

Some epigraphic and archaeological documents from Western Anatolia during the late Ottoman period

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SUMMARY: The focus of this article is on the post-medieval archaeological heritage of İzmir, especially during the 19th century. The material selected consists of Armenian inscriptions from İzmir and its close environs, since there is a paucity of archaeological scholarship for the Armenian community of the Ottoman Empire. The paper is based on the survey of sixteen Armenian inscriptions across nine locations in and around İzmir, with discussion of the Armenian material culture of the Late Ottoman Period, as well as transcription and translation of these inscriptions, although a history of Armenia in general is outside the scope of the article. As Armenian grave markers can be taken as active interventions in social relations, this paper offers a potential for reconstructing the social complexities of late Ottoman İzmir.

POST-MEDIEVAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE IN İZMİR AND WESTERN ANATOLIA: THE ARMENIAN MINORITY

Located in the western part of the Anatolian peninsula and lying on the coast of the Aegean Sea, İzmir (ancient Greek Smyrna; Zmiur'nia or Zmyur'na — *Ջմիւրնա* or *Ջմյուռնիա* — in Armenian) is today Turkey's third largest city (Fig. 1). The city has a long history, and was already significant in the Classical period. One of Herodotus' several references to the city, for example, describes it as an Ionian Greek city that had previously belonged to the Aeolians.¹ It continued to be a significant urban centre under the Roman empire, and was also a significant early centre for Christianity, with the important early Christian figure St Polycarp of Smyrna serving as bishop in the 2nd century.² The history of the city in the Byzantine period is subject to disagreement. Treadgold summarizes the debate as relating to whether the city fell into post-classical obscurity until a 13th-century change in trade patterns brought about by the Fourth Crusade led to its re-emergence, or

whether it had always been an important Byzantine city, albeit one that was subject to damaging Turkish attacks following the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 and subsequent decline of Byzantine authority in Anatolia.³ Treadgold himself supports the latter view, also listing it as only one of ten 8th-century Byzantine cities with a population over 10,000.⁴

Control of the city's important port was contested between different Christian and Turkish groups over the 14th and early 15th centuries, but it continued as an important and prosperous centre of trade after it came under definitive Ottoman control in 1426, with a cosmopolitan mix of Turkish, Greek, Jewish, Levantine, and Armenian residents. In the late 1600s, its population was estimated at around 90,000, with Turks forming the majority, but with some 15,000 Greek, 8,000 Armenian, and up to 7,000 Jewish residents (not to mention a large European merchant community).⁵ The demographics did not remain static, and sources disagree as to whether Turks or Greeks were the largest ethnic group immediately before



FIG. 1

Late Ottoman Western Anatolia: places mentioned in the text (graphics, S. Patacı 2013).

the First World War (with significant Armenian, Jewish and foreign populations also present).⁶ However, the Greco-Turkish war of 1919–22 climaxed with the Great Fire of Smyrna in September 1922. The latter destroyed 50–75% of the city, including all of the Greek, Armenian and European quarters.⁷ Since 1922 the city has been known internationally by its Turkish name İzmir instead of its former Greek name of Smyrna.

THE ARMENIANS AND SMYRNA

Even though the Greek,⁸ Jewish⁹ and Levantine communities¹⁰ of İzmir and their archaeological heritage are relatively well known, the post-medieval Armenian archaeology of the city has never been investigated in a scientific manner. All previous research on the Armenian population has been historical,¹¹ and most of the sources have not been treated scientifically. In this article we would like to ‘make a start’ in documenting and assessing post-medieval archaeological evidence in western Turkey in a scientific fashion,¹² beginning with the Armenian heritage.

The Armenians (*Հայեր*) emerge from history in the 1st millennium BC, with their earliest states based in the Armenian plateau of Eastern Anatolia. The history of the various Armenian states is complex. For much of the later Classical period

Armenia was a contested borderland between the Roman Empire and the Parthian and Sassanian Empires; later, the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia played a prominent role in the history of the Crusades due to its strategic position between Constantinople and Antioch.¹³ In the post-medieval period, the Armenian heartland continued to be a borderland between different empires, this time between the Ottoman, Persian and Russian states.

Classical Armenia was famously the first state to make Christianity the national religion, with King Trdat III (also known as Tiridates the Great) converting his entire country in c. AD 301 following missionary activity by St Gregory the Illuminator (himself a distant cousin of the king); the distinctive Armenian alphabet was designed by the scholar-monk St Mesrop about a century after the conversion.¹⁴ The Armenian Church is sometimes referred to as the ‘Gregorian’ church on the basis of its foundation by St Gregory; however, the Armenian Church itself rejects this term, claiming a first-century foundation by the Apostles St Bartholomew and St Thaddeus.¹⁵ The Armenian Church split from the Imperial Roman church (that would itself later split into the Catholic and Orthodox Churches in the 11th century) following the Christological controversies surrounding the Council of Chalcedon in AD 451.¹⁶ The Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church (*Հայ Արաքիւական*

Սուրբ Եկեղեցի) has since been one of the Miaphysite Oriental Orthodox churches, which also include the Egyptian Coptic, Ethiopian and Syrian Jacobite churches. The majority of Armenians remain members of the national Church, though there are also smaller Armenian churches affiliated with the Catholic Church and various Protestant groups. The 5th-century split, and the subsequent distinctiveness of the Armenian Church, explains why Eastern Orthodox, Catholic and Armenian jurisdictions often overlap, with Armenian bishops and patriarchs holding offices in cities that also contain bishops and patriarchs from other churches.¹⁷

While the Armenian heartland is in eastern Anatolia, there was a significant medieval Armenian diaspora within the Ottoman Empire (Fig. 2). It is difficult to be certain about the date when Armenian immigrants first arrived in İzmir. It seems that this took place in the late medieval period: in 1375 c. 30,000 Armenians were expelled by the Mamluks from Cilicia, spreading out to Cyprus, Crete and Rhodes, and eventually to İzmir.¹⁸ During the late medieval period they settled in İzmir in a quarter called ‘Apano Mahallah’, which was very close to the Turkish quarter.¹⁹ This period can be attested archaeologically. In the garden of St Stephen’s Armenian Orthodox Cathedral (Fig. 3) there were burials of the 14th century,²⁰ which indicate that the first Armenian arrivals to İzmir took place at this date at the latest. A massive

wave of Armenians came to İzmir from the Julfa region on the Azerbaijan-Iran borders, fleeing Persian persecutions.²¹

After the 15th century the Armenian quarter (Fig. 4) moved closer to the Greek district in the Fair Area (today’s Kültürpark); thus it became incorporated into the downtown area of post-medieval İzmir. This quarter was called ‘Haynots’ (*Հայնոց*) on French maps (*quartier arménien*) and was indicated on both sides of the so-called ‘Caravan Road’. Armenians chose to settle on the trade route specifically because of their trading interests.²² Today Haynots is located in an area between Basmane, i.e. the central train station of İzmir, and the Kültürpark, and very few surface remains attest to the area’s former Armenian heritage. The harbour of İzmir became more important during the 18th century and Armenian immigration to İzmir from other parts of Ottoman Empire (including Istanbul) grew. During the 17th to 18th centuries the number of Armenians was 6,000–8,000,²³ and in 19th century 10,000–12,000.²⁴ During the 19th century Armenians were one of the richest and most sophisticated minority groups in İzmir. The first Armenian newspaper of the Ottoman Empire was ‘*Արարիկ Արարատիան*’ (*Arp’i Araradian*, or *The Sun of Ararat*); it was first printed in 1853 in İzmir.²⁵ Another was ‘*Արեւիկան*’ (*Arevelian Mamoul*, or *The Eastern Press*), first printed in the Armenian alphabet in 1879.²⁶ According to official statistics from 1914, there were some 400,000 people living in the city of Smyrna, of whom 20,000 — 5% of the population — were Armenians (165,000 were Turks, 150,000 Greeks, 25,000 Jews and another 20,000 were foreigners, half of whom were Italians).²⁷ These Ottoman statistics show that 11,127 of the 20,766 Armenians in the Province (Sancak) of İzmir were living in the town centre; the rest were living in rural areas. At this time there were 23 religious institutions, two high schools and 27 primary schools belonging to the Armenian minority.²⁸ Between 1915 and 1922 a large number of Armenians, especially Armenian Orthodox, left İzmir and went to France and the USA (sometimes via Greece). Some Catholic and Protestant Armenian converts, however, remained in İzmir after the Great Fire.²⁹

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Between the 15th and 20th centuries there were a dozen locations in İzmir where Armenians lived. Several authors mainly reported on Haynots.³⁰ In 1845 there was a huge fire here, and only 37 of c. 900 houses were saved. In 1850 the quarter was renewed and a new urban plan set up. The most



FIG. 2

A medieval Armenian gravestone from the Museum of Adana (photograph, E. Laflı, 2006).



