

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTE OF POPULATION STUDIES

**THE CHANGE OF NON-MUSLIM POPULATION OF  
ANKARA FROM 19<sup>TH</sup> TO 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

Ceren BAYDUR

Supervisor

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Alanur ÇAVLİN BİRCAN

Department of Demography

Master's Thesis

Ankara

December 2022



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### **The Change of Non-Muslim Population of Ankara from 19<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

Ceren Baydur

This is to certify that we have read and examined this thesis and in our opinion it fulfills the requirements in scope and quality of a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Demography. Jury Members:

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## **ABSTRACT**

Population is a strategic element that affects every aspect of life (production, consumption, transportation, education, infrastructure, industrialization, development, economy, politics, culture, etc.). This element has led states to learn how much population they have since the ancient times. The demand to learn the population number was closely related to state planning, that is, achieving political, military, social and economic goals.

The lands lost in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire caused a great change in the ethnic and religious structure of the empire. While there was a massive influx of Muslims from the lost lands, the non-Muslim population also emigrated. As a result of great wars, the empire collapsed, and a new nation-state was built. One of the first historical events witnessed by the newly established republic was a population exchange. While the identity construction of the nation-state continues, different historical events have also affected the non-Muslim population.

In this study, the change in the non-Muslim population in Ankara in the aforementioned period is discussed. As of 1831, the quantitative change, changing age and sex structure in the non-Muslim population of Ankara will be analysed through censuses conducted and baptism records that belong to non-Muslim population in Ankara and its relationship with historical events will be examined.

**Keywords:** Ankara, non-Muslims, Census, Ottoman Empire, Turkish Republic

## ÖZET

Nüfus, hayatın her alanını (üretim, tüketim, ulaşım, eğitim, altyapı, sanayileşme, kalkınma, ekonomi, siyaset, kültür vb.) etkileyen stratejik bir unsurdur. Bu unsur, eski çağlardan beri devletlerin ne kadar nüfusa sahip olduklarını öğrenmelerine yol açmıştır. Nüfus sayısını öğrenme talebi, devlet planlaması yani siyasi, askeri, sosyal ve ekonomik hedeflere ulaşılması ile yakından ilgiliydi.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son döneminde kaybedilen topraklar, imparatorluğun etnik ve dini yapısında büyük bir değişikliğe neden olmuştur. Kaybedilen topraklardan büyük bir Müslüman akını yaşanırken, gayrimüslim nüfus da imparatorluktan göç etmiştir. Büyük savaşlar sonucunda imparatorluk yıkılmış ve yeni bir ulus-devlet inşa edilmiştir. Yeni kurulan cumhuriyetin kimlik inşası sürerken, farklı tarihsel olaylar gayrimüslim nüfusu da etkilemiştir.

Bu çalışmada söz konusu dönemde Ankara'daki gayrimüslim nüfusun değişimi ele alınmaktadır. 1831 yılından itibaren Ankara'nın gayrimüslim nüfusundaki nicel değişim, değişen yaş ve cinsiyet yapısı, yapılan nüfus sayımları ile incelenecek ve Ankara'daki gayrimüslim nüfusa ait kilisenin vaftiz kayıtları listelenecek ve bunun tarihi olaylarla ilişkisi incelenecektir.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Ankara, gayrimüslim nüfus, nüfus sayımı, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti

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## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Population is generally affected by three main demographic variables; births, deaths and migrations. Although these listed phenomena are perceived as natural factors, their increase and decrease are under the influence of various economic, social, political and geographical factors.

The history of censuses is quite old. It can be said that people have been interested in data that can be the subject of statistics since the time they started living in groups and expressed them in numbers in order to make sense of them. Realizing that it is important to transform these data into useful information, nations have created statistics by making censuses for economic and military purposes from the beginning of history. Although censuses date back to ancient times, they have experienced a constant change in form and content until today. There were many compelling reasons for this change in economic, social and military aspects (Dündar, 2000).

In the modern sense, censuses have been started in the last two centuries. What is meant by modern censuses; These are the censuses that are made in a certain place, on a certain day, at certain time intervals and whose main purpose is to determine the population. The first census with official results was a census made by France in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century in its colony of Quebec, Canada. Following that, Scandinavian countries started to make censuses in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Among these, Sweden made its first census in 1749 by including Finland, based on a law dated 1687 (Dündar, 2000; Özekmekçi, 2020).

In the Ottoman Empire, until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, censuses that only aimed to determine the population were not encountered. In the censuses up to this period, the relationship of the population with the land was determined. A general census was conducted for the first time in 1830-1831 to determine the human resources of the newly established army and to regulate the jizya taxes. Name, age, description, nickname, disability status and occupation information of the people registered in the population registers were written. Because of these features, this census set an example for subsequent censuses. In this census, Muslim and non-Muslim all males were



registered on a household basis. In these censuses, the non-Muslim population was emphasized both in terms of tax to be collected and in terms of knowing the quality of the society. Census was applied in cases where it was desired to learn not only the quantity of the population, but also its qualifications. Knowing the ethnic and religious characteristics of the population was the primary need of inhomogeneous societies. This concern continued in the censuses of the Republic of Turkey, which was established as a nation-state after the collapse of the empire. In the census, Muslims were considered as a whole without being divided into sects, while the structure of the non-Muslim population was sought to be known in detail (Dündar, 2000). This thesis will examine the non-Muslim phenomenon in the censuses made by both the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey and the change in the non-Muslim population in Ankara through censuses, historical events and church records.

This thesis study has examined the change in the number of non-Muslim population in Ankara over the years and the connection of this change with historical events. In parallel with the research aim, the research questions of the study are:

1. How did the non-Muslim population of Ankara change between 1831 and 2019?
2. Is there a relationship between historical events (the empire's land losses, mass migrations, establishment of a new nation-state, population exchange, wealth tax etc.) and change in the number of non-Muslims in Ankara?

The thesis is composed of 5 chapters. "Chapter 2: Literature Review and Historical Demographic Perspective" presents the relevant literature and structure the research topic of the thesis in a historical demographic perspective. "Chapter 3: Methodology" outlines the data source, methods and aims, and contributions and limitations of the study. "Chapter 4: Results" discusses the findings of the study which are shared chronologically. Starting from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the results about the ethnic and religious structure of Ankara, the census results and the baptism records from the church are discussed. In the "Chapter 5: Conclusions and Discussions" findings in the previous section and the relevance of the census results to historical events are discussed.

## **CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND HISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE**

This chapter has been written to present the relevant literature and structure the research topic of the thesis in a historical demographic perspective. This chapter consists of two consecutive parts. In the first part of the chapter, the censuses that were started to be made in order to understand the population size and structure in the Ottoman period and the population registration system that was started to be established were examined. In the second part of the chapter, the history of Ankara, its multicultural demographic structure and the events that have affected the demographic structure of the non-Muslim population in Ankara are examined.

### **2.1. Enumerating Muslims and non-Muslim in Ottoman Empire**

#### **2.1.1. Data needs: censuses registration categorisation**

The majority of the fundamental sources of Ottoman history containing numerical data are the registers that reveal the count results for the determination of the taxpayers. The most comprehensive of these are the tax registers (*tahrir defterleri*). These registers mainly cover the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, some examples from the 17<sup>th</sup> century are available as well, provide the richest numerical data suitable for statistical analysis in terms of including detection and recording of taxable economic activities and human resources in the lands where the timar system was applied in the Ottoman state (Özel, 2001). The state achieved the status of real estate and lands, tax population, economic power and military potential as a result of the registration. The main purpose of the collecting tax registrations, which means recording and writing, is to write the land and to register it by determining tax (Devellioğlu, 2008). Since the subject of the tax register is financial and human resources, it was done under the control of kadis (İnalçık, 2000).

Tax-paying adult men, nomadic communities, non-Muslims (registered in separate books), and widowed women who are head of households were recorded in the tax registers as tax population. Particular persons such as elderly, disabled, bankrupt and guest, imam and muezzin, administrators, were not recorded in the tax registers. Moreover, it was not always possible to record nomadic tribes in many places in Anatolia. Women, girls and boys who were not in a position to make money were not recorded (Erdoğan, 2020).

Due to the abandonment of the tax register method since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries are considered dark years for Ottoman demography (Behar, 2000). In this period, tax registers of the classical period came to an end with a few exceptions. Instead of these, new registers, which were contented with the determination of the population that would pay the head tax (*jizya*) and *avarız* tax. Those taxes became the most important income sources of the empire's treasury as it met the urgent financial needs of the new period with a great financial crisis and Celali rebellions (Özel, 2006). Both registers were an extension of the tax registers of the classical period and were produced by different items of the Ottoman finance bureaucracy. In other words, tax (*tahrir*), *avarız* and *jizya* registers appeared as different products of the same bureaucracy and the same counting tradition in different periods, aiming to determine all the income sources of the central treasury. Since both taxes were collected from individuals or groups, the *avarız* and *jizya* registers contain only data on the population subject to these taxes. In this respect, they differ from the tax registers. Therefore, these registers are important in terms of the demographic history of the period and their statistical value is limited (Özel, 2001).

The reform process which led to the modern central state gained momentum after the 1820s. One of the fundamental changes of Tanzimat was that the military service and tax system were restructured by considering it together. Likewise, the mass migrations caused by the violence and pressure of the nationalism and independence movements, especially in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were another important element of this period. Comprehensive censuses required by military and tax regulations, and various records related to the resettlement process of millions of immigrants, especially those

who migrated to Anatolia, provide rich data in terms of the population history of the last period of the Ottoman Empire.

The population statistics that included the state and provincial salnames that started to be prepared in this period and the detailed population records that the Population Directorates started to keep in the modern sense enriched the archive.

### **2.1.2. Why did the Ottoman Empire need census?**

Ottoman Empire had kept the records in order to determine the value of the lands and income of the people who lived on there. The state kept the results of that records as tax registers (*tahrir defterleri*) and used those for recruiting and tax collecting. Nevertheless, as a result of various internal and external factors most of the institutes deteriorate within time and tax registers had no longer issued (Çadircı, 1980).

The first modern census attempt of the Ottoman State took place after the abolishment of the Jannissary corps, however, could not finalized due to ongoing war with Russia. It is understood that this census, which could not be carried out, was made later in 1831. The census of 1831 was the first census to determine the population in Anatolia and Rumelia, which was not made due to land recording. This census was made for the recruitment of the troops which replace the abolished Janissary corps and the determination of tax resources for the new army to be established. However, this census is far from showing the full population of Rumelia and Anatolia as it is made only as a census of the male population. (Karal, 1943). Shaw (1978) stated that the 1831 census' data is incomplete than the other censuses which followed it. However, he added that the census is important since it gave an opinion on the demographic features of the empire especially the census was conducted before the Tanzimat and before the arrival of the mass migration of the Muslim refugees to the remaining Ottoman lands.

The 1831 census and other censuses made in Ottoman Empire was based on religion. Subjects divided into two groups and called Islam and Rayah (*Reaya*, the protected flock of the sultan). Bulgarians, Greeks and Armenians were accepted as

Rayah. Christian Copts were called Copts. Jew subjects were also not included in the category of other groups but were separately indicated (Karal, 1943). Shaw (1978) stated that Christian and Jewish men were not recruited, however, as they were paying head tax they were recorded in separate registers for foreigners. According to an uncertain result in the light of the information in the census registers as a result of the census, the total of the male population in Anatolia and Rumelia is close to 4 million (Karal, 1943).

After census of 1831, another census was conducted in 1844, in which women were included for the first time. Two other census attempts were made in 1854 and 1870, however, the attempts remained without results. In 1874, a census was made in the Danube provinces. Census of 1878 took a long time to complete since the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 was continuing at time same time. In the same period, the Regulation of Population Registration (*Sicil-i Nüfus Nizamnamesi*) was issued and constitute the formation of subsequent Ottoman censuses. Moreover, a population directorate was established, and registration of birth, death and relocation incidents started for the first time. Another important aspect of Regulation of Population Registration of 1881 was Muslim and non-Muslim males' records started to keep separately. Muslim males were counted by Ministry of War (*Harbiye Nezareti*) and non-Muslim males were counted by Ministry of the Interior (*Dahiliye Nezareti*). Since the religious communities (*millets*) had collected their head taxes (*jizya*) on their own, they aimed to pay as little as possible and showed their numbers lesser than it really was. Therefore, the state started collecting taxes directly to prevent this (Akbayar, 1985).

Instead of the regulation dated 1881, the population regulation dated 1901 was issued. The only significant difference of this new legislation compared to the old one was that the mother's name was also recorded in the census. However, the legislation led to a new census. The Republic's population registers were also revealed as a result of this census (Toprak, 1991). The last census of the Ottoman Empire was conducted the years between 1905-1906 and a total population of 20.897.617 was determined (Karpat, 2010; Shaw, 1978).

## **2.2. Ankara as an Ottoman city in Anatolia**

In this subtitle of the chapter, I introduce Ankara as an Ottoman city with its historical significance and as the residential area of multi-ethnic and multi-religious communities for centuries. The reviewed literature about history and demographic structure of Ankara including motives and necessities of massive migratory movement since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century help us to evaluate dramatic change in the size and the structure of Ankara population during the last century.

### **2.2.1. Ankara in History**

Anatolia's rich history and culture is a well-known fact. The peninsula has welcomed millions of people and thousands of cities through the history. Some of those cities were collapsed in time but Ankara is still standing and has been home to different cultures and people for 2700 years at least (Atauz, 2004). Ankara is an Anatolian city which had been influenced by different cultures, political administration and events and had developed through centuries. Through the historical excavations it is known that Ankara had been a residential area for a long time. There are findings that Ankara and its periphery was a palaeolithic residential (Erzen, 1946 as cited in Atauz, 2004). However, the city's known history started with Hittites since they were accepted as the first residents of the Ankara Castle and since Hittites had similar city names that their pronunciations are close to Ankara in their records (Atauz, 2004; Ergenç, 1995). Nevertheless, Atauz (2004) and Ergenç (1995) agreed that Phrygians were the first who came to Ankara in the XII-VI. Centuries BC and probably settled in a castle around today's Hacı Bayram Mosque. In Galatian rule (6<sup>th</sup> Century BC), Ankara was a fortress city as well. Nevertheless, Romans who seized the city after Galatians, expand the city through south and west side and with the newly formed neighbourhoods it became an open city (Ergenç, 1995).

