

Frontiers of Ottoman Studies:
State, Province, and the West

Volume II

Edited by

Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki and Rhoads Murphey

I.B. Tauris

London • New York

Published in 2005 by I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd
6 Salem Road, London W2 4BU
175 Fifth Avenue, New York NY 10010
www.ibtauris.com

In the United States of America and in Canada distributed by
St Martin's Press, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York NY 10010

Copyright © Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki and Rhoads Murphey, 2005

The right of Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki and Rhoads Murphey to be identified as the Proprietors of this work has been asserted by the Proprietors in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. Except for brief quotations in a review, this book or any part thereof, may not be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

Volume 1.
ISBN: 1 85043 631 2
EAN: 978 1 85043 631 7

Volume 2.
ISBN: 1 85043 664 9
EAN: 978 1 85043 664 5

A full CIP record for this book is available from the British Library
A full CIP record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

Library of Congress catalog card: available

Printed and bound in Great Britain by TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall
Camera-ready copy edited and supplied by Keiko Kiyotaki

Construction of Churches in Ottoman Provinces

Muammer Demirel

In this study, we evaluate the construction of non-Muslim churches in the Ottoman lands and general improvements during Mahmud II's reign and the Tanzimat period. Because of broadness of the subject, in this paper we will mainly focus on the construction of Armenian churches up to about 1860.

When Turks came to Anatolia, political, economical, cultural and spiritual life had collapsed. The communities or followers of the churches and monasteries decreased, so that their income was also less and, for this reason some bishopric and metropolitan centres were closed while they survived through the charity of other districts.¹ Internal positions of the Christians were also the same during the Ottoman reign. The policy of the Ottoman administrators in any case was not to oppose their community regulations, but allow them to regulate their own affairs in both religious and worldly matters. In fact, the Ottoman administrators were tolerant towards the Catholic missionaries who were sent to the eastern Christians from the sixteenth century onwards.² The Ottoman state was ruled according to Islamic codes and behaved just as the Prophet Muhammed and the four caliphs had behaved towards non-Muslims as regards their worship, temple and appointment of religious leaders or clergy. Those new measures which the Ottoman government implemented were generally in favour of the non-Muslims.³

Within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, freedom of movement and dwelling for non-Muslims were nearly same as for Muslim population. The Muslim holy places especially the towns of Mecca and Medina, mosques and holy tombs were restricted for non-Muslims. This rule came from Islamic code, and was precisely applied by Ottomans. On the other hand, non-Muslims' holy places like churches, monasteries and especially holy places in Jerusalem were also restricted for Muslims. As could be noticed, practices of the Ottoman state with regards to both communities, Muslim and non-Muslim were based on the principle of reciprocity. In fact, there is no pronouncement or prohibition in the Islamic law (*sharia*) for

the Muslims to enter non-Muslim holy places. The possible explanation for this application could be that the Ottoman state was respectful of the faith of its non-Muslim subjects. Not only were Muslim people prohibited to enter to the temples of non-Muslims but also Ottoman officials were prohibited to enter such places. The reason for the prohibition was to prevent disruption of non-Muslims during prayer. In general, officials, like the *mir-i miran*, *mirliva*, *subaşı*, *iş erleri*, were unequivocally forbidden from going into the non-Muslim holy places by Yavuz Sultan Selim with a firman dated 9 November 1517. Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, (the Magnificent) also approved this prohibition with a firman on 27 February 1521.⁴

Non-Muslim citizens had full rights of worship in their churches and synagogues in the Ottoman territories with one exception, the ringing of the bell. Additionally, every security measure was taken by the authorities to let them worship and undertake religious ceremonies freely. The state had given full authority to their religious leaders to perform all religious ceremonies freely which amounted to a kind of religious autonomy in the state.⁵

Nevertheless generally speaking the construction of new temples by the non-Muslim subjects was not been allowed in the Ottoman state, as was the tradition of former Islamic states. This custom was due to the opinion of Islamic jurists that forbade building new churches and synagogues. According to the Islamic jurists new churches and synagogues could not be built on Islamic soil, but old churches and synagogues could be renovated. In this subject, there are four entries in the first Ankara *şer'îye sicilli* which concern the repair of Surp Nişan Armenian Church in the Mihriyar quarter of the city.⁶

