

Demographic Information of the First Turkish Immigrants Who
Came to İzmir (Sığla) Province after the Morean Rebellion
(According to the Population Records H.1246/A.D. 1830-31 and
H.1259/A.D.1843-44)

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Abstract

The Morean Rebellion of 1821 initiated a painful process full of suffering for the Turks who made the Morea their homeland and made it prosperous. The Greek rebels declared to the whole world from the beginning of the rebellion that their purpose was to fight against the Turks until no Turks remained in the Morea. Hunger and misery, which reached to unbearable magnitudes for the Turks who were under siege in fortresses for the duration of the rebellion, became a normal part of their daily lives. Many of those, who could not stand those heavy conditions any longer and surrendered, were brutally murdered. Those who survived the massacre had to leave their homelands. Many Morean Turks migrated to the islands, shores of western Anatolia and İstanbul. Sultan Mahmud II closely dealt with the problems of those immigrants, who endured great atrocities and lost everything they had. The Sultan often warned the local administrators and sent orders for taking the necessary measures. In fact, the immigrants were welcomed in their new lands within the framework of the understanding of rights of guests and Islamic brotherhood.

The demographic information of the Morean immigrants coming to the İzmir (Sığla) Province are accessible. In fact, in two civil registers, information regarding the Morean immigrants in İzmir itself and the towns of Çeşme, Seferihisar, Kuşadası and Söke are located whose records are kept in the

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records numbered H.1246/ A.D. 1830-31 and H.1259/ A.D. 1843-44. The names, physical characteristics, ages and occupations of the immigrants who stated that they were from the Morea, Kızılhisar, Anabolu, Navarino, Euboea, Benefşe and Athens were recorded in details. The civil registry books stated that the immigrants were tenants or house owners. In this study, we provided the civil registry information of the Morean immigrants located within the İzmir (Sığla) Province in the light of two identified civil registers.

Keywords: Morea Revolt of 1821, Morea Massacre, Forced Migration, Morea Immigrants, İzmir (Sığla) Sanjak, Population Records.

Mora İsyanı Sonrasında İzmir (Sığla) Sancağı'na Gelen İlk Türk Muhacirlerinin Nüfus Bilgileri

(H.1246/M.1830-31-H. 1259/1843-44 Yıllarına Ait Nüfus Kayıtlarına Göre)

Öz

1821 Mora İsyanı, Mora'yı vatan edinip buraları mamur hale getiren Türkler için acılarla dolu, çok sancılı bir süreci başlatmıştır. Âsi Rumlar, isyanın en başında hedeflerinin Mora'da bir tek Türk kalmayana kadar savaşmak olduğunu bütün dünyaya ilan etmişlerdir. İsyân boyunca kalelerde kuşatma altında tutulan Türkler için dayanılmaz boyutlara ulaşan açlık ve sefalet, âdeta günlük yaşamın olağan bir parçası haline gelmiştir. Bu ağır şartlara daha fazla dayanamayıp teslim olanlardan pek çoğu ise acımasızca katledilmiştir. Katliamdan kurtulanlar ise yurtlarını terk etmek zorunda kalmıştır. Pek çok Mora Türkü adalara, Batı Anadolu sahillerine ve İstanbul'a göç etmiştir. Sultan II. Mahmud, büyük eziyetler çekmiş, mal ve mülklerini kaybetmiş bu muhacirlerin sorunlarıyla yakından ilgilenmiştir. Gerekli tedbirlerin alınması hususunda yerel idarecilere sık sık uyarılarda bulunmuş, emirnameler göndermiştir. Nitekim muhacirler, yeni topraklarında *hukuk-ı müsaferet* ve *uhuvvet-i İslamiyet* anlayışı çerçevesinde karşılanmışlardır.

İzmir (Sığla) Sancağı'na gelen Mora muhacirlerinin nüfus kayıtlarına ulaşılabilmektedir. Nitekim H.1246/M.1830-31 ve H.1259/M.1843-44 yıllarında kaydı tutulan iki nüfus defterinde *nefs-i İzmir*'de ve Çeşme, Seferihisar, Kuşadası, Söke kazalarında bulunan Mora muhacirlerine dair bilgiler yer almaktadır. *Moralı (Moravi)*, *Kızılhisarlı*, *Anabolulu*, *Navarinli*, *Eğribozlu*, *Benefşeli*, *Atinalı* oldukları belirtilen muhacirlerin isimleri, fiziki

özellikleri, yaşları ve meslekleri detaylı bir şekilde kaydedilmiştir. Muhacirlerin kiracı veya hane sahibi oldukları da belirtilmiştir. Bu çalışmada, tespit edilen iki nüfus defteri ışığında İzmir (Sığla) Sancağı dâhilinde bulunan Mora muhacirlerinin nüfus bilgilerine yer verilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: 1821 Mora İsyanı, Mora Katliamı, Zorunlu Göç, Mora Muhacirleri, İzmir (Sığla) Sancağı, Nüfus Kayıtları.

Introduction

The Morean Rebellion of 1821

Along with the period called the “Enlightenment Period”, the 18th century witnessed significant developments such as the independence of the United States, French Revolution, and announcement of the human rights declarations. Especially, the currents of nationalism and freedom affected many nations living in various countries. In fact, the Greeks living in the Ottoman Empire were also among those who were affected by those significant developments.¹ In the spread of the idea of nationalism among the Greeks, Russia and Austria, which worked for speeding up the internal collapse of the Ottoman Empire, had an important impact.²

The independence ideal of the Greeks who improved themselves greatly in terms of their national consciousness until the beginning of the 19th century accelerated with the activities of the *Philiki Eteria* Organization³, established in 1814, and rendered mature until 1821. By making the necessary alliances in this regard, the organization created the ideational and material infrastructure. Finally, it was the time to “wait for the appropriate time to get revenge from the Muslims”. Moreover, the organization determined independence and fighting until no Turk remains in the Morea as its ultimate goal.⁴

1 Hamiyet Sezer, “Mora İsyanı ve Yunanistan’ın Bağımsızlığı (1821-1829)”, *Osmanlı*, Vol. II, Yeni Türkiye Yay., Ankara 1999, p. 87.

2 Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi (Nizam-ı Cedid ve Tanzimat Devirleri 1789-1856)*, Vol. V, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay., Ankara 2011, p. 108-109.

3 Philiki Eteria was established seven years before the beginning of the Greek Rebellion of 1821 in the Russian coastal city of Odessa. The organization, which opened up many branches in various locations in the Ottoman Empire, performed activities in the areas of culture, education and political propaganda. In addition, assumed an important mission in the formation of the independence ideal. See: Süleyman Tevfik-Abdullah Zühdü, *Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye ve Yunan Muharebesi 1314*, Mihran Matbaası, Dersaadet 1315, pp. 69-70; İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul 2013, p. 92-93.

4 Ali Fuat Örenç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri ve Eyaletten Bağımsızlığa*

During the Greek Rebellion, the lyrics of a song which reads, “No Turks will remain in the Morea and the world ...” spread from mouth to mouth and the Greek rebels announced that a war of total destruction started.⁵ Moreover, the Greek rebels who highly followed those lyrics attempted to terminate all Muslims. In fact, the rebellion movement spread to the entire Morea⁶ in the first week of April of 1821 by the activities of the priests and to the islands in a short amount of time by the Greek commercial ships, converted into warships.⁷

The bishops provoked rebellious Greeks to terminate the disbeliever Muslims everywhere they operated.⁸ According to Clair, British writer, “this vicious desire to get revenge among the Greeks soon turned into joy of massacring.”⁹ Regarding the encountered sad incidents, British writer David Howarth stated “the Greeks did not seek any reason while committing those murders; they killed people because they fell in the lust of shedding blood.”¹⁰ In his book titled *Death and Exile*, McCarthy emphasized that the Greeks in the Morea had a general policy of termination against the Muslims and the discourse of Bishop Germanos, which was “Peace for Christians! Respect for Consuls! Death for Turks!”, represented the nationalist slogan of the rebellion.¹¹

McCarthy indicated that termination of Turks in the Morea through looting and massacres was not the regular casualty of the war; the Greek gangs killed the Turks, including women and children, by taking them away. The Greek gangs mostly planned the murders beforehand and committed them with

Yunanistan, Babıali Kültür Yayıncılığı, İstanbul 2009, p. 27.

- 5 Walter Alison Phillips, *The War of Greek Independence, 1821 to 1833*, Smith Elder & Co, London 1897, p. 48.
- 6 Salahî Sonyel, “Yunan Ayaklanması Günlerinde Mora’daki Türkler Nasıl Yok Edildiler?”, *Belleten*, LXII/233, Ankara 1988, p. 110.
- 7 Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, “Yunan İsyanı Sırasında Anadolu ve Adalar Rumlarının Tutumları ve Sonuçları”, *Üçüncü Askeri Tarih Semineri Bildirileri (Türk Yunan İlişkileri)*, ATASE, Ankara 1986, p. 133.
- 8 Sonyel, “Yunan Ayaklanması Günlerinde Mora’daki Türkler Nasıl Yok Edildiler?”, p. 110.
- 9 William St. Clair, *That Greece might still be free: the Philhellenes in the War of Independence*, Oxford University Press, London 1972, p. 12.
- 10 David Howarth, *The Greek Adventure: Lord Byron and Other Eccentrics in the War of Independence*, Published by Collins, London 1976, p. 28.
- 11 Justin McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün, Osmanlı Müslümanlarının Etnik Kıyımı (1821-1922)*, trans. Fatma Sarıkaya, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay., Ankara 2012, pp. 9-10.

cold blood, gathered the Turks in the towns, forced them to walk to another place and massacred them at that location¹² The French Ambassador of Athens, La Gorce (1855-1857) wrote that the Greek gangs killed the Turks everywhere when they surrendered their weapons without regarding human rights and they committed those massacres in the name of the Greek cause.¹³

The upper classes of Europe, who were under the impact of Hellenism during the Greek Rebellion, believed that the rebels were struggling for their independence and despite the idealism that they believed in they failed to see the massacres committed against the Muslims.¹⁴ However, those who witnessed the incidents that took place during the rebellion were frustrated when they realized the severity of the situation. In fact, one of the persons who experienced this situation was British poet Lord Byron. Byron, who came to the region with his increased personal wealth with the help of the Philhellenes, got surprised against what he encountered. The wealth that he brought with himself suddenly disappeared in the hands of various groups. He got desperate against the disorderly and unprepared actions of the Greeks, and got sick. Before long, he died.¹⁵ Additionally, many French officers who returned Marseilles from the Morea in 1822 spoke ill of the Greeks whom they perceived as the grandsons of the ancient Greeks with the volunteers who were preparing to go to the Morea, and blamed the Greeks for cowardice and ungratefulness. In his opinions regarding the Greeks, another Prussian officer stated that the ancient Greeks no longer existed and barbarity replaced the reasonable laws of the ancient Athens.¹⁶

Despite the high numbers of casualties due to the incidents that took place in the Morea, the Ottoman State hid the number of Muslims who died in the incidents to prevent reaction that would come from the public and acts of violence against the Greeks living in other regions of the empire. However, Ahmet Lütfi Efendi claimed this situation would harm the Ottoman State in the future and the Greeks would be perceived as rightful and emphasized that this was a wrong policy. He also indicated that it was important to reveal the facts in all aspects, not unilaterally. The author also stated that

12 Justin McCarthy, *ibid*, p. 12.

13 La Gorce, *Çağlar Boyu Yunanlılar*, Turkish ed. Doğu Araştırma Merkezi, Belge Yay., Ankara 1986, p. 296.

14 Justin McCarthy, *Osmanlı'ya Veda*, trans. Mehmet Tuncel, Etkileşim Yay., İstanbul 2006, p. 87.

15 La Gorce, *ibid*, p. 300.

16 Sonyel, "Yunan Ayaklanması Günlerinde Mora'daki Türkler Nasıl Yok Edildiler?", p. 114.

although the Ottoman State ignored the incidents, everyone knew that the rebel Greeks terminated the Muslims in the Morea, committed all kinds of atrocities, even killed fetuses in the wombs of pregnant women and threw people into fire, many women and children were killed, and the surviving people were forced out of the Morea and in a short amount of time, the Turks living there became miserable for the duration of the rebellion.¹⁷

1. The Massacres Against the Müslim-Turkish Population in the Morean Cities and Forced Migration

The Greek Rebellion costed the lives of more than 50.000 Turks, Greeks, Albanians and Jews until the summer of 1822. Thousands of people either became slaves or fell into poverty. The rebellion became a chain of opportunities for the Greek gangs and they looted and destroyed everywhere.¹⁸ The rebellious Greeks armed themselves, took the hills, and started to attack surrounding areas. In a short amount of time, they diverted their attacks to the fortresses where Muslims sought refuge. Due to those attacks, the people of Mizistre, Londar, Fenar and Bardine had to seek refuge in Tripolitsa; people of Arkadia, Andurusa and Nişti sought refuge in Navarino; and people of Gaston sought refuge in the fortress of Lala. The Greek rebels captured about 40 Muslims in Vostice, brought them to the dock to transport them to Salona by boats; however, the rebels killed the Muslims there. The rebels also attacked and captured the people of Karitene while they were going towards Tripolitsa on their way. However, one of the Muslims escaped and informed the authorities in Tripolitsa and about 2.000 troops came for help and saved the remainder of the Muslims.¹⁹

Yusuf Pasha, Guardian of Badra, moved to punish the rebels with 800 soldiers when he heard that the rebels sieged the town of Lala, and terminated the rebels and transported 20.000 Muslims to Badra on June 18, 1821 including the people of Gaston who previously came there. Afterwards, about 15.000 Greek rebels were mobilized and attacked Badra. When people of Badra received no help, it became difficult to defend the fortress and people surrendered soon. The Greek rebels looted the fortress and the Muslims

17 Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi, *Vak'ânivîs Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi Tarihi*, Vol. I, ed. A. Hezarfeni, Yapı Kredi Yay., İstanbul 1999, p. 38-39.

