditional feudal role, are worthy of note. The status differences between these individuals is often manifested as much in their clothes as in the way they interact.⁴⁴

The patriarchal family system is dominant in the region, and so the eldest male is the head of the household. The eldest woman in the household also enjoys high status. The term *koçira* among the Hemshinli is used to describe a woman who performs a managerial function within the home rather than carrying out household duties.⁴⁵ Elderly women do not lose this status when their sons become adults, though as a general rule it is considered important that women obey the male head of the household. For women this is an inescapable rule, and for this reason it is women who do most of the heavy work like carrying loads. Hâle Soysü made the following comment on this inequality:

Only mothers bear all the burdens. Mothers who make their husbands bear a burden are considered dishonourable among the people. This tradition is still in force in the Hemshin region. The woman bears the burden of the whole family.⁴⁶

Soysü complains that while the women do all the work, the men kill time in the coffee shops. It is a fact that most Hemshinli men, like those in the Black Sea region in general, tend not to have any involvement in household work. Michael Meeker points out that the habit of most men in the Black Sea region of sitting around in coffee shops or village squares not working is in sharp contrast to the

reputation they have outside the region for being hard workers.⁴⁷ Chris Hann, who studied industrial relations in the tea-producing industry in Sümer, a village tied administratively to the Fındıklı county of Rize, points out that all economic activity in the region has fallen to the women because, in the period before the introduction of tea cultivation, the men used to migrate to other areas for work due to local economic and demographic factors.⁴⁸ He also says that contrary to popular belief, after the introduction of tea cultivation, men who had nothing else to do did not remain idle but in fact worked very hard in the tea industry, even in jobs that were normally performed by women, such as collecting and transporting the tea. Hann argues that the men are actually following up on business during the time they spend in the coffee houses, and that the idea that men in Hemshin wander around doing nothing is untrue.⁴⁹ For example, there are men who have worked in the towns in their youth and, after retiring from Bağkur (a state-owned insurance company for tradesmen and artisans), they return and may be found working with women in the tea plantations or doing all the *yayla* work, including the housework, while their wives and children are employed in the tea plantations. There are even men who help in the kitchen, though it must be said that there are not many examples of this; men who perform housework or women's work are not taken very seriously and are the butt of jokes. To a large extent, it is the women who are responsible for both crop cultivation and animal husbandry.

The high number of women who are the *de facto* heads of their households due to men having migrated to the towns is striking. Of the forty-five houses studied during fieldwork in the Kavran *yayla*, twenty had women who were acting heads of the household. Of these, eight were discovered to head the household all year round. A study into the changes in the status of householders showed that migration to the towns had inevitably led to a breakup of the family unit and that, as a result of this process, many women found themselves heads of the family carrying all the accompanying responsibility.⁵⁰ Another result of the breakup of the rural Hemshin family structure has been the disappearance of the patriarchal extended family structure and the corresponding rise of the nuclear family structure.⁵¹

Hemshin society does exert fairly strong social control on young girls. Extreme measures or strict segregation of the sexes in accordance with Islamic requirements, however, are non-existent. Having said this, it is an important matter that women's clothes and behaviour are in conformity with established social norms. For example, apart from the very old, women are not expected to meet or talk to men whom they do not know. It is common for women not to speak to their fiancés in social situations and to feel embarrassed if they do so. According to the elderly, it is a necessary part of the respect that a woman owes to the head of the household (*hane reis*) to be embarrassed of men and to hide themselves from them, and that includes their fiancés. Meeker says that, for Black Sea men in general, women's chastity and their obeying orders is a matter of honour, and this applies to the Hemshinli.⁵² For this reason women mostly stay at home and, except for weddings and festivals, they do not go out into society much. In comparison to girls, boys have much more freedom of action, but they still

encounter certain pressures due to the patriarchal family system. As mentioned in the section on migration, it is very unusual for a young man to choose his own profession – the choice being left to his father.

Girls who marry into the family often have to do the heavy work which elderly parents in the village can no longer manage. If there are a number of daughters-in-law in one household, they will be sent in rotation in the summer to help the family of the husband. Women who get married and join their husbands in the cities are normally happy with being housewives, despite the fact that they are totally dependent economically on their husbands, because this saves them from the heavy agricultural work back in the villages. Consequently, they are not very receptive to requests for help that come from the village. The final decision in such matters shows the authority of the husband (in the eyes of the elderly, any laziness or disobedience reflects weakness in the husband's authority); the fear of the removal of the blessing – or literally curse (*beddua*) of the parents – if the husband chooses his wife's preference over theirs or if he cannot make his wife do what he wants is still an effective weapon for the elderly to use in trying to control the younger generations. Despite this, however, the desire of the young to live a life independent of their parents is growing and has led to an increase in conflict between the generations. These conflicts are even a subject in the lyrics of folk-songs. An example of a clash between a daughter and father-in-law is as follows:

<i>Ettim üç tane gelin</i>	I have three daughters-in-law
<i>Gelin çattı geline</i>	One followed another
<i>Altından kemer taktım</i>	I tied a belt of gold
<i>Herbirinin beline</i>	To each of their waists.
<i>Bakmadım asalete</i>	I did not take into account their nobility
<i>Baktım hep güzeline</i>	I just went by their looks
<i>O günden suyu verdim</i>	On that day I poured water
<i>Evimin temeline</i>	Into the foundations of the house. ⁵³

Agriculture and animal husbandry

Observations both in villages and high pastures indicate that the Hemsin still live within the structures of a traditional agro-pastoral economy; the villages and pastures rely on a two-dimensional subsistence pattern based on agriculture and livestock. Despite constant labour migration and fundamental changes that have occurred since tea was introduced into the area, this traditional economic pattern is still obvious. A large proportion of the land in Çamlıhemşin (84 per cent) is forest. Fourteen per cent of the land in the twenty-four villages of the region is cultivated and, according to statistics for 1980, 63 per cent of village land is forest, 3.5 per cent is devoted to growing fodder, 24.3 per cent is composed of grazing areas, 0.2 per cent is arable land and 1 per cent is dedicated to tea cultivation.⁵⁴ The scarcity in the area of land suitable for agriculture and the scattered nature of the areas that may be cultivated is a major problem. In 1980

the landholdings of 95.3 per cent of the 2,267 farming families were between 0–25 *dönüms* (1 dönüm is about 920 m²), which shows that the small family farm predominates within this agricultural system. This finding is supported by our own research.

Eighty-two per cent of the households that work the Kavran yayla, one of the most diverse in the region, have landholdings of between 0–25 dönüms.⁵⁵ The fact that the agricultural lands are small and scattered as well as the rough nature of the terrain of the agricultural land means that the use of agricultural machinery such as tractors is not possible. Thus human labour is the basis of production. Much of the work on the land is done by handheld hoes or occasionally by a plough drawn by oxen. Work on the land begins in April or May and continues until the harvest in autumn. Traditional agricultural practises such as the harvesting and gathering of maize (*lazut* in Hemshin dialect, *mısır* in Turkish) and the separation of the cobs from the leaves are carried out communally (*imece* in Turkish, also known as *meci* in the Hemshin dialect) – that is to say, with the help of other households. The maize is then placed in the serender (store house), and when it is needed, it is taken to the mill to be turned into flour. It is then made into bread or used in cooking.⁵⁶ Another staple agricultural product is beans (*lobiya*), which are preserved by pickling and stored. In the winter the pickled beans are fried in butter and eaten hot. Potatoes (*kartof*) are another important food product.

The transition from subsistence farming to tea cultivation

In Çamlıhemşin the growing of products such as maize, beans, potatoes and purple cabbage used to dominate. These were grown chiefly as traditional subsistence crops, but nowadays they are giving way to the cultivation of tea, which is grown as a cash crop.

Cultivation of tea in Çamlıhemşin began at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s.⁵⁷ Of the twenty-four villages in the region, nineteen are engaged in the cultivation of tea; 2,481 people are engaged in tea cultivation, and each year 2,380 tons of tea-leaves (weight given is before they are dried) are harvested from 8,041 *dekars* (a dekar is 1,000 sq. m).⁵⁸ The main unit of production in the cultivation of tea is the family; small-scale cultivation is typical for the Rize region.⁵⁹ Cultivation by small family groups is particularly evident in the town quarters and villages of Çamlıhemşin. According to data from the Çaykur factory in Ardeşen, tea cultivation per household does not exceed 10 dönüms. The amount of land devoted to the cultivation of tea belonging to each of the forty-five houses studied during fieldwork was between 3–5 dönüms.

Before the arrival of tea, the chief cash crop in the Hemshin economy was maize, which was bought and sold in local markets as well as being a major subsistence crop. In the 1990s tea brought in twice as much income per kilo as maize, which encouraged people to switch to tea cultivation.⁶⁰ Another important factor that emerged in our fieldwork was the fact that tea was not subject to the same natural predators as maize was, so this also led many Hemshinli to choose

to cultivate tea.⁶¹ The fact that average household sizes have decreased due to migration means that families who continue to produce traditional crops do not have the workforce to guard their fields, so crops are left unprotected. According to the elderly, in previous times when there were more people around, a rotation for guarding the crops would be established to protect them while they ripened. Households today comprising one elderly couple do not have the resources to do this, and so the crops are at much greater risk. Given the prospect of losing the crop and all the work that has gone into producing it, people today have turned the land that is far away from the house over to the cultivation of tea, while reserving land closer to their houses, that may be supervised more easily, for the cultivation of vegetables.⁶²

Government policies encouraging the cultivation of tea as well as the reasons given above have led to a fall in the production of maize – especially in recent years. Thus in 1980 around 300 tonnes of maize was cultivated on 250 hectares of land, whereas by 1989 this had halved to 150 tonnes of maize cultivated on 120 hectares of land.⁶³ When those figures are compared with the land under tea cultivation and the amount of tea produced (2,380 tonnes of tea from 8,041 dekar), it may be clearly seen just how much the production of maize has dropped. Despite all these developments, however, Çamlıhemşin is far from being an area that grows only one crop. Along with tea, the land set aside for the cultivation of other crops, principally maize, potatoes and beans, is not small, so with respect to the county of Çamlıhemşin we can talk about a mixed agricultural type combining both subsistence and cash crops.⁶⁴ Under these conditions, the accumulation of capital that enables a capitalist agricultural model has not been possible. Moreover, while the majority of the work is met by the individual households, the taking on of hired help, though not very widespread, does occur, since almost all the types of cultivation are labour-intensive, and there is a dearth of labour among the region's households. The sphere in which the Hemshinli have been able to accumulate capital is via their businesses in the towns such as patisseries, restaurants and bakeries, which we discussed above.

Although the great majority of the labour required for tea cultivation is carried out by women (80 per cent; see Figure 8.7), a major part of the income generated is retained by men (around 60 per cent).⁶⁵ The heads of households tend to say that the income from tea is so small as to be insignificant, adding that it is typically used to buy small things for the house or is split up among the women of the house, who usually use it to buy gold.

Turning to some of the negative aspects of the transition to tea cultivation, the difficulty of collecting tea by hand – especially in the early 1990s, when inexperienced supervision, low quotas given to the producers and, most importantly, delays in paying the villagers for the crop all placed barriers to the acceptance of tea in the area as a reliable crop.⁶⁶ Just as we found many Hemshinli who did not consider tea to be an important source of income, we found others who believed it to be an inappropriate crop due to the heavy workload it imposes. In addition to this, the transition to tea cultivation has had a negative impact on the traditional symbiosis of the two main components of the traditional Hemshin subsistence



Figure 8.7 Carrying green tea-leaves to collection points (*çay alım yeri*) is primarily the burden of women in Hemshin. In this picture they may be seen sorting the leaves.

economy – maize cultivation and cattle husbandry. The leaves from the maize stalks (*kotlacak* or *kotalcak* in the Hemshin dialect) and those covering the cobs (*poçok*) formed a useful by-product that was used as animal fodder (called *ovok/oğvank*), but with the transition to tea cultivation, the amount produced naturally declined, depriving farmers of this fodder. This, in turn, had a negative effect on cattle ownership, which as we shall see below forms an important part of the local subsistence economy. Many Hemshinli who see tea as a good source of income still complain about the setbacks in maize cultivation and cattle husbandry. Mecit Güneysu, for example, found that in areas where almost all the fields and meadows had been turned over to the cultivation of tea, animal husbandry and crop cultivation declined to almost nothing; this resulted in an impoverishment of the sources of nourishment for people of the region.⁶⁷ The negative economic effects of the tea economy also had a negative impact on the normally helpful nature of the people and was a cause for weddings and festivals to be held in an atmosphere of gloom.

Members of the older generation complain that tea cultivation has destroyed their traditional way of life and the natural bounty that used to grace their tables. The biggest worry of the old is the question of who is going to carry out the intensive labour necessary for the cultivation of tea.⁶⁸ This is a legitimate fear, because the younger generations are migrating to the cities. In the face of this uncertainty,

older people find the continuation of the traditional subsistence system to be more trustworthy, and as we shall see, they are the main protagonists in pastoral life.

Animal husbandry

According to statistics for the Çamlıhemşin rural area, in 1980 animal husbandry was the main source of livelihood in 33 per cent of the villages, but today its former importance has declined.⁶⁹ Cattle are the most important animals in the Çamlıhemşin rural area; at the beginning of the 1970s, there were more than 11,500 cattle here, but by 1997 this number had declined by 65 per cent to 5,180.⁷⁰ This decline is not peculiar to Çamlıhemşin; it has occurred in the entire eastern Black Sea region. In a study of 500 families in Rize, Hasan Özyurt estimated that the average number of cattle per household had fallen from 4.2 to 1.4 (a decrease of 66.7 per cent), and the number of sheep and goats had fallen by 95 per cent. The researcher also noted that the greatest fall in the number of cattle and sheep in the eastern Black Sea region was in Rize.⁷¹

Sixty per cent of the cattle in the area are local breeds. Attempts at producing new breeds are taking place in the county's Centre for Natural Insemination, by crossing pure-bred Jersey bulls with local breeds, and as of 1997 there were 1,507 cross-bred cattle. In summer the Hemshinli take the cattle up to the high yaylas, which means that it is difficult for veterinarians to reach them in order to provide various services. Veterinarians in the region say that moving the cattle from the scattered villages to the yaylas, where the animals are gathered together, increases the risk of outbreaks of contagious diseases, but it also means that a more effective vaccination campaign can be carried out against diseases such as foot and mouth, which the villagers find to be advantageous. There are also other disadvantages caused by the distance from the administrative centre of the county to the yaylas, which delays effective controls by veterinarians and makes communication between people difficult.⁷²

As well as cattle, sheep and goats are also kept in the region. According to statistics for 1997, there were a total of 1,296 sheep (local breeds) and 1,242 goats in the region. There were also fifteen horses, fourteen mules and four donkeys. Motorized transport to the yaylas by way of the newly built roads means that the need for beasts of burden has decreased.

The Hemshinli's seasonal migration to the yayla: transhumance

There are a large number of yayla habitations scattered along the Kaçkar Mountains, and the importance of the activities that take place in the yaylas goes far beyond the purely economic.⁷³ Despite many changes, transhumance continues to play an important part in the life of the Hemshinli. Although the transition to tea cultivation and the large-scale migration to the towns means that the yaylas no longer have the same festive air, people still continue to go up to the yaylas every

summer. Villagers bored with the daily routine of the winter months and migrants working hard in the cities share the same longing for the yaylas. The yaylas continue to be an important theme of folk-songs, perhaps even more than love and lovers.⁷⁴

Characteristics of the yayla ecosystem

The yaylas are fairly remote from the administrative centre and lie in the alpine meadow zone between a height of 2,000 and 3,000 metres. The geological structure of the region, which is responsible for the alpine type of ecosystem, is very complex. Rickmers, who carried out geographical research in the area at the beginning of the twentieth century, and Gustav Stratil-Sauer, who visited yaylas on a journey from Bayburt to Ispir via the Tatos Pass, both give information about the yaylas, as well as details of the geology, climate, flora and fauna of the Kaçkar Mountains.⁷⁵ At that time the Hemshin region fell within the borders of the *sancak* (administrative division in Ottoman times) of Lazistan, so they refer to the region as Lazistan. The two researchers studied the structure of the Kaçkar and Verçenik Mountains as well as the moraine and cirque formations that occur in the region and which date back to the last ice age.⁷⁶ Mt Kaçkar (3,932 m) is the highest peak in the Kaçkar Mountains, which themselves are the second highest chain of mountains in Anatolia after the Cilo Mountains. On the northern side of the mountain there are still two glaciers, one large and one small, and there is another glacier on the southern side. A fourth glacier lies beneath moraine and scree.

The winter season in the Kaçkars is long.⁷⁷ Temperatures remain below zero degrees centigrade between October and May, and there is snow between December and May. For this reason the growing season is restricted to two or three months, and this – as we shall see below – dictates the strategies which of the area employ with regard to the move to and from the yaylas. Daily temperature variations are extreme in this zone, but because there are no weather stations at that altitude, the actual temperatures can only be estimated in line with our observations. It is estimated that the yearly average temperature of the region above 2,000 m is below 3 degrees centigrade.⁷⁸ In summer the average rises slightly, to about 10 degrees. The estimated yearly rainfall is between 600 and 1,000 mm, a large proportion of which falls as snow. Even the summer months sometimes witness a sudden drop in temperature, accompanied by snow. The other dominant climatological feature of the area is fog. In the summer months there is usually fog every afternoon at altitudes between 1,500 and 2,500 m. The fog is formed when moist weather masses from the Black Sea, drawn southwards by low pressure over the Persian Gulf, strike the Kaçkar Mountains. As the air rises it cools, resulting in fog formation. The fog and drizzle are important factors affecting pastoral activities.⁷⁹

The plant cover in the Alpine zone is dominated by European-Siberian pasture species. Among the short-lived and profusely flowering plants that have adapted to the altitude and harsh conditions are annual mountain lilies, daisies,

rhododendrons (which can survive even at altitudes above 2,500 m) and *Sternbergia Colchicifolia*, which resembles the yellow crocus.⁸⁰

The yayla habitations, houses and inhabitants

The yaylas exhibit differences according to their geographical location and may be divided into four groups based on those differences: (1) valley bottom and/or side (Elevit and Yukarı Kavran yaylas); (2) mountain slope (Huser and Palakçur yaylas); (3) ridge (Hazindag, Pokut and Sal yaylas); (4) cirque/glacier basin (Samistal yayla).

Despite the above-mentioned variation, most of the yaylas and especially the larger ones are to be found in wide valleys (see Figure 8.8). Formed by retreating glaciers, which covered the northern slopes of the Kaçkar Mountains during the Pleistocene Era, the valleys are 250 to 300 m deep, and the valley bottoms are more than 500 m wide. The valleys can stretch for miles and form a most suitable location for the yaylas. The most important reason for this is that not only are the valley bottoms and slopes suitable for habitation, but the length of the valley and its slopes present abundant opportunities for grazing. Moreover, most of the valleys in the Kaçkar massif have almost vertical walls, providing a useful geographical isolation that serves as a safe environment for the people, and even more importantly, offers ease of supervision and natural safety for the animals. In terms of water sources as well, the environment is very kind to the Hemshinli. The valley bottoms are particularly rich in springs and running water. In this respect, the region is very different from its Anatolian hinterland. In the Taurus Mountains, the main factor in choosing where in the yaylas the tents will be erected each summer is the nearness of permanent springs, whereas in the Kaçkar Mountains, the most important factor is the security of the houses. Water is one of the principal considerations of yayla life, and Hemshin yayla habitations were not placed haphazardly in that regard, but the most important factor in deciding the location of a habitation in the yayla is that it should be in a location safe from the danger of avalanches, which occur due to the harshness of the weather conditions. The danger of avalanche is very high in the alpine zone due to the heavy snowfall in the winter, and despite care in choosing places to live, avalanches have caused destruction in various yaylas at various times.⁸¹

We should say at this point that settlements in Hemshin yaylas usually resemble those in year-long villages. The yaylas, with their permanent houses, stables, stone paths between the houses, water channels set up to keep the stables clean, coffee house and even pensions are like a permanent area of habitation. We know that many foreign travellers or groups trekking in the area describe the yaylas as high villages, and some of the yaylas do indeed resemble large villages. For example, the Kavran yayla, which is divided into two parts, Yukarı (Upper) and Aşağı (Lower) Kavran, and which lies in the valley of the same name on the outskirts of Mt Kaçkar, had 154 houses in 1990, of which ninety-two were in use. According to the inhabitants of the yayla, there had previously been around 300 houses, but many had been destroyed by avalanches or by fire. In comparison to



Figure 8.8 The Upper Kavron yayla (pasture), situated in one of the large valleys of the Kaçkar Mountains.

the village populations, the number of houses and population of the yayla exceeds that of many Hemshin villages. This is because many mahalles and villages use this yayla, as is the case with many of the yaylas in Çamlıhemşin.⁸²

Most houses in the yaylas are rectangular wooden structures built on stone foundations. The roofs are not very high, and these days they are roofed with sheet iron rather than with the more traditional *hartama*.⁸³ The two-storeyed houses in the yaylas follow the same pattern as those in the villages, the ground floor serving as a stable and the upper floor being used for living quarters. In the yaylas there are also, however, one-storeyed houses where the stable and the living quarters are built next to each other. These houses are made entirely of stone. The floors of the living quarters and the stables are covered in wood. A drainage channel (*sanasar*) runs through the middle of the stable for cleaning purposes. The main parts of the upper storeys are as follows: (1) *hayat* (*çardak* in the Hemshin dialect) is the name given to the area at the entrance, which may be either open with a railing around it or closed in; (2) the *sofa* or sitting area is accessed from the *çardak* by a door; it is the biggest section of the house, and the hearth or stove is usually found here; (3) doors off the sofa will lead to bedrooms if the house has them; in more modest houses that have no bedrooms, the inhabitants all sleep together in the sofa area, either on the low wooden divans that go right around the room or on beds that are taken away during the day; (4) the *kiler* (known as *maran* in the Hemshin dialect) is the food store and in most houses is

situated in the north-facing part of the house; (5) bathrooms and toilets are not usually found in the house; in some yaylas they are outside the houses; more typically, there is a communal toilet in some convenient location away from the houses. The stables may also be used for bathing and toilet needs. Most of the yaylas have more than one spring. Nowadays many families have running water in their houses, either from pipes or from boreholes. Some houses have bathrooms and toilets. There are also examples of older houses being supplied with thermal insulation for the sitting-rooms, which traditionally were badly insulated.

Compared to those in the villages, the houses in the yaylas have fewer inhabitants.⁸⁴ This is because the members of the household are in different places pursuing various economic activities. The population, however, is never stable. There is always a lot of movement of people to and from the yaylas, especially in recent years following the construction of roads. Today many yaylas, such as Elevit, Tirovit and Kavran, have organized shared taxi services. Some have one or two taxis going to them each day. However, throughout the summer, the number of people per house who are actually engaged in yayla work, known as *yaylacıs*, is no more than a couple. To illustrate, there were ninety-two houses in Kavran in the 1990 summer season, and the total population of the houses was 239, of which only 166 were actually employed in the yayla (1.8 people per household). Of these, 70 per cent were women. This is not surprising, as most of the agricultural work – crop growing and animal husbandry – falls to the women. Some men help out with the work voluntarily, and, more rarely, they have to work due to hardship. In twenty-five houses, one woman on her own undertook all the work in the yayla, whereas the corresponding figure for men was five. Because the male heads of household are not so tied to the daily work routine as women, they have more freedom of movement. The women's travel between the yaylas, villages and the administrative centre is infrequent and of short duration, and they only go if there is something they need urgently or if somebody working for them needs something. The men, however, besides spending time in the coffee houses, also move between the yaylas, villages and the administrative centre to get things for the household or to follow up on other business; their trips are more frequent and are of longer duration. It is noticeable that most of the male heads of household are not present at the yaylas.⁸⁵

Just as the gender distribution of those working in the yaylas is unequal, so the distribution of ages reflects certain interesting groupings. Thus 60 per cent of the women are 40 or older, whereas for the men the percentage of those 40 or older is 43 per cent. The clear preponderance of the middle-aged and older population seems to indicate that work in the yaylas today has fallen to a large extent to the older people living in the villages.⁸⁶

Almost every summer, town-dwelling members of the household as well as relatives come to visit, and of this group, the majority (72.6 per cent) are children between the ages of 0 to 14.⁸⁷ The majority of these are the children of family members who live in the villages or the towns. Typically, their fathers are in the towns working, and their mothers are busy with harvesting the tea, haymaking, housework, or work in the yayla, so they leave the children with their grandparents.

The organization of the transhumance

Because the Hemshin yaylas are at high altitudes in relation to the permanent village habitations, the seasonal migrations are of the 'vertical transhumance' type. Within the region, the time for migration is known as *Kiraz'in iptisi* (1 June), but because of tea-gathering work, the move usually takes place in mid June. In former times, the move was usually decided by the leaders of the villages or mahalles who used the yayla, along with members of a special committee formed to oversee the move. In accordance with this decision, people would move to the yayla as a group at the beginning of June. Old people say that in former times, the day of the move to the yayla was a very special occasion, with women who had married that year wearing their wedding dresses (*ehram*) and the heads of the cattle were adorned with blue good-luck beads (*boncuk*) and other decorations.

Although the traditional system of movement to the yayla has been disrupted by work connected with tea production, people from the same village or mahalle still try to move at the same time insofar as this is possible. The exact decision as to when to move depends on the season and, in particular, upon the grass growth in the yayla being sufficient for the animals to graze. To ascertain the state of the yayla, a committee goes up to the yayla some time before the move (usually in May) to evaluate its condition, and informs the people of the village of its findings. Checking the state of the yaylas is much easier nowadays due to the opening of roads to many of them.⁸⁸ These checks, which take place prior to the move, are not only important in ascertaining when the yayla is ready for the move, but also in informing house owners of the condition of their houses (whether they have been destroyed or need some repair work). In 1989 the owners of twenty-five or thirty houses totally destroyed by avalanches in Yukarı Kavran were informed of the destruction in this manner.

In many places the traditional migration used to take place in stages. For example, the people of the Hala villages at one time used to migrate to land in Ayder, which lies at an altitude of 1,200 m, in mid April. At the beginning of June, they would then proceed up to Aşağı Kavran, which lies at an altitude of 1,950 m, where they would stay for about a month before moving to Yukarı Kavran, at an altitude of 2,250 m. At the end of August or beginning of September, depending on the weather, they would return to the lower yayla, and at the end of September they would go down to Ayder, where they would stay for four to six weeks before returning to their village. Today not a single family adheres to this system. Now a number of different systems of migration are used for various reasons. Chief among them are the destruction of property in the yayla caused by avalanches or fires, the delaying of the move to mid-June because of work in the tea fields, the abandoning of animal husbandry and yayla agricultural activity as a result of people migrating to the cities, and the resulting breakup in families, which are also getting smaller. Since 1989 when it became possible to travel to the yaylas by motor vehicle, the move of all the animals and all the equipment necessary for the yayla can be accomplished in a couple of hours. This has led to an increase in the number of households making the move on their own.

Even if the old system of migration has broken down, *yayla* life still maintains its importance in the existence of the Hemshin people. Households continue with small-scale cattle husbandry, an economic activity which depends on the move to the *yaylas*. The Hemshin people, especially the older generation, have no alternative but to migrate to the *yaylas* in order to farm the animal products that form an important part of their diet, and however much they complain about this way of life, there is no easy way for them to break free of it. Another factor that makes the move to the *yaylas* attractive in the summer months is the oppressiveness of life in the villages due to the humidity and mosquitoes. These two problems do not occur in the alpine zone, so even members of the family who have to stay in the villages to work on the land try to get up to the *yaylas* whenever they can, especially during the hottest months (particularly July and August).⁸⁹

Preparation for the move to the *yayla* necessitates the provision for a period of two and a half to three months of basic items such as flour, cooking oil, salt, sugar, tea and so on, as well as other consumer goods such as firewood, gas cylinders, detergent and soap. These provisions are normally bought from wholesalers in Çamlıhemşin or Pazar.⁹⁰ Various items are also taken from the village to the *yayla* that have to be brought back to the village in the autumn, such as milking machinery, wooden churns (*heneci*), cheese and butter casks (*kadina*), copper buckets (*ketoh*), cauldrons, and other pots and pans. Stoves are also taken up and brought back again. Many people organize the move with their relatives or neighbours' households, so various families can use the same lorry to go up to the *yayla*.⁹¹ If the *yayla* is a long way away, the cattle will now often be transported by truck, as will pregnant or weak animals. Villagers whose *yayla* is relatively close (e.g. the villagers of Hala) still walk the cattle up to the *yayla*. Because the people who will stay in the *yayla* are often the elderly, and because of the difficulty of the move, the head of the family and any adult males of the household are usually present for the move. Heads of households make the decision as to when the move will take place, but the women who are responsible for the work in the *yaylas* have as much say in the decision as the men. Women and men share in the job of walking the cattle to the *yayla*. Stations on the road to the *yaylas* such as Piliçut and Tukut are important as resting and pasturing places. Many old people complain that such places have now fallen into disrepair since the construction of the road to Ayder and the other *yaylas*.

The return to the villages in the autumn, unlike the move to the *yaylas*, has no fixed date or organization. Individual households or groups of households from the same village make the decision when to return to their villages based on whether or not they have enough animal feed or whether there is work to do in the village. The main factor, however, is the falling temperature. Although the return to the village takes only a few hours, people must be ready for sudden bad weather that can strike in September, and they always have a store of hay in reserve for the animals. Old women say that when the sahlepl plant (*yayla kovani*) flowers, it is a sign that the move should take place, since it indicates a cooling in the weather.

Pastoral techniques

The traditional stockpiling economy of the Hemshinli still to a large extent defines the nature of Hemshin pastoral techniques. On average, each household has four to five head of cattle, and the produce from them is only sufficient for their own needs.⁹²

The plentiful grass and water in the yaylas resulting from an ecosystem with abundant rainfall makes them a good environment for the raising of cattle. By building suitable shelters in the alpine region, which during the summer months has high rainfall and fog, the Hemshinli are able to continue raising cattle in a practical environment as well as securing conditions which suit the people. The difference between the Hemshinli and other pastoralists is that the produce derived from this activity is only a limited part of the source of their livelihood and only a few of the household members are engaged in pastoral production.⁹³

The most important factors determining the ownership of cattle by contemporary households are the problems of labour and the provision of winter fodder for the animals. Given the breakup of households by migration to the big towns, the most important factor is the burden of this type of production on the labour force of the household. Just as in other areas of agricultural production, the most important factor is the workforce of the family, and because nowadays this workforce is often restricted to the elderly, interest in pastoral economic activity and the keeping of cattle has decreased. The fall in cultivation of maize that has accompanied the transition to tea cultivation has also led to a fall in the availability of maize leaves and stalks, which were an important component of the winter feed; this is another limiting factor on cattle husbandry.

Despite local peculiarities, it is possible to compare pastoral techniques in the Kaçkar yaylas with those of other transhumant communities such as the village of Törbel in the Swiss Alps. The people of Törbel, which is a mountain village in Switzerland, go up to communally owned pastures for twelve weeks each summer. Each family has two to three cows with which they produce food (especially cheese) for the winter.⁹⁴ Despite this similarity, there are differences in the actual techniques employed by the Hemshinli. The main difference between the Hemshinli and the people of Törbel and other transhumant communities is that the Hemshinli do not employ shepherds in the grazing of their cattle. People say that in former times when animal husbandry was an important source of income, shepherds were employed to look after large herds of cattle; since the men have begun to move to the towns to work, animal husbandry, like other agricultural work, has fallen to the women which has had an effect on the type of transhumance pursued. This arrangement is not new: Hâmit İnandık's observations on the yaylas of the Hodiçor Valley on Mt Hunut include the fact that most of the cattle in the area wander around unattended by shepherds (see Figure 8.9).⁹⁵

Grazing the animals without a shepherd happens as follows: the owners of the animals milk the cows early in the morning and then take them out of the stable and drive them to the pasture, away from the yayla houses, and then return. The cows graze unattended all day in pastures, which are not too far from the



Figure 8.9 Local transhumance in Palakçur yayla. The old woman responsible for the livestock has driven back home to attend to other household duties, and has let the cows graze in grasslands close to home.

yayla habitation, and most of them come back to the settlement on their own in the evening. If any of them are late, someone goes out to bring them back. Sometimes, especially in foggy weather, the inhabitants of the yayla may have to search over quite long distances for the cattle. Animals that are lost and remain outside overnight can fall prey to predators, although this is rare. For this reason, people from other households in the yayla will join the search for lost animals. Grown cattle which have taken a lot of effort and work to rear are an important form of wealth to the people of the yaylas. All the cattle that are left to graze freely in the yaylas are female. Cows are docile animals, and due to the abundance of water and grass in the yaylas, they do not need to go very far away to find all they need to sustain them in the cycle of 'local transhumance'.⁹⁶ Grown bulls are placed in geographically isolated locations, where they spend the summer months on their own. Every now and then the local boys are sent to take them salt and to see if they are all right.

Local transhumance is important because it is not so labour-intensive, which frees up the members of the household to get on with the heavy workload that is sustained back at the house. The people in the yayla do have to have detailed knowledge of the natural environment of the yayla. This knowledge includes not only knowing the areas that have already been grazed, but also knowing the better pasturing areas. This kind of knowledge is important and is shared among the various inhabitants of the yayla. The people find out from each other the areas where the natural foodstuffs of the cows are to be found – especially *Sibbaldia*

parviflora (*findikotu*), *Festuca ssp.* and *Nardus stricta* (*puşge*) – and they try to take the cows to those places. The exchange of this kind of information becomes increasingly important at the end of the summer when the pastures have begun to become depleted.

Pastoral produce and its storage

The principal foodstuffs produced in the *yayla* for storing are cheese and butter. Along with these, some strained yoghurt and skim cheese (*minci* in local terms) are also made. The amount produced depends on the amount of milk, and this becomes less towards the end of the season.

Cheese production in the *yayla* takes place along traditional lines. The cream is divided from the milk, and the milk is placed into a hand-operated machine. A culture made from the stomachs of young calves is added, allowing cheese to be made. The cheese is then salted and placed in cheese barrels (*kadina*). The separated cream is placed in a churn (*heneci*) and is turned into butter. All of this work is done by hand. The churn (*heneci vurma*) needs at least two people to operate it, and it is very hard work. Groups of neighbours or relatives often help each other with this work. Younger girls and women do the churning work of the older women, and in return the older women help the younger ones with jobs that require dexterity or experience that the younger women do not have (see Figure 8.10).



Figure 8.10 After finishing the substantial work of pastoral production in *yaylas*, women never waste time; most of them engage in handicraft activities such as sack weaving, lace work and so on, either for their own household consumption or to sell in local markets. Elder women sometimes help young girls in preparing their trousseau (*çeyiz*).

The animal products that are produced in the yayla are consumed by the household during the long winter months after they have returned to the villages. Some of it may be sent to relatives in the towns, and only rarely is it sold to family members. Old women or women on their own who are facing hardship may sell the food to small businesses in Pazar to gain income for other necessities, but not more than one or two people do this. The restricted amount of produce made by traditional methods has a low market value and this produce can only find buyers among the local people.

Daily life in the yaylas

Except during festivals, life in the yayla carries on in a very simple and monotonous fashion. People get up early, the cows are milked, the milk is processed, the stables are cleaned, cooking and washing up are done, produce is made from the milk and so on. In the evenings when the cows come home they are milked and fed a type of food made of bran (*melaz*). Following the evening meal, people retire early to bed. The women are busy all day with work in the house, and on the rare occasions when they have nothing to do, they sew or knit together and talk. The men play cards or backgammon in the yayla coffee house. They are also responsible for looking after the house, milking the animals and providing firewood. Many help the women in the kitchen, but the daily workload, to a great extent, falls on the women's shoulders.

There is no electricity supply to the yaylas, so petrol lamps and occasionally gas lamps are used. The principal fuel used in stoves is wood, which is mostly cut illegally from the forests. Rhododendron roots and branches (*çah*) and animal dung (*keşkur*) are also used.⁹⁷

For the children, the entire yayla is a playground, especially the banks of the streams. One of the main pastimes of the boys is catching trout with a fishing line. They are also sent off to check the cattle every so often. The women search the valley slopes periodically for dry rhododendron roots and branches, and the girls get used to carrying these back home, tied to their backs. Young men are rarely to be found in the yaylas, as they find the routine life there boring. Young women, who do not have any choice, are often found there.

Nutrition

The most notable aspect of the people's nutrition is their high consumption of foods rich in fat and sugar. Just as they cook pastry with sugar, they also add a lot of butter or animal fat (*onaşelik* in the Hemshin dialect) to their food (e.g. *çarhala*).⁹⁸ *Muhlama*, one of their well-known dishes, is made with lots of butter.⁹⁹ They also eat vegetables such as beans and potatoes that they bring from the village, in addition to walnuts and fruit such as apples and pears. They cook corn bread (*pilita* and *peleki*), although nowadays bread made of wheat is preferred. The villagers of Ispir also bring fruit and vegetables by mule to the Hemshin yaylas. This mule trade has been going on for many years, but with the opening of the new roads it has lost its old liveliness.¹⁰⁰

Food found in the yaylas is also consumed, although it is not a main part of the Hemshin diet. Trout are caught in the streams, and plants such as mountain cabbage (*dağ lahanası* in Turkish or *Polygonum bistorta*), *çekodim* (*su tersi* or *Cardamine ssp*), *honceyik* (*yayla yemisi* in Turkish or *Vaccinium myrtillus*), *pól* (*yabani soğan* in Turkish or wild onion) and garlic are also eaten. Male calves born in the yaylas are mostly slaughtered as soon as they are a month old and eaten, because people do not want to keep them.

Dress

Perhaps the only local item of clothing peculiar to the Hemshin is the colourful, patterned headscarf made of silk or synthetic material. The way it is tied is also specific to the area. These headscarves are known as *şay/şey* or *puşi* in the area and are widely worn during the *Vartevor* festival and weddings, and even in daily life (see Figure 8.11). This traditional headscarf is found in all the Hemshin villages and yaylas, and is a symbol of Hemshinli women. Wearing this traditional dress is so deeply rooted that the first thing the Hemshinli women who live in the towns and cities do when they return to their villages is put on their traditional headdress. Benninghaus did not find the traditional way of wearing the headscarf to be practised among the Hopa (eastern) Hemshin people, whereas he noted rightly that for the western Hemshin people it was such an important symbol that it could be regarded as a national dress.¹⁰¹ It is interesting to note that these coloured headscarves are mentioned in reports of foreign groups on expeditions to the Kaçkar Mountains. For instance, in their expedition that took place at the beginning of the 1960s, Robin Fedden and Basil Goodfellow described the headscarves of the women whom they met in the yaylas on the slopes of the Kaçkars as being as striking as peacocks.¹⁰² The scarves worn by middle-aged and older women are different from those worn by young women. Young women, especially those who are not yet married, choose very bright colours, whereas the older women prefer pastel colours. It is possible to say that the headscarves have symbolic meaning for the opposite sex that goes beyond the pleasing appearance of the headscarf itself. The everyday clothes of the women are mostly handmade and consist of a woollen jumper over which is worn a jacket or waistcoat and under which they wear a long skirt and woollen socks, which are also colourfully embroidered. Soysü writes of the women wearing shoes that they call *çapula*.¹⁰³ The traditional women's dress called the *foga* (a velvet dress covering the whole body) and the decorated chest covering known as the *kokneç* or *koknoç* are rarely worn today. Instead, a cotton chest decoration known as an *öglük* or a waistband is worn. Shoes are normally factory-produced shoes known as *kara lastik*.¹⁰⁴ Young Hemshinli women have adopted some of the fashions they have observed in the towns, and this distinguishes them from the older generation.

Traditional men's clothing consists of 'wide pleated (*çikva*) trousers (*zığva*) with a special kind of boots called *hodvenik* as well as a cotton or woollen band tied around the waist'.¹⁰⁵ Such traditional clothes are no longer worn by Hemshinli men. Nowadays they wear jackets, shirts and trousers or jeans similar to those in the towns.¹⁰⁶ Middle-aged and elderly men wear a cap on their heads.



Figure 8.11 Old man and his grandchild. The little girl is wearing the traditional Hemshin headscarf known as *şay* or *puşi*. Although rarely used by children, these headscarves are preferred by young girls for horon dances in festivals and for wedding ceremonies. They are assumed to make the unmarried girl more attractive to young bachelor men.

The Hemshinli's view of themselves and their understanding of modernization

The community centres which the Hemshinli have founded in the cities and the magazines which they publish have already been mentioned. Many of the articles in those magazines provide information on how the Hemshinli who live in the cities view their native region and what they think about modernization. In these articles, the Hemshinli in the cities on the one hand view themselves as a

civilized, hard-working and traditional people, but they also complain that their native region which they have left behind has not yet reached the necessary level of development.

A shared opinion on the historical developments in their region among authors contributing to Hemshinli magazines is the perceived inevitability of migration away from the Hemshin area due to economic hardship. They also tend to view migration as a negative phenomenon and blame it for the backwardness of their native region. For example, Eyüp Musluoğlu, a doctor living in one of the big cities, likens migration to 'a cycle of pain passed on from father to son' and also considers migration to be the source of the impoverished Hemshin economy.¹⁰⁷ Musluoğlu thinks that working in the towns in patisseries and restaurants is demeaning and calls on the younger generation to stay in Hemshin and work on the land, which he believes is more honourable. Writers like Musluoğlu, who themselves live in the towns but who call on the younger generation to return to the villages, are regular contributors to these magazines. A relatively more objective view comes from other writers who believe, given the fact that the land cannot provide a satisfactory standard of living, that migration is an attempt by people to create better possibilities for themselves, complaining only that migrant Hemshinli have become too much assimilated into the culture of large urban centres:

Many people who have moved to the cities do not realize that the kind of things they have got used to are specific to the region to which they have migrated and their desire to apply those things in Hemshin is affecting many of our valuable local traditions.¹⁰⁸

In the same article, Metin Numanoğlu mentions another social problem, which is the fact that it is now women who have to carry out most of the agricultural work, because when they return to Hemshin, the men who have gone to the cities to work would rather rest than work. According to Numanoğlu, this inequality is a barrier to social development in Hemshin. On the other hand, quite a few Hemshinli women say that their husbands work hard in the cities, and so they deserve a rest when they come home. This point of view derives from the fact that by going to the towns and working, the men bring home money and secure pensions for when they retire which give the household some freedom from the sphere of agricultural production, and this traditionally gives the man a different status compared to women.

The biggest worry for the older Hemshinli is that the country seems to be losing its population. When fourteen heads of households from Hemshin, who had migrated to Ankara where they owned or were partners in patisseries, were asked whether they thought they would move back home, only a couple did not know; the rest answered that they did not think so.

At the beginning of the 1970s, one of the main problems discussed in the magazines was the lack of roads in the region. These years also see the discussion of positive developments such as the opening of the Regional Health Centre and the construction of a primary and middle school. Haydar Memişoğlu, an amateur

Hemshinli writer who recorded his impressions of the attempts at modernization in Çamlıhemşin during the same period, gave examples of the spread of modern consumer items such as stoves, luxury lamps (there was still no electricity), battery-operated cassettes, radios and torches, along with the appearance of indoor fountain facilities in the houses and modern types of construction.¹⁰⁹

In their search for modernization and development that would save their country from backwardness, some of the Hemshinli believed in the 1970s that the answer lay in the spheres of agriculture and animal husbandry. According to one of them, the production of tea instead of maize and the raising of fewer cattle of better breeds would be more pleasurable and profitable.¹¹⁰ The transition to the cultivation of tea and the changes in animal husbandry have not brought the changes that Memişoğlu hoped to see. In total contrast, someone called Hasan Gülas speculated that within twenty years (i.e. by 1988), the Hemshin area would be full of timber and tea factories, that it would enjoy healthy trade, and that the people would be rich and live in luxury buildings.¹¹¹ In Gülas' 'modern Hemshin' utopia, the only role for women was to be housewives.

One of the suggestions for the development of the Hemshin region is tourism. In this vein, Günhan Tarakçı stated that the natural resources in Hemshin had the characteristics necessary for both local and international tourism and he called on his countrymen living in the cities to invest in tourism in the area.¹¹² Hemshin hopes for tourism today have strengthened. The local and foreign groups that come to the Kaçkar Mountains and the locals who come to the thermal baths in the Ayder yayla have led to an increasing amount of investment in tourism, in ventures such as hotels and *pansiyons*, as well as an increase in activities such as trekking and mountaineering. The construction of a road to the Ayder yayla in 1991 has also led to an increase in poor construction (using concrete) and pollution, which has reached serious proportions.

Despite calls by city-dwelling Hemshinli, who own small businesses and have got some capital to invest in their native region, by 1997 there was no perceptible economic development in Çamlıhemşin apart from the opening of a couple of cafés and a restaurant for tourists. It is not surprising then that the most developed 'sector' in the region is the coffee house sector.

All these examples show that the ideas of the Hemshin people on progress and modernization are similar to those encapsulated in the concept of economic development as understood by Turkey's political élites during the same period. There are, however, many contradictions and inconsistencies in the different opinions and advice. For example, there are those who think that a profitable and modern economic model of industrial investment has taken the place of the traditional subsistence economy. Likewise, people write about contradictory utopias where the people basically live in the towns and then go back home on 'holidays' in the summer to find a 'developed industrialized region'. One of the main mistakes people make in evaluating the problems of the region is the failure to realize that its backwardness is the result of migration and not, as is commonly thought, that it was the backwardness of the region that led to migration.

Conclusion

Today, the Hemshin area is well connected to other regions of the country and largely integrated into the national whole. Moreover, many Hemshinli live in big cities and earn a livelihood in patisseries, bakeries or other small businesses. Only a few families remain completely dependent on their traditional agro-pastoral economy.

If we ask ourselves the question 'Is there a future for Hemshinli in their homeland?' and if by this we mean the continuance of their traditional way of life, the answer is no. During the past decade, the Hemshin people have become more dependent on national economic policies, mechanized transport, industrial goods, telecommunication systems and a large-scale market. In addition, there are some critical, ongoing developments, such as yayla tourism, modern road networks and buildings, that have changed many aspects of the Hemshin land and life. Up until the present, the Hemshinli have been able to continue their transhumance to the yaylas, in spite of indirect influences from the outside, such as the introduction of tea as a cash crop. This is significant because the yaylas are the most important place where the Hemshinli can live out and confirm their ethnic identity. Yet the question remains of how long they can continue to celebrate their 'traditional identity' when these festivities are coming more and more under influence from the 'outside'. In any case, many of the Hemshinli who dominate the political landscape are big-city dwellers, and they play an important role in determining ongoing regional policies, especially with regard to the growing interest in promoting yayla tourism.

Although some Hemshinli are aware of the danger of these ongoing developments many continue to support them, unaware of the threat they pose to their traditional way of life. However, one thing is for sure: changing is an irreversible process for all societies and cultures. Many, like the Hemshin, are burdened by the impact of developmental policies, which unfortunately often bring with them undesirable and detrimental changes for the local people who do not have the power to protect themselves. Unless the Hemshinli become more aware of this and their eagerness to fight for their rights grows, there is no bright future for their landscape, cultural identity or way of life.

Notes

- 1 The anthropological principle that culture is a means for groups of people to fit into their environments as an integrated whole has been elaborated on by the concept of ecosystem, which has provided the means to formulate the links between culture and environment. On this subject see Donald L. Hardesty, *Ecological Anthropology* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977), pp. 1–17; Emilio F. Moran, 'Ecosystem Ecology in Biology and Anthropology: A Critical Assessment', in *The Ecosystem Approach in Anthropology: From Concept to Practice*, ed. Emilio F. Moran (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), p. 8; and Kay Milton, *Environmentalism and Cultural Theory: Exploring the Role of Anthropology in Environmental Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 37–48.
- 2 For an evaluation of Steward's theory of 'cultural ecology', see Milton (1996), p. 43.

- 3 See Roger M. Keesing, *Cultural Anthropology: A Contemporary Perspective* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1976), p. 109.
- 4 For example, Spooner shows that plentiful water is essential in cattle husbandry, and Barth gives important information on how the Gujar people in the mountainous region of North Pakistan use different transhumance techniques for different animals. Brian Spooner, *The Cultural Ecology of Pastoral Nomads* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1973), p. 8; Fredrik Barth, 'Ecologic Relationships of Ethnic Groups in Swat, North Pakistan', *American Anthropologist* (Washington, DC, 1956), 58, no. 6, p. 1085.
- 5 Mt Kaçkar (3,932 m) is the highest mountain in the region and is Turkey's fourth highest mountain.
- 6 As reported in *Çamlıhemşin Aylık Klimatolojik Rasat Cetvelleri*, Rize, with a yearly average of 2,357 mm, has the highest rainfall of any of Turkey's provinces. Away from the coast, the rainfall figures decrease to 1,500 mm. The average rainfall in the Çamlıhemşin county between 1980 and 1985 was 1,300 mm.
- 7 H. F. B. [Harry Finnis Blossie] Lynch, *Armenia: Travels and Studies*, vol. 1, *The Russian Provinces* (London/New York: Longmans, Green & C., 1901), p. 432; quoted in W. Rickmer Rickmers, 'Lazistan and Ajaristan', *Geographical Journal* (London, 1934) 84, no. 6, p. 469.
- 8 The main species in this flora are trees such as beech, alder, black walnut, boxwood, chestnut, hornbeam and oak, and shrubs such as rhododendrons (*Rh. ponticum* and *Rh. caucasicum*), yellow azalea (*Rh. flavum*), redcurrant, common service tree and holly. See İbrahim Atalay *et al.*, *Kuzeydoğu Anadolu'nun Ekosistemleri* (Ankara: Bahçelievler/Ormancılık Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1985), pp. 61–65; and Rickmers (1934), p. 469.
- 9 Atalay *et al.* (1985), p. 82.
- 10 Sırrı Erinç, 'Türkiye: İnsan ve Ortam', *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* (İstanbul, 1972), 1, p. 189; W. Rickmer Rickmers gives a valuable list of the Pontic or Colchian flora and fauna of the Hemshin area, which he calls Lazia. Rickmers (1934), pp. 469–71.
- 11 Trout, however, have become an endangered species due to over-fishing.
- 12 Rickmers (1934), p. 471.
- 13 Köy İşleri ve Kooperatifler Bakanlığı, *Rize Köy Envanter Etüdü* (Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Matbaası, 1981), p. 39.
- 14 Levon Haçikyan, *Hemşin Gizemi: Hamşen Ermenileri Tarihinden Sayfalar*, translated and edited by Bağdik Avedisyan (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1996), p. 20.
- 15 Anthony Bryer, 'Greeks and Türkmens: The Pontic Exception', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (Washington, DC, 1975), 29, p. 120.
- 16 The general name given in the Hellenistic period to small settlements liable for taxation.
- 17 Netting, with reference to Rappaport's famous study on the Tsembaga Marings of Papua New Guinea, indicates that the scattered habitation in mountain areas of the New Guinea agricultural system means that conflict between households is minimal. Robert M. Netting, *Cultural Ecology*, 2nd edn (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1986), p. 89.
- 18 Between 1980 and 1990, of the 564 cases held at the Çamlıhemşin Sulh Ceza Mahkemeleri (courts), only 5.6 per cent were for crimes against property or land, and a significant number of these were for illegal grazing. See *Çamlıhemşin Adliye Katipliği, Sulh Ceza Mahkemeleri Esas Defteri*.
- 19 Shelters for sheep and goats are called *per* in the region and are outside the houses in the gardens. In each village, it is unusual for there to be more than one or two people who keep sheep or goats, and in many there are none.
- 20 Kudret Emiroğlu gives the following information for the etymology of the word *serander*: 'From the Greek *ksirantiron* and in the Pontus dialect of Greek *kseranterin*, *kseranter* (*Tzitsilis*), drying. In the Maçka Greek of Anatolia *seros* means dry, and in Greek it is *ksiros*'. Seranders are found in the entire Pontos region, including the area

- between İnebolu and Sinop. Such an origin of the word serander is quite meaningful, given that the greatest danger to the stored food materials comes from humidity. Kudret Emiroğlu, *Trabzon-Maçka Etimoloji Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Gülten Ofset, 1989), p. 205.
- 21 Serim Timur, based on fieldwork carried out in 1968 on the differences in family structures in the region, found that the extended family type was two or three times more common in the Black Sea region than in other regions of Turkey. Serim Timur, *Türkiye'de Aile Yapısı* (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1972), p. 34.
 - 22 See *Rize İl Yıllığı* (1973), p. 13.
 - 23 In the list of Turkish-speaking Hemshin villages compiled by Rüdiger Benninghaus, Aşağı Şimşirli (former Conottobra) is missing. The other Hemshin villages are: Boğaziçi (Pogiva/Bogiva), Çat, Güroluk (Livikçakışlı), Hisarcık (Kaleioba/Kaleibâlâ), Kaplıca (Holca), Meydan, Ortaklar (Hemşinbaşköy), Ortanköy (Ortanlı), Ortayayla (Hemşinortaköy), Sıraköy (Hemşinaşağıköy), Şenköy (Amokta), Şenyuva (Çinçiva), Ülkü (Mollaveys), Yaylaköy (Elevit), Yolkıy (Kuşiva), Yazlık (Varoş), Yukarışimşirli (Kısmenmelivor) and Zilkale (Kolona). As for Çamlıhemşin, its Hemshin-populated mahalles are Aşağı Çamlıca (Aşağı Viçe), Yukarı Çamlıca (Yukarı Viçe), Konaklar (Makrevis), Kavak (Mikrun) and Sirt, while the town's administrative centre has a mixed population of Lazi, Hemshin and others. 'Ethnic Groups Listed by Villages and Administrative Districts – Hemshinli: Turkish-Speaking', in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, ed. Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rüdiger Benninghaus (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989), pp. 359–60.
 - 24 An estimate for said population in 1990 was 1,167 people. Because the population statistics for the mahalles were not available from the BDIE in the results of the 1997 census, this was calculated from the estimate for 1990 of a Hemshin population of 1,645 persons. The 1990 population of the administrative centre was recorded as 2,829 persons. See *Genel Nüfus Sayımı 1990: Nüfusun Sosyal ve Ekonomik Nitelikleri-Rize* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1993), p. 24.
 - 25 The Lazi villages that are found within the borders of the Çamlıhemşin county are Behice, Çayırdüzü (Guvant), Dikkaya (Makalisgirit), Güllüköy, Kadıköy, Köprübaşı (Abişho), Muratköy (Kömile) and Topluca (Şano). In the records for 1990, five Lazi villages were recorded. Today the number has risen to eight due to Behice and Güllüköy being separated from Dikkaya and Kadıköy separating from Köprübaşı.
 - 26 Some of the villages in Çamlıhemşin, such as Ortaklar, Ortayayla, Sıraköy and Yaylaköy (Elevit), lie at an altitude of around 2,000 metres above sea-level. Until recently these villages were permanent settlements, but because the winter is very long and hard, and because of the difficulty of making a livelihood there, most of the inhabitants have migrated to the towns. Aleaddin Tandoğan visited the villages in August 1967 and found that in winter, seven families stayed in Ortaklar, five to six stayed in Ortayayla, and twelve to fourteen stayed in Sıraköy, the rest of the families going back to their villages on the coast. The total combined population of these three villages in the 1997 census was sixty-six. Yaylaköy (Elevit) is inhabited only in the summer, so in reality it is now a yayla settlement. Aleaddin Tandoğan, 'Fırtına Deresi Yukarı Çığrının Üç Köyü'nde Coğrafi Müşahadeler', *Coğrafya Araştırmaları Dergisi* (Ankara, 1968), 2, p. 289.
 - 27 The Hala group of villages comprises the villages of Güroluk (Livikçakışlı), Yukarı Şimşirli (Kısmenmelivor), Aşağı Şimşirli (Conottobra) and Kaplıca (Holca), which are located on an eastern branch of the Fırtına River.
 - 28 See Emiroğlu (1989), p. 197.
 - 29 *Ibid.*, p. 105.
 - 30 According to one study, the main reasons for the widespread occurrence of goitre in the area are the lack of iodine in the drinking-water and the existence of an agent which causes goitre in the purple cabbage that is widely consumed in the region.
 - 31 On the topic of high-level Hemshinli ulemas and politicians, see Chapter 5 by Alexandre Toumarkine (this volume).

- 32 See *Çamlıhemşin Halk Eğitim Bülteni* (1989), p. 19.
- 33 Denis Hills, in his study entitled 'In Old Lazistan', says that the men used to migrate to Russia before the First World War to find work. Yahya Tezel also dates migration to Russia to before the First World War. In his study on tea cultivation in the village of Sumer in Rize, Chris Hann claims that migration abroad before the beginning of tea cultivation was due to the pressure of local economic factors on the population. In his observations on the mountain villages and yaylas of the Hemshin area, Hâmit İnandık mentions that at the time of the Ottoman Empire, the men provided for their villages by working in Batum, Moscow, and other Russian towns, particularly in the areas of bakery and pastry-making. For more information on the history of migration from the region abroad, see the article on Rize in the *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 9 (Istanbul: Anadolu Yayıncılık, 1982–1983), p. 6366. Denis Cecil Hills, *My Travels in Turkey* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1964), p. 107; Yahya Sezai Tezel, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi İktisat Tarihi* (Ankara: Yurt Yayıncılık, 1986), p. 296; Chris Hann, 'The Sexual Division of Labour in Lazistan', in *Culture and Economy: Changes in Turkish Villages*, ed. Paul Stirling (Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire: Eothen Press, 1993), p. 128; Hâmit İnandık, 'Doğu Karadeniz Bölgesinde Köy Hayatı', *İstanbul Üniversitesi Coğrafya Enstitüsü Dergisi* (1958), 5, no. 9, p. 154.
- 34 Hills says that the Hemshinli, whom he mistakenly called Laz, were pursued by the Bolsheviks' Red Army or Stalin and expelled from the Soviet Union. He also notes an old, moustached Laz (Hemshinli) talking nostalgically about the 'the good old days under Tsar Nicholas'. Hâle Soysü says that many Hemshinli men had married Russian and Armenian women while abroad and for this reason many Hemshinli have relatives in Russia. While mountaineering in the Kaçkar Mountains in the 1960s, Hills passed through Ilıca (Ayder), where he met a group of people whom he believed to be Laz – they were much more likely to be Hemshinli – who invited him to their tea house and, he says, speaking in rather rusty Russian and Polish, told him that their children were in Tbilisi and Warsaw. Hills (1964), p. 107; Hâle Soysü, 'Hemşinliler: Tulumla Konuşan Gururlu İnsanlar', *İkibin'e Doğru* (Istanbul, 1991), 5, no. 41, 8 December, p. 44.
- 35 The *Flamingo*, *Serender*, *Milka*, *Leda*, *Meram*, *Denizati*, *Zürih*, *Puding*, *Körfez*, *Köşk* and *Reyhan* patisseries in the centre of Ankara are just a few of these.
- 36 For example, patisseries such as *Flamingo*, *Köşk*, *Leda*, *Milka*, *Puding* and *Zürih*.
- 37 For example, Aydın says that in the villages of Gisgis and Kalhana in southeast Anatolia, the men have the same circumstance of seasonal migration, for the same reasons. Zülküf Aydın, *Underdevelopment and Rural Structures in Southeastern Turkey: The Household Economy in Gisgis and Kalhana* (London: Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, University of Durham/Ithaca Press, 1986), p. 166.
- 38 For example, the headline of a 1972 article in the magazine *Seyran* (*Pokut*) is 'Let this flow stop', followed by the following sentences: 'The majority of our people are flowing to the cities to a world of exile in order to provide the means of livelihood. This is a historical fact'. Günhan Tarakçı, 'Dursun Artık Bu Akın', *Seyran* (*Pokut*): *Makrevis Mahallesi Yardımlaşma ve Kalkındırma Derneği* (Ankara, 1972), Samistal Gecesi Özel Sayısı, 4, no. 4, 19 March, p. 8.
- 39 In Hemshin as in the rest of the eastern Black Sea region, male children are called *uşak*.
- 40 A young Hemshinli man whom I interviewed in a patisserie in Ankara told me that his profession was pharmacy and that he would like to work in that profession, but his father would not give his permission and forced him to work in the patisserie. More than half of the owners of businesses interviewed (66 per cent) said that they had been forced (*mecburen*) to continue in their father's profession.
- 41 In the Kavran yayla I had a rare opportunity to speak to girls, who told me that due to the heavy workload at home, they wanted to migrate to the cities. The girls realized that they could do this only if they married someone who was already settled in a city or who was going to move to a city.

- 42 The only occupations of women in the forty-five houses studied in the Kavran yayla were agricultural worker or housewife.
- 43 Almost all of the Hemshinli restaurant or patisserie owners whom I interviewed in Ankara in 1991 said that they were permanently settled there while maintaining links with their close relatives in Hemshin. Their properties in Hemshin were either empty or used by neighbours.
- 44 Two people like this, the owner of a patisserie in Izmir and the owner of a bakery in Ankara who both wore suits, had cigarette holders, and wore leather shoes or sports shoes, had organized the building of a road, and instead of getting paid for this, were getting food and work from the villagers.
- 45 *Koçira* refers to the elder authoritarian woman of the house, the woman who organizes the work; a woman who does not take the animals out to pasture but stays at home. Derived from the Greek *kuçiris*, which means to squat or sit. Emiroğlu (1989), p. 162.
- 46 Soysü (1991), p. 47.
- 47 Michael E. Meeker, 'The Black Sea Turks: Some Aspects of their Ethnic and Cultural Background', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (London, 1971), 2, no. 4, p. 300.
- 48 Hann (1993), pp. 130–31.
- 49 Ibid., pp. 131–32.
- 50 See Deniz Kandiyoti, 'Aile Yapısında Değişme ve Süreklilik: Karşılaştırmalı Bir Yaklaşım', in *Türkiye'de Ailenin Değişimi: Sanat Açısından İncelemler*, ed. Türköz Erder (Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği, 1984), p. 25.
- 51 Fifty-three per cent of the forty-five households I studied in the Kavran yayla were nuclear families.
- 52 Meeker (1971), p. 330.
- 53 From *Çamlıhemşin Halk Eğitim Bülteni* (1989).
- 54 See *Rize Köy Envanter Etüdü*, p. 39.
- 55 See Erhan Gürsel Ersoy, 'Sosyo-Kültürel Değişim Sürecinde Hemşin'de Yaylacılık' (PhD diss., Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1994), p. 42 (table 6).
- 56 For information on the importance of maize to the people of the eastern Black Sea region, see Emiroğlu (1989), pp. 171–72.
- 57 From some of the articles printed in Hemshin magazines at the beginning of the 1970s, it is clear that tea at that time was seen as a very hopeful new crop. For example, Haydar Memişoğlu wrote in 1972 that the importance of tea cultivation was slowly beginning to be accepted by villagers. Haydar Memişoğlu, 'Doğu Karadeniz Dağ Köylerinde Değişme ve Gelişmeler', *Hemşin: Hemşin Dayanışma ve Yardımlaşma Derneği* (İstanbul, 1972), 11, no. 7, p. 20.
- 58 Statistics taken from the Agricultural Branch of the Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü (BDİE).
- 59 According to a 1986 study, 88 per cent of tea cultivation in the Rize province was done by families on their own land. Of these families 81.75 per cent owned tea gardens smaller than 5 dönüms. Hasan Özyurt, *Türkiye'de Çay Tarımının Yaratığı Sosyo-Ekonomik Etkilerin Ölçümü* (Trabzon: Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1989), pp. 26 and 67.
- 60 In 1990 the Çaykur factory paid 850 to 1,000 Turkish Lira for 1 kg of dry tea, whereas wholesalers in Pazar were paying only 550 TL for 1 kg of maize.
- 61 Rickmers, who visited 'Lazistan' (the Hemshin region) at the turn of the twentieth century, said that the people were much troubled by the destruction to the maize fields caused by bears and boars. The same problem still exists and is a natural consequence of the people living within a forest ecosystem. Rickmers (1934), p. 471.
- 62 The gardens among the houses that were formerly not of any use have been surrounded by fences, are guarded by dogs and even have primitive alarm systems, which have all been successful in protecting the gardens.

- 63 Statistics taken from the Agricultural Directorate of the BDIE.
- 64 This feature of the Hemshin economy may be considered a result of integration into an external system, which is common in many villages in periphery countries. Ersoy, for example, finds that members of households in villages which have been integrated into an external system are divided among employment that has different status and roles such as farmers, paid labourers, small business owners and craftsmen; the core of the capitalist production type is characterized by homogeneity, whereas the periphery is divided among many sectors and includes at least three types of production (local capitalism, semi-capitalist cash production and subsistence economies). The situation in Hemshin more or less fits into this category. Melih Ersoy, 'Çevre Toplumsal Formasyonlarda Ulusal Ekonomik ve Kentsel Sanayi Sektörünün Yapısına İlişkin Modeller', in *Üretim Tarzlarının Eklemlenmesi Üzerine*, ed. H. Ç. Keskinök and M. Ersoy (Ankara: Birey ve Toplum Yayıncılık, 1984), p. 15.
- 65 In 58 per cent of the households I studied in the Kavran yayla, the income derived from tea cultivation was given to the male heads of household, whereas men actually take part in tea cultivation in only 20 per cent of the households.
- 66 According to data taken from the Çaykur-Ardeşen factory in the 1990 tea-buying season, the daily tea quota (the maximum amount of dry tea-leaves harvested per dönüm) in the villages and mahalles of Çamlıhemşin was 25 to 30 kg, and the people complained of the negative effect of the resulting lengthening of the collection time.
- 67 Mecit Güneysu, 'Hemşin'in Sosyo Ekonomik Yönleriyle Dünü ve Bugünü', *Hemşin: Hemşin Dayanışma ve Yardımlaşma Derneği* (Istanbul, 1978), 18, no. 11, p. 15.
- 68 The fact that tea is a cash crop means that producers have to learn marketing skills that they are not used to, and this causes a lot of worry, especially for the elderly women.
- 69 See *Rize Köy Envanter Etüdü*, p. 39.
- 70 Data for 1997 taken from the Forestry, Fisheries and Animal Husbandry Statistics Division of the BDIE.
- 71 Özyurt (1989), p. 90.
- 72 Animal faeces collected in Mezovit, a pasture for bulls in the Kavran yayla, were analysed by Levent Aydın, a parasitologist at the Veterinary Science Faculty at Uludağ University; these showed the existence of *Tricostongylus* (a stomach and intestine worm), *Neoscaris vitulorum* (an intestine worm), the one-celled *Protozoan*, and *Coccidia ookist*, an intestinal parasite.
- 73 According to a study by Tandoğan, there are forty-five yayla settlements in Çamlıhemşin alone. Aleaddin Tandoğan, 'Çayeli ve Pazar İlçelerin Ekonomik Yapısı', *Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları Dergisi* (1979), 29, nos. 1-4, p. 116.
- 74 For example, a poem in *Kale Dergisi* (no. 1, 1979, p. 24), a Hemshinli review published in Ankara, begins with the following lines:
- Gelse iptiyazda çiksam yaylaya* Oh for the beginning of summer when I
 shall go up to the yayla
Kurumuş dudaklarımı dayasam suya Oh to put my dry lips in its water.
- 75 Rickmers (1934); G. Stratil-Sauer, 'From Baiburt via İspir to Lâzistan', *Geographical Journal* (London, 1935), 86, no. 5.
- 76 For example, Stratil-Sauer says that Mt Kaçkar, like Mt Verçenik, which he studied while passing through the Tatos Pass, was made of a granodiorite. He also mentions the cirque formations on the southern slopes of the Kaçkar Mountains and the lakes that are found in them. These lakes are particularly common in the east in the area between Mt Verçenik and the Ovit Pass. Stratil-Sauer (1935), p. 409.
- 77 At these altitudes the first snowfall usually occurs at the end of September, and even if there is no snow, frost is common.
- 78 See Atalay *et al.* (1985), p. 119.

- 79 In 1990, I spent two and a half months between July and September in the Kavran yayla, which lies at an altitude of 2,250 m above sea-level. During that time there were only five days when the weather was clear. Most of the other days were foggy and rainy. A couple of times at the beginning of July there was also hail and snow.
- 80 Rickmers (1934); Aleaddin Tandoğan, 'Çayeli ve Pazar İlcelerinin Ekonomik Yapısı', *Coğrafya Araştırmaları Dergisi* (Ankara, 1971), 3–4, see also Atalay *et al.* (1985).
- 81 Snow brought down in avalanches in some valleys in winter sometimes has not melted by the middle of summer. Rickmers, who studied the Kaçkar Mountains at the beginning of the twentieth century, describes such a scene as follows: 'And in the deep, warm gorge of the Büyük-dere, as late as the end of August, I found the remains of huge avalanches still choking the river-bed'. Rickmers (1934), p. 468.
- 82 Three different mahalles and three villages all use the Kavran yayla. The town quarters of Yukarı Çamlıca, Kavak and Sirt, and the villages of Yukarı Şimşirli, Güroluk and Akbucak (which is in the county of Pazar) were granted their rights to use this pasture in accordance with the 1937 Land Act (*Arazi Tahrir, Arama ve Tarama Kanunu*).
- 83 *Hartama/Hartoma* is the name given in the region for a roof covering made of thin wooden plaques derived from pine trees using a special technique.
- 84 For example, in 1990 when I did my research, the average number of inhabitants per house in the Kavran yayla was a quarter of the averages for the villages.
- 85 During the fieldwork in the Kavran yayla, of the forty-five houses, only sixteen of the male heads of household were encountered. The whereabouts at that time and numbers of the other male heads of households that emerged during interviews was as follows: in Ayder, one person; in the mahalles or villages, sixteen persons; in the Çamlıhemşin administrative centre, four persons; outside the region (in the towns), three persons.
- 86 The old women in the Kavran yayla complained that the work in the yaylas, like a lot of other work, had fallen to them because the younger people had moved to the towns. One woman who was obviously very sad said: 'What can we do? The lads have escaped [to the towns], the girls have got married and we are left with these ruined mountains'.
- 87 More than 30 per cent of the population of the yayla (seventy-three persons) were close relatives who were just staying for short periods.
- 88 In places where the yaylas are remote or hard to get to, the people decide when to go to the yayla based on observations of certain natural phenomena. For example, turbidity of the river may be noted, indicating that the snow in the yayla has melted, or they may go when the snow on some agreed-upon high place has completely melted. Yunus Şişman, 'Mahalleme Bağlıyım', *Seyran (Pokut): Makrevis Mahallesi Yardımlaşma ve Kalkındırma Derneği* (Ankara, 1969), Samistal Gecesi Özel Sayısı, no. 3, p. 8.
- 89 In the region, July is known as the rotten month (*çürük ay*), in which the heat and humidity reach their height, which is the reason why mosquitoes are so common.
- 90 For each Hemşinli household in the Kavran yayla, these necessities formed, on average, a load of between 100 and 150 kg.
- 91 In 1990 the cost per household of transporting goods to Yukarı Kavran was 40 to 50,000 TL. Today this is equivalent to 8 to 10,000,000 TL. The road to the yayla, which is 30 km away from the Çamlıhemşin administrative centre, is asphalted as far as Ayder today. The road after Ayder is gravel, and transport is now very easy. In 1990 the same journey along the bad roads was very arduous and took three to four hours.
- 92 In 1990 the average number of cattle per household in the Kavran yayla was 4.5. The old people in the yayla said that, in the old days (one or two generations ago), each house had eight to ten cattle and 400 to 500 sheep or goats. In the yayla today, only two houses had sheep and goats (about 100). Tandoğan, who did research in the yaylas on the upper tributaries of the western branch of the Fırtına River in 1965, found that each house had at least five and at most fifteen cattle. Tandoğan (1979), p. 119.

- 93 For example, the average number of inhabitants per house in the Kavran yayla in 1990 was two to three persons, whereas the average number of inhabitants per house for those who remained in their villages was around 8.6.
- 94 John Reader, *Man on Earth* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988), p. 77.
- 95 İnandık (1958), p. 151.
- 96 Large bovines such as cattle prefer areas that are rich in water. In addition, in comparison to goats and sheep they do not move very much and cannot cover long distances. Spooner (1973), p. 8.
- 97 Because of the rainy and humid climate of the yaylas, the dung is prepared into rather thin blocks as in other parts of Anatolia, and is dried in a sheltered south-facing place away from the rain, such as a stable wall.
- 98 A local food – a kind of stew made with dried beans, purple cabbage or radishes (*şarkum*) and animal fat (*onaşelik*).
- 99 A dish made by heating old cheese, milk and flour in a pan and mixing them together, after which it is fried in butter. It can also have eggs broken over it and cooked.
- 100 See Tandoğan (1968), p. 295.
- 101 Rüdiger Benninghaus, 'Zur Herkunft und Identität der Hemşinli', in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, ed. Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rüdiger Benninghaus (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989), p. 489.
- 102 R. Fedden and B. Goodfellow, 'Kaçkar (North Eastern Turkey)', *Alpine Journal* (London, 1964), 69, no. 308, p. 131.
- 103 A good-quality leather shoe, better than the usual rural footwear. Soysü (1991), p. 46; Emiroğlu (1989), p. 66.
- 104 In a book whose place of publication and date are not given, Hamdi Alemdar, an amateur Hemşinli writer, gives the following information on women's clothes in the Cimil villages: 'The women of our village used to wear plastic and leather shoes like they do today. In our village, because it was mountainous, the shoes were made to measure from animal hides (cow or ox), and the upper parts were scraped with glass, but the hair was left on the lower parts (to strengthen it and stop slipping)'. Hamdi Alemdar, *Rize İli 100. Yıl Örnek Köyü, Cimil Rehberi* (Samsun?, n.d.), pp. 89–90.
- 105 Aynur Altaş, 'Hemşinoloji', *Seyran (Pokut): Makrevis Mahallesi Yardımlaşma ve Kalkındırma Derneği* (Ankara, 1969), Samistal Gecesi Özel Sayısı, 28 February, p. 15; and Soysü (1991), p. 46.
- 106 In articles written by Hemşinli, it is often stated that the men continue to wear their traditional dress, but this is no longer the case.
- 107 Eyüp Musluoğlu, 'Sayın Hemşin Halkına', *Hemşin: Hemşin Dayanışma ve Yardımlaşma Derneği* (İstanbul, 1978), 18, no. 11, p. 23.
- 108 Metin Numanoğlu, 'Hemşin'de İktisadi Şartların Toplum Yaşantısına Etkileri', *Hemşin: Dayanışma ve Yardımlaşma Derneği* (İstanbul, 1968), 7, no. 4, 11 March, p. 36.
- 109 Memişoğlu (1972), pp. 19–20.
- 110 Ethem Memişoğlu, 'Nasıl Kalkınmalı?', *Hemşin: Hemşin Dayanışma ve Yardımlaşma Derneği* (İstanbul, 1970), 9, no. 6, p. 3.
- 111 Hasan Gülas, 'Seneler Sonra Hemşin Nasıl Olacak?', *Hemşin: Hemşin Dayanışma ve Yardımlaşma Derneği* (İstanbul, 1968), 7, no. 4, 11 March, p. 20.
- 112 Tarakçı (1972), p. 8.

9 Hemshin folk architecture in the Akbucak, Ortayol and Uğrak villages of the county of Pazar in Rize

Gülşen Balıkcı

Introduction

Folk architecture is closely connected with the concrete living environments that people create for themselves. One of its defining characteristics is its anonymous design process, which over time manifests itself in traditional forms sharing certain general features. Given this definition, in Turkey, buildings such as fountains, bridges, mills, coffee shops and village rooms may be considered examples of folk architecture, while buildings having official and monumental significance are normally not considered to be part of folk architecture.

In this examination of Hemshin folk architecture, we will first of all study the natural and social environments that allowed for the development of its particular forms, and then turn our attention to the materials and techniques used in their construction. Subjects that will fall within the scope of this study of folk architecture include social structure, lifestyle, values, family and kinship relations, neighbourly relations, and the effects of commonly held beliefs, customs and traditions on social structure and, consequently, local building practices.

For buildings in regions where folk architecture predominates, except in structures that are monumental in nature, materials typical of the region are used. For this reason it is possible to find in regions sharing similar geographical conditions architectural samples similar both in terms of architectural typologies of form and in construction materials and techniques.

Works of folk architecture are built not by trained architects but by owners of the buildings or local masters. Designs in folk architecture survive with little variation for years unless social and cultural structures change; this is what gives folk architecture its ‘anonymous’ quality, from which the term ‘anonymous architecture’ developed.

This study is based on observations made in the western Hemshin villages of Akbucak (Ulermanat), Uğrak (Cingit) and Ortayol (Meleskur), in the county (*ilçe*) of Pazar in Rize. However, the principles it describes may be applied to the folk architecture of the eastern Hemshin people living in the Artvin and Hopa regions as well.

In this study, Hemshin folk architecture will be approached from the perspective defined above. Hemshin folk architecture offers a rich and extremely interesting



Figure 9.1 Village settlement.



Figure 9.2 Village settlement.

array of forms, including houses and the various buildings that surround them and that have great practical value in an agricultural economy. Despite rapid changes in social and economic structure, which have brought with them significant cultural changes, examples of Hemshin folk architecture are still widespread today.

Many aspects of Hemshin folk architecture may be explained if we take into consideration that economic life, to a large extent, determines cultural structure. The Hemshin earn their living by means of animal husbandry, agriculture and by work abroad, and they design their buildings in ways that make daily life easier.

The Hemshin live in mountainous villages far from the coast; typical of villages in similar geographical regions, places within their villages can often be at great distances from one another. Villagers who live in different quarters of the same village may sometimes walk for over an hour to go from one house to another. They travel along mountain paths or dirt roads, which feature characteristic stone ladders used for steep ascents. The Hemshin people often claim that 'before us, Armenians lived here; we inherited these stone ladders from them'.

Within Hemshin villages there are no streets that connect wards or districts. There is one road paved for automobile use, to enable people to travel to shopping places, regional hospitals and so on.



Figure 9.3 A road and a house in a Hemshin village.

Functional aspects of Hemshin folk architecture

Residence

Hemshin folk architecture considers the selection of the place where a residence is to be built to be especially important. In this determination, natural disasters often seen in the region such as erosion, storms, rain (which is sometimes accompanied by the overflowing of rivers) and snow are taken into consideration. In addition, it is important that a house be located near a water source and that there is fairly easy access to the location. Finally, tradition requires that the house faces the south. Elders of the family make the ultimate decision about the place of the residence.

After the determination of the place of residence, elders of the family and the village put up the main posts of the buildings. A sheep is slaughtered on the day when the foundation is laid, and its blood is poured into it. Bones of the sheep, the meat of which is eaten, are gathered together and buried as in a grave. The Hemshin people often say ‘someone has built an oven (*ocaklık*)’ to describe the process of laying a foundation. This saying attests to the importance and near-holy status attributed to the oven by the Hemshin people, a popular conception in most regions of Anatolia.

The ground floor of the house, which generally has three floors, is used as a stable. The Hemshin have traditionally earned their living by animal husbandry and confer a great value on to their animals. They say, ‘Our animals come before our family members. Animals do not have a tongue to tell their affairs. Is a human being like this? Without them, we cannot earn our living’. This part of the residence where animals take shelter is called the *ahır kapı*.



