

The Manases:
An Influential Catholic Armenian Family in the Service of the
Ottoman Court in the 18th and 19th Centuries



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ABSTRACT

This dissertation aims to explore the lives, activities, experiences, and the social impact of the members of the virtually unstudied Manas family who operated in the fields of art, diplomacy, and finance, and to analyze the ramifications of the family's *controversial* Catholic identity in the 18th-and 19th-century Ottoman context, by tracking the individual stories of the Manases as social and cultural actors, and knitting them together with the lived realities of other members in order to situate them both individually and cumulatively into the social and political matrices of the period. In order to decipher the motivations and aspirations of the individual Manases, the current study will use the family as a nexus through which to discern the Manases' engagement with the society and the state. The multiple social, religious, and vocational layers in which this family existed, as Armenian by ethnicity, Catholic by denomination, and court artisan, diplomat, and banker by profession will be used to reflect on the travails of the Manases, as well as their comfort and success.

This study has been able to fill in many of the extensive lacunae in the narratives of the Manas family members as well as rectify misconstrued facts about their lives and careers through rigorous archival research, enabling a firm scaffolding to stand on while tackling the family in a much more nuanced and profound manner. It places the Manas family within the context of a multivalent and porous society as opposed to one with impermeable barriers between its various communities, thereby understanding its members as part and parcel of Ottoman existence and history in contrast to dichotomizing frameworks that sever Armenian reality from its historical context. Through this approach it restores the historicity of the Manases as Ottoman actors, who were not extraneous to the axes of social and political change, but were participants in the

processes of negotiation with the state alongside other Ottomans of various ethnic, social, and religious backgrounds to effectuate change.

The dearth of insightful scholarship on the family in contexts where they have so far been discussed will be addressed in the first part of this dissertation. Chapters One and Two dealing with the family members' activities pertaining to imperial identity construction, through sultanic portraiture and diplomacy, respectively, aim to correct the historical record and offer further insights through the greater contextualization and analytical synthesis of the already available data with the vast body of newly introduced documents. The latter two chapters, which are centered around the Catholic identity of the Manases and the discussion of banking, prestige, and wealth in relation to the family, draw on a range of hitherto unstudied archival sources. These chapters considerably develop the extant scholarship, breaking ground to establish new frameworks for discussing the Manases.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Archives Nationales

AE/B/I Affaires étrangères, Correspondance reçue du consulat de Constantinople

BOA **Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi**

A.}AMD Sadâret Âmedî Kalemi Evrâkı

A.}DVN Sadâret Dîvân Kalemi Evrâkı

A.}DVN.MHM Sadâret Dîvân Kalemi Mühimme Evrâkı

A.}MKT Sadâret Mektubî Kalemi Evrâkı

A.}MKT.MHM Sadâret Mektubî Kalemi Mühimme Evrâkı

A.}MKT.UM Sadâret Umûm Vilâyât Evrâkı

A.}TŞF Sadâret Teşrifât Kalemi Evrâkı

A.}DVNS.ŞHB.d. Şehbenderlik Defterleri

AE.SMHD.II ‘Âlî Emiri Sultan Mahmud II

BEO Bâb-1 ‘Âlî Evrâk Odası

C.AS Cevdet- ‘Askeriye

C.BLD Cevdet- Belediye

C.DRB Cevdet- Darphâne

C.HR Cevdet- Hâriciye

C.MF Cevdet- Ma‘ârif

C.ML Cevdet- Mâliye

C.SM Cevdet- Saray

DH.MKT Dâhiliye Nezâreti Mektûbî Kalemi

DHSAİDd	Dâhiliye Nezâreti Sicil-i Ahvâl Defterler
DH.ŞFR	Dâhiliye Nezâreti Şifre Kalemi
HH.İ	Hazîne-i Hassa İrâdeler
HR.H	Hâriciye Nezâreti Hukûk Kısmı
HR.MKT	Hâriciye Nezâreti Mektûbî Kalemi
HR.MTV	Hâriciye Nezâreti Mütenevvi' a Kısmı
HR.SFR.4	Hâriciye Nezâreti Paris Sefâreti
HR.SYS	Hâriciye Nezâreti Siyâsî
HR.TO	Hâriciye Nezâreti Tercüme Odası
HAT	Hatt-ı Hümayûn
İ.DH	İrâde- Dâhiliye
İ.HR	İrâde- Hâriciye
İ.ML	İrâde- Mâliye
İ.MMS	İrâde- Meclis-i Mahsûs
İ.MSM	Mesâi'l-i Mühimme İrâdesi
MAD.d	Mâliyeden Müdevver Defterler
MB.İ	Mâbeyn-i Hümayûn Evrâkı İrâdesi
MVL	Meclis-i Vâlâ
ŞD	Şûrâ-yı Devlet
Y.A.HUS	Yıldız Sadâret Husûsî Ma'rûzât
Y.PRK.TKM	Yıldız Tahrîrât-ı Ecnebiyye ve Mâbeyn Mütercimliği

TS.MA	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi
TS.MA.d	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Defterleri
TS.MA.e	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Evrâkı

The National Archives (UK)

FO	Foreign Office

Hijri Months

M	Muharrem
S	Safer
Ra	Rebî'ü'l-evvel
R	Rebî'ü'l-âhir
Ca	Cemâziye'l- evvel
C	Cemâziye'l-âhir
B	Receb
Ş	Şa'bân
N	Ramazân
L	Şevvâl
Za	Zi'l-ka'de
Z	Zi'l-hicce

A NOTE ON DATES, CURRENCY, AND MEASUREMENTS

DATES

Dates are provided in both the Hijri and Gregorian Calendars, as well as occasionally in the Rumi calendar when the original date is noted as such.

CURRENCY

The currency values used in this work appear in *kuruş* (piasters), gold *lira*, florin (and kreuzer), or franc (and centime) and are based on the values in table 13.1, “The exchange rates of other currencies expressed in Ottoman gold *liras*, 1850-1914” provided by Şevket Pamuk in *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, 209 and inserted here:

Table 13.1. The exchange rates of other currencies expressed in Ottoman gold *liras*, 1850–1914

	1850	1914
British pound sterling	1.10	1.10
French franc	0.0433	0.044
Austrian florin/kroner	0.11	0.046
German mark	–	0.0542
Russian rouble	0.175	0.116
Egyptian lira	1.0	1.146
US dollar	0.229	0.229

1 Ottoman *lira* (Lîrâ-i ‘Osmânî) corresponded to 100 *kuruş*.

1 *kuruş* corresponded to 120 *akçes*.

MEASUREMENTS

The *mi‘mârî arşın* value also known as a construction yard equals 24 *parmak* (finger) = 240 *hatt* (line) = 75.774 cm.

A NOTE ON transliteration, TRANSLATION, AND TOPONYMY

Transliteration of Ottoman can vary widely even when authors are aiming to follow the same system. In this dissertation I have followed the basic principle from the guidelines of the Library of Congress for Ottoman that in

...Romanizing Ottoman Turkish the principle of conversion is applied as far as possible, i.e., the word, phrase, name, or title being Romanized is represented, if possible, by the form it has in modern Turkish orthography, even if that means converting some letters to their modern equivalents. Foreign words, or words of non-Turkish origin that have become loan-words in Turkish, are converted like Ottoman Turkish. Modern Turkish usage in capitalization is followed.

However, for the sake of accuracy, this practice has been avoided when it requires tempering with the root letters of a word; therefore the final root letter ‘ب’ at the end of ‘kitab’ is maintained in favor of replacing it with a ‘p’, as is done in modern Turkish, since a confusion with the Ottoman letter ‘پ’ would be introduced by this substitution. While *hemzes* and ‘*ayns*’ are noted, diacritical marks for other consonants are omitted. Long vowels are always indicated with a circumflex. Ottoman Turkish words that have entered European usage have been anglicized in places where they are not part of a direct translation; hence *ulema* in lieu of ‘*ulemâ*’.

For the transliteration of Armenian, the Library of Congress’ romanization table is used, and the orthographic conventions of either Eastern or Western Armenian are followed depending on the works’ provenance. In cases where an Armenian author published works both in Armenian and a European language, their name is transliterated according to the language being considered, i.e. Sakisian in French and Sakězean in Western Armenian. In the instances where Ottoman Turkish and Arabic words have been transliterated into Armenian by Armenian authors, the romanization guidelines of Armenian have been considered, rather than the original language.

Diacritical marks have been omitted from toponyms and personal and family names unless it is a direct quote from a source that included them. Proper names often appear in different forms across the many archival sources that have been used in the production of this dissertation. In instances where such a lack of consistency was the case, especially with regard to the different spellings of the Manases' names, multiple versions of the name have been presented side by side. Similarly, alternative spellings are provided for proper names where there is variation across European languages as there is with Avedic, Avedick, Avidick, and Avedik in French, German, and English. In all quoted material the orthographic conventions of the sources are maintained, therefore, where Catholic is spelled as 'Catholick' in the 17th century English language source *A. de la Motraye's travels through Europe, Asia, and into part of Africa*, the latter form is retained. In instances where a toponym is not part of a direct quote, the Modern Turkish orthography is used to avoid an overly cumbersome approach.

Unless otherwise noted, all translations from primary and secondary sources are my own renditions.

INTRODUCTION

... our humble family has served under the shadow of the exalted sultanate for two hundred years faithfully and with the utmost submission and has been privileged in its community and among its contemporaries.¹

These words appear in a petition by an undisclosed member of the Manas family to the Ottoman government regarding a land dispute in the final decades of the 19th century. From his statement it can be deduced that this particular member saw himself not just as a descendant of the Manases, but also as an inheritor of the reputational legacy and success of the many generations that came before him, and therefore understood his family as a single collective unit that had been in the service of the court in different capacities in an unremitting fashion. Such a sensibility and understanding led Manas family members to try to preserve the family's stature through the generations by perpetuating certain markers of respectability like knowledge of European languages and a good education, mostly undertaken in Europe, as well as by ensuring that the new generations got to partake in similarly respectable pursuits to those undertaken by their predecessors. Letters of recommendation by family members on behalf of others for promotions were offered at least in two instances: an unidentified member of the Manas family advocated on behalf of Pol to be raised to the third rank on the basis of his exemplary performance,² and his mother, Sofi Murad Manas similarly pushed for an 'honorary advancement' arguing that while Pol's family could compensate for his modest salary of 250 francs, the family could not attain such an advancement for him as it could only be achieved through the protection of the state.³ By the same token, some of the Manases seem to have measured their success against those of other family members with Gaspar lamenting the fact that he had not received an "increase in [his]

¹ BOA, ŞD. 2873/18.

² BOA, A.}DVN 120/35.

³ BOA, HR.TO 429/81.

salary, or any distinction of any kind” in contradistinction to his own brothers employed in Foreign Service who had already received different ranks of the *Mecidiye* order, in a petition addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Fuad Paşa dated to September 12, 1856.⁴ This letter is also indicative of how Gaspar expected the state’s ready recognition of his family members employed in Ottoman embassies across Europe as belonging to the Manas *clan* without offering their names. Beyond the Manases’ self-perception, the Sublime Porte, and outside observers seem to have approached the family in aggregative terms as well. While the letter of recommendation composed by the Office of Prince Napoléon III on behalf of Pol exhibits an acknowledgement of the family on the foreign diplomatic plane as a network of diplomatic agents that operate in European cities,⁵ Ottoman authorities’ understanding of the Manases as a “good family” and Sofi, in turn, as “worthy of the sultan’s beneficence in every respect”⁶ in the context of Sofi Murad Manas’ petitions, is equally reinforcing of this perception.

While construing one’s identity around familial terms was a common attitude by Muslim and Christian elites alike, it is the less conspicuous standing of the Manases *vis-à-vis* the giants of the Armenian community such as the Balyans, Dadyans, and the Düz with whom they shared a Catholic background, that makes their case more salient. The Manases fell short of the grandeur of these established households despite some members’ engagement in the elite profession of banking and ability to own prestigious estates on the Bosphorus alongside Phanariot Greeks and Armenian *amiras*. Unlike such households whose family names and legacies were cemented by means of the philanthropy they extended to their communities, in the form of hospital building, church repairing and the like, the Manases do not seem to have engaged in such missions, which

⁴ BOA, HR.TO 425/17.

⁵ BOA, İ.HR 117/5711.

⁶ BOA, HR.MKT 161/83.

is understandable given their lack of a colossal fortune in the millions commensurate with those accrued by the listed families. A point that needs to be emphasized, however, is that the Manases do not seem to have aspired to the same dynastic claims in their definition of themselves in familial terms, which distinguishes them from those like the “phanariot-affiliated Armenian Düzoğlu” who joined in the 18th-century “trend [prevalent among both Ottoman-Christians, especially Phanariots, and Ottoman-Muslims] of acquiring family names ‘with the -zade and -oghlu [-oğlu] suffix attached to a name or nisba being the usual form’” as pretensions to ‘nobility’ through self-identification as a ‘hanedanzadelik’ (dynasty).⁷

In addition to the justification of studying the Manases as a family unit offered above, the current work also uses the framework of the family in a pragmatic and strategic sense in tackling the structural challenges posed by the availability of material on the Manases. The extensive yet heavily fragmented cache of additional archival material uncovered in the Ottoman Archives on the Manas family formed “a vast mosaic from spots of torchlight falling here and there on random clusters of tesserae.”⁸ In the face of the pervasive lacunae in the stories of the individuals affiliated with the family, such an approach made this project feasible and the construction of a storyline possible in the absence of crucial details for most members, who were immersed in similar activities and pursued similar career patterns linking one to the other, and therefore, whose stories collectively functioned to manifest an interconnected web of meaning. The comprehension of the motivations of individuals was sometimes greatly enhanced by a thorough study of other family members as Zenop’s choice of a less lucrative career in court portraiture and diplomacy finds more meaning against the backdrop of his banker father Menasi,⁹ or that of Josef’s similar choices in

⁷ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution*, 29.

⁸ White, *The Emergence of Minorities in the Middle East: The Politics of Community in French Mandate Syria*, 8.

⁹ See Chapters 2&4.

the shadow of his banker father Mıgırdıç, whose affiliations to the banking sector have been laid out for the first time in this work. In a similar vein, Rupen's petition to attain a higher honor in 1274 A.H. (1857/1858)¹⁰ despite his recent promotion on 9 B 1271 A.H. (March 28, 1855),¹¹ becomes more translatable by a deeper dive into the biography of his brother and it is in light of Sebu's recent recognition on delivery of the sultan's portrait made by his brother Rupen to the Swedish Queen in 1857¹² that such a course of action is intelligible. Menasi's otherwise unusual career as court artist-cum-banker becomes legible when the pursuit of court portraiture as a family profession is factored into the equation. Such an understanding on the part of family members can not only be substantiated based on Menasi's following in the footsteps of his renowned court artist father Rafayel, but also in the continuation of the successive generations in the profession with all four of Zenop's sons known to have received artistic training though only Rupen and Sebu definitively established to have become court artists. Therefore, through the weaving together of the modicum of available data on each individual member with other family members of this already tightly knit family, some of the holes in the story of one have been filled by a discovery made in another. By these means, a more accurate and nuanced picture has been accomplished that serves as a window into some of their otherwise unintelligible aspirations and actions. In this sense, there being multiple foci did not detract from the depth of research nor the attention paid to the individual members who are the subject matter of this study, to the contrary, this strategy aided in the creation of more thorough and meticulous accounts in the case of each.

0.1 The Origins of the Manases and their Catholicism

The Manas family is commonly argued to have migrated from Kayseri proper, or the region

¹⁰ BOA, HR.MKT. 243/54, İ.HR. 156/8285.

¹¹ BOA, İ.DH 318/20549.

