# Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books

Proceedings of the First International Conference on Karamanlidika Studies (Nicosia, 11th–13th September 2008)

Edited by
Evangelia Balta and Matthias Kappler

2010
Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

ISSN 0177-4743
ISBN 978-3-447-06185-8

# Karamanli Patronage in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: the Case of the Village of Germir/Kermira

Anna Ballian

A large proportion of the ecclesiastical silverware, icons, liturgical textiles, books, manuscripts and other religious objects brought by refugees to Greece after the population exchanges in 1923 came from Anatolia and the greater Caesarea/Kayseri region. These precious relics constituted the movable property of the Greek Orthodox communities and their transfer to Greece was authorized by a clause in the Treaty of Lausanne. In the 1930s this material was deposited by the Exchanged Populations Fund at the Benaki Museum, the Byzantine Museum and the Museum of Popular Arts in Athens: the Benaki Museum now houses some 1,100 of these pieces, of which 600 constitute its liturgical silver and textiles collection[1].

As with most ecclesiastical donations, liturgical objects from the region of Kayseri are often inscribed with shorter or longer religious dedications, usually in Karamanli: even when, less frequently, the inscriptions are in Greek, their origin can sometimes be recognised from the place of dedication or some other identifying feature. We are fortunate to have at our disposal a small corpus of sixty-six Karamanli inscriptions from the Benaki material which were read by Eugène Dalleggio and included in the collection of so-called Christian inscriptions from Asia Minor and the Pontos, published by Eugenia Chatzidaki in 1959[2]. To these should be added some ten to fifteen pieces read since then and another twenty to thirty more objects inscribed in Greek which have been found to originate in the same region.

The general features of the church silver which is the subject of this paper are not substantially different from those of the equivalent material from the Pontos (the Black Sea region), Eastern Thrace and mainland Greece – basically silver votive offerings with the form and function of known ecclesiastical vessels. Such objects were in the past examined for indications of Byzantine or antique survivals and reuses: a famous find was the Adrianople cross, an eleventh-century Byzantine silver processional cross, while less spectacular, though still rewarding to the dedicated medievalist, were the small Byzantine bronze reliquary crosses. The majority of the artefacts, however, were dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and their

1 Two exhibitions with exclusively refugee material from the Exchanged Populations Fund have been organized to date: by the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens, Lazaridis 1982, and the Benaki Museum, Ballian 1992.

2 Chatzidaki 1959: 1–40 (Greek inscriptions). Chatzidaki & Dalleggio 1959: 28–41 (Karamanli inscriptions).

style – a mixture of Venetian and Ottoman baroque decoration with post-Byzantine iconography – was not particularly appreciated throughout the whole of the twentieth century; indeed it was criticised as representing a late cultural artistic product which failed to comply with the accepted canons and the purity of national art. Even though by the end of the century historical and anthropological research had changed our method of approach as regards national criteria, very few of these objects have so far attracted the attention of the experts from an art historical point of view. One exception is a mid-eighteenth-century carved wooden cross in an enamelled mount (fig. 1), which has been often published as a fine example of a benedictory cross with filigree enamel, probably made in a workshop of Istanbul/Constantinople[3]. Yet its provenance from the village of Kermira is rarely taken into consideration because the village is largely unknown and adds nothing to the object's prestige.

Scholarship of the last decades has dealt with "Ottoman Cappadocia" and its Karamanli population, the language issue and the publication of the Karamanli texts, the mix of Greek-speaking and Turkish-speaking communities, the intellectual background and the impact of the Greek national ideas[4]. The material under discussion adds to our general knowledge but also, and more specifically, it reveals features of the micro-history of the region and in many ways it provides evidence of what we normally know from local sources. Its basic significance lies in its origins, examination of which can result in the emergence from obscurity of forgotten and largely unknown villages and communities – Christian or with a mixed Christian/Muslim population, and the documentation of a social function such as a donation made in a peripheral region of the Ottoman empire and within the ranks of a small religious community.

A good example of an inscribed object which adds to our knowledge of local history and bears witness to the migratory movement of the Christian population in Anatolia, which is otherwise known from later sources, is a 1689 Gospel book from Ankara. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Greek Orthodox community of Ankara consisted almost exclusively of Karamanlis who had moved there from the Kayseri area, most probably as a consequence of the *Celali* rebellions, and who gradually took over a considerable part of the angora wool trade. The origin of the Greek Orthodox population of Ankara in the Kayseri region was first noticed by Georges Perrot (1864: 330–334) and later demonstrated by a local doctor and scholar Moses Moyseidis (1905: 415). It is confirmed by the inscription on the silver-gilt cover of the Gospel book from Ankara, which is written in Greek and mentions Kayseri as the place of origin of the person to whose memory the silver cover is dedicated:

3 Ballian 1992: 62, no. 28; Fotopoulos & Delivorrias 1997: 340, fig. 563.

4 See Anagnostakis & Balta 1990; Balta 1987; Petropoulou 1988–89; and relevant articles by P. Kitromilides: Kitromilides & Alexandris 1984–85; Kitromilides 1998.

> +ΑΝΑΠΑΥΘΙ Ο ΑΗ ΓΙΑΝΙΣ Ο ΥΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙ ΚΕ Η ΜΗΤΙΡ ΕΛΕΝΗ ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ ΚΕ (25) ΑΠΟ ΚΕΣΑΡΙΑΝ ΚΕ ΑΦΙΕΡΩΣΕ ΤΟ ΠΑΡΟΝ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΗΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΓΙΡΑΝ ΗΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΝ ΕΤΟΣ 1689[5].

A Karamanli notice written on the fly-leaf two years later confirms the Karamanli origin of the donor:

> που βαγγελιονου καγησερλη κηρη γηουσουφ ογλου ανασστασογλου χατζη μουρατ βε καρταση χατζη αγηαννην τζανηου τζουβερ... κουρητε αγηος νηκολαος εκλησασηνα ογλεμηλ... ολα... 1691.

