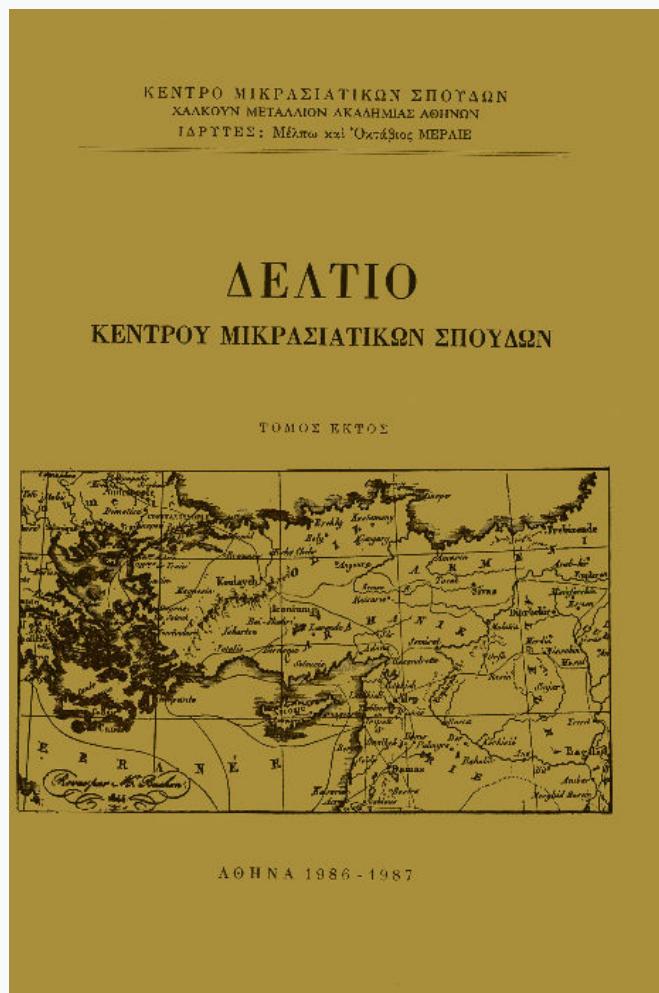


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**The intellectual foundations of Asia minor studies:  
The R.W. Dawkins-Melpo Merlier correspondence**

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PASCHALIS M. KITROMILIDES

THE INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF ASIA MINOR STUDIES.  
THE R.W. DAWKINS-MELPO MERLIER CORRESPONDENCE

I

The discovery of Asia Minor as a historical entity by the European mind has been largely the product of nineteenth century scholarship. The contacts of European visitors in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, produced some remarkable published records, which provided the basis for an initial acquaintance with the Levant beyond the stereotypes of the prejudices of Christian Europe. This evidence however was not sufficiently strong to dispel the Enlightenment's contempt for the Levant as reduced beyond the pale of civilization by a barbaric conquest. Montesquieu's attitude was typical of this outlook in the early part of the eighteenth century<sup>1</sup>. It was against this ideological background that later in the century the reports of travellers and amateur archaeologists began gradually to contribute toward a more factual approach to the understanding of the region. This was the foundation of the eventual recovery of a different but fascinating face of civilization, with its complexities and antinomies, in the Ottoman lands.

The growth of this more factual approach was due to the combined impact of two, initially indistinguishable, bodies of writing on the Levant. One was travel literature, whose content was gradually shifting from an

*I am grateful to Aglaia Ayoutanti, George L. Huxley, and Ioanna Petropoulou for their comments and assistance in the preparation of this article.*

1. Cf. Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*, No 19: «I was amazed to see the weakness of the Ottoman Empire. It is a diseased body, preserved not by gentle and moderate treatment, but by violent remedies which ceaselessly fatigue and undermine it.» (From the C.J. Betts transl., Penguin, 1973, p. 66).

impressionistic to a more objectively descriptive recording<sup>2</sup>. One can only compare Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Letters on Turkey* of the early eighteenth century to Richard Chandler's *Travels in Asia Minor* in order to appreciate the character of this shift. The other body of writing, which essentially laid the groundwork for a scholarly approach, were the reports of amateur archaeologists on the antiquities of Asia Minor. In this connection the decisive role was played by the Society of Dilettanti, which, through the explorations of its members from the 1760s onward, opened up the whole field of Asia Minor archaeology<sup>3</sup>. It is to be noted furthermore that the Dilettanti, despite the captivating attraction exercised on them by classical antiquity, did not limit their observations to antiquities and ancient ruins. Besides the collection of information on «the ancient state» and the «monuments of antiquity still remaining»<sup>4</sup> in Asia Minor, the instructions given to their agents by the Society stressed that they should be mindful of «geographical observation and natural history»<sup>5</sup>. This was for example the case with the instructions to Gell issued by the Ionian Committee of the Dilettanti in 1812.

Thus by the early nineteenth century the initial curiosity recorded in the travel literature of the previous century, took a more organized and formal turn with the awakening of scholarly interest in the Near East. Scholarship of course is not always independent of political motivations

2. Among English travellers cf. Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries*, Vols. I-II, London, 1743-1745; Robert Wood, *An Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer: with a Comparative View of the Ancient and Present State of the Troade*, London, 1775; Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*, London, 1775, probably the most reliable source; and the recently published, *The Travels of Lord Charlemont in Greece and Turkey 1749*, ed. by W.B. Storck and E.J. Finopoulos, London, 1984. Cf. David Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenic Ideal*, Cambridge, 1984, pp. 188-209. For an appraisal of earlier travel literature on the Near East see Speros Vryonis, Jr., «Travellers as a Source for the Societies of the Middle East: 1200-1600», *Charanis Studies. Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, ed. by A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis, New Brunswick, N.J., 1980, pp. 284-311.

3. Lionel Cust, *History of the Society of Dilettanti*, ed. by Sidney Colvin, London, 1914, pp. 81-89, 91-95, 103-104, 125-126, 148-155, 181-190, 198-205. On a particularly fascinating aspect of these early researches in Asia Minor and elsewhere in the Greek lands see George L. Huxley, *Homer and the Travellers*, Athens, 1988.

4. Cust, *op.cit.*, p. 152.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 150. Cf. the instructions issued by the Society of Dilettanti to R. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*, preface and Huxley, *Homer and the Travellers*, p. 33.

as the *Description de l'Egypte*, the first major project of European scholarship and science on the Near East, makes plain. Accordingly the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of national traditions of scholarship focusing on the Near East, the Ottoman Empire and Asia Minor in particular. In its British, French and German expressions European scholarship on Asia Minor reflected the preoccupations of European diplomacy and the conflicts of nineteenth century imperialisms over the Near East. This political background explains the emphasis on geography and topography that dominates European writing on Asia Minor throughout the nineteenth century, from J. A. Cramer's and Charles Texier's works in the 1830s<sup>6</sup> to Kiepert's monumental cartographic project at the end of the century<sup>7</sup>. In this context European scholarship over a period of several decades recovered the distinct personality of Asia Minor through studies of its rich archaeological heritage, its geography, topography and natural history, gradually turning to its complex history and to its modern social landscape.