¹² BOA, HR.MKT 243/27.

of Cappadocia which encompasses it, in the chaotic milieu of the Celali Rebellion from 1590 up through 1610. While making this claim regarding the family's provenance, however, none of the scholars offer concrete evidence to bolster it.¹³ The penury of information relating to the family's origins stymies any precise account of its arrival in Istanbul, nevertheless, it is conceivable for the Manas family to have been among the many Armenian migrants fleeing the circumstances of the Celali Rebellion, centered around high-density Armenian regions, in what Shapiro aptly describes as the *Great Armenian Flight*.¹⁴ It is a well established phenomenon that in the wake of the Celali Rebellion and the associated societal disruptions in the crisis-ridden Empire a large influx of migrants flooded the capital, Thrace, and coastal regions from the affected areas, most acutely between 1603 and 1610. This dislocation was driven by 'weather and violence' and was further prolonged and exacerbated by the on-going climatic calamities in the form of freezing temperatures, famine, epizootic, disease, and death resulting from the Little Ice Age as well as ineffective state response to these challenges. Amid the war with the Habsburgs, the state sought to generate much needed supplies through taxation, which overburdened the peasantry facing the climate crisis and its ancillaries.¹⁵ The lack of proper governance and the breakdown of the governing contract in the view of the peasantry gave rise to unrest and insubordination, creating a breeding ground for the large-scale, organized banditry of Celali 'rebel armies'.¹⁶

¹³ Çark, *Türk Devleti Hizmetinde Ermeniler 1453-1953*, 135; Pamukçıyan, *Ermeni Kaynaklarından Tarihe Katkılar: Zamanlar, Mekanlar, İnsanlar*, 3:42; Küçükhasaköylü, "Osmanlı Sarayında Ermeni Ressamlar: Manas Ailesi," *Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 28, 167; Sürbahan, "19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Sarayında Ressam Manas Ailesi," Master's Thesis, Hacettepe University, 43. Çark also asserts that the ancestor of the Manases who moved the family to Istanbul was named Artin, yet he does not offer any evidence for this claim, therefore it will be discarded. (Çark, *Ibid.*)

¹⁴ Shapiro, "The Great Armenian Flight: Migration and Cultural Change in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire," 68-9. Shapiro reappropriates Mustafa Akdağ's "Büyük Kaçgunluk" (Great Flight) to elucidate the specific case of the Armenians and to bring into focus the asymmetric mass migration of this group as opposed to other groups during this period of turmoil. (Cf. Akdağ, "Celâli İsyanlarından Büyük Kaçgunluk 1603-1606," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2 (1964): 1-49)

¹⁵ White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 1-2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 162-3. White offers a *tour d'horizon* of the Little Ice Age and places the Near East in this context arguing that the severity of the climate catastrophe's impact was greater in this region, which is not only supported by climatic

What began as a ‘refugee crisis’ borne out of environmental and societal pressures resulted in the creation of a Western Armenian society and culture that both inspired and in turn took inspiration from the global cultural aura of their new surroundings.¹⁷ While the tragic destruction of this community in the 1915-1916 Genocide has been well-established, it is Shapiro who deftly enframes a new focus of inquiry by shedding light on this community’s formation and early trajectory, describing how it rose from being a group of displaced outliers to one that achieved remarkable artistic, social, and economic vibrancy at the heart of Ottoman life.¹⁸ The rise of this Western Armenian society of artists, tradesmen, and bankers also played a major role in transformation the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul, that had been established in 1461, from a mere regional seat to a key pillar of the ecclesiastical community.¹⁹

While it remains unclear whether the Manases were among the some eighty Armenian households in Istanbul prior to the *Great Armenian Flight*, as is recounted by the traveler Simeon of Poland in the 18th century,²⁰ arrived as a result of it, or some time thereafter on another account, they were certainly present by the 18th century and therefore can definitively be said to have

data, but also by contemporaneous histories replete with anecdotes of extreme weather conditions. (Ibid., 7, 137.) In approaching the tumultuous 17th century, White weaves together “climatic and human events” and delivers a compelling picture of the period as one not of “decline”, but of “turbulence and transformation.” (Ibid., 3, 131.)

¹⁷ Shapiro, Ibid., 67. It is worth noting prior to the arrival of these Armenian migrants there was an Armenian presence, albeit small, in the capital and some of these regions. (Ibid., 72-3.)

¹⁸ Ibid., 67-8, 82. Shapiro also discusses the conversion of some Armenian refugees to Islam as ‘a legal strategy’ and juxtaposes it to the accounts of crypto-Christians, saying: “If so, this case is reminiscent of Late Ottoman stories of crypto-Christians with two identities, alternating between a Muslim and Christian identity according to the needs of the moment.” (Ibid., 78.) Yet, there are several issues with the way in which Shapiro deals with the idea of crypto religious communities. In particular, it has been shown that while initially practical reasons or necessities may have driven them to conversion, the external identities held by such communities cannot in all instances be discarded merely as cover identities as exemplified by the wishes of some crypto-Christians to preserve their Muslim names alongside their Christian ones upon their conversion in the mid-19th century. This desire to maintain both identities despite the apparent lack of necessity or advantage suggests that the external identity had become internalized to some extent and that such individuals are better understood as having held liquid identities. (Cf. Türkyılmaz, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Gizli Hristiyanlar,” interview by Emrah Safa Gürkan. Ottoman History Podcast (audio blog), 14 November 2014. Accessed December 15, 2015. <http://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2014/11/gizli-hristiyanlik.html>.)

¹⁹ Shapiro, Ibid., 87.

²⁰ Shapiro, Ibid., 72-3.

immersed in the milieu of the capital which was booming throughout this century. While they may not have been present in the initial formation of this new society but rather advened *in medias res*, from the 18th century at the very latest the Manases were active and contributing members to the life of the vigorous and energetic Western Armenian society. Still, Manas family's affairs prior to the appearance of Rafayel Manas on the artistic scene in the second quarter of the 18th century remain a *terra incognita*. It is possible that Rafayel came from a family of artists and had followed in the footsteps of his father in becoming a court painter given the increasing number of Armenian painters in court life at the time, such as the Armenian Parseğ (Parsig).²¹ However, while Parseğ, who was active during the tenure of Levni, fits the parameters well, and has been put forward by some scholars as the father of Rafayel, there is no concrete evidence to conclude that he was in fact his father or even a Manas, hence he will be omitted from further examination in this dissertation.²² The *terminus post quem* for this study, is then naturally marked by the life of Rafayel

²¹ Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, 3:57

²² The esteemed chronicler and contemporary of Parseğ, Ğugas İnciciyan (1758-1833), recounts that Yesayi, who adorned the interior of the Surp Lusaworich' Church with paintings circa 1733, was the brother of the renowned court painter Parseğ, who produced portraits for Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730) and Mahmud I (r. 1730-1754). (İnciciyan, XVIII. Asırda İstanbul, trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan, 84n1), (Parseğ transliterated here as Barseğ.) Manya Ghazarian argues that both of these painters adorned this church in Galata, but does not say that they were related, adding that Parseğ's sons Sarkis and Kevork produced a painting for the Forty Martyrs Church in Aleppo in 1826. (Ghazarian, Hay kerparvestē XVII-XVIII darrerum: Geghankarchutyun, 134.) Immediately following this, Ghazarian begins her discussion on the Manas family and mentions an apparently different Parseğ, who she presents as the court painter of Ahmed III and the father of Rafayel to whom he passed on his art. Following İnciciyan, Pamukciyan suggests that Parseğ was the brother of Yesayi and precisely because of this, he concludes that Parseğ could not also have been the father of Rafayel given that Rafayel had been married to Antaram, the daughter of Parseğ's brother Yesayi, which would not have been allowed for Armenians of the same family with fewer than seven generations between them. (Pamukciyan, *Ermeni Kaynaklarından Tarihe Katkılar: Zamanlar, Mekanlar, İnsanlar*, 3:179; Cf. Küçükhasköylü, "Osmanlı Sarayında Ermeni Ressamlar: Manas Ailesi," 168.) In contrast, Bohjalyan seems to combine the two theories arguing that Parseğ was both the brother of Yesayi and a member of the Manas family. (Bohjalyan, *Agnarg mē Hay Ngarch'ut'yan Vray*, 31.) İnciciyan composed his work in the 18th century and as a contemporaneous account it deserves additional credence, as do the accounts of Toderini and D'Ohsson, who published their multi-voluminous opera during the lifetime of Menasi Manas, a few years apart. While Sakēzean based his own arguments on the works of the latter two, his reasoning falls to pieces because his claims go beyond the information offered in these sources as Sakēzean himself declares when he says, "While Toderini did not specify, Rafayel was the son of Parseğ." (Sakēzean, "Manasnerē hay ngarich'neru harsdut'iwn mē 18-19 tar," 55.) In Toderini's account Parseğ (Parsig) merely appears as an Armenian artist who was the court painter of Sultan Ahmed [III], immediately preceding 'l'Armeno Rafael', while no mention is made of any familial relations between the two. (Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, 3:57.) Therefore, there is simply no way of wringing the ambiguity out of Rafayel's parentage, and so Parseğ cannot be definitively categorized as a Manas.

Manas.

The Manas family is commonly said to have converted to Catholicism in the 18th century,²³ which would be in line with the heightened *de propaganda fide* efforts of missionaries and the rising number of conversions among the Armenians and Syriacs during the period. While any attempt at reaching a definitive date of conversion has proved futile, Rafayel's professional life and his education in Europe is highly suggestive of him having being born a Catholic or having converted early on. Despite their conversion to the Catholic faith, the Ottoman Empire did not legitimize the new identity which Armenian converts to Catholicism asserted for themselves and as far as the Ottoman administration was concerned Catholic Armenians still fell under the jurisdiction of the Armenian Patriarchate, which upheld the Armenian Apostolic faith.²⁴ Thus, the interactions between the Catholic and Orthodox Armenians which took place on theological as well as social and political planes were often fraught with tension, and as will be elaborated on in relation to the Düz, these tensions frequently resulted in violent or tragic outcomes. The events that befell the Düz and their relatives cast light on the extent of the division and disarray of affairs in the Armenian *millet* which led the Sultan to strictly admonish the Armenian Patriarch, as the sole head of the Armenian *millet* in its entirety including those who had converted to Catholicism, to devise a plan to reunite the Catholic Armenians with the Patriarchate and ensure social order. In 1820 following the steps taken under the chairmanship of Bishop Stepannos Aguerian to heal the fissure between the Orthodox and Catholic Armenian communities under pressure from the Sultan, a report was developed by a group of leading Armenians from both communities, to

²³ Çark, *Ibid.*, 143; Beydilli, *Recognition of the Armenian Catholic Community and the Church in the Reign of Mahmud II (1830)*, 98, 173-4; Sürbahan, *Ibid.*, 43n2.

²⁴ The term լուսավորչական (Lusavorch'agan in Western Armenian and Lusavorch'akan in Eastern) is commonly used in Armenian, it is derived from Գրիգոր Լուսավորիչ (Gregory the Illuminator)—patron saint of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

highlight the common ground between the Orthodox and the Catholics, which was published under the name *Hrawēr Siroy* (Invitation to Love). However, this project failed causing even further civil disturbance, resulting in public executions and the exile of certain leading members of the community.²⁵ The Catholic Armenian community's ensuing tribulations resulting from being viewed as outliers and troublemakers, led to their imprisonment, their being sentenced to the galleys, their exile, and their dispossession throughout the centuries, culminating in the 1828 Catholic Exile, which will be discussed *in extenso* in Chapter Three. The most tragic episode in the life of the general Catholic Armenian community before its acknowledgment as a separate *millet*, the 1828 Exile saw thousands including women and children banished from the capital and resulted in great loss of life, livelihood, and property.

Even though they were viewed as possessing a controversial identity by the state and their fellow Orthodox Armenians, a number of Catholic Armenians were able to achieve a degree of affluence that surpassed many members of their *millet* through high appointments especially as bankers of the state elite or the sultan himself,²⁶ as exemplified by many Angouriotte families²⁷ such as the Tıngıryan and Bilezikçıyan as well as the Düz dynasty which was tasked with leading the Imperial Mint and offering its services as jeweler to the sultanate. Their Catholic identity facilitated their education at European institutions and enabled them to connect with Catholic Europe on a different level than their Orthodox counterparts by being integrated into their networks of privilege and patronage.

²⁵ Ch'akmakchean, *Ėntardzag badmut'iwn hayots'*: *skizpēn minch'ew mer ōrerē*, 561-2; Palasanean, *Patmut'iwn hayots'*: *skzbits' minch'ew mer ōrerē*, 714-7; Yarman, *Sultan II. Mahmud ve Kazaz Artin Amira*, 110.

²⁶ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 256-7.

²⁷ Catholic Armenians hailing from Ankara.

While there exists an assertion that Catholic Armenians had not been targeted during the Genocide, it is demonstrably fallacious.²⁸ Kévorkian's account of the Genocide includes references to instances where European powers tried to extend their protection over the Armenian Catholics and Protestants, but many of these attempts proved futile as the Ottoman administration agreed to such exemptions mostly as a stalling mechanism. Kévorkian recounts that Vatican's nuncio Angelo Maria Dolci and the Austro-Hungarian ambassador Johann von Pallavicini were initially able to secure a pardon for Catholic Armenians, in Harput but that this order was only publicized once the Catholics had already been expelled.²⁹ Kévorkian similarly tells of how the Austro-Hungarian, German, and American consuls solicited Talat and Enver Paşa to spare Catholics, Protestants, women, children, and elderly and while they were led to believe that their wish would be granted, it was not.³⁰ In the case of Ankara Catholics (Angourioties) the intercession of Vatican's nuncio Angelo Maria Dolci enabled this group to avoid execution in favor of deportation, and a further intervention by Pallavicini was able to temporarily halt the deportation.³¹ The segments of the Armenian community, the Catholics among them, that had possessed a certain level of protection due to the pleas of European powers, lost this veneer security in February and March of 1916 when an order was issued for the deportation of the remaining Armenians including in addition to the Catholics, the Protestants, some craftsmen, and soldier families, a massive operation which lasted until December 1916, which Kévorkian refers as the second phase of the Genocide.³² What may have saved the later Manases who lived beyond the Genocide, therefore, is more likely

²⁸ Cf. Altınay and Türkyılmaz, "Unravelling layers of gendered silencing: Converted Armenian survivors of the 1915 catastrophe," *Untold histories of the Middle East: Recovering voices from the 19th and 20th centuries*, ed. Amy Singer, Christoph Neumann and Selçuk Akşin Somel, 30.

²⁹ Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History*, 390.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 470.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 497-8.

³² *Ibid.*, 664; Dündar, "Pouring a People into the Desert: The "Definitive Solution" of the Unionists to the Armenian Question," *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the end of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Suny, Ronald Grigor, Fatma Müge Göçek, and Norman M. Naimark, 283.

to have been their presence in Istanbul more so than them having been Catholics, as while Istanbulite Armenians were also killed, the watchful eyes of the Europeans did reduce the blow in this specific locality.

The current study commences with Rafayel Manas (?-1780) who introduced the medium of canvas to Ottoman portraiture, becoming a celebrated and leading figure of Ottoman court art. It then moves onto his son, Menasi Menas (?-1802), court painter of Abdülhamid I (r. 1774-1789) and an established banker at the Imperial Mint, before proceeding to Menasi's four sons constituting the third generation members of the family under investigation here. The eldest Zenop (1781/2-1840) emerges as the first painter-cum-diplomat of the family who began his career as a language instructor, and the younger three brothers Nasip (1788/9-?), Mıgırdiç (1791/2-?), and Püzant (1793/4-1856) followed their father's footsteps in pursuing banking, though Püzant shifted gears and was sent abroad as consul general of Vienna. The fourth generation Manases who will be studied are Zenop's sons, the painter-cum-diplomats Rupen (1813/4-?), Sebuhi (1815/6-?), Gaspar (1819-1880), Aleksandr (1821/2-?), Mıgırdiç's sons court painter Josef (1835-1916) and diplomat turned public servant Anton (1825-?), as well as diplomatic translator Pol Manas, son of Sofi Murad Manas, and Piyer Manas about whom very scant biographical data is available. All of these individuals will be studied in the relevant chapters as outlined in the section on 'the contents of the chapters' that follows. Sofi Murad Manas, daughter of banker Rafail Murad, who married into the Manas family emerges as the only female figure in the family to whose travails³³ this dissertation devotes substantial focus in Chapter Three. As the daughter of a banker, her marriage to the Manas family becomes more translatable into historical patterns with the revelation of the Manas family's tight association to banking, laid out for the first time in this dissertation, as banker

³³ BOA, İ.HR 135/6982, HR.MKT 161/83, A.}AMD 72/86.

families had a tendency to intermarry. It is also redolent of the Manas family's desire to situate itself more firmly into banking networks especially when the Muradyans' propinquity to the prestigious Düz family is taken into consideration.³⁴ Sofi Murad Manas also emerges as the author of a letter of recommendation on behalf of her son, Pol,³⁵ an analysis of which is consigned to Chapter Four.