18 Örenç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, p. 106.

19 Sahnâflar Şeyhî-zâde Seyyid Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, *Vak'a-nüvis Es'ad Efendi Tarihi*, ed. Ziya Yılmazzer, Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, İstanbul 2000, p.148-149.

sought refuge in Tripolitsa.²⁰

Starting from May of 1821, about 50 or 60 thousand rebel Greeks sieged Tripolitsa.²¹ The siege, which lasted about six months, cut the connection of the city with the outside world, the rebel Greeks prevented the city from receiving military and food assistance and the Muslims were forced to starve.²² While negotiations were underway for the surrender, the gates of the fortress were opened as the Albanians gave up the defense and secretly made an agreement with the rebel Greeks²³ and while the Albanians were passing through the gates on October 7, 1821, the rebel Greeks attacked the fortress.²⁴ The rebels committed a huge massacre against the Muslims in the fortress. Including the families of Chief Commander Hurşid Pasha and Mehmed Pasha, Governor Salih Agha and Military Engineer Yusuf Agha, 97 people were taken as captives.²⁵ The British Consul saved those families captured in Tripolitsa four months later.²⁶ Chief Commander Hurşid Pasha exchanged 300 prisoners²⁷ of war and 2.400 coins for those 97 people. The families were first transported to Badra, later they landed on Preveze after getting off a British ship.²⁸ Except those people, almost all Muslims more than 40.000 in number were massacred brutally for three days although they

20 Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, *ibid*, p. 153-154.

21 Ali Fuat Örenç, "Yunanistan'ın Bağımsızlığı Sürecinde Yok Edilen Mora Türkleri", *Uluslararası Suçlar ve Tarih*, 11/12, 2011, p. 13-14.

22 "... as the heathen and sinful Greeks pressured the slaughtered city and blocked all the opportunities for getting assistance ..." Bk. Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, *Vak'a-nüvis Es'ad Efendi Tarihi*, p. 154; Mustafa Nuri Paşa narrated the situation of the Muslims in the Tripolitsa fortress as follows: "... The Tripolitsa fortress, which is the administrative center of the Morea, lost its hope for receiving assistance and fell tired of desperation and lack of food and had to surrender afterwards before the war." See: Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netâyicü'l-Vukû'ât, Kurumlarıyla Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. I-IV, ed. Yılmaz Kurt, Birleşik Yay., Ankara 2008, p. 482.

23 "... As the Albanian heathens left us and followed the steps of the Greek heathens, and an attack started six months after the beginning of the siege on the city ..." See: Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, *Vak'a-nüvis Es'ad Efendi Tarihi*, p. 154.

24 Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, *ibid*, p. 154; Ahmet Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Vol. XII, Matbaa-i Osmaniye, Dersaadet 1309, p. 25.

25 Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, *ibid*, p. 155; Ahmet Cevdet, *ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 26; Nurettin Türsan, *Mora Ayaklanması ve Yunan Bağımsızlığı*, Harp Akademileri Basımevi, İstanbul 1994, p. 27.

26 Ahmet Cevdet, *ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 26.

27 Son of Bey of Many and his aides were among the captives. See: Türsan, *ibid*, p. 27.

28 Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, *ibid*, p. 155.

surrendered.²⁹ For this sad incident, Cronicler Esad Efendi said, “*the details of the incident include brutally taking lives.*”³⁰

French Ambassador in Athens, La Gorce (1855-1857) wrote about the atrocities that took place in Tripolitsa and said “The Greeks attacked a defenseless mass and burned down, demolished and looted everything, raped, cut throats and disemboweled people.”³¹ It is estimated that the number of Turks killed in Tripolitsa and surrounding areas was about 32 thousand and this number is much higher than the number of Greeks killed during the reign of the Ottoman Empire. Nothing was left out of Tripolitsa other than smoking ruins.³² Additionally, the rebels who were not satisfied with the atrocities, dug the Muslim cemetery, took out the bodies and burned them.³³ McCarthy narrates the Tripolitsa massacre with the following striking expressions:

For three days, the Turkish residents were left to the lust and atrocities of the group of savages. The rebels did not distinguish the victims based on gender or age. They even tortured the women and children before killing them. The massacre was so big so that Kolokotronis, the leader of the gangs, said that the feet of his horse never touched the ground starting from the gate of the upper walls when he entered the city. The road on which he was proceeding where the gangs celebrating their victory was covered with bodies.³⁴

Similarly, the Greek gangs sieged the fortresses of Benefşe and Navarin for about five months.³⁵ People experienced extreme hunger in the Benefşe fortress because there were no available supplies coming from outside. The people in the fortress who could not stand hunger anymore surrendered to

29 Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuđumuz Mora Türkleri*, p. 40; Nedim İpek, “Yunanistan’ın Nüfus Siyaseti ve Mora’dan Batı Trakya’ya Kadar Türkler”, *Yakın Tarihimizde Türklere Karşı İşlenen Katliam ve Sürgünler*, ed. Mustafa Kahramanyol, Ankara 2006, p. 97.

30 And afterwards, he shared the following verse from the Qur’an: “*We are for Allah, and we will definitely return to Him.*” See: Mehmed Es’ad Efendi, *ibid*, p. 155.

31 La Gorce *ibid*, p. 300.

32 Nicola Jorga, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi (1774-1912)*, Vol. V, trans. Nilüfer Epçeli, Yeditepe Yay., İstanbul 2009, p. 270.

33 “*The Greek gangs were not satisfied with the atrocities that they performed on the living individuals and dug the Muslim graves, took the bodies and burned them.*” See: Ahmet Cevdet, *ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 26.

34 McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, pp. 12-13.

35 Mehmed Es’ad Efendi, *ibid*, p. 155.

the Greeks under the order of Ypsilanti on August 5, 1821 after enduring about five months.³⁶ According to the agreement, the Greek rebels allowed the people of Benefşe to leave their possessions behind and to go to Kuşadası by ships. In this regard, about 700 Muslims of Benefşe landed on Kuşadası.³⁷ Ahmet Cevdet Pasha stated that the Greeks vowed to kill all Muslims but freed 750 Muslims from Benefşe because the Muslims of Benefşe performed intermarriages with the Greeks.³⁸ The Greeks took the properties of some of the remaining Muslims and later allowed them to go to the Kassos Island³⁹, and killed the remaining Muslims in the city when the gates of the fortress were opened.⁴⁰

The Turks in the Navarino fortress decided to surrender after the resistance, which lasted three and a half months (August 19, 1821) however the Greeks did not honor the agreement, did not allow the Turks to leave for the Anatolian shores, and killed all Turks including women and children.⁴¹ According to the information that Esad Efendi gave, only one person was able to escape from Navarino.⁴² According to Sonyel, about 2000 or 3000 Muslims were killed, and the Greek rebels undressed and searched the Turkish women, shot the escaping women in the sea, threw Muslim children into the sea and they drowned, and took away babies from their mothers and killed them by throwing the babies on the rocks. The Greek rebels also sold half-naked and scared Muslim girls as prostitutes.⁴³ Foreigners visiting Navarino could not get used to the stench of dead bodies around the city and witnessed that dogs, rats and birds ate bodies whose legs and arms were cut. The Greeks boasted about the number of Turks whom they killed, and how they killed them to display their power.⁴⁴

36 Ahmet Cevdet, *ibid*, Vol. XI, p. 155; Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, p. 37.

37 Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, *ibid*, p. 155. David Howarth indicated that 500 persons got on the ships and nobody knew what happened to them. See: Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, p. 108. Later on, it was revealed that those persons were registered in the civil registry of Kuşadası.

38 Ahmet Cevdet, *ibid*, Vol. XI, pp. 155-156.

39 Sonyel, "Yunan Ayaklanması Günlerinde Mora'daki Türkler Nasıl Yok Edildiler?", p. 113; Öreñç, "Yunanistan'ın Bağımsızlığı Sürecinde Yok Edilen Mora Türkleri", pp. 12-13.

40 Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, p. 108.

41 Ahmet Cevdet, *ibid*, Vol. XI, p. 155; Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, p. 37.

42 Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, *ibid*, p. 155.

43 Sonyel, "Yunan Ayaklanması Günlerinde Mora'daki Türkler Nasıl Yok Edildiler?", p. 113.

44 For more information provided by David Howarth, see: Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unut-*

The Greek rebels also sieged the fortresses of Anabolu and Palamut through the land and the sea. Hunger started as no assistance was available for a long time, and the people experienced terrible days. When no assistance was available, people ate rotten animals and stout leather to survive. However, many people died out of starvation. Finally, people could not endure those heavy conditions and they had to surrender by making an agreement with the Greeks.⁴⁵ Consequently, the Greek rebels attacked the fortress of Palamut on December 20, 1821⁴⁶ and the fortress of Anabolu on December 27, 1821.⁴⁷ The rebels forced into the Muslims houses and looted all of their belongings. They also committed all kinds of atrocities.⁴⁸ According to the agreement between Greeks and Muslims, the Greeks allowed approximately 2500 Muslims to get on 10 Çamlıca boats only with their clothes by leaving everything behind and to go to Kuşadası. The Greek bandits did not attack the Muslims during the travel, however when Muslims landed on Kuşadası, they came and undressed all Muslims and left them on the shore.⁴⁹

When the Greek Rebellion started, the rebels also sieged Athens on May 7, 1821. There were about 2000 Turks in Athens whose population was about 6000. Although the Greeks stated that they would not harm the Turks if they surrendered, they committed a massacre after the surrendering of the Turks.⁵⁰ Those who escaped the massacre went to İzmir and Euboea. According to the testimonies of the witnesses, the Athenian streets were covered with blood. The Greek gangs killed approximately one third of the Turks most of whom were civilians and had no weapons. The gangs captured the remaining children and women and sold them as slaves. Not even a single Greek helped the Turks.⁵¹

tuğumuz Mora Türkleri, p. 107-110.

45 Sonyel, "Yunan Ayaklanması Günlerinde Mora'daki Türkler Nasıl Yok Edildiler?", p. 117; Öreñç, "Yunanistan'ın Bağımsızlığı Sürecinde Yok Edilen Mora Türkleri", p. 16.

46 An archival document stated that the Greek rebels took control of the fortress of Palamut on the night of December 13, 1822, Thursday, and the fortress of Anabolu on December 17, 1822, Monday. See: BOA, HAT, 910/39834, Selh-i 1238/January 1823.

47 Esad Efendi used the expression of "irreligious enemies" and shared an Arabic supplication for them which means "May Allah destroy all of them forever". See: Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, *ibid*, p. 171.

48 BOA, HAT, 904/39693, 18 Cemazeyilevvel 1238/31 January 1823.

49 Against this incident, Esad Efendi wrote down the verse from the Qur'an, which translates as "Power belongs to Allah, and Allah is sufficient for us, He is the best trustee" See: Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, *ibid*, p. 172.

50 Öreñç, "Yunanistan'ın Bağımsızlığı Sürecinde Yok Edilen Mora Türkleri", p. 15-16.

51 İpek, "Rum İsyanı ve Sonrasında Türk-Yunan Nüfusu Meselesi", pp. 81-82.

Sonyel indicated that after the massacres the cities in the Morea were covered with a terrible stench due to the rotting of the beheaded bodies outside of the city walls, the stray dogs and wild birds scavenged on the bodies, the water in the wells, which were full of bodies, became poisonous and the plague started. He also stated that young Muslim girls and boys, who almost looked like a skeleton due to hunger, were lamenting at every corner.⁵²

After those horrendous incidents, the Muslim people, who had to migrate to İzmir from Morea and Athens, sought the mercy of the Sultan. While Sultan Mahmud II, who was aware of this situation, was making monetary aid for the basic needs of the immigrants, he also sent orders to guardians of Kuşadası and İzmir, and representatives of Aydın and Saruhan to settle down the immigrants in appropriate locations.⁵³

2. Migration Locations and the Approximate Population of the Morean Immigrants

The expression of Morean immigrant which was used in the official Ottoman documents as a general descriptive term actually referred to the Muslim and Turkish immigrants who had to leave the lands that were left to Greece as of the dates of 1830 and 1832. Accordingly, the immigrants of the locations such as Euboea Island, Athens and surrounding areas in the Morean Peninsula along with the locations of Livadya, İstefe and İzdin around Rumelia were considered in the status of Morean immigrant.⁵⁴

The Morean Muslims who were able to save themselves from the massacre committed by the Greek rebels started to immigrate to safer locations, primarily to İstanbul and shores of western Anatolia.⁵⁵ It was inevitable to experience certain incidents because the boats carrying them were the bandit boats⁵⁶ of the islands such as Suluca and Çamlıca. The Muslims who

52 Sonyel, "Yunan Ayaklanması Günlerinde Mora'daki Türkler Nasıl Yok Edildiler?", pp. 117-120.

53 Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, *ibid.*, p. 172.

54 Örenç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, pp. 9-10.

55 İpek, "Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Göç", *Mübadele Şen Gittik & Yaslı Döndük*, pp. 15-19, Samsun Mübadele ve Balkan Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları Derneği Kültür Yay., Samsun 2011, p. 15.

56 The bandit boats that belong to the islands of Çamlıca and Suluca attacked some of the islands in the Aegean Sea during the Greek Rebellion. See: Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Yunan İsyanı Sırasında Anadolu ve Adalar Rumlarının Tutumları ve Sonuçları", *Üçüncü Askeri Tarih Semineri Bildirileri (Türk Yunan İlişkileri)*, ATASE, Ankara 1986, pp. 133-134. The leader of the Morean Rebellion, Dimitrios Ypsilanti, was greeted cheerfully when he came to the island of Çamlıca.

escaped the massacres encountered various suffering during their travel. In fact, according to the information stated by Sonyel the Greek rebels undressed women to search for gold and valuable items, and they shot some of the people who jumped into the sea to escape, threw children into the sea and they drowned and took babies from their mothers, smashed them to the rocks and killed them.⁵⁷ Therefore, it was not easy to complete sailing safely, which was full of suffering.