At the dawn of the nineteenth century a future member of the Society of Dilettanti, William Martin Leake with the journal kept during his extensive tour in Asia Minor effected essentially the transition between travel literature and systematic scholarship on the peninsula. His work published a quarter of a century after the actual tour, provides a careful topography of parts of Asia Minor<sup>8</sup>, which reflects both W. M. Leake's meticulous empiricism and the strategic and political motivations behind his peregrinations, which followed upon the heels of Napoleon's cam-

6. J.A. Cramer, *A Geographical and Historical Description of Asia Minor*, Oxford, 1832, Vols. I-II and Charles Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure faite par ordre du gouvernement français de 1833 à 1837*, Paris, 1839-1849, Vols. I-II-III.

7. Richard Kiepert, *Karte von Kleinasien*, 1:400.000, Berlin, 1908. The strategic motivations behind German writing on Asia Minor are made plain by such works as Ludwig Ross, *Kleinasien und Deutschland. Reisebriefe und Aufsätze mit Bezugnahme auf die Möglichkeit Deutscher Niederlassungen in Kleinasien*, Halle, 1850 and Karl Kaerger, *Kleinasien ein deutsches Kolonisationsfeld*, Berlin, 1892. This should not obscure the fact that nineteenth century German scholarship did make very significant contributions to the study of Asia Minor history and archaeology. Cf. e.g. Ernst Curtius, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens (Ephesos, Pergamon, Smyrna, Sardes)*, Berlin, 1872.

8. William Martin Leake, *Journal of a tour in Asia Minor, with comparative remarks on the ancient and modern geography of that country*, London, 1824. Cf. Cust, *A History of the Society of Dilettanti*, p. 148. On Leake's journey in Asia Minor, see the latest contribution by J.M. Wagstaff, «Colonel Leake and the Classical Topography of Asia Minor», *Anatolian Studies*, Vol. XXXVII (1987), pp. 23-35.

paign to the Levant. Leake and the Dilettanti archaeologists are the precursors of a whole school of British scholarship which in the course of the nineteenth century enriched the initial research into Asia Minor topography with substantial studies of historical geography and of the inexhaustible field of the Greek and Roman archaeology of the land. The most prominent figure in this development was William M. Ramsay<sup>9</sup>. Research into the classical, Hellenistic and Roman archaeological heritage of Asia Minor stimulated interest into the subsequent periods of Greek presence in the peninsula and eventually into the modern survivals of that long historical tradition. The latter developments were reflected in the work of two of William Ramsay's intellectual successors, F.W. Hasluck and especially Richard MacGillivray Dawkins.

In the early years of the twentieth century Richard Dawkins, whose initial interests were in archaeology<sup>10</sup>, had the «happy idea», as he himself notes in one of his letters published below, to venture into the remote interior of Asia Minor in order to visit *in situ* the Helleno-phone villages of Cappadocia. These communities had preserved highly idiomatic forms of Medieval Greek and had followed a linguistic development totally independent from that of the dense Greek settlements of North-Western and Western Asia Minor, which spoke common Modern Greek<sup>11</sup>. The existence of sparse Greek-speaking communities in the interior of Asia Minor had been noted by travellers since the time of Marco Polo, but Dawkins was the first linguist who actually visited the villages and

9. Cf. William Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London, 1890 and also his detailed topographical «essay on the local history of Phrygia from the earliest times to the Turkish conquest»: *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Oxford, 1895. W.M. Ramsay's pivotal position in Asia Minor studies is attested by the tribute paid to him by a host of specialists in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay*, ed. by W.H. Buckler and W. Cadder, Manchester, 1923.

10. A comprehensive bibliography of Dawkins's writings pertaining to Greek archaeology, history, language and folklore has been compiled by Minas Alexiades, «Τὸ ἔργο τοῦ R.M. Dawkins. Βιβλιογραφικὴ συμβολὴ», *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικῶν Σπουδῶν*, Vol. V (1984-1985), pp. 361-389. This bibliography includes an appendix listing obituaries and other articles appraising Dawkins's work (pp. 385-386).

11. See P. M. Kitromilides - Al. Alexandris, «Ethnic Survival, Nationalism and Forced Migration. The Historical Demography of the Greek Community of Asia Minor at the close of the Ottoman era», *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικῶν Σπουδῶν*, Vol. V (1984-1985), pp. 13-15. Cf. George L. Huxley, «Topics in Byzantine Historical Geography», *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. 82, C, No 4 (1982), esp. pp. 105-110.

recorded the spoken idioms<sup>12</sup>. This led to a life-long involvement of the eminent Oxford Hellenist with the language, folklore and cultural heritage of these Greek communities, which less than a decade after the publication of his book<sup>13</sup>, had to succumb to the «disaster of 1923», as he puts it in another of his letters. By this Dawkins meant the obligatory exchange of populations, between Greece and Turkey, agreed at Lausanne in 1923, which along with the rest of Asia Minor Greeks, uprooted the ancient Orthodox populations of Cappadocia from their ancestral hearths.

The letters presented below from the unpublished personal records of

12. The French archaeologist Georges Perrot, whose book, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1864, is one of the most reliable sources of information on the Greeks of Asia Minor in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, was aware of Greek-speaking villages in Cappadocia but he did not penetrate so deeply into the interior of Asia Minor to reach them. His pertinent remarks about «les Grecs cappadociens» however (pp. 382-383), are noteworthy for their precision and in a way announce Dawkins's observations of half a century later:

«Ils savent un peu le grec, mais ils y mêlent tant de mots turcs, surtout ils le prononcent d'une manière si étrange, que je ne comprends rien à leur langage, et eux, de leur côté, n'entendent guère mieux mon grec d'Athènes. [...].

Leur grec m'était resté aussi à peu près inintelligible. Dans leur district, il y a, me disaient-ils, plus de trente villages grecs. On n'y a jamais tout à fait perdu l'usage du grec; la langue parlée parmi eux s'est conservée et a vécu dans un isolement presque complet au sein d'une province reculée, à l'abri des influences savantes et de l'effort parfois inintelligent qui depuis la fin du siècle dernier s'exerce sur le romainé de la Grèce et des îles, et qui tend à le rapprocher de plus en plus de l'ancienne langue littéraire: aussi a-t-elle peut-être gardé quelques tours, des expressions, des formes propres à l'ancien dialecte de la Cappadoce, tel qu'il se parlait à l'époque gréco-romaine, et il doit y avoir là de curieuses variétés à observer et à noter. Je regrette fort de n'avoir pas le temps d'aller visiter ces Grecs cappadociens. Il faudrait se hâter, car depuis qu'on jouit de plus de tranquillité et que les communications sont devenues plus faciles, là aussi le souffle d'une renaissance littéraire se fait sentir: on fait venir des journaux, des livres et des maîtres d'Athènes. Avec eux viendront aussi le pédantisme et le purisme; on abandonnera, comme impropre et bas, les vieux termes locaux, qui, même sous la forme barbare que souvent ils ont prise, ont toujours tant d'intérêt pour le philologue, et ces tours populaires dont la vive franchise et la pittoresque naïveté font l'originalité et la vie d'une langue. On cherchera à y substituer ce patois artificiel et compassé, cette gauche et plate contrefaçon du grec ancien qui est maintenant de mode à Athènes.»