FIG. 3

Late 19th-/early 20th-century postcards of İzmir showing Surp Stepanos (St Stephen's) Cathedral in Basmane/Haynots; 1. general view; 2. interior view; 3. main gate and the cemetery in the garden; 4. side view with garden; 5. entrance corridor (all from the archive of E. Laflı).

spectacular building in this quarter was Surp Stepanos, or St Stephen's Church, which seems to have served as the principal church for the Armenian Orthodox minority. It was located on Reşadiye Avenue, on the corner of Bölükbaşı Street. This was one of the largest churches of 15th-century İzmir; it had a cross-shaped form and was surrounded by a large garden and cemetery, where most of the graves date to the 16th century (Figs 3, 4). Most of the graves have an indication of the birthplace of the deceased, who originated in Armenia. Several religious personages, statesmen and authors were buried here. There were various grave types — not only simple graves, but also *sarcophagi*, which were known in Armenian as 'tamparan'. The first renovation of St Stephen's

took place in 1688 and a second in 1743. The major fire in 1845 damaged the church, and the famous Armenian architect Melkom Yeramian, from Istanbul, restored it in 1858.³¹ It is unknown whether the later building of 1858 was constructed on the same site as the previous church and with the same name. After the fire an Italian-type tower was added to the building. The church served the Armenian minority until 1922, at which time it was completely destroyed; today there is no trace of this monumental building. Surp Mesropian Boarding School for Boys (with a laboratory and 2,000-book library; founded in 1886) and Surp Hripsime Maiden School (founded in 1883) were located adjacent to the church in the Basmane district.³² In the so-called 'İzmir World Trade Centre'



FIG. 4

An early 20th-century Izmir postcard with a view of Basmane/Haynots (from the archive of E. Laflı).

construction site, west of Kültürpark, there was an Armenian Hospital, dedicated to Surp Krikor Lusavorich and founded in 1801.³³ The American Collegiate Institute of İzmir was intended to preach to the Armenians and was therefore resettled to Haynots at the end of the 19th/beginning of the 20th century.³⁴ An Armenian cemetery was located in Kemer, near Haynots,³⁵ with a second one in Bornova.

Between the 15th and 20th centuries there were eight Armenian Orthodox, two Catholic and one Evangelical (Protestant) Armenian churches in the metropolitan area of İzmir.³⁶ The Armenian Orthodox churches of İzmir were:

1. Surp Stepanos (St Stephen's) Cathedral in Basmane/Haynots
2. Surp Krikor Lusavorich (St Gregory the Illuminator), within its hospital in Basmane/Haynots (the second largest Armenian church)
3. Surp Harutyun (Holy Resurrection) in Basmane/Haynots
4. Surp Khatch (Holy Cross) in Bornova
5. Surp Garabet (St John the Forerunner) in Karataş

6. Surp Asdvadzadzin (St Mary) in Karşıyaka
7. Surp Hokekalust (The Coming of the Holy Spirit) or Surp Yerrortutyun (The Holy Trinity) in Göztepe
8. Surp Takavor (Christ the King) in Bayraklı.

The Armenian Catholic churches of İzmir were:

1. Surp Hovhannes (St John the Evangelist) (?) in Alsancak/Punta
2. Surp Krikor Lusavorich (?), near the Mekhitarist School in Haynots/Basmane.

The postulated location of the Armenian Evangelical church was in Haynots, close to the Greek Orthodox Evangelistria church, which is now in the Kültürpark of İzmir.³⁷ In the second half of the 19th century some wealthy Armenians settled in Karataş, in the southern part of the city, on the coastline. Stones from the Hellenistic and Roman Zeus Akraios Temple were used for the construction of the Armenian Cathedral in Karataş,³⁸ where Armenians had furthermore built a school, called 'Vartanyan'.³⁹

There was a large Armenian minority not only in İzmir, but also in the city's immediate environs,

in the Greek hamlets. These were Buca, Bornova and Bayraklı. Armenians were living in these hamlets, where the middle classes were most prominent, preferring the areas for their residential and summer homes as they saw it as safe, quiet and healthy for their families. Some Armenian Catholics of İzmir, especially those who lived in these hamlets, were even seen as 'Europeans'.⁴⁰ Most of the residents of Buca (in French maps 'Boudjah' until 1927) were either Greek or Armenian.⁴¹ One of the most important members of the Armenian Catholic community of Buca was the Ballardur family (or Ballardour).⁴² Since Western missions in the 19th century were proselytizing amongst the Armenians of İzmir, Armenian identity in these hamlets changed slightly at this time.

The Armenian minority of Bornova (on British maps 'Bournabat') were the richest community

in this hamlet after the Levantines.⁴³ Some of them converted to Catholicism. In 1862 Surp Khatch Church was built on the right side of Bornova Stream.⁴⁴ There was also an Armenian cemetery to the south-west of Paterson's Mansion in Bornova's centre. Some Catholic Armenian gravestones are still visible at the Santa Maria Italian Catholic Church of Bornova. The most influential family of Bornova Armenians was that of the Bandespanians.

As Armenian sources report, in the 19th century there were several Armenian (mostly Armenian Orthodox) communities with their churches in the territory of İzmir. These were at Menemen (Church of Surp Sarkis in Esatpaşa District; Figs 5, 6),⁴⁵ Kuşadası (Surp Asdvadzadzin), Bergama (Surp Asdvadzadzin), Söke (Surp Asdvadzadzin), Denizli (Surp Asdvadzadzin), Nazilli (Surp Asdvadzadzin), Aydın (Surp Garabed), Manisa-Yukarı



FIG. 5

Various views and plan of Surp Sarkis Gregorian Church at Menemen; 1. view to the apse from the north-west; 2. side view from the east; 3. side view from the west; 4. apse from the interior; 5. plan of the church (photographs, E. Laflı, 2012).

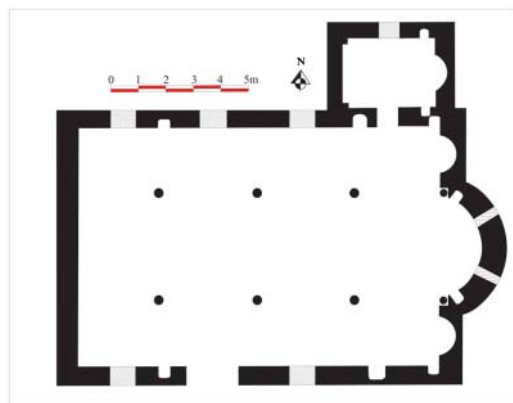


FIG. 6

Plan of the Surp Sarkis Gregorian Church at Menemen (plan, S. Pataci, 2013, based on a plan by E. Laflı, 2012).

Köy (Surp Krikor Lusavorich and Surp Sion), Manisa-Kırkağaç (Surp Asdvadzadzin) and Alaşehir (Surp Khatch?).⁴⁶ It seems that Armenian communities were numerous especially in agriculturally rich rural areas in the inner part of the Aegean region, whereas Greeks settled on the coastline.