The first written documents about Ankara obtained by Roman historians because of the Galatian connections. Galatians came from France and settled in Ankara through passing Balkans in 277 or 278 BC (Erzen, 1946 as cited in Atauz, 2004). In 25 BC, Roman Empire declared Galatia as a Roman state. Ankara became an important city in Anatolia in the Roman rule that the city was written as *metropole*<sup>4</sup> in the maps. Ankara was a famous city with its well-known wool and dye industry and became a military, trade and cultural centre. Moreover, Ankara also had a cult centre feature under the Roman rule. Empire cult made it easier for Roman Empire to rule a complex ethnic and religious structure in the eastern states and used as an ideological tool. Therefore, Temple of Augustus and Rome made Ankara even more important centre that connected political and religious features (Gülen, 1994 as cited in Atauz, 2004).

Atauz (2004) states that Ankara's most sumptuous era was in the Roman rule until it becomes capital city of the Turkish Republic in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Ankara was not a fortress-city in the Roman rule since the city was too big to defence with the fort and Pax Romana was able to protect the city and did not need a fortification wall. However, Ankara became a fortress-city under the Byzantian rule. Ankara was a faint state centre in the 6<sup>th</sup> century and had to protect itself unlike the Roman rule (Atauz, 2004). In the Byzantian rule, Ankara, again, became a fortress city as a consequence of continuous Arabic attacks. At that time Ankara formed as a *theme*, a local administrative unit in Byzantine period, to protect itself from attacks. Ankara Castle, which survived through today is a Byzantian construction. Nevertheless, Ankara continue to be a fortress city after Turkish rule in Anatolia and the city has expanded through the south and east.

Continuous political and religious conflicts left Ankara weak and unprotected. Ankara continue to be a Byzantian city in the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century in a geographical area that Turks were dominant. In 1127, Seljuks unquestioningly took Ankara back from the Byzantine Empire. Ankara had been ruled by the independent Turkish principalities or Ottoman Empire from the first quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>4</sup> The metropole derived from the Greek word "metropolis" and means the chief or capital city of a colony (Merriem-Webster, n.d.).

Especially after the XIII. Century, Ankara became a Turkish-Islamic city and this transformation completed in the XV. Century (Atauz, 2004; Ergenç, 1995).

Taking place in the Central Anatolia's northwest, Ankara is known as the stopover of the trade roads and the traders. Silk Road which connects Bursa to Tabriz; a trade road which crosses the Anatolia diagonally; and another trade road which connects to the Alexandria's Sea Road through Antalya all passes through Ankara which claims the city's importance in the transit trade (Ergenç, 1995).

In Anatolia, most of the urban settlement formed before the Turks came and continue to be present after transforming demographically. A Muslim community would resettle an abandoned place by transforming the church to a masjid or mosque or building a brand new one (Atauz, 2004). A masjid most of the times signified a neighbourhood in the Ottoman city. Large mosques only took place in the trade centers which were the crowded points of the cities. The forementioned information is accurate for Ankara as well. A neighbourhood formed around a religious building such as masjid or church or synagogue, or a certain profession group. Through the tax registers from the Suleiman I's period and *avarızhane*<sup>5</sup> records, it is known how many neighborhoods took place in Ankara, how big were those, and which part of the city they were located. According to the information, there were 85 neighbourhoods in Ankara (Ergenç, 1995).

Forementioned features of Ankara pictures the Turkish&Ottoman city order. Impacts of Central Asian Turkish civilization, Islamic city components and local components make Ankara a synthesis. The synthesis can be arranged as in four characteristics. First one is Islamic city's three fundamental buildings mosque, public bathes and bazaars were also basics of Ankara as well. Second one is Central Asian Turkish city features namely inner castle, city (*şehristan*), and trade part (*rabad*) can be found in Ankara's city planning. Thirdly, artisan bazaars and trade got together and formed dominant element of the city. Lastly, composing of neighbourhoods is a characteristic of Ankara as well. However, it should be noted that those

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<sup>5</sup> Households liable to pay the tax known as "avarız" which was levied in the empire at irregular intervals.



neighbourhoods in Ankara were residential part within the city, not a separate and inorganically formed clusters.

### **2.2.1.1. Multi Ethnic and Multi Religious Demographic Structure of Ankara**

#### **2.2.1.1.1 Armenian Community**

After Mamluk Dynasty's conquest of Cilicia at the beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> century, a mass migration made to Ankara by the Armenians who lived in Ankara since the Roman period. However, the greatest migration was made between 1590 and 1610 in consequence of Celali Rebellions. Not only Armenians from Cilicia, but also ones in Eastern provinces also come into Ankara who were in seek of safer place to live. The next great migration movement made in 1828 by the Catholic Armenians who live in Istanbul as a result of pressure of the Armenian Patriarchate.

Ankara has an importance for the Catholic Armenians in which had been a Catholicism movement since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Six of seven Armenian Churches in Ankara were belonged to Catholic Christians at that time.

Armenians' presence in Ankara was dependent on weave/textile industry. Ankara was home to both Gregorian, Catholic and then Protestant Armenians and their churches, schools, trade area, and neighbourhood were different and were defined by their sects. Wealthy Armenians who live in the city centre and had communication with Europeans were the Catholic Armenians while Gregorian who were more traditional and conversative chose to live in outside of the castle. Wealthy Armenians and Greeks live inside of the castle or near Ulus and were engaged in trade of mohair and leather. Until the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, places (neighbourhoods) that Catholic Armenians and Greeks lived were the wealthiest part of the Ankara province (Küçükasköylü, 2021)

The first traveller who mentioned Armenian community of Ankara was German Hans Dernschwam in 1555, who noted that an Armenian Church inside of the

citadel and drew church as well. Tournefort also visited same church in 1701 and noted church's name as *Croix* (Cross), dated the church back to 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century. According to him, the church was small and dark. Tournefort wrote that Armenians had 7 churches and Virgin Mary Monastery. Aubry de la Motraye who came Ankara in 1703 noted that Armenians had five or six churches in the city. Pococke came in the city in 1740 and mentioned that two thirds of the Armenians were Catholic and had 4 churches while Gregorians had 3 churches. A missionary report from 1824 noted that there were 7 churches and a monastery in Ankara. Vital Cuinet who visited Ankara around 1890 confirmed previous information and noted that there were 4 Catholic, 2 Gregorian and 1 Protestant churches and 3 monasteries (Virgin Mary and 2 other Catholic monasteries). After 1916 and 1929 fires, both trade and residential areas destroyed and therefore Armenian Churches suffered and disappeared by time.

One of the reasons that Armenians converted to Catholicism easily was Jesuit priests' religious speeches that they gave in Turkish. The Jesuit Priests brought Turkish books written with Armenian alphabet, financially support them and offered free religious and social services. Those offerings were reason to convert for Armenians with low-income, while wealthy Armenians converted to Catholicism to establish financial relationships with Catholic Europeans (Beydilli, 1995, as cited in Kelleci, 2019).

Ankara hosted important monastery for years, namely St. Mary Monastery which is said to be oldest Armenian monastery in Central and Western Anatolia. The monastery became important religious place as Ankara accepted as a holy province (Darkot, 1978, as cited in Küçükhasköylü 2021). St. Mary roughly was built in 12<sup>th</sup> century, although there is no clear information on this subject. The monastery became Episcopate centre of Gregorian Armenians not only in Ankara but also peripheral cities such as Sivrihisar and Kırşehir in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. With some extensions, St. Mary Monastery was active until 1914.

### **2.2.1.1.2 Greek Community**

Avram Galanti (1950) mentions Heliopolis' metropolitan bishop Gennaidos who wrote 2 volume book named "History of Patriarchate" and listed all bishops who were present in Ankara from 1450 to 1910. Although the list might has mistaken, contains important information. Gennaidos wrote that Ankara Greek Metropolitan bishop house's archives were destroyed in a fire in 1916. There was a cathedral named Nicolas Agyos which also destroyed in a fire, too. Another Orthodox Church took place in the castle named Saint Georges and had a Greek inscription in the chapel. Georges Perrot who visited Ankara in 1861, notes that wealthiest residents of the city were Greeks. However, it should be taken into account that those Greek residents were not related to ones who were in Ankara when Muslims attacked to the city. Before the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century there were no Greek in Ankara, then a group came from Kayseri to settled into Ankara.

Orthodox Greeks who lived under Seljuk and Ottoman Turk rule spoke Turkish. Since they do not know Greek, they wrote religious pieces using Greek alphabet but in Turkish. Moreover, their religious ceremonies held in Turkish as well. To make it easier, Sefarim Rakip, Ankara's metropolitan bishop, wrote a three-volume book in Turkish using Greek alphabet and printed it in Venice in the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century (Galanti, 1950).

While there is no comprehensive study on Greeks in Ankara, Androniki Karasuli Mastridu wrote their memories and gave insight information based on his and their family's own experience. Mastridu claims that Greeks did not have an easy daily life in Ankara. Greeks had a withdrawn and close daily life from the majority and exemplifies with couple memories. Mastridu's uncle who spent his life in abroad came to visit his family in Ankara with a friend of him. While they were passing by the bazaar speaking Greek, couple of Turkish men shot them. While the friend died, the uncle managed to run time and only Turkish majority can visit there since Greeks were afraid to go places that Turks visit often. According to Mastrudi, if two ethnic group encounter in theatre, it would end up with fighting and the Turks would stab them. As soon as shops closed, Greeks run to their houses where they decide what to do for

evening. Thirdly, Mastridu mentions distraining of Greek school in Ankara in 1914. The distrained building became a hospital for Turkish army. Mastridu and their family also deeply affected by the 1916 Great Ankara Fire. St Clements Orthodox Church was inside of his grandfather's home which both fired. Mastridu and his family lost 36 houses and stores in the Great Ankara Fire. Mastridu notes that about 8 thousand Christian lost their houses in the fire (Esin and Etöz, 2015).

Information below has taken from Taylan Esin's article (2012) "According to Greek Sources, 1916 Great Ankara Fire" information inquired from Greek sources, namely Evdokya Epeoglu<sup>6</sup>, Anastasios Yordanoglu<sup>7</sup> and Androniki Karasuli Mastoridu<sup>8</sup>.

According to data obtained from 1914 census; there were 20.229 Greek living in the province and 3327 Greeks living in the centre. As Taylan Esin quoted from Evdokya Epeoglu<sup>9</sup>, there were 4 communities, 11 churches, 16 temples, and 9 schools. There were not any Greek villages except *Yabanhamamı* a village that compose of 50 families, a school and a church the only person who speaks Greek was the priest of the church.

Half of the Greek Orthodox Church was local and the other half was came from Kayseri, Samsun, Bursa, Kütahya and Istanbul (Yordanoglu, 1994, as cited in Esin, 2012). However, Perrot (as cited in Galanti, 1950) claimed that all Greek Orthodox residents in Ankara came from Kayseri in the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Greek community's source of income was farming, viticulture (winegrowing), carpet weaving and trade. Several wealthy families were busy with large scale trade

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<sup>6</sup> Evdokya Epeoglu was born in Ankara in 1913. She wrote a book named "Memories from Life in Ankara" based on her and her family's memories. Her family had to move to another city after the Great Ankara Fire in 1916.

<sup>7</sup> Anastasios Yordanoglu published an article named "Greek Orthodox Community of Ankara" in 1994. According to Taylan Esin, the article was the one which contains most comprehensive information on Greek Orthodox community of Ankara.

<sup>8</sup> Androniki Karasuli Mastoridu was born in Ankara in 1902 and lived there until 1922. In 1966 published an oral history work named "Memories from my Lost Homeland". She was a member of wealthy family who owned big amount of estate including Şengül Hamamı.

who bought Angora wool from the villagers in need and took the market directly. Similar to the Catholic Armenian community, also Greek Orthodox community speaks in Turkish in their daily lives.

As Esin cites from Yordanoglu, there were 3 Greek Orthodox Churches in Ankara named, St. Georgios, St. Clement and St. Nikolaos. St. Georgios took place within the Ankara Castle, and it was the only church remained after the great fire in 1916. While St. Georgios Church was at the beginning point of Çıkırıçılar, the St. Nikolaos was between the famous Atatürk statue and post office in Ulus. Moreover, there were more churches or chapels in vineyards for instance, Dikmen and Keçiören. Dikmen at that time was a district composed from vineyards and had Greek residents.

The Greek community had 3 schools that were built by notable families of the community that one was for boys, the other for girls and a kindergarten. Nevertheless, the community only was able to hold these schools until 1914, then the state captured the buildings and transformed them into hospitals.

With the Gregorian Armenian relocation in 1915, Greek Orthodox community entered a tough period. Because of the declaration of solidarity, community's estates, schools, private estates were confiscated by the state, and they were no longer permitted to trade, and their goods boycotted. Christians who were stayed in Ankara affected poorly from the anger during the occupation. Especially after March 1921, Greek houses began to investigate, men were arrested then sent to jail or exile or executed. Arrested Greeks' assets were confiscated. Remained ones who were mainly old and children were begun to hope when Greek army came near Polatlı and even prepared to welcome the army. After the regression, executions started; Greek captives, desserts or opponent Muslims executed every day. In 1922, the government permitted Christians to leave Ankara within a month. The remained Greeks left Ankara during the population exchange. According to Yordanoglu, there were no Greeks remained in Ankara in 1923.

### **2.2.1.1.3. Jewish Community**

There is no certain information whether Jews settled into Anatolia. However, before the fall of Second Temple, a part of population in Palestine migrated to Balkans and Anatolia to live in the big cities of Byzantine Empire (Güleryüz, 2012).

The Jewish communities that present in the Anatolia got even more crowded when Jews from Jerusalem joined them because of the fall of Great Temple or emigrated on their own will or enslaved ones freed by other Jews. By the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, travellers noted that they came across to Jews through Anatolia. Roman Emperor Augustus (63 BC – 14 AD) has a temple which was built around 20-25 AD. There is a bronze column in this temple written a decree of Augustus on rights of Jews live under Roman rule (Güleryüz, 2012).

Jews under Roman rule, who became Hellenized by integrating with the Anatolian people, spoke Greek and used Roman traditions in their worship, are called Romaniote Jews. The Roman Empire had never forbidden Hebrew, although Jews lived under pressure in their rule. However, diaspora Jews have always preferred to speak local language and only used Hebrew in religious ceremonies. Romaniote Jews had speak Greek especially in Istanbul. After Sephardic Jews' arrival in 1492 Greek language replaced with Judeo-Spanish, nevertheless, Greek effected Judeo-Spanish and today the language includes Greek words as well (Franco, 1987 as cited in Güleryüz 2012).

Ashkenazi Jews who live in Central and Northern Europe also migrated to the Ottoman Empire in different dates as a result of Inquisition. They initially migrated to Dubrovnik where then under the Ottoman rule, after Venetians' conquest, Ashkenazi Jews finally migrated to Edirne and other Anatolian cities (Benbassa and Rodrigue, 2010 as cited in Güleryüz, 2012).