Figure 9.4 A village house.



Figure 9.5 *Ocaklık* (fireplace oven).

This stable, which is built completely of stone, is at the back of the house. Access to the stable from inside the house is provided by a stone ladder leading down to it from the back entrance of the house.

The second floor of the house is where people live. Entrance to the second floor is gained through back and front doorways. The main entrance, which generally faces south, is used to welcome guests and to enter and leave the house. There is also a ladder to the third floor here. The woodshed, where wood is stored to be used during winter, is located near the front entrance. The most characteristic feature of the front entrance is the presence of deer, ram and ox horns placed above the door. Originally these trophies were hung to protect the house against supernatural forces, but today this practice has been renewed for the purpose of decorating the house. In addition, horns of deer killed by household members are hung above the interior doors. In Hemshin culture, these horns originated as a symbol of power, and they may also be seen above stable doors.

The stable and outhouse are accessed through the back entrance of the house. The outhouse, an outdoor toilet known as a *kenef* in the region, is near the stable and is constructed of wood. After each use, the toilet is cleaned by closing it with a fern, a common plant in the region. It should be noted that there is no special place reserved for bathing. According to one Hemshinli, baths were taken either in the stable or near the oven inside the house.

A fountain is built near the back entrance of the house. Water is brought into the house through a hose, and in houses where there is no tap, water runs



Figure 9.6 A deer horn hung over the door of a residence.

continuously day and night. Near the fountain in back, there is an open area where clothes and dishes are washed and animal feed, or *hus*, is prepared. The back entrance is thus used more than the front entrance for people's everyday activities.

People spend most of their time in the upper level of the residence accessed through the front and back doors, called the 'house', and this is where meals are eaten. One Hemshinli family member observed:

We do all of our work in the house; we cook and eat our meals here. We sit together with our family members. We prepare our *katık* (butter, cheese, skim-milk cheese, yogurt and cream) here. In the past, we used to illuminate the house by burning wood in the oven. We do everything here because our oven is here. There used to be a chain in the oven, and we would attach the

hook of the chain to the *cugala* [cauldron] or *kukma* [copper jug] to heat water over the wood fire and cook our meal. Today there is the *pilita* [modern stove] instead of chained ovens.

There are also pots and pans, cutting tools such as the *orak*, *nacak* and *kapri*, a dining-table (about 40 to 50 cm high) and a few *kulis* (little chairs) used for sitting. Food that will be used within a short time is put into cloth bags and hung from the ceiling as protection against mice, insects and ants.

The place where guests are welcomed into the house, an entryway formerly called the *hayat*, is known today as the *heyet* in the dialect of the region. The hayat is entered through the front door of the upper living quarters. The front of the hayat consists of a large window, and there is a wooden seat known as a *kervet* in front of the window. The right to sit on the kervet, which is considered a seat of honour in the house, belongs to the elders of the family. Youngsters of the family can sit there only when the elders are outside the house. Windows, which are kept open all day in order to protect the house against the damp, can be bolted shut. The windows are held open by means of hooks called *kelebek* (butterfly hooks).

Rooms, called *bulma* in Hemshin folk architecture, are entered through the doors of the hayat. There can be four, six, eight, or even ten rooms lined up along both sides (right and left) of the entryway, depending on the size of the house. The dimensions of each room are almost the same; rooms having greater significance or status are those adjacent to the hayat, and these rooms belong to the elders.

In traditional Hemshin culture, an extended family structure predominated under which the father and mother lived together with their single daughters and sons and often even married sons with their wives and children. Under this arrangement, rooms were shared according to nuclear household and allocated according to the age of the son who headed it. The only place that belonged to a person in the residence was one's room, and it had to be shared with one's wife and children.

If the number of the rooms was sufficient, the room nearest to the entryway was used as a pantry, or *katık bulması*. There are no floor beds in Hemshin culture; the Hemshinli use a kind of divan or wall bed known as a *kervet*. Rooms are illuminated by windows (like those of the hayat), which are kept open all day.

There is a penthouse, or *değen*, on the third floor; this is sometimes known as the *onçkhon*. The penthouse is accessed by a wooden ladder in front of the house and contains rooms to be used when there are a large number of guests. It is also used for storage of animal fodder such as hay and foodstuffs such as corn, flour, grains, beans, kidney beans, onions and potatoes, to be consumed by the household in the winter, when snow makes access to the outside difficult and communication is impossible. The roof is built on an incline in order to allow snow and rainwater to run off. In the past, the roof was covered with *horduma*, or tile, but today sheet iron is used.

Serender

Hemshin folk architecture relies on a rich array of outbuildings surrounding the residence. Among these, the most important is the storehouse, or *serender*, which

needs to be accessed easily and frequently by household members and is therefore placed immediately next to the residence. The word *serender* means 'cool place'. The *serender*, which was traditionally built in the open yard around the front entrance of the old-style residence, is an essential characteristic of Hemshin folk architecture.

The function of the *serender* within the Hemshin cultural system is very important. Every kind of food (e.g. rice, wheat flour, sugar, potatoes, onion, and especially corn) could be stored in the *serender*. People of the region, who traditionally earned their living through agriculture and animal husbandry, needed to store their food for long periods of time due to their practice of transhumance. This necessitated storage facilities that could protect stored food from dampness, rodents and insects.

In order to prevent mice from climbing into the *serender*, cone-shaped wooden devices called *lisers* are placed upside down at the top of its supporting posts. *Lisers*, which are made by carving out the centre of thick poplar trees, are the most unique, defining characteristic of the *serender*. In addition, arches drawn on the posts using a wood-carving technique called *mur* help to keep insects away from the *serender*. Finally, the *serender* contains aeration holes to guard against moisture.

The platform of the *serender* is called the *serenderin köşkü* (balcony of the *serender*) and has a width of 40 to 50 m²; it is built upon four or six posts and there are balconies along each of the four sides. This platform, which is protected from rain, is usually used to dry fresh grass. Inside the *serender* there is a large room. Corn plants are hung there, and food to be used during the year including nuts, beans, potatoes and sugar is also stored in this part of the structure. The



Figure 9.7 A *serender* and house side by side.



Figure 9.8 Serender.

lower part of the serender, which is at the base inside the four posts, is called the *serenderin dibi* (the bottom of serender). Wood to be used within a short time is cut and stored there. Access to the serender is provided by a portable ladder. This ladder is put away after each use in order to protect the serender against mice and insects. The serender is used today much as it was used in the past; little has changed in its form or function.

Kenaf

Another accessory building near the residence is known as the *kenaf*, which may be translated as 'grass container' (from *kin* 'container', and *alof* 'grass'); in the local dialect, it has come to be known as the *kenaf*. This may be a cottage built in the gardens near the residence or in a meadow some distance from the residence.



Figure 9.9 Lisers on the tops of poles designed to keep mice out of the serender.

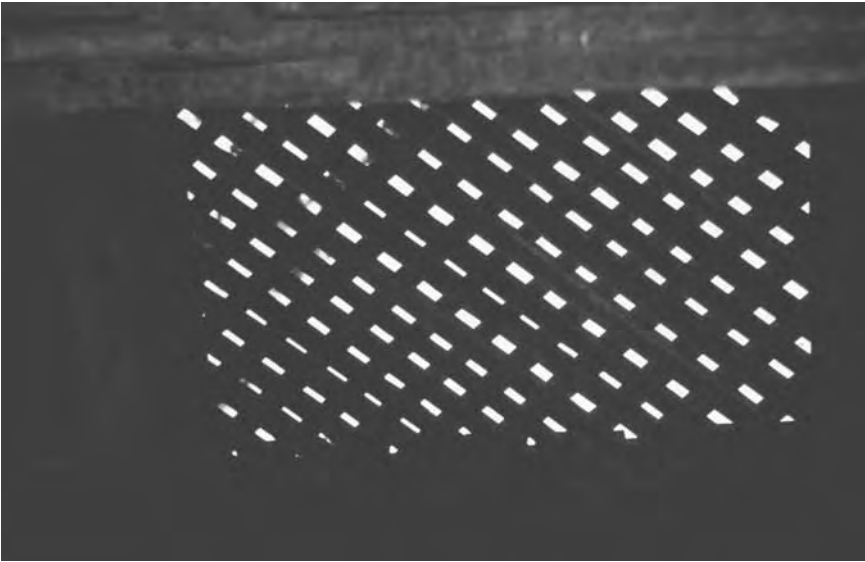


Figure 9.10 Air holes in the serender.



Figure 9.11 Lower part of the serender.



Figure 9.12 Corn hanging in a serender.



Figure 9.13 Food stored in a serender.



Figure 9.14 Kenaf.



Figure 9.15 Kenaf.



Figure 9.16 Entrance to a kenaf.

Wide spaces between the exterior planks allow a gentle air current to flow through the *kinaf/kenaf*, protecting the stored grass and cornstalks against moisture. One local resident described the *kinaf* as follows:

We usually build *kenafs* in our mountain pastures, to store grass from this land. In the winter, we use this stored grass as fodder for the animals. Sometimes we build the *kenaf* near the stable so the feed will not have to be carried far through the snow. After the *değen* [the third floor of a house] the *kenaf* is our second most important reserve grass warehouse.

Although animal husbandry is practised less than in the past, *kinafs* are still used today.

Kalif

Another traditional outbuilding is the *kalif*. Originally, the livelihood of the Hemshin people depended upon animal husbandry and agriculture. They grew the food they would use during the year (e.g. corn, potatoes, beans) in the garden, usually adjacent to their residence. The *kalif*, a simple and primitive cottage, was constructed as a place for a night guard to stay while protecting the garden from wild animals that roamed through the mountain villages. One Hemshinli described the *kalif* as follows:

There used to be a *kalif* in each garden. A member of the household used to keep guard, and this person used to be called the *kalifçi*. Young people used to stay with the *kalifçi*. We used to beat on a tin plate to frighten wild animals. In the *kalif*, we not only stood guard against wild animals, but also came together to have fun till the morning.

The transition to a tea-growing economy has virtually eliminated the need for a *kalifçi*.

Construction techniques in Hemshin folk architecture

As mentioned above, wood and stone were used to build the residence. Stone was hauled from river beds in the region, and wood was cut from chestnut trees in the local forests. Buildings were not built according to individual plans, but by local masters in accordance with a traditional design; many such buildings survive today.

Residence

After it is determined where the house will be built, a process which takes into consideration the climate, vegetation and local geographical features, a foundation is laid as deep as the topsoil. The foundation wall is built of stone. Stonemasons of the region prepare stones hauled from river beds using hammers

and sledge-hammers. The foundation wall is built to a height of 1.5 to 2 m above ground level.

After building the foundation walls, the four sides of the residence are smoothed and overlaid with chestnut wood cut to dimensions of 18×20 or 20×20 cm. The pieces of wood that are placed lengthwise along the longer sides of the foundation are called *akurluk* and those laid on the short sides are called *mandiç*. This wood serves the same purpose as concrete in modern buildings. Planks are then placed sideways against these pieces. These planks are cut from chestnut trees and can be any length, but they are always 5 cm thick. When finished, the outer wall planks are called *daraba*. Rooms of the residence are built in the same manner as the outer walls, using a saw, drill (*burgi*), wood-cutting tools (*kösdere*) and pegs. These pegs, called wooden nails by the Hemshin, are made from the dried wood of the *kumar* tree. In the region, wooden nails are said to be safer than others. Wall planks are joined together by fitting holes with pegs and then attached to each other firmly. The four sides and the rooms of the residence are built using the same method.

After completing the walls of the residence, ceiling beams are made by arranging, at 1-metre intervals, pieces of wood 10 to 12 cm thick and as long as the rooms are wide. These beams are called *kamara*, and they support the floor of the residence in the upper portion of the structure. Ceiling support is completed by arranging planks 4 to 5 cm thick perpendicular to the *kamara* beams without leaving any space.

After the ceiling is completed, the four sides of the residence are covered with chestnut planks with the technique used while working with *daraba* planks. These planks are similar to those covering the foundation and are consequently also called *akurluk* and *mandiç*. The *akurluk* and *mandiç* planks worked according to the *daraba* technique are called *metris*. The four sides of the residence are then covered with a new set of planks, known in the region as *sarabağı*, that are thicker than the *metris* and *daraba*. The *sarabağı* planks, which make the building stronger, function as concrete. In Hemshin folk architecture, laying the *sarabağı* planks also functions as ornamentation, signalling the end of construction and hence the completion of the construction process.

As in the rest of Turkey, when a master completes the roof, he sets up a pole on it and hangs a flag. The house owner then gives the master a *baksheesh* (tip). This is generally an assortment of presents such as towels, socks and so on. After all these processes, the floor of the house, as well as the *hayat* (entryway) and the *bulmas* (rooms), are completed.

When the whole residence has been completed, doorways are cut. Jambs called *soya* are erected on both sides of the door. These jambs are generally 10 to 15 cm thick and are hewn by axe. Door locks are made by blacksmiths. Locks made of iron or wood are called *pag*. Those which are always used in daily life are called *zerza*.

Serender

The foundation of the *serender* is laid over an open area near the house. Chestnut planks of about 20×20 cm and several metres long are placed on the ground

for the base of the serender in the shape of a square. A hole known as the *boğaz* (throat) is formed in the centre of each of these planks, and 2.5 m poles are set into these holes. The thicker these poles, the sturdier the serender. A liser, a small, conical wooden device used to keep out rodents, is attached to each of the poles. The upper part of the building is constructed using 2-metre planks to form two levels. The roof is covered with bricks, thin wood (*horduma*) or sheet iron.

Kınaf

A level area is found near the stable or in the meadow for the kınaf. Corner planks are set up according to the width of the kınaf, and four sides are built with interwoven planks. The roof is covered with horduma, a thin layer of wood, and then with tree branches to protect stored grass against rain.

Kalif

The design of the kalif, which is rarely seen today, is simpler than that of the other buildings. Four poles are laid out on the ground on a level area in the garden. The kalif is built by placing planks around the poles until it reaches a height of 2 metres. Three planks are set upon the roof to form a tripod and the roof is covered with a thin layer of wood.

Customs and beliefs in folk architecture

Customs and beliefs concerning the foundation of a house

On the day when the foundation is laid, an animal (e.g. a ram, sheep or cow) is slaughtered, and its blood is shed into the foundation in order to prevent accidents and misfortune while building the house. After the meat is eaten, the bones are gathered and buried in a hole. In this practice, which is based on religious and superstitious beliefs, imitation and contact magics are seen together.

Customs and beliefs concerning the oven of the house

The oven is considered to be holy in Hemshin culture, as it is in most regions of Anatolia. A number of customs govern its use.

A fire in the oven should not be put out by pouring water on it; it is covered with ashes, and the following day the ashes are removed and fire is used again. Throwing fingernails and hair into the oven, spitting into it, or spilling salt into it accidentally while seasoning food are all considered to be bad or sinful.

It is believed that the souls of dead people come to the house on Fridays during the morning hours, so fragrant wax is put into the oven in order to give the house a pleasant smell.

Beliefs concerning the threshold of the house

Entering or leaving the house by setting foot on the threshold, or allowing a child to sit on the threshold, is considered bad luck, and it is believed that these actions will bring a curse upon the threshold.

Customs and beliefs about the fertility of the house

Yoghurt and milk are not given to neighbours after the evening prayers. If a house owner did not sow seed in his garden, the seed cannot be shared with people outside the household. In addition, on the first day of May nothing can be given to people outside the household. On the day of migration to the summer pastures, or when a traveller leaves, nothing is given away.

On New Year's Day, in order to ensure fertility in the household during the coming year, the woman of the house goes into the stable without speaking to anybody and sprinkles green beans there so the cows will bear female calves. They also put green beans into men's pockets. Corn is boiled in each house and offered to guests to ensure fertility during the coming year. An ox is brought into the house on New Year's Day; it is believed that the house will be fertile if the ox steps over the threshold with its right foot first. On the morning of New Year's Day, the woman of the house gets up and sprinkles green beans around the whole house. Four or five days before New Year's Day, a mill is built and flour containers are filled with flour. If a girl child is the first to enter the house on New Year's Day, it is believed that the house will be less fertile, but if a boy child comes in first, the house will have greater fertility.

To increase fertility, the woman of the house gets up early in the morning, eats a piece of food before the cuckoo sings, then places a piece of food in the mouths of family members while they are sleeping. Two women might talk to each other about the subject as follows: '*Ka kukuyu yendin mi?*' (Did you defeat the cuckoo? i.e. did you eat something before the cuckoo sang?); if the woman has eaten something, she replies, 'yes', '*kukuyu yendim*' (I defeated the cuckoo). If the cuckoo had sung before she ate something (if she got up late), she replies, '*kuku beni yendi*' (the cuckoo has defeated me).

Other customs and beliefs about the house

It is considered better to enter and leave the house right foot first. Entering and leaving the toilet is done left foot first. Children are not allowed to urinate under the eaves of the house. It is believed that children will be ill if they do so. Dirty water is not poured out under the eaves of the house. No water is poured outside the house after the evening prayers.

The house is not cleaned on Fridays. If it is cleaned, the dust that has been swept up is not thrown out of the house. To prevent infestation of the house with fleas during the coming year, the eldest woman of the house engages in a flea-beating ritual. On New Year's Eve, she takes a stick into her hand and starts to beat

the wood planks of the house. The other members of the household ask her, ‘What are you doing?’ She replies, ‘I am beating fleas.’ They ask, ‘Where are you sending them?’ ‘*Mollalara*’ (i.e. to a family named Molla), the woman replies.

In Hemshin culture, daughters do not have the right to inherit the family house from their mother and father. According to tradition, the land and foundation of the house are inherited by the youngest son of the family. The house used to be taken down and the wooden planks shared among the other sons. Today the house is left intact.

Conclusion and evaluation

In Akbucak (Mermanat), Uğrak (Çingit) and Ortayol (Melesken), the three Hemshin villages constituting the subject of this study, it is still possible to observe the traditional residence, serender, kınaf and kalif standing together. However, they are slowly disappearing, and concrete buildings are replacing the old stone and wooden buildings. Moreover, the new construction does not make use of the accessory buildings found in folk architecture; there is no serender, kınaf or kalif.

Hemshin villages are rapidly becoming modernized as a result of this new construction. Developments in transportation, new types of economic activity and improved means of communication are the natural result of these changes. Folk architecture happens to be an area in which such changes have become immediately obvious. The new buildings, which combine traditional cultural structures with newly acquired technology and changing economic structures, are not as functional as the old ones.

The new buildings in Hemshin villages are built using concrete. The cost of a wooden house is greater than that of a concrete house; providing wood is more difficult than it was in the past. Furthermore, old houses have begun to lose their functionality as economic structures have changed. In most of the older houses, the serender and kınaf have been left to decay, primarily because animal husbandry plays a less prominent role than before, and less corn is grown. Thus serenders designed to hold large quantities of corn stand empty today, and corn and other food are stored in a small pantry in the house. In these villages humidity is high, and numerous pests, including insects, mice, lizards and snakes, make traditional storage techniques unhealthy, in comparison with modern methods of preservation.

There is no *ocaklık* (fireplace oven) in the new buildings; these have been replaced by stoves with ovens (*pilita*). There is typically one entrance, and the woodshed is on the first floor. The residence does not form a separate part of the house and the hayat has been replaced with a separate living room and kitchen. Today, there is also a bathroom and a lavatory inside the house.

There is still a kınaf in many gardens, but it has lost its original function and usually stands empty, left to decay. Kalifs built as guard cottages are not seen today. Today’s economy has witnessed a change from corn to tea growing, and wild animals do not do any harm in tea gardens.

With such extensive changes in the local economy, it is natural that questions regarding the implications of this change for folk architecture should be posed. To keep folk architecture alive does not mean to protect it from change completely, but to evaluate it with regard to new functions in Hemshin society. In this respect, wooden construction techniques could certainly be preserved if people of the region were aware of their value. New buildings could be formed in such a way as to allow for the changing cultural and economic structures without completely sacrificing the traditional way of life. Such decisions, however, ultimately belong to the Hemshin. People devise places to live and work out a means to survive within the constraints their natural environment imposes upon them, and for the Hemshin people, the living spaces that grew out of their folk architecture express their traditions, customs, beliefs, values, way of life and their very cultural identity.

Local dictionary

Aher kapı	Entrance to a stable
Akurluk	Planks made of chestnut trees that are 18×20 or 20×20 cm in size and which are placed lengthwise along the longer sides of the foundation and along the outer walls of the house (then called <i>metris</i>)
Aykuri	Upwards
Al ver	Trade
Bulma	Room
Burgi	Drill
Çat Direği	Wooden pole which makes a house stand straight and safe
Çimmek	To take a bath
Çugal	A small cauldron
Daraba	Outer wall planks of a residence
Değeni	Third floor of a house
Donanma	Hinge
Ede	Do!
Eğinç	Stinging nettle
Harduma	Thin wood
Haylamak	Shouting to chase away animals such as bears, pigs and foxes
Heyet	Living room (salon) of the residence
Kalif	A cottage built in the garden from which people can keep watch to protect it from wild animals at night
Kalifçi	A person who keeps guard in the kalif
Kamara	Thick beams laid on the ceiling to make it safer
Katık	Milk products
Kede	A kind of cake peculiar to the Hemshin people
Kenef	Toilet
Kervert	Type of divan
Kınaf/Kenaf	A small building in the garden used to store animal fodder
Kopri	Small axe

Kşdere	Tool used to shape wood
Kşk	Balcony
Kukma	Copper jug with a long handle
Kuku	Cuckoo
Kumar	Kind of plant
Kupas	Upside down
La	Form of address when speaking to women in Hemshin culture
Lilug	Lover
Liser	Cone-shaped wooden device placed on the poles of the serender
Lobiya	Green beans
Mandıç	Planks made of chestnut trees that are 18×20 or 20×20 cm in size and which are placed lengthwise along the shorter sides of the foundation and along the outer walls of the house (then called <i>metris</i>)
Metris	Planks worked in the <i>daraba</i> technique
Mollalar	Name of a family
Nacak	Axe
Ocağın kazılması	Laying a foundation
Omuzluk	Planks placed on the ceiling pole (<i>çat direği</i>) which enable the house to stand straight and safe
Onçikhon	Değeni, the third floor of a house
Pag	Door lock
Pilita	Stove
Reyka	Type of thin wood which is placed under tiles
Sarabağı	Thick planks placed around the four sides of a house before covering the roof
Soya	10 to 15 cm sq. upright beams, which are used to frame a door
Yaban	Wild, as in wild animals such as bears, pigs and foxes
Ye	Form of address expressing love and friendship
Zerza	Iron door handle

Part III

Language

10 Homshetsma

The language of the Armenians of Hamshen

Bert Vaux

Introduction

Homshetsma¹ has three main varieties, corresponding to the three main groups of Hamshen Armenians:

- 1 *Western Hemshinli*, who live in the Turkish province of Rize (as well as in larger Turkish cities and Europe), speak Turkish, and are Sunni Muslim.
- 2 *Eastern Hemshinli/Homshetsik*, who live in the province of Artvin (with smaller numbers dispersed elsewhere in Turkey, Central Asia and Europe), speak a language called Homshetsma, and are also Sunni Muslim.
- 3 *Northern Homshentsik*, the descendants of non-Islamicized Hamshen Armenians formerly of the provinces of Samsun, Ordu, Giresun and Trabzon, who live in Georgia and Russia, speak Homshetsma, and are Christian.²

The western Hemshinli speak only Turkish, though they preserve a fair number of Homshetsma words, toponyms and family names.³ This chapter focuses on the eastern Hemshinli and northern Homshentsik, who continue to speak Homshetsma in relatively large numbers up to the present day.

Homshetsma is generally treated as a dialect of western Armenian. The two are generally not mutually intelligible, however,⁴ since a number of conditions have conspired to make Homshetsma one of the most divergent and interesting varieties of Armenian. The Homshentsik moved from their original Armenian homeland to an area of isolated mountain villages at a time when the Armenian language was still relatively homogenous, and had not yet developed the profound diversity that characterizes the hundreds of modern Armenian dialects.⁵ Consequently, Homshetsma preserves a number of important archaisms that were levelled elsewhere, and has also developed a host of peculiar innovations not found in other varieties of Armenian. The fact that the language is not written has insulated Homshetsma from the influence of classical and literary forms of Armenian, which makes it unique among the Armenian dialects. Homshetsma therefore gives us one of our only glimpses of Armenian in its ‘pure’ form, untainted by loanwords from Classical Armenian and not stripped of the Turkish component of its lexicon.

Orthography

In 1995 a native speaker and I designed an orthographic system for Homshetsma – which up until that time had possessed only a spoken form – in order to encourage native speakers to develop a literary outlet for their culture. Because (1) the inventory of sounds in Homshetsma is quite close to that of Turkish, (2) most speakers of Homshetsma are able to read and write in Turkish, and (3) the Turkish alphabet is relatively easy for Westerners to decipher (compared to the Armenian script), we based the Homshetsma orthography on the Turkish system. In Table 10.1 I set out the inventory of Homshetsma letters, together with their equivalents in Armenian and the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

Throughout this chapter I employ the Homshetsma alphabet to transcribe Homshetsma forms, together with IPA equivalents in square brackets when

Table 10.1 Homshetsma orthography

<i>Homshetsma</i>	<i>Western Armenian</i>	<i>Eastern Armenian</i>	<i>IPA</i>	<i>Example</i>
a	ա	ա	a	açvi ‘eye’
ä	աւ, ևա	աւ, ևա	æ	(N. Hom. äxpär ‘brother’)
b	պ	բ	b	bacax ‘leg’
c	ճ	ջ	dʒ	cicu ‘intestines’
ç	չ	չ	tʃ ^h	çoloz ‘1 to 2-year-old bullock’
d	տ	դ	d	dederuş ‘to fart (noisily)’
dz	ծ	ձ	dz	bidzik ‘little’
e	ե, է	ե, է	e, ɛ	erzeva ‘garden’
f	ֆ	ֆ	f	ferengul ‘lock’
g	կ	գ	g	xerguş ‘to snore’
ğ	ղ	ղ	ɣ	koroğ ‘ashes’
h	հ	հ	h	hoza ‘here’
i	ի	ի	i	iligom ‘kidney(s)’
ı	լ	լ	ə	xinç ‘steel dog collar’
j	ժ	ժ	ʒ	emmenije ‘always’
k	թ, դ	թ	k ^h	tokuş ‘to cough’
l	լ	լ	l	paleni ‘cherry tree’
m	մ	մ	m	tomnuş ‘to finish’
n	ն	ն	n	ponlik ‘key’
o	ո, օ	ո, օ	o	xoiz ‘inside of a fruit’
p	փ, բ	փ	p ^h	pook ‘beehive’
-	ռ	ռ	ɹ	[merged with r in Homshetsma]
r	ր	ր	ɹ	tertevus ‘eyelash’
s	ս	ս	s	aspadz ‘god’
ş	շ	շ	ʃ	şagluş ‘to carry on one’s back’
t	թ, դ	թ	t ^h	taduş ‘to study’
ts	ց, ձ	ց	ts ^h	şebetsnuş ‘to hit someone’
u	ու	ու	u	untuş ‘embrace, surround’
v	վ, է	վ, է	v	vov ‘who’
x	խ	խ	χ	poxvuş ‘to swim, shower’
y	յ	յ	j	yiyek ‘three’
z	զ	զ	z	zond ‘heavy, pregnant’

necessary to convey subtle nuances of pronunciation. (I will not use the Homshetsma orthography for other Armenian dialects, however; for these I use the standard armenological transcription system employed by the *Revue des Études Arméniennes*).⁶

The place of Homshetsma within the realm of Armenian dialects

Like the other varieties of Armenian, Homshetsma descends from Common Armenian, and also shares many linguistic features with certain subgroups of modern Armenian dialects. More specifically, Homshetsma clearly belongs to the western group of Armenian dialects, and within that group it belongs to what I call the northeastern subgroup of western Armenian dialects, to be defined below.

The western dialects

First of all, though, why do we say that Homshetsma belongs to the western Armenian dialect group? The primary reason is that Homshetsma contains most of the linguistic features that distinguish the western group of dialects from the eastern group.⁷ For example, it shows the voicing of original Armenian voiceless unaspirated stops that characterizes almost all western dialects (Table 10.2).

Homshetsma also employs the characteristic western form of the second singular pronoun, which, unlike in eastern dialects, has been augmented by a final *-n* (Table 10.3).

Northern (but not eastern) Homshetsma has taken this development one step further, adding the *-n* to the plural form as well: *d^hunk^h*, *tunk^h*, *tunk^s* (compare eastern Homshetsma *tuk* [t^huk^h]).

The morphology of Homshetsma is characteristically western. Like most western dialects it marks the present (a) and imperfect (b) indicative tenses with *g(u)*. (Table 10.4).

Table 10.2 Original Armenian voiceless unaspirated stops

Homshetsma	Common Arm. ⁹	Gloss
<u>ba</u> d	պատ [pat]	wall
er <u>g</u> us	երկու(<u>ք</u>) [ɛɾkuk ^h]	two
da <u>g</u> a	տղայ [tɛaj]	boy
dzo <u>m</u> uʃ	ծամել [tsamɛl]	to chew
c <u>in</u> cux	ճնճուղ [tʃəntʃuɾ]	bird (H), sparrow (CA)

Table 10.3 The second singular pronoun

Common Arm.	E. Arm.	W. Arm.	Homshetsma	Gloss
դու [du]	դու [du]	դուն [t ^h un]	tun	you (singular)

Table 10.4 Present and imperfect indicative tenses

<i>E. Hom.</i>	<i>N. Hom.</i>	<i>SWA</i>	<i>SEA</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
(a) pia gu [p ^{hi} ˈjagu]	perä gu [pɛˈɹæ gu]	կը բերէ [gəp ^h ɛˈɹɛ]	բերում է [bɛˈɹume]	he/she/it carries
(b) piedi gu [p ^{hi} jɛˈdigu]	pereydi gu [pɛ.ɹɛjdəgu]	կը բերէիր [gəp ^h ɛ.ɹɛˈji.ɹ]	բերում էիր [bɛˈɹumeji.ɹ]	you carried/were carrying

Table 10.5 The ablative singular ending

<i>E. Hom.</i>	<i>N. Hom.</i>	<i>SWA</i>	<i>SEA</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
marta	maštä	մարդէ [ma.ɹ ^h ɛ]	մարդից [ma.ɹdits ^h]	from a man

Table 10.6 Special locative suffix

<i>Homshetsma</i>	tev-o- <u>u</u> -n inçik mena ç ⁱ ¹⁰ hand-pl- <u>g/d</u> -def anything remains not ‘nothing remains in [their] hands’
= <i>SWA</i>	ձեռք-եր-նիւն ոչինչ չի մնար [ts ^h ɛ.ɹk ^h ɛ.ɹnin vot ^h int ^h t ^h i mənɑ.ɹ] hand-pl-pl.n/a-def nothing not remain
= <i>SEA</i>	ձեռք-եր-ում-ը ոչինչ չէ մնում [dzɛrk ^h ɛ.ɹumə vot ^h int ^h t ^h ɛ mənum] hand-pl- <u>loc</u> -def nothing not remain

Another typical western feature is the ablative singular ending *-t [-e] (compare eastern -ից [-its^h]), which becomes -ä in northern Homshetsma and -a in eastern Homshetsma (Table 10.5).

Like all other western dialects, Homshetsma employs the nominative/accusative or the genitive/dative case to express location, whereas eastern dialects have a special locative suffix -ում [-um] (Table 10.6).

In the domain of vocabulary, Homshetsma conforms to the western dialects in using a form of Common Armenian *հավ-կիթ [hav kit^h] ‘bird/chicken egg’ as the generic term for ‘egg’: western and northern Homshetsma *havgit*, eastern Homshetsma *hagvit* (eastern Armenian dialects, in contrast, employ the form ձու [dzu]). Similarly, Homshetsma has a western word for ‘neighbour’, *tergits*¹¹ (cf. SWA դրկից [t^hərgits^h] (though դրացի [t^hərats^hi] is more common) but SEA հարեւան [harevan]).

The northeastern Turkish group

Within the western group of dialects, Homshetsma has particularly close ties to the other Armenian dialects of northeastern Turkey, particularly Xodorchur (Arm. Xotorjur) and Trabzon, and to a lesser extent Artvin and Erzerum. One curious innovation found in all of these dialects (except perhaps Trabzon and Artvin, for which I do not have sufficient information) involves the imperfective clitic կը, which normally surfaces as [gu] in these dialects but for unknown reasons becomes voiceless and/or aspirated with a few specific verbs (Table 10.7).

Table 10.7 The imperfective clitic

<i>Northern Homshetsma</i> ¹²	kukom ‘I come’, kuzim ‘I want’, kellim ‘I go up’, kingnim ‘I fall’
<i>Eastern Homshetsma</i> ¹³	kukom, kuzim, kuzes ‘you (sg.) want’, kelli ‘(s)he/it goes up’, kiçnum ‘I descend’, kulom ‘I cry’
<i>Xodorchur</i> <i>k^h</i> - ¹⁴	k ^h uk ^h a ‘he comes’, k ^h uzes ‘you want’, k ^h əlni ‘he is’
<i>Erzerum</i> <i>g^h(u)</i> - ¹⁵	g ^h ug ^h am ‘I come’, g ^h uzim ‘I want’, g ^h əlli ‘(s)he/it is’, g ^h əyni ‘(s)he/it falls’

A particularly telling pair is eastern Homshetsma *g*-ellim ‘I am’ vs. *k*-ellim ‘I go up’, where the surface form of the verb stem is identical but the pronunciation of the prefix is not.

The innovations shared between Homshetsma and Xodorchur in particular are so numerous that we may assign them to a common subgroup, which I will refer to as the northeastern Turkish group. (The reader should bear in mind that only shared, non-trivial innovations are valid criteria for subgrouping; as any two dialects are equally likely to preserve a given linguistic feature, archaisms cannot be used for historical subgrouping. Trivial common innovations, such as borrowing specific forms from the dominant language of the region (e.g. Homshetsma *haz enuṣ*, Xodorchur *հազ էնի* ¹⁶ [haz enɛl] ‘to love’ from Turkish *haz etmek*), do not count.)

Homshetsma and Xodorchur

Perhaps the most striking linguistic feature shared by Homshetsma and Xodorchur is the use of the verb *unim* ‘have’ as an auxiliary with transitive verbs in the perfect tense and its derivatives (e.g. Xodorchur *կերած ունիմ* [gɛ.ɪadz unim]¹⁷, eastern Homshetsma *giadzuim* ‘I have eaten’). Intransitive verbs employ the verb ‘be’ as their auxiliary: Xodorchur *սղէն քուն եղած ա* [dɔʁɛn k^hun jɛʁadz a],¹⁸ eastern Homshetsma *dağan kun ağadz a* ‘the boy slept’.¹⁹ Fathers Harut’iwn Hulanian and Matt’ēos Hachian state that the use of ‘have’ as an auxiliary verb occurs in many dialects, but I have not found any such dialects other than Xodorchur and Homshetsma (some Armenian speakers report having heard it used in Istanbul and elsewhere, but these data remain uncorroborated).²⁰ I return to this phenomenon below.

Another interesting innovation shared by Homshetsma and Xodorchur is the use of Common Armenian *թէ* [t^he] ‘that, if, whether’ (> E. Homshetsma *ta*, Janik (a N. Homshetsma subdialect) *tā*) as a marker of yes/no questions (Table 10.8).²¹

Why have Homshetsma and Xodorchur developed this curious marker of yes/no questions? In order to understand the development of this usage, we need to appreciate two factors. First of all, the prestige language in the area, Turkish, possesses an overt marker of yes/no questions, *-mi/mu/mu/mü*, as in *gitti mi?* ‘did he go?’ The development of a yes/no question mark in Homshetsma and Xodorchur is presumably due to the influence of this particular formation in Turkish. Under similar pressure, other Armenian dialects actually borrowed the Turkish morpheme *-mi/mu/mu/mü* directly; cf. Trabzon *unis mi* ‘do you have it?’²² Hamshen and Xodorchur do not borrow the Turkish form, however; the question

Table 10.8 The use of Common Armenian

Eastern Homshetsma

- (a) yes/no question: marked with -ta
 me kyağ-e gartatsadz ç-ell-oğ mart go-ta
 our village-def. read.ppl. not-be-pres.ppl. man exists-YNQ
 'Is there anyone who has not read *Our Village*?'
 (b) wh-question: not marked with -ta
 dzidağuşi inç go
 laugh-g/d what exists
 'What is there to laugh at?'

Xodorchur

- (a) yes/no question

կովկրուն	ճաշուն	սոսկիք	թէ,	դէն	վախտ	չէ
gov-e-I-u-n	dʒaʃ-u-n	dəvik ^h	t ^h e,	t ^h er	vaχt	tʃ ^h -e
cow-pl-g/d-def.	meal-g/d-def.	you.gave	YNQ	still	time	not-is

 'Did you feed the cows? It's not time yet.'
 (b) wh-question

ախշի՛,	անունդ	ի՞նչ	ս
aχtʃi	anun-əth	intʃ ^h	a
girl	name-your	what	is

 'Girl, what is your name?'

now is how these dialects went about creating a yes/no question mark using the components of their own lexicon, which is the second important factor in our analysis.

It is important to realize that the function of the subordinator 'whether', which is one of the meanings of Armenian (*e*)tē, is to demarcate yes/no propositions in subordinate clauses. For example, the English sentence *I asked her whether she was going* is equivalent to *I asked her, 'are you going?'*, where the embedded question 'are you going?' takes 'yes' or 'no' as an answer. One cannot use 'whether' with embedded questions that do not take a yes/no answer: *I asked her, 'how are you doing?'* □ **I asked whether she was doing, *I asked her whether how she was doing*. Homshetsma and Xodorchur, however, have extended the domain of their form for 'whether', *ta*, to main clauses. In other words, *ta* is employed to mark yes/no questions in both main and subordinate clauses.²³

In the lexical domain, Homshetsma and Xodorchur share a number of innovations. One notable example is the set of deictic adverbs *istus*, *ittus*, *intus* 'on this/that side'.²⁴ As far as I am aware, these particular forms are only found in these two dialects, but this is unfortunately difficult to verify as there is no comparative dictionary of Armenian dialects that includes forms of this sort.

Homshetsma and Trabzon

Homshetsma also shares a number of features with Trabzon, which is not surprising given that many of the northern Homshetsma communities originally lived in villages around Trabzon. One such example is the formation of the present and

imperfect tenses: both Homshetsma and Trabzon prefix *g-* to vowel-initial verbs, and suffix *-gu* to consonant-initial (polysyllabic) verbs (Table 10.9).²⁵

Xodorchur does not share this feature; judging from the texts in Hachian, it has the same distribution of *g-* and *gu-* as does standard western Armenian.²⁶

Another morphological innovation shared by Homshetsma (Mala and rural Trabzon subdialects) and Trabzon is the use of ‘have’ as a progressive marker (Table 10.10).²⁷

According to Hrant Petrosyan, *uni* is only used in the imperfect progressive in Trabzon. Hrach’eay Acharian asserts that Trabzon in fact does not use *uni* for progressives at all;²⁸ we must therefore conclude either that Petrosyan based his Trabzon description on sources that actually described varieties of Homshetsma spoken in Trabzon and its environs, or that Acharian and Petrosyan simply had access to different subdialects of Trabzon. Gevorg Jahukyan adds that the use of *uni* as a progressive marker is also found in Sivrihisar;²⁹ it is not clear whether this is an independent innovation or a common inheritance.

A lexical feature that is unique to Homshetsma and Trabzon in the Armenian world is the form *moj-* ‘brood hen’ (corresponding to Std. *թռխալ* [^huχs]). This root is shown (Table 10.11).

Uwe Bläsing relates these to forms found in the neighbouring south Caucasian languages: Georgian dialectal *moč’va*, Laz *monč’(v)a*.³³ It is not clear, though, whether the Homshetsma and Trabzon forms are borrowed from south Caucasian

Table 10.9 Formation of present and imperfect tenses

	Trabzon	Eastern Homshetsma
(a) ‘I do’	<i>կ’էնեմ</i> <i>genem</i>	<i>g-enim</i>
(b) ‘they stay’	<i>մնան կը</i> <i>mənan-gu</i>	<i>menon-gu</i>

Table 10.10 The use of ‘have’ as a progressive marker

Northern Homshetsma	<i>b^herim guni</i>	I am carrying
	<i>b^hereyi guni</i>	I was carrying
Trabzon	<i>կէպէկի ունի</i> [<i>gep^hɛji uni</i>]	I was cooking
	<i>նայէկի ունի</i>	he/she/it was
	[<i>najei uni</i>]	looking

Table 10.11 The root form ‘brood hen’

Western Homshetsma	<i>moc’a</i> ‘brood hen’ <i>moc’a düşmek</i> ‘to brood’ ³⁰ (Tk. <i>düşmek</i> ‘to fall’)
Eastern Homshetsma	<i>moca nesduş</i> ‘incubate eggs’
Northern Homshetsma	<i>mocu</i> ‘brood hen’ ³¹
Trabzon	<i>մոճ</i> [<i>modʒ</i>] ‘brood hen’ ³²

or vice versa; *moc-* may also be an areal word with no particular historical ties to any of these languages.

Despite the Homshetsma-Trabzon similarities catalogued above, Homshetsma generally does *not* group with Trabzon, as Acharian is at pains to point out.³⁴ The reason for this, according to Acharian, is that the original settlement of the two areas by Armenians was different: Trabzon was settled in the Middle Ages by refugees from Ani, whereas the Hamshen Armenian villages around Trabzon were created by refugees from Hamshen (modern Çamlıhemşin) in the seventeenth century following an Ottoman programme of forced conversion.³⁵ As linguistic support for this position, Acharian cites three facts which distinguish Homshetsma from Trabzon:

- 1 Homshetsma raises *a* to *o* before nasal consonants (e.g. *Համարի hamar* ‘for’ > (*h*)*oma*, *ճանկ չոնկ* ‘claw’ > *cong* ‘handful’), whereas Trabzon does not;
- 2 All Homshetsma infinitives take the suffix *-uş*, whereas in Trabzon they have the regular Armenian endings *-el/-il/-al*;
- 3 Homshetsma forms progressives with (*g*)*uni*; Trabzon does not (this generalization is problematic, as we have already seen).

The two positions outlined above – that Homshetsma is related to Trabzon, and that it is not – are not incompatible. What seems to be the case is that in genetic terms, Homshetsma is not directly related to Trabzon in the way that it is to Xodorchur, but the two do share a number of areal features and later innovations.

Artvin, Baberd and Erzerum

The linguistic relations between Homshetsma and the neighbouring dialects of Artvin, Baberd and Erzerum appear to be much more limited. I will restrict my comments here to Artvin and Erzerum, since no published materials are available that treat the Baberd dialect; my fieldwork with speakers of this dialect has not revealed any notable similarities to Homshetsma.

Other than features that are also shared by many other dialects (e.g. both Homshetsma and Artvin have *իրեք* *irek* ‘three’ and *օխտ* / *oxti* (NH) / *oxte* (EH) ‘seven’³⁶), the affinities between Homshetsma and Artvin appear to be restricted to influences of Homshetsma upon Artvin. For example, Alaverdyan notes that though Artvin is typologically an eastern Armenian dialect, its use of the typical eastern locative case *-um* is very restricted; most words use the genitive/dative case with *մէջ* [metʃ^h] ‘in’.³⁷ He attributes this to the influence of nearby western dialects, particularly Erzerum and Hamshen. In a similar vein, he states that verbs in Artvin generally form their present tense by means of the suffix *-lis* (*խօսելիս* *hu* *həl* [χoselis im] ‘I speak’), but some thirty verbs do not.³⁸ These verbs instead form the present tense with *լու* (e.g. *լու-մօրթէմ* [gu-mort^hem] ‘I slay’). Alaverdyan claims that the unexpected appearance of *լու* in these verbs is again due to influence from Homshetsma or Erzerum.

It is quite possible that close investigation will reveal genetic linguistic affinities between Homshetsma and these dialects, but such investigation is beyond the scope of this chapter given the dearth of materials available concerning them.

Homshetsma

Let us now consider some linguistic features that do not enable us to group Homshetsma with other Armenian dialects, but rather reveal striking archaisms which serve to distinguish it from the neighbouring dialects considered above, or unique innovations that set this language apart from the rest of the Armenian-speaking world. As I stated at the outset of this chapter, Homshetsma is simultaneously one of the most archaic and innovative varieties of modern Armenian, thanks to its extended isolation from the rest of the Armenian world and its avoidance of influence from the literary dialects.

Archaisms

Among the archaisms we find in Homshetsma, the most interesting to Indo-Europeanists is the *e*-augment, which is employed to mark the third singular aorist. Indo-European, the ancestor of Armenian, formed the imperfect tense by prefixing an *e*- to the verb root; thus, for example, the word for ‘he/she/it carried’ was **eb^heret* (Table 10.12(a)), derived from the root **b^her-* ‘carry’. The expected outcome of this form in Armenian is *eber*, which is in fact what we find in the Classical and Middle Armenian aorist (Table 10.12(b) to (c)).³⁹ Standard modern Armenian has entirely lost this *e*-augment, though, so we now have forms such as standard western *բերեց* [*p^hɛ.ɹɛts^h*] (Table 10.12(d)). Homshetsma, on the other hand, preserves the augment, as we can see in (Table 10.12(e)) (the augment is also preserved in the dialects of Xodorchur, Haji Habibli, Yoghun Oluk, Aramo, Mush, Baghesh, Xlat, Archesh, Artske, Tiflis, Ghalacha, and Gyargyar). As in Middle Armenian, the augment is also extended to a number of new verbs (Table 10.13).

The Homshetsma verbal system is also archaic in preserving the Old Armenian *u*-conjugation, which originally contained verbs such as **^hoʷul* and *arⁿul*. The only original *u*-verbs that Homshetsma maintains in this conjugation are *թողուլ* ‘allow’ (> toğuş), *հարուլ* ‘hit’ (> haruş), *զերծնուլ* ‘escape’ (> zey(d)znuş), *առնուլ* ‘take’ (> arnuş) and *լնուլ* ‘fill’ (> lluş).⁴⁰ Homshetsma also preserves a

Table 10.12 The descent of Homshetsma *epi* ‘he/she/it carried’ from Indo-European **eb^heret*

(a) Indo-European	<i>*eb^heret</i>
(b) Classical Armenian	<i>եբեր</i> [<i>ɛbɛ.ɹ</i>]
(c) Middle Armenian	<i>եբեր</i> [<i>ɛpɛ.ɹ</i>]
(d) Standard Western	<i>բերեց</i> [<i>p^hɛ.ɹɛts^h</i>]
(e) Homshetsma	<i>epi</i> [<i>ɛp^hi</i>]

Table 10.13 New verbs

<i>Hom. infinitive</i>	<i>Hom. aorist</i>	<i>Middle Armenian</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
toğuş	etoğ [et ^h oɤ]	էթող [et ^h oɤ]	he/she/it left
ponuş	epats [ɛp ^h ats ^h]	էբաց [ɛpats ^h]	he/she/it opened
devuş	eed [ejɛd]	էրեւ [ɛɹɛd]	he/she/it gave
eguş	eev [ejɛv]	էրեւ [ɛɹɛv]	he/she/it came

Table 10.14 The *u*-conjugation in the Middle Armenian period

<i>Classical</i>	<i>Middle Armenian</i>	<i>Homshetsma</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
մտանել	մտնուլ [mɔdnul]	mednuş	enter
տեսանել	տեսնուլ [desnul]	desnuş	see
գտանել	գտնուլ [kɔdnul]	kdnuş (N), kednuş (E)	find
իջանիլ	իջնուլ [itʃnul]	işnuş (N), içnuş (E)	descend
հեծանիլ	հեծնուլ [hedznul]	heznuş (N), hednuş (E)	mount

number of verbs that were shifted from the *e*-conjugation⁴¹ to the *u*-conjugation in the Middle Armenian period (Table 10.14).⁴² This unusual Middle Armenian innovation is also preserved in Xodorchur,⁴³ Suczawa, Zeytun and the eastern dialect of Karchevan.⁴⁴

In the nominal domain, Homshetsma is (to the best of my knowledge) unique in preserving the original sense of the Common Armenian deictic clitics **-s*, **-d*, and **-n*. The original meaning of these clitics, which referred respectively to entities near the speaker, near the addressee, and removed from the purview of both speaker and the addressee, is preserved in Classical Armenian. Matthew 14:15 *տեղիս անապատ է* *tekiş anapat ē*, for example, means ‘this place is a desert’, where the *-s* suffixed to *տեղի* *tekiş* ‘place’ indicates that the place being referred to is within the purview of the speaker. In the modern dialects of Armenian these three clitics have become possessives: ‘my’, ‘your’ and ‘his/hers/its’ respectively; for example, the standard western Armenian outcome of Classical *tekiş*, namely *տեղս* *dekas*, means ‘my place’ and not ‘this place’. Locational deixis must now be expressed by other means in the modern dialects; SWA expresses Matthew 14:15 as *հոն անապատ տեղ միւն է* *hos anabad deḵ mən e*, literally ‘here deserted place a is’.

Homshetsma resembles Classical Armenian but differs from the other modern dialects in preserving the original Common Armenian system: *as oives*, for example, means ‘this shepherd’, rather than ‘my shepherd’ or ‘this shepherd of mine’. Note that SWA, in contrast, uses the *third*-person clitic with deictics like *սս as*: *ս(յ)ս հովիւը* *a(y)s hovivə* ‘this shepherd’ and so on. One should bear in mind that the Homshetsma deictics can, in the absence of deictic modifiers, also express possession, as in *keralluğes* ‘my kingdom’.

Moving on to the lexical domain, Homshetsma preserves an interesting Iranian loan into Old Armenian that has generally been lost in the modern Armenian dialects. This word survives in eastern Homshetsma as the female personal name

Table 10.15 Rule change

Classical	Homshetsma	gloss
ձուկն (dzukn)	tsug	fish
մուկն (mukn)	mug	mouse

Pompuş. This name has no synchronic meaning for the Homshetsik, and in its present form means nothing in standard Armenian or in the Caucasian languages of the area. However, when we consider the phonological history of Homshetsma, the name begins to make sense. Pompuş can be derived from a Common Armenian form **bambiš* via rules of Nasal Raising and i-Rounding (cf. below). We also know that Homshetsma, like all modern Armenian dialects, at some point in its history underwent a rule change deleting word-final *n* when preceded by a consonant. This rule produced outcomes of the type give in (Table 10.15). It is therefore possible to derive our protoform **bambiš* from the earlier form **bambišn*.

The form *bambišn* is in fact a Classical Armenian word for ‘queen’, used in particular in reference to Iranian queens. The form is a loan from Middle Iranian *bānbišn*, which in turn derives from Avestan *dəmānō.paθnī-* ‘lady of the house’.⁴⁵ In the Classical Armenian period, *bambišn* was used as a personal name as well;⁴⁶ for example, the fifth-century historian P’awstos Biwzandac’i (Faustus of Byzantium) speaks of *Bambišn*, wife of Athanagenes and sister of King Tiran of Armenia.

The word *bambišn* is no longer used as a title, a word for ‘queen’, or a personal name in modern Armenian. There is one notable exception: the wife of the minister in protestant Armenian churches is referred to as բամբիշ [pʰampʰiʃ]. The Armenians whom I have asked have been unaware of the original meaning of this term. The Homshetsma personal name Pompuş appears to be an archaic remnant of precisely the original usage, however. A woman named Pompuş was therefore originally a ‘queen’, a completely plausible label for a woman. As is often the case with personal names, however, the original meaning of the name was subsequently lost.

In more general terms, Homshetsma is archaic in preserving the extensive foreign grammatical and lexical components that all of the Armenian dialects imported in the period following the Arab invasion (seventh century) and especially the Turkish invasion (eleventh century), but were stripped from the standard dialects and artificially replaced with Classical Armenian equivalents beginning in the nineteenth century. We will see more evidence of this in subsequent sections.

Innovations

In addition to the archaisms catalogued above, Homshetsma displays a host of linguistic innovations that distinguish it from the other varieties of Armenian. The main phonological shibboleth is nasal raising, which as we have already seen

changes *a* to *o* when followed by a nasal consonant. In the morphological system, the most striking innovation may be the future tense formation employing the present participle in *-oğ*, exemplified below for eastern Homshetsma.⁴⁷ The relevant form in this example is *gebçoğum* ‘I will begin’, which is composed of the present participle of *gebçuş* ‘begin’ plus the first person singular verbal affix *-um*:

hekuts inç ella nor kitab-i-s gebç-oğ-um
 tomorrow what be.sj. new book-g/d-my begin-ppl.-1sg.
 ‘Tomorrow, God willing, I’ll begin my new book.’

Another morphological innovation of Homshetsma is the second-person singular imperfect ending reflected in eastern Homshetsma *-di*, e.g. *kiedi gu* ‘you were writing’,⁴⁸ and northern Homshetsma *-yd(i)*, as in *xoseydi* ‘you were speaking’.⁴⁹ These two forms descend from a common source **-di*, which in turn derives via metathesis from Common Armenian **-ir* (cf. SWA *գրէիր* [*kʰəɹeiɹ*] ‘you were writing’). The same metathesis may be observed in the plural forms of the imperfect (Table 10.16).⁵⁰ The other innovation in this suffix is the change of *r* to *d*, which remains unexplained.

Homshetsma furthermore differs from all other dialects of Armenian in its formation of the infinitive. Whereas all other varieties of Armenian form the infinitive by adding to the verb stem the suffixes *-el*, *-il*, *-al* and so on, Homshetsma adds only the suffix *-uş*. In the eastern Homshetsma forms given in Table 10.17 we see that Homshetsma, like many western dialects, actually has *four* classes of verbs according to the vowel they take in conjugation, but all of these select the *-uş* infinitive.

Acharian relates the *-uş* suffix to the Turkish participial suffix *-iş/ış/uş/üş*, as in *alış-veriş* ‘trade’ (from *almak* ‘take’ and *vermek* ‘give’).⁵¹ Georges Dumézil objects that the Homshetsma vowel should not be *-u-* if the suffix is borrowed from Turkish; he prefers to link *-uş* to the genitive form of the Laz infinitival

Table 10.16 Plural forms of the imperfect

SWA	Eastern Homshetsma	Gloss
<i>լը գրէիկ</i> [gə ^h kʰəɹeɪnkʰ]	kiaki gu	we were writing
<i>լը գրէիկ</i> [gə ^h kʰəɹeɪkʰ]	kieki gu	you (pl) were writing
<i>լը գրէին</i> [gə ^h kʰəɹeɪn]	kien <i>ɪ</i> gu	they were writing

Table 10.17 Eastern Homshetsma forms

Verb class	2sg present	Infinitive	Gloss
-e-	genes	enuş	do
-i-	gellis	elluş	be
-a-	garta gus	gartuş	read
-u-	mednu gus	mednuş	enter

suffix, *-uṣ*.⁵² Further research may confirm Dumézil's proposal, but it should be noted that the vocalism is not really a problem for Acharian's hypothesis; the change of *i* to *u* before *ṣ* finds parallels in eastern Homshetsma *ṣuṣe* 'bottle' < Turkish *şişe* and the form *pompuş* < *bambišn* mentioned above.

Moving on to lexical innovations, one of the oddest in Homshetsma involves a verb meaning 'to hit', *tevuṣ*. The first peculiarity of this form is that it appears to derive from Common Armenian **tal* 'give', even though this also surfaces in Homshetsma as the regular form for 'give', *devuṣ*.⁵³ The second peculiarity is that this verb has somehow acquired a geminate (double) consonant, as may be seen in Table 10.18.⁵⁴

Note that the consonant that is geminated can be either the initial *t*- of the root, or the *-v*- which shows up in some forms of the paradigm. The basic generalization is that the *t* is geminated if word-initial or preceded by a proclitic (Table 10.18(a)), otherwise the *v* geminates (Table 10.18(b)); if neither of these options is possible, there is no gemination (Table 10.18(c)).

The Homshetsma word for 'owl', *xoxol*,⁵⁵ also appears to be unique; other dialects typically use some form of *pm bu*. The neighbouring dialects of Trabzon and Xodorchur contain similar forms with possibly related meanings—Trabzon *ḥunḥunl* *χoxol* 'bogeyman' (but *bu* 'owl'), Xodorchur *ḥunḥuol* *χuoχol* 'slow-moving',⁵⁶—but it is not entirely clear that these are related to the Homshetsma form, which may be onomatopoeic.

The eastern Homshetsma form *dziap* 'market' also appears to be an innovation; it does not occur in Acharian's northern materials. Dumézil mentions that since the Homshetsiks and their villages are in the mountains, whereas Hopa (where eastern Homshetsiks go to the market) is on the sea coast, one says 'down to the market' but 'up to the village' (*kyağn ive*).⁵⁷ The origins of the form *dziap* are unclear; if it is of native Armenian origin, Homshetsma phonology dictates that it can come from a protoform of one of the following shapes: **tserab*, **tserap*, **tsiab*, **tsiap*. To the best of my knowledge, none of these forms is attested in any variety of Armenian. Given that all the major markets and villages in the area are on or near the sea coast, we may also entertain the possibility that *dziap* derives from **ḍnḥl-wḥl* [dzov ap^h] 'sea-shore'. The development of *-ov-* to *-i-* in this case

Table 10.18 Northern Homshetsma paradigm for 'hit'

Form	Gloss
(a) guttom	I hit (present)
mit tar	don't hit! [actually prohibitive <i>mi</i> + <i>ttar</i> -BV]
(b) tivvuṣ	beat (infinitive)
tivvi	I hit (aorist)
tivvek	hit! (plural)
(c) tom	I hit (present subjunctive)
tu(r)	hit! (singular)

does not conform happily to the standard rules of Homshetsma historical phonology, but the semantics seem appropriate.

An interesting case in which Homshetsma has fundamentally altered the semantics of a Common Armenian word involves the form **պէտք* [petk^h], which in standard Armenian means ‘necessary’, but in Homshetsma (northern and eastern *bedk*) means ‘good (in reference to individuals’ well-being)’.⁵⁸ It is not clear to me how this semantic change might have plausibly occurred.

Another intriguing semantic change involves the Common Armenian form *tsanr*, which originally meant ‘heavy’. This has become in Homshetsma both *dzonde*, meaning ‘heavy’, and *dzond*, which means only ‘pregnant’ (the form *ergudak* is also used for ‘pregnant’; its SWA cognate *երկունակ yergudak* means ‘bent with old age’ or ‘doubled’). Speaking of pregnancy, the Common Armenian verb *tsnil* ‘to give birth’ comes out in eastern Homshetsma as *dzenuş*, which still means ‘to give birth’, but can only be used in reference to animals. The verb of choice for humans is *unnuş* ‘to have’; note that English uses ‘have’ in a similar sense in ‘to have a baby’.

A particularly odd semantic change involves the original Armenian root *χελ-*, which survives in the standard Armenian forms *խելք* [χelk^h] ‘brains’ and *խելօք* [χelok^h] ‘clever(ly)’. This form is preserved in Homshetsma only in the form *xelok*, which means ‘quickly, already’.

I have summarized several more lexical idiosyncrasies of Homshetsma in Table 10.19; the interested reader should consult Acharian (1947) for further examples in northern Homshetsma.

Subdialects of Homshetsma: northern versus eastern

The individual Homshetsi villages reveal a remarkable degree of difference in their subdialects of Homshetsma. Even within a given subtype of Homshetsma one finds significant variation; the eastern Homshetsma of Köprücü, for example, is quite different from the variety described by Dumézil in his 1964 study, which in turn differs from the Ardala variety he described in two of his later articles.⁵⁹ Similarly, the northern dialects described by Acharian in his 1947 study differ

Table 10.19 Lexical idiosyncrasies

<i>E. Homshetsma</i>	<i>SWA</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
galaş	hov, kami	wind
terçuş	tîçil ‘fly’	run
takidum	havanoren	probably
soy	lav	good
poxvuş	loğal	swim, bathe
polóe	polor ‘entire’	around
pobuş	hasnil	arrive
moni moni	arak	quick
guliguş	kumarel	add

significantly from one another: the dialects of Mala and Trabzon, for example, form the progressive tenses with *guni*, but the dialect of Janik does not. The modern northern dialects as spoken in Abkhazia and Russia differ further from the northern dialects of Turkey described by Acharian in having a large number of Russian loans (e.g. *smetan* ‘sour cream’, *magazin* ‘store’). One also finds significant idiolectal variation, even within individual villages; for example, for one young couple from Köprücü the husband’s word for ‘seed’ is *humt*, but the wife’s is *hunt*.

We have seen that the different varieties of Homshetsma share so many common innovations and archaisms that they clearly form a subgroup within the Armenian family; however, they also differ so significantly from one another in phonology, morphology and vocabulary that one is tempted to consider them as separate dialects. Some of the lexical differences are listed in Table 10.20.

Many more lexical differences have resulted from the conversion of the western and eastern Homshetsi to Islam and their resulting loss of Armenian identity. For example, the Homshetsik have completely lost the word *hay* ‘Armenian’ and its derivatives, such as *hayerēn* ‘Armenian language’, using instead the terms *homşetsi* ‘person from Hamshen’ and *homşetsma* ‘Hamshen language’.

Another interesting form is the eastern verb *xaçuş*, which means ‘to shut off an entrance with two boards’; in certain situations it can also have the more generic meaning ‘to close’. One informant from Köprücü describes this verb as being based on the image of the two boards nailed on top of one another in perpendicular fashion. This suggests that the verb is derived from the Armenian noun *խաչ* *χatj*^h ‘cross’, which has been lost in eastern Homshetsma as part of the general de-Christianization of the lexicon.

In the domain of phonology, the most noticeable difference between eastern and northern Homshetsma is perhaps the change of schwa (*ɛ ə*) to *e* in eastern Homshetsma (Table 10.21(a)), and to *a* before the sounds *x* and *ğ* (Table 10.21(b)).

Table 10.20 Lexical differences

<i>Northern</i>	<i>Eastern</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
sar	tsaxud	mountain, forest
hosuş, xosuş	xarbuş	speak
alaveli	alaveni	more
yeç	oç	no, not
merelnets	mazarlux	cemetery

Table 10.21 Phonological differences

<i>SWA</i>	<i>Eastern Homshetsma</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
(a) <i>դնել</i> t ^h ənɛl	tenuş	put
<i>շունս</i> şunəs	şunes	my dog
<i>փնկալ</i> p ^h ərənkh ^h dal	perenguş	sneeze (v)
(b) <i>աստղ</i> asdəθ	asdağ	star
<i>պեխ</i> bɛχ	bax	moustache

Northern Homshetsma in turn innovates in changing *r* to *ʃ* before *t*, as in *geʃtas* ‘you go’, *gaʃtuʃ* ‘read’, *maʃt* ‘man’ (compare eastern *gertas*, *gartuʃ*, *mart*).

We also know that the original form of Homshetsma, before it split into the three modern groups, contained a set of voiced aspirates: {b^h d^h g^h dz^h dʒ^h}. These sounds are preserved in the northern dialect of Mala, but have merged with the original voiceless aspirates in eastern Homshetsma, represented here by the Köprücü subdialect (Table 10.22). Eastern Homshetsma also shows a predilection for metathesizing stop + sonorant clusters, particularly at the end of a word (Table 10.23(a)). This metathesis also applies to some loanwords (Table 10.23(b)).

Moving on to morphology, northern Homshetsma (Janik subdialect) has developed a peculiar progressive tense formation that employs a possessive pronoun or a regular subject pronoun as subject, in combination with the infinitive followed by the third-person singular form of the auxiliary verb ‘be’, as in *imus eguʃ ä* ‘I’m going’ (younger speakers), *yes eguʃ ä* (older speakers).⁶⁰ As far as I have been able to ascertain, no other variety of Homshetsma shows this innovation.

Another morphological innovation that appears to be found nowhere else in the Armenian world is the ability of the imperfective affix *-gu-* to appear inside the personal affixes in eastern Homshetsma, as in *xarbiṃ gu ~ xarbi gum* ‘I speak’; in all other varieties of Armenian *-gu-* attaches outside of the rest of the verbal complex.

To the best of my knowledge, eastern Homshetsma is the only Armenian dialect that uses the Middle Armenian plural suffix *-vi-* as a singulative marker

Table 10.22 Köprücü subdialect

Classical Armenian	Mala	Köprücü	Gloss
բան <i>ban</i>	b ^h on	pon	thing
գիւղ <i>giwl</i>	g ^h eğ	kyag	village
դուրս <i>durs</i>	d ^h us	tus	outside

Table 10.23 Eastern Homshetsma dialect

Source	Eastern Homshetsma	gloss
(a) տայգր <i>taygr</i>	dark	husband’s brother
ցամաք <i>tsamak</i>	tsokmetsnuʃ	dry □ dry out
գիտակ <i>ʃitak</i>	ʃigduʃ	straight □ heal
հավիթ <i>havkit</i>	hagvit	egg
նաւար <i>nawsr</i>	nors	sparse
ական <i>akray</i>	arga	tooth
շալակէլ <i>ʃalakel</i>	ʃagluʃ	carry on one’s back
տարգալ <i>targal</i>	kedal	spoon
կոտորել <i>kotorel</i>	gorduʃ	break
(dialectal) թոխ <i>toxr</i>	torx	groundbreaking
(b) Tk. haber	xarbuʃ	news □ speak
Tk. küfür	kerfuʃ	curse

Table 10.24 The regular definite plural suffix *-niye*

<i>Homshetsma singular</i>	<i>Homshetsma plural</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
açvi unkvi	açveniye unkveniye	eye eyebrow

for paired body parts. Other dialects use forms such as աչվի *ačʰvi* and ունքվի *unkʰvi*, but these forms are always plural in meaning—‘eyes’, ‘eyebrows’ (including northern Homshetsma⁶¹)—whereas in Homshetsma they are singular, the plural being formed by adding the regular plural suffix *-niye* (Table 10.24). Although the use of this particular suffix in the singular is unprecedented, the semantic development it reflects is paralleled in standard Armenian, where the Classical Armenian plural suffix *-ք* [-kʰ] is employed to mark the same paired body parts as well as certain other singular nouns (cf. standard western Armenian աչք *[ačʰkʰ]* ‘eye’, (յ)օնք *[(h)onkʰ]* ‘eyebrow’, ոտք *[votkʰ]* ‘foot’).

Samples of the dialect

Rather than delving into details of the Homshetsma grammatical system at this point, I would like to conclude this chapter with a few brief illustrations of the language as it is actually used (readers hungry for phonological and morphological information should consult the detailed grammatical sketches in Acharian (1947) and Dumézil (1964)).

Expressions

Let us begin with some useful expressions in the eastern Homshetsma subdialect of Kōprücü:

- *companiyet pats elli -or- soy me ertak* ‘bon voyage!; goodbye!’ (these expressions are used as the equivalents of Turkish *iyi yolculuklar*).
- *medkis ça* ‘I don’t remember’
- *soy hom uni* ‘it’s delicious’
- *kena isti* ‘go away!’
- *garkevadz es ta* ‘are you married?’
- *homşetsma xarbi gum* ‘I speak Homshetsma’
- *kuzim kezi hed telefoni xarbuş ama zamanes tomnetsav* ‘I’d like to speak with you on the phone, but I haven’t had time’
- *inç xadik xarbes oç ana, an xadik lizun moloyis gu* ‘as much as you don’t speak, that is how much you forget a language’

Texts

To conclude, I would like to present two brief texts originally composed in eastern Homshetsma, which Avik Topchyan then translated into northern Homshetsma

(he has included a few variants and notes in parentheses). The first text is a letter written by a young woman from Köprücü, currently residing in the US, to her best friend back in Turkey. The second text is a variant of Hovannes Tumanian's story *Մուսուսանը* Sutasanə (the eastern Homshetsma version is translated from a Turkish version that I gave to my informant; the story is not known in his area).

A letter home

(A) EASTERN HOMSHETSMA

1 Hokis engeres Sebaat, **2** Dayi mena kezigi desadz çunim ama şad gaadina gum. **3** Kidana mi ta kezigi moliyetsa; yes emmen or gişim, ama inç enik—yuutsma şad heru menatsak. **4** Albat meg or me ku ka u kavuşmuş gellik. **5** Asbadz medz a asik. **6** Yes şad bedk im. **7** Poniyes şad soy gerton. **8** İm merağes tax tun es. **9** Asbadz uzaana, uuş mektupnoun ali xarbi guk.

(B) NORTHERN HOMSHETSMA

1 Hokis, ingeris Sebaat, **2** Darımı ginä kezi desadz çunim ama şad garodnom gu (garodadz im?). **3** Karar gınis ta kezi mortsa? yes ımın or gişim, ama inç inink—iratsmä şad heru mınatsak (mintsadzink). **4** Aba meg ormı kuka u desnevink ku (maybe kavuşmuş is used also, but I didn't hear it that much in our area). **5** Astvadz medz a, asink. **6** Yes şad lav (lav-betk, betk) im. **7** Poneys allai şad lav geşton. (ımın inç lav a, allai lav ä) **8** Meg tãx kezi (kezi dei, kezi omar) mıdoradz im. **9** Astvadz uzã nã, urış namagin nesı ali xosink ku.

(C) TRANSLATION

1 My soul, my friend Sebaat, **2** I haven't seen you in a year, but I miss you very much. **3** Don't think that I have forgotten you; every day I remember, but what can we do—we remain far away from each other. **4** Perhaps the day will come when we can see each other. **5** God is great, let's say. **6** I'm very well. **7** My work is going very well. **8** You're my only worry. **9** If God wills it, we'll talk again in other letters.

The liar

(A) EASTERN HOMSHETSMA

1 Xapoğe

2 Gonna gu çgonna gu mek kiral me gonna gu. **3** As kırales uune millätin anons gena: 'vov u oyle bir xape garna a na yes asim xapelu ça im kıralluğis gese garnu.'

4 Ku ka hoyiv me gasa, 'kırale sağ elli, im babas hast meg pir me uner, an pire isti ergentsenelov havayin astağniye xarne gur.' **5** 'Elli gaa,' kırale cevab gu da. **6** 'İm babs a mek pipo me uner meg dzare plane tene gur meg al dzare aakagan kole gur.' **7** Xapoğe keloe kiyelov heruna gu.

8 Terzi me ku ka gasa, ‘af aa, kiral, tez me ka ama uşatsa. 9 Eyek şat çağ eyev; şimşaxniye gadzgedetsin havan baderetsav gargauş kenatsadz e.’ 10 ‘Ha, bedke ağadzues,’ kiralə gasa, ‘ama soy gargede çartsadz es. 11 As akvan a kiç me çağ eyev.’ 12 Terzin a tus kella.

13 Tevin dage kova me axkad mart me meçnuuz mednu gu. 14 Kiralə hartsena gu, ‘tun inç kuzes da?’ 15 ‘İndzi meg kova me altun dalik unes; donuş egadz im.’ 16 Şaşırmış gena kiralə, ‘meg kova me?’ 17 Xapes gu, yes kezi altun dalik çunim.’ 18 ‘Madem ki xapi gum ana, kıralluğit gese du.’ 19 ‘Ça ça, şıdag xarbe gus,’ kiralə astadze tartsenə gu. 20 ‘Astadzes şıdag a ta a na, du kova me altune.’ 21 Çaresiz kiralə kova me altune gu da.

(B) NORTHERN HOMSHETSMA

1 Xapoğı

2 Gılli, çilli, mek tak^havurmı⁶² gılli. 3 äs tak^havorä ur millätin gasä tä: ‘vev or meg sudmı inä na, u yes asim “äd sud ä”, im tak^havorutünis gesi garnu.’

4 Kuka çobomı⁶³ gasä tä: ‘tak^havor sağ ällis,⁶⁴ im häys meg hast pırmı unır, in pırı işti ergıntsenelov havain astğeri xarnergu.’ 5 ‘Gainagu illil,’ tak^havorı badasxan guda. 6 ‘İm häys meg trubkımı⁶⁵ unır meg dzarı peronı tınergu meg dzäyn äl arevatsın kolergu.’ 7 Xapoğı klexı k^herelov herınagu.

8 Garoğmı⁶⁶ kuka gasä ‘neroğutin, tak^havor, tezmi egoğei ama uşıtsa. 9 Ereg şad vreig gıner; gädzägi tıbvav, havın badretsav, yes vira gargıdeıgu.’ 10 ‘Ha, bedk^h ärir,’ tak^havorı gasä, ‘ama şıdag gargıdil çäaytsir. 11 äsor äk^hvınä äli k^hiçmı vreig⁶⁷gıner.’ 12 Garoğı tus kellä.

13 Meg fuxara maştımı tevin dağı saxo(n)mı⁶⁸ pärnadz mıdnugu. 14 Tak^havorä haytsınägu: ‘tun inç kuzis?’⁶⁹ 15 ‘İndzi meg saxomä altun dalik unis; donuş egadzim.’⁷⁰ 16 Şaşulmuş gınä tak^havorı, ‘meg saxo(n)mı? 17 Xapısku, yes k^hezi altun dalik çunim.’ 18 ‘Xapıngu orä nä, tak^havorutyunıd gesı du(r).’ 19 ‘Çä, ça, şıdag gasis,’ tak^havorı astadzı tartsinägu. 20 ‘Astadzıs şıdagä na, du saxomı altun.’ 21 Zavalig tak^havorı inu saxomı altun guda.

(C) TRANSLATION

1 The liar

2 Once upon a time there was [lit. ‘there was and there wasn’t’] a king. 3 This king announced to his people: ‘Whoever is able to tell such a lie that I say “that’s a lie” will receive half my kingdom.’

4 A shepherd comes and says, ‘Long live the king! My father had a cane so long that he could stretch it from here and stir the stars.’ 5 ‘It’s possible,’ responds the king. 6 ‘My father had a pipe that he put one end of in his mouth, and the other end he lit in the sun.’ 7 The liar goes away scratching his head.

8 A tailor comes and says, ‘Excuse me, O king, I would have come quicker, but I was delayed. 9 Yesterday there was much rain; lightning bolts flashed and the sky was torn apart; I was mending it.’ 10 ‘Yes, you’ve done well,’ the king says, ‘but you didn’t mend it properly. 11 This morning there was still a bit of rain.’ 12 The tailor, too, departs.

13 A poor man with a pot under his arm comes inside. 14 The king asks, 'What do you want?' 15 'You owe me a pot of gold; I've come to take it.' 16 Confused, the king says, 'a pot?' 17 You're lying – I don't have to give you any gold.' 18 'If I'm lying, then give me half your kingdom.' 19 'No, no, you speak rightly,' the king changes his speech. 20 'If what I say is right, then give me a pot of gold.' 21 Helpless, the king gives him a pot of gold.

Acknowledgements

The data in this chapter are largely based on fieldwork with 'Cengiz' and 'Fadime' (eastern Homshetsma (Köprücü)), Avik and Sarkis Topchyan (northern Homshetsma (Janik, Novyi Afon)), 'Adem' (western Homshetsma (Upper Rize)), Alfred Demerjian (Trabzon (Gorgan)) and Anahid Maranci (Baberd). Hemshinli names have been changed to protect the innocent. All linguistic forms that are not accompanied by a bibliographical reference are taken from my field notes. Profound thanks to Hagop Hachikian for many wise suggestions. Abbreviations used in this chapter: SWA = standard western Armenian; SEA = standard eastern Armenian.

Notes

- 1 This is the name by which the eastern Hemshinli refer to their language. It is not used by the northern Homshentsik, nor to the best of my knowledge is it used by the western Hemshinli. Since it is the only known endonym for the language of the Hamshen Armenians, though, I will use the term 'Homshetsma' to refer to all three varieties. Unless stated otherwise, all Homshetsma forms are drawn from the Köprücü subdialect.
- 2 These Homshentsik lived until 1915 in Apion, Janik, Mala, Zefanos, Martil and many other towns along the northeastern coast of Turkey. When Hrach'eay Acharian collected the data for his treatment of the dialect in the summer of 1910, all of his informants from these villages were still residing in Trabzon; hence it is not completely accurate to refer to these individuals as northern Homshentsik. A more appropriate term might be 'Christian Homshentsik', to distinguish them from their Muslim relatives who were allowed to remain in Turkey, but I will stick with 'northern Homshentsik' here.
- 3 Homshetsma loanwords in the Turkish spoken by western Hemshinli have been documented in detail by Uwe Bläsing in *Armenisches Lehngut im Türkisch-türkischen: Am Beispiel von Hemşin* (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1992), and in *Armenisch – Türkisch: Etymologische Betrachtungen ausgehend von Materialien aus dem Hemşingebiet nebst einigen Anmerkungen zum Armenischen, insbesondere dem Hemşindialekt* (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1995). See also Chapter 11 by Bläsing (this volume).
- 4 One eastern Hemshinli noted that when he lived in Istanbul, his Armenian friends from Kayseri referred to his speech variety as 'bird language'. It is interesting to note in this context that some Armenian groups use the term 'bird language' to refer to secret languages, where, for example, one inserts the sequence -Vč- before every vowel in a word. S. M. Tsots'ikian, *Arewmtahay Ashkharh* [*The Western Armenian World*] (New York: Hratarakut'iwn S. M. Tsots'ikian Hobelianakan Handznakhumbi [Publication of the S. M. Tsots'ikian Jubilee Committee], 1947), p. 83.
- 5 J. J. S. Weitenberg, 'Armenian Dialects and the Latin-Armenian Glossary of Autun', in *Medieval Armenian Culture: Proceedings of the Third Dr. H. Markarian Conference on Armenian Culture* (University of Pennsylvania, 1982), ed. Thomas J. Samuelian and Michael E. Stone (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984).