In this article we present some of the epigraphic evidence for Armenian heritage in the region. Epigraphic evidence was chosen from among numerous types of material available in western Asia Minor during the late Ottoman period because it provides the most concrete evidence for Armenian heritage archaeologically. We have especially studied Armenian gravestones in local museums as well as in selected archaeological find-spots. Our sampling strategy was to collect 32 Armenian inscriptions from nine locations in and around İzmir because of the archaeological potential of these find-spots to allow a possible (re)construction of Armenian identity of the 19th century in western Asia Minor: Surp Asdvadzadzin (St Mary) Armenian Orthodox Church at Bayındır; Museum of Aydın; Archaeological Museum of Ödemiş; Ethnographical Museum of Ödemiş; Museum of Tire; Archaeological Museum of İzmir; British Anglican Cemetery at Bornova; British Anglican Cemetery at Buca;⁴⁷ Museum of the Faculty of Letters of Dokuz Eylül University in Buca; and the Museum of St John's at Alaşehir (classical Philadelphia). We will focus here on only sixteen inscriptions; the rest will be presented in the near future by the present authors. All of the

inscriptions in this article have a funerary character and come from graves. In western Anatolia none of the Armenian cemeteries are preserved and very little is known about their location, characteristics, etc. In the existing seven Christian cemeteries in İzmir very few Armenian gravestones are known *in situ*.⁴⁸ These Armenian grave markers are mostly kept at the local museums because the urban character of 19th-century İzmir has largely been destroyed.

Armenian epigraphy is a relatively new field in post-medieval archaeology,⁴⁹ and there is a good potential to practice this field in Turkey because of the immense amount of material. Armenian grave monuments are known as *khachkar*. Gravestones on open-air Armenian graves were usually placed on the eastern side of graves. Since Armenian epigraphy is a relatively recent field, there is no epigraphic template for publication; we have therefore used the epigraphic rules for the publication of Classical Greek inscriptions.

NEW DOCUMENTS: ARMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS

1. SURP ASDVADZADZIN (ST MARY) ARMENIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH AT BAYINDIR

Bayındır, marked on French maps of the 19th century as 'Bayendır', is a township c. 78km east of İzmir, on the road between Tire and Ödemiş in the ancient Caystrus Valley. In the post-medieval period Bayındır was an influential Ottoman town, concentrating on agricultural output. There was a fairly large Armenian community in this city, from the end of the 18th century at the latest until the beginning of the 20th century.⁵⁰ Bayındır St Mary (Surp Asdvadzadzin) Armenian Orthodox Church is located in Kurtlar District. A long time after its abandonment in 1915 it was converted into a cinema called 'Ülkü', which was active until the 1980s (Fig. 7). There was previously a school in the area. In July 2011 a team from the Dokuz Eylül University visited the ongoing excavations at the Church of Bayındır. Excavations by a private firm and supported financially by the Municipality of Bayındır were carried out especially in the storeroom of the church, principally to restore the building and use it as a cultural centre or library (Figs 8, 9). More than eleven inscriptions, most of them in the form of gravestones, were found and left in front of the building. Most of the stones date from the middle of the 19th century, which is a good indication of the date of building for Surp Asdvadzadzin.



FIG. 7

View of Surp Asdvadzadzin (St Mary) Gregorian Church at Bayındır in the 1940s (from the archive of E. Laflı).



FIG. 8

Excavation and restoration at Surp Asdvadzadzin Gregorian Church, Bayındır in 2011; central nave (photograph, E. Laflı, 2011).



FIG. 9

A marble block with an Armenian cross, found at Surp Asdvadzadzin (St Mary) Gregorian Church, Bayındır in 2011 (photograph, E. Laflı, 2011).

No. 1 (Fig. 10): a three-lined funerary inscription on a rectangular stone.

Measurements: h. 102cm; w. 49cm; th. 28cm; letters 3–5cm.

Location: in front of the church; found in 2011 excavations in the storeroom of the Church.

State of preservation: very good; almost intact.

Type of stone: local marble.

Linguistic features: in western Armenian.

Decorative features: a pair of scissors as well as a tapeline at the bottom of the stone, both lying in a horizontal position; perhaps they are the symbols of a local Armenian tailor.



FIG. 10

Armenian inscription from Surp Asdvadzadzin (St Mary) Gregorian Church, Bayındır (photograph, E. Laflı, 2011).

Transcription:

ԴԱՄԲԱՐԱՆ ՈՍԿԱՆԻ
ՈՐԴԻ ՄԶԻ ՅՈՀԱՆ
1865 ՆՈՅ 15

Translation:

Grave of Voskan,
son of Pilgrim Hohan,
November 15, 1865.

Ligatures: line 1: A and M; V and S; as well as K and A.

Onomastics: Hohan and Voskan.

Date: 15 November 1865.

No. 2 (Fig. 11): a three-lined funerary inscription on an arched stone.

Measurements: h. c. 80cm; w. c. 45cm; th. c. 32cm; letters 4cm.

Location: in the church; found during the 2011 excavations in the storeroom of the Church.

State of preservation: very good; almost intact.

Type of stone: local marble.

Linguistic features: in western Armenian.

Decorative features: three pomegranates from a single branch in a vase on top of the stone and an

eye without iris at the bottom. The pomegranate is a common symbol in Armenian funerary art and indicates the wide spread of the Armenian nation all over the world.

Transcription:

ԴԱՄԲԱՐԱՆ ՆԱԼՊԱՆՏ ԿԱ
ՐԱՊԵՏԻ ԴՈՒԱՏՐ ՀՈՒՓ
ՍԻՄԷ 1866 ՅՈՒԼԻՍ 19

Translation:

Grave of farrier Ka-
rabad's daughter, Hrip-
sime, July 19, 1866.

Ligatures: line 1: A and M; line 3: S and I.

Onomastics: Garabed (a farrier) and Hripsime.

Date: 19 July 1866.

No. 3 (Fig. 12): a five-lined funerary inscription on a rectangular stone.

Measurements: h. c. 77cm; w. c. 48cm; th. c. 30cm; letters 4cm.

Location: in the church; found during the 2011 excavations in the storeroom of the Church.

State of preservation: very good; almost intact.

Type of stone: local marble.



FIG. 11

Armenian inscription from Surp Asdvadzadzin (St Mary) Gregorian Church, Bayındır (photograph, E. Laflı, 2011).

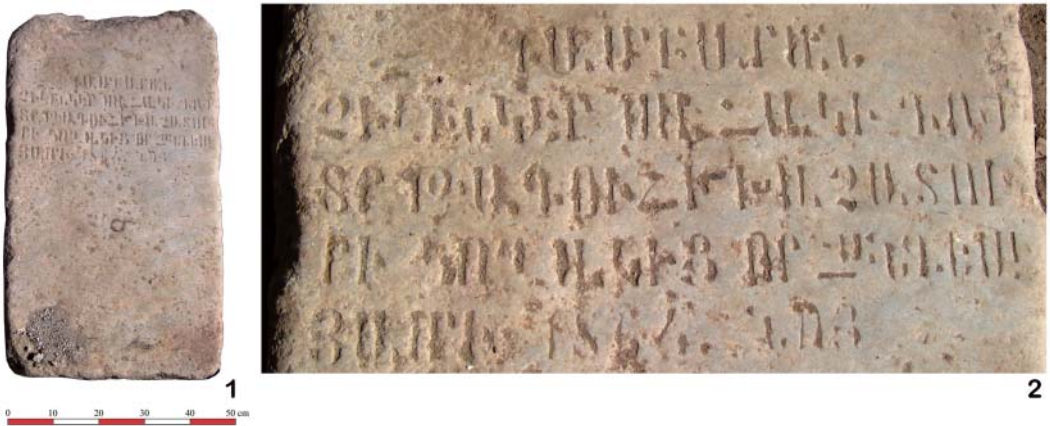


FIG. 12

Armenian inscription from Surp Asdvadzadzin (St Mary) Gregorian Church, Bayındır (photograph, E. Laflı, 2011).

Linguistic features: in western Armenian.

Transcription:

ԴԱՐԲԱՐԱՆ
ՁԻԼԻՆԿԵՐ ՍԱՀԱԿԻ ԴՈՒՍ
ՏՐ ԹԱԳՈՒՀԻ ԽԱՉԱՏՈՒ
ՐԻ ԿՈՂԱԿԻՑ ՈՐ ՀԱՆԳԵԱԿ
5 ՀԱՄԻ 1864 ՆՈՅ

Translation:

This is the grave of
locksmith Sahak's daugh-
ter, Takuhi Khachatur-
r's wife, who is resting,
5 November AD 1864.