1492, when the Spanish and couple years later Portuguese Jews who migrated to Ankara, they found Jewish communities dating from the Byzantine period.

A certain part of the Jews who migrated from Spain and Portugal in 1492 came to Ankara. Upon their arrival, they had found a settled Romaniote Jewish community who already had a synagogue. Sephardic Jews' increasing population led to establish two new synagogues in Ankara, one was for Spanish and other was for the Portuguese Jews. Approximately a century later, Portuguese Jews who were less crowded in number, closed their synagogue and joined the Spanish ones. Finally local Romaniote Jews learned Judeo-Spanish as Sephardic Jews were more crowded, and the Spanish synagogue remained as the only synagogue (Galanti, 1950).

Sephardic Jews came to Ankara when both the empire's and the city's heyday in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. At that time Ankara had its most productive days intrade and industry. English Levant Company, Venetian, French and Dutch tradesmen frequently came in Ankara. To estimate Ankara's trade volume looking at the buildings such as Kurşunlu Han and Bedesten where wool, mohair and sof trade done would prove. Jews were advantageous as they spoke foreign languages, familiar with European banking system or had relatives and relationships to maintain trade partnership with Europe. Jews were simply superior in trades than other communities (Bahar, 2003).

Beki Bahar (2003) stated Jewish community's regression in trade with two reasons; first, other non-Muslim communities developed relationship with European counterparts. They also sent their sons to abroad and raised an educated generation and wanted to substitute Jews and their critical positions. Moreover, Armenians and Greeks were Christians as well. On the other hand, Sephardic Jews' relationships with Europe weakened in years after their migration. Secondly, Sabbatai Zevi, who divided the Jewish community in the Ottoman Empire by claiming that he was the messiah. According to Bahar, his emergence as messiah and division of Jewish community into two was shocking both materially and morally. The Jewish community became more private and close and got ignorant by time.

The trade ties that Jewish community lost, replaced by Armenian and Greek communities.

Nevertheless, a Russian artist Yevgeny Lansere noted that he heard Spanish when he visited Ankara in 1922 (Çilli, 2022). Although he could not identify the language properly, Judeo-Spanish could be heard in the certain parts of Ankara 400 years after Sephardic Jewish community's arrival.

### **2.3. Events that affected non-Muslim Communities of Ankara**

#### **2.3.1. 1915 Deportation**

When war began between the Russian and the Ottoman Empire throughout the entire Eastern Anatolian border, there were Armenians among the Russian forces and also some Ottoman Armenians who sided with the Russians. As the war rages on, the Young Turk circles, worried about the effects of Armenian nationalism, and doubted the loyalty of the Armenian community (Quataert, 2002).

The last important event that will cause the Armenians to be deported is the Armenian revolt in Van. The Ottoman government resorted to radical measures regarding the Armenians 9 months after the declaration of mobilization as the Armenian attacks continued. The government sent a secret circular to the provinces and sanjaks on April 24, 1915, in order to suppress the rebellion in Van and disperse the Armenian committees. In this circular, it was demanded that the Armenian committee centers be closed, their documents confiscated, and the committee leaders arrested. On April 26, a circular in the same subject was sent to the units of the Commander-in-Chief, stating that the leaders must be sent to military courts and the criminals must be punished (Sezer, 2011).

Relocation and Resettlement Law was accepted on May 26, 1915, and was published in the Ottoman official newspaper, *Takvim-i Vekayi* on June 1, 1915 (Sezer, 2011).

The deportation was carried out directly in the regions that would threaten the safety of the fronts. It had been applied in Erzurum, Bitlis and Van regions behind the



Caucasian and Iranian fronts, and Mersin and İskenderun regions behind the Sinai front. Later, the deportation included the Armenians who rebelled and helped the Armenian rebels in other provinces. Catholic and Protestant Armenians was excluded from the Deportation Law (BOA, 1995).

1914 census revealed that there were 53,957 Armenians (both Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant) in the province (sanjak) and 11,256 of those lived in the city center. 3341 of them were Orthodox, 915 were Protestant and 6990 were Catholic. According to the data, 70% of the total number were Catholic Armenians (Karpat, 2003).

On the other hand, Atauz (2004) states that the disappearance of the Armenian population in Ankara occurred in the years after the First World War and the Deportation. Although there is no information about how the deportation in Ankara was made, the 1914 census shows that there was a total of 11,646 Armenians in Ankara. Nevertheless, according to the 1927 census, there were 705 Armenians left in Ankara. In the light of aforementioned information, more than 10,000 Armenians left Ankara between the two censuses.

### **2.3.2. 1916 Great Ankara Fire**

Sources on Ankara Fire are quite limited. Taylan Esin and Zeliha Etöz, who published the most comprehensive work on the “Great Ankara Fire of 1916” pointed out that sources on the subject are scarce. The newspapers were censored at the beginning of the World War I and fire news were banned. Therefore, media is not helpful to examine the subject and remained sources are official correspondences and oral history narratives (Esin and Etöz, 2015). Refik Halit Karay also put an emphasis on Ankara Fire as well.

The fire’s exact starting date is not certain. According to official sources it started on 31<sup>st</sup> of August while, oral history narrator Karasuli (aforementioned in Greek Community section) wrote that the fire started on the night of Sunday, August 28. An official report dated September 19 declared that 1699 people were affected by

the fire and they were settled into 73 (remained) neighbourhoods or the tents that were provided by the *Hilal-i Ahmer* (Turkish Red Crescent) (as cited in Esin and Etöz, 2015, p. 178).

Official sources claimed that seven churches fired, nevertheless, there were 6 churches present at the neighbourhoods that the fire broke out.

Esin and Etöz (2015) are sceptical whether the fire broke out naturally or intentionally. They connect the Great Ankara Fire to other fires that broke out at the same period (1914-1918) in different cities. The date that fire broke out was also remarkable since several sources mentioned that it was Sunday, holy day for the Christians. Moreover, wealthy families of Ankara spent the summer at the vineyard houses, not at their usual neighbourhood that fire broke out means there were less possible witnesses present at the neighbourhood. The fire affected 1699 people (Esin and Etöz estimates 1550 Christians and 150 Muslims) and 1033 houses. When the affected people and houses are compared, it can be associated with the fact that most of the houses were empty. Esin and Etöz associate this situation with the 1915 relocation. Nevertheless, two Greek sources estimated different numbers on their own accounts. According to Karasuli 8,000 and to Epeoglu 12,000 Christian houses were fired (as quoted in Esin and Etöz, 2015).

Again, Esin and Etöz (2015, p. 178) are sceptical whether it was a mistake or was the seventh church in a neighbourhood where fire did not affect.

### **2.3.3. 1923 Population Exchange (Lausanne Convention)**

One of the problems caused by the intense loss of territory by the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the fact that a significant amount of Turkish and Muslim populations remained in the regions where it withdrew. The problem effected especially in the Balkans and was experienced most intensely with Greece. In addition, the existence of the serious Greek population in Anatolia and Istanbul led the parties to the idea of population exchange and thus the exchange process began.

The idea of population exchange emerged for the first time after the Balkan Wars. After the two wars, the empire lost nearly 80% of its territory in Europe and about 16% (4.2 million) of the total population. As a result of the wars, about 800,000 people had to migrate from their places of residence. A protocol including voluntary exchange was added to the Istanbul Treaty. The treaty was signed between Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire on September 29, 1913. The commission would be responsible for assessing the commodities that left behind by the immigrants. Although the breakout of World War I made the implementation of the treaty impossible, it is important in terms of setting an example for later population exchanges (Zürcher, 2003).

Forced migration immediately became an issue for the Turkish Republic as well. The Turkish – Greek Population Exchange had already been one of the priority issues at the Lausanne Conference, and the two countries have signed the agreement called “Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations” on January 30, 1923. In accordance with Article 1 of the Convention, Orthodox Greeks in Turkey and Muslims in Greece would be subjected to forced migration as of May 1, 1923, and migrants who were sent to their country of origin could not move back to the countries that they left without the permission of the Turkish and Greek authorities. The only people who were excluded from the convention were the Greeks who lived in Istanbul and the Turks who lived in the Western Thrace. According to this convention, 354,647 Muslims and 192,356 Greek have been subjected to population exchange. The population exchange between Turkey and Greece marked the last phase of the Greek migration, which had started during the Balkan Wars. The Greeks who had lived in Ottoman territories began to leave with the start of the Balkan Wars that around 150,000 and 200,000 Greek have estimated to leave their homes. The second phase occurred in 1922 when it was understood that Turkish forces had a military victory against Greece. That explains why the Greeks who migrated to Greece during the population exchange was lesser than the Turkish since they had begun to migrate to Greece earlier than the Turkish. As a consequence of the population exchange, the possibility of the foreign intervention to internal affairs was reduced by homogenizing the population along ethnic and religious lines that promote nation-state formation that

similar to the Western models. Economically the effect of the exchange was devastating. Turkey lost the non-Muslim element that was busy with internal and domestic trading activities. Losses meant the loss of entrepreneurial knowledge and some decline in economic activity (Hirschon & Aktar, 2004).

It was planned that the Greeks in some inner regions, especially in Ankara, would be transported to Izmir and Istanbul by train, with a decision taken by the Turkish government, and to be sent to Greece by taking the ferries from there. Official works regarding these Greeks were completed in the beginning of 1924, and on the night of 17 June 1924, the first group of 750 people departed from Ankara to Istanbul by train. According to the information given by the exchange commission, the number of Greeks sent to Greece was 109,000 until October 1924, even though Istanbul was included. The number of Greeks leaving Ankara was thought to be around 15,000 (Arı, 1995).

In June 1924, the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement informed the Turkish delegate in the exchange commission in Athens about a plan for the sending of the exchanged people, who had not been transported because they had fled or did not want to go. According to this plan, 3,000 people from Ankara and 30,266 people in total were sent to Greece. In both countries, the people who fled from the settlement areas or did not accept the resettlement, either went to the cities outside the exchange or stayed with their relatives. In the Central Anatolia Region exchange settlement and the non-Muslim population were lesser compared to the Black Sea and Western Anatolia Regions. The amount of exchanged population came from Greece in the provinces within the Central Anatolia Region was also compatible with the population ratios. In 1927, the exchanges in Ankara consisted of 1,651 people (Erdal, 2006).

### 2.3.4. The Campaign of Citizen Speak Turkish

Istanbul University<sup>10</sup> Faculty of Law Student Association held an annual congress on January 12, 1928, and as a consequence of the congress, the campaign “Citizen Speak Turkish” was launched. The student association’s president stated that it was a requirement that minorities must speak in Turkish in public, not only in Istanbul, but through the whole country. As a result of the congress, it was decided that in order to ensure the only spoken language in Turkey is Turkish, it had to be forbidden to speak any other language and to provide that an application was submitted to the Ministry of Interior. The student association held another meeting at the Turkish Hearts (*Türk Ocakları*), where it was determined that signboards that advise to speak in Turkish should be hang on the streets and conferences should be held in primary and secondary schools on the same subject (Bali, 2000).

The campaign especially targeted Jewish citizens that traditionally have spoken Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) and who later on embraced French as the education language. Meanwhile language union was tried to carry out by the authorities. Thus, minorities who spoke their own languages got reacted.

While the notables of the Jewish community tried to make Turkish more widespread among the society, minorities (not only the Jewish but also other ones) began to criticize “Citizen Speak Turkish” campaign by speaking in their mother languages (Armenian, Greek, Bosnian, Arabic etc.) under the campaign banners or tearing up those. Non-Turkish citizens who reacted to the campaign sued due to insulting to the Turkishness according to Turkish Penal Code’s 159<sup>th</sup> article (Bali, 2000). Furthermore, number of the cases which charged minorities to insult Turkishness, increased too much that the government gradually did not allow to be prosecuted for this article.

The notables of the Ankara Jewish community decided to speak Turkish, to Turkify the names, and to make education in Turkish in Jewish schools. The aim of the Ankara Turkishness Culture Union (*Ankara Türklük Kültür Birliği*), which was

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<sup>10</sup> The university was called Darülfünun (دار الفنون) then. The institution was named Istanbul University after the 1933 Reforms.

founded by the Jews of Ankara, was to "circulate the Turkish language among the Jews and to develop the Turkish national culture" in 1933. On the other hand, journalist Albert Kohen, who visited Ankara, praised the Jews of Ankara for speaking excellent Turkish with a proper accent. Kohen observed with satisfaction that since the Jews of Ankara go to *Halkevleri*, there were no longer any need for the society that was established a few years ago to spread Turkish culture in 1941 (Bali, 2000).

"Citizen, speak Turkish!" The movement lost its momentum shortly after it started, but despite this, the issue never completely fell out of the public's agenda. When this movement started, no one thought that it would occupy the public and press agenda heavily until the 1940s.

### 2.3.5. The Twenty Classes 1941

Turkish equivalent of the twenty classes is "*Yirmi Kur'a Nafia Askerleri*"<sup>11</sup>. *Kur'a* is a military term which started to be used after to proclamation of Tanzimat Decree and means drawing lots among the soldiers who was born in the same year. After the lots are drawn, the person who draws the paper with the letter K on it becomes soldier (Devellioğlu, 2006).

When the Nazi forces invaded Greece on April 6, 1941, it was thought that their next move could be Turkey. As a precaution, the Council of Ministers<sup>12</sup> (*İcra Vekilleri Heyeti*) decided to recruit soldiers, the majority of this soldiers were non-Muslims. Recruited soldiers served as public work soldiers under the command of Ministry of Public Work (*Nafia Vekaleti*).

Nazi forces' invasion of Balkans strengthened the thought that their next move might be the invasion of Turkey. Bulgaria declared that the country had joined to the Axis powers on March 1, 1941. Only a month after, the Nazi forces invaded Greece on April 6, 1941. Although Franz von Papen, the German ambassador, forwarded a

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<sup>11</sup> *Yirmi Kur'a Nafia Askerlik* called "*Las Vente Klasas*" in Ladino (Judeo Spanish), "*Kısan Tasagark*" in Armenian and "*İkosi İlikeis*" in Greek. (Bali, 2008).

<sup>12</sup> Cabinet of Executive Ministers is the name given to the Government or the cabinet of Ministers that exercised the executive power after the opening of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

letter which gave guarantee that the Nazi forces' target was not Turkey to the president İsmet İnönü, the Turkish Armed Forces began to war preparation. The preparation includes orders such as moving citizens who lived in Istanbul and Balkans to Anatolia, destroying bridges on the Maritsa River.

“Ulus” which was the semi-official government newspaper, was published two different announcements calling the males who were born between 1912 and 1932 to the recruitment office to complete their annual precaution roll call (*ihkiyat yoklaması*) on April 10, 1941.