- 6 A table showing the *Revue des Études Arméniennes* transliteration system used in this chapter is available in Chapter 11 on language, by Uwe Bläsing. All other chapters follow the Library of Congress system.
- 7 There is an interesting counter-example: Acharian observes that declined forms of 'two' employ the base *erkus-* in eastern dialects and *erguk^h-* in western dialects; Homshetsma *ergus* conforms to the eastern dialects in this respect. See Hrach'eay Acharian, *Hayeren Armatakan Ba'aran* [*Armenian Etymological Dictionary*], vol. 2 (Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 1973), p. 67.
- 8 Hrach'eay Acharian, *K'nnut'yun Hamsheni Barbari* [*Study of the Hamshen dialect*] (Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 1947), pp. 113.
- 9 Common Armenian is the ancestor of all of the modern Armenian dialects. Its pronunciation was similar to that of Classical and standard eastern Armenian.
- 10 Georges Dumézil, 'Notes sur le parler d'un Arménien musulman de Hemşin', *Académie Royale de Belgique, Mémoires, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques* (Brussels, 1964), 57, no. 4, p. 24.
- 11 Ibid., p. 11.
- 12 Acharian (1947), p. 139.
- 13 Dumézil (1964), p. 17.
- 14 Harut'iwn V. Hulunian and Matt'ëos V. Hachian (eds), *Hushamatean Khotorjuri* [*Memorial Book of Khotorjur*] (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1964), pp. 389–90.
- 15 Hrach'eay Acharian, 'Hay Barba'agitut'iwn' [*Armenian Dialectology*], *Ēminean Azgagrakan Zhoghovatsu* [*Emin Ethnographic Collection*] (1911), 8, p. 109.
- 16 Hulunian and Hachian (1964), p. 388.
- 17 Ibid., p. 408.
- 18 Ibid., p. 409.
- 19 This characterization of the 'have': 'be' dichotomy in terms of transitivity is due to Dumézil, and Hulunian and Hachian; my work with speakers of eastern Homshetsma suggests that the division is more likely between unaccusative verbs, which select 'be', and all other verbs, which select 'have', as we find in French and other Romance languages. Dumézil (1964), p. 15; Hulunian and Hachian (1964), p. 409.
- 20 Hulunian and Hachian (1964), p. 409.
- 21 Acharian (1947), p. 154; Dumézil (1964), p. 21, Hulunian and Hachian (1964), p. 419.
- 22 Acharian (1947), p. 155.
- 23 One should also bear in mind that the dialect of Turkish spoken in the Trabzon area employs *-da* rather than *-mi/mu/mü* to mark yes/no questions (Hagop Hachikian, personal communication), and it is theoretically possible (though in my opinion unlikely) that the Homshetsma form derives from this rather than from the Armenian form *թե*.
- 24 Hulunian and Hachian (1964), p. 404.
- 25 Cf. Hrant Petrosyan, *Hayerenagitakan Ba'aran* [*Armenological Dictionary*] (Erevan: Hayastan, 1987), p. 587.
- 26 Matt'ëos Hachian, *Hin Awandakan Hëk'eat'ner Khotorjroy* [*Old Traditional Tales of Khotorjur*] (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1907).
- 27 Acharian (1947), pp. 140–41; Gevorg Jahukyan, *Hay Barba'agitut'yan Neratsut'yun* (*Vichakagrakan Barba'agitut'yun*) [*Introduction to Armenian Dialectology (Statistical Dialectology)*] (Erevan: Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 1972), p. 109; Petrosyan (1987), p. 587.
- 28 Acharian (1947), p. 11.
- 29 Jahukyan (1972), p. 111.
- 30 Bläsing (1995), p. 92.
- 31 Hrach'eay Acharian, 'Hayerën Gawa'akan Ba'aran' [*Armenian Regional Dictionary*], *Ēminean Azgagrakan Zhoghovatsu* [*Emin Ethnographic Collection*] (1913), 9, p. 792; Acharian (1947), p. 263. Avik Topchyan reports that Janiktsis say *moçu* rather than *mocu*.
- 32 Acharian (1913), p. 792; Step'an Malkhasiants' [*Hayerën Bats'atrankan Ba'aran* [*Armenian Explanatory Dictionary*], vol. 3 (Erevan: State Publication of the Armenian SSR; reprint, Tehran: Nayiri Gratun-Tparan, 1944), p. 356.

- 33 Bläsing (1995), p. 92.
- 34 Acharian (1947), p. 11.
- 35 Ibid., p. 5.
- 36 Cf. Acharian (1947), p. 108; S. Alaverdyan, 'Ardvini Barbari Dzevabanut'yan mi K'ani Arandznahatkut'yunnerë' [A Few Distinguishing Morphological Characteristics of the Artvin Dialect], *Patma-Banasirakan Handes* [Historico-Philological Review] (Erevan, 1968), no. 3 (42), p. 233.
- 37 Alaverdyan (1968), p. 231.
- 38 Ibid., p. 237.
- 39 The augment is only preserved with verb roots of less than two syllables.
- 40 Acharian (1947), p. 127.
- 41 More specifically conjugation 1b, i.e. verbs in *-nel*, according to Acharian (1947), p. 127.
- 42 Acharian (1947), p. 133; Ruben Ghazaryan and Henrik Avetisyan, *Mijin Hayereni Ba'aran* [Dictionary of Middle Armenian], 2 vols (Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 1987–92).
- 43 Hulunian and Hachian (1964), p. 408.
- 44 Hrach'eay Acharian, *Hayeren Armatakan Ba'aran* [Armenian Etymological Dictionary], vol. 4 (Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 1979), p. 397.
- 45 Émile Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres en iranien ancien* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1966), p. 27.
- 46 Hrach'eay Acharian, *Hayeren Armatakan Ba'aran* [Armenian Etymological Dictionary], vol. 1 (Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 1971), p. 378.
- 47 Cf. also Acharian (1947), p. 142; Dumézil (1964), p. 15.
- 48 Dumézil (1964), p. 15.
- 49 Acharian (1979), p. 446.
- 50 Dumézil (1964), p. 15.
- 51 Acharian (1911), p. 189; Acharian (1947), p. 157.
- 52 Dumézil (1964), p. 20.
- 53 It is not impossible for a language to have two words that derive from the same historical source; compare English *bust* and *burst*, both of which descend from *burst*.
- 54 Acharian (1947), p. 137; cf. Dumézil (1964), p. 17 for similar facts in eastern Homshetsma.
- 55 According to my northern and eastern informants; Acharian (1947), p. 262, has *hohol* for northern Homshetsma.
- 56 Hulunian and Hachian (1964), p. 463.
- 57 Dumézil (1964), p. 15.
- 58 Cf. Acharian (1947), p. 251.
- 59 Georges Dumézil, 'Notes sur le parler d'un Arménien musulman d'Ardala (Vilayet de Rize)', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1965), n.s. 2, pp. 135–42; idem, 'Un roman policier en arménien d'Ardala', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1986), n.s. 20, pp. 7–27.
- 60 Acharian (1947), pp. 140–41.
- 61 Acharian (1947), pp. 221 and 246.
- 62 Avik mentions two possible variants, *tak^havörmı* and *tak^havermı*.
- 63 Avik mentions that *çobanmı* is also possible.
- 64 Avik mentions that one may also use *abris* instead of *sağ ällis*.
- 65 Russian *trubka* 'pipe' + the northern Homshetsma indefinite article *-mı*.
- 66 Avik adds that there may be a variant *tärzımı* for 'a tailor', but he is not sure.
- 67 Or *vraig*.
- 68 Avik states, 'saxon is a deep plate from which one eats soup. I don't remember a word for "pot" in hamsheneren [his word for Homshetsma]; we used a Russian word, *kastryula*.'
- 69 Also possible is *k^hezi inç biduyä*, literally 'what is necessary to you?'
- 70 *donuş ega* may be used in place of *donuş egadzim*.

11 Armenian in the vocabulary and culture of the Turkish Hemshinli

Uwe Bläsing

Introduction

The name *Hemshin* designates a region in the eastern part of the Pontic Mountains in Turkey that is even today, in part, relatively inaccessible. It is not a purely geographic designation, since it corresponds to natural boundaries only in the south, where the region is cut off from the inner part of the eastern Anatolian region by a mountain ridge, which reaches an elevation of 3,932 m. Rather, Hemshin is the region of a group of people that calls itself *Hemshinli*. This suggests that we are dealing here with an ethnic designation. The Hemshinli do not consider themselves to be an ethnic minority, but they leave no doubt that they constitute a particular group, something that is constantly expressed, among other ways, by their strong sense of solidarity. The Hemshinli's homeland comprises the many small mountain villages with their rather turbulent rivers that wind from the Pontic mountain ridge towards the north to the coast of the Black Sea, into which they flow.

Nowadays, Hemshinli are essentially divided into two larger subgroups. The first one, the eastern subgroup, lives in the province of Artvin in the region around Hopa up to and a little beyond the Georgian border. The second subgroup lives further west, chiefly in the counties of Hemşin and Çamlıhemşin in the province of Rize.¹ Both groups are generally similar in their primary way of life and living conditions. Thus the Hemshinli settle primarily in the high mountains, while the lower regions closer to the coast and the small coastal region itself are settled by the Laz, a southern Caucasian people. Economically, the Hemshinli are originally farmers with a typical pasture and cattle economy. Culturally and especially linguistically, however, the two groups are clearly distinguished from one another today. The eastern Hemshinli or Hopa Hemshinli still speak, in addition to the official Turkish, a characteristically western Armenian dialect that is rather different from standard western Armenian. They themselves refer to this dialect as *Homshetsma* (or *Homšecma*)² or, in Turkish, *Hemşince*. The western Hemshinli, by contrast, today speak only Turkish, and their dialects are somewhat different from those in the area of Hopa.³ However, the fact that an immense number of Armenian linguistic resources have been preserved in the dialects of the western Hemshinli indicates that Armenian was spoken here as well until recently. Although it cannot be precisely determined

until when this was the case, it is certain that Armenian was still spoken at the beginning and in the mid-nineteenth century, as one may surmise from travel reports and reports given to me by several natives.

That the Armenian element had dominated earlier is attested to us by the large number of toponyms that derive from Armenian, among them the name Hemshin itself. There are a number of more or less serious etymological proposals about this name, the details of which cannot be entered into here. Many of these proposals are unfortunately affected by the nationalistic views in Turkey that go so far as to insist on seeing the Hemshinli as originally pure Turks who, in the course of history, due to their proximity to the Armenians, were subject to a linguistic Armenianization. The most probable and plausible inference, which comes 'closer to the historical core', is the connection to the name of Prince *Hamam*, from the Armenian noble family *Amatuni*, who is said to have brought his people from the region west of Lake Sevan to the Pontos in the eighth century. We can infer from this that the name Hemshin is derived from an Armenian composite *Hamam-a-šen*, which means something like 'built or inhabited by Hamam (and his family)'. This much alone is certain: the Hemshinli are of Armenian origin.

In nearly all spheres of daily life, we still find words in the local dialects of the now Turkish-speaking Hemshinli that belong to the Armenian substrate and that are for the most part not found among the other ethnic groups of the eastern Pontos (e.g. the Greeks and Laz). In the following pages, I offer a representative overview of this vocabulary.⁴

Annual cycle and calendar

Conditioned by geographical and climatic circumstances (alpine structures with a variable climate that is mostly humid in the summer and very snowy in the winter), a fixed cycle of migration (HTu. *göç'*) takes place annually. While winters are spent in one's own village (situated approximately in the middles of valleys), the driving of cattle to pasture commences once the snow begins to melt in May and June in the high mountain areas. Summer is spent with the livestock (especially cows and goats) on the pasture land (*yayla*), where the people live in small and modest pasture houses that can nevertheless withstand all kinds of weather. Some of the largest pastures are divided into a lower and upper pasture (HTu. *aşaki yayla* and *yukaki yayla*, respectively). The latter is cultivated only relatively briefly during midsummer. As a rule, pasture work is the concern of women, who occupy themselves almost exclusively in the production of cheese, butter and other dairy products. Sometime in September, the drive back to the villages begins. One still finds clear traces within this cycle of traditions from Armenian times. First, there is **Vartevor** or **Vartivor**, a popular festival with a great deal of folk dancing (*horan* ~ *horon*⁵), games and songs. Fairly typical are the impromptu and antiphonal songs between girls and boys who are in love. An example of such a *Vartivor* song is recorded in the dialect material of Ahmet Caferoğlu.⁶ The festival generally takes place on the high pasture land. It begins

at the end of July and lasts for about ten days. Its name traces back to the WArm. *Vartavar* (Arm. *Vardavar*). The folk etymological explanation of this term is ‘Feast of roses and the burning of fire’ (i.e. as a composite from Arm. *vard* ‘rose’ and *var-* ‘to burn’⁷), indicating the occasion’s non-Christian origin. Later, the Church mainly used *Vardavar* as a designation for the Feast of the Transfiguration of Christ on the seventh Sunday after Pentecost, which falls at the beginning of August.⁸ This means that the activities associated with *Vartevor* in Hemshin and Pontus generally originated with this church feast. In the area of Erzurum we meet the Turkish dialect form *Vartuvur*, meaning ‘August’.

About a month after the *Vartevor* festival, depending on the weather conditions but usually at the end of August until the beginning of September, the hay harvest, **xodoç**, takes place. The wild grass of the meadows and clearings is mown with scythes, as the mostly very steep terrain makes the use of machines impossible. In order to protect from rain and moisture the hay that has not been brought in yet, it is gathered into small heaps (**gudeç**) and covered (< WArm. *gudoc*‘, Arm. *kutoc* ‘heaps, bundles’). After it dries out, the hay is bundled into sheafs (**xurç** < WArm. *xurc* ‘sheaf, bundle’, Arm. *xurjn* ‘hay-bundle, grain-bundle’) and is brought in to be used as winter fodder for the stable. **Xodoç** is a time of hard work, yet, in the evenings, folk dancing takes place more often than at other times of the year (*horan to the music of the tulum*⁹). This term may be traced back to the Hem. *xodunj* (Arm. *xothunj*) ‘hay harvest, mowing time’, which in turn is a compound of the Arm. *xot* ‘grass’ and *hunj-k* ‘harvest’.

The names of the months themselves in Hemshin are either not, or not specifically, of Armenian origin, but the older people still use another division of time. The new year, according to this calendar, begins on 13 January, which corresponds to the Julian calendar, according to which the Armenian Apostolic Church year also proceeds. The particular names of the months given in Table 11.1.

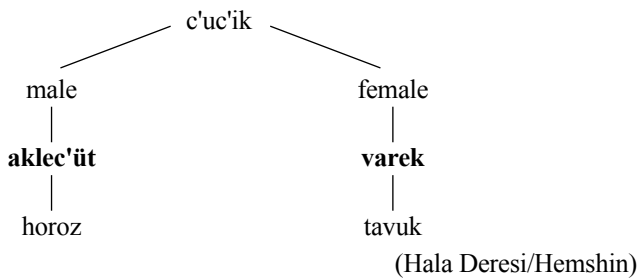
Table 11.1 Names of the months

	<i>Hemshin (Hala Deresi)</i>	<i>Turkish</i>	<i>Armenian</i>
(1)	boyuk ay ‘big month’	ocak	yunuar
(2)	güçük ay ‘little month’	şubat	p’etruar
(3)	mart	mart	mart
(4)	abril	nisan	april
(5)	mays	mayıs	mayıs
(6)	keraz (ay) ‘month of cherries’	haziran	yunis
(7)	cürük ay ‘month of decay’	temmuz	yulis
(8)	ağostos	ağustos	awgostos
(9)	eylül	eylül	september
(10)	ekim	ekim	hoktember
(11)	kasım	kasım	noyember
(12)	karakeş ‘the black winter’	aralık	dektember

Raising and breeding of cattle

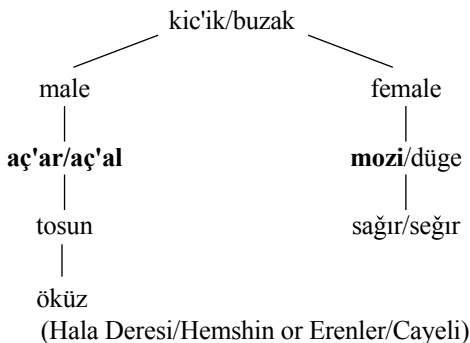
The raising and breeding of cattle are traditionally the most important sources of livelihood for the Hemshinli. Many Armenianisms have also been preserved here.

A freshly hatched chick is called **c'uc'ik** ~ **c'uc'uk** (< Arm. dial. *čučuk*, Arm. *čutik* id.¹⁰), the young rooster **aklec'üt** (< Arm. *ak'loracut* id.¹¹), and the young hen **varek** (< Hem. *varëg*, Arm. *varë(a)k* id.). One should note with respect to the last two terms that they are not at all general designations in Hala for young roosters or hens. Freshly hatched chicks, whose sex is still not clear at first sight ('c'insi daha belli olmayan yavru'), are called *c'uc'ik*. Only when the sex is recognizable externally after about two or three weeks does a dichotomy enter into the naming; thus *aklec'üt* is a small rooster that does not yet crow ('horozun küç'üğü, daha ötmez') and *varek* is a hen that does not yet lay eggs ('daha yumurtlamayan tavuk'). This means that the two terms are reserved for such male or female young animals that are no longer chicks but have not yet reached maturity; they are comparable to Turk. *piliç*, which is used for both sexes. Only after sexual maturity are they called *horoz* 'rooster' or *tavuk* 'hen'.

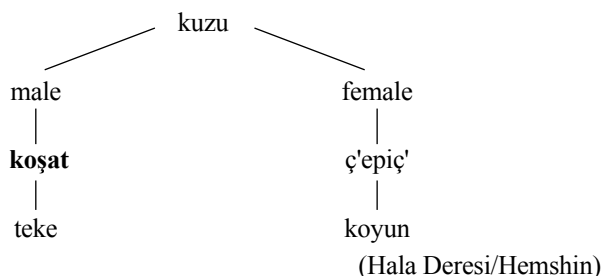


Further in this context, reference is still made to **moc'a** (tavuk) 'brood-hen, sitting-hen' (< Hem. *moj'u* < Grg. dial., Laz *Moč'va* id.).

There is a nearly identical division made in the case of cattle. **Aç'ar** ~ **aç'al** signifies a young bull that is not mature enough for breeding (< Hem. *ač'ar*, Arm. *arjař* id.) and **mozi** a cow that has not yet been served, about two years old (< Hem. *mōzi*, Arm. *mozi* 'calf').



The newborn calf carries the name *kic'ik* or more often *buzak* (Turk. *buzacı*, 'milkalf'). For the cow that is still unserved, one hears today, in addition to **mozi**, the more common *düge*. Only after sexual contact is the bull first considered as a *tosun* (from around 2 years). Later when he can also be harnessed under the yoke ('boyunc'uğa girdiği zaman'), he is called *öküz* (from around 4 years). The mature cow is called *sağır* (Turk. *sığır* is today the generic term for 'cattle'; *inek* is less common in Hemshin). Such distinctions are doubtless of significance for the classification of animals with reference to their use, especially for breeding. It is also interesting that the stages of development between newborn and fully grown animals are predominantly expressed by words from Armenian. This is also true of the division scheme for goats, where **koşat** ~ **kaşat** is usually the name of a young ram that has just reached sexual maturity but has not yet been used for breeding (< Arm. dial. *k'ōšot* '2- to 3-year-old, wild ram', a derivation from the Arm. *k'ōš* 'ram').



Other terms from the sphere of cattle husbandry in the wider sense also derive from Armenian. For example, **beduk** 'nipple of an udder' (< Hem. *bdug* id., Arm. *ptuk* 'shoot, bud, nipple') or **tal** 'the first milk of the cow after giving birth, beestings' (< Hem. *tal*, Arm. *dal* id.). **C'inel** designates a kind of tissue that comes out of the vagina of a cow after a very difficult birth ('sağırın c'ineli çıktı'). It is expressly indicated that this does not refer to the placenta (= *eş* 'the counterpart'). In order to stop the further secretion of this tissue (presumably a loose piece of the uterus), the cow is bound after an appropriate birth with a reticular pouch around its hind part. Etymologically, **c'inel** is probably a composite of Arm. *cin* 'birth', esp. 'birth of animals, calving, placenta, uterus', + Arm. *el* 'coming out'. The herds are called **naxır** (< Arm. *naxir* 'herds, esp. of oxen, etc.'). A function is even given to the manure **c'ä(h)r** (< Arm. dial. *žähr* 'excrement, manure'). It is dried on walls and used on the pasture land as fuel. One calls these bricks of manure **keşguğ** (< WArm. *kşgur*, Arm. *gşkur* id.).

The stable and its interior

Likewise, many Armenian words have been preserved in the stable (HTu. *axer*, cf. Turk. *ahır*, Arm. *axor*) of the Hemshinli, as some notable examples show. The ceiling **kunjelax**¹² (< Hem. *kunkelox* id.¹³) is essentially supported by thick beams

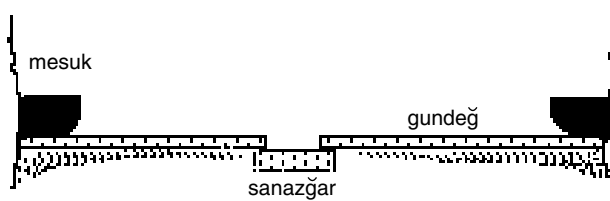


Figure 11.1 Cross-section of the stable floor.

which are called **keran** (< WArm. *keran*, Arm. *geran* ‘crossbeam, post, rafter’). The floor of the stable, on the other hand, is called **gundeğ** (< Hem. *gundeγ*, Arm. dial. *kuntel* ‘stable floor’).¹⁴ During the construction of a stable, a massive wooden plank, the **sanazğar** (~ **zanazğar**, **sanazar**, **senazhar**, **senezgar** < Arm. dial. *snazlar* ‘middle plank of the stable floor’), is first laid down in the middle and lengthwise from the back in the direction of the entrance. This plank divides the stable floor to the left and right of it into two approximately equal halves. On both sides, either adjacent to or directly on this middle plank, thick and especially broad wooden planks are laid perpendicular to it. These are pushed together and form a wooden floor on which the cattle can stand or lie better protected from the coldness of the ground. It is important that the two floor spaces exhibit a slight incline from their outer end (the stable wall), where the mangers, **mesuk** (~ **mesur**, **mersuk** < Hem. *msurk*‘, Arm. *msur(k)*‘ ‘manger’) are found, to the middle. This ensures a better run-off of the manure and urine, **kumec**‘ (< Arm. *gomēz* ~ *gumēz* ‘cow or ox urine’¹⁵), especially in the course of the morning watering and cleaning of the stable. The waste water mixed with the excrement, called **kakac’ur** (< Arm. *k’ak*‘ ‘dung, manure’ + *jur* ‘water’), runs first to the middle plank, which thus functions as a drain, and finally reaches a point under the stable door which leads to the outside into a small ditch (**c’orak**¹⁶) (Figure 11.1).

The chicken coops or laying nests are called **punagal** (< Arm. *bnkal*, *bnakal* ‘nest of eggs, nest-egg’, composite of Arm. *boyn* ‘nest’ and *kal* ‘hold’). **Tar** is the hen roost, usually pieces of branches spread around which the hens use as a resting place for the night (< Arm. *t’ar*‘ ‘roost for the sitting or resting of hens or birds’).

Farming

In addition to the raising of cattle, a rather simple kind of farming is done in Hemshin. Chiefly cultivated are corn, beans and other vegetables, as well as a little tea. Most of this is meant for personal use; only the tea is sold to one of the tea companies. The cultivation of tea at the high altitude of the mountains of Hemshin, however, is not very productive and cannot be compared with the enormous tea plantations of the Laz in the coastal region. For the Hemshinli, it is at best a small source of additional income but not the basis of their livelihood. Typical terms from

the area of agriculture now are **agos** ‘field furrow, plow furrow’ (< WArm. *agōs*, Arm. *akaws*, *akos* ‘rill, furrow, plow furrow’), **gošt** ~ **košt** ‘large clod that results from ploughing or digging’ (Arm. *košt* ‘clump of earth, lump’), **kağ(o)n** ‘the clearing of cuttings and plants used for fodder’ and **kağan** ‘hoeing and clearing of weeds’ (< WArm. *k’ayhan*, Arm. *k’alhan* ‘clearing of weeds’¹⁷). In Hala one distinguishes, especially in corn farming, *kuc’uk kağn* ‘first clearing of sprouts’ and *boyuk kağn*. In the latter, in order to increase the firmness of the corn stalks that are growing and thus becoming heavier, they are lightly trodden down and soil is heaped up around them on the ground; this leads to a strengthened root formation. After a short time, the plants straighten themselves again and are better protected against being blown over, especially by the severe weather. Also notable are **tapuş** ‘the levelling of a freshly ploughed plain’, labour that must be done with a simple hoe, as the predominantly steep terrain does not permit the introduction of a harrow (< Hem. *t’ap’uś*, Arm. *t’ap’el* ‘pour out, empty, throw down, cast down, cut down’) as well as **po(ğ)us** ‘dig up’. This word particularly signifies the first cultivation of the field, the hoeing of the soil before the sowing (< Hem. *p’ōruś*, Arm. *p’or-el* ‘dig up, loosen up (soil)’). One calls the usually small, very steep and slightly raised fallow areas with wild grass growth **tump**. This is cut at the end of June (**tump biç’mek**) and then in winter is used as fodder (< Hem. *t’umb*, Arm. *t’umb* ‘hill, knoll; dam, dike, wall; patch’). **Gunc’**, on the other hand, is a clod with grass growth and roots. Especially on the high pasture, such grass, called hilum in moist terrain, is pulled up; it is used for the construction of small natural dams for the drainage and diversion of water (< Hem. *gunj*, Arm. *gulj(n)* ‘clumps of earth, clod’).

Agricultural tools

Also connected are the names of some agricultural tools, such as **xop** ‘coultter, ploughshare’ (< Arm. *xop’*, Hem. *xēōp’*, *xēōp* id.¹⁸), **kerendi** ‘scythe’ (< Hem. *k’ērēndi*, Arm. *gerandi* id.), and also **geroç’**, a long, thin, wooden stake that has a hook-like side fork and extending down which is used during the harvesting of fruit to pull distant and hard-to-reach branches closer (< Arm. *k’rōj* id., a derivation from WArm. *ger*, Arm. *keṛ* ‘crooked, bent; hoe’) as well as **gogar** ~ **kokar**, an S-shaped piece of wood used especially during the harvesting of fruit to suspend the collecting baskets in the tree, similar to a meat hook (< WArm. *kokaṛ*, Arm. *gogaṛ* ‘hoe with two points for the hanging of kettles over fire’ (Figure 11.2)) and **gidal**, a small basket fastened to a stake that is used predominantly during the apple harvest to harvest the more distant and high-hanging fruits (< Hem. *kdal*, Arm. *gdal* ‘spoon’ (Figure 11.3)).

One should also mention the **samin** here. These are ring-like wooden rods that are bent towards one another and fastened in the yoke pole. They are placed from behind around the neck of a yoked ox and held together on their lower ends by a cord or a thin strap. In Hemshin there is another form that is otherwise less common, in which a semi-circular bent rod is laid from below around the neck of the ox. The two ends are then placed through the holds provided in the yoke pole and fastened on its top by a small securing pin (*mux*). Thus the cords or straps are



Figure 11.2 *Gogar* and *geroç'*.



Figure 11.3 *Gidal*.



Figure 11.4 Simple yoke with *samin*.

superfluous. This term may be traced back to Hem. *samin* ~ *sōmin* ‘wagon pole that is put on a yoke’, Arm. *sami* ‘two wooden rods that are placed around the nape of the ox’s neck and are tied together by means of a band under its neck’ (Figure 11.4).

The *xeneç'i*

One of the most remarkable objects in the material culture of the Hemshinli is the ***xeneç'i***, a long, light oval barrel for the churning of butter (< Hem. *xnōc'î*, *xnōcî*, Arm. *xnoc'î* 'butter barrel'). It is hung on ropes that are fastened around the left and right ends, and usually pushed back and forth by two people. The exterior is constructed from chestnut segments and is made watertight with wax or resin. The 'barrel bands' (*vey*) are made out of young chestnut branches. The front is called *tepe* 'hill, mound', and the filling opening is called *ağız* 'mouth' (Figure 11.5).

Household utensils, locks and pantry

Brief reference should also be made to some examples of the many everyday household utensils in use in and around the house and for work. One was ***gedanluç'*** ~ ***gedanloç'***, a small, wooden chest fastened to the wall with a round opening in its front used for storing spoons. This kind of 'utensil chest' was commonly used in the past and is rarely found today (< Hem. *gdalnoc'* id.).¹⁹ Likewise, the ***şadinak***, a small, secure wooden provisions chest that can be securely locked (< Hem. *şadinag*, Arm. *şatinak* id.), is barely used today. A simple tool and kitchen utensil, which is a flat piece of wood with a handle used for beating and stamping cloths is the ***tapiç'*** (< WArm. *t'ap'îç'* 'washing pounder, mallet'). ***Getox*** ~ ***getoğ***, a copper kettle with a large, bow-shaped handle, is used as a milking pail or for the production of cheese. This term derives from Hem. *gt'uş*, *gtuş*, Arm. *kt'el'* 'to milk' as does ***getiç'*** 'kettle' (< Hem. *gt'îç'*, *gt'îç*, Arm. *kt'îç'* 'milk container'). Another container is the ***lagaman***, a drinking and feeding bowl for animals (< Arm. *lakaman* 'dog bowl'²⁰). From the thick, hollow stalk of the *goc'uk* plant is cut the ***pox*** ~ ***poğ***, a tube for fanning fires (< Hem. *p'oγ*, Arm. *p'ol* 'pipe, tube'). One finds ***goc'***, a small, footless stool, predominantly in the lower pasture houses. This is usually a simple wooden block cut properly for use as a seat (< Hem. *gēōj* 'sitting bench', Arm. *koç(ł)* 'block of wood, cut of tree trunk, block'). Also relevant here are ***sandek*** 'carding-comb' (< Arm. *santerk'*, *santrēk'* id.), ***xezar*** 'large saw with a crescent-shaped blade' (< Hem. *xzar*, Arm. *xizar* id.) and ***liser*** 'reel, spool' (< Hem. *lisēr* 'a conical weight installed under the spindle, made of lead or heavy wood', Arm. *liseṛn* 'axle, wave, spindle hook').

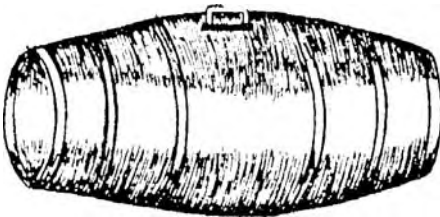


Figure 11.5 *Xeneç'i*.

Goğbek is a padlock (< WArm. *goby*, Arm. *kolpēk*‘, *koplēk* ‘lock’), **pāg** ~ **pāğ** in contrast is the door lock that is usually screwed on to the inside of the doors of the simple village houses (< Arm. *p’ak* ‘bolt, lock, door lock’). The pantry is usually called **maran** (< Arm. *maṛan* ‘store room, pantry’).

Nourishment and cheese production

The traditional meals of the Hemshin region are mostly very simple. Seasonings one makes oneself are most often used. Most common are dishes made from dairy products, for example, **gatnerağ**‘, a simple dairy meal which was prepared mostly in the past during the driving up and down of cattle (< Hem. *gat*‘, *gat*, Arm. *kat*‘(n) ‘milk’ + the aorist stem (*erac*‘) of *erāl* ‘to cook, boil’) and **xaşil**, a pap made from cornmeal with butter (< Arm. *xaşil* ‘soup, pap’²¹). A thick meal made from corn meal (polenta) and cream is **xavic**‘ ~ **xaviç**‘ (< Hem. *xavič*, Arm. *xavic* ‘a paste-like food prepared from flour, a sweet paste from flour roasted in fat’); **xus**, by contrast, is a simple paste made from cornmeal and water and seasoned with salt (< Hem. *xus* ‘a kind of food made from cornmeal’, Arm. *xiws* ‘paste, slime’). Especially tasty is **c’ivil**, a dish similar to cheese fondue. It is prepared by first cutting hard pasture cheese (from cow’s milk) into small pieces and placing them in warm water. Then a large piece of butter is melted in a pan until it turns golden brown. Meanwhile, some flour is beaten with the pieces of cheese soaked in water. This mixture is placed in the hot fat and left to cook for a while on the fire. The whole thing is then served in the pan, from which one removes the mixture with pieces of white bread and eats. The cheese is extremely stringy, especially when very hot (< Arm. dial. *čivil* ‘a string cheese made from skimmed milk’).²² Just as popular are pancakes called **pelit**. Flour, water and a little salt are beaten together to form a rather smooth, semi-liquid dough, which is then spooned very thinly into a special pan (**pelit tavası**). The pancakes are normally turned over once and covered with sugar after being taken out (< WArm. *plit*‘, Arm. *blit*‘ ‘round, soft bread, flat-cake, pancake’). Especially rich is the selection of cheeses. Among these the smooth, crumbly **minc’i**-cheese (< Hem. *minji* id.) stands out; it is obtained from the cheese water, **şerat** (< Arm. *şrat* ~ *şrat* id.²³) left over during the production of dairy products. Also worthy of mention is **xäxaç**‘ (< Arm. *xaxac*‘ ‘ferment of cheese, rennet’), a special kind of old, fermented cheese. To produce it, one needs to use milk that has turned slightly sour (*bozuk*) and which is not suitable for use in the production of other cheeses. It is first cooked and then poured into a strainer sack (*süzme* or *minc’i torbası*). After it drips out, the mass is placed in a wooden container, **külek** (< Arm. *kovlak* ‘milking pail’, a derivative of *kov* ‘cow’), where it remains for about ten to fifteen days, after which it becomes creamy.

Hemshin’s famous stockings and other traditional clothing

In the domain of clothing, these are the handcrafted knitted stockings (*iki telli ç’orap*) that are very common in Hemshin. Almost all the important parts of these stockings (tip, sole, heel, leg) are designated by anatomical concepts and by terms

that can be traced back to Armenian. The tip of the stocking or foot is called **bec'ex** (< Hem. *bĵēx*, Arm. *pčēl(n)* 'tip of foot, toes'). **Tat** is the bottom (tread) of the stocking or the sole (< Arm. *t'at* 'sole, foot, paw, hand'). The heel is called **ge'ıŋk** ~ **geyŋk** (< WArm. *grung*, Arm. *krunk(n)* 'heel; heel of a shoe'). The part that covers the leg between the ankle and just under the knee or the calf is called **olek** (< Arm. *olok* 'shin; shin-bone, fibula'). Lastly, the upper part, the area around the opening of the stocking, bears the name **pi(y)anċk** (< Hem. *piyan* ~ *pion*, *pērōn*, Arm. *beran* 'mouth, entrance, the open top of containers, opening'²⁴) (Figure 11.6).

These stockings are knitted by the women during or especially after work according to the traditional patterns with a great variety of complicated ornamentation. Characteristically, at least two wool yarns of variegated colour are used in a stocking. In addition, different knitting techniques and at times even plastic knitting elements are used. When knitting, one uses five knitting needles, which are approximately 10 cm long and are called **c'ağ** (< Hem. *ĵay* 'knitting needle for stockings', Arm. *čal* 'knitting needle, handrail, trellis, spoke'). These stockings are worn by men as well as women and constitute part of the national costume. Likewise belonging to the national costume and particularly to women is the **kognoç'**, a long, thin apron (< WArm. *koknoc* 'apron', Arm. *gognoc* 'apron') as well as the **şay**, a large, woven silk cloth (< Arm. *şar* 'veil; silk cloth'). The *şay* is the main component of the traditional headdress of the women in the Hemshin region (*puşi*). Originally these dark and very thin silk scarves, mostly with floral patterns and interwoven with gold thread, were obtained from northern Persia and were thus called *İran şayı*. In addition to these there are today simpler and, above all, less costly pieces of Turkish apparel that are distinguished by being of one colour (mostly red, green or white) and of less fine quality. The *şay* is tied in a rather characteristic form. One picks up the cloth at a corner, folds a triangle and rolls it up loosely. The middle of this 'roll' (having an approximate length of 2.5 m) is placed on the upper half of the neck and both ends are led at first to the upper

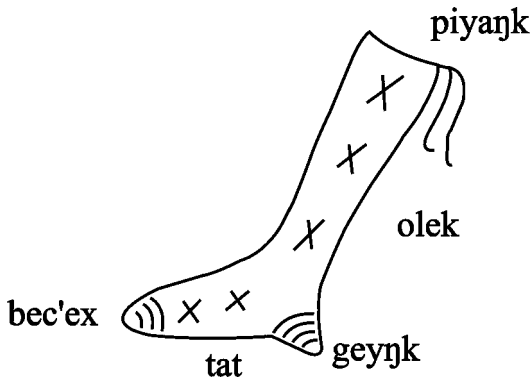


Figure 11.6 İki telli ç'orap.

part of the brow or hairline and then twisted crosswise into one another. They are returned back to the same side of the head again towards the back, where they are knotted high at the back of the head and then hang down the back. Under a *şay* tied in this way, one wears directly on the hair a black chiffon (*şifon*) scarf displaying rich ornaments along its edges, including pieces of embroidery, small, silver metal plates or colourful glass beads (*boncuk*). The latter are referred to locally as **helün** or **helon** (< Hem. *hilun*, Arm. *uln*, *ulunk* ‘glass pearls for ornament’). The *şifon* is placed over the head in a way that a corner shows up to the brow. The corners that show on the side are pulled crosswise under the chin, and the ends are knotted at the back of the head. Thus the decorated edges remain outside and are visible around the face. In addition to this *puşi*-style called *Küşüve başı* (after the village *Küşüve* (*Guşiva*), today *Yolkiyi*, in Fırtına Deresi), there are other knotting techniques that will not be discussed further here. Further pieces of clothing worthy of mention are **tatman** ‘glove’ (< Arm. *t’at’man* ‘mitten, knitted glove’ = *t’at* ‘hand’ + *aman* ‘bowl, container, sack’), **goc’gomer**, a man’s coat with buttons (< WArm. *go’ğagamayr*, Arm. *koçakamayr* ‘buttonhole’²⁵) and **vaydik**, a kind of underpant with half-length legs. This term is heard today only rarely among older people (< Hem. *vaydik*, Arm. *vartik* ‘underpants’).

All things ‘human’

Even within the sphere of everyday life and interaction we encounter countless terms that must be of Armenian origin. Here I would like to first mention terms that are rare today: **dandigin** the housewife and **dondarçi** the householder (< WArm. *dandigin*, Arm. *tantikin* ‘housewife’ and WArm. *dandēr*, Arm. *tantēr*, *tanutēr* ‘householder, head of the family’).²⁶ The general address for girls and women (also used among themselves), **kā** ~ **kah**, as well as **tō**, the address for men, both have Armenian etymologies (< Arm. dial. *k’a*; Arm. *k’ala* ‘O, girl!’ and Hem. *tō* ~ *jō*, Arm. *cōla* ‘O, boy!’). In addition to the parts of the body mentioned above in connection with stockings, attention is drawn to the following: **tuş** ‘cheek, buttock’ (< Arm. *tuş* id.), **gec’ak** ‘chin, jaw-bone’ (< Hem. *gzag* ‘chin’, Arm. *kzak* ‘lower jaw, chin’) and **lendek** ‘gum’ (< Arm. *lnderk*, *lnterk* id.). In the wider sense, diseases and infirmities include **ē’evanġk** ‘hernia, ruptured intestine, especially a herniated testicle’ (< Arm. *ju-ank* ‘falling into the scrotum, a kind of rupture in which the intestines descend into the scrotum’²⁷), **koydnuk**, a wartlike ulcer that appears mostly on the hands and underarms (< Hem. *kōydnunk*, *koydnunk*, Arm. *gortnuk* ‘wart, ulcer’) as well as **seduk**, a festering scar (< Hem. *şeydug* ‘festering fluid or secretion in a wounded ulcer’, or ‘the thick liquid inside a sweet melon’, Arm. *srtuk* ‘soft inside of fruits; wood pulp, stem pulp’). Also worthy of mention are **seġdadüş** ‘hiccough’ (< Hem. *sngdadüş* ‘hiccoughing during crying’, Arm. *snktatel* ‘to have the hiccoughs’), **xerguş etmek** ‘to snore loudly’ (< WArm. *xrġ-al*, Arm. *xr(k)al* id.), **tokuş etmek** ‘to cough’ (< Hem. *t’ok’uş* id.; cf. Arm. *t’ok* ‘lung’), **prenktuş etmek** ‘to sneeze’ (< Hem. *p’rñktuş*, *p’rñkduş*, Arm. *p’rñgtal* ‘to sneeze, pant’). Mucus is called **xox**

(< Arm. *xux*, dial. *xox* ‘thick mucus, phlegm’) and secretion from the eye is **c'imre** (< Hem. *ĵimrë*, Arm. *čipr*, *čpuř* ‘eye secretion’).

Plants

One of the areas in which the Armenianisms in Hemshin Turkish are most strongly represented is nature, especially in the names of plants and animals, as the following examples show. The wild mountain vegetation is very rich and diverse as a result of the favourably damp climate. Nevertheless, it is primarily the plants that are used for some specific purpose that have a special name. Others are generally referred to by the local population as *ot* ‘grass, herb’, *çiçek* ‘flower’, *ağaç* ‘tree’. Here are some examples of specific grasses, herbs and shrubs. The wild mint is called **anlux** < Hem. *ōnluxk*, which belongs etymologically to the Arm. *ananux* ‘mint’ and can possibly be traced back to Pers. *nānxāh* or *nānuxēh* ‘aniseed’. A wild, leafy plant very similar to spinach, **ç'imel**, is prepared by the Hemshinli with garlic and yoghurt to make a tasty dish. This term is connected to Hem. *cimel* ‘a wild plant with which one prepares soup’, Arm. *cmel*, *cimel* ‘red spinach’, which possibly stems from a Caucasian language. Even the stinging nettle bears an Armenian name, **eğinc'** ~ **yeğinc'** (< Hem. *ēyinĵ*, Arm. *elič* ~ *elinĵ* id.). Especially characteristic of Hemshin are plants such as **goc'uk**, a kind of hogweed that has white flowers in the autumn and very large leaves. Touching it can lead to a swelling of the skin (< Arm. *koc'uk* ‘*Spina arabica*’ and also *kocuk* ‘cow-parasit, hogweed’). There is also **godim**, a wild, cress-like plant one finds mostly along brooks and near water. It is slightly bitter, but tasty, and it is for this reason sometimes planted in gardens as well (< WArm. *godim*, *godem*, Arm. *kotem*, *kotim* ‘watercress’).²⁸ Likewise found in damp places is **lor** (*otu*) ~ **lör**, a kind of lily that is poisonous (< Arm. *lōr* ~ *lor* ‘moss; duckweed; *bot*. *Lemna*). Especially poisonous is the yellow blooming **ç'inĵk**, consumption of which can kill even larger animals such as cows and sheep (*‘hayvanlara dokunur, öldürür’*) < Arm. *c'ing* ~ *c'ink* ‘a wild, yellow flower; marsh-marigold’, or a kind of ‘buttercup, *bot*. *Ranunculus*’. Less dangerous is **ç'emax**, a poisonous plant that causes foaming at the mouth of oxen. Their tube-like stems are popular among children, who pluck them out after they wilt in autumn in order to inflate them and cause them to explode < Arm. *c'max* ‘bitter plant, *Gypsophila*’. According to Hrach'eay Acharian, this is originally a loanword from Georgian; cf. Grg. *c'maxe* ‘(turn) sour’, *c'maxi* ‘vegetable pickled (without vinegar)’ and *c'max* ‘something (e.g. wine) that becomes sour’. A small flower that blooms in the summer on the high pasture land and is noted for its velvety, dark red inflorescences is **gagaç'** (*çiçeği*) < WArm. *gagač'* ‘tulip’, Arm. *kakač'* ~ *kakaĵ* a kind of red flower, poppy’. Typical forage plants are **keltat** (Arm. *gayl(a)t'a't* ‘lady’s mantle; *Alchemilla*’²⁹), **paç'kar**, a kind of shrub with rather hard, stiff leaves that sometimes have prickly edges (< Hem. *pac'kar* ~ *pac'gari* id.), and **gerani**, a kind of shrub or tree of medium height with rather fine leaves; light yellow areas of thickness are noticeable on the under-side of many of these leaves. Inside them are seed-like grains about the size of a cherry pit (< Hem. *grani* id.). The leaf of the

latter two shrubs is used by the indigenous population for the preparation of **oğvank**, a mixture of the leaves of several plants cooked in water (< Arm. *ōluank*). A plant that is highly valued as a remedy against rheumatic illnesses is the foul-smelling herb **unc'ura** ~ **ungure**. One boils its leaves in water and then bathes one's legs in it, and occasionally makes medical swathes with it (< Hem. *ōn'jura* ~ *ōn'jura* 'elder', Arm. *ančura(y)* 'foul smelling plant species'). Among fruit-bearing plants are the extremely abundant wild strawberry, **moy** ~ **mor** (< Hem. *mēōr*, *mori*, Arm. *mor* 'blackberry, blackberry bush') as well as **c'ox**, a name for raspberries (**kırmızı c'ox**) and blackberries (**kara c'ox**) (< Hem. *žōx*, *žēōx* 'blackberry fruit', Arm. *žox* 'a kind of berry plant, currant') and **xenç'o(y)ık**, 'name of an edible berry' (< WArm. *xncorig*, Arm. *xn'jorik* 'small apple' = diminutive of Arm. *xn'jor* 'apple'). Because of their tasty fruits, several varieties of wild pears are very popular among the local inhabitants. Among these are the long-shaped **boloz armudu** (< WArm. *boloz*, Arm. *poloz* 'long-formed, long-grown'), the especially juicy **c'eydanç armudu** (< WArm. *danc*, Arm. *tanj* 'pear'), and the **aşendos** (< Arm. *aşun* 'autumn' + *tanj* 'pear'³⁰), which ripens in autumn. Several tree names have also been transmitted from the Armenian. For example, **şoç'i** ~ **şoji** 'a kind of conifer, evergreen' (< Arm. *soçi* ~ *şoçi*, *şoç* 'wild pistachio; evergreen'), **tuki** (ağacı) 'maple' (< Arm. *t'lk'i* 'maple'), and **mani** (ağacı), a deciduous tree rather similar to the beech, the hard wood of which is especially useful for burning (< Hem. *mani* ~ *mōni* 'a kind of beech, oak', Arm. *mani* 'an oak-like tree'). Likewise stemming from Armenian are **pilunc'** 'fern' (< WArm. *p'ilunc'* id., Arm. (*ar'ji*) *p'ilunc'* 'Dryopteris filix-mas, Polystichum lonchitis'),³¹ **suŋ(g)**, a white, leaf-like mushroom found on decaying stumps that is very rare but highly prized as an edible mushroom (< WArm. *sung*, Arm. *sunk(n)*, *sungn* 'mushroom'), and **loydufes**, a poisonous mushroom, the 'snail-cap' (< Hem. *lōydu* 'snail' + Turk. *fes* 'fez, head-covering').

Insects and other small animals

Turning to the domain of insects and other small animals, the firefly, which is active at night-time, is called **gäc'ulik** ~ **gec'ulik** (< Hem. *gājōrig*, Arm. *kaycorik*, *kaycu'rik* id.³²). **Buc'ek** is a kind of wasp or hornet (< Hem. *bujēg*, *bu'jēg*, Arm. *picak* 'a stinging insect, wasp'), while **aç'meğu(n)** ~ **aç'meru** designates a large, wild kind of bee whose honey is very valuable though difficult to find (< Hem. *ayčmēyu* 'fat, hairy, wild bee that lays its hive in the earth and builds its honeycomb in the shape of a pear', Arm. *ar'jmelu* 'a kind of wild bee that is three times larger than a normal bee').³³ The blood-sucking tick bears the name **diz** (< WArm. *diz*, Arm. *tiz* 'tick, mite'), **meç'ex** is a small type of fly appearing in higher places (< Hem. *mč'ēγ*; *mžēx*, Arm. *mžex* 'mosquito, gnat, small fly'), and **por** is a bee-like horsefly that appears especially during very hot weather (< WArm. *poř* 'horsefly, gadfly' Arm. *boř* 'stinging insect'). The butterfly is called **titer** (< Hem. *t'it'ēr*, Arm. *t'it'er(n)* id.), and **otis** is a small, green, stinking beetle (< Arm. *ot'is* 'a foul-smelling insect living in damp places'). Also noteworthy are **emğoyig** ~ **enjvoyig**, a smaller, non-venomous snake (blindworm), that lives mostly

on mice (< Hem. *m̧oyig* ‘small snake’) and **loydu ~ lordu** ‘snail’ (< Hem. *lōydu* id., WArm. *lordu* ‘adder, viper’, Arm. *lortu* ‘a non-venomous snake’). **Govc’uç** is a kind of salamander (< WArm. *govajuj*, Arm. *kovacuc*, *kovcuc* ‘*Lacertus facetanus*, water-salamander, lizard’). The lizard is sometimes called **xelez ~ xeloz** (< Arm. *xlēz*, *xlez* ‘lizard’) and sometimes **xelort ~ helürt** (< Arm. *xlurd* ‘name of several species of mice or rodents; mole’³⁴). With regard to the latter two terms, there is a rather confusing picture in Hala. In several villages, they have apparently been confused or mistaken for each other. **Xelort**, which actually means ‘mouse, mole’, has been accepted in part as a word for ‘lizard’ (the mouse or the mole is by contrast called *sic’an* or *k’ör sic’an*). During pointed questioning and with reference to **xelez**, which also occurs as **xeloz** (which sounds like *xelort*), one receives rather different answers: ‘ikisi aynı’ (the two are synonymous); ‘galiba toprak yukarı basar, xeloz’ (‘xeloz’ pushes the ground up); ‘aşağda ve boyuk derede xeloz derler xelorta’ (they say ‘xeloz’ for ‘xelort’ further down and in the great valley [= Firtina Deresi]), which in fact is correct. The spider is called **sart** or **sayıt** (< WArm. *sart*, Arm. *sard* id.) and its web **sartpun** (Hem. *saytpun* id.³⁵). Noteworthy from a semantic point of view is **gedalboc’ik ~ gedalboç**, the newly spawned tadpole, which judging from its parts means ‘little spoon tail’ (< Arm. *gdal* ‘spoon’ + *poč*, Hem. *bēōč*, *bēč* ‘tail, end’). Noteworthy among larger animals are **kotit** ‘young bear’ (< Arm. *k’ot’it* id.), **hohol** ‘owl’ (Hem. *hohol* id.), and **maşketep ~ maştekep**, ‘bat’ (< Arm. *maşkat* ‘ev id.³⁶).

Natural phenomena

Falling under the category of natural phenomena are **gaygut ~ gargut** (‘hail, sleet’) (< Hem. *gargud*, Arm. *karkut* id.), **meşuş**, a fine, dry mist that occurs chiefly at the beginning of the warm season and the melting of snow connected with it at higher elevations (< Arm. *m̧şuş* ‘fog, mist’), and **(h)arav**, a warm wind that blows from the southern direction of the central land over the Pontic mountain range to the sea, bringing with it mostly dry weather (Arm. *haraw* ‘south; south wind’). This term occurs only sporadically in Hemshin and is used more frequently in the coastal region where this wind appears to play a more prominent role in farming. It is largely unknown in the more highly elevated villages with pastures, including in the Hala Deresi, where one calls it *Lodos*, as in many other parts of Turkey.

Toponyms

As mentioned above, the Hemshin region is saturated with toponyms of Armenian origin. Unfortunately, the village names, which are especially relevant from an administrative point of view, have mostly been changed, particularly in the past few years (thus, for example, *Şenyuva* is the new name for *Çinçive*). Among the native inhabitants, though, the old names are still in use or are at least known. The worth of these toponyms is almost immeasurable. Almost every location in the village, in the pasture and even in the forest bears a specific name that often

reflects the special character of the place, such as, the phenomena or impressions that are brought about by natural or geographical factors.

C'eymakç'ur is the name of one of the high pasture lands below the *Kaçkar* massif. Etymologically, it is a combination of WArm. *ǰermag* 'white' and the component that is rather typical in Armenian place designations, *ǰur*, WArm. *čur* 'water'. We meet it again in the names of the neighboring pastures such as **Ağveç'ur** (< WArm. *aγvor* 'beautiful, pretty' + *čur*) and **Palakç'ur** (< Arm. *balak* 'colourful, multicoloured' + *čur*). We meet it further in **Saleç'ur**, a pasture that is accessible from *Çayeli*. It lies, however, beyond the Pontic mountain range and belongs accordingly to the province of Erzurum (< WArm. *sal* 'stone slab, plate-formed', specifically 'anvil' + *čur*).

A similar construction, though with the element Arm. *-ovit* (< *hovit*) 'valley, plateau' as a second member, is embodied by **Mec'ovit**, the name of a very large and wide, high pasture land in the mountain ridge between Hala Deresi and Fırtına Deresi (< WArm. *mej*, Arm. *mec* 'large'), **Soxovit**, the name of a pasture plateau at the far upper part of *Hemshin* (< Arm. *sox* 'onion'), and **Palovit**, a relatively wide, high pasture land that is cultivated by people from Fırtına Deresi, especially from the village *Çinçive* (*Şenyuva*) (< WArm. *pal*, Arm. *bal* 'fog, mist'). Another rather characteristic formation for Armenian toponyms is embodied in the following names that all contain the suffix Arm. *-ut* 'rich in...': **Gağnut**, the name of a place overgrown with oak trees in the lower valley of Hala (< WArm. *gaγn-ud*, Arm. *kañn-ut* 'oak forest, oak grove'), **Koydut**, a place that is located along a small watercourse in a rather shady and damp ravine and in which many frogs are found (< WArm. *kord*, Arm. *gort* 'frog'), **Pokut** (< WArm. *pok*, Arm. *bog*, *bogi* 'gentiana'), **Pilunc'ut**, a place in the forest in the upper part of Hala Deresi (< Arm. *p'ilunc* 'fern'), and **Enxutpos**, a meadow plain in the drainage area of the village *Çinçive* (< Arm. *eln* 'stag' + *-ut* + Arm. *p'os* 'hollow, lowland'). Another place in Hala Deresi is called **Ketmeç'** (< Arm. *getamej* 'region between two rivers'³⁷), and **Meğvor ~ Meyvor** is the old name of an area of the present-day village *Yukarı Şimşirli* in Hala (< Hem. *mēyrē*, Arm. *metr* 'honey' + the suffix *-awor* 'bearing, producing'). This derivation is supported by the fact that the place is recognized for its honey (*Meğvor balı*). Also noteworthy are **Ağpenoç'** and **Eznoç'**. Both have the *Nomina loci* forming suffix Arm. *-anoc* 'as their second member' (< WArm. *aγpanoc*; Arm. *albanoc* 'dunghill, dung place' from *alb* 'dung' and < Arm. *ez(a)noc* 'ox stable' from *ez(n)* 'ox'). A good description of the local features is given by the name of the damp, shady forest clearing shielded by mountains, **C'emakdap** (< Hem. *jmag* 'directed towards the north, damp place', Arm. *cmak* 'shady, cool place' + *tap* 'flat, level').

The most popular place in the Hemshin region by far is certainly **Ayder**, which is known throughout the country for its thermal spring (**Ayder Kaplıcası** or simply **Ilıca**). Ayder is a meadow plain above the actual villages, located directly on the *Hala* brook and surrounded by forests. The meadow plain is cultivated and used as a kind of intermediate pasture from approximately March to October during the annual cattle drives. It is also used as a base station for support of the high pasture land that is used exclusively in the summer months. This name is

the usual *-er* plural of Hem. *ayd*, Arm. *art* ‘field, cultivated plain’. Exactly the same form is substantiated in a dialect text recorded by Achařian: *ayd-ēr-un mēč‘daha gē’lli lō’bgē, b’ōn’jar* (= *kalamb*), *uriš yē’silluy*; ‘On the *fields* there also come to be [= grow, develop] beans, herbs, and other greens’.³⁸ The Armenian derivation is confirmed by external features: *Ayder*, if only to a modest and limited degree, due to its altitude and its extreme climatic situation, has at its disposal agricultural acreage under cultivation, on which is grown mostly corn (*lazut*), potatoes (*kartof*), cabbage (*lahana*) and beans (*lob(i)ya*). The expanded meadows and grass fields serve as a supply of fodder for the stable cattle. Noteworthy in this context is the folk etymological interpretation, perhaps still to be heard among the native population, of the name *Ayder* as a shortening of the Turk. *ay-dere* ‘moon valley’, which is certainly not correct. There is likewise an *-er*-plural in **Galer**. This is a large, relatively flat clearing with wild grass growth right under the tree line where the ravines and watercourses of several high pasture lands (*Palakç’ur*, *C’eymakç’ur* and *Kavrun*) come together to form the upper boundary of the valley of Hala. *Galer* is currently uninhabited. In the ‘old days’ – as the people say – there were supposedly buildings or perhaps even a settlement here, though no visible traces are to be found. This belief may go back to one of the partially fantastic and imaginary legends that circulate around this place.

Personal names

At the end of this brief presentation of the Armenian substrate in the language of the western Hemshinli, one may add a short selection of personal names. These names, which are officially no longer relevant, still live on among the native population as a kind of ‘family-name’ from earlier days. All of them, even if they are not genuinely Armenian, nevertheless show in some form or other an Armenian imprint. Here one should mention beforehand that only a few of the names occurring today even in Armenian are purely Armenian. The majority of the names are originally of foreign derivation. In addition to Iranian, we find many Aramaic, Greek and, naturally, general ‘Christian’ names, which are a result of the influence of religion. Also conspicuous, however, are the numerous non-Christian ‘oriental’ names. Especially noteworthy among the names of the Hemshinli are **Apel** (< Arm. *Abel-yan*), which stems from the name of the biblical figure *Abel*, and **Avedig** (< Arm. *Avetik-yan* ~ *Avetik’-yan*), a name whose genuine Armenian origin can in no way be denied. It derives from the Christian term Arm. *awetik’* ‘the good news, the Gospel’. Also stemming from the Christian religion are **Arekel** (< Arm. *Ařak’el-yan*), which derives from Arm. *ařak’eal* ‘apostle; envoy, messenger’, **Aratin-oğlu** (< Arm. *Art’in-yan*, *Arut’in-yan*, *Arut’-yan*, *Yarut’-yan*, which are various forms of Arm. *Harut’yun-yan* = Arm. *harut’yun* ‘resurrection of Christ’), and of course **Meğdesi-oğlu** (< Arm. *Mldes-yan* ~ *Malt’esyan*, *Maxt’es-yan*, *Maht’es-yan*, *Mahtes-yan* = Arm. *mltesi*, *mahtesi*, ‘one who has made a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Lord in Jerusalem’).

Notes on dialects

There are no documents for the Armenian dialects that were once spoken in west Hemshin (in the areas of Çamlıhemşin, Hemşin and Kaptanpaşa). Only in light of these and other loanwords in the Turkish dialects of the region is it still possible to obtain some limited information about them. For this reason, their value for Armenology, especially dialect studies, is considerable. The words presented above are quite typical of the dialects in the region under investigation (i.e. they are generally not rare or archaic words that are limited to certain ages or social groups). All may be traced back to an immediate borrowing from Armenian, especially from Hemshin Armenian, notwithstanding whether they are genuine Armenian words or entered into the Armenian vocabulary from other languages (e.g. Greek, Iranian, Caucasian).

Concerning the phonetic rendering of Armenianisms in Turkish, the Armenian sounds are rendered by their corresponding Turkish sounds as far as possible.³⁹ A specific picture emerges in particular from the affricates. A remarkable development occurs in their representation in the Turkish of Hemshin, as Table 11.2 should make clear.

We find here a regional phenomenon which appears to show no indication of temporally distinct borrowing periods. Moreover, in most cases, nothing concrete can be said about the age of the loanwords simply because we do not have early and continuous dialect records.

Another noteworthy phenomenon is the common dialectical shift from *r > y* in Hemshin Armenian,⁴⁰ which may be seen as a weakening of the *r* and is also partially reflected in the Armenian loanwords into local Turkish (*mor* ~ *moy*; *gargut* ~ *gaygut*; *sart* ~ *sayıt*).

A further phenomenon in Hemshin Armenian is the development Arm. *a* > Hem. *ō* in front of nasals, which, among others, Achařian has described in detail.⁴¹ It is interesting that many of the loanwords (especially from Hala) noted here give no clear indication of this phenomenon. This allows us to conclude that the development *a* > *ō* had not or still has not taken place in the basic Hemshin Armenian dialect. The material noted and evaluated by Achařian (in the Gagra region of Abkhazia) stems mostly from Christian Hemshinli (i.e. Hamşen

Table 11.2 Phonetic rendering of the Turkish of Hemshin

<i>Armenian</i>		<i>Turkish</i>	
<i>East</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>General</i>	<i>Hemshin</i>
c	j	z	c'
j	c	s	ç'
c'	c'	s	ç'
č	ǰ	c	c'
ǰ	č	ç	ç'
č'	č'	ç	ç'

Armenians) who lived, before their flight from Turkey, in the *Çanik* region (i.e. Samsun) and in the village of *Mala* near Trabzon, thus west of the so-called Hemshin region. The material indicates a very clear regularity in this point. Table 11.3 gives a short list with examples that should illustrate this contrast.

These examples, in which loanwords clearly reflect the shift $a > o$, deserve special mention. The examples *dondarçı*, *kağon* and *ovonk* ~ *oğonk* stem, however, from locations further west of Hala Deresi, and thus nearer to the area of Trabzon.

It follows from this, however, that the development Arm. $a >$ Hem. \bar{o} has not taken place in the same manner in all Hemshin Armenian dialects. This has also been confirmed by the work of Georges Dumézil on the dialect of *Ardala*.⁴² If one draws further upon the material collected by I. A. Kipshidze and published by Nikolai Marr,⁴³ as well as the records from east Hemshin (around Hopa),⁴⁴ one will find in part a certain lack of uniformity (Table 11.4). It is possible that $a > \bar{o}$ is a

Table 11.3 Contrast in loanwords

<i>Acharian</i> (1947)	<i>Hala</i> (see Bläsing (1992, 1995))
<i>č'ivōn</i>	(<i>getel-</i>) <i>ç'evan</i>
<i>dōnj</i>	(<i>c'ey-</i>) <i>danç'</i>
<i>ḵōng</i>	<i>c'aḵk</i>
<i>maṛōn</i>	<i>maran</i>
<i>ōmōn</i> , (<i>aγ</i>) <i>ōmōn</i>	(<i>lag-</i>) <i>aman</i> , (<i>tat-</i>) <i>aman</i>
<i>ōn-(hōm)</i>	<i>an-(der)</i>
<i>ōnij</i>	<i>anic'</i>
<i>ōnluxk</i>	<i>anlux</i>
<i>sōndrē</i>	<i>sandek</i>
<i>xōnjuš</i>	<i>xānc'uš</i>
<i>dōn(digōn)</i>	<i>dan-(digin)</i> but: <i>don-(darçı)</i> (İkizdere)
<i>ōγuank'</i>	<i>oğvank</i> but: <i>ovonk</i> ~ <i>oğonk</i> (Kaptanpaşa)
(<i>k'aγ-</i>) <i>hōn-(uš)</i>	<i>kağan</i> (Pazar) but: <i>kağon</i> (Kaptanpaşa)

Table 11.4 Comparison of dialects

<i>Acharian</i>	<i>Kipshidze</i>	<i>Dumézil</i> (1964)	<i>Dumézil</i> (1967)	<i>Edip Topaloğlu</i>
<i>k'sōn</i> , <i>sōn</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>son</i>	—	san
<i>ōmis</i>	<i>omis</i>	<i>omis</i>	ams-us	<i>omis</i>
<i>mōnč'</i>	manč'-e	<i>monč</i>	—	—
<i>bōnir</i>	banir	—	—	<i>bonir</i>
hamšēnci	hamšec'i	<i>homšeci</i>	—	<i>homšesnak</i>
<i>dōn-i</i> , ~-u	—	<i>don-e</i>	dan-an	<i>don-e</i> , ~-an
—	<i>mome</i>	<i>momi</i>	—	mami
<i>ōmb</i>	—	<i>omb-ooduš</i>	amb-oot	amb-ot
<i>dōnj</i>	—	—	danž	—
<i>ōngōḵ</i>	—	<i>onguč/š</i>	anguš	<i>onguč</i>
<i>hōn-uš</i>	—	<i>hon-e</i> , ~-ik	han-a , ~-oγ.	—
<i>ḵōmp'a</i>	—	<i>ḵōmpa</i>	ḵampa-n	—
—	—	<i>ḵonj</i>	—	<i>čonč</i>

rather recent change that appears to have developed most strongly in the west of the dialect region, and perhaps could even have had its starting point there. It is surely not possible on the basis of these few and especially fragmentary examples to draw any clear conclusions, though this point does deserve our attention. Perhaps it is possible, through further recording of Hemshin Armenian as well as through analysis of the form of loanwords from other regions such as Hala, to obtain more exact information and thereby to examine the vague and preliminary conjectures I have provided. For the moment, the following division results:

- dialects that exhibit $a > o$ to the full extent;
- dialects that exhibit this development only in part;
- dialects in which the shift has not taken place.

One must also mention in connection with the evaluation of Hemshin dialects the larger context of historical circumstances. The Hemshin population in the region of Trabzon comprised immigrants from the actual Hemshin region, who presumably settled here around the end of the seventeenth century and sporadically even further west towards Samsun along the Black Sea coast. This migration was connected directly with the increasing Islamicization of the original homeland.⁴⁵ What remains unknown is the composition of these migrant Hemshinli and the related question of whether they represented a single dialect group at that time. It appears that this group, at least with respect to their local origin, was rather heterogeneous, consisting presumably of all the segments of the Hemshin population who were unwilling to renounce Christianity under any circumstances. This would also be consistent with historical circumstances, since for while Hemshin itself became increasingly Islamic (at least through out-migration), the Hemshinli could find in Trabzon (and to a lesser extent in Ordu and Samsun) a more Greek-influenced but still much more Christian environment. In the cities, at least, they would meet other Armenians and could remain Christian longer, though even here they were exposed again and again to reprisals, as the events in *Sew Get* (*Karadere* above *Araklı*) testify.⁴⁶ Only as their situation became hopeless, before and especially during the First World War in the course of the Genocide, did they flee again, this time towards the sea to Abkhazia and the bordering regions (e.g. Krasnodar, Maikop, Sochi).⁴⁷ It is also apparent that since – as is evident from the work of Acharian (1947) – there are no deviations between the Armenian of the Hemshinli of the Trabzon region visited by him in 1910 and that of the refugees living in Abkhazia, they belong to one and the same group. The situation with the dialects in Hemshin proper is different. These exhibit slight differences in many points, as the treatment given above of the Arm. *a* before nasals or the development Arm. $r > y$ and $rd, rt' > št, št'$, e.g. in Arm. *mard* 'man' > Hem. *mašt*⁴⁸ ~ *mart*⁴⁹ ~ *mayt*⁵⁰ etc. illustrate. Because Hemshin Armenian is spoken today only in east Hemshin (in the wider region around Hopa), in several villages in the region between İzmit and Bolu, as well as in Abkhazia and southern Russia, any further study will have

to proceed from the elements surviving as substrate and loanwords in the now dominant regional Turkish dialects.

Transliteration system and abbreviation of languages

Table 11.5 The Armenian alphabet and its transliteration according to the Revue des Études Arméniennes system⁵¹

Classical and Standard Eastern Armenian			Western Armenian
ա	a	a in <i>ha</i>	
բ	b	b	p (unaspirated, as in <i>pot</i>)
գ	g	g in <i>gate</i>	k (unaspirated, as in <i>cat</i>)
դ	d	d	t (unaspirated, as in <i>top</i>)
ե	e	e in <i>less</i> , word initial ye as in <i>yes</i>	
զ	z	z in <i>zone</i>	
է	ē	e in <i>less</i>	
բ	ĕ	e in <i>butter</i>	
թ	tʰ	tʰ (aspirated, as in <i>top</i>)	
ժ	ž	s in <i>measure</i> , <i>leisure</i>	
ի	i	i in <i>bit</i> or <i>magazine</i>	
լ	l	l	
խ	x	ch in Scottish English <i>loch</i>	
ծ	c	ts (unaspirated)	j (dz, as in <i>adze</i>)
կ	k	unaspirated k, as in <i>scat</i>	g (g in <i>gate</i>)
հ	h	h in <i>have</i>	
ձ	j	dz	c (ts, unaspirated)
ղ	ł/ɣ	gh (fricative)	
ճ	č	unaspirated ch, as in <i>mischief</i>	ǰ (j in <i>jam</i>)
մ	m	m	
յ	y	y in <i>yes</i>	
ն	n	n	
շ	š	sh in <i>shape</i>	
ո	o	o in <i>note</i> ; word-initially vo, as in <i>vote</i>	
չ	čʰ	aspirated ch, as in <i>church</i>	
պ	p	p (unaspirated, as in <i>spot</i>)	b
ջ	ǰ	j in <i>jam</i>	č (ch, unaspirated, as in <i>church</i>)
ր	ř	r (trilled, like Spanish rr in <i>perro</i> ‘dog’)	
ս	s	s in <i>still</i>	
վ	v	v in <i>van</i>	
տ	t	t (unaspirated, as in <i>stop</i>)	d
ր	r	r in <i>rose</i>	
ց	cʰ	tsʰ (aspirated)	
ւ	w	v in <i>love</i>	
փ	pʰ	pʰ (aspirated, as in <i>pot</i>)	
ք	kʰ	kʰ (aspirated, as in <i>cat</i>)	
օ	ō	o in <i>note</i>	
ֆ	f	f in <i>fine</i>	
ու	u	u as in <i>you</i>	

Especially for the Hamshen dialect (*Homshetsma*), Acharian makes use of some different characters:

ü ä a in *man*
 ʔo ēō German ö

In Turkish dialects:

ä a in *man*
 c' dz
 ç' ts
 ŋ ng in *bang*
 x ch in Scottish English *loch*

Abbreviations of languages are as follows:

Arm.	Armenian
Grg.	Georgian
Hem.	Hemshin Armenian
HTu.	Hemshin Turkish
Laz.	Lazuri
Phl.	Pahlavi
Pers.	Persian
Turk.	Turkish
WArm.	Western Armenian
dial.	Dialect

Notes

- 1 Some immigrants who, like many Laz and Muslim Georgians, moved to the west from the border region (e.g. Batum.) that the Turks and Russians fought over in the middle of the second half of the nineteenth century also live in the areas of Bolu and Sakarya today. See Rüdiger Benninghaus, 'Zur Herkunft und Identität der Hemşinli', in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, ed. Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rüdiger Benninghaus (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989), pp. 484ff.
- 2 They call themselves correspondingly *Homşeci*.
- 3 See Turgut Günay, *Rize İli Ağızları: İnceleme-Metinler-Sözlük* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı/Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1978).
- 4 My material stems largely from the *Hala Deresi*, a tributary of the *Fırtına*, which flows between present-day *Pazar* and *Ardeşen* into the Black Sea; further material is from the region of *Çayeli*. A very detailed description of these is provided in my two monographs as well as an article. Uwe Bläsing, *Armenisches Lehngut im Türkeitürkischen: Am Beispiel von Hemşin* (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1992); idem, *Armenisch – Türkisch: Etymologische Betrachtungen ausgehend von Materialien aus dem Hemşingebiet nebst einigen Anmerkungen zum Armenischen, insbesondere dem Hemşindialekt* (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1995); and idem, 'Armeno-Turcica: Etymologische Untersuchungen anhand von Materialien aus dem Hemşingebiet', *Studia Turcologica Cracoviensia* (Kraków, 1998), 5, pp. 41–63.

- 5 A circle dance found in the Black Sea region accompanied by the fiddle or bagpipes.
- 6 Ahmet Caferoğlu, *Kuzey-Doğu İllerimiz Ağızlarından Toplamalar: Ordu, Giresun, Trabzon, Rize ve Yöresi Ağızları* (Istanbul: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1946), pp. 259ff.
- 7 On this see esp. James R. Russell, 'The Etymology of Armenian Vardavar', *Annual of Armenian Linguistics* (Cleveland, OH, 1992), 13, pp. 63–69.
- 8 For details see P. Carolidis, *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* (Strassburg: C. F. Schmidt, 1913), pp. 155ff., and Malachia Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia, Her History, Doctrine, Rule, Discipline, Liturgy, Literature, and Existing Doctrine*, 2nd rev. English edn, translated by G. Marcar Gregory and edited by Terenig Poladian (London: Mowbray, 1955), p. 186; for further information, see the detailed study of A. Kalashev 'Vardavar', *Sbornik materialov dlia opisaniia miestnostei i plemen Kavkaza – Recueil de matériaux pour la description des contrées et tribus du Caucase* (Tiflis, 1894), 18, no. 2, pp. 1–367.
- 9 Bagpipes typical of the Black Sea region, which are made out of goatskin.
- 10 Diminutive of *čut* or *čuč* 'chick'.
- 11 Composite of Arm. *ak'lor* 'rooster' and *čut* 'chick'.
- 12 Especially as a kind of ceiling cavity between the actual building and the stable underneath it. The cavity has essentially an isolating function.
- 13 Composite formed from Hem. *kum*, Arm. *gom* 'stable' + Hem. *klēōx* ~ *kelox*, Arm. *glux* 'head'.
- 14 A composite from Arm. *koy*, *ku* 'manure' + *tel* 'place'.
- 15 This term is originally of Iranian origin < Phl. *gōmēz* 'bull urine' (used as a means of ritual purification).
- 16 This word also eventually derives from Armenian. One could connect it to the Arm. root *cor* 'substance that flows or runs out, stream, leak', from which in particular come the verbs *cor-al*, *cor-el* 'flow out, flow down, trickle, drip'. The derivation that corresponds exactly with the HTu. form, Arm. *corak* 'a kind of pipe through which one runs water or wine and is opened and closed by a tap' is semantically problematic, however.
- 17 A composite formed from Arm. *k'al* 'selecting, pulling out, plucking' and the stem Arm. *han*, cf. *hanel* 'to pull out'.
- 18 Originally, *xop* 'is a loanword from the Caucasian languages (cf. Grg. *xop'i*, *xop'i*; Laz *xop'e* 'shovel, spade, rudder'), which, however, doubtless first entered into Turkish from Hemshin through Armenian.
- 19 This is a derivation from the Arm. *targal* 'spoon', which earlier developed into *dgal* or *gdal* with the suffix *-anoc* 'as a designation of place'.
- 20 A composite of Arm. *lak* 'watery fodder for dogs or other animals' + *aman* 'container'.
- 21 This word is traced back to the stem Arm. *xarš* 'to burn, cook'.
- 22 < Grg. *č'vili q'veli* 'cheese lifted fresh from the whey', which Tschenkéli connects with *č'vili* 'smooth, delicate, soft; newborn, infant', a derivation from the root Grg. *č'č'v-*.
- 23 < Grg. *šrat* '-i, 'whey, cheese water'.
- 24 The additional *-k* in HTu. **pi(y)ank** indicates a lost suffix form of the old *k'-* plural.
- 25 Composite of Arm. *kočak* 'button' + *mayr* 'mother', here transferred for 'hole'. The transferral from the meaning 'buttonhole' to the whole article of clothing is somewhat strange, but in fact *gocgomer* is always a jacket.
- 26 Both are composites < Arm. *tun* (*tan-*) 'house' + *tikin* 'lady, mistress' and *tēr* 'lord'; *-çi* is a Turkish nominal suffix.
- 27 Composite of WArm. *cu*, Arm. *ju* 'egg' + *ank-* 'falling, sinking'.
- 28 For a more detailed etymology of this word and its realizations in Armenian linguistic development and dialects, see esp. J. J. S. Weitenberg, 'Reconstructing Classical Armenian: The Case of *kotem(n)*', *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* (Göttingen, 1985), 97, pp. 238–44.
- 29 Composite of Hem. *kēl*, *k'āl*, Arm. *gayl* 'wolf' + *t'at* 'paw, claw'.
- 30 = Hem. *dōnj* 'pear' with loss of the *-n*.

- 31 Uwe Bläsing, 'Arm. *p'ilunc*' vs. Laz. *bilonc*-, Grg. *blenc*', *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* (Kraków, 2001), 6, pp. 15–19.
- 32 Formed from Arm. *kayc* 'spark' and *or* 'backside, bottom' with the diminutive suffix *-ik*.
- 33 Formed from Arm. *arj* 'bear' + *melu* 'bee'.
- 34 In dialects also has the meaning 'lizard'.
- 35 Composite of *sart* 'spider' + *pun* (Arm. *boyn*) 'web'.
- 36 = Arm. *mašk* 'hide, skin, leather' + *t'ev* 'wing, arm'.
- 37 = Hem. *kēd*, Arm. *get* 'river' + Hem. *mēč*', Arm. *mēj* 'inside, space between'.
- 38 Hrach'eay Acharian [Acharian], *K'nnut'yun Hamšeni Barbari* [*Study of the Hamšen dialect*] (Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 1947), p. 196.
- 39 See the excellent specification of Andrzej Pisowicz, 'Die armenischen Entlehnungen in den türkischen Dialekten', *Folia Orientalia* (Kraków, 1989), 16, pp. 123–29.
- 40 See Acharian (1947), p. 64, and Georges Dumézil, 'Notes sur le parler d'un Arménien musulman d'Ardala (Vilayet de Rize)', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1965), n.s. 2, p. 135.
- 41 Acharian (1947), pp. 22ff.
- 42 Even today this place is still usually called Ardala by the local population. Its official name, however, is Eşmekaya. This little village with just over 1,000 inhabitants lies around 20 kilometres south of Hopa. See Dumézil (1965) and idem, 'Un roman policier en arménien d'Ardala', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1986), n.s. 20, pp. 7–27.
- 43 Nikolai Iakovlevich Marr, 'Materialy po khemshinskomu narechiiu armianskogo iazyka (po zapisi I. A. Kipshidze)' [Materials on the Hemshin Dialect of the Armenian Language from the Writings of I. A. Kipshidze], *Zapiski Kollegii vostokovedov pri Aziatskom muzee Rossiiskoi akademii nauk* [Notes of the Colleagues of Eastern Studies of the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences] (Leningrad, 1925), 1, pp. 73–80.
- 44 Edip Topaloğlu was my chief informant for the notes and tape-recordings I made in the summer of 1991 on Hemshin Armenian in the area of Hopa (unpublished). See also Georges Dumézil, 'Notes sur le parler d'un Arménien musulman de Hemşin', *Académie Royale de Belgique, Mémoires, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques* (Brussels, 1964), 57, no. 4, pp. 5–52, and idem, 'Trois récits dans le parler des Arméniens musulmans de Hemşin', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1967), n.s. 4, pp. 19–35.
- 45 See Acharian (1947), pp. 5ff., and Benninghaus (1989), pp. 483ff.
- 46 See esp. Acharian (1947), pp. 5ff.
- 47 Hamshen Armenians were affected again by war, this time by the conflict between Abkhazians and Georgians over the independence of Abkhazia immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union. As a result of this conflict, a mass exodus began into the southern parts of the Russian Republic bordering on Abkhazia, especially in the cities of Sochi, Krasnodar and Stavropol.
- 48 Acharian (1947), p. 65.
- 49 Dumézil (1964), pp. 23ff.
- 50 Dumézil (1965), pp. 136ff.
- 51 The two chapters on language are the only ones using the *Revue des Études Arméniennes* transliteration system. All other chapters follow the Library of Congress system.

Part IV

Identity, state and relations with neighbours

12 Some particulars of Hemshin identity

Hagop Hachikian

The Hemshinli, with their unique heritage that integrates Armenian and Muslim components, have evoked the curiosity of the reading public since the nineteenth century. However, the fascinating Hemshin identity constructed by these mountain dwellers themselves has provided an added allure to researchers, since the occurrence of an Armenian group converting to Islam but not merging entirely into the dominant Muslim society, and on the contrary, assuming a new, not fully Turkish identity, is exceptional and appealing. This exceptional phenomenon is not repeated in other Armenian areas that converted to Islam *en masse*. Even the inhabitants of the areas in the provinces of Trabzon and Erzurum adjacent to Hemshin, despite the close kinship and significant Armenian linguistic and cultural traits they share with the Hemshinli, have failed to develop a separate identity or to subscribe to the existing Hemshinli one.¹ Of course, the longevity of the Hemshinli as a relatively unassimilated group is not entirely remarkable, as this phenomenon is seen with most other ethnic groups of the Pontic region. Undoubtedly, the lack of a sizeable ethnic Turkish presence in the ethnically diverse eastern Black Sea region beyond the city of Rize has contributed to the preservation of the area's discrete ethnic groups.