Onomastics: Sahak (a locksmith) and Takudi
Kachatur.

Date: November 1864.

Comment: on this gravestone of a deceased woman
the name of her spouse had also been included
beside her father's name; this should be due to her
marriage. Single Armenian women only had an
identity with their father's name.

No. 4 (Fig. 13): a single-lined funerary inscription,
positioned on the exterior of the western wall of the
Church's first floor (as a *spolium*?).

Measurements: max. H. c. 18cm; max. W. c. 112cm;
letters 4 cm.

Location: in the church; found during the 2011
excavations in the storeroom of the Church.

State of preservation: cut off in the middle of the
stone; a second line is not preserved.

Type of stone: local marble.

Linguistic features: in western Armenian.

Transcription:

ԱՅՍ Է Ի ՊԵՆՆ ԻԳ ՎԱՐԴԱՆԻ
[]

Translation:

This is the gravestone of Vartan,
[]

Onomastic: Vartan.

Date: before the 1850s; most probably the first half
of the 19th century.

Historical comment: the church was built in the
middle of the 19th century. It seems that some of
the gravestones, perhaps from the former church's
garden, were used as *spolia* in the construction of
the church in 19th century. Thus, we can assume
that Surp Asdvadzadzin at Bayındır should at least
have two archaeological building phases, i.e.
pre-1850s and post-1850s.

2. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF ÖDEMiŞ

Not much is known about the post-medieval
archaeology and Christian communities of Ödemiş
(Odemisio; in French maps 'Eudémich'), c. 124km
south-east of İzmir. Ödemiş was always an agricul-
tural capital in the hinterland of İzmir and served
as a centre for agricultural trade from the 18th
century. There had been an Armenian minority in
Ödemiş since the 17th century.⁵¹ A monumental
Armenian Orthodox church, today converted into
a mosque with the name 'Büyük Camii' (or 'Ulu
Camii' — Grand Mosque) (Fig. 14) in Emmişoğlu
District on the Mithat Paşa Street, the main street
of the town, is not referred to in local Armenian
sources. To whom it was once dedicated is
unknown. It must have been built in the first half
of the 19th century, as its architectural style seems
to indicate. There are also some 19th-century
buildings with Armenian artistic features still in
existence in the town. In the Ethnographical
Museum of Ödemiş an Armenian inscription on a



FIG. 13

Armenian inscription from Surp Asdvadzadzin (St Mary) Gregorian Church, Bayındır (photograph, E. Laflı, 2011).



FIG. 14

Gregorian church at Ödemiş, today converted into a mosque with the name 'Büyük Camii' or 'Ulu Camii' (Grand Mosque) in the Emmişoğlu District on Mithat Paşa Street: view of the apse (photograph, E. Laflı, 2011).

metal dish was documented. No written information is known concerning the Armenians of Ödemiş. It seems that between the 1880s and 1920s there was a large Armenian population (not less than 1,500 people), dealing in local trade. They had existed in the town since at least the 1830s, as the gravestones indicate. This population used Classical Hypaipa, c. 6km north-west of Ödemiş town centre (modern Datbey-Günlüce) as a source of marble for their gravestones.

No. 5 (Fig. 15): Bilingual, large inscription, probably belonging to the façade of a monumental grave.

Inventory number: no number.

Measurements: h. 158cm; w. 100cm; th. 24cm; letters, first 7 lines: c. 3cm; last 3 lines: c. 14cm.

Location: displayed in the open air, in the left-hand garden of the Museum.

State of preservation: very well preserved, except for a (fresh?) broken edge on the right side.

Type of stone: local granular marble. Formed in the usual rectangular gravestone shape from a thick marble block.

Linguistic features: bilingual. First seven lines in western Armenian and in minuscule form, written in Krapar, and the last three lines in Arabic.

Decorative features: the whole stone was given a rectangular frame with a wavy line; on top of the stone, a wreath with a rosette in the middle; on both edges of the upper part stylized leaves.



FIG. 15

Armenian inscription from the Archaeological Museum of Ödemiş (photograph, E. Laflı, 2011).

Transcription:

- 1897
Այս է տապան
Հալէպցի Յոյն կաթո
լիկ Անտոնի որդի Բո
5 Ֆայել Հազալի որ հանգ
եաւ ի Տէր 74 անաց. յնվ-ր. 7
1897
لیاور ناوتن علی اعتم حرجر الی القنم
10 ۱۸۹۷ سنس ترغ یناثل نوناق یف یبلح الازغ
سنس ۷۴ رمعل هلو
- Translation:
1897.
This is grave of,
from Aleppo Greek Catho-
lic Anton, son of Ru-
5 fayel Gazal, who is rest-
ing with the Lord at the age of 74, January 7,
1897.
Antuvan Ruvayel
Gazzal el-Halebi, who passed away at the
beginning of January of 1897,
10 was 74 years old.

Onomastics: Rufayel Ġazal and Anton.

Date: 7 January 1897.

Historical comment: it should belong to a religious figure, since the term 'Der' in Eastern Armenian and 'Ter' in Western Armenian is used for religious persons. It is also unusual to find someone from Aleppo in Ödemiş: there is a distance of c. 1,500km between the two places. It is interesting that Armenian was selected as the primary part of a bilingual inscription. In the 19th-century Aegean region there are some combinations of bilingual inscriptions, such as Turkish-Jewish, Greek-French, etc. Armenian-Turkish inscriptions are, however, extremely rare.

No. 6 (Fig. 16): a six-lined funerary inscription on a rectangular stone.

Inventory number: no number.

Measurements: h. 105cm; w. 39cm; th. 24cm; letters 3.5cm.

Location: displayed in the open air in the back garden of the Museum.

State of preservation: some letters are difficult to read and are erased because of the badly preserved surface; perhaps used as a *spolium*.

Type of stone: local granular marble.

Linguistic features: in western Armenian.

Decorative features: on the bottom of the inscription a locksmith's key in horizontal form as well as two tools for a goldsmith (?) in linear form.

Transcription:

ԱՅՍ Է՝ ՏԱՊԱՆ
ՈՍԿԵՐԻՉ ԶԻՆ
ԻՆԿԵՐ ՊՈՂՈՍ
ԻՆ ՈՐ ՓՈԽԵՅ
5 ԱԻ Ի ԿԵԱՆՍ
1841 ՄԱՐՏԻ 11

Translation:

This is the grave of
goldsmith, lock-
smith Boghos,
who lost
5 (his) life.
March 11, 1841.

Ligatures: line 6: M and A.

Onomastic: Boghos.

Date: 11 March 1841.

Historical comment: goldsmith (Voskerich; 'ՈՍԿԵՐԻՉ') was one of the most common occupations in post-medieval Armenian communities in Asia Minor.

No. 7 (Fig. 17): a five-lined funerary inscription on a rectangular stone.

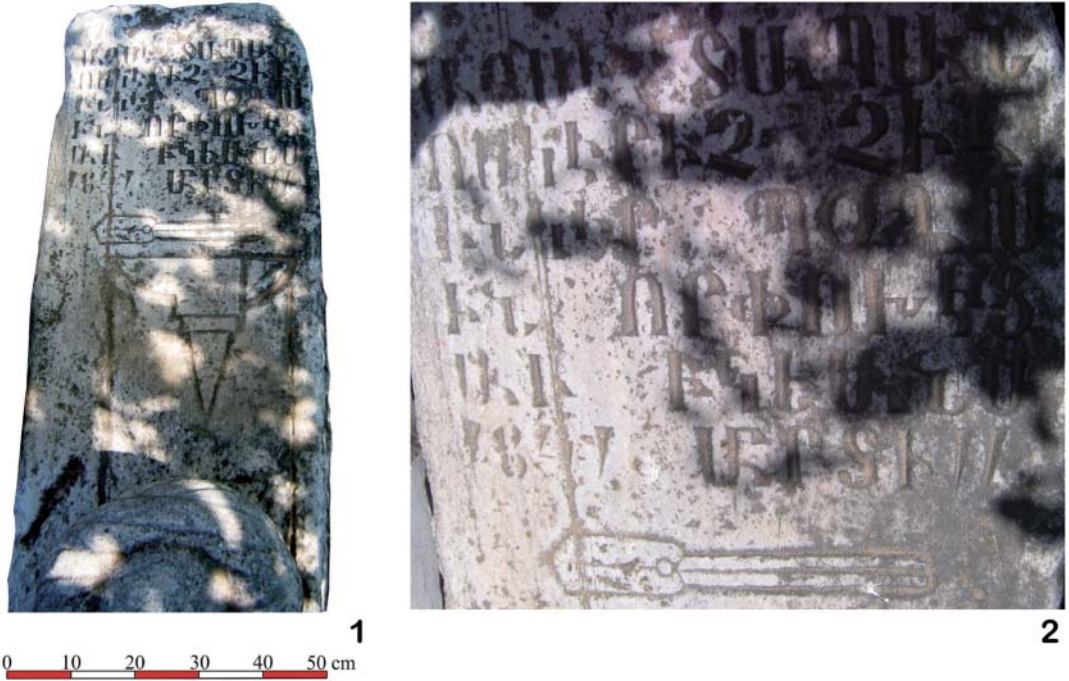


FIG. 16

Armenian inscription from the Archaeological Museum of Ödemiş (photograph, E. Laflı, 2011).