This viewpoint of the Islamic jurists was not based on any of the principal sources of Islamic law which are the Koran, *Hadis*, *Icma* and *Kiyas*. In the Koran, the relevant verses about mosques ordered protection places of worship. For example, verses 114 and 115 of the chapter *Bakara* in the Koran states that:

114. And who is more unjust than he who forbids that in places for the worship of Allah, His name should be celebrated?- whose zeal is (in fact) to ruin them? It was not fitting that such should themselves enter them except in fear. For them there is nothing but disgrace in this world, and in the world to come, and exceeding torment.
115. To Allah belong the East and the West: whithersoever ye turn, there is Allah's face. For Allah is All-Embracing, All-Knowing.⁷

According to the opinion of most commentators of the Koran, the reason for these verses was related to the destruction of *Masjid-i Aqsa* which had been demolished by Greeks and Christians.⁸

In the 40th verse of the chapter *Haj*, concerning temples the Koran states that:

(They are) those who have been expelled from their homes in defiance of right, (for no cause) except that they say, 'Our Lord is Allah'. Did not Allah check one set of people by means of another, there would surely have been pulled down monasteries, churches, synagogues, and mosques, in which the name of Allah is commemorated in abundant measure. Allah will certainly aid those who aid his (cause); for verily Allah is full of Strength, Exalted in Might, (able to enforce His Will).⁹

In this verse, the names of non-Muslim temples were clearly stated and, their protection was recommended. While building of new non-Moslem temple has not been mentioned, there is no restriction for that either.

Besides, there were some special exceptions. The Ottoman government allowed non-Muslims to build churches and synagogues despite the general prohibition.¹⁰ That is, permission for the construction of those buildings was given according to the needs of non-Muslims. For instance, the Jews from Spain and Portugal coming to settle permanently in Salonica had different religious beliefs or sects. According to writings of *Tabrir Defteri* of Salonica *Livasi* dated 1022 A.H. (1613 A.D.), twenty seven Jewish sects were recorded as *Cemaat-i Arogan*, *Cemaat-i Ispanya*, *Cemaat-i Kastilya*, and *Cemaat-i Katalan*, etc. Every community built its own synagogue. When Salonica was conquered, there were only a few synagogues, but by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the number of synagogues had increased to about thirty. Another example was Safed in Palestine. Although there were only three synagogues in the city, at the time of the Ottoman conquest their number had increased to thirty two by the seventeenth century.¹¹

Certainly, similar conditions applied for the Christians, too. After the conquest of Istanbul, the Surp Kevork Church (Sulu Monastery) in Samatya, the Surp Asdvadzadzin Church in Kumkapi, and the Surp Hresdaga Church in Balat which belonged to the Greeks had been given to the Armenians that were brought and settled in Istanbul, and then the Surp Kevork Church has been appropriated as the Armenian Patriarchate. In 1461, Sultan Mehmed II brought Bishop Ovakim from Bursa and declared him as the first Armenian Patriarch in that church. Afterwards this church had been repaired and expanded twice. The first repair was made by Sultan Bayezid II

with a firman dated 1485, and the second was made by Ahmed III with a firman decreed in 1722.¹² Then the Armenian Patriarchate was transferred to the Surp Asdvadzadzin Church in Kumkapi in 1641. After that this church was destroyed by fire or earthquake and was rebuilt in different times with different plans. In the early nineteenth century, according to Cevdet Pasha, the church was described as a huge building. The Kumkapi Armenian Patriarchate was burnt in the famous Istanbul fire that took place on 2 September 1818 (11 Şevval 1235),¹³ and the church was renovated in 1820.¹⁴

Mahmud II made the first attempt to introduce an equal status in social life between the non-Muslim and Muslim communities. For example, Mahmud II gave an indication of his views on the equality of Muslim and non-Muslims and an end to the *millet-i hakime* (dominant nation) status in the following statement attributed to him:

Henceforth, I will recognize to Moslems in mosque, to Christians in church and to Jewish in synagogue. I wish every person to benefit from the same political rights and my protection (himaye-i pederanem) out side their temples.