In reality, not one but two distinct Hemshinli identities – Rize and Hopa – exist, each being almost entirely oblivious to the existence of the other. Aside from geographical separation, language is the main element distinguishing the two groups. The Hopa Hemshin speak a western Armenian dialect, locally known as *Homshetsma* and as *Hemşince* in Turkish, which is no longer spoken by the Rize Hemshin; the latter speak a distinctive dialect of Turkish rich in Armenian vocabulary. In contrast, the Turkish dialect spoken by the Hopa Hemshinli is not very different from that of their Lazi neighbours.² Besides language, the other important differences between the two groups have been summarized as follows by Rüdiger Benninghaus: the Hopa Hemshinli call themselves Hamshentsi or Homshetsi, while the Rize Hemshinli do not use this Armenian form and call their region Bash Hemshin to distinguish it from the Hopa Hemshin region; the traditional head covering of the western or Bash Hemshinli women, called *puşi*, is not in use among the Hopa Hemshinli; the western Hemshinli observe the *yayla* festival known as *Vartevor* or *Vartivor*, which is not celebrated among the Hopa Hemshinli, most of whom are not even familiar with this name; the repertoire of

dances of the Bash Hemshinli is richer than that of the Hopa Hemshinli; the level of education and the inclination towards it are much higher among the Bash Hemshinli, who maintain a very high rate of literacy – even for women – to the extent that engineers, doctors, teachers and other people with higher education may be found from almost every village; while many Rize Hemshinli are traditionally working in bakeries, hotels and restaurants, most of the Hopa Hemshinli engage in transport business (pack animals in the past, lorries at present); finally, the Hopa Hemshinli migrate in smaller rates to the large cities.³

There are minor subdivisions within both varieties of Hemshinli that reflect geographic differences, such as the one among the Rize Hemshinli between the Khala (Hala) Dere branch and the main branch (Büyük Dere) of the Fırtına River. One author claims that the haymaking festival known as *Hodoç* is open to Hala Valley villages only.⁴ An ongoing argument between the villagers of the two branches of the Fırtına River as to which group has a stronger Hemshinli identity and is thus more civilized is described in an article by Erhan Ersoy.⁵ Current data do not support any implications beyond a trivial rivalry based on geographic differences whereby in both areas, each subdivision alleges backwardness of the other without placing serious social barriers between the sub-groups. The only other known distinctions between these two are that their respective religious precincts or ecclesiastic jurisdictions (*vichak*) were separate in Christian times, and that there were possible differences in their period of conversion to Islam.⁶ Similarly, as Kuznetsov and Vardanyan point out, among the Hopa Hemshinli there are two groups, based on the valley of residence: Hopa Valley residents or *Ardeletsi*, i.e. residents of villages around Ardala (Eşmekaya), and Kemalpaşa Valley residents or *Turtsevantisi*, i.e. ‘outsiders’ (probably < western Armenian *turs* + *avants* ‘i’ ‘out-of-towner’). The minor dialectal differences between the two eastern Hemshinli valleys are too insignificant to assume different points of origin. Here again, different periods of conversion could explain some of the differences between the two subgroups.⁷ Occasional cases of friction are known to have occurred among various Hemshin groups, and more often, between villages. Their causes are usually rooted in economic considerations. There is a report of a conflict said to have taken place in 1781 between the villagers of the Asrifos (Çayeli) Valley and those of the village of Meleskur (Pazar) over the summer pastures of Palovit in Çamlıhemşin.⁸ Episodes such as this underline the importance of the yayla to the traditional Hemshinli mode of life, where every family and every village jealously guards its grazing and water rights.

It should also be noted that the Hemshin identity espoused by people from different areas of Rize is not uniform. The sense of belonging to a Hemshinli whole is not very visible among the inhabitants of some parts of coastal Çayeli and much of İkizdere, where group identity seems to be more subdued than among the inhabitants of Çamlıhemşin, Hemşin and Kaptanpaşa. The former, nevertheless, sometimes acknowledge their origin from Hemshin and socialize with the latter. Anthropologists have come to use the designation of ‘unmarked Turks’ to differentiate those acknowledging only the Turkish identity from other groups who confess to belonging to a particular ethnic group in addition to their

Turkish identity. The İkidere villagers and some of those from Çayeli have usually been treated as 'unmarked Turks', which does not satisfactorily describe their group identity.⁹

In my view, the genesis of the Hemshinli identity coincides with the desire of the Hemshinli in Rize to cling to their distinctiveness combined with their need to display an openly Turco-Muslim identity. It is only in Hemshin, and nowhere else in the eastern Black Sea or Erzurum areas, that the descendants of converted Armenians have maintained an identity separate from either the dominant group or the neighbouring ones for several centuries. The self-confidence and pride of the Rize Hemshinli that is lacking among their Hopa and Karadere counterparts is easily discernible and reflects this fact. Over the course of the past two centuries, the Rize Hemshinli have successfully elevated their political power base to the provincial and even national levels. The need for the group to project itself as Turkish in origin when individuals in its midst were beginning to attain high offices is self-evident. In turn, the state has encouraged and reinforced these tendencies. Chris Hann has summed up succinctly the role the Turkish state played in the process: 'In some more far-reaching sense, the Kemalist Republic had persuaded even those who acknowledged another "ethnic" label, including many with knowledge of a non-Turkish language, that they were nonetheless in some deeper sense of Turkish identity'.¹⁰

One may hypothesize that the Hopa group assumed their own brand of Hemshin identity after the Rize Hemshinli adopted theirs. The Hopa Hemshinli were certainly identifiably separate from the Rize Hemshinli when Russia annexed what is now the eastern half of the Hopa area in 1878. Unlike most western Hemshinli, who are unwilling to reciprocate the sentiment, the Hopa group members often acknowledge kinship with the Bash Hemshinli on account of their memory of common origins and perhaps due to the relatively enviable position of the Rize group as a community with some influential members in Turkey's political élite. There is no Hemshinli or 'Karadereli' identity among the converted descendants of Hamshen Armenians settled in the Karadere area (now the Araklı county of Trabzon), although some locals do apparently acknowledge their Armenian origins. Instead, as late as the start of twentieth century, the elderly in the latter area referred to themselves as *heyi* (< Armenian *hay* 'Armenian').¹¹

Partly analogous to the Hemshinli phenomenon is the fairly recent and mostly unsuccessful attempt to formulate a Pontic identity (*Pontuslu* in Turkish) among the formerly Greek-speaking Trabzon populace. The movement has been championed mainly by local writers and intellectuals who usually disavow any ethnic connection other than to Turks while at the same time laying claim to the glory of the non-Turkic Pontic states of the past.¹² Conversely, the fully Islamicized Laz and Georgians of Turkey have had far less of a need for a camouflage than the converted Greeks and Armenians – whose Christian counterparts have been in conflict with Turkey for over a century now. The Lazi and the Georgians feel relatively more at ease with their descent and have not developed alternative identities, even though many among them subscribe to the belief that they are descendants of Turks from Central Asia, a notion popular among most ethnic groups in Turkey.

Differences of opinion exist among the Hemshinli themselves as well as Turkish historians about how to tackle the Armenian connection. Some concede partial or full descent from Armenians while most others, usually out of Turkish nationalistic concerns, vigorously reject the notion, at least in public. In a bizarre twist, some maintain that the Hemshinli are in fact Turks from Central Asia who adopted Christianity and founded the 'Gregorian' denomination. Not only do they lay claim to this brand of Christianity, which has always been practised exclusively by the Armenians, but also to the 'Hemshinli patron saint' of the faith, Gregory the Illuminator.¹³ Their calculations seem to be centred on a quest for prestigious historical roots, on the one hand, and the need to deflect the accusations of an Armenian past, on the other. In one instance, the desire to deny and at the same time appropriate history has manifested itself in Turkish scientific circles. A type of lizard called *lacerta armeniaca* (Armenian lizard) which is endemic to the area from Trabzon to much of Armenia and Georgia has been renamed *hemşin kertenkelesi* or 'Hemshin lizard'.¹⁴

In the recent past, the Hemshinli also seem to have widely used the euphemism *Kırımlı* or Crimean for the Russians when they went to Crimea, Krasnodar and other southern Russian realms to work during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some among them married Russian and Armenian women and did not return to Turkey. Others brought home their non-native wives, who were later known as *Kırımlı nine*, or Crimean grandmothers. To the Hemshinli the name *Kırımlı*, which denotes a Crimean Tatar – relatives of the Turks and fellow Muslims – was clearly more preferable than the undesirable Russian, or worse, Armenian, from which they have been desperately trying to distance themselves.¹⁵ Indeed, many Hemshinli are infuriated by the Lazi and others who call them Armenians. It should be noted here that some Lazi refer to the Hemshinli as *Sumekhi* and to Hemshin as *Sumakhiti* (cf. *Somekhi* 'Armenian' and *Somkheti* 'Armenia' in Georgian).

It is not very clear when the idea of denying Armenian origins and ascribing a fictive Turkish past to the group was conceived, or who authored it. While it is likely that this theory was linked to the Turkish Historical Thesis and was probably conceived in the 1930s, it may have found fertile ground in trends dating back to late Ottoman times. Chris Hann, after Michael Meeker, states that 'the down-playing of ethnicity is a consequence of 'the Ottomanization of local political culture'.¹⁶ It is thus not surprising that Mehmed Ali Pasha, the famous Hemshinli who was Grand-Vizier in the mid-nineteenth century, is mentioned in one source as claiming Turkish ancestry for the group, and may have consequently been the first to have done so. According to Remzi Bekâr, a Rize Hemshinli with strong Turkish nationalist views, Mehmed Ali Pasha 'demonstrated the Turkish ancestry of the Hemshinli'.¹⁷ Yet Bekâr does not bring any evidence to back his claim and we do not know if Mehmed Ali Pasha ever expressed any opinion on the origins of the Hemshin. While the exact date of its creation is uncertain, there can be no doubt as to the widespread popularity of the thesis ascribing Turkish origins to the Hemshinli. For the past few decades now, the Hemshinli have been expanding upon the fundamental premise of their supposed Turkish derivation by formulating

often self-contradictory variants of an elaborate ethnogenesis theory for themselves, and to a lesser degree for their Lazi and other neighbours, and propagating them more vociferously than any Black Sea ethnic group.¹⁸

By far, the most ardent promoters and propagators of the Turkish origin thesis are the Hemshinli themselves, and they include many rank-and-file people, mostly of the Rize group. In a way, it is hardly different from the phenomenon of Turkish nationalists among the Kurds and other minorities, with their insistence on ascribing Turkish roots to all ethnic groups in Turkey. What is significant with the Hemshinli is the near absence of individuals openly contesting these claims. Some Rize Hemshinli will go so far as to selectively point to non-Turkish ethnic markers among other groups in the region, including the Hopa Hemshinli, to demonstrate their own 'Turkishness'. Thus, following the publication of an article in the Istanbul daily *Yeni Yüzyıl* mentioning that some Hemshinli spoke Armenian, Ali İhsan Arol, an officer on the board of the Çamlıhemşin and Hemşin Foundation, sent a protest letter to the paper. In his letter, Arol argued that 'not every Hemşinli is Armenian' (*her Hemşinli Ermeni değil*), i.e. that the Hopa Hemshinli perhaps were, but the Bash Hemshinli certainly were not:

It is not true that all Hemshinli have Armenian roots. Yes, there are Hemshinli living in the interior of Hopa speaking the Armenian dialect [*sic*]. However, it is known that the Hemshinli in Fındıklı, Ardeşen, Pazar, Çamlıhemşin, Hemşin and Çayeli are of Turkish descent. Despite the fact that all other ethnic groups in the area have their own mother tongues, the mother tongue [of the people] in the above-mentioned places is Turkish. Imagine a place where Islamicized Armenians speak their tongue, Islamicized Greeks, the Laz, Georgians, Circassians, [and] the Abkhaz speak theirs, but the 'western Hemshinli forget Armenian'.¹⁹

None the less, ordinary villagers in the Bash Hemshin area are occasionally forthcoming in confessing their kinship with the Armenians. Erhan Ersoy found that although the Hemshinli seem to be rejecting or have forgotten their Armenian past, they do not hide their Armenian lineage entirely.²⁰ The same is true to a greater extent of the politically less well-connected and more aloof Hopa Hemshinli, who lack the elaborate denial efforts their Rize counterparts exhibit. However, this acknowledgement of relationship is not always unqualified. Those among the Hopa Hemshin who acknowledge Armenian origins often seem to look for an extra Turkish connection (but not, say, a Lazi one) in order to dilute their recognition of Armenian roots. A Hopa Hemshinli informant told me a story he heard from his grandfather that a Turkish pasha had married an Armenian woman, and when his duty ended, he left her. According to him, the Hemshinli believe they are descendants of this couple. Likewise, Paul Magnarella relates that several Hemshinli told him of their combined Armenian and Turkish ancestry.²¹ Aside from this, there are many cases of Armenian clan names surviving in the eastern Black Sea region to this day. Others still current in the area during the past two centuries were collected by ethnologists and travellers. Most of the names

derive from first names of an ancestor as pronounced in western Armenian, while the rest mainly reflect ancestral occupations (see the Appendix 12.1 at the end of this chapter).

Incidentally, the Lazi are also aware of their Christian forebears. Note the statement by a Lazi conveyed by Alexandre Toumarkine: 'We have not always been Muslims, but we have always been believers'.²² Another rather predictable aspect of the Hemshinli's distancing of themselves from the Armenians is crediting the now ruined churches in their areas to 'former Armenian residents' and not to their direct ancestors. A similar attribution was observed already a century and a half ago by Georg Rosen among the Lazi, who ascribed the construction of churches in the Lazi areas to Greeks and Megreles (i.e. the Christian Mingrelians who are the ethnic cousins of the Lazi in Georgia). The same is true for the single-arched stone bridges in Çamlıhemşin and some neighbouring areas that are accredited to Armenians.²³

One feast that was originally a religious occasion, *Vartevor* or *Vartivor* (western Armenian *Vartavar*, the Transfiguration of Christ), continues to be observed today solely as a summer festival in Çamlıhemşin, and only by the Rize Hemshinli, primarily those from the counties of Çamlıhemşin and Hemşin. Now occurring in the second half of July and devoid of any religious significance, it has local government support, which has also been extended to other *yayla* festivals taking place in the highlands of the eastern Black Sea region in order to encourage tourism.²⁴ Erhan Ersoy argues that nowadays Vartivor is being used as a means to anchor the Hemshinli dispersion around their common Hemshinli identity.²⁵ Although to this day the Hemshinli are known to take their best clothes along to the celebrations, the festival, deprived of its former religious attributes, is effectively de-Christianized, with only its name and approximate start date remaining intact. Labelled as 'Armenian propaganda' none the less, the feast was banned for a short while by the military-run government in 1980s, but it has been permitted in recent years.²⁶ I have also come across references about a fading awareness among the Hemshinli of the feast of the Assumption of St Mary and of Lent as recently as only a few decades ago.²⁷ However, the most unexpected piece of information about memories of Armenian religious connections comes from none other than the Turkish nationalist scholar Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, who informs us that the most important place the Hemshinli visit is the tomb of the 'Martyrs' – plausibly none other than the place where the relics of St Vardan and his companions are believed to be resting.²⁸

Although there are no reports of the survival of such rituals among the eastern Hemshinli, there are nevertheless other Christian practices among them. An informant from Hopa told me of the custom of fashioning a cross on bread before baking – a rather widespread practice in the recent past in Anatolia among many ostensibly Muslim groups. He also confirmed the continued practice of the old tradition of burying the dead in coffins instead of simply using a shroud as is the Islamic custom.²⁹ There are Armenian religious terms in this region such as *dzum* (< western Armenian *dzom* 'fast' in most other western Armenian dialects but used by the Hemshinli in the sense of the Muslim fast during Ramadan), *maghk*

(< western Armenian *meghk* 'sin'), and *madagh* 'animal sacrifice' (uniform among the other western Armenian dialects).³⁰ However, the well-attested survival of *Aspadz* (< western Armenian *Asduadz* 'God', pronounced *Asdvadz*) over the entire Hopa area is perhaps the most significant such legacy.³¹ This term likewise survived among the Rize Hemshinli as *esevasim* (< *Asdvadz* + *im* 'my God'), *esavaspa* or *esevaspak*, an exclamation of bewilderment, as well as *esevas toğfirullah*, an interjection to show contrition.³² In addition, on 6 January, the traditional Armenian Christmas and New Year seems to have lingered on among the Hopa villagers as *no dai* (< Armenian *nor dari* 'New Year') without Christian connotations.³³ Similarly, some of their Rize cousins are aware that 13 January marks the New Year in accordance with the Julian calendar reckoning used by Armenians in the past.³⁴

The Turkish linguist Ahmet Caferoğlu relates an unusual children's ritual called *babra bubrik*³⁵ that was still taking place in the yaylas of Rize at least up to the mid-twentieth century. Known in the province of Trabzon province as *güneş düvesi* (< Turkish 'sun prayer'), it is said to involve a procession of children who dress a broom as a child and sing a short song asking God to disperse a thick fog. According to Caferoğlu, this ceremony is found only in these two provinces, where rain is abundant and sunshine is not.³⁶ Another source narrows the range of the rite to Araklı and Sürmene in Trabzon and the yaylas of Rize – the abode of the Hemshinli.³⁷ However, the latter source is misinformed, since the Greek-speaking areas of Trabzon also used to perform the same ritual until recent years.

In addition to its Armenian and Turkish components, Hemshin identity has been influenced by the culture of neighbouring groups such as the Lazi and the Georgians. One certainly cannot overlook the centuries-long inter-ethnic mingling between the Hemshinli and the Lazi, who have lived in close proximity with one another for hundreds of years. Linguistically, there has been cross-pollination with the Lazi. The prevalence of non-Islamic Georgian names as nicknames alongside Armenian clan names among the Hopa Hemshinli is also a good example of Hemshin interaction with their Muslim Georgian neighbours, who apparently retained these non-Islamic names even after their adoption of Islam.³⁸ Interaction increased during the twentieth century when the Hemshinli started moving to the coastal areas in large numbers.³⁹

Although religious assimilation was completed within the past few centuries and various ethnic groups continue to be absorbed into the dominant Turkish identity, the Greek, Lazi (*Lazuri*), Armenian and Georgian languages linger on in the eastern Pontic region for the time being. As a rule, wherever these languages had already weakened in the nineteenth century they have since disappeared, and in the places where they were universally spoken they are severely diminishing in stature and number of speakers. The near total disappearance of Greek in coastal areas, especially in the western and central parts of the province of Trabzon, along with the thinning of the ranks of speakers in the eastern part of the province, is probably the most radical change in the linguistic landscape of the Pontus within the past century.⁴⁰ The Armenian language is now thought to have ceased to exist altogether in the highlands of Araklı and Sürmene in the province of Trabzon,

although at the turn of twentieth century, reports indicated some currency of a Hamshen dialect there among the elderly Muslims.⁴¹

Less populous but ethnically more diverse, the western portion of the province of Rize, inhabited by Turks and converted populations of Greeks, Laz and Armenians, was already nearly monolingual in Turkish two centuries ago. The Greek language disappeared altogether in the province after the exodus of the small Greek Christian community in the 1920s during the population exchange between Turkey and Greece. The tiny community of Armenians that existed in the town of Rize had moved to Trabzon still earlier, and a handful from other places stationed in the town as public servants were deported in 1915.

In the eastern portion of the province of Rize, the situation is one of bilingualism, with only Lazuri being spoken besides Turkish. Although there are reports of a handful of speakers, most of the Rize Hemshinli lost the ability to speak Armenian well over a century ago. Recently, an eyewitness claimed to know of ten to fifteen families speaking Armenian in one of the quarters of the village of Raşot in Çayeli county,⁴² while another claimed that the elderly still spoke 'a language different than Turkish' in the village of Öce (Yeniyol) in the county of Ardeşen. In the nineteenth century, similar claims were made about the Çataldere village in the Kaptanpaşa district. Corroborating evidence, however, is lacking for all of these statements, and for all intents and purposes the Armenian language is extinct everywhere in Rize today. Chris Hann finds that among the Hemshinli 'there is only the vague awareness, that their ancestors probably spoke a different language until about 200 years ago'.⁴³

In addition to Armenian, a mysterious language seems to have been spoken in various areas of Rize. Koch reported that at the time of his visit to the region in the 1840s, the people at the mouth of İkizdere (i.e. the settlements in İyidere county) spoke 'a language of their own', while Nikolai Marr maintained at the beginning of the twentieth century that the people of the Hemshinli village of Khoshnishin (Hoşnişin) near Pazar conversed in an 'incomprehensible language'.⁴⁴ Since members of the entourage of Koch must have been able to recognize Armenian and the eminent scholar Marr knew Armenian well himself, the language(s) spoken at the mouth of the İkizdere and in Khoshnishin could not have been Armenian. In the case of Hoşnişin, one possible answer is in the reported presence there of an itinerant group, considered by their Lazi neighbours as gypsies.⁴⁵

Currently, all Rize Hemshinli areas use numerous Armenian vocabulary and expressions related to various aspects of daily life in their Turkish speech. Some 450 such words can be counted, many of which have been collected in Uwe Bläsing's works, while others are found in varied sources, including print media, the internet and informants. Ultimately, this cumulative figure from many parts of Rize may be found to be too low. Nevertheless, an average Rize Hemshinli knows only a fraction of this number, with no two individuals knowing the same set of Armenian vocabulary. It should be kept in mind that this is a remnant of a language and certainly not sufficient as a means of communication, say, for a Rize Hemshinli to understand his Hopa cousins. Nevertheless, nearly all of the vocabulary is also found in the Hopa Hemshinli dialect in identical form. There are some Armenian verbs that are being used with Turkish auxiliary verbs in Rize; phrases

are rare but do exist. The sound system of this dialect is of the western Armenian type and has influenced the sound system of the Turkish dialect spoken by this people, at the very least, by the inclusion of Armenian sounds not found in Turkish.

In the border province of Artvin, the Georgians along with the Hopa Hemshinli and especially the Lazi have fared better. The latter two groups have the highest rate of language retention in the entire Black Sea region of Turkey, since none of their villages have become entirely Turkish speaking. However, this is very likely to change within a few decades as parents have been discouraging their children from learning the local language.⁴⁶ Other equally important reasons are the reality of the large-scale dispersion of these groups across Turkey and abroad (especially of young adults), along with the continued official intolerance of any form of teaching of the local languages to children.

Today, the Hemshinli are very well integrated into Turkish society even though they are not at ease with their past. They are very Muslim in outlook, and subscribe to every shade of political thought prevalent in Turkey including that of the extreme nationalist party, the MHP. It may be wondered if this integration into mainstream Turkish society, which has increased in past decades as a result of the Hemshinli's exodus from their traditional lands and their settlement in the large cities of western Turkey, will not come at the price of the survival of their distinct identity.

Appendix 12.1 Armenian-derived family names among the Hemshinli and neighbouring Islamicized Armenian communities

<i>Region</i>	<i>Family name</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
Rize province at large	Hagopoğlu, Muğdusioğlu <Mahdesi, Stepanoğlu		Pirō, 'Tachkats'ats Hayer' [Turkified Armenians], <i>Nor-Dar</i> [<i>New-Age</i>] (Tiflis, 1893), 10, no. 227, 21 December, p. 3.
Rize province at large	Papazoğlu, Mardirosoğlu		B. Gasparian, 'Hayeri T'iwē' [The Number of Armenians], <i>Horizon</i> (Tiflis, 1913) 5 no. 27, 3 February, p. 2.
Rize province at large	Amedanç, Andun, Apeloğlu, Aratinoğlu <Harutyun, Arakeloğlu, Avedikoğlu, Aylianç <Ayliants, Kapidiyan, Kirkoroğlu, Mazikoğlu, Meğdesioğlu <Mahdesi, Midiçoğlu		Benninghaus (1989), p. 479 n. 17.

(Continued)

Appendix 12.1 Continued

<i>Region</i>	<i>Family name</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
	<Mgrdich, Markitoğlu <Martik, Norevoğlu, Sulikoğlu		
Rize province at large	Minasoğlu, Partaloğlu <Partogh?, Oskevertoğlu <oski + vart, Kasparoğlu, Haçigoğlu <Khachik, Hotigoğlu, Dertaroğlu <Drtad?		Soysü (1992), p. 129.
Rize province at large	Mianiçler, Andonoğlu, Tumasoğlu <Tomas		From informants.
Rize province at large	Bağdasaroğlu		Gündüz (2002), p. 116.
Rize province at large	Keşişoğlu		< http://www.hemsinderneği.com >
İkizdere county (including Cimil)	Apeloğlu/Hapeloğlu, Kasparlar, Matoslar, Godravlar, Miseloğlu <Mushegh		Hamdi Alemdar, <i>Rize İli 100. Yıl Örnek Köyü: Cimil Rehberi</i> (Samsun?, n.d.), p. 190.
İkizdere county (including Cimil)	Memikonoğlu <Mamikon, Tuhoğlu <tukh, Poçoğlu, Variçoğlu, Horhoroğlu <Khorkhor, Papikoğlu, Papoğlu, Kaçaranoğlu, Kusaninoğlu, Zakaroğlu, Aşutoğlu <Aşot, Purpuroğlu, Vesakoğlu <Vasak, Gezarosoğlu <Ghazaros, Tevitoğlu <Tavit		Özcan Soysal, ‘(Tapu Kayıtlarına Göre) 1872–1884 Yılları Arası Köylerimizdeki Akrabalar’, online, available < http://f1.parsimony.net/ forum789/messages/13044.htm > (accessed 18 December 2003).

Appendix 12.1 Continued

<i>Region</i>	<i>Family name</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
Hopa/ Batum area Hopa/ Batum area	Garakçioğlu Cermekoğlu, ^a Concoğlu	<western Armenian <i>jermag</i> 'white'; <western Armenian <i>janj</i> 'fly'	Vardanyan (1989), p. 239 From informants.
Hopa/ Batum area	Gülvanesoğlu	<i>gül</i> <Turkish/ Persian 'rose' + Hovannes	Supplied by anthropologist Lusine Sahakyan of Erevan.
Hopa/ Batum area	Saroyevich <Saro	Used as a Russified middle name	Igor Kuznetsov's chapter (forthcoming).
Karadere- Trabzon	Hasan Garabed, Mustafa Hagop		'Lazistani Hayer' [The Armenians of Lazistan], <i>Mankavarzhanots</i> ': <i>Mankavarzhakan ew Grakanakan</i> <i>Amsagir</i> [Pedagogical School: <i>Pedagogical and Literary</i> <i>Monthly</i>] (St Petersburg, 1887) 4, no. 1, p. 13.
Karadere- Trabzon	Keşişoğlu, Manukoğlu		Haykuni (1895), pp. 243 and 297.
Karadere- Trabzon	Garakoğlu, Tavitoğlu, Avedoğlu, Markaroğlu, Kirkoroğlu		Barunak T'orlak'yan, <i>Hamshenahayeri Azgagrut'yunē</i> [<i>The Ethnography of Hamshen</i> <i>Armenians</i>] (Erevan: Publications of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 1981), pp. 30, 33, 37.
Zigana (Trabzon- Gümüşhane border)	Zadigoğlu, Khachigoğlu, Khacheresoğlu, Varteresoglu, Kalustoğlu		T'orlak'yan (1981), p. 51.
Of	Diranoğlu, Tatuloğlu		Hasan Umur, <i>Of Tarihiine Ek</i> (Istanbul, 1956), pp. 76 and 85.
Khevak	Keşişoğlu, Minasoğlu, Magaroğlu		Tashian (1980), vol. 2, p. 219.

(Continued)

Appendix 12.1 Continued

<i>Region</i>	<i>Family name</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
Çoruh Basin at large	Mukhsonts Osman, Derderiants Ali, Kavorants Hüseyin, Sanahorants Mehmet, Pahlevanents Dursun		Atrpet, <i>Chorokhi Awazanë</i> [<i>The Basin of the Çoruh</i>] (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1929), p. 10.
Olti (now Oltu)	Ali Sarkis, Garabedoğlu, Hovhannesoğlu		Grigor Artsruni, 'Mahmetakan Hayer' [Muslim Armenians], <i>Mshak</i> [<i>The Tiller</i>] (Tiflis, 1887), 15, no. 13, 5 February, p. 1.

Note

- a It is noteworthy that members of the clans in Hopa refer to themselves with the clan name plus the 'tsi' suffix (as in Jermektsi) to denote the clan of origin, just as was done in Karadere.

Notes

- For instance, one recent source provided a few vocabulary examples from the Salaçur Valley even though the prevalence of such examples is attributed by the informant to a long co-existence with Armenians. Tefvîk Taş and Cüneyt Oğuztüzün, 'Göller Bahçesi Salaçur Vadisi', *Atlas: Aylık Coğrafya ve Keşif Dergisi* (Istanbul, 1999), no. 80, p. 120; reprint, *Agos Weekly* (Istanbul, 1999), p. 9.
- Rüdiger Benninghaus, 'Zur Herkunft und Identität der Hemşinli', in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, ed. Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rüdiger Benninghaus (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989), pp. 477–79.
- The same head covering is said to have been in use among Hopa Hemshin women decades ago, whose clothes today do not differ at all from those of their neighbours. Benninghaus (1989), pp. 487–90.
- Ali Gündüz, *Hemşinliler: Dil-Tarih-Kültür* (Ankara: Ardanuçlular Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği, 2002), p. 129.
- Erhan G. Ersoy, 'Hemşinli Etnik Kimliğine Antropolojik Bir Bakış', *Birikim: Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi* (Istanbul, 1995), Etnik Kimlik ve Azınlıklar Özel Sayısı, nos. 71–72, pp. 140 and n. 8.
- See Chapter 4 by Hovann Simonian (this volume).
- Ibid.* For other references on the two Hopa subdialects, see Sergey Vardanyan (ed.), *Dzayn Hamshenakan* [*Hamshenite Voice*], vol. 3 (Erevan: Khorhrdayin Grogh [Soviet Writer], 1989), p. 207. Individuals from the Kemalpaşa area in Hopa told me that the Ardeletsi (people from the village of Ardala) are the subjects of many jokes.
- Gündüz (2002), pp. 97–98. According to the author, similar cases are apparently noted in the official register called *Trabzon Ahkâm Defteri*. Gündüz asserts that such issues were stirred up by 'non-Muslim elements'. It is difficult to gauge if this information is correct. On the remaining Christians of Hemshin in the eighteenth century, see Chapter 4 by Hovann Simonian (this volume).
- The appellation 'unmarked Turks' has been adopted by Ildikó Bellér-Hann and Chris Hann in *Turkish Region: State, Market and Social Identities on the East Black Sea Coast* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press, 2001).

- 10 Christopher M. Hann, 'History and Ethnicity in Anatolia', *Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Working Papers* (Halle/Saale, 2003), no. 50, p. 7.
- 11 Sargis Haykuni, 'Nshkharner: Korats u Mo'rats'uats Hayer' [Fragments: Lost and Forgotten Armenians], *Ararat* (Vagharshapat, 1895), no. 7, p. 243; H. Hakovbos V. Tashian, *Tayk', Drats'ik ew Khotorjur: Patmakan-Teghagrakan Usumnasirut'iwn* [Tayk, Neighbours and Khotorjur: Historico-Geographical Study], vol. 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1980), p. 138; Hovakim Hovakimian [Arshakuni] (ed.), *Patmut'iwn Haykakan Pontosi* [History of Armenian Pontos] (Beirut: Mshak Press, 1967), p. 63.
- 12 Mahmut Goloğlu is one of its proponents; see his *Trabzon Tarihi: Fetihten Kurtuluşa Kadar* (Ankara: Kalite Matbaası, 1975), p. xxxix.
- 13 It suffices to say here that Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, a historian, is the forerunner of this effort as well as a significant contributor to the parallel crusades to 'prove' the Turkishness of the Georgians, the Lazi and the Kurds. Both European and Turkish authors have exposed the outlandish claims of Kırzioğlu and his followers; see Chapter 15 by Rüdiger Benninghaus (this volume).
- 14 Online, available <http://www.biltek.tubitak.gov.tr/canlilar/TR_tur_listesi/lacerta_armeniaca.htm> (accessed 2 October 2003).
- 15 There are allegations that the paternal grandmother of Mesut Yılmaz, a recent prime minister of Turkey and a Hemshinli, was an Armenian from Russia. She was known to be a 'Kırımlı'. Gündüz (2002), pp. 143 and 147; *Agos Weekly* (Istanbul, 2003), 20 June, p. 1; *Hürriyet Daily* (Istanbul, 1997), 11 March, p. 17.
- 16 Hann (2003), p. 8.
- 17 Remzi Bekâr, 'Ne Ermenisi, Biz Hemşinliyiz', *Yeni Yüzyıl* (Istanbul, 1996), 4 December; reprint in Levon Haçikyan, *Hemşin Gizemi: Hamşen Ermenileri Tarihinden Sayfalar*, translated and edited by Bağdik Avedisyan, 2nd rev. edn (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1997), p. 93.
- 18 See Chapter 15 by Rüdiger Benninghaus (this volume).
- 19 'Bütün Hemşinlilerin Ermeni kökenli oldukları doğru değildir. Evet, Hopa'nın iç kesiminde Ermeni lehçesiyle konuşan Hemşinliler mevcuttur. Ama Fındıklı, Ardeşen, Pazar, Çamlıhemşin, Hemşin ve Çayeli'deki Hemşinlilerin Türk kökenli oldukları bilinmektedir. Düşünün ki Müslümanlaşmış Ermeniler kendi dillerini konuşur olsun, Lazlar, Gürcüler, Çerkezler, Abhazlar kendi dillerini konuşsunlar ama "Batı Hemşinliler Ermeniceyi unutmuş" olsun'. Ali İhsan Arol, 'Her Hemşinli Ermeni Değil', *Yeni Yüzyıl* (Istanbul, 1996), 30 November; reprint in Levon Haçikyan, *Hemşin Gizemi: Hamşen Ermenileri Tarihinden Sayfalar*, translated and edited by Bağdik Avedisyan, 2nd rev. edn (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1997), pp. 91–92. Benninghaus gives similar examples of Lazi and Hemshinli accusing the other side of having non-Turkish origins. Benninghaus (1989), p. 491.
- 20 Ersoy (1995), pp. 142; see also Chapter 13 by Erhan Ersoy (this volume).
- 21 Paul J. Magnarella, 'The Hemshin of Turkey: Yayla, a Pasture above the Clouds', *The World & I* (Washington, DC, 1989), 4, no. 5, p. 658.
- 22 Alexandre Toumarkine, *Les Lazes en Turquie (XIX^e–XX^e siècles)* (Istanbul: Isis, 1995), p. 91.
- 23 Ibid., p. 49; Hâle Soysü, *Kavimler Kapısı*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınları/Güney Yayıncılık ve Sanayi, 1992), p. 130; Erol Altınsapan, *Tek Kemer Gözlü Rize Köprüleri* (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2001), p. 50. No doubt some of these were built when the majority of the people of Hamshen were still Christian, but the rest date from the eighteenth and even nineteenth centuries. There is certainly a continuity of this art as evidenced by the existence to this day of bridge builders in at least one village, Apso, now Suçatı. *Çayeli İlçe Yıllığı '95* (Çayeli: Çayeli Kaymakamlığı Köy ve Belediyelere Hizmet Götürme Birliği, 1995), p. 153. Another major misattribution found in the Black Sea area involves the Genoese, who are alternately credited with many of these structures, especially most of the region's forts.

- 24 In the Armenian Church calendar, Vartavar may fall anywhere between 11 July and 13 August (modern reckoning) and is dependent on the date of the occurrence of Easter, always trailing it by ninety-eight days (i.e. fourteen weeks). Malachia Ormanian, *A Dictionary of the Armenian Church*, trans. Bedros Norehad (New York: St Vartan Press, 1984), p. 33. The Hemshinli festivities take place for two weeks in the second half of July. Soysü (1992) and *Rize 1967 İl Yıllığı* (Ankara: Önder Matbaa, 1968), p. 140.
- 25 Ersoy (1995).
- 26 Yelda, *İstanbul'da Diyarbakır'da Azalırken* (Istanbul: Belge Uluslararası Yayıncılık, 1996), p. 253.
- 27 M. Ali Sakaoğlu, *Dünden Bugüne Hemşin: Karadeniz'den Bir Tarih* (Istanbul: Yeniyurt Yayınları, 1990), p. 33 and M. Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, 'Eski-Oğuz (Arsaklı-Part) Kalıntısı Hemşenliler', *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* (Istanbul, 1966), 17, no. 10 (203), p. 4102. The information on Lent is from an informant.
- 28 'Rize ilindeki Hemşenliler'in en büyük ziyaret yeri, Elevit köyü yaylasında Şehitler mezarlığıdır', Kırzioğlu (1966), p. 4103. Kırzioğlu also volunteers in the same article that the Hemshinli were members of, as he terms it, the 'Christian Armenian Orthodox' Church: 'Bunlar Hristiyan ve Ermeni – Kilisesi'ne/Düz-Ermeni mezhebine bağlı imişler', p. 4100.
- 29 The same tradition is said to have been abandoned in Greek-speaking areas of Trabzon in recent times due to the objections of the local Islamic clergy. 'Örf ve Adetlerimiz', online, available <<http://www.karalahana.com>> (accessed 20 August 2001).
- 30 The word also exists among the Rize Hemshin in the form of *madak* in at least one village, Öce, the present Yeniyol in the county of Ardeşen. Online, available <<http://www.karalahana.com/karadeniz/hemshin/oce.htm>> (accessed 14 December 2003).
- 31 The use of *Aspadz* was confirmed to me by two young informants. In all Georges Dumézil's articles about the Hamshen dialect of Hopa, his native interlocutors use the word; see his 'Notes sur le parler d'un Arménien musulman de Hemşin', *Académie Royale de Belgique, Mémoires, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques* (Brussels, 1964), 57, no. 4, p. 7; 'Notes sur le parler d'un Arménien musulman d'Ardala (Vilayet de Rize)', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1965), n.s. 2, p. 135; 'Trois récits dans le parler des Arméniens musulmans de Hemşin', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1967), n.s. 4, p. 26; 'Un roman policier en arménien d'Ardala', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1986), n.s. 20, p. 8. See also Chapter 10 by Bert Vaux (this volume).
- 32 These words of exclamation are found in Sakaoğlu (1990), p. 54, and online, available <<http://www.ibranmurat.8m.com/Hemsinsozlugu1.htm>> (accessed 2 October 2003). This is also confirmed by Rize Hemshinli correspondents in internet forums. One of them characterized it as *batil* (i.e. superstition). Note the duplication of the Christian and Muslim names of 'God' in *esevas* and *ullah* as well as *esevas* + *toğ* (<Armenian t'ogh 'pardon') but, at the same time, it mimics the Turkish *estağfurullah* 'God forbid'.
- 33 Collected from a Hopa informant. The Greek equivalent of this holiday, *kalantar*, is noted by numerous sources in the areas where the Greek language survived. It was being celebrated on 13 January, due to the delay caused by the use of the Julian calendar. However, at least one source points to the New Year celebrations in the Of area as taking place between 25 December and 6 January. Ömer Asan, *Pontos Kültürü* (Istanbul: Belge Uluslararası Yayıncılık, 1996), p. 80. The *kalantar* celebrations were apparently discontinued in the 1970s. An 'egg festival', meaning Easter, is also noted among the same people. 'Kalantar (Yılbaşı) Eğlencesi', online, available <<http://www.karalahana.com>> (accessed 20 August 2001).
- 34 Gündüz (2002), p. 121.
- 35 *Babra* (probably from *babula* of colloquial Armenian) 'man in tatters' and *bubrik* (<western Armenian *bubrig* 'doll').
- 36 Ahmet Caferoğlu, *Kuzey-Doğu İllerimiz Ağızlarından Toplamalar: Ordu, Giresun, Trabzon, Rize ve Yöresi Ağızları* (Istanbul: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1946). The variant found

- in Trabzon has an additional verse *guza guza* at the beginning of the chant (<Armenian 's/he wants, s/he wants') presumably referring to the puppet (p. 143). Caferoğlu does not say what this or *babra bubrik* means. In fact, he attributes all vocabulary and linguistic features found among the current eastern Black Sea Turkish speeches entirely to, as he puts it, the Turkish 'dialects' such as Uyghur (whose speakers hardly participated in the Turkish settling of Anatolia) or Göktürk (by then a language long extinct) and nothing to 'foreign tongues like Georgian and Mingrelian' (pp. xxiii–iv).
- 37 Reşat M. Sümerkan, *Doğu Karadeniz'de Dağlar Yaylalar ve Turizm* (Trabzon: Trabzon Lions Derneği Kültür Yayınları, 1997), p. 62. The source also informs us that the word *publik* (a corruption of *bubrik*) is sometimes uttered in the procession.
 - 38 e.g. Mati, Makhaz, Pepe, Uguli, Ameli, Dighele, all collected from Hopa informants; see also Bert Vaux, Sergio La Porta and Emily Tucker, 'Ethnographic Materials from the Muslim Hemshinli with Linguistic Notes', *Annual of Armenian Linguistics* (Cleveland, OH, 1996), 17, pp. 25–45.
 - 39 See Chapter 14 by Ildikó Bellér-Hann (this volume).
 - 40 While the western part of the province has not spoken Greek as a primary language for the past few centuries due to the long-standing presence of Turks and others, the eastern part did not receive a sizeable Turkish immigration and remained more or less Greek speaking. For a partial village listing, see 'Ethnic Groups Listed by Villages and Administrative Districts – Greek-speaking Muslims: Pontic', in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, ed. Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rüdiger Benninghaus (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989), pp. 373–74.
 - 41 Misak' T'orlak'ian, *Örnerus Het [With My Days]* (Los Angeles, CA: Horizon Press, 1953), pp. 258–59.
 - 42 Article from the forum of the website karalahana.com. Online, available <<http://www.karalahana.com>> (accessed 30 November 2002). See below for the number of Armenian speakers recorded by the Turkish censuses of past several decades.
 - 43 Hann (2003), p. 13.
 - 44 Nikolai Iakovlevich Marr, 'Iz poiezdkii v Turetskii Lazistan: Vpechatleniia i nabliudeniia' [Travels in Turkish Lazistan: Impressions and Observations], *Izvestiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk – Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St-Petersbourg* (1910), 4 (6th series), no. 8, 1 May, p. 610; Vladimir Minorsky and David Marshall Lang, 'Laz', in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition)*, ed. C. E. Bosworth *et al.*, vol. 5 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), p. 714.
 - 45 Hüseyin Avni Bey (Tirebolulu Alparslan), 'Trabzon İli Lâz mı Türk mü?', In *Sakarya Şehidi Binbaşı Hüseyin Avni Bey – Tirebolulu Alparslan – Hayatı-Eserleri. Trabzon İli Lâz mı Türk mü? Tirebolulu H. Alp Arslan*, ed. İsmail Hacıfettahoğlu (Kocatepe/Ankara: Atlas Yayınları, 1999), pp. 134–35.
 - 46 It was noted in *Rize 1973 İl Yıllığı* (Ankara: Tisa Matbaası, 1973), p. 79, that the local language (i.e. Lazuri) was 'not in demand' and that parents showed the 'utmost sensitivity' towards their children 'to learn pure Turkish'. Jolyon Naegale recounted that most Laz did not believe their language would disappear altogether. They conceded nevertheless that some parents no longer teach Lazuri to their children, fearing difficulty learning Turkish in school. Jolyon Naegale, 'Turkey: Laz Minority Passive in Face of Assimilation', *RFE/RL Weekday Magazine* (Prague, 1998), 25 June, online, available <<http://www.rferl.org/nca/features/1998/06/f.ru.980625124850.html>> (accessed 31 August 2003). Hale Soysü among others reported the same for the Hopa Hemshinli and informants have confirmed this fact to me. Soysü (1992), p. 127.

13 The Hemshin People

Ethnic identity, beliefs and yayla festivals in Çamlıhemşin

Erhan Gürsel Ersoy

Introduction

The Hemshin People live in the mountainous forested interior of the eastern Black Sea region (*Doğu Karadeniz bölgesi*) in an area stretching from the county (*ilçe*) of Çayeli, in the province (*il*) of Rize, as far east as the Georgian border of the county of Hopa, in the province of Artvin. They may be divided into two main groups, the first being found in Rize (in the counties of Çayeli, Pazar, Ardeşen, Hemşin, Çamlıhemşin and Fındıklı) and the second group living further east, within the borders of the province of Artvin (in the counties of Hopa and Borçka). In addition to this, there are also Hemshin people – mostly from the eastern group, who migrated west in the wake of the 1877–78 Russo-Turkish War and the First World War – settled in the Akçakoca county of Düzce and the Karasu county of Sakarya.¹ Nowadays, there are also significant Hemshin populations in the large cities of western Turkey.²

The Hemshin community to be studied in this chapter is the western Hemshin people living within the administrative borders of the Çamlıhemşin county in the Rize province. Çamlıhemşin, which occupies a small area in the highest mountains of the province of Rize, is situated at the point where the two branches of the Fırtına River (known in ancient times as Prytanis/Pordanis)³ – which are fed by the Kaçkar Mountains – meet and is bordered by the coastal counties of Pazar, Ardeşen and Çayeli, as well as the landlocked counties of Hemşin, İkizdere, İspir and Yusufeli. The county is 71 km from Rize, the provincial capital, and 24 km from the coast. It covers an area of 678 km². The county was formerly called Viçealtı,⁴ and this name is still widely used by the local people.⁵ The area was made an administrative centre in 1922 with the opening of a gendarmerie station (*karakol*), and in 1953 it became a district (*bucak*) of Ardeşen; in 1960 it was finally made into a county and given the name Çamlıhemşin.

Çamlıhemşin occupies a rather important position in that it includes the upper valley of the Fırtına River, which was the first place settled by the ancestors of the Hemshinli people when they migrated via the Çoruh Valley from their original homes in Armenia in 789 to 790.⁶ There are many traces of ancient settlements near the habitations that are spread along the main (western) branch of the Fırtına River. Two old castles are still standing, Zil (Zîr) and Varos, the latter at a

higher altitude than the former. Although they cannot be certain, Anthony Bryer and David Winfield believe that these two castles could have been built by the Armenian lord Arhakeł (Arak'el), who at one time controlled the area.⁷ As far as old churches and monasteries are concerned, however, practically no ruins have survived to the present day.⁸ Mention should be made of the more than twenty camel's hump-shaped bridges built by Armenian or Lazi craftsmen in the two valleys, as well as an ancient statue of a goat in the Viçe *mahalle* (town or village quarter).

The district was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire in 1509 by Sultan Selim I. Şemseddin Sâmî mentions the town in *Kamus ül-Alâm*, saying that it was in the district of Atina (Pazar) in Lazistan.⁹ Among the important events in the history of the Hemshin People was an increase in the strength of local notables at the end of the eighteenth century and their subsequent rebellions, which kept the Ottoman government busy for twenty years, from 1814 to 1834.¹⁰ Karl Koch visited the Hemshin area in 1843 to 1844, and in his journey through the mountains, he was the guest of the *bey* (lord) of Cimil; he also mentions the existence of two other feudal lords, one in Ortaköy and another in Mermanat (Ak bucak).¹¹ Koch observed that these feudal lords still held considerable power in the area, even though their previous degree of independence was no longer tolerated. To this day there are wealthy and influential families in the area (e.g. the Memişoğlu) who represent a continuation of the old feudal system in the region.

Perceptions of ethnic identity among the Hemshin people and their relations with their neighbours

It is fair to say that the Hemshin People do not appear to have any clear idea of their ethnic roots. Thus Michael Meeker, who carried out research in the region, was told by a Hemshinli that the word Hemshin came from the Turkish 'hep şen olmak', meaning 'always joyful'.¹² However, by calling themselves Hemshin or Hemshinli, they differentiate themselves from the other communities of Anatolia, especially the neighbouring Lazi. In addition, there is no doubt that the name Hemshin is not an ordinary geographical or place name but rather that the geographical use of the name derives from the people who live on the land: that is to say, place names such as Hemşin Başköy, Hemşin Ortaköy and Abu Hemşin derive from the Hemshin People living in those areas. One important proof of this is the fact that the Lazi People living in Çamlıhemşin do not use this name. It is interesting to note with regard to the widespread use of the word Hemshin in various areas – cafés (*Salon Hemşin*), community centres (*Hemşin Dayanışma ve Yardımlaşma Derneği*, i.e. the Hemşin Support and Aid Community Centre), magazines (*Hemşin* and *Yeşil Hemşin*) and folk dances (*Hızlı horon*, also known as *Yüksek Hemşin horon*) – that all its referents belong to the Hemshin People alone.

Besides their unique cultural traditions, such as the festivals that take place in the summer pastures (*yaylas*) which we will study below, it is their separate dialect that makes the western (Rize) Hemshin into a distinctive community. One study showed that the dialect of the inhabitants of Çamlıhemşin differs from all other

dialects spoken in the area around Rize.¹³ Today, nobody in Çamlıhemşin – the main habitation of the western Hemshin group – knows Armenian, but there are many Armenian words and sayings in their language. Many place names as well as artefacts and ethno-ecological terms used by the Hemshinli in daily life are of Armenian origin.¹⁴

Two communities live in Çamlıhemşin: the Hemshin and the Lazi. Whereas all the villages approximately south of the administrative centre of Çamlıhemşin – that is to say, the upper basin of the Fırtına Valley – belong to the Hemshin, the Lazi live in the villages to the north, towards the coast. It is commonly believed that the two communities have very little to do with each other, but our observations found that this was not so. Today as in the past, the two peoples maintain constant social contact and trade relations with each other in the administrative centre of the county and in cosmopolitan places such as Ardeşen, Pazar and the Ayder Mezra (summer village or pasture), and they know each other very well. Although they are known for verbal sparring (*sözlü rekabet*) and a relatively small number of mixed marriages between the two communities,¹⁵ in the field of business there are many examples of mutual help and support. For example, most of the transportation needs of the Hemshin People are met by the Lazi.¹⁶ Similarly, at the tea harvest, Hemshinli families who do not have enough hands employ hired workers from Lazi villages. In the county's administrative centre, the Lazi dominate the construction, carpentry and timber sectors, whereas the Hemshin tend to predominate in the running of grocery stores, pastry shops, canteens and coffee houses. When building houses, most Hemshin use Lazi craftsmen. The Ayder Mezra, which has become a tourist resort, has Lazi hotel owners, even though it is a Hemshin yayla.¹⁷ Some Hemshinli families also rent out their houses in the yaylas to the Lazi. According to Hemshinli informants, there is no incompatibility between the two groups, even if some complaints may be heard about Lazi influence in traditional Hemshin areas such as the Ayder Mezra.

It is worth mentioning here the inter-Hemshin rivalry, which is perhaps more pronounced than the rivalry between the Hemshin and the Lazi. Thus the inhabitants of the Hemşin county point to the contrast between them and the Hemshinli of Çamlıhemşin, arguing that the latter are more successful in business, while they fare better in state bureaucracy and education.¹⁸ Within the Çamlıhemşin county, there is strong competition between the various mahalles and groups of villages such as Viçe, Hala, Tecina, Üçpareköy, Çinçiva and Habak. A clearer and ongoing divide exists between the two branches of the Fırtına Valley. If we divide the population into two between the Fırtına and Hala Valleys, we find that the Hemshinli people of the more westerly Fırtına Valley (or Büyük Dere) as a whole consider themselves to have a stronger Hemshin culture than do the people of the Hala Valley, and they also believe the people of the other valley to be much less civilized than they themselves are. The competitive side of this rivalry shows itself particularly in the different folk dances performed by groups from the various town mahalles and villages during the yayla festivals and at village weddings.

The internalized character of Hemshin identity makes it a good example of the 'situational' character of identity.¹⁹ To explain, it is necessary to look at how the

Hemshin people describe themselves to others outside the eastern Black Sea region, especially in the western provinces of Turkey. According to one Hemshinli writer living in a big city in western Turkey, 'no Hemshinli person living in the big cities, when asked where he is from, will say that he is from Rize; rather, he will say that he is a Hemshinli'.²⁰ However, in my experience the opposite is true: when a Hemshin is asked by a stranger as to his identity, he will tend to keep to well-known, general categories such as 'from the Black Sea' or 'from Rize', which need no further explanation, rather than reveal his true identity. This discourse, which shows a person to be a member of a larger or better known group, aims to stave off further questions. Besides, in the cosmopolitan structure of the towns there is no real need to reveal one's true ethnic identity, especially to a stranger who probably knows nothing about the Hemshin. It is only when asked if they are 'Laz' that they will give a firm 'no' in reply and reveal that they are Hemshin – rather than be confused with their long-time neighbours and rivals, and be wrongly labelled as 'Laz', a group that is often put down in popular jokes in Turkey. The question, 'Are you Hemshinli?' asked straight away usually occasions astonishment, since they are aware that only somebody who knows the Hemshin people and knows that they are a separate community (especially from the Lazi) would ask such a question. Generally, the Hemshinli are not very well known in Turkey today.

When confronted with the 'claim' that their origins are Armenian, the Hemshin usually reject this firmly. The strong reaction by the Hemshinli who live in large towns and work in the small business or trade sectors against claims that they belong to an originally Armenian community stems from their identification of Armenians with serious charges such as 'betraying the Turkish people' at the instigation of the Russians during the National Independence War, and organizing terrorist organizations such as the ASALA.²¹ It may also be seen as a reaction to the fact that historically, the Lazi have described the Hemshin People as Armenian (e.g. 'thick-ribbed Armenian'). Some sources indicate that the more open geography of the Lazi area meant that it was more easily assimilated than the hard-to-reach regions where the Hemshin are distributed, and consequently the Lazi became Islamicized earlier and more rapidly than the Hemshinli.²² Although it cannot be proved, the fact that the Lazi adopted Islam before the Hemshinli meant that Hemshin identity (Christian and Armenian) may have been a disadvantage in the sociological rivalry between the two peoples. Accordingly, the attitude against Armenian identity probably developed as a reactive stance. Not surprisingly, the Hemshin also argue that they are descended from the Oghuz Turks, in conformity with Turkish nationalist historical theories. It is quite understandable, given their place in the national economy – especially in large towns where they have carved out a place for themselves in the small business sector – that the Hemshinli would rather be seen as having the same origins as the majority; naturally they wish to reinforce their integration rather than being seen as part of a 'dangerous' minority. Besides conforming to the efforts of political authorities and their various manifestations, this socially mandated uniformity also has a class aspect. While among the town-dwelling Hemshinli it is still common to meet people who swear that they

are pure Turks, some of the Hemshin who have always lived in Çamlıhemşin and may have never left their villages – especially the elderly – see nothing wrong in admitting their Armenian roots. One reason for this is that the latter are cut off from the outside world due to their isolation in Çamlıhemşin and have remained independent of national power structures; because of their social class (they are farmers), they do not have the same need to maintain positive relations with the system as do the Hemshinli who own businesses, and because they are elderly they do not have the same worries about the future.

A reference to claims of Armenian origin may be found in folktales that describe kinship links between the Armenian and Hemshin peoples. In one story, two youths named Azaklı and Bozacı were wandering in the lower tracks of the Fırtına Valley some 300 or 400 years ago when they spotted wood shavings that indicated the presence of villages higher up the valley slopes; to investigate, they went up to the yaylas, where they were taken prisoner by an Armenian lord. The story ends with the lord marrying his daughters to the two youths and leaving them his lands. Tales and legends like this are important in that they provide a permissible means for the expression of the community's subconscious awareness of its ethnic roots.

Islamicization and contemporary Islamic belief

There are various theories about the transition of the Hemshin, who today belong to the Hanefi school of Islam, from Christianity to Islam. Meeker and Bryer write that they were converted at the beginning of the fifteenth century, whereas Father Minas Bijişkyan (Bzhshkian) and Levon Haçikyan (Khach'ikyan) believe that it happened in the seventeenth century.²³ Ottoman ledgers for the beginning of the sixteenth century record that there were 214 Muslim and 457 Christian households living in the district of Hemshin; yet a few decades later, according to the same sources, the district had only sixteen Muslims households against 706 Christian ones.²⁴ Rüdiger Benninghaus points to a relatively late conversion date, which was the result of a lengthy process, during which time Muslims and Christians lived side by side.²⁵ Indeed, in the *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi* dated 1870 (1287 AH), of the 1,584 households registered for the *nahiye* (district) of Hemshin, 1,561 were registered as being Muslim, with only twenty-three Armenian households recorded. The division between Muslims and Armenians is interesting as it shows that at the end of the nineteenth century, after centuries of Islamicization policy and pressure to become Muslim, there was still a distinct Christian Armenian population living side by side with the Muslims. According to Benninghaus, acceptance of Islam was most likely only for appearances; the originally Christian population came to be known as *kēskēs*, or half-half, because they continued to practice their religion in what he describes as a crypto-Christian manner after the Islamicization of the region.²⁶ Bryer's thesis also supports this idea. According to him, the borders of Ottoman control in the eighteenth century could be measured vertically as well as horizontally, with the vertical border occurring between 1,000 and 2,000 metres above sea-level.²⁷ Thus the transhumant communities of the Pontos were 'Muslim'

while they occupied their winter villages, but when they went up to the yaylas in the summer, they continued their own 'crypto-Christian' religious beliefs. Ascent to the yaylas, which lay outside the borders of the empire's control, gave them this freedom, and for this reason, the Hemshin Armenians were able to carry on their baptism rites until the end of the nineteenth century. Bryer supports his theory by showing that the people in the Pontos area continued to use their old Christian names a generation after they had converted to Islam.²⁸ Names linked to Christianity such as Haçınpos/Haçındüzü (i.e. ditch, lowland of the cross/front of the cross) and Kilise düzü/Kilise sırtı (front of the church/back of the church) are commonly encountered in the Hemshin yayla regions; Vanak (from *vank* (i.e. monastery in Armenian)) is often used to describe the central square of a yayla.²⁹

Today, although there is a mosque in almost every mahalle and village of Çamlıhemşin, and even in yaylas such as Elevit and Hazindak, it still cannot be said that Islamic practices and worship form an integral part of Hemshin life. Most of those who show any interest in Islamic belief or morality are elderly farmers, and even they display a certain flexibility and follow questionable practices to the point that they are often in clear contradiction with ordinances of the Islamic religion. Some of these ordinances are actually cultural traditions rather than religious laws, but are considered to be in conformity with Islamic tenets. For example, despite the idea of the seclusion of women associated with Islam, along with related cultural notions such as honour, the elderly Hemshinli do not seem to particularly approve of the veiling of women. As for the younger Hemshinli, it is safe to say that they are totally disinterested in Islamic worship. According to information from the Mufti's office in Çamlıhemşin, in the summer months usually only three or four people turn up to pray at the central mosque of the county, a figure which may rise to ten or fifteen at the most.

In practice, a very pragmatic and secular version of Islamic belief is followed. Thus one Hemshinli explained that growing a vine or placing a decorative plant at the front of the house was the equivalent of performing the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five obligatory pillars of Islam. The Hemshinli are also totally against any kind of extremism associated with Islam. In one instance, the people of a mahalle expelled an imam who separated boys from girls in a course for learning the Qur'an. In short, it is fair to say that the Hemshin do not conform to orthodox Islam and, to this day, despite the objections of religious officials, men and women still entertain themselves by mixed folk dancing, drinking alcohol and singing folk-songs.

Superstitious beliefs among the Hemshin

Myths and legends are commonly encountered among the Hemshin; besides containing a mystical element, these often reflect belief in magic and supernatural beings and forces such as genies (*cin*), fairies (*peri*), witches (*cadı/cazı*) and the evil eye (*nazar*). Supernatural beings such as genies and fairies are believed to be able to assume the shape of men or animals. The fact that these beliefs are to be found throughout the countryside in Anatolia suggests that they are deeply rooted and stretch back hundreds of years: 'The belief in genies and fairies which

Edward Burnett Tylor gives the name animism to – the belief in spirits that may be good or bad, benign or malign, and which inhabit particular places, trees or hollows – is a very old belief'.³⁰ Belief in witches is similar, and in the area where the Hemshin live, they are considered to represent a serious threat to women in confinement and to new-born babies. Doubtless this superstition has its roots in the high infant mortality rate in the Hemshin region.³¹ The witch or *cazı* is identical to the *alkızı/alkarısı* belief, which is widespread in many parts of Anatolia and is believed to prey on women in confinement and new-born babies.³² Literature studied by Sibel Özbudun on the origin of this belief generally concurs that it is a remnant of shamanistic beliefs originating in Central Asia, but she also pointed out that it belongs to a much older and more universal, mythical worldview similar to the belief in Greek mythology in female sacred beings known as nymphs; thus the origin goes back to the most ancient religious practices of anthropomorphism of nature.³³ As a matter of fact, most superstitions of the Hemshin concern evil or harmful forces and are generally considered to derive from the negative effects the harsh nature of their geographical area manifests in the life of the community. Proof of a strong, widespread belief in the existence of genies and sprites in the forested Hemshin region may be deduced from the fact that even grown men are frightened to leave their homes on their own at night. It is believed that areas adjacent to settlements, especially wooded places, are full of genies and sprites.

The evil eye is another power that is held responsible for the deaths of babies. It is believed that old women (*kocakarı*) looking at babies in an admiring way will bring bad luck. For this reason, people try to keep their new-borns away from old women for as long as possible. This belief is no doubt linked to the witch – symbol of female evil – mentioned above, although belief in the evil eye can be manifested in other superstitions as well. The principal methods used against the evil eye are the hanging up of charms and the wiping of the baby's face, or a special kind of charm that is often made to resemble a clean baby's face.

The charms, which are hung on the outer doors of houses in the towns and villages – especially newly built ones – are interesting. For example, a charm hung on the front door of a three-floor residence built in 1990 in the Sirt mahalle was made of empty eggshells, dried peppers, pine-cones and a pair of *hedik*.³⁴ All of these objects are believed in the local area to be symbols of blessings and luck. At the beginning of the century, while on a journey from Batum to İspir, W. Rickmer Rickmers came across an octagonal house on a mountain pass; upon its eaves was suspended a charm he described as being made of a wooden circle (probably a simple form of snow-shoe like those in Sirt) decorated with coloured pieces of cloth and eggshells.³⁵ The object he described was probably very similar to the charm in the Sirt mahalle, a clear indication that the belief in the evil eye and the charms employed against it have continued unchanged for many years.

Death, one of the more depressing aspects of life in any community, is considered to be an inescapable fate by the Hemshin People. When the elderly are asked how they are, the majority will say things like: 'Well my son, the day has come to an end, our life is over and we shall soon go to our resting place'. As do people in many parts of Anatolia, the Hemshin also believe that the howling of dogs – especially at

night – is a sign of bad luck and means that somebody is going to die.³⁶ It is traditional in the area to shout: ‘Go and eat your own flesh!’ at dogs that howl. Another creature that is considered to be a symbol of bad luck is the black cat. When confronted by a black cat, it is not uncommon for small children to pull some of their hair out to protect themselves from bad luck.

The Hemshin believe that the generations are linked by fate as well as by blood. For this reason, they believe that children inherit the sins of their fathers as well as their names. This fate cannot be changed, and sins can only be redeemed by sacrificing animals, usually sheep or cockerels.

Various everyday events are interpreted as harbingers of some event or unexpected good news. For example, if the leg of a dinner table is unsteady, it means hunger for a member of the family who is not at the table; if, when the dough is rising, a piece comes out (*hamur hoplaması*), it means a guest is coming, and if a spark escapes the fire (*gaç*), it means that the weather will improve. There are also some local rituals or symbolic acts that people perform to make wishes come true. For example, it is said that young women push saplings at the edges of rivers into the water and sink them so that the weather at *Hodoç* time (the haymaking festival) will be bad, and so haymaking and the associated festival will be delayed. This is done in secret because the goal of this action goes against the good weather which the community as a whole wishes for at haymaking time. The villages are very quiet and rather boring in the summer, with much of the heavy work falling to the young girls and women, so they want to stay in the *yayla* as long as they can to enjoy themselves and rest.

A belief associated with the environment is the ‘cursed forest’ taboo. In the Amlakit *yayla* there is a taboo against cutting the trees that grow on the steep slopes immediately above the *yayla* habitation. It is believed that something bad will definitely befall the person who ignores this taboo. When you see the *yayla*, it is not difficult to understand why the taboo is there. The trees on the slopes help to prevent avalanches during the winter months.

The paths and roads in the *yayla* are quite dangerous, so there are often mishaps and accidents along them; some people see these kinds of accidents as being the result of bad luck. Because it is believed that dangers from the environment such as poisonous grass, rock falls and attacks by wolves and bears can affect the cattle as well as people, people tie various good luck charms to the heads or horns of their cattle.

In brief, the traditional beliefs of the Hemshin in their everyday lives are often subsumed under pragmatic Islamic beliefs. Most members of the younger generations who have settled in the towns see religious belief and worship as playing only a limited and symbolic role in their lives, whereas the older people or more insecure farming families who have remained in the Hemshin region may have stronger ties to their Islamic beliefs.

Traditional *yayla* festivals of the Hemshin people

According to information from historical documents and oral records, it is highly likely that the oldest Hemshin centres of population (i.e. the first places where

they settled) are in the vicinity of the high pastures. Some of the historical remains of buildings that support this belief have been mentioned above. In this section we will describe some of the festivals and celebrations associated with the high yaylas, which are still held by the Hemshin population to this day. These celebrations form an integral part of the ethnic and cultural identity of the Hemshin. As with the crypto-Christian practices of the past, it is now only in the yaylas that cultural practices linked to ethnic identity can be expressed freely, far from prying eyes. For this reason, study of some of the cultural activities that take place in the yaylas is particularly important in attempting to understand the Hemshinli.

Nowadays two important celebrations known as *Vartevor* and *Hodoç* are organized by the Hemshinli in the yaylas. Of these, the Vartevor Festival plays an especially important part in the social life of the Hemshin People.

The Vartevor Festival

The Vartevor Festival, which is also popularly known as the Yayla Festival (*Yayla Ortası Şenliği*), is an ancient and important celebration.³⁷ Although the origin of the name is not disputed, the origin of the festivity is. There is strong local evidence that the festival was Armenian. Amongst the evidence is the account of Minas Brijşkyan, who studied the geography of the Pontos region at the beginning of the nineteenth century.³⁸ He travelled through the Hemshin region and gave the following short account of the festival:

The Muslims of the Hemshin population have preserved their Christian traditions; in particular, on the day of the Vartavar feast, they all go to church, light candles and sacrifice animals for the souls of their ancestors.³⁹

A more in-depth examination can shed light on the origin of the celebration and the concept behind it: the Vartevor Festival has been celebrated by the Armenians for thousands of years. The feast was originally linked to the adoration of water and dedicated to Astghik, the pagan goddess symbolizing fertility, to whom flowers, particularly roses, were offered on that occasion. Since all places of worship were decked with roses, it came to be known as *Vardavar* (or *Vartavar* in western Armenian; *vard* means rose in Armenian). Vartavar was one of the pagan feasts retained after the Christianization of Armenia in AD 301 to facilitate the conversion process of the country, in view of the reluctance of the people to abandon their ancient traditions; various pagan feasts were integrated by religious authorities into the Church calendar, with only cosmetic changes to present them as Christian celebrations. Thus Vartavar was made to correspond to the feast of the Transfiguration of Christ and was celebrated every year on the seventh Sunday after Pentecost. Vartevor was first celebrated as a Christian feast at the time of the transfer of the body of Saint Grigor Lusavoriç (Lusavorich', i.e. Saint Gregory the Illuminator), who converted the Armenian people to Christianity, from Kayseri to Muş (Mush).⁴⁰ In the Vartavar festival, it was customary – especially in the countryside – for young people to throw each other into lakes or rivers and for

children to fill small toys called *fiskiye* with water, which they then used to soak each other. For fear of getting wet, old people would shut themselves up at home, where they would be shouted at: ‘Go outside, who will be alive and who will be dead next Vartavar’ and would then have water poured over them from jugs. Many activities were held on this day in past times: horse-races and javelin competitions were held and the losers were soaked; wrestling matches were held and the winners were adorned with crowns made of roses; bull-fighting contests took place; young girls would dance; finally, sacrifices against drought, pestilence and disaster were made.⁴¹

The Vartevor celebrations today

The Vartevor Festival that the Hemshin celebrate in the yaylas today recalls neither Christian nor Islamic rituals or motifs. On the contrary, it is a very colourful, worldly festival in which men and women perform folk dances (*horon*) to the accompaniment of the bagpipe (*tulum*).⁴² Trips are arranged along lake sides and river banks, tables festooned with *rakı* are set up next to springs where the men sing folk-songs and enjoy themselves, animals are slaughtered and banquets organized, and fireworks are set off and guns are fired into the air. Perhaps the most enjoyable part of the festival for most of the Hemshin are the lively horons accompanied by the bagpipes, which are held in the evenings in a prearranged, enclosed area (usually the pergola of a large yayla house). During the folk dancing, the men fire guns into the air outside, and the children throw fireworks to join the festive atmosphere. The women sit on the ground inside the circle (*masallah dibi*) of folk dancers and watch. Attendance at the folk dances is very high, and sometimes the enclosed spaces in which they are held become too crowded.

Vartevor is usually held right in the middle of the yayla period. This coincides with the beginning of August when the work in the villages has slowed a little and when the heat and humidity is at its highest. For this reason, Vartevor is the one time when the people from the villages below and those who have migrated to the cities can meet up with one another. A Hemshin woman gives her impressions of the first movements from houses in the villages to the yaylas at Vartevor time:

In the early hours of the morning, the Vartevor convoys composed of men and women who have loaded up their horses and mules with food and all the things they need, set off on the road with the animals before them; then the folk dancing and singing begins, accompanied by the traditional Hemshin bagpipe:⁴³

<i>Gel çikelum dağlara</i>	Come, let's go to the mountains
<i>Dağlara yaylalara</i>	To the mountains, to the yaylas;
<i>Yayla geyiği gibi</i>	Like the deer in the yayla,
<i>Geçelum kayalara</i>	Let us climb over the rocky places.

<i>Heyledum sığırleri</i>	I drove the cattle to the road;
<i>Hen oninde kınalı</i>	The leading one is Kınalı;
<i>Alişiktur yaylaya</i>	She is used to being in the yayla;
<i>Durmaz gâvurun mali</i>	She never stops once she moves on. ⁴⁴

Those who come from the villages and towns to the yayla for Vartevor stay with their own family or close relatives for the duration of the festival. Certain foods such as *hoşmer* and *lokum* are prepared especially for the festival.⁴⁵ The population of the yaylas multiplies several times during the festival. When the festival is over, crowded groups singing folk-songs and dancing to the accompaniment of the bagpipe make their way back down to the villages. The festival follows a certain order. To control the large numbers of people and to provide for the needs and wants of so many, a certain organization must take place.

The organization of Vartevor

The festival today is well organized. First, an organization committee and a chairman are chosen. In the Kavran yayla in 1990, the Vartevor chairman was elected by votes cast by fifty-five delegates. The chairman chooses an assistant and somebody to take care of the accounts (all three are men), and then organizes the celebrations. The first thing the committee does is to collect money from every home in the yayla, according to the income of the household. This money is used to pay the bagpipe player, who will accompany the folk dancing throughout the festival, and to buy alcohol and to cover any other expenses that may arise. Money left over is split among the members of the committee in accordance with the function they have fulfilled. The head of the Vartevor committee enjoys various powers and responsibilities for the period of the festival, the main ones being:

- 1 To hire the bagpipe player and prepare the area in which folk dancing will take place
- 2 To secure the necessary goods for the festival
- 3 To distribute necessary tasks amongst the young men of the yayla
- 4 With the help of the young men appointed, to supervise the folk dancing and to prevent strangers from getting into the folk dances
- 5 To imprison in stables those people who do not abide by the rules or who cause trouble; for example, the chairman of the Üçpareköy Vartevor committee in the Kavran yayla said that in one year, he had had eight people imprisoned in stables
- 6 To bring the festival to a close.

The Hodoç Festival

The Hodoç Festival is not as widespread as the Vartevor Festival and is only celebrated under that name in the Ayder Mezra. It is, however, celebrated in some other yaylas under the name *güz göçü* (the fall migration).

In Ayder, Hodoç is the haymaking time. The celebration is a way of getting men (mostly young) and women who have finished their haymaking and tea-gathering work in the mahalles and villages to come up to the Ayder Mezra to help with haymaking there. People also come from other, higher yaylas.⁴⁶ For example, Hala Dere villagers in the yaylas of Kavran, Parakçur (which is also pronounced Palakçur) and Ceymakçur come down to Ayder for Hodoç. These movements to the Ayder Mezra are performed in a festive manner accompanied by the singing of folk-songs. The festival is organized at the beginning of September when the winter stock of hay is cut and dried. As during Vartevor, people come from the lower mahalles and villages and gather in the yayla to celebrate. Food and drink is arranged. Places are chosen for folk dancing, and the dances are organized. Almost every evening, groups of folk dancers from a village or mahalle or groups invited from outside perform folk dances.

Changes to the Vartevor and Hodoç festivals

The people of the region say that in the old days, the yayla festivals used to last more than fifteen days. However, nowadays, delays in people arriving at the yaylas from the villages at lower altitudes due to the increase of work there, especially as a result of tea harvesting, have made it more difficult for everybody to celebrate the festival at the same time.⁴⁷ Consequently, the celebrations are restricted to seven to ten days. For example, according to the old people, the Hodoç Festival should begin at the end of August; due to delays caused by the tea harvest, it is now put off until the beginning of September. Moreover, haymaking was traditionally done by the men. Nowadays, however, most of the men prefer spending time in the coffee houses to haymaking, leaving that heavy task to women, who complain rightly that the Hodoç festival is not as enjoyable for them as it used to be.

Many Hemshinli complain that both the festivals are somewhat subdued nowadays, especially the folk dancing, due to the fact that many of the younger population, especially those living in the towns, do not want to go to the yaylas. The elderly complain that the Hemshin who have spent years in the towns have forgotten their traditions and that their children have ruined the old formality of the folk dancing. The younger people, on the other hand, feel that some of the new rules that have been brought in are good. Another complaint often heard is that there are very few people in the region who can play the bagpipe well any more.

Despite all these complaints, both festivals continue to be celebrated and are still considered to be cultural traditions that must not be abandoned. It is also noteworthy that the opening up of the roads to the yaylas has led to something of a revival of yayla life and of the celebrations held there, especially in the past couple of years.⁴⁸

The social functions of the festivals

Both of these traditional festivals, which date back to ancient times before the Hemshin became Christian or Muslim, have meanings and functions that go far

beyond just having a good time. An important function of the festivals is to bring together for a definite period of time, however short, all the members of families that have been fragmented due to work in different locations and migration to the towns.

The coming together of all members of the community who are normally scattered in different places separated by long distances for the period of the festivals provides valuable social integration. The yaylas also provide the only suitable location for the Hemshin to express their identity freely and to hold activities that reflect their values and beliefs without interference from outside. The fact that the yaylas are crowded during the celebrations is important in this respect. The patterns of habitation in the yaylas are different from those in the villages and mahalles, and this plays as important a role as the distance of the yaylas from any political authority. While the mahalles and villages are small, scattered, settlements, the yaylas bring together people from more than one village or mahalle, which provides for an increased sense of community, however transient. The reality of everyday isolation and separation, which is forced upon the people by the topology of the region, is the main reason for the value and meaning which the people give to the yaylas and for the sentiments of love and longing for them which are expressed in folk-songs. They also provide the ideal place for young people to meet each other and fall in love. Here, for example, is one of the folk-songs sung at the Vartevor and Hodoç festivals, which deals with longing for the beloved:

<i>Çıkınca yaylalara</i>	When they go up to the yayla,
<i>Herkez yarini arar</i>	Everyone searches for his love;
<i>Taşın kalbi yok ama</i>	There is no heart of stone
<i>Onu da yosun sarar</i>	That does not have some moss on it.
<i>İnce işlerim ince</i>	Slowly, slowly
<i>Teli tele eklerim</i>	I shall tie on the bridal wire
<i>Bir dahaki göçlere</i>	Once more on the move,
<i>Yarim seni beklerim</i>	I will wait for you my love.
<i>Ayderin düzlerini</i>	On the flat ground of Ayder
<i>Araba dolaşacak</i>	Carriages drive around.
<i>Yarim hareket etmiş</i>	My love has moved on
<i>Hodoç'a ulaşacak</i>	Until Hodoç.

The women sitting inside the circle (*masallah dibi*) of horon dancers do not just sit there watching and enjoying themselves. Some of them are also looking for girls who have reached marriageable age for their sons. Mixed folk dancing also provides an opportunity for the young people to see each other and to fall in love. The young, unmarried girls wear very colourful shawls and much gold and jewellery. Vartevor and the folk dancing provide an important opportunity to meet the opposite sex and choose a partner. Apart from the festivals, most girls live more reclusive lives indoors, and their opportunities to meet members of the opposite sex are limited; it is the same for young men who want to marry, so festivals are

a golden opportunity. The symbols or themes of the folk-songs that are sung spontaneously during the folk dances are often the occasion for young people to express their intentions towards one another by means of eye contact. For this reason, it is not uncommon for young men to start fighting during the folk dancing.

After the festivals the yaylas empty, and the old people are left to their routine, daily work again. The yaylas may not see those who are going back to work in the cities for another year or even two years, but the increasing nostalgia felt by many due to separation from relatives, partners and loved ones means that the yaylas continue to occupy a special place in the hearts of all the Hemshin People.

Conclusion

Most Hemshinli, including many among the ones who live in the big cities, are highly devoted to their land and especially to the yaylas because of their natural beauty and cultural meanings. They are very proud of their cultural identity and its uniqueness – even if they do not have a clear idea of their ethnic roots. They refer to themselves as ‘Hemshinli’, and with this name they distinguish themselves from other groups such as their Lazi neighbours living in the coastal lowlands. Moreover, the Hemshinli continue to celebrate their traditional cultural festivals communally each year. In particular, the Vartevor and Hodoç festivals, which originate in old Armenian traditions, are celebrated in the yaylas every summer; they serve to strengthen social cohesion and a sense of ethnic identity among the Hemshinli by preserving the unique cultural values they share. The high pastures are isolated from outsiders as well as the government, and have allowed the Hemshin to exhibit and share their own cultural values without outside interference since early times.

However, in recent times, especially over the past two decades, there has been an increase in modernizing developments in the region. These include a new web of roads, improved building technology, modern communication systems and increased tourism. Such developments can have a detrimental impact, causing a degradation of Hemshin cultural identity as well as undermining the cultural traditions connected with it. The children of Hemshinli living in big cities today are especially affected, as their families are gradually freeing themselves from their old customs and beliefs; indeed, some of them do not even know the location of their original homeland.