Eight days after the announcements on April 18, 1941, the Ministry of Defense offered a proposal to the “Council of Ministers” to recruit non-Muslim soldiers (who born between 1902 and 1914) to be worked on social works under the order of Ministry of Social Works. The proposal was accepted by the Council of Ministers on April 22, 1941. Although the decree covered men between the ages 24 and 39, it was a common practice that new births were notified late to the population administration. Therefore, possibly non-Muslim men between ages 20 and 60 were drafted (Leon, 1956, as cited in Bali, 2008).

Approximately a year after the initial mobilization of non-Muslim soldiers as social work soldiers, Council of Ministers accepted the proposals which were offered by the Ministry of Defense and enlarged the age limit on March 18, 1942. According to the proposal, any non-Muslim who had not served as military reserve yet would be drafted regardless of age.

Twenty Classes soldiers were discharged on July 27, 1942. The portion of non-Muslim social work soldiers was much higher than the Muslim counterparts.

According to the Bali's research (2008) based on memoirs, oral history studies and letters, non-Muslim social work soldiers had worked on several cities and provinces throughout the Turkey including Ankara. In Ankara, the soldiers were sent to Polatlı and Çubuklu provinces.

Bali also added a report which was written by US Embassy on the Twenty Classes on September 30, 1941. As stated in the report, non-Muslim males who lived

in or near Istanbul, drafted to be worked on military and semi-military constructions in Anatolia. Although there is no official information on how many non-Muslim soldiers drafted, an estimated 30,000 soldiers might have been drafted.<sup>13</sup> Those who declared that they were disabled but could be able to walk were not exempted from military service. Yet, part of those soldiers was later released from the service after medical examination in Anatolia.

The incident of Twenty Classes not only affected the non-Muslim population in person, but also affected the economically. Drafting all non-Muslim male population between the ages 25 and 45 to the compulsory military service, trade market throughout the country (especially Istanbul), the majority of the most experienced traders were dismissed. Many companies owned by the non-Muslim minorities were closed or went downsize.

The government provided financial assistance to families of the soldiers who were drafted in order to made up their revenue loss. In order to expense the financial help, the government was increased the prices of theatre & movie tickets and public transportation. In addition to that, municipalities also increased the prices for the same reason. Bali states that he had been told that an Armenian family was received 20 Turkish Liras monthly which was a fair amount of benefit. It is unknown that how many families took advantage of that benefit, since there were a lot of administrative process went on to have. Nevertheless, it is known that non-Muslim minorities were able to compensate the benefit considerably which was a right given to any Turkish citizen before the law.

It is surprising that the work non-Muslim social work soldiers conducted was not immense that required a mass draft.

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<sup>13</sup> In accordance with the estimation above, Bali crosschecked the number given. As reported by the 1937-38 census, 145,000 of 818,000 non-Muslim population living in Turkey were male and great part of them were settled in Istanbul. 25,000 of them were foreign, therefore, 120,000 total non-Muslim Turkish citizen non-Muslim male living in the state. Considering that approximately 26% of the population is between the ages of 25-45, the final number of non-Muslim males were 31,200. Thus, the embassy's estimation could be considered consistent.



As Bali (2008) cited from Akgönül (2007) government had three purposes on the Twenty Classes case: the first one was limiting the influence of non-Muslims on trade, second, preventing the possible fifth column activities and the third was to reinforce the Turkish defence lines by accelerating the road and bridge constructions and completing those in no time. However, according to Bali, the main purpose was to prevent the fifth column activities and completing urgent constructions in order to strengthen the defense line.

Possible fifth column activities one of the things that distressed the government. Government tried preventing intelligence sources. It is not surprising that the first group to be suspected was minorities especially non-Muslim minorities.

Public Work soldiers were not given usual soldier uniform and wore brown uniforms instead.

### **2.3.6. Wealth Tax 1942**

Wealth tax is not a subject that can be dealt with separately from the economic and political conditions of the period. For Turkey, the years of the Second World War -especially 1942- were the years of economic and military mobilization. During the war, production and consumption decreased due to the recruitment of a large amount of labour force. Consumer demand grew, prices increased continuously, and the inflation rate increased.

Although Turkey had managed to remain neutral during the Second World War and stayed outside until the end of the war, had to increase the number of its soldiers from 120,000 in peacetime to 1.5 million. The share of the Ministry of National Defense in the national budget increased from 30 to 50 percent due to economic burden of maintenance the army. The government had no choice but to print money to the Central Bank and raise taxes for these expenditures, which led to an increase in inflation. Despite all the measures taken, the government could not prevent the decrease in trade, increase in black market and hoarding (Balçı, 2017).

The Wealth Tax Law was passed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on November 11, 1942 (Aktar, 2006). In the Article 1 of the Wealth Tax Law, the tax is explained as follows, “Wealth Tax is an obligation that has been established to be collected over the wealth and extraordinary earnings of the wealthy, for one time only” (Ökte, 1951).

By the middle of November 1942, the Wealth Tax implementation started all over the country. However, the problems arose immediately when trying to specify who would pay how much tax. Therefore, three commissions established in Istanbul determined the people to be taxed and four main groups have been named as Wealth Taxpayers. These groups were Muslims, non-Muslims, apostates (*dönmeler*)<sup>14</sup> and foreigners and later farmers with large lands were added.

The biggest problem encountered is that the amount or rate of tax payable was not specified in the law. The only information given was that Muslims shall pay 12.5%, non-Muslims 50%, Apostates 25% and foreigners 12.5% % of their properties. Thereupon, according to the Wealth Tax Law, in Article 7, authority was given to determine the liability status of wealth owners to the commissions to be established in each province and district centre (Öztürk, 2013, as cited in Silahlı & Vasseti, n.d.). As a result, 87% of the accrued taxes were charged to non-Muslims, 7% to Muslim taxpayers, and the remaining 6% to various groups, mostly to the non-Muslim minorities and foreigners (Ökte, 1951).

Another article of the Wealth Tax Law that drew attention was the Article 12. The article stipulates that the accrued tax be paid within 15 days. Moreover, taxpayers who cannot pay their taxes during this period would be charged 1% for the first week and 2% for the second week in case of delay (Ökte, 1951). The most remarkable part of the article is that taxpayers who could not pay their taxes were either confiscated from their workplaces and other assets or were sent to their workplaces to pay their taxes by working, the most famous of which is Aşkale.

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<sup>14</sup> Dönme means apostate in Turkish and it refers to Sabbateans who believe the Sabbatai Zevi, a Sephardic Jewish rabbi, was proclaimed to be the Jewish Messiah. Sabbateans converted outwardly to Islam, but retained their Jewish faith and Kabbalistic beliefs in secret.

Although the wealth tax is applied all over the country, it had the greatest impact on Istanbul (Aktar, 2006). Other than that, cities such as Izmir, Bursa, Ankara, Hatay, İçel, Seyhan, where the economy was relatively developed were the main locations that the tax collected (Coşar, 2003).

There is limited information on how the Wealth Tax affects the taxpayers in Ankara. However, through Özgür Bal's master's thesis (2006), one can get information from the question asked to non-Muslims living in Ankara about Wealth Tax. In the thesis following question was asked “Have you heard anything from the elders about how the period of Capital Levy was experienced; could you tell about them?”

A Gregorian Armenian who was born in 1953 stated that his family was charged, but the amount of tax that was paid was not as high as in İstanbul. Another Catholic Armenian born in 1957 claimed that his father who worked as a shop assistant hardly paid the tax since it was difficult to sum the money. Another Gregorian Armenian born in 1927 mentioned that the Wealth Tax was even subjected to minors who are younger than 18. Interviewee's sister who worked as tailor's apprentice was taxed 500 Turkish liras which they could not pay at all. However, minors were exempted from the tax when people got chance to see governor Nevzat Tandoğan. He added that his family collectively paid hid uncle's tax which was 5000 Turkish Liras. Moreover, he also mentioned that a Jewish company was sold in order to pay the Wealth Tax. He finalized the interview by saying taxation did not affect Ankara as it did in Istanbul, however, he instanced the incident as a non-Muslim with 100 Turkish lira was taxed 200 or 250 Turkish Liras. As it was understood through the narratives not only tradesmen were subjected to the tax, but also self-employed ones, too. Furthermore, the tax they were subjected to pay, and their incomes were not in consistent at all. A Catholic Armenian tailor born in 1929 stated that she and her family were in fear that another tailor taxed very high amount of money.

A Jewish interviewee was born in 1924 narrates that the entire Jewish community in Ankara was subjected to the Capital Tax and ones who could not manage to pay the tax were sent to Aşkale. He added that there were not many people who was sent to Aşkale since Jewish community helped each other to prevent the exile.

As a result of a misunderstanding the interviewee's father was taxed for 500 Turkish Liras which was the amount of money Muslims had to pay. He stated that 500 Turkish Lira was fair amount of money, but one can manage to pay in one way or another. He added that Muslims were taxed ostensibly by the government.

Couple of interviewees rejected to answer the question, although they have the information through their families. One of them is a Catholic Armenian born in 1963 and sums the incident that 200 Turkish lira tax was requested from 1 Turkish lira capital.

Apart from Bal's thesis (2006), Beki L. Bahar wrote a book (2003) on Jewish community in Ankara based on her memoir. Wealth Tax is one of the subjects she mentioned throughout the book. According to the Behar's father Jewish in Ankara were in a better situation than the communities in Istanbul and Bursa. Governor Nevzat Tandoğan's efforts for the non-Muslim citizens mentioned once again in the book. While sixty 60,000 Turkish Liras was taxed in the agency that Behar's father was a partner in, it was reduced to 6,000 thanks to the Tandoğan. In contrast to the Bal's Jewish interviewee, Behar claimed that no one from the Ankara Jewish community was sent to Aşkale or their houses were not confiscated. Although she mentioned couple of names whose belongings were confiscated. Nonetheless, Bahar stated that couple of countries, which did not treat the Jews in their own countries, backed the Jews in Turkey and even provided financial assistance.

The legal liquidation of the Wealth Tax took place on March 15, 1944, and this tax was completely abolished with the Law No. 4305. Thus, the Wealth Tax was abolished after a 16-month implementation. Due to its economic, social, cultural and demographic characteristics, Istanbul received special attention in the application of the tax and 70% of the tax was accrued to the taxpayers in Istanbul. One of the criticized results of the wealth tax is the elimination of non-Muslims and the transfer of a ready market to the Muslim-Turkish entrepreneur who came to Istanbul from Anatolia. Another criticism is that 30% of the disposed properties are purchased by state-controlled entities. As a result of the wealth tax implementation, a total of 314 million 900 thousand Turkish Lira was collected. In 1942, the state budget was 394

million Turkish Lira. The amount of money, which constitutes 80 percent of the state budget, was collected only through Wealth tax (Balçı, 2017).

### **2.3.7. Establishment of the State of Israel in 1948**

The State of Israel was formed after the Second World War. Its roots are based on the minority status and anti-Semitism experiences in which Christian and Muslim groups have lived since the Torah period. The state of Israel declared independence on May 14, 1948. Turkish Republic did not immediately recognize the establishment of Israel. On March 28, 1949, Anadolu Agency declared that the government officially recognized the state of Israel (Bali, 2003).

For five months following Israel's declaration of independence, official Turkish authorities prevented Jewish citizens from immigrating to Israel. Only five hundred passports were issued during this period, covering the months of May-October. During this period, the Turkish-Jewish press continued to broadcast defending Israel and encouraging immigration. According to the official statistics, 4,362 people immigrated to Israel between May and November 1948. In November 1948, the Turkish government suspended its permission for Jewish immigration to Israel as a result of pressure from Arab countries. This situation increased the fears of Turkish Jews. When Turkey lifted this pressure at the beginning of 1949, 26,000 Jews immigrated to Israel with all their assets in the same year (Güven, 2006).

The total number of people who immigrated to Israel in the 1948-1949 period was 30,668. According to Walter Weiker; The majority of those who immigrated during this period migrated due to the "attractive factors" caused by the establishment of Israel. In order to understand why the Jews in Turkey immigrated to Israel, it is necessary to analyse the conditions of the Turkish society and Jewish community in general, who are a part of this society, during the periods of intense immigration. Examining the reasons for migration and the stages of migration is important in understanding these conditions and knowing how the Jewish community in Turkey react to the changing conditions in the country and society in general.

There are several "push" and "pull" factors in immigration to Israel. Bali (2003) mentioned four dynamics why Jewish emigrated to Israel. First one is discriminatory politics during the one-party rule. Jewish community had experienced several incidents including public campaigns such as "Citizen Speak Turkish!" Trakya Incident in 1934. Second one is the economic problems that Jewish community had faced. Wealth Tax was an important factor in emigration to Israel. A great part of the Jews who emigrated to Israel between 1948-49 were part of the poor and lower-class. It can be seen that they were mostly workers, peddlers, small business owners and shopkeepers. Some of them were also unemployed. The Wealth Tax was a factor in Jewish to be unemployed as the tax made their bosses pay a great amount of money or send to Aşkale and as a result lower class Jews found themselves unemployed (Güven, 2006). The third reason is Zionism, although it could not be said that the Jewish people participated in the Zionist activities in an organized way, the emigrants' attachment to Zionism was another reason for their emigration. Emigrants expressed this feeling as "idealism" and "the opportunity to go to our true homeland". They were impressed by the excitement and joy that the establishment of Israel created throughout the world (Bali, 2003). Walter Weiker (1989, as cited in Bali, 2003) found that those who embraced Jewish identity and Zionism the most are lower-class Jews and well-educated youth in his research among Turkish Jews residing in Israel. Toktaş (2008) added that there were upper-middle and middle-class young adults who were willing to emigrate by Zionist idealism whose sense of Jewish identity influenced by the Holocaust in Europe. The fourth factor is propaganda to emigrate to Israel. In the letters they sent to their relatives and friends staying in Turkey, the emigrants wrote that the Israeli state gave them good opportunities. Moreover, witnessing the establishment of a Jewish state made them want to be in solidarity with the fellow Jewish (Bali, 2003). Toktaş (2008) and Güven (2006) added one more factor that attracted the Jewish community in Turkey, namely *drahoma* (dowry). *Drahoma* is sum of money that bride had to give to the family of the groom and it was a widespread tradition within the Jewish community in Turkey. However, that tradition did not implement in Israel, therefore, low-income families wanted their daughter to emigrate to Israel pursuing marriage.

Between 1923 and 1947, 7,308 Jew emigrated to the Palestine while it drastically increased after the establishment of Israel and became 34,547<sup>15</sup> between 1948 and 1951 (Toktaş, 2008 as cited in Wieker, 1989). In other words, 40% of the total Jewish population, which was determined as 76,965 in the 1945 census, left Turkey in 1948/49. Moreover, addition of immigrants in 1950-51, this rate reached 45%. The total number of emigrants who came to Israel in 1949 was 239,076 and 26,295 immigrants were from Turkey and that made up 11% of the total number (Bali, 2003).