0.2 The Manas Women

The female members of the family almost entirely escape mention in primary sources and study in any of the academic literature, and in the limited instances where they appear, it is mostly in their capacity as wives and mothers. However, the letter of recommendation Sofi Murad Manas wrote on behalf of her son Pol reveals some important clues as to how the women of the family may have maintained not only the family's financial well-being, but also helped further the career successes of the male members.³⁶ Aside from Sofi Murad Manas, Zenop's wife Diruhi is mentioned in relation to her petition for funds at the demise of her husband.³⁷ Another Sofi and Mari are mentioned, in relation to the issue of their uncle's estate. Pol's wife is also alluded to in the letter of recommendation that is written on his behalf by the Office of Prince Napoléon III, where it reads, "... sa femme est très bonne."³⁸ In the diplomatic correspondence related to a request for leave, Gaspar mentions the matter of not taking a necessary leave because Prince Kalimaki

³⁴ Though it needs to be further ascertained, it is highly likely that banker Menasi Manas had a daughter named Yakut who was married to the chief gunpowder officer Hovhannes Dadyan (1798-1868). She passed away in 1870 and was buried in the courtyard of the *Dzinunt Surp Asdvadzadzni* Armenian Church, which her husband had had built in 1844. Such a marriage to the Dadyan family, which monopolized the Empire's gunpowder industry for over a century would further bolster the Manases' aspirations to secure marriage alliances. Though he does not provide much detail, Azadean mentions that Hovhannes Dadyan was related to the 'Manasyan' family. Both Pamukciyan and Azadean refer to the relevant individual as banker Minas Manasyan, but because this dissertation has been able to prove that Menasi Manas was a banker at the Imperial Mint, this individual can be known to be one and the same as Menasi Manas. Cf. Pamukciyan, *Ermeni Kaynaklarından Tarihe Katkılar: Biyografileriyle Ermeniler*, 4:202, 299; Azadean, *Dadean Kertasdanê ew ir Aganawor Têmk'erê*, 15.

³⁵ BOA, HR.TO 429/81.

³⁶ BOA, HR.TO 429/81.

³⁷ BOA, İ.HR 5/210.

³⁸ BOA, İ.HR 117/5711.

asked him not to and that it is “a more sacred duty to comply with [Prince Kalimaki’s] orders, than from humanity to [his] wife, [for which reason he had] for the moment given up this indispensable leave, to avoid any kind of discontent of [his] chief in [his] regard.”³⁹ Though the details of the need for leave are unclear, from the limited explanation it seems related to the health of Gaspar’s wife. Aleksan Manas’ wife Maryonka and daughter Avrani are also touched upon beside his son Edgar Manas⁴⁰ in relation to the compensation that would be given to the family of the deceased who had worked as the head translator of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration at the time of his passing.⁴¹ These rare mentions do not provide enough material for an analysis of the cultural and educational background of the female members, or whether they pursued occupational activities, the only exception being Pamukçıyan’s assertion that Rafayel Manas’ wife Antaram was a painter like her husband.⁴²

Given the paucity of available information on the women and the constraints it puts on studying the female members of the family as a subject matter in their own right, it would be valuable to resort to literary strategies in salvaging whatever can be deciphered from the small number of texts known to have been composed by them, by delving into the art of petitioning. Both the Manas men and women seem to have made ample use of petitioning as a recourse mechanism in navigating “within existing power struggles,”⁴³ which was not only a means guaranteed by the Ottoman system but one that was actively encouraged by the sultans as a check on intermediary power holders, and as a source of legitimacy. However, male and female members

³⁹ BOA, HR.SYS 206/19.

⁴⁰ Edgar would become a celebrated composer and musical teacher and would write the orchestration for the Turkish National Anthem.

⁴¹ *Düýün-ı Umûmiyye-i ‘Osmâniye Vâridât-ı Muhassasa İdâresi*. (BOA, ŞD. 867/67)

⁴² Pamukçıyan, *Ibid.*, 4:296. Pamukçıyan also mentions Rafayel Manas’ daughter Pırapyon Manas in his biographical entries on the Manases, yet the information he provides is limited to years of birth and death. (*Ibid.*, 4:297.)

⁴³ Tuğ, *Politics of Honor in Ottoman Anatolia: Sexual Violence and Socio-Legal Surveillance in the Eighteenth Century*, 74.

established a different dynamic with the state resulting in distinct styles. Speaking of petitioning in the early Republican era, Akin remarks that whereas women and orphaned children would often appeal to the charity of the secretary-general, men would draw parallels between the state and their own paternal responsibilities, highlighting the negative impact that penury would have on their ability to carry out their obligations,⁴⁴ pressing the state to respond in a manner suited to its role as the model charitable, just, and compassionate protector and father.⁴⁵ Familiar with the widely used discursive methods, as a general strategy, the Manases appealed to the trope of the sultan as the provider of justice, yet female members of the family especially stressed the magnanimity of the sultan as they sought the charity of the Ottoman system without which they would be *ruined*. While the men of the family, especially those involved in government service, presumably had the technical knowledge to write a petition for themselves, it is unclear whether others of the family turned to professional help or to those family members with the required savvy; the petition co-signed by Josef, a court artist, and his cousin Sofi (daughter of Zenop) regarding their uncle Püzant's estate,⁴⁶ and Zenop's wife Diruhi's petition fall into this category. A major shift in this dynamic occurred in the 19th century, however, with the production of manuals enabling ordinary people to navigate the shoals of the complicated and demanding official composition style,⁴⁷ and author petitions on their own behalf across the Empire. Nevertheless, this did not signal the end of the *arzuhalci* who continued to offer services to the many who sought his expertise.

While a valuable and informative corpus for the researcher in uncovering the agency of people as "social actors",⁴⁸ it is important to tread warily in the use of petitions due both to the

⁴⁴ Akin, "Reconsidering State, Party, and Society in Early Republican Turkey: Politics of Petitioning," 433-4

⁴⁵ Ibid., 445.

⁴⁶ BOA, HR.H 219/2_8.

⁴⁷ Ben-Bassat and Zachs, "Correspondence manuals in nineteenth-century Greater Syria: between the *arzuhalci* and the advent of popular letter writing," 1-4.

⁴⁸ Akin, Ibid., 436.

highly formulaic and stylistically motivated nature of the genre, which conceals the authentic voice of the petitioner, and the resulting likelihood that the petition writing process had involved an *arzuhalci* (professional petition writer).⁴⁹ The deferential tone of these compositions should not be taken at face value either, and inaccurately read “as the abject groveling of a powerless people before an all-powerful ruler,” given that by all indications these petitions went beyond simply seeking restitution to also carry out a number of other functions including requesting aid, offering information, proposals and policy advice with a view to sharing the particular perspective of one who is involved or impacted at the ground level.⁵⁰ The fact that the written word was the only basis on which decisions were made, demanded that the petition be impeccably executed. This drove petitioners to “pitching [themselves] correctly to an audience [which was] neither unusual nor blameworthy,”⁵¹ by implementing a range of strategies in order to achieve the desired result including exaggerating or otherwise misrepresenting their circumstances or character in an effort to submit a more compelling request.⁵² The fact that certain elements were always included, like references to the broader community’s benefit from their personal demands, indicates that petitions that omitted these features were thought to have less chance of success. In a sense by calling on the magnanimity of the state the petitioner was obliquely suggesting that the failure of the government to offer assistance would call its justice and therefore legitimacy into question,⁵³ both in the Ottoman and early Republican period. Careful analysis of petitions nevertheless allows for insights to be gleaned about the petitioners from their choice of strategies, while the desire of many

⁴⁹ The retired members of the scribal bureaucracy came to corner the profession of petition writing upon their exits from the numerous offices and divisions of the Imperial Council. (Tuğ, *Ibid.*, 106-7.)

⁵⁰ Darling, “Petitioning the Sultan: protests and justice in late Ottoman Palestine, by Yuval Ben-Bassat,” *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 32 no. 2 (2017), 270.

⁵¹ White, *The Emergence of Minorities in the Middle East*, 6.

⁵² Akin, *Ibid.*, 433-4. Cf. White, *The Emergence of Minorities in the Middle East*, 6.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 443-4.

to highlight their significant need along with their hard work, good character and political loyalty sheds light on what petitioners perceived to be hardship as well as key social values.

In this brief analysis of the Manas women's petitions the petition co-signed by Josef and Sofi (daughter of Zenop) will be discarded as it is unclear how much of the petition's composition, if any, can be singularly attributed to Sofi. As for the three petitions of Sofi Murad Manas, mother of Pol Manas, that form the basis for this study's discussion of one of the Manas family's throes caused by its Catholic faith, it should be pointed out that the petitions that remain are those composed by government officials following Sofi's original petitions. While these clearly reflect the legal strategies and arguments put forth by Sofi in her original compositions, their study for rhetorical strategies has clear limits. Be that as it may, Sofi's ample use of some of the most common methods to ensure a successful outcome to her plea including stressing 'the unjustness of her situation' thereby insinuating a breach of contract between the subject and the all-just Ottoman sovereign, pleading that it be set right and painting a lucid image of her *wretched* situation to appeal to the compassion and magnanimity of the Sultan, shine through the reformulations of her petition all the same. Beyond their syntactic study here, more attention will be devoted to the implications of these petitions in Chapter Three.⁵⁴ In her letter of recommendation on behalf of her son Pol, an original document that bears her signature, addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ethem Paşa, Sofi paints a graphic image of a caring and concerned mother in her negotiation with the Ottoman state.⁵⁵

Aside from her petition that will be discussed here,⁵⁶ Zenop's wife Diruhi does not appear anywhere else in the archival documentation or the secondary literature on the Manases and

⁵⁴ BOA, İ.HR 135/6982, HR.MKT 161/83, A.}AMD 72/86.

⁵⁵ BOA, HR.TO 429/81.

⁵⁶ BOA, İ.HR 5/210.

through it she is reanimated as a historical actor.. Her petition is one that very much reproduces the normative dynamic between the Sultan and his female subjects and one that determinedly makes its case for a favorable outcome by relying on the rhetorical strategies that this relationship demanded. Diruhi incessantly underlines the fact that without the state's guarantee and financial support Zenop's six children, herself, as well as their *kavm ve kabîle* (distant relatives) would fall into a deplorable state as they all rely on Zenop's salary for a living.⁵⁷ She employs a multitude of similar expressions including *me'yûs*, *mükedder*, *mahzûn*, *bî-çâre*, and *derd-mendâne*—a not uncommon rhetorical strategy for painting a vivid picture,⁵⁸ and one that is perhaps somewhat exaggerated, again, commonly so. While confidently arguing the *justness* of her case, she stresses the fact that “despite their being *infidels*” they are deserving of sultanic justice and magnanimity for Zenop's many years of loyal service. Diruhi reaffirms her Christian identity in her signature: Diruhi *nasrâniyye câriyeleri*, the Christian slave (female)⁵⁹ of [the Sultan]. She also shrewdly merges her private interest with that of the state⁶⁰ using a phraseology which implies that by solving her problem the Sultan would be serving his state and ensuring its betterment: *devletiniz için olsun emân efendim*. On a final note, there appears to be a grammatical error in the petition where the word *nüfûz* is written in place of the clearly intended *nüfûs* in ‘*bu kadar nüfûsun ta'ayyüşü*’ (the living of this many people) being reliant upon Zenop's salary. This error could be suggestive of the fact that Diruhi composed this petition herself instead of resorting to the craft of professional petition writers, though this remains unclear as many individuals, even the most educated, made occasional mistakes in their compositions.

⁵⁷ *ta'ayyüş*

⁵⁸ Akin, *Ibid.*,” 444-5.

⁵⁹ *Câriye* does not carry the meaning of concubine in this context, it simply denotes that the subject who is composing the petition is a woman.

⁶⁰ Akin, *Ibid.*, 444-5.

The general absence of the Manas women is in fact a nod to a pervasive problem that is the *ubiquitous absence* of women in histories dictated by “the cultural frame of patriarchy.”⁶¹ In her discussion of the converted women and children survivors of the Genocide, Altınay theorizes that the fact that these individuals were treated without nuance or differentiation under the single entity “womenandchildren” in a manner that stripped them off their agency and narrowly construed them as vessels rather than actors resulted in their being proclaimed *dead* by Armenian nationalist historiography upon their conversion to Islam.⁶² Petitions serve as a powerful reminder to the researcher that ordinary subjects of the Ottoman Empire even those who did not possess the ‘default identity’ of ‘free-born Muslim male adult,’⁶³ be they disadvantaged because of their social standing, gender or ethnicity, were very much actors who shaped the Ottoman Empire through their petitions rather than being extraneous to the social and political trajectories of the Empire. It reaffirms their often forgotten impact as social actors and *rewrites* them into history; in so doing, petitions give their voice back to many otherwise *muted* actors, among them women,⁶⁴ as it is very difficult to come across them in government documents otherwise. Through the exercise of petitioning the common subject entered into a partnership with the Sultan, which not only served to ensure his /her own welfare as a recourse against the malfeasance and injustice of state elite or rural gentry and enabled the Sultan to surveil the activities of intermediary power-holders and keep their power in check, but also demanded that the Sultan be the haven of justice to maintain the *undisputed* right to rule, keeping the Sultan who wished to continue having legitimacy in the eyes

⁶¹ Somel, Neumann and Singer, “Introduction: re-sounding silent voices,” *Untold histories of the Middle East*, 7-8.

⁶² Altınay and Türkyılmaz, “Unravelling layers of gendered silencing: Converted Armenian survivors of the 1915 catastrophe,” *Untold histories of the Middle East*, 13, 25, 27, 43-44. Cf. Ekmekçioğlu, *Recovering Armenia: The limits of belonging in post-genocide Turkey*, 12.

⁶³ Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*, 144-5.

⁶⁴ Somel, Neumann and Singer, *Ibid.*, 16-7.

of his subjects in check and responsive.⁶⁵ The general society negotiated, and affected policy making, “generat[ing] lasting and sometimes wide-ranging changes in the application of the laws and regulations of the empire.”⁶⁶ This picture forcefully challenges the still oft reproduced framework that assigns agency singularly to the sultans and the state elite to the exclusion of all others despite the best attempts of many scholars, “leaving the remaining society devoid of its own historical voice,”⁶⁷ thereby undermining the dynamism and polyphony of Ottoman society at large,⁶⁸ and condemning the field to dimensionless and reductive studies. By the same token, treating the state and society as two severed entities with only the former having an influence on the latter and so postulating that their relationship is exclusively unidirectional denies their complex patterns of interaction and the very nature of the state “as a historically and politically contingent formation.”⁶⁹

0.3 Historiographical Survey

As Somel, Neumann, and Singer adroitly point out, some categories of voices have been overlooked or deliberately silenced not only due to the prevailing influence of “colonial, modernist, nationalist” and paternalistic considerations and metanarratives, but also to historians’ employment of certain structural frameworks and generalizations.⁷⁰ Much ink has been spilled towards dismantling the threadbare yet tenacious frameworks formulated around Ottoman *decline*, modernization theory, the nationalist/developmentalist metanarrative as well as their corollaries that obscured the scholarship of these periods and beyond. Betraying overriding presentist concerns, the early 18th century had inaccurately been coined by late Ottoman-early Republican

⁶⁵ Cf. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660*, 305-6.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 281.

⁶⁷ Somel, Neumann and Singer, Ibid., 3.

⁶⁸ Akin, Ibid., 436-7.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Somel, Neumann and Singer, Ibid., 7.

historian Ahmed Refik (1881-1937) as a watershed moment characterizing the Ottoman Empire's *early westernization*⁷¹ and been uncritically espoused and disseminated by modern historians until recently. However, Erimtan categorically debunked this theory by deftly laying bare the retrospective teleological tenets of the 'Tulip Age' "as a kind of harbinger of the idea that modernization is synonymous with Westernization in an Ottoman-Turkish context."⁷² The comprehension of decline as a blanket category permeating all spheres of life and as one of 'unilinearity' has led to the erroneous framing of the Ottoman Empire as a 'static' entity incapable of rejuvenation while in fact "every 'warp of decline' was entangled in the 'weft of renewal.'"⁷³ That decline was all-encompassing meant that military decline, for instance, be construed ipso facto as decline on the social, political, and cultural planes, whereby production in all of these areas was "deemed in the negative."⁷⁴ This understanding axiomatically inferred that the only way to counter this *decline* was for the Empire to *import* ideas and institutions wholesale from foreign entities and that 19th century changes were "sudden and new, indeed unprecedented."⁷⁵ As Abou-El-Haj emphatically stresses, however, the demands and aspirations behind at least some of the 19th-century Ottoman reforms were internally configured instead of being "based on an external (i.e., Western) model, which was imported and superimposed on Ottoman society."⁷⁶ While we can trace some of these reforms back to an ongoing trajectory of change that emerged in the 17th century Ottoman context, thereby entrenching them deeply in the inventive operations of Ottoman

⁷¹ Erimtan, "The Perception of Saadabad: The "Tulip Age" and Ottoman Safavid Rivalry," *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, 45.

⁷² Ibid., 61.

