

Chapter Seven

Çankırı in History: Insights from Ottoman Documents

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Introduction

Recent years have seen an increased exploitation of the extremely rich historical source that takes the form of Ottoman census and tax records (Kiel 1997; 2004; Zarinebaf et al. 2005). Within the remit of Project Paphlagonia I studied a selection of relevant Ottoman documents with the aim of elucidating those periods of the past of the town and province of Çankırı that perhaps do not feature so clearly in the available archaeological record. A study of the development of Çankırı town has already been published (İlhan 2005, partly reworked here) and work is ongoing for a monograph devoted to the socio-economic history of Çankırı province from the early 16th century onwards. The present chapter provides an overview and summary of results relating to research conducted within Project Paphlagonia.

Nature of the sources

The Tapu Tahrir Defterleri (Ottoman Cadastral Registers) are one of the most important sources of information on the socio-economic history of the Ottoman empire. The Ottoman administrators recorded settlements, heads of households and a host of information potentially of relevance to the taxability of the region in question. The oldest surviving register is dated AH 835/AD 1431–1432 and relates to the province of Albania (İnalçık 1987). In the 16th century, particularly during the reign of Sultan Süleyman, such surveys were carried out for almost all the provinces of the Ottoman empire, and at certain times thereafter.

In total, there are 14 registers relating to the Ottoman province of Çankırı (Kengiri) in the Başbakanlık (Prime Ministerial) Archives (BOA) of Istanbul, five in the Tapu Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Kuyud-i Kadime Archives (TKGM) of Ankara and two in Istanbul Belediye (Municipality) Library. There was not time to make an exhaustive study of all these documents and so three of

the nine *kaza* or regions were selected for in-depth treatment: Kengiri (Çankırı town and environs), Çerkeş and Koçhisar (today Ilgaz). The focus in this chapter is on the sources firstly as they relate to Çankırı town and secondly as they concern the villages of the three sampled regions.

Of the registers mentioned above as relating to Çankırı province, only two are detailed (cadastral) registers: one in Istanbul (BOA TD 100) dated AH 927/AD 1521 and one in Ankara (TKGM TD 81) dated AH 986/AD 1578. None of the registers carried out prior to AD 1530, namely summary (*icmal*) TD 97 dated AH 926/AD 1520 and detailed (*mufassal*) register TD 100 dated AH 927/AD 1521, include the *vakf* holdings because there are also *vakf* registers of Çankırı province that were maintained separately. These are *vakf* registers of AH 962/AD 1555 (BOA TD 291) and AH 987/AD 1579 (TKGM TD 578). A *vakf* register prior to AD 1530 must also have been carried out since the *vakf* holdings inserted into the *defter* 438, a register which is part of the AD 1530 *Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu*, are only summaries. These surveys of the province of Çankırı were carried out at intervals of 25 years.

It is uncertain whether or not a survey was carried out during the reigns of Murad II (AD 1421–1444; 1446–1451) or his son Mehmed II (AD 1444–1446; 1451–1481) since the earliest existing survey of the province is dated AD 1520. This is a summary (*icmal*) register, an indication that an earlier survey must have existed. On the other hand, it is possible, but not certain, that this register is a summary (*icmal*) for BOA TD 100 dated AD 1521; not certain as it is unlikely that a summary of a register would be made before the completion of the detailed (*mufassal*) one. Nevertheless, the incomes recorded in both registers correspond to each other. In either case it is highly probable that an earlier survey was carried out for the province since it could not have been

possible for the Ottomans to collect taxes in the province without a survey for a period of at least 70 years. It is also probable that an earlier *vakf* register was made. Had we had an earlier survey it may have been possible to study the impact of the Celali revolts of AD 1519 that had a considerable effect on the city and province of Çankırı (Ayhan 1998: 151). It would have been possible for us at least to establish the difference between the amounts and the kinds of taxes before and after the revolts, as some historians claim that high taxes were one of the causes of the Celali revolts (Uzunçarşılı 1998: 297). My concern for the purpose of research into the province of Çankırı is mainly with the detailed (*mufassal*) and *vakf* surveys. Additionally, comparison will be made with a third survey which is part of *Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu* (BOA TD 438). Although this third register is dated AD 1530, it is in fact a synopsis of the *mufassal* register for AD 1521: the *hane* (household) and *mücerred* (bachelor) entries are the same for almost all the quarters, with some minor exceptions. These exceptions were due either to minor changes that were recorded in the later register or to scribal error. The second case is more likely for there is no doubt that the AD 1530 register is a summarised account of the AD 1521 register.

In all three registers there are clear records of tax-exempt persons. In particular, religious personages, particularly *imams* and *müezzins*, appear to be fully recorded. We can classify these tax exemptions in three categories:

- > Religious personages such as *imam*, *müezzin*, *hatib* (preacher), *müderriş*, *sermahfil* (chorus head), *hafız*, *şeyh*, *kayyum* and *kadı* (judge);
- > Non-religious officials such as *kethüda*, *muhasşil* (tax collector), *mütevelli* (administrator, trustee of an endowment), *emir*, *mülazım* (lieutenant);
- > Disabled personages such as *mecnun* (crazy, mad) *divane* (insane), *a'ma* (blind), *kötürüm* (crippled or paralysed) and *ma'lul* (disabled).

Quite a number of poor (*fakir*, six according to the AD 1521 register) were also recorded as tax-exempt, and two blind and one disabled were recorded as poor. Only one person was recorded as missing (*gayib*). The status of the disabled and poor was determined in court before witnesses (Kaya 2001).

Glossary of terms

<i>akçe</i>	Ottoman silver coin
<i>a'ma</i>	blind, sightless
<i>avarız</i>	a tax collected in extraordinary circumstances such as during campaigns or war

<i>avarız hane</i>	a division of the population of a district liable to <i>avarız</i> tax into a varying number of household units depending on the financial capacity of the inhabitants of the district
<i>bennak</i>	a peasant holding little or no land
<i>bey</i>	military commander of a <i>sancak</i>
<i>caba</i>	landless peasant; landless bachelor subject to feudal taxation
<i>cema'at</i>	tribe
<i>çift</i>	a unit of land ploughed by a pair of oxen, literally a pair of oxen yoked to a plough; a peasant (<i>ra'aya</i>) who holds a <i>çift</i> ; a plot of land of 20–30 acres, that can be cultivated with a single plough; the surface of 60–150 <i>dönüms</i> depending on the fertility of land
<i>çingân</i>	gypsy
<i>defter</i>	tax register
<i>divane</i>	insane
<i>emir</i> (pl. <i>ümera</i>)	commander, chief, leader, ruler, same as bey
<i>fakir</i>	poor
<i>gayib</i>	missing
<i>hafız</i> (pl. <i>huffaz</i>)	one who can recite by heart the full text of the Kur'an
<i>hali</i>	empty, uninhabited
<i>hamam</i>	bathhouse
<i>hane</i>	household, as a taxable unit
<i>hatib</i>	preacher
<i>icmal defter</i>	summary tax register (as opposed to <i>mufassal defter</i>)
<i>ihtisab</i>	market dues
<i>imam</i>	leader of prayer
<i>'imaret</i>	soup kitchen for the poor
<i>kadı</i>	Islamic judge
<i>karbansaray</i>	caravanserai
<i>kayyum</i>	a sweeper or caretaker of a mosque
<i>kaza</i>	district, next level below <i>sancak</i>
<i>kethüda</i>	steward, head of a guild
<i>kötürüm</i>	paralysed, crippled
<i>kurbet</i>	intimacy, nearness to God, thus may mean a hermit who has devoted himself to God; a mystic or a <i>sufi</i>
<i>ma'a şüreka</i>	with shareholders
<i>ma'lul</i>	disabled
<i>mecnun</i>	mad
<i>medrese</i>	Islamic school
<i>mevkufat</i>	arrested, detained
<i>mezra'a</i>	arable land
<i>mir-i liva</i>	district governor
<i>mu'allimhane</i>	a teacher's house, school
<i>mufassal defter</i>	detailed tax register (as opposed to