It should be noted that there is no information found how many of the Jewish emigrants were living in Ankara before leaving the country.

### **2.3.8. Major Events After 1950**

Non-Muslim minorities continued to be oppressed in 1950 and beyond.

One of the most important events that affected the non-Muslim populations was the Istanbul Pogrom of 6-7 September 1955. The pogrom started when the news of the bomb attack on the house where Atatürk was born in Thessaloniki on September 6, 1955, was broadcast on the radio. In the late afternoon of the same day, a protest meeting was held in Taksim Square, in line with the call of various student unions. After this rally, some groups started to attack non-Muslim workplaces on Istiklal Street. In a short time, regions such as Beyoğlu, Kurtuluş, Şişli, Nişantaşı, known as the traditional residence and business environment of non-Muslims, came equipped with various tools and their workplaces, houses, schools, churches. and was flooded with masses of people destroying cemeteries. It is thought that approximately 100 thousand people participated in these attacks. On September 7, 1955, six months of martial law was declared in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, and the Assembly was temporarily closed. In Ankara, only student protests took place, but violence did not occur. One of the most important reasons for this is the very low rate of non-Muslim

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<sup>15</sup> As Bali (2003) cited in Sicron (1957) the number of Jews emigrated to Israel between the years 1948 and 1951 is 34,647.

population in Ankara. However, it is known that 300 to 469 people were arrested in Ankara as a result of the events. The events of 6-7 September caused Greek, Armenian and Jewish people to leave the country with great immigration waves. For the majority of non-Muslims, the events of 6-7 September proved that they were not accepted as Turkish citizens. The thought that no matter which party is in power, they will be exposed to discrimination in the future has strengthened their desire to migrate abroad (Güven, 2005).

Attending a Turkish deputy principal to the minority schools was reinstated in 1962 for the second time in the republic after was experienced between 1937 and 1949. The desired deputy principal defined as Turkish national and from Turkish origin in the related law. The practice remained in effect until 2007. From 1968 to 2000, children whose identity was not specified as Greek or Armenian in their identity cards could not enroll in minority schools, and subsequent corrections made by court decision were not accepted. Starting from 1980, the principals did not have any practical authority in minority schools, and the authorities including the signing of payrolls were given to the Turkish deputy principal (Oran, 2011).

Religious pressures applied to non-Muslims by various methods increased during the 1971 and 1980 military coups and continued to decrease after 1990 (Oran, 2011).



## **CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY**

The third chapter consists of the following components which are brief description of the research area, the data sources, methods of analysis and explanation of the research questions. After explaining the method of the study, the contribution and limitations of the study to the literature are discussed.

### **3.1. Location of the Research Area**

Research area of this thesis is Ankara province. Geographically, Ankara is located in the northwest of Central Anatolia, on the plain where the Ankara Stream, one of the branches of the Sakarya River, passes. The city has been a frequent destination for trade routes since ancient times due to its location on the edge of the steppe region of Central Anatolia, but away from the mountainous regions of the Inner Black Sea region and suitable for protection (Ergenç, 2013). Ankara's function has changed due to the switch of trade routes in Anatolia throughout history, but has always remained settled (Şahin Güçhan, 2001).

### **3.2. Data Sources**

There are three data sources of this thesis. The first source is the censuses carried out both in the Ottoman and Republican periods. Starting from the 1830 census, which was the first census carried out by the Ottoman Empire, the censuses made in the republican period until 1965 were examined.

Second data source is baptism records that submitted from the Azize Tereza Latin Catholic Church. The church is located on Kardeşler Street in Ulus, Ankara. The site where the church stands today once housed the St. Klement French School. During the great fire in 1916, the school and the neighborhood burned down. In 1928, a building including the French Embassy residence and a small chapel was built on the school grounds. Afterwards, the building being used as French Primary School until 1962. Today the chapel is located on the first floor of the historical building.

The third data source is historical and political events that have happened in Ankara throughout the period that this thesis covers. By analysing the literature, the effect of the events on the population of Ankara was tried to be determined.

### **3.3. Methods Based and Aims**

The hypothesis of this study is to determine a meaningful relationship between change of non-Muslim population of Ankara and historical events. It is known that before the World War I, one out of every five people living in present-day Turkey were non-Muslims, however, after the war, only one out of forty people remained non-Muslims (Aktar, 2004). This study aspires to show aforementioned change quantitatively with the help of censuses and religious institutions belong to non-Muslim population such as churches to support the transformation with the historical events that had happened in the former Ottoman and then found Turkish Republic.

This study is qualitative research. The primary research method for this study is literature review and conceptual modelling. Providing data as a result of the analysis of written documents containing information about the subject examined within the scope of the research is defined as document review. After the data is collected, descriptive analysis and content analysis including detailed analysis will be done.

This study firstly reviews literature, and a classification method is developed to categorize the data. In the second stage of this study, existed historical events will be discussed and the relation between non-Muslim population and those events will be analysed. Finally, once the relationship between historical events and non-Muslim population are identified, a conceptual framework for the situation is outlined.

### **3.4. Research Questions**

This thesis study has examined the change in the number of non-Muslim population in Ankara over the years and the connection of this change with historical events. In parallel with the research aim, the research questions of the study are:

3. How did the non-Muslim population of Ankara change between 1831 and 2019?
4. Is there a relationship between historical events (the empire's land losses, mass migrations, establishment of a new nation-state, population exchange, wealth tax etc.) and change in the number of non-Muslims in Ankara?

### **3.5. Contributions and Limitations**

#### **3.5.1. Contribution to the Literature**

In the literature, there are studies on Ankara on many different subjects. It is possible to reach information about the population structure of Ankara, especially in urban history studies. However, before this study, there was no study focusing only on the non-Muslim population of Ankara and aiming to explain the change of this population over the years by associating it with the results of historical and social events. With this study, it is aimed to deal with the demographic change of Ankara.

#### **3.5.2. Limitations of the Study**

The biggest obstacle to this study is that after the 1965 census, questions of religion were not included. Therefore, the non-Muslim population in the country has become untraceable through censuses.

During the research process, the Directorate General of Civil Registrations and Citizenship Affairs was asked whether it is possible to share the data on the non-Muslim population. It was thought that the Directorate General of Civil Registrations

and Citizenship Affairs might have this data, since there was a religion section in the identity cards of the Republic of Turkey for a long time. The directorate general stated that the statistical information compiled by the institution cannot be given to any person or authority before it is put into use. Moreover, the directorate General added that the institution responsible for publishing and distributing social and demographic statistics regarding its citizens is the Turkish Statistical Institute. Secondly, Turkish Statistical Institution (TURKSTAT) was asked if the institution has the relevant data on the non-Muslim population. Turkish Statistical Institution stated that the institution does not compile information on ethnic origin, religious beliefs and minority population distribution. This information, which could be obtained from censuses until 1965, was not compiled after 1965 and no relevant variables were found. In line with this information, no official data could be obtained from the state institutions.

Another limitation of the study is that the non-Muslim population was listed only by gender in the censuses conducted in the Republican period, and the details of the population structure cannot be accessed because there was no classification according to age groups. The lack of data prevented the research from deepening in terms of demographic analysis.

During the research Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople was asked if their Church had any information about the Apostolic Armenians in Ankara. The church stated that there is no information available about the Armenians in Ankara.

## CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

The findings are discussed under four main sections. First one is a brief history of non-Muslim presence in Ankara before the 1830-31 census. Although the thesis covers the period between 1830 to 1965, revealing what is known about the non-Muslim population in the pre-1830 period will help to understand the period covered by this study. Second section is non-Muslim population in Ankara in the Ottoman Empire. Likewise, the third section covers non-Muslim population in Ankara in Turkish Republic. The last section is the baptism records obtained from Azize Tereza Church.

### 4.1 Non-Muslim presence in Ankara in the pre-1830 period

Non-Muslim population in Ankara in the pre-1830 period is not this thesis study's research subject. Nevertheless, the fact that the Ottoman Empire carried out the first census in the modern sense in 1830-31 does not mean that there were no non-Muslim communities in the city before. Although we do not have exact figures, scholars such as Ergenç (1973), Galanti, Eyrice, Barkan have mentioned various numbers based on the writings of that period. The information on this topic will be based on the population estimates Neriman Şahin Güçhan's article (2001) that is compiled from various scholars in her article such as Ergenç (1973), Göyünç (1967), Özdemir and Aktüre (1981).

**Table 4.1.** Ankara's population estimations in the 16<sup>th</sup> century

	<b>Barkan (1951)</b>	<b>Göyünç (1967)</b>	<b>Ergenç (1973)</b>	<b>Aktüre (1981)</b>
<b>1520- 1530</b>	14,872			
<b>1522</b>		15,000	13,203	12000- 16000
<b>1571-1580</b>	29,007			
<b>1590</b>			25,000	
<b>1607</b>			22,000	

Source: Şahin Güçhan, 2001

According to Göyünç's estimation based on tax register (tahrir defteri) dated 1522, Ankara's population was between 12,000 and 16,000 (as cited in Şahin Güçhan, 2001). German traveller Hans Dernschwam noted that Ankara had 81 neighbourhoods, 69 of which were inhabited by Muslims, 3 of those were inhabited by Christians while 8 of which were inhabited by both Muslim and Christians and remaining one neighbourhood was inhabited by Jewish (Göyünç, 1967, as cited in Şahin Güçhan, 2001). Ergenç<sup>16</sup> (1973) and Aktüre (1981) made their population estimations based on Göyünç's article (1967). Likewise, Barkan stated that Ankara's population increased to 29,007 between 1571 and 1580 (as cited in Şahin Güçhan, 2001).

Ankara's population increased between 54% and 72% based on the table above between 1522 and 1607. Ankara's trade volume increased throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century with more than 3,000 taxpayers. The city's increasing trading activity led to population increase as well. Nonetheless, Ankara's development process did not continue in the 17<sup>th</sup> century due to famine and Celali Rebellions. Information on the 18<sup>th</sup> century Ankara is based on information provided by travellers.

**Table 4.2.** Ankara's estimated 18<sup>th</sup> century population

	Period	Total	Muslim	Armenian	Greek	Jew
<b>Ergenç</b>	1607	23,000 - 25,000				
<b>Tournefort</b>	1701	45,000	40,000	4000 - 5000		
<b>Pockocke</b>	1739-40	100,000	90,000	10,000	1,500	40 families
<b>Özdemir</b>	1786	22,000	-			
<b>Aktüre</b>	18th century	40,000	-			
<b>Kinnier</b>	1813-14	20,000				

Source: Şahin Güçhan, 2001

<sup>16</sup> Ergenç (1973) made a detailed calculation in his book "XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya".

Tournefort<sup>17</sup> noted that 40,000 Muslims, between 4,000 and 5,000 Armenians and 600 Greek live in Ankara in 1701. Nevertheless, Pococke<sup>18</sup> who visited Ankara in 1739-40 stated that the city's total population was around 100,000. Aktüre's estimation for the 18<sup>th</sup> century is 40,000 considering the city's building density. Meanwhile, Özdemir based his estimation on the 1830 census and avarızhane paid by neighbourhoods and estimated the population of the city as 20,000. Kinneir<sup>19</sup> mentioned that Ankara's population was less than 20,000 in 1813-14 (as cited in Şahin Güçhan, 2001). He added that 1/3 of the population were Catholic Armenians (Kinneir, 1818).

#### **4.2. Ankara in Ottoman Empire Censuses**

After the abolition of the Janissary corps in 1926, radical changes were made in every field in the Ottoman Empire compared to previous periods. After the establishment of the Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye<sup>20</sup> Army, the state also founded a treasury (the Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye Hazinesi) to provide the equipment for the new army. In order to generate income, it was decided to re-register the existing tradesmen across the country and start to collect a certain amount of tax from each of them. Although a general census was also discussed, it was postponed with the intervention of the Russian-Ottoman War. The census, which came to the agenda again after the end of the war, was discussed in the parliament and the preparations were started with the approval of the Sultan Mahmud II. Preparations were made to determine format of the census, the regions that census will conduct and census officers. Moreover, Ceride Nezareti (Census Department) was founded in 1831 to evaluate the census results (Çadırcı 2000).

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<sup>17</sup> Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, French botanist, travelled across the Anatolia between 1701-02 (Kılıçaslan, 2017).

<sup>18</sup> Richard Pococke, English clergyman and traveller visited Middle East between 1737-41.

<sup>19</sup> John Macdonald Kinneir, Scottish army officer, diplomat and traveller, wrote "Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan in the years 1813 and 1814".

<sup>20</sup> The new army was established by Mahmud II in 1926, meaning Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad in Turkish.

The census began on 1 December 1830 in Ankara. In the register where the census was written, the city center was divided into 2 separate sections. In the first section, Muslims were written on the basis of neighborhoods, while the non-Muslim population was written in the second section. In the instruction given to the census officers, the importance of writing non-Muslims in another register was emphasized (Çadırcı, 2000). The first and subsequent census results were not officially published by the Ottoman Empire. 1830-1831 census result was published in 1843 by Enver Ziya Karal.

The 1844 census was attempted to be done in more detail, but it was not successful. People were hesitant to census due to reasons such as increased taxes and military recruitment. Muslim population who did not want to join the military and the non-Muslim community leaders who gave wrong information about their own communities were effective in the failure of the census. Although the 1844 general census results were collected in Ceride Nezareti (Census Department), the Ottoman State did not officially publish the census results due to the failure of the census. The next census was intended to be done in 1870 which could not be implemented due to internal turmoil. In fact, if the census could be done, it would be the first census to include the female population in accordance with the decision taken in 1864. Although the regulation was issued in 1870, it did not enter into force due to some reasons. Another census was attempted to be done and create a new population registration system in 1874. Ottoman State aimed to register all subjects, including new-born babies, with their age, nicknames, descriptions (eye and skin color) and physical disabilities, so that no one would be hidden and unregistered with the 1874 Regulation. Nevertheless, the state's busy agenda including Abdulhamid II's accession to throne, the proclamation of the first constitution, Kanun-i Esasi, the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78, Bosnia and Herzegovina uprising in 1875, and deterioration of the demographic structure with the arrival of large numbers of Muslim immigrants from the Balkans to Anatolia, postponed the census until 1881. The regulations and population registration system arranged for the 1874 Census became the road map for the 1881/82 Census. It was aimed to create a registry record with the 1881/82 census. Information about the individual's name, nickname, father's name, age, religion,



address, profession, electoral status, address, physical disability and marital status were written in the registry of individuals. Separate registers were created for the non-Muslim population. The most important feature that distinguishes the census from previous ones was the counting of children, elderly and women for the first time, along with men. The 188/82 census was the first comprehensive census of the Ottoman Empire in the modern sense. As a result of the comprehensive efforts, the enumeration process took longer than expected. Although the end date of the census is not certain, 1893, the year census results was present to the Abdulhamid II, was accepted as the end date of the census (Erdoğan, 2020).

