Three Greek Orthodox Churches from Kayseri, Turkey, and the Ethnic Composition of Ottoman Society

by

GONCA BUYUKMIHCI, ZUHAL OZCAN *and* HALE KOZLU

This article discusses the origins and characteristics of the Greek Orthodox churches of Asia Minor in the context of ethnic diversity. It is customary to call Asia Minor or Anatolia the 'cradle of civilisations'. Although this may seem exaggerated, the existence of three empires – the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman – make it special, at least in the field of architecture. The case study area is the city of Kayseri in Central Anatolia. In antiquity this was Caesarea, the capital of Cappadocia region, which played an important role in Christianity during the Roman period. Although it is known that the origins of its underground settlements are earlier, the volcanic tufa structure of the region assisted the creation of secret holy places and the dwellings of early Christians. During the Byzantine Empire, Kayseri was a religious centre and owing to the ethnic composition of the Ottoman Empire this continued until the twentieth century without interruption. Among the three sample churches examined, the one in Zincidere-Kayseri was constructed over an earlier underground church. The attitudes of the Ottoman Sultanate and its approach to church architecture can be seen in the evolution of the construction and decorative details. Within this context the local ethnic composition of Ottoman society is examined, giving insights into the believers in two international religions.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF OTTOMAN SOCIETY

Anatolia has been home to various civilisations since prehistory. Four great empires have passed, starting with the Hittites in 1600 BC,[1] the Roman and Byzantine Empires, beginning in the first century until 1453, and the Ottoman Empire up to 1918. All have left important traces in many areas, notably on the built environment, as well as the administrative structure and social life. It is obvious that every civilisation inherits from the previous and reshapes this with the technology and economy of its day, as well

Gonca Buyukmihci, Zuhal Ozcan and Hale Kozlu are academics of Erciyes University, Faculty of Architecture, Kayseri, Turkey.

as their view of the world. Subconsciously, a civilisation may prepare to pass its values down to future generations. In addition, Anatolia and Eastern Thrace, currently within the political boundaries of the Turkish Republic, has also been a land of conquerors and trespassers for centuries. Moreover, contemporary society in this area shows the legacy of this long history. Thus the Ottoman Empire is a good example to display the continuity of culture through time.

Constantinople, now Istanbul (and known as 'Stinpoli' by its Roman and Byzantine citizens), was conquered by the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II in 1453.[2] Historians of the Byzantine period claim that the city had already been abandoned well before the conquest.[3] It is known that the Sultan was urged to order his followers to return to the city. Furthermore, a large number of families were forced to move to Stinpoli to revitalise the city. These included Moslems and non-Moslems mainly from western and northern Anatolia. The conquered and the conquerors tried to create a new society in Ottoman Istanbul. The new empire accepted many aspects of the previous regime, in administrative, military, legal and commercial arrangements.[4] This example is a small indication of what had been happening elsewhere in Anatolia, at least between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. The Turkoman tribes invading Anatolia via the Caucasus and Persia chose to settle around the existing cities.[5] The leading characters were the Sufi dervishes, the scholars of their day and also skilled artisans and farmers. They acted as Islamic missionaries, ready to help the natives to solve their economic, educational and health problems. Their aim was to persuade the Anatolians to accept Islam without force, in deference to Qur'anic verses. The newcomers were successful, because the Islamisation of Anatolia was realised in almost two centuries, but the believers of different religions and sects were free to pursue their own way of life and worship.

It is known that even during the Roman and Byzantine periods, Jews, known as the 'Romaniot',[6] were living in Anatolia. During the Byzantine period Anatolia was the birth place of Orthodox Christianity. The Ottoman Empire was therefore a heterogeneous society, comprising the Turcoman Moslems, the Orthodox Christians (named the 'Rum', meaning the Romans) and the Jews. Anatolia has been an agglomeration of different ethnic groups and religions. The Gregorian and Catholic Armenians, the Yezidi, the so called Satanist 'Melek Tavus' believers, the Zoroastrians, the Nestorian Christians, and the Suryani (Syrian Christians) can be counted among the others.[7] Another interesting group is the Christian Turcomans known as the 'Karamanli'.[8] The official Turkish records claim that the Turcomans invaded Anatolia in the last quarter of the eleventh century, but researchers believe that a group of Turcomans who had already accepted Christianity in Central Asia, moved to Anatolia at the beginning of the eleventh century, and some others converted to Christianity after their immigration. Even a minority of Europeans, basically Venetians, Genoans and, later during the seventeenth century, French and English composed a part of this society, grouped together as the 'Levantine'. And one last interesting group may be added, as a number of Crusaders in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries settled around the present Syrian border.