	<i>icmal defter</i>)
<i>muhassıl</i>	tax collector
<i>mücerred</i>	unmarried man, bachelor
<i>müderris</i>	teacher
<i>mufti</i>	Muslim priest, expounder of Islamic law
<i>mülazım</i>	lieutenant
<i>mütevelli</i>	administrator, trustee
<i>nahiye</i>	administrative sub-district, usually of a <i>kaza</i>
<i>nam-ı diger</i>	alternative name, also known as
<i>nim</i>	a peasant who holds half of a <i>çift</i>
<i>ra'aya</i>	subject, tax-paying inhabitants of the
<i>(sing. ra'iyet)</i>	Ottoman empire, the peasantry
<i>ra'iyet</i>	a subject
<i>resm-i çift</i>	land tax
<i>salname</i>	a year book; a semi-official year book of the Ottoman empire or of a province of the empire
<i>sancak</i>	sub-province
<i>sekban</i>	mercenary military unit
<i>sermahfil</i>	assistant to the chief <i>muezzin</i> , usually in a big mosque
<i>sipahi</i>	fief-holding cavalry soldier
<i>suhte</i>	a term used for a <i>medrese</i> student
<i>şeyh</i>	sheikh, head of a religious order
<i>tahrir heyeti</i>	registration committee
<i>timar</i>	fief, taxes granted to <i>sipahis</i> , but also to civilian officials
<i>vakf</i>	Islamic charitable foundation and associated property usually exempt from state taxes
<i>yaylak</i>	summer pastures
<i>zaviye</i>	cell (of a recluse); lodge (of dervishes)
<i>zekât</i>	alms
<i>zemin</i>	land, place
<i>zevle/zivle/züvle</i>	a unit of land equivalent to a quarter of a <i>çift</i> ; literally a side rod in an ox-yoke to keep the oxen under control; a person who holds a quarter of a <i>çift</i>

Çankırı town in Ottoman history

Çankırı, Roman Germanikopolis, was known as Khanjara in Arabic sources (Al-Tabari VI: 12; Ibn Al-Athir IV: 578) and as Kengiri in Selçuk and Ottoman sources, this latter version more closely approximating its Iron Age name of Gangra (see Chapter Six). During the eighth century AD the town gained the name of Hisnu'l-Hadid (Iron Fortress) due to its successful resistance to attack by Arab armies (Al-Tabari VI: 469; Al-Ya'kubi II: 292, 300). The region passed into Turkish hands after the battle of Manzikert in AD 1071. Karatekin, a Selçuk emir, conquered the city in AD 1082 during the reign of

Süleyman Shah (Ayhan 1998: 101). Soon after, in AD 1084, he went on to conquer Sinop and Kastamonu, and establish a principality of his own that lasted until the Crusaders' invasion (Ayhan 1998: 101–04). Karatekin died during one of the battles against the Crusaders, perhaps in AD 1106, and is buried in the citadel of Çankırı in a mausoleum bearing his name. Crusaders attacked the city in AD 1101 and, failing to take it, sacked its environs. Following the death of Emir Gazi in AD 1134 the city alternated rapidly between Byzantine and Danishmendid suzerainty before its Selçuk conquest. The Candarids, rulers of Kastamonu, took over rule of the city upon the demise of the Selçuks, and later it fell under the Ottomans during the reign of Murad I (AD 1362–1389).

Ottoman rule, however, did not last long as Timur handed over the city to İsfendiyarogulları following the battle of Ankara in AD 1402. Çankırı passed into Ottoman hands once more when İsfendiyaroglu Kasım Bey took refuge with Mehmed Çelebi, and it remained under Ottoman control apart from a short interlude when İsfendiyar Bey reconquered it during the reign of Murad II (AD 1438–1451). Merely to list this rather dizzying sequence of conquests and reconquests of the city over these few centuries gives some idea of both its significance and its vulnerability within a system of strategic control of the landscape in this part of Turkey and movement across it. As discussed in Chapter Six, this fraught historical environment doubtless provides the context for the construction and use of the many hilltop fortified sites still evident on the landscape today.

Demography

Town quarters

There are 24 quarters of Çankırı town recorded in AD 1521 and AD 1530, and 23 in AD 1578 (table 7.1). There is no record of Tohte quarter in AD 1578 and Şeyh Hünkar Hacı Bahaeddin quarter is noted as being empty (*hali*). It is possible that its inhabitants had moved to other quarters. Over this 57-year period some quarters enjoyed an increase in the number of inhabitants whereas others, almost half, suffered a decrease (fig. 7.1). Karataş quarter had the highest increase while Cami' quarter had the most noticeable decrease, most probably due to the construction in Cami' quarter of the Sultan Süleyman mosque between AD 1552 and 1558, having been commissioned by the Sultan during his AD 1548 Persian campaign. It is probable that this mosque was constructed to replace an old Selçuk mosque built over the ruins of a church. There are still two Byzantine columns at the sides of the entrance to the mosque's garden.

Quarter	Population in AD 1521	Population in AD 1578
Mescid-i Hatib	101	108
Karataş-ı Kayser	202	252
Şeyh 'Osman	93	76
Hacı Musa	115	205
'Imaret	127	169
Mescid-i Halil Ağa	152	179
Mescid-i Havace Kasım	103	47
Pürdedar Gazi	80	93
Cami' (Sultan Süleyman)	62	42
Tohte	31	-
Küçük Menare	155	104
Alaca Mescid	139	137
Emir-i Ahur	111	123
Hıdırlık	29	64
Mescid-i Hacı Mü'minin	123	112
Havace Bahşayış	46	108
Şeyh Hankah-i Hacı Bahaeddin	30	0
Kadi	94	53
Bimarhane	83	112
Çukur	22	64
Umur Fakih (Havace Elvan)	141	125
Çetince	114	40
Havace İbrahim	60	98
Kara Taş	148	216
Total	2,361	2,527

Table 7.1. The quarters of Çankırı town in AD 1521 and AD 1578

The quarters of Çankırı, as in other towns, were named after a mosque or a distinguished man. All the names are of Turkish or Islamic origin. Apart from perhaps Karataş-ı Kayser, there is no quarter whose name has its origin prior to the Turkish conquest. The quarters named after Şeyh Hünkar Hacı Bahaeddin, Umur Fakih and Şeyh 'Osman, the companions of Karatekin in the conquest of Çankırı, most probably originate from the Selçuk period. The quarter of Mescid-i Havace Kasım may have had its roots in the period of the İsfendiyarid principality since Kasım Bey, son of İsfendiyar Bey, had a mosque, 'imaret, zaviye and a medrese built in the town. The Candarid Kasım Bey also had a mosque called 'Imaret built in AD 1397 on the present-day 'Imaret Street and it is possible therefore that 'Imaret quarter originated from the Candarid period.