FIG. 17

Armenian inscription from the Archaeological Museum of Ödemiş (photograph, E. Laflı, 2011).

Inventory number: no number.

Measurements: h. 177cm; w. 40cm; th. 28 and 20cm; letters 5 cm.

Location: displayed in the open air, in the back garden of the Museum.

State of preservation: some letters are difficult to read and are erased because of the badly preserved

surface; perhaps used as a *spolium*. The end of the first two lines are covered in cement.

Type of stone: local granular marble. It was originally a 3rd-century AD architrave of a monumental Roman building (probably brought from Hypaipa) with Ionic *cymation*, *astragalus* etc.; re-used in usual rectangular gravestone shape.

Linguistic features: in western Armenian.

Transcription:

5 *ԱՅՍ Է ՏԱ[ՊԱՆ]
ՆԱՎԱՅՅ[Ի]
ԳՐԻԳՈՐԻ []
ԳԵՐԵՉՊԱՆ
ԻՆ Ի 29*

Translation:

5 This is grave of,
from Navas,
of Krikor [],
grave.
on 29 []

Ligatures: line 1: S and E; line 2: N and A; line 3: O and R; line 4: M and A.

Onomastic: Krikor. A possible name after Krikor on line 3 cannot be deciphered.

Date: First half of the 19th century.

Historical comment: it is very similar in character, shape and style to No. 6. The topographical name 'Navas' is not known in any literary sources of the 19th century. Navas could also mean 'sailor', which would not fit grammatically in this context. Future work will involve collecting all the topographical names in the Armenian language from western Asia Minor.

No. 8 (Fig. 18): a five-lined funerary inscription on a rectangular stone.

Inventory number: no number.

Measurements: h. c. 54cm; w. c. 38cm; th. c. 26cm; letters c. 4cm.

Location: displayed in the open air, in the back garden of the Museum.

Linguistic features: in western Armenian.

Transcription:

5 *ԱՅՍ Է ՏԱ
ՍՄԲԱՇԷՆ
ԵՑԻ ՊԱՂԴԱ
ՍԱՐԻ ՈՐԴԻ ՂԱՄԲ
Ե ՊԵՏԻՆ
[- -]*

Translation:

5 This is grave (of),
Smbashen-
ian Baghda-
sar's son descendent,
E. Bedin.
[- -]

Onomastics: Smbashenian Baghdasar and E. Bedin.

Date: first half of the 19th century.



FIG. 18

Armenian inscription from the Archaeological Museum of Ödemiş (photograph, E. Laflı, 2011).

3. TİRE MUSEUM

No. 9 (Fig. 19): a three-lined funerary inscription fragment on a rectangular stone.

Inventory number: no number.

Measurements: h. c. 48cm; w. c. 74cm; th. c. 35cm; letters c. 7cm.

Location: displayed in the open air, in the back garden of the Museum.

State of preservation: broken at the middle; the rest is well preserved.

Type of stone: local granular marble; in usual rectangular gravestone shape, in horizontal form.

Decorative features: on the right-hand edge, four stylized leaves.

Linguistic features: in western Armenian; the date has been given as letters, and not numerals.

Transcription:

[] ԱՆԴԱՂ ՄՈՒՇԵՑԻ
[] ԴԻ ՅԱԿՈՐԻՆ
[.] ԹՃԸ

Translation:

[] non-buried, from Muş,
Hagop, son of [].
? 1178.

Onomastic: Hagop.

Date: beginning of the 19th century (?).



FIG. 19
An Armenian inscription from the Museum of Tire
(photograph, E. Laflı, 2011).

Historical comments: careless, rural style of script; no scriptural symbols for the numbers. It is interesting to see someone in Tire who was originally from Muş, a town in south-eastern Turkey, c. 1,200km east of Tire.

4. AYDIN MUSEUM

The Museum of Aydın has the largest collection of Armenian gravestones and inscriptions in the Turkish Aegean. At least 20 pieces were seen in the garden, five of which were documented. Most of them should have originated from Aydın itself (on French maps ‘Aidin’). Very little is known about the post-medieval Armenian population of Aydın, although the site was a flourishing regional centre during the 18th and 19th centuries. There was already an Armenian school as well as a Mekhitarist monastery at Aydın at the end of 19th century.⁵²

No. 10 (Fig. 20): a sixteen-line funerary inscription on a rectangular stone.
Inventory number: no number.
Measurements: h. c. 112cm; w. c. 46cm; th. c. 38cm; letters c. 6cm.
Location: displayed in the open air, in the left-hand garden of the Museum.
State of preservation: well preserved apart from some cracks on the sides.
Type of stone: local marble.
Linguistic features: in western and eastern Armenian.



FIG. 20
Armenian inscription from the Museum of Aydın
(photograph, E. Laflı, 2011).

Transcription:

ՄԱ ՀԱՐՁԱՆ
Wreathed cross

5 ՍՍՏ ԱՄՓՈՓԻ ՄԻՆԱ ՊԱԼԵԱՆ
ԲԱՐԵՊԱԵՏՈՆ ԱՅՐ ՊԱՏՈՒԱԿԱՆ
ԳՈՂՈՎ ԲՆԻԿ ԶԱՐԵԱՄՊԱՅԻ
10 ՎԱՃԱ ՌԱԿԱՆ Ի ՆԱԶԻԼԻ
ՎԱՐՈՒԲԸ ԶԳՕՆ ԱԶՆՈՒԱԳՈՅՆ
ԳՐԱԽԵԱԼ ԶՍԵՐ ԱՄԵՆԵՑՈՒՆ
ԿԱՐՕՏԵԼՈՑ ՄԻՇՏ ԲԱՐԵՐԱՐ
ԵՕԹԸ ՈՐԴԻՈՑ ԽԱՆԴԱԿԱԹ ՀԱՅՐ
ՈՐՈՑ ԵՐԵԲԸ ԴԱՐՆ ՕՐԱՀԱՍ
ՎԱՂ ԽՍԿ ԽԱՄԻՆՑ ԱՆՋԱՓԱՀԱՍ
ՎԱԹՍՈՒՆ ԵՒ ՀԻՆԳ ԿԵՑԵԱԼ ԱՄՕԲ
ԽԼԵՑ ԸՋՆԱ ՄԱՀ ԱՆՈՂՈԲ
15 ԻԻՐ ՄԻՐԵԼԵԱՑ ԵՒ ԾԱՆՕԹԻՑ
ԹՈՂՈՎ ԲԱԺԻՆ ՑԱՌՈՒԿԱԿԻԾ
5 ՍԵԿ A censer 1887

Translation:

Monument of a deceased

- Minas Paylan, the artisan,
he is a very good (and a noble) man,
a local from Çarşamba,
5 merchant from Nazilli,
benevolent and noble,
having conquered (taken) over us all,
he always helps all inveterates,
father of seven children,
10 three of them,
separated by him (because of their) cruel
death and (he) lost (them) before their
maturity.
In his age of 65,
from his friends,
who are being known as his favourites,
15 as he left them (in) pain and mourning.
September 5, 1887.