13. R.M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor, A Study of the Dialects of Silli, Cappadocia and Pharasa with Grammar, Texts, Translations and Glossary*, Cambridge, 1916. Dawkins had published his initial conclusions from his field research in, «Modern Greek in Asia Minor», *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 30 (1910), pp. 267-291 and he returned to the subject in «Cyprus and the Asia Minor Dialects of Asia Minor», *Αφιέρωμα εἰς Γ. Χατζηδάκιν*, Athens, 1921, pp. 42-59.

the founder of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Melpo Logotheti-Merlier, illustrate the unfailing interest sustained by Richard Dawkins in the Greek dialects of Asia Minor to the very end of his life. His unwavering attachment to this important chapter in the history of the Greek language explains his interest in the work of the Centre from the earliest phase of its researches. At the personal initiative of Madame Merlier and thanks to her vision of a Greek cultural heritage broader than the confines of the Greek state, the Centre undertook to salvage whatever could be salvaged from the wreck of 1923. In this effort Madame Merlier found the enthusiastic support and advice of two prominent foreign scholars of the Greek language and culture specifically of Cappadocia, Dawkins and Henri Grégoire, the Belgian Hellenist, who had worked on the Medieval Akritic poetry of the region<sup>14</sup>. The evidence of the intellectual exchanges between the two scholars and the founder of the Centre has not survived in its entirety. The fragments that have come down to us however are sufficient to indicate how much importance both Dawkins and Grégoire attached to the work of the Centre, as the final refuge and depository of a whole cultural tradition. Besides this genuine enthusiasm however, by which Dawkins's letters are profusely marked, the communication with the two eminent scholars proved of great value to the work of the Centre in terms of suggestions and ideas, most of which eventually bore fruit in specific research projects.

## II

In what follows I present the six letters that make up the R. M. Dawkins-Melpo Merlier correspondence from the Merlier Archive of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies. The six letters cover a period of twenty two years from 1933, shortly after the initiation of the Centre's work, to the year of Dawkins's death (1955). Each letter is reproduced in its original stylistic and grammatical form, without any changes or corrections of Dawkins's spelling and rendering of names. The text of each letter is supplemented by the necessary commentary in order to place it in context. I hope at a later date to be able to present the Henri Grégoire-

14. See Henri Grégoire, «Note sur le dialecte de Pharasa», *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, Vol. 33 (1909), pp. 148-159. His specialized studies on Akritic poetry and its historical basis have been collected in the volume, *Autour de l'épopée byzantine*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1975.

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Melpo Merlier correspondence, in order to reveal another intellectual dimension of the broad conceptual approach adopted by the Centre in planning and carrying out its projects.

Richard M. Dawkins to Melpo Merlier, August 6, 1933

Aug. 6th 1933

PLAS DULAS  
LLANDDULAS,  
NORTH WALES

Dear Madam,

Very many thanks for your letter of the 24th of the month, in which I am deeply interested. To join the [...]

I shall count a great honour and thank you extremely. I shall be in Athens for a few days at the beginning of this September and hope to have the pleasure of meeting you.

I am very glad that something is being done for the Cappadocians; may I say at once that some competent linguist ought to go as soon as possible to the Pharasa people at Moschato and collect a grammar of their dialect before it is too late. I have written to the people at the Historical Lexicon about this and I feel the need very strongly. What I wrote in my book about the Pharasa language is very well as far as it goes, but there is a great deal more that ought to be recorded. It was hard to get anything there except the texts of folk tales and from these in the main I made my grammar; Moschato is very near Athens and do I beg you get some one to do this work and collect the grammar; any number of points in the inflexions of the verbs and nouns are unknown; the relation of Pharasa to Pontic is most important for the history of these Asia Minor Greeks.

This is something that can be done at once and if it is not done the time will be gone and scholars of the future will very rightly blame the people of the present for carelessness and indifference.

I hope very much to see you in Athens in September; Nor is France far from this country. In conclusion; I have already some of your collections and I hope that I shall get notices of future publications that I may add them to my library.

*Please excuse that I write in English: French I understand perfectly but write with difficulty and clumsily.*

*With many thanks from*

*Sincere  
Richard M. Dawkins*

The void in the first paragraph of Dawkins's letter probably comes from oversight in filling in some Greek words, in all likelihood the name of an organization which Melpo Merlier invited him to join. In all probability this must have been the Committee on Cappadocian Studies ('Επιτροπή Καππαδοκικῶν Μελετῶν), which had just been founded. This can be confirmed from what Dawkins says in his next letter of December 7, 1934.

The letter is remarkable for the urgency that Dawkins tries to convey to Greek scholars to record the Greek dialects of Cappadocia and especially that of Pharasa, whose study he had initiated with his field research in 1908 and the publication of his book in 1916<sup>15</sup>. His appeal fell on fertile ground. The Centre for Asia Minor Studies under Melpo Merlier's guidance initiated at about the time of the letter the systematic exploration of the Pharasa dialect which led to the remarkable series of publications by the Centre on that outpost of Medieval Hellenism, which had survived on the easternmost fringe of Cappadocia until 1924<sup>16</sup>.

**Richard Dawkins to Melpo Merlier, December 7, 1934**

*Exeter College Oxford England December 7th 1934*

*Dear Madame Merlier,*

*Looking over some papers I find the announcements of the 'Επιτροπή Καππαδοκικῶν Μελετῶν, asking for contributions on the language and so on of the Greeks of Cappadocia. I think I may therefore remind you, and*

15. R.M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, pp. 30-34, 149-192. Cf. Melpo Merlier, *Tὸ Ἀρχεῖο τῆς Μικρασιατικῆς Λαογραφίας*, pp. 21-24.

16. On the early phase of the researches of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, see Melpo Merlier, *'Η Μουσική Λαογραφία στήν Ελλάδα. Δοκίμιο*, Athens, 1935, also published in French as *Essai d'un tableau du Folklore musical grec*, Athens, 1935; idem, *Tὸ Ἀρχεῖο τῆς Μικρασιατικῆς Λαογραφίας. Πῶς λόρδηκε - πῶς ἐργάστηκε*, Athens, 1948 and Octave Merlier, «Les Archives Musicales de Folklore et le Centre d'Études Micrasiatiques (1930-1949)», *Bulletin analytique de bibliographie hellénique* 1948, Athens, 1949, pp. XXXIII-XLIV (301-312).

ask you to pass on, that there is quite near Athens an opportunity to do a most valuable piece of work. Of all the dialects of Cappadocia the most important is one of which we know least, the dialect of Pharasa (Φάρασα). Near Athens on the way to Peiraeus at Moschato there is a colony of people from Pharasa all talking their old dialect; or if not talking it, all at least understanding it. Someone should go there to Moschato and collect material from them and write out as full a grammar as he can of their dialect; the sketch in my book is extremely inadequate; the subject is most important; I cannot imagine a greater service than this to the history of later Greek and anyone with a slight knowledge of linguistics could do it easily, going down in the evenings to Moschato by train.