Insofar as their origin is known at all, most of the items come from three regions: the vicinity of Kayseri, of Niğde and the town of Ankara. Isolated artefacts have of course also been preserved from other nearby areas, and even a series of objects from the communities of Safranbolu, Kastamonu, Adana and Tarsus, but very few items survive from the villages of the area of Hasan Dağı, and none from the town of Ürgüp, or from Nevşehir. The evacuation of the Greek Orthodox settlements of central Asia Minor was effected in a relatively peaceful way, but the movable community property was not necessarily transported by the refugees in its totality[6]: moreover, after the move, some of the ecclesiastical objects were used to equip new churches in the refugee settlements in Greece. By far the best represented area in the collection are the villages around Kayseri, such as Kermira, Zincidere (Phlaviana), Talas (Moutalaski), Endürlük (Andronikio) and also the important village of Bor (Poros) to the south of Niğde[7].

This geographical distribution cannot be considered random. In essence the regions of Kayseri, Niğde and Ankara, the source of most of the objects of known provenance, were significant administrative and economic centres, a fact reflected in the prosperity of their Christian communities. The Kayseri region in particular with its numerous villages had the highest percentage of Karamanli population in Anatolia. As graphically described by Vital Cuinet (1891: 315) the relation of the city and its neighbouring villages was “comme une poule avec ses poussins”. The small Greek Orthodox community of the city of Kayseri cannot be conceived independently of the Christian population of the surrounding villages by which it was supported both economically and socially.

It has been mentioned above that the bulk of the material is dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but we can in fact go further. In the case of the two villages of Kermira and Zincidere and also of the town of Kayseri, which attracted

5 Chatzidaki 1959: 4, no. 11.

6 Kitromilides 1982: κθ–κλ.

7 Place-names mentioned for the first time are rendered in both their Turkish and Greek forms, but Turkish is used subsequently, with the exception of the main subject of the paper, the village of Kermira.

the largest number of donations known to us, the peak period seems to have been the second half of the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth century.

The case of Kermira, (Germir, Girmur, Germür) will be considered in this paper because arguably the most impressive votive offerings among the artefacts brought by refugees from the region of Kayseri came from this village[8]. The quantity – about twenty silver objects and ecclesiastical embroideries – and quality does not appear to be merely accidental. In the early nineteenth century Patriarch Cyril (1815: 5–6) began his description of the province of Caesarea with the capital city of Caesarea, and he immediately continued with the "village of Germir", which was the "best and richest of the other villages". It was located on the edge of the Caesarea plain, about an hour from the city, and was inhabited by Greek Orthodox, Armenians and a few Ottomans[9]. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, however, the village does not appear to have been particularly distinguished. The tax registers of 1500 mention "Girmur" together with four other nearby villages whose farmlands were in the immediate environs of Kayseri and were taxed together with those of the city, and while the judicial rolls of Kayseri for the years 1600–25 record many instances of peasants seeking recourse to the courts, only very few are concerned with the inhabitants of Kermira[10].

Initially, the village was indeed small and inhabited exclusively by Armenians who worked in the tanning trade and the production of leather goods such as shoes. According to Rizos (1856: 72–73), the name of the village is derived from the Armenian word *karmir* meaning 'tannery'. On the basis of court documents from Kayseri, he argued that about a century earlier, i.e. around 1750, Greek Christians from the surrounding villages settled in Kermira and, through the shrewd and successful operation of small commercial businesses, eventually surpassed the Armenians in numbers and influence. Thus in 1856 the village numbered 600 Greek Orthodox households by comparison with 350 Armenian and 200 Ottoman, and it housed two churches, one dedicated to the Virgin and the other to the Sts Theodore. Levides (1904: 137), however, believes that the migration of the Greek Orthodox population to Kermira can be approximately dated to the period after 1650 and the *Celali* disruptions; supporting this view are the oldest inscribed objects known to originate from the village (and indeed from the larger region of Kayseri), a liturgical lance inscribed in Greek and dated 1710:

> ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ 1710 Η ΑΓΙΑ ΛΟΓΧΗ ΗΠΑΡΧΗ ΤΗΣ ΚΕΣΑΡΙΑΣ ΔΙΑ ΣΗΝΔΡΟΜΗΣ ΤΟΥ Σ...ΕΡΜΗΡ (fig. 2).

As well as a small paten inscribed in Karamanli and dated 1719:

8 Ballian 1995: 36–40, 139–143.

9 For Patriarch Cyril, who is our earliest local source, and other local historians of the Ottoman past, both Turkish- and Greek-speaking, see Petropoulou 2001: 274–276.

10 Jennings 1983: 189; Jennings 1978: 253, 257, 273.

ΠΟΥ ΔΙΣΚΑΡΙ ΚΑΗΣΑΡΗ ΚΟΥΛΠΗΝΤΕ ΚΕΡΜΗΡΤΕΟΛΑΝ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΕΩΔΟΡΟΣΑ ΒΑΚΟΥΦ ΟΛΜΗΣΤΗΡ 1719 ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ ΧΑΤΖΗ ΣΗΡΗΝ ΠΟΥ ΔΙΣΚΟΣ (fig. 3) [11].

The latter is also the earliest Karamanli inscription on a votive offering that I know, dated one year later than the oldest Karamanli printed book (1718).

The next important item is a chalice inscribed in Greek and dated 1751 (fig. 4). The inscription reads:

+ΚΤΗΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΥΣΑΑΚ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΗΧΑΗΛ ΥΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΩΣΙΦ ΠΡΟΣΚΗΝΙΤΟΥ ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ ΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΙΡΟΝΟΣ ΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΚΟΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΥΑΣ ΗΣ ΤΟ ΚΕΡΜΗΡΝ 1751 Σ[Ε]Φ[ΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ] Α (1) ΑΨΝΑ (1751)[12].

The rather unusual conical shape of the foot – which is of late Gothic derivation – seems to have been in vogue at this period among the Greek Orthodox and Armenians. Three more similar chalices can be cited as originating from the same region of Anatolia: the oldest dated 1729 from the Greek Orthodox monastery of Taxiarchis or Yanar Taş Monastiri, another from the Greek Orthodox church of St Nicholas in Tokat dated 1750, now in the treasury of the Vatopedi monastery, and a third dated 1756 inscribed in Armenian and housed in Etchmiadzin[13]. These chalices are probably of local manufacture, made in a style common to Greek Orthodox and Armenians but ultimately originating in the art of the capital.

Of approximately the same date is the very fine cross mentioned above (fig. 1), a work of exceptional craftsmanship which was undoubtedly donated by a Kermirli working in Istanbul. This pattern of heavy reliance on the art of the capital and the patronage of fellow villagers working in Istanbul is a basic feature of our material which transcends stylistic changes and chronological differences.