Apart from worship and temples, Mahmud II allowed the non-Muslim to wear the same clothes as Muslim's and non-Muslim women to wear the same clogs as Muslim women in the baths, and he started to change discriminations against non-Muslims in the Ottoman state.¹⁵

Before the Tanzimat, Mahmud II had established the idea of *Osmanlılık* (Ottoman unity) to make strong friendship between Muslim and non-Muslim communities, and he made considerable progress in changing the comprehension of religion in the Ottoman state. With this application, Mahmud II had been aiming to prevent the rapid disintegration and to end the opposition among the Ottoman minority communities as well as to reinstate close friendship between all levels of society. A writer explained this situation after touring European Turkey in the time of Mahmud II:

I had witnessed putting on kavuk (Ottoman cap) on Greek's head when I was travelling to European Turkey. This may perhaps appear meaningless, but it is not. The distinctive difference between Turkish and Christian is in dress, name and manner of greeting. The dress is important mostly. In this time (1832) unless there is law to dress, it is certain that this differences will be over. I am sure that two nations will join with each other in this position if this joining together is not effect by a foreign force. Some persons that I talked with them

had been telling this joining together. I have remembered to saying of a Christian monastic that if this Sadrazam (Prime Minister) continues ten years more, you are sure that Turkish will make the feast with us and we also will make the bayram (Islamic holy day).

In the same period I had been meeting to senior persons had had the firmans (imperial edict) of permission of construction of the church. As known the cause of developing a grudge of Greek against Turkish is the forbidding of construction of the church of Turkish. As for in these days not only it has been tolerated the prohibitions, Sadrazam but also in personally has been helping by giving of aiding of 80,000 kuruş (Turkish pound)...

A church was finished in 1831 that was built very pretty style. In this time, Turkish had been saying to the Christians citizens as following: “you built the church, if only you would have added four minares...”¹⁶

As seen, Mahmud II was the first padişah who brought into novelty on construction of church and gave even monetary aid for the building of new churches in Ottoman history.

Mahmud II had recognized the Catholic Armenian church as a different religious community on 6 January 1830, and let them set up their Armenian Catholic Patriarchate. During this time, the Catholic Armenians had taken permission to build new churches in some part of Istanbul and the constructions were completed. One of these churches was Galata Catholic Armenian Church that obtained permission in 1830 for construction and was completed in 1834.¹⁷ After that, the construction of four different churches were also completed in various locations of Istanbul like in Ortaköy, Büyükdere, Taksim and Beyoğlu (Sakız Ağacı) in 1839, 1847, 1860 and 1866 respectively.¹⁸

Table 1. Churches Newly Constructed and Repaired (in Istanbul)

Church	Place	Year
Kumkapi Armenian Patriarchate	Istanbul	1820
Galata Catholic Armenian Church	”	1834
Ortaköy Church	”	1839
Büyükdere Church	”	1847
Bulgarian Priest House	”	1849
Beyoğlu Anglican Church	”	1858
Taksim Church	”	1860
Beyoğlu (Sakız Ağacı) Church	”	1866

After starting the new church construction during Mahmud II's reign, it continued during the period of the Tanzimat, too. For example, the permission for building a new Protestant church for English and German subjects living in Jerusalem had been taken by the attempts of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe (Canning), the British ambassador in Istanbul.¹⁹

In 1843, the construction of a new Armenian church was completed in Erzurum. Then the third Armenian church was added to the two Armenian churches that had already been in use in the city. This church was bigger and prettier than that of the previous churches. Its bell tower was even made from carved stone.²⁰

The Bulgarians also wanted to benefit from the empire-wide tolerance for the construction of new churches with the intention of reducing the influence of the Fener Greek Patriarchate. As the first step to establish the Bulgarian National Church, the Bulgarian Priest House was built in Fener by the permission of the *Bâbüâli* (Sublime Porte) in 1849.²¹