*Do please get someone to undertake this piece of work and give a prize for it.*

*I hope that all goes well with you and Monsieur Merlié to whom please present my compliments [...]*

*Very sincerely*

*R. M. Dawkins*

Dawkins' secord letter to Madame Merlier repeats a year later the same urgency for the recording and systematic study of the dialect spoken by the uprooted people of Pharasa. This letter is a most admirable document of intellectual honesty: the pioneer of a whole field of linguistic research does not hesitate to admit the imperfections of his own work in order to urge others to carry on where he had left off. It was precisely at the period of this early Dawkins-Merlier correspondence that the Centre devoted the bulk of its effort to the recovery of not just the language but of the whole culture of Pharasa, as Melpo Merlier's only surviving letter to Dawkins explains.

**Melpo Merlier to Richard Dawkins, March 21, 1937**

*21 Μαρτίου 1937*

**Φίλε κύριε Dawkins,**

"Έχομε πάρα πολὺν καιρὸν νὰ ἐπικοινωνήσωμε, ἀπὸ τότε ποὺ σᾶς είχα γράψει γιὰ τὴ γραμματικὴ τῶν Φαράσων χωρὶς νὰ λάβω ἀπάντησή σας. Ἐμαθα κατόπι ὅτι εἴχατε γράψει καὶ σὲ ἄλλα πρόσωπα γιὰ τὸ ἴδιο ζήτημα, καὶ στὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ στὸ Ἑξατερικό, ἀλλὰ τόσο οἱ ἴδιοι ὅσο καὶ αὐτοὶ στοὺς ὅποιονς ἀνέθεσαν τὴ μελέτη τοῦ ζητήματος μοῦ ἀνακοίνωσαν τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐφόσον, σήμερα, στὸ Μουσικὸ Λαογραφικὸ Ἀρχεῖο συγκεντρώνονται οἱ καππαδοκικὲς ἔρευνες, ὅσες γίνονται ἐδῶ στὴν Ἐλλάδα.

"Αν δὲν σᾶς ἔγραψα τότε εἶναι γιατὶ δὲν μοῦ εἰχατε γράψει κατ' εὐθεῖαν, κι' ἔτσι ὑπέθεσα ὅτι θὰ σᾶς πληροφόρησαν τὰ πρόσωπα μὲ τὰ ὅποια ἀλληλογράφησατε.

Δὲν ξέρω ἂν ἀπὸ τότε πέρασαν δύο ή τρία χρόνια. Στὸ μεταξὺ δὲν κάναμε τὴν γραμματικὴν θῶν Φαράσων. "Αν καὶ ἔξω τῆς εἰδικότητος τοῦ Ἀρχείου, θὰ τὸ εἶχα κάμει ἄν, ὅπως σᾶς ἔγραφα, εἶχα τὰ ὄντια μέσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν εἰδικὸν ἐπιστήμονα, δηλαδὴ γλωσσολόγον. Δυστυχῶς οὐτε τὸ πρῶτο βρῆκα, ἀλλ' οὐτε καὶ τὸ δεύτερο. Κάναμε δύμας κάτι ἄλλο, ποὺ ἤταν στὸ χέρι μας: μαζέψαμε τόσο ὄντια ἀπὸ τὰ Φάρασα, ποὺ ἔχονμε κιόλας ἔτοιμα πέντε βιβλία. Τὰ ἔγραψε ὁ κ. Λουκόπουλος.

1. Τὰ Φάρασα, περιγραφὴ καὶ ἴστορία.
2. Τὰ τοπωνύμια.
3. Ὁ φυσικὸς κόσμος: διαιρεση χρόνου, μετεωρολογία, φυτά, ζῷα, κλπ.
4. Ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου: γέννηση, βάπτιση, γάμος, ζενιτειά, θάνατος.
5. Ἡ Θρησκευτικὴ ζωὴ.

Τὰ πέντε βιβλία ἔγιναν μὲ βάσιν τὶς λαϊκὲς πηγές, δηλ. τὴν ἀδιάκοπη συνεργασία μὲ τὸν πρόσφυγες καὶ μὲ πολλὰ κείμενα, ἐκατοντάδες σελίδες, ποὺ τὰ παραθέτουμε μεταφρασμένα μέσα στὸ βιβλίο, θὰ τὰ δώσωμε δὲν αὐτούσια, δηλ. στὴ διαλεκτικὴ τους μορφὴ, στὸ τέλος τοῦ βιβλίου.

Ο Λουκόπουλος εἶναι ἔκτακτος γιὰ τὴν λαογραφία, δὲν μπορεῖ δύμας, οὐτε καὶ θέλω, ν' ἀναλάβῃ ὅτι σχετίζεται μὲ τὴν διάλεκτο. Οὐτε ἀκούει πάντα σωστά, οὐτε φωνητικά μπορεῖ νὰ τὸ ἀποδώσῃ, οὐτε μπορεῖ νὰ εἶναι πάντοτε βέβαιος γιὰ τὸ γραμματικὸν τύπο. Πολὺ φυσικά, ἀφοῦ δὲν εἶναι δουλειά του. Τὸ ἰδεῶδες θὰ ἥταν νὰ τὸ ἀναλάμβανε ἔνας γλωσσολόγος μένων στὴν Ἑλλάδα, ποὺ θὰ ἔξ-έλεγχε τὰ κείμενα μὲ τὸν πρόσφυγα ποὺ τὰ εἶπε. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ κ. Τριανταφυλλίδης καὶ ὁ κ. Παπαδόπουλος, ἔκτὸς ποὺ ἔχουν πολλὴ δουλειά, μαδὲ εἶπαν δὲν δὲν εἶναι καππαδοκολόγοι γλωσσολόγοι. Ὁ κ. Οἰκονομίδης εἶναι ἀρκετὰ ἡλικιωμένος καὶ δὲν μπορεῖ πιὰ νὰ τὸν βαρύνῃ κανεῖς. Ὁ δυστυχῆς Ἀναγνωστόπουλος πέθανε. Δὲν ὑπάρχει λοιπὸν κανεῖς ἐδῶ, ποὺ νὰ τὸ ἀναλάβῃ, καὶ ποὺ θὰ εἶχε καὶ τὸ μεγάλο προνόμιο νὰ τοῦ φέρνωμε τοὺς πρόσφυγες, ποὺ τὶς διηγήσεις τους δημοσιεύσουμε.

Θὰ θέλατε ἐσεῖς, κύριε Dawkins, ν' ἀναλάβετε, ἔστω καὶ ἀπὸ μακρινά, τὸν ἔλεγχο αὐτῶν τῶν κειμένων, καθὼς καὶ τῶν λέξεων τῶν διαλεκτικῶν, ποὺ μπορεῖ νὰ εἶναι μέσα στὸ κείμενο τοῦ κ. Λουκοπούλου;

"Αν θέλετε νὰ τὸ ἀναλάβετε, θὰ σᾶς στέλνω, γιὰ περισσότερη εὐκολία, τὸ τυπωμένο κείμενο, τὸ πρῶτο, πρὶν σελιδοποιηθῇ, όπου θὰ γίνωνται εὐκολώτερα οἱ διορθώσεις στὸ χειρόγραφο.

Μὲ τὰ 5 αὐτὰ βιβλία δὲ θὰ τελειώσωμε μὲ τὰ Φάρασα: θὰ γίνουν ἀκόμη δύο νομίζω:

1. Τὸ σπίτι. Τὰ ἐνδύματα. Δουλιές τοῦ σπιτιοῦ.
2. Παροιμίες. Παραδόσεις, ἵσως καὶ παραμύθια. Κείμενα τραγουδιῶν.