Partly due to the lack of suitable maps, it is difficult to estimate the boundaries of the 16th-century quarters as they relate to the existing town. Most of the names have changed and the modern municipal map has the names of only a few quarters and the new streets. A close study of this map, however, shows that the boundaries of the old town have been largely preserved since Ottoman days. Many houses were certainly built from the 17th century up to the 20th century, but the quarter boundaries remained relatively constant. In other words, the old town stretched along the foot of the hill on the northern side of what has grown up very recently as the modern town (fig. 1.2). The castle was built on this hill, where the tomb of Karatekin, the conqueror of Çankırı in AD 1082, also stands. The Karatekin quarter that stretches immediately from the foot of the hill below the cemetery is recorded in both registers under the name Emir-i Ahur. Taş Mescid (figs 7.2–7.3), the hospital section of which was built by Çankırı Atabeyi Cemaleddin Ferruh in AD 1235 during the reign of the Selçuk Sultan Alaaddin Keykubad I, son of Keyhüsrev, is recorded in both registers as Bimarhane. A medrese was added to the hospital in AD 1242. I have established in an unpublished article on Amasya that the Selçuks built their own quarters rather than settling in existing Christian quarters. Thus Torumtay Medrese, Gök Medrese and Bimarhane are on the outskirts of the ancient town of Amasya. Likewise, Taş Mescid is on the outskirts of the ancient town of Çankırı and Karatekin, also a Selçuk quarter, is at the northern periphery.

The quarter of Cami' (Cami'-i Sultan Süleyman), originally a Selçuk quarter, is also called Mimar Sinan, although the mosque was built by Sadık Kalfa, Mimar Sinan's assistant master. The boundaries of present-day Mimar Sinan quarter reach as far as the upper boundaries of the foot of the hill. The lower boundaries of the Ottoman quarters excluding Taş Mescid were most probably the present-day Orgeneral Haluk Karadayı Street stretching from the northwest and continuing with Atatürk Bulvarı in the south, while the northwestern boundary was probably the cemetery.

The 24 quarters of Çankırı town were contained within a small area that stretched 0.5km from south to north and 1.5km from west to east. They were thus very small quarters both in AD 1521 and AD 1578, with an average of only nine to ten households. Dividing the town into small quarters was perhaps a matter of convenience for both registrars and administrators. The number and the names of the quarters continue only slightly changed by the end of the 17th century when there are 17 quarters recorded in the court registers of Çankırı with only the Yoğurtçu quarter as an addition (Kaya 2001). The quarter of Cami' is recorded in one place as Cami'-i