After a long and difficult travel, places like Ioannina, Tırhala, Egypt⁵⁸, Trablus⁵⁹, İstanbul, İzmir, Kuşadası, Seferihisar, Çeşme, Söke, Antalya, Edirne, Varna and Preveze became the new living space for the Morean immigrants who were able to reach to a safe place.⁶⁰ In fact, according to the first official census statistics of 1831, it was found out that there were 522⁶¹

See: Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, p. 34. Islands such as İpsara, Çamlıca, and *Suluca* were among the most influential islands providing ships during the Greek Rebellion. The rebels in the island of Çamlıca prepared 100 warships with their own flags along with the fire boats. They also speeded up defense measures on the land. Each island with fortified locations were completely filled with ammunition and food. The pirate ships of those islands helped the Morea. Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri...*, p. 64.

- 57 Sonyel, “Yunan Ayaklanması Günlerinde Mora’daki Türkler Nasıl Yok Edildiler?”, p. 113.
- 58 While the Egyptian troops were withdrawing from Moton, one third of the Muslims preferred going to İzmir, and the other one third preferred going to Egypt. See: Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, p. 163. The family of Yahya Hakkı, who was originally Turkish, first migrated from the Morea to Anatolia, and then to Egypt. For Yahya Hakkı and his works, see: E. Yakupoğlu Erket, “Mora Yarımadasından Türk Göçü ve Yahya Hakkı’nın Eserlerinde Göç Olgusu”, *Doğu Göç Edebiyatı*, ed. Onur Kılıçer-Hatice Görgün, Demavend Yay., İstanbul 2017, pp. 79-87. Among the Morean migrants in Egypt, Süleyman Efendi requested to work in an appropriate work. Thus, in the petition, which was sent to the Governorate, it was requested to proceed accordingly. See: BOA, HR. MKT., 488/28, 8 Safer 1281/13 July 1864.
- 59 In a document sent by the Hasan Pasha, Governor of Trablusgarb, it was indicated that it was requested to settle down the immigrants who wished, among the immigrants who left the Morea and was going to Preveze. See: BOA, HAT, 1351/52784, 29 Zilhicce 1253/26 March 1838.
- 60 Some sections are taken from İpek’s study. See: İpek, “Yunanistan’ın Nüfus Siyaseti ve Mora’dan Batı Trakya’ya Kadar Türkler”, p. 98.
- 61 The 1830-31 census determined that there were 35.839 persons in the entire Teke Province under the Anatolian States. In the total population, there were 961 recorded immigrants. See: Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu 1830-1914*, trans. Bahar Tırnakçı, Timaş Yay., İstanbul 2010, p. 236. Among those immigrants, 522 persons were Morean immigrants. It was indicated that most of them were mercenaries. See: Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Matbaası, Ankara 1995, p. 122.

Mora and Euboea immigrants in the Teke Province; 1.413⁶² immigrants in the sub provinces of İzmir, Çeşme, Seferihisar, Kuşadası and Söke of the Muğla Province; 349⁶³ immigrants in the Lesbos Island; 39⁶⁴ immigrants in the Chios Island; and 274⁶⁵ immigrants in Cyprus. Additionally, it was found out that there were 4.799 immigrants registered in the town of Kütahya and in the towns of Emrudili, Örencik, Giray, Tavşanlı, Altuntaş in the Province of Kütahya; sub province of Uşak and town of Niyaz; and the towns of Kula, Eşme, Sirke, Küre, İnay, Silindi, Danişmendluyukebir, Çal, Eğrigöz, Simav, Dağardı, Gedus, Şehli, Tazkırı, Kenbler, Soma and Baklan.⁶⁶ Those immigrants were evaluated among the Morean immigrants in İpek's study.⁶⁷ Therefore, when the statistics of the general census of 1830-1831, where only the male individuals were counted, are considered, it may be argued that at least 7.418 male immigrants were able to reach their new living spaces. When it is considered that the number of the female immigrants was as much as that of the male immigrants, it was estimated that there were 14.836 Morean immigrants in total.

3. Performed Assistance and Settlement Efforts

The immigrants, who were mostly composed of women and children, were not in a situation to earn their lives.⁶⁸ Thus, Sultan Mahmud II closely dealt with the problems of those immigrants who endured various atrocities and lost all of their properties. The Sultan warned the state representatives in this matter frequently. However, it was not possible to talk about a systematic

62 The 1830-31 census determined that there were 74.757 persons in the entire Muğla Province. In the total population, there were 1.278 immigrants. See: Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914)*, p. 234. As it will be mentioned later, the number of recorded Morean immigrants was determined as 1.413 persons in the civil registry of the 1830-31 census. See: BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31.

63 The number of immigrants coming from Euboea and other places and registered in the Lesbos Island was 349. See: Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, p. 157.

64 In the 1830-31 census, the total population of Chios Island was 9297, and the number of immigrants was 39. See: Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, p. 160.

65 According to the 1831 census, the population of Cyprus was 14.983. In addition, the number of the immigrants coming from the Morea and other places was recorded as 274 persons. Out of those persons, 49 persons were kids, 171 were adults (able and inexhausted) and 54 were elderly. See: Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, p. 162.

66 Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, pp. 165-171, 212.

67 İpek, "Rum İsyanı ve Sonrasında Türk-Yunan Nüfusu Meselesi", pp. 85-86.

68 İpek, "Yunanistan'ın Nüfus Siyaseti ve Mora'dan Batı Trakya'ya Kadar Türkler", p. 98.

organization for the immigrants and a separate budget for the immigrants for that period. Therefore, the solution of the problems became a long-term issue. The Sultan ordered the Grand Vizier to deal with the settlement and other problems of the immigrants who came to İstanbul in the early period. The spending was obtained from different items of the treasury. In addition, in the periphery, the matter was entrusted to the local administrators and the charity of the people.⁶⁹

The Morean immigrants reached to İstanbul directly from the occupied areas such as Anabolu and Mostar, or from a city or town of Anatolia such as İzmir.⁷⁰ An influx took place in İstanbul as majority of the immigrants came to İstanbul and immigrants who previously went to other locations came to İstanbul later. This caused complaints. As the situation got out of control, the Ottoman Government warned all related entities. It was declared that there were no places to accommodate immigrants and the Grand Vizier was personally very busy with the affairs of the immigrants.⁷¹

The Ottoman Government issued a salary named “Sultan’s Charity” for the poor and unemployed Morean immigrants.⁷² Sultan Mahmud II ordered the Government to give a monthly salary of 18.5 piasters for the immigrants as grand favor.⁷³ In this regard, one may encounter many archival records about the salary allocations for the immigrants. For instance, it was determined that salaries had been allocated for Yusuf Efendi, nephew of Mustafa Agha⁷⁴; daughter of Mustafa Bey who was one of the Morean immigrants⁷⁵; and Fatma Hatun who was among the Morean immigrants.⁷⁶ The Government made monthly payments from the treasury for the salaries of the immigrants. For instance, in 1832 the Government ordered the monthly payment of 920 piasters for the salaries of poor immigrants in İstanbul.⁷⁷ In fact, for July

69 Vasıf Gökpinar, *Mora Muhacirleri Meselesi*, İstanbul University Faculty of Letters, Department of History Undergraduate Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi Merkez Kütüphânesi Nr. 6973, İstanbul 1973, pp. 22-29; Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, p. 254; İpek, “Rum İsyanı ve Sonrasında Türk-Yunan Nüfusu Meselesi”, pp. 83-84.

70 İpek, “Rum İsyanı ve Sonrasında Türk-Yunan Nüfusu Meselesi”, p. 84.

71 Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri...*, p. 255.

72 İpek, “Rum İsyanı ve Sonrasında Türk-Yunan Nüfusu Meselesi”, p. 84.

73 BOA, HAT, 531/26191, 25 Zilkade 1250/25 March 1835.

74 BOA, A. MKT. NZD., 125/67, 15 Rabiulahir 1271/5 January 1855.

75 BOA, A. MKT. NZD., 182/50, 11 Şaban 1272/17 April 1856.

76 BOA, A. MKT. NZD., 360/89, 26 Muharrem 1278/3 August 1861.

77 Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, pp. 255-256.

and August of 1832, the Treasury paid 1.840 piasters in total.⁷⁸ In addition, the Treasury paid 1.960 piasters for the salaries of poor immigrants in İstanbul for November and December⁷⁹; for the April salaries of 104 poor immigrants, the Treasury paid 980 piasters⁸⁰; and in 1843, the Treasury paid 980 piasters for 104 poor immigrants.⁸¹ Finally, one may determine the Morean immigrants residing in İstanbul until 1860 and receiving salary.⁸²

The Government rented houses around Suriçi and Eyüp districts for the Morean immigrants in İstanbul.⁸³ The Government paid the rents of those houses for a long time. For instance, the Government indicated that it would pay the monthly rents of 20 houses which was 10 piasters for each house from October of 1825 until March of 1826 which added up to the six-month monthly rents.⁸⁴ Additionally, the amount paid from the allocation of the Ottoman Mint for the six-month house rents starting from the beginning of 1836 was 1.080 piasters. The Government continued to pay the same amount in 1846.⁸⁵ Moreover, the six-month rents from March of 1852 until August of the same year added up to 1.080 piasters and the Ministry of Finance paid the related cost.⁸⁶

Researchers found a list about the house rents of the Morean immigrants in İstanbul in the Revenue Account Book of the Ottoman Treasury numbered 2881 in the Ottoman Archives of the Directorate of State Archives of the Presidential Office of the Republic of Türkiye. The list provided the names, location and rental amounts regarding 12 household heads. For instance, the rent of Emine Hanım from Keçeci Pir District was 60 piasters; rent of Hafız Hüseyin residing in Horhor was 60 piasters, and rent of Hatice and Azize Hatun was 30 piasters. Therefore, one can see that the rental amounts of 12 houses that belonged to the Morean immigrants ranged between 15 and 60 piasters. The total rental amount of all 12 houses added up to 480 piasters.⁸⁷

78 BOA, C. DH., 162/8086, 18 Cemazeyilevvel 1248/13 October 1832.

79 BOA, C. DH., 86/4287, 11 Ramazan 1250/11 January 1835.

80 BOA, AE .SMHD.II., 67/4792, 13 Rabiülevvel 1254/6 June 1838.

81 Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, pp. 255-256.

82 İpek, "Rum İsyanı ve Sonrasında Türk-Yunan Nüfusu Meselesi", p. 84.

83 BOA, A. MKT. NZD., 50/23, 9 Cemazeyilahir 1268/1 March 1852; Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, p. 255; İpek, "Rum İsyanı ve Sonrasında Türk-Yunan Nüfusu Meselesi", p. 84.

84 BOA, C.DH., 71/3542, 29 Şaban 1241/8 April 1826.

85 Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, pp. 255-256.

86 BOA, A. MKT. NZD., 50/23, 9 Cemazeyilahir 1268/1 March 1852.

87 Metin Menekşe, "Mora Müslümanlarının Hazin Hikâyesi: İsyân, Zorunlu Göç ve İskân

The judges of İstanbul and Eyüp gave the rental amounts of the rented houses in and around Suriçi and Eyüp to the immigrant families.⁸⁸ Additionally, the Government ordered not to deduct any fees from the monies given to the Morean immigrants for the rents.⁸⁹ The Government attempted to solve the problems that emerged over time regarding those households. For instance, the Government repaired the house of Ayşe Hatun among the Morean immigrants in the district of Atik Ali Pasha and covered the repair costs from the budget.⁹⁰

The Government attempted to employ the immigrants who needed jobs. For instance, the Government employed İbrahim Agha⁹¹ among the Morean immigrants in the Commandership Office, employed Mehmed Rifat Bey⁹², resident of Aksaray and among the Morean immigrants in the Municipal Police Department, and employed Ahmed Agha⁹³ among the Morean immigrants in the Customs Office.⁹⁴ Some immigrants who quit their jobs and had trouble wrote petitions to the Grand Vizier's Office and requested new jobs. For instance, Mahmud Agha, husband of Ayşe Hatun, among the Morean immigrants and residing in Üsküdar was laid out while working as a police officer and started to have some economic troubles and requested his employment in a suitable job.⁹⁵ Şerife Naile Hatun among the Morean immigrants made a request for his son Salih Agha who was living in İzmir and having troubles so that he would have a job according to his skills.⁹⁶ İbrahim Agha, among the Morean immigrants, worked in the Grand Vizier's office, however he was laid out and started to have troubles. Thusly, he requested his employment in the sub provincial office of Pirlepe⁹⁷ or another sub province.⁹⁸ Ali Agha, among the Morean immigrants, who

(1821 1832) Sürecine Genel Bir Bakış", *Tarih Okulu Dergisi (TOD)*, April 2020, Year 13, No. XLV, p. 813.