Ἐπειτα θὰ μελετηθοῦν τὰ χωριὰ τῆς περιφερείας Φαράσων, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀποικίες του. Δὲν μπορεῖτε νὰ φαντασθῆτε πόσο ὄλικὸ μαζέψαμε: χιλιάδες σελίδων. Ἐπειτα ἀπ' αὐτὸν νομίζω ὅτι εῦκολα θὰ μπορέσῃ νὰ κάμη ὁ εἰδικὸς τὴν γραμματική, μέ, σχετικά, λίγη προφορικὴ ἐργασία μὲ τοὺς πρόσφυγες, καὶ μὲ λίγον κόπο.

Παράλληλα μὲ τὰ Φάρασα μαζεύομε τὸ ὄλικὸ τῶν ἄλλων καππαδοκικῶν χωρίων, εἵμαστε ὅμως πολὺ λίγοι καὶ προχωροῦμε σιγά, ἔτσι ποὺ φοβοῦμαι πὼς δὲν θὰ προφτάσωμε νὰ κάνωμε τίποτα ἄλλο ἀπὸ τὴν Καππαδοκία. Στὸ μεταξὺ θάχει ἐκλείψει ἡ γενεὰ ποὺ προσφύγεψε...

Σᾶς στέλνω τὰ δύο πρῶτα βιβλία τῶν ἐκδόσεων τοῦ Ἀρχείου. Τὰ βιβλία τῶν Φαράσων θὰ βγοῦν στὴ σειρὰ A, B, Γ: κείμενα καὶ κριτικὲς ἐργασίες.

Περιμένω ὅσο τὸ δυνατὸν γρήγορη ἀπάντησή σας. 'Ο ἄντρας μον κι' ἐγὼ σᾶς στέλνομε, φίλε κύριε Dawkins, τοὺς φιλικότερους χαιρετισμούς μας.

Τὸ Ἀρχεῖο θὰ σᾶς εὐγνωμονοῦσε πολὺ ἂν θέλατε νὰ τοῦ στείλετε τὸ πολύτιμο βιβλίο σας «*Modern Greek in Asia Minor*», καθὼς καὶ μιὰ ἀνατύπωση τῶν τραγουδιῶν τοῦ Λεβίδου ποὺ ἐκδόσατε.

Ἡ προσωπικὴ μον διεύθυνση, ὅπου σᾶς παρακαλῶ νὰ διευθύνετε τὸ γράμμα σας, εἶναι πάντα ἡ ἴδια: *École Française-Athènes*.

This is the only letter by Melpo Merlier to Richard Dawkins, of which a copy has survived in the Merlier personal papers. The letter lacks a formal ending, which must have been added to the original text sent to Dawkins. Since this is the only Greek text in the Dawkins-Merlier correspondence, a broad summary of its contents is incorporated in the commentary that follows. The communication between Dawkins and Melpo Merlier comprised at least another letter by Madame Merlier, two or three years earlier, to which she refers in the opening line of the present letter. That earlier letter concerned the project of a grammar of the Pharasa dialect – a need which Dawkins had stressed in his two letters of 1933 and 1934. In 1937 the grammar of the Pharasa dialect had not yet been undertaken for want of a competent linguist. Madame Merlier makes clear that she did not intent to entrust the task to a non-specialist. In the meantime however the Merlier group had done other things, always with Pharasa as the focus of its research. With the folklore specialist Dimitri Loucopoulos as the primary collector of material, the Archive of Asia Minor Folklore had completed five manuscripts on Pharasa. Madame Merlier lists them as follows:

1. Pharasa, description and history.
2. Toponyms.
3. The natural world: temporal divisions, meteorology, flora, fauna etc.
4. Human life: birth, baptism, marriage, emigration, death.
5. Religious life.

The material for these books had been collected from «popular sources», as Madame Merlier puts it, that is from the Pharasa refugees themselves and most of it was recorded in idiomatic texts, which could be included in the books. Of the five manuscripts only that dealing with religious life was eventually published<sup>17</sup>. The other four manuscripts are still unpublished, supplementing the records on Pharasa in the Cappadocian collection of the oral history archive of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies. These sources, which were completed prior to 1937 and belong therefore to the earliest phase of the Centre's research, are among the most authentic and reliable records in the whole collection. The exploration of Pharasa was not exhausted with these compositions. Madame Merlier mentions two additional projected works:

1. The home. Costume. Domestic work.
2. Proverbs. Legends, probably including tales. Songs.

Of these the collection of proverbs eventually appeared in 1951<sup>18</sup>.

The major problem in the research of Pharasa noted by Melpo Merlier was that of the correct recording of the idiomatic forms of speech. The Centre's indefatigable folklorist, Dimitri Loucopoulos (1872 - 1943) was not a linguist and could not record correctly the dialect. This, according to Madame Merlier, turned out to be the major obstacle in the Centre's work. Greece did not have anyone specializing in the Cappadocian dialects, who could undertake the task. Melpo Merlier's letter refers to all the scholars working on Greek linguistics at the time only to note their unavailability: Manolis Triantaphyllidis, the leading authority on demotic Greek and professor of linguistics at the University of Thessaloniki, and A.A. Papadopoulos, an authority on Pontic Greek disclaimed any competence in the Cappadocian dialects; Dimitrios Oiconomidis, a senior scholar of

17. D. Loucopoulos - D. Petropoulos, *'Η λαϊκή λατρεία τῶν Φαράσων*, Athens, 1949.

18. D. Loucopoulos - D. Loucatos, *Παροιμίες τῶν Φαράσων*, Athens, 1951, also published in a French version, transl. by Octave Merlier as *Proverbes de Farasa*, Athens, 1951.

the Pontic dialect and author of the treatise, *Lautehre des Pontischen* (Leipzig, 1908) and other works on Pontic Greek, was too old<sup>19</sup>; George Anagnostopoulos, the professor of linguistics at the University of Athens, had just died. Madame Merlier came to the conclusion that only Dawkins was competent to help in the absence of Greek expertise on the Greek dialects of Asia Minor. So she is asking him whether he might be willing to check the rendering of idiomatic forms in Loucopoulos's texts. She proposes to send him the proofs of the projected books for him to correct the dialectical words. This appeal to Dawkins, as the only expert on the Pharasa idiom, which he had recorded in the original environment in 1908, was certainly dictated by Melpo Merlier's sense of responsibility in assuring that the Centre's works gave the most precise possible picture of the Asia Minor heritage. A study of the Pharasa dialect, the work of the distinguished Greek linguist N. Andriotis, was eventually published by the Centre in 1948<sup>20</sup>.