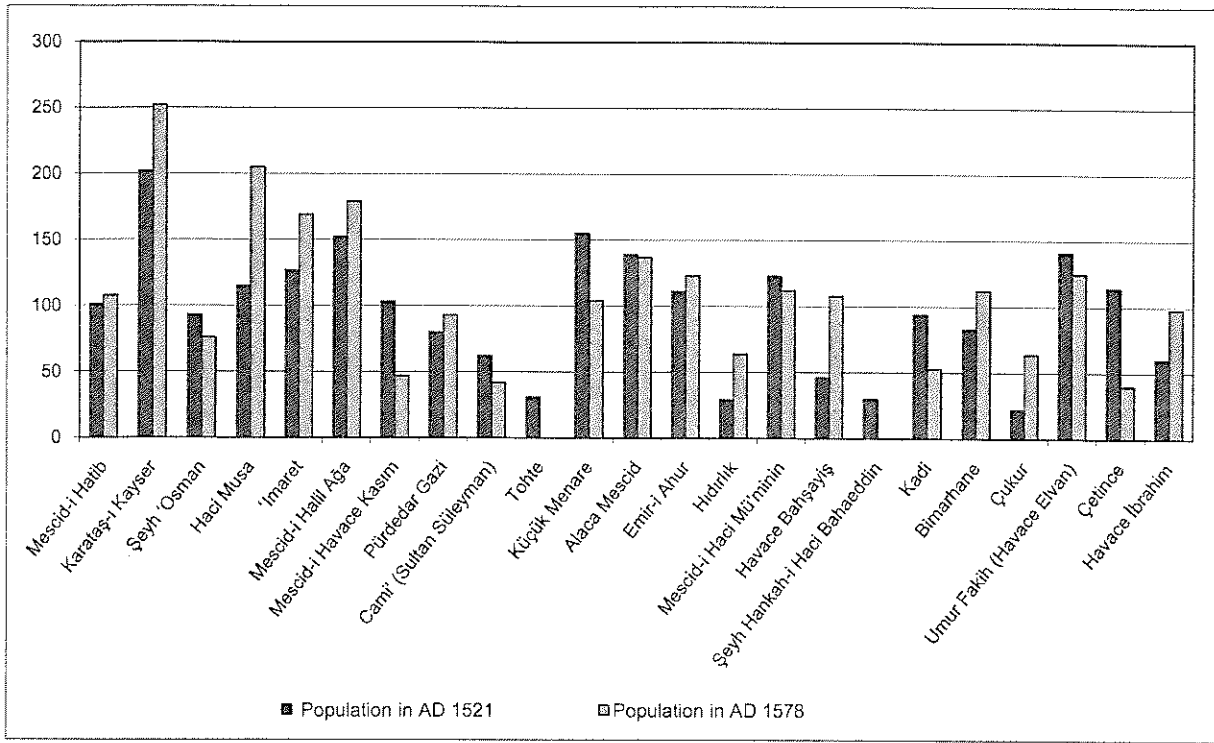


Fig. 7.1. Population shifts by quarter AD 1521–1578

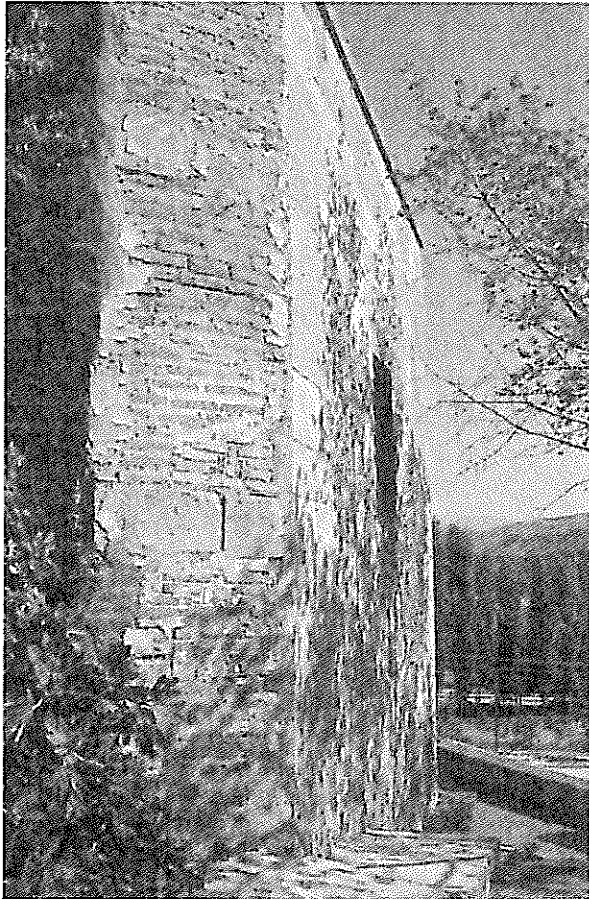


Fig. 7.2. View of Taş Mescid

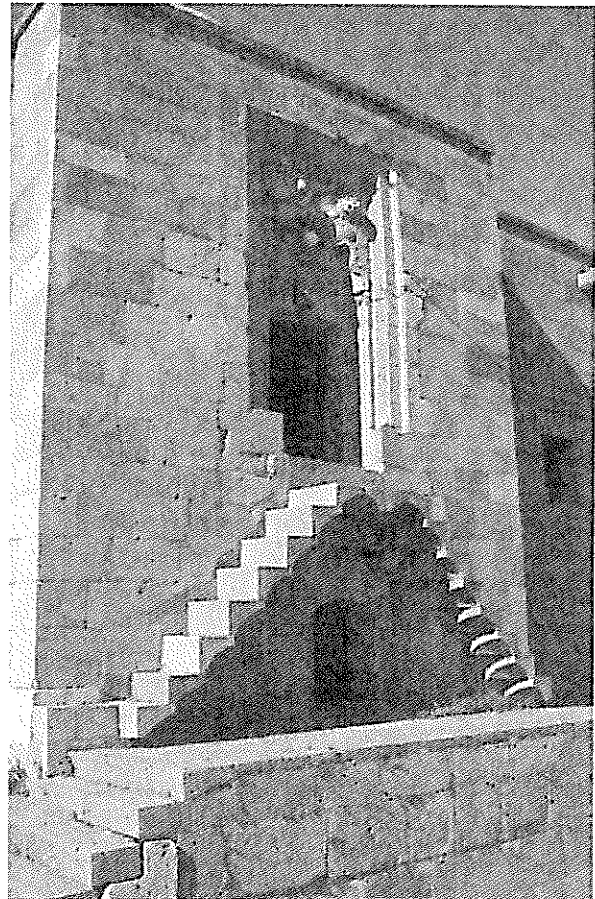


Fig. 7.3. View of Taş Mescid

Kebir and as the Hıdırlık quarter in another. There is mention of a Şeyh 'Osman quarter on a gravestone inscription dated AH 1277/AD 1860–1861 (fig. 7.4). The inscription runs as follows:

Huve'l-Baki
Dem çeker ez durr [ezder?] misali
Yeniçerinin erleri
Dilerim Bari Huda'dan
Cennet olsun yerleri
Şeyh 'Osman mahallesinden
El-Seyyidi [?] Kul Muhammed Ağa
Fatiha Sene 1277

He [God] is everlasting.
Warbles like a wild bird [?]
The janissary's men
I beg God, the Creator
Let their abode be paradise
From the quarter of Şeyh Osman
El-Seyyid Kul Muhammed Ağa
Fatiha, the year 1277 [AD 1860]

Population

A close study of the quarters and comparison of the registers invites some observations. There are no major differences between the AD 1521 and AD 1530 registers, although there are slight discrepancies that were probably due to the carelessness of the scribe, as discussed above. Both in AD 1521 and AD 1530 there were 409 households and 215 (214 in AD 1530) bachelors. It is difficult to believe that the number of households went up from 409 in AD 1521 to only 417 in AD 1578 and the number of bachelors from 215 to 217, an increase of only eight and two respectively over a period of 57 years. The number of bachelors is unusually high when compared with the registers of other provinces such as Amid (İlhan 2000: 142) and Şehrizol. The numbers of blind (five) and crippled (one) were the same in AD 1521 and AD 1578.

The rather low population of Çankırı in both AD 1521 and AD 1578 and the very low rate of increase over 57 years might be due to certain events that took place in the region in the 16th century. An earthquake lasting 45 days shook Anatolia in AD 1509. Çankırı was one of the towns affected and many lives were lost. A number of revolts took place that had negative effects on both the AD 1521 and AD 1578 surveys. Shortly before the AD 1521 survey of Çankırı started, a *timar* holder called Kızılbaş Celal of Bozok, a Turcoman from the town of Turhal near Amasya, declared himself as Mahdi and started a revolt, backed by Shah Isma'il, with 20,000 followers. Şehsuvar Ali Bey, the governor of Elbistan, defeated the rebels in AD 1518. Although Kızılbaş Celal

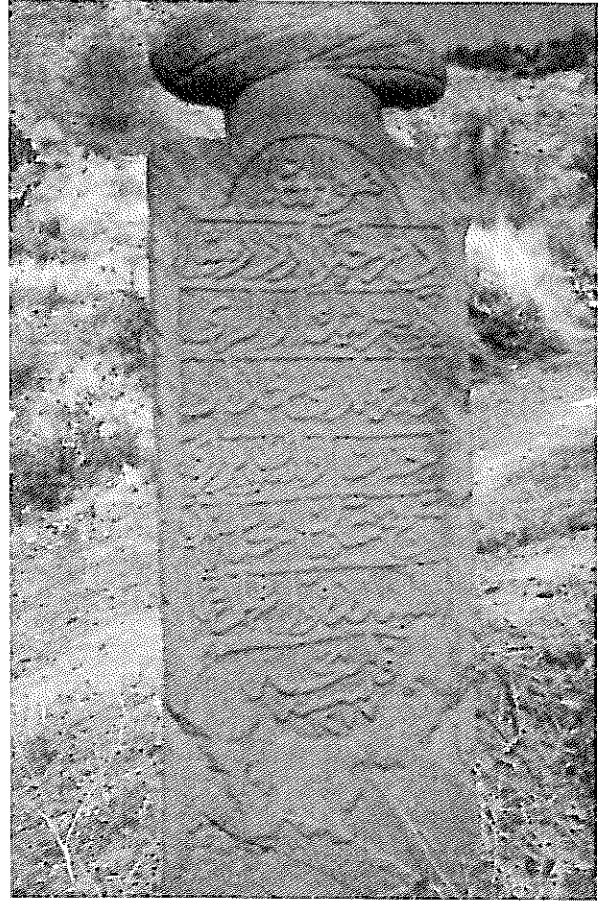


Fig. 7.4. Gravestone inscription dated AH 1277/AD 1860–1861

managed to escape, he was caught near Erzincan and beheaded (Uzunçarşılı 1998: 297). A famine broke out in Çankırı in AD 1574 and lasted three years (Ayhan 1998: 159) coinciding with the time, or soon after the start, of a survey for the province of Çankırı that was completed in AD 1578.

Perhaps most important of all, about a decade before the start of the survey a series of *suhte*, *kurbet* and *çingan* movements took place, and according to the Mühimme documents lasted at least two decades. These movements may have played a significant role not only in the depopulation of the province of Çankırı and its surroundings, but also in hampering the process of conducting official survey. A Mühimme decree of AD 1564 (MD 6: 206), addressed to the *beys* and *kadis* of all the *sancaks* in the provinces of Anadolu, Karaman, Dhu'l-Kadirli, Aleppo and Diyarbekir, orders them to suppress the highly mobile *kurbet* and *çingan* groups who were causing havoc throughout Asia Minor by means of highway robbery and other illegal activities. In AD 1566, according to other Mühimme documents (MD 5: 1224), the brigands called

Kara Kader, Cafer, Kirmani and Şah with 15 horsemen were holding-up people and robbing them in the mountain passes of Çorum and Çankırı provinces. Likewise, some *kurbet* and *suhte* groups were killing and robbing people in Çankırı, Bolu and Kastamonu provinces in the same year (MD 5: 1301; MD 5: 1582). These *suhte* and *kurbet* movements appear to have continued for at least two decades. Ayhan (1998: 149–50, 159) mentions another *suhte* and *kurbet* movement that took place in AD 1576, about the same time that officials started to carry out the survey in the province of Çankırı that was concluded in AD 1578. There are also Mühimme documents ranging from AD 1581 to AD 1588 that give many details on the *suhte* and *kurbet* movements. According to these decrees addressed to the *beys* and *kadis* of Çankırı, Kastamonu and Bolu certain groups of *suhte*, *kurbet* and other bandits under the leadership of rebels such as Çalık Veliyuddin, Ekmekoğlu, Arpacioğlu, Kılıçoğlu and Fakihoğlu were raiding towns and villages and waylaying travellers on highways. They were collecting ‘alms’ (*zekât*) from people in excessive amounts and injuring those who did not comply. They were carrying away with them ‘smooth-faced young boys’ and young girls. They beat and robbed people. Most important of all, these criminals were sheltered by some officials and inhabitants in the provinces (MD 46: 64; MD 52: 617; MD 53: 700; MD 60: 586; MD 61: 43; MD 64: 382). The Ottoman government issued decrees ordering officials to catch these criminals, imprison them and send them to the Porte. But there were cases where they deceived officials such as *sekbans* and janissaries sent to investigate and catch them (MD 53: 730). Some even managed to escape after they were arrested and brought to Istanbul (MD 62: 59). The *suhte* and *kurbet* movements usually took place whenever there were military campaigns and, in fact, in one of the Mühimme decrees it is specifically mentioned that the *suhte* movements had been going on since the start of the Eastern Campaign (MD 60: 640; MD 64: 382).