The concept of solidarity and unity for the collective motherland idea had been started by Mahmud II and continued with intensified emphasis by the Tanzimat authorities. In this period, the number of churches was increased, and so many permissions for orphanages and schools were given to the non-Muslim subjects.²² In this period, the equality reforms had been progressed further by the *Islahat Ferman* (reform firman). The construction of non-Muslim temples which was provided for by special firmans partially affected the solidarity in the periods of Mahmud II and the Tanzimat. The *Islahat Ferman* had increased general freedom in the state. But the expectations for unity were not fully achieved. Unfortunately, as Urquhart related, foreign interference had always become effective on the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottomans. Meanwhile, the effect of national movements in the nineteenth century must not be forgotten.

In the *Islahat Ferman*, repairing of temples, hospitals, schools and cemeteries of non-Muslim had been allowed while new construction of these things was possible by the permission of the sultan.²³ In the firman, in spite of the general freedom for the renovation of churches, schools and so on, according to the Ottoman archival documents, all repair activities were made by the permission of the government.²⁴

The non-Muslim subjects were encouraged by the rights provided in the firman and started rapidly to construct new churches. After the declaration of the *Islahat Ferman*, as the Ottoman archive documents indicated the non-Muslim subjects started to campaign to take advantage of the situation and sought permission for the construction of new churches and renovation of old churches. The

ruined churches were rebuilt, and in some places where there had not been any church formerly or not enough, new churches were built. As made clear in the firman, the application of permission for churches, with some exceptions, had been made by the Patriarchate. About the constructions, the Ottoman government had applied the same procedure both for the repair and new construction of churches. The only consideration to gain permission for temples was its necessity for the community.

Table 2. Churches Newly Constructed after 1858 (in the Region)

Church	Place	Year	Length (m)	Width (m)	Height (m)	Square (m ²)
Armenian Church	Erzurum	1843				
Latin Church	Erzurum	1856				
Satariye Church (Akçaabat)	Trabzon	1857	38	22	16	836
Arğaliye Church (Akçaabat)	Trabzon	1857	34	19	15	646
Kirobi Church (Vakfisağır)	Trabzon	1857	34	19	19	646
Anıfa Church (Vakfisağır)	Trabzon	1857	38	22	19	836
Arfan Church	Erzincan	1858	24	13	14	312
Yenice Church	Harput (Elazığ)	1858	15	14	9	210
Şepeşpik Church (Çarşancak)	Harput (Elazığ)	1858	15	11	10	165
Çukurdere Church	Malatya	1858	30	19	13	570
Çömlekçi Church	Çorum	1858	19	11	9	209
Adapazarı Church	Adapazarı	1858	49	19	9	931
Timurtaş Church	Edirne	1858	22	11	10	242
Samarokos Church (Vakfisağır)	Trabzon	1858	22	15	11	330
Kumyalı Church	Giresun	1858	22	12	9	264
Protestant Church	Maraş	1858	22	26	11	572
Akşehir Church	Konya	1859	28	22	15	616
Tıfanc Church	Erzurum	1859	19	11	9	209
Zitahuh Church	Erzurum	1859	30	19	11	570
Devrek Church	Bolu	1859				
Antep Church	Antep	1860				
Kilis Church	Kilis	1860				
Sovuhçermik Church	Erzurum	1860	19	13	9	247

Table 3. Churches Repaired after 1856

Churce	Place	Year
Zimar Church	Divriği, Sivas	1858
Pazarpon Church	Çemişgezek, Harput	1858
Hazarı Church	Çemişgezek, Harput	1858
Sakaret Church	Palu, Harput	1858
Hekimhan Church	Harput	1858
Zan Church	Erzincan	1858
Various Churches	Trabzon	1858
Pazarköy Church	İzmit	1858
Various Churches	Halep	1858
Meryemana (Virgin Mary) Church	Mancusun, Kayseri	1860