In concluding her letter Melpo Merlier speaks of her hopes and fears for the future:

*Next we will study the villages of the region of Pharasa, for the most part its colonies. You cannot imagine how much material we have collected: thousands of pages. After this it will be easy I think for the specialist to compose the grammar, with relatively limited oral work with the refugees.*

*In addition to material from Pharasa, we collect material on other Cappadocian villages, but we are too few and we proceed slowly, so that I am afraid that we will not have the time to do anything else besides Cappadocia. In the meantime the refugee generation will have disappeared.*

Over the next few decades the Centre did indeed research the eighty one Greek Orthodox villages of Cappadocia quite exhaustively and one

19. It must be noted however that all of these scholars and most notably A.A. Papadopoulos, director of the Historical Dictionary of the Academy of Athens, and D. Oikonomides, director of the Medieval Archive of the Academy of Athens, had been very helpful to Madame Merlier in many other respects and especially during the initial phase of her research on the folklore of the Pontos region. See M. Merlier, 'Η Μουσική Λαογραφία στήν Ελλάδα, p. 27, note 2.

20. N. Andriotis, *Tὸ γλωσσικὸ ἰδίωμα τῶν Φαράσων*, Athens, 1948. Dawkins devoted an extensive review to this work in *Byzantium*, Vol. 20 (1950), pp. 354-364.

thousand two hundred and ninety four settlements in the rest of Asia Minor besides<sup>21</sup>.

Richard Dawkins to Melpo Merlier, December 1, 1951

Exeter College Oxford England Dec. 1st 1951

Dear Madame Merlier, I have again to thank you very heartily for the books: the *Pharasa proverbs*; the *Grammar of Oulagats* and the paper on *Asia Minor studies*; I note with pleasure too that a grammar of the *Axo dialect* is coming. Some day I hope that one of your scholars will write a general account of the *Cappadocian dialects* to supersede the general sketch I wrote in *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* in 1916. Of all these local forms of speech I believe *Delmeso*, near *Fertek*, would be of the greatest interest because there the *Greek* was less broken down and less *Turkized* than at *Fertek* etc. and at the same time less affected by the common language than the dialect of *Sinasos*. We have had here a young man, *Kharalambos Hionides*, whose father now in America is from *Ordou-Kotyora*, and he hopes to get to *Greece* to carry on the work of collecting what can still be collected of the old life of *Asia Minor*. He knows common *Greek* from his father; *English* from his education in America and the dialect of *Ordou* from his mother who can probably speak no other *Greek*. I have hopes of this young man who is very agreeable; he

21. For a general survey of the research of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies see Octave Merlier, 'Ο τελευταίος έλληνισμός της Μικράς Ασίας', Athens, 1974, esp. pp. 277-278 on the number of settlements studied and Kitromilides - Alexandris, «Ethnic Survival, Nationalism and Forced Migration», pp. 17-21. In the course of its research the CAMS managed to identify 2163 settlements with Greek Orthodox inhabitants in *Asia Minor*, of which 1375 were researched in detail. The material that has been assembled has been classified on a geographical basis, comprising seventeen provinces, divided internally in sections, which in turn group together the individual settlements (cities, townships and villages). This material, totalling up to 144.883 manuscript pages, makes up the oral history archive of the CAMS, which is the largest and oldest collection of its kind in *Greece*. The archive comprises records and data collected and transcribed from the early 1930s to the early 1970s. Only a small fraction of this material has been actually published or used in ethnographic or anthropological research focusing on individual villages. Two good examples of the kind of exhaustive community studies that can be produced on the basis of the evidence available in the CAMS oral history archive are the works by Th. Kostakis, *Η Ανακού*, Athens, 1963 and *Τό Μιστί της Καππαδοκίας*, Athens, 1977, Vols. I-II. Both of these works focus on *Greek Orthodox* villages in *Cappadocia*, a region which thanks to Dawkins's advice, received special attention in the Centre's research.

## INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF ASIA MINOR STUDIES

took a good second here in the School of Modern Greek, but I think myself he was perhaps worth more. I have learned lately of the latter years and death of Jacob Zarrafis of Kos; a really remarkable man and in my big book I tried to do him justice, but I did not then know of his end in the earthquake or of the story of the Asklepieion in which matter he seems to have been treated very shabbily. I remember him so well.

Again very many thanks for the books; a valuable addition to my collection which goes you may like to know by my will διαθήκη to the college to be permanently at the service of students of Modern Greek.

Very sincerely  
Richard M. Dawkins

The correspondence which had been interrupted by the war was resumed in 1951. The occasion was offered by the books published by the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in 1951, copies of which were sent to Dawkins. In his letter he acknowledges receiving the collection of Pharasa proverbs and the study of the dialect of Oulagats<sup>22</sup>, another of the Greek speaking villages of Cappadocia as well as Madame Merlier's paper prepared for the twenty-second Congress of Orientalists in Istanbul on the ethnographic researches of the Centre<sup>23</sup>. The books were apparently accompanied by a letter announcing the forthcoming study of the dialect of Axo, which eventually appeared in 1960<sup>24</sup>.

Of special interest in this letter are Dawkins's observations on the relative interest of the Greek dialects spoken in Cappadocia. His comments on the dialects of Delmeso, Fertek and Sinasos echo the earlier views stated in his book<sup>25</sup>. Jacob Zarrafis, whose death is mentioned in the letter, was a collector of Dodecanesian folklore from Kos, part of whose collection was published by Dawkins<sup>26</sup>.

22. I. Kessisoglou, *Tὸ γλωσσικὸ ἰδίωμα τοῦ Οὐλαγάτη*, Athens, 1951.

23. Melpo Merlier, *Présentation du Centre d'Etudes d'Asie Mineure. Recherches d'ethnographie. Communication déposée au Bureau du 22ème Congrès des Orientalistes à Istanbul*, Athens, 1951.

24. G. Mavrochalyvides - I. Kessisoglou, *Tὸ γλωσσικὸ ἰδίωμα τῆς Ἀξοῦ*, Athens, 1960. A full-length study of Axo by Mavrochalyvides remains in manuscript at the C.A.M.S.

25. Cf. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, pp. 13-14, 27-28.

26. R.M. Dawkins, *Forty Five Stories from the Dodekanese. Edited and Translated from the MSS of Jacob Zarrafis*, Cambridge, 1950.

PASCHALIS M. KITROMILIDES

Richard M. Dawkins to Melpo Merlier, February 9, 1954

Exeter College Oxford England Feb. 9th 1954

Dear Madame Merlier,

The prime intention of this letter is to thank you and your husband for your kindness to my friend and pupil David Phillips. It gives me great pleasure to think that he is getting on well in Greece and with Greek friends. He read with me here for some time and I hope with as much profit to himself as it was always a pleasure to me. I thank you too very much for the books on Pharasa and Ulagats and it seems I should thank you too for a book on Vatka but it has not reached me yet; I have asked David to hunt me up a copy. He says that you think of doing him the kindness of putting your Silli material into his hands; I honestly think he would do it very well. The dialect of Silli stood so very much by itself that no very deep knowledge of other dialects is needed to do the subject justice and David P has a scholar's mind and taste and honesty and interest; in short I am really sure he would do the work well; Silli has except for a scrap in Arkhelaos's Sinasos and the six tales in my book really nothing else in print and the dialect had a lot of interest. David P also has the elements of Turkish which is very essential because at Silli even the endings were affected by Turkish; I wish I had written down more then but in 1908 who could have foretold the disaster of 1923. The amount of good work now coming from Greece on the language and life of the people is really astonishing and worthy of all praise; I do my best to let people to know about it. I am told that my suggestion about a bibliography of Karamanlitika books is already in working order; such a list would cast great light on the culture of the Greeks of Turkey. I hope someone will go on with Vatka and institute careful comparisons with Tsakonian as it is spoken today; it is a parallel case with the dialect of Mani and the Greek of Cargese who came from Mani a few centuries ago just as the Vatka people came from Tsakonia; and now both the colonies are dead or dying: Cargese as good as dead and Vatka not destined to live long. I don't know what David Phillips will do in the future but he is a most promising young chap for whom I have a great liking and I am extremely gratified that he has been made so very welcome in Greece and I know very well that he is grateful. Now with all best wishes and compliments.