The population of Çankırı appears to have grown rapidly in the 17th century. According to one of the Court register documents there were 242 and a quarter *avarız hanes* in Çankırı in 1698 (Kaya 2001). I multiplied this figure by an estimated actual *hane* of four which gives us at least 968 actual households, a figure more than double that recorded in both the AD 1521 and AD 1578 registers. This figure of actual *hane* multiplied by five gives us 5,324 as the population of Çankırı at the end of the 17th century. According to Evliya Çelebi (died ca. AH 1095/AD 1684), however, there were 4,000 houses in Çankırı (Ayhan 1998: 202), which means a population of about 20,000, which is most probably an exaggeration, for, according to the sources, the

population of Çankırı was 12,000 in AD 1831 and 15,000 at the end of the 19th century. Both these figures as well as the figure that I calculate from *avarız hanes* for the end of the 17th century are below that of Evliya Çelebi but more closely fit a pattern of expected growth.

The total number of households recorded by the scribe did not always correspond to the actual household entries. I therefore did my own calculation and included such tax-exempts as *imams*, *müezzins* and *a’mas* assuming that they also had families. The population of the quarters and that of the town was then calculated. The 10% military as suggested by Barkan (1970) was excluded, as my purpose was to work out the distribution of population within the quarters. The quarter with the highest population both in AD 1521 and AD 1578 was Karataş-ı Kayser, perhaps one of the oldest quarters of the town. The quarter with the lowest population in AD 1521 was Çukur with only four households and two bachelors, and in AD 1578 was Cami’-i Sultan Süleyman which was simply called Cami’ in AD 1521. The quarter of Tohte with six households and one bachelor in AD 1521 was not recorded in AD 1578. Another quarter with low population was Şeyh Hünkar Bahaeddin with five households and five bachelors in AD 1521. This quarter is recorded as empty (*hali*) in AD 1578. There are virtually no traces of Christian quarters. It is believed that shortly after the Turkish conquest in AD 1082 most of the inhabitants, perhaps almost all, converted to Islam and the chief-bishopric was moved from Çankırı to Amasra (Ayhan 1998: 100). It is also possible that those who did not convert emigrated to Amasra and other neighbouring towns.

The population of the town of Çankırı was 2,361 in AD 1521 and 2,527 in AD 1578 (fig. 7.5). There was an increase of only about 7% in 57 years, a very insignificant growth each year (about 10 per 10,000 in one year). The population of the town grew to an estimated 5,324 by AD 1698 (see above) and its population was 12,203 in AD 1831 according to the census carried out by Silahşoran-ı Hassa Süleyman Bey (Ayhan 1988: 188). Charles Texier, French archaeologist and traveller, estimated Çankırı’s population as 16,000 with only 40 Greek families at the end of the first half of the 19th century (Ayhan 1988: 177), but then it is not possible to explain the figures given by Tshichatsheff in AD 1839, who estimates that there were 1,800 households (which multiplied by five gives us a population of 9,000 persons) in Çankırı, of which 40 were non-Muslims (Ayhan 1998: 193). On the other hand, the population of the town according to the AD 1869 *salname* was 16,605 Muslims, 207 Greeks and 70 Armenians (Ayhan 1998: 196). Here at least the non-Muslim population can be verified with figures for AD 1882 quoted by Ayhan (who gives no

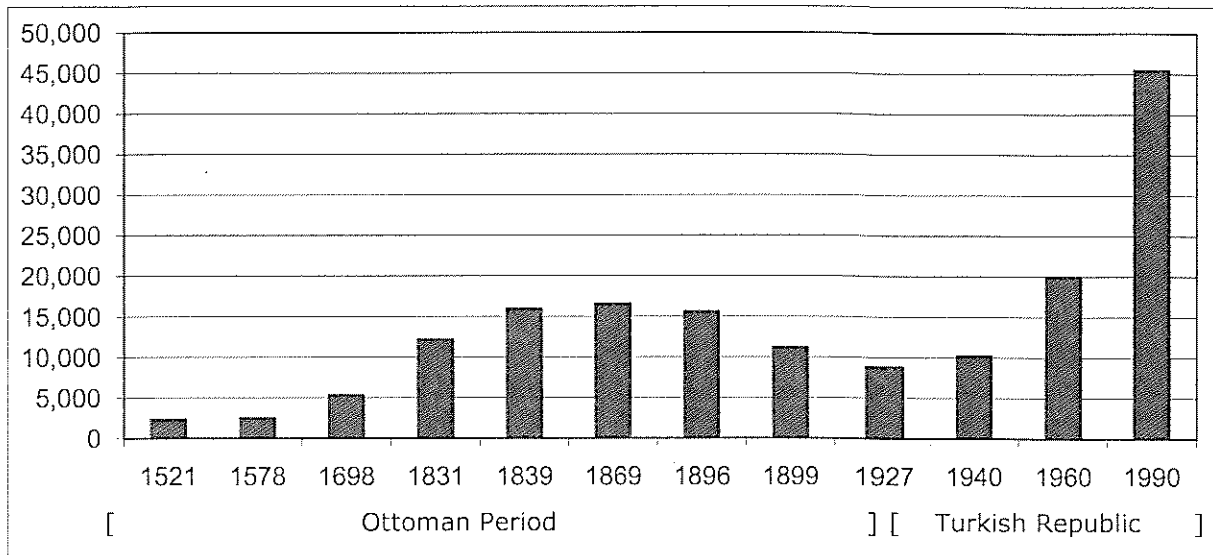


Fig. 7.5. Population of Çankırı town at intervals from AD 1521–1990

source): the non-Muslim population of Çankırı was 758 Greeks and 298 Armenians. According to Ali Cevad's census in 1898 there were 969 Greeks and 959 Armenians in Çankırı (Ayhan 1998: 199, 203). Furthermore, Cuinet's (1894: 551) figure is 15,632 for the population of Çankırı, of which 780 were Greeks and 472 were Armenians. These figures may sound reasonable, but it is difficult to understand why the town's population should fall to 11,200 according to the AD 1899 *salname* of Kastamonu (Mordtmann 1960). Out of this population 476 were Greek men, 415 Greek women, 186 Armenian men and 179 Armenian women, while in AD 1913 there were 1,337 Greeks and 482 Armenians in Çankırı (Ayhan 1998: 202, 204, 209). During the First World War and the War of Independence the population of the town fell drastically, for in AD 1927 it was down to 8,847 and in AD 1940 it was 10,235. By 1960 the town's population had doubled, to 20,047, and by AD 1990 more than doubled again to 45,496 (Şahin 1993), despite massive emigration from the province as a whole over most of this period (Aydın 1990). The population figures for the Republican period are probably reliable, and can be explained by natural growth and by the centripetal attraction of Çankırı town at the expense of rural settlement: the rural population of İlgaz *ilçe*, for example, fell from 34,592 in AD 1927 to 23,281 in AD 1990 (Alexandre 1994: 38). But the figures for the Ottoman period show considerable variation and are at times no doubt unreliable. A study of the graphics, however, at least gives us an idea of what the population of the town was for each century starting from AD 1521. The sources on the non-Muslim population figures are

also inconsistent and at times exaggerated, but it appears that there was a steady rise perhaps due as much to immigration as to natural growth.