The growth of Kermira appears to have been due to the inhabitants' move into commerce. Leather, cotton and wheat merchants traded "the local output" (as Rizos called it) with the inland and coastal cities of Asia Minor. Leather and textiles were the pre-eminent export products of the region. The reddish leathers of Kayseri were known in the bazaars of Istanbul and Adrianople, while cotton, the raw material for textiles, was purchased from the region of Tarsus and Adana, processed locally and then sold in the large cities[14]. Trade was conducted through fellow villagers who had settled, at first temporarily but later permanently, in key cities such as Adana and of course Istanbul. Those who met with success in the capital expanded their commer-

11 Chatzidaki 1959: 6, no. 17; Chatzidaki & Dalleggio, 1959: 28, no.1. Ballian, 1992: 63, no. 29; Fotopoulos & Delivorrias 1997: 349, 359, figs 577, 596.

12 Chatzidaki 1959: 12, no. 43; Fotopoulos, Delivorrias 1997: 355, fig. 585.

13 Ballian 1992: 56, no. 22; Ballian 1998: 523, fig. 469; Durand & Rapti & Giovannoni 2007: 421, no.191.

14 Jennings 1983: 163; Faroqhi 1987: 42–43; Anonymous 1906, "Περί του νομού Αδάνων", *Ξενοφάνης* 4: 496, 498.

cial activities to the importation of European products, in particular textiles. Some of these entrepreneurs are mentioned by name, for example Hadji Iosif Vlasoglou who was a trustee of the school in Kayseri in 1799: others remain anonymous, such as the Kermirlides of Constantinople who contributed to the educational work of the village school, established as early as 1805. At the beginning of the twentieth century, when migration and changing economic conditions had halved the Orthodox population of the village, the expenses of the Kermira school were still covered by community real estate which had been purchased for that purpose by people from Kermira in Adana, Istanbul, Konya and Ilgin[15].

The rise of Kermira as the most important village in the province of Kayseri, with active involvement in the community matters of the entire province, is directly linked with the operations of the Tsipeloglou family, Hadji Potos Agha and his son Hadji Anton Agha who were advisors and *sarrafs* to the Çapanoğlu family of *ayans*, the powerful local notables (Kalfoglou 1898–99: 173; Levidis 1899: 73). Though we lack any very precise information about their activities, we can assume that the comments of Georges Perrot (1864: 384–92) regarding an Armenian banker from Yozgat hold good for the Tsipeloglou family as well. According to this story, the father of old Armenian Hadji Ohan made his fortune in the service of the Çapanoğlu family, subsequently increasing it through banking and commercial transactions of all types, including subletting, collecting taxes, and providing general financial facilities to the pashas, who were in permanent need of funds. *Sarraf*s (bankers) had been an integral part of the Ottoman financial system since the fifteenth century and they were drawn from the non-Muslim subjects of the empire, at first mostly Jews but in the eighteenth century predominantly Armenians. They were indispensable to the functioning of the life-time tax farming system which prevailed in the eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire, and provided credit and cash to the high state elites of the capital and most importantly to local administrators and governors in the periphery[16].

The era of the Çapanoğlu dynasty, from the early eighteenth century to 1814, is considered a period of prosperity for the central provinces of Anatolia (Levidis 1909: 268–74). Established in their newly-built capital of Yozgat, they were the lords in the *sancak*s of Bozok, Kayseri, Amasya, Ankara and Niğde and in fact were independent of the central authority. Local Turkomans themselves, they had powerful connections in the region and were supported by both Turkomans and Christians. In contrast to the autonomous pashas of the Balkans, their concern was not only to get rich quick, but also to ensure the prosperity of their subjects. The founder of Yozgat, Ahmet Pasha, attracted Muslims from the surrounding regions and also Christians from Kayseri, Sivrihisar and Amasya, whom he apparently valued highly.

15 Levidis 1880: 90, 92; Tsalikoglou 1976: 43. In the nineteenth century the import of European cotton cloths and yarns undermined the once prosperous cotton trade in the region of Kayseri, see Quataert 1994: 905.

16 Barsoumian 1982: 171–84. Şahin 2003: 83–87, 95–98.

Hadji Potos Agha must have begun his career as a banker for Ahmet Pasha before 1764/5 when the latter was dismissed by the Sultan, while Hadji Anton Agha appears to have continued to provide the same services and to have found favor with the powerful Süleyman, the son and successor of Ahmet[17].

Traditional lore as transmitted to us by local historians enumerates the offices, actions, benefactions and votive offerings of the Tsipeloglou family in order to demonstrate their standing in and contribution to community life. A few examples: 1. In 1799 they were appointed trustees of the community school in Kayseri; 2. In 1803 they were among the churchwardens who decided to rebuild the monastery in Zincidere. It was through their intercession that the imperial decree of Selim III allowing reconstruction of churches was issued, and during the rebuilding, which lasted for 66 days, Hadji Anton Agha encouraged the workers by offering higher wages (Kalfoglou 1898–99: 175, 179); 3. In 1805, Hadji Anton contributed to the foundation of a school in Kermira[18]; 4. Shocked by the then new fashion, Hadji Potos asked the metropolitan to prohibit women from wearing stylish head coverings, which appear to have been 14 fingers high and 56 in circumference (Kalfoglou 1898–99: 168); 5. In 1806, Hadji Zümrüd from Ankara, mother of Hadji Anton Agha, financed the building of a large cistern for water in the courtyard of the Zincidere monastery together with a marble fountain inscribed with a record of her contribution (Kalfoglou 1898–99: 637–638)[19]; 6. The monastery treasury also contained a large silver-gilt chalice, donated by Hadji Anton Agha, which has apparently been lost (Kalfoglou 1898–99: 663).

Three pieces of liturgical silver and a set of gold liturgical objects donated by the Tsipeloglou family have been identified among the Benaki collection. The silver pieces include two nearly identical gospel covers, the first donated in 1786 to the church of the Sts Theodore in Kermira and the second in 1815 to the church of the Virgin in the same village (fig. 5). The inscription on the 1786 book cover reads:

> ΚΕΡΜΗΡΤΕ +ΑΓΙΟΣ+ ΘΕΟΔΩΕΡΟΣΑ+ ΒΑΚΗΦ ΕΤΕΝ ΧΑΤΖΙ+ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ+ ΒΕ+ΧΑΤΖΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΣ 1786.