Believe me my dear Madame

Yours very sincerely  
Richard M. Dawkins

DP tells me I am to have the honour of a translation into Greek. I am pleased and honoured very much indeed.

## INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF ASIA MINOR STUDIES

Dawkins's comments in this letter, apparently in reaction to information that had been conveyed to him about the Centre's research plans, announce two new projects which the Centre for Asia Minor Studies eventually produced. One was the project on the two villages in Bithynia, Vatika and Havoutsi, which had preserved a form of the Tsakonian dialect spoken at the Southeastern region of the Peloponnese<sup>27</sup>. This was another peculiar survival on the ethno-linguistic map of Asia Minor which would naturally fascinate a scholar with Dawkins's interests. The other project concerned Silli, the Greek speaking community outside Iconium (Konya) in Lycaonia, which formed a Helleno-phone islet among the Turcophone communities in the hinterland of Asia Minor<sup>28</sup>.

The letter also announces one of the Centre's most important projects, the publication of a bibliography of *Karamanli* books, the peculiar literature of books in the Turkish language printed in Greek characters for the use of the Turcophone Christians of the interior of Anatolia.

Dawkins's interest in this subject can be connected with the intellectual fascination he and Hasluck as well, felt with the broad range of forms of cultural syncretism they encountered and studied in depth in their researches on Asia Minor<sup>29</sup>. Dawkins claims in his letter that the original suggestion for such a project was his. In any case the Centre adopted it whole-heartedly and in 1958 the publication of the *Karamanli* bibliography was initiated<sup>30</sup>.

A testimony of David Phillips's visit to the Centre survives in the institute's library: a copy of R.M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek Folktales* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1953), bearing the following presentation note:

27. Th. Kostakis, *Βάτικα και Χαβούτσι, τὰ Τσακωνοχώρια τῆς Προποντίδας*, Athens, 1979.

28. Idem, *Τὸ γλωσσικὸ ἴδιομα τῆς Σιλλῆς*, Athens, 1968. Cf. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, pp. 42-62 and I. Sarantides - Archelaos, *Ἡ Σινασός*, Athens, 1899, pp. 123, 143-147.

29. See especially R.M. Dawkins, «The Crypto-Christians of Turkey», *Byzantium*, Vol. VIII (1933), pp. 247-275. F.W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, ed. by M.M. Hasluck, Oxford, 1949. Vols. I-II. is germane to the whole subject of cultural syncretism in Asia Minor.

30. Sévérien Salaville - Eugène Dalleggio, *Karamanlidika. Bibliographie analytique d'ouvrages en langue turque imprimés en caractères grecs. I: 1584-1850*, Athens, 1958; *II: 1851-1865*, Athens, 1966. Vol. III: *1866-1900*, was published by the Parnassos Literary Association, Athens, 1974. The project was completed only in 1987 when the Centre for Asia Minor Studies published two additional volumes compiled by Evangelia Balta: *Karamanlidika. Additions (1584-1900). Bibliographie analytique*, Athens, 1987 and *Karamanlidika. XXe siècle. Bibliographie analytique*, Athens, 1987.

PASCHALIS M. KITROMILIDES

*Presented to the centre of Asia Minor Studies by the Author's pupil, David Phillips.*

19.2.54

**Richard M. Dawkins to Melpo Merlier, April 21, 1955**

*Exeter College Oxford April 21st 1955*

*Dear Madame Merlier,*

*David Phillips whom I hope to see here soon, reminds me in a letter that I have not sent you this paper on recently published paramythia; I send it now with apologies: But as you will see it does not contain much that is fresh for a Greek. It is intended to wake up non-Greek readers to what is being done.*

*I am extremely interested in the work you are doing on the Greek of Asia Minor; I cannot help congratulating myself on the happy idea it was to go to Anatoli in 1909 etc and produce Modern Greek in Asia Minor. I am aware of its numerous defects —no one more so— but it is work that could now hardly be done. You will see that in the last number of Mikrasiatika Khronika that I have published the Pharasa text of the Boys Dream; a tribute to the memory of Anastasios Levidis; αἰονία ἡ μνήμη αὐτοῦ, a great pioneer. I think except for Grégoire I was the first European to find his way to Pharasa; certainly the first linguist; I was guided to go by Grégoire and perhaps even more by the Sinasos doctor Arkhelas; now buried at Nea Sinasos in Euboia; I remember him well at Sinasos.*

*I hope you are very well; please greet all friends, and I must thank you very much for your kindness to David Phillips; he has learnt a lot from his stay of Greece; really a lot.*

*Yours very sincerely  
Richard M. Dawkins*

This is Dawkins's last letter to Madame Merlier, written just a fortnight before his death (4 May 1955). It is an informal cover-letter transmitting a paper «on recently published paramythia». It is quite difficult to identify the paper on the basis of this description of its contents. The collection of offprints and pamphlets in the library of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies includes five reprints of Dawkins's articles. Of these two refer to Cappadocian folksongs, one to Dodecanesian folksongs and a fourth is a 1942 work which could not be considered a «recent» publication

in 1955<sup>31</sup>. This leaves Dawkins's contribution to the *Stilpon Kyriakides festschrift*, published in 1953, as the probable work, which he sent to Melpo Merlier in 1955<sup>32</sup>.

The letter is made up of reminiscences from Dawkins's involvement with the study of Asia Minor Hellenism. At the epicentre of his recollections remained his exploration of the Greek idioms and folklore of Cappadocia, with Pharasa occupying a place of pivotal significance in it. He notes the appearance of an unpublished text from Pharasa<sup>33</sup>, which he had not included in his book and in the latter part of the letter he recreates an intellectual genealogy of scholars of Cappadocian culture, paying homage to Anastasios Levidis, Henri Grégoire and Ioannis Sarantides Archelaos<sup>34</sup>.

31. R.M. Dawkins, «Turco-Christian Songs from Asia Minor», *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales*, Vol. II (1933-1934), pp. 185-206; idem, «Some Modern Greek Songs from Cappadocia», *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XXXVIII (1934), pp. 112-122; idem, «Τραγούδια τῶν Δεδεκανήσων», *Λαογραφία*, Vol. XIII (1951), pp. 33-99 and idem, «Soul and Body in the Folklore of Modern Greece», *Folk-Lore*, Vol. LIII (1942), pp. 131-147.

32. R.M. Dawkins, «The Grateful Dead and the Poison Maid», *Προσφορά εἰς Στίλπωνα Κυριακίδην*, Thessaloniki, 1953, pp. 148-167.