In 1857, permissions for the construction of Armenian churches were given for four different places in Trabzon province by the same *irâde* (imperial edict). The written permission for the construction of four churches was sealed by the stamp of Armenian Patriarchate which read *Millet-i Meclis-i Ermeniyan* and in another stamp the phrase ‘*Haşa Bende Ağob Bokos Patrik-i Ermeniyan Istanbul ve Tavabiha*’ was inscribed.²⁵

One of the permissions was for a church in the Koz quarter of Satari²⁶ village of Akchaabat kaza of Trabzon province. Because there was no church in Koz quarter for the Armenian people to worship. The permission was given to build a new church.

In Trabzon province, a second church was built in Kirobi village of Vakfisağır kaza where the church had been ruined. The third church was in Arğaliye village of Akchaabat kaza where the existing church was ruined. A fourth was built in Anifa²⁷ village of Vakfisağır. There was no church in Anifa at that time, and this church was built in the Armenian graveyard.²⁸

In Harput and Erzincan, the construction of two churches had been authorized by an *irâde* issued on 28 March 1858.²⁹ In Yenice village in the vicinity of Harput permission was given to build a church for the Armenians who did not have a church. For Yenice church, two times permission had been asked, and the permission was granted by two different *irâdes*, on 24 December 1857³⁰, and on 28 March 1858.

On 28 July 1858, a lot of permissions were given by an *irâde* for the new construction or restoration of old churches and building of schools in various provinces of the empire such as Sivas, Harput, Erzurum, Halep, Trabzon, Ankara, Adapazarı and Edirne. Permission for repair a number of ruined churches was also granted in various locations of empire like in Zimar village of Divriği kaza in Sivas province, in Pazarpon and Hazarı villages of Chemishgezek kaza, in Sakaret village of Palu kaza and in Hekimhan kaza in Harput

province, in Zan village of Erzincan in Erzurum province, in Gürlezemi village of Pazarköy of Izmit, in Halep province and in various parts of Trabzon province.³¹ In spite of the Islahat Ferman which given general authorisation for the repair of churches, permissions were still granted with a written document by the government.

With this irâde the building of new churches were also permitted in various provinces of empire. For example, there was no church for Armenians in the locations like Shepeshpik village in Malatya, Harput, Amasya, Timurtash in Edirne, Samarokos village of Vakfisağır in Trabzon province. The building of an Armenian school was also permitted by the same irâde in Ichme village of Harput province.³²

The building of new churches had been permitted in various places, some of which had no church and some of which had been ruined. One of these was Shepeshpik village of Charshancak kaza in Harput where there was no church to worship for Armenian subjects. There was no church for the Armenian people in the Chukurdere quarter of Malatya of Harput province, and permission was given for the building of a new church. There was no church for the Armenian people in the Chömlekchi quarter of Chorum kaza of Amasya sancak and the permission was given for the building of a new church. In Adapazarı kaza of Kocaeli sancak, the Armenians had a church, and it was not enough for the community so construction of new church was permitted. In Timurtash village of Edirne province building a new church was permitted for Armenian people who did not have a church. In Saraylar quarter of Samarokos village of Vakfisağır kaza of Trabzon province, permission for building of a new church was given in the Armenian cemetery for Armenian people that did not have a church.

The number of permissions given by this irâde were nineteen, some of them were for the restoration of churches and some were for new church buildings while one of them was for the building of an Armenian school.

In Giresun city, building of a new church has been permitted by an irâde dated 10 March 1858 to the Armenian people who did not have a church in which to worship. At first, the Armenian people wanted to worship inside the Armenian school and a permission was given to worship inside a room of the Armenian school. But later this room became insufficient for their ceremony. Therefore the Armenian community wanted to build a new church on a vacant space near to the Armenian school in Giresun. Then the Armenian community got a license from the Ottoman government to build a new church.³³