The names Prodromos (instead of Potos) and Antonios are in their hellenized form and a Greek inscription at the bottom right designates the equestrian patron saints:

> Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ Ο ΣΤΡΑΤΙΛΑΤΙΣ Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ] ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΤΙΡΟΝ.

The inscription on the second book cover reads:

17 Kinneir Macdonald 1818: 84–91; J. M. Mordtmann, [B. Lewis], "Derebey", *EI*$^2$. See also McGowan 1994: 670–672.

18 Evangelidis 1936: II, 277–278.

19 Levidis 1904: 138. Levidis hellenized the mother's name Zümrüd to Smaragda.

1815 ΑΠΡΙΛΗΟΥ Ι ΚΕΡΜΗΡ ΤΕ ΠΑΝΑΙΑ ΕΚΛΗΣΕΣΙΝΕ ΧΑΤΖΙ ΠΟΤΟΣ ΒΕ ΧΑΤΖΙ ΑΝ[Τ]ΟΝΟΥΓ ΧΑΓΙΡΕΤΙ ΙΛΑΝ ΓΙΑ[ΠΗΛ]ΜΙΣ[20].

The third silver piece is an impressive benediction basin which was donated in 1815 to the church of the Sts Theodore in Kermira by Hadji Potos and Hadji Anton:

+1815 ΑΠΡΙΛΗΟΥ 1 ΚΕΡΜΗΡΤΕ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΕΚΛΗΣΕΣΙΝΕ ΧΑΤΖΗ ΠΟΤΟΣ ΒΕ ΧΑΤΖΗ ΑΝΤΟΝΟΥΓ ΧΑΓΙΡΕΤΙΙΛΕΝ ΓΙΑΠΙΛΜΙΣΤΗΡ (fig.6).

A near-identical basin dated 1 January 1815 which once belonged to the metropolitan church of Kayseri is now housed at the Byzantine Museum, Athens[21].

The gold liturgical set consists of a chalice, a paten with its cover, an asterisk and a spoon, and was donated in 1795 to the church of the Sts Theodore in Kermira by Hadji Potos, Hadji Anton and his mother Hadji Zümrüd (fig. 7), as testified by the inscription

+ΚΕΡΜΗΡΤΕ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣΑ ΒΑΚΟΥΦ ΕΤΕΝ Χ[ΑΤΖΗ] ΠΟΤΟΣ Χ[ΑΤΖΗ] ΑΝΤΟΝ Χ[ΑΤΖΗ] ΖΟΥΜΖΟΥΤ 1795[22].

Votive offerings of pure gold are rarely encountered, even in the sacristies of large monasteries. The chalice was made by a skilled and knowledgeable craftsman, most probably a European working in Istanbul who had been trained in the new European fashion of the rococo. The gold offering presented by Hadji Potos and Hadji Anton to their Karamanlides co-religionists set off a chain reaction: within a year or two, a local craftsman had made four similar chalices of silver: they once belonged to churches in Yozgat, Taxiarchis, Pharasa and Kayseri.

Apart from stylistic similarities, the chalices from Yozgat (1797) (fig. 8), and the Taxiarchis monastery (1799) (fig. 9) are associated with Kermira in another way. In Yozgat, the home of the Çapanoğlu family, the activities of the bankers from Kermira must have been a source of pride to the Christian community and their donation regarded as an act worthy of emulation. According to Levides (1904: 144), the Orthodox congregation came mainly from Kermira, but also from Talas and Erkilet. They attended church services in a small chapel to which the chalice had been collectively dedicated, as testified by the inscription:

+ΓΙΟΖΚΑΤΤΑ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΟΣΑ ΒΑΚΟΥΦ ΟΛΜΟΥΣΤΟΥΡ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΛΑΡΙΝ ΓΙΑΠΤΙΜΙΗΛΑ 1797[23].

The corresponding inscription on the chalice of Taxiarchis Monastery or Yanar Taş (fig. 9) states that it was a collective offering by the Christians of Kermira:

20 Chatzidaki & Dalleggio 1959: 30, no. 11, 34, no. 29. On the book covers and their style see Ballian 1992: 53, no. 19.

21 Lazaridis 1982: 61, no. 85.

22 Chatzidaki & Dalleggio 1959: 31, no. 16; Ballian 1991: 38.

23 Chatzidaki & Dalleggio 1959: 32, no. 18.

+ΤΑΞΙΑΡΧΗΤΕ ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣΑ ΒΑΚΟΥΦΕΤΕΝ ΚΕΡΜΗΡ ΧΡΙΑΣΤΙΑΝΛΑΡΙ 1799.

It was essentially a contribution made by the Kermirlis to benefit the monastery at the time of its reorganisation. In 1798 control of the monastery, which had previously been managed by the neighboring village, was transferred to the ecclesiastical authorities of Caesarea and one year later Anthimos from Kermira was appointed abbot. Under his rule the monastery was transformed, its finances were reorganised and the buildings repaired. The contribution of Anthimos's home town Kermira during this phase was evidently considerable, as evidenced not only by the donation of the silver chalice but also by the construction of the monk's cells and pilgrims' rooms at the expense of the town's citizens[24].

The chalice from Pharasa is nearly identical to the previous chalices but is of special interest because it is the only object we know to have originated in that remote mountainous area. The inscription testifies that it is a donation to Sts Barachisios and Jonas, the local patron saints of the Pharasiots who, according to the Synaxaristis, came from Persia. In the local dialect, Pharasa was pronounced Varasho and the saint was called Varashis, while tradition has it that the saints were from Parsa, i.e. Fars: this would explain how the place name Pharasa came into being[25]. The chalice has a Greek inscription and seems to have been composed by someone with a scholarly education:

+ΤΟΔΕ ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ ΕΣΤΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΔΟΥΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΓΙΟΥΣ ΒΑΡΑΧΙΣΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΙΩΝΑΝ ΑΩ (1800) ΕΝ ΜΗΝΙ ΙΑΝΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΥ ΙΕ (15).

During this period Paisios, the Pharasiot pupil of the holy monk Germanos and later the Metropolitan Paisios, undertook to run the school in Kayseri for as long as Germanos was absent in the capital. Perhaps his presence contributed to the donation of the chalice to his birthplace.