This is a very long historical adventure and since the case-study relates directly to nineteenth-century Ottoman society, only the sixteenth to nineteenth century social composition and its impact on the physical environment will be described below.

THE SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL COMPOSITION OF CITIES DURING THE SIXTEENTH TO NINETEENTH CENTURIES

The two basic factors determining the location of Ottoman Anatolian settlements were geography and climate. The fertile agricultural land was most important because it provided a good living. Therefore, the buildings were located on the slopes which helped to give everyone adequate ventilation, sunlight and also a view.[9] The result was an organic pattern of settlement growth. As for the social composition, each settlement was comprised of various ethnic groups. Generally, economic and social situations or religious differences were not taken into consideration. Moslems and non-Moslems might have different neighbourhoods within the city, but they could also share the same district without consideration of their differing religious, economic or social status. Initially, different believers were grouped around their particular holy buildings, but as the population increased mixed societies developed over time.

The organic settlement pattern described above applied to all Anatolian cities until the second half of the nineteenth century. The first attempts at organised planning began at that time, resulting from changing means of transport and the urgent need for accommodation to house immigrants from the regions where Ottoman dominion had ceased. Consequently, the organic pattern gave way to the grid-iron scheme.

Although formal planning did not commence until the mid-nineteenth century, the building regulations of earlier in the Ottoman period should be mentioned. For example, under the 1724 edict of Sultan Ahmed III the houses of non-Moslems could not be built higher than those of the Moslems. During the reign of Sultan Selim III (1789-1808) Christians and Jews could not use the same building heights, decoration or materials as the Moslems for the construction of their dwellings. (Before 1839 they were also forbidden to carry weapons or ride horses in the cities.)[10] Restrictions on the construction of religious buildings by non-Moslems included the prohibition of new materials and extravagant size, although interior decoration was unregulated. Permission for the construction of completely new churches with new materials was given after the 1839 Arrangement Edict (by Firman of Tanzimat).[11] Generally, churches with domes were constructed after 1856, still to a modest scale at the beginning.

KAYSERI IN HISTORY

The history of Kayseri began in the Bronze Age and it survived as a trading centre for centuries. The Hittite, Tabal, Assyrian, Phyrigian and Mediterranean civilisations have all occupied the city and it was known as 'Mazaka' after the Persian invasion around 600 BC.[12] The city was conquered by Alexander the Great in 334 BC and after his death became the capital of the Cappadocian Kingdom with the name Eusebeia.[13] Caesarea was among the leading settlements at the rise of Christianity during the last centuries of the Roman Empire. After the separation in 395, the city became part of the Eastern Roman Empire. The Byzantine city was conquered by the Turks after 1071. As is the case for nearly all the Anatolian settlements, Ottoman reign followed the Seljuk dynasty.

Kayseri, being at the junction of military and trade routes of central Anatolia, became an important commercial centre.[14] Geographically it was established at a strategic point connecting western Anatolia to Mesopotamia, acting as a gateway. Demographically,

it also became a religious centre for the Greeks and Armenians.[15] These two factors influenced the physical structure of the city and gave it a leading role in the development of its hinterland.

KAYSERI AS A SPRITUAL CENTRE

Kayseri, at the beginning of the third century under the sovereignty of the Roman Empire, was one of the most important religious and theological centres of Christianity. Bishop Basilius (Basil the Great) of Kayseri, born to a local noble family, was instrumental in the introduction of Christianity. Later canonised as a saint, he made great efforts to settle the rules of the ecclesiastical establishment. During the fourth century, he was the donor of the site of the patriarchy in Kayseri, which comprised a church, library, guesthouse, hospital, etc.[16]

Haghios Gregorius (Gregory), living around the end of third century and the beginning of the fourth, was the son of a Persian prince, grew up in Kayseri and attained the rank of Katholikos in the Armenian Church. He converted the Armenian King Fridates and his followers to Christianity in 302.[17] Thus, both the Armenian and Greek Patriarchs were in Kayseri.[18] Considerably later, another important religious leader of the region was Father Eftim during the nineteenth century.