The Armenian people did not have a church for worship in Akshehir kaza of Konya province. On 19 April 1859, the permission for the construction of a new church was granted by an irâde of the sultan, and the church was built in Seydi quarter of Akshehir.³⁴ In Tifanc³⁵ and Zitahuh³⁶ villages of Erzurum the Armenian people had churches but they were ruined. Restoration of these churches had been permitted on 8 September 1859.³⁷

On 27 February 1860, the construction of two new churches had been permitted by an irâde of the sultan for the Armenians in Sovuhchermik³⁸ village in Erzurum and in Mancusu³⁹ village in Kayseri.⁴⁰ In Sovuhchermik village, there was no church for Armenians to worship so the permission was given to build a new church. In Mancusu village, the Meryemana (the Virgin Mary) church had been ruined, and the permission for building of a new church instead of restoration was asked by Armenian Patriarch. But, only the repair license for the Meryemana church was issued by the government.

The construction of new church in place of the previously ruined church was permitted by the government in 1859 for Armenians in Devrek village of Bolu. Before starting the construction which was in preparation stage, some Muslims applied to Müfti for cancellation of the permission, and also some Muslims raided the church and the Armenian school, and they blocked the construction. Armenians applied to the local government to have security, and the construction continued. For this matter, a direction had been sent to Bolu *Mutasarrıflığı* (sub-governorship) by the Sublime Porte on 24 August 1859.⁴¹

With the declaration of Islahat Ferman the construction of churches had been promoted, nevertheless the differences between the big and small sects (*madhab*) of the Christians were causing some problems among the Christian community itself, and the sectarian problems had also been resolved. For example, the small Christian sects had not been paid much attention by the Ottoman government, and it became a big controversy among themselves. Henceforth, every Christian sect was taken into account and treated equally by the Ottoman state.⁴² This status had a great service to the Protestant sects that had been protected by British government.

By this section of Islahat Ferman the equality of among the Christian sects had been guaranteed, the conversion rights between the sects for Christians had been also allowed, and forcing converted Christians to return to their previous sects was forbidden. This section was one of the successes of the British government which had facilitated the business of British missionaries who had been working to spread their belief throughout the Ottoman territories. So the Protestants who had been expelled from their church and had a

difficulty to conduct their religious ceremony got permission to build their own churches freely.

After that, the foundations of an Anglican church was laid on the land given by the sultan to the memory of soldiers who died in the Crimean War by the attempts of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe on 19 October 1858.⁴³ The British government sent an appreciation letter to the sultan for allocating the land for the church on 26 June 1858.⁴⁴

In Marash, the Armenians who changed their sect to Protestant had been given permission to build their own church by the irâde of sultan on 22 November 1858.⁴⁵ The number of Armenians who had changed their own sect to Protestant was increasing day by day. According to their own declaration, at that time the number of Protestant Armenians in Marash had reached 300-500 people. The measurements of this church were 22 meters in length, 26 meters in width and 11 meters in height. Approximately, the size of this church was 572 square meters.⁴⁶

In this region, other than Marash, three more churches had been built without any obstruction or opposition in Antep, Kesab and Kilis. On 4 August 1860, Skene the British consul in Aleppo reported that the Christians of this region were not permitted by the Muslims who reacted verbally to the construction of these churches and to the religious ceremonies of the Christians.⁴⁷

Not only did the Christian subjects of the Ottoman state construct their own churches, but the Christian missionaries who were loyal to France and Great Britain also constructed some churches in the Ottoman Empire with the supports or aid of these states. The target people for these missionaries were the Armenian community in Anatolia. As mentioned above, the Protestant church of Marash had been constructed by the patronage of the British while the Latin church was constructed by the protection of France on the other side of the country, at Erzurum.