Education

The personal names recorded in the AD 1521 register reflect a town with a strong religious inclination. Most of the names used by the inhabitants are either the names of the Prophet and his companions or of the other prophets. The most common of these names are Muhammed, Ahmed, Mahmud, Mustafa, Hamza, 'Ali and Hüseyin on the one hand, and Musa, 'Isa and Yusuf on the other. Such names are not an indication of ethnic groups, but rather point to an Islamic religious community, which had its own system of education.

The basic units of education in the Ottoman empire were *medreses* and schools, but at the same time the mosques and other religious foundations such as *zaviyes* served equally as bases of both religious and secular education. Many learned men such as *müderrises*, *imams*, *müezzins* and *huffaz* employed in these institutions were not only highly educated, but also served as educators to the broader community. In an earlier study I calculated that about 2% of adult males in the Ottoman province of Anatolia were educators in one way or another (İlhan 1996: 128), a very high percentage considering that the whole population, including the inhabitants of villages, was taken into account. The proportion in towns was most probably higher. Nevertheless, we cannot say the same for the town of Çankırı, for my calculation here shows that only 1% of the population were educators. There were 24 quarters in the town of

Çankırı according to the AD 1521 and AD 1530 registers (see above) and 22 according to the AD 1578 register. There was almost one *imam* in every quarter and perhaps an equal number of *muezzins*, although five in the AD 1521 and 12 in the AD 1578 register were recorded. Adding to these numbers *hatibs* (preachers), *sermahfil*, *huffaz* and *şeyhs* we arrive at a figure of 1% of the population of the town as educators. A *müderriis* and a *kadı* are registered only in the AD 1578 register. We know that Ebu'su'ud Mehmed Efendi was offered the post of *müderriis* at the *medrese* of Çankırı in AD 1516, but it is uncertain whether or not he accepted the post (Ayhan 1998: 156). Furthermore, according to the Ottoman administration there was a *kadı* and a *müftü* in Çankırı as well as *kadis* in its *kazas* and *nahiyes* such as Çerkeş, Kurşunlu, Tosya and Toht (MD 6: 537; MD 6: 890; MD 6: 1347; MD 71: 55; MD 82: 48). There were 35 men of religion in AD 1521 and 36 in AD 1578, namely one man of religion per 12 or 13 households.

Economy of Çankırı town

Information on economic activities in the town of Çankırı is derived from several registers. The information is scattered. The basic income of the town was from the *mumhane* (candle factory), the *bozahane* (*boza*-factory, beverage made of fermented millet) and salt. The income for the first two cannot be calculated because it is cited along with the taxes such as sheep tax and oxen tax as well as taxes taken from fruit, pastures, *mezra'as* (arable fields), vineyards and orchards. The total income from all was 15,000 *akçes* in AD 1521 and 16,000 *akçes* in AD 1578 which went to the *mir-i liva* (BOA TD 100: 88; TKGM KK TD 81). The income from salt according to both the AD 1521 and AD 1578 registers was considerably higher. In AD 1521 income from salt was 55,000 *akçes* plus an income of 5,000 *akçes* from base (a chemical substance capable of combining with an acid to form salt). This income from salt increased to 71,667 *akçes* in AD 1578 (BOA TD 100: 87; TKGM KK TD 81), all of which income went to the Imperial Hass. According to the AD 1530 *icmal* (synopsis) register the total income of the Imperial Hass from the *nahiye* of Kengiri was 225,000 *akçes*. Of this, 60,000 *akçes* was from rice, 80,000 *akçes* from?, 55,000 *akçes* from salt work and 30,000 *akçes* from *mevkufat* (perhaps taxes taken from runaways and arrested persons). The total income for *mir-i liva* was 216,000 *akçes*. This income was from the *bozahane* and the candle factory mentioned above as well as from some villages and *yaylaks* (summer pastures) (BOA TD 100: 375; TKGM KK TD 81).

The AD 1521 register also has valuable information on agriculture, husbandry and stockbreeding, but the income from these is low. *Çift* tax (*resm-i çift*) is only

112 *akçes* and the income from wheat, barley, orchards and beehives is equally low. The income from all amounted to only 924 *akçes*. There are quite a number of orchards and pastures around the town but the income from them varies between four and 25 *akçes*. The description given of these orchards and pastures gives us a good idea of where they are distributed: around places such as Karataş, Acı Su, Bimarhane and Tabbağlar (TKGM KK TD 81).

The income from casual taxes (*bad-i hava ve cürm ve cinayet ve resm-i arusane*) in AD 1578 was 60,775 *akçes*. The income from sheep tax (excluding that of Yörüğan) according to the AD 1578 register was 150,000 *akçes*, from *mevkufat-i yava* (capturing of runaways) 30,000 *akçes*, capitation tax (*cizye-i nefis-i Kengiri*), perhaps from some Christians living near or in town, was 5,000 *akçes* and *ihtisab* 4,300 *akçes* (TKGM KK TD 81).

Villages and agriculture in Çankırı province

According to register TD 81 in TKGM in Ankara the *sancak* of Çankırı in AD 1578 was divided into ten *nahiyes* including that of Kengiri itself. As explained above, for reasons of time and limited resources, documentary research was restricted to three *nahiyes*, that is Kengiri, Çerkeş and Koçhisar. The study here focuses on evidence from the registers of AD 1521 (TD 100), AD 1555 (TD 291) and AD 1578 (TD 81). Of these, the data pertaining to the AD 1578 register were assembled in alphabetical order, the AD 1521 data were studied in their original order as recorded in the register, since it appeared that the registrar and his retinue had visited all the villages for the purpose of registration, and the data of the AD 1555 register, a *vakf* register, were organised according to the status of the *vakf* holders.

The AD 1521 (TD 100) register was of particular interest. By locating the villages on a map it is possible to demonstrate that the registrar and his retinue (*tahrir heyeti*: registration committee) followed a certain route in order to register the *ra'aya* in the villages. It appears that the committee selected either a remote or a nearby village as their starting point, making a circuit back to the centre each time and registering villages on their way. These circuits continued until they had registered all the villages within a *nahiye*. Below are some examples of the routes the committee followed in the *nahiye* of Çerkeş:

- > Yalak Özi, Yamaklı, Yoncalı, Kasaç, Hacılar;
- > Kara Mustafa, Dikenli, Çömlekçi, Yukarı Çukurca, Yakuplar, Çukur Viran, (Pü)türbaşı
- > Şeyh Toğan, Aşağı Kadı Özi, Ahur, Bedil, Bazman, Kızıllar, Kara Kınık, Çamluca, Berçin, Orman, Ali Özi, Ovacak.