The fourth chalice was consecrated in 1802 to the church of St Nicholas in Caesarea and reveals to us indirectly the identity of the craftsman who made the chalices.

+ΧΑΤΖΗ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΝΟΓΛΟΥ ΧΑΤΖΗ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΥΝ ΒΑΚΗΦΗ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΕΣΙΝΕ 1802[26].

According to the inscription, it was contributed by Hadji Panagiotis, son of Hadji Anastasis, and we know that the same donor gave, together with the chalice, a plain silver paten inscribed with an identical dedication. But his most impressive donation

24 Chatzidaki & Dalleggio 1959: 32, no. 19. The information about the Taxiarchis monastery is mainly drawn from Levidis 1904: 139–141; Kalfoglou 1898–99: 19–33, 93–94, 763–769.

25 Nikodemos 1868: vol. II, 61 (29 March); Levidis 1880: 206; Anonymous 1976, "Τοπωνύμια Φαράσων". *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* 13: 210.

26 Chatzidaki & Dalleggio 1959: 32, no. 21.

is the silver revetment for a large icon of St George which was made two years earlier, in 1800 (fig. 10). The revetment leaves only the face of St George uncovered. The saint is shown on horseback slaying the winged dragon with his lance, while the tiny princess and her parents' castle can be seen on the right, and the youth from Mytilene sits on the horse's rump. Two lengthy Greek inscriptions are embossed on the upper and lower part of the icon. The top reads:

> +ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ ΣΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΦΕΡΩ ΤΡΙΣΜΑΚΑΡ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΕ + ΝΥΝ ΑΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩ ΜΕΝ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΝΑΩ ΣΟΥ ΔΕ ΟΜΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΠΡΑΧΘΗ+.

The icon is flanked by two lobed medallions enclosing the half-length figures of the Sts Nicholas, patron saint of the metropolitan church and Basil, patron saint of Caesarea. The inscription at the bottom includes the name of the maker, "worthless Georgakis", son-in-law of the donor:

> +ΑΝΑΞΙΟΣ ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΥΜΩΝ ΧΑΤΖΗ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ ΥΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΤΖΗ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΥ ΓΟΝΥΚΛΙΤΩΣ ΕΥΤΕΛΗΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΑΚΗΣ Ο ΝΥΜΦΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ Ο ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΣ ΑΥΤΌ ΑΩ (1800) ΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΥ Α (1).

It continues with a religious invocation in Karamanli:

> ΕΤΝΑ ΚΟΥΛΟΥΓΝ ΚΟΥΡΠΑΝ ΣΟΥΝΕΡΣΕΝ ΑΛΛΑΧΗΝ ΤΟΣΤΟΥΝΕ / ΚΟΥΡΠΑΝΑ ΖΙΓΙΑΝ ΕΤΜΕΓΙΕ ΙΣΤΕ (-) / ΓΙΕΝΗΓΝ ΚΑΤΗΝΕ ΡΙΤΖΑΛΕΡ ΚΑΖΕΠΛΕΡΗ ΟΥΣΤΟΥΝΕ ΚΑΠΟΥΛ ΕΗΛΕ ΤΗΡΕΛΛΕΖ ΖΟΥΛΟΥΜΚΙΑΡ / ΗΡΕΤΗΝΕ ΕΒΕΛΛΑΝ ΑΛΛΑΧ ΤΑΒΕΤΖΗ / ΠΟΥ ΒΑΚΗΝ ΤΟΥΣΜΑΝΗΝΑ / ΠΑΤΕ ΑΖΗΖΛΕΡ ΣΑΤΙΚΛΕΡ ΧΕΠ ΟΝΟΥΝ ΣΟΥΒΑΛΗΝΑ ΤΕΡΠΗΕΣΗΝΕ / ΚΑΖΕΠ ΒΕΡΜΕΓΗΝ ΜΟΥΡΑΤΗΝΑ ΠΟΥΝΛΑΡΤΑΝ ΤΑ / ΚΟΡΚΜΑΓΙΑΝΑ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΣΑΧΑΠ[27].

It is reasonable to assume that "worthless Georgakis" worked in Kayseri and that he made both the chalice and his father-in-law's other votive offerings, as well as the similar chalices from Yozgat, Taxiarchis and Pharasa, in imitation of the precious golden chalice donated by the Tsipeloglou, the powerful family of notables and *sarraf*s.

The ever-increasing prosperity of Kermira in the second half of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century coincided with the development of the area generally as a result of the powers acquired by the local *ayans*. Yet it was because of the origins in Kermira of the Tsipeloglou banking family that the village found itself at the heart of these developments. The activities of the *sarrafs* fostered a network of services which benefited mainly the higher Muslim echelons by providing them with loans to fund their tax-farming, but also the lesser local elites, among them the

27 Ballian 1991: 36; Fotopoulos & Delivorrias 1997: 385, fig. 660. My warmest thanks to Fotis Benlisoy for reading and transcribing the Karamanli inscription.

Christians. The *sarrafs*' leading role and prestige is demonstrated by their promotion of the interests of the Christian community and by their endowments to the monastic church of Zincidere, the most important Karamanli pilgrimage centre, and the churches of their native town. In this way the churches of Kermira acquired unique European silver pieces of a type which were to be found only among *ayan* tableware and which were slavishly reproduced by other communities. Dependence on the art of the capital remained strong, but a leading role was now played by local workshops where works were copied or adapted to local requirements.

Historical and other studies of the Karamanlides have normally been concerned with the later part of the nineteenth century, a period whose intellectual foundations have been aptly characterized as a "late enlightenment" and which coincides with the era of internal reforms in the Ottoman Empire, the Tanzimat[28]. The "awakening of our brothers in the East", the shaping of a national consciousness, and the restoration of the lost mother tongue through the schools constituted the primary ideological goals of the period, the main stimulus for which originated with the Greek-speaking communities.

Yet this phase cannot be properly understood without taking into account the long period of preparation which fostered the seeds of intellectual and cultural change. This was effected in Turkish-speaking communities such as Kermira which have until recently been neglected by scholars. The church silver considered in this article originates chiefly from these Turkish-speaking communities and its production coincides chronologically with the incubation period of the changes, from the mid-eighteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth century.