⁷³ Sajdi, "Decline, its Discontents and Ottoman Cultural History: By Way of Introduction," *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, 17. Cf. Kafadar, "The question of Ottoman decline," *Harvard Middle East and Islamic Review* 4 (1997-8), 34-5.

⁷⁴ Cf. Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, 22.

⁷⁵ Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, 62.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

political thought,⁷⁷ it is important to acknowledge the apparent departure from the past in various crucial ways with an emphasis on the rule of law and equality among subjects.⁷⁸ The Ottoman Empire was not an ‘exotic’ or *sui generis* entity, “in fact, the broad sweep of change that was taking place in European societies as a whole at the same period was to find it paralleled in Ottoman society.”⁷⁹

Viewing the relationship of subjects with the state under imperial rule in categorical, straightforward, and systematic terms is not conducive to understanding the range of “social experiences” that emerged from this dynamic with countervailing modalities of rule playing out concomitantly. As Lessersohn points out, life in the late Ottoman Empire cannot be fathomed as “an either/or circumstance. We must exercise the patience to consider more than one lived reality and conceptualize lives lived in more than one register... a late Ottoman (Armenian) subject could feel both ownership and alienation, brotherhood and fear.”⁸⁰ Therefore, “imperial rule represented not hypothetical, clear-cut alternatives but simultaneous, messy realities.”⁸¹ The disparities in imperial attitude, often interpreted as anomalies or discrepancies should rather be decoded as the adaptable and efficient workings of ‘imperial statecraft’ for prolonging the life of Empire.⁸² As Laycock highlights, conceptualizing the experiences of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire by extending the geographical scope to include the Russian context instead of artificially severing the two histories yields fruitful points for consideration.⁸³ Riegg’s discerning observations about

⁷⁷ Abou-El-Haj, *Ibid.*, 64-6. Cf. Barkey, *Ibid.*, 26-7.

⁷⁸ Deringil, *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁸⁰ Lessersohn, ““Provincial Cosmopolitanism” in Late Ottoman Anatolia: An Armenian Shoemaker’s Memoir.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 57.2 (2015), 532, 543.

⁸¹ Riegg, *Russia’s Entangled Embrace: The Tsarist Empire and the Armenians, 1801-1914*, 6-7.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Laycock is specifically talking about the World War I period, yet her point is applied here more broadly. Laycock, “Beyond National Narratives? Centenary Histories, the First World War and the Armenian Genocide Armenian Genocide.” *Revolutionary Russia* 28, no. 2 (2015), 103.

Armenians under Russian imperial rule where the Empire created an economic and cultural space which allowed for more opportunity and greater potential as well as financial capability than what might have been possible in a more finite political entity and how it “identified, incentivized, and regulated loyal service minorities⁸⁴ while confronting their unique self-interests and ambitions”⁸⁵ are especially pertinent and applicable to the case of Ottoman Armenians, and the Manases more specifically. It is certainly possible to talk about how the sizeable financial capital and in turn influence acquired by the Armenian *amira*⁸⁶ class incentivized a great many of them to have a stake in the maintenance of the state of affairs. As members of the Ottoman elite, with the status of *amira* often passing down through generations, the *amiras* were frequently a force for the status quo leading to clashes with the rising intelligentsia fervently opposed to the *Amira*-Patriarchate alliance for resisting change,⁸⁷ in the 19th century. Yet, while *amiras* “delayed the emergence of some institutions, they helped in the development of others.”⁸⁸ The attitude of the *amira* class cannot be understood to have been monolithic either, as technocrat *amiras* tended to be more supportive of change than their banker counterparts and it was the constitutionalists designated *lusavoreal* (enlightened) who eventually overrode the *xavareal* (obscurantists) when the Armenian Constitution was proclaimed in 1863 despite the banker *amiras*’ efforts.⁸⁹ While the expansive

⁸⁴ Riegg uses the concept ‘minority’ *avant la lettre*, therefore anachronistically in this context. Cf. White, *The Emergence of Minorities in the Middle East*.

⁸⁵ Riegg, *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸⁶ The word *amira* derives from, but is historically much newer than the Arabic words *mir*, *emir*, *mirimiran*, meaning commander/ruler. (Mrmërean, *Hin ôrer u ayt ôrerun hay metsadunnerë: 1550-1870*, 5.) The term *mîr-i mîrân* is synonymous with *beylerbey*. Mrmërean lists *dohmabed* (lit. ethnarch), *danudêr* (lit. lord of a house), *metsawor* (lit. superior), *ch’êlêbi*, *hōjay*, *aghay* as words with equivalent meaning. (*Ibid.*) It was an honorific appellation which the Armenian community bestowed on some of its members who exhibited great success and prestige; most *amiras* were bankers. See Chapter 4.

⁸⁷ In Constantinople and the provinces of Turkish Armenia the national-conservative mindset clashed with the Western progressive currents that harbored “fresh European thoughts and noble aspirations.” (P’ap’azean, *Patmut’iwn hayots’ grakanut’ean (banahiwsut’ean patmut’iwn) skzbits’ minch’ew mer ôrerê*, 638.)

⁸⁸ Barsoumian, “The Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul,” PhD diss., vi.

⁸⁹ Barsoumian, “The Dual Role of the Armenian Amira Class Within the Ottoman Government and the Armenian Millet (1750-1850),” *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Abridged Edition*, ed. Benjamin Braude, 142-3.

umbrella of Armenian as an ethnic category extended across the various fault lines of “language, culture, religion, locality, region, and class,” to assume that the identity and experiences of an Armenian from Sivas could be directly mapped onto those of a bourgeois Constantinopolitan Armenian⁹⁰ would be broad-brushed and lead to facile conclusions. The Armenian writer, playwright, and activist Vrt‘anes P‘ap‘azean (1866-1920) educated in literature and the social sciences at the Geneva University following his formation at the Gevorgian Theological Seminary in Etchmiadzin, who during his career collaborated with Armenian, Russian, and European publishing outlets, notes in his history published in 1910 that in Constantinople and the provinces of Turkish Armenia the national-conservative mindset clashed with the Western progressive currents that harbored “fresh European thoughts and noble aspirations.”⁹¹ There certainly were Armenians from different classes who were ‘anti-West’ as opposed to those clearly in support of Christian Europe like P‘ap‘azean, once again showcasing “intra-Armenian differences,” which are frequently elided and glossed over by modern scholarship.⁹² Going beyond “hard and fast categories and facile labelling [which] have led to much historically inaccurate stereotyping,”⁹³ then, one can recover the multivalent character of the Ottoman Armenian community and the cleavages therein, which like other parts of society was a kaleidoscopic miscellany, not a “monochrome universe made of a single cloth.”⁹⁴

An ecosystem where ‘Armenophilia’ and ‘Armenophobia’ occurred simultaneously with one preponderating over the other depending on the milieu and where Armenians were “derided

⁹⁰ Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution: From Liberty to Violence in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 4.

⁹¹ P‘ap‘azean, *Patmut‘iwn hayots‘ grakanut‘ean (banahiwsut‘ean patmut‘iwn) skzbits‘ minch‘ew mer òrerē*, 638. The first parts of the book were published in manuscript form in 1907. (See preamble by author)

⁹² Lessersohn, *Ibid.*, 547.

⁹³ Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*, 2-3.

⁹⁴ Kafadar, “The Myth of the Golden Age: Ottoman Historical Consciousness in the Post Süleymânîc Era.” *Süleymân the Second and His Time*. Ed. Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar.

as uncivilized” and seditious while at the same time being “hailed as [the] most loyal subjects” in the Russian imperial context also find parallels in the story of Ottoman Armenians, who were “indispensable to the state’s imperial project.”⁹⁵ In both imperial settings, Armenians seem to have gotten an edge due to their skills as merchants,⁹⁶ but in the Ottoman case, also as bankers.

Still, despite these similarities, there were also important differences between the two settings as far as the Armenians were concerned; whereas both the Russian Empire and the Armenians were Christian, Armenians belonged to a different denomination,⁹⁷ apart from being ethnically and linguistically distinct from the ruling dynasty. Yet, the clashes between the Russian Empire and the Georgians in fact proves that religious kinship did not necessarily constitute sufficient grounds for ‘political symbiosis’,⁹⁸ making clear that the predominantly fruitful cooperation between the Russian Empire and its Armenians cannot be boiled down to this. Notwithstanding Armenians’ ambivalent situation in both imperial settings, Eastern Armenians appear to have had “fleeting but painful periods of reactionary vigilance, when the state apparatus perceived Armenians as inveterately disloyal,” while Western Armenians suffered a far worse fate.

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0.4 Major Developments of the Period

In 1793, the Ottoman Empire transitioned to residential diplomacy and consular services in line with its plan to integrate itself more fully into the European diplomatic framework. In addition to the military reforms he introduced, through his comprehensive reform program, *Nizâm-ı Cedid* (the New Order), Selim III (r. 1789-1807) also devised the complete elimination of the

⁹⁵ Riegg, *Ibid.*, 4.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁹⁷ While the Russian Orthodox Church and the Armenian Apostolic Church share adherence to the first three ecumenical councils, the Armenian Church rejected the definition of the nature of Christ adopted in the fourth council, that of Chalcedon, held in 451.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 241.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 238, 243-4.

long-held fiscal arrangement of the Empire, the *malikane* system, through the gradual retraction of the land contracts by first withdrawing *malikane* shares equal to or exceeding 5,000 *kuruş* and transferring them to the *Îrâd-i Cedîd*, the treasury created to fund the *Nizâm-ı Cedîd* projects, upon the shareholders' demise.¹⁰⁰ This fiscal reconfiguration meant that the private holdings of the state elite and rural gentry would be liquidated and incorporated back into the central state structure, in turn depriving these established households of much of their wealth, political base, and influence over the state, founded on these contractual arrangements. As centrifugal power clusters, the magnates responded to the centralization attempts of Selim III through the alliance they forged with the "members of the 'former' reformist coalition" which thwarted this attempt of the Sultan by exploiting the Janissary coup of 1807.¹⁰¹ While some of Selim's reforms were undercut on his assassination by the Janissaries in 1807, he nonetheless successfully laid the groundworks for their future realization by his successor Mahmud II. After this coalition deposed Selim III, Mahmud II was enthroned and the magnates committed their loyalty and support to the throne on the proviso that the Sultan acknowledge their right to their accrued properties and political gains as well as influence through the 'Pact of Alliance' of 1808.¹⁰² The *malikane* system was retained in a restricted form until the advent of European banking in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰³

Given that in the first part of his reign Mahmud concerted his efforts toward consolidating his power, it was not until the latter part of his rule that could be said to have begun with the abolishment of the Janissary corps in 1826 in what is referred to as the Auspicious Event, that he launched his wide-ranging reforms, thereby reinvigorating his Empire. The first period of

¹⁰⁰ Salzmann, "An Ancien Régime Revisited: "Privatization" and Political Economy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire." *Politics & Society* 21, no. 4 (1993), 407-8.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

residential diplomacy was brought to a close with the outbreak of the Greek Revolt in 1821 when the Ottoman state lost its trust in the Phanariot Greeks on whom it had relied so heavily. With the Greek Revolt, the Ottoman government was drawn into an intimate encounter with the ideas of freedom, nationalism, and independence in its native context that had been far more remote when it had related to France during the French Revolution in 1789.¹⁰⁴ Apprehending and translating correspondence from the leaders of the Greek Revolt including Alexander Ypsilantis, the Ottomans were confronted with “the new vocabulary of a new creature, and an extremely dangerous creature at that,” further motivating the state’s opposition.¹⁰⁵ For the Phanariot Greeks who remained loyal and sought to continue to operate in the framework of the Empire, this episode had a dire effect as it dismantled their ‘networks of clientage’¹⁰⁶ as well as fracturing their relationship to the Sultan. While some were able to recoup their influence, their initial purging from government service created new openings for other groups like Armenians as exemplified by the Manases’ activities in foreign service. Before the Greek Revolt came to a close, the Catholic Armenians of the Ottoman Empire witnessed both the trauma of a mass exile in 1828 as well as official recognition of their community in the framework of a separate *millet* in 1830, following the political pressure exerted by the Catholic European powers of France, Austria, and Spain. In 1834 Mahmud II resumed residential diplomacy under a more institutionalized and bureaucratic scheme.

In the milieu of the 19th century like any dynastic ruler, Ottoman sultans had to contend with the vertiginous challenges around their right to rule, as to reign solely on divine claims or as the ultimate dispenser of justice were no longer sustainable in an environment which prized

¹⁰⁴ Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 12.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 12.

¹⁰⁶ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 87.

representation as a requisite feature of legitimacy.¹⁰⁷ Through the Gülhane Edict of 1839 and the Reform Edict of 1856, Abdülmecid (r. 1839-1861) pledged to represent his population, affirming the equality of all subjects in the eyes of the regime irrespective of religion or ethnicity. While these two edicts are frequently viewed in perfect unison, it is important to reflect on their distinct concerns as the former grew out of the domestic considerations of the religious and state apparatus, while the latter was focused on the protections afforded to *non-Muslims* and was a foreign imposition.¹⁰⁸ The Nationality Law of 1869 proclaimed during the reign of Abdülaziz (r. 1861-1876) further buttressed the position of the *non-Muslims* of the Empire as being equal Ottoman subjects.¹⁰⁹ The reforms of the Tanzimat Period also paved the way for constitutionalism¹¹⁰ and in an effort to placate the liberalizing movements in the Empire pushing for a constitutional government, Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) promulgated the Ottoman Constitution in 1876, when he ascended the throne. This proved to be a short-lived success for constitutionalists, however, as the Sultan suspended constitutional monarchy only two years later, in 1878. Hopes were quite high at the end of the Hamidian period with the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 that promised peaceful co-existence based on ‘brotherhood’,¹¹¹ however, the vision of Ottomanism, though initially supported, did not prove to be an effective long-term *mythomoteur* for the *non-Muslims* as it became clear that these groups would not be allowed to retain their ethno-religious identities.¹¹²

Over the course of the 1800s, the Armenian community in the Ottoman Empire saw several shifts develop as a new cultural identity grew out of the ‘Armenian Renaissance’ (*Zart‘ōnk’*).¹¹³ Despite the friction between the traditionalist and liberal factions, after the mediation of the

¹⁰⁷ White, *The Emergence of Minorities in the Middle East*, 29.

¹⁰⁸ Deringil, *Ibid.*, 23-4.

¹⁰⁹ Der Matossian, *Ibid.*, 8.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 3.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 9.

Ottoman government, the Armenian National Constitution was passed without dissent on May 1860 by the National Assembly and was ratified by the Ottoman state in March 1863.¹¹⁴ Within the community, traditional centers of power were rebalanced in the prism of the Tanzimat reforms and the following political developments on the Armenian axis, more specifically; the significance of *amiras* was diminished as the Armenian bourgeoisie of traders and guildsmen, who were involved with the constitutional movement, came to hold sway over communal levers of power.¹¹⁵ While the 19th century saw the ascent of the Armenian tradesmen, it also witnessed the decay of the socio-political environment in eastern Anatolia which would spur the inception and development of Armenian revolutionary organizations.¹¹⁶ Towards the end of the 19th century economic depression (1870-1890) coupled with heightened inter-ethnic tensions in Anatolia dealt a major blow to the ‘Armenian economy’ that had become an undeniably potent force in the central cities of Ankara and Trabzon, the peripheral cities of Kayseri, Harput, and Tokat as well as the international hubs of London and Manchester¹¹⁷, while later tragic episodes including the Hamidian Massacres of 1894-1896 and the Adana Massacres of 1909, which resulted in the death of thousands of Armenians, crippled it further as a result of the extensive confiscations as well as damages inflicted on Armenian enterprises and properties alike.¹¹⁸ The blacklisting of *non-Muslim* goods following the Balkan Wars of 1912-3 was another destructive moment¹¹⁹ before the ‘Armenian economy’ was ultimately destroyed with the much more systematic procedure of

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 10.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 10.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 9-10.

¹¹⁷ Der Matossian, “The Taboo within the Taboo: The Fate of ‘Armenian Capital’ at the End of the Ottoman Empire,” *European Journal of Turkish Studies. Social Sciences on Contemporary Turkey* (2011), 4-5.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 5-6.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 5-6.