The construction of a new church under the control of Latin priests had been permitted in Erzurum by the irâde of sultan dated 12 December 1856.⁴⁸ Later on, a priest cabin and a classroom for the education of pupils had been added to this church again by the permission of irâde of sultan on 7 July 1857.⁴⁹

Despite the religious freedoms in the Ottoman state, there were some prohibitions on the religious ceremonies. The most important of these restrictions was the prohibition of ringing the bell. Additionally, praying outside of church or synagogue was also prohibited.⁵⁰

In the Islahat Ferman, however some progress was also made on this subject. If the other non-Muslim communities did not object, they could also have the right to worship publicly sing their hymns loudly.⁵¹ The ringing of wooden bells had also been permitted in the

churches.⁵² However, ringing the bell had been protested by the Muslim communities in some localities.⁵³

Conclusions

In the classical age, in general, the Ottoman state had forbidden construction of new churches in line with the application of former Islamic states. However, the Ottoman state had not maintained this prohibition strictly and gave some permissions for the construction of non-Muslim temples. The Jewish synagogues in Salonica were the temples founded in the classical age of the Ottoman Empire. In practice, the general prohibition had been loosened to some extent by Mahmud II. As mentioned in the Koran all temples are Allah's house, and they are thus all protected. As could be understood from this verse, there is no explicit prohibition in the Islamic fundamental law on this subject. Mahmud II benefited from the position of ambiguous prohibitions in Islamic law and tolerated the construction of non-Muslim temples. With the announcing of the Tanzimat firman, the liberties had been broadened but on this issue, the main progress was made by Islahat Ferman. After the Islahat Ferman, Armenians, Greeks, Protestants, Catholics and other non-Muslims communities had started to construct temples at a rapid pace due to the needs that had accumulated over years. Countless permissions for the construction of churches had been granted and the churches were completed. The completion of these churches could be verified by the reports of the British consulates, various memoirs and the ruins of these churches in Anatolia. For example, in Erzurum district, these churches and their ruins are being seen even now. The destruction activities on these churches have also been verified by the people who lived in those districts. Every matter for the churches had been registered to the church notebooks since 1869, and the number of these notebooks totals ten.⁵⁴

Notes

¹ Yavuz Ercan, *Osmanlı Yönetiminde Gayrimüslimler: Kuruluştan Tanzimat'a Kadar Sosyal, Ekonomik ve Hukuki Durumları* (Ankara, 2001), 131.

² J.H.Kramers, 'Nasara', *Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (İ.A.)*, Vol. 9, 82.

³ Ercan, *Osmanlı Yönetiminde*, 229.

⁴ Yavuz Ercan, *Kudüs Ermeni Patrikhanesi* (Ankara, 1988), 15; *Osmanlı Yönetiminde*, 173-4.

⁵ Ercan, *Osmanlı Yönetiminde*, 239-241.