Villages and population

According to the AD 1521 *timar* (fief) register (TD 100) there were 104 *timar* entries and a total of 77 villages in the *sancak* of Çankırı, with a total population of 12,388 (fig. 7.6). Some villages were shared between more than one fief-holder. Villages with high populations include those of Akyazı, Yonca and Baydekin, recorded as one village probably due to the fact they were adjacent to each other, with a total population of 884. Other villages with relatively high populations are Kazak (population 409) Dikenlu (397), Kermişki (376), Biğalu (370) and Söğüt Özi (359). The villages with the lowest populations are those of Renin (ten) and 'Alemdar (ten) as well as the *mezra*'a of Kuduz Çiftliği (five).

In the AD 1578 register (TD 81) we find that the population of the villages had increased. The villages of Akyazı (437) and Baydekin (three in number with a population of 189+500+444), recorded separately this time, almost doubled in population to a total of 1,570, and the population of the villages of Kazak (771) and Kermişki (679) also almost doubled. The population of the village of Dikenlu, however, dropped from 397 to 329, and that of the village of 'Alemdar increased only from ten to 13. The number of villages registered in Çankırı in AD 1578 increased to 100, whose total population almost doubled to 23,404. Villages such as Paşa (684), Beç Tut (553) and Bclid Özi (447) feature in the AD 1578 register as the villages with the highest population, while those such as Bikenç (21), a *mezra*'a in the AD 1521 register, lie at the other end of the scale.

There were 14 *cema'ats* (tribes) recorded in Kengiri *nahiye* in the AD 1521 register and 11 in the AD 1578 register, their combined population increasing over this period from 2,366 to 3,778. According to the AD 1555 *vakf* register there were 57 *vakf* villages with a total population of 15,159. The total population of the villages of Çerkeş went up from 10,035 in AD 1521 to 17,619 in AD 1578, and the total population of the villages of Koçhisar almost doubled for the same period, increasing from 6,526 to 12,529. The total population of *vakf* villages of Çerkeş was 1,287 in AD 1555 while no *vakf* villages were recorded in Koçhisar for the same year.

Kırk (population rise from 562 in AD 1521 to 566 in AD 1578), Iısoluk (from 642 to 1,147) and Yıva (from 415 to 790) were the villages with the highest population in the *nahiye* of Koçhisar, and Kara Kınık (from 432 to 478), Viran (from 414 to 494) and Saray (Sancak) (from 307 to 471) were the most populated villages in Çerkeş. These villages with high populations were generally situated on hill slopes with abundant water supplies and close to town centres and highways. The smaller and less dynamic villages, by contrast, were generally situated in remote locations, with little arable land and away from town centres and highways.

Land units, ownership, taxes

The Çankırı registers utilise divisions of *ra'aya* into *çifti*, *nim*, *bennak*, *caba* and *müccered*. Occasionally there occurs the word *zivle*, which is clearly part of this system of classification. In Şemseddin Sami's *Kamus-i*

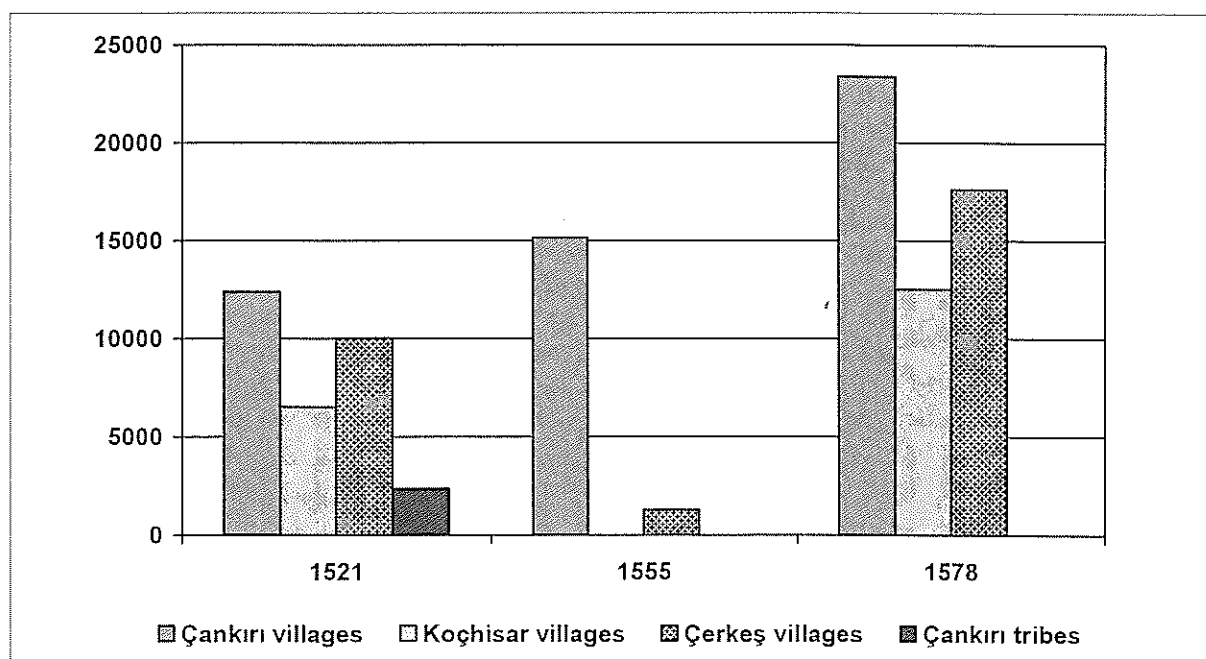


Fig. 7.6. Total population of the villages of Çankırı, Koçhisar and Çerkeş through the 16th century AD

Türki this word is spelt as *zılve*, while in the Redhouse dictionary it appears as *zevle* and *zavle*, and in one place in the AD 1578 register it is spelt as *zıvle* (TD 291: 40). The word *zevle* means ‘a side rod in an ox-yoke to keep the oxen under control’. Thus, there is no doubt that the word, just like *çift*, *nim*, *bennak* and *caba* refers to a unit of land registered in the name of a *ra’aya*. In fact, when we calculate the tax taken from a *zevle* in comparison to that taken from a *çift* it works out as equal to a quarter of a *çift*. In any case, for whatever reason only one *zevle* was recorded under a *zemin*, and very often a *ra’aya* had three *zevles* recorded in his name. Since one *zevle* was a quarter of a *çift* and had a value of 14.25 *akçes*, then a *ra’aya* with three *zevles* paid 42.75 *akçes* as *resm-i çift*. According to the Çankırı register, particularly with regard to the calculations based on TD 291, a *ra’aya* with a *çift* paid 57 *akçes*, with a *nim* 28.5 *akçes*, with a *bennak* 18 and at times 17 *akçes*, and with a *caba* 13 *akçes* as land tax. We may conclude that the *mücerreds* (bachelors) were not paying this tax since they were recorded within almost every village yet with no tax recorded against their names. In fact a clause in the *kanunname* of Bolu register clearly demonstrates that the *mücerreds* did not pay tax:

No tax is recorded in the name of those registered as *mücerreds* in the *defter*. But those registered as *mücerreds* who get married or become bread-owners shall pay *resm-i bennak* and if they come to hold a piece of land they shall pay tax according to the size they hold.

(TD 438: 418)

The note ‘all the people in the village attest to the fact that he has no land in his possession’ written above the name of ‘Ali veled-i Mahmud, also recorded as *bennak* under the village of Kulasi in the AD 1555 register, confirms the clause in the *kanunname* (TD 291: 20).