“confiscation that ended with the appropriation of ‘Armenian capital’ during the Republican period” as a result of the Genocide of 1915-6.¹²⁰

Throughout this period, in the face of extensive onslaught and episodes of despoliation perpetrated by Turkish and Kurdish rural gentry in the high-density Armenian population regions of Anatolia, mass conversions of Armenians took place without heed to the fastidious procedures of conversion.¹²¹ Prior to the Genocide, regardless of the prejudice and mistreatment many faced, an overwhelming majority of Ottoman Armenians continued to be devoted to the Ottoman state, while looking for the betterment of their circumstances through reform.¹²² Armenians had a pronounced cooperation with the Young Turks due to their common goals of the restoration of the constitution and the toppling of the Hamidian regime and while a severing took place between these two groups in 1902,¹²³ “a cautious rapprochement” was established again in 1905 through the proxy of Prince Sabahaddin Bey.¹²⁴ These Armenian political formations including the Hnchaks mostly eschewed revolution and violence and operated within the parliamentary framework¹²⁵ and a number of members from the Armenian elite continued to hold senior positions in the Ottoman state shortly before the Genocide.

0.5 Dissertation Plan & Approach

The recent evolution of the historiographical enterprise with a move beyond structuralism and the over-representation of the ruling class through the dismantling of firmly established discursive rubrics is hoped to galvanize more diverse avenues of historical research while

¹²⁰ Ibid., 3.

¹²¹ Deringil, ““The Armenian Question Is Finally Closed”: Mass Conversions of Armenians in Anatolia during the Hamidian Massacres of 1895–1897.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51.2 (2009), 347-8; Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 27.

¹²² Suny, “Writing Genocide: The Fate of the Ottoman Armenians,” *A Question of Genocide*, 28.

¹²³ Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution*, 14.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 15.

¹²⁵ Suny, Ibid., 28.

functioning as a bulwark against the future silencing of these voices.¹²⁶ Yet, despite these positive advancements, their thorough embrace is a *desideratum*. The dissertation at hand espouses and employs such a sensibility not only through its uncovering and historicization of the female members of the Manas family to the extent possible, most notably through giving central placement to the circumstances of Sofi Murad in the bounds of Chapter Three, but also more generally through its study of a family neither possessing the most favored religio-ethnic identity in a *Muslim* Empire, one in fact that led the state to label its adherents as a ‘fifth column’, nor one that belonged to the highest echelons of its own community or the society at large. Its *mediocrity* sometimes eclipsed its *prominence* that paled in comparison to many other actors including the Balyans who emerged as “Armenian genius figures.”¹²⁷ By zooming in on the Manases, this dissertation ventures beyond the restrictive confines of those at the very top and restores the historicity and agency of the *less prominent* to the study of the Ottoman Empire.

As many others have before, the current study goes beyond reductive notions and myths of *Turkish Yoke* that paint the Ottoman Empire as “exploitative, tyrannical and parasitic” or of ‘idyllic’ co-existence,¹²⁸ and aims to delineate the complexity of patterns of interaction experienced by Ottoman Armenians in their “simultaneous persecution and inclusion”¹²⁹ by prioritizing contextualization in each chapter while cognizant of the fact that the reconstruction of the period *wie es eigentlich gewesen* is not an attainable goal.¹³⁰ As Marcus incisively observes, recreating “a world now vanished and unknowable at first hand” yields only a “historical approximation” not simply because it is *lost*, but also because our individual biases as researchers

¹²⁶ Somel, Neumann and Singer, *Ibid.*, 7.

¹²⁷ Wharton, *The Architects of Ottoman Constantinople: The Balyan family and the history of Ottoman architecture*, 2.

¹²⁸ Lessersohn, *Ibid.*, 532, 542.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 553.

¹³⁰ Somel, Neumann and Singer, *Ibid.*, 2.

are unavoidably bound to distort the picture somehow.¹³¹ Propelled by the commitment to transcend approaches that reduce Ottoman Armenians narrowly to victimhood by “veil[ing] history if not lock[ing] [it] into violence,”¹³² the study at hand joins in the tradition of Shapiro in the need for lavishing more attention on the evolution and burgeoning of Armenian cultural and artistic production at the capital instead of focusing singularly on the Western Armenian society’s moment of “fall,”¹³³ and Lessersohn in focusing on the dynamic and ‘multifarious’ nature of the Ottoman Empire and favoring intricate modes of symbiosis over an ahistorical ‘insularity’ between different groups during the Ottoman period beyond the bounds of genocide, while not being detached from the very real episodes of violence carried out against the Armenians in the late Ottoman period culminating in 1915.¹³⁴

The current study encompasses the first half of the 19th century as part of its temporal scope, which Philliou has described as a ‘lacuna,’¹³⁵ or ‘black hole’¹³⁶ as it has not been widely studied or evaluated in its own right, but has rather been viewed as falling between the fault lines of the “classical/post-classical framework and the retrospective teleology of modernization,” and therefore evaluated as either the ‘time of ‘proto-reforms’ or the ‘eve of nationalism’.¹³⁷ Many of the Manases who are studied in this work were active in this period and following Philliou in using ‘networks’ and ‘personal autonomy’¹³⁸ as principal categories of investigation in recapturing 19th-century systems of governance, this study is better able to situate the Manases in the diplomatic

¹³¹ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the eighteenth century*, 11-2.

¹³² Toksöz, “Multiplicity or polarity: A discursive analysis of post-1908 violence in an Ottoman region,” *Untold histories of the Middle East*, 214.

¹³³ Shapiro, *Ibid.*, 67-8.

¹³⁴ Lessersohn, *Ibid.*, 529-531.

¹³⁵ Philliou, “The Ottoman Empire’s absent nineteenth century: Autonomous subjects,” *Untold histories of the Middle East*, 143-5.

¹³⁶ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, xvii.

¹³⁷ Philliou, “The Ottoman Empire’s absent nineteenth century,” 143-5.

¹³⁸ Philliou, *Ibid.*, 144-5.

and bureaucratic framework where they were active during the second residential diplomacy attempt. The first attempt at residential diplomacy saw the continuation of Phanariot systems of operation, and while in the second one after the Greek Revolt, the Ottoman Empire made a concerted effort at dismantling Phanariot ‘matrices of governance’ and ‘networks of clientage’ some Phanariots reemerged making themselves essential to the Sultan and being employed at high ranks of the diplomatic structure. These ‘Neophanariots’¹³⁹ and their affiliates continued their practice of using informal means of “manipulat[ing] and circumvent[ing] those men in formal positions of power” into the second period.¹⁴⁰ While the Manases are not known to have been Phanariot-affiliated, understanding this quality of the period’s ecosystem as one that goes beyond the restrictive institutional paradigm, certainly enables a more nuanced understanding of the circumstances in which the Manases and other mid-level diplomats operated and saw themselves integrated in.

The Manases did not exist in a vacuum and their activities cannot be accurately valorized without deciphering the world in which they operated, hence this study intimately ties the Manases to Armenian, Ottoman, artistic, diplomatic, conversion, and financial historiography following in the tradition of recent scholarship such as that of Wharton’s *The Architects of Ottoman Constantinople: The Balyan family and the history of Ottoman architecture*, which emerges as a similar case study of a well-known *Bolsahay*¹⁴¹ family with artistic talents.¹⁴² By the same token for the accurate coverage of the Manas family it becomes essential to untangle the inherent biases

¹³⁹ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, xxi, 87.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., xxiv, xxix.

¹⁴¹ Constantinopolitan Armenian.

¹⁴² While Wharton criticizes scholarship on the Balyans for taking widely circulated information at face value, she reproduces a similarly perfunctory approach in her treatment of the Manases where she perpetuates the clichés and generic accounts of the family already being disseminated, presenting them alongside *amira* families without raising questions regarding the Manases being a “dynasty.” (Cf. Wharton, Ibid., 14-5, 19, 101.)

relating to Armenians in the scholarship as well as those of the field as a whole.¹⁴³ The study at hand, while cognizant of the Armenian and Catholic identities of the family, approaches its members as integral actors in the wider Ottoman society without assuming impermeable barriers between the various communities. This porousness within society renders obsolete approaches dichotomizing Ottoman and Armenian existence and history,¹⁴⁴ yet the tenacity of this understanding has made it so that scholarly production continues to replicate it. The Manases for instance are absent from many traditional works on Ottoman painting as these often begin and end with a discussion of the painting careers of Ottoman Muslims, resulting in the painting activities of the Manases to being relegated to works focusing on Armenian output. Even when they receive mention and are not completely erased from history, their agency is diluted through parochial and superficial discussions. The absence or limited representation of the Manases in the field of art history so far, therefore, underpins “a greater malaise” that acutely impinges on Ottoman scholarly output as a whole, as Davidian astutely formulates.¹⁴⁵ Armenian historiography too is plagued by “myopic nationalist” tendencies fueled by the trauma of genocide that deem “all aspects of Ottoman and Armenian coexistence, integration and experience as negative.”¹⁴⁶ This undercurrent often leads to the treasuring of the legacy of Russian Armenian artists over that of their Ottoman Armenian counterparts as one that dovetails with the ‘national liberation ideology’, and to the conscious decontextualization of Ottoman Armenians by divorcing them from their Ottoman setting, whenever they are studied.¹⁴⁷ However, this is not limited to Ottoman Armenian figures as the eradication of the *counterintuitive* presence of *non-Muslim* individuals of the Ottoman

¹⁴³ Cf. Ibid., 1.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Wharton, Ibid., 3.

¹⁴⁵ Davidian, “Reframing Ottoman Art Histories: Bringing Silenced Voices Back into the Picture.” *Études arméniennes contemporaines* 6 (2015), 2.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 4.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 3-4; Khatcherian, “Armenian crafts in the Ottoman Empire: Armenian identity and cultural exchange,” 486, 490.

Empire who have occupied a space “on the margins of national historiography”¹⁴⁸ finds many parallels in Greek historiography as well. The pro-Ottoman Emmanouil Emmanouilidis studied by Kechriotis and Stefanaki Bey examined by Philliou¹⁴⁹ emerge as two such examples, where these historians robustly challenge notions of ‘undifferentiated’ passivity and victimhood¹⁵⁰ ascribed to *non-Muslims* of the Ottoman Empire by highlighting *loyalist non-Muslim* individuals who upheld the Ottomanist ethos in the day-to-day politics of the Empire.¹⁵¹ Therefore, Ottoman *non-Muslims* more often than not fall through the cracks in normatively charged works of different historiographic traditions as they deny the interaction of different elements of society and produce narratives devoid of context that gloss over the vital dynamism between the two.¹⁵² In carefully deciphering the agency of the Manases in their Ottoman setting, this study embraces geographical space as a meaningful category of creative process and cultural production in line with Shapiro who stresses the entry of Armenian refugees from the peripheries into the ‘globalizing’ setting of the capital and coastal cities as having engendered a new culture, a ‘Western Armenian culture,’ informed by this new milieu.¹⁵³ It also restores the voice of the *loyalist* Manases who remained in the service of the court in different capacities through the many tribulations of the 19th and 20th centuries and continued to participate in the artistic life and ideological configurations of the Turkish Republic, whose actions cannot be explained through rigid modern categories of belonging or from within the unyielding contours of statist master narratives.

¹⁴⁸ Kechriotis, “On the margins of national historiography: The Greek *İttihatçı* Emmanouil Emmanouilidis – opportunist or Ottoman patriot?,” *Untold histories of the Middle East: Recovering voices from the 19th and 20th centuries*, ed. Amy Singer, Christoph Neumann and Selçuk Akşin Somel, 124.

¹⁴⁹ Philliou, “The Ottoman Empire’s absent nineteenth century: Autonomous subjects,” *Untold histories of the Middle East*, 143-158; Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution*.

¹⁵⁰ Laycock, “Beyond National Narratives? Centenary Histories, the First World War and the Armenian Genocide,” *Revolutionary Russia* 28, no. 2 (2015), 105.

¹⁵¹ Kechriotis, *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁵² Khatcherian, *Ibid.*, 487.

¹⁵³ Shapiro, *Ibid.*, 70, 85.

By choosing to investigate the artistic production of artists such as the Manases that increasingly adopted the Western modality, this dissertation goes beyond the overarching and deeply entrenched notion that beleaguers the scholarship on Ottoman art history, which renders the artistic output of those producing in Western modes as “mimetic,” “derivative,” and bereft of value and meaning.¹⁵⁴ The process of cultural importation is all but straightforward, ineluctably resulting in the transformation of the very thing that is being adopted as it becomes laden with the idiocratic outlook of the autochthonous culture and with its treatment of it, giving it a distinct character, therefore, as Shaw observes, “Painting in the Western modality as practiced in the Ottoman Empire is not the same as Western painting because it does not contain the legacy of its discourse.”¹⁵⁵ Hence, portraits produced following the European mode of portraiture by Ottoman painters such as the Manases are better conceptualized as “translation[s], not... transcription[s],”¹⁵⁶ which achieved “structural original[ity]” despite their following of the rules.¹⁵⁷ The artistic career trajectories of the Manases will not only be probed through the piecing together of the remnants of biographical data, but also through the Manases’ artistic output not as “‘reflections’ of history or social relations, but... [as] historically specific documents.”¹⁵⁸

In the formulation and presentation of this study many valuable works on different aspects of Ottoman life and history have guided the way in avoiding pitfalls and in the assessment and contextualization of the material in a sensible way, as has been highlighted in the surrounding pages. Yet, I was also compelled to blaze my own path in undertaking the study of such a superficially and inaccurately represented family, which warranted a meticulous overhaul,

¹⁵⁴ Davidian, *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁵⁵ Shaw, *Ottoman Painting: Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic*, 1, 11.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹⁵⁸ Davidian, “Portrait of an Ottoman Armenian Artist of Constantinople: Rereading Teotig’s Biography of Simon Hagopian.” *Études arméniennes contemporaines* 4 (2014), 3-5.

effectuated most notably through rigorous archival research and the creation of a fresh and nuanced framework for an empirically sound and refined treatment of the collated material, both old and new. The Manases remained up until now a virtually unstudied Armenian family in the Ottoman Empire as while the family appears in a number of works, some only in passing, much of the same information is carried over from one source to the next verbatim or with minimal adjustment and without depth of discussion. Previous scholarship has stuck to hackneyed explanations and frameworks of meaning, often with little effort exerted to verify or clarify the information by placing it under the necessary academic scrutiny.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, no authoritative or nuanced study

¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, there are some exceptions to this general diagnosis and several works provide some insightful information on the Manases. The first work worthy of mention belongs to Nurdan Sürbahan (Küçükhasköylü). In comparison to the rest of the available secondary literature on the topic, her Master's thesis "19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Sarayında Ressam Manas Ailesi," (2002) and her later articles "Osmanlı Sarayında Ermeni Ressamlar: Manas Ailesi," (2011) and "Dolmabahçe Sarayı'ndan Bir Ressam: Josef Manas" (2007) are able to tackle the painting activities of the family in a more thorough way. While there is a lot of merit in Sürbahan's work, the current dissertation is very distinct from it both in terms of the extent of the research, the use of previously untapped archival sources, and its ability to draw together the multiple varying facets of the Manases' works and careers rather than focusing more narrowly on portraiture and diplomacy. Whereas Sürbahan's Master's thesis is a valuable summary of the superficial aspects of the family's efforts in portraiture and diplomacy, it falls short of providing an authoritative account of the family and leaves many of the deeper issues which this dissertation delves into, unexamined. The present work problematizes the lives and careers of the Manas family, examines the deeper ramifications of their activities in the fields of portraiture and diplomacy that have so far been cursorily discussed, and creates frameworks for the discussion of the family's Catholic identity and its participation in banking. Other works worthy of mention belong to Armenag Sakēzean and Kevork Pamukçıyan. Sakēzean's "Manasnerē hay ngarich'neru harsdut'iwn mē 18-19 tar," (1933) is the earliest work that attempts to provide a comprehensive account of the Manases by bringing together primary sources as well as secondary sources and oral accounts. Others writing on the Manases after him seem to have used his work as the basis for their own. Pamukçıyan, on the other hand, contributes to the study of this topic by sorting out some of the confusions in the literature through his examination of Armenian archival material in his four volume work, *Ermeni Kaynaklarından Tarihe Katkılar*, (2002-2003) which was published posthumously. In the section on the Manases, Garo Kürkman attributes a genealogical tree of the Ottoman sultans from Osman I (r. 1299-1326) up through Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839) to Zenop Manas based on a note attached to it. While he argues against Zenop and Menasi being Manases, Kemal Beydilli offers insightful information on the translation activities of Zenop preceding his appointment as head translator to Vienna Embassy as well as on the banking activities of Menasi/Manisar. (Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*.) The earliest mention of the Manas family, however, can be found in the work of the Italian cleric Giambatista Toderini, titled *Letteratura Turchesca* printed in 1787 under the section "The prohibition of human and animal figures by the Quran." This section was completed on February 25, 1785, and in it Toderini mentions Rafayel and Menasi. Shortly thereafter, Mouradgea D'Ohsson's, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman* was published in 1788, which also includes some information on the early members of the Manas family. These authors were, however, only able to write up through their own times, preventing any coverage of the family beyond the period during which Rafayel's son Menasi was court painter. Thus, the value of these sources is constrained to the earlier stages of the Manases' activities. While valuable and highly informative in certain respects, both of these works should also be used with caution given the orientalist biases that they reflect. The most well-known Manases also make appearances here and there in other accounts comprising biographies of noteworthy

of the Manases has previously been put forth, leaving the complexities and subtleties of the family's impact and legacy unexplored, making this project long overdue.