## References

Anagnostakis, Ilias & Balta, Evangelia 1994. *La découverte de la Cappadoce au dix-neuvième siècle*. [Transl. by Bruno Dulibine]. Istanbul: Eren.

Ballian, Anna 1991 (Μπαλλιάν). "Η Καππαδοκία μετά την κατάκτηση των Σελτζούκων και οι χριστιανικές κοινότητες από το 16ο έως το 18ο αιώνα". *Καππαδοκία. Περιήγηση στη Χριστιανική Ανατολή.* Athens: Adam Editions, 30–38.

Ballian, Anna 1992 (Μπαλλιάν). *Θησαυροί από τις ελληνικές κοινότητες της Μικράς Ασίας και Ανατολικής Θράκης. Συλλογές Μουσείου Μπενάκη*. Athens: Benaki Museum, Centre of Popular Art and Tradition.

Ballian, Anna 1995. Patronage in central Asia Minor and the Pontos during the Ottoman period. The case of church silver, 17th–19th centuries. [Unpublished PhD thesis, Birmingham].

Ballian, Anna 1998. "Post-Byzantine and other small art works". *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi. Tradition – History – Art. Mount Athos*, vol. II, 500–534.

28 Kitromilidis 1982: λε–λζ.

Balta, Evangelia 1987 (Μπαλτά). "Οι πρόλογοι των καραμανλίδικων βιβλίων πηγή για τη μελέτη της "εθνικής συνείδησης" των τουρκόφωνων ορθοδόξων πληθυσμών της Μικράς Ασίας". *Μνήμων* 11: 225–233.

Barsoumian, Hagop 1982. "The Dual Role of the Armenian Amira Class within Ottoman Government and the Armenian Millet (1750–1850)". Braude, B. & Lewis B. (eds.) *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*. New York and London, New York: Holmes & Meier, 171–184.

Chatzidaki, Eugenie 1959 (Χατζηδάκη). "Χριστιανικές επιγραφές Μικράς Ασίας και Πόντου". *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* 8: 1–27.

Chatzidaki, Eugenie (Χατζηδάκη) and Dalleggio, Eugène 1959. "Χριστιανικές επιγραφές Μικράς Ασίας και Πόντου". *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* 8: 28–41.

Cuinet, Vital 1891. *La Turquie d'Asie*, I. Paris.

Cyril 1815 (Κυρίλου Οικουμενικού Πατριάρχου). *Ιστορική περιγραφή του εν Βιέννη προεκδοθέντος χωρογραφικού πίνακος της μεγάλης αρχισατραπείας του Ικονίου*. Constantinople.

Durand, Jannic & Rapti, Ioanna & Giovannoni, Dorota (eds,) 2007. *Armenia sacra. Mémoire chrétienne des Arméniens (IVe–XVIIIe siècle)*. Paris: Musée du Louvre.

Evangelidis, Tryphon 1936 (Ευαγγελίδης). *Η παιδεία επί τουρκοκρατίας*, I–II. Athens: Typ. Chalkiopoulos A. P.

Fotopoulos, Dionyssis & Delivorrias, Angelos 1997. *Greece at the Benaki Museum*. Athens: Benaki Museum.

Faroqhi, Suraiya 1987. *Men of Modest Substance. House Owners and House Property in Sixteenth-Century Ankara and Kayseri*. Cambridge University Press.

Jennings, C. Ronald 1978. "Zimmis (Non-Muslims) in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial records: the Sharia Court of Ottoman Kayseri". *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 21: 225–293.

Jennings, C. Ronald 1983. "The Population, Society, and Economy of Erciyes Dağı in the Sixteenth Century". Bacqué-Grammont, J. L. & Dumont, P. (eds.) *Contribution à l'histoire économique et sociale de l'empire ottoman*. Louvain: Peeters, 149–250.

Kalfoglou, Ioannis 1898–99 (Κάλφογλου). *Ζιντζίντερε καργεσινδέ πουλουνάν Ιωάννης Πρόδρομος Μοναστηρή γιαχόδ Μονή Φλαβιανών*. Constantinople. [Translation in Modern Greek of the unpublished manuscript by Ch. Tourgoutis and G. Mavrohalyvidis deposited at the Centre for Asia Minor Studies].

Kinneir Macdonald, John 1818. *Journey through Asia Minor and Koordistan in the years 1813 and 1814*. London.

Kitromilides, Paschalis 1982 (Κιτρομηλίδης). "Η έξοδος της κεντρικής και νότιας Μικράς Ασίας". Introduction in Mourelos G. (ed.) *Έξοδος II*. Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, κγ'–μ'.

Kitromilides, Paschalis & Alexandris, Alexis 1984–1985. "Ethnic Survival, Nationalism and Forced Migration. The Historical Demography of the Greek Community of Asia Minor at the Close of the Ottoman Era". *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 5: 9–44.

Kitromilides, Paschalis 1998. "Byzantine Twilight or Belated enlightenment in Asia Minor?" Lampakis, St. (ed.) *Η Βυζαντινή Μικρά Ασία (6ος-12ος αι.). Πρακτικά ΣΤ Διεθνούς Συμποσίου*. Athens: Institute for Byzantine Research, 433–446. [Also in: Kitromilides, Paschalis 2007. *An Orthodox Commonwealth*. Variorum Collected Series No. IX. Aldershot: Ashgate].

Lazaridis, Pavlos (ed.) 1982 (Λαζαρίδης). *Ειδική Έκθεση Κειμηλίων Προσφύγων*. Athens: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Επιστημών, Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο Αθηνών.

Levidis, Anastasios 1880 (Λεβίδης). *Ιστορικόν δοκίμιον διηρημένον εις τόμους τέσσερας και περιέχον την θρησκευτικήν και πολιτικήν ιστορίαν, την χωρογραφίαν και αρχαιολογίαν της Καππαδοκίας. Ι. Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία*. Athens.

Levidis, Anastasios 1899 (Λεβίδης). *Αι εν μονολίθοις μοναί της Καππαδοκίας και Λυκαονίας*. Constantinople.

Levidis, Anastasios 1904 (Λεβίδης). "Η Μητρόπολις Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας". *Ημερολόγιον των Εθνικών Φιλανθρωπικών Καταστημάτων του Έτους 1905*. Constantinople, 126–155.