33. R.M. Dawkins, «The Boy's Dream», *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά*, Vol. VI (1955), pp. 268-275.

34. Anastasios Levidis (1834-1918) and I. Sarantides Archelaos († 1932) were typical of the local Cappadocian intelligentsia who, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, pioneered the systematic exploration of the indigenous cultural tradition and published the earliest studies of the archaeological heritage of Cappadocia. Levides is largely known for his book, *Αἱ ἐν μονάδοις μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας καὶ Λυκαονίας*, Constantinople, 1899. He had earlier published, *Ιστορικὸν δοκίμιον περὶέργων τὴν θρησκευτικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν ιστορίαν, τὴν χωρογραφίαν καὶ ἀρχαιολογίαν τῆς Καππαδοκίας* vol. I: *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ιστορία*, Athens, 1885, of which the sequel comprises a series of voluminous manuscripts on Cappadocian history, geography, religious life, folklore and dialects, which remain unpublished. Of these autograph manuscripts four belong to the Manuscript collection of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies. See Ioanna Petropoulou, «Χειρόγραφα πρίν τὸ 1922 στὸ Κέντρο Μικρασιατικῶν Σπουδῶν», *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικῶν Σπουδῶν*, Vol. II (1980), pp. 243-268. One of Levidis's manuscripts, entitled, *Συναγογὴ Καππαδοκικῶν γλωσσικῶν ὥλκοι*, passed on to Dawkins, who published material from it in «Some Modern Greek Songs from Cappadocia», and in «Turco-Christian Songs from Asia Minor», (see above, note 30), in «Ἀναστασίου Λεβίδου, Παροιμίαι ἐν Φαράσων», *Λαογραφία*, Vol. II (1934-1937), pp. 131-150, in «A Byzantine Carol in Honour of Saint Basil», *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. LXVI (1946), pp. 43-47, and in *Modern Greek Folktales*, Oxford, 1953, pp. 346-354. Cf. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 32. A copy of the manuscript is available at the C.A.M.S.

The acknowledgement of his debts to all three of them as well as his admission once again of the imperfections of his book, make plain the intellectual integrity which had been a hallmark of his personality to the very end. The letter forms a fitting epilogue to a life-long commitment to the Greek culture of Asia Minor: by tracing the intellectual lineage of his own scholarly efforts, Dawkins places himself within an evolving tradition to which he feels he belongs and which he hopes will be carried on by his students as well as by all those ready to respond to his advice about the priorities of future research. The pioneers whom he commemorates in this letter and Dawkins himself are thus connected with the work of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies. At the end of his long life Dawkins could feel the satisfaction not only that his «happy idea» of 1908 to go to Asia Minor had been vindicated but also that a whole field of research he had opened up to scholarly endeavour had proved capable of renewing itself and of sustaining the projects of a collective research effort over several decades.

R.M. Dawkins's friendship with Madame and Monsieur Merlier and his lively appreciation for their work at the Centre for Asia Minor Studies lived on after his death. A year after his passing, his presence could still be felt very close to them in a most moving way. The collective homage offered to Octave and Melpo Merlier by a remarkable host of scholars with the publication of the *Mélanges Merlier*, included a short piece by Dawkins, which had awaited publication since March 1950<sup>35</sup>. He paid his tribute to the creators of the Centre by incorporating the Asia Minor and Aegean versions of the tale «Von einem der auszog das Fürchten zu lernen», in a commentary on a theme of the popular imagination shared throughout European folk culture.

Ioannis Sarantides Archelaos is known as the author of *'H Σινασός*, Athens, 1899 (reprinted: Athens, 1974), an important study of the topography, history, cultural condition, language and folklore of Sinasos, followed by a survey of the other Greek Orthodox communities in Cappadocia and Lycaonia. Cf. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 3.

35. R.M. Dawkins, «The Man who went out to seek», *Mélanges offerts à Octave et Melpo Merlier à l'occasion du 25e anniversaire de leur arrivée en Grèce*, Vol. I: Athens, 1956, pp. 181-187.

## III

The significance of the Dawkins-Merlier correspondence can be appraised on two levels. On a «micro» level the exchange of ideas between the two correspondents, provides an insight into the logic that guided the elaboration of the research projects of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, during its formative years. The suggestions coming from Dawkins, as the foremost international authority on the Greek dialects and folklore of Asia Minor, can explain, to a considerable extent, the weight given by the Centre to linguistic research. The emphasis on language which is so striking in the publications of the Centre from the 1940s through the 1960s, is now revealed by Dawkins's letters to have been the product of the influence he exerted from a distance in setting the research priorities of the Centre.

The connection between Dawkins's approach and the research programme actually adopted by the Centre, has a broader dimension as well, which takes us to the second, «macro» level of his correspondence with Madame Merlier. Through Dawkins the work of the Centre was connected with the evolving traditions of European scholarship on Asia Minor. While Henri Grégoire and Louis Robert forged the intellectual links of the Centre with continental scholarship, Dawkins provided ties with the British tradition of Asia Minor research that went back to the Dilettanti, two centuries earlier. The Centre in its turn provided, for the first time in the history of Greek scholarship, the focus of a Greek school of research on Asia Minor, which brought together the orientations of European scholarship and the intellectual heritage of nineteenth century amateur local Asia Minor men of letters. As a matter of fact the confluence of these two, primarily nineteenth century currents, eventually allowed Greece to develop her own indigenous scholarship on Asia Minor.

In view of the political motivations behind the main European schools of writing on Asia Minor in the nineteenth century, it is interesting to note that in that period and despite her active irredentist aspirations in the region, the scholarly community of independent Greece failed to produce serious professional writing on Asia Minor prior to 1922. Greek scholarship developed after the extinction of the Greek presence and Greek aspirations in Asia Minor, as a repository of cultural and historical memory. In the vacuum of earlier Greek professional writing, Dawkins's advice proved decisive in directing Melpo Merlier's interests toward the exceptional case of Cappadocian Hellenism, which thus provided the primary object of the Centre's research. The origins of this orientation in

a long tradition of European scholarship can explain Melpo Merlier's approach to the study of the Greek heritage of Asia Minor for its own merits as a chapter in the broader history of Greek language and culture. This had been precisely the logic behind R.M. Dawkins's approach; he was convinced that the linguistic and cultural phenomena he recorded and studied among speakers of Greek in the interior of Asia Minor could illuminate lost phases and reveal the broader range in historical time and space of a very ancient cultural tradition of unusual diversity and resilience.

*P.S.* A research visit to the R.M. Dawkins Archive at the Taylorian Institution, Oxford has added another item to the Dawkins-Merlier correspondence with the discovery of an autograph letter of 4 October 1933 by Melpo Merlier to Dawkins from Vrontado, Chios. Madame Merlier replies to a letter by Dawkins dated 29 September and proposes a working meeting in Athens on Tuesday 10 October 1933. See Taylorian Institution, f. Arch. Z. Dawk. 1 (1). The original of Melpo Merlier's letter of 21 March 1937 to Dawkins has not survived in his papers. The discovery of the new item completes the record of the extant correspondence between Dawkins and M. Merlier. I wish to acknowledge the assistance I received from Dr Peter Mackridge, in consulting the Dawkins papers.