To rise to the occasion, this study is aimed at assessing the activities, experiences, reactions, and social impact of the Manases both on the individual and cumulative planes by addressing the extensive lacunae in their stories and rectifying the erroneous assumptions that have encumbered the scholarship on the family. The main thrust of this study is formulated on a social and cultural analytical foundation, which views “culture not merely as a superstructure, but as an important constitutive element in its own right”¹⁶⁰ and defines the Manases as social and cultural actors deeply rooted in historicity. By tracing the stories of each of the relevant Manases as a guiding principle, this study aims to “map [them as] individual historical subjects in a social matrix” focusing on their ‘situativeness’ rather than their ‘representativeness’.¹⁶¹ This study departs from conventional approaches in that it brings portraiture, diplomacy, Catholicism, and banking under the same umbrella to be examined through the prism of the Manases. The fleshing out of the multiple professions pursued by them as well as the various social, religious, and political identities inhabited by the family not only enabled a more nuanced portrayal of the family, but also an understanding of the *Zeitgeist* through the Manases and their activities by means of a text-centered approach founded on a prosopographic analysis of their identity and careers. The scope and methodology of research has been interdisciplinary, allowing cross-pollination among a variety of sources and fields and drawing on art history in addition to the more prevalent historical approach in tackling the family's contributions to the art scene.

Armenians, though such works mention them only in brief and without contributing any new information to the scholarship, so further elaboration on these will be omitted. Examination and discussion of the artistic merits of some of the artistic works of the Manases appears in multiple works, most notably *The Sultan's Portrait* and *Ottoman Painting*, and Sürbahan's thesis mentioned above.

¹⁶⁰ Sajdi, *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁶¹ Somel, Neumann and Singer, *Ibid.*, 6-7.

0.6 Overview of the Sources

While a range of archives including the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, Archives Nationales (France), The University Archives of the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts, The National Archives (UK), and Riksarkivet (National Archives of Sweden) have been perused in the course of research, this project has predominantly relied on findings from the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office, which houses a plethora of relevant documents in the form of notices of appointment, award citations, wills, salary records, petitions, official correspondence outlining the private matters concerning the Manases, *et alia*. Yet the uneven nature of the archival material, together with the motivations driving the composition of each particular document demands they be treated with circumspection. As Faroqhi aptly observes, "in Ottoman studies, we are very willing to forget that everybody, even the historian in his study or the bureaucrat in his office, has an axe to grind, and we are equally reluctant to investigate what kind of an axe that might be."¹⁶² It is the obligation of the researcher to not take the administrative official out of the human context, viewing him in light of the authority of their office alone, to avoid taking the documents produced by them at face value, and to pay heed to the underlying context and motivations for the production of the document as well as to the character of the bureaucrat, who often escapes scholarly attention.¹⁶³ This necessitates an alertness for the biases of the state that may be reflected in the government documents and caution to avoid disseminating these biases without comment or consideration.¹⁶⁴ In the case of petitions, the researcher is faced with a range of challenges in accurately unpacking the implications of the written material as the petitioner's idiosyncratic

¹⁶² Faroqhi, "Preface," *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, by Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, xi-xii.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Davidian, "Reframing Ottoman Art Histories: Bringing Silenced Voices Back into the Picture." *Études arméniennes contemporaines* 6 (2015), 5.

nature and voice get lost in the highly restrictive overall composition, the exigent formulaics of the phraseology, and the extensive reproduction of tropes. Generally speaking, on top of the challenges pertaining to the nuanced assessment of the narratological implications of petitions is an additional layer of obfuscation created by the indeterminate authorship as many Ottomans, educated or otherwise, resorted to the professional craft of the *arzuhalci*,¹⁶⁵ as has been noted previously.

The chronicles and histories (Şânizâde Mehmed Atâullah Efendi, Ahmed Lütî Efendi, and Cevdet Paşa to list but a few), as well as books of embassy and travelogues (Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi and Evliya Çelebi among many others) comprising accounts of diplomatic missions or visits to European cities have been analyzed in view of Ottoman diplomatic attitudes. Chronicles and histories are not exempt from intentional or unintentional inaccuracies either; whether due to the author's ideological leanings,¹⁶⁶ the salience of one event over another in his view, political considerations demanded by the his times, or simply the limitations imposed on authors of this genre, yet some authors tended to be more direct with their criticism and use “the chronicle as a vehicle of political comment and criticism directed at [their] own time[s].”¹⁶⁷ Examples of this can be found in the works of Ahmed Cevdet and Ahmed Lütî, which this dissertation makes use of, where these authors posit their views on the Tanzimat.¹⁶⁸

French and British foreign service records, Ottoman diplomatic correspondence, and newspapers (*Journal de l'Empire*, *La Turquie*, *Rûz-nâme-i Cerîde-i Havâdis*, *Tercümân-ı Ahvâl*, *Takvîm-i Vakâyi*, *Journal de Constantinople* et al.) provide a vast trove of information that has been used to verify a number of details in relation to the biographies of the Manases, while

¹⁶⁵ For further elaboration see Akin, Ibid.; Tuğ, Ibid.; Ben-Bassat and Zachs, Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Sajdi, Ibid., 17.

¹⁶⁷ Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources*, 157-8; cf. Ibid, 29.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 158.

almanacs such as *l'Almanach de Gotha*, *l'Almanach impérial*, and Ottoman *salnames* have especially proven helpful in substantiating the assignments of Ottoman diplomatic personnel across Europe. Newspapers including the official state paper *Takvîm-i Vakâyi*‘ and *Cerîde-i Havâdis*, which was privately foreign owned, yet received significant backing from the government, have been primarily surveyed to ascertain particular figures or data points related to the Manases rather than for more nuanced views and analyses of the times, therefore the fact that their content was being framed by the official discourse has not proven to be especially problematic.¹⁶⁹ Two issues of the *Surp Pırgiç Almanach*,¹⁷⁰ namely 1932 and 1933 and the 1944 issue of the *Kidagan Darekirk*‘ (Scientific Almanach) have also been utilized for the articles contained in them on the Manases written by Armenag Sakĕzean. This genre of works informed readers on a range of subjects pertaining to aspects of Armenian history, literature, heritage, culture, as well as new regulations, biographical accounts, and statistical data, which has proven to be a copious fount of information not only for the researcher, but also for an Armenian readership whose access to such knowledge has been thwarted by the state imposed absence of formal instruction of Armenian history.¹⁷¹

This dissertation also made use of a significant body of European travelogues and histories concerning the Ottoman Empire from the 15th up through the 19th centuries from a wide range of backgrounds and localities (including those of Lubenau, Tavernier, de la Motraye, Toderini, von Hammer-Purgstall, Rev. Southgate, Rev. Walsh, Vicomte A. de la Jonquière, and White among many others) and embassy accounts (among them the accounts of Austrian Ambassador Ogier

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Ibid., 168.

¹⁷⁰ *Ėntartsag Darekirk*‘ *Azkayin Hiwantanots*‘i (Extensive Yearbook of the National Hospital), more commonly known as the *Surp Pırgiç Almanach*. These yearbooks were annual publications of the *Surp Pırgiç Hospital*, established in Yedikule in 1834 by several charitable Ottoman Armenians headed by Kazaz Amira Bezciyan.

¹⁷¹ Suciyan, *The Armenians in Modern Turkey: Post-Genocide Society, Politics and History*, 4-5, 8-9.

Ghislain de Busbecq, French Ambassador Jean Louis d'Usson, Marquis de Bonnac, British Ambassador Stratford Canning, 1st Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe) as well as missionary accounts like that of the leading Catholic missionary Eugène Boré, that reveal information on different facets of Ottoman life from painting restrictions to banking, though it is necessary to read these sources with a view to errors born out of the prejudices of their authors, specifically relating to notions of oriental despotism, a conscious or unconscious motivation to undermine the sultans' legitimacy, an unwillingness to modify "their mental map of the world"¹⁷² and the 'selective blindness'¹⁷³ that emerges as a result. The infatuation with the *exotic*¹⁷⁴ permeates most European accounts and colors them with an Orientalizing take that focuses on 'peculiarities', ignores agency, and denies comparability. In the use of European sources belonging to any of the categories listed above in the context of this study, the backgrounds and professions of the authors were given due consideration as they enable an assessment of the bounds of the data each was able to gather on the basis of his formation and language abilities, of his motivations and the aspects he deemed worthwhile to communicate in his account, of the nature of work he set out to produce, "scholarly or sentimental",¹⁷⁵ and of the target audience. For instance, despite their church-related focus, missionaries maintained a linguistic advantage over the merchants and diplomats, who seldom possessed comparable linguistic abilities in the native languages of a region, which in turn allowed for more accuracy in the reports of the former.¹⁷⁶ This critical reading enables information to be gleaned from these sources be they fantastical and exaggerated,¹⁷⁷ 'pedestrian' and 'highly

¹⁷² Faroqhi, *Ibid.*, 131.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 140-1.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 4.

¹⁷⁵ Faroqhi, *Ibid.*, 116.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 121.

¹⁷⁷ While the fantastical aspects of Evliya Çelebi's ten-volume work has been widely acknowledged, modern scholars have been much slower to recognize similar fantastical elements that crop up in the accounts of his European counterparts who visited the Ottoman Empire and whose works likewise exhibit instances of 'myth-making'. (*Ibid.*, 133.)

standardized',¹⁷⁸ or politically charged yet sober. The fact that such works strove to fit Ottoman society into preconceived notions meant that the presence and operations of artists, musicians and craftsmen were glossed over at times. Ottoman painting prohibitions as recounted by European authors, irrespective of the authors' country of origin, background, or profession, from the 15th up through the 19th centuries, is an illuminating example of this tendentious apperception that is ubiquitous across European works, which at times subsume contradictory remarks in the bounds of a single work and one that this dissertation painstakingly tackles. Given the role that Europeans played in setting in motion the development of costume painting in the context of the Ottoman Empire and its wide accessibility and consumption by locals from the 17th century onwards, it is perplexing that Europeans could somehow remain unaware of a body of art which they consumed widely and conclude that all Muslims subjects of the realm recoiled at the sight of images. Even those Europeans who divulged within their accounts that they have purchased albums or figural images produced by Turks, do not allow this very fact to stand in the way of their claims to the contrary regarding the supposed staunch rejection of images by the Turks.¹⁷⁹ Occasional exceptions to this 'Ottoman prejudice' offered by the likes of Toderini and d'Ohsson only serve to highlight their argumentative point that the overwhelming majority held a negative view towards images and that the sultans were unique in their open minded embrace of figural representation.¹⁸⁰ This paradoxical portrayal continued into the 19th century and so the misalignment between the descriptions of the Ottoman artistic milieu by most Europeans and the available evidence is

¹⁷⁸Ibid., 115.

¹⁷⁹ For a more thorough examination of the supposed lack of human and animal imagery in the Ottoman context, for the 16th century cf. Bassano, *I Costumi et i Modi Particolari de la Vita de Turchi*, 50; Spandugino, *I Commentari di Theodoro Spandugino Dell'Origine de Principi Turchi*, 104; Schweigger, *Ein neue Reiß Beschreibung auß Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem*, Vol.1, Book 2:72; Lubenau, *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau*, ed. W Sahn, 264. For the 17th century cf. Tavernier, *Nouvelle Relation de l'intérieur du Serrail du Grand Seigneur*, 129-130. For the 18th century cf. Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, 3:58; Motraye, *Voyages du Sr. A. de La Motraye*, 1:109-110; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de L'Empire Othoman*, 4:459.

¹⁸⁰ D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de L'Empire Othoman*, 4:447.

noteworthy, but equally noteworthy are the stark contradictory views held within single works with respect to this issue. Gautier is a striking example of this kind of inconsistency; while he initially talks about how the comprehensive ban on images dictated by the Quran was limited to the theoretical realm and that in practice this ban was much less rigorously implemented, he later goes on to say that “la plus gothique barbarie” of the Turks in the arts, emanating from their religion, resulted in there being no tolerated representations of the human form aside from Karagheuz (Karagöz) marionettes.¹⁸¹ In support of his former claim, he brings up the engravings that abound in cafés, which “in no way seem to scandalize Muslim orthodoxy.”¹⁸² In the problematic framework created by these accounts, Sultan Mahmud II is congratulated for putting an end to “this senseless repugnance to copy the human figure.”¹⁸³

The Ottoman Armenian Mouradgea d’Ohsson’s significant work *Tableau général de l’Empire Othoman* has also been employed for the unique perspective it offers into the 18th century Ottoman landscape as the work of a Catholic Armenian subject of the Ottoman Empire turned Swedish noble. Perceived as a highly informative yet overly positive work in its depiction of the Ottoman Empire by contemporary European readers, when read carefully, it is in fact one that betrays a number of the orientalist biases of European travelogues. One such bias that is reproduced in d’Ohsson’s account is the assumption of a correlation between tolerance of images and enlightenment, which is a recurring theme in many European works. D’Ohsson calls Süleyman I (r. 1520-1566), who had had bronze statues brought from Buda and exhibited in the Hippodrome an enlightened sultan precisely following this formula.¹⁸⁴ Thus, while it is an indispensable source

¹⁸¹ Gautier, *Constantinople*, 177-8.

¹⁸² Ibid., 101-2.

¹⁸³ Walsh, *A Residence at Constantinople*, 2:299. Also see Slade, *Record of Travels in Turkey, Greece, &c.*, 1:237-8; Eton, *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*, 204-5; Gautier, *Constantinople*, 177-8; Fowler, *Turkey, Or, A History of the Origin, Progress and Decline of the Ottoman Empire*, 203, 308; Poujoulat, *Histoire de Constantinople*, 2:485; Hell, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse exécuté par ordre du gouvernement français*, 1:119-120

¹⁸⁴ D’Ohsson, Ibid., 4:439.

due to the impact of his ideas on Ottoman and European contemporaries and beyond, it is one that needs to be used with caution.

Examination of Armenian histories such as those of Ch'amch'ean, Chakmakjian, Mrmërean, Inčičean, and Ōrmanean, among others, yielded invaluable insights into the general evaluation of the circumstances of the Armenian community under Ottoman rule and the lives of the Armenian elite, thereby enabling a more nuanced picture of the intra-communal and inter-communal environment to be drawn. However, these too should be taken with a grain of salt due to the prevalence of the *Turkish Yoke* as a common trope, which in some instances leads the authors to reductive conclusions.

0.7 Chapter Contents

Chapter One of the dissertation treats the court painters of the family with an eye to better understanding who they were and how they impacted the sultanic portraiture scene in the Ottoman context. Sultanic portraiture was one of the most effective ways of projecting Ottoman imperial identity; through the depiction of the sultans, who were the embodiment of the state, these portraits can be understood as portraits of the Empire itself. In order to place the Manases Rafayel, Menasi, Zenop, Rupen, Sebuhi, Josef and their artistic production in the relevant milieu, it is necessary to contextualize their work by investigating the profession of court painter—its status, significance and ability to generate an income, as well as its audience. The chapter will then move on to a discussion of court art in the context of propaganda. In delving into the history of Ottoman portraiture within the court and by entrepreneurial artists outside it, this chapter will paint its own portrait of the Manases who practiced this profession and the chapter will be concluded with a comparison of two artistic pieces separated by three generations to illuminate the family's place within the artistic trends and evolving aesthetics of their times. With the shift to sultanic visibility

as the preferred mode of power display and to the corresponding unveiling of the imperial portraits by Mahmud II, portraiture took on a new significance within the Empire and vis-à-vis Ottoman subjects. The endeavors of the later sultans regarding sultanlic portraiture continued along this arc and reinforced the link between portraiture and the projection of sultanlic authority through visibility. Unlike the earlier Manases Rafayel and Menasi, the later ones produced works that were geared towards the Ottoman populace as well. Making use of a significant body of archival material, the biographies of each of the Manases who practiced the painting profession is corrected and expanded well beyond the limits of the previous scholarship which in most cases offered only a modicum of information on the individuals in question. The complete biographies of the artist-cum-diplomats is offered in this chapter.