Levidis, Anastasios 1909 (Λεβίδης). *Ιστορικόν δοκίμιον διηρημένον εις τόμους τέσσερας και περιέχον την θρησκευτικήν και πολιτικήν ιστορίαν, την χωρογραφίαν και αρχαιολογίαν της Καππαδοκίας. ΙΙ. Πολιτική Ιστορία. Zincidere*. [Unpublished manuscript, Library of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies].

McGowan, Bruce 1994. "The Age of the Ayans, 1699–1811". Inalcik H. & Quataert D. (eds.) *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300–1914*. Cambridge University Press, 639–758.

Moyseidis, Moses 1905 (Μωυσείδης). "Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν της Ανθυπατικής Γαλατίας. Μονογραφία περί Αγκύρας. Μέρος Γ". *Ξενοφάνης* 2: 414–417.

Nikodemos, Agioreitis 1868 (Νικόδημος Αγιορείτης), *Συναξαριστής των δώδεκα μηνών του ενιαυτού*. Athens.

Quataert, Donald 1994. "The Age of Reforms, 1812–1914". Inalcik H. & Quataert D. (eds.) *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300–1914*. Cambridge University Press, 761–928.

Perrot, Georges 1864. *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mineure*. Paris.

Petropoulou, Ioanna 1988–89 (Πετροπούλου). "Ο εξελληνισμός-εξαρχαϊσμός των ονομάτων στην Καππαδοκία τον δέκατο ένατον αιώνα". *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 7: 141–200.

Petropoulou, Ioanna 2001 (Πετροπούλου). "Ιστοριογραφικές προσεγγίσεις του οθωμανικού παρελθόντος στην χριστιανική Ανατολή – 19ος αιώνας μια δειγματολειψία". *Μνήμων* 23: 269–295.

Rizos, S. Nikolaos 1856 (Ρίζος). *Καππαδοκικά*. Constantinople.

Şahin, Canay 2003. *The Rise and Fall of an Ayān Family in Eighteenth Century Anatolia: The Caniklizādes (1737–1808)*. [Unpublished PhD thesis, The Department of History, Bilkent University (www.thesis.bilkent.edu.tr), Ankara].

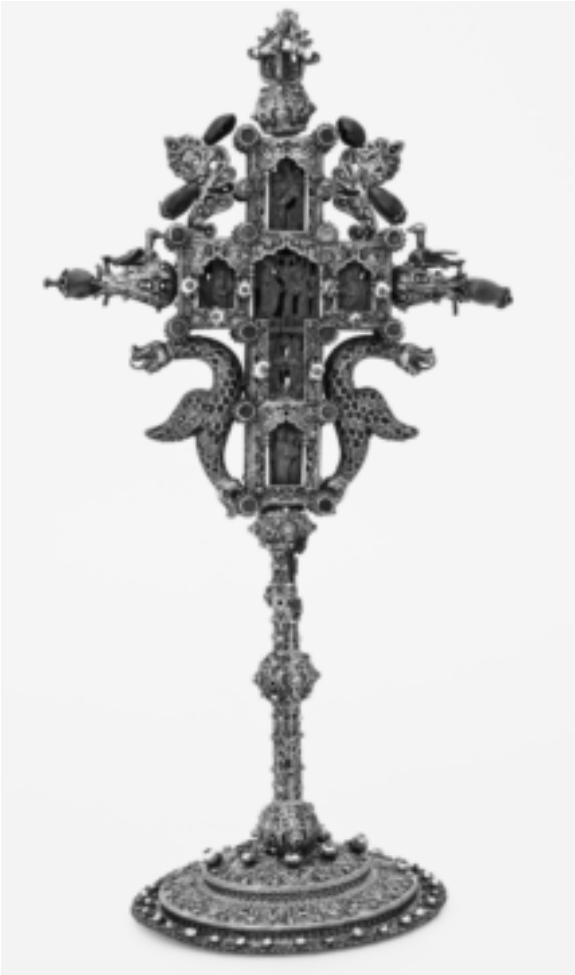

Fig. 1: Carved-wooden blessing cross from Kermira mounted in silver-gilt and filigree enamel with winged scaly dragons and semi-precious stones. Mid-eighteenth century (Height 23 cm).

Fig. 2: Communion lance of steel with silver handle from Kermira. 1710 (Length 17 cm).

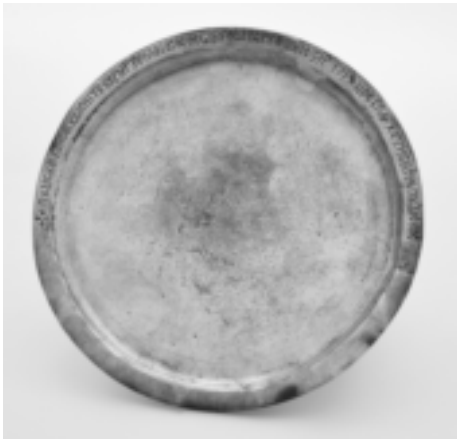

Fig. 3: Small silver paten from Kermira with finely engraved Karamanli inscription on the rim. 1719 (Diameter 16 cm).

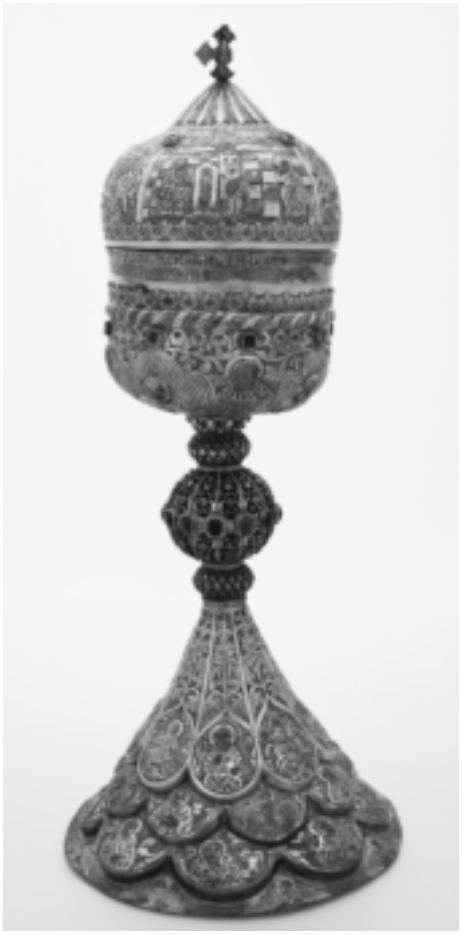

Fig. 4: Silver chalice and cover from Kermira, with gilt and gemstone decoration. 1751 (Height 44 cm).