88 BOA, C. DH., 128/6364, 15 Şevval 1261/17 October 1845.

89 BOA, A. MKT. NZD., 349/10, 10 Şevval 1277/21 April 1861.

90 BOA, A. MKT. NZD., 261/10, 29 Zilhicce 1274/10 August 1858.

91 BOA, A. MKT. NZD., 32/26, 13 Cemazeyilahir 1267/15 April 1851.

92 BOA, A. MKT. NZD., 214/66, 27 Cemazeyilahir 1273/22 February 1857.

93 BOA, A. MKT. DV., 31/70, 11 Rabiulevvel 1267/14 January 1851.

94 Menekşe, *ibid*, p. 814.

95 BOA, A. MKT. NZD., 271/87, 8 Cemazeyilevvel 1275/14 December 1858.

96 BOA, A. MKT. UM., 131/48, 2 Receb 1269/11 April 1853.

97 A city located in the southern section of North Macedonia.

98 BOA, A. MKT. UM., 185/70, 23 Cemazeyilahir 1271/13 March 1855.

served in the Commandership Office of Tırhala Province, had to quit his job due to his illness. However, he requested his employment again in an appropriate office work due to the economic difficulties he experienced.⁹⁹

Except İstanbul, a significant number of immigrants came to the coastal towns and cities of western Anatolia. Especially the soldiers and civilians, who used to live in the fortresses captured by the Greek rebels in the Morea in late 1822 and the beginning of 1823, migrated to İzmir and Kuşadası. Hasan Pasha, Guardian of İzmir and Mustafa Reşid Pasha, Guardian of Kuşadası closely dealt with the problems of the immigrants. They worked for settling down the incoming immigrants in appropriate places in İzmir, Manisa, Aydın and surrounding areas. The Government settled some of the immigrants with the well-to-do Muslim families, and the other immigrants in the houses of the Greeks who left Anatolia during the rebellion. Besides providing monetary assistance to the immigrants, the Government also provided the basic needs such as food and clothing.¹⁰⁰

About 2.500 Muslim men, women and children who escaped the massacre in the Anabolu fortress left the fortress by ten boats from the Çamlıca and Suluca Islands and headed towards Kuşadası. Eight boats reached Kuşadası, and two boats reached Chios Island.¹⁰¹ The Greek gangs killed some of the immigrants who reached Kuşadası and the remaining immigrants were robbed. The officers of Reşid Pasha provided coats and clothing for the immigrants who landed on Kuşadası. Later on, the Pasha provided other basic needs of the immigrants.¹⁰²

In the early days of 1823, a British ship brought about 400 Muslim men, women and children who escaped the capture of the Anabolu fortress and the massacre there to the port of İzmir. Additionally, it was announced that the Muslims who were in need would be brought to Kuşadası with three Çamlıca boats and two Suluca boats. Hasan Pasha, Guardian of İzmir, focused on settling and meeting the needs of the immigrants and worked for providing them comfort.¹⁰³ In this regard, Hasan Pasha settled about 400 Muslims of Anabolu into the houses of fugitive Greeks.¹⁰⁴

99 BOA, A.MKT.UM., 319/56, 14 Zilhicce 1274/26 July 1858.

100 Örenç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, p. 257.

101 BOA, HAT, 902/39660, 25 Cemazeyilevvel 1238/7 February 1823.

102 Örenç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, p. 257.

103 BOA, HAT, 913/39905, 2 Cemazeyilevvel 1238/ 15 January 1823.

104 Örenç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, p. 257.

The Morean Turks of the region of Moton and Balya had to leave the region when the Army of İbrahim Pasha withdrew from the region.¹⁰⁵ In fact, the French occupied the Moton fortress one day after the withdrawal of the Egyptian Army. The French General allowed the locals to migrate. Some of the people went to Egypt, and 234 persons came to İzmir.¹⁰⁶ Twelve persons who were among the people of Moton fortress and came to Urla later came to İzmir and asked for help from Hasan Pasha.¹⁰⁷

In 1828, approximately 600 Muslims of Balya Badra landed on the shores of İzmir. Hasan Pasha, Guardian of İzmir, notified the situation to İstanbul immediately and stated that there were many immigrants in the region from the Morea and Athens and he did not have the means to deal with the people of Balya Badra who came last, and he worried about their condition. Hasan Pasha requested the Government to settle those immigrants in the Provinces of Bursa (Hüdavendigâr), Mentеше and Kütahya, which had better conditions.¹⁰⁸ Additionally, some of the Muslims migrating from the Morea and Euboea between 1827 and 1838 settled in and around Tesalya and Macedonia, and some others settled down in Çeşme and Seferihisar.¹⁰⁹

A significant portion of the Morean immigrants coming to Anatolia settled down in Antalya. Although, it is not exactly known when the immigrants came to Antalya, it is argued that they came to Antalya from Moton and Koron mostly in 1822 and 1823.¹¹⁰ When we examined the civil registry records, we realized that the names of Arcadia and Andurye were also mentioned besides Moton, Koron and Bardinye.¹¹¹ The court records of Antalya mentioned the name of Bardinye besides Moton and Koron.¹¹²

105 Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, pp. 257-258.

106 İpek, "Rum İsyanı ve Sonrasında Türk-Yunan Nüfusu Meselesi", p. 82.

107 BOA, HAT, 849/38070, 15 Rebiyülahir 1244/25 October 1828.

108 BOA, HAT, 850/38091, 15 Rebiyülahir 1244/ 25 October 1828; Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, p. 258.

109 Gökpınar, *Mora Mubacirleri Meselesi*, pp. 22-29.

110 Dimitri E. Danieloğlu, *1850 Yılında Yapılan Bir Pamfilya Seyahati*, trans. Ayşe Ozil Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü, Antalya 2010, p. 141; Güven Dinç, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Antalya'ya Olan Göçler ve Sonuçları (1800-1923)", *Geçmişten Günümüze Göç*, II, ed. Osman Köse, Samsun 2017, p. 776.

111 For instance, when the demographic records dated 1840 are examined, it is understood that the immigrants mostly came from the city of Arkadia. In: BOA, NFS.d., 3205., cited by Dinç, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Antalya'ya Olan Göçler ve Sonuçları (1800-1923)", p. 768.

112 Evren Dayar, "19. Yüzyıl Antalya'sında Mora Göçmeni Bir Aile Moraviler", *Toplumsal Tarih*,

In the first Ottoman census of 1830-31, 522 men entered into the records in Antalya as Morean immigrants.¹¹³ In the census of 1840, 288 men entered into the records as Morean immigrants. One obtains 576 immigrants by multiplying 288 by 2.¹¹⁴ Danieloğlu indicated that the Moreans composed of about 400 households.¹¹⁵ E. Sperling who came to Antalya in October of 1862 confirmed that there were immigrants who escaped the Morea and came to Antalya around 1822-1823 and stated that they consisted of about 400 households.¹¹⁶

Some of the immigrants settled down in the houses with thatched roofs in Şarampol location, and others settled down in the outer neighborhoods of the city, primarily the district of Kızılsaray.¹¹⁷ Traveller Edward Forbes and Thomas Spratt wrote that they saw huts including about 3000 Muslim Albanians and Morean immigrants before reaching the town of Antalya.¹¹⁸ As the Ottoman State caught unprepared in this process, even at the beginning of the 1840s, some of the immigrants had to live in the coffee houses in the cities and ports.¹¹⁹ Finally, researches indicated that the Morean immigrants who came to Antalya had a sensible impact in the region.¹²⁰

Researchers also determined that some of the Morean immigrants settled down in Cyprus. In fact, according to the census of 1831, the population of Cyprus was 14.983. In this population, 274 persons indicated that they came from the Morea and nearby locations. Out of those 274 persons, 49 of them were children, 171 of them were adults (able and unexhausted) and 54 of them were elderly.¹²¹

Some of the immigrants settled down in the Lesbos Island. In the census of

292, 2018, p. 24.

113 Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, p. 122.

114 Dinç, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Antalya'ya Olan Göçler ve Sonuçları (1800-1923)", p. 769.

115 Danieloğlu, *1850 Yılında Yapılan Bir Pamfilya Seyahati*, p. 141.

116 Evren Dayar, *Antalya'da Devlet ve Eşraf İlişkileri (1839-1908)*, Akdeniz University, Institute of Social Sciences, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Antalya 2015, p. 46.

117 Dayar, "19. Yüzyıl Antalya'sında Mora Göçmeni Bir Aile Moraviler", p. 24.

118 Thomas Abel Brimage Spratt-Edward Forbes, *Travels in Lycia, Milyas and the Cibyratis*, I, John Van Voorst, London 1847, p. 210.

119 Dayar, "19. Yüzyıl Antalya'sında Mora Göçmeni Bir Aile Moraviler", p. 24.

120 Güven Dinç, "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Nüfus Sayımına Göre Antalya'nın Demografik Yapısı", *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları*, 12, 2007, p. 70.

121 Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, p. 162.

1831, 349 persons among the Muslims were recorded in the Lesbos Island as guests coming from Euboea and other locations. Among those people, 144 of them were recorded as able and unexhausted, and 205 of them were the elderly.¹²²

Some of the immigrants settled down in the Chios Island. In fact, 71 persons, who were composed of men, women and children from the Anabolu fortress after its surrender, came to the port of İلاتa² village of Mastaki on the Chios Island with two Greek boats. They arrived to the port in a terrible condition because they travelled under bad weather conditions. Three or four people among them landed on the island and applied to Yusuf Pasha, Guardian of the Chios, and asked for help in taking their relatives on the boats on to the island. Yusuf Pasha sent officers to the location of the boats and helped them to land on the island. Later, all of the immigrants went to the Chios fortress and they received food and clothing. Some of the immigrants asked for going to Çeşme to find their relatives who went to Kuşadası earlier and to live with them.¹²³ Finally, the census of 1830-31 stated that there were 39 immigrants on the island.¹²⁴

Overall, except the Euboea Island, in the lands where the Greek State was established, no Muslim-Turkish population was left due to the migrations that took place between 1821 and 1833. According to the London Protocol signed between Great Britain, France and Russia, the full evacuation of the Euboea Island, which became part of the independent Greek State, by the Ottoman military and civilian bureaucrats took place in mid-1833. The Muslim families living in the center of the island gradually left the island and only a small portion of them continued to live on the island as minoritis over the years. However, the Turks of Kızılhisar, who constituted a different group both in terms of their geographical location and in terms of socio-economic structure, collectively left the island in 1833 and migrated in and around Sığacık and Seferihisar. Although, the London Protocol did not stipulate for the Turks to leave the island, by the application of the terms of the Protocol, migration became an actual necessity for the Turks of this region.¹²⁵ In fact, until May 15, 1919, 50% Greeks and 50% locals and

122 Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, p. 157.

123 Menekşe, *ibid*, p. 808.

124 Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, p. 160.

125 İbrahim Alper Arısoy, "Adalar Arasında, Balkanların Kıyısında: Kızılhisar (Karisto) Müstahkem Mevkii ve Kasabası", *8. Uluslararası Mübadele ve Balkan Türk Kültürü*

Turks who were Morean immigrants lived together in Seferihisar.¹²⁶ The last group of the Muslims of the Euboea Island came to Türkiye due to the Mandatory Population Exchange Agreement signed on the date of January 30, 1923 during the negotiations made for the Treaty of Lausanne between the Turkish and Greek delegations.¹²⁷

4. Demographic Information of the Morean Immigrants Who Came to the Province of İzmir (Sığla)

4.1. Censuses and İzmir

The first census took place in İstanbul in 1826 during the period of Sultan Mahmud II to determine the number of the available population for military service. However, the census halted due to the beginning of the war with Russia and it was not possible to perform the census in other provinces. When the war ended, the Ottoman State attempted to count all Muslim males living in the Rumelia between ages of 1 and 100. However, it was not possible to achieve this goal due to various reasons and the census was only limited to Filibe.¹²⁸ Later on, the Ottoman State decided to conduct another census for counting all Muslim and non-Muslim males in the empire. The purpose of the census was to determine the male population who were available for the military service and to find out new tax sources to meet the demands of the new army, which would be established after eliminating the Janissaries.¹²⁹ Thusly, the first census in the modern sense took place in 1831. In the census which started in 1830 the officials counted only the male population in Anatolia, Rumelia and the islands, and the regions that did not provide soldiers for the Army remained outside of the scope of the census. The census divided the people in two such as the Muslim and the non-Muslim subjects. The census indicated the population of the clans separately and added them to the totals of the Muslim population. The census counted

Araştırmaları Kongresi Bildirileri (06-07 DECEMBER 2014), Samsun 2015, pp. 105-106.

126 *İzmir İli İlçelerinin Sorunları, Çözüm Önerileri ve Yatırım Olanakları*, İzmir Ticaret Odası Yay., İzmir 2016, p. 202.

127 Hasan Babacan, "Temettuat Kayıtlarına Göre Antalya'daki Mora Göçmenleri", *Geçmişten Günümüze Göç*, I, ed. Osman Köse, Samsun 2017, p. 197.

128 Mahir Aydın, "Sultan II. Mahmud Döneminde Yapılan Nüfus Tahrirleri", *Sultan II. Mahmud ve Reformları Semineri*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Araştırma Merkezi, İstanbul 1990, p. 81-82.

129 Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, p. 11.

the Copts and nomads separately.¹³⁰ Although this census is regarded as the first modern census of the Ottoman State, the first comprehensive census across the country was only made in the years of 1881/2 and 1893.¹³¹ The censuses of 1844, 1866, 1881-1893 and 1905 led to the emergence of civil registry orders and organizations with deeply rooted traditions.¹³²

The Ottoman Archives of the Directorate of State Archives of the Presidential Office of the Republic of Türkiye maintains the civil registry records kept in the Ottoman period. Those groups of documents recorded under various names of groups are generally composed of materials arranged in the form of books. The records of counting and surveying may be accessed in the group of books that are called the “Civil Registry Books” and indicated by the abbreviation of “NFS.d.” The section of that group of books, whose analytic inventory was made, was transferred into the electronic format after digital scanning. The archival guide of 2010 stated that the number of books regarding the years between 1826 and 1881 was 1.173.¹³³ The number of civil registry books classified and transferred into the digital format has seriously increased recently. In the group that included up to 12.000 books in 2016, there are more than 20.000 books today.¹³⁴ In addition to the civil registry books, there are also other documents including data regarding the census. In this regard, very similar to the contents of the civil registry books, there are also many documents that are civil registry books in the groups of Books of the Section of Grand Books (*D.CRD.d*), Books Classified by Kamil Kepeci (*KK.d*), Books Transferred from the Treasury (*MAD.d*), and Books of the Section of Grand Books of the Ministry of Finance (*ML.CRD.d*).¹³⁵

130 *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi*, T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Issue no: 108, Ankara 2010, pp. 251-252.

131 Karpata, *Osmanlı Nüfusu 1830-1914*, p. 91.

132 Adnan Çimen, “Sayım, Kayıt Düzeni ve Teşkilatlanma Açısından Osmanlı Nüfus Hizmetleri”, *Gazi Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 14/3, 2012, pp. 205-206.

133 *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi*, p. 253.

134 Ferhat Berber-Mustafa Mesut Özekmekçi, “19. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında İzmir Nüfusunun Kaynakları”, *Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi*, 8/3, 2021, p. 1070.