In a continuation of Chapter One in assessing the family through its contributions to imperial identity construction, Chapter Two explores the diplomatic roles family members took upon themselves, mostly in the form of either translator or head translator and in two cases as consul general. The focal point of this chapter that centers on the family's pursuit of diplomatic professions, is intimately linked to the painting of sultanlic portraits—the creation of a tool of diplomatic argument and storytelling. The educational backgrounds of the Manases and their facility with European languages and cultures created the opportunity for them to pursue translation and foreign service in an environment where Catholic Armenians could face uncertain financial and political consequences and where the deterioration in trust of the Greek community which had dominated the field of translation and diplomacy created new openings. The artist-cum-diplomats Rupen, Sebuhi, and Zenop could be said not just to have enabled the Sublime Porte to project its desired image through their works, but also to have become the embodiment of the new regime themselves. Better prepared than most to interact with European powers at the desired

level, they were key actors in the interest of the Ottoman state. As the Ottoman Empire chose to integrate itself more fully in the European diplomatic framework, it sought to establish a new bureaucratic framework and a qualified cadre to carry out the work. By establishing and surveying this context, the chapter is able to accurately place the Manases and better reconstruct the implications of the activities of the diplomat Manases Pol, Piyer, Püzant, Zenop, Aleksandr, and Gaspar. In order to properly contextualize the Manases, an analysis will be made of the prelude and transition to residential diplomacy, translation and dragomans, continued Greek service and the role of Armenians, and Ottoman consular services. Once again, this chapter offers extended biographies of the Manases in question using untapped archival sources. Chapters One and Two both aim to strengthen and build upon the framework for fields that the Manases are commonly known to have operated in.

Chapter Three deconstructs the social and political implication of the Manases' Catholic identity to better establish the costs and benefits to the family over the course of its growth and development as well as to accurately assess the family's place in the Armenian community. By delving into the intra-Ottoman Armenian communal dynamic and the associated pressures of the external negotiation of power between France, which claimed protection over the Empire's Catholic subjects, and the Ottoman state, the obstacles this identity placed in front of the Manases' progress becomes clear as does much of their decision making to pursue diplomacy and portraiture rather than other more lucrative options. Yet, the Manases also benefited from their religious and cultural link to Catholic Europe through the education they were able to receive at European institutions, as well as the Catholic networks of privilege and patronage, which in turn made them desirable candidates for the Ottoman state. The discussion revolves around Sofi Murad Manas, who is identified as belonging to the Manas family, and who financially suffered due to the

calamity that befell the Catholic Armenian Düz family in 1819, and the Manases' involvement in the 1828 Exile through an archival document that discusses the exile of Zenop and his family, as well as two documents compiled by the Armenian Patriarch on the basis of which the 1828 Exile was carried out. In order to establish the necessary backdrop against which the Manases' situation will be most clear, the history of Catholic conversion, France's patronage of Catholics, punishments imposed on Catholic converts as well as the 1828 Exile will be elaborated on. This chapter will also shed light on the impact of the family's Catholic identity on the relationships they were able to forge in Europe.

Chapter Four explores the family's link to the field of banking. Being an accomplished *sarrâf* (banker) meant belonging to the highest echelons of the Armenian community and the involvement of the Manases in this esteemed profession contributes to the overall prestige of the family as a collective unit. This chapter looks into Menasi and three of his sons', namely Mıgırđıç, Püzant, and Nasep's ties to the banking sector in addition to Sofi Murad Manas' father Rafail. In this chapter the focus turns to the perception of the Manases within their community and the Empire at large, overturning the previous scholarship on the family, which weakly asserted its importance and Menasi's possible *amira* status¹⁸⁵ without being able to demonstrate either, by establishing that the Manases had pursued careers in banking and had allied themselves with other significant Armenian families of their time by marriage. The volatility and uncertainty associated with banking, despite the critical part played by Armenian bankers in the perpetuation of the Ottoman tax system, seems to have informed at least banker Püzant's desire for stability and contribution to the aims of the state from a safer distance on his return from the 1828 Exile. By examining how members of the family sought to recommend other members for various positions

¹⁸⁵ Pamukcıyan, *Ermeni Kaynaklarından Tarihe Katkıları: İstanbul Yazıları*, 1:107-9; Ibid., 4:298.

and the ways in which the status and historical legacy of the family was called upon, this chapter will show that the significance of the Manas family and its contributions were founded on the cumulative efforts of its members over several generations. In the same vein, successes of individual members benefited other members through association because of this self-perception of the family as a single entity and the state's as well as other outside observers' acknowledgement and treatment of the family as such. Chapters Three and Four both address issues pertaining to the Manases that have either not been sufficiently discussed or have been omitted entirely from the scholarship on the family. By creating the frameworks for the discussion of these aspects, this dissertation aims to significantly contribute to the body of knowledge that exists on the family. The Manas family was one that served the Empire over multiple generations and that achieved a certain level of success, despite the obstacles it faced in accruing and maintaining great affluence. Aside from its involvement in banking, which was a great contributing factor to the family's prosperity, the chosen careers of the Manases were not particularly lucrative, yet were consequential in enabling them to contribute to the construction and shaping of the internal and external image of the Empire. The major discoveries this dissertation lays out pertaining to the family's involvement in banking, coupled with the very real possibility that Menasi Manas, the first known banker of the family, had been regarded with esteem as an *amira* make it necessary to accord the family greater importance than might otherwise have been surmised.

0.8 Limitations

While this study illuminated many unknown facets of the Manases' stories by weaving together the scant and fragmented pieces of data primarily tracked down through painstaking and systematic archival research, it is meant as the first academically rigorous and thorough study of some of this family's members and their legacies, but does not aspire to be the final chapter. The

picture is not complete, there are loose ends that leave much to be desired. This study has been hampered by the incomplete data relayed by the material that survives, which limits the historian's ability to access the past,¹⁸⁶ as well as the nature of the corpus that has come down to us. While among the material used for this study there are a handful documents written by the Manases themselves, most of them are about them, rather than being by them. Another difficulty emanates from the fact that all of these documents are formal correspondence rather than private exchanges, and hence are subject to the requirements of a very specific pre-determined style. The historian is also inextricably bound by the context and prejudices of her contemporary environment, which like the limitations on sources prevents her from fully comprehending the past "wie es eigentlich gewesen."¹⁸⁷

Despite the hindrances, a vast body of new data has been uncovered in the course of research. This fresh data that has been unearthed along with the propositions that have been laid out in this work are hoped to open up new vistas and problematics, and stimulate further research on the family, not in the least regarding later members of the family in the 20th century. The stories of the Manases who survived into the 20th century during the Genocide are obscured due to lack of material. The only member of the family studied in this dissertation and known definitively to have been active beyond the 20th century is Josef Manas. In gathering information on Josef, it has not been possible to uncover any information about whether his death during the 1915-1916 Genocide was due to natural causes or was in fact a result of this tragic episode in Ottoman history. It should be noted that some of the Manases were able to evade the tragic fates of so many of their compatriots; Edvar Manas and J. D. Manas both lived beyond the 1920s and Aleksan Manas' son Edgar (1875-1964) in fact went on to do the orchestration for the Turkish National Anthem. Due

¹⁸⁶ Somel, Neumann and Singer, *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 2-3. Cf. Marcus, *Ibid.*, 11-2.

to constraints on length and scope as well as lack of material pertaining to the Manases' lives in the 20th century this study set its chronological parameters to include members of the family who were active in the 18th and 19th centuries,¹⁸⁸ and the turn of the 20th century marks the current work's *terminus ante quem*, which emerges as a limitation awaiting to be remedied by future scholarship on the family. The 20th century with a special focus on the Genocide through the exploration of the Turkish *memoryscape*¹⁸⁹ and the *secular dhimmitude*¹⁹⁰ as well as the protracted diasporization of the remaining Armenians who became citizens of the Turkish Republic in the face of the *denialist habitus*¹⁹¹ and "persisting patterns of prejudice"¹⁹² warrants a thorough study and merits being a work in its own right, therefore. In order to begin to gauge the impact of the Armenian Genocide one ought to factor in the colossal cultural destruction perpetrated in its course and beyond, as "it persists into the present"¹⁹³ and Armenians to this day lament and "demand the return of its historical-cultural heritage."¹⁹⁴ Pondering on provenance as an essential category of analysis, Watenpaugh shrewdly observes that the drawn-out and treacherous journey that the Canon Tables consisting of eight folios ripped from the body of the Zeytun Gospels endured, now on display at the Getty Museum in Los Angeles, echoes the indelible suffering of the Armenian community which saw itself torn apart, dispossessed, and scattered.¹⁹⁵ Yet, while this *survivor*

¹⁸⁸ This dissertation will not study the long 19th century (1774-1923) and limit itself to the confines of the 18th and 19th centuries proper for the reasons discussed above.

¹⁸⁹ Üngör, "Lost in commemoration: the Armenian genocide in memory and identity." *Patterns of Prejudice*, 48:2 (2014), 149.

¹⁹⁰ Ekmekçioğlu, *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁹¹ In her cogent construction of life for the remaining Armenians in Istanbul, Suciyan concludes that the making of the diaspora was not finalized in 1923, but continued on for decades as it became intimately woven into the eviction of Armenians from the socio political space through legal measures, democratic representation, the press as well as through loss of access to institutional levers and the utilization of power. (Suciyan, *Ibid.*, 15, 27, 32-3.)

¹⁹² Kasbarian and Öktem, "Armenians, Turks and Kurds Beyond Denial: An Introduction." *Patterns of Prejudice* 48:2 (2014), 120.

¹⁹³ Watenpaugh, *The Missing Pages: The Modern Life of a Medieval Manuscript, from Genocide to Justice*, 29.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 5, 18. The Zeytun Gospels were preserved and treasured in the town of Zeytun in the Ottoman Dulkadir/Marash Eyalet (modern-day Süleymanlı, Kahramanmaraş Province) prior to the Genocide and followed Armenians

object carries the scars of anguish and calamity, it is just as much emblematic of “survival and resilience.”¹⁹⁶ The annihilation of art, architecture, and cultural heritage, then, should be understood “not merely [as] collateral damage, but rather [as] integral” to war-making and as a premeditated form of war effort.¹⁹⁷ The continuing denial of the Armenian layer or *Armenianness* of certain towns or monuments in Turkey proves the expunction process of Armenian presence and culture or at least its dilution that is still unfolding, which finds meaning in this framework; the severing of the reclaimed heritage site Ani¹⁹⁸ from its Armenian history through its renaming and de-historicization emerges as a powerful case in point.¹⁹⁹ Even still, such sites also harbor in them great potential for charting a way forward—if approached with the necessary sensibilities, that is—with which a once “contested cultural heritage [can] be transformed into an opportunity for encounter, dialogue, reflection and perhaps even reconciliation.”²⁰⁰

into murderous deportation and survived, albeit stricken, and the mother manuscript is currently being housed in the Matenadaran, id est Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts in the Republic of Armenia.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 40, 302.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 32, 45.

¹⁹⁸ In modern-day Kars Province, Turkey.

¹⁹⁹ Watenpugh, “Preserving the Medieval City of Ani: Cultural Heritage between Contest and Reconciliation.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 73, no. 4 (2014), 545.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 548.

CHAPTER ONE:

THE MANASES & PORTRAIT PAINTING

I.1 Introduction

The present chapter deals with the Manases in the context of imperial portrait painting, first and foremost in order to gain a fuller understanding of the relevant family members, and secondarily in order to make sense of their participation in the history of Ottoman court portraiture and the extent of their impact on this field. It is the first of two chapters which aim to better contextualize and deepen the conversation around the Manases' activities in fields where their involvement has been widely acknowledged, through the re-evaluation and reinterpretation of the sources that have already been made available as well as through the introduction of new primary and secondary source material. The biographical entries that appear in these two chapters are extended analyses of the family members that have not been presented in such detail elsewhere. In almost every case, the dates of birth and death of the family members have been corrected based on findings in previously untapped archival material. Portraiture was first introduced into the Ottoman courtly visual repertoire during the reign of Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446, 1451-1481) and was continued into the 20th century. This chapter will argue that the influence and status of court portraitists was driven not only by their proximity to the centers of power as was required by their craft, but also by their role in channeling the desired impact of an image to create a portrait that would serve the needed purpose, often as diplomatic and political currency. As court artists, members of the Manas family served as the voice of the sultans in the articulation of the state's

identity, and were central to the creation of official sultanic images and the evolution of the content and style of these works in the two century-long period in which they served the court. Part factual record and part propaganda, the images they created along with those produced by other court portraitists, were an element within a broader dialogue aimed at establishing a hierarchy and dictating interactions between states, and later also between the sultan and his subjects. Therefore, they are best appreciated as tokens of collaboration between the sultans and the Manases as artists and as the confluence of power and art and should be deconstructed with the sensibility that they were enmeshed in the propagated image of rulership. At the same time, the non-courtly image culture, which the family may likewise have participated in, also carried diplomatic and political weight, even if less explicitly. Despite the long-time familiarity of the general public with sultanic portraits, which almost always concluded the albums reproduced by entrepreneurial artists,²⁰¹ with the unveiling of the officially backed program of sultanic visibility that began in the latter part of the reign of Mahmud II, the Ottoman public arguably became the primary audience of the court artists. Therefore, the Manases who produced sultanic images in this political and visual climate—in the form of medallions to be awarded to the highest echelons of the Ottoman society and larger portraits to be hung in various offices of the government and the military establishments—now had to contend with producing art for multiple audiences that would effectively contribute to imperial identity construction both externally and internally to the Empire.

The chapter at hand goes beyond widespread yet tenuous notions which artificially sever Ottoman and Armenian histories and art histories, as acutely diagnosed by Davidian and

²⁰¹ Rothman, “Visualizing a Space of Encounter: Intimacy, Alterity, and Trans-Imperial Perspective in an Ottoman-Venetian Miniature Album,” 43. The term ‘bazaar painter’ which was coined by Metin And is problematic for several reasons including its overly narrow scope in its initial usage and its varying new and contested definitions across And’s writings on the topic, such that the meaning is more obfuscating than illuminating. The term ‘entrepreneurial artist,’ offered by Natalie Rothman, on the other hand, highlights the essential aspect of the artists under discussion, namely that they produced art for sale and on commission outside the court differentiating it from state sponsored court art, while avoiding the pitfalls of And’s term.

Wharton,²⁰² and aims to decipher the lives of the Manases as artists and to comprehensively contextualize their artistic output in the general history of Ottoman court portraiture and its local cultural landscape. In its examination of the art produced by the Manases, it also goes beyond the civilizationist, Eurocentric, and declensionist understandings that do not assign value to non-Western art that is executed in the Western modality because it lacks originality and should rather be understood as mimicry, or to the cultural and artistic production of an Empire in *decline* building on the assumption that military decline leaves the artistic output of a political entity just as compromised, as Barkey notes.²⁰³ However, as Shaw points out, there was not a single Western modernity, but differential modernities,²⁰⁴ challenging “the assumption that modernization is purely mimetic.”²⁰⁵ Moreover, by supplying the substantial prehistory of Ottoman portraiture, this chapter shows that there was an ebb and flow in the adoption of European painting conventions since the inception of portraiture in the Ottoman context during Mehmed II’s reign, which intensified from the mid-18th century onward. While the espousal of the canvas certainly was an important milestone in Ottoman portraiture it is better understood against the indigenous backdrop of experimentation with scale and other media that began with the emancipation of the image from the text in the 17th century²⁰⁶ as well as Rafayel’s trialing of oil-on-paper prior to his introduction of the canvas. Despite the more European leaning artistic trend, advanced by the brushes of the Manases among others, however, comparing Rafayel Manas’ sultanic portraits to that of his great grandsons reveals the gradual incorporation of more elements of European iconography and technique, so that it shatters the conviction that this had been an abrupt or wholesale adoption. The

²⁰² Davidian, “Reframing Ottoman Art Histories,” 2; Wharton, *The Architects of Ottoman Constantinople: The Balyan family and the history of Ottoman architecture*, 10-11.

²⁰³ Barkey, *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁰⁴ Shaw, *Ibid.*, 9-10.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.