THE LEGAL RIGHTS OF ETHNIC GROUPS

Every non-Moslem group which was accepted as a religious group or a nationality under the Ottoman system of law was permitted to follow its own social rules within its own society, but had to accept the rules of Islamic law in general administration. This system allowed individuals to maintain their own social and religious life. Their leaders held official status under the Sultan which permitted them to represent their groups. They were authorised to rule on matters such as marriage, divorce, dowries, alimony, inheritance and wills. Disputes were resolved in the Episcopal Courts. The Patriarchy had the right to impose punishments, except the death penalty.[19] The state accepted these decisions and carried out the sentences. Members of these groups were also free to ask for a judgement by the 'Kadi', an Ottoman official appointed by the Sultanate.[20]

During the nineteenth century in Kayseri, each group was free to follow its own religious ceremonies and practices. Their places of worship had been granted immunity by imperial edicts and they were permitted their own administrations. The Patriarchs had only to collect annual taxes from their own followers. However, it should be noted that, despite this tolerant approach, between the conquest of Istanbul until the 1839 Arrangement Edict, permits for the construction of new churches were rarely given and for the restoration of old buildings, the consent of the Sultan was required. On the other hand, in small remote villages people had the right to appoint a priest, even though there may have been no church.[21]

As the various ethnic minorities became more influential in the economy and politics, the urban pattern began to change. Ramsey, visiting Anatolia at the end of the nineteenth century noted that Armenian and Greek villages had prospered with well-built, rich and orderly houses. Christian society, prosperous from international commerce, was rich enough to provide education and buildings, while Moslem villages were in deep poverty

and in ruins.[22] This situation was exactly the reverse of what Greffith had observed a century before.[23] This explains why the prosperous dwellings of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth centuries belonged to Moslems, while the houses built in the second half of the nineteenth century were owned by non-Moslems. Despite these changes, the use of Turkish, alongside native tongues, was a natural part of daily life. Oberhummer and Zimmerer (1899) described that, during a Sunday service, the Armenian Protestant priest of Talas (a small village near Kayseri) gave a long sermon in Turkish.[24]

SOCIAL LIFE IN KAYSERI AND THE RIGHTS OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS

Community spirit in nineteenth-century Kayseri was important and dependent upon tolerance and understanding with good neighbourly relations. Whatever their origins, births, deaths, marriages and religious festivals were important activities connecting the people. Both the Moslems and non-Moslems shared the same public spaces, such as bazaars, hammams (Turkish baths), bakeries, etc., as well as similar cultural and social events. Children of the same age played together without regard to religious or nationalistic differences. The priests or the imams were not only leaders in their churches or mosques, but also were responsible for the districts around these holy buildings. These men were the official representatives of the Empire in all aspects, even responsible for the maintenance of the neighbourhood. After 1839, although a special official was assigned for such jobs, the priests and imams were still in overall control.[25]

GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCHS IN THE SUBURBS OF KAYSERI

Kayseri, as mentioned above, was the main trading centre of Central Anatolia, with its own suburban settlements. The communities around the inner city acted as discreet units with their own religious, industrial, communal and social buildings, but were connected to the main trading zone in the centre of Kayseri. These small settlements were dominated by their churches and mosques.

Only the churches are described in this article. The Christian churches of Kayseri served Orthodox, Gregorian and Catholic denominations, dependent on the dominant society in each settlement. Kayabağ (Darsiyak),[26] Zincidere and Talas Greek Orthodox churches will be examined here in detail. These three churches share the same basic plan form – a three-aisled basilica. This was a very common scheme for Greek society in the Ottoman period.

KAYABAG (DARSIYAK) CHURCH

The church at Darsiyak, recently known as 'Yanartaş' Church, although its original name is not known, is a rare survivor that has retained its original architectural and decorative details (Figs 1 and 2). Yanartaş Church was part of a monastery complex and orphanage[27] and is located on the outskirts of the settlement. Unfortunately, the other buildings of the complex have not survived, as it lost its congregation after the 1923 Exchange Convention between the Greeks and the Turks.

The entrance to the church is through a narthex of three compartments. It has six columns with semi-circular arches. The interior is comprised of a nave with flanking aisles, the centre being the main ritual area (Figs 3 and 4). The nave and aisles are

Fig. 1
Yanartas Church, front elevation, showing the narthex

Fig. 2
Yanartas Church from the south-east

divided by columns, three on each side. They end in three semi-circular apses of the same relative width and height. The three apses appear to be the same height from the exterior, but the central apse is higher in order to allow in light and there are two voids over the side apses to fill the spaces (Fig. 2). The centre of the nave was surmounted by a dome standing on four decorated pendentives, but this has been destroyed.

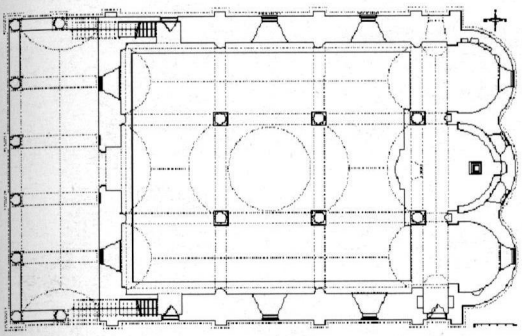

Fig. 3
Yanarta Church, ground plan

Until the second half the nineteenth century, women were not allowed to pray together with the men, as still applies in Islam. Therefore, there is a gynoecium (women's gallery) over the narthex reached by two stairs against the outside walls (Fig. 5).