135 Mehmet Güneş, “Osmanlı Dönemi Nüfus Sayımları ve Bu Sayımları İçeren Kayıtların Tahlihi”, *Gazi Üniversitesi Akademik Bakış*, 8/15, Ankara 2014, pp. 228-230.

4.2. Civil Registry books of İzmir (Sığla) Province Numbered NFS.d. 2908 and NFS.d. 2909

There is no separate study handling the civil registry records of İzmir for the 19th century, which became one of the most important port cities of the Mediterranean in the historical process. Although various books were written regarding the history of the city, references were made to some of the pioneering books¹³⁶ about the population in the introductory sections of those books; however, the contents of the civil registry books were not examined in detail. We may provide Kütükoğlu's article as the only exception where she examined the population and settlements of İzmir from the 16th century until the first half of the 19th century.¹³⁷

According to what Berber and Özekmekçi determined, in the group of the civil registry books, there were 34 civil registry books including data regarding İzmir in detailed and summary forms dated between 1830 and 1850. Among those books, the books with the numbers of 2902, 2911, 2913, and 2914 in the NFS.d group belong to the first census of the city. The date of beginning the first census in İzmir was October 25, 1830 (*8 Cemaziyülevvel 1246*). The official assigned for conducting the census in the city was Süleyman Raşid Efendi, Inspector of Foundations.¹³⁸ The data of the 1830-31 census was first used by Karal¹³⁹ because the author evaluated the findings of the civil registry book numbered 2902 where the Muslim population of İzmir was recorded.¹⁴⁰

136 Aydın, "Sultan II. Mahmud Döneminde Yapılan Nüfus Tahrirleri", pp. 81-107; Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*; Nejdet Bilgi, "Osmanlı Dönemi Nüfus Sayımları Hakkında", *Türk Yurdu*, 19-20/148-149, 1999-2000, pp. 117-124; Musa Çadırcı, *1830 Sayımında Ankara*, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Daire Başkanlığı Yay., Ankara 2000; Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Menteşe Sancağı 1830 (Nüfus ve Toplum Yapısı)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay., Ankara 2010.

137 Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "İzmir Şehri Nüfusu Üzerine Bazı Tesbitler", İzmir Tarihinden Kesitler, İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yay., İzmir 2000, pp. 13-25.

138 Berber-Özekmekçi, "19. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında İzmir Nüfusunun Kaynakları", pp. 1071-1072.

139 Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, p. 133. Additionally, they were also examined by Berber and Özekmekçi. See Berber-Özekmekçi, "19. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında İzmir Nüfusunun Kaynakları", pp. 1072-1073.

140 For the book, see: BOA, NFS.d. 2902.

The civil registry records of İzmir in the 1830-31 census is especially significant in terms of our study. In fact, the date, when those records were kept, corresponds to the date right after the Greek Rebellion (1821-1829). Therefore, the findings of the census provide important data in following up and in accessing the civil registry data of thousands of Muslims who had to migrate from the Morea due to the incidents that took place during the rebellion because migration took place from the Morean Peninsula to the lands of western Anatolia starting from the Morean Rebellion of 1770. Although the immigrants started to go back after the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774), the Ottoman central administration requested the local governments not to send any Morean immigrants back in 1777 in orders that it sent to the judges of İzmir and Manisa.¹⁴¹

When we examine the civil registry book numbered 2902 of the 1830-31 census, while providing information about the Muslim population of the city, the origins of the household heads were written down separately such as from Diyarbakir, Halep, İzmir, and the Morea. Separate annotations were also recorded regarding the residents of İzmir such as “from Manisa, but resides in İzmir, from Diyarbakir but lives in İzmir since long before, from the Morea but resides in İzmir without any documents and guarantor.” Except the Arabs, people of African origins were recorded as “black or among the black subjects.” As it is understood from the book, those who came from various places in the Rumelia, Anatolia and Africa settled down in the same neighborhood in İzmir.¹⁴² Therefore, it is possible to follow up the demographic composition created in the consequence of the demographic movements due to the data obtained from the civil registry books.

In this study, two civil registry books including information regarding the Morean immigrants are examined. Those are the book numbered *NFS.d. 2908*¹⁴³ that belongs to the census of H.1246/A.D.1830-31 and the book numbered *NFS.d. 2909*¹⁴⁴ that belongs to the census of H.1259/A.D.1843-44. The Ottoman archival system has a general record for those two books such as the “Muslim civil registry books”. When the books are examined in detail, the books include only the records of the immigrants, not the locals. In fact,

141 Örenç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri...*, p. 256.

142 Nedim İpek, “İzmir ve Göç”, *Uluslararası İzmir Göç ve Mübadele Sempozyumu Bildiri Kitabı*, İzmir 2018, p. 203.

143 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31.

144 BOA, NFS.d., 2909, H. 1259/A.D. 1843-44.

on the cover of the book numbered 2909 it says: “the immigrants located in the sub provinces of the Sığla Province of the State of Aydın”.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, it is significant in this regard, because it is very difficult to access records of immigrants before the second half of the 19th century. Those records about the immigrants for the first quarter of the 19th century provide important data.

On the introductory page of the book numbered 2908, which has the size of 25x64.5 cm and 30 pages, it says “Sığla Province: the immigrants residing as guests in the sub provinces to be mentioned in the sub provinces and towns of the mentioned province.” On the introductory page of the book numbered 2909, which has the size of 21x55 cm and 34 pages¹⁴⁶, it says “copy of the cadastral record book indicating the numbers of all immigrants settled in the sub provinces of the province of Sığla”.¹⁴⁷

When those two books are examined, it is observed that they are not completely different books. In fact, after the completion of the general census in mid-1831, the upcoming censuses were maintained as demographic surveys. Therefore, it is understood that the book numbered 2908 included the general census of 1830-31 and the book numbered 2909 was a demographic survey book recorded in 1843 and 1844. Both books contain mostly the same individuals; however, there was a decrease of population in the book numbered 2909 when compared to the book numbered 2908 due to demographic events (people who left the city or died). The persons who were recorded in both books were recorded with the same age. Additionally, the book numbered 2908 included the letter of *mim* (م) in red, however the book numbered 2909 did not.¹⁴⁸

There are also some differences regarding writing of the names of locations. It is observed that when compared to the book numbered 2908, some abbreviations were made in the book numbered 2909. For instance, in the seventh page of the book numbered 2908, it says “sub province of Çeşme in the province of Sığla: tenants and Kızıllhisar immigrants residing in the town of Çeşme”¹⁴⁹ and in the fourth page of the book numbered 2909 it

¹⁴⁵ BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 1.

¹⁴⁶ The register consists of 34 pages in total. However, the writer numbered the register in leaves from 1 to 17. Therefore, while giving an example from the notebook, the numbers written on it were taken as a basis so that it would be easy to find.

¹⁴⁷ BOA, NFS.d., 2909, H. 1259/A.D. 1843-44, p. 1

¹⁴⁸ For the first pages of the books, see Appendix-1.

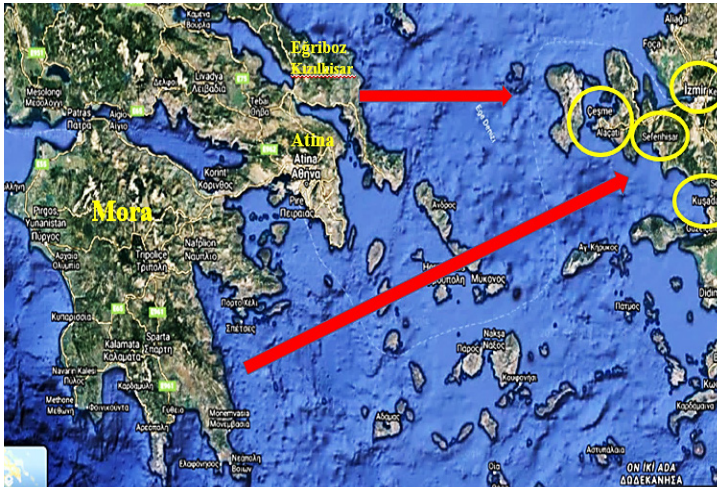
¹⁴⁹ BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 7.

says only “sub province of Çeşme”¹⁵⁰ Additionally, in the 26th page of the book numbered 2908 it says “the Morean immigrants residing in the town of Söke, in other words, Akçeşehir of Aydın, which is Söke itself”¹⁵¹ and in the 14th page of the book numbered 2909 it says “the Morean immigrants residing in the same town which is Söke”.¹⁵²

4.3. Information Obtained from the Civil Registry Books Numbered *NFS.d. 2908* and *NFS.d. 2909* Regarding the Morean Immigrants

4.3.1. Locations of Registration and Estimated Population

The immigrants reached to the shores of western Anatolia after sailing by coming from the Morean Peninsula, Euboea Island, Kızılhisar and Athens. They got off the ships primarily at the port of İzmir, and the shores of Kuşadası, Seferihisar and Çeşme. Later on they settled down in the sub provinces of İzmir, Çeşme, Seferihisar, Kuşadası and Söke.



Map 1: The course of the Morean Immigrants coming to the Province of İzmir

Out of the civil registry books numbered 2908 and 2909, we may determine the departure of the Morean immigrants and where they were registered in the province of İzmir. The table created out of the information from those books is as follows:

150 BOA, NFS.d., 2909, H. 1259/A.D. 1843-44, p. 7.

151 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 26.

152 BOA, NFS.d., 2909, H. 1259/A.D. 1843-44, p. 30.

Table 1: The Morean Immigrants Residing in the Sub Provinces of the Province of İzmir ¹⁵³
Morean Immigrants Residing in İzmir Itself
Kızılhisar Immigrants Residing in the Sub Province of Çeşme
Kızılhisar Immigrants Residing in the Alaçatı Town of the Sub Province of Çeşme
Kızılhisar Immigrants Residing in the Alaçatı Town of Seferihisar
Kızılhisar Immigrants Residing in the Sığacık Fortress of Sub Province of Seferihisar
Kızılhisar Immigrants Residing in the Tepecik Village of Sub Province of Seferihisar
Kızılhisar Immigrants Residing Around Hereke of the Sub Province of Seferihisar For Now
Benefşe Immigrants Residing in Kuşadası
Morean Immigrants Residing in the Town of Söke
Immigrants Added to the Book Later
Immigrants of Anadolu
Immigrants of Gaston Which Is In Southern Morea
Immigrants of Kızılhisar

As it is seen in the table, the immigrants were mostly from the Morea, Kızılhisar, Benefşe, Gaston and Anadolu. Among the immigrants living in İzmir, there were primarily Morean immigrants in addition to the immigrants from Anadolu, Athens, Euboea Island and Moton. The immigrants from Kızılhisar settled down only in Çeşme, Alaçatı, Seferihisar, Sığacık Fortress, Tepecik Village and Hereke. Majority of the immigrants registered in the town of Kuşadası was composed of immigrants from Benefşe. At the same time, small number of immigrants from Anadolu, Euboea Island, Moton, Navarino, Mizistre, Bardunya, Lala, Arkadya and Tripolitsa resided in Kuşadası. Among the Morean immigrants residing in the town of Söke, there were immigrants from Anadolu, Gaston and Benefşe. Additionally, the immigrants who came later were also added to the books. In fact, those immigrants came from Anadolu, Gaston and Kızılhisar.¹⁵⁴

153 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, pp. 1-30. BOA, NFS.d., 2909, H. 1259/A.D. 1843-44, pp. 1-34.

154 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, pp. 1-30. BOA, NFS.d., 2909, H. 1259/A.D. 1843-44, pp. 1-34.

It is not possible to reach a reliable number regarding the population of the Morean immigrants in the province of İzmir because only males were registered in the books. We may only make some estimations regarding the total population. In this regard, the number of the males was doubled, by considering that there were females as much as the males. Thusly, the least number of population is revealed. This number may be increased. Consequently, the picture revealed regarding the household population of the Morean immigrants in their registered locations is as follows:

Table 2: Population of the Morean Immigrants Registered in the Sub Provinces of the Province of İzmir (Household - Population) ¹⁵⁵				
Immigrants	H.1246/A.D.1830-31 Census		H. 1259/A.D. 1843-44 Census	
	Number of Households	Number of Males	Number of Households	Number of Males
Morean Immigrants Residing in İzmir Itself	61	119	61	120
Kızılhisar Immigrants Residing in Çeşme Sub Province	78	142 ¹⁵⁶	30	70
Kızılhisar Immigrants Residing in the Town of Alaçatı of Çeşme Sub Province	20	48	4	9
Kızılhisar Immigrants Residing in Seferihisar Sub Province	96	220	96	216
Kızılhisar Immigrants Residing in the Sığacık Fortress of Seferihisar Sub Province	76	156 ¹⁵⁷	74	148

155 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, pp. 1-30. BOA, NFS.d., 2909, H. 1259/A.D. 1843-44, pp. 1-34.

156 The clerk indicated that there were 110 people in 64 households, however it is observed that new persons were added in between the lines where households are recorded. Therefore, all of them are calculated and the total population is found.

157 The clerk indicated that there were 84 people in 41 households, however it is observed that new persons were added in between the lines where households are recorded. Therefore, all of them are calculated and the total population is found.

Kızılhisar Immigrants Residing in the Tepecik Village of Seferihisar Sub Province	2	3	2	3
Kızılhisar Immigrants Residing Around Hereke of Seferihisar Sub Province Temporarily	27	64	21	49
Benefşe Immigrants Residing in Kuşadası	252	536 ¹⁵⁸	243	513
Morean Immigrants Residing in the Town of Söke	29	57 ¹⁵⁹	29	55
Immigrants Added to the Civil Registry Book Later				
Immigrants of Anabolu	4	9	2	3
Immigrants of Gaston Which Is in Southern Morea	10	20	8	17
Immigrants of Kızılhisar	22	39	21	38
Total	677	1.413	591	1.241

In the table, the demographic data that belong to the censuses of 1830-31 and 1843-44 were indicated together. It was determined that there were 1.413 male immigrants in 677 households in İzmir, Çeşme, Seferihisar, Kuşadası and Söke and their sub provinces according to the general census of 1830-31 and 1.241 male immigrants in 591 households according to the census of 1843-44. By doubling the number of males when we consider that the the population of the males was equal to the population of the females, it was estimated that there were at least 2.826 Morean immigrants in the Province of İzmir in the general census of 1830-31 and at least 2.482 Morean immigrants in the census of 1843-44.