²⁰⁶ Necipoğlu, “The Serial Portraits of Ottoman Sultans in Comparative Perspective,” *The Sultan’s Portrait*, 61.

study of the artworks produced by the Manases has been further hampered by the prevalent bias around court art as lacking in formal merit and artistic license. In its treatment of the artistic pieces produced by the Manases in the context of the Ottoman court as visual propaganda, the following examination extends the bounds of the discussion to include European experiences with the iconography of propaganda whereby it restores the Ottoman Empire to its European context. Such a comparison is motivated by the understanding that the history of the Ottoman Empire was not ‘sui generis’ or ‘incommensurable’²⁰⁷ but was rather “amenable to historical comparison.”²⁰⁸

Sultanic portraiture was a pillar of imperial identity construction and a means of projecting that identity, such that consideration of the character and purpose of portraiture and those who practiced it in the Ottoman context can shed light on the Empire itself. The Manases who will be discussed in this chapter belonged to successive generations and played an integral part over the course of two centuries in the development and shaping of the *tasvîr-i hümayûn*²⁰⁹ both through sultanic portrait production and diplomatic service, and in some instances, through taking on themselves these two functions in tandem. The discussion that follows revolves around Rafayel, Menasi, and Josef each of whom worked as court painter, as well as the later artist-diplomats of the family, Zenop, Rupen, and Sebuhi who came to embody the two mainstays of imperial identity projection in their person. Their complete biographies will be provided in this chapter for the sake of avoiding an artificial bifurcation of their entries between the two chapters, given the degree to which the roles of court painter and diplomat were intertwined. The two exceptions to this provision will be Menasi’s work as a banker and Zenop’s work as language instructor at various

²⁰⁷ Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History*, 217.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 15.

²⁰⁹ *Tasvîr-i hümayûn* translates as ‘imperial image,’ and is used to denote sultanic portraits and portrait medallions. Therefore, though the word refers to specific objects, its literal meaning can take on a broader sense; here both meanings are alluded to.

schools and institutions and his posting at the Translation Bureau, which are significant and distinct enough topics that they merit examination on their own in the context of the relevant chapters.²¹⁰ Though Zenop's sons, Gaspar and Aleksandr, also received artistic training and became professional painters, it is unclear whether they were ever employed as court painters, leaving their painting careers to fall outside the scope of this chapter; though their diplomatic activities in the service of the court as well as the possible support of the court for their painting education will receive attention in the following chapter.

In an effort to provide the relevant context within which the Manases and their activities will be most clear, this chapter will begin with scrutinizing the role of court painters in the Ottoman context with an emphasis on their status, significance, and financial circumstances as well as delving into the propagandistic nature of court art as a wider phenomenon. Additional attention will be paid to the court painter's audience, and the history of imperial portraiture in the Ottoman Empire by court and entrepreneurial artists with a specific focus on this art form's origins and its evolution in the political climate of the 19th century to properly interpret the activities of artist-diplomat Manases.

It is important to highlight that while on a global scale the Manases were not unique in their pursuit of court artistry for generations, as examples like the Peales show,²¹¹ and equally not

²¹⁰ Menasi's career in banking will be discussed in Chapter Four while the discussion of Zenop's language instruction career and his ties to the Translation Bureau will be reserved for the section 'Translation and Dragomans' in the following chapter.

²¹¹ Charles Willson Peale was born in the American colonies and studied as a painter and miniaturist in Great Britain, before returning home where he taught his younger brother and then eventually three of his sons Raphael, Rembrandt and Titian to paint. Charles participated in the American revolution and took up several occupations during his lifetime, including those of farmer and politician, but he left his strongest mark with his painting through his portraits of early American leaders like Washington and Jefferson which contributed to shaping the identity of the new republic. While certain aspects of the Peale family run parallel to the Manases, there are also some significant deviations between the two. Charles Willson Peale had 17 children, 11 of whom lived to adulthood. Of these three are known to have become painters, while others pursued a wide variety of careers. The differences in context also make the two families difficult to compare; while the Manases were influencing a long tradition of portraiture in an environment where the ruler was the state, the Peales were participating in building a new state and artistic tradition where the

alone in their concurrent pursuit of diplomacy and painting, they stand out in the Ottoman case. This chapter does not seek to provide detailed analyses of all artworks produced by the Manases, however, the artistic features of their works will be evaluated where relevant. The chapter will conclude with a comparison of Rafayel Manas' portrait of Sultan Mustafa III (r. 1757-1774), produced in the latter part of the 18th century (Fig. 1), and Rafayel's great grandson Rupen's portrait of Abdülmecid I that was gifted to the Swedish Queen in 1857 (Fig. 2). As specimens of the artistic currents underlying the works produced by the earlier and later Manases, these pieces highlight the changing artistic tastes and viewership, as well as shifting political and social circumstances and will be elaborated on with the "meanings... [they] establish[ed] as [they] situated [themselves] in Ottoman visual culture."²¹²

I.2 Court Painters in the Ottoman Context and the Historical Development of the Position

I.2.1. The Status, Significance, and Financial Circumstances of Court Painters

Artistic endeavor, considered a state enterprise in the Ottoman Empire was shaped by the geographical diversity of its population and drew on the aesthetic traditions of its artists' homelands. In order to direct the art of Empire, the state established the organization of artists known as *Ehl-i hiref*,²¹³ the members of which worked out of studios at Topkapı Palace and received salaries, supplies, and commissions from the Treasury.²¹⁴ The exact details of the selection process are unclear and the extent of the power of current artists' over hiring is similarly opaque. If artists were able to secure this posting through the recommendation of those already affiliated with the court in this capacity, this would have certainly given those like the Manases

political leadership was explicitly temporary and distinct from the state. (Barrett and Zabar. "Charles Willson Peale." *American Portrait Miniatures in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 34-7.)

²¹² Shaw, *Ibid.*, 11.

²¹³ This was the umbrella organization for a wide range of artistic pursuits.

²¹⁴ Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 16-17.

who had ties at court an upper hand. When the sultans' proclivity towards having a single family monopolize a certain sector for generations is taken into consideration, as was the case with the Düz as court jewelers, the Balyans as architects, and the Manases as court painters, this possibility is greatly strengthened.

Prior to the 18th century new artists were primarily procured from the ranks of the *devşirme* who exhibited artistic skill and foreign artists of renown brought to the Empire and patronized by sultans following the acquisition of new territory. One such artist, though not listed among the *nakkaş* in the *Ehl-i hiref* salary books, maintained up to the end of the 18th century,²¹⁵ was the celebrated artist Levni. He had been brought from Persia and became the foremost court artist of his time, a privileged status evidenced by the use of the sobriquet 'çelebi' in reference to him.²¹⁶ Since the names of artists with elevated positions were sometimes omitted from these books, the lack of any mention of Levni could be interpreted as a sign of his significant status and influence at court,²¹⁷ or else, as proof that "he worked entirely independently."²¹⁸ Following this blueprint, the absence of the influential court artist Rafayel in the salary books could be explained away with his significant status, while it could also be interpreted as him having worked freelance. Rafayel Manas had most likely been a well reputed artist active outside the court before becoming affiliated with it. This type of enrolment is in line with the shift in the mode of artistic recruitment that took place in the 18th century, which resulted in new talent being drawn from the ranks of reputable artisans who offered their services in the marketplace. There is proof that sometimes court painters also worked in an entrepreneurial capacity,²¹⁹ working out of small shops or in trades where costly

²¹⁵ The earliest of these books is dated to 1526, and the last one to 1796. (Kalyoncu, "'Ehl-i Hiref-i Hassa' Teşkilatının Osmanlı Kültür ve Sanat Yaşamındaki Yeri ve Önemi," 283.)

²¹⁶ Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 266.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ İrepoğlu, "Innovation and Change," *The Sultan's Portrait*, 380.

²¹⁹ Faroqhi, "Guildsmen and handicraft producers," *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi, 3:340-1.

tools required the pooling of resources, in the shared space for a guild. Though artisans are not known to have produced works through the segmentation of production activities in stages as would resemble a modern factory,²²⁰ in the case of album-painting, they at least seem to have collaborated their efforts by combining the single page works they individually produced to create an album. This sort of production activity is corroborated by the disunity in the styles, the arbitrary organization of the albums, the disorder of page numbers, as well as variations in captions from page to page.²²¹ It is difficult to determine whether those registered as court artists, from the 1520s onward, ever accepted private commissions from clients outside the court, but this might have been the case in circumstances where the court had failed to maintain its patronage.²²² Rafayel Manas is known to have produced non-sultanic works centered around single male and female as well as mother-child figures in addition to the religious paintings he produced for Armenian churches and for wealthy Armenians,²²³ and the renowned artist Konstantin Kapıdağlı is known to have produced some of the illustrations of d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*.²²⁴ Based on these two examples it is possible to deduce that artists may have begun to take on more in private commissions as their regular salaries supplied by the court started to decline—using private commissions as supplementary income.

It seems that aside from their work on important projects in Istanbul or for the military or royal court, little attention was paid to the daily lives or troubles of artists. Official state sources are mostly silent about the details of these individuals' lives as the state does not seem to have seen it as a worthwhile endeavor to store collective data about this group.²²⁵ Therefore, even the

²²⁰ Ibid., 3:341.

²²¹ Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 239.

²²² Faroqhi, *The Ottoman and Mughal Empires*, 57.

²²³ Step'anian, "Nkarich' Manasnerë: nyut'er hay kerparvesti patmut'yan," 78.

²²⁴ Renda, "Illustrating the *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*," *The Torch of the Empire*, 65-7, 72-3.

²²⁵ Faroqhi, "Guildsmen and handicraft producers," 3:336-7.

lives of the most illustrious artisans, such as Levni and Rafayel Manas, are more often than not shrouded in mystery, complicating the search for their stories. In a clarifying example of this trend, a document summing up the entirety of Zenop's professional life delineating the various appointments he took during his forty years of service to the Empire nevertheless omits any mention of his work as court painter.²²⁶ Rafayel and Menasi do not appear in these books despite their use up until 1796. Traditionally the state's records are more comprehensive for segments of the population, like merchants, that carried significant economic weight, leaving artists to receive less circumspect consideration, often being included among the *re'âyâ fukarâsı* (poor subjects).²²⁷ Records of the *Ceb-i Hümayûn* (Sultan's Private Purse), *Rûz-nâmçe*²²⁸ and *in'âm*²²⁹ books, are all valuable sources in their disclosing of information on the gifts that the artisans affiliated with the palace were occasionally given in addition to their salaries. The Manases are not encountered in such sources and so no information is revealed about them—be it their origins, salary records, or any gifts bestowed upon them. Only the early Manases would be expected to appear in these books given that the *Ehl-i hiref* establishment itself which had been organized during the reign of Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512) had largely lost its influence and gradually sunk into insignificance beginning in the 18th century. The inflation the Ottoman state faced, the high cost of materials used in production, as well as the heavy financial burden of retaining this group of artisans placed on the Treasury were all contributing factors to the demise of this once splendid institution.²³⁰

²²⁶ BOA, HAT 1423/58189.

²²⁷ Faroqhi, *Ibid.*, 3:336-7.

²²⁸ Agendas where daily affairs are recorded.

²²⁹ Gifts and gratuities

²³⁰ Kalyoncu, "'Ehl-i Hiref-i Hassa' Teşkilâtının Osmanlı Kültür ve Sanat Yaşamındaki Yeri ve Önemi," 292.

While the number of artists affiliated with the court skyrocketed in the 16th century, resulting in figures like the renowned and prolific historian and unacclaimed poet Mustafa ‘Âli (1541-1600)²³¹ to advise the sultan to transfer the surplus of artisans to other postings and to reduce the financial burden placed on the state from the high salary figures which he thought the artists did not deserve.²³² The artisans associated with the Palace were receiving their salaries on a trimonthly schedule.²³³ In 1526 (932 A.H.) the famous artist Şahkulu is reported as earning a daily salary of 22 *akçes* in a salary register²³⁴ and in 1545 (952 A.H.) his daily salary is reported as 25 *akçes*.²³⁵ In the prime days of the establishment and the Ottoman Empire, on delivery of projects these artists also received additional amounts and gifts from the sultans on top of their daily wages.²³⁶ On the Surname’s completion the sultan increased the salaries of those involved in its production by 50 *akçes*.²³⁷ It seems like most were salaried rather than being paid on commission and yet there was sometimes great variation between the wages received by individuals—even among those who belonged to the same sub-section; the apprentices²³⁸ upon becoming first affiliated with the establishment received especially low salaries. While no information has been uncovered relating to the specific salaries of the early Manases, based on historic precedent it is likely for Rafayel to have been salaried while for Menasi to have received a regular salary during the first part of his painting career and to have become an artist who had continued to be affiliated

²³¹ Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History*, 149. Though he did not enjoy particular success during his lifetime or rise to the levels he aspired to in his career, Mustafa ‘Âli came to be viewed as a guide on the subject of bureaucratic theory for future generations of bureaucrats and as a foundational source on ‘Ottoman decline,’ whose uncritical acceptance has dominated and limited the field until the recent decades. (Ibid., 150.)

²³² Akın-Kıvanç, “Background and Significance,” *Mustafa ‘Âli’s Epic Deeds of Artists: a Critical Edition of the Earliest Ottoman Text about the Calligraphers and Painters of the Islamic World*. Ed. Esra Akın-Kıvanç, 101-3.

²³³ Faroqhi, “Making Things to Serve Sultans, Viziers and Army Commanders (1450-1800),” *The Medieval History Journal*, 21(1), 86-7.

²³⁴ 1 *kuruş* corresponded to 120 *akçes*. (Pamuk, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Paranın Tarihi*, 234.)

²³⁵ Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 230-1

²³⁶ Ibid., 167.

²³⁷ Ibid., 149.

²³⁸ *şâkird*

with the court, yet one that worked on commission, given his career in banking.²³⁹ Two archival documents that contain information on the daily wages of two painters from the close of the 18th century are perhaps helpful in giving an idea about the salaries of this group from that time. One of these documents talks about how Muhammed, son of Hüseyin had passed away and that he was receiving a daily wage of 2 *akçes*, which seems very low compared to the figures from earlier centuries, but once again maybe this was an individual of no import whatsoever.²⁴⁰ The second document concerns a similar figure Ali Halil from among the court painters associated with the *Ehl-i hiref*²⁴¹ who again is reported to have been receiving a daily wage of 2 *akçes* preceding his death in 1797.²⁴² Given their pursuit of diplomatic careers simultaneously with their work as artists, Rupen and Sebuḥ can be surmised, with some level of confidence, to have worked on commission. There are documents indicating certain sums they were promised in return for the imperial portraits they were charged with producing.²⁴³ Two sets of documents the first of which is dated to 5 Ca 1272 A.H. (January 13, 1856) pertains to the artist Manas Efendi, whose monthly salary is reported as 45 *kuruş*. The second document, from five months later, dated to 10 L 1272 A.H. (June 14, 1856) reports Manas' salary as 50 *kuruş*.²⁴⁴ The Manas in question must be Josef, given that both Rupen and Sebuḥ were employed at the Paris Embassy for the years 1855-6, holding the positions of secretary and translator, respectively, and were therefore on the payroll of the Embassy.²⁴⁵

²³⁹ See Chapter Four.

²⁴⁰ BOA, C.BLD 39/1908: "Ehl-i hirefe tâbi' cemâ'at-i nakkâşân-ı hâssadan yevmî iki akçe 'ulûfeye mutasarrıf olan Muhammed veled-i Hüseyin" (13 Ra 1204 A.H./December 1, 1789.)

²⁴¹ "ehl-i hirefe tâbi' nakkâşân-ı hâssadan"

²⁴² BOA, C.SM 96/4819. (26 R 1212 A.H./October 18, 1797)

²⁴³ Sakëzean, "Manasnerë hay ngarich'neru harsdut'iwn më 18-19 tar," 57; Şehsuvaroğlu, "19. Asırda Osmanlı sarayında resim," *Akşam Gazetesi*, 12 June 1948, 5.

²⁴⁴ TS.MA, TS.MA.e, 1350/171, TS.MA.e 1353/54.

²⁴⁵ Bottin, *Almanach impérial pour 1856*, 35; *Almanach impérial pour 1857*, 36; *Almanach de Gotha: Annuaire diplomatique et statistique pour l'année 1857*, 433. The information contained in these almanacs pertains to the year

Lastly, it should be noted that the influence of court artists in determining artistic trends was not equal and that not all of them were trendsetters. After Musavvir Hüseyin and Levni, Rafayel Manas came to dominate the field and help shape a new future for imperial portraiture. Taking this fact into consideration, the significance and contributions of each Manas to the field should not be understood as having been equal.

I.2.2. The Audience of Court Painters

In looking at the role of court painters it is paramount that the issue of their audience be addressed. While sultanic portraits were sometimes used in diplomatic exchange, the general population was only ever indirectly exposed to the Sultan's officially approved image through secondary more stylized works created by entrepreneurial artists modeled on the official images produced at the court, until the reign of Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839). It follows, therefore, that until the official unveiling of the sultanic image, sultanic portraits were preserved in the Treasury, to be viewed by foreign elite and domestic court circles, or were sent to foreign monarchs. While there is evidence of official sultanic portraits leaving palace grounds and making their way to the residences of the sultans' families as in the case of Mustafa III's portrait which was taken to the residence of Şah Sultan, it is unclear whether they were ever hung on walls to be displayed.²⁴⁶

The large format oil-