Fig. 4
Yanartas Church, the nave

Fig. 5
Yanartas Church, women's gallery over the narthex

There are two tiers of rectangular windows with stone moulding in the side walls. The iron bars of the lower windows still exist, but all the timber parts have been lost. There are single windows with blind arches over the apses. The nave is also illuminated by two elliptical windows, which is a local peculiarity, one before the main apse and the other located over the entrance door lighting the women's gallery. Thus, daylight emphasises the axiality of the interior space (Figs 4 and 5). Because the dome has been demolished, the form and number of its openings are unknown. A comparison with the Zincidere and Talas churches is not possible as their domes differ in shape and composition.

The church is constructed in load-bearing masonry and built with local volcanic tufa. Apart from the dome, the columns carry inter-connected barrel vaults. The church is covered with a hipped roof made of stone slabs in the form of very large Turkish tiles (Fig. 6). No special decorative elements can be detected on the exterior. However, the church has a highly decorated interior with wall-paintings of religious subjects. On the four pendentives carrying the dome are the four Evangelists: Luke with the ox, John with the eagle, Mark with the lion and Matthew with the Angel. Of these, the painting of Luke is well-preserved, while the others have been damaged, but still provide clues

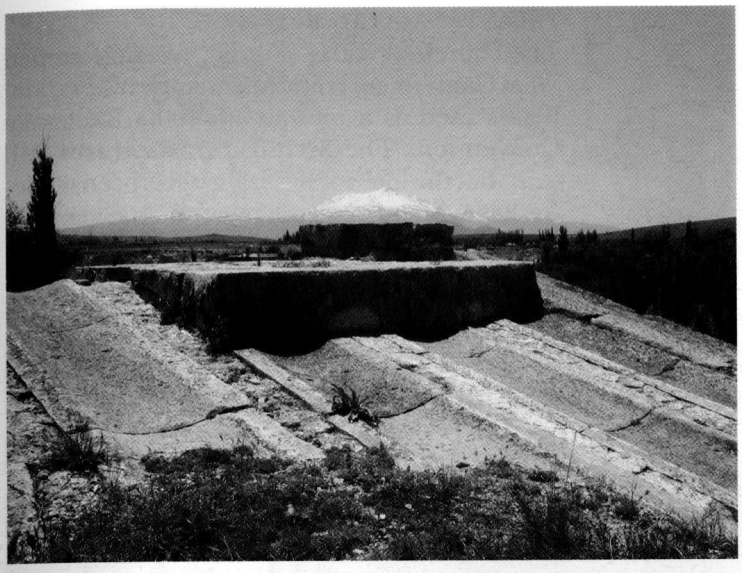

Fig. 6
Yanartas Church, roof

Fig. 7
Yanartas Church, inscription on the dome

to their identities. On the drum below the dome, is the Crucifixion of Christ with the Virgin Mary and St John. On each side of the elliptical window over the main apse are Archangels: on the left is Michael in the uniform of a soldier, and on the right is Gabriel shown in Empire costume. An inscription in Greek is written below the drum. The words 'Lord [please] strengthen and support the church of [your] believers' can still be read (Fig. 7).

Fig. 8
Talas Panayia Church narthex

TALAS PANAIA CHURCH

The church at Talas (Fig. 9), recently named 'Yeni Cami', is currently undergoing restoration. It was used as a mosque after the Exchange Convention. The architectural features still exist, but the interior decoration has been white-washed with scripts from the Qur'anic verses in deference to Islamic beliefs.

Fig. 9
Talas Panayia Church

The building is located on the lower slopes of a hill and there is an entrance courtyard in front. The narthex has three compartments (Figs 8, 10 and 11) and the two sides are enclosed to house stone staircases leading to the women's gallery (Figs 12 and 14). The church has a Greek-cross plan, but still retains the characteristics of a basilica (Figs 13 and 14). The aisles end in semi-circular arched apses, while the nave ends in a segmental apse. Four columns carry the central dome with pendentives at each corner.