Acknowledgements

The list of people who helped and contributed to this study, from fieldwork in 1990 up until the present, is very long. For this reason, I would like to thank everybody who has helped me and ask those whose names are not mentioned to forgive me. First, I would like to thank the Hemshin people for all the help and support they gave me during my fieldwork in 1990. I would also like to thank Ersan Nebioğlu, who sent valuable sources for my study from France, and Dr Yunus Koç for his valuable contributions. I am indebted to Dr Mehmet Öz for his translations from Ottoman and to Dr Gümeç Karamak for translations from

German. Both are also to be thanked for providing important sources. I am similarly indebted to Kudret Emiroğlu, who allowed me to use sources from his library. I would also like to thank my colleague Dr Suavi Aydın for reading the text and providing valuable criticism and suggestions, and Sibel Özbudun for her contribution in proofreading the text.

Notes

- 1 See Rüdiger Benninghaus, 'Zur Herkunft und Identität der Hemşinli', in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, ed. Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rüdiger Benninghaus (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989), pp. 484–85.
- 2 Benninghaus (1989, p. 477) estimates the population as being about 50 to 60,000 15,000 western Hemshin and 25,000 eastern Hemshin with the remainder living in large towns. For more recent estimates of the Hemshin population, see appendix 7.3 in Chapter 7 by Hagop Hachikian (this volume).
- 3 Limited information on the old names of the river derives from three sources: P. Jacobus Vard. Dashian, *La population arménienne de la région comprise entre la mer Noire et Karin (Erzeroum): Rapide coup d'oeil historique et ethnographique*, translated by Frédéric Macler (Vienna: Imprimerie des Méchitaristes, 1922), p. 25; Semavi Eyice, 'Rize Yakınında Zil Kalesi', *İlgi: Shell Tarafından Yayınlanan Kültürel Dergi* (Istanbul, 1980), 14, no. 30, p. 21; Anthony Bryer and David Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1985), p. 336.
- 4 The administrative centre was given this name by the people of the area because it was immediately below (*alt* in Turkish) the village of Aşağı Viçe (today the village is a mahalle and is called Aşağı Çamlıca).
- 5 When people in the outlying areas visiting the administrative centre (*merkez*) of the county are asked where they are going, or when people in the centre are asked where they are, 'Viçea'ltı' is their usual reply.
- 6 Haçikyan gives these dates as the definite dates for the beginning of Armenian control, according to the historian Ghewond. Levon Haçikyan, *Hemşin Gizemi: Hamşen Ermenileri Tarihinden Sayfalar*, translated and edited by Bağdik Avedisyan (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1996), pp. 2–3.
- 7 There are two other theories as to the dates of the construction of the castles. One, by Eyice, is that they were built at the end of the Middle Ages to control the area by the Komnenoi of Trebizond, and the other, by Arıcı, is that they were built in AD 560 by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian to protect the area from Persian attacks. Eyice (1980), p. 22; Muzaffer Arıcı, *Her Yönüyle Rize* (Ankara: Odak Ofset, 1993), pp. 193–94.
- 8 Haçikyan (1996, pp. 32–33) states that Father Oskian names three monasteries within the borders of Hamshen. See Chapter 2 by Hovann Simonian (this volume).
- 9 See the article on 'Rize' in the *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 9 (Istanbul: Anadolu Yayıncılık, 1982–1983), p. 6354.
- 10 M. Münir Aktepe, 'Tuczuoğulları İsyanı', *Tarih Dergisi* (Istanbul, 1953), 2, nos. 5–6, p. 21.
- 11 See Muzaffer Arıcı (ed.), *Rize: Prof. Karl Koch'un 1843–44 Yıllarındaki Seyahatnamesinin Rize Bölümü* (Ankara: Odak Ofset, 1991) p. 23; Haçikyan (1996), p. 19.
- 12 Michael E. Meeker, 'The Black Sea Turks: Some Aspects of their Ethnic and Cultural Background', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (London, 1971), 2, no. 4, p. 341.
- 13 See Turgut Günay, *Rize İli Ağızları: İnceleme-Metinler-Sözlük* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı/Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1978), p. 30.
- 14 For a study of the vocabulary used by the Rize Hemshin written by a Hemshin woman, see Aynur Altaş, 'Hemşinoloji', *Seyran (Pokut): Makrevis Mahallesi Yardımlaşma ve*

- Kalkındırma Derneği* (Ankara, 1969), Samistal Gecesi Özel Sayısı, 28 February, pp. 14–15. To the extent that it is possible, we will introduce words and phrases we learned during fieldwork into this study. On the vocabulary of the Rize Hemshinli, see Chapter 11 by Uwe Bläsing (this volume).
- 15 Examples of these that I heard are sayings such as ‘Don’t let the Laz in to the courtyard, even if he is a saint’, or ‘He who gives his hand to a Laz gets his whole arm eaten’. Most of this sparring is a kind of mock fighting, and is said in a joking, light fashion. Among adult Hemshinli, one often hears very ethnocentric and pejorative comments about the Lazi, to the effect that they are not as educated or civilized as the Hemshin, but one also hears praise, especially from Hemshin women, of the Lazi, to the effect that they are more hard-working than the Hemshin and their family ties are stronger. During my fieldwork, I was informed by some religious Lazi People that the Hemshinli men drank alcohol, gambled and swore a lot, but also that they were basically good people. Benninghaus says that the Lazi called the Hemshin ‘thick-ribbed Armenians’, but I never heard this. The Hemshin describe themselves as very peaceful people, but I saw a lot of fights between young men during folk dancing. See ‘Catalogue of Ethnic Groups: Hemshinli’, in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, p. 131. On relations between Hemshinli and Lazi, see Chapter 14 by Ildikó Bellér-Hann (this volume).
 - 16 During my fieldwork in 1990, all the transport needs of the Kavran yayla were met by a Lazi man from the village of Topluca, who made two trips a week to the yayla and who was very well liked and respected by the people of the yayla.
 - 17 The Preservation and Revival Association of the Ayder District (*Ayder Mezrasını Koruma ve Yaşatma Derneği*), which was set up by Hemshinli who argued that the culture of the Ayder yayla had degenerated due to the influx into the pasture of outsiders (especially Lazi), had as one of its founding articles a call for the people to unite and stand together to preserve the old homogenous structure of the yayla.
 - 18 Orkun Yaman, ‘Etniklik ve Hemşin Üzerine (Bulutların Ülkesi Hemşin 4)’, *Halkbilimi: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Türk Halk Bilimi Topluluğu* (Ankara, 1998), no. 7, p. 57.
 - 19 The concept of ethnicity refers to the consciousness of an individual or group of their own language, race, shared history and common values. Ethnicity now no longer has the idea that it used to have of some fixed biological notion, and today is much more a concept of cultural and social relationships. For this reason it is a very flexible and ever-changing concept and is very much affected by circumstances and contexts.
 - 20 Hâle Soysü, ‘Hemşinliler: Tulumla Konuşan Gururlu İnsanlar’, *İkbin’e Doğru* (Istanbul, 1991), 5, no. 41, 8 December, p. 44.
 - 21 Benninghaus, when discussing questions of Hemshin identity with a university-educated Hopa Hemshinli, was met with a total rejection of the idea that the Hemshin were of Armenian origin, on the basis that Armenians were terrorists and that, consequently, there could be no common origin between the Armenians and the peace-loving Hemshinli. Benninghaus (1989), p. 486.
 - 22 For example, Vanilişi and Tandilava say that the Islamicization of the Lazi began in the sixteenth century at the time of Sultan Selim I (1512–1520) and that many Lazi became Muslims at the beginning of the seventeenth century to avoid heavy taxation. According to these two writers, the majority of the Lazi population living within the borders of the Ottoman Empire became Muslims in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Muhammed Vanilişi and Ali Tandilava, *Lazlar’ın Tarihi*, translated from Georgian by Hayri Hayrioğlu (Istanbul: Ant Yayınları, 1992), pp. 43–48.
 - 23 Haçikyan (Khach’ikyan) reports that P. Tumayian, who he says had studied the Hamshen Armenians thoroughly, stated that between the years 1690 and 1700, the Armenians of Karadere had migrated to avoid changing their religion and that ‘a few years’ after this, the whole of the population remaining in Hemshin had been completely Islamicized. Haçikyan (1996), pp. 37–38; Meeker (1971), p. 341; Anthony Bryer, ‘Greeks and Türkmens: The Pontic Exception’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (Washington, DC, 1975), 29, p. 142; Father Minas Bzhshkian [Peder Minas Bjişkyan],

- Karadeniz Kıyıları Tarih ve Coğrafyası, 1817–1819*, translated by Hrand D. Andreasyan (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1969), pp. 64–65.
- 24 See M. Tayyib Gökbiçgin, 'XVI. Yüzyıl Başlarında Trabzon Livası ve Doğu Karadeniz Bölgesi', *Belleten* (Ankara, 1962), 26, no. 102, p. 323; Hanefi M. Bostan, *XV – XVI. Asırlarda Trabzon Sancağında Sosyal ve İktisadi Hayat* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002), pp. 221–23 and 260.
 - 25 Benninghaus (1989), p. 483.
 - 26 Dashian says that in the face of the long-lasting pressure to accept Islam in the region, Hemshin Armenians carried on with their old beliefs secretly, although outwardly they were Muslims; these people were known in the area as *kēskēs*, which means half-half (i.e. that they were half-Muslim and half-Christian). He also points out that Turkish and Islamic practice dictated that the punishment for a Muslim – including the newly converted – converting to Christianity was death. Dashian (1922), p. 34. See Chapter 4 on the Islamicization of Hemshin by Hovann Simonian (this volume).
 - 27 Anthony Bryer, 'The Crypto-Christians of the Pontos and Consul William Gifford Palgrave of Trebizond', *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon* (Athens, 1983), 4, p. 22; reprinted in *Peoples and Settlement in Anatolia and the Caucasus, 800–1900* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988).
 - 28 Although these are not used openly in Çamlıhemşin, a family known as Keşişoğlu (sons of the priest) was mentioned.
 - 29 For example, see Sibel Şahin, 'Göğün Bir Kat Altı: Hemşin Yaylaları (Bulutların Ülkesi Hemşin 1)', *Halkbilimi: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Türk Halk Bilimi Topluluğu* (Ankara, 1997), no. 4, p. 50
 - 30 See Sedat Veyis Örnek, *Anadolu Folklorunda Ölüm* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1971), p. 25.
 - 31 For example, during the fieldwork I carried out in the Kavran yayla, there had been a total of forty-two deaths of children distributed among twenty-three of the forty-five houses (1.8 deaths per affected household).
 - 32 See Sibel Özbudun, 'Bir Söylence Üzerine Çözümleme Denemesi: Anadolu'da Alkızı/Alkarısı', *Antropoloji* (Ankara, 1998), 13, pp. 217–27.
 - 33 *Ibid.*, p. 222.
 - 34 Wide shoes that enable people to walk on deep snow in winter.
 - 35 W. Rickmer Rickmers, 'Lazistan and Ajaristan', *Geographical Journal* (London, 1934), 84, no. 6, p. 476.
 - 36 For a list of the places where the howling of dogs is considered to warn of death, see Örnek (1971), p. 16.
 - 37 In the Hemshin dialect, this word is normally pronounced Vartevor or Vartevur due to a linguistic rule in the dialect whereby an 'a' sound in the final syllable of a word usually becomes an 'o' or a 'u' sound. See Günay (1978), pp. 70–71. The women sometimes pronounce it Vartivor.
 - 38 An amateur historical study written by a Hemshin writer which is based on Turkish nationalist historical theories claims that Vartevor is called the 'Rose Festival' and that the 'Hemshin Oğuz Turks have celebrated this festival since Ergenekon'. These statements are baseless and no doubt were written for ideological reasons. See Arıcı (1993), p. 124.
 - 39 Bijişkyan (1969), p. 63.
 - 40 *Ibid.*, pp. 69–70.
 - 41 Bullfights are still held today in the Ayder yayla in Çamlıhemşin and, according to Soysü, they also take place at a location called Sal yayla. Soysü (1991), p. 45.
 - 42 The Hemshin local folk dances are known as *horon*. There are various horon folk dances performed in the area. The main ones are *Hemşin*, *Yüksek (hızlı, i.e. fast)* *Hemşin*, *Papilat*, *Çinçiva*, *Memetina*, *Kotina*, *Ortaköy*, *Rize*, *Hamlakit*, *Bakoz*, *Yalı*, *İki Ayak* and *Kız Horonu*. The bagpipe (*tulum*) is the local musical instrument of the Hemshin. It is made from a goatskin known locally as toklu, which after it is turned inside out has a mouthpiece (*lülük*) attached to one of the front legs and a flute (*nev*)

attached to one of the back legs. In his study of the tulum, Çokal says that in addition to its use in Rize, it is also widely played elsewhere, especially in the Çoruh Valley, Kars, Erzurum and Batum, Poti, the Crimea and the western slopes of the Caucasus Mountains. Soysü (1991), p. 45; Arıcı (1993), p. 133; Mehmet Çokal, 'Tulum', *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* (Istanbul, 1963), 15, no. 8 (171), p. 3211.

- 43 Today many of the yaylas are accessible by road.
- 44 Soysü (1991), p. 45.
- 45 *Hoşmer* is a type of bread made from cornflour and cream; *lokum* is a famous type of sweet.
- 46 Because Ayder is the *mezra* (summer village or pasture) of the Hala villagers, the celebrations there are closed to outsiders.
- 47 For example, in the summer season of 1990 in the yayla of Kavran, the villagers of the Hala group of villages (Aşağı Şimşirli, Yukarı Şimşirli and Güroluk) began the Vartevor Festival on 5 August, whereas the people of Üçpareköy – the mahalles of Mikrun (present-day Kavak) and Sirt – began theirs on 11 August.
- 48 Passing through the yayla of Amlakit at the beginning of September 1998, I noticed that several new yayla houses were being built and that the top floor of the coffee house had been turned into a *pansiyon* (hotel). The people of the yayla said that this year the weather at Vartevor time had been clear and sunny, and that so many people had come that many had to sleep outdoors because there was not enough room for them.

14 Hemshinli–Lazi relations in northeast Turkey

Ildikó Bellér-Hann

Introduction

No single geographical designation exists for the far northeast corner of Turkey where the ethnographic materials presented in this chapter were collected.¹ The area that concerns me forms only a small part of the eastern Black Sea region (*Doğu Karadeniz bölgesi*). Administratively, it comprises several counties (*ilçes*) in Rize and Artvin. To the north and the south, the region is defined by natural borders, the Black Sea and the Kaçkar Mountains respectively. To the east, the political border between Georgia and Turkey constitutes an artificial defining line, though one that has been stable throughout the history of the Republic. To the west, we can identify a border running through the county of Pazar, to the west of which the entire population is made up of monolingual Turks. East of this line, the dominant language is also Turkish, but ethnic Turks mingle with Muslim Georgians, Hemshinli and Lazi. This chapter explores inter-group relations between these latter two groups.

Hemshinli and Lazi are large groups that have been present in the region for a long time. The exact status of these groups for individuals is variable today, and probably always has been. Hemshinli or Lazi identity is one of many available options which may be foregrounded or backgrounded by individuals, depending on their preferences and on the situation. Local residents and migrants themselves emphasize the contingency and dynamism of these group identities.

In his study of relations between ethnic groups, Donald Horowitz makes a distinction between groups which stand in a ranked relationship to each other and unranked ethnic groups. In the former case, ethnic origin and social class basically coincide. In the latter case, the groups are juxtaposed and form cross-class, unranked ethnic groups.² As with all ideal types, this distinction may be blurred in empirical reality. Nevertheless, despite the paucity of historical information concerning changing patterns of group relations in this corner of Turkey, Horowitz's classification can be helpful in understanding inter-group relations between the Hemshinli and the Lazi. I argue that today the relationship between the two groups is by and large unranked, or parallel, rather than hierarchical. My data consist largely of stereotypical expressions which contrast one's own group with the other. It should be emphasized that many of the stereotypes are evoked only

in jest, and that perhaps few people take them seriously. Although the resulting ‘folk models’ may obscure lived realities, the politics of stereotyping cannot be dismissed as unimportant. Such stereotypes serve at the very least as significant tools of self-definition.³

Common traits

The present ethnic situation in this region has come about as a result of complicated processes of mixing and acculturation, in- and out-migration, and political intervention, notably the population exchange between Turkey and Greece after the First World War, which resulted in the removal of most of the Pontic Greeks from the eastern Black Sea coast. Muslim Georgians are still represented, but the two groups whose concentrated presence has contributed significantly both to the shaping of local culture and to general perceptions of Black Sea people in the rest of Turkey are the Hemshinli and the Lazi. Unofficial estimates put the number of Lazi at about 250,000 while Hemshinli may number about 80,000 to 100,000.⁴ Although the designation *Laz* is well known all over Turkey, it has mainly been understood to refer to all eastern Black Sea Turks. Until recently, the existence of the Lazi as a distinct group which has preserved its non-Turkic language was not well known in the rest of Anatolia. Knowledge of the Hemshinli is just as scarce. This situation has been changing as a result of intellectuals’ efforts to claim official recognition of a distinct ethnic and cultural identity.

The two groups have a number of features in common. After a long history of Christianity, both were converted to Islam during Ottoman times. In modern Turkey, both constitute minorities, albeit unrecognized. They are well integrated into the modern Turkish state and identify readily with Islam. They share many cultural traits with each other, as well as with other groups with which they interact. Although many aspects of their material culture differ from the rest of Anatolia, these tend to be characteristic of the eastern Black Sea region and cross ethnic boundaries within it.⁵ Conspicuous ethnic markers also exist, such as the *puşi*, the traditional colourful headgear of Hemshinli women, the wearing of which is, however, mostly restricted to rural surroundings and to folk dancing.⁶ Other aspects of material culture may also be specific to one or the other group, rather than the wider region; for example, the patterned knitted slippers which are identified with the Hemshinli, or certain architectural forms and tools among the Lazi.⁷ Language provides one of the most important cultural markers: the Lazi have preserved their Caucasian language up to the present day in the form of an oral language. Likewise, most eastern Hemshinli in the counties of Hopa and Borçka (in the province of Artvin) are bilingual, speaking their own western Armenian dialect as well as modern Turkish.⁸ The western Hemshinli (mostly to be found in the counties of Çayeli, Çamlıhemşin, Hemşin, Pazar, Ardeşen and Fındıklı in the province of Rize) are today monolingual Turkish speakers. Nevertheless, they have preserved the memory of a distinct language, being generally aware that, like the Lazi and the eastern Hemshinli, their ancestors, too, spoke a language other than Turkish. Among the Lazi, and presumably also

among the eastern Hemshinli, knowledge of the group language is variable, but lack of linguistic competence does not prevent people from identifying with the group.⁹

The history of the Lazi has been reconstructed from diverse sources dating from antiquity and from Byzantine and Ottoman times.¹⁰ Less is known about the historical background of the Hemshinli. Anthony Bryer raises the possibility that they may 'represent the vestiges of one of the ancient peoples of the area'.¹¹ In spite of many uncertainties, we can assume that the two groups came into contact with each other following migration rather than violent conquest. This is a feature of unranked group relations, in contrast to hierarchically ranked groups.¹² Members of both groups claim complete ignorance of their Christian past, although indications of such knowledge about the other group are embedded in occasional mocking references such as the Hemshinli calling the Lazi converted Mingrelians (*dönmüş Megrel*), to which the Lazi may retort that the Hemshinli are converted Armenians (*dönmüş Ermeni*).¹³ While many Lazi have some awareness of Caucasian connections and admit this freely, Hemshinli rarely admit any knowledge of Armenian ancestry. This seems to be a case of collective amnesia brought about by political sensitivity.¹⁴

Although both Lazi and Hemshinli have been associated with a transhumant lifestyle,¹⁵ stereotypical representations emphasize differences and contrast the pastoralist Hemshinli to the land-tilling Lazi. The areas occupied by these groups in the pre-modern era are usually perceived as adjacent but distinct. Few people make explicit references to shared spaces in the high pastures, and if they do, it is usually in terms of conflict.¹⁶ Atatürk's social engineering and the introduction of tea as a cash crop from the 1960s onwards have effectively put an end to the old subsistence-oriented economies.¹⁷

The two groups also share histories of migration, both inward and outward. Some Hemshinli, like some Lazi and Muslim Georgians, fled to western Anatolia in the wake of the Turkish-Russian wars of the 1870s.¹⁸ In some families, vague memories of their ancestors' immigration from the Balkans, or from cities of the Black Sea region persist and testify to the heterogeneous origins of their clans and groups.¹⁹ Recognition of these dynamics, however, does not prevent locals from rather simplified group classifications.²⁰

Labour migration, first to southern Russia and more recently to the big cities of Turkey, as well as to Europe and the Middle East, has characterized members of both groups from the nineteenth century onwards. Bryer attributes the beginnings of migration among the ancestors of the Lazi to the fall of their feudal lords.²¹ The presence of such élites among both groups is a further detail consistent with Horowitz's definition of unranked systems.²²

Stereotypical representations

Together with their present and past neighbours, including Turks, Georgians and Pontic Greeks, both Hemshinli and Lazi have contributed significantly to the emergence of a general Black Sea (*Karadenizli*) stereotype. This stereotype

extends well beyond the region which concerns us in this chapter; none the less, Laz is often used in Turkish as a synonym for Karadenizli. Stereotypical traits have found their way into the Turkish shadow play, Karagöz, and into many Turkish jokes. The Black Sea man, or the Laz, is renowned for his diligence, entrepreneurial skills and enthusiasm for education. On the negative side, there is a certain boorishness, exploitation of women and penchant for violence which found its expression in the past in frequent blood feuds. The Karadenizli/Laz are associated with seafaring, but they have also been identified as skilful builders, carpenters, bakers and pastry cooks. Because of the extended application of the term Laz, this sort of stereotyping had little ethnic significance for Anatolian Turks as a whole.²³

Within the region that concerns us in this chapter, the situation is quite different. Here, the salient contrast is that between the Hemshinli and the Lazi. One could even argue that group definition in this region largely depends on the interaction between these two groups, which have worked out a complementary opposition to each other. Looking at local group representations may result in the partial deconstruction of the general Black Sea/Laz stereotype. Understanding these better may provide partial explanations for apparent contradictions in the wider regional images. In these representations, the other local groups, the Turks and the Muslim Georgians, are marginal.²⁴ They are mentioned only as occasional yardsticks against which certain characteristics of the group in question may be measured. For example, it is sometimes claimed that the Hemshinli subscribe to a strict form of patriarchy. The Lazi are less strict, but women enjoy the most freedom among the Georgians. While Georgians are referred to with the ethnonym *Gürcü*, ‘unmarked’ Turks are not mentioned as *Türk*. That would contrast Turkishness with Lazi or Hemshinli identities and deny the latter their identification as Turks. Instead, ‘unmarked’ Turks are referred to according to their place of origin (e.g. *Rizeli*, *Çayelili*).

Oral recollections identify Hemshinli and Lazi as neighbours who occupied adjacent parts of the region. The Lazi built their houses in the foothills of the Kaçkar Mountains, close to the Black Sea, while their Hemshinli neighbours occupied more upland villages and pastures to the south. The Hemshinli are associated with pastoralism, Lazi with agricultural production (maize and hazelnuts) and fishing. Popular lore thus links the Hemshinli to animal husbandry and a diet rich in meat and dairy products, to which the Lazi had only limited access. The two groups are still clearly demarcated. In districts that have both a Hemshinli and a Lazi population, it is common knowledge which villages are Hemshinli and which are Lazi. Some villages are readily identified as having mixed composition: these are typically Lazi settlements into which several Hemshinli families have migrated to form a neighbourhood; it is rare to come across isolated families associated with the other group in rural neighbourhoods.

In spite of a shared history and similarities in terms of economic practices, living standards and migration strategies, Lazi and Hemshinli are perceived as fundamentally different in nature. There is a surprising measure of agreement concerning these stereotypes, although the same features may be differently evaluated.²⁵

Stereotyping does not always involve high evaluation of the self and deprecation of the other. Rather, it sends a mixed bag of messages. This corresponds to Horowitz's definition of unranked systems, where 'relative group worth is always uncertain, always at issue'.²⁶

Where the Hemshinli is said to be a calculating planner, the Lazi thinks only about the short term. The Hemshinli are generally considered to be hard-working and diligent, in contrast to the Lazi, who are seen as having ambitions to become business proprietors and bosses (*patron*). This dichotomy may have originated from patterns of labour migration to Russia at the end of the nineteenth century. Nikolai Marr confirms that the first migrants into Russia from this region were the Hemshinli. Seeing the economic benefits of migrant work, many Lazi then joined their neighbours and were initially employed by their Hemshinli acquaintances from the homeland. However, the Lazi soon learned the trade and started competing with the Hemshinli.²⁷ Perhaps because they began labour migration slightly ahead of most Lazi, the Hemshinli are often seen as having moved more rapidly and successfully into the modern world: some western Hemshinli describe their own group as by and large more educated and civilized (*medeniyetli*).

Nevertheless, it is the Lazi who is considered 'agile' (*hareketli*), 'hot-blooded' (*sıcak kanlı*) and 'nervous' (*sinirli*), who is always on the move, in search of some new opportunity.²⁸ The Hemshinli is also *yumuşak* ('soft'), in contrast to the *sert*, *mert* ('hard', 'brave') nature of the Lazi. The contrast is invariably illustrated in reference to contrasting behaviour with respect to honour codes. When a Hemshinli will try hard to search for a peaceful solution, a Lazi will immediately provoke a fight or reach for his gun. Lazi themselves admit to a certain 'nervousness' (*sinirlenme var*), but they also see themselves as civilized (*medeniyete çok yakın bir kesim*), a group whose migrants have easily adapted to life in Istanbul (*İstanbul'a uyum sağlayan bir grup*). The pacifist, calm nature of the Hemshinli is often contrasted to the banditry of the Lazi. In some Lazi villages, the names of local bandits (*eşkiya*) are still remembered, and recollections of violence are associated with banditry.²⁹

Folk views contrasting violence and pacifism, banditry and 'softness' of nature are implicitly restricted to male characteristics. However, bodily images blur the gender lines and may apply to both male and female members. Where the Hemshinli is *şişman* ('fat'), the Lazi is *zayıf* ('weak'), images which people on both sides related to the pastoralist lifestyle of the Hemshinli and their easy access to animal protein and dairy products. Some physical attributes of the other group serve to highlight difference: Hemshinli point to the big nose of the Lazi, while Lazi complain about the odour and general lack of hygiene among Hemshinli villagers, a consequence of working with large numbers of animals.

The view expressed to a traveller a hundred years ago, that the Hemshinli considered the Lazi mean and inhospitable, was jokingly echoed by a Lazi informant.³⁰ The mean (*cimri*) nature of the Lazi is summed up by the proverb stating that the table of the Lazi is big, but his bread is small (*Lazın sofrası büyük, ekmeği az*). This proverb was quoted and then elaborated on by a Lazi informant in the company of his Hemshinli in-laws, to the great amusement of the latter.

When guests arrived, the man said, a Hemshinli would immediately start cooking a meal to honour them. A Lazi would first ask them if they were hungry. Of course the visitors would politely reply that they did not need any food. The Hemshinli hosts found the situation particularly funny because this stereotypical representation of the Lazi was actually articulated by the Lazi son-in-law. The latter, however, redressed the imbalance, as we were offered tea while the meal was cooking. He said jokingly that to offer tea before a meal was a well-known Hemshinli trick to decrease the guests' appetite!³¹

Intermarriage in stereotypical representations

Inter-group relations are articulated most clearly in stereotypes concerning intermarriage. In the mid-1970s, Wolfgang Feurstein found that, while Hemshinli neighbourhoods existed within the formal boundaries of Lazi villages, no individual Hemshinli were to be found within the *opute*, the traditional hamlet of the Lazi. Although this may be an exaggeration, the observation no doubt reflects a strong normative prescription of segregation.³² Elsewhere it is argued that while the Hemshinli are tolerated by the Lazi, they are not loved by them, and that in earlier times intermarriage was completely impossible.³³ Similarly, in his summary of Ottoman period sources, Alexandre Toumarkine characterizes Hemshinli and Lazi contacts in terms of mistrust and mutual denigration.³⁴ Following Marr, Toumarkine concedes that mixed marriages did take place in the nineteenth century; both groups also intermarried with Georgians and Russians.³⁵ From Lazi informants, Toumarkine also heard that the number of intermarriages with Hemshinli inhibits Lazi from casting suspicion on the religious commitment of the other group.³⁶ I argue that reports of such transgressions of group boundaries must be taken just as seriously as normative stereotypes of segregation and group endogamy.

Both sides agree that there has been intermarriage in the past, although some prefer to emphasize its rarity.³⁷ This view is supported by Rüdiger Benninghaus, according to whom the two groups' communications with each other in the past were always confined to a bare minimum.³⁸ Benninghaus argues that intermarriage was rejected by the Hemshinli, primarily because they feared the violence of the Lazi, but also due to the linguistic divide. It is likely that such statements are based on retrospective rationalizations. In any case they constitute an implicit admission of the possibility of intermarriage. Most informants, both Hemshinli and Lazi, insist that intermarriage took a one-sided form; Hemshinli brides were taken by Lazi men, but no Lazi girls married up to Hemshinli villages. The detailed explanations offered for this pattern vary with the group affiliation of the informant. The stereotyping found here is complex and does not always follow the expected patterns of self-appreciation and denigration of the other.

Some explanations focus on family structure and gender. The Hemshinli say that their daughters used to be better nourished, and their healthy lifestyle in the high pastures made them sturdy and strong, and therefore desirable as wives for the Lazi. Both groups stress that Hemshinli women have always been hard-working.

Some Hemshinli add that 'spoilt' or undernourished Lazi women would not have been suitable for the demands of traditional life in the high pastures.³⁹ The Lazi like to point out that the Hemshinli practise a stricter form of patriarchy and exploit their women. The Lazi were traditionally reluctant to let their daughters marry into Hemshinli villages because they would be given a hard time. Lazi households offered more reasonable conditions for incoming brides. Lazi in Pazar see the Hemshinli's openness to the wider world as accounting for their higher levels of education and intellectual achievements. On the other hand, the traditional Hemshinli family structure is described as conservative and more patriarchal than that of the Lazi themselves. This view is seen as confirmed by closer control over women, conservatism and religious bigotry. Many Hemshinli make the same points but evaluate them more positively in terms of adherence to local custom and religious ideals.

Group difference is a potential aggravating factor in family conflicts. For example, a Hemshinli bride marrying into a Lazi family may find that her difficulties in adjusting to her new, subordinate role as a wife and daughter-in-law are made worse by her inability to speak *Lazuri*, the language used within her new family. Her initial inability to cook Lazi dishes may also render her a butt of jokes for a while.⁴⁰ Some Hemshinli village girls say that Lazi girls are treated more indulgently by being spared much of the hardest work in their natal home. The Lazi themselves emphasize that unmarried girls are normally not expected to milk cows or clean the stables. The indulgence and affection of a mother may also be expressed by the purchase of gold for their unmarried daughters, if they can afford it, by allowing them to keep their own earnings, if they have any, and by providing them with a more elaborate trousseau than is used for Hemshinli village girls.⁴¹ The evaluation of such characteristics is not uniform. Some Hemshinli girls see the Lazi model as a positive example, to be emulated, while others see the same traits as proof that Lazi women are spoilt (*şımarık*), selfish (*bencil*) and conceited (*kendini beğenmiş*). To illustrate the conceited nature of the Lazi, one Hemshinli woman said that while Hemshinli villagers were content to deliver wedding invitations by word of mouth, Lazi insisted on having fashionable invitation cards printed and sent by post.

Hemshinli comment frequently on the violence and excitability of the Lazi, even though this did not prevent some of them from allowing their daughters to marry into Lazi families. Lazi comment retrospectively that Hemshinli used to demand a high bride price (*başlık*) for their hard-working daughters, a price which must, at least occasionally, have been paid, since both sides agree that the usual pattern was for Hemshinli women to marry into Lazi families. When they admit to this, Hemshinli explain their demands in terms of their greater poverty. This was also advanced by both sides as an explanation for why the Hemshinli were the first to engage in migrant work, but some Lazi informants view the Hemshinli's past bride price demands as a sign of sheer greed. They argue that the Hemshinli were richer than the Lazi, owing to extensive animal husbandry (*hayvancılık*), and this remained the case until after the introduction of tea in the 1950s, with all the advantages it conferred on the Lazi. Some suggest that

Hemshinli women were given to the Lazi in marriage because once Hemshinli migrants had received education and begun to marry educated wives from outside their region, there was a surplus of women in the Hemshinli homeland.

It is hard to judge which group experienced a greater degree of poverty under the traditional, subsistence-oriented economic conditions that induced first Hemshinli then Lazi men to seek employment away from home. The reminiscences of the Lazi also foreground tales of economic deprivation, to support their claim that they could not always afford the very high bride price demanded by the Hemshinli and as an incentive for large-scale labour migration. Of course, stereotypical representations rarely allow for class and individual variations, and we must assume that contradictory images reflect both group heterogeneity and changes within each over time.

The basic pattern, which presents the Hemshinli as the bride-givers and the Lazi as the bride-takers, corresponds to patterns noted by Michael Meeker for a village in the county of Of in the Trabzon area and discussed in terms of hypergamy, where women are given by lower prestige groups to husbands of higher prestige groups.⁴² It is difficult to classify Lazi–Hemshinli relationships in such terms. It was only after the introduction of tea in the 1950s that the economic balance tipped decisively in favour of the Lazi. The presumed one-way movement of women from Hemshinli villages to Lazi settlements may date from earlier times when, in search of a more predictable livelihood, Hemshinli sought to build alliances with the Lazi to facilitate their buying up of land and moving permanently closer to the coast-line.⁴³ They made every effort to establish family alliances with groups closer to the coast, to obtain better agricultural opportunities as well as access to commerce in the market centres. Such alliances did not, however, place them in the position of a low prestige group in a system of classical hypergamy.

Pre-modern patterns of marriage point to a preference for group and sometimes village endogamy, an extreme form of which was close-kin marriage. In practice, out-marriage has probably always been an option. In Pazar some informants state that intermarriage between the two groups began only in the late 1980s, while others suggest the 1960s. Hemshinli explain the changing attitude towards intermarriage by the general prosperity the tea economy brought to Lazi villages, which has enabled the Lazi to catch up with the Hemshinli (e.g. in education). Others, however, recall cases from as far back as the 1940s. In spite of the variation in individual experience and memory, the general consensus is that before the introduction of tea, intra-group endogamy was much more strictly observed.

Intermarriage according to records⁴⁴

So far I have been discussing what people assert should be the case (and why), and what they believe to have been the case in reality (and why). An analysis of some marriage records in Pazar, the westernmost Lazi county which also has a number of Hemshinli villages, allows a closer view of the empirical reality of intermarriage between these groups. The available data are not unproblematic. I had access only to marriage records from the 1940s and 1950s and the late

1980s and early 1990s. In the former period only a small percentage of marriages were officially registered. Furthermore, marriage registers specify the place of birth, but not the group affiliation, of the marriage partners. Although it is well known which villages are exclusively Lazi and which are exclusively Hemshinli, villages containing clusters of both as well as towns which have a mixed population have had to be excluded from the analysis. Despite such difficulties, the data are reliable enough to indicate tendencies (Table 14.1).

Figures from the 1950s suggest an absolute and relative rise in the number of mixed unions. In 1955 the registered marriages in which both parties came from exclusively Lazi villages constituted 57.28 per cent of the total number of marriages; while in 1989 such intra-ethnic unions made up only 28.53 per cent of the total.⁴⁵ However, a breakdown of mixed marriages shows a discrepancy with the norm that prescribes a one-way movement of women (Table 14.2).

Table 14.1 Marriages in the Pazar county

<i>Year of marriage</i>	<i>Number of registered marriages between inhabitants of exclusively Lazi villages</i>	<i>Number of registered mixed marriages (between Lazi and Hemshinli, and Lazi and other)</i>
1945	189	22
1950	104	7
1954	165	27
1955	232	26
1956	253	37
1989	222	49
1990	137	49
1991	289	65

Table 14.2 The composition of Hemshinli–Lazi couples in the Pazar county

<i>Year of marriage</i>	<i>Number of marriages between Lazi men and Hemshinli women</i>	<i>Number of marriages between Hemshinli men and Lazi women</i>
1945	9	10
1950	1	4
1954	6	10
1955	4	8
1956	10	15
1989	15	11
1990	27	11
1991	18	17

Available figures are small but confirm that mixed marriages did take place in the 1940s. In fact, we must reckon with a larger number of intermarriages, since, in the past, many marriages were not registered with the authorities. Furthermore, for both past and present figures, marriages between people residing in mixed villages and in market centres have been excluded, as in these cases we have no way of knowing the spouses' ethnic affiliations. In spite of their deficiencies, these statistics indicate that Hemshinli–Lazi marriages have been taking place since at least the 1940s, much earlier than most informants suggest. The assertion that the general tendency was for Hemshinli women to marry Lazi men is not supported by these figures. It seems, then, that both the persistence of stereotypes and the expressed norm of group endogamy reflect an awareness of group difference; they do not conform to actual practice, at least not in recent times.

Marriage rituals

Customs surrounding marriage rituals are often singled out to highlight group and regional differences. The taking away of the bride's identity card by the groom's family at the engagement ritual, symbolizing the girl's incorporation into the groom's lineage, is found in certain eastern districts along this coastline. Here a young couple is allowed to enjoy sexual liberty after the religious marriage ceremony, even when this precedes the wedding proper. Other differences between eastern and western districts include the persistence of bride wealth payments until the very recent past in the Pazar region among both the Hemshinli and the Lazi, while further east such payment seems to have disappeared generations ago.⁴⁶ Some emphasize the merging of traditions, and no one was certain of the origins of the ritualized exchange between the bride-givers and the bride-takers known locally as *mangalcılık*. This involves the bride-givers asserting many demands for money, sweets, cigarettes, a pistol and so on, which the groom's side is obliged to meet. In the Pazar region, the custom is maintained at Lazi village weddings (not at the modern wedding organized in the municipal wedding hall) and has taken on a humorous form which often provides one of the highlights of the wedding day. Ethnographic evidence from a Georgian migrant village in western Turkey points to the possible Caucasian origins of the ritual. However, there it never assumed a comic aspect; rather, because it took on an increasingly demanding nature, the ritual was dropped by general consensus.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, some Hemshinli assert that *mangalcılık* was a Hemshinli practice, later taken over by the Lazi.

Conclusion

On the northern slopes of the Kaçkar Mountains, Hemshinli–Lazi relations have been more fully articulated through stereotypical representations than the contacts of either with other groups in the region. Physical proximity, similarities in economy and culture and a certain measure of interdependence have been consistently masked by stereotypes emphasizing difference and distinctiveness.

These representations have to some extent acquired a life of their own, diverging from actual behaviour, which they perhaps never reflected accurately, and contributing to the persistence of a sense of group distinctiveness. Following Horowitz's classification, the two groups appear to be in an unranked or parallel relationship with each other, which accounts for their mixed evaluations of one another.⁴⁸ Today the Hemshinli are usually admired rather than despised by the Lazi. They are respected for their superior business skills and their high level of education. The Hemshinli evaluation of the Lazi tends to be similarly positive, with entrepreneurial skills and high literacy rates attributed to both groups. As a result of the impact of the media, comparisons are made increasingly with the rest of Anatolia, and, in the 1990s, with foreigners coming from the former Soviet Union. This includes a blurring of old differences and of the well-known general 'Laz' or Black Sea image, as depicted by Meeker.⁴⁹

Both economic competition for scarce resources and symbiosis probably go back a long way. Although stereotypes cannot explain the many subtleties of inter-group relations and lived realities, the fact that many representations focus on intermarriage confirms the unranked nature of this relationship. Contradictions in the explanations of congruent stereotypes put forward by members of the two groups reveal the constant competition for prestige. One informant, a Lazi woman, concluded that 'the Hemshinli and the Lazi suit each other' (*Hemşinli ve Laz birbirine uyuyor*). A somewhat more poetic expression of the non-hierarchical, symbiotic nature of group relations is the well-known legend of the origin of the bagpipe (*tulum*), usually associated with the pastoralist Hemshinli but long appropriated by the Lazi into their own group tradition. The legend itself, based on the elopement of a Hemshinli youth with a Lazi girl, encapsulates all the ambivalence surrounding intermarriage between the two groups, the inclination and reluctance, but significantly it concludes not in violence but in the most peaceful realization of inter-group relations. The girl's relatives go off in pursuit of the young people. The boy responds by making some bagpipes. When he starts to play, the unusual sound of the instrument frightens the pursuers. They decide to give up, and to allow the young people to marry.⁵⁰

Notes

- 1 This chapter is the outcome of fieldwork carried out jointly with Chris Hann supported by a grant from the Economic and Social Research Council of Great Britain (R000 23 3208 01-1991-1993). This work was based in the county of Pazar, and it supplements earlier fieldwork (1983 and 1988) in a village in the county of Fındıklı. All work was done using the medium of Turkish. I thank Wolfgang Feurstein and Michael Meeker for allowing me to refer to their unpublished dissertations. My thanks are also due to the Turkish authorities who allowed me partial access to the Pazar marriage registers.
- 2 Donald L. Horowitz. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1985), p. 22.
- 3 I am aware that concentrating on stereotypical images as homogenous entities masks the subtleties of local perceptions. It is questionable to what extent it is justified to speak of the existence of group identity among the Hemshinli. As Benninghaus notes, if such an awareness exists between the eastern and the western Hemshinli, it is best

- described as weak. See Rüdiger Benninghaus, 'Zur Herkunft und Identität der Hemşinli', in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, ed. Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rüdiger Benninghaus (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989), p. 488. Field research also reveals differences among the Lazi of the eastern and the western valleys. Group and regional identities usually become more pronounced among migrants. Nevertheless, in Pazar, where most of these materials were collected, group differences and similarities are usually expressed in terms of simplified stereotypes, and this is my justification for proceeding along these lines.
- 4 Wolfgang Feurstein, 'Hemşinen', in *Die Völker der Erde: Kulturen und Nationalitäten von A-Z*, ed. Inga Rogg and Eckard Schuster (Gütersloh/München: Bertelsmann Lexicon Verlag, 1992), p. 146; Wolfgang Feurstein, 'Lasen', in *Die Völker der Erde* (henceforth, Feurstein (1992)), p. 206; Benninghaus (1989), p. 477; 'Catalogue of Ethnic Groups: Laz', in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, p. 176.
 - 5 Michael E. Meeker, 'The Black Sea Turks: Some Aspects of their Ethnic and Cultural Background', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (London, 1971), 2, no. 4, pp. 319–20.
 - 6 H. Yazıcı, *Fındıklı* (Fındıklı, Turkey: Privately printed, 1984), p. 234; Benninghaus (1989), pp. 488–89.
 - 7 Wolfgang Feurstein, *Untersuchung zur materiellen Kultur der Lazen* (Magisterarbeit/MA thesis, University of Freiburg im Breisgau, 1983).
 - 8 Since fieldwork was conducted largely in the western part of the region, I cannot verify statements concerning the competence of the eastern Hemshinli in their western Armenian language. For references, see Benninghaus (1989), p. 477, and Chapter 10 by Bert Vaux (this volume).
 - 9 For a study of Turkish dialects in this area see Turgut Günay, *Rize İli Ağızları: İnceleme-Metinler-Sözlük* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı/Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1978). To appreciate linguistic and ethnic complexities in the region, see Brent Brendemoen, 'Laz Influence on Black Sea Turkish Dialects?', in *Altaica Osloensia: Proceedings from the 32nd Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference: Oslo, June 12–16, 1989* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1991), and Chris Hann, 'Ethnicity, Language and Politics in North-east Turkey', in *The Politics of Ethnic Consciousness*, ed. Cora Govers and Hans Vermeulen (London: Macmillan, 1997). See Chapter 11 by Uwe Bläsing on Armenian loanwords in the Turkish dialect of the western Hemshinli (this volume).
 - 10 Anthony Bryer, 'Some Notes on the Laz and Tzan (I)', *Bedi Kartlısa: Revue de kartvélogie* (Paris, 1966), 21–22, and (II, 1967) 23–24; Alexandre Toumarkine, *Les Lazes en Turquie (XIX^e–XX^e siècles)* (Istanbul: Isis, 1995); Ali İhsan Aksamaz, *Kafkasya'dan Karadeniz'e: Lazların Tarihsel Yolculuğu* (Istanbul: Çivi yazıları, 1997); Muhammed Vanilişi and Ali Tandilava, *Lazlar'ın Tarihi*, translated from Georgian by Hayri Hayrioğlu (Istanbul: Ant Yayınları, 1992). One could also mention the publications of the Turkish author F. Kırzioğlu, who has made attempts to reconstruct Lazi and Hemshinli histories to suit the needs of a homogenous Turkish nation state. He argues (unconvincingly) that both groups are of Turkish stock. For an example, see Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, 'Lazlar/Çanarlar', in *Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler: VII. Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 25–29 Eylül 1970* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972). For a critique, see İldikó Bellér-Hann, 'Myth and History on the Eastern Black Sea Coast', *Central Asian Survey* (London, 1995), 14, no. 4. For a discussion of the influence of state historiography on Hemshin self-perception, see Chapter 15 by Rüdiger Benninghaus (this volume).
 - 11 Anthony Bryer and David Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1985), p. 337; Benninghaus (1989), p. 482. See Chapters 1 and 2 (this volume).
 - 12 Horowitz (1985), p. 29.
 - 13 Benninghaus (1989), p. 491; Rüdiger Benninghaus, 'The Laz: An Example of Multiple Identification', in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey* (henceforth, Benninghaus (1989a)), p. 498; Toumarkine (1995), pp. 87–88.

- 14 This sensitivity derives largely from Turkish-Armenian antagonisms dating back to the Armenian Genocide during the First World War; see Benninghaus (1989), p. 486.
- 15 Feurstein (1983), p. 13; 'Catalogue of Ethnic Groups: Laz', in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, p. 178.
- 16 This is consistent with Horowitz' assertion that aggression among unranked groups is more readily expressed than among hierarchically ordered groups. Horowitz (1985), p. 29.
- 17 On the tea economy see Christopher M. Hann, *Tea and the Domestication of the Turkish State* (Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire: Eothen Press, 1990).
- 18 Benninghaus (1989), pp. 485 and 477; Gabriele Paleczek, *Der Wandel der traditionellen Wirtschaft in einem anatolischen Dorf* (Vienna: Verlag Ferdinand Berger und Söhne, 1987); Paul J. Magnarella, *The Peasant Venture: Tradition, Migration and Change among Georgian Peasants in Turkey* (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing, 1979).
- 19 On population movements in the eastern Pontos and the merging of local Pontic peoples with the incoming Turks see Anthony Bryer, 'The Tourkokratia in the Pontos: Some Problems and Preliminary Conclusions', *Neo-Hellenika* (Austin, TX, 1970), 1; Michael E. Meeker, *The Black Sea Turks: A Study of Honor, Descent, and Marriage* (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1970), pp. 30–32.
- 20 The contribution of members of many diverse groups to the formation of the modern categories of Lazi and Hemshinli has been termed 'small assimilation' by one local intellectual; he called the incorporation of these groups into Atatürk's nation-building project a 'great assimilation'.
- 21 Anthony Bryer, 'The Last Laz Risings and the Downfall of the Pontic *Derebeys*, 1812–1840', *Bedi Kartlisa: Revue de kartvélogie* (Paris, 1969), 26.
- 22 Benninghaus (1989), p. 482; Horowitz (1985), p. 25.
- 23 For a discussion of Anatolians' conceptions of the Laz, see Meeker (1971), pp. 323–26, and Toumarkine (1995), pp. 73–77.
- 24 Toumarkine remarks that the relationship between the Lazi and the Georgians is of the same order as the relationship between the Lazi and Hemshinli. Toumarkine (1995), p. 88.
- 25 It must be stressed, however, that this material was collected in the western counties, and that images of the eastern Hemshinli are probably different.
- 26 Horowitz (1985), p. 24.
- 27 Nikolai Iakovlevich Marr, 'Iz poiezdkii v Turetskii Lazistan: Vpechatleniia i nabliudeniia' [Travels in Turkish Lazistan: Impressions and Observations], *Izviestiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk – Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St-Petersbourg* (1910), 4 (6th series), no. 8, 1 May, p. 618.
- 28 Although this 'agility' of the Lazi is almost proverbial, some sources supply contrasting views. Marr found that the Lazi never hurry. If one of them walks fast, it is considered so unusual that even strangers ask him: 'What has happened?' Marr (1910), no. 7, 15 April, p. 562.
- 29 Here stereotypical representations are to some extent undermined by historical references to the fact that in the pre-modern period, Lazi and Hemshinli valley lords were constantly fighting each other; one Hemshinli agha is also mentioned as a pirate. Karl Koch, 'Reise von Redut-Kaleh nach Trebisond (Kolchis und das Land der Lazen)', in *Die Kaukasischen Länder und Armenien in Reiseschilderungen von Curzon, K. Koch, Macintosh, Spencer und Wilbraham*, ed. Karl Koch (Leipzig: Carl B. Lorck, 1855), p. 112; also quoted in Benninghaus (1989), p. 491.
- 30 Marr (1910), p. 624.
- 31 Reproaches for lack of hospitality and politeness among the Lazi are articulated by the Hemshinli in the following verse:

<i>Lazlar lazlar melezler</i>	The Lazi are mongrels,
<i>Hoşmeni yemezler</i>	They do not eat <i>hoşmeni</i>
<i>Birbirine gitse</i>	When they visit each other
<i>Hoş geldin demezler</i>	They do not say 'welcome'.

- 32 Feurstein's statement may hold true for men, but it does not address the possibility of a Hemshinli bride settling among the Lazi. The desirability of endogamous unions among Lazi villagers contrasts with the exogamous customs among the Georgians and Mingrelians. See Georges Charachidzé, *Le système religieux de la Géorgie païenne: Analyse structurale d'une civilisation* (Paris: F. Maspéro, 1968), pp. 62–63; quoted in Toumarkine (1995), p. 102. For Caucasian marriage customs see also Louis J. Luzbetak, *Marriage and the Family in Caucasia: A Contribution to the Study of North Caucasian Ethnology and Customary Law* (Vienna-Mödling: St Gabriel's Mission, 1951). Muslim Georgian villagers who migrated to western Turkey have adhered to such exogamous practices, while Paleczek noted the existence of both exogamous and endogamous tendencies among migrant Lazi villagers near Bursa. Magnarella (1979), p. 28; Paleczek (1987), p. 84.
- 33 Wolfgang Feurstein and T. Berdsena, 'Die Lasen: Eine südkaukasische Minderheit in der Türkei', *Pogrom: Zeitschrift für bedrohte Völker* (Hamburg, 1987), no. 129 (3), p. 36.
- 34 Toumarkine (1995), p. 51.
- 35 Ibid., pp. 50–51. For references to past intermarriage between Lazi and Greeks, see Brendemoen (1991), p. 56.
- 36 Toumarkine (1995), pp. 87–88.
- 37 Geographical conditions did not create unsurpassable obstacles to intermarriage. On the contrary, contact was regular and close, both at lowland market centres and in upland pastures. Some upland Lazi villages have preserved a lifestyle in which animal husbandry retains its former importance, while many Lazi tea cultivators have preserved the memory of seasonal migrations to the high pastures.
- 38 Benninghaus (1989), p. 491.
- 39 Contrast with Benninghaus, who reports that the Hemshinli regard Lazi women as more hard-working than their own. Benninghaus (1989), p. 491.
- 40 However, these difficulties are considered insignificant today. Most Hemshinli brides who marry into a Lazi village soon learn enough Lazuri to get by and to be able to integrate. But stereotypes have become encapsulated in specimens of oral tradition which today are evoked in jest, as reminders of past tensions. One such rhyme was quoted in my presence by a Hemshinli woman in a mixed group:

<i>Kaynana iyisi</i>	The good mother-in-law's
<i>Derin olsun kuyusu</i>	well should be deep;
<i>Ne kadar derin olsa</i>	No matter how deep,
<i>Görünür muncirisi</i>	her nose will stick out of it.

Use of the Lazuri word for nose instead of the Turkish term makes it plain that it is the Lazi mother-in-law who is made fun of by her Hemshinli daughter-in-law.

- 41 Both sides agree that Lazi women are more likely to collect and control the money they earn from tea cultivation. While group stereotypes emphasize a north–south divide, women's position in the household and their ability to control the budget is subject to a further intra-regional (and of course individual) variation, with greater control exercised by women in families in the eastern settlements of Hopa, Arhavi and Fındıklı, compared to Ardeşen and Pazar. Ildikó Bellér-Hann and Chris Hann, *Turkish Region: State, Market and Social Identities on the East Black Sea Coast* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press, 2001).
- 42 Meeker (1970), p. 137.
- 43 An elderly Hemshinli, brought up in the Hemshinli quarter of a Lazi village, related the family tradition according to which they purchased their piece of land from the Lazi *ağa* for as little as a *teneke* (tin-plate). Marr reported a hundred years ago that a Lazi village had some twenty Hemshinli houses. Another enigmatic reference by the same author refers to further points of contacts. In Atina (modern Pazar), Marr came across pure Lazi forms of family names in the Hemshinli village of Meleskür. Marr (1910), pp. 627–28.

- 44 TC İçişleri Bakanlığı Nüfus ve Vatandaşlık İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Pazar.
- 45 Figures for Lazi villages also show increasing openness to marry outside one's own village (regardless of group membership). According to the available figures, in 1945 62 per cent of Lazi village residents married within their own village, while in 1991 only 28 per cent did so.
- 46 For ethnographic details of east–west differences along the coastline see Bellér-Hann and Hann (2001).
- 47 Magnarella (1979), p. 50.
- 48 Horowitz (1985), p. 28.
- 49 1970; 1971.
- 50 I heard this legend from several informants. A more elaborate version has been published by Yazıcı, in which, to get rid of their pursuers, the young people make two instruments, the bagpipe (*tulum*), traditionally associated with the Hemshinli, and a string instrument (*kemençe*), associated with the Lazi. Yazıcı (1984), p. 57.

15 Turks and Hemshinli

Manipulating ethnic origins and identity

Rüdiger Benninghaus

Introduction

Muslims or Alevis of Armenian origin live in various parts of Anatolia today. Although nobody can provide an exact figure, their number may reach into the hundreds of thousands. While some of them converted to Islam relatively recently, generally during the Armenian Genocide of the First World War, others embraced Islam – or were embraced by Islam – several centuries ago; for the Hemshinli, whose conversion probably began in the seventeenth century, it took a few hundred years until their conversion was complete.

More recent converts cannot deny their Armenian roots even if they do not speak any Armenian, since their neighbours know their personal history or the history of their direct forefathers. The case is different with the Hemshinli in Turkey, since most of the Hemshinli of both the western (Rize province) and eastern (Artvin province) branches either strongly deny having Armenian roots and undertake efforts to ‘prove’ their Turkish roots or simply refuse to speak about it.¹ The ‘rejectionists’, as we may call them, have joined with Turkish nationalists (*Türkçüler* or *milliyetçiler*) in their efforts, or have at least adopted their theories concerning the ethnic origin of the Hemshinli. ‘Rejectionists’ are especially numerous among the western Hemshinli, while eastern Hemshinli are rarely found among those actively engaged in proving the Turkishness (*Türklük*) of their people. Whereas in the eastern Black Sea region the term Hemshinli is generally understood to be the designation for a distinct ethnic group, the ‘rejectionists’ want to see it as a derivation from the Hemşin/Çamlıhemşin area, thus explaining Hemshinli as being locals of that area.²

This chapter will examine the methods and consequences of the manipulation of ethnic origins by both (western) Hemshinli and non-Hemshinli, generally Turks, and discuss the main reasons for these efforts. Since the history of the Hemshinli is covered in other chapters of this book, more objective and reliable findings that are generally accepted when dealing with the historical points of the theories cited here will not be presented in this article.

‘Scientific’ and political Turkicization of Muslim ethnic minorities in Turkey

Falsification of history and ethnic origin, especially when it concerns minorities and is promoted by representatives of a country’s majority population, often occurs by order of governmental institutions or even as a constitutive element of state ideology. This relatively widespread phenomenon³ in non-democratic or marginally democratic states has taken on large-scale proportions in Turkey. Thus, ethnic groups or populations of the past (Huns, Scythians, Sakas, Cimmerians, Parthians, Hittites, Avars and others) who have disappeared long ago, as well as non-Turkic ethnic groups living in present-day Turkey, have come to be labelled Turkish, Proto-Turkish or Turanian.⁴

The Turkish history thesis (*Türk tarih tezi*) was proclaimed at the first *Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Turkish History Congress) held in Ankara in 1932. It was prepared by a committee of selected historians (or pseudo-historians), the *Türk Tarih Tetkik Heyeti*. Reşit Galip was one of the predominant figures in this enterprise. The purpose of the thesis was aptly described (and justified) by Enver Ziya Karal in 1946: ‘This research is carried out for the nation in order to clarify the genuine character of our history and to protect it from foreign historical views that bring error to our national history’.⁵ During the same period, Hasan Reşit Tankut (1891 or 1893–1980) constructed a striking theory about the origin of languages known as *güneş dil teorisi*, the sun-language theory, saying that the Turkish language was the ‘mother’ of all other languages.⁶ The still existing Foundation for Turkish History (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) and the Foundation for the Turkish Language (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) were the first institutional offsprings of these activities.

Despite the recognition of the fact that the ancestors of the Turks came from Central Asia, it was denied that they belonged to a Mongolian race; rather, it was asserted that they came from ‘the white race’. More important in this context is that under this thesis, all civilizations were thought of as being Turkish in origin or at least strongly influenced by the Turks historically.⁷

These two theories, which have to be seen as a unity, seem to have been born out of a collective inferiority complex in Turkish society, which might less drastically be called a search for (national) identity.⁸ They were obviously created by the order of the founder of Republican Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Pasha (Atatürk).⁹ Atatürk is quoted to have said in 1932 that ‘People from Diyarbakir, Van, Erzurum, Trabzon, Rize, Thrace, and Macedonia all are descendants of one race, all are veins of the same precious stone’.¹⁰

A little over a decade earlier, in 1920, a speech given by Atatürk in the Turkish Parliament was of a different character: ‘Our Great National Assembly [the Parliament] not only consists of Turks and not only of Circassians, not only of Kurds and not only of Laz, but of all Muslim peoples. . . . Therefore, the nation we are defending consists of different population elements’.¹¹ At that time, the solidarity of all citizens was urgently needed. Only four years later, the situation having changed, a different tune was played in the Turkish Parliament in the

course of the discussion over the new constitution:

Our state is a national state. It is not a multi-ethnic state. The state does not acknowledge any other nation except the Turkish. Other people live in the state who originate from other races, yet enjoy the same rights. However, it is not permissible to grant them ethnic rights or to allow the spread of remarks promoting such things.¹²

The alleged superiority of the Turks was expressed clearly by Turkish Prime Minister İsmet İnönü in his 1930 statement that 'only the Turkish nation has the right to utter ethnic or racial demands in this country'.¹³ Even more drastically, the former minister of justice Mehmet Esat, in the same year, declared that 'There is more liberty in Turkey than anywhere else in the world. This is the country of the Turks. Those who are not of pure Turkish origin have only one right in this country: the right to become servants, the right to be slaves'.¹⁴

The most extreme peak of the racism underlying these theories is personified in Hüseyin Nihal Atsız (1905–1975), whose ideas are somehow still alive among Turkish nationalists, although he himself did not become prominent during his lifetime. He is quoted to have written such statements as 'the basis of the Turkish race should be race and blood not language', 'it does not matter if our numbers are few. It is better to be few and clean', and 'the best way to get rid of this microbe is massacre. Only the Turks should have the right to live in Turkey'.¹⁵

Although these two strands of official debate – the postulation of only one race or nation (often by denying the existence of other ethnic groups) and the propagation of the superiority of everything Turkish in theory and also in practice – somehow contradict one another, together they have formed the guidelines for the handling of minorities in Turkey for decades.

While the sun-language theory is no longer seriously propagated as such, the underlying mentality is still alive, namely in the tendency to discover under every stone and behind every tree a Turk or at least remnants of things Turkish.¹⁶ Even to this day, ridiculous statements are often encountered that rely on basic assumptions of the Turkish history thesis and the sun-language theory: 'History shows that the eastern area of Anatolia as well as its western, northern and southern regions have been populated by Turks since the time of the prophet Noah! It was the Turks who brought civilization to the south as well as to the west!'¹⁷ In a German journal, cartoonist Hans Traxler published an excellent caricature that illustrates this topic: on one side of the picture a few elderly persons with animals are seen leaving a huge boat, and on the other side is a group of people with oriental features and dress playing shawm, drum and other instruments; its caption reads: 'On disembarking from his ark, Noah is welcomed warmly by the Turkish population'.¹⁸

The designation '*Türk*'¹⁹ is often used in Turkey not in an ethnic sense, but as a term to describe a member of the 'Turkish nation'. In this vein, all non-Turkic (Muslim) ethnic groups are perceived as Turks, whether they are Kurds, Laz, Circassians, Arabs, Hemshinli or others. Moreover, separate ethnicities of Turkic

peoples such as Azeri, Kırgız, Kazak, Uzbek, Uygur and others are denied by adding 'Türkleri' to their proper names.²⁰ This leads to a certain confusion, a mixing up of nationality and ethnic origin and the rejection of identities other than a Turkish one. Indeed, this attitude was written into the constitution (*anayasa*) of the Republic of Turkey, § 66: 'All those who are bound to the Turkish state by bonds of citizenship are Turks'.²¹

In line with this general perception, one Hemshinli has made the following declaration on an internet website: 'Being Hemshinli is being part of an ethnic origin that makes up the nation of Turks; I am one of them. . . . For me being part an ethno-cultural group even carries linguistic difference would and should no longer affect the membership of grate [*sic*] nationalities.'²² The term '*Türkiye'li*' (belonging to/coming from Turkey), which was coined and is used by leftists, would certainly be a more appropriate designation, one that could cover all ethnic groups living within the territory of the Republic of Turkey without violating non-Turkic ethnic groups.²³ However, this relatively new label is rejected by Turkish nationalists.²⁴

In Turkey only non-Muslim minorities such as the Greeks, Armenians (only Christian) and Jews are recognized as and called minorities (Turkish: *azınlıklar*).²⁵ This specific usage derives from the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. Thus, when referring to the Laz, especially those who have started activities around Lazi culture, Göktürk Ömer Çakır wrote: 'those people who characterize themselves as Laz, as a separate ethnic group, are not a minority. . . . At the same time, they show that they do not only lack knowledge about historical and sociological realities, but also of the juridicial side of the topic'.²⁶ Ali Sırtlı, himself of Hemshin origin (see more about him below), even asserted that 'in Turkey there are only three ethnic minorities (Greeks, Jews, Armenians) in view of the point of origin. Those who say "there are more than twenty ethnic groups" in Turkey are, first of all, ignorant, then stupid, and afterwards "traitors" or their trumpeters'. With this statement, he actually insulted an author who ideologically stands close to him, Orhan Türkdoğan, who admitted the existence of at least a few more ethnic groups (he even spoke of minorities!).²⁷

The largest ethnic minority in Turkey, the Kurdish people, has attracted the attention of a number of academics and pseudo-academics, who have undertaken a significant effort to prove the Kurds' Turkishness. The *Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü* (Research Institute for Turkish Culture) in Ankara has been especially active in publishing the *oeuvres* of these brain acrobats. Besides the Kurds,²⁸ many other Muslim ethnic minorities have been Turkicized on paper, accompanied by assimilation started in schools and continued at different levels of society. The neighbours of the Hemshinli, the Laz and Georgians (*Gürcü*), have also been targets of this Turkicization.²⁹

The reasons for this treatment of ethnic minorities are more or less the same across the board, though in the case of the Hemshinli one additional factor can be singled out: the phenomenon of Armenophobia among large sectors of Turkish society. In view of the Turkish-Greek antagonism, similar discussions have taken place in the case of the Pontic Greek-speaking Muslims of the Trabzon province.³⁰

To some extent, the restrictions on ethnic groups in Turkey with regard to expression of their cultural peculiarities (especially language) are being relaxed in order to please the Europeans, who otherwise would have good reasons for not permitting Turkey to enter the European Union. Still, in spite of the understanding that differences can no longer be denied completely, there have been some renewed attempts to diminish the importance of ethnic differences. To this end, the use of the terms 'sub-culture' (*alt kültür*) and 'sub-identity' (*alt kimlik*) instead of 'ethnic groups' or 'ethnic identity' has been instituted. These new terms stand in opposition to a Turkish *üst kültür* or *üst kimlik* (supreme culture, supreme identity).³¹

Turkish nationalism³² and the Hemshinli

Since the Hemshinli are relatively unknown in Turkey as a distinct ethnic group, they were discovered relatively late for the sort of redefinition described above. Even though the basis for this work was laid earlier, the beginning of attempts at redefining them has certainly to be seen as a reaction to recent publications about the Hemshinli by Western or other authors. Thus it seems that the publications of this author's article in Peter Alford Andrews' edited work on the ethnic minorities of Turkey, of the unauthorized Turkish translation of that work (which actually did not contain this author's article but only the catalogue of ethnic groups, including the Hemshinli), of Hâle Soysü's book on ethnic groups which contained a chapter on the Hemshinli, and of a translation of Levon Khach'ikyan's article on the history of Hamshen Armenians, were the most influential in provoking reactions by Turkish nationalists, whether they were Hemshinli or not.³³ Just as some Kurds were among those falsifying facts of history to serve Turkish nationalist agendas, Hemshinli are helping to create propaganda promoting the Turkishness of their people as well.

To ensure that their theories could be applied to all ethnic groups in the eastern Black Sea area, both in history and in the present, nationalists have 'prophylactically' asserted a 6,000-year-old Turkish presence in that area.³⁴ Some others exaggerate a bit less, but nevertheless take many liberties with the facts of history. Thus a certain Professor Osman Nedim Tuna claimed that Turks have been in eastern Anatolia for at least 3,500 years in a book published by the official *Türk Dil Kurumu* (Turkish Language Foundation) in 1990.³⁵

It should be noted that some of those most active in Turkicizing minority ethnic groups, including the Hemshinli, have been military officers of various ranks (Tirebolulu Alparslan, M. Rıza, Edip Yavuz, Hüseyin Mümtaz). The Turkish military has always conceived of itself as the protector of the unity of the Turkish state. Thus it seems that one of the first written accounts to present the Hemshinli as Turks is that of major Hüseyin Avni Bey (Tirebolulu Alparslan), who spoke about 'Hemşin Türk' villages when referring to the Hopa region.³⁶ Whether this derived from lack of knowledge or intention remains an open question.

The retired colonel M. Rıza published his *oeuvre Identity (or Egoism) and the Unity of Our Language* in 1933, in a period when the above-mentioned theories

in Turkish historiography were being developed. Although his main aim was to prove the Turkishness of the Kurds, other ethnic groups also fell within his purview. About the Hemshinli, he wrote:

customs, lifestyle and ethnographic similarities show that this people derives from the Hati-Hittite Turks. As stated at the beginning of this book, Armenian was once spoken by the pre-Islamic Turks due to the influence of the confession they had adopted, but as Muslims they returned to their Turkishness and acquired their national identity. Today, this people speaks Turkish; it does not know any other language.³⁷

Chris Hann's findings on the influence of individuals ('intellectuals') in constructing a specific ethnicity and their role in the ethnic mobilization of the Lazi and the Ruthenians could be extended to the Hemshinli.³⁸ For the latter, it is the historian (or pseudo-historian) Professor (Mehmet) Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, the spiritual father of the 'rejectionists', who played this role.³⁹ He was born in 1917 in the Kars province, yet one may wonder whether the origin of his family might perhaps lie in the Rize Hemshin area.⁴⁰ Although it is not the subject of this chapter, his efforts at Turkicizing the populations in the eastern Black Sea region are notable. Specifically, his so-called revelations about Hemshin history and his influence on some sectors of Hemshin society made a lasting impression in their construction of a Turkish self-identification.⁴¹

Although he published his theories about the Turkish/Turkic origin of the Hemshinli decades ago,⁴² it seems that Kırzioğlu became especially influential and popular as a reaction to the publications of some Western authors dealing with the Armenian origin of the Hemshinli. He provided the gunpowder for the defensive struggle against what are widely considered to be 'incredible accusations'. Of course, the extent of Kırzioğlu's influence on the self-perception of the eastern Black Sea populations is difficult to determine; we can only judge on the basis of references to his works in some publications. A look into internet forums and web pages dealing with Black Sea issues also indicates that his theories are relatively widespread.⁴³ Moreover, they have found – directly or indirectly – entry into official publications on the region.⁴⁴ One might claim that a market obviously existed for theories *à la* Kırzioğlu. Had he not developed these ideas, perhaps someone else would have, according to this reasoning.

At the same time it should be noted that these abstruse theories (called 'proofs' by their authors and sympathizers) of Kırzioğlu and other chauvinists, whether or not they are of Hemshinli origin, are no longer countered with silence, but fiercely rejected in internet forums and elsewhere. Kırzioğlu's methods and pseudo-scientific work are not only countered by foreign scholars,⁴⁵ but also by some authors in Turkey.⁴⁶ Besides that, several authors working on the Hemshinli and their language indirectly rejected Kırzioğlu's theories (without mentioning him) just by publishing different findings.

Kırzioğlu's work could be characterized as an outgrowth of the mentality reflected in the theories of the 1930s mentioned above; he applied their principles

indiscriminately to various ethnic groups that crossed his path. Wolfgang Feurstein and Tucha Berdsena have described Kırzioğlu's method quite well:

At first Kırzioğlu assaults the reader with a flow of names of historical peoples; he then searches for some kind of phonetic correspondence or similarity with an old Turkish tribe, flavours this alleged historical outpouring with a pinch of 'İslam', and presents himself as a competent researcher of Turkishness. Probably never before has a single person in Turkey falsified history so massively!⁴⁷

Contemporary Hemshinli writer Şerif Sayın, though not referring explicitly to Kırzioğlu, may be considered a docile pupil of Kırzioğlu who applies the latter's method perfectly. Thus, like his mentor, he provides a flow of names supposed to prove the Turkishness of the region:

Bu anlaşma gereği, Hazar (PORTÇ = PODAR-POCAT, OS (TORO-TOLO-ORO-OLO), Norm/Nurm, TAR/TAĞ ve ÇAN/ ÇİN) Beyleri ve yağbuları yavaş yavaş islama akın ederler. (Kalaş, Hemşin, Saka-şen, Geredeye kadar PONT (POD-POC, Norm, TAR/TO-TOLO-AS-OS-ORO-OLO) ülkesi olup, Başkenti SİNOP/ SİNOVA idi.⁴⁸

According to Sayın, the Hemshinli cannot obviously be anything but '*saf Türk*' (pure Turk) or '*eski Türk*' (old Turk).⁴⁹ In fact, Kırzioğlu's statement, that the Hemşenli are '*sağlam Müslüman, temiz Türk*' (solid Muslims, pure Turks),⁵⁰ has been echoed by several of his believers.

Kırzioğlu preferred to speak of 'Hemşenli', since this term fitted better into his theory about the origin of the place name Hemşin.⁵¹ The explanation or etymology of this place name is a crucial point in his discussion about the origin of this population. Although Kırzioğlu cited one folk etymology about two Armenian Christian brothers, Ham or Hem and Şen or Şin, who are said to have settled in the Hemshin area,⁵² he himself preferred a second theory. According to this theory, a leader of the Amaduni or Amatuni – for some unknown reason generally given as Amad-Uni by Kırzioğlu – called Hamam rebuilt a devastated place (Dampur/Tampur) in the present Hemshin region, which was then named Hamam-a-şen, and, in the course of time, became Hemşin. Up to this point, his version follows accepted historical tradition. However, whereas Hamam-a-şen actually means 'built by Hamam' in Armenian – the suffix -şen (*shen*) being a widespread particle in Armenian place names⁵³ – Kırzioğlu, followed by his pupils, did not even find it worth quoting such an etymology as one possibility, but rather provided an explanation supposedly based on Turkish etymology, according to which the suffix -şen has to be understood to mean '*şenlik*' (joyfulness) or '*şenlendirmek*' (vitalize, flourish).⁵⁴ Moreover, since Kırzioğlu considered the Parthians (actually an Iranian people) and their ruling Arsacid dynasty to be Turkish, his equation of the Amaduni with the Parthians led him to characterize the Hemshinli as their 'remnants', and thus as 'old Oghuz'. In one of his notorious

sentences, he attested that ‘all Hemşenli [are] of the most beautiful Oghuz/Türkmen type’.⁵⁵

Kırzioğlu was far from being consistent in his efforts to prove the Turkishness of the Hemshinli. Sometimes he called them Oghuz Türkmens,⁵⁶ and at other times they became members of a different Turkic-speaking population, the (Karachay-) Balkars, who belong to the Kipchak branch of the Turkic family.⁵⁷ Putting aside the unlikeliness of a migration of Balkars to the Hemshin area or its close environs – Kırzioğlu actually provided no proof for that – Kırzioğlu’s handling of the place name Parkhal (in Yusufeli county of the province of Artvin, beyond the Pontic range) is in itself rather doubtful. Parkhal/Barkhal (known as Paryadres in classical times) served him as the starting point for his game with letters; at its outcome he detected ‘Bulgars’ and ‘Balkars’:

Taking the name of the ‘Balkar’ Turks into consideration, who live in the middle of the Caucasian mountains and gain their livelihood through stock-breeding, and who speak a language that resembles the Chaghatay-Turkish and has remained very pure, the conducting of ethnological and ethnographical research on the ‘Barkal mountains’ of the Çoruk [Çoruh River] and the ‘Bulgar mountains’ of the Tauros [Taurus] and its environment can provide new results to enlighten the past of our Anatolia. The real origin of the sheep-rearing local population north of the Barkal mountains known as Hemşenli, with their old Armenian dialect [Kırzioğlu is obviously talking about the Hopa Hemshinli] probably has something to do with the Bulgar-Turks, who gave their name to them [the Barkal mountains].⁵⁸

In a later publication he called these ‘Barkal mountains’ – this probably unofficial and not even local naming of the mountains seems to be an invention of that great researcher – ‘Balkar Range’.⁵⁹

In his critique of Haçikyan’s book (which he frankly admitted he has not found worth reading), MHP⁶⁰ functionary İbrahim Dilmaç uttered his conviction that the western Hemshinli have always spoken Turkish, that they had already been Muslims before the conquest of Trabzon by Fatih Sultan Mehmed (1461) and that they did not become Muslims by force. He admitted that the language of the Hopa Hemshinli is a kind of Armenian and that some Armenians may have mixed with the Hemshinli, but at the same time stated that the western Hemshinli had nothing to do with their namesakes in Hopa. When relating that he had heard about Hemshinli settled in Central Asia, it seems that he wanted to suggest the Central Asian origin of all Hemshinli, though he did not explicitly assert it. He added that he largely shared Kırzioğlu’s views.⁶¹

In a short article on history in a Hemshinli periodical,⁶² the author stated that the information provided had been gathered from the stories of elders; however, it actually looks very much like a popular internalizing of Kırzioğlu’s theories. When explaining the origin of the name Hemshin, a German scholar (whoever he may have been) was taken as reference for one theory, saying that the actual name was Hemâşanişin (or Hemişenişin) meaning ‘just settled’. But more space was

devoted to a second theory, according to which the ancestors of the Hemshinli, who migrated to Hemshin, belonged to a Turkish tribe that originated in Central Asia and spoke a mixed language of Persian and Armenian; they were forced by an Orthodox priest to adopt the Armenian-Orthodox confession.

Among the writers who have repeated the theory of a Turkish origin of the Hemshinli are Muzaffer Arıcı,⁶³ Ali Sırtlı,⁶⁴ Ali Rıza Saklı,⁶⁵ Mehmet Bilgin,⁶⁶ Ali Gündüz,⁶⁷ Şakir Aksu⁶⁸ and, though not a researcher in any way, Remzi Bekâr.⁶⁹ Muzaffer Arıcı, as a follower of the Kırzioğlu school, is one of those Hemshinli who want to be more Turkish than the Turks. Ali Sırtlı, born in the rather right-wing county of Çayeli, has propagated the idea of the Turkishness of the eastern Black Sea region and its population in an aggressive way, insulting along the way all those with a different opinion.⁷⁰ Two Laz authors from Georgia, who described the Hemshinli as Islamicized or Muslim Armenians,⁷¹ thus became the target of his insults. In turn, he has suggested that considering the Hemshinli to be Armenians is an insult.⁷² He also advanced the hypothesis that the Hemshinli, as Khorasan Türkmens, belonged to the Kınık tribe of the Oghuz.⁷³

Ali Rıza Saklı, born in a village neighbouring the birthplace of Sırtlı in Çayeli, spreads his Turkish nationalist ideas over the internet. It must be a pleasure for him to quote a like-minded professor (Mithat Kerim Arslan, at one time chairman of the Trabzon branch of *Türk Ocağı*, an extremist nationalist organization) who once stated – thus demonstrating his ignorance:

We are not concerned at all as to the Turkishness of the eastern Black Sea region; it is Turkish from the beginning to the end. . . . There have been Turks in the Black Sea region since the first recorded history. The prevailing and widespread population in the earliest settlements were Turks. All the names of summer pastures are Turkish, because except for the Turks nobody practiced migrations to summer pastures.⁷⁴

Mehmet Bilgin, in his book on the eastern Black Sea area, mentioned the Hemshinli in passing without discussing their ethnic origin, yet he followed Kırzioğlu's rendering of the name as Hemşenli instead of the usual Hemşinli.⁷⁵ Moreover, in a former publication, he had ascribed to them a common origin with the Turkic Ak Koyunlu.⁷⁶ His nationalist credentials are proven in his being awarded in 2001 the *Ziya Gökalp İlim Teşvik Armağanı* annual prize (Ziya Gökalp Prize for the Promotion of Science – Ziya Gökalp, though of Zaza origin, was a Turkish nationalist sociologist) of the grey wolf adorers (*Türk Ocakları*), for his 'academic work on the Turkishness of the Black Sea area'.⁷⁷

Ali Gündüz, while he did not conceal his admiration for Kırzioğlu, quoted various theories of different authors about the origin of the name 'Hemshin' and the Hemshinli. However, he takes the Turkishness of the Hemshinli for granted, even though his own evidence should have convinced him otherwise. In his view, the name of the population did not derive from the place name in the Black Sea or from the founder of that place (Hamam), but from a mountainous area called

Hemshin in eastern Turkestan.⁷⁸ According to this line of thought, migrants to Anatolia brought the name of their population with them from Central Asia, and thus the very possibility of an Armenian origin is excluded. Ironically, with the following sentence he shot the ball into his own goal: 'I think the most beautiful comparison concerning the name "Hemshin" is made by their neighbours, the Laz. The Laz call the Hemshinli "Sumeh". "Sumeh" has the meaning of "three arrows"'.⁷⁹ The reference by Gündüz to the 'three arrows' (*üçok*) is an allusion to one of the two main branches of the Oghuz Turks. Actually '*Somexi*' or '*Sumexi*' (Somekhi, Sumekhi), is the term used in both Georgian and the related *Lazuri* language to designate Armenians; thus when applying the same name to the Hemshinli the three arrows miss their mark.⁸⁰ Similarly, Kırzioğlu had once asserted that the Laz used the designation '*Simekhi*' for the Hemshinli as well as for 'all Turks', which is an even stranger theory, if not a forgery.⁸¹ It should be added here that Georgians in northwestern Anatolia call their Hemshinli neighbours, who immigrated to the region from the Hopa area some 130 years ago, '*Laz Armeni*' or '*Armenoğlu*' (son of an Armenian).⁸²

Şakir Aksu, a Hemshinli internet activist who devotes his services to furthering the nationalist agenda, has argued that his Turkishness is derived from the original name of his birthplace, Bodollu, before it was Turkicized to Mutlu; he asserts that Bodollu actually came from Badıllı or Beydilli. In his description of the Beydilli as a Türkmen tribe of the Alevi religion who then converted to Sunni Islam, he brought a new hypothesis into the discussion.⁸³ Up until that time the only eastern Black Sea people group known as formerly Alevi Türkmen was the Çepni. Furthermore, he acknowledged that in the past Armenians had been living in the Hemshin area, but had been 'resettled' (i.e. deported in the First World War) so that not a single Armenian remained in the region. 'Thus, the present population of Hemshin is Turkish'.⁸⁴

Remzi Bekâr has not published articles or books on his people, but since he is a well-known Hemshinli bagpipe (*tulum*) player, his utterances here and there about the Turkishness of the Hemshinli – a mere repetition of Kırzioğlu's sayings⁸⁵ – have some degree of influence. The sociologist Orhan Türkdoğan,⁸⁶ after having cited different views about the Hemshinli, came to the conclusion that their existence and the existence of the Armenian dialect of the Hopa Hemshinli has to be explained by two related processes: some Turkish tribes were Armenianized by the adoption of the Armenian Christian confession, and some Türkmen clans were settled among Armenians, and as a result learned some Armenian.⁸⁷

Looking at the Turkish nationalist theories about the origin of the name 'Hemşin' (and thus indirectly the question of the ethnic origin of the Hemshinli), one finds that they often contradict one another. Besides that, neither the standard publication by Faruk Sümer on the Oghuz Türkmen,⁸⁸ nor the overview on Turkish populations by Ahmet Caferoğlu,⁸⁹ and not even the booklet by the Turkish nationalist Hilmi Göktürk,⁹⁰ contain any reference to the Hemshinli or the Amatuni as Türkmen tribes.