We may also calculate the number of persons per each household by using the demographic data. In fact, we have calculated that in both censuses, there were 2.1 persons per household because in the general census of 1830-31,

158 The clerk indicated that there were 519 people in 252 households; however, it is observed that there were 536 people in 252 households.

159 The clerk indicated that there were 50 people in 29 households; however, it is observed that there were 57 people in 29 households.

1.413 persons were recorded in 677 households, and in the census of 1843-44, 1.241 persons were recorded in 591 households. When each household is examined separately, we observed that the number of persons varied between one and seven for each household.

The difference of population between the two censuses arose from demographic events. In fact, there were new births, deaths and those who went to other places among the immigrants. For those cases, the horizontal/diagonal expressions of birth, death and left were used. The dates of the events were also recorded. In this regard, there was a significant drop of the number of Kızılhisar immigrants registered in especially Çeşme and town of Alaçatı. In fact, the records indicate that 69 persons out of the immigrants in Çeşme went to Kızılhisar and two persons went to İstanbul. For those who went to Kızılhisar dates of 21 and 26 June 1831(10, 15 Muharrem 1247) were recorded; and for others, the date of 28 Temmuz 1831 (17 Safer 1247) was recorded.¹⁶⁰ Thus, we understand that some of the immigrants went back to their homelands. It was also stated that 39 persons from the town of Alaçatı went to Kızılhisar. According to the records, some of those immigrants left on the date of August 1, 1831 (21 Safer 1247) and others left on September 13, 1831 (5 Rebiülahir 1247).¹⁶¹ If we provide some examples regarding other immigrants in other places, nine persons among the Kızılhisar immigrants at the Sığacık fortress went to Salonika (1834); nine persons went to Çeşme (1835); two persons went to Kızılhisar (1835) and two persons went to Rhodes Island.¹⁶² Among the Kızılhisar immigrants in Seferihisar, one person went to Cairo, Egypt (1838).¹⁶³ Among the Benefşe immigrants in Kuşadası, 3 persons went to Euboea Island (1831), one person went to İstanbul (1832), and one person went to Çeşme (1831).¹⁶⁴ Besides those who left, there were also those who died. For instance, the records indicated that 10 immigrants died in Çeşme between 1833 and 1841.¹⁶⁵

Except the Morean immigrants, the records also indicated other immigrants who came from elsewhere. In fact, the original homelands of those immigrants who were recorded in İzmir only were İbrail, Asitâne, Karahisar-ı Sahib,

¹⁶⁰ BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, pp. 7-8.

¹⁶¹ BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, pp. 9-10.

¹⁶² BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, pp. 13-14; BOA, NFS.d., 2909, H. 1259/A.D. 1843-44, p. 7.

¹⁶³ BOA, NFS.d., 2909, H. 1259/A.D. 1843-44, p. 5.

¹⁶⁴ BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, pp. 16-26.

¹⁶⁵ BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, pp. 7-8.

Vidin, Çankırı, Bolu, Akyazı, Geğbüze, Tokat, Kayseri, Ankara, Geyve, Bartın, İskender, Kırım, Karamürsel, Kandiye, Üsküdar, Uşak, Teke, Malatya, İnegöl, Buldan, Algeria, Haston, İzmir, Heraklia, Harput, Blacksea, Rusçuk, Giresun, Urfa, Ankara, Beyşehir, Uğrar, Baybur, Şermen, Ünye.¹⁶⁶ The records indicated that those immigrants departed from Algeria and came to İzmir, because when the French invaded Algeria in 1830, they sent Turks away from the country.¹⁶⁷ Mass migrations to Morocco and Tunisia took place and individuals and smaller groups migrated to Anatolia. Most of the persons who migrated were originally Turkish. When Algeria was under the Ottoman rule, many Turks from various places of Anatolia went and settled there either alone or with their families for trade. Those families or their grandchildren migrated after the French occupation. Some of those who came to Anatolia settled in İzmir.¹⁶⁸ In this regard, the civil registry book numbered 2908 included 94 persons in 48 households who came from Algeria. While those immigrants were recorded, it was indicated that they left Algeria and settled down in İzmir. For those immigrants, the following cases may be given as examples: “the person is from Asitane, however he left Algeria and settled down in İzmir”, “the person is from Vidin, however he left Algeria and settled down in İzmir”, and “the person is from Crimea, however he left Algeria and settled down in İzmir”.¹⁶⁹ Most of the immigrants resided in the houses they rented. In the census of 1843-44 the same households took place in the records.¹⁷⁰ İpek indicated that some of those immigrants returned to their homelands through the port of İzmir.¹⁷¹

In the survey performed in the town of Kuşadası, the surveyors also recorded the Cretan immigrants. In fact, the Greek Rebellion also spread to Crete and the rebellion on the island started in 1821 in the mountainous villages of the provinces of İsfakiye and Hanya.¹⁷² The Greek gangs located in those places

166 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, pp. 1-6.

167 The French Government sent a big fleet and 37.000 troops under the command of General Bourmont to Algeria on June 14, 1830. The French who entered Algeria with reinforced troops occupied the city of Algeria on July 5, 1830. The first thing that the French did following the occupation was to send the Turks away because they believed that they could manage the locals easily. See: Kemal Kahraman, “Cezayir (Osmanlı Dönemi)”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. VII, İstanbul 1993, p. 489. (486-489)

168 Nedim İpek, “İzmir ve Göç”, p. 203.

169 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, pp. 1-6.

170 BOA, NFS.d., 2909, H. 1259/A.D. 1843-44, pp. 1-3.

171 İpek, “İzmir ve Göç”, p. 204.

172 Şâni-zâde Mehmed Atâullah Efendi, *Şâni-zâde Tarihi*, Vol. IV, Ceride-i Havâdis Matbaası, İstanbul 1291, p. 198.

attacked the Muslims.¹⁷³ We understand that at this moment, small number of Muslims migrated to Kuşadası. In fact, the civil registry book numbered 2908 included 32 Cretan immigrants in 20 households¹⁷⁴; and the civil registry book numbered 2909 included 26 Cretan immigrants in 16 households¹⁷⁵ in Kuşadası. It is estimated that the difference of population between the two books originated from the fact that some of the immigrants moved elsewhere. Additionally, all of the immigrants were recorded as homeowners. This indicated that they were materially in good condition.

Lastly, the civil registry records also indicated the families who left their homelands and moved to the province of İzmir. For those families, a record was written as follows: “*the households and their population located in the sub provinces of the mentioned province composed by the people who left their homelands.*”¹⁷⁶ There were 7 people in 4 households from Ahurlu village of Muğla sub province and residing in the Kubbeler village of Çine subprovince; 3 persons in 1 household from Mesye village of Misivri sub province and residing in the Kubbeler village for three years; and 4 persons in 3 households from the Kurç plains of Ahur Köy sub province of the Menteşe Province residing in the Türk Yeni Village of sub province of Çine. Therefore, there was 14 people in 8 households who were recorded as such in the civil registry book.¹⁷⁷

When all the data is considered, the composition of the immigrants recorded in İzmir, Çeşme, Kuşadası, Seferihisar and Söke under the province of İzmir in the censuses of 1830-31 and 1843-44 is as follows.

173 In quelling the rebellion, the Ottoman troops were not successful and Sultan Mahmud II asked Mehmed Ali Pasha of Egypt to quell the rebellion in Crete just like it happened in the Morea. Mehmed Ali Pasha responded positively for the request of the Sultan and the Egyptian troops landed on the island at the Suda Port in June of 1822. Following the skirmishes on the island, the Egyptian troops quelled the rebellion in 1825. See: Kütükoğlu, “Yunan İsyanı Sırasında Anadolu ve Adalar Rumlarının Tutumları ve Sonuçları”, pp. 139-140.

174 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, pp. 15-16.

175 BOA, NFS.d., 2909, H. 1259/A.D. 1843-44, p. 9.

176 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 28.

177 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 28; BOA, NFS.d., 2909, H. 1259/A.D. 1843-44, p. 17.

Table 3: Total Population of Immigrants Registered in the Sub Provinces of İzmir Province¹⁷⁸				
Immigrants	H.1246/A.D.1830-31 Census		H. 1259/A.D. 1843-44 Census	
	Household	Population	Household	Population
Morean Immigrants Residing in the Sub Provinces of İzmir Province	677	1.413	591	1.241
Other Immigrants Residing in İzmir (Those Who Came from Algeria)	48	94	48	94
Cretan Immigrants Residing in Şaranpo Location and Fortresses of Town of Kuşadası	20	32	16	26
Those Who Left their Original Homelands and Residing in İzmir Province	8	14	8	14
Total	753	1.553	663	1.375

At it is seen in the table, the civil registry books included 1.553 male immigrants in 753 households in the province of İzmir in the 1830-31 census. We observed that the books included 1.375 male immigrants in 663 households in the 1843-44 census. We estimated that there were at least 3.106 immigrants in the province in the general census of 1830-31 by doubling the number of male population considering that the number of males was equal to the number of females.

4.3.2. Individuals of Households

First of all, it is possible to reach information regarding the structure of families at the period. In fact, the sons and brothers were first recorded after the household head. Sons after the first-born son were written as “other”. There were also sons who were recorded as stepson (üğey-üvey).¹⁷⁹ Later on, other family members or relatives were recorded.

178 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, pp. 1-30. BOA, NFS.d., 2909, H. 1259/A.D. 1843-44, pp. 1-34.

179 This word was read in different forms in other studies such as ögi, ögey, öteki. However, when we had a look at *Kâmus-ı Türki* we realized that it had to be read as üğey (üvey). Üğey means child other than biological child. Üğey oğul means that one of the couples has a child whose biological father or mother is another person. See: Şemseddin Sami, *Kâmus-ı Türki (Latin Harfleriyle)*, ed. Raşit Günöğdu et. al., İdeal Kültür Yayıncılık, İstanbul 2011, p.173.

As the male population is taken as the basis in the survey, the persons such as brother, brother-in-law, husband of sister, son in law, and father-in-law were recorded in the books, however persons such as sister, sister-in-law, daughter-in-law, mother-in-law were not recorded. The family members or relatives who resided in the household and recorded in the books were as follows:

Table 4: Persons Registered in the Household
Household Head
Son (or Sons)
Stepson
Brother (or Brothers)
Nephew (or Nephews)
Brother-in-Law (or Brothers in Law)
Father-in-Law
Aunt's Husband
Son-in-Law
Husband of Sister-in-Law
Son of Husband of Sister-in-Law
Son of Brother
Son of Uncle
Relative
Butler
Servant Boy
Servant

As it is seen in the table above, the household population of the Morean immigrants who came to the province of İzmir did not consist of only mothers, fathers and children. Other than the nuclear family, we see a large family where married sons and grandsons, brothers, nephews and even the father-in-laws, mother-in-laws and son-in-laws lived under the same roof. In households where the father did not survive, we see that the brothers lived with the older brothers. Thus, by using this information, we may easily find out the relations of kinship.

The books included the phrase of resident/resides for some persons recorded in the household indicating that the person was residing with the household head. The following expressions may be given as examples: orphan minor

Salih, son of Abdullah resides with him¹⁸⁰; minor İsmail, son of Mahmud, who is son of his uncle, resides with him¹⁸¹; minor orphan Ali, son of İbrahim resides with him¹⁸²; his shepherd İbrahim bin Yusuf, son of Bekdaş.¹⁸³ Therefore, during the survey, persons residing with the family were also recorded in the books.

Among the individuals of the household, there were also persons with the status of servant boy¹⁸⁴ and servant¹⁸⁵. For instance, in the household of Osman Agha, one of the viziers of Kızılhisar settled in the town of Alaçatı of the sub province of Çeşme, his son Mustafa, his other son Receb, and his uncle's son İsmail bin Mahmud, his servant African Mercan bin Abdullah, Abdullah's son African İsmail bin Mercan and his other servant lame, white bearded, Mehmed bin Ahmed were recorded in the civil registry book.¹⁸⁶ Additionally, in the household of Tahir Halil bin Ali who was among the Morean immigrants, his son Ali and his servant, convert Mehmed bin Abdullah were recorded in the civil registry book.¹⁸⁷

4.3.3. Used Names

While the Turks used Turkish names before converting to Islam, they started to prefer Arabic names instead of Turkish names through time after converting to Islam. In fact, in the cadastral record books of the 15th century, one may observe that the Turkish names were dominant; however, in the cadastral books after the 16th century, the Turkish names were not used frequently.¹⁸⁸ In two civil registry books that we examined, we encountered 107 different names for the Morean immigrants. However, many of them were used once or a few times. The number of names which were used only once was 49. Here, the first name of the person registered in the civil registry book was taken as the basis; their family names were not considered. The distribution of the names based on the number of persons is as follows.

180 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 7.

181 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 9.

182 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, s. 13 p. 13.

183 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 29.

184 Here it is used as slave. In fact, the Ottoman-Turkish dictionary indicated that it meant slave and captive. See: Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lügat*, Aydın Kitabevi Yay., Ankara 2007, p. 293.

185 Person who serves, servant. See: Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lügat*, p. 374.

186 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, s. 9 p. 9.

187 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 1.