The last census of the Ottoman Empire was the 1905/06 census. The reasons such as the undercounting of the population in some regions of Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula in the previous censuses, and the desire of non-Muslim communities to overstate their communities' populations were the political reasons for demanding a new census. The census, which started in 1903, continued until 1905-1906. In the census, the people were written on the basis of their place of residence, not where they were at the time (de jure) of the census for the first time (Erdoğan, 2020).

Based on the 1905/06 census results and taking into account the changes sent by the population directorates, the last census was made on 14 March 1914 and the results were published in 1920. Since it is a census made over the records available by adding births, deaths, and migrations to the 1905/06 census results, it was actually a population statistic beyond a census (Erdoğan, 2020).

**Table 4.3.** Population of Ankara in Ottoman Censuses

	Muslim	Christian				Jewish	Total non-Muslim Population	Total Population
		Greek Orthodox	Armenian Catholic	Gregorian	Protestant			
<b>1830</b>	6,338	5,022				136	5,158	11,496
<b>1881-82</b>	17,218	1,637	5,579	725	236	413	8,590	25,808
<b>1914</b>	69,066	3,327	6,990	3,341	915	1,026	15,599	84,665

Source: Çadırcı, 2000, Karpat, 1985, Karal,

Table 4.3. demonstrates the censuses that the Ottoman Empire made. It should be taken note that 1830 census only included adult males. Çadırcı (2000) stated that if male population multiply by 2, the population would be around 23,000. Therefore, there is not an extraordinary increase in the Ankara's population from 1830 to 1881-82. 1881-82 census provided a detailed information on the non-Muslim population and it can be seen that 1/3 of the total population of Ankara is non-Muslim at that time. Unfortunately, there is no information in the 1905-06 census on the Ankara districts's (kaza) population. The only data provided is the Ankara Sancak's population and it covers the other districts namely, Ayaş, Balahisar, Beypazarı, Haymana, Kalecik, Mihaliççık, Nallıhan, Sivrihisar and Yabanabad. The result of the 1905/06 census is given below in the Table 4.4. 1914 census or population statistics showed that Ankara's population had tripled in 30 years.

**Table 4.4.** Ankara Sancak's Population 1905/06 Census

Muslim		Greek		Armenian		Greek Catholic			
F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M		
179,956	170,635	1,835	1,532	5,047	4,802	7	7		
Arm. Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Foreign		Total	
F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
3,196	3,336	426	361	633	632	2		191,102	181,305

Source: Karpat, 1985

### 4.3. Ankara in Turkish Republic Censuses

The population was an essential issue in the Republic's first years. The last census was made at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by the Ottoman Empire which means almost 20 years before. During this time there were great wars that caused the loss of a large number of people, these wars led to significant changes in the amount of population and the balance of the society, and the newly established republic also witnessed a population exchange as well.

Institutional innovations were made to examine the existing population records in terms of quality and quantity in addition to the arrangements made to find out the number of the population living in the country. One of them was the State Institute of Statistics (Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü), founded in 1926. The Institute gained importance in the preparation of Turkey's short and long-term programs prior to social and economic development plans by being given tasks such as preparing population censuses and determining population growth rates. After the institute started its activities in 1926, Belgian scientist Camillie Jaquart was appointed as the president. After the establishment of the General Directorate of Statistics (İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü), she was assigned with the census in 1927. Although the questionnaires used by the institute in this census were determined according to international criteria, they continued to bear the traces of the past (Tuğluoğlu, 2012).

In the first census of 1927, the effects of the National Struggle were visible. Since the establishment of Turkey, claims that underestimated the population of Turkey were voiced by Europeans. Therefore, one of the main concerns was to clarify the dilemma how many Turks were living in the Turkish homeland. Common questions that the International Statistics Congress and the United Nations Statistical Committee recommend that each country should include in their censuses are “What is her/his mother tongue?” “What is the language s/he speaks other than her/his mother tongue?” and “What is her/his religion?” and “What is her/his nationality?”. State Institute of Statistics followed this decision, included these questions in the censuses made until 1985. The reason for the question of mother tongue and religion to be included in the Turkish census was explained by Dr. F. Nöymark explained as follows: “For countries that are not homogeneous from the point of view of race and nationality, it is especially important to determine the components of the population in terms of language and religion. It is extremely important in terms of state and cultural policy to accurately determine the regions where the population groups who speak a language other than the mother tongue or belong to a religion other than the dominant (national) religion gather. Although the issue of minorities lost its importance for Turkey after the First World War, especially after the population exchange with Greece, knowing the real

and relative numbers of Armenians and Greeks and the regions where they live provides great benefits” (Dündar, 2000).

De facto census was applied in the censuses made in Turkey since 1927. In the adoption of the de facto census in Turkey, it was preferred because the census work is simple, it can be determined more easily who will be accepted to the census, there is no difficulty in monitoring and including citizens outside the country, it brings fewer financial difficulties and can be implemented in one day (Tuğluoğlu, 2012). The second census of the Republic was held in 1935, and from this year, censuses were held every five years. Thus, 13 censuses were made until 1990. After 1990, it was decided to make in every 10 years. The last of the censuses which made in one day, in the form of counting the citizens one by one by the census officers, was implemented in 2000. The only exception in this aspect is the 1940 Census. Dündar (2000) stated the 1940 census was carried out with 0.5% sampling and data on population was determined through sampling. Moreover, it is not possible to find 1940 census' data on non-Muslim population. Although there is a census book published about the finding of 1940 census, there is no information about the non-Muslim population in the book. No information on the non-Muslim population could be found in either Dündar's book (2000) or other works analysed in the literature review. Therefore, there is no information related to the 1940 census in the Table 4.5 and Table 4.6 below. Moreover, there were no religion related questions in the 1950 census, therefore, it is not possible to obtain an exact number of population. Although it is possible to make guesses based on the questions asked about the mother tongue, it is not possible to reach certain data since it is possible that people do not want to give this information or that they are non-Muslims and cannot speak their mother tongue. Moreover, it is known that Catholic Armenians preferred speaking in Turkish in their community and write Turkish with Armenian alphabet. Nevertheless, the results in the mother tongue of the 1950 census are given in Table 4.6. Since the questions about religion were not shared with the public after the 1965 census, it is not possible to examine the following years through the censuses in our study.

**Table 4.5.** Ankara's Population in the Republic Censuses (1927-1965)

	Muslim	Gregorian	Catholic	Orthodox	Protestant	Armenian	Christian	Sect Unknown	Christian Total	Jew	non-muslim total
<b>1927</b>	400,179		1445	561	352	929	356		3,643	663	4,306
<b>1935</b>	529,824	6	1557	615	490	123	25		2,816	999	3,815
<b>1945</b>	688,999	1,498	1192	1179	526			357	4,752	1,569	6,321
<b>1955</b>	1,113,784	458	1919	577	2180			937	6,071	578	6,649
<b>1960</b>	1,310,014	941	2960	1185	4774			302	10,162	648	10,810
<b>1965</b>	1,631,795	694	1	734	5755			484	7,668	671	8,339

Source: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1927, 1935, 1945, 1955, 1960, 1965

**Table 4.6.** Languages spoken as mother tongue in Ankara (1927-1965)

	Turkish			Armenian			Greek			Jewish Language		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
<b>1927</b>	190,998	185,746	376,744	253	355	608	133	46	179	227	236	463
<b>1935</b>	256,667	245,007	501,674	142	161	303	83	71	154	158	178	336
<b>1945</b>	356,525	312,528	669,053	809	157	966	419	197	616	509	264	773
<b>1950</b>	410,500	363,791	774,291	117	72	189	153	151	304	150	165	315
<b>1955</b>			1,076,023			256			429			301
<b>1960</b>			1,294,504			123			319			65
<b>1965</b>	844,809	745,583	1,590,392	36	50	86	79	85	164	30	34	64

Source: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1927, 1935, 1945, 1955, 1960, 1965

While determining the number of non-Muslims in Ankara in the censuses, besides the question of religion, the question of native language also gave an opinion for researchers. Especially in 1950, when the question of religion was not included, the question of native language was the only source one get information about the number of non-Muslim population. It should be noted that original mother tongue list of the census had more languages such as Arabic, Albanian, Kurdish (and dialects of

Kurdish), however, our study focused on non-Muslim populations, namely, Armenian, Greek and Jewish communities in Ankara. Thus, other languages in the list are not included in Table 4.6.

Table 4.5. shows the number of non-Muslims in Ankara according to the censuses, while Table 4.6. shows the native language spoken by the people in the same censuses. In the first census in 1927, one can see that there were 3643 Christians from different sects, while 787 people whose mother tongues were Armenian and Greek were identified. The inconsistency of the two numbers can be interpreted as the majority of Christians living in Ankara speak Turkish as their mother tongue. In addition, it is not possible to determine exactly how many Armenians and Greeks lived in the city in the 1927 census. An Armenian can declare himself as Catholic, Orthodox or Protestant according to his sect, or he can declare oneself only as a Christian, or he can declare oneself to be Armenian by religion. For this reason, it is not possible to determine how many of the Greeks in the city have Greek as their native language. In addition, it can be said that while there were 663 Jews in Ankara in the 1927 census, there were 463 Jewish speakers. While the contradictory classification for Christians continued in 1935, the Gregorian option was added to religion question. In the 1935 census, there were 457 people who spoke Armenian or Greek, compared to 2816 people who declared that they were Christians in Ankara. Moreover, there were 999 Jewish people in Ankara while 336 Jewish speakers were present at that time. The classification for non-Muslims changed with the 1945 census and the Christian and Armenian options were abolished, leaving only the Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant and Gregorian options. While there are 4752 Christians in the city, there are 1582 people whose mother tongue is Armenian or Greek. In addition, there were 1569 Jewish in Ankara and 773 Jewish speakers. It is noteworthy that between 1935 and 1945, the number of people speaking Jewish more than doubled. Since 1950 census did not include question of religion, the only part that can be inferred about non-Muslims is the mother tongue section. In this census, there are 189 native Armenian speakers, 304 Greek speakers and 315 Jewish speakers in Ankara. What is remarkable is that the number of people speaking three languages decreased by half in the last 5 years after the 1945 census. While the decrease in Jewish speakers may be related to the

establishment of the State of Israel; the political events of the period, especially the Wealth Tax, may have been effective in the decrease in the number of Armenians and Greeks. While it was seen that the non-Muslim population in the city increased in the 1955 and 1960 censuses, it can be seen in the native language section that the number of people whose mother tongues are Armenian, Greek and Jewish decreased. It can be interpreted as a projection of the “Citizen Speak Turkish!” campaign, as well as the nation-state policies. Finally, in the 1965 census, it is seen that the non-Muslim population, which had peaked in the previous census, started to decline, while the number of people whose mother tongue was Armenian, Greek and Jewish was the lowest since the 1927 census.

In summary, the number of people whose mother tongues were Armenian, Greek and Jewish in Ankara is far below the number of people who stated their religion as Christian or Jewish. The first reason for this can be interpreted as the Turkish speaking of Catholic Armenians, who are known to constitute the majority of the non-Muslim population in Ankara. In addition, it can be shown that young generations have grown as their mother tongue Turkish in the light of historical and social events in the country and as a result of nation-state policies.

#### **4.4 Azize Tereza Church’s Baptism Records**

The baptismal records of the Azize Tereza Church were obtained as part of this thesis. Around 500 baptismal records were noted from 1829 until October 2021, when the records were reviewed. In the study, the identities of the people on the baptism list were not disclosed, only the dates of birth and baptism and their sex were recorded.

**Table 4.7.** Baptism Records of Azize Tereza Church, Number of Births per Year

<b>Date Born</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>1922</b>	0	1	1
<b>1923</b>	0	0	0
<b>1924</b>	1	0	1

<b>1925</b>	0	2	2
<b>1926</b>	1	1	2
<b>1927</b>	1	1	2
<b>1928</b>	2	2	4
<b>1929</b>	0	1	1
<b>1930</b>	0	0	0
<b>1931</b>	2	1	3
<b>1932</b>	4	2	6
<b>1933</b>	5	5	10
<b>1934</b>	7	1	8
<b>1935</b>	6	3	9
<b>1936</b>	4	5	9
<b>1937</b>	1	3	4
<b>1938</b>	5	2	7
<b>1939</b>	1	3	4
<b>1940</b>	4	1	5
<b>1941</b>	4	4	8
<b>1942</b>	3	2	5
<b>1943</b>	2	9	11
<b>1944</b>	6	3	9
<b>1945</b>	3	4	7
<b>1946</b>	3	5	8
<b>1947</b>	2	2	4
<b>1948</b>	3	5	8
<b>1949</b>	5	2	7
<b>1950</b>	2	2	4
<b>1951</b>	4	6	10
<b>1952</b>	6	5	11
<b>1953</b>	4	3	7
<b>1954</b>	5	1	6
<b>1955</b>	6	5	11
<b>1956</b>	5	3	8
<b>1957</b>	8	5	13
<b>1958</b>	8	1	9
<b>1959</b>	4	6	10
<b>1960</b>	7	4	11
<b>1961</b>	1	3	4



<b>1962</b>	7	9	16
<b>1963</b>	4	4	8
<b>1964</b>	6	6	12
<b>1965</b>	3	6	9
<b>1966</b>	2	5	7
<b>1967</b>	7	1	8
<b>1968</b>	5	6	11
<b>1969</b>	6	4	10
<b>1970</b>	1	2	3
<b>1971</b>	5	3	8
<b>1972</b>	4	1	5
<b>1973</b>	3	3	6
<b>1974</b>	8	6	14
<b>1975</b>	2	3	5
<b>1976</b>	1	1	2
<b>1977</b>	2	5	7
<b>1978</b>	5	5	10
<b>1979</b>	7	2	9
<b>1980</b>	2	2	4
<b>1981</b>	1	1	2
<b>1982</b>	1	1	2
<b>1983</b>	5	3	8
<b>1984</b>	4	2	6
<b>1985</b>	1	1	2
<b>1986</b>	1	2	3
<b>1987</b>	3	2	5
<b>1988</b>	3	1	4
<b>1989</b>	1	4	5
<b>1990</b>	1	3	4
<b>1991</b>	2	0	2
<b>1992</b>	3	2	5
<b>1993</b>	1	3	4
<b>1994</b>	0	2	2
<b>1995</b>	4	0	4
<b>1996</b>	3	1	4
<b>1997</b>	1	2	3
<b>1998</b>	2	0	2

<b>1999</b>	3	3	6
<b>2000</b>	1	2	3
<b>2001</b>	1	4	5
<b>2002</b>	0	0	0
<b>2003</b>	0	1	1
<b>2004</b>	0	0	0
<b>2005</b>	0	4	4
<b>2006</b>	0	1	1
<b>2007</b>	0	1	1
<b>2008</b>	0	0	0
<b>2009</b>	0	0	0
<b>2010</b>	0	0	0
<b>2011</b>	2	0	2
<b>2012</b>	0	0	0
<b>2013</b>	0	0	0
<b>2014</b>	1	1	2
<b>2015</b>	0	1	1
<b>2016</b>	0	1	1
<b>2017</b>	0	1	1
<b>2018</b>	1	0	1
<b>Unknown</b>	3	1	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>264</b>	<b>239</b>	<b>503</b>

## CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

This thesis study has examined the change in the number of non-Muslim population in Ankara over the years and the connection of this change with historical events. The study used qualitative research method to identify the connection between decreasing non-Muslim population and historical events. In the study, the results of the censuses were examined, and it was determined that the non-Muslim population decreased. By examining the literature, the connection of the decrease in population with historical and social events was investigated. The period covered by the thesis begins with the 1830/31 census, which is accepted as the first modern census of the Ottoman Empire, and ends with the year 2021, when the baptismal records are examined.