The sizes of the apses are dependent on the width of the nave and aisles, but again this cannot be detected from the exterior. The central apse, which is higher than the others, has been blocked by a

Fig. 10
Talas Panayia Church cross-section showing the entrance and women's gallery
Archives of Erciyes University Faculty of Architecture, Restoration Section

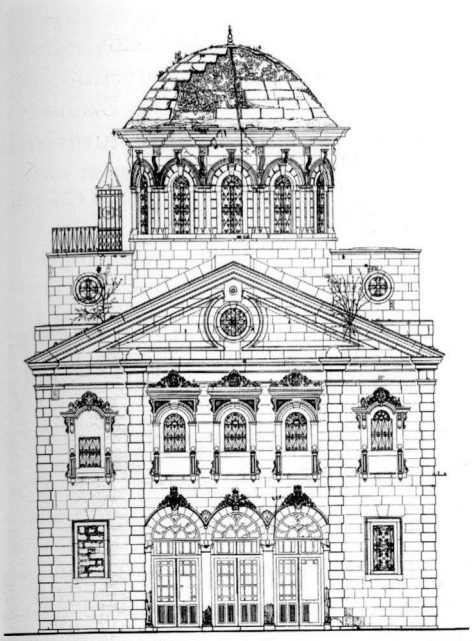

Fig. 11
Talas Panayia Church front elevation
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Fig.12
Talas Panayia Church women's gallery

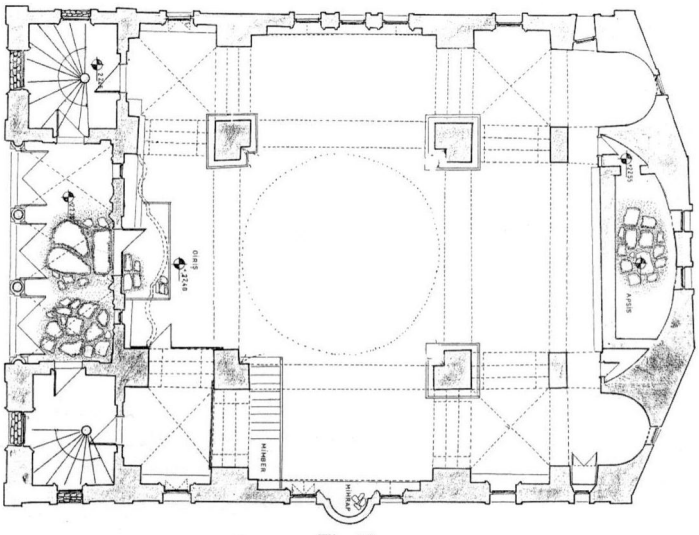

Fig.13
Talas Panayia Church ground plan
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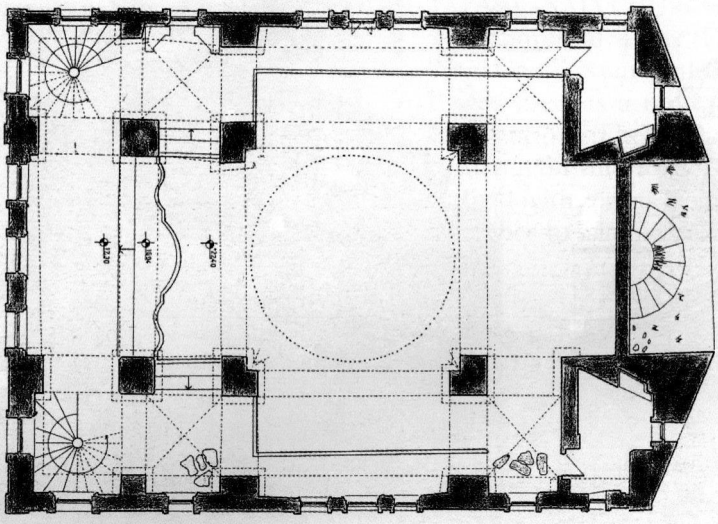

Fig.14
Talas Panayia Church
first floor plan
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wall, but may still be entered through a small opening (Figs 13 and 15). To allow in light, the central apse is lower than the sides and the nave vault is higher than the aisles. Four cross vaults and four barrel vaults cover the remainder. The women's gallery is exactly the same as at Darsiyak Yanartaş Church.

The dome is raised over a high drum, indicating that it was constructed after the 1839 Arrangement Edict (Fig. 16). Another clue to the date of construction is the exterior decoration, which shows baroque influences, pointing to the close foreign mercantile connections of Christian society at the end of the nineteenth century (Fig.17). The windows are in two tiers with stone mouldings, some in Baroque style. The elliptical windows have given way to circular ones. Twelve windows in the dome drum illuminate the central space below.

The church has been constructed in load-bearing masonry of local volcanic tufa. The hipped roof is covered with flat rectangular stone slabs. The façade, the dome drum and the window surrounds are highly decorated with floral patterns, as are the iron bars of the windows.