188 Kütükoğlu, *Menteşe Sancağı 1830 (Nüfus ve Toplum Yapısı)*, p. 79.

Original Name	Count	Translated Name	Count	Original Name	Count
Mehmed	205	Lütfi	3	Hamid	1
Mustafa	180	Mercan	3	Harun	1
İbrahim	124	Ramazan	3	Hulisi Aldülfettah	1
Ahmed	119	Said	3	Hurşid	1
Ali	83	Zekeriya	3	İbiş	1
Hüseyin	80	Receb	2	İskender	1
İsmail	73	Abdulkadir	2	İslam	1
Hasan	69	Abdulkerim	2	Kamber	1
Yusuf	62	Abdülcabbar	2	Maksud	1
Mahmud	55	Abdülgani	2	Mehmed Ahmed	1
Süleyman	40	Derviş Ali	2	Mehmed Emin	1
Osman	38	Ebubekir	2	Mehmed Salih	1
Salih	35	İdris	2	Mihal Hüseyin	1
Ömer	23	Mehmed Ali	2	Mihal Mehmed	1
Abdi	17	Memiş	2	Muharrem	1
Arif	13	Numan	2	Murtaza Mahmud	1
Abdullah	10	Resul	2	Murtaza Mehmed	1
Yahya	10	Reşid	2	Murtaza Yahya	1
Halil	9	Seydi	2	Nazif	1
Hızır	8	Tahir	2	Niğmedullah	1
Cafer	6	Veli	2	Sami Mustafa	1
Murtaza	6	Zeynel	2	Sefer	1
Musa	6	Abdurrahim	1	Selim	1
Selim	6	Abdurrahman	1	Seyyid Osman	1
İsa	5	Abdülbaki	1	Sinan	1
Bekir	4	Abdülhalim	1	Süleyman Hüseyin	1
Derviş	4	Ahmed Bayram	1	Şakir	1
İlyas	4	Aziz Ali	1	Tahir Halil	1
İshak	4	Bayram	1	Talib	1
Kasım	4	Edhem	1	Tayyar	1
Murad	4	Emin	1	Tevfik	1
Şerif	4	Eyüb	1	Vesil	1
Yakub	4	Eyüb Ahmed	1	Veysi	1
Feyzullah	4	Habib	1	Zafer	1

Abdülkadir	3	Hacı Mehmed	1	Zülfikâr	1
Hamza	3	Halim	1		

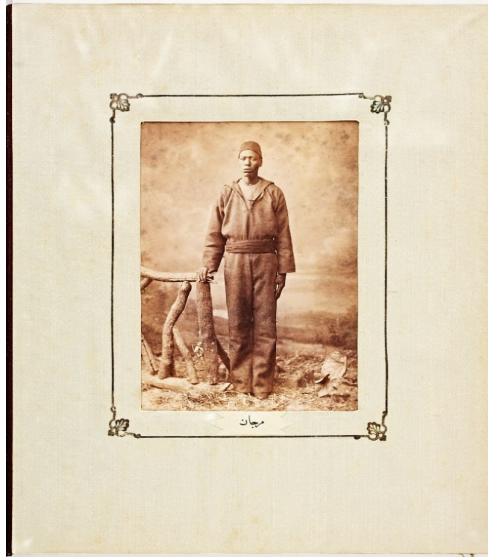
As it is seen in the table, the most frequently used name among the Morean immigrants was Mehmed (Muhammed). 205 persons took this name. 180 persons took the name of Mustafa, which was the second most frequently used name. The third was İbrahim, which was taken by 124 persons, and the fourth was Ahmed, which was taken by 119 persons. In general terms, we see that the Arabic names such as Mehmed (Muhammed), Mustafa, Ahmed, Mahmud, İbrahim, Hasan, Hüseyin, Ali, Osman, Ömer which belonged to the Prophet Muhammed and his family members, were popular and heavily used. In fact, the use of those names has a ratio more than 50%. Therefore, we understand that the Morean immigrants emphasized using those names as a sign of love and respect for the Prophet and his family members.

We also see that the name of Mercan was frequently used for the persons who were described as black (African), generally had the status of servant, boy servant and aide, and were originally from Africa. Sometimes it was used as the name of the household head, and sometimes it was used as the name of the father. For instance, in the household of farmer Ali bin Mustafa among the Morean immigrants who settled down in İzmir, his African servant Mercan was recorded in the civil registry book.¹⁸⁹ In the household of Osman Agha, son of Mehmed Agha, among the Kızılhisar immigrants residing in the town of Alaçatı, his African servant Mercan bin Abdullah and his son African İsmail bin Mercan were recorded in the civil registry book.¹⁹⁰ African day labourer Mercan bin Ali, who settled in the town of Kuşadası and was from Navarino, was registered as the household head.¹⁹¹ Images of two persons with the name of Mercan who were not among the Morean immigrants and were described as African are below.

189 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 4.

190 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 9.

191 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 23.



Picture 1: A Eunuch named Mercan¹⁹²



Picture 2: Mercan, an African from Antalya¹⁹³

192 İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, *II. Abdülhamid Han Fotoğraf Albümleri*, Location Number: NEKYA91286/3

193 İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, *II. Abdülhamid Han Fotoğraf Albümleri*, Lo-

4.3.4. Physical Appearance

The surveyors recorded the color of skin, beard and mustache along with the measurement of height in detail regarding the physical characteristics. When recording the physical characteristics, the surveyors recorded the height such as short, medium and tall. Later, skin, beard and moustache were described such as black, blonde, brown and grizzly. One of the characteristics of the Turks is that they are of medium height¹⁹⁴ and this was clearly revealed in the records regarding the persons whose characteristics were recorded. In fact, height information of 641 persons was available and the people of medium height constituted the majority by 80.5%. The height characteristics of the immigrants were as follows.

Height	Number of Persons	Percentage (%)
Short	17	2,7
Medium	516	80,5
Tall	108	16,8

In the detailed records of physical characteristics, we observed that the color of beard and moustache was emphasized extensively and color of the skin was least frequently encountered. We also observed that the persons with black moustache constituted the majority and the persons with blonde and brown moustaches followed them. Additionally, the census made descriptions such as thin, sparse and small moustaches. In terms of beard, the persons with white and black beards almost have the same percentages in numbers. Besides, the percentage of the individuals with grizzly beards and grizzly moustaches have close percentages. The characteristics of beards and moustaches of the immigrants were as follows.

Physical Characteristics	Number of Persons	Physical Characteristics	Number of Persons
Black Moustache	205	Slightly Grizzly Beard	4
Blonde Moustache	122	Brown Beard	4
Brown Moustache	83	Blonde Beard	4

cation Number: NEKYA91292/159.

¹⁹⁴ Kütükoğlu, *Menteşe Sancağı 1830 (Nüfus ve Toplum Yapısı)*, p. 125.

Young Boy With Newly Growing Moustache	81	African Beard	3
Newly Growing Moustache	80	Brown	3
Boy Before Age of Puberty	59	White Moustache	2
White Beard	37	Black	2
Black Beard	36	Blonde	2
Grizzle Beard	35	Thin Moustache	1
Grizzly Moustache	33	Black Face	1
Small Moustache	19	Black Sparse Beard	1
African	9	Beardless	1
Slightly Grizzly Moustache	6	Sparse Moustache	1

Among the immigrants, the surveyors recorded 81 persons as “young boy with newly growing beard” and recorded 59 persons as “boy before age of puberty”. The expression of *şabb-1 emred* means young boy with newly growing moustache/beard. We observed that in the two books that we examined, this expression was used for persons between the ages of 13 and 22. The expression of *mürâhik* refers to the person who is between the lower and upper age limits of puberty and does not have the signs of puberty.¹⁹⁵ We observed that this expression was used for persons between the ages of 4 and 16. Additionally, the surveyors recorded 80 persons as “person with newly growing moustache”.

Among the immigrants, 9 persons were recorded as African and 3 persons were recorded as person with African beard. We observed that those persons were of African origin and were under the status of boy servant, servant or daily laborer. For instance, the surveyors recorded African daily laborer Said bin Abdullah from the Morea residing in İzmir as household head.¹⁹⁶ Additionally, the surveyors recorded daily laborer Abdullah bin Abdullah¹⁹⁷ with African beard in the household of Ali bin Ahmed from Morea residing in İzmir; and the surveyors recorded African servant Mercan bin Abdullah

¹⁹⁵ Nihat Dalgın, “Mürâhik”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. XXXII, İstanbul 2006, p. 40. (40-41).

¹⁹⁶ BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 6.

¹⁹⁷ BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 5.

and his son African İsmail bin Mercan¹⁹⁸ in the household of Osman Agha, son of Mehmed Agha who was among the Kızılhisar immigrants residing in the town of Alaçatı.

We encountered similar characteristics among other immigrants except the Morean immigrants registered in İzmir. For instance, African boy servant Musa bin Abdullah¹⁹⁹ was registered in the household of coffee shop owner Ali bin Hasan residing in İzmir who was originally from Asitane and came from Algeria; African servant Selim bin Abdullah, African boy servant Ömer bin Abdullah and other African boy servant Selim bin Abdullah²⁰⁰ were registered in the household of Mehmed bin Mehmed who came from Algeria and was originally from Haston.

4.3.5. Nicknames

From time to time, the surveyors wrote down the nicknames of persons before their names while registering them. The nicknames served important functions in differentiating people in such a period where no last names existed. In this regard, we observed that the nicknames written in the books generally corresponded to physical characteristics, traits, attitudes or social status. We may provide bald, beardless, dark, old, dangler, old-timer²⁰¹, pure²⁰², water distributor, four eyebrowed²⁰³, and announcer²⁰⁴.

4.3.6. Age Information and Status of Military Service

The surveyors wrote the ages of the persons under their names. For newborn babies, the surveyors wrote down the expression of newborn and provided a date, and other than a few exceptions, they indicated no ages. In some prominent demographical works, we observed that the surveyors subjected the persons' ages to classification. In fact, Karal determined that the surveyors made a threefold classification in some places for Muslims such as those between the ages of 1 and 16; 16 and 40; and above 40.²⁰⁵ Karpat indicated that some surveyors classified Muslims such as those between the ages of

198 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 9.

199 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 1.

200 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 3.

201 *Bâli* – elderly, old, fusty

202 *Pâlûde* – purified, strained.

203 *Çâr-ebrû* – literally “four eyebrowed”, young boy with newly growing moustache.

204 *Değir - Değirme*; announce, notify, transport.

205 Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, pp. 18-19.

1 and 12 or 1 and 14; 12 and 40 or 14 and 40; and above 40. Some other surveyors just noted them down as young and old. Other surveyors classified persons such as able, child and retired/unable to work.²⁰⁶

When we observed the ages of the Morean immigrants, we realized that majority of them were between the ages of 12 and 39, young and able to work. Afterwards, the children between the ages of 1 and 11 followed; and the amount of the population over the age of 40 was almost half of the population of children. The overall average age was 22.5. The age interval table obtained from both civil registry books was as follows.

Age Interval	Number of Persons	Percentage (%)
1-11	500	36,3
12-39	618	44,9
40 and above	259	18,8

The surveyors placed the sign of red *mim* (⤴) under the names of persons who were eligible for military service in the book numbered 2908 of the general census of 1830-31. In the book numbered 2909 of the census of 1843-44, no *mim* (⤴) sign was included. This sign is the abbreviation of the expression of “appropriate for the high request (which means appropriate for military service)”²⁰⁷ In fact, the surveyors indicated that among the mentioned existing population, they placed sign of *mim* under the names of those who deserve to serve among *Asâkir-i Mansûre-i Mubammediye* (The Victorious Soldiers of Prophet Muhammed).²⁰⁸ The surveyors officially indicated that generally the age for conscription started at 15, those who were under 15 were regarded as children, and those between the ages of 15 and 39 were considered within the group of persons who would be asked to serve in the military.²⁰⁹ Additionally, in the book numbered 2908, the surveyors placed the sign of *mim* (⤴) under the names of persons between the ages of 12 and 39. Moreover, the surveyors exceptionally placed that sign under the names

206 Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914)*, p. 68.

207 The Ottoman State started to record persons who would serve in the military by using the sign of *mim* which meant “appropriate for the high request” to determine how many soldiers would be obtained from Anatolia and Rumelia but not to scare people. See: Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, p. 19.

208 Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, p. 18, 19.

209 Küttüoğlu, *Menteşe Sancağı 1830 (Nüfus ve Toplum Yapısı)*, p. 59.

of some persons who were 11 years old. For instance, young Halil (11 years old)²¹⁰, son of Şerif Ahmed bin Ali among the Morean immigrants registered in İzmir; young Ahmed (11 years old)²¹¹, son of İbrahim bin İbrahim Bey and brother of İsmail, among the immigrants of Kızılhisar, residing in the sub province of Çeşme; and young orphan Mehmed (11 years old)²¹², son of Mahmud bin Mahmud Efendi among the Kızılhisar immigrants were examples. Consequently, we observed that when those young boys were included, we realized that those who were eligible for te military service had an important percentage in the total population.

4.3.7. Occupations

As the purpose of the general census of 1830-31 was to determine the eligible population for the military service, it did not include the same information for each person.²¹³ Therefore, the surveyors did not record the occupation of every able person. The surveyors wrote the occupations of some of the immigrants in front of their names. Thus, we may determine the occupations of immigrants despite the limited information. The information regarding the occupations of the immigrants are as follows.

Occupation	Number of Persons	Occupation	Number of Persons
Day Labourer	165	Doctor ²¹⁴	2
Worker	19	Greengrocer	2
Farmer	17	School Teacher	2
Shepard	16	Artilleryman	2
Servant	15	Artillery Sergeant	2
Grocer	13	Fisher	1
Barber	9	Foreman	1
Tailor	7	Cotton Fluffer ²¹⁵	1

210 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 5.

211 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 7.

212 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, p. 9.