Although the 1830/31 census, which is the starting point of the thesis study, is accepted as the first census in the modern sense with the counting of adult men as individuals, the purpose of the census is different from that of the modern censuses. Since it was intended to determine the potential for military and financial resources for the newly established army, it was made only in the target region and women, children and the elderly were not counted. As shown in Table 4.3., the number of non-Muslim population and Muslim population were very close to each other in the census. 55.13% of Ankara is composed of Muslims, 43.68% of Christians and 1.18% of Jews. In this census, the sects of the Christian subjects (raya) were not asked, but in the census made in 1881/82 and the results of which were presented in 1893, showed that the majority of them were Catholic Armenians. If we multiply the census result in 1830/31 by two, we can add the female population and estimate a population of about 23 thousand. In the census made in 1881/82, women were also counted, and the population was found to be approximately 26 thousand. Judging by the numbers alone, it can be said that this is a consistent increase. However, when we analyse the population as percentages, we see that the proportion of the Muslim population has increased to approximately 67%, and Muslims now make up 2/3 of Ankara's population. On the other hand, Christian subjects make up about 33% of the population, while Jews make up 1.6%. The 1881/82 census counted the non-Muslim subjects according to their sects, like all the censuses

that would come after it. Accordingly, approximately 65% of the Christian subjects in Ankara are Catholic Armenian, 19% Greek, 8% Gregorian and 1% Protestant. When the 1914 census is examined, it is seen that the population of the city has increased by approximately 59 thousand people in about 30 years, in other words, the population of the city has increased more than 3 times. In this census, it is seen that Muslims constitute more than 80% of Ankara's population. Christians make up 18% of the population, while Jews make up 1.2%. The Muslim population, who migrated from the lands lost in the last period of the Ottoman Empire, has an effect on the increasing population of Ankara. In these migrations, which were not among the subjects of the thesis, Muslims living in the lost lands in Europe migrated to the remaining lands of the empire. Ankara had quadrupled its population in 85 years and had undergone a demographic change. While in 1830 almost half of the population of the city was non-Muslim subjects, by 1914 this rate had decreased to approximately 20%.

After 1914, it was only possible to count the population of Ankara in 1927. Although only 13 years have passed, the empire collapsed during this time, and the nation-state was established after great wars. In addition, a relocation, a great fire and a population exchange took place in the city. It was revealed that the majority of the Christian population living in Ankara was Armenians, and the majority of Armenians were Catholics. In the relocation law, it was stated that the relocation only covered Gregorian Armenians, and Catholic and Protestant Armenians were exempted from deportation. However, the census results contradict this law. While 11,646 Armenians lived in the city in 1914, this number decreased to at least 929 in 1927. In other words, 10 thousand Armenian citizens had left Ankara in the 13 years that have passed. Although the reason for this great change was deportation to a large extent, the great fire that broke out in Ankara in 1916 also affected non-Muslims, especially Armenians. Although it is not known whether the fire was caused by natural causes or deliberately, it mostly affected non-Muslims. Esin and Etöz (2015) estimated that 1699 people, 1550 of whom were Christians, were affected by the fire.

One of the first activities of the republic, which was founded in 1923, was to exchange with Greece. Except for the Greeks in Istanbul, all the Greeks were sent to Greece, and the Turks there were settled in Turkey. There is no comprehensive study

on the Greek community in Ankara. The information obtained in the study was taken from 2 different works of Esin and Etöz (2012, 2015). In the mentioned works, the memories of people who have witnessed history have been used. Although there are numbers on the population of the Greek community in these memoirs, they do not show any similarity with the official census records. While in the 1914 census it was determined that there were 3327 Greeks in Ankara, in 1927 there were 561 Orthodox and 356 Christian citizens in the city. In the 1927 census, the census officers were told to ask about the sects of Christians. When the census results were published, there were the following groups for Christian citizens: Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Armenian and Christian. Since citizens were not asked which churches they belong to in these lists, it is not possible to reach a definite judgment about exactly how many Greeks or Armenians were in Ankara then. While a Greek citizen can identify himself as Orthodox or Christian, there are more options for Armenians. An Armenian may belong to the Catholic, Orthodox, or Protestant churches or may identify himself as Armenian. However, in the same census, citizens were also asked about their mother tongue and 179 people stated that their mother tongue was Greek. Although we cannot determine the exact number of the Greek community, we can say that there are at least 179 of them. Similarly, 608 people told that their mother tongue is Armenian, however, it is known that Catholic Armenians have preferred speaking Turkish rather than Armenian. Therefore, it is not possible to reach exact numbers, but it is known that there has been a great decrease in the non-Muslim population of Ankara during the transition from the empire to the nation state.

The Jewish population in Ankara, which had a small community, almost halved from 1914 to 1927, from 1026 to 663. While the Armenian and Greek communities survived remarkable social and political events during the transition period from the empire to the nation state, it is possible to say that the situation is different for the Jews. In the 1930s, when nation-state building gained momentum, Jews faced policies that affected them socially, economically and demographically. The first of these is the Citizen speak Turkish campaign. Although the campaign did not target a single community and wanted Turkish to be spoken in general, those who were most affected in the historical process were the Jews who spoke Ladino within the community and

received French education at school. Although the campaign started in 1928 and lost its momentum in the early 1930s, it found itself in the press until 1940.

The 1930s and 1940s were more difficult for non-Muslims. The 1930s, when the effects of the Great Depression were felt, turned into harsh policies in the 1940s. As a result of the Nazi occupation of the Balkans, fear of 5<sup>th</sup> column activities and the desire to restrict the presence of non-Muslims in the market, non-Muslims were recruited by a law enacted in April 1941. According to Bali's calculation, 30 thousand non-Muslims were recruited in the practice that continued until July 1942. These soldiers were not recruited, they were used in public works. The recruitment of the 25- to 45-year-old male population forced the minorities economically, and many people lost their jobs. Right after this, in November 1942, the wealth tax law was enacted, and minorities were forced to pay large amounts of tax. There are thousands of non-Muslims who were unable to pay and were sent to Aşkale, just as there are those who sell their shops to pay. The results of the Wealth Tax, which remained in force for 16 months, were devastating for the non-Muslim population. With the tax, the state achieved the desired result, created additional income for the increasing war expenses, and accelerated the transfer of capital from the non-Muslim population to the Muslim population. Immigration from Turkey to the state of Israel, which was established on May 14, 1948, and recognized by Turkey on March 28, 1949, became an option for Jewish citizens affected by these policies.

In Table 4.5, it is possible to make some inferences by considering the censuses made in the Republican period and the results of which were published, and the question of religion was asked. First of all, while the sect of the Muslim population is not asked in these censuses, the preparation of a detailed table for the Christian population shows the state's desire to consider the Turkish and Muslim populations together while separating the non-Muslims. Identifying the other minorities has been one of the population policies of the republic. With the declaration of Ankara as the capital with the proclamation of the republic, Ankara has become an attractive city that receives immigrants. Starting from 1927, the number of Muslims in Ankara increased by at least 100 thousand, and from 1927 to 1965, it quadrupled from 400 thousand to over 1.6 million. Besides the natural increase, it is understood that Ankara is a

migration center for Turks and Muslims. However, as a result of the historical events mentioned above, the number and proportion of non-Muslims has gradually decreased and Ankara's demographics have changed completely. Although the Christian population decreased in the period from 1927 to 1935, it can be said that their numbers increased naturally until 1960. Unfortunately, it is not possible to make a consistent inference because the sectarian distinctions made in the censuses are not clear. Although the number of Christians increased from 1935 to 1960, the ratio of denominations to population changes in each census. For example, while there were 2960 Catholics living in Ankara in 1960, this number drops to 1 after 5 years. However, when the baptismal records obtained from St. Tereza Catholic Church are examined, it is understood that this information is not correct. It is understood from the records that 9 people born in 1965 were baptized and 6 of them were born by the census date.

It is more likely to follow the change in the Jewish population in the republican censuses than the Christian population. The Jewish community, which was 663 people in 1927, continued its natural increase until 1945. In the 1955 census, which was the first census conducted after the establishment of Israel and in which the question of religion was asked, it was seen that the Jewish population decreased considerably to 1/3 of the number in 1945. It is possible to say that the policies implemented in the 1940s affected the Jewish community both socially and economically and as a result of those policies, a demographic change occurred, as well.

To conclude, Ankara started to lose its non-Muslim population as of 1830. The Muslim and non-Muslim population, which was almost equal in 1830, decreased to 1/5 in 1914. When the first census of the republic was made, it was seen that the rate of the non-Muslim population decreased even more. As a result of the historical events, non-Muslims first decreased in number, and then the population became unable to renew itself. It is known that as a result of the policies implemented, non-Muslims either migrated to cities such as Istanbul, where they are more crowded as community, or migrated abroad.

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ODTÜ- Ankaralılar Vakfı.

**APPENDIX A. BAPTISM RECORDS AZIZE TEREZA CHURCH**

<b>No</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Year Born</b>	<b>Year Baptised</b>
1	M	April 1928	July 1929
2	F	September 1928	October 1933
3	M	February 1931	October 1933
4	M	February 1933	October 1933
5	F	February 1933	October 1933
6	M	November 1932	December 1933
7	M	December 1932	December 1933
8	M	January 1932	March 1934
9	M	January 1934	March 1934
10	M	November 1933	April 1934
11	F	May 1933	April 1934
12	F	January 1933	June 1934
13	M	June 1933	June 1934
14	F	January 1932	June 1934
15	F	August 1934	July 1934
16	M	July 1934	September 1934
17	M	February 1935	February 1935
18	M	October 1934	March 1935
19	F	August 1933	June 1935
20	M	December 1934	June 1935
21	M	September 1934	August 1935
22	F	February 1935	September 1935
23	M	July 1935	September 1935
24	M	September 1934	October 1935
25	F	August 1935	November 1935
26	M	November 1935	December 1935
27	F	July 1935	January 1936
28	F	May.36	July 1936
29	F	August 1936	September 1936
30	F	October 1936	October 1936
31	M	August 1936	April 1937
32	F	April 1937	May.37
33	M	August 1937	December 1937
34	M	February 1938	March 1938
35	F	March 1938	March 1938
36	F	March 1938	May.38
37	M	March 1924	April 1938

<b>38</b>	M	March 1936	April 1938
<b>39</b>	M	March 1935	April 1938
<b>40</b>	M	April 1938	April 1938
<b>41</b>	M	unkown	nd. 1938
<b>42</b>	F	1926	April 1938
<b>43</b>	F	1928	April 1938
<b>44</b>	M	1938	April 1938
<b>45</b>	F	1836	April 1938
<b>46</b>	M	1924	April 1938
<b>47</b>	F	1925	April 1938
<b>48</b>	F	1922	April 1938
<b>49</b>	F	1925	April 1938
<b>50</b>	M	1927	April 1938
<b>51</b>	F	1931	April 1938
<b>52</b>	M	1938	April 1938
<b>53</b>	M	1931	April 1938
<b>54</b>	M	January 1935	April 1938
<b>55</b>	F	1929	April 1938
<b>56</b>	F	1932	April 1938
<b>57</b>	M	1933	April 1938
<b>58</b>	M	1936	April 1938
<b>59</b>	M	September 1939	November 1939
<b>60</b>	F	July 1937	December 1939
<b>61</b>	M	June 1933	April 1940
<b>62</b>	F	June 1939	April 1940
<b>63</b>	F	August 1939	May.40
<b>64</b>	F	July 1939	July 1940
<b>65</b>	M	July 1940	July 1940
<b>66</b>	M	November 1935	January 1941
<b>67</b>	M	September 1940	January 1941
<b>68</b>	M	November 1936	March 1941
<b>69</b>	M	July 1940	March 1941
<b>70</b>	M	April 1940	June 1941
<b>71</b>	F	June 1940	September 1941
<b>72</b>	M	March 1941	September 1941
<b>73</b>	M	March 1941	September 1941
<b>74</b>	M	November 1941	February 1942
<b>75</b>	F	March 1941	April 1942
<b>76</b>	F	July 1941	April 1942
<b>77</b>	F	July 1941	August 1942
<b>78</b>	M	November 1941	September 1942
<b>79</b>	M	October 1942	November 1942
<b>80</b>	F	August 1941	December 1942



81	M	October 1942	April 1943
82	M	April 1942	April 1943
83	F	March 1936	May.43
84	F	July 1943	July 1943
85	F	August 1937	July 1943
86	F	April 1943	August 1943
87	F	September 1942	September 1943
88	F	May.27	December 1943
89	F	February 1943	January 1944
90	M	January 1944	February 1944
91	F	January 1943	February 1944
92	F	February 1944	April 1944
93	M	November 1943	April 1944
94	M	May.44	June 1944
95	F	May.43	July 1944
96	F	September 1944	October 1944
97	F	February 1943	November 1944
98	M	October 1944	November 1944
99	F	January 1945	January 1945
100	F	November 1943	April 1945
101	M	July 1945	August 1945
102	F	September 1944	July 1945
103	M	August 1944	September 1945
104	F	June 1945	October 1945
105	M	November 1945	November 1945
106	F	September 1944	March 1946
107	F	March 1946	April 1946
108	M	March 1946	April 1946
109	M	September 1945	April 1946
110	M	September 1938	May.46
111	M	April 1946	June 1946
112	M	unknown	January 1947
113	F	April 1946	April 1947
114	F	November 1946	May.47
115	M	January 1947	May.47
116	F	February 1947	June 1947
117	F	January 1946	June 1947
118	F	October 1946	August 1947
119	F	April 1948	May.48
120	M	August 1947	May.48
121	F	March 1948	May.48
122	F	December 1947	August 1948
123	M	March 1946	September 1948