Onomastics: artisan Minas Paylan.

Date: 5 September 1887.

No. 11 (Fig. 21): a five-line funerary inscription on a rectangular stone; inscription lines are framed.

Inventory number: no number.

Measurements: h. c. 68cm; w. c. 32cm; th. c. 45cm; letters c. 5cm.

Location: displayed in the open air, in the left-hand garden of the Museum.

State of preservation: well preserved; some missing pieces on the surface.

Type of stone: local granular marble; in usual rectangular gravestone shape.

Linguistic features: in western Armenian.

Transcription:

ԱՅՍ Է ՏԱՊԱՆ
ՇՎԱՆԾՈՐԵՅԻ
ՍԱՀԱԿԻ ՈՐ
Դ ԳՐԴԳՐՈՐԻ
ՆԹՎՈՃԾԲ

Translation:

This is a grave (of)
from Van,
Sahak's son
5 Grigori,
1804.

Onomastics: Sahak and Grigori.

Date: 1804.

5. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF İZMİR

No. 12 (Fig. 22): a nine-lined funerary inscription fragment on a rectangular stone in book form



FIG. 21

Armenian inscription from the Museum of Aydın
(photograph, E. Lafli, 2011).

(perhaps a sarcophagus lid in Bible form); all of the scripts were centred.

Inventory number: 50.

Measurements: max. h. 87cm; w. 65cm; th. 19cm; letters 3cm.

Location: displayed in the open air, in the left-hand garden of the Museum.

State of preservation: well preserved; the lower part is broken.

Type of stone: marble.

Decorative features: the stone is in the form of a book cover, probably the Bible; on top of the inscription a central wreath of the kind carried during Armenian burial ceremonies, with a letter in the middle; a leaf motif at each corner joins with the wreath.

Linguistic features: in western Armenian.

Transcription:

Wreath with *b* < էջմիածին > in the middle

ԱՌԱԲԻՆԱՓԱՅԼ
ԱՆՆԱ
ԴՈՒՍՏ ՕՀԱՆ ՉՈՒԼՋԱՆԵՆ
ԷՕՏԷՄԻՇՅԻՈՅ



FIG. 22

Armenian inscription from the Archaeological Museum of Izmir (photograph, E. Laflı, 2011).

- 5 *ՏԻԿԻՆ
ԱՌԳԻՆՈՒ ՈՍԿԱՆԵԱՆ
ԲԱՐԵՊԱՇՏՈՒԹԵԱՄԲ ԿՑԵՍԻ
ԱՄՍ ՀԻՍՈՒՆ Է ԶՈՐՍ
ՀԱՆԿԵՑԱՎ*

Translation:

E<chmiadzin>.⁵³

Arakinapayl (an Armenian priestess who has a spiritual glitter of fairness)

Anna,
the daughter of Ohan Chulcuyan
from Ödemiş,

- 5 Mrs.
Argosi Voskanyan,
lived with piety,
(for) fifty-four year(s),
is lying (here).

Ligatures: line 8: P and A; A and M.

Onomastics: Anna, Ohan Chulcuyan and Argosi Voskanyan.

Date: end of the 19th century

No. 13 (Fig. 23): a four-line funerary inscription.

Inventory number: no number.

Measurements: max. h. 122cm; w. 62cm; th. 10cm; letters 3cm.

Location: displayed in the open air, in the left-hand garden of the Museum.

State of preservation: well preserved; a rectangular section, on the bottom left, has been cut off subsequently.

Type of stone: marble.

Decorative features: typical local decorative features of Armenian stelae of the 19th century: the whole of the inscription is framed with a zigzag pattern; on the top, floral ornamentation with a tulip in the middle; on the bottom two cypresses and a stylized leaf in a arched façade.

Linguistic features: in western Armenian with Krapar.

Transcription:

*ԱՅՍ Է ՏԱՊԱՆ ԸՍԱՆՊՈԼՅԻ
ՂԱՎՃԻ ԸՍԷՊԱՆԻ ՈՐԴԻ
ԲԱՐԱՂԱՆ ՈՐ ՀԱՆԳԵԱԿ
Ի ԳՍ ՅԱՄԻ 1850 ՕԳՈՍՏՈՍԻ 30*

Translation:

That is the grave of someone from Istanbul,
son of İstapan, keeper of a coffee house,
Paragham is lying here.
August 30, AD 1850.

Onomastics: İstapan and Paragham.

Date: 30 August 1850.

Historical comment: it is interesting to see that someone came from Istanbul to İzmir to be buried. A further occupation of Armenians in İzmir was keeping coffee houses.

6. THE BRITISH ANGLICAN CEMETERY IN BORNOVA

No. 14 (Fig. 24): a six-line funerary inscription fragment at the Anglican Cemetery of Bornova; all of the scripts were centred; line no. 6 cannot be transcribed.

Measurements: max. h. c. 87cm; w. c. 55cm; th. c. 23cm; letters c. 7cm.

Location: displayed in the open air.

State of preservation: broken in both upper and lower parts.

Type of stone: marble.

Decorative features: in the upper part an Armenian cross in a wreath, partially preserved.

Linguistic features: in western and Krapar Armenian.



FIG. 23

Armenian inscription from the Archaeological Museum of Izmir (photograph, E. Laflı, 2011).

Transcription:

ԱՍ ՆԱԳԶԻ
ՆԻԿՈՂՈՍ ՇԷԼԵՊԻԱՆ
Ի ՀԱՍՍԿԻ 40 ԱՄՅԱ
ՀԱՄԻ 1888
ՀՈՒՆՎԱՐ 30

[]

Translation:

Here lies
Nigoghos Celepyan,
aged 40,
AD 1888,
January 30

[]

Onomastics: Nigoghos Celepyan.

Date: January 1888.

Historical comment: it is noteworthy to have an Armenian gravestone in a British Anglican Cemetery of Bornova. There is another Armenian local, buried in a British Anglican Cemetery in Buca. Perhaps some of the Armenians of Bornova and Buca became British citizens and so were buried in British cemeteries. By the second half of the 19th century surnames, such as ‘Celepyan’ were common in the Armenian community.

7. MUSEUM OF THE FACULTY OF LETTERS OF DOKUZ EYLÜL UNIVERSITY

No. 15 (Fig. 25): pedestal of a Venus statue with an Armenian mason’s mark in capitals.
Measurements: h. 220cm; w. 68cm; letters 3.5cm.
Location: in the garden of the Museum, in Tinaztepe/Kaynaklar Campus in Buca. This statue



FIG. 24

Armenian inscription from the British Anglican Cemetery in Bornova (photograph, E. Laflı, 2011).



FIG. 25

Venus figure in the Museum of the Faculty of Letters of Dokuz Eylül University, with Armenian mason's mark (photograph, E. Laflı, 2011).

was brought from the Baltazzi Mansion in downtown Buca where it originally stood as a piscine figure in the middle of an ornamental pool.

State of preservation: well preserved.

Type of stone: marble.

Decorative features: the ancient Greek goddess of love, Aphrodite (Lat. Venus), is shown as though surprised at her bath. Her arms reach forward to shield her right breast in a gesture that both conceals and reveals her sexuality. As in her classical prototype, she is standing on a dolphin. That statue, showing the goddess without clothing, has the same gesture of modesty as the Aphrodite Cnidia and is very similar to another Roman copy, the so-called 'Medici Venus'.⁵⁴ During the 18th and 19th centuries it was considered one of the finest classical works and was often set up in gardens or in pools.

Transcription: Հ. Կ. ՓԱՓԱԶԵԱՆ

Translation: H. G. Papazean.

Onomastics: H. G. Papazean.

Date: second half of the 19th century.

Historical comment: this is the one item that is not a gravestone; it is included here because the sculptor's name is in Armenian. The Baltazzi House, now within the grounds of 'Buca Fen Lisesi' (Scientific High School of Boudjah), was originally owned by an influential Greek family, called 'Baltazzi', and was such an important place that even the Ottoman Sultan Abdulaziz stayed there in 1863.⁵⁵ In about the 1890s ownership

passed to an Armenian merchant by the name of Tekvor Ispartaliyan. Around 1920 it became a Greek orphanage and since the 1930s it has been a Turkish high school.⁵⁶ Until 1987 the pedestal supporting this statue crafted by the local sculptor, Papazyan, and the ornamental pool surrounding the pedestal could still be seen *in situ*. It is interesting to note that among the Armenian community there were also sculptors.⁵⁷

8. MUSEUM OF THE CHURCH OF ST JOHN AT ALAŞEHİR

No. 16 (Fig. 26): an eight-line inscription with cross on its left side and two more lines.