213 Kütüoğlu, *Menteşe Sancağı 1830 (Nüfus ve Toplum Yapısı)*, p. 147.

214 Those who are aware of medical sciences.

215 Those persons fluffed cotton and wool.

Coffee Maker	5	Carrier	1
Merchant	5	Calligraphist	1
Sergeant	4	Hardware Dealer	1
Tobacco Worker and Processor ²¹⁶	4	Butcher	1
Ship Captain	4	Muleteer	1
Carpenter	4	Clerk	1
Shoemaker	3	Cook	1
Gardener	3	Writer	1
Caner	3	Jeweler	1
Prayer Leader	3	Assistant Mouezzin	1
Packman ²¹⁷	3	Surrogate	1
Surgeon	2	Acorn Collector	1
Snuff Maker ²¹⁸	2	Assistant Acorn Collector	1
Hafiz	2	Mercenary	1
Doorman	2		

As it is seen in the table above, majority of the immigrants, whose occupations were indicated, belonged to the working class. In this regard, especially the daily laborers, workers and servants were significant. The daily laborers usually worked in the agricultural sector for daily wages, the servants usually worked in the agricultural sector or served a trader, and the workers worked on and rented the land that belonged to someone else and shared the revenues with the owner by agreement. Among the tradesmen, the shopkeepers, barbers, tailors and coffee shop owners were important. At the same time there were other immigrants doing trade, working as doctors, surgeons, clerks, schoolteachers and prayer leaders.

216 Those persons processed and sold tobacco leaves.

217 The expression of *table-kâr* means: 1) peddler, selling small items with a tray above his head, 2) servant helping people while they were eating. See: Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lügat*, p. 1012.

218 *Enfiyye* means snuff, powder of tobacco including fermented and fragrant materials, which people sniffed for getting high. See: Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lügat*, p. 223. Thus, the term of *enfiyeci* means someone who produces and sells *enfiyye*.

4.3.8. Ownership

We may also determine ownership of private property out of the household records, because the surveyors wrote down expressions like house owner and homeowner and tenant for the tenants. The surveyors wrote down house owner for 18 immigrant families, homeowner for 8 families, hut owner for 1 family and tenant for 34 families out of 61 families of Morean immigrants. Therefore, we understand that almost half of the families of Morean immigrants owned property. This indicated that the families in İzmir were well to do, because in other places, there were no property owning families or their number was very low. When we consider this information, the surveyors recorded only one family among the Kızılhisar immigrants as homeowners in the sub province of Çeşme. In the town of Seferihisar, the surveyors recorded 1 family out of Kızılhisar immigrants and in Sığacık fortress, they recorded one family out of Kızılhisar immigrants as homeowners. All of the Kızılhisar immigrants in the town of Alaçatı, Benefwe immigrants in Kuşadası and Morean immigrants in Söke and the immigrants who were added to the list later were recorded as tenants.²¹⁹ Therefore, the high number of families in the status of tenant is striking. We believe that the orders sent to the administrators of İzmir, Bursa, Edirne and Kuşadası had an impact on the high numbers of tenants in those locations, because in the orders the state officials indicated that those immigrants would go back to the Morea when the rebellion would be quelled, and the immigrants needed to stay wherever they were until that time.²²⁰ Therefore, we may argue that the expectation of the immigrants regarding returning to the Morea had an impact on their temporary settlement.

219 BOA, NFS.d., 2908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-31, pp. 1-30. BOA, NFS.d., 2909, H. 1259/A.D. 1843-44, pp. 1-34.

220 Örenç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri*, p. 255.

Conclusion

The Morea, which remained under the Ottoman rule for 369 years between 1460 and 1829, started to shake with the rebellions started by the Greek gangs as of the second half of the 18th century. In the emergence of those rebellions, the European states, primarily Russia had a great impact. In fact, the great rebellion, which started by the Greek rebels in 1821 with the encouragement from those states, upset the balance of power in the region greatly.

The Greek Rebellion, which led to the emergence of the first independent state in the Balkans, also influenced other peoples of the Balkans living under the Ottoman rule, and set an example for them. In fact, the arrival of many volunteers coming from the Balkans and assisting the Greeks in the Morea in their rebellion was one of the greatest evidences of that.

The greatest sufferers of the process of Greek independence were the Morean Turks who made the Morea their homeland for about four centuries. As some European writers accepted, this independence movement turned into a vicious war of religion and race in a short amount of time. The Muslim-Turkish population encountered uncommon atrocities for that period. In fact, when the establishment of the Greek State was finally announced in 1830, the Muslim-Turkish population in the Morea was erased from the scene of history. Very small number of immigrants who were able to save their lives sought refuge in the closest safe areas.

A significant portion of the immigrants moved from the Morean Peninsula, Euboea Island, Kızılhisar and Athens, crossed the Aegean Sea and reached the coastal towns of western Anatolia. They landed on primarily İzmir, Kuşadası, Seferihisar and Çeşme and later the administrators settled those immigrants in the interior sections of those sub provinces later on.

The demographic records of İzmir of the general census of 1830-31 are significant for the purposes of our study. In fact, the date when those records were kept corresponded to the date right after the Greek Rebellion (1821-1829). Therefore, the findings of the census provided important information in following up and accessing the demographic data of thousands of Muslims who had to migrate from the Morea due to the incidents that took place during the rebellion. In this study, we examined the civil registry book numbered *NFS.d. 2908* of the census of H.1246/A.D.1830-31 and the book numbered *NFS.d. 2909* of the census of H.1259/A.D.1843-44, which was

the continuation of the previous book, including data regarding the Morean immigrants.

We were able to determine from where the immigrants came and where they settled by analyzing the civil registry books. In fact, we observed that most of the immigrants were from the Morea, Kızılhisar, Benefşe, Gaston and Anabolu. There were also immigrants from Anabolu, Athens, Euboea Island and Moton among the immigrants resided in İzmir who were mostly from the Morea. Only the Kızılhisar immigrants resided in the sub province of Çeşme, towns of Alaçatı and Seferihisar, fortress of Sığacık, Tepecik village and Hereke. The immigrants from Benefşe constituted the majority of the immigrants registered in the town of Kuşadası. At the same time, small number of immigrants from Anabolu, Eubaea Island, Moton, Navarino, Mizistre, Bardunya, Lala, Arkadya and Tripolitsa were registered. Among the Morean immigrants residing in Söke, there were also immigrants from Anabolu, Gaston and Benefşe. Additionally, the surveyors added the immigrants, who came later, to the civil registry book. In fact, those immigrants came from Anabolu, Gaston and Kızılhisar.

We determined that there were 1.413 male immigrants registered in 677 households in İzmir, Kuşadası, Seferihisar, Çeşme and Söke in the general census of 1830-31. We also observed that there were 1.241 male immigrants in 591 households in the 1843-44 census. We argued that the number of males was equal to the number of females, and accordingly estimated that there were at least 2.826 Morean immigrants in the province in the general census of 1830-31 and at least 2.482 Morean immigrants in the province in the census of 1843-44.

We also observed that there was a decrease of population arising from the demographic events when we compared the numbers of both censuses. In fact, there were newborn babies, and persons who died and went elsewhere. The surveyors wrote down the expressions of newborn, died and left in a horizontal/diagonal manner. They also recorded the place and date of the events.

Out of both civil registry books, we may access information regarding the immigrants such as names, physical appearances, ages, military service status, occupation and residence information of the family members of the immigrants. We also saw that the households of the Morean immigrants was not just composed of parents and children. Rather than the nuclear family,

there were large families where the married sons and grandsons, brother, nephews and even the brother in laws, father in laws and sons in law lived under the same roof. Therefore, we were able to find the kinship ties among the individuals in the households.

Consequently, the Morean immigrants who had to leave their homeland where they have lived for four centuries stepped into a new life in the sub provinces in the province of İzmir. Besides rebuilding little Morea in their new lands, they also continued to maintain their traditions, customs, lifestyles and cultures. Although they encountered some problems of adaptation at the beginning, they overcame those problems and maintained good relations with other people. Among the immigrants who resided in cities such as Kuşadası and Antalya, there were persons who achieved high ranks in the government. For instance, the first mayor of Kuşadası Hacı İbrahim Agha was among the immigrants who came from the Morea. We also know that his descendants also served as mayors in the period of the new Turkish Republic. Another significant person was Mahmut Esat Bozkurt who had a very important place in the history of the Turkish National Struggle of the town of Kuşadası. Bozkurt was born in Kuşadası in 1892 and his father was Hasan Bey from the Hacı Mahmutoğulları family that migrated from the Morea.

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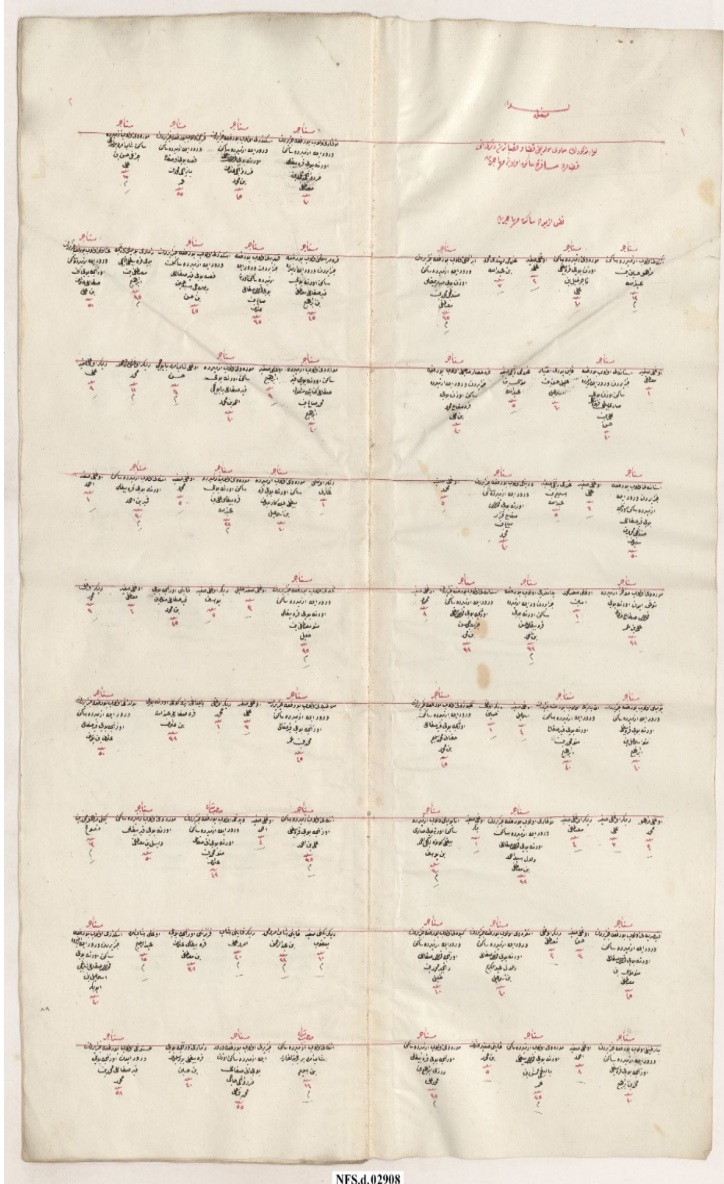
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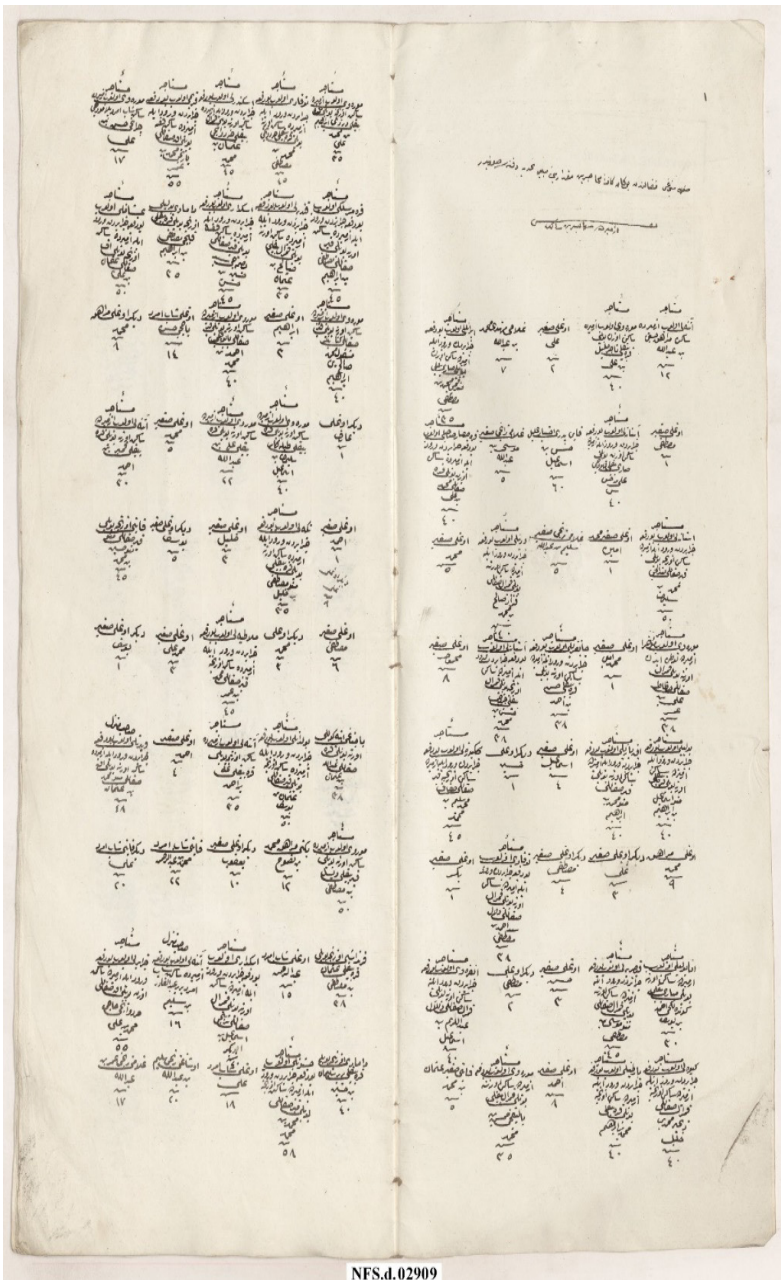
Appendix

Appendix 1: First Pages of Civil Registry Books



NFS.d.02908

NFS.d., 02908, H. 1246/A.D. 1830-1831



NFS.d.02909