124	M	February 1948	September 1948
125	F	January 1948	September 1948
126	M	January 1948	October 1948
127	M	January 1949	May.49
128	M	September 1944	May.49
129	F	June 1948	May.49
130	M	April 1948	April 1949
131	F	January 1942	August 1949
132	F	April 1949	September 1949
133	M	April 1949	November 1949
134	F	January 1948	December 1949
135	M	September 1949	February 1950
136	F	March 1933	March 1950
137	M	August 1949	September 1950
138	M	July 1950	October 1950
139	F	May.50	January 1951
140	F	January 1950	March 1951
141	M	February 1951	April 1951
142	F	February 1951	July 1951
143	M	February 1951	July 1951
144	F	August 1951	September 1951
145	M	August 1950	March 1952
146	F	January 1952	March 1952
147	F	March 1951	March 1952
148	M	March 1951	April 1952
149	F	November 1951	April 1952
150	M	March 1952	May.52
151	F	December 1951	May.52
152	M	August 1952	August 1952
153	F		August 1952
154	M	March 1952	September 1952
155	M	December 1952	September 1952
156	F	July 1952	November 1952
157	M	November 1952	June 1953
158	F	September 1952	July 1953
159	M	February 1953	October 1953
160	M	February 1953	January 1954
161	M	December 1953	March 1954
162	M	September 1953	March 1954
163	F	December 1953	April 1954
164	M	January 1954	August 1954
165	M	August 1954	September 1954
166	M	August 1954	September 1954

167	F	March 1954	September 1954
168	F	December 1953	October 1954
169	M	August 1954	October 1954
170	F	January 1953	November 1954
171	M	October 1954	May.55
172	F	May.55	July 1955
173	M	July 1955	September 1955
174	M	April 1955	October 1955
175	F	April 1955	October 1955
176	F	November 1955	October 1955
177	M	July 1955	November 1955
178	F	July 1955	December 1955
179	M	August 1955	April 1956
180	M	October 1955	April 1956
181	M	October 1955	April 1956
182	M	February 1956	April 1956
183	F	August 1955	May.56
184	M	October 1956	November 1956
185	F	May.56	December 1956
186	F	May.56	March 1957
187	F	March 1957	May.57
188	M	November 1957	June 1957
189	F	August 1956	June 1957
190	M	March 1957	June 1957
191	M	May.57	June 1957
192	M	November 1956	August 1957
193	M	September 1956	August 1957
194	M	March 1957	August 1957
195	F	August 1957	January 1958
196	M	August 1957	March 1958
197	M	September 1957	April 1958
198	F	August 1957	April 1958
199	M	November 1957	April 1958
200	F	June 1949	May.58
201	M	May.34	June 1958
202	M	January 1957	January 1958
203	M	February 1943	June 1958
204	F	April 1958	July 1958
205	M	March 1958	August 1958
206	F	July 1957	September 1958
207	F	July 1951	December 1958
208	M	April 1958	January 1959
209	M	February 1958	January 1959

210	M	December 1958	February 1959
211	M	March 1958	March 1959
212	M	May.58	May.59
213	M	June 1959	August 1959
214	F	August 1959	November 1959
215	F	December 1959	January 1960
216	F	October 1959	January 1960
217	M	September 1958	January 1960
218	F	December 1959	March 1960
219	M	August 1959	May.60
220	M	April 1960	June 1960
221	M	October 1951	June 1960
222	F	April 1960	June 1960
223	F	August 1959	June 1960
224	M	May.60	August 1960
225	M	June 1960	November 1960
226	M	September 1960	December 1960
227	F	April 1960	April 1961
228	M	September 1960	April 1961
229	F	April 1961	June 1961
230	F	July 1961	September 1961
231	F	May.60	October 1961
232	F	September 1961	November 1961
233	F	June 1960	February 1962
234	F	March 1962	March 1962
235	F	April 1962	July 1962
236	F	June 1962	July 1962
237	M	August 1962	November 1962
238	M	September 1952	November 1962
239	M	April 1960	November 1962
240	M	April 1962	November 1962
241	F	May.62	November 1962
242	F	April 1962	December 1962
243	M	October 1962	January 1963
244	M	October 1962	February 1963
245	F	August 1952	May.63
246	F	December 1962	May.63
247	F	April 1963	June 1963
248	M	February 1963	August 1963
249	M	January 1962	August 1963
250	M	April 1963	August 1963
251	F	April 1963	September 1963
252	F	November 1962	November 1963

253	F	January 1964	February 1963
254	M	December 1962	February 1963
255	F	February 1964	March 1964
256	M	May.64	May.64
257	M	September 1964	August 1964
258	M	1958	September 1964
259	M	July 1964	October 1964
260	M	June 1964	November 1964
261	M	June 1964	November 1964
262	F	February 1965	March 1965
263	F	April 1965	September 1965
264	M	June 1963	November 1965
265	F	August 1965	May.66
266	M	December 1963	May.66
267	F	August 1964	July 1966
268	F	July 1964	July 1966
269	M	December 1965	July 1966
270	F	July 1965	August 1966
271	F	January 1966	September 1966
272	F	May.65	October 1966
273	F	February 1967	March 1967
274	F	January 1966	March 1967
275	F	July 1966	May.67
276	F	April 1966	June 1967
277	M	August 1967	September 1967
278	M	April 1967	October 1967
279	M	December 1967	January 1968
280	M	November 1967	April 1968
281	F	1968	May.68
282	M	December 1967	May.68
283	M	June 1968	October 1968
284	F	April 1968	October 1968
285	M	December 1967	November 1968
286	M	September 1968	November 1968
287	F	October 1968	May.69
288	F	January 1966	May.69
289	F	March 1969	June 1969
290	M	February 1969	July 1969
291	M	September 1968	September 1969
292	F	January 1968	December 1969
293	F	October 1969	October 1969
294	M	June 1969	January 1970
295	F	March 1969	March 1970

<b>296</b>	M	March 1970	April 1970
<b>297</b>	M	August 1969	May.70
<b>298</b>	F	December 1969	September 1970
<b>299</b>	M	May.69	October 1970
<b>300</b>	F	June 1970	October 1970
<b>301</b>	M	March 1969	October 1970
<b>302</b>	F	July 1968	October 1971
<b>303</b>	M	May.71	November 1971
<b>304</b>	F	June 1971	February 1972
<b>305</b>	M	September 1928	February 1972
<b>306</b>	M	March 1972	June 1972
<b>307</b>	M	September 1969	June 1972
<b>308</b>	F	December 1971	June 1972
<b>309</b>	F	June 1972	October 1972
<b>310</b>	M	December 1972	December 1972
<b>311</b>	M	March 1971	June 1973
<b>312</b>	F	December 1973	June 1974
<b>313</b>	F	July 1973	June 1974
<b>314</b>	M	May.71	September 1974
<b>315</b>	M	September 1972	May.74
<b>316</b>	M	March 1974	September 1974
<b>317</b>	M	June 1974	September 1974
<b>318</b>	M	October 1973	October 1974
<b>319</b>	F	October 1974	June 1975
<b>320</b>	M	October 1974	June 1975
<b>321</b>	M	July 1974	June 1975
<b>322</b>	F	October 1974	June 1975
<b>323</b>	M	December 1968	October 1975
<b>324</b>	F	May.75	November 1975
<b>325</b>	F	1952	January 1976
<b>326</b>	F	November 1973	April 1976
<b>327</b>	M	July 1974	June 1976
<b>328</b>	F	November 1974	July 1976
<b>329</b>	F	1964	October 1976
<b>330</b>	F	1974	October 1976
<b>331</b>	M	August 1974	December 1976
<b>332</b>	M	December 1976	April 1977
<b>333</b>	F	August 1977	October 1977
<b>334</b>	M	Ocotber 1977	February 1978
<b>335</b>	F	March 1977	July 1978
<b>336</b>	M	April 1978	September 1978
<b>337</b>	M	July 1975	November 1978
<b>338</b>	M	Ocotber 1978	December 1978

339	F	July 1978	February 1979
340	M	September 1978	May.79
341	F	February 1978	May.79
342	M	April 1979	May.79
343	M	March 1979	May.79
344	M	July 1974	May.79
345	F	November 1978	August 1979
346	F	May.79	August 1979
347	F	November 1975	November 1979
348	F	November 1976	September 1979
349	M	April 1979	September 1979
350	M	February 1980	March 1980
351	M	September 1979	September 1980
352	M	no date	October 1980
353	M	October 1979	February 1981
354	M	October 1949	March 1981
355	M	July 1980	July 1981
356	F	April 1980	August 1981
357	M	June 1981	October 1981
358	F	November 1981	1982
359	F	February 1959	April 1982
360	F	February 1964	June 1982
361	F	January 1982	October 1982
362	F	October 1963	December 1982
363	M	January 1945	January 1983
364	M	January 1977	February 1983
365	M	September 1978	February 1983
366	M	February 1983	March 1983
367	M	March 1983	July 1983
368	M	September 1983	October 1983
369	F	June 1983	November 1983
370	M	March 1983	December 1984
371	M	October 1984	October 1985
372	M	May.84	November 1985
373	F	February 1962	December 1985
374	F	January 1986	May.86
375	M	June 1979	April 1986
376	F	April 1984	August 1986
377	F	1983	1987
378	M	May.87	June 1987
379	M	February 1982	August 1987
380	M	1987	August 1987
381	M	April 1987	August 1987

<b>382</b>	F	November 1986	September 1987
<b>383</b>	F	April 1985	November 1987
<b>384</b>	M	September 1986	November 1987
<b>385</b>	M	May.85	December 1987
<b>386</b>	M	October 1984	April 1988
<b>387</b>	F	June 1987	May.88
<b>388</b>	M	June 1983	May.88
<b>389</b>	F	November 1987	October 1988
<b>390</b>	M	October 1988	October 1989
<b>391</b>	F	1989	November 1989
<b>392</b>	M	October 1989	September 1990
<b>393</b>	F	March 1989	September 1990
<b>394</b>	F	August 1989	February 1991
<b>395</b>	M	April 1990	June 1991
<b>396</b>	F	June 1990	August 1991
<b>397</b>	F	1989	August 1991
<b>398</b>	F	January 1990	October 1991
<b>399</b>	M	January 1959	December 1991
<b>400</b>	M	February 1971	April 1992
<b>401</b>	M	January 1967	April 1992
<b>402</b>	M	June 1991	May.92
<b>403</b>	M	May.91	May.92
<b>404</b>	F	July 1990	August 1992
<b>405</b>	M	January 1992	September 1992
<b>406</b>	M	February 1965	September 1992
<b>407</b>	M	June 1974	September 1992
<b>408</b>	M	January 1992	October 1992
<b>409</b>	F	August 1992	January 1993
<b>410</b>	M	March 1961	April 1993
<b>411</b>	F	July 1984	April 1993
<b>412</b>	F	March 1993	April 1993
<b>413</b>	M	April 1966	April 1993
<b>414</b>	M	October 1958	June 1993
<b>415</b>	F	February 1993	June 1993
<b>416</b>	F	June 1963	August 1993
<b>417</b>	F	January 1992	October 1993
<b>418</b>	M	July 1992	November 1993
<b>419</b>	M	January 1962	May.94
<b>420</b>	M	January 1956	April 1994
<b>421</b>	M	January 1971	April 1994
<b>422</b>	M	October 1966	April 1994
<b>423</b>	M	May.93	July 1994
<b>424</b>	M	January 1995	April 1995



425	F	November 1993	June 1995
426	F	June 1994	September 1995
427	F	March 1957	April 1996
428	F	July 1970	April 1996
429	M	January 1964	April 1996
430	F	April 1994	June 1996
431	F	January 1971	June 1996
432	F	March 1996	October 1996
433	M	January 1968	December 1996
434	M	May.78	March 1997
435	M	June 1972	March 1997
436	M	June 1963	March 1997
437	F	January 1978	March 1997
438	M	July 1996	April 1997
439	F	October 1997	April 1998
440	M	April 1998	May.99
441	M	1973	April 2000
442	M	July 1995	May.00
443	F	December 1999	June 2000
444	M	May.99	September 2000
445	M	May.98	March 2001
446	M	Mar.00	March 2001
447	F	September 2000	September 2001
448	M	Haz.05	October 2001
449	F	December 1977	November 2001
450	F	August 1977	November 2001
451	F	May.00	January 2002
452	F	August 2001	July 2002
453	F	1999	October 2002
454	M	April 2001	October 2002
455	F	1983	May.03
456	M	1995	May.03
457	F	1974	August 2003
458	F	2001	October 2003
459	M	September 1999	November 2004
460	M	1995	November 2004
461	F	1974	May.05
462	F	2001	2005
463	F	March 2005	December 2005
464	F	2001	2006
465	F	2005	2006
466	F	2003	February 2007
467	F	April 2005	February 2007

<b>468</b>	F	2005	2007
<b>469</b>	M	1975	2008
<b>470</b>	F	1978	2008
<b>471</b>	M	1984	2008
<b>472</b>	M	1973	2008
<b>473</b>	F	2007	2008
<b>474</b>	F	2006	2008
<b>475</b>	M	1996	2009
<b>476</b>	F	1997	June 2009
<b>477</b>	F	1965	2010
<b>478</b>	F	1980	2010
<b>479</b>	F	1988	2010
<b>480</b>	M	1988	2010
<b>481</b>	M	2011	2012
<b>482</b>	M	2011	2013
<b>483</b>	F	1977	2014
<b>484</b>	F	1979	November 2014
<b>485</b>	F	May.14	December 2014
<b>486</b>	M	1979	2015
<b>487</b>	M	December 2014	December 2015
<b>488</b>	F	2015	2016
<b>489</b>	F	1962	2016
<b>490</b>	M	1960	May.16
<b>491</b>	M	1960	2016
<b>492</b>	M	1988	2016
<b>493</b>	F	2016	2017
<b>494</b>	F	2017	2018
<b>495</b>	F	1975	2018
<b>496</b>	F	1999	2018
<b>497</b>	M	2018	2019
<b>498</b>	M	1965	2020
<b>499</b>	F	1968	2020
<b>500</b>	M	1997	2021
<b>501</b>	M	1999	2021
<b>502</b>	M	1996	2021