Fig.15
Talas Panayia Church, main apse

Fig.16
Talas Panayia Church, dome

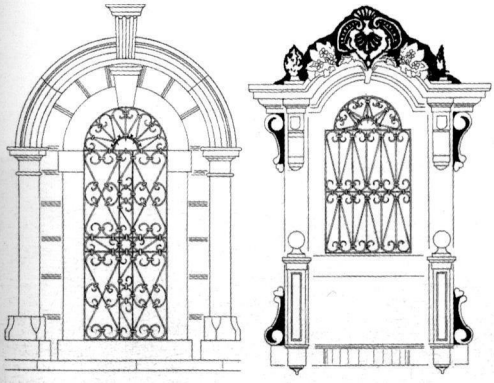

Fig.17
Talas Panayia Church, examples of the windows with Baroque decoration

Fig.18
Talas Panayia Church, name carved on the dome

During recent restoration some wall paintings from the Christian period have been found. Among them, a Crucifixion scene can be deciphered, but the rest remain to be examined by experts. There are also carved names on some of the stones of the interior of the dome, which appear to be the names of Christians: Karateloglou Pavlos, Georgiehli Maria, Harelemehli Despina, Vasiliehli Elisavet and Antavallikougiehli Soultana (Fig.18).

ZINCINDERE-JOHANNES PRODROMOS CHURCH AND HAGHIOS HARALAMBUS CHAPEL

Originally constructed on the outskirts of the settlement, the church at Zincidere, known as the Church of Johannes Prodromos and the attached Haghios Haralambus Chapel (Fig.19) are parts of a monastery and theological school complex. The church is currently used as a conference hall for the regional military forces and the chapel serves as a library (Fig. 20).

Fig.19
Haghios Haralambus Chapel

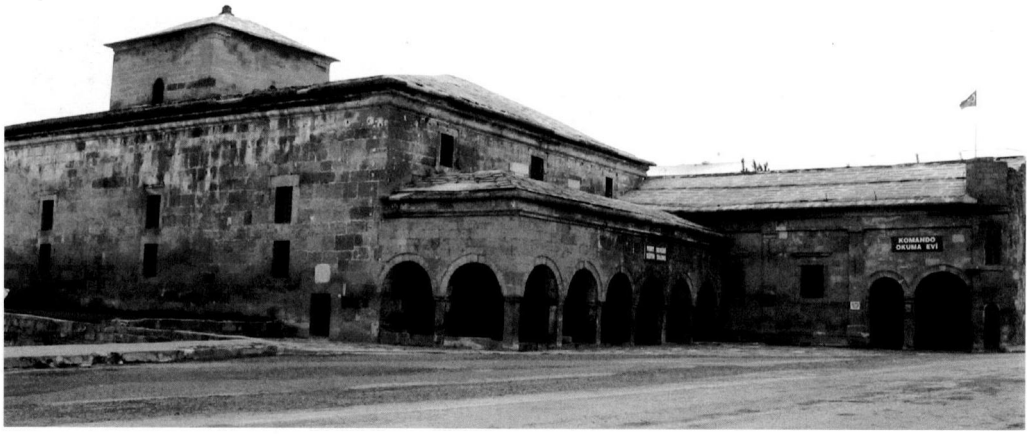

Fig. 20
Zincidere Johannes Prodromos Church

Both buildings have survived at least two thorough restorations. Other buildings of the monastery complex still serve as dormitories and the dining hall. Although uncertain, it is said that originally a church was constructed underground. Later, over this site St George's and the Transfiguration Churches were constructed. Nowadays there are no traces of these churches, but at the junction of the two existing buildings is the entrance to an underground space. Possibly this may have been the entrance to the Transfiguration Church. In the Roman period, it is known that the early Christians of Anatolia were forced to hide their holy places. The neighbouring Cappadocia Region was the centre for underground churches at this time. Although it is not proven, St George's Church appears to have been constructed over this space and later turned into the Haghios Haralambos Chapel. In 1728, Sultan Ahmed III must have given permission for the construction of a church over the remains of the earlier building, as during this period the construction of totally new churches was forbidden. Later, the churches survived a series of repairs permitted by Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909). Information about this work can still be seen on an inscription panel placed over the entrance door.[28] The buildings of the monastery were used as an orphanage after 1925.

Haghios Haralambus Chapel adjoins the Johannes Prodromos Church to the south-east (Fig. 19). Its location gives a clue to its having been constructed earlier, because the last bay of the narthex is attached to the chapel. Thus, the entrance to the church is through a narthex of six bays divided by six columns (Fig. 21).