Besides history, ethnographic details of Hemshinli culture have also been a focus of Turkicization efforts. The bagpipe (*tulum*) is declared to be an ancient

Turkish musical instrument and therefore another proof of the Turkishness of its foremost players, the Hemshinli. Some authors assign it to the 'Avar Turks'.⁹¹ Since the Turkishness of the Avars is doubtful, the alleged Turkish origin of the *tulum* has to be seen in this light. The existence of similar instruments in other parts of the world is even explained as having been the result of Turkish influence.⁹² No consideration is given to the fact that this instrument (and its south-eastern European relative, the *gayda*, which is also played in Turkish Thrace) has a rather limited distribution in Turkey and is not found at all in the areas most heavily populated by Turks, Türkmens or Yörüks in Anatolia. Furthermore, it is remarkable that the rather antiquated idea of a single area of origin with regard to cultural items still prevails among these authors. They also fail to recognize that the instrument not only appears in the Transcaucasian/eastern Black Sea region as *tulum* or *tulumî*, but also among the Georgians as 'chiboni' (*çiboni*) or 'gudastviri'⁹³ and as 'guda'⁹⁴ (besides *tulumî*) among the Lazi.

Another argument in this context is that Armenians would not play the bagpipe⁹⁵ – another example of the limited ethnographical horizon and deep ignorance of such theorists. In an album published by Henry van Lennep in 1862, a picture of an 'Armenian Piper' from the Niksar area (Tokat province) is reproduced.⁹⁶ Moreover, a bagpipe very similar to that of the Hemshinli exists in Armenia under the name 'parakapzuk'.⁹⁷

Proponents of the Turkish theory also stress observations with regard to tombstones in the region of the western Hemshinli. This research revolves around two issues. The first is the existence of old tombstones in the form of rams' heads in the Hemshin area.⁹⁸ This is seen as an old Turkish custom specifically attributed to the Ak Koyunlu Türkmens. Again, no explanation is given as to why such tombstones are to be found in only a few areas of Anatolia. One may also ask why the fifteenth-century Muslim Ak Koyunlu preserved, if this is the case, a pre-Islamic type of tombstone. It is noteworthy that similar tombstones may be seen in another relatively isolated area under Armenian influence, the Dêrsîm region,⁹⁹ and also in Armenia.¹⁰⁰

The second issue is the study of tombstones with Ottoman inscriptions.¹⁰¹ The documentation of such historical monuments – as meritorious as it is in itself – originated as an attempt to counter Western publications on the area,¹⁰² though it is not clear what the existence of Ottoman tombstones should actually prove. The oldest dated tombstone with Ottoman inscriptions originates from 1699;¹⁰³ there are also some from the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, but most date from the nineteenth.

A final, rather strange argument is derived from the perception that the Turks are a people 'that makes history, but does not write history'. Since not many documents are thought to exist about the history of the Hemshinli, this is seen as further proof of their Turkishness.¹⁰⁴

Armenophobia

Perhaps the most important reason for the attempts to prove the Turkishness of the Hemshinli is the strong anti-Armenian sentiment on the part of a large segment

of Turkey's population.¹⁰⁵ A phrase used in Ottoman times seems to be still valid for large parts of today's Muslim population in Turkey: 'For a Muslim, seven Armenian words are the same as a curse'.¹⁰⁶ Ersoy explained the Hemshinli's dislike of being brought into connection with Armenians in this way: 'It is because Armenianness has become the symbol for a population/minority that constitutes a threat in the perception of Turkish nationalism; as a ticklish identity it is kept under suppression from the side of the official ideology'.¹⁰⁷ The anti-Armenian sentiment may be considered as having almost reached the point of psychosis, as in fact the numerically small group constitutes no danger at all for the existence and integrity of the Turkish state. Although it is not the purpose of this chapter to discuss the reasons for this Armenophobia, a few remarks should be made.

Although Christian Armenians are officially recognized as a minority in Turkey, they are certainly the most hated population in the country, probably more so than the Greeks. The fact that Turkey is constantly urged by Armenians and others (sometimes governments) abroad to recognize their massacres of Armenians in different periods of the late Ottoman era as a historical fact – whether one should call it genocide or something different – along with a guilty conscience because of this historical burden, has only contributed to this long-standing attitude towards a population of unbelievers (*gâvur*) who once played an important economic role in different parts of the Ottoman Empire.

The efforts to wipe out any traces of Armenian existence in areas of the eastern part of Anatolia formerly settled by Armenians have led to the eradication of Armenian inscriptions and destruction of monuments of Armenian architecture or to their labelling as 'Selçuk'. At the time of my visit in the 1980s, a few Armenian tombstones in the courtyard of the Van museum remained, but they were without adequate explanation of their origins (they may no longer be there at all). According to a museum employee, an order existed that this museum, located in an area that had once been heavily populated by Armenians, was not allowed to accept Armenian ethnographical artefacts brought there by countrymen for its exhibit.

Turning to the Hemshinli one may ask the question of who, as a Muslim, wants to acknowledge Armenian origin in a political atmosphere such as the one existing in Turkey, or admit that he speaks Armenian?¹⁰⁸ Considering this, it is not surprising that in the 1965 population census, the last one containing questions related to the languages spoken by the population, only one person in the province of Artvin, where the eastern Hemshinli are located, admitted to speaking Armenian. He was obviously a Christian Armenian and not Hemshinli. It is hard to believe that at that time not a single Hemshinli was aware of his language being an Armenian dialect.¹⁰⁹

The currently Turkish-speaking Rize Hemshinli find it easier to deny any Armenian origin – despite the Armenian words that linger in their Turkish dialect. But the fact that the still Armenian-speaking Hopa Hemshinli are called Hemshinli, too, causes them some intellectual troubles, if they think about it at all. A recent tendency among some 'rejectionists' of the western branch of Hemshinli seems to be that they do not want to be lumped into the same box as the Hopa Hemshinli.¹¹⁰ This rejection of their Hopa cousins by the Rize Hemshinli is facilitated by the weakness of a common 'Hemshinli consciousness' uniting both groups,¹¹¹ differences in

language, certain customs and prevailing economic activities have largely prevented the development of such a consciousness. Therefore, by rejecting further speculations about a common origin, the 'rejectionists' can concentrate their efforts on the Rize group and do not bother too much about their Hopa brethren.

Muzaffer Arıcı's attempts in his publications to eliminate any Armenian traces are noteworthy. For example, when editing a Turkish translation of Karl Koch's book on the eastern Black Sea area,¹¹² he deliberately dropped the part of the title containing the words 'Turkish Armenia'. Furthermore, in his list of regional terms in the Rize province one will search for examples of Armenian etymologies in vain. The name for the Armenian Christian feast of *Vartavor*, still celebrated among the western Hemshinli as a non-religious festivity in the summer pastures, is said to be of Persian-Oghuz-Kurdish origin and explained as 'the feast of the rose(s)' – with no mention of any connection to Armenians.¹¹³ For other words of Armenian or other non-Turkish origins used by the Hemshinli he just added 'Hemşin', without providing any etymological explanation.¹¹⁴

Western Hemshinli Şerif Sayın, mentioned above, whose manuscript seems to be written with the intention to prove that his people has nothing to do with Armenians, boasts about the historical knowledge of the Hemshinli, saying that:

In 1405 a traveller named Cuniet had passed here, and a Jew with knowledge of Armenian served him as an interpreter. For this reason however, those who transmitted this reminiscence 600 years later wrote that the Hemshinli were Armenians and that they spoke Armenian. This has no basis at all, since this soil is the soil of the Khazar-Gök-Turks and the oldest ground of the Sakas. Two or three Armenian families living amongst us here have always given us, the Turks, pleasure and honour. That has been so in every period of history. Besides, the Armenians call themselves 'Hay' and their country 'Hayastan'. The Hemshinli, who are much more aware of their nationality than the Greeks, the French, the Russians, the Arabs, and the Germans know their nationality; they know quite well what their nationality is! This soil belongs to the authentic local Turks, the Hemshinli...¹¹⁵

The author was obviously trying to find a middle ground; he felt the necessity to prove a Turkish origin of the Hemshinli, yet he did not want to play the usual anti-Armenian tune at the same time. In his effort, however, logic and historical facts fall by the wayside. Sayın declared nearly all adherents of the Armenian Christian Church(es) to be Turks of the Armenian confession.¹¹⁶

One anonymous writer (nickname: Hemsinli) from the Rize Hemshin area reacted to an article about his people in a Turkish forum by relating his childhood fear that he might have 'Armenian blood' in his veins whenever he thought about the Armenian remnants in his area. After he did some research of his own, however, he formed the opinion that his Turkish forefathers, who originated from Khorasan, had embraced the Armenian Christian religion for some time and had thus been influenced by the Armenian language and Armenian Christian religion.¹¹⁷ Another young Hemshinli treated the proposition of his people's possible

Armenian origin with less fear, saying, 'no writer can tell our origin. But our ancestors may have been Armenians or Greeks, so what? My words to you are: we are Hemshinli and we are proud. This is not a matter for discussion'.¹¹⁸

When Hasan Umur, the historian of the county of Of, visited Hopa in the 1940s, he was quite astonished to hear that some villages spoke an Armenian dialect. When asked about it, one of the Hemshinli told him that 'they would like to get rid of that language, but could not manage to do so'.¹¹⁹ One may assume that this person knew what kind of language his people were speaking. Some people hold that even if Armenian is the mother tongue of the Hopa Hemshinli, this does not mean that they are of Armenian origin.¹²⁰ Yet the Armenian dialect spoken by the Hopa Hemshinli is an encumbrance some would like to get rid of. Thus a Hopa Hemshinli, who himself knew the language, asserted recently that nowadays parents in Hopa were no longer teaching the language to their children in order to let the language fall into oblivion. According to that person, 10-year-old children would no longer know the Armenian dialect.¹²¹

It is reported that in the 1990s some genetic research was done on the Black Sea population at the Hacetepe hospital in Ankara; the results showed that a certain percentage of that population did not belong to the 'Turkish race'. An elderly, Armenian-speaking Hemshinli, who was interviewed on this finding, answered: 'La ilahe illallah Muhammedun resulallah, Türk oğlu Türküm' [*sic!*] ('There is no God except Allah and Muhammed is his prophet [i.e., the Muslim confession of faith]. I am a Turk, the son of a Turk'). In this declaration, the person actually repeated the Turkish-Islamic synthesis and rejected all doubts about any connection to a religion other than Islam as well as the possibility of a non-Turkish origin.¹²²

A defender of a Turkish origin of the Hemshinli made an interesting response to this statement. He asked: 'Is it logical to say to a person who has expressed himself like that and believes in it "No, my brother! You are not a Turk, you are Armenian"? Isn't it a well-accepted sociological fact that race and the consciousness of belonging to a certain group have nothing to do with blood? Does not an assertion to the contrary contradict both science and universal law?'¹²³ With this argument, he actually ignored the assertion of other Turkish nationalists and indirectly accepted that there are people of other ethnic origins in Turkey (among them the Hemshinli) who now live with the consciousness, conviction or desire of being Turks. Furthermore, the above argument that self-perception is more important than origins, if applied to cases of groups such as Kurds, Zaza or Laz, who do not consider themselves Turks, would imply that these peoples should be left free to think what they choose even if they are said – according to Turkish nationalists – to be of Turkish origin.

Some old place names of the area, even those with clear Armenian roots,¹²⁴ are explained by searching for a meaning in Central Asian Turkic languages.¹²⁵ The same is the case with certain words in the Hemshinli colloquial speech that are not understandable to Turks in Turkey. Of course, no explanation is generally given as to how words from the languages of the Gagauz, Kirgiz, Uygur, Kazakh, Uzbek or Bashkir, especially in such a mixture, have found their way to the Hemshinli.¹²⁶ Theories are simply developed based on words with similarity

in sound, the only possible approach when taking such a variety of different languages into consideration.

Several word lists containing words that are of Armenian origin have been compiled by western Hemshinli from different villages. Some or even most of these compilers seem to consider the possibility of an Armenian linguistic origin of these words.¹²⁷ The assertion that these Armenian words were adopted from Armenian neighbours cannot explain how, despite the relatively small number of Christian Armenians in the area, a much larger number of words from the Armenian vocabulary from various fields of culture have been 'adopted' (if so) by the Hemshinli than by non-Armenians in areas with a much stronger Armenian population. Moreover, it must be seen as remarkable that Armenian (or in other areas of Trabzon province, Greek) surnames have been similarly 'adopted' by the Hemshinli.¹²⁸

It should be added that some elderly Rize Hemshinli, who were not influenced by Turkish nationalist ideology and political correctness *à la turca*, have preserved the oral tradition that their forefathers were Armenians who had (been) converted to Islam rather late.¹²⁹ It is also said that even at Hemshinli weddings, a song with the following words is still sung: 'Are you still of the old religion, are you an Armenian convert?'¹³⁰ As to the Hopa Hemshinli, they do not participate for the most part in ideological propaganda concerning their origin, although some exceptions may be found.¹³¹

One might ask whether the Hemshinli, who forcefully propagate a Turkish origin of their people, really believe what they say and write, or whether it may be seen as the phenomenon, called *taqiyya* in other contexts, namely a strategy or kind of theatre developed in order to protect some 'inner truth' of Hemshinli existence. It seems most likely that they either really believe their theories, or that they at least desperately want to clean their vests of any remaining 'Armenian spots'. It may be easier to wear a pure Armenian vest than a spotted one. Once only spots remain, one may try to wipe them off completely.

For some simple-minded people, the sheer number of publications allegedly proving the Turkishness of the Hemshinli – most of which have just repeated previous authors, especially Kırzioğlu – compared with the scant number of publications arguing for an Armenian background, is enough reason to believe in it.¹³²

Fearing the ghost of separatism

The terrorism of the former PKK (acronym of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan), along with the growing self-consciousness on the part of different ethnic groups, have been perceived as a potential danger for the Republic of Turkey, not only by extreme nationalists.¹³³ Thus, the trend of rejectionism must be seen in the light of recent developments in Turkish¹³⁴ society, although the foundations for this fear of separatism (*bölücülük, ayrımcılık/ayrılıkçılık*) were laid when the Ottoman Empire broke into pieces.

Publications about ethnic groups in Turkey¹³⁵ have been rated as further attempts of the 'malicious West' in pursuing its alleged *divide et impera* policy,

and those engaged in such activities are labelled as spies.¹³⁶ Such publications have obviously been a spur for native authors, particularly of ethnic minorities, to do research and publish about their own ethnic groups, and ethnic topics have begun to gain space in internet discussion forums and on other websites.¹³⁷

These discussions and publications, of course, have provoked reactions by Turkish nationalists.¹³⁸ '*Etnik tuzak*'¹³⁹ (ethnic trap), '*etno-fetişizm*'¹⁴⁰ (ethnic fetishism), '*etnik çorba*'¹⁴¹ (ethnic soup), '*azınlık ırkçılık*'¹⁴² (minority racism), '*mikro ırkçılık*' (micro racism), '*yeni kabilecilik*'¹⁴³ (new tribalism), '*mozaik edebiyatı*'¹⁴⁴ (mosaic literature, meaning publications that speak about an ethnic mosaic when referring to Turkey), '*mozaikleşen beyinler*' (brains becoming mosaics), '*mozaik aşkı*' (the love for mosaics)¹⁴⁵ and similar phrases are some of the designations they use in this context. As may be seen from the last three examples, the term 'mosaic' seems to have provoked a special aversion among the Turkish nationalists and to be perceived by them as a severe potential danger for the Turkish state.¹⁴⁶

İbrahim Dilmaç felt it important to begin his paper by referring to this phenomenon, lamenting that 'it is a pity that the games played with the Black Sea [population] constitutes one of the threats directed against Turkey's national integrity'. He adds, 'but this threat will never reach the extent that it could throw Turkey into calamity. As an inhabitant of the Black Sea and Rize, I affirm that in the minds of the people living in the Black Sea region, even if they are of various ethnic origins, no aim whatsoever exists to look for or develop an ethnic culture'.¹⁴⁷ He called the Laz a 'folkloristic ethnic society'¹⁴⁸ and assigned a similar character to the Hopa Hemshinli.

A person bearing the nickname Kaya wrote an article entitled 'the Black Sea area, separatist propaganda and "Hemshinliness"' for a Turkish internet forum. After referring to well-known theories about various Turkish groups supposedly populating the eastern Black Sea area, he admonished:

In the framework of external threats against Turkey, the efforts to turn small variations within the structure of society, which have always existed, into differences, that can crush the unity and solidarity of society in an irreparable way, had and have a special place. . . . The basic instruments for involving the citizens of the Black Sea region into separatist movements are, as in every period, 'the Pontic Greek Empire, Greek-speaking Moslems, Lazness, Hemshinliness and so forth' and religious topics deriving from Christianity. These propaganda activities are conducted by countries like Russia, Greece, Georgia, Armenia and many other adjacent countries.¹⁴⁹

After this general introduction, he turned to the Hemshinli:

In the 1990s the propaganda activities, which used our compatriots known as the Hemshinli for a target, increased visibly. The focus of the propaganda from outside, which profits from the activities of leftist publications and circles, is, as always, fixed around the topic of the theory of Turkey being a socio-cultural mosaic.¹⁵⁰

The writer stressed a fact claimed to have been proved by many historical documents, namely that the Hemshinli are Turks; the peculiarities of this ethnic group, which obviously cannot be denied even by such nationalists, were explained as follows:

With these propaganda activities, it is asserted that our compatriots in the counties of Hemşin and Çamlıhemşin are 'Armenians'. This propaganda also uses invalid and false criteria like language and religion for our compatriots in the counties of Hemşin and Çamlıhemşin. But the differences in the area, which they want to exploit, are a natural result of the specific circumstances of social life in the region. It is well known that geographical circumstances forced those living in that area to settle in very small groups, far away from each other.¹⁵¹

A Hemshinli from the county of Pazar uttered his fears in an internet forum, having stated that up to that time it had not been important to him what his roots were: 'I am afraid that the underlying aims of the efforts to expose the roots of my fine and diligent Black Sea people, who, up to now has not raised its head against the state, but has worked hard to get along, is not to learn the ethnological truth, but that the aim might be instigation, putting a stick into a bee-hive'.¹⁵² This expresses the sentiment of many people of the eastern Black Sea region and Turkey in general, whether it is justified or not.

One MHP functionary from the Trabzon province, Azmi Karamahmutoğlu, even thought it necessary to create a website named *Doğu Karadeniz Ülkücüleri* (The Idealists of the Black Sea) to counter what he considered to be attacks on the enemies of the Republic of Turkey.¹⁵³ Hüseyin Mümtaz (Bayazitoğlu), a former military man and also a member of the rightist *Türk Ocağı* organization,¹⁵⁴ focuses his struggle for '*vatan, millet, Sakarya*'¹⁵⁵ on the (Pontic) Greeks, but does not neglect the alleged Armenian danger either.¹⁵⁶ Besides that, some people see Georgia as another threatening power, which carries evil designs to incorporate adjacent parts of Turkey's territory into its own state.¹⁵⁷

Only seldom has it happened that Hemshinli have been accused of separatism when making reference to some kind of specific ethnic identity. One case was that of a western Hemshinli who started to publish a journal named *Asit* on his people. Not much is known about this case aside from the fact that the publication of the journal was forbidden after the third issue. Another case involved a Hemshinli from the eastern branch, Özcan Alper, from a village in Kemalpaşa district (*bucak*). This young film-maker shot a twenty-five minute film ('*Momi*' – Grandma), the first in the Armenian dialect (with Turkish and English subtitles), of the Hopa Hemshinli in 2000.¹⁵⁸ The story of a young boy and an old Hemshinli woman, it was filmed in a summer pasture (*yayla*) in the Pontic Alps (Kaçkar Dağları) and also contained some songs in *Hemşince* (the Hemshin dialect). This film, which was shown at the Twentieth International Istanbul Film Festival, was received enthusiastically by the audience, but evoked concern on the part of the Turkish authorities. They opened a trial against Alper at the DGM¹⁵⁹ court in

Erzurum due to his alleged violation of § 8 of the Anti-terror Law.¹⁶⁰ Due to the requirements of membership in the European community, Turkey had to cancel § 8 in July 2003 and, as a result, Alper's trial came to a happy end.¹⁶¹

It should be added that in 1983 the law 'Türkçeden Başka Dillerle Yapılacak Yayınlar Hakkında Kanun' was enacted in Turkey, which prohibited the use of and publication in any language other than Turkish (except for official languages of states acknowledged by the Republic of Turkey).¹⁶² This seems to be a new codification of the slogan of the early republican era: '*vatandaş, Türkçe konuş*' (citizen, speak Turkish). It was especially meant for and directed against the use of Kurdish, but it affected all other languages, which were called '*mahalli*' (actually the language of a *mahalle*, the quarter of a city, town or village), as well; the use of this term demonstrates the intention of devaluation implicit in the law. The use of the Hemshinli language in Alper's film was therefore prohibited by this law.

Conclusion

The Turkish Republic may issue new laws granting more rights to ethnic minorities on paper. The practice may even bring about changes for the better. However, some nationalists will continue, at least for some time to come, to deny the existence of different ethnic groups by propagating their theories of Turkishness. This mentality is deeply rooted and will only disappear slowly, perhaps after one or two generations have grown up without nationalist nonsense; only then can a different attitude towards ethnic minorities in Turkey develop.

Of course, everybody has the right to adopt the identity he would like to bear. However, when such an identity is based on historical and ethnographical forgery, he must at least be aware of the discrepancy between fact and fiction and that some may question him in this regard. One may have developed an identity as Hemshinli that excludes being Armenian and one may be perfectly entitled to do so, but historical facts should not be violated by declaring everything and everyone to be Turkish.

Notes

- 1 This is also the observation of Chris Hann, 'Intellectuals, Ethnic Groups and Nation: Two Late-twentieth-century Cases', in *Notions of Nationalism*, ed. Sukumar Periwal (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1995), p. 120.
- 2 The Turkish – *li*-suffix actually means someone of a specific area or place.
- 3 For general examples, see Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); and Caroline B. Brettell, 'Whose History is it? Selection and Representation in the Creation of a Text', in *When They Read What We Write – The Politics of Ethnography*, ed. Caroline B. Brettell (Westport, CT/London: Bergin & Garvey, 1993), which also deals with the role of anthropologists. More specific works include Maria T. O'Shea, 'Between the Map and the Reality: Some Fundamental Myths of Kurdish Nationalism', *Peuples Méditerranéens* (Paris, 1994), nos. 68–69, pp. 165–83 (on Kurdish myths); Ivan Čolović, 'Genetische Sauberkeit, ethnische Vitalität: Zur Konstruktion nationalistischer Mythen', *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik* (Bonn, 1996), 41, no. 8,

pp. 986–89 (on Serbian myths); on the rise of a new ‘ethnic group’ in Kosovo and Macedonia, the ‘Egyptians’, see Ger Duijzings, ‘The Making of Egyptians in Kosovo and Macedonia’, in *The Politics of Ethnic Consciousness*, ed. Cora Govers and Hans Vermeulen (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 194–22; and Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov, ‘New Ethnic Identities in the Balkans: The Case of the Egyptians’, *Facta Universitatis, Series: Philosophy and Sociology* (Niš, 2001), 2, no. 8, 2001, pp. 465–77, available online, <<http://facta.junis.ni.ac.yu/facta/pas/pas2001/pas2001-05.pdf>>.

On Muslim constructions of history in general, see Israel Friedlaender ‘Muhammedanische Geschichtskonstruktionen’, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients* (Halle, 1911), 9, pp. 17–34; on Turkish creation myths, see Rosemarie Varga, ‘A Turkish Creation Mythology: Fact or Fancy?’, *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* (Tucson, AZ, 1993), 17, no. 2, pp. 123–35; and on the Khorasan myth of origin, Faik Bulut, *Horasan Kimin Yurdu?* (Istanbul: Berfin Yayınları, 1998).

- 4 The following works refer to the Turkish origins of the Hemşinli and other population groups of the Black Sea region: M. Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, ‘Eski-Oğuz (Arsaklı-Part) Kalıntısı Hemşenliler’, *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* (Istanbul, 1966), 17, no. 10 (203), pp. 4099–103; idem, ‘Millî Tarihimiz’de Rize Bölgesi’, Paper presented at a meeting in Rize, 19 December 1986, available online, <<http://geocities.com/rizeden/rizetarih.htm>> (accessed 10 July 2001) and <<http://www.biriz.biz/rize/rizetarih.htm>> (accessed 25 October 2003). The same article was posted on the internet under the title ‘Doğu Karadeniz Millî Tarihi’, available online, <<http://www.f20.parsimony.net/forum36933/messages/73.htm>> (accessed 10 July 2001); Ali Güler, *Yakın Tarihimizde Pontus Meselesi ve Rum-Yunan Terör Örgütleri* (Ankara: Rizeliler Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği, 1995). Parts of the book were published online under the title *Doğu Karadeniz Bölgesi’nin Türkleşmesi*, available <<http://www.geocities.com/karadenizim/Turklesme-1.html>> (accessed 10 April 2004); Haşım Karpuz, *Rize*, 2nd edn (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993), pp. 8ff.; Remzi Şahin, Zeki Şahin, and Zeki Akalın, *Artvin Yöresi Folkloru* (Artvin?: Halk Kültürü Araştırması, 1997), p. 26; Hüseyin Avni Bey (Tirebolulu Alparslan), ‘Trabzon İli Lâz mı Türk mü?’, in *Sakarya Şehidi Binbaşı Hüseyin Avni Bey – Tirebolulu Alparslan – Hayatı-Eserleri – Trabzon İli Lâz mı Türk mü? Tirebolulu H. Alp Arslan*, ed. İsmail Hacifettahoğlu (Kocatepe/Ankara: Atlas Yayınları, 1999), p. 123 (originally published in 1921); İhsan Topaloğlu, *Bölge Tarihinde Rize*, vol. 1 (Trabzon Topaloğulları Kültür-Dayanışma ve Çevre Koruma Derneği, 1998), p. 8; Şerif Sayın, *Hemşin Tarihi* (Ankara: Unpublished manuscript, 1992–93?), pp. 7 and 10; Ahmet Çakmak, ‘Bilinmeyen bir tarihi gerçek Ponto(u)s yalanı’, *Orkun* (Istanbul, 2003), no. 59, available online, <http://www.orkun.com.tr/asp/orkun.asp?Tip=Makale&Makale_Nu=*YNYP*-WVJDWIFBTSFPLAUKBPZIIDJBG-FODU/XB/Z,ATFDP*LOSI&sayi=59> (accessed 15 December 2003), and an enlarged version under: <<http://www.turan.tc/pontusdosyasi/>> (accessed 10 April 2004); Ali Gündüz, *Hemşinliler, Dil – Tarih Kültür* (Ankara: Ardanuç Kültür Yardımlaşma Derneği, 2002), p. 100; Kaya, ‘Karadeniz Bölgesi, Ayrılkıçı Propagandalar ve Hemşinlilik’, *Turkish Forum*, available online, <<http://www.turkishforum.com/mesajpanosu/messages/7/108.html?1036111210>> (accessed 30 October 2002); also available under <<http://gencturkler2.8m.com/OVERFLOW/hemşinlilik.html>> (accessed 10 April 2004); Osman Karatay, *İran ile Turan: Hayali Milletler Çağında Avrasya ve Ortadoğu* (Beytepe/Çorum: Karam Araştırma ve Yayıncılık, 2003). Accordingly, the alleged sixteen ‘Turkish Empires’ in history are a myth too. See e.g., <<http://www.turkiye.net/sota/empires.htm>> (accessed 12 October 1999).
- 5 Enver Ziya Karal, ‘Atatürk’ün Türk tarih tezi’, in *Atatürk hakkında konferanslar*, ed. Afet İnan and Enver Ziya Karal (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1946), pp. 55–57, esp. p. 55; quoted in Speros Jr. Vryonis, *The Turkish State and History: Clio Meets the Grey Wolf* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1991), p. 87.

- 6 Hasan Reşit Tankut, *Güneş Dil Teorisine göre Dil Tetkikleri*, vol. 1, *Türk Dil Bilgilerine Giriş*, and vol. 2, *Güneş Dil Teorisine göre Toponomik Tetkikleri/Okutan* (Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1936); idem, *Prehistuvar'a Doğru bir Dil İzlemesi ve Güneş-Dil Teorisinin İzahı* (Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1937); Abdülkadir İnan, *Güneş-Dil Teorisi üzerine Ders Notları: Türkoloji, II* (Ankara/Istanbul: Tarih, Dil ve Coğrafya Fakültesi/ Devlet Basımevi, 1936). On the development and content of this theory see Vryonis (1991), pp. 79–86. On Tankut's Turkification of the Kurds and Zazas and the birth of the *güneş dil teorisi* see Mehmet Bayrak, *Açık-Gizli/ Resmi-Gayrresmi Kürdoloji Belgeleri* (Ankara: Öz-Ge Yayınları, 1994), pp. 197–232 and 409–90.
- 7 On the Turkish history thesis see Vryonis (1991), pp. 67–78; Bernard Lewis, 'History-writing and National Revival in Turkey', *Middle Eastern Affairs* (New York, 1953), 4, pp. 218–27, esp. p. 224; Étienne Copeaux, *Espaces et temps de la nation turque: Analyse d'une historiographie nationaliste, 1931–1993* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1997).
- 8 See e.g., the articles by Frank Tachau, 'The Search for National Identity among the Turks', *Die Welt des Islams* (Leiden, 1962–63), n.s. 8, pp. 165–76; and Ayşe Kadioğlu, 'The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity', *Middle Eastern Studies* (London, 1996), 32, no. 2, pp. 177–93.
Sevda Alankuş-Kural spoke about an 'identity crisis' in Turkey after 1980. Sevda Alankuş-Kural, 'Yeni hayali kimlikler ve yurttaşlar demokrasisi', *Birikim: Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi* (Istanbul, 1995), Etnik Kimlik ve Azınlıklar Özel Sayısı, nos. 71–72, March–April, pp. 86 and 90. Cafer Balcı and Rita Behrens likewise recognized an inferiority complex. Cafer Balcı and Rita Behrens, *Linguizistische Sprachenpolitik am Beispiel der Türkei und des Kurdischen* (Bremen, n.d. 1999 or 2000?), p. 4.
- 9 Vryonis (1991), pp. 68ff.; Lewis (1953), p. 224. On Atatürk and Turkish nationalism see also Hugh Poulton, *Top Hat, Grey Wolf and Crescent: Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Republic* (London: C. Hurst & Co, 1997).
- 10 Quoted in Ali Sırtlı, *Doğu Karadeniz Türklüğü (Gürcüler, Hemşinliler, Lazlar, Çepniler) ve Karadeniz Fıkraları*, 3rd edn (Istanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1996), p. 15.
- 11 *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri*, 2nd edn, vol. 1 (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Enstitüsü, 1961), p. 73; and Kazım Öztürk (ed.), *Atatürk'ün TBMM Açık ve Gizli Oturumlarındaki Konuşmaları* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1981), p. 127; quoted in Balcı and Behrens (n.d.), pp. 2ff. (translated from German).
- 12 Şeref Gözübüyük and Zekai Sezgin (eds), *1924 Anayasası hakkındaki Meclis Görüşmeleri* (Ankara: Balkanoğlu Matbaacılık, 1957), p. 7; quoted in Balcı and Behrens, (n.d.) p. 3 (translated from German).
- 13 *Milliyet Daily*, 31 August 1930; quoted in Jürgen Roth et al., *Geographie der Unterdrückten – Die Kurden* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1978), p. 63 (translated from German).
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Umut Uzer, 'Racism in Turkey: The Case of Huseyin Nihal Atsız', *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* (Abingdon, Oxon, 2002), 22, no. 1, pp. 124 and 126.
- 16 On the 'rediscovery' of the theses of the 1930s, see Suavi Aydın, '30'ların tezlerine geri dönüş: Anadolu'da "proto-Türkler" in yeniden keşfi', *Toplum ve Bilim* (Istanbul, 2003), no. 96, pp. 8–34.
- 17 'Tarih gösteriyor ki, ANADOLU'nun doğusun da batısı da, kuzeyi de, güneyi de ta NUH PEYGAMBER zamanından beri TÜRKLER'le meskûn idi!... Güneye de batıya da medeniyeti TÜRKLER götürdü!'. Tahir Türkkan, *Tahir Türkkan'ın Tarih Notları*, vol. 3, *Kuzey Anadolu'nun Türklüğü* (n.d.), available online, <http://www.angelfire.com/tn3/tahir/trk50.html> (accessed 17 November 2003).

- 18 Merian (1985), 38, no. 5, p. 69.
- 19 For the use of the term 'Türk' see Suavi Aydın, 'Etnik bir ad olarak "Türk" Kavramının sınırları ve genişletilmesi üzerine', *Birikim: Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi* (İstanbul, 1995), Etnik Kimlik ve Azınlıklar Özel sayısı, nos. 71–72, March–April, pp. 50–64.
- 20 The term 'Turkic' (*Türkî*) for these ethnic groups is therefore rejected. See, e.g. Mustafa E. Erkal, *Etnik Tuzak*, 5th edn (İstanbul: Turan Kültür Vakfı, 1998), p. 69. For the way Turkic peoples are handled in Turkish history writing and teaching see Yoranka Bibina, 'Turkic History in Turkish Textbooks', *Études balkaniques* (Sofia, 1998), nos. 3–4, pp. 28–47.
- 21 'Türk devletine vatandaşlık bağıyla bağlı herkes Türktür.'
- 22 Available online, <<http://www.geocities.com/kaspaze/hemsinli.htm>> (accessed 9 October 2003). The mistakes in grammar and spelling are in the original.
- 23 A certain Hagop Sivaslıyan, for instance, stated that 'but, as for me, all the people living in this country must bear the thought of "we are Türkiyeli" '; and 'they are all people of the Republic of Turkey, namely Türkiyeli. To say "Turk" sounds odd. We say "we are all Turks". But what do we understand under "Turk"? If we understand "Turk" as being of Turkish race, not all of us are Turks. If we understand it as people living in this country, we accept this Turkishness, thus being "Türkiyeli".' Hagop Sivaslıyan, 'Kendimizi Azınlık Olarak Kabul Etmiyoruz', in *Biz ve Onlar: Türkiye'de Etnik Ayrımcılık, Araştırma Röportaj*, ed. Şengün Kılıç (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1992), pp. 66–67.
- 24 The following sources may be seen as examples: Mustafa E. Erkal, *Etnik Tuzak* 5th edn (İstanbul: Turan Kültür Vakfı, 1998), pp. 46 and 118; Mehmet Aça, '“Türkiye Solu”, “Türkiyelilik”; ya da Ulus Devletin Sonu: “Türkiye Silahlı Kuvvetleri” ', *Yeni Hayat* (2000), nos. 71–72, available online, <<http://www.yenihayat.org/dergi/2000/714.html>> (no longer available under this URL, accessed 22 January 2001); Sami Yavrucuk, 'Türk Olamayan Türkiyeliler', *Orkun* (İstanbul, 2000), no. 33, available online, <http://www.orkun.com.tr/asp/orkun.asp?Tip=Makale&Makale_Nu=XB/Z,ATFDP*LOSIEA.JS/EOAA/WATDU!!P*R/YYPYDIWUHL&sayi=33> (accessed 15 December 2003); Oruç Arda, 'Etnik Kimliklerin Fetişizmi olarak "Türkiyelilik" ', *Hisar gazetesi (haftalık internet gazetesi)* (2003), 24 August, available online, <http://hisargazetesi.com/orucarda_dosyalar/orucarda12.htm> (accessed 10 April 2004). On the same subject, see also a discussion thread in a nationalist internet discussion forum (the thread starting in October 2003): <http://www.ulkuocaklari.org.tr/FORUM/forum_posts.asp?TID=3020&PN=6> (no longer under this URL).
- For a discussion about 'Türk' and 'Türkiyeli' see also Metin Erksan, 'Türk ve Türkiyeli', *Cumhuriyet Daily* (İstanbul, 1999), 28 January, p. 2.
- 25 On the minority 'concept' of the Turkish State, see e.g. Christian Rumpf, 'Minderheiten in der Türkei und die Frage nach ihrem rechtlichen Schutz', *Zeitschrift für Türkeistudien* (Leverkusen, 1993), 6, no. 2, pp. 173–209. He also dealt with the implications of the Lausanne Treaty. See also Yvo J. D. Peeters, 'The Rights of Minorities in Present-day Turkey', *Europa Ethnica* (Wien, 1987), 44, pp. 131–37; and Güçlü Özgan, 'Lozan ve azınlık hakları', *Nokta* (İstanbul, 2000), 19, no. 34, 20–26 August, pp. 22–24 on the Lausanne Treaty and the Kurds. Sometimes members of minority groups in Turkey do not even accept the term minority (*azınlık*) for themselves. An Armenian, for example, argued that he was a son of Turkey and rooted in Turkish soil, and not an alien. Kılıç (1992), p. 62. Some politically active Kurds refuse the term for the Kurdish ethnic group, because they would constitute the majority in (Turkish) Kurdistan (or Kurdistan of Turkey) and not the minority.
- 26 Göktürk Ömer Çakır, 'Türkiye Mozaik Değildir', *Orkun* (İstanbul, 2002), no. 50, available online, <http://www.orkun.com.tr/asp/orkun.asp?Tip=Makale&Makale_Nu=OKYSJAOYHGUH*/E/DRBB*FB,ALUISUQOY/!OKYSJAOYHGUH*/E/DR&sayi=50> (accessed 15 December 2003).

- 27 Sırtlı (1996), p. 67. Orhan Türkdoğan, *Etnik Sosyoloji (Türk Etnik Sosyolojisi)* (Istanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 1997), p. 114.
- 28 Among the many publications of that kind, we may just point to those of an author who will be dealt with in the article anyway: M. Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, *Her Bakımdan Türk olan Kürtler* (Ankara: Çalışkan Basımevi, 1964); idem, *Kürtler'in Türklüğü, Tarih – Dil – Antropoloji – Etnografya – Etnoloji – Millî Destanlar – Gelenekler ve Folklor Bakımlarından İncelemeler*, 2nd edn (Ankara: Hamle Yayınevi, 1995); and idem, *Dağıstan-Aras-Dicle-Alтай ve Türkistan Türk Boylarından Kürtler* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1984).
- Ali Tayyar Önder even assigned Kırzioğlu the doubtful honour to be the first – whether right or wrong – to have come up with the theory of the Turkish origin of the Kurds. Ali Tayyar Önder, *Türkiye'nin Etnik Yapısı – Halkımızın Kökenleri ve Gerçekler*, 2nd edn (Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat Dağıtım, 1999), p. 99. Many publications by the Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü (Research Institute on Turkish Culture) deal with the Turkishness of the Kurds. See e.g. M. Rıza, *Benlik ve Dilbirliğimiz*, ed. Gamze Gayeoglu, 2nd edn (first published in 1933) (Istanbul: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1982).
- 29 Edip Yavuz, *Tarih Boyunca Türk Kavimleri* (Ankara: Kurtuluş Matbaası, 1968), pp. 236 and 239; M. Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, 'Lazlar/Çanarlar', in *VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, II. sekişyon* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972), pp. 420–45; idem, *Karadeniz Bölgesindeki Türk Boylarından Lazlar ve Hemşinliler'in Tarihçesi* (Ankara: Rizeliler Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği Yayını, 1994); Rıza (1982), p. 36; Sırtlı (1996), pp. 18, 22 and 28. Online sources include İbrahim Dılmaç, 'Karadeniz'in Etnik Yapısı ile İlgili Türkçüler Grubunda Başlayan Tartışmaya İlişkin bir Değerlendirme' (n.d.) available <<http://www.hamsi.org>>, also available under <http://members.nbci.com/_XMCM/karadnz/yorum-dilmac.html> (accessed 30 June 2001); and Göktürk Ömer Çakır, 'Lazcı-Pontusçu Yayınlar ve Birkaç Cevap', *Orkun* (Istanbul, 2002), no. 49, available http://www.orkun.com.tr/asp/orkun.asp?Tip=Makale&Makale_Nu=OKYSJAOYHGUAH*/E/DR/XB/Z,ATFD*LOSİ/XB/Z,ATFD*LOSİ&sayı=49> (accessed 15 December 2003).
- 30 To give just one example: Hüseyin Mümtaz, *Karadeniz'in Kitabı* (Istanbul: Yeni Batı Trakya Dergisi Yayınları, 2000). See also Erhan Gürsel Ersoy, '“Herkesin Türklüğü” ne dair yerel yansımalar örnekler: Lazlar ve Hemşinliler', *Toplum ve Bilim* (Istanbul, 2003), no. 96, pp. 79–81.
- 31 See e.g. Taner Akçam, 'Hızla Türkleşiyoruz', *Birikim: Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi* (Istanbul, 1995), Etnik Kimlik ve Azınlıklar Özel Sayısı, nos. 71–72, March–April, p. 18; Erkal (1998), pp. 98 and 110; Önder (1999), p. 7; Peter Alford Andrews, 'A Reappraisal', in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, vol. 2, *Supplement and Index*, ed. Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rüdiger Benninghaus (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2002), p. 13.
- 32 Much has been written about the origins, development and implications of Turkish nationalism both in Turkish and in Western languages; see e.g. Uriel Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp* (London: Harvill Press/Luza & Co, 1950); Niyazi Berkeş (ed.), *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959); Tachau (1962–63); Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs/Oxford University Press, 1961); Jacob M. Landau, *Pan-Turkism in Turkey: A Study of Irredentism* (London: C. Hurst, 1981); Akçam (1995); Kadioğlu (1996). For a discourse on Turkish identity in the past and present, see Bozkurt Güvenç, *Türk Kimliği: Kültür Tarihinin Kaynaklar* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1993). In this article, we will only touch upon those aspects of Turkish nationalism that are most important for understanding prevailing attitudes towards ethnic minorities in contemporary Turkey.

- 33 Rüdiger Benninghaus, 'Zur Herkunft und Identität der Hemşinli', in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, ed. Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rüdiger Benninghaus (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989); unauthorized and incomplete translation, *Türkiye'de Etnik Gruplar*, ed. Mustafa Küpüşoğlu (Istanbul: Ant Yayınları, 1992); Hâle Soysü, *Kavimler Kapısı*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınları/Güney Yayıncılık ve Sanayi, 1992); Levon Haçikyan, *Hemşin Gizemi: Hamşen Ermenileri Tarihinden Sayfalar*, translated and edited by Bağdik Avedisyan (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1996; 2nd rev. edn, 1997).
- 34 For example, in an article posted on the internet: available online, <<http://www.surmenem.com/emeller.htm>> (accessed 10 April 2004); also quoted in the *Karadeniz Halkları Tartışma Forumu*: <<http://f20.parsimony.net/forum36933/messages/623.htm>> (accessed 10 October 2003).
- 35 Osman Nedim Tuna, *Sümer ve Türk Dillerinin Târihi İlgisi ile Türk Dili'nin Yaşı Meselesi* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1990); quoted in Ali Güler, *Yakın Tarihimizde Pontus Meselesi ve Rum-Yunan Terör Örgütleri* (Ankara: Rizeliler Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği, 1995), available online, <<http://www.geocities.com/karadenizim/Turklesme-1.html>>.
- 36 Hüseyin Avni Bey (Tirebolulu Alparslan), p. 136. Hüseyin Avni Bey was born in Tirebolu (Giresun province) in 1876 and died in 1921 in the Battle of Sakarya against the Greeks.
- 37 Rıza (1982), pp. 35ff.
- 38 See Hann (1995).
- 39 For a short biography, available online, <<http://www.ttk.gov.tr/yonetim/f-kirzioğlu.htm>> (accessed 13 October 2003); and Ali Rıza Önder, 'Folklorcularımız: Mehmet Fahrettin Kırzioğlu', *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* (Istanbul, 1964), 16, no. 9 (185), pp. 3595–97. He is designated as 'Karadenizlilerin manevi ATASI' (the spiritual FATHER of the Black Sea population) by Sırtlı (1996), p. 34 or as 'the honorable great Turkish nationalist researcher and expert on Black Sea ethnography, Prof. Dr. Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, whose fruitful work is, as to me, a bit underestimated' by Dilmaç (Dilmaç n.d.). Yavuz (1968, p. 367) is also fond of Kırzioğlu, saying (when referring to his 'findings' concerning the Kurds): 'M. Fahri [*sic*] Kırzioğlu, who has worked among the Kurds for a long time, has also devoted himself to this subject with a scientific method and has presented very successful and valuable thoughts'. For Gündüz (2002, pp. 49–50), he is 'our great historian M.Fahrettin KIRZIOĞLU, the authority on the history of north-east Anatolia'.
- 40 A Hemşinli (Tahsin Kırzioğlu) with the same family name living in Kars is mentioned in M. Ali Sakaoğlu, *Dünden Bugüne Hemşin: Karadenizden bir Tarih* (Istanbul: Yeniyurt Yayınları, 1990), p. 94.
- 41 The far-reaching influence of this pseudo-scholar among the Hemşinli was also observed by Erhan G. Ersoy, 'Hemşinli etnik kimliğine antropolojik bir bakış', *Birikim: Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi* (Istanbul, 1995), Etnik Kimlik ve Azınlıklar Özel Sayısı, nos. 71–72, March–April, p. 141 n. 11; Ersoy (2003), p. 85 n. 19; and Ildikó Bellér-Hann, 'Myth and History on the Eastern Black Sea Coast', *Central Asian Survey* (London, 1995), 14, no. 4, p. 494.
- 42 Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, '1461 "Turabuzon" Fethi sırasında Fâtih Sultan Mehmed'in Yaya Aştığı "BULGAR-DAĞI" Nesesidir?', in *VI. Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara 20–26 Ekim 1961) Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1967), pp. 322–28; and Kırzioğlu (1966). Kırzioğlu himself revealed that he had started his research on the Hemşinli already in 1952. Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, 'Milli Tarihimiz'de Rize Bölgesi', ch. IV, Paper presented at a meeting in Rize, 19 December 1986, available online, <<http://geocities.com/rizeden/rizetarih.htm>> (accessed 10 July 2001), and <<http://www.biriz.biz/rize/rizetarih.htm>> (accessed 25 October 2003). The same article was posted on the internet under the title 'Doğu Karadeniz Milli Tarihi', available online, <<http://www.f20.parsimony.net/forum36933/messages/73.htm>> (available 10 July 2001).

- 43 Chris Hann was not that convinced about Kırzioğlu's influence in the construction of the idea of a Central Asian origin among some Lazi and Hemshinli. However, some years have passed since the publication of his article. Chris Hann, 'Ethnicity, Language and Politics in North-east Turkey', in *The Politics of Ethnic Consciousness*, ed. Cora Govers and Hans Vermeulen (London: Macmillan, 1997), p. 145.
- 44 The historical part (pp. 1ff.) of the 1973 yearbook (*İl Yıllığı*) for the Artvin province was obviously written by Kırzioğlu, though he is only mentioned in a footnote (p. 2). The Turkish origin of the Hemshinli is stated on p. 11. *Artvin 1973 İl Yıllığı* (Ankara: Mars Matbaası, 1973). Again the historical part (pp. 1ff.) of a similar official publication on Rize province presented 'facts' based on Kırzioğlu; there is a reference to the foundation of Hamamashen (Hemshin) through the 'Amadunu tribe' (*Amadunuler*) of the Sakas. Armenians are not mentioned at all in this context. *Cumhuriyetimizin 75. Yılında Rize 1998* (Rize: Rize Valiliği/Akademi Yayıncılık, 1998), p. 5.
- 45 See e.g. Benninghaus (1989), pp. 479–81; Bellér-Hann (1995), pp. 491–95; and Hann (1997), p. 145.
- 46 Ahmet Özkan, '“Gürcüstan” Adlı Kitabı Eleştiren F. Kırzioğlu'na Cevap', *Millî Işık* (Istanbul, 1970), 3, no. 35, pp. 28f.; Neş'e Aküzüm, 'Kırzioğlu M. Fahrettin'e Cevap: Şeyh Şamil Adlı Oyun – ya da bir yazarın fobisi', *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* (Istanbul, 1971), 22, no. 13 (260), pp. 5903–5; Ersoy (1995), p. 141; Bayrak (1994), p. 194; and several Laz authors, which should be skipped here, since the Laz are not the subject of this chapter. See also the discussion in the Karadeniz Halkları Tartışma Forumu, where a 'Pontoslu Mehmet' took up some of the points in Kırzioğlu's paper (1986), proving their nonsense in an article posted on 8 April 2000, available online, <<http://f20.parsimony.net/forum36933/messages/46.htm>> (accessed 13 October 2003) and <<http://f20.parsimony.net/forum36933/messages/74.htm>> (accessed 13 October 2003). A western Hemshinli (nickname: Hemşin Başköylü) called those Hemşinli who adopted Kırzioğlu's theories '*Kırzioğlu marka sahte Türk*' (false Turk created by Kırzioğlu), available online, <<http://f20.parsimony.net/forum36933/messages/891.htm>> (accessed 10 October 2003).
- In the Karalahana forum, an Armenian from Istanbul (Erol Çalikoğlu, under the nickname 'Erocalik') commented on 4 August 2001: 'What should we say about the Kırzioğlu school, which puts forward a thesis on this subject that is really to an incredible degree original? Prof. Kırzioğlu and his numerous clan members (nearly all Hemshinli) disclosed that the Hemshinli were originally Gregorian Christian Turks, that the founders of this confession were Hemshinli, and that the Hemshinli were the first Christian population on earth! Not satisfied with these important findings, they went on to prove that the Armenians were actually Hemshinli (that means "of the most beautiful type" of Turks) and that the Armenian "race" was a "false" race'. Available online, <<http://network54.com/Hide/FORUM/thread?forumid=110796&messageid=996780540>> (accessed 6 August 2001).
- 47 Wolfgang Feurstein and Tucha Berdsena, 'Die Lasen: Eine südkaukasische Minderheit in der Türkei', *Pogrom* (Göttingen, 1987), 18, no. 129, 1987, p. 38: 'Zunächst überfällt Kırzioğlu den Leser mit einer Flut von historischen Völkernamen, sucht nach irgendeiner lautlichen Übereinstimmung oder Ähnlichkeit mit einem alt-türkischen Stamm, würzt diesen angeblich historischen Erguß mit einer Prise "Islam" und stellt sich als kompetenten Erforscher des Türkentums dar. Wohl noch nie ist von einer einzigen Person in der Türkei Geschichte so massiv verfälscht worden!'
- 48 Sayın (1992–93), p. 17. A translation of these word acrobatics appears to be redundant. Şerif Sayın, born 1949 in Hemşin, works as an engineer and has functioned for some time in a Lion's Club in Ankara. Though his obviously up to now unpublished *oeuvre* contains neither a single footnote nor references in the text, the list of sources at the end (pp. 38ff.) – with rather incomplete items – contains several of Kırzioğlu's works.

- 49 Sayın, pp. 3, 10, and 37.
- 50 Kırzioğlu (1966), p. 4099.
- 51 Already in Kırzioğlu (1967), p. 328; idem, 'Tarih, Etnoloji ve Folklor Yönünden I. Selim Çağında Hopa ile Arhavi Köyleri', *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* (İstanbul, 1966), 17, no. 10 (201), pp. 4038–440 and Kırzioğlu (1966).
- 52 Kırzioğlu (1966), p. 4100. This theory has gained fewer supporters, though Dursun Ali Yılmaz gave it as the only explanation for the name. Dursun Ali Yılmaz (ed.), 'Yeşillikler içinde Hemşin', *Karadeniz (Gazetesi)* (Trabzon, 1985), 10, p. 5.
- 53 Heinrich Hübschmann, 'Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen', *Indogermanische Forschungen* (Strassburg, 1904), 16, pp. 386 and 442.
- 54 Kırzioğlu (1966), p. 4101. Repeated, among others, by Remzi Bekâr, in Hasan Pulur, 'Hâkimin kararı, Hemşinli'nin ağzı', *Hürriyet Daily* (İstanbul, 1985), 26 September, p. 5; Muzaffer Arıcı, *Her Yönüyle Rize* (Ankara: Odak Ofset, 1993), p. 33 (actually quoting Kırzioğlu); Sırtlı (1996), p. 33. For a more detailed discussion of the different theories (in addition to those cited here) on the origin of the name 'Hemşin', see Benninghaus (1989), pp. 479–81.
- 55 Kırzioğlu (1966), p. 4102.
- 56 Kırzioğlu (1966); M. Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, 'Osmanlılar'ın Kafkas-Elleri'ni Fethi (1451–1590'. Ankara (1976) (*dissertation*): 95; Kırzioğlu (1986), chapters III and IV.
- 57 First quoted by Turgut Günay, *Rize İli Ağızları: İnceleme-Metinler-Sözlük* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, Millî Folklor Araştırma Dairesi, 1978), p. 21 and n. 10, as oral information given to him by Kırzioğlu.
- 58 Kırzioğlu (1967), p. 328.
- 59 Kırzioğlu (1986), first sentence. See also Ersoy (2003), p. 81.
- 60 *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi* (Party of the Nationalist Movement), the most extremist Turkish nationalist party. On the MHP and similar parties in Turkey see, e.g. Harald Schüller, *Die türkischen Parteien und ihre Mitglieder* (Hamburg: Deutsches Orient-Institut, 1998), pp. 108–15.
- 61 İbrahim Dilmaç, 'Karadeniz Üzerine' (2002), available online, <<http://kahlro.kolayweb.com/209099465991.html>>. Dilmaç was born in Ardeşen (Rize province) in 1970. There are several Laz and obviously also Hemşinli in that county who are members or sympathizers of the MHP (for a few details on his person see <<http://www.hemşinli.com/uye.php?uye=ibrahim>> (accessed 10 April 2004); and Dilmaç (2002)). In his other article mentioned here (Dilmaç (n.d.) he seems to have been more in line with Kırzioğlu, stating that 'the great Turkish nationalist researcher and expert on the ethnography of the Black Sea' had 'completely crushed' the assertion of an Armenian origin of the Hemşinli. Dilmaç was also wrong when he asserted that no Christian Armenian in Turkey would see the Hemşinli as related to them. Haçikyan's book was translated by an Armenian living in Istanbul. The Armenians who published a travellers's guide for the Black Sea region seem to be quite aware of the origin of the Hemşinli (though they expressed their conviction carefully), and some Armenians from Turkey living in Germany are also acquainted with the Hemşinli issue. Sevan Nişanyan and Müjde Nişanyan, *Karadeniz: Meraklısı İçin Gezi Rehberi – Black Sea: A Traveller's Handbook for Northern Turkey* (İstanbul: Boyut Yayın Grubu, 2000). The Istanbul-based Armenian newspaper *Agos* once published an article on the Armenians of the Black Sea area (also published in the Karalahana forum, available online, <<http://network54.com/Hide/Forum/thread?forumid=110796&messageid=989276952>> (accessed 8 May 2001).
- 62 Sabit Süreyya Balı, 'Hemşin'in Tarihi (Yaşlıların ağzından)', *Yeşil Hemşin: Hemşin Kültür ve Kalkındırma Derneği* (Ankara, 1971), 7, no. 3, p. 11.
- 63 Muzaffer Arıcı was born in the village of Akbucak, Pazar county of Rize province in 1932 (Kırzioğlu in his Foreword to Arıcı (1993), p. 2).
- 64 Sırtlı (1996), pp. 29–41. Ali Sırtlı was born in the Hemşinli village of Aşıklar in Çayeli county of Rize province in 1944 and has worked primarily in the field of forest

- engineering. His main interest seems to lie in the different Turkic groups (see the back cover of his book).
- 65 Ali Rıza Saklı was born in the village of Sirt in Çayeli county of Rize province in 1964 and is working in the tea-producing sector, available online, <<http://www.geocities.com/karadenizim/sakli.html>> (accessed 13 October 2003), or <<http://www.geocities.com/rizemiz/vebmaster.htm>> (accessed 13 October 2003). He is the webmaster of a website on Black Sea issues formerly under the URL: <<http://www.hamsi.org>>, now under <<http://www.geocities.com/karadenizim>> (accessed 10 April 2004). Besides that he is running the website <<http://www.geocities.com/rizemiz/index.html>> (accessed 10 April 2004). Some of his former articles may be found under different URLs.
- 66 Mehmet Bilgin was born in Sürmene (Trabzon province) in 1955, has studied librarianship at Ankara University and is occupied with historical studies on the eastern Black Sea area (for a short biography see the introductory page in Mehmet Bilgin, *Doğu Karadeniz: Tarih Kültür İnsan* (Trabzon: Serander Yayınları, 2000).
- 67 ‘Hemşen Türkmenleri’, Hemşen Türkmenleri. Gündüz (2002), p. 1. Gündüz was actually born in a village in the Ardanuç county of Artvin province in 1958, outside the dwelling area of the Hemşinli. Although his book is called ‘Hemşinliler’, he obviously followed Kırzioğlu’s spelling. His book is recommended by the nationalist Ali Rıza Saklı, who saw it more or less in line with his political views, as it seems. Available online, <<http://www.geocities.com/karadenizim/kitap.htm>> (accessed 29 October 2003).
- 68 Şakir Aksu, a Hemşinli from the Hemşin county centre (Mutlu/ Bodollu quarter) now living in Ankara, is quite active in various internet forums in propagating the Turkishness of his people, although it seems he has not published anything other than his contributions to internet discussions. Aksu is a rather well-known person in that area and therefore probably of some influence, according to a certain ‘Hemşinli Hafız’ – from outside Turkey – in the Hemşin Defteri/ visitors’ book of the kuzeymavi-website, on 11 May 2003: <<http://www.batur.net/uye/oku.btr?id=acrosom>> (accessed 3 January 2004).
- 69 He was born in the village of Nurluca of the Hemşin county in 1937 and has been working for a long time as a waiter in an Istanbul hotel, but has made himself a name as *tulumcu* (bagpipe-player); see also Ethem R. Üngör, ‘Tulum üzerine Remzi Bekâr ile Röportaj’, *Musiki Mecmuası* (Istanbul, 1973), 26, no. 286, pp. 15–19 and no. 287, pp. 7–10.
- 70 Some examples are listed in an internet contribution by the author of this chapter. It may also be found under: <http://mitglied.lycos.de/benninghaus_ruediger/newspaper-articles.htm> (accessed 10 April 2004).
- 71 Muhammed Vanilişi and Ali Tandilava, *Lazlar’ın Tarihi*, translated from Georgian by Hayri Hayrioğlu (Istanbul: Ant Yayınları, 1992), pp. 55 and 72. The text was first published in Georgian in 1964.
- 72 Sırtlı called the two Laz ‘Georgians’ (thereby revealing his ignorance) and stated: ‘Look at these base men, who even sell their wives in order to fill their stomachs.’ Saying that the Hemşinli are Armenians was to him the equivalent of insulting them. He considered the book of Vanilişi and Tandilava an insult to several ‘Turkish tribes,’ including the Hemşinli. Sırtlı (1996), pp. 29 and 39. See also Ersoy (1995), p. 142 and n. 96.
- 73 Sırtlı (1996), p. 61.
- 74 Ali Rıza Saklı, ‘Prof Mithat Kerim Arslan ile Trabzon Sempozyumu ve Tarihi Kültürel Sorunlar üzerine Söyleşi’, *Yeni Düşünce Dergisi* (Istanbul, 2001), no. 18, available online, <<http://www.geocities.com/karadenizim/Mulakat.htm>> (accessed 10 April 2004).
- 75 Bilgin (2000), p. 150.
- 76 Mehmet Bilgin, ‘Rize’nin Tarihine Bir Bakış’, in *Rize*, ed. H. Örcün Barışta and Seyfi Başkan (Ankara: TC Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997), p. 28.

- 77 Available online, <<http://www.turkocagi.org.tr/calismalar031.html>> (accessed 7 November 2003). For the early history of the *Türk Ocakları*, see Füsun Üstel, *İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği: Türk Ocakları (1912–1931)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997), and Arai Masami, *Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp.71ff. For the statute of this society see <<http://www.turkocagi.org.tr/tuzuk.htm>> (accessed 8 November 2003).
- 78 Gündüz (2002), p. 52. The source for this theory seems to be a television broadcast.
- 79 Gündüz (2002), p. 53. He seems to have followed Arıcı, although the latter's assertion is even more confused (he declared that the Laz call their 'Turkish neighbours' '*Sum-Eğhi*', without refering explicitly to the Hemshinli). Arıcı (1993), p. 40; idem (ed.), and Tahir Deveci, trans., *Rize: Prof. Karl Koch'un 1843–44 Yıllarındaki Seyahatnamesinin Rize Bölümü*, 2nd edn (Ankara: Odak ofset, 1995), p. 158.
- 80 Kırzioğlu asserted that the Laz used the designation '*Simekhi*' for the Hemshinli as well as for 'all Turks'. The two Laz dictionaries available provide different names for the Hemshinli. İsmail Avcı Bucaklışı and Hasan Uzunhasanoğlu translated '*sumexi*' as Hemshinli, whereas Metin Erten gave '*xemşeli*' as the equivalent for 'Ermeni' (Armenian); the word '*sumexi*' is absent from the latter. '*Sumexi*' seems to be an older form. However, both entries show the perception of the Hemshinli as being Armenians in their neighbours' minds. Although '*sum*' means 'three' in the Lazuri language, '*sumexi*' does not have the meaning of 'three arrows'; 'arrow' is '*isinci*' or '*sile*' in Lazuri (in the Fındıklı/Arhavi dialect of Lazuri). In Georgian, 'three' is '*sami*' (and not, for example, '*som*'); the Armenians are called '*somexi*' and arrow is '*isari*'. This makes it even clearer that '*sumexi*' or '*somexi*' cannot be divided into two components; therefore the syllable '*sum*' does not carry the meaning 'three' here. However, '*mexi*' means 'lightning (flash)' in Georgian (a meaning somehow closer to 'arrow'); but in Lazuri it is '*gurgula/gurguli*' or '*xonts'ula*'. This is, to use Gündüz' words, a 'beautiful' example for how half-knowledge and ideology form a basis for strange theories in certain Turkish circles. Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, *Karadeniz Bölgesindeki Türk Boylarından Lazlar ve Hemşinliler'in Tarihçesi* (Ankara: Rızeliiler Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği Yayını, 1994), pp. 15ff.; İsmail Avcı Bucaklışı and Hasan Uzunhasanoğlu, *Lazuri-Turkuli Nenapuna – Lazca-Türkçe Sözlük* (İstanbul: Akyüz yayıncılık, 1999), pp. 183, 200, 205, 391 and 393; Metin Erten, *Lazca-Türkçe Türkçe-Lazca Sözlük – Lazuri-Turkuli Turkuli-Lazuri Nenapuna* (İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, 2000), pp. 168, 430 and 569.
- 81 Kırzioğlu (1994), pp. 15ff.
- 82 According to a Georgian ('Zegneli') from that area in the Karalahana forum, posted on 23 July 2001: available online, <<http://network54.com/Hide/FORUM/thread?forumid=110796&messageid=995898752>> (accessed 23 July 2001). This corresponds to the remark by Dashian, who reported the name '*Hai-Laz*' (Armenian Laz) as applied to the population of Hamshen Armenians who settled in northwest Anatolia. P. Jacobus Vard. Dashian, *La population arménienne de la région comprise entre la mer Noire et Karin (Erzeroum): Rapide coup d'oeil historique et ethnographique*, translated by Frédéric Macler (Vienna: Imprimerie des Méchitaristes, 1922), p. 19.
- 83 In a contribution on 12 May 2003 to the Hemşin Defteri: available online, <<http://www.batur.net/uye/oku.btr?id=acrosom>> (accessed 3 January 2004). Of course, except for the play with letters, no source is given for that assertion.
- 84 In a message posted to the Karadeniz Halkları Tartışma Forumu on 11 July 2003: available online, <<http://f20.parsimony.net/forum36933/messages/1810.htm>> (accessed 10 April 2004).
- 85 Bekâr related that in search for his – the Hemshinli – identity, he had visited the Faculty for Language, History and Geography (at Ankara University), where he was told to contact M. F. Kırzioğlu. Kırzioğlu obviously undertook much effort to implant

his theory in him (Üngör (1973), p. 18). The fruits of this enterprise may be found in Pulur (1985) and in a letter written by Bekâr to the paper *Yeni Yüzyıl*, entitled 'What Armenian, we are Hemshinli'. Remzi Bekâr, 'Ne Ermenisi, Biz Hemşinliyiz', *Yeni Yüzyıl* (Istanbul, 1996), 4 December; reprinted in Levon Haçikyan, *Hemşin Gizemi: Hamşen Ermenileri Tarihinden Sayfalar*, translated and edited by Bağdik Avedisyan, 2nd rev. edn (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1997), pp. 92–93. The letter was also quoted in Türkdoğan (1997), pp. 516 and 518 n. 29.

- 86 Orhan Türkdoğan, born in Malatya in 1928, in 1962 received his PhD in sociology, in 1971 achieved the rank of professor, recently at Gebze Yüksek Teknoloji Enstitüsü İşletme Fakültesi. (For a short biography, see Türkdoğan (1997). He is said to have served as an adviser of the nationalists' leader (MHP) Alparslan Türkeş. He has published articles in several Turkish journals.

- 87 Türkdoğan (1997), p. 517. On another page (99) of the same work, he called it a malicious approach to present the Hemshinli as Muslim Armenians.

- 88 Faruk Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler): Tarihleri, Boy Teşkilatı, Destanları* (5th edn) (Istanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1999); since the first edition of his book in 1967, nothing has changed in this respect. Therefore there is no reference to his publication when the strange theories of the Turkist circles we are dealing with here are propagated.

- 89 Ahmet Caferoğlu, *Türk Kavimleri* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1983). The Azerbaidjan-born linguist was a well-known pan-Turkist himself. Despite that, one cannot find anything about the Turkishness of the Kurds in his writings. This caused some ideological troubles to the nationalists who published his lectures in book form, and who thought it necessary to give the following explanation in the introduction: 'In the book of Prof. Caferoğlu, one cannot find the Kurdish tribe among the Turkish peoples. In the frame of the knowledge of his time, one should not be surprised that there is no space dedicated to the Kurdish tribe. Today the situation has changed greatly in this respect. The research on this subject has increased in recent times, and the conviction that the Kurds are an old Turkish tribe has gained strength'. Caferoğlu (1983), p. xiii. If the Hemshinli would have been known to these nationalists, they certainly would have been treated to a similar escape from reality.

- 90 Hilmi Göktürk, *Anadolu'da Oğuz Boyları* (Istanbul: Türk Dünyası, 1979). Göktürk seems to originate from the county of Yusufeli in the Artvin province, which is a rather nationalist county and closer in its political leanings to Erzurum than to the more leftist Artvin province. The Hemshinli should not have been unknown to Göktürk, therefore; however, they were not in the general focus of Turkicization efforts at that time.

- 91 See e.g. Sırtlı (1996), p. 38.

- 92 Şahin, Şahin and Akalın (1997), pp. 25ff.; Dilmaç (n.d.); Arıcı (1993), pp. 131ff.; and Arıcı and Deveci (1995), p. 158; Gündüz (2002), pp. 99ff.; Ahmet Çakmak, 'Bilinmeyen bir tarihi gerçek Ponto(u)s yalanı', *Orkun* (Istanbul, 2003), no. 59, available online, <http://www.orkun.com.tr/asp/orkun.asp?Tip=Makale&Makale_Nu=*YNYP*-WVJDWIFTBSFPLAUKBPZIIDJBG-FODU/XB/Z,ATFDP*LOSI&sayi=59> (accessed 15 December 2003). An enlarged version has been posted under: <<http://www.turan.tc/pontusdosyasi/>> (accessed 10 April 2004).

Sırtlı (1996, p. 38) did not hesitate to present the connection between *tulum* and Turkishness in a straightforward way: 'Hemşinlilerin kesinlikle TÜRK olduklarını ispatlayan önemli bir delil de "tulum" ve "horon'dur"' ('An important proof that the Hemshinli are without doubts Turks are the 'tulum' and 'horon'). The folk-dance type known as *horon* (consisting of many different single dances) is danced not only by Hemshinli, but also by Laz, Pontic Greeks, Black Sea Turks and, to some extent, by Georgians, the name being of Greek origin.

- 93 Illustrations in Konstantin Aleksandrovich Vertkov *et al.*, *Atlas muzykal'nykh instrumentov narodov SSSR* [*Atlas of Musical Instruments of the Peoples Inhabiting the USSR*]

- (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Muzykal'noe Izdatel'stvo, 1963), plates 442 and 494; reproduced in an untitled article by Lothar Junghänel on oriental bagpipes, *Der Dudelpfeifer: Fachblättle für Freunde der Bordunmusik* (Neumarkt/Opf., 1990), 10, no. 63, pp. 1–6.
- 94 Avcı Bucaklışı and Uzunhasanoğlu (1999), p. 183; Erten (2000), pp. 168 and 538; Üngör (1973), p. 9.
- 95 'It has not been noticed that an Armenian or Greek has played tulum or kemençe or that they have changed their religion'. Arıcı (1993), p. 39; 'Is has neither been seen nor heard that any Greek or Armenian has played the tulum'. Arıcı and Deveci (1995), p. 158. Actually, for Pontic Greeks the *touloum* is an important accompanying instrument for folk dances, but bagpipes also exist among other Greeks. 'Now, those who are sticking out the tongue to the Hemshinli [i.e. insulting the Hemshinli], do not know that Armenians have never played tulum or danced horon'. Sırtlı (1996), p. 39.
- 96 Henry J. van Lennep, *The Oriental Album: Twenty Illustrations, in Oil Colors, of the People and Scenery of Turkey (Doğu Albümü)*, translated by Pars Tuğlacı (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1985), fig. 8, p. 40. The first edition of this book was published in New York in 1862. Although the instrument is called 'gayda' in the Turkish translation – which would be a Balkanian version of the bagpipe – it is clearly of the *tulum* type. The explanatory text (pp. 41–43) even gives the (Armenian) name of the player: 'Püsküllü Artin'.
- 97 Vertkov *et al.* (1963), plate 404, reproduced in Junghänel (1990), p. 5. See also illustrations of a *parakapzuk* on the following web page: <<http://www.duduk.com/Arm-music-ins/Bag-pipe/g-bag-pipe/>> (accessed 10 April 2004).
- 98 Arıcı and Deveci (1995), p. 159; Arıcı (1993), pp. 207ff.; Karpuz (1993), pp. 49ff.; Kırzioğlu (1994), p. 16; M. Ali Sakaoğlu *et al.* (eds), *Cumhuriyetimizin 75. Yılı Kutlamaları Çerçevesinde 1. Hemşin Bal, Kültür ve Turizm Şenlikleri, 22–23 Ağustos 1998* (Ankara: Hemşin Hizmet Vakfı, 1998), p. 13; Veysel Atacan and Serdar Bekar, *Rize Hemşin Yöresi Osmanlı Mezar Taşları ve Kitabeleri – Ottoman Tombstones and Epigraphes in Hemşin area of Rize* (Ankara: Türk Halk Kültürünü Araştırma ve Tanıtma Vakfı, 2001), p. 5; Gündüz (2002), pp. 100–5.
- 99 We may refer here to the works of a Turkish nationalist, M. Abdulhalûk Çay, who naturally assigned them to the Ak Koyunlu and Kara Koyunlu Türkmens and used the existence of such tombstones as proof of a Turkish origin of the population in this area. M. Abdulhalûk Çay, *Anadolu'da Türk Damgası: Koç Heykel Mezartaşları ve Türkler'de Koç-Koyun Meselesi* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1983); idem, 'Tunceli Mezartaşları ve Türk Kültürdeki Yeri', in *Doğu Anadolu'nun (Sosyal, Kültürel ve İktisadi) Meseleleri Simpozyumu Tebliğleri, 13–15 Mayıs 1985, Tunceli* (Tunceli: Tunceli Valiliği/Fırat Üniversitesi, 1985), pp. 381–86.
- 100 For some photographs see: <<http://www.virtualarmenia.am/aragatsotn/ryataza/zoomorphictombstones/kendanakerptapanakarer.htm>> (accessed 5 November 2003).
- 101 Serdar Bekar, 'Rize Hemşin Yöresi Osmanlı Mezar Taşları', *Folksa: Folklor – Kültür Sanat* (Ankara, 2000), 1, no. 1, pp. 37–42; Atacan and Bekar 2001.
- 102 Personal communication with Veysel Atacan in the 1990s. See also the Foreword by a representative of the Ministry of Culture (Kâmil Toygar) to the book by Atacan and Bekar (2001): 'We consider it to be useful to study this book carefully, which is prepared as an answer to the endeavours of some foreign focuses and their internal extensions on Rize-Hemşin'.
- 103 Ibid., pp. 6 (actually unpaginated) and 95 (picture).
- 104 Saklı (Hemşin'in Tarihi) (n.d.); Anonymous (Tarihçe – Hemşin Tarihi) (n.d.); the latter having copied the former, as it seems.
- 105 Ronald Grigor Suny wrote about the 'foundations' of the hostility against the Armenians; Ronald Grigor Suny, 'Religion, Ethnicity, and Nationalism: Armenians, Turks, and the End of the Ottoman Empire', in *In God's Name: Genocide and Religion in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Omer Bartov and Phyllis Mack (New York/

- Oxford: Berghahn, 2001), pp. 23–61. Tanil Bora briefly described the anti-Armenian attitude of the 1980s and 1990s; Tanil Bora, 'Türkiye'de Milliyetçilik ve Azınlıklar', *Birikim: Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi* (Istanbul, 1995), Etnik Kimlik ve Azınlıklar Özel Sayısı, nos. 71–72, March–April, p. 46ff.
- 106 See 'Hemşinliler', *Yaşam ve Politika* (Istanbul, 2000), supplement of *Politikada Atılım*, no. 13, p. 17. In an online 'dictionary' (open to entries of any contributor) one can read under the keyword 'Ermeni' contributions such as: 'The name of a people, which is also used as an insult in some areas of our country', (entry from 13 July 2000), and 'the foremost targets of local racist people' (entry from 25 November 2002); available online, <<http://sozluk.sourtimes.org/show.asp?t=ermenii>> (accessed 3 January 2004).
- 107 Ersoy (1995), p. 142; see also Ersoy (2003), p. 82.
- 108 A female ethnologist from Turkey explained it the same way in a message posted on 18 August 2003 in a Hemshinli internet forum: <<http://www.hemshinli.com/forumoku.php?mesajsec=6>> (accessed 11 December 2003).
- 109 Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, *Genel Nüfus Sayımı İdari Bölünüş* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1969), p. 185; see also Fuat Dündar, *Türkiye Nüfus Sayımlarında Azınlıklar* (Istanbul: Doz Yayınları, 1999), pp. 219 and 222.
- 110 Şakir Aksu of the western Hemshinli puts it like this in the Hemşin Defteri (27 June 2003): 'there is no language called Hemsince, neither in Hemşin nor in Çamlıhemşin. There is a different language, which is labelled Hemsince and exists and is spoken only by the Hopa Hemshinli (only in a few villages). Those who say that Hemsince is spoken in Hemşin are individuals with the special objective of creating a race in Hemshin that is different from the Turks': available online, <<http://www.batur.net/uye/oku.br?id=acrosom>> (accessed 3 January 2004).
- 111 For some unknown reasons Wolfgang Feurstein, 'Bemerkungen zu Hemschin: Eine Entgegnung an Prof. Job zu "Die Hemschin-Armenier"', *ADK*, Jg. 1997/Heft 4', *ADK: Armenisch-Deutsche Korrespondenz* (Frankfurt, 1998), 100, no. 2, p. 30, defended a different opinion.
- 112 Karl Koch, *Wanderungen im Oriente während der Jahre 1843 und 1844*, vol. 2, *Reise im pontischen Gebirge und türkischen Armenien* (Weimar: Landes Industrie Comptoir, 1846); Arıcı and Deveci (1995). For a more detailed review of Arıcı's book see Rüdiger Benninghaus, 'Bilim Adına Siyaset Yapmak: Karl Koch'un "Reise im pontischen Gebirge und türkischen Armenien" Kitabının Çevirisi Üzerine' (2001); available online, <<http://www.karalahana.com/karadeniz/makale/koch.htm>> (accessed 10 April 2004) and <http://mitglied.lycos.de/benninghaus_ruediger/newspaper-articles.htm> (accessed 10 April 2004).
- 113 Muzaffer Arıcı, *Her Yönüyle Rize Şiveleri* (Ankara, n.d.), p. 80. Sırtlı (1996, p. 40) at least admitted that the name is also known among Armenians, but that it would mean nothing to them.