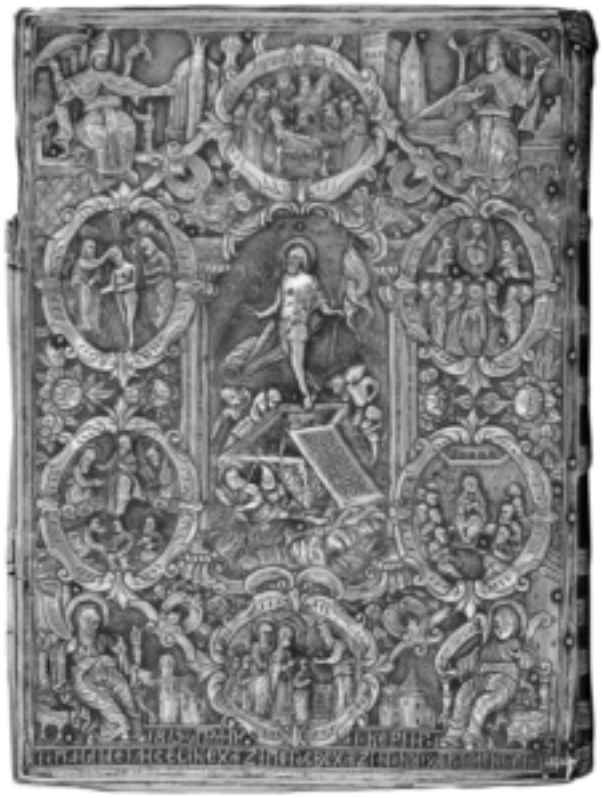

Fig. 5: Silver Gospel-book cover from the church of the Virgin in Kermira. The Resurrection is shown in the centre with six great Feasts in the cartouches and the four Evangelists in the corners. 1815 (Height 35 cm).

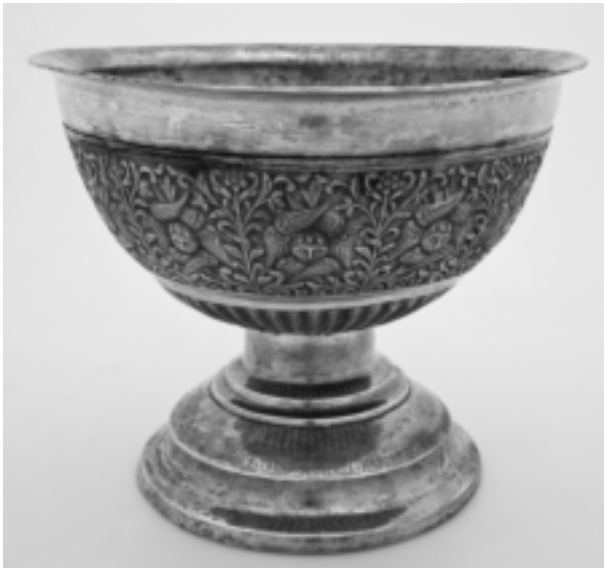

Fig. 6: Silver holy water basin from Kermira with floral decorative themes and six-winged angel heads. 1815 (Height 22 cm).

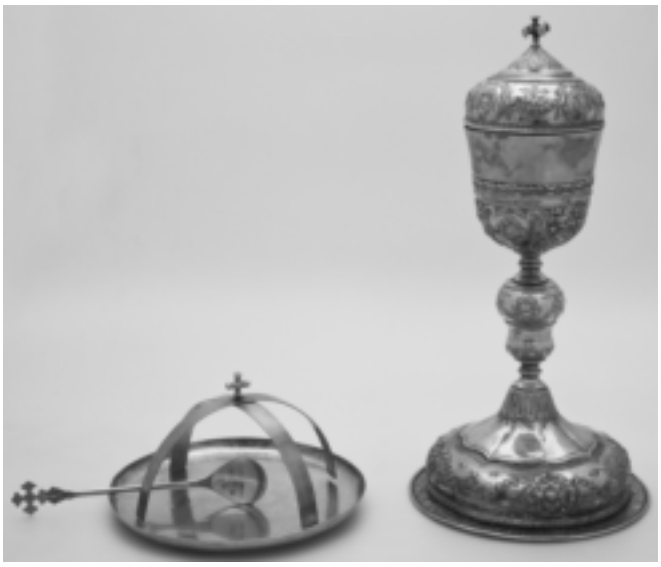

Fig. 7: Gold liturgical set from the church of Sts Theodore in Kermira. 1795 (Height of chalice 32.6 cm).

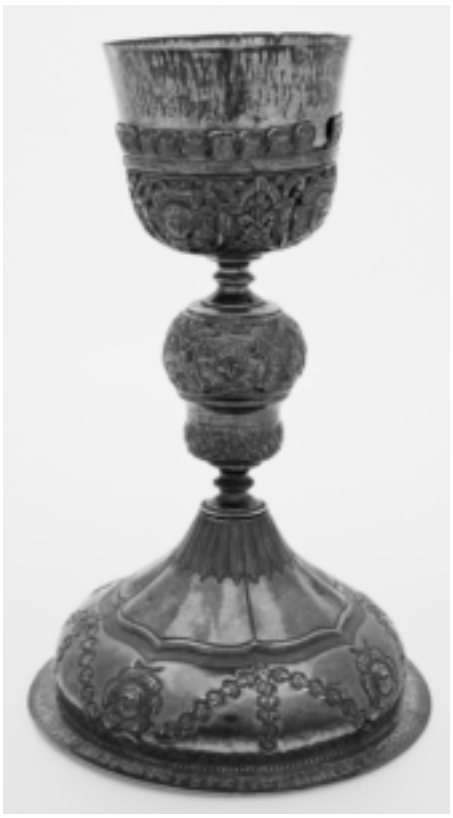

Fig. 8: Silver chalice from the church of Saint Charalambos in Yozgat. 1797 (Height 28.5 cm).