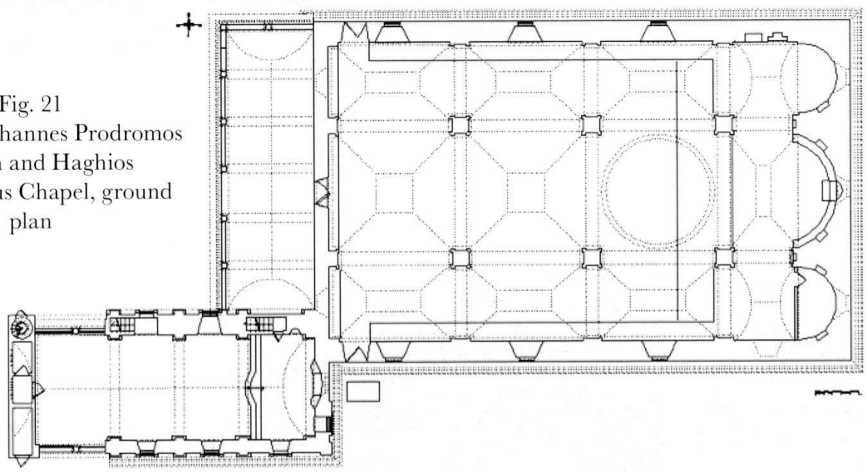

Fig. 21
Zincidere Johannes Prodromos Church and Haghios Haralambus Chapel, ground plan

The nave is flanked by narrower aisles, the centre being the main ritual area, and divided by three columns on each side supporting inter-connected barrel vaults. There are three semi-circular apses, the centre higher, but the one at the right has been closed later to form a separate room. As elsewhere, the sizes of the apses depend on the width of the nave and aisles (Fig. 22). However, unlike the other two churches examined, the apses do not project. Another difference is the position of the dome, which is located

Fig. 22
Johannes Prodromos Church, interior

Fig. 23
Johannes Prodromos Church, dome exterior

immediately before the main apse. The church has a pitched roof of stone slabs and the dome is hidden by a square projection (Fig.23). There appears to be no special section reserved for women.

Again, the windows in the side walls are rectangular with stone mouldings and in two tiers. The windows retain their iron bars. Each apse is illuminated by a slit-type window and has a blind arch on the exterior. There are four openings on the axes of the dome with blind windows between them. The church is constructed in load-bearing masonry of the local volcanic tufa, but there is also a lot of stone re-used from elsewhere. There is no decoration discernable on the exterior, but there are wall paintings of religious subjects and flower designs on the interior walls, vaults and the dome. An elaborate portrait of Christ may still be seen (Figs 24 and 25).