Measurements: h. 42cm; w. 78cm; letters 3cm.

State of preservation: well preserved.

Type of stone: volcanic stone.

Linguistic features: in western Armenian with Krapar.

Transcription:

Part A

ԵԳՆ ՂՄԱՆ ՍՈՒՐԲԻ ԵԿԵ ՂԵՑԻ ԱՆ
ԻԾԵՌ ԶԱԽԱՄԱ ԺՂՎՐԴ
ԵԱՆ.ԸՆԶԻԻԲ ԿԱՌԶ Ն
ԲԴՈՒԹԵՆ.ԿՈՒՌԻՆԶԻ ՑԷ ՊԵՏ
ԲՈՍ ՎՐԴՊԵՒԻՆ ՈՐ ԲԱԶ ՄԱՇ
ԽՏԱՆ ԱԿՐԵԾ. ՈՐ ԶԱՅՄԱ
ԶԵՐԱԶԵՑԻԲ ՀԴՅԱ
[. . .] ՆԵԱՅ ՆԱՄԵՔԱՈՂ

Part B

Cross

Վ Է Բ Զ ՆԱՄՅԵՔ ՍԱԶՈ
ՍՈՒՐԲ ԶԱԶ

Date: first half of the 19th century.

Historical comment: it includes the name of a bishop of the local church at Alaşehir, Father

Bedros from Kurindz. We also learn that a church at Alaşehir was called Surp Khatch.

CONCLUSION

The Armenian language has a ‘Western’ and an ‘Eastern’ component.⁵⁸ It seems that Armenians in western Anatolia were using Western Armenian during the post-medieval period. The dialect, onomastics, etc., used on some of the stones examined here indicate that the Armenian dialect of Cilicia was also used. Although most of the inscriptions were written in majuscule, there are some that reflect a more urban style in the language used.

Apart from the name and the lifespan of the deceased, the gravestones recorded here offer some new evidence through their inscriptions: a large number of Armenians in the 19th century were living in Bayındır, Tire, Ödemiş and Aydın. They were active in the trade of agricultural products between the East and the West. Occupations indicated on the stones from these places, such as jewellery dealer, locksmith or coffee-house keeper provide evidence for the contribution of Armenians in the society of the Aegean region in the post-medieval period. The significance of the epigraphic findings could be supported with other relevant archaeological and historical evidence for Armenian presence in İzmir listed above.

The stones also indicate from which part of the Ottoman Empire Aegean Armenians originated: Aleppo, Muş, Ödemiş or Navas. Names such as Antoni Rafayel, Hagop, Hohan, Krikor, Boghos, Mardirosyan, etc., are further evidence for Armenians living in the region.

The spectacular growth of the town of İzmir over the past four centuries is in part the result of



FIG. 26

Armenian inscription from the Museum of the Church of St John at Alaşehir (photograph, E. Lafli, 2011).

the role of Armenian traders who gradually helped to convert it to a working port city. Further work will focus on the areas noted here.

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Most of the finds have been deposited at the local museums in Ödemiş, İzmir, Tire, Aydın and Alaşehir. This study was enabled by a permit issued by the Museum of İzmir on 23 February 2012 (permit number B.16.0.K.V.M.4.35.00.01.155/604); and by another permit by the Museum of Ödemiş on 6 January 2012 (permit number B.16.0.K.V.M.4.35.74.00-155.01/21).

NOTES

¹ Herodotus 1998, 67.

² The surviving contemporary documentary record relating to St Polycarp is collected in Staniforth 1987, 107–35.

³ Treadgold 1997, 954 (see ch. 17, fn. 34).

⁴ Treadgold 1997, 404.

⁵ Bosworth 2008, 218–21; Fleet 1999, 6–7.

⁶ The 1893 Ottoman census (Karpas 1985, 122–3) recorded a Turkish majority; Henry Morgenthau, Sr., US Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire during the First World War, estimated that Greeks were a majority (Morgenthau 1918, 32). The political perspective of the original source often impacts the estimate.

⁷ Fromkin 2009, 545–6.

⁸ Clogg 2002, 116; Kechriotis 2011, 93; and Tansuğ 2011, 42.

⁹ Smyrnelis 2005, 35–6; Barnai 1993, 119–20; Popkin & Chasin 2004, 300; Rozen 1992, 74–5; and Fleming 2008, 105.

¹⁰ Smyrnelis 2005, 36–9; and, generally, Goffman 1990.

¹¹ There are very few scientific studies of the Armenians of İzmir; the principal local Armenian sources are Kosian 1899 and Simonyan 1936. There is also a fifteen-page article, called ‘The Armenian colony of Smyrna’, written by S. Amadian and published in Istanbul in 1913 (in *Everyone’s Almanac*, Armenian

version). See also Smith 1833, 45–7; Oikonomos 1868, 144–7; and Rolleston 1856, 44–6. An important collection of papers on Armenian İzmir has recently appeared: Hovannisian 2012; see also Smyrnelis 1995–96 and Smyrnelis 2005, 34–5.

¹² The post-medieval, Ottoman and historical archaeology of İzmir and Aegean Turkey are neglected. In the 20th century archaeologists have largely ignored the material remains of the Ottoman Empire in terms of anthropological, classical and historical archaeology, as well as Ottoman studies. Two recent studies show how much potential these areas have: Bintliff 2007, 221–2, and Baram & Carroll 2000, especially ‘Introduction. 1. The future of the Ottoman past’, 3–32; and Zainab *et al.* 2011.

¹³ Ghazarian 2000.

¹⁴ MacCulloch 2010, 186–7.

¹⁵ Atiya 1967, 315.

¹⁶ MacCulloch 2010, 187, 239–40.

¹⁷ There are, for example, three Patriarchs of Jerusalem: the Orthodox Patriarch (1st century to present), the Armenian Patriarch (638 to present) and the Latin [Catholic] Patriarch (1099 to 1291 and 1847 to present).

¹⁸ Oikonomos 1868, 144; Kosian 1899, 131–40, 85–98; Smyrnelis 1995–96, 27; and Smyrnelis 2005, 34.

¹⁹ Oikonomos 1868, 144.

²⁰ Simonyan 1936, 12–13; and Smyrnelis 2005, 250.

²¹ Oikonomos 1868, 144 and Smyrnelis 1995–96, 29, n. 14. Armenians from New Julfa were in İzmir in the 1630s: Aslanian 2008, 132–3.

²² Morineau 2007, 25; Smyrnelis 1995–96, 27, n. 9; and Frangakis-Syrett 1992, 11. Some rich Armenians of İzmir were silk traders, and Persian silk was transported exclusively by Armenian caravan merchants: Frangakis-Syrett 1999, 13; and Hasluck 1918–19, 145. On Iranian silk export to the west and the role of Armenians, see Herzig 1992.

²³ Oikonomos 1868, 46, 144; and Smyrnelis 1995–96, 27.

²⁴ Oikonomos 1868, 138 (population between 1631 and 1868).

²⁵ Oikonomos 1868, 147; and Simonyan 1936, 35.

²⁶ Simonyan 1936, 36.

²⁷ Mutlu 2003, table VI.

²⁸ Simonyan 1936, 12–13, 17; and Hovannisian 2012, 176–7.

²⁹ Panossian 2005, 232–3.

³⁰ Simonyan 1936, 11; and Hovannisian 2012, 179.

³¹ Panossian 2005, 229.

³² Smyrnelis 2006, 33–4; and Georgelin 2007, 128–30.

³³ Simonyan 1936, 19.

³⁴ Tekdal Fildis 2012, 740–1; and Saloutos 1955, 159.

³⁵ İnal 2006, p. 44.

³⁶ Simonyan 1936, 13.