On an official Turkish website (Ministry of Culture) about summer pastures in Turkey, the Vartevor festivity is described at some length. Although in one part a parallel is drawn (or constructed) to the mythical Ergenekon (land of the ancestors of the Turks), other sentences at least took some connection to Christians (though Armenians are not mentioned explicitly) into account: 'No sources could be found concerning a religious side of the celebrations. The statement is made that "the Hemşinli have preserved Christian customs and all visit churches on the Vartevor day"'. 'Yaylalarımız', published by the Ministry of Culture, (n.d.), available online, <http://www.kulturturizm.gov.tr/portal/kultur_tr.asp?belgeno=39098> (accessed 22 November 2003) and <<http://www.turkatak.gen.tr/kultur/yaylalarimiz.html>> (accessed 22 May 2002). It is noted that an article by a certain Oğuz Tuna in no. 127 of the journal *Tarım ve Köy* was used for this internet publication. Actually, the source for the internet posting is an article by another author, Gülsen Balıkcı, in the same issue of that journal. Gülsen Balıkcı, 'Kavran'da Vartivor', *Tarım ve Köy* (Ankara,

- 1999), no. 127, p. 25. İhsan Topaloğlu did not even mention the name Vartevor, but just spoke about the ‘feast of the rose’, adding the Ergenekon story. Topaloğlu (1998), pp. 147ff. For Nevzat Gözaydın, the word ‘vard’ (rose) is of Persian origin. Sibel Şahin, ‘Hemşinli için Vartevor... (Bulutların Ülkesi Hemşin 3)’, *Halkbilimi: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Türk Halk Bilimi Topluluğu* (Ankara, 1998), no. 6, p. 49. The webmaster of <<http://www.elevit.efsanesi.com>> (Elevit being a settlement on the summer pastures) wrote about the festival in a short historical sketch about the settlement that its meaning would be ‘flower feast/feast of St. Mary’, adding: ‘The local population used to sacrifice an animal in the church. The Turks who came later continued the festivity marking the return from the summer pastures of hay harvest’. He did not use the word ‘Armenian’ at all; available online, <<http://www25.brinkster.com/elevit/tarihi.html>> (accessed 3 January 2004). On the Vartevor festival, see also Haçıkyan (1997), pp. 100–4, and Chapter 13 by Erhan Ersoy (this volume).
- 114 Arıcı (n.d.).
- 115 Sayın (1992–93), pp. 23–24. It is not clear who this ‘Cuniet’ is. If Vital Cuinet is meant, then Sayın has mistakenly dated his publication nearly 500 years before it was written. Actually, Sayın is probably confusing Vital Cuinet with Ruy González de Clavijo, the Spanish ambassador to Timur Leng who passed through the area in the early fifteenth century.
- 116 Sayın (1992–93), pp. 4–6 and 18ff. Not satisfied with this, he even declared the Jews, who were deported to Babylonia in the sixth century BC, as having been Jewish Turks (ibid., p. 16). It seems that he really believed what he wrote: ‘Finally a Georgian and an Armenian state, based on Turkish roots, is founded... As a member of the Lions [Club] I’m raising my voice to the whole world: if a human plebiscite had been organised in Georgia and Armenia – like in the Hatay [Mosul and Kirkuk for some reasons have fallen into oblivion] – they would be on the side of their true brothers of Anatolia’ (ibid., p. 33).
- Kırzioğlu declared the Junior Arsacids (*Küçük Arşaklılar* – sometimes he spelled them *Arsaklılar*) as being the first to have adopted Christianity as the state religion, after he had constructed their Turkishness (*Horasanlı Türkmenler*). Kırzioğlu (1986), ch. III. Actually, this Parthian dynasty was neither Turkish nor Armenian, but rather of Iranian origin. After the Artaxiad Armenian royal family became extinct, a branch of the Arsacids was established on the throne of Armenia in the first century AD, ruling over the country until the year 428. It is in AD 301, during the rule of the Arsacid dynasty, that Armenia adopted Christianity. For more details on Kırzioğlu’s theories, see Benninghaus (1989), pp. 480ff.
- 117 Available online, <<http://gencturkler2.8m.com/OVERFLOW/hemsinlilik.html>> (accessed 9 October 2003).
- 118 During a discussion in a forum on 29 August 2003: <<http://www.hemsinli.com/forumoku.php?mesajsec=6>> (accessed 11 December 2003).
- 119 Hasan Umur, *Of ve Of Muharebeleri* (Istanbul: Güven Basımevi, 1949), p. 11; quoted in Nevzat Gün, ‘Ermenice Konuşan Müslümanlar’, *Yeniden Özgür Gündem* (Istanbul, 2003), 27 August.
- 120 The Şakir Aksu mentioned above, on 10 July 2003 in Karadeniz Halkları Tartışma Forumu: available online, <<http://f20.parsimony.net/forum36933/messages/1802.htm>> (accessed 10 April 2004).
- 121 Metin Yazıcı (9 May 2003), in Hemşin Defteri: available online, <<http://www.batur.net/uye/oku.btr?id=acrosom>> (accessed 3 January 2004).
- 122 Reported by Şakir Aksu: available online, <<http://f20.parsimony.net/forum36933/messages/1802.htm>> (accessed 10 April 2004).
- 123 Ibid. (‘Böyle söyleyen ve bu şekilde inanan bir insana ‘Hayır kardeşim! Sen Türk değil Ermenisin’ demenin bir mantığı olabilir mi? Irk ve mensubiyet şuuru kan ile ilgili olmaktan çok sosyolojik bir kabul değil midir? Bunun aksini iddia etmek hem ilme hem de evrensel hukuka aykırı değil midir?’).

- 124 For example, Palovit, Elevit/Eliovit or Tirovit. For more details concerning place names, see Benninghaus (1989), p. 479, n. 16; and Chapter 7 by Hagop Hachikian (this volume).
- 125 Posting by a person from Pazar county on 29 September 2003: available online, <<http://www.hemsinli.com/forumoku.php?mesajsec=6>> (accessed 11 December 2003). He even gave the advice to look for meanings in Central Asian Turkic languages when encountering a 'strange', seemingly un-Turkish place name. He did not explain how it happened that words from, for example, the Kirgız language entered the area.
- 126 Examples of such lists of words, which should prove their 'Turkish' (actually it should be 'Turkic') origin, may be found in Gündüz (2002), pp. 68–87. On the contrary, it is not clear why he afterwards (pp. 90ff.) listed words with their meaning in Turkish, Georgian, Lazuri, Mingrelian, Hemşince and Armenian, and gave a list of Turkish words with their equivalent in Hopa Hemşince (pp. 92–96) without commentary. Gündüz (pp. 67ff.) asserted that most of the vocabulary of the Rize Hemshinli, who are presented as Armenian by some (generally Western) writers, would not be understood by (Christian) Armenians, thus being 'dead' (old-fashioned) forms. This seems to be an error, since the author of this article has experienced the contrary. Further lists compiled with the same intention may be found in Arıcı (n.d.) (see n.103 above), and Sırtlı (1996), pp. 24–26 (the latter on place names in Artvin province).
- 127 Some examples may be found in Aynur Altaş, 'Hemşinoloji', *Seyran (Pokut): Makrevis Mahallesi Yardımlaşma ve Kalkındırma Derneği*, Samistal Gecesi Özel Sayısı (Ankara, 1969), 28 February, pp. 14–15; in the Karalahana forum by a certain 'Necati' (nickname) from a village in Pazar county, on 2 and 3 August 2001: available online, <<http://network54.com/Hide/FORUM/thread?forumid=110796&messageid=996780540>> (accessed 4 August 2001); in a website dedicated to the Hemshinli village of Yeniyol (former Oçe, in Ardeşen county): <<http://www.oceliler.tr.cx>> (obviously contemporarily without contents), also published on the Karalahana website: <<http://www.karalahana.com/karadeniz/hemsin/oc.htm>>, formerly under: <<http://network54.com/Hide/Forum/thread?forumid=110796&messageid=993066192>> (accessed 23 June 2001). Uğur Biryol compiled a list of words from Çamlıhemşin, which were published on the (new) Karalahana website: <<http://www.karalahana.com/kardeniz/hemsin/makrevis.htm>> (accessed 7 November 2003) and in the Karadeniz Halkları Tartışma Forumu (4 September 2003, posted by a certain 'elevitli'): <<http://f20.parsimony.net/forum36933/messages/3217.htm>> (accessed 9 October 2003). Besides that, a person with the nickname 'Hemşin Basköylü' (Hemşin Başköylü, suggesting that he considers himself as belonging to the Rize or Bash Hemshinli, although he was probably born outside the area; he is living abroad) posted some examples of the dialect of the Hopa Hemshinli to the Karadeniz Halkları Tartışma Forumu, of which he is the editor or one of the editors: available online, <<http://f20.parsimony.net/forum36933/messages/2529.htm>> (accessed 10 October 2003), and <<http://f20.parsimony.net/forum36933/messages/3646.htm>> (accessed 9 October 2003), and about the dialect of the western Hemshinli (as it seems): <<http://f20.parsimony.net/forum36933/messages/3118.htm>> (accessed 9. October 2003). A high school teacher from the village of Aşağı Çamlıca (Çamlıhemşin county), Murat İbranoğlu, prepared a similar list, too: <<http://ibranmurat.8m.com/Hemsinsozlugu.htm>> (accessed 3 January 2004). From the village of Karaağaç (Raşot) in Çayeli county, which once had a Hemshinli population, İslam Bilgin collected several local expressions (some of Armenian origin) and published them on his website: <<http://www.rasot.com/modules.php?name=Content&pa=showpage&pid=29>> (accessed 30 December 2003), also under: <<http://www.karalahana.com/karadeniz/rize/rasot.htm>> (accessed 30 December 2003).
- 128 Erol Çalikoğlu (nickname 'Erocalık') in a posting to the Karalahana forum on 4 August 2001: <<http://network54.com/Hide/FORUM/thread?forumid=110796&messageid=996780540>> (no longer under this URL, accessed 6 August 2001). For

- (partly) Armenian family names among western Armenians see Benninghaus (1989), p. 479 n. 17, and Appendix 12.1 (this volume).
- 129 Ersoy (1995), p. 142. Paul Magnarella had a similar experience in 1986, when some Hemshinli told him about their 'combined Armenian and Turkish ancestry'. Paul Magnarella, 'The Hemshin of Turkey: Yayla, a Pasture in the Clouds', *The World and I* (Washington, DC, 1989), 4, no. 5, pp. 654–65; reprinted in Paul Magnarella, *Anatolia's Loom: Studies in Turkish Culture, Society, Politics and Law* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1998), p. 184.
 - 130 Orkun Yaman, 'Etniklik ve Hemşin Üzerine (Bulutların Ülkesi Hemşin 4)', *Halkbilimi: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Türk Halk Bilimi Topluluğu* (Ankara, 1998), no. 7, p. 57 n. 11.
 - 131 A member of the large Topaloğlu family (they consider themselves as being one of the largest families in Turkey, if not the largest) of Hopa Hemshin descent avoided referring to the Turkist theories about the origins of the Hemshinli when speaking about the history of his family. Cihan Topaloğlu, 'Merhaba Topaloğulları', *Topaloğulları: Topaloğulları Derneği Yayın Organıdır* (Akçaabat/Trabzon, n.d.), 1, no. 1, (probably published between 1998 and 2000), p. 15. Another 'clan' member, however, uttered the possibility that their ancestors may have come from Central Asia. Süha Topaloğlu, 'Topaloğulları', p. 17.
At a meeting in Hopa in 1993, an elderly Hemshinli is reported to have defended the Turkishness of his people. 'Hemşinliler', *Yaşam ve Politika* (Istanbul, 2000), supplement of *Politikada Atılım*, no. 13, p. 16. Metin Yazıcı, a Hemshinli with parents from Kemalpaşa (Hopa county), but born and living in Ankara, repeated Kırzioğlu's theory in the Hemşin Defteri (9 and 18 May 2003): available online, <<http://www.batur.net/uye/oku.btr?id=acrosom>> (accessed 3 January 2004).
 - 132 Years ago the *tulumcu* (bagpipe player) Remzi Bekâr echoed this conviction. See also Pulur (1985).
 - 133 Hann both confirmed the unifying effect (condemnation) of PKK terrorism on the Black Sea population and its negative effect on the expression of ethnic differences. However, despite this, the cultural and scholarly activities of Lazi activists, especially in Istanbul (and Germany), increased. Hann (1995), p. 121; and idem (1997), p. 148.
 - 134 The term 'Turkish' is used here as an adjective to 'Turkey' and not in an ethnic meaning.
 - 135 Especially the book edited by Andrews (1989) in its Turkish version of 1992 and the book of Soysü (1992) have to be seen as pioneering steps. Before that, picking up the thread of Andrews' book, Hâle Soysü had published articles in 1991 on different populations in the Turkish weekly *İkibine Doğru* (1991); we just give the article on the Hemshinli here: 'Tulumla konuşan gururlu insanlar: Hemşinliler' *İkibine Doğru* (Istanbul, 1991), 5, no. 41, 8 December, pp. 44–47. For reactions to the publication of the first-mentioned book and ethnic maps connected with it, see Andrews (2002), pp. 9–25. Besides the publications of single ethnic groups about their own culture, one should mention the journal *Kafkasya Yazıları* which dealt with different ethnic groups (not only Caucasian) in the eight issues that appeared, along with other publications of the same publishing house (Çiviyazıları).
 - 136 The German Wolfgang Feurstein, who studied primarily the eastern Black Sea region, was accused of working for the Bundesnachrichtendienst (Federal German Secret Service). See e.g., Necip Hablemitoğlu, 'Bundesnachrichtendienst ve Kosova Sorunu', *Yeni Hayat* (1999), no. 55, May, available online, <<http://www.yenihayat.org>> (accessed 22 January 2001); <http://www.geocities.com/strateji_taktik/makaleler/strateji/tavr-s31.htm> (accessed 10 April 2004); and <<http://www.ilkh Haber.com.tr/almanvakif.asp>> (accessed 10 April 2004); Ali Rıza Saklı, 'Alman Ajanlarının Lazlar üzerine Oyunları' (n.d.), available online, <<http://www.geocities.com/karadenizim/Laz-almanajan.html>> (accessed 10 April 2004); Kenan Erzurumluoğlu, 'Patrikhane ve Pontus Dosyası: II Niçin Pontus?', *Orkun* (Istanbul, 2002), no. 50, available online, <<http://www.orkun.com.tr/asp/>>

orkun.asp?Tip=Makale&Makale_Nu=OKYSJAOYHGUH*/E/DRBB*FB,ALUISUQ OY/!*YNYNP*-WVJDWIFTBSF& sayı=50> (accessed 15 December 2003).

These accusations were extended to several German institutions in Turkey and are the matter of a legal case at a Turkish court, for which a publication of Hablemitoğlu was the reason. But authors in Turkey (for example, the Laz Ali İhsan Aksamaz) were also labelled 'spies' for foreign secret services. For an example of another 'counter-attack' against Western (German) publishing on Turkish issues see Tamer Bacinoğlu, *The Making of Turkish Bogyman: A Unique Case of Misrepresentation in German Journalism* (Istanbul: Graphis Yayınları, 1998). It should not be concealed that there are also Western scholars (orientalists, archaeologists) in 'Turkish service', sometimes providing the material for historical falsifications (see e.g., Frank Kolb, 'Wie Homer zu Ömer wird: Troia, Korfmann und die Türkei: Nationale Identitätsstiftung und die Instrumentalisierung von Wissenschaft', *Schwäbisches Tagblatt* (Tübingen, 2003), 6 March, on the German archaeologist Manfred Korfmann).

- 137 Serkan Yatçı described the 'mosaic concept' of the Turkish society as opposed to the asserted 'marble' character of Anatolia and gives some examples of the 'virtual mosaic', which some ethnic groups established on the internet. Serkan Yatçı, 'Meğer sanal mozaikmiş!', *Özgür Politika* (Neu-Isenburg, 2001), 8 March, available online, <<http://www.ozgurpolitika.org/2001/03/08/hab52b.html>> (accessed 10 July 2001).
- 138 Several works are clearly written as 'counter-attacks' against Peter A. Andrews' publication (see also Andrews (2002), pp. 11–17, where he discussed their reactions). The books by Türkdoğan (1997) and A. T. Önder (1999) may be classified in this category, as well as the latter's statements in the article by Nuriye Akman, 'Türkiye bir etnik mozaik mi?', *Sabah Daily* (Istanbul, 1998), 13 December. See also the article by Ferruh Sezgin, 'Türkiye Mozaığı (!)', *Yeni Hayat* (1992), no. 62, available online, <<http://www.yenihayat.org/dergi/1999/62/4.html>> (accessed 22 January 2001). Sırtlı (1996, p. 30) called Andrews' book '*şerefsizlik*' (infamy). In a nationalist internet forum (Inter-Türk Forumu), the part on the Hemşinli in Andrews' publication (Turkish version) was fiercely rejected in messages posted on 13 September 2003: available online, <<http://f16.parsimony.net/forum28507/messages/55593.htm>> (accessed 13 October 2003); and <<http://f16.parsimony.net/forum28507/messages/55594.htm>> (accessed 13 October 2003).

It seems that Şakir Aksu, an obvious 'false Turk made by Kırzioğlu' (according to Hemşinli), could only defend his opinion by insulting Andrews as '*salak*' (idiot), calling him a 'missionary of English origin' (he does not know that Peter Andrews is Muslim, married to a Turkish wife), labelling his publication as '*saçmalık*' (nonsense) and uttering doubts about the academic value of his work. Karadeniz Halkları Tartışma Forumu (2 July 2003): available online, <<http://f20.parsimony.net/forum36933/messages/1530.htm>> (accessed 10 October 2003). Similarly İbrahim Dilmaç (30 July 2003) in: <<http://www.hemşinli.com/forumoku.php?mesajsec=6>> (accessed 11 December 2003). The inaugurative posting by a Hemşinli from Ardeşen county was actually posted to a Hemşinli forum in June 2003: available online, <<http://www.hemşinli.com/forumoku.php?mesajsec=6>> (accessed 11 December 2003).

- 139 The title of Erkal's book (1998). See also Karamahmutoglu or some other 'eastern Black Sea idealists', 'Türkiye'nin başına örülen tuzaklardan biri de "ETNİK TUZAK-TIR"' (One of the traps laid out for Turkey is the 'ethnic trap'): available online, HTTP: <<http://dogukaradenizulkuculeri.sitemynet.com/dogukaradeniz/id2.htm>> (accessed 15 October 2003).
- 140 Oruç Arda, 'Etnik Kimliklerin Fetişizmi olarak "Türkiyelilik"', *Hisar Gazetesi (Haftalık İnternet Gazetesi)*, 24 August 2003 available online, <http://hisargazetesi.com/orucarda_dosyalar/orucarda12.htm> (accessed 10 April 2004).
- 141 Sırtlı (1996), pp. 7 and 16.
- 142 Türkdoğan (1997), p. 98. Here he referred especially to a Georgian villager, Ahmet Özkan-Melaşvili, who had been quite active in cultural affairs of northwest Anatolian

- Georgians – the reason why he was killed by (a) Turkish nationalist(s). Özkan once had a dispute with Kırzioğlu – not surprisingly, of course (Özkan 1970). Türkdoğan's label '*azınlık ırkçılık*' is adopted by Yavrucuk (2000): 'They were trying to create a consciousness of being of different origin among our citizens using the term 'mosaic culture'. What they did, precisely, was create a minority racism. On one side they complain that a Turkish racism was practised; on the other side they are describing our Turkey as a mosaic by attracting the attention of the people to different origins. Nobody has the right to awaken doubts in our people, who have reached a consciousness of being a nation, and to start an identity discussion. Those who have fallen into this trap unwittingly, have to wake up'.
- 143 Both in Erkal (1998), p. 43.
- 144 Mümtaz (2000) (cited according to the online-publication: <http://gazeteisik.virtualave.net/index_dosyalar/yazi/lazlik_meselesi.html> (no longer under this URL). In a Turkish nationalist forum some wrote about '*mozaik fareleri*' (the mosaic rats): <http://www.ulkuocaklari.org.tr/FORUM/forum_posts.asp?TID=43&PN=23> (accessed 16 September 2002).
- 145 Both in Erkal (1998), pp. 93 and 97. Erkal argued that: 'In recent times it has become fashionable to refer to Turkey as a cultural mosaic. However, Anatolia, as a geographic entity, has never been a mosaic of different cultures, especially not after 1071 [the battle of Malazgirt]. When speaking about a mosaic, one understands different cultures of the same value and civilizations with materialized manifestations.'
- 146 The term 'mosaic' was used, for example, by Ersin Kalkan, 'Karadeniz mozaïği', *Hürriyet Daily* (Istanbul, 1997), 4 September and by Hayrettin Aydın, 'Das ethnische Mosaik der Türkei', *Zeitschrift für Türkeistudien* (Leverkusen, 1997), 10, no. 1, pp. 65–101. See the discussion in Sezgin (1999); Sırtlı (1996), pp. 16–17; Çakır (2002); and Andrews (2002), p. 11. Although A. T. Önder rejected the term 'mosaic', he was not against discussing ethnic issues in Turkey, uttering the opinion that 'all the ethnic groups in Turkey are relatives' (Akman 1998).
- Sırtlı (1996, p. 67) tried to find a way out of this 'threat' by insulting the opposition: 'Those speaking of "the country of mosaics, of cultural richness" are "old rifles". Their cultural level and viewpoints cannot cover their ignorance'. The other (leftist) side countered with: 'The fascist, bourgeois state wants to turn the mosaic into marble'. 'Hemşinliler', *Yaşam ve Politika*, supplement of *Politikada Atılım* (Istanbul, 2000), no. 13, May, p. 16.
- 147 Dilmaç (n.d.).
- 148 'Folklorik bir etnik topluluk'. Gündüz (2002, p. 9) spoke of: 'The Laz and the Hopa Hemşin have folkloristic languages that mixed local elements with Turkish'. Similarly, Kırzioğlu (1994, p. 1) on the Laz: 'a small population, who speaks an unwritten folkloristic language'.
- 149 Kaya (2002).
- 150 Ibid.
- 151 Ibid.
- 152 A certain 'Necati' (see also n.117) in the Karalahana forum (4 August 2001):, available online, <<http://network54.com/Hide/FORUM/thread?forumid=110796&messageid=996780540>> (no longer under this URL).
- 153 Available online, <<http://dogukaradenizulkuculeri.sitemynet.com>> (accessed 15 October 2003). 'Ülkücüler' (idealists) is another name for the members and sympathizers of the MHP, especially its youth organization. A. Karamahmutoğlu was born in Of (Trabzon province) in 1966, an area with a rather strong Islamic inclination.
- 154 For a short biography see: <http://gazeteisik.virtualave.net/index_dosyalar/hm.html> (no longer under this URL).
- 155 'Fatherland, nation, Sakarya'; Sakarya is a province in northwest Anatolia, where the Turkish army defeated the Greeks in 1921. This phrase is often used to denote a nationalist attitude.

- 156 For instance, Mümtaz (2000).
- 157 Sırtlı (1996), p. 30; Dilmaç (n.d.).
- 158 Available online, <<http://www.istfest.org/film/tur/bolum17.htm>> (accessed 6 June 2003); a German translation of an article in *Yeni Gündem* from 17 March 2001: <<http://www.libertad.de/projekte/spezial/tuerkei/karabey-yg170301.htm>> (accessed 7 June 2003); and as a posting to the Karalahana forum on August 2, 2001: available online, <<http://network54.com/Hide/Forum/thread?forumid=110796&messageid=996703139>> (9 August 2001). For an interview with Özcan Alper on the film, where he also related the reactions to the film, see Talin Sucuyan, ‘‘‘Momi’’ ve ‘‘Hamşetsi’’ Olmak...’, 2001, available online, <http://www.bianet.org/haber_eski/haber2485.htm> (accessed 6 June 2003).
- 159 *Devlet Güvenlik Mahkemesi*, the Court(s) for State Security, an official tool for the political discipline of dissidents, which evaluates ‘thought crimes’.
- 160 *Terörle Mücadele Kanunu* (TMK, sometimes referred to as Terörle Mücadele Yasası/TMY), § 8, said: ‘Written or oral propaganda, along with meetings, demonstrations, and marches, that have the goal of destroying the invisible unity of the state, with its territory and nation, of the Republic of Turkey cannot be conducted. Those who conduct such activities shall be punished with imprisonment of between one and three years and a heavy fine of between 100 million lira and 300 million lira’ (quoted according to an unofficial translation by Human Rights Watch: available online, <<http://www.hrw.org/press98/feb/fe-turk.htm>> (accessed 10 April 2004). A slightly different translation may be found under: <http://www.eumap.org/zoperoot/eumap_00/library/datab/Documents/1006009739.44/oc_rg09.htm>.
- Another paragraph normally applied by Turkish authorities in similar cases is § 312 of the *Türk Ceza Kanunu* (TCK, Turkish Penal Code), which was not cancelled, but did not affect Özcan Alper’s case; § 312 contains menace of punishment for: ‘inciting people to hatred and enmity on the basis of ethnic religious, regional and sectarian differences’ (unofficial translation in: <<http://www.flash-bulletin.de/2002/e/January11.htm#5>>. See also a different translation under: <<http://www.hrw.org/press98/feb/fe-turk.htm>> (accessed 10 April 2004).
- 161 Personal communication with Özcan Alper in October 2003.
- 162 See Das türkische Sprachenverbotsgesetz (1985) and the comments by Christian Rumpf, ‘Anmerkungen zum Sprachenverbotsgesetz’, *Informationsbrief Ausländerrecht* (Neuwied, 1985), no. 9, pp. 252–56; Wolfgang Feurstein, ‘Türkei: Sprechverbot für 15 Millionen! – Türkiye: 15 milyon için konuşma yasağı’, *Pogrom: Zeitschrift für bedrohte Völker* (Hamburg, 1989), 20, no. 147, pp. 21–31; and Hikmet Neğuç, ‘Yasak Diller Kanunu üzerine’, *Kafdağı* (Ankara, 1990), 4, nos. 37–40, pp. 1–2.

Index

- Abdülaziz Efendi, teacher 108
Abdülaziz Efendi, ulema 109
Abdülhamid II, Ottoman Sultan (1876–1909) 130
Abdullah Efendi, ulema (eighteenth century) 84
Abdullah Efendi *see* Memişoğlu, Abdullah Efendi
Abdülmecid, Ottoman Sultan (1839–1861) 75, 104
Abriçe *see* Abu Viçe
Abkhazia: Hamshen Armenians in xx, xxi, xxiii, xxiv, xxxi, 298, 302 n.47; dialect of Hamshen Armenians in 271, 296–97, 298; *see also* Krasnodar, Russia
ablative 260
Abrieöm, bandit (early nineteenth century) 60, 95 n.138
Abuhemşin (village) 87, 98 n.181, 188 n.115; *see also* Fındıklı
Abu Viçe Valley 25, 37 n.42, 145, 179 n.28, 188 n.115; *see also* Fındıklı
Abyon *see* Apion
Acaba (village) 107, 144; *see also* Pazar
Acharian, Hrach'eay 36 n.23, 64–65, 182 n.59, 263, 264, 268, 269, 270, 271, 273, 276 n.2, 277 n.7, 278 n.41, 291, 295, 296, 297, 298, 300
Adiabene 12, 18 n.61
Adenos River *see* Senoz River
Âdile Sultan, daughter of Sultan Mahmud II and wife of Mehmed Ali Pasha (1826–1899) 103, 121 n.12
Adjarian *see* Acharian
Aethelstan, king of England (925–939) 13, 18 n.67
Afghanistan 55, 113
Agathangelos, and his *History* 47
Aghrit/Ağrit (village) 125; *see also* Yomra
Aght'amar (church of the Holy Cross), Lake Van 10, 17
Aght'amar (island), Lake Van 9–10
agricultural tools: Armenian loanwords in Turkish dialect of the Bash Hemshinli related to 285–86
agriculture 85, 128, 129, 195, 199, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 216, 217, 219, 225, 231 n.42, 231 n.58, 232 n.63, 236, 285, 295, 341, 345
Ahmed Asım Efendi, ulema 110
Ahmed Edib Efendi *see* Edib Efendi
Ahmed Efendi, ulema (died in 1880) 121 n.14
Ahmed Efendi, ulema, teacher 110, 113, 122 n.46
Ahmed Faik, Mülkiyeli, brother of Ziya Hursid 114, 115, 116, 118
Ahmed Fuad Ferah, Mülkiyeli 114–15
Ahmed Galib Efendi, ulema 108, 109, 110, 111, 121 n.17
Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, ulema 108, 110
Ahmed Midhat Efendi, ulema 111, 112
Ahmed Necmi Efendi, member of local assembly 114
Ahmed Pasha Pabuççuzâde, Grand-Admiral 103
Ahmed Vehbi Efendi, ulema, kadı 111
Ajaria 79, 143; Hemshin in 21; *see also* Georgia, Georgians
Ajars 79, 81, 86; *see also* Georgians
Akbıyık, İsmet xxii
Akbucak (village) 82, 102, 122 n.39, 144, 233 n.82; folk architecture in 235–54, 321, 377 n.63; *see also* Marmanat, Pazar

- Akçaabat (county) 163; migration of Hamshen and Karadere Armenians to 57, 59, 60, 66, 186 n.92; Islamicized Armenians in and attempts at reversion to Christianity 76, 96 n.145, 126
- Akçaabat (town) 57, 59, 60, 66, 126
- Akçakoca (county) 77, 87, 159, 320
- Akçal, Erol Yılmaz, politician, son of Yusuf İzzet Akçal 119, 123 n.56
- Akçal family *see* Yılmaz Akçal
- Akçal, Yusuf İzzet, politician, uncle of Mesut Yılmaz 123 n.56
- Akēats'i, T'adeos (early tenth century) 11
- Akkaya (village) 25, 150; *see also* Ardeşen
- Ak Koyunlu Türkmen tribal confederation 26, 28, 29, 30, 33, 361, 363, 381 n.99
- Aksu, Şakir 361, 362, 378 n.68, 382 n.110, 386 n.138
- al-'Amri, Sulayman Ibn Yazid, *ostikan* (governor) of Armenia 5, 20
- Alaverdyan, S. 264
- Albayrak, Hasan Basri, Member of Parliament from Rize 119
- Alfred, king of Wessex (871–899) 13, 18 n.65, 18 n.66, 18 n.68
- Ali Agha, father of Mehmed Ali Hurşid of Maladis, migrant from Ardahan 108, 110, 112
- Ali Çavuş, derebey (first half of nineteenth century) 101
- Ali Efendi, ulema 111, 122 n.29
- Ali Gaalib, Mülkiyeli 114, 115
- Ali Koruk, *serasker* of Hemshin (1520s) 31, 83
- Ali Necib Efendi, ulema 110–12
- Ali Pasha, governor of the Trebizond province 101–02
- Alishanian, Ghewond V. 52
- Ali Şükri Bey, Member of Parliament from Trabzon 118
- Ali Vehbi Efendi, ulema 109
- alkızı/alkarısı* 326
- all things 'human': Armenian loanwords in the Turkish dialect of the Bash Hemshinli related to 290–91
- Alper, Özcan 369–70, 388 n.158, 388 n.160, 388 n.161
- alpine zone 213, 214, 218
- Amasya 109
- Amatuni family, Amatunis 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17 n.53, 18 n.61, 20, 21, 30, 31, 36 n.10, 82, 94 n.114, 280, 359, 362, 376 n.44; Apusakr (late ninth century) 11; Bishop Gregory (early tenth century) 11; Hamam (late eighth century) 5, 7, 11, 12, 20, 21, 25, 27, 30, 82; Shapuh (late eighth century) 5, 11, 20, 30; Shapuh (mid-ninth century) 11
- amiras* 126–27
- Amlakit (pasture) 327, 337 n.48
- Amokta (village) 55, 229 n.23; *see also* Çamlıhemşin
- Anania, Misayel, and Azarya (Shadrach, Mishach, and Abednego) 48
- Anatolia xx, xxi, xxii, 27, 53, 58, 61, 65, 77, 87, 105, 109, 113, 117, 157, 161, 185 n.90, 186 n.93, 204, 213, 228 n.20, 230 n.37, 234 n.97, 238, 250, 310, 319 n.36, 321, 325, 326, 339, 340, 341, 348, 353, 355, 357, 360, 362, 363, 375 n.39, 379 n.82, 383 n.116, 386 n.137, 387 n.145, 387 n.155; *see also* Asia Minor
- ancestors, ancestry xxxi, 7, 8–9, 12, 69, 80, 186 n.92, 312, 320, 339, 340, 354, 366, 382 n.113; admission of Armenian origins by Hemshin 64, 70, 75, 309, 365–66, 367, 382–83 n.113, 385 n.129; Hamshen Armenians as ancestors of the Hemshin xxxi, 27, 64, 69, 70, 71, 75, 82, 85, 133–34, 141, 145, 309–10, 312, 328, 339; hypothesis of Tzannic origins of the Hemshin 21; possible Turkish or other Muslim background of a few Hemshin families 83, 98 n.190, 130; Turkic ancestry theories and their popularity among the Hemshin i, xxii, xxiv, 308, 309, 323, 340, 353, 360, 361, 364–66, 367, 384 n.126, 385 n.131
- Andrews, Peter Alford 357, 385 n.135, 386 n.138
- Anglo-Saxons 13, 15 n.21, 18 n.66, 18 n.68
- Ani 264; claims among Hamshen Armenians and Hemshin of origins from 21
- animal husbandry 145, 159, 207, 208, 211, 212, 216, 217, 218, 219, 226, 228 n.4, 232 n.70, 237, 238, 242, 248, 252, 282–83, 341, 344, 351 n.37; *see also* bulls, cattle
- animal sacrifices 327
- animism 326
- Ankara xxiii, 119, 159, 165, 200, 205, 225, 230 n.35, 230 n.40, 231 n.43, 231 n.44, 232 n.74, 354, 356, 366, 376 n.48, 378 n.68, 385 n.131

- ankylostoma* (hookworm) 203
 annual cycle and calendar: Armenian
 loanwords in Turkish dialect of the Bash
 Hemshinli related to 280–81
 anthropomorphism 326
 Anzer Valley 148, 149, 172, 181 n.48
 Apion (village) 76, 276 n.2; *see also*
 Yomra
 Apso (village) 113, 317 n.23; *see also*
 Pazar
 Arabia 113
 Arab invasion of Armenia 4, 11, 267
 Arab rule of Armenia (seventh–tenth
 centuries) 3–4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13; and
 Iberia 8
 Aragatsotn (medieval Armenian canton)
 20, 35–36 n.10
 Arak'eal/Arak'el, prince of Hamshen
 (early fifteenth century) 22, 26–28, 33,
 148, 321
 Araklı (county) 61, 63, 75, 92 n.52, 133,
 188 n.118, 298, 311; Armenian
 migration to 157, 185 n.90,
 185–86 n.91, 186 n.92; Islamicized
 Armenians in 155, 307, 311–12;
 remaining Armenians in 186–87 n.97;
 see also Karadere, Sürmene
 Aram/Ariam, possible prince of Hamshen
 (1470s) 29
 Aram Giwgh (village) 87
 Aramo dialect 265
 Ararat (journal) 62, 93 n.63
 archaisms, linguistic 257, 261, 265–67, 271
 Archesh dialect 265
 Ardahan (province) 108, 109, 110, 112
 Ardala (village) xxii, 80, 302 n.42, 306,
 316 n.7; dialect 270, 297; *see also*
 Hopa
 Ardanuç (county) 173, 378 n.67
 Ardanuç (town) 153
 Ardeletsı, Hopa Hemshin subgroup 80,
 97 n.175, 306, 316 n.7
 Arder *see* Ayder
 Ardeşen (county) 26, 144, 151, 169,
 177 n.4, 182 n.64, 320, 351 n.41;
 Hemshin in 106, 145, 151, 309, 312,
 317 n.19, 318 n.30, 320, 339, 377 n.61,
 384 n.127, 386 n.138; nahiye 144,
 178 n.18, 320
 Ardeşen (town) 25, 26, 106, 151, 165,
 188 n.115, 201, 209, 232 n.66,
 300 n.4, 322
 Arev (village) 149; *see also* Kalkandere,
 Karadere of Rize
 Arghut'iants', Archbishop Hovsep' 66
 Arhakeł *see* Arak'eal, Arraquel
 Arhavi (county) xxiii, 151, 158, 177 n.4,
 351 n.41; Hemshin in 173, 183 n.67;
 kaza 143; Lazi dialect of 379 n.80;
 nahiye 144, 163
 Arhavi (town) 115
 Arıcı, Muzaffer 101, 121 n.20, 150, 334
 n.7, 361, 365, 377 n.63, 381 n.95
 Ârifi Ahmed Pasha 67, 94 n.96
 aristocracy (Armenian), aristocratic and
 royal image, reputation, prestige 3, 4–5,
 7–10, 12, 13; *see also* nakharars,
 ishkhans
 Armene (promontory) 25
 Armenia xxi, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15 n.23,
 20, 29, 30, 42, 45, 46, 48, 49, 134, 145,
 192, 267, 308, 320, 328, 363, 365, 368,
 383 n.116
 Armenian Apostolic Church i, xxii, 3, 11,
 28, 54, 56, 70, 78; and Islamicized
 Armenians 124–25, 126, 127, 128; and
 national identity 12–13; calendar 281,
 318 n.24; map of 53; population
 figures 184–85 n.86; union with
 Byzantine Church 3
 Armenian Chalcedonians 28, 39 n.71, 56
 Armenian dialects, 257, 259, 260, 261,
 262, 265, 267, 296, 297, 310, 311;
 modern Armenian dialects 257, 259,
 266, 267, 277 n.9
 Armenian language 12, 19, 28, 70, 74, 76,
 77, 78, 79, 81, 88, 132, 133, 155, 257,
 271, 311, 312, 349 n.8, 365; medieval
 interpretation of 5–7, 9; medieval use
 and effect of use 12; medieval writing
 of 5–6, 7–8, 9–10, 11, 12, 13; Middle
 Armenian 265, 266, 272
 Armenian lord (unnamed), in Hemshin
 legend 324; *see also* Azaklı and Bozacı
 Armenian Plateau 24, 55, 62, 65, 141,
 153, 157
 Armenophobia 356, 363–67
 Armutlu (village) 159, 188 n.115;
 see also Akçakoca, Hemşin (village)
 Arol, Ali İhsan, officer on the board of
 the 'Çamlıhemşin Hemşin
 Foundation' 309
 Arraquel 26–27; *see also* Arak'eal
 Arraquel, land of 22, 26–27, 33 *see also*
 Arak'eal
 Arsacids, dynasty 359, 383 n.116
 Arsenyak (village) 125; *see also*
 Kars, Olti

- Arsin (county) 155, 188 n.119
 Arslan, Mithat Kerim 361
 Arta (pasture) 26; *see also*
 Artashēn, Ayder
 Artashēn (legendary castle) 26;
 see also Arta
 Artashēn, legendary prince of
 Hamshen 25–26
 Artaz (medieval Armenian
 canton) 11, 35 n.10
 Arthur, King (legendary) 7
 Artske dialect 265
 Artsruni, Grigor 127, 128
 Artsrunis, Artsruni family 4, 5, 9–10, 11,
 35 n.10; Ashot I, prince of Vaspurakan
 (836–852), (867–874/5) 11; Ashot II,
 prince of Vaspurakan (887–903) 11,
 16 n.40; Gagik Apumruan (early tenth
 century) 11; Gagik, king of Vaspurakan
 (908–943) 9–10, 11, 16 n.40, 17;
 Gregory-Derenik, prince of Vaspurakan
 (859–887) 11, 17; Gurgēn Artsruni
 (mid-ninth century, brother of Ashot I)
 11; Gurgēn Artsruni (early tenth
 century, brother of King Gagik) 11;
 Thomas Artsruni, and the *History of the*
 House of the Artsrunis 9, 11, 13
 Artvin (province) xxiii, xxxi, 36 n.24,
 39 n.71, 78, 81, 82, 141, 158, 183 n.79,
 184 n.83, 187 n.101, 235, 257, 313,
 338, 339, 353, 360, 364, 376 n.44, 378
 n.67, 380 n.90, 384 n.126; Hemshin
 settlements in 151–53, 173, 235, 279,
 320; name changes in 161, 164, 188
 n.118, 188 n.119; *see also* Ardanuç,
 Borçka, Hopa, Yusufeli
 Artvin (town) 132, 143, 144, 153, 158,
 173, 187 n.101; Armenian dialect 260,
 264–65
 Aşağı Hemşin (village) 72, 82, 107,
 189 n.132, 229 n.23; *see also*
 Çamlıhemşin, Sıraköy
 Aşağı Kale *see* Zil Kale
 Aşağı Şimşirli (village) 147, 200,
 229 n.23, 229 n.27, 337 n.47; *see also*
 Çamlıhemşin, Conotobra, Hala
 ASALA, Armenian Secret Army for the
 Liberation of Armenia 323
 Asferos *see* Aşıklar
 Ashodogh/Aşodovih (village, pasture) 146
 Asia Minor xxii, 25, 78, 127; *see also*
 Anatolia
 Aşıklar Valley 145, 150; *see also* Çayeli
 Aşıklar (village) 179 n.27, 377 n.64
 Asir 122 n.33
 Askhuros (river) 150
 Asoghik *see* Stephen Asoghik of Taron
 Aspet (village) 150, 182 n.59; *see also*
 Iyidere
 Asrifos Valley 306; *see also* Çayeli
 Astghik 328
 Atacan, Veysel 68, 90 n.14, 381 n.102
 Atatürk *see* Mustafa Kemal Pasha
 Athanagenes 267
 Athenai/Atina (town) 25, 29, 34, 38 n.55,
 79, 112, 113, 114, 115, 118, 189 n.127;
 see also Pazar
 Atina (kaza) 107, 112, 113, 114, 143,
 144, 147, 177 n.4, 182 n.55, 204, 321,
 351 n.43; *see also* Pazar
 Atrpet (Sargis Mubayajian) 67, 79, 124,
 127, 130
 Atsız, Hüseyin Nihal 355
 Avars 354, 363
 Avdoyan, Levon 10
 Awetik'/Tēr Awetis, bishop of Trebizond
 (first half of seventeenth century) 52–3
 ayân/ayan, gentry, lower rank Ottoman
 official 82, 144, 178 n.14; *see also*
 derebeys
 Ayder (pasture) 26, 86, 120, 201, 217,
 218, 226, 230 n.34, 233 n.85, 233 n.91,
 294–95, 322, 330, 331, 332, 335 n.17,
 336 n.41, 337 n.46; *see also*
 Hala/Khala Dere
 Aysu (village) 113; *see also* Apso
 Azaklı and Bozacı, characters in Hemshin
 legend 324
 Aziz of Kharuk'sa 133, 134
 Babek/Babik (village) 107, 109; *see also*
 Kaptanpaşa
 Baberd *see* Bayburt
 Babik (town quarter) *see* Tophane
 Badara (village) 107, 120–21 n.6; *see also*
 Hemşin (county), Hemşin Ortaköy
 Bafra (town) 66, 122 n.31
 Bağcıoğlu Halil Agha, landowner 108
 Baghesh/Bitlis, Armenian dialect of 265
 Bagratid illumination 42
 Bagratunis, Bagratuni family 4, 7–10, 11,
 15 n.25, 16 n.40, 17 n.43, 21, 26, 30;
 Adarnase (first) king of Georgia
 (888–923) 9; Ashot Bagratuni (the
 blind), presiding prince of Armenia
 (732–748) 4; Ashot Bagratuni
 (775–781) 4; Ashot Bagratuni,
 presiding prince of Iberia (Ashot I)

- (813–830) 8; Ashot I, first king of Armenia (884–890) 9; Ashot II, king of Armenia (913–928) 9, 16 n.40; Ashot (anti-king to Ashot II of Armenia) 9; Ashot IV, son of King Adarnase 9; Bagarat Bagratuni of Tarōn, presiding prince of Armenia (826–851) 11; David, king of Georgia (923–937) 9; Iberian branch 4, 8–9; kingship of Armenia, revival of (884) 9–10; Smbat I, king of Armenia (890–913) 9; Shapuh Bagratuni, ninth-century historian 9; Sper branch 21, 30
- Bahar (town quarter) *see* Badara
- bakery business, bakeries, bakers 87, 89, 105, 108, 119, 127, 129, 204–05, 210, 227, 230 n.33, 231 n.44, 306, 341
- Bakradze, Dimitri 86
- Baku 117
- Balahor (village) 40 n.90, 107, 109, 111, 112, 171, 180 n.30; *see also* Kaptanpaşa
- Balkans 83, 158, 178 n.14, 189 n.124, 340
- Balkars 360
- baptism 70, 88, 124, 325
- Barhal/Barkhal Mountains 22, 71, 129, 145, 150, 360; *see also* Kaçkar; Paryadres
- Barkan, Ömer Lütüfi 40 n.86
- Başhemşin (village) 82, 107, 178 n.10, 189 n.132, 229 n.23; *see also* Çamlıhemşin
- Bash Hemshin xxiii, xxiv, xxxi, 81, 87, 98 n.181, 151, 155, 158, 159, 188 n.115, 235, 257, 307, 320, 322, 334 n.2, 363, 365, 369, 376 n.46, 382 n.110; admission of Armenian origins by elderly or ordinary villagers 309, 367; celebration of Vardavar by 70, 310, 365; crypto-Christianity among 68–74, 88; cultural and identity variations within group 306–07, 322; cultural differences with Hopa Hemshin, lack of contacts between the two groups, and rejection of the Hopa Hemshin by the Bash Hemshin 159, 223, 279, 305–06, 307, 309, 316 n.3, 339, 350 n.23, 353, 360, 364–65; customs and beliefs among 251–52, 325–27; involvement in public function and politics 119, 307; loss of Armenian language 279–80, 312; owners of bakeries, hotels, pastry stores and restaurants 196, 204–05, 210, 225, 227, 231 n.43, 306; perception of group identity 271, 321–24; population estimates 81, 85–86, 98 n.181, 132; practice of Islam 324–25; possible Turkish or other Muslim background of a few Hemshin families 83, 98 n.190, 130; preference for Turkish ancestry theories 308, 309, 353, 360, 364–66, 367; relations with Khodorchur Armenians 128–32; relations with the Lazi 322, 323, 338–52; successful integration of political and religious elites of Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey 81, 83–84, 100–23, 307; Turkish dialect and Armenian loanwords in that dialect 151, 257, 276 n.3, 279–302, 305, 311, 312–13, 318 n.30, 318 n.32, 321–22, 334–35 n.14, 339, 384 n.126, 384 n.127; valley lords (*derebeys*) 82; *see also* Çamlıhemşin, conversion, Hemshin (kaza), Hemşin (county), migration, *puşi*, Turkicization
- Başköy *see* Cimil
- Bathys *see* Batum
- Battal Hüseyin Pasha, governor of the Trebizond province 66
- Batum/Batumi 32, 34, 86, 87, 101, 109, 117, 118, 132, 142, 143, 177 n.1, 230 n.33, 300 n.1, 326, 337 n.42
- Bayburt (province) 28, 33, 34, 39 n.73, 46, 50 n.30, 61, 93 n.79, 122 n.33, 188 n.119, 213; child levy in 33; Armenian dialect 264–65, 276; exodus from Karadere to 62, 63, 66, 157, 186 n.95; Hamshen Armenian monks in 28, 46; Laz attack 65; manuscript copied in 56; migration of Armenians to Karadere 61–62, 153, 155, 157, 185 n.89, 186 n.92; monk from Hamshen in 28
- Bede 13, 18 n.65, 18 n.66
- beeswax 85; taxes collected in form of 52, 57, 58
- Behlül Efendi, ulema 108, 109
- Bekâr, Remzi 308, 361, 362, 377 n.54, 378 n.69, 379–80 n.85, 385 n.132
- Bekar, Serdar 68
- Benli Mustafa, brigadier general, son-in-law of Mehmed Ali Pasha 104
- Benninghaus, Rüdiger 121 n.15, 179 n.26, 187 n.110, 223, 229 n.23, 305, 317 n.19, 324, 334 n.2, 335 n.15, 335 n.21, 343, 348 n.3, 349 n.3, 351 n.39, 357

- Berastan/Perestan (village) 107, 109, 113;
see also Kaptanpaşa
- Bert'ak Monastery: manuscripts copied by
 Hamshen Armenian monk in 46
- Beyazit Mosque, Istanbul 110, 111, 114
beys 75, 129, 206; *see also* *derebeys*
- Bible 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 38 n.64, 124, 134;
 knowledge of 5; stimulus to nationhood
 12; use of 5–8
- Biga 122 n.36
- Bilen (village): last Hemshin village of
 Zuğa Valley to convert to Islam 67;
see also Hemşin (county), Tepan
- Bilgin, İslam 384 n.127
- Bilgin, Mehmet 29, 65, 82, 92 n.53,
 185 n.90, 185 n.91, 186 n.93, 186 n.96,
 361, 378 n.66
- bird language 276 n.4
- Bishop of Trebizond, unnamed (second
 half of nineteenth century) 127
- Black Sea xxii, 4, 22, 141, 148, 192, 341
- Black Sea coast, region 22, 42, 62, 65, 76,
 105, 113, 118, 142, 148, 158, 185 n.90,
 189 n.131, 206, 207, 229 n.21, 298,
 309, 313, 317 n.23, 340–41, 348, 365,
 371 n.4, 377 n.61, 378 n.65, 385 n.136,
 386 n.139; Armenians 20; eastern i,
 xxii, xxxi, 4, 10, 42, 100, 105, 119,
 122 n.31, 143, 149, 153, 159, 161, 163,
 165, 169, 192, 194, 195, 200, 203, 212,
 213, 230 n.39, 231 n.56, 279, 300 n.4,
 301 nn.5, 9, 305, 307, 309, 310, 319
 n.36, 320, 323, 338, 339, 353, 357, 358,
 361, 363, 365, 368, 369, 378 n.66;
 western 122 n.31, 141, 157–61,
 187 n.103; *see also* Pontic region
- Black Sea population 362, 366, 368, 369,
 375 n.39, 380 n.92, 385 n.133
- Bodullu (village) 68, 72, 107, 362,
 378 n.68; *see also* Hemşin (county),
 Hemşin Ortaköy, Mutlu
- Boladzor manuscript 45
- Bolu (province) 298, 300 n.1; sancak 87
boncuk (good-luck beads) 217, 290
- Borçka (county) xxiii, 151, 320, 339;
see also Hopa Hemshin
- Bostan, M. Hanefi 32
- Bostan wharf, Istanbul 103
- Britain 6, 7, 73
- Bryer, Anthony 21, 22, 25, 26, 57, 58, 68,
 73, 78, 79, 84, 120 n.3, 183 n.80, 194,
 195, 321, 324, 325, 340, 349
- Bugha (mid-ninth-century general of
 Caliph) 11
- Bulgaria 189 n.124, 204
- Bulgarian toponyms 163, 167, 168,
 189 n.124, 360
- Bulgars 4, 360
- bulls 212, 220, 232 n.72, 282–83,
 301 n.15; bull-fighting 329, 336 n.41;
see also animal husbandry; pastoralism
- Bursa (province): Hamshen Armenian
 settlements in 158; Hemshin
 settlements in 159, 188 n.114
- Bursa (town) 159, 351 n.32
- butter 203, 209, 221, 222, 234 n.99, 240,
 280, 287, 288; casks, *kadina* 218;
see also agriculture, animal husbandry,
 clarified butter, nutrition
- Büyük Dere branch *see* Fırtına
- Büyük Dere *see* Senoz Dere
- Byzantine Church 53, 90 n.11
- Byzantine Emperors: Constantine V
 (741–775) 4; Constantine VI (780–797)
 20; Heraclius (610–641) 10; Irene
 (797–802) 4; Justinian I (527–565)
 334 n.7; Leo IV (775–780) 4
- Byzantium 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 15 n.21, 20,
 21, 26
- Bzhshkian, Father Minas 21, 26, 53, 57,
 66, 69, 70, 74, 84, 146, 324
- Caferoğlu, Ahmet 280, 311, 318–19 n.36,
 362, 380 n.89
- Caffa, 28, 29
- Çağlayan Vadisi *see* Abu Viçe Valley
- calendar: annual cycle and 280–81;
 Armenian Church i, xxii, 50 n.26, 281,
 311, 318 n.24, 318 n.33, 328; Julian
 281, 311, 318 n.33
- Caliphate, Caliphs 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 14 n.4,
 20; Abu 'l-'Abbas (750–754) 14 n.14;
 Harun al-Rashid (786–809) 5
- calves 221, 223, 251, 282–83, 289;
see also animal husbandry, pastoralism
- Çamlıca (nahiye) 144, 178 n.18; *see also*
 Çamlıhemşin
- Çamlıca Upper and Lower (town quarters)
 55, 147, 178 n.18, 199, 200, 201,
 229 n.23, 233 n.82, 334 n.4, 384 n.127;
see also Viçe
- Çamlıhemşin (county) xxiv, xxix, 22, 32,
 82, 105–06, 107, 119, 144, 145, 146,
 153, 159, 165, 178 n.10, 178–79 n.18,
 180 n.33, 183 n.80, 184 n.84, 229 n.26,
 232 n.66, 264, 279, 296, 306, 309, 310,
 317 n.19, 320, 321, 322, 324, 325,
 336 n.28, 336 n.41, 339, 353, 369,

- 382 n.110, 384 n.127; agriculture 208–09; animal husbandry and pastoralism 208, 212, 219–22, 226; Armenian toponyms in 145, 146, 180 n.34, 181 n.43, 189 n.129, 293–95, 384 n.124; dress 223–24; ecosystem in 192–93, 213–14, 228 n.6; education 203–04; health 203; Hemshin villages in 147, 198–200, 229 n.23; Hemshin-Lazi interaction in 321–22; hydroelectric plant project in 119–20, 123 n.57; Lazi population and villages in 198–200, 229 n.25, 321, 322; migration and its consequences 204–06, 225, 226; modernization of Hemshin villages and public services 200, 226; name changes in 164; nutrition 222–23; perceptions of ethnic identity in 321–24; religious beliefs in 324–25; rural habitation, houses and outbuildings in 193–98, 235–54; rural settlements and population 198–200; self-perception of inhabitants and understanding of modernization 224–26; social status and gender roles 206–08, 225, 226, 280; superstitious beliefs 325–27; topography 143, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196; tourism prospects 226; transition from subsistence farming to tea cultivation 209–12, 226; transhumance 212–13, 217–18, 280; transportation and communications 200–03, 225; *yayla* festivals in 327–33; *yaylas*, *yayla* habitations, inhabitants and daily life 214–16, 222, 232 n.73; *see also* Bash Hemshin
- Çamlıhemşin (town) 55, 120, 147, 178 n.10, 178–79 n.18, 189 n.129, 198–99, 201, 218, 229 n.23, 233 n.85, 233 n.91, 322, 325
- Çamlık (village) 149, 181–82 n.53; *see also* İkizdere, Kohçeri Sufla
- Çamlıkaya *see* Hunut
- Çamlıyurt *see* Aghrit
- Çanava *see* Çinova, Sanova
- Canik (sancak) 122 n.27, 276 n.2; Hamshen Armenian subdialect of 261, 271, 272, 276, 277 n.31; migration of Hamshen and Karadere Armenians to 66; *see also* Khurshunlu, Samsun
- Canikli Battal Hüseyin Pasha *see* Battal Hüseyin Pasha
- Canoddobra/Canottobra *see* Conottobra
- Capuchin missionaries 69
- Çarşamba (county) 188 n.116; kaza 66
- Çarşamba (town) 61, 66, 157, 161, 188 n.116
- Castilian envoys *see* Clavijo
- Çat/Ch'at' (village) 40 n.90, 55, 107, 120, 180 n.30, 229 n.23; *see also* Çamlıhemşin, Tap
- Çataldere (village) 119, 180 n.30, 312
- Catholics, Armenian Catholics 24, 52, 66, 72, 78, 87, 128–30, 155, 184 nn.83, 85; *see also* Khodorchur, Mekhitarist Congregation
- cattle 85, 153, 191, 195, 201, 211, 212, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 226, 228 n.4, 233 n.92, 234 n.96, 279, 280, 282, 283, 284, 288, 291, 294, 295, 327, 330, 344; Armenian loanwords in Turkish dialect of the Bash Hemshinli related to raising and breeding of cattle 282–83; *see also* animal husbandry, pastoralism
- Caucasian languages 263, 267, 291, 296, 301 n.18, 339
- Caucasus, Caucasian peoples, traditions xx, xxi, xxii, xxiii, 3, 117, 127, 158, 185 n.90, 194, 204, 279, 337 n.42, 340, 347, 351 n.32, 360, 385 n.135
- Çayeli (county) 54, 82, 102, 105–06, 119, 143, 144, 170, 180 n.34, 183 n.76, 189 n.129, 192, 294, 309, 312, 317 n.19, 320, 339, 341, 361, 377 n.64, 378 n.65, 384 n.127; Armenian loanwords in 282, 300 n.4; Hamshen Armenian settlement in 24, 31; Hemshin identity in coastal section 306–07; Hemshin villages in 145, 146, 150; kaza 144; name changes in 164
- Çayeli (town) 38 n.55, 101, 106, 170
- Çayırdüzü (village) 25, 150, 199, 229 n.25; *see also* Çamlıhemşin
- Çaykara (county) 92 n.53, 148, 165, 189 n.129, 189 n.131
- Çaykur factory, Ardeşen 209, 231 n.60, 232 n.66; *see also* tea cultivation
- Çemişgezek (town) 122 n.37
- Çençova *see* Çinçiva
- Central Asia 326, 354; deportation of Hemshin in 1944 to and Hemshin settled in 144, 257, 360; myths of Hemshin origins from 30, 307, 308, 360, 361, 362, 366, 376 n.43, 384 n.125, 385 n.131
- Cevail Agha, derebey 102
- Çeymakçur (pasture) 183 n.80, 294, 295, 331

- Chalcedonian faith 28–29, 39 n.71, 56;
see also Armenian Chalcedonians
- Ch'almarshur-oghli Bekt'ash Bey 131–32
- Chaneti 21, 29, 34; *see also* Lazia/Lazica
- Charlemagne, Western emperor (800–814) 12, 13
- cheese 218, 219, 221, 234 n.99, 240, 280, 287, 288, 301 n.22, 301 n.23; production 288
- Chipin/Jibin (village) 69
- choria* 195
- Chorokh/Çoruh Basin, Valley 79, 153, 320, 337 n.42, 360
- Chorokh/Çoruh River 153
- Christianity 69, 72, 125, 126, 132, 298, 308, 325, 328, 336 n.26, 339, 368, 383 n.116; and national identity 12–13; conversion of Armenia to Christianity in early fourth century 47, 328; conversion of Ireland to 6; in Hamshen 12, 32–34, 52–56, 72–74; *see also* crypto-Christianity
- Church, Armenian *see* Armenian Apostolic Church
- Cihar Kale 25
- Cilicia 24, 42, 45, 50 n.22
- Cilo Mountains 213
- Cimil (valley and village cluster) xxx, 86, 98 n.181, 101, 144, 146, 147, 164, 234 n.104; Armenian migration into 24, 145; conversion of 38 n.64; manuscripts copied in 38 n.64, 147; migration of Hamshen Armenians and Hemshin from Cimil into İközdere and other areas of Rize 24, 145, 148, 149, 150, 182 n.55; part of principality of Hamshen 27, 155; part of Kara-Hemşin nahiye and Hemshin kaza 31, 40 n.90, 143, 155, 180 n.30, 181 n.46; valley lords (*derebeys*) of 27, 82, 101, 102, 115, 144, 321; *see also* Hamshen, İközdere, Kumbasaroğlu family
- Cimil River 27, 147, 148, 149; *see also* İközdere River, Kalopotamos
- Çinçiva (village) 40 n.90, 55, 107, 109, 111, 116, 121 n.17, 131, 145, 147, 180 n.30, 203, 229 n.23, 293, 294, 322; *see also* Çamlıhemşin, Şenyuva, Uskurta
- Cingit/Çingit (village) 102, 107, 144, 235, 252; *see also* Pazar, Uğrak
- Çinova (village) 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 121 n.15, 121 n.17; *see also* Sanova
- Circassian, Circassians xx, xxi, 189 n.130, 309, 317 n.19, 354, 355
- clarified butter: taxes collected in form of 52, 58
- Classical Armenian 69, 257, 265, 266, 267, 272, 273
- Clavijo, Ruy González de, Castilian ambassador 19, 26, 27, 33, 34, 148, 383 n.115
- cloth, clothes, clothing 47, 203, 223–24, 234 n.104, 240, 287, 288–90, 301 n.25, 310, 316 n.3, 326; bags 241; production in nineteenth century Hemshin 85; sacerdotal 75; social status and gender 206, 207; *see also* *puşi*, stockings
- colophons 19, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35 n.4, 38 n.48, 43, 45, 46, 50 n.29, 52, 56, 57, 67
- Common Armenian 259, 260, 261, 262, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 277 n.9
- Concik (village) 150
- Conottohra (village) 107, 229 n.23, 229 n.27; *see also* Aşağı Şimşirli, Hala
- Contarini, Ambrogio 29
- Conversion to Islam and Islamicization process xxii, xxiv, 19, 33, 62, 95 n.123, 96 n.147, 125, 128, 148, 157, 163, 305, 307, 312, 325, 336 n.26, 340, 353; attempts at during Arab occupation of Armenia 3; completion of process among Hopa Hemshin 124–25; completion of process in Hemshin 67–74, 79, 85, 88–89, 125–26, 353; completion of process in Karadere 79, 125–26, 307; date of Hopa Hemshin 80; forced of Karadere Armenians 61–65, 88, 157, 298; further conversion of Hamshen and Karadere Armenians in their new settlements of refuge 66, 126; hypothesis of sixteenth century amongst Hamshen Armenians 19, 20, 32–34, 324; in Hemshin from second half of seventeenth century on 38 n.64, 52–61, 64, 67, 82, 85, 88, 125, 157, 186 n.94, 264, 271, 306, 324, 339, 353, 367; of Ispir Armenians 185 n.86; of Khevak Armenians 71, 153, 155, 184 n.83; of K'arakamurj village 185 n.86; reinforced by migration of Muslims into Hemshin 83; sincerity of 75, 125–26, 132, 134; *see also* crypto-Christianity, *derebeys*, taxation
- Çoruh (province) 144; *see also* Artvin, Lazistan, Rize

- Çötenes (village) 107, 108, 109, 112;
mosque built in seventeenth century in
54, 67, 68, 72, 90 n.14, 171, 180 n.30;
see also Kaptanpaşa
- Crimea 28, 308, 337 n.42
- Crimean War 77, 87, 143, 308
- crypto-Christianity, crypto-Christians
67–75, 88, 96 n.147, 124–26, 133–35,
135 n.5, 155, 324–25, 328; *see also*
Bash Hemshin, Karadere, Khevak,
Pontic Greeks
- cugala* (cauldron) 241
- Cuinet, Vital 70, 77, 128, 383 n.115
- Cuntes *see* Çötenes
- Cuthbert, St (seventh century) 13, 18 n.65
- Cyprian, bishop of Carthage 45
- Cyprus 69, 165, 189 n.131
- Dağbaşı (village) 133; *see also* Araklı,
Karadere, Kharuk'sa
- dairy products 240, 280, 341, 342;
Armenian loanwords in the Turkish
dialect of the Bash Hemshinli related to
240, 288; *see also* butter, cheese, food,
nourishment, nutrition
- Damad Mehmed Ali Pasha Zâdeler family
102–05; *see also* Hemshinlizâdeler,
Mehmed Ali Pasha
- Daniel, prophet 48
- Darvêshalî/Derîş Ali, Ottoman official in
Hemshin (1520s) 32
- David, king of Israel 8, 9
- Dawit', prince of Hamshen (first half of
fifteenth century) 28–29
- Dawit' II, last prince of Hamshen (1480s)
29–30, 31
- Dawkins, R. M. 69, 73, 75
- de-Christianization of the lexicon 271
- defters* (Ottoman registers) 19, 20, 31, 32,
33, 34, 40 n.86, 40 n.90, 52, 57, 61, 62,
146, 179 n.30, 184 n.86, 185 n.90,
316 n.8
- değen* (third floor of a house) 241,
248, 253, 254
- deictic clitics 266
- Demerjian, Alfred 276
- derebeys* (valley lords) 27, 61, 66, 81, 84,
88, 91 n.37, 98 n.187, 98 n.190,
100–02, 108, 178 n.14, 350 n.21;
emergence 58; diminution of influence
79, 84, 86, 100–02; in Hemshin 82–84,
100–02, 108, 115, 121 n.19; role in
Islamicization process 58–59, 61,
64, 65, 67, 83, 84, 88
- Dikkaya (village) 120, 199, 229 n.25;
see also Çamlıhemşin
- Dilek-Güroluk hydroelectric plant project
119–20
- Dilmaç, İbrahim 360, 368, 377 n.61,
386 n.138
- Diyarbakir (province) 84, 122 n.29, 354
- DMG (*Devlet Güvenlik Mahkemesi*, Court
for State Security) 369, 388 n.159
- Dolenits *see* Tolenits
- dolmuş* (shared minibus taxi) 201
- Dumézil, Georges xxii, 268–69, 270, 273,
297, 318 n.31
- Duygulu (village) 25, 150; *see also*
Ardeşen
- Düzce (province): Hamshen Armenian
settlements in 158; Hemshin
settlements in xxiii, 159, 165, 320;
see also Akçakoca
- Dwight, H. G. O. 52, 77
- eastern Armenian dialects 259, 260, 266,
277 n.7
- Eastern Black Sea *see* Black Sea
- eastern Hemshin *see* Hopa Hemshin
- e*-augment 265
- Edhem Efendi, ulema 109, 111, 113,
122 n.46
- Edib Efendi, kadı 111
- Edwards, Robert 10, 17, 20, 21, 27, 30,
32, 35 n.5, 38 n.48, 41 n.92, 42, 43,
49 n.1, 50 n.30, 177–78 n.10, 179 n.24,
180 n.34, 183 n.72
- Eghiovit/Eghnovit (village) 74, 107, 146,
147, 170, 180 n.34, 214, 216, 229 n.23,
229 n.26, 318 n.28, 325, 383 n.113,
384 n.124; first mentioned 181 n.38;
last Christian settlement of Hemshin
53, 55, 56, 72, 73, 128, 129, 132;
manuscript copied in 42–43, 53; priest
54, 68; *see also* Çamlıhemşin
- Egypt, Egyptians 7, 371 n.3
- Eksanos (sixteenth century nahiye) 31,
143, 144, 177–78 n.10; villages of 31,
40 n.90, 179–80 n.30; *see also*
Kaptanpaşa, Senoz Dere
- Elevit *see* Eghiovit
- el-Hac Hâfız Şakir Efendi *see* Hacı Hâfız
Şakir Efendi
- El Hacı Tahir Agha, baker 108
- Elliot, Sir Henry, British Ambassador 76
- Emin Agha *see* Kahyaoglu Emin Agha
- Emiroğlu, Kudret 228 n.20, 334
- employers (*işveren*) 206

- endogamy 343–47
 endonym 276 n.1
 England, English 13, 24, 85, 386 n.138
 Enver Pasha 117, 163, 164, 166–68
 environment, environmental issues
 119–20, 186 n.93, 191, 195, 214, 219,
 220, 227 n.1, 235, 253, 327, 360
erēts 'see *k'ahanay*
 Erevan 15 n.23, 53, 134; Khanate 157
 Erganimadeni 122 n.35
 Ergenekon, mythical land of the ancestors
 of the Turks 336 n.38, 382–83 n.113
 Erinc, Sırrı 192
 Ersoy, Erhan Gürsel 56, 306, 309, 310
 Ersoy, Melih 232 n.64
 Erzincan (province) 30, 46, 70; monks
 from Hamshen in 28
 Erzinka *see* Erzincan
 Erzurum (province) 39 n.71, 56, 57, 109,
 123 n.51, 165, 179 n.25, 281, 294, 305,
 307, 337 n.42, 354, 380 n.90; Armenian
 dialect of 260, 261, 264–65; Hamshen
 Armenians in 30, 73; Hemshin civil
 servants and 114–15, 116, 123 n.51;
 persecution of Christians in 56–57
 Erzurum (town) 24, 33, 41 n.112, 46, 49,
 56, 67, 70, 71, 73, 109, 117, 128, 148,
 153, 369–70; Hemshin civil servants
 and 116; Hemshin migration to xxiii,
 22, 84, 89; Hemshin ulemas in 108,
 109–10; persecution of Christians in
 57, 91 n.31
 Esat, Mehmet 355
 Eskişehir (town) 116
 Europe, European 5, 10, 12, 15 n.21,
 39 n.68, 58, 75, 78, 79, 81, 84, 143,
 177 n.3, 184 n.85, 204, 205, 257, 265,
 317 n.13, 340, 357, 363, 370
 European-Siberian pasture species 213
 evil eye (*nazar*) 325, 326
 Evoghiwt *see* Eghiovit (Elevit, now
 Yaylaköy)
 Eyüp, Istanbul 103

 fairies (*peri*) 325
 farmers, farming 85, 129, 209–12, 218,
 232 n.64, 279, 293, 324, 325, 327;
 Armenian loanwords in Turkish dialect
 of the Bash Hemshinli related to
 284–85, 293; *see also* agriculture,
 animal husbandry, pastoralism
 Fatih district 110, 114
 Fatih Mosque 110, 111, 122 n.30
 Fatsa (town) 66, 113, 161

 Fedden, Robin 223
 fertility, customs and beliefs 251–52, 328
 festivities *see* *Hodoç*, *Vartevor*, *yayla*
 festivals
 feudal lords (*beys*) 129, 206, 321, 340;
 see also *derebeys*, *nakharars*
 Feurstein, Wolfgang 80, 137 n.33, 343,
 348 n.1, 351 n.32, 359, 382 n.111,
 385 n.136
 Feyzullah Dehriẓāde Abdülkadir
 Efendi 109
 Fındıklı (county) 25, 207, 348 n.1,
 351 n.41, 379 n.80; Hemshin in 106,
 145, 151, 309, 317 n.19, 320, 339; *see*
 also *Abuhemşin*, *Abu Viçe*
Firengi/Frengi (Frank), designation for
 Catholics in the Middle East 78, 128
 First World War 74, 79, 116, 117, 124,
 126, 188 n.123, 189 n.124, 298, 320,
 339, 350 n.14, 353, 362; Hemshin
 during 115–16; name changes during
 163; relations between Armenians and
 Islamicized Armenians during 131–34
 Fırtına River 22; Büyük Dere branch 22,
 26, 147, 306; Hala/Khala Dere branch
 22, 31, 147, 153, 180 n.34, 294,
 300 n.4, 306; Dilek-Güroluk
 hydroelectric plant project 119–20
 Fırtına Valley 22, 24, 25, 31, 32, 54, 55,
 115, 119, 143, 144, 153, 178 n.11,
 178 n.18, 322, 324; Büyük Dere Valley
 306, 322; *see also* *Çamlıhemşin*
 fishing 204, 222, 228 n.11, 232 n.70,
 341; nets 85
 folk architecture 235–54
 folk dances 204, 224, 280, 281, 301 n.5,
 305–06, 321, 322, 325, 329, 330, 331,
 332, 333, 335 n.15, 336 n.42, 339,
 380 n.92, 381 n.95; *see also* *horon*
 folk songs 213, 325, 329, 330, 331,
 332, 333
 folk tales, legends 25, 83, 295, 324,
 325–26, 348, 352 n.50
 food 128, 203, 223, 234 n.98, 250,
 251, 329, 330, 331, 343; consumption
 31, 128, 196, 205, 221, 222; production
 209, 219, 221–22; storage 195, 197,
 215–16, 221–22, 228–29 n.20, 241–46,
 248, 252; *see also* nutrition,
 serender
 formation of the infinitive 268
 Frère Hayton *see* Het'um of Korykos
furun *see* bakeries
 future tense formation 268

- Gagra *see* Abkhazia
 Gağunç *see* Çataldere, Hahonç
 Galip, Reşit 354
 Gardiner & Co 85
 Garmirk' (village) 78
 Gasapian, Minas 80, 158, 187 n.99,
 187 n.109, 188 n.115
 Gat'enian, Harut'iwn 86
 gâvur/giaour, infidels 78, 189 n.130, 364
 Gazi (town quarter) *see* Hoşnişin
 gender issues 72, 206–08, 216, 225, 226,
 280, 342, 343–45
 genies (*cin*) 325–26
 Genoese 317 n.23
 Georgia 9, 10, 21, 24, 26, 30, 31, 67,
 98 n.189, 134, 144, 145, 257, 279, 308,
 310, 320, 338, 361, 368, 369,
 383 n.116; relations with Hamshen 26,
 28, 86; historical writing 8; *see also*
 Iberia
 Georgian language 182 n.59, 263, 291,
 308, 311, 319 n.36, 362, 379 n.80,
 384 n.126; and change of toponyms in
 189 n.130
 Georgians 28, 29, 33, 34, 56, 80, 83, 155,
 302 n.47, 343, 351 n.32, 363, 378 n.72;
 Islamicized xxii, xxiii, 25, 56, 77, 78,
 79, 83, 118, 128, 129, 145, 151, 173,
 183 n.79, 307, 309, 311, 313, 317 n.13,
 338, 339, 340, 341, 350 n.24, 356, 362,
 379 n.82, 380 n.92, 386–87 n.142;
 migration to and communities in
 western Turkey 158, 187 n.103,
 300 n.1, 340, 347, 351 n.32, 362,
 386–87 n.142
 German secret services and other
 institutions 385–86 n.136
 Germany 78, 116, 117, 165, 377 n.61,
 385 n.133
 Gevorgyan, T. 129–30
 Geyve (town) 159, 176
 Ghalacha dialect 265
 Ghewond, and his *History* 4, 5, 6, 7,
 9, 14 n.14, 16 n.38, 19, 20, 179 n.24,
 334 n.6
 Gibeonites 6–7, 12
 gilimur (iron chain for cauldrons) 203
 Giresun (province) 116, 158, 163, 165,
 187 n.101, 257, 375 n.36
 Glak Monastery 10
 goats 85, 195, 212, 228 n.19, 233 n.92,
 234 n.96, 280, 283, 301 n.9, 321,
 336 n.42; wild 193; *see also* animal
 husbandry
 Gökbilgin, M. Tayyib, 33, 68, 177–78 n.10
 Gomno/Gumno (village) 107, 132;
see also Hemşin (county)
 Gonia/Gönye (sancak) 32, 34, 81, 142–43,
 177 n.1; nahiye 144
 Gonia/Gönye (town) 34
 Goodfellow, Basil 223
 Grabar *see* Classical Armenian
 Greek mythology 326
 Greeks 53, 356, 364, 365, 375 n.36,
 381 n.95, 387 n.155; *see also*
 Pontic Greeks
 Gregory the Illuminator 47–48, 51 n.35,
 308, 328
 Grigor, legendary prince of Hamshen
 25–26, 30
 Grigor Tat'evats'i scholar 43, 44,
 49 n.3, 50 n.7
 Guarracino, Frederick 132
 Gülas, Hasan 226
 Gülhane edict 75
 Gündüz, Ali 80, 316 n.8, 361, 362,
 375 n.39, 378 n.67, 379 n.78, 379 n.79,
 379 n.80, 384 n.126, 387 n.148
 güneş dil teorisi (sun language theory)
 354, 372 n.6
 Güneysu (county) 149, 182 n.55
 gurbet *see* labour migration, migration
 gurbet uşakları *see* labour migration,
 migration
 Gürcü *see* Georgians
 Guria 29, 34
 Gurielis, Gurieli family 29, 34; Kakhaberi
 29, 40 n.78; Mamia 29; Rostom 34
 Güroluk (village) 119, 147, 200,
 229 n.23, 229 n.27, 233 n.82, 337 n.47;
see also Hala, Livikçakışlı
 Guvant *see* Çayırüzü
 Gyargyar dialect 265
 Gypsies 312
 Habak *see* Kavak
 Hachian, Matt'eos 136 n.19, 184 n.85,
 261, 263, 277 n.19
 Hachikian, Hagop 23, 37 n.32, 38 n.53,
 49, 65, 92 n.61, 93 n.80, 98 n.187,
 98 n.192, 123 n.56, 135 n.5, 135 n.7,
 152, 154, 156, 160, 162, 276, 277 n.23
 Hacı Abdullah-zâde Müsellim 55
 Hacı Ali Agha, grandfather of Mehmed
 Ali Pasha 102
 Hacı Ali Avni Efendi *see* Hacı Ali Efendi
 Hacı Ali Efendi, mufti of Erzurum 108,
 109, 110