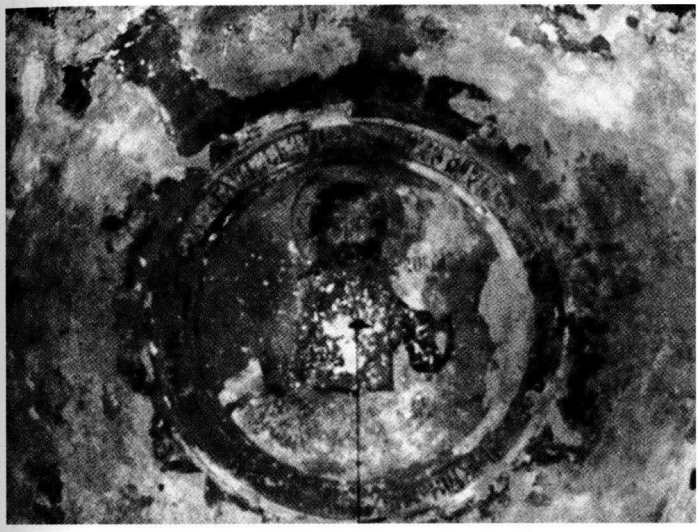

Fig. 24
Johannes Prodromos Church, painting of Christ on the dome

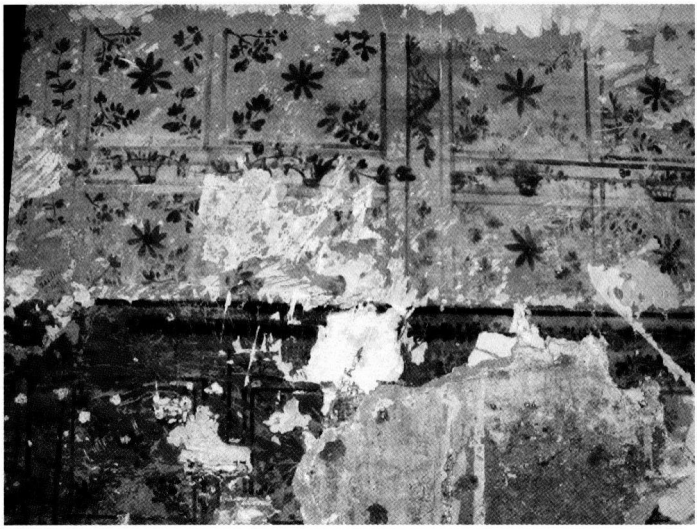

Fig. 25
Johannes Prodromos Church, flower designs on the south wall

Fig. 26
Haghios Haralambos Chapel interior

Fig. 27
Haghios Haralambos Chapel from the south-east

The Haghios Haralambos Chapel is a single space, but traces of the remains of arches on the south exterior wall indicate an extension at least to the narthex. It is built of load-bearing masonry and roofed with flat stone slabs. The entrance to the chapel is from a single-bay narthex. The nave ends in a shallow apse, with a window to the right. The liturgical area before the apse is raised with three stone steps dividing it from the rest of the space. The chapel has a three-bay barrel vault (Fig. 26). The windows in the side walls are all arched and of the slit-type on the inside but they are rectangular in shape with sills on the exterior (Fig. 27). The interior is also illuminated by two elliptical windows, a local peculiarity, emphasising its axiality.

CONCLUSION

From several examples, the three churches described above have been chosen deliberately to exemplify the current situation. The selection was made not only on their function and construction, but also on their development.

The details of Zincidere church suggest that it is earliest among them. The existence of an entrance to an underground space indicates the first phase of this holy place. Although there are no traces of St George's and the Transfiguration Churches today, local oral history points to the second phase. The Sultanate decrees of the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries only permitted the repair of churches. In the event of severe damage, the construction of a new church had to be over the existing foundations. Thus, Haghios Haralambos Chapel is the third phase, built in the eighteenth century. Finally, Johannes Prodromos Church is the last phase dating to the middle of the nineteenth century. The way the dome is hidden gives the impression that it is constructed in a Romanesque style, the transitional period between the Roman and the Gothic. This is reminiscent of the architecture of the Early Islamic Principalities, which is also a transition between the Seljuk and the Ottoman periods. The Ottoman Anatolian Churches seem to have passed from the original Byzantine basilica to the Baroque in a century. It is also the case that Darsiyak Yanartaş Church is transitional between Zincidere and Talas, as the Panayia Church reflects Ottoman-Baroque influences of the late nineteenth century.

From the three case-studies, it can also be seen that building traditions, technology and typology survived for centuries and reflect their economic means, the necessities of the day, their world-view and their aesthetic understanding.

Currently, the churches in the suburbs of Kayseri have different uses. Many of them were converted into mosques after their Christian congregations had left. As they are mostly monumental buildings with very large interiors, well constructed with durable materials, some have been re-used as social welfare buildings such as schools, dormitories, libraries or conference halls. Unfortunately, after the 1960s, owing to migrations to the cities caused by economic factors, some of the buildings which are located in small settlements are empty.

The last word may be stated thus: whether or not the original use survives, wherever they are, all the holy buildings of the world deserve to be conserved as part of the common heritage of mankind which must be preserved for future generations.

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NOTES

1. Akurgal 1998, 53
2. Dalby 2003, 17
3. Akın 2002, xi; see also Francis 1993, 103
4. Yerasimos, 1986, 164, 177-80, 218, 271
5. Melikoff, 1984, 213-4
6. Soysu, 1992, 62-8; see also Türkoğlu 2002, 103
7. Bilge 1996, 13-4; see also Sostu 1992, 64-6
8. Aygil 1995, 62-8; see also Soysu 1992, 176-85
9. Kuban 1995, 31-7; see also Aru 1998, 11-3
10. Akın 2002, 19; see also Denel 1982, 57; Faroqhi 1998, 29
11. Karaca 1995, 38
12. Baydur 1970, 71
13. Yurt Encyclopaedia 1982, 84: 4690
14. Ramsey 1961, 44
15. Erdoğru 2000, 71
16. Karatepe 1998, 62
17. Steven 1986, 30
18. Erdoğru 2000, 73
19. Güvenç 1996, 78
20. Aktan 2000, 8-16
21. Aktan 2000, 9-12
22. Ramsey 1897, 243
23. Binan 1994, 31
24. Eravşar 2000, 246
25. Güvenç 1985, 78
26. Kayabağ is the current name of Darsiyak
27. Eravşar 2000, 184
28. Eravşar 2000, 19