³⁷ Saloutos 1955, 159.

³⁸ The same practice was carried out by the Jewish community, utilizing Notion as a stone quarry for

their monumental buildings in İzmir during the 19th century.

³⁹ Simonyan 1936, 23.

⁴⁰ Smyrnelis 1995–96, 28; at the end of 18th century some Orthodox Armenians converted to Catholicism in İzmir.

⁴¹ Abensur-Hazan 2004, 22; and Blondy 2002, 76.

⁴² Zandi-Sayek 2012, 36; and Smyrnelis 1995–96, 35, n. 31.

⁴³ Tansuğ 2011, 49.

⁴⁴ Kontenté 2006, 27.

⁴⁵ It is located in the district of Esat Paşa, c. 2km south-east of Menemen town centre, on a hill, next to a military base. For more information, see Laflı & Zäh forthcoming.

⁴⁶ Hovannisian 2012, 214. A possible Armenian village is Değirmendere, ancient Kolophon, c. 39km from İzmir.

⁴⁷ In Buca there is a Scottish-English country church, called 'All Saints', which was built in 1866 and consecrated in 1868, replacing the chapel founded in 1835 and consecrated with the cemetery in 1843. In this cemetery there is only one gravestone belonging to an Armenian, with the name 'Chumarian'.

⁴⁸ There is a single Armenian headstone displayed at the entrance to the archaeological site of Tepekule (Old Smyrna) in Bayraklı, rescued from amongst the rubble tipped out of a truck from Konak.

⁴⁹ Weitenberg 2002, 16. Former research on Armenian epigraphy is mostly focused on the medieval period and earlier; see Greenwood 2004, 27.

⁵⁰ Kosian 1899, 85, 87, 90, 91, 96. The Armenian population in Bayındır in 1914 was 274 people: Karpas 1985.

⁵¹ Two Armenian colonies, emigrated from Karabagh, settled at Burdur as well as at Ödemiş: Hewsen 1972, 289.

⁵² Simonyan 1936, 15–17.

⁵³ 'Ejmiatsin' in Eastern Armenian and 'Echmiadzin' in Western Armenian; this is modern Vagharshapat, the fourth largest city in Armenia and the spiritual centre of the Armenians, as it is the seat of the Catholicos of All Armenians, the head of the Holy Armenian Apostolic Church.

⁵⁴ Mansuelli 1958, 71–3.

⁵⁵ Tansuğ 2011, 50.

⁵⁶ İnal 2006, 111–12.

⁵⁷ Apart from Papazyan so far no sculptor is known, but there is a famous painter, B. Tatikian, from İzmir: Kürkman 2004, 76–7.

⁵⁸ Weitenberg 2002, 141.

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SUMMARY IN TURKISH, FRENCH, GERMAN, ITALIAN AND SPANISH

ÖZET

Batı Anadolu'nun Post-Ortaçağ Arkeolojisi ile İlgili Yeni Bazı Bulgular

İzmir İ.S. 17. yy.'dan itibaren kozmopolit bir liman kentine dönüşmüş ve bir batılı merkez halini almıştı. Bu makalede İ.S. 19. yy. İzmir'i'nin Post-Ortaçağ arkeolojisi konusu üzerine durulacaktır. Bu konu özellikle bölgedeki Ermenice yazıtlar ile irdelenecektir. Antik çağın erken dönemlerinden beri Ermeniler Anadolu ile Kafkasya arasındaki Doğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nde zengin ve önemli bir kültür olarak varlık göstermişlerdir. Bu kültür bu ara bölgede Doğu ile Batı dünyaları arasında bir aracı kültür olarak varolmuştur. Ermenilerin varlıklarını hissettirdikleri bir başka kent ise Antik İonia Bölgesi'nde bir Hellen kenti olarak doğan ve İncil tarihinde çok önemli bir yer tutan İzmir şehridir. Anadolu, Ağrı Dağı Bölgesi, Karabağ ve Kuzey İran'dan gelen Ermeniler Ortaçağ'ın sonundan itibaren İzmir'e yerleşmişlerdir. İzmir ve çevresinde Ermeni cemaati 25.000 kişi civarında idi ve bu cemaat Batı kültürü etkisi altında idi. Bu makalede bu cemaatin İzmir içi ve yakın çevresinden 16 adet yazıtı tanıtılacaktır.

RÉSUMÉ

Documents épigraphiques et archéologiques de l'ouest de l'Anatolie de la période Ottomane tardive

Cet article se concentre sur le patrimoine archéologique postmédiéval d'Izmir, en particulier du XIXe siècle. Le matériel composé d'inscriptions arméniennes d'Izmir et de ses environs proches a été sélectionné, afin de combler le manque d'études archéologiques sur la communauté arménienne de l'Empire ottoman. L'article se base sur l'étude de seize inscriptions arméniennes provenant de neuf

sites dans et autour d'Izmir. Il ouvre une discussion sur la culture matérielle arménienne de la période ottomane tardive et propose une transcription et une traduction de ces inscriptions, bien que l'histoire de l'Arménie en général ne soit pas l'objectif de cet article. En considérant les pierres tombales arméniennes comme des interventions actives dans les relations sociales, cet article offre un potentiel pour reconstituer les complexités sociales de l'Izmir ottomane tardive.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Einige epigraphische und archäologische Dokumente aus der spät-ottomanischen Periode in West-Anatolien

Dieser Artikel konzentriert sich auf das nach-mittelalterliche archäologische Erbe von İzmir und näherer Umgebung während des 19. Jahrhunderts. Das ausgewählte Material besteht aus armenischen Beschriftungen aus İzmir und Umgebung, da es einen Mangel an archäologisch wissenschaftlicher Arbeit über die armenische Kommune des ottomanischen Reiches gibt. Dieser Artikel basiert auf der Studie von sechzehn armenischen Beschriftungen von neun Orten in und um İzmir, setzt sich mit der materiellen Kultur der Armenier in der spät-ottomanischen Zeit auseinander, registriert und übersetzt sie, obwohl die generelle Geschichte von Armenien außerhalb des Bereiches dieses Artikels liegt. Da armenische Grabgestalter aktiven Eingriff in soziale Beziehungen machen konnten, bietet dieser Artikel eine mögliche Rekonstruktion der sozialen Komplexität des spät-ottomanischen İzmir an.

RIASSUNTO**Documenti epigrafici e archeologici dell'Anatolia occidentale durante il periodo tardo Ottomano**

Questo articolo pone l'attenzione sul patrimonio archeologico post-medievale di Izmir, con particolare riferimento al XIX secolo. Il materiale selezionato consiste in iscrizioni Armele provenienti da Izmir e dalle sue immediate vicinanze, essendo scarsi gli studi archeologici sulla comunità armena dell'impero Ottomano. Questo contributo è basato sul rinvenimento di sedici iscrizioni armele in nove diverse località nei dintorni di Izmir; la cultura materiale armena nel periodo tardo ottomano è discussa in parallelo alla trascrizione e traduzione di queste iscrizioni, ma la storia dell'Armenia più in generale trascende lo scopo di questo articolo. Poiché le steli funerarie armele possono essere considerate come azioni attive nelle relazioni sociali, questo contributo offre delle potenzialità per ricostruire la complessità sociale dell'Izmir tardo Ottomana.

RESUMEN**Algunos documentos epigráficos y arqueológicos de la Anatolia occidental durante el período otomano tardío**

Este artículo se centra en el patrimonio arqueológico postmedieval de Esmirna, especialmente durante el siglo XIX. El material seleccionado consiste en inscripciones armenias de Esmirna y sus alrededores, dada la escasa investigación arqueológica sobre la comunidad armenia del Imperio otomano. El artículo se basa en el estudio de dieciséis inscripciones armenias en nueve localidades en los alrededores de Esmirna, y hace referencia a la cultura material armenia de finales del período otomano, incluyendo la transcripción y traducción de dichas inscripciones, aunque la historia general de Armenia está fuera del alcance de este trabajo. Dado que los marcadores de sepulturas armenias se pueden interpretar como intervenciones activas en las relaciones sociales, este artículo plantea las posibilidades existentes para reconstruir la complejidad social de Esmirna durante el período otomano tardío.

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