- Hacı Hâfız Şakir Efendi, ulema 110
 Hacı Hasan family 121 n.20
 Hacı Hüseyin Hüsni Efendi *see* Hüseyin Hüsni Efendi
 Haçınpos/Haçındüzü 325
 Hacı Ömer Agha, father of Mehmed Ali Pasha 102–03
 Hacı Osman Agha, derebey (first half of nineteenth century) 102
 Hacı Osman Efendi *see* Osman Efendi
 Hacı Şahin family 121 n.20
 Hacı Yusuf Efendi, mufti of Erzurum 110
 Hâfız Reşid Efendi, ulema 112
 Hâfız Süleyman Efendi, kadı 111, 122 n.31
 Hahonç/Hahuç (village) 40 n.90, 107, 119, 180 n.30; *see also* Çataldere
 Haji Habibli dialect 265
 Hala/Khala Dere Valley 31, 32, 55, 56, 67, 72, 88, 146, 147, 149, 153, 178 n.11, 180 n.34, 180 n.37, 293, 294–95, 297, 298, 300 n.4, 306, 322; diocese 146–47, 155; group of villages 201, 217, 218, 229 n.27, 306, 322, 331, 337 n.46, 337 n.47; Armenian loanwords used in 281, 282, 285, 293, 294–95, 296, 298, 322; *see also* Ayder, Palovit
 Halid Agha, derebey 101–02
 Halid Efendi, notable 85
 Halil Efendi, kadı 111, 122 n.31
 Hamam, prince, semi-legendary 10, 20–21, 30, 82, 280, 359, 361; *see also* Amatuni family
 Hamamashên (canton) *see* Hamshen
 Hamamashên, semi-legendary town 10, 21, 22, 280, 359, 376 n.44; *see also* Tambur
 Hamid Ferid Efendi, ulema 113
 Hamshen Armenians xxviii, xxxi, 12, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28, 29, 33, 34, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 74, 82, 87, 88, 129, 132–34, 141, 145, 147, 148, 150, 153, 155–57, 158, 159, 176, 185 n.90, 186 n.93, 186 n.94, 257, 264, 276 n.1, 302 n.47, 307, 317 n.23, 335 n.23, 357, 379 n.82; monks and priests xxiii, 25, 28–29, 30, 38 n.48, 42–43, 45, 46, 50 n.30, 83, 93 n.64; of Abkhazia and Krasnodar xxiii, xxiv, xxxi, 60; *see also* conversion, Mala, migration, Ordu
 Hamshen (canton) xxii, xxiii, xxviii, xxxi, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 19, 21, 25, 30, 32, 35 n.5, 40 n.87, 43, 44, 46, 49, 49 n.2, 50 n.17, 52, 62, 66, 67, 70, 72, 75, 84, 88, 93 n.64, 129, 134, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 153, 155, 178 n.10, 178 n.14, 179 n.24, 180 n.35, 182 n.59, 182 n.64, 183 n.72, 183 n.77, 183 n.80, 184 n.85, 185 n.88, 185 n.89, 186 n.92, 186 n.94, 187 n.110, 194, 264, 334 n.8, 376 n.44; Armenian language 12, 76–80, 133, 134, 180 n.36, 257–78, 300, 312, 318 n.31; Christianity in 12, 32–34, 52–56, 72–74; communal identity 16–18, 19; early Ottoman period 31–34; foundation of 3, 5, 10, 11, 12, 19, 20–22, 359, 376 n.44; manuscript painting 42–51; physical description 22–25, 192–93; Principality 25–31, 38 n.55, 82; *see also* Bash Hemshin, conversion, Hemshin kaza
 Hamshen diocese 28, 33, 39 n.72, 53, 55, 62, 90 n.11, 146–47, 155; *see also* Khach'ek'ar
 Hanefi School 324
 Hann, Chris 207, 230 n.33, 307, 308, 312, 316 n.9, 348 n.1, 358, 376 n.43, 385 n.133
 Hasan Efendi 96 n.149
 Hastings, Adrian 12
 Hatt-i Hümayun decree 75
 Hayat (village) 114
 hayat (entryway) 215, 241, 249, 252
 Haykuni, Sargis 25, 26, 30, 60, 62, 63, 64, 66, 74, 75, 77, 92 n.45, 93 n.63, 93 n.64, 95 n.138, 125, 126–27, 133, 148, 182 n.53, 185 n.88, 186 n.95, 194
 Hayriye Hanım Sultan, daughter of Mehmed Ali Pasha (1846–1869) 103
 Hazinedaroğlu Abdullah, governor of the Trebizond province (1842–1845) 100
 Hazinedaroğlu Osman, governor of the Trebizond province (1827–1842) 100–01
 headscarves 223, 224; *see also* *puşi*
 health 203, 225, 344; personnel 168
 Hemshin (kaza, nahiye, sancak) 23, 31–34, 121 n.17; administrative status and territorial extent 31–32, 33, 81–82, 106–07, 121 n.6, 143–44, 183 n.77; derebays 27, 59, 61, 67, 82–83, 84, 100–02, 108, 115, 121 n.19; economic condition in nineteenth century 84, 85–86; First World War 115–16; language 76–80; Ottoman officials 31, 58, 83, 84, 85, 112, 114; outmigration 87–88, 89; population 32, 81, 85–86,

- 98 n.181, 132; religious context 20, 32–34, 52–61, 67–74, 107–08, 125, 132; successful integration of Hemshin natives in political and religious elites of Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey 81, 83–84, 100–23, 307; taxation 56–57, 84, 85–86; villages 32, 40 n.90, 85, 106–07, 146, 180 n.33; *see also* Bash Hemshin, Çamlıhemşin, derebeys, Hemşin (county), Kaptanpaşa, migration
- Hemshin identity *see* Bash Hemshin, Hopa Hemshin
- Hemshin Pasha, governor of Diyarbekir (first half of eighteenth century) 83–84
- Hemshinlîzâdeler family 102–05; Âdile Sultan, daughter of Sultan Mahmud II and wife of Mehmed Ali Pasha (1826–1899) 103; Benli Mustafa, brigadier general, son-in-law of Mehmed Ali Pasha 104; Hayriye Hanım Sultan, daughter of Mehmed Ali Pasha and Âdile Sultan (1846–1869) 103; Mahmud Edhem Pasha, son of Mehmed Ali Pasha, marshal (1836–1886) 104; Mehmed Ali Pasha, Grand-Admiral, Grand-Vizier (1813–1868) 79, 83, 102–05, 106, 308; Refia Sultan, daughter of Sultan Abdülmecid I, wife of Mahmud Edhem Pasha 104; *see also* Hacı Ali Agha, Hacı Ömer Agha, Mehmed Cemil Pasha
- Hemşin (county) xxiii, xxix, 31, 67, 68, 102, 105, 107, 121 n.8, 132, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 149, 150, 178 n.10, 179 n.25, 180 n.33, 183 n.76, 189 n.129, 296, 306, 309, 310, 317 n.19, 320, 322, 353, 369, 376 n.48, 378 n.68, 378 n.69, 382 n.110
- Hemşin* (magazine) 200
- Hemşin (sixteenth century nahiye) 31, 32, 177–78 n.10; villages of 31, 40 n.90, 179–80 n.30
- Hemşin (village) 159, 188 n.115; *see also* Akçakoca, Armutlu
- Hemşin (village or pasture) 183 n.76; *see also* Ispir
- Hemşin River 31, 178 n.15; *see also* Zuğa Dere
- Hemşin Gizemi* 19
- Hemşinaşağı *see* Aşağı Hemşin
- Hemşinbaş *see* Başhemşin
- Hemşince see Homshetsma*
- Hemşin-i Bâlâ *see* Varoş Kale
- Hemşin-i Zîr *see* Zil Kale
- Hemşinin Sesi* (magazine) 122 n.47
- Hemşinorta *see* Ortahemşin
- Hen, Yitzhak 12
- Hemşin Ortaköy (town) 26, 107, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 120 n.6, 121 n.8, 121 n.15, 121 n.47, 144, 150, 164, 178 n.10, 178 n.15, 180 n.30, 321
- Hendeğ/Hendek (county) 87
- Hendek (village) 123 n.55; *see also* Hopa, Topaloğlu family
- Her, Arab emirate (ninth and tenth century) 11
- Het'um of Korykos, historian, member of the royal Armenian house of Cilicia 19, 24, 25
- Higham, Nicholas 7
- Hilal (village) 145; *see also* Hemşin (county), Sağırılı
- Hisarcık *see* Kale
- History: Armenian writing of 5–6, 7–9, 10, 11–12, 13; comparative, Western-Armenian parallels 6, 7, 12–13; medieval writing of 5–6, 7–8, 9–10, 11, 12, 13; medieval interpretation of 5–7, 9; Turkish state and writing of history 354–56; Turkish nationalist version of Hemshin history 357–63
- Hnayic/Khgher (pasture) 130–31, 132; *see also* Khodorchur
- Hoca Mustafa Efendi, ulema 109
- Hodeçur/Hodiçor Valley *see* Khodorchur
- Hodoç, haymaking festival 306, 327, 328, 330–32, 333
- Holco/Kholco (village) 107; *see also* Çamlıhemşin
- Homshetsi/Homshetsik see Homshetsi/Homshetsik*
- Homshetsi/Homshetsik* 80, 257, 267, 269, 270, 271, 276 n.1, 276 n.2, 305; *see also* Hopa Hemshin
- Homshetsma*, Armenian dialect of Hamshen xxii, xxiv, xxviii, 80, 183 n.70, 187 n.109, 257–78, 279, 300, 305, 316 n.7, 318–19 n.31–8, 369, 382 n.110, 384 n.126, 384 n.127, 387 n.148; Janik subdialect 261, 271, 272, 276, 277 n.31; orthography 258–59; Russian loanwords in dialect of Hamshen Armenians living in Russia 271, 278 n.65, 278 n.68
- honey 85, 149, 292, 294; taxes collected in form of 52, 58

- Hopa (county) xxii, xxiii, xxiv, xxxi, 82, 89, 106, 112, 123 n.55, 124, 135, 158, 165, 177 n.4, 179 n.21, 183 n.70, 187 n.101, 188 n.123, 235, 269, 279, 297, 298, 302 n.42, 302 n.44, 306, 310, 316 n.7, 317 n.19, 320, 339, 351 n.41, 357, 360, 362, 366, 385 n.131; Hemshin settlement in Hopa 80–81, 151–53, 183 n.71; kaza 144, 163
- Hopa Hemshin xxiii, xxiv, xxviii, xxxi, 98 n.192, 119, 132, 235, 276 n.1, 276 n.4, 279, 307, 312, 339, 340, 349 n.8, 360, 362, 364, 368, 384 n.127, 387 n.148; cultural differences with Bash Hemshin and rejection of the Hopa Hemshin by the Bash Hemshin 159, 223, 279, 305–06, 307, 309, 316 n.3, 339, 350 n.25, 353, 360, 364–65; division between *Ardeletsi* and *Tursevantsi* subgroups 306; history 80–81, 86; identity issues 271, 307, 309, 310–11, 313, 319 n.46, 335 n.21, 353, 366, 367, 369–70, 385 n.131; migration to western Black Sea region 87, 158, 159, 187 n.109, 187 n.110, 188 n.115, 320; population estimates 81, 165, 334 n.2; practice of banditry in nineteenth century 86, 131; religious affiliation at the end of nineteenth century 124–25, 135 n.5; settlements and population distribution 151–53, 159, 187 n.108, 187 n.109, 187 n.110, 188 n.115, 257
- horon* (folk dance) 224, 280, 321, 329, 332, 336 n.42, 380 n.92, 381 n.95; *see also* folk dances
- Horowitz, Donald 338, 340, 342, 348, 350 n.16
- Hoşnişin (village) 149, 312; *see also* Khoshnishin, Pazar
- household 217, 228 n.17, 239, 242, 330, 336 n.31; average number of individuals per 199, 231 n.51; chores 205; customs and beliefs 251–52; decision-making 205; dwellings 240–41; land and cattle ownership 209, 212, 219, 233 n.92; modernization 202–03; structure, labour division and gender roles 206–08, 210, 216, 219, 221, 225, 231 n.51, 232 n.65, 233 n.85, 248, 344, 351 n.41; tea cultivation 209–12, 219; transhumance and *yaylas* 214–22, 233 n.90, 233 n.92
- household utensils, locks and pantry: Armenian loanwords in the Turkish dialect of the Bash Hemshinli related to 287–88
- Hovakimian, Hovakim 134, 186 n.95
- Hovsēp'ian clan 60, 126; *see also* Husēp', Mala, Malkhas
- Hulunian, Harut'iwn 136 n.19, 261, 277 n.19
- Hunut (district) 34, 41 n.112, 130, 153–55, 183 n.74; Armenian population of 155, 184–85 n.86; Islamicized Armenians of 130, 131, 153
- Hunut, Mount 219
- Husēp', founder of Mala, ancestor of Hovsēp'ian clan 59, 60
- Hüseyin Avni Bey (Tirebolulu Alparslan), military officer, author 357, 375 n.36
- Hüseyin Avni Efendi, ulema, kadı 108, 109, 110, 111
- Hüseyin Hüsni Efendi, notable (second half of nineteenth century) 85, 114
- hypergamy 345
- Iberia 4, 8–9, 10
- Ibrahim, Ottoman Sultan (1640–1648) 54
- iconoclasm 4
- identity: aristocratic and royal image, reputation, prestige 4–5, 7–10, 12, 13; community identity 12–13; national 12
- İkizdere (county) 82, 101, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 164, 181 n.52, 297, 306, 307, 314, 320
- İkizdere (town) 149
- İkizdere River 24, 27, 149, 312; *see also* Cimil River, Kalopotamos
- İkizdere Valley 27, 148; Hamshen Armenian migration into 24, 148; Hemshin migration into 148; Hemshin villages in 148–49; population mix 27, 148; *see also* Anzer, Cimil
- İleri, Tevfik (1912–1961) 119
- imam hatip*, religious school 204
- Imperial Palace, Court 52, 57, 58, 103, 112
- İnandık, Hâmit 219, 230 n.33
- Inchichian, Father Ghukas 24, 52, 55, 56, 57, 68, 69, 71, 72, 82, 146, 147, 149, 155, 183 n.80, 184 n.83
- Indo-European 265
- innovations, linguistic 257, 261, 262, 264, 265, 267, 269, 271
- İnönü, İsmet 355
- insects and other small animals: Armenian loanwords in the Turkish dialect of the Bash Hemshinli related to 292–93

- inscriptions, St. John the Baptist, Opiza, Tao-Klarjet'i 8–9
 intermarriage, Hemshin-Laz 343–48
 International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) 258
 intoxicating honey 149
 Iran, Iranians 35 n.10, 267, 359, 383 n.116
 Iranian, Middle Iranian 266, 267, 295, 296, 301 n.15
 Ireland 6, 18 n.65
 i-Rounding 267
 İshak Nüreddin Efendi, kadı 111
 Iskandar Bey, Kara Koyunlu ruler (1420–1438) 28
 İskender Pasha, governor of Trebizond (1513–1534) 32, 43
ishkhans (princes) 9; *see also* aristocracy, *nakharars*
iskinaf 195
 Islam xxii, xxxi, 3, 10, 19, 20, 33, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 88, 89, 95 n.123, 125, 128, 148, 155, 157, 163, 184 n.83, 185 n.86, 186 n.94, 271, 305, 306, 311, 323, 324, 325, 336 n.36, 339, 353, 359, 362, 366, 367
 Islamicization process *see* conversion to Islam
 İsmail Bosna, serasker of Hemshin (1480s) 31
 İspir (county) 24, 26, 28, 29, 33, 34, 36 n.24, 36 n.26, 38 n.64, 41 n.112, 101, 128, 129, 130, 136 n.19, 148, 178 n.14, 179 n.25, 183 n.73, 183 n.76, 183 n.80, 184–85 n.86, 185 n.89, 213, 222, 320; bandits from 131; Kornkan village of 40 n.79; links with Hamshen 21–22, 28–30, 61, 153, 183 n.77; Hemshin in 165; Mat'useants' village of 147; Muslim lords of (Spiratabec) 26–27, 28, 30, 33; sancak 32, 34
 Israel, Israelites 6–7, 8–9, 12, 15 n.21
 Istanbul xxii, 52, 56, 58, 75, 76, 77, 84, 101, 102, 103, 109, 110, 113, 114, 116, 118, 122 n.39, 128, 158, 261, 276 n.4, 342, 385 n.133; Armenians xxi, xxii, 126, 377 n.61, 378 n.69; exports from the nahiye of Hemsin to 85; Jews xx; Hemshin in xxiii, 19, 79, 84, 89, 105, 110, 116, 159, 165, 167, 205
 İyidere (county) 150, 182 n.59, 312
 İyidere (town) 150
 İyidere River 150
 Izmir 101; assassination attempt 118, 123 n.52, 204; Hemshin in xxiii, 122 n.42, 159, 165, 205, 231 n.44
 İzmit 188 n.114, 298; *see also* Kocaali
 Jahukyan, Gevorg 263
 Janik *see* Canik
 Janik subdialect *see* Homshetsma
 Jaqelis, Jaqeli family, atabegs of Samtzhke 29, 33, 34
 Jews xx, xxi, 8, 12, 356, 383 n.116; *see also* Israel
 John the Baptist, church of 8–9
 John Catholicos, and his *History* 8, 9–10, 16 n.38, 16 n.39, 16 n.40
 (Ps) John Mamikonian, and his *History* 10, 13, 19, 20
 Joshua, Old Testament hero 6–7, 12, 15
 Junayd of Ardabil 29
 Kabahasanoğlu, Mikdad 134
 Kaçkar, Mount, Mountains 22, 28, 71, 72, 145, 150, 153, 183 n.80, 192, 193, 201, 205, 212, 213, 214, 215, 219, 223, 226, 228 n.8, 230 n.34, 232 n.76, 233 n.81, 294, 320, 338, 341, 347, 369
 Kadhahor (kaza) 148
 Kafiristan 55–56; *see also* Afghanistan, Pashai
 k'ahanay, Armenian married priest 54
 Kahyaoğlu Emin Agha, derebey 101
 K'ajuni, Father Manuēl 52
 Kalafka (village) 60, 63, 136 n.11, 156; reversion to Christianity by Islamicized Armenians of 76, 96 n.145
 Kala-i Bâlâ *see* Varoş Kale
 Kala-i Bâlâ (village) 37 n.30, 107, 200, 229 n.23; residence of *voyvod* 82, 102
 Kala-i Zîr *see* Zil Kale
 Kale (village) *see* Kala-i Bâlâ (village)
 kalif (traditional outbuilding) 248, 250, 252, 253
 kalifçi (keeper of the kalif) 248, 253
 Kalkandere (county) 149, 182 n.55, 185 n.88; *see also* Karadere of Rize
 Kalopotamos River 24, 27, 148, 150; *see also* Cimil, İkizdere River, İyidere River
 Kalopotamos Valley 24, 27, 148; *see also* İkizdere
 Kalyoncuzâde Osman Agha 114
 Kamnos (village) 107
 Kantarlı 26; *see also* Hemşin (county)

- Kaptanpaşa (district) 24, 31, 54, 67, 82, 102, 105, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150, 178 n.10, 180 n.33, 180 n.34, 181 n.42, 192, 296, 297, 306, 312; *see also* Çayeli, Senoz Dere
- Kaptanpaşa (village) *see* Mesahor
- Karadere of Rize 149, 185 n.88; *see also* Kalkandere
- Karadere Valley 76, 93 n.64, 95 n.138, 124, 136 n.11, 141, 151, 185 n.88, 186 n.93, 316; absence of Hemshin identity among Islamicized Armenians in 157, 307; Armenian migration to 61–62, 153, 185 n.89, 335 n.23; attempts at reversion to Christianity in 75–76, 88, 126–27; crypto-Christianity in 74–75, 88, 133–34; exodus of Armenians from 65–66, 151, 157, 183 n.70, 186 n.95; forced conversion of Armenians in 61–65, 88, 157, 298; Islamicized Armenians in and relations with Armenians 125–27, 128, 131, 132–33, 135, 155–57, 307; loss of Armenian language in 76–79, 81, 133–34; remaining Armenians in 65–66, 157, 186 n.95, 186–87 n.97; *see also* Araklı, Pervane, Sürmene
- Kara-Hemşin (sixteenth century nahiye) xxix, 31, 177–78 n.10; villages of 31, 40 n.90, 179–80 n.30
- Kara Koyunlu Türkmen tribal confederation 26, 28, 381 n.99
- Karal, Enver Ziya 354
- Karamahmutoglu, Azmi 369, 387 n.153
- Karapet *see* Tër Karapet
- Karapet Jughayets'i 43
- Karasu (county) 159, 320
- Karatavuk (village) 159, 187 n.107; *see also* Akçakoca
- Karayalçın family 120; Ayhan, political activist 120; Murat, Mayor of Ankara, deputy Prime Minister 119; Okay, political activist 120; *see also* environment, environmental issues
- Karchevan dialect 266
- Karin *see* Erzurum
- Kars (province) 109, 124, 127, 337 n.42, 358, 375 n.40
- katık* (butter, cheese and all other dairy products) 240
- Kavak (town quarter) 55, 147, 170, 200, 229 n.23, 233 n.82, 322, 337 n.47; *see also* Çamlıhemşin
- Kavkame (village) 148–49, 181 n.52; *see also* İkizdere
- Kavran, Aşağı (Lower) and Yukarı (Upper) (pasture) 147, 180 n.34, 180 n.36, 207, 209, 214, 216, 230 n.41, 231 n.42, 231 n.51, 232 n.65, 232 n.72, 233 n.79, 233 n.82, 233 n.84, 233 n.85, 233 n.86, 233 n.90, 233 n.92, 234 n.93, 330, 331, 335 n.16, 336 n.31, 337 n.47; Aşağı (Lower) 214, 217; Yukarı (Upper) 214, 217, 233 n.91
- Kayseri 276 n.4, 328
- Kemalpaşa (district) 80, 124, 144, 151, 152–53, 174, 179 n.21, 187 n.101, 306, 316 n.7, 369, 385 n.131; *see also* Hopa, *Turtsevantsi*
- Kemalpaşa (town) 124, 144; *see also* Makrial
- K'ean (village): migration of Hamshen Armenians to 58; *see also* Yomra
- kemençe* 352 n.50, 381 n.95
- kenaf* *see* *knaf*
- kenef* (outhouse toilet) 239
- K'ëoghts'er (village) 182 n.53; *see also* Çamlık, Kohçeri, İkizdere, Sivrikaya
- K'ëömiwrcian *see* Kömürçüyan
- këskës* (half-half) 67–69, 324, 336 n.26; *see also* crypto-Christianity
- Kgharjk' 4, 8; *see also* Klarjet'i
- Khabak/Khapag *see* Kavak
- Khach'ek'ar diocese 39 n.72, 146, 155
- Khach'ek'ar Monastery *see* Surb Khach'ik Hawr
- Khach'ikyan, Levon 10, 17, 30, 35 n.5, 42, 178 n.15, 186 n.94, 324, 335 n.23, 357
- Khach'kavank' (village) 95 n.132; migration of Hamshen Armenians to 73; *see also* Erzurum
- Khach'kavank' Monastery *see* Surb Khach'ik Hawr
- Khala diocese 146–47, 155
- Kharuk'sa (village) 133; *see also* Araklı, Dağbaşı, Karadere
- Khazars 3, 365
- Khevak (village cluster) 71, 146, 153–55, 180 n.34, 183 n.79, 183–84 n.80; crypto-Christianity and Islamicized Armenians of 71, 131, 153, 155, 184 n.83; diocese 147, 155; Hemshin in 153, 184 n.84; Islamicization of 71; *see also* Kiskim, Yusufeli
- Khizan Gospels 47

- Khodorchur (village cluster) 21, 24,
36 n.26, 72, 128, 136 n.19, 150,
153–55, 182 n.59, 183 n.74, 183 n.76,
219; Armenian Catholic population 24,
128–29, 184 n.85, 185 n.86; dialect 21,
153, 260–62, 263, 264, 265, 266, 269;
Hemshin in 153; relations with
Hemshin 86, 87, 128–32, 182 n.59
- Khoja Shamshadin, merchant (1420s) 28
- Khoshnishin (village) 189 n.129, 312
- Khoy 11; *see also* Her
- Khoyian, Tēr Vahan 75, 133
- Khunkamek Valley 153; *see also* Yusufeli
- Khurshunlu (village): migration of
Hamshen and Karadere Armenians to
57, 66; reversion to Christianity of
Islamicized Armenians of 61, 66;
see also Canik
- Khuzhka Monastery, Hamshen 39 n.72;
manuscript copied in 29
- Kiepert, Richard 25, 150
- kiler (indoor food store) 215; *see also*
maran
- Kilise düzü 325
- Kilise sırtı 180 n.34, 325
- Kilise Tepesi 180 n.34
- knaf/kenaf (outdoor grass warehouse)
243, 246, 247, 248, 252, 253
- Kipchaks, Kipchak Turks 83, 98 n.189, 360
- Kırgız 366, 384 n.125; *see also* Kyrgyz
- Kırzioğlu, M. Fahrettin 310, 317 n.13,
318 n.28, 349 n.10, 358, 359, 360, 361,
362, 367, 371 n.4, 374 n.28, 375 n.39,
375 n.40, 375 n.42, 376 n.43, 376 n.44,
376 n.46, 376 n.47, 376 n.48, 377 n.61,
378 n.67, 379 n.80, 379–80 n.85,
383 n.116, 385 n.131, 386 n.138,
387 n.142, 387 n.148
- Kiskim (kaza) 24, 33, 36 n.24, 56, 71, 78,
128, 131, 153, 183 n.74, 183 n.79,
183 n.80, 185 n.86; *see also* Pertakrag,
Yusufeli
- Kısmanmaliver (village) 107
- Kitevan, Georgian lord of Sper/Ispir (early
sixteenth century) 34
- Kiwreghian, Lewon 126
- Kızılbaş 29, 127
- Kocaali (county) 159
- Kocaeli (province) 158, 188 n.114; sancak
87; *see also* İzmit
- Kocakarı (old woman) 326
- Koch, Karl 22, 25, 26, 27, 78, 82, 84,
97 n.159, 98 n.187, 100, 101, 102, 108,
115, 144, 146, 147, 149, 155, 164,
178 n.14, 181 n.43, 183 n.80, 184 n.83,
194, 312, 321, 365
- koçira (eldest woman in the household)
206, 231 n.45
- Kogh (canton) 20
- Kohçeri Sufla/Aşağı Köhser (village) 149;
see also Çamlık, İkizdere
- Kohçeri Ulya/Yukarı Köhser (village)
149; *see also* İkizdere, Sivrikaya
- Kolona (village) 22, 55, 107, 108, 109,
147, 170, 229 n.23; *see also*
Zil Kale
- Koloneia (town): monk from
Hamshen in 28
- Kommenoi, dynasty 30, 334 n.7
- Kömürçüyan, Eremia Çelebi 53
- Konaklar (town quarter) 55, 87–88, 119,
147, 195–96, 198, 202, 203, 229 n.23;
see also Çamlıhemşin, Makrevis
- Köprücü (village): subdialect 270, 271,
272, 273, 274, 276, 276 n.1; *see also*
Kemalpaşa
- Köprüköy (village) 25, 150; *see also*
Ardeşen
- Kornkan (village) 40 n.79; *see also*
Dawit' II, Ispir
- Köseoğlu, Zeki, Member of Parliament
from Rize 119
- K'oshtents' (village) 55, 147
- K'oshtents' Monastery, Hamshen 39 n.72,
55; manuscripts copied in 28, 42, 49 n.3
- Kouymjian, Dickran 35 n.4, 49
- Krasnodar Territory: Hamshen Armenians
in xxiii, 298, 302 n.47; dialect of
Hamshen Armenians in 271, 296–97,
298; Hemshin labour migration
to 308
- Kromni: crypto-Christian Greeks 68, 76,
96 n.148; *see also* Pontic Greeks
- kukma (copper jug) 241, 254
- Kumbasaroğlu, Kumbasaroğlu family
xxx, 83, 102; Sami Kumbasar, Member
of Parliament from Rize 119; Süleyman
Agha (first half of nineteenth century)
xxx, 27, 82, 101, 102; Süleyman Sırrı
Efendi Kumbasarzâde (first half of
twentieth century) 115–16, 132
- Kurdo-Hemshin 81, 86; *see also* Hopa
Hemshin
- Kurds, Kurdish xx, xxi, 55, 78, 81, 83,
90 n.19, 189 n.130, 365, 367, 370,
373 n.25; efforts to prove Turkishness of

- Kurds, Kurdish (*Continued*)
 Kurds 309, 317 n.13, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 366, 372 n.6, 374 n.28, 375 n.39, 380 n.89
- Kürtzâde Ali Galib Efendi, tanner 108
- Kushiva/Kuşiva (village) 32, 40 n.90, 55, 107, 148, 180 n.30, 229 n.23, 290; mentioned in a 1504 colophon 147, 181 n.41
- Kuşova (sixteenth century nahiye) 32, 40 n.90, 178 n.11, 180 n.30
- Kuyumcu, Bülent, businessman 119–20
kuzine see *Pilita*
- Kuznetsov, Igor V. 135 n.22, 306
- Kyrgyz 366, 384 n.125; *see also* Kırgız
- Kyrgyzstan 21
- labour migration: of Hemshin to large urban centres of Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey 22, 79, 83, 84, 89, 105, 119, 165, 191, 198, 199, 200, 205–06, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 213, 219, 225, 226, 229 n.26, 230 n.41, 329, 332, 340, 345; of Hemshin to Russian Empire and other countries of Eastern and Central Europe 87–88, 89, 99 n.212, 127, 128–29, 204–05, 230 n.33, 340, 342; of Hemshin to western Europe, the Middle East and the United States 165, 340; of Khodorchur Armenians to large urban centres of Ottoman Empire and Russia 128, 131
- labour, labourers, labour force 129, 196, 201, 209, 210, 211, 219, 220, 232 n.64
- Ladik (town) 161
- Laemmergeier* 193
- Lake Sevan 280
- land tax (*haraç*) 56
- Laz Alizâde Süleyman Agha, tanner 108
- Laz, Lazi xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxiv, 20, 21, 28, 29, 55, 56, 68, 77, 79, 80, 82, 83, 86, 87, 100, 105, 106, 112, 113, 115, 118, 119, 121 n.17, 128, 132, 143, 144, 145, 146, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 158, 159, 164, 177 n.4, 182 n.55, 182 n.64, 187 n.103, 189 n.130, 198–99, 229 n.23, 229 n.25, 279, 280, 284, 300 n.1, 305, 307, 309, 310, 312, 313, 317 n.19, 321, 333, 335 n.22, 361, 362, 363, 380 n.92; as generic appellation describing all people from the Black Sea region 24, 65, 129, 131, 158, 184 n.86, 230 n.34, 339, 341, 362, 379 n.82; identity 307, 310, 311, 313, 319 n.46, 339, 340, 356, 366, 376 n.46, 377 n.61, 385 n.133; relations with Hemshin 25, 55, 56, 62, 72, 81, 86, 87, 88, 90 n.19, 100, 145, 150–51, 203, 308, 311, 317 n.19, 322, 323, 335 n.15, 335 n.16, 335 n.17, 338–52, 362, 379 n.79, 379 n.80; Turkish nationalism and the Laz 309, 317 n.13, 317 n.19, 319 n.46, 349 n.10, 354, 355, 356, 358, 366, 368, 376 n.43, 376 n.46, 377 n.61, 378 n.72, 385–86 n.136, 387 n.148
- Lazia 21, 29, 177 n.4, 228 n.10; *see also* Chaneti
- Lazica 4
- Lazi language (*Lazuri*) xxii, 79, 115, 263, 268, 282, 300, 301 n.18, 302 n.31, 311, 312, 339–40, 344, 351 n.40, 362, 379 n.80, 384 n.126, 387 n.148; less taught to new generations 313, 319 n.46
- Lazistan (sancak) xx, 34, 77, 84, 85, 86, 100, 112, 115, 116, 117, 118, 123 n.52, 132, 134, 143, 144, 145, 177 n.3, 177 n.7, 204, 213, 230 n.33, 231 n.61, 321; name changes 118, 123 n.52, 163–64, 189 n.127
- Lebanon xxii, 69, 134
- Levashov, N. N. 80
- Liparit (village) 150, 153, 182 n.59; *see also* Aspet, İyidere
- Liparit (fort, quarter) 150, 153, 182 n.59; *see also* Khodorchur
- liturgy 12–13
- Liuzen, E. K. 80, 81
- Livana 143; *see also* Artvin
- Livikçakışlı (village) 107, 229 n.23, 229 n.27; *see also* Güroluk, Hala
- locative 260, 264
- loft (*oçgan*) 195
- Lynch, H. F. B. 192
- Mağlut Kale 26, 29, 38 n.53, 38 n.54
- Magnarella, Paul 309, 385 n.129
- Mahmud Çelebi, *zaim* of Hemshin (1520s) 31
- Mahtile/Makhtele (village): one of last two remaining Armenian villages of Karadere 65–66, 157, 186–87 n.97
- Makrevis (town quarter, village) 55, 87–88, 107, 147, 195–98, 200, 203, 229 n.23; *see also* Çamlıhemşin, Konaklar
- Makrial/Makriali (town) 80, 81, 124, 144, 151, 174, 179 n.21; *see also* Kemalpaşa
- Makribodam 107

- Mala (village) 276 n.2, 297; forced conversion of part of inhabitants 59–61, 66, 88, 91 n.29; foundation of 59–60; Hamshen Armenian subdialect 263, 271, 272, 296–97
- Maladis (village) 107, 109, 110, 112
- Malkhas (Artashēs Hovsēp‘ian) 59, 60, 61, 67, 126
- Mamikonians, Mamikonian family 4, 5, 10; David Mamikonian (740s) 4; Gregory Mamikonian (740s) 4; (Ps) John Mamikonian, and his *History* 10, 13, 19, 20; Tiran Mamikonian 10
- Mamushoghlu *see* Memişoğlu, Abdullah Efendi
- Manknos, semi-legendary bishop of Hamshen 10
- Manli 148, 149, 181 n.52; *see also* İkizdere
- Manue, father of Samson, Old Testament 7
- manuscripts, Armenian 10, 19, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31–32, 33, 34, 35 n.4, 38 n.48, 38 n.64, 40 n.79, 42–51, 52, 53, 56–57, 61, 65, 67, 70–71, 94 n.117, 124, 146, 147, 181 n.38, 181 n.41, 186 n.94
- Mapavri (town) 38 n.55, 101, 145, 164; *see also* Çayeli
- maran (pantry) 215, 288, 297; *see also* kiler
- Maranci, Anahid 276,
- Marmanat (village) 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 122 n.39, 144, 178 n.15, 233 n.82, 252, 321; residence of a Hemshin derebey 82, 102; *see also* Akbucak, Pazar
- Marr, Nikolai 77, 87, 297, 312, 342, 343, 350 n.28, 351 n.43
- marriage 206, 208, 217, 223, 224, 230 n.40, 241, 322, 332, 343–47, 348 n.1, 351 n.35, 351 n.37, 352 n.45; rituals 347, 351 n.32; *see also* weddings
- Marsili, Count Luigi Ferdinando 53
- Mart, bishop of Hamshen (1520s) 32, 33, 40–41 n.92
- Martil (village) 276 n.2
- Martiros, legendary prince of Hamshen 25–26, 30
- masallah dibi 329, 332
- material culture 287, 339
- Mat‘useants‘ (village) 147; *see also* Ispir
- Mecca 105, 112, 121 n.14, 325
- Mecid Efendi, official in the Hemshin nahiye (second half of the nineteenth century) 85
- Meeker, Michael 79, 206, 207, 308, 321, 324, 345, 348, 348 n.1
- Meghavorian, A. P. 77, 86, 97 n.167
- Megrels 310, 340; *see also* Mingrelians
- Mēhērian, Father Poghos 70, 71, 155
- Mehmed IV, Ottoman Sultan (1648–1687) 57
- Mehmed Ali, Mülkiyeli 114, 115
- Mehmed Ali Efendi, ulema 111, 122 n.30
- Mehmed Ali Pasha, Grand-Admiral, Grand-Vizier (1813–1868) 79, 83, 102–05, 106, 308
- Mehmed Arif Agha (landowner) 108
- Mehmed Cemil Pasha, brother-in-law of Mehmed Ali Pasha 103
- Mehmed Efendi, ulema 108
- Mehmed Hulusi Efendi, ulema 113, 122 n.39
- Mehmed Hurşid Efendi, kadı, governor of Erzurum 114, 116, 117, 123 n.51
- Mehmed Hurşid Efendi of Maladis 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113
- Mehmed Hurşid Efendi of Melmenat 109, 110, 111, 112, 113
- Mehmed Memiş Efendi, imam 109
- Mehmed Rauf oğlu 62, 63, 64, 65; *see also* Karadere, Toroslu
- Mehmed Remzi Efendi 113, 122 n.46
- Mehmed Salim Efendi, director of the Mekteb-i Nüvvab school 111
- Mekhitarist, Armenian Catholic Congregation 24, 42, 44, 45, 49, 50 n.17, 52, 69, 70, 71, 184 n.85; *see also* Bzhshkian, Hachian, Hulunian, Inchichian, Mēhērian, Oskian
- Meleskur (village) 107, 144, 306; *see also* Ortayol, Pazar
- Melmenat/Mermenat *see* Marmanat
- Memiş, derebey (1760s–1780s) 65
- Memişoğlu, Abdullah Efendi 131
- Memişoğlu, Mehmed Necati Bey 116–18, 203
- Memişoğlu family 123 n.53, 203, 321
- Memiş Pasha, kaymakam (late 1830s) 101
- Memişzâde, Reşid Efendi, father of Mehmed Necati Bey Memişoğlu 116
- Merian, Sylvie 43
- Mesahor (village) 40 n.90, 82, 102, 107, 178 n.10, 180 n.30; *see also* Kaptanpaşa

- Mesrop Mashtots' (inventor of the Armenian alphabet *c.*405) 8
 metathesis 268, 272
 Meydan (village) 40 n.90, 107, 180 n.30, 229 n.23
meyhane (tavern) 205
 Mezmun (village, quarter) 55, 147
 MHP (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*) 313, 360, 369, 377 n.60, 377 n.61, 380 n.86, 387 n.153
 M. İbrahim family 121 n.20
 Middle Armenian 265, 266, 272; *see also* Armenian language
 migration 339, 340; Armenians out of Karadere 65–66, 157, 186 n.93, 335–36 n.23; Armenians out of Khevak 184 n.83; Armenians out of Trebizond 49; Armenians to Byzantine Empire and Hamshen during Arab occupation 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 n.14, 19, 20, 21, 35 n.10, 320; Armenians to Karadere 61, 62, 157, 298; Hamshen Armenians and Hemshinli from highlands to lowlands and coastal areas 141, 145, 149–51, 164–65, 179 n.27, 341; Hamshen Armenians and Hemshinli to western Black Sea region 86–87, 157–61, 300 n.1, 320, 340, 362; Hamshen Armenians from the Firtına Valley to neighbouring valleys 25, 145; Hamshen Armenians out of Hemshin 30, 57, 59, 60, 61, 66, 72, 157, 298; Hamshen Armenians to Russia 76; Hemshinli to Hopa 80, 151–53, 183 n.71; Hemshinli to Khodorchur and Tortum 132, 137 n.33; to highlands of Hemshin and Eghiovit by Hamshen Armenians 72; Islamicized Georgians to western Turkey 158, 187 n.103, 300 n.1, 340, 347, 351 n.32, 362, 386–87 n.142; Ispir and Pertakrag Armenians to Hamshen 21; Ispir Armenians to Russia 128; last prince of Hamshen to Ispir 30; less widespread among Hopa Hemshin 81, 306; Muslims to Hemshin 54, 83, 110, 340; Turkic groups to Hemshin 360–62; *see also* labour migration, Russia, seasonal migration to mountain pastures
 migration lads (*gurbet uşakları*) 205
 Mikrun *see* Kavak
millet (nation, religious community) 78, 79, 129
 Millingen, Frederick 86; *see also* Osman Bey
 Miloz (village) 145, 170; *see also* Aşıklar, Çayeli
 Mincano (village) 61, 62, 185 n.91
 Mingrelian language 319 n.36, 384 n.26
 Mingrelians 310, 340, 351 n.32
 Mkhit'ariants', Father Abel 58, 65, 66
 modern Armenian dialects *see* Armenian language
 Mokhrkut (village) 136 n.19, 153–55, 183 n.74, 185 n.86; *see also* Khodorchur
 Mollaveys (village) 55, 107, 114, 120 n.2, 120–21 n.6, 147, 204, 229 n.23; *see also* Ülkü
 Molina, Argote de 27
 morphology, present and imperfect indicative tenses 259, 271, 272
 Moses, Old Testament figure 6, 7, 12
 Moses of Khoren, and his *History* 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15 n.23, 18 n.61
 Mosul (province) 112, 122 n.28, 383 n.116
 Movsēs, son of Husēp', ancestor of Musli-oghli family 60
Mshak (newspaper) 127
muhtar (village head) 199
 Mümtaz, Hüseyin (Bayazıtıoğlu) 357, 369
 Musa Agha, mütesellim of Hemshin (late 1830s) 100–01
 Mush/Muş 328; Armenian dialect of 265
 Musli-oghli family 60, 126; *see also* Hovsēp'ian clan, Husēp', Mala, Movsēs, Sera Dere
 Musluoğlu, Eyüp 225
 Mustafa Kemal Pasha (Atatürk) 117, 118, 354
 Mutlu (town quarter) 68, 72, 362, 378 n.68; *see also* Bodullu, Hemşin Ortaköy
 Mzechabuk, Atabeg of Samtzkhe (1502–1515) 33, 34
 Nablus 113
 Nahapet, son of Husēp', martyr 60; *see also* Mala
 Nahiye-i Kuş-ova *see* Kushiva/Kuşiva
nakharars, Armenian medieval élite 3, 5, 9, 20, 49; *see also* aristocracy, *ishkhans nalya see nalya*
Namerdanı medrese, Erzurum 110
 Nasal Raising 267
 national identity 12
 natural phenomena: Armenian loanwords in Turkish dialect of the Bash Hemshinli related to 293

- naýla/nalya* (outdoor food store) 195, 197; *see also serender*
- Necati Bey *see* Memişoğlu, Necati Bey
- Nefs-i Zuğa (village) 107; *see also* Hemşin (county)
- Nennius, ninth-century British historian 6, 7
- Nersēs Malaz 46
- Nersēs Shnorhali 31, 43, 50 n.7
- Nicomedia (province) 158, 188 n.114
- Niğde 122 n.29
- Nişli Karaca, zaim of Hemshin (1480s) 31
- Nor-Dar* (newspaper) 70, 72, 77, 127
- nourishment and cheese production: Armenian loanwords in Turkish dialect of the Bash Hemshinli related to 288
- nuclear family 207, 231 n.51, 241; *see also* household
- Numanoğlu, Metin 225
- numbers 6; symbolism of 6, 7
- Nurluca (village) 121 n.15, 378 n.69; *see also* Çanava, Çinova, Hemşin (county), Sanova
- nutrition 203, 209, 222–23; Armenian loanwords in the Turkish dialect of the Bash Hemshinli related to 288
- nymphs 326
- Of (county) 61, 64, 75, 76, 96 n.149, 100, 105, 120 n.3, 148, 185 n.88, 315, 318 n.33, 366, 387 n.153
- Oghuz Turks 323, 359–60, 361, 362, 365; *see also* Türkmens
- Ogovid (village, pasture) 40 n.90, 146, 180 n.30
- oğvank* (animal fodder made from leaves) 211, 292, 297
- Okumuşoğlu, Yakup Şekip, spokesman of the ‘Çamlıhemşin Initiative’ association 123 n.57
- Olti (district) 79, 124, 125, 127; *see also* Oltu
- Oltu (county) 39 n.71, 79
- Ömer Hulusi Efendi, ulema, kadı of Mecca 108, 109, 111, 112
- Ömer Lutfi Efendi, ulema 110, 111
- Opiza 8
- oral accounts, tradition 7, 11–12, 21, 25, 59, 60, 62, 64, 67, 80, 145, 150, 151, 157, 186 n.96, 187 n.99, 327, 341, 351 n.40, 367
- Ordnents‘/Ortnets‘ (village) 55, 147; *see also* Ortan
- Ordu (province) 158, 187 n.101; Hamshen Armenians 59, 66, 87, 157, 158, 159, 187 n.110, 257, 298; Hemshin in 161; kaza 163
- Ordu (town) 113, 118; Hemshin in 165
- Ormancık *see* Çötenes
- Ortahemşin (village) 82, 107, 229 n.23; *see also* Ortayayla
- Ortaklar (village) 229 n.23, 229 n.26; *see also* Yukarı Hemşin
- Ortan/Ortanköy (village) 55, 147, 229 n.23; *see also* Ordnents‘
- Ortayayla (village) 229 n.23, 229 n.26; *see also* Ortahemşin
- Ortayol (village) 144; folk architecture in 235–54; *see also* Meleskur, Pazar
- orthography *see* *Homshetsma*
- Ortlı (village): attempts by inhabitants to revert to Christianity 124, 125, 127; *see also* Arsenyak, Kars
- Oskian, Hamazasp 184 n.85, 334 n.8
- Oskian, K‘erovbē, baker, hero of Khodorchur 129
- Osman Bey (Frederick Millingen) 86
- Osmancık 122 n.32
- Osman Efendi 113, 122 n.46
- Osman Efendi, mufti of Erzurum 110
- Osman Pasha *see* Hazinedaroğlu Osman
- Ottoman Empire 49, 56, 58, 66, 73, 74, 75, 78, 79, 83, 88, 89, 105, 107, 113, 124, 129, 130, 142, 158, 163, 204, 230 n.33, 321, 335 n.22, 364, 367
- Ottoman registers *see* *defters*
- Övanēs, son of Husēp‘, great-grandfather of the bandit Abrieōm 60; *see also* Mala
- oven (*ocaklık*) 238–40, 250, 252
- Ovit Pass 148, 232 n.76
- Ovit (pasture) 149; *see also* İkizdere
- Özbudun, Sibel 326, 334
- Özkan-Melaşvili, Ahmet 376 n.46, 386–7 n.142
- paired body parts 273
- Palakçur (pasture) 183 n.80, 214, 220, 294, 295, 331
- Palestine 113
- Palgrave, William Gifford 73, 95 n.130, 99 n.203; and Islamicized Armenians 76, 96 n.145, 96 n.147; report on Hemshin 85–86; sympathy for derebays 84; visit to Hemshin 74, 86
- Palovit (pasture) 147, 149, 180 n.34, 180 n.37, 181 n.46, 294, 306, 384 n.124
- Palu 122 n.34

- Parthians 354, 359, 383 n.116
 Paryadres Mountains 22, 24, 360; *see also* Barhal, Kaçkar
 Pashai, people of Afghanistan 55
 pastoralism, pastoral activity, produce, techniques 81, 191, 208–09, 212, 213, 219–22, 227, 340, 341, 342, 348; *see also* animal husbandry
 pastures *see* yaylas
 pastry cooks, pastry shops, patisseries 87, 196, 204, 205, 210, 222, 225, 227, 230 n.33, 230 n.35, 230 n.36, 230 n.40, 231 n.43, 231 n.44, 322
 patriarchy 205, 206, 207, 208, 341, 344
 Patrick *see* St Patrick
 Pazar (county) xxiv, 82, 102, 144, 164, 177 n.4, 180 n.34, 182 n.55, 188 n.115, 189 n.127, 233 n.82, 297, 306, 320, 321, 338, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348 n.1, 349 n.3, 351 n.41, 351 n.43, 352 n.44, 369, 377 n.63, 384 n.125, 384 n.127; Hemshin folk architecture in 235–54; Hemshin settlements in 144, 145, 146, 147, 149, 150, 189 n.129, 306, 309, 317 n.19, 320, 339, 369, 377 n.63
 Pazar Dere *see* Zuğa Dere
 Pazar Hemşin *see* Hemşin Ortaköy, Hemşin (county)
 Pazar (town) 25, 29, 38 n.55, 79, 115, 188 n.115, 189 n.127, 189 n.129, 201, 218, 222, 231 n.60, 300 n.4, 312, 322
 Pelit, Galip, mayor of Çamlıhemşin 120
per (shelter for sheep and goats) 228 n.19
 Persia, Persians 10, 12, 13, 21, 157, 158, 289, 334 n.7
 Persian Gulf 213
 Persian language 22, 122 n.46, 149, 181 n.40, 188 n.118, 300, 361, 365, 383 n.113
 personal names: Armenian personal names in the Turkish dialect of the Bash Hemshinli 295
 Pertakrag 21, 22, 24, 33, 36 n.24, 56, 84, 153, 183 n.80; *see also* Kiskim, Yusufeli
 Pervane/P'irvane (village) 186 n.96, 188 n.118; one of last two Armenian villages of Karadere 64, 65–66, 157, 186–87 n.97
 Petrosyan, Hrnt 263
 Philistines 7, 12
 phonology 267–70, 271, 273
 Pilercivat *see* Akkaya
 Pilinçut (station on the road to the yaylas) 218
pilita (corn bread) 222
pilita (kuzine, stove) 203, 205, 222, 241, 252, 254
 Pirimoğlu family 102
 Pirō 72, 127
 Piskhala River 145; *see also* Fındıklı
 PKK (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan) 367, 385 n.133
 plants: Armenian loanwords in the Turkish dialect of the Bash Hemshinli related to 291–92
 Platana *see* Akçaabat
 Poduroğlu Mustafa Agha, landowner 108
 Pōghos II, Catholicos of All Armenians (1418–1430) 28
 poll tax (*cizye*) 52, 56
 Pontic Alps *see* Pontic Mountains
 Pontic Greeks 27, 28, 39 n.71, 62, 72, 82, 148, 150, 155, 158, 163, 280, 310, 339, 340, 351 n.35, 369, 380 n.92, 381 n.95; crypto-Christianity among 68, 69; dialect 228 n.20, 231 n.45, 319 n.40; Islamicized xxii, 64, 65, 75, 76, 77, 79, 105, 133, 134, 165, 179 n.27, 181 n.46, 181 n.47, 185 n.88, 186 n.93, 189 n.131, 307, 309, 311, 312, 318 n.28, 318 n.33, 319 n.40, 356, 366, 368; persecution of 57, 58, 61, 65; reversion to Christianity 77, 96 n.148; surnames 367
 Pontic Mountains xxii, 22, 27, 65, 82, 141, 153, 195, 279, 293, 294, 369
 Pontic region, Pontos xxii, xxiv, xxxi, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 33, 52, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 69, 73, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 89, 124, 134, 135, 228–9 n.20, 280, 305, 311, 324, 325, 328, 350 n.19; name changes in 161–68
 Pontos, Pontus *see* Pontic region
 Portanis *see* Firtina
 Poutouridou, Margarita 64
 present participle in -oğ 268
Presiding Prince: office, appointees 3, 4, 11
 Protestant missionaries 52, 77, 136 n.11
 Protestants, Armenian Protestant Church, Armenian Protestants 184 n.83, 267
 Prytanis *see* Firtina
 Purchas, Samuel 24
Puşi (headscarf) 223, 224, 289, 290, 305, 339

Qadiriya brotherhood 113, 122 n.39
 Qur'an 62, 63, 325
 Qwarqware, Atabeg of Samtzkhe (1515–1535) 34

Ramadan 112, 310
 Raufoglu, Mehmed *see* Mehmed Raufoglu
 Receb Efendi 109, 111
 Receb Fehmi Efendi, ulema 108, 112
 Redgate, Elizabeth 20, 26, 36, 38
 Refia Sultan, daughter of Sultan Abdülmeçid I, wife of Mahmud Edhem Pasha 104; *see also* Hemshinlüzâdeler family
 religious brotherhoods, Islamic 69, 113, 122 n.39
 Reşadiye *see* Apion
 Reşid Fehmi Efendi, kadı 111, 122 n.27
 reversion to Christianity: in Kars 127, 134; *see also* Arsenyak, Ortlu
 revolts, Armenian 3, 4, 5, 11, 12, 13
 rheumatism 86, 203
 Rickmer Rickmers, W. 181 n.43, 193, 231 n.61, 233 n.81, 326
 rituals 301 n.15; Christian 70, 329; crypto-Christian 134, 310–11; Islamic 73, 329; marriage 347; superstitious 88, 251–52, 327
 Rıza, M. 357
 Rize (province) xxiii, xxiv, xxxi, 22, 29, 31, 78, 82, 87, 100, 101, 103, 105, 116, 117, 119, 141, 143, 144, 153, 155, 158, 161, 163, 180 n.36, 187 n.101, 192, 200, 207, 209, 212, 228 n.6, 230 n.33, 231 n.59, 235, 257, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 318 n.28, 322, 323, 334 n.9, 338, 339, 341, 353, 354, 358, 367, 368, 376 n.44, 377 n.63, 377 n.64, 378 n.65, 381 n.102, 384 n.126, 384 n.127; cloth 85; derebeys of 100; Hemshin settlements in 145–51, 155, 169, 185 n.88, 276, 279, 320; Members of Parliament from 119, 122 n.25; name changes in 161, 163, 164; sancak 118, 123 n.52, 123 n.53, 123 n.56; *see also* tea cultivation
 Rize (town) 22, 24, 103, 105, 112, 116, 129, 131, 143, 144, 148, 150, 181 n.46, 185 n.88, 305, 312, 320; Hemshin in 165, 169; made part of Lazistan sancak 143, 177 n.7
 Rize Hemshin *see* Bash Hemshin
 Rızeliler Derneği (Association of People from Rize) 200

Rize'nin Sesi (magazine) 200
 Rome: monk from Hamshen in 25, 29, 42, 43
 Rosen, Georg 79, 100, 120, 144, 310
 Rshtunis, Rshtuni family 5
 Russia, Russian Empire 31, 66, 85, 109, 128, 129, 131, 134, 144, 158, 164, 184 n.86, 298, 302 n.47, 317 n.15, 368; bureaucracy 127; Hamshen Armenian settlement in southern xxiii, xxiv, xxxi, 65, 76, 157, 257, 271, 298; Hemshin migrants in 70, 87, 88, 89, 99 n.212, 127–8, 196, 204–05, 230 n.33, 230 n.34, 308, 317 n.15, 340, 342, 343; part of Hopa Hemshin region annexed to Russia 81, 86, 87, 124, 125, 127, 130, 135 n.1, 144, 187 n.101, 307; *see also* Krasnodar, labour migration, migration
 Russian language xxviii, 230 n.34, 278 n.65, 278 n.68
 Russian loanwords in dialect of Hamshen Armenians living in Russia 271, 278 n.65, 278 n.68
 Russian Revolution 87, 89, 116
 Russo-Turkish Wars 82, 88, 125; (1676–1681) 57; (1828–1829) 29, 77, 100, 109, 128, 132, 184 n.86; (1877–1878) and ensuing migration to western Black Sea region 86–87, 89, 115, 124, 143, 144, 158, 187 n.102, 300 n.1, 320, 340; Crimean War (1853–1856) 143; resulting suspicion and hostility towards Christians in Ottoman Empire 58, 67; *see also* First World War

sacayağı (tray used for cooking and heating in traditional hearth) 203
 Safavids, Safavid dynasty 29, 34, 49; *see also* Junayd of Ardabil
 Sağırılı (village) 107, 145; *see also* Hemşin (county), Hilal
 St Isaac Monastery, Sürmene 61
 St John the Baptist, Opiza, Tao-Klarjet'i 8–9
 St Patrick 6, 7
 St Philip Greek-Orthodox Cathedral, Trebizond 57
 St Sahak (387–439) 8
 St Vardanants' relics 32, 43, 310
 St Vardan Monastery, Sürmene 61, 92 n.53
 Sakarya (province): Hamshen Armenians settlements in 158–59; Hemshin

- Sakarya (province) (*Continued*)
 settlements in xxiii, 87, 159, 165,
 188 n.114, 300 n.1, 320, 371 n.4,
 375 n.36, 387 n.155
- Sakarya Battle 369, 375 n.36, 387 n.155
- Şakir Şevket 77
- Saklı, Ali Rıza 361, 378 n.65, 378 n.67
- Salachur/Salaçur (village) 153, 183 n.74,
 183 n.76, 294; Islamicized Armenians
 of 153, 316 n.1
- salnames* see *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*
- Samra (village) 76; see also Yomra
- Samson, Old Testament hero 7, 8, 12
- Samsun (province) 163, 257, 297;
 migration of Hamshen and Karadere
 Armenians to 66, 298; Hemshin in
 159, 161, 165; see also Canik
- Samtzkhe 29, 33, 34
- Sanova (village) 107, 121 n.15, 121 n.17;
 see also Çinova, Nurluca
- Sargis, bishop of Hamshen and member of
 princely family (1420s) 28
- Şatırzâde family 134; Hüseyin 134, Ömer
 Bey 134, Şevket Bey 134
- Şavşet: pastures used by Hopa Hemshin in
 summer 81
- Sayın, Şerif 26, 38 n.55, 100, 120 n.2,
 120–21 n.6, 359, 365, 376 n.48,
 383 n.115, 383 n.116
- sculpture: Aght'amar, Lake Van, 9–10;
 St John the Baptist, Opiza,
 Tao-Klarjet'i 8–9
- seasonal migration to mountain pastures
 191, 201, 212–13, 217–18, 251, 280,
 330–1, 340, 351 n.37, 361; see also
 transhumance
- Sebastia 33
- Şebinkarahisar see Koloneia
- Selim I, Ottoman Sultan (1512–1520) 30,
 34, 80, 321, 335 n.22
- Şemseddin Sâmî 321
- Senes see Senoz
- Şenköy see Amokta
- Senoz Dere Valley 24, 31, 54, 67, 72, 82,
 102, 143, 144, 145, 147, 149; see also
 Eksanos, Kaptanpaşa
- Senoz River 24, 54, 149, 178 n.15
- Şenyuva (village) 55, 116, 131, 145, 147,
 180 n.30, 203, 229 n.23, 293, 294;
 see also Çinçiva, Uskurta
- separatism (*bölücülük*) 177 n.3, 367–70
- Sera Dere Valley 59, 60, 126; see also
 Akçaabat, Musli-oghli
- serander/serender* (outdoor food store)
 195, 197, 200, 205, 209, 228–29 n.20,
 230 n.35, 241–43, 244, 245, 246,
 249–50, 252, 254; see also *nayla/nalya*
- Sert (village) 107; see also Sırt
- Seslikaya (village) 25, 150; see also
 Ardeşen
- Sevkar Lakes 149; see also Cimil River
- Şevket Efendi, ulema 113, 122 n.46
- Şevket, Şakir 77
- Sevran (Pokut)* (magazine) 200,
 230 n.38
- Shahali 29
- Shamshadin see Khoja Shamshadin
- sheep 85, 153, 195, 212, 228 n.19,
 233 n.92, 234 n.96, 238, 250, 291, 327,
 360; see also animal husbandry
- Sheikh Hasan Efendi 122 n.39; see also
 religious brotherhoods
- Siçanoğlu, Siçanoğlu family: Hacı
 Hüseyin, derebey (late eighteenth
 century) 82; Memiş Agha (first half of
 nineteenth century) 100–01
- Siminaws, Ottoman official in Hemshin
 (1520s) 32
- singulative marker 272
- Sinop 66, 118, 122 n.25, 229 n.20
- Sırakonaklar see Khodorchur
- Sıraköy 72, 229 n.23, 229 n.26; see also
 Aşağı Hemşin
- Şirdenkadan (village) 107
- Sırt (town quarter) 147, 200, 229 n.23,
 233 n.82, 337 n.47
- Sırtlı, Ali 356, 361, 377–78 n.64, 378
 n.72, 380 n.92, 381 n.95, 382 n.113,
 386 n.138, 387 n.146
- Sivrihisar dialect 263
- Sivrikaya (village) 149; see also İkizdere,
 Kohçeri Ulya
- Siwnik' 3, 4, 9–10
- Skandar Pasha see İskender Pasha
- Smith, Eli 52, 77
- Sochi see Krasnodar
- Şogorni (pasture) 147, 181 n.43
- Şoşiaşvili, N. 9
- Soucek, Priscilla 45, 50 n.22
- Soviet Union xx, xxi, xxiii, xxiv, 60, 87,
 135 n.1, 144, 179 n.22, 204, 230 n.34,
 302 n.47, 348
- Soysü, Hâle 206, 223, 230 n.34, 319 n.46,
 336 n.41, 357, 385 n.135
- Sper see İspir
- sprites 326

- stable 150, 195, 214, 215, 216, 219, 222, 234 n.97, 238, 239, 248, 250, 251, 253, 281, 295, 301 n.12, 330, 344; Armenian loanwords in Turkish dialect of the Bash Hemshinli related to 283–84, 294, 301 n.13
- Stalin 21, 87, 144, 230
- Stebnitskii, I. I. 86
- Step'anos Tarōnets'i *see* Stephen Asoghik of Tarōn
- Stepanov, P. F. 125
- Stephen Asoghik of Tarōn, and his *Universal History* 5, 14 n.14, 19, 20
- stereotypes xxiv, 338–43, 345, 347, 348, 348–49 n.3, 350 n.29, 351 n.40, 351 n.41
- Sternbergia Colchicifolia* 214
- Steward, Julian 191, 227 n.2
- stockings and other traditional clothing: Armenian loanwords in the Turkish dialect of the Bash Hemshinli related to 288–90; *see also* clothes, clothing
- stoves 203, 215, 218, 222, 226, 241, 252, 254; *see also* *pilita*
- Stratil-Sauer, Gustav 213, 232 n.76
- sub-culture (*alt kùltür*) 357; *see also* supreme culture
- sub-identity (*alt kimlik*) 357; *see also* supreme identity
- subsistence economy 145, 191, 208, 209–12, 226, 232 n.64, 340, 345
- Suçatı *see* Apso
- Suczawa dialect 266
- Sufi brotherhoods 69; *see also* religious brotherhoods
- Suiçmezoğlu family 75; Mahmud Suiçmezoğlu 64
- Süleyman, Ottoman Sultan (1520–1566) 32, 43, 49
- Süleyman Efendi 111
- Süleyman Şahin Efendi, ulema, kadı 111, 122 n.25
- Süleyman Sırrı Efendi, ulema 108, 109, 111
- Süleymaniye Mosque, Istanbul 110, 111, 112
- Sultaniye medrese, Erzerum 109
- Sümer (village) 207; *see also* tea cultivation
- Sunni Islam, Sunni Muslims 257, 362
- superstitious beliefs, superstitions 71, 73, 88, 250–52, 325–27
- supernatural beings 325
- supreme culture (*üst kùltür*) 357; *see also* sub-culture
- supreme identity (*üst kimlik*) 357; *see also* sub-identity
- Surb Astuatsatsin (Holy Mother of God) Church, Surb Khach'ik Hawr Monastery, Hamshen 32, 43, 45
- Surb Gēorg (St George) Church 66
- Surb Khach' (Holy Cross) of Asamut Monastery, Karadere Valley 61
- Surb Khach'ik Hawr (St Khach'ik the Father) Monastery, Hamshen 39 n.72, 53–54, 70, 72, 132; manuscripts copied in 32, 43, 46, 52, 53, 186 n.94
- Surb P'ilipos (St Philip) Church, K'ean, Yomra 58
- Surb Sion Church, Surb Khach'ik Hawr Monastery; Hamshen 32, 43
- Surb Step'annos (St Stephen) Armenian Church, Erzurum: converted into mosque 57, 91 n.31
- Surb Vardanants' Church, Surb Khach'ik Hawr Monastery, Hamshen 45
- Sürmene (county) 61, 62, 63, 74, 75, 76, 78, 92 n.52, 92 n.53, 122 n.31, 133, 136 n.11, 185 n.88, 185 n.90, 185–86 n.91, 186 n.92, 186 n.93, 311; Armenian migration to 57, 61, 157; Islamicization of Armenians in and flight from 58, 65, 66, 155; remaining Armenians in 186–87 n.97; *see also* Araklı, Karadere
- Susa Dere *see* Zuğa Dere
- Swiss Alps 219; *see also* Törbel
- symbolic acts 327
- taboo: cursed forest 327
- Talat Efendi *see* Yusuf Talat Efendi
- Tambur, semi-mythical town 10, 20, 21, 22, 147, 181 n.42, 359; *see also* Hamamashēn
- Tankut, Hasan Reşit 354
- Tanzimat* era of reforms 75
- Tao/Tayk' 28, 29, 33, 36 n.24, 39 n.71
- Tao-Klarjet'i 8
- Tap (village) 40 n.90, 55, 180 n.30; *see also* Çat
- Tarōn 10, 11, 13
- Tashian, Father Hakovbos V. 50 n.20, 52, 55, 67, 136 n.19, 150, 151, 155, 164, 181 n.43, 183 n.80, 184 n.83, 184 n.85, 185 n.88, 186 n.94
- Tat'ew, church 10
- Tatos, Mount 22
- Tatos Pass 213, 232 n.76

- Tavlashian, Tēr Karapet 74, 75, 95 n.138, 126, 127, 136 n.11
- taxation/taxes 228 n.16; as cause of revolt in 1839 100; as factor in explaining poverty of Hemshin 84–86; during Arab occupation of Armenia 3, 11, 20; during Ottoman era 33; 52, 84, 85, 108; request to prince of Hamshen not to levy excessive taxes 28; role of abusive in encouraging conversion to Islam 56–57, 59–60, 84, 335 n.22
- Tazina/Tezina (village) 107, 183 n.76, 322
- tea cultivation 191, 199, 207, 208, 209–12, 216, 217, 219, 226, 227, 230 n.33, 231 n.57, 231 n.59, 231 n.60, 232 n.65, 232 n.66, 232 n.68, 248, 252, 284, 322, 331, 340, 344, 345, 350 n.17, 351 n.37, 351 n.41, 378 n.65
- Tecina *see* Tazina/Tezina
- Tekurid (pasture) 146
- teleferik 201, 202
- Tepan (village) 67, 107; *see also* Bilen, Hemşin (county)
- Tēr Karapet Hamashēnts'i (1850s) 73
- Tēr Karapet of Toroslu, martyr (early eighteenth century) 63, 73, 74, 133
- Tercan: flight of Karadere Armenians to 157, 186 n.93
- Terme 66, 161
- Tērtērian family, descendants of Tēr Karapet of Toroslu 74, 133
- Tez, İbrahim, Member of Parliament, minister 119
- Thomas Artsruni, and the *History of the House of the Artsrunis* 9, 11, 13
- Thomson, Robert 6, 14 n.16, 15 n.23, 17 n.56
- Tiflis/Tiblisi 70, 127, 129, 230 n.34; dialect 265
- timars, timariots (holders of timars) 54, 58, 61, 80, 81, 83
- Tiran, king of Armenia (339–350) 267
- Tireboli (Tirebolu) 101
- Tirovit (pasture) 216, 384 n.124
- tithe (*ispençe*) 56
- TMK/TMY (*Terörle Mücadele Kanunu/Yasası*, Turkish Anti-Terror Law) 370, 388 n.160
- Tölénits'/Tolenits/Tolones (village) 107; mention of church in early eighteenth century 67, 72
- Tonik (village) 149; *see also* Kalkandere, Karadere of Rize
- Topaloğlu, Edip 297, 302 n.44
- Topaloğlu, İhsan 383 n.113
- Topaloğlu family 123 n.55, 385 n.131; *see also* Hendek (village), Köksal Toptan
- Topchyan, Avik 273, 276, 277 n.31
- Tophane (town quarter) 150, 169; *see also* Rize (town)
- Topluca (village) 199, 229 n.25, 335 n.16; *see also* Çamlıhemşin
- toponyms: Armenian toponyms in Rize and the Bash Hemshin region 145, 146, 148, 179 n.26, 180 n.34, 182 n.55, 257, 280, 293–95, 325, 384 n.124; elimination of non-Turkish toponyms 161–64, 165–68; lack of Armenian toponyms in Hopa Hemshin region 80, 152
- Toptan, Köksal, politician, minister 119, 123 n.55
- Törbel, Swiss Alps (village) 219
- T'orlak'ian, Misak 60, 134
- T'orlak'yan, Barunak 60, 80, 183 n.70, 185 n.89, 186 n.92, 186 n.93, 186 n.94
- T'orosli/Toroslu (village) 74, 125, 133, 185 n.91, 186 n.92; massacre 63–65; *see also* Araklı, Karadere
- Tortum (county) 39 n.71, 128, 129; conquered by Ottomans 33; conversion of Armenian and Georgian population to Islam 56–57, 185 n.86; migration of Hemshin into 132, 137 n.33
- Torul 150; *see also* Liparit
- Toumanoff, Cyril 4, 9, 16 n.34
- Toumarkine, Alexandre 25, 55, 150, 310, 343, 350 n.24
- tourism: in Çamlıhemşin 183 n.80, 201, 226, 227, 310, 322, 333
- T'oyloghli/Tüylüoğlu, Dursun 129
- Trabzon (province) 30, 32, 33, 34, 43, 53, 76, 77, 78, 82, 92 n.45, 100, 101, 107, 115, 116, 118, 120–21 n.6, 127, 128, 134, 141, 142, 148, 151, 153, 155, 156, 158, 177 n.1, 177 n.3, 182 n.59, 183 n.70, 185 n.88, 188 n.119, 189 n.131, 257, 308, 311, 312, 318 n.29, 318–19 n.36, 354, 356, 367, 369; Armenian dialect of rural (as subdialect of Hamshen Armenian) 263, 264, 271, 276, 296–97, 298; Armenian migration to 57, 58, 66, 84, 155–57, 185 n.90, 298; Armenian population of 53, 57, 58, 92 n.53, 136 n.11, 276 n.2; Islamicized Armenians in 75, 126, 128, 132, 135, 305, 307; livā 31; name changes in 161, 163–64, 165–66,

- 189 n.128; persecution of Christians in 58, 63, 65; of Turkish dialect of 277 n.23; *see also* Arsin, Araklı, Çaykara, Of, Karadere, Sürmene, Yomra
- Trabzon (town) 22, 28, 32, 43, 52, 59, 60, 61, 63, 66, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 96 n.145, 100, 101, 126, 131, 132, 134, 135, 136 n.11, 157, 297, 360, 361; Armenian dialect of urban xxviii, 21, 260, 261, 262–64, 269; Armenian migration to 21, 57, 84, 128, 264, 312; Armenian population of 49, 57, 126; Hemshin in xxiii, 89, 165; Hemshin ulemas and 109, 112, 115; persecution of Christians in 57, 58
- Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi* 73, 85, 86, 106, 107, 108, 112, 121 n.6, 146, 148, 149, 150, 163, 177 n.4, 177 n.7, 189 n.132, 204, 324
- trade routes 3, 4, 28, 153, 222
- Transfiguration of Christ *see Vardavar*
- transhumance 81, 191, 212–14, 217–18, 219, 220, 227, 228 n.4, 242, 280–81, 324, 340
- Trdat, king of Armenia (298–330) 47
- Treaty of Berlin (1878) 124
- Treaty of Constantinople (1700) 58
- Treaty of Georgievsk (1783) 31
- Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) 58
- Treaty of Passarowitz (1718) 204
- Treaty of Radzin (1681) 57
- Treaty of San Stefano (1878) 124
- Trebizond, Empire of 29, 34, 39 n.71, 177 n.4; relations with principality of Hamshen 22, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 334 n.7; *see also* Trabzon
- T'rëts'or *see* Tsimla
- Tripoli, Lebanon 69
- trouts 193, 222, 223, 228 n.11
- Tsimla (village) 92 n.59, 156, 185 n.91; Armenian church in 61–62; conversion of Armenians in 64; Islamized Armenians in 75, 77; *see also* Karadere
- Tuczuoğlu, Tuczuoğlu family 100, 101, 120 n.2, 121 n.6
- Tukut (station on the road to the yaylas) 218
- Tulnos *see* Tolenits
- tulum* (bagpipe) 281, 329, 336–37 n.42, 348, 352 n.50, 362, 363, 378 n.69, 380 n.92, 381 n.95, 381 n.96, 385 n.132
- Tumanian, Hovannes 274
- T'umayian, P. 52, 61, 63, 65, 66, 77, 84, 185 n.89
- Türk Dil Kurumu* (Foundation for the Turkish Language) 354, 357
- Türkdoğan, Orhan 356, 362, 380 n.86, 380 n.87, 386–87 n.142
- Turkestan 113, 362
- Turkicization, Turkification 19, 71, 74, 75, 78–79, 83, 88–89, 133–34, 163, 166, 189 n.128, 354–57, 358, 362–63, 372 n.6, 380 n.90
- Turkish ancestry theories *see* ancestors, ancestry
- Turkish nationalism, nationalists xx, 65, 82, 161, 163, 308, 309, 310, 313, 323, 353, 355, 356, 364, 366, 367, 368, 370, 372 n.9, 373 n.24, 374 n.32, 375 n.39, 377 n.60, 377 n.61, 379 n.77, 380 n.86, 380 n.89, 380 n.90, 381 n.99, 386 n.138, 387 n.142, 387 n.144, 387 n.155; and the Hemshinli 82, 280, 336 n.38, 349 n.10, 353, 357–63, 368–69, 378 n.67
- Türkiye 'li* 356, 373 n.23, 373 n.24, 386 n.140
- Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü* (Research Institute for Turkish Culture) 356, 374 n.28
- Türkmens 26, 27, 98 n.190, 360, 361, 362, 363, 378 n.67, 381 n.99, 383 n.116; *see also* Ak Koyunlu, Kara Koyunlu, Oghuz Turks.
- Turtsevantisi*, Hopa Hemshin subgroup 80, 97 n.175, 306
- Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Turkish History Congress) 354
- Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Foundation for Turkish History) 349 n.10, 354
- Türk tarih tezi* (Turkish history theory) 354
- Tüzün, Mehmet Atif, son of Necati Bey Memişoğlu, Member of Parliament from Rize 123 n.53
- Tylor, Edward Burnett 326
- Tzans, Tzannic people 21, 25; *see also* Chaneti
- Üçpareköy (village cluster) 322, 330, 337 n.47; *see also* Çamlıhemşin, Kavak, Sırt
- Uğrak (village) 102, 144; folk architecture 235–54; *see also* Çingit, Pazar
- Ülkü (village) 55, 120 n.2, 147, 229 n.23; *see also* Mollaveys
- Umur, Hasan 366
- Ünye (town) 66

- Uskurta (village, quarter) 55, 147
 Uzi Samira (village) 65
 Uzun Hasan, Ak Koyunlu ruler (1453–1478) 29, 30
- Vakfikebir (town) 82, 187 n.97
 valley lords *see derebeys*
 Vane (village) 148, 149; *see also* İkişdere
vank' (monastery): toponyms derived from 180 n.34, 182 n.55, 189 n.130, 325
 Vard, prince of Hamshen (mid-fifteenth century) 29
 Vardanyan, Sergey 98 n.180, 135 n.1, 137 n.35, 179 n.22, 306
Vardavar (Feast of Transfiguration of Christ) 69, 70, 88, 94 n.113, 281, 310, 318 n.24, 328–29; *see also* Vartevor
 Varoş (village) 37 n.30, 40 n.90, 107, 180 n.30, 229 n.23
 Varoş Kale 22, 25, 26, 31, 37 n.30, 37 n.32, 86, 102, 107, 189 n.132, 320–21
 Varshamak, shroud 90 n.11; *see also* Verçenik
Vartavar *see Vardavar*
Vartevor/Vartivor (festival) 223, 280–81, 305, 310, 328–33, 336 n.37, 336 n.38, 337 n.47, 337 n.48, 365, 382–83 n.113
 Vashdean, semi-legendary Prince of Georgia 10, 20, 21
 Vaspurakan 9, 11, 35 n.10, 46, 47
 vegetables 195, 196, 210, 222, 284, 291; *see also* food, nutrition
 Vēk'ē, member of princely family of Hamshen (killed in 1460) 29
 verbal sparring 322
 Verçenik, Mount 22, 90 n.11, 181 n.43, 213, 232 n.76
 vernacular literature, liturgy 12
 Viçe, Lower and Upper (villages, quarters) 55, 67, 107, 147, 178 n.18, 180 n.30, 189 n.129, 229 n.23, 320, 321, 334 n.4, 334 n.5; *see also* Çamlıca, Çamlıhemşin
 Viçe *see* Fındıklı
 Viçealtı *see* Viçe
 voiced aspirates 272
 voiceless unaspirated stops 259
 Vryonis, Speros 53
- weddings, wedding ceremony 59, 207, 211, 217, 223, 224, 322, 344, 347, 367; *see also* marriage
 western Armenian xxviii, 257, 263, 266, 273, 279, 300, 310, 313, 349 n.8; northeastern subgroup of western Armenian dialects 259, 276, 299; western Armenian dialects 259, 279, 305, 311, 339
 western Hemshin *see* Bash Hemshin
Wild Men of Sasun 11
 witches (*cadı/cazı*) 325, 326
- Xenophon 149
 Xlat dialect 265
 Xodorchur *see* Khodorchur
- Yabik (village) 107, 110, 112
 Yakovb Karnets'i (Jacobus of Karin) 56
 Yakub, Ak Koyunlu ruler (1478–1490) 30, 33
 Yakub Hasib Efendi, ulema 108, 109, 111
 Yanbolu Valley 125
yayla, yaylas (summer pastures) xxxi, 22, 81, 85, 191, 201, 206, 207, 209, 212, 227, 280, 306, 311, 322, 324, 325; daily life in 222; disputes over 130–31, 132, 137 n.29, 306; dress 223–24; ecosystem 213–14; habitations, inhabitants and daily life 214–16, 222, 232 n.73; nutrition 222–23; pastoral techniques and produce 219–22; religion 324–25; superstitious beliefs 327; tourism 226, 227, 322, 335 n.17; transhumance and yaylas 191, 212–13, 217–18, 227, 230 n.41, 233 n.90, 233 n.92; yayla festivals 305, 310, 321, 322, 327–33; year-round villages transformed into 37 n.30, 146, 147, 153, 199, 229 n.26
 Yaylaköy *see* Eghiovit
 Yazlık *see* Varoş (village)
 Yenice (village) 159, 188 n.115; *see also* Akçakoca
 yes/no questions 261, 262, 277 n.23
Yeşil Hemşin (magazine) 200
 Yeşiltepe *see* Tolenits
 Yetimhoca (village) 148; *see also* Cimil
 Yılmaz, Mesut, head of Motherland Party, Prime Minister 119, 123 n.56, 317 n.15
 Yılmaz Akçal family 123 n.56; Erol Yılmaz Akçal, politician, son of Yusuf İzzet Akçal 119, 123 n.56; Mesut Yılmaz, head of Motherland Party, Prime Minister 119, 123 n.56, 317 n.15; Yusuf İzzet Akçal, politician, uncle of Mesut Yılmaz 123 n.56
 Yoghun Oluk dialect 265
 Yomra (county) 92 n.45, 183 n.70; Islamicized Armenians in and attempts at reversion to Christianity 76, 96 n.145,

- 125, 126, 155; migration of Hamshen and Karadere Armenians to 58, 63, 66, 186 n.92, 186 n.97
- Young Turk Revolution 131
- Yovannēs Hamshēnts‘i, *vardapet*, member of princely family of Hamshen (second half of fifteenth century) 30
- Yovhannēs Kat‘oghikos Draskhanakertts‘i *see* John Catholicos
- Yovhannēs Mamikonian *see* John Mamikonian
- Yukarı Hemşin (village) 189 n.132, 229 n.23; *see also* Başhemşin, Ortaklar
- Yukarı Kale *see* Varoş Kale
- Yumurtatepe *see* Arev
- Yunus Vehbi, kadı 111
- Yusuf Efendi, ulema 109, 110, 112, 113
- Yusufeli (county) 36 n.24, 39 n.71, 56, 71, 78, 128, 153, 183 n.73, 183 n.74, 183 n.79, 188 n.119, 320, 360, 380 n.90; *see also* Kiskim, Pertakrag
- Yusufeli (town) 153
- Yusuf Talat Efendi, ulema 108, 110, 112, 113
- Zagatis River 25, 29; *see also* Zuğa Dere
- Zagghi (village) 132
- Zdanévitch, Elie/Ilia 27
- Zefanos (village) 92 n.45, 276 n.2; *see also* Yomra
- Zelegli Kale 38 n.55
- Zeydiyye 122 n.38
- Zeytun dialect 266
- Zhanēntnots‘ (village) 55, 147
- Ziam, Mount 178 n.10
- Zigam Dere 55
- Zil Kale 22, 25, 26, 31, 37 n.32, 86, 147, 181 n.40, 229 n.23, 320–21
- Zilkale (village) *see* Kolona
- Ziya Hurşid, Member of Ottoman Parliament 116, 117, 118, 203
- Zuğa/Zuğaortaköy (village) 26, 40 n.90, 68, 107, 121 n.8, 144, 145, 149, 178 n.15, 180 n.30; *see also* Hemşin Ortaköy
- Zuğa Dere Valley 25, 29, 31, 32, 56, 67, 121 n.8, 143
- Zuğa River 34, 56, 149, 178 n.10, 178 n.15
- Zühdi İbrahim Efendi 121 n.14