In the Çankırı registers, particularly the AD 1555 *vakf* register we find that *çift* and its lesser units (*nim*, *bennak*, *caba* and *zevle*) were on occasion shared by more than one person. Such persons, for whom the term *ma’a şüreka*, ‘with shareholders’, is used, were generally brothers but not always so. In cases where they were not brothers the phrase *ma’a X* is used instead of *ma’a biraderan* or *ma’a biraderes* or even *ma’a biraderes ve ebna-i X* (TD 291: 223). These shareholders are not included in the population figures employed in this study, since that would be a repetition, as it is clear that they were recorded before and after the notes in the register. In the *kanunname* of Bolu the position of the land shareholders is clearly explained:

And if the sons of a *ra’iyyet* [subject], some of whom are recorded as *resm-i çift* and some others as *resm-i bennak*, are holding their father’s land in shares then they shall participate in paying *resm-i çift* and *resm-i bennak*. And if one of the sons of the deceased *ra’iyyet* dies and leaves behind a son while they are holding this land as *müşa’* [undivided] and *müşterek* [joint] then this share goes to his son, but if he does not have a son his share does not go to his brother. Also, the share of such a deceased person should not be given to a stranger. If the brothers pay what a stranger would pay then the land must be given to the brothers. If the brothers have no interest in the land then the *timar* holder can give it to whomever he wishes. The *sipahi* in giving the brother’s share to the [other] brother must act in the way of experienced [and just] people; they must be in mutual agreement and must not take extra *akçe*.

(TD 438: 418)

Occasionally we obtain informative glimpses of some of the difficulties met by the *defter* registrars, working in trying circumstances in rural districts a long way from a sophisticated urban environment. We encounter notes made by the scribe in the *defter* stating that the *ra’aya* of the village of Viranlı in Çerkeş did not show up for the registration and that therefore the details of this village were copied from the old register. In such cases, if a village, and in particular a tribe, did not show up and there is not an old register then the scribe put down an approximate figure (İlhan 1987: 789). Likewise, according to a note in the AD 1555 register, the officials in Istanbul noticed that the scribe had forgotten to record sheep tax (*resm-i ğanem* or *ğanem vergisi*) for the *vakf* village of Kedend and the *mülk* village of Kati (*nam-ı diger Küvaz*), in the *timar* holding of Paşa Çelebi bin Muhammed, a descendant of Mahmud Çelebi, in the new register. Thereupon the Grand Vizier and the other viziers were asked for permission to record them in the register. A note was added to the register explaining the case:

The *resm-i ğanem* of this *vakf* village was mentioned and written in the old register, but mistakenly was not recorded in the new register. Therefore, as it is imperative to record it in the new register, permission for inscribing was granted by his highness the Exalted [Hazret-i] Rüstem Paşa, the Exalted ‘Ali Paşa, the Exalted Muhammed Paşa and the Exalted Pertev Paşa, may it prolong their lives. Written in mid-Cemaziye’l-ahir 963 [26 April AD 1556] by Mustafa bin Celal Tevki’i, the most humble servant of Glorious and Supreme God who may forgive them.

(TD 291: 48-50)

Village names and locations

In addition to the central *sancak* that is *kaza-i Kengiri*, the province of Çankırı (Kengiri) had another eight *kazas*, namely: Koçhisar (İlgaz), Milan, Kurşunlu, Çerkeş, Tosya, Korgu, Kal'acık and Kari-Bazarı, each of which had *vakf* holdings. The *vakf* holdings in productive areas such as the *kazas* of Kengiri (195,365 *akçes*), Tosya (29,797 *akçes*) and Kari-Bazarı (18,178 *akçes*) generated higher incomes than other less productive *kazas* such as Koçhisar (İlgaz) (2,051 *akçes*) and Milan (2,093). Overall, according to the *Muhasebe-ı Vilayet-i Anadolu (defter 438 dated AH 937/AD 1530)*, the province was rather poor with regard to its religious and civil foundations in the light of the number of its *kazas* and villages. Thus the province consisted of nine *kazas* and 550 villages yet had only two *'imarets*, seven Friday mosques, 36 mosques, three *medreses*, two *mu'allimhanes*, eight *hamams* and six *karbansarays*.

There are 108 villages recorded within the *kaza* of Kengiri in the 16th century. The population and income of these villages vary greatly. Muslims inhabited all villages and there was only one village, Alur, where 71 Christian households are recorded along with 31 Muslim households. The names of these villages are mostly Turkish. There are cases where a reference is made to the ancient (older, *nam-ı diger*) name, for example, Karye-i Akören *nam-ı diger* Çadik: the village of Akören, also known as Çadik. Other names give a hint as to the origin of the inhabitants, such as the villages called Özbek, Bayındır, Kıpçak, Kazak and Yörük. Still others provide a description of the location of the settlement, such as Acı Kuyu, İnce Su, Bozca Yer, Karaca Kaya, while some derive their names from important buildings such as

Hisarcık and Saraycık. It seems certain that the detailed (*mufassal*) cadastral registers give an accurate picture of the villages of the province. If a village had become derelict it is recorded as such, as are villages that have shifted location. Such information, if systematically deployed in the field, might aid in the identification of now abandoned Ottoman settlements. Pasture lands are also recorded in the registers, including Aydos, Tokruk, Aldus and Korucuk, which were used by tribes such as Ayaç, Şarkli, Kuçekli, Mikayillu and Gençlu.

The cadastral registers contain much detailed information on agricultural lands, and produce such as wheat and barley, while orchards, gardens and vineyards are also recorded. It is possible to draw the boundaries of villages by calculating the amount of agricultural produce and the number of farms. All types of husbanded animals are recorded in the registers. There has not been time within the remit of this project to pursue all these research avenues to their doubtless highly-productive conclusions but work continues to proceed in these and other directions. Future work might also attempt more fully to associate the rich Ottoman written texts with contemporary archaeological evidence on the ground. A major issue here is that many of the settlements attested in the Ottoman tax and census records have continued in existence until the present-day and it has not proven possible within the scope of Project Paphlagonia to detect and characterise an archaeological signature that distinguishes Ottoman settlements from their modern successors on the same spot. Very few abandoned Ottoman villages were located in the survey. Comparison of Ottoman evidence with the census records of the early Turkish Republic is also likely to be a highly fruitful avenue for future exploration.

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PROJECT PAPHLAGONIA

REGIONAL SURVEY IN
NORTH-CENTRAL TURKEY

Edited by
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This volume is designed to be read and consulted alongside the associated Project Paphlagonia electronic archive and web resource (<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/paphlagonia/>). There, amongst other features, can be found photographs and drawings of all diagnostic sherds recovered in the course of the project, as well as detailed site catalogues, numerous colour figures and other relevant materials.

Cover illustrations: front, Ilgaz mountains behind PS016, Salman West; back, a Paphlagonian village view, Karaören

Preface and Acknowledgements

This volume is the final publication of a fieldwork programme conducted between 1997 and 2001 under the title of Project Paphlagonia. The project was directed by Roger Matthews in post as Director of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara (as it then was, hereafter BIAA). Almost all funding toward the fieldwork was generously provided by the BIAA, for which I am extremely grateful. Financial support from the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in the 2001 season was also greatly appreciated. Post-fieldwork processing, analysis and publication preparation have been kindly supported by grants from the BIAA, the Mediterranean Archaeological Trust, the Graduate School of UCL and the Institute of Archaeology UCL, to all of whom sincere thanks are here given. The sections of Chapter Two reported on by Vedat Toprak, Arda Arcasoy and M. Lütfi Süzen constitute the final report of the project ODTÜ-AGÜDOS 98.03.09.01.06 prepared in the Geological Engineering Department of the Middle East Technical University (Ankara, Turkey) for the BIAA.

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