- ⁶ Yavuz Ercan, "Türkiye'de XV. ve XVI. yüzyıllarda Gayrimüslimlerin Hukuki, İctimai ve İktisadi Durumu", *Bellekten*, XLVII, 188, (Ekim 1983), 1123.
- ⁷ Elmalılı M.Hamdi Yazır, *Hak Dini Kur'an Dili*, Vol. I (İstanbul, 1992), 390.
- ⁸ Ibid. 391.
- ⁹ Ibid. 491.
- ¹⁰ Osman Nuri (Ergin), *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*, Vol. I (İstanbul, 1922), 217.
- ¹¹ Ahmet Hikmet Eroğlu, *Osmanlı Devletinde Yahudiler (XIX. Yüzyılın Sonuna Kadar)* (Ankara, 2000), 20.
- ¹² Y.G.Çark, *Türk Devleti Hizmetinde Ermeniler (1453-1953)* (İstanbul, 1953), 8-9.
- ¹³ Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Vol. XI, *Dersaadet*, 1301, 50.
- ¹⁴ Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Vol. XI, 79.
- ¹⁵ Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, "Tanzimatta İctimai Hayat", *Tanzimat-ı* (Ankara, 1940), Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 629-30.
- ¹⁶ David Urquhart, *Turkey and its resources* (London, 1833), 34.
- ¹⁷ Ahmed Lütfi Efendi, *Vak'anüvis Ahmed Lütfi Efendi Tarihi*, Vol. 2-3 (İstanbul, 1999), 456; Çark, *Türk devleti*, 87.
- ¹⁸ Çark, *Türk devleti*, 87.
- ¹⁹ Stanley Lane Poole, *Lord Stratford Canning'in Türkiye Anıları*, Trans. by Can Yücel, (Ankara, 1988), 88.
- ²⁰ Robert Curzon, *Armenia: A Year at Erzeroum on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey and Persia* (London, 1853), 40.
- ²¹ Mahir Aydın, *Şarkî Rumeli Vilâyeti* (Ankara, 1992), 5.
- ²² İlber Ortaylı, "Tanzimat Döneminde Tanassur ve Din Değişirme Olayları", *Tanzimat'ın 150. Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu (Ankara 31 Ekim-3 Kasım 1989)*, (Ankara 1994), 481.
- ²³ "İslâhât Fermân-i Âlisi", *Düstür, Cild-i Evvel* (Matbaa-i Âmire, 1289), 7-14; Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. V (Ankara, 1983), 260.
- ²⁴ There are numbers of documents concerning this subject, e.g: BOA, İrâde Hariciye, No.7964, 21 Aralık 1857 (3 Cemâziyelevvel 1274); BOA, İrâde Hariciye, No.8137, 27 Mart 1858 (11 Şaban 1274); BOA, İrâde Hariciye, No.8244, 25 Mayıs 1858 (12 Şevval 1274).
- ²⁵ BOA, İrâde Hariciye, No.7950, 26 Rebiyülâhîr 1274 (14 December 1857).
- ²⁶ The name of Satariye is now Kaleönü village.
- ²⁷ The present name of Anifa is Akoluk in Çağlayan. Bilge Umar, *Türkiye'deki Tabrihsel Adlar* (İstanbul, 1993), 73.
- ²⁸ BOA, İrâde Hariciye, No.7950
- ²⁹ BOA, İrâde Hariciye, No.8137, 28 March 1858 (12 Şaban 1274).
- ³⁰ BOA, İrâde Hariciye, No.8076.
- ³¹ BOA, İrâde Hariciye, No.8373, 28 July 1858 (16 Zilhicce 1274).
- ³² BOA, İrâde Hariciye, No.8373.
- ³³ BOA, İrâde Hariciye, No.7881, 10 March 1858 (24 Receb 1274).
- ³⁴ BOA, İrâde Hariciye, No.8935, 19 April 1859 (16 Ramazan 1275).
- ³⁵ Called Tufanç by people, new name of this village is Güzelova.
- ³⁶ Called Sitahuh by people, new name of this village is Yolgeçti.
- ³⁷ BOA, İrâde Hariciye, No.9232, 8 September 1859 (10 Safer 1276).
- ³⁸ Called Soğuk-çermik by people, new name of this village is Soğucak.
- ³⁹ New name of this village is Güneşli (Suny).
- ⁴⁰ BOA, İrâde Hariciye, No.9513, 27 February 1860 (5 Şaban 1276).
- ⁴¹ *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermeniler*, Vol. I (1691-1870), (İstanbul, 1987), No.146, 312-14.
- ⁴² *Düstür, Birinci Tertib*, Vol. I, 10.
- ⁴³ Poole, *Lord Stratford Canning'in*, 172.
- ⁴⁴ BOA, İrâde Hariciye, No.8332, 9 July 1858 (27 Zilkade 1274).

⁴⁵ BOA, *İrade Hariciye*, No.8662, 22 November 1858 (15 Rebiülevvel 1275).

⁴⁶ BOA, *İrade Hariciye*, No.8662.

⁴⁷ Bilal Şimşir, *British Documents on Ottoman Armenians, V.I*, (Ankara, 1989), 27.

⁴⁸ BOA, *İrade Hariciye*, No.7175.

⁴⁹ BOA, *İrade Hariciye*, No7600.

⁵⁰ Ercan, 241.

⁵¹ *Düstür*, Vol. I, 7-14.

⁵² BOA,AMD, No.78/35.

⁵³ BOA,MKT.MVL, No.113/42.

⁵⁴ BOA, *Kilise Defterleri*, No.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and the numbers 8,9 and 10 of these notebooks were registered in the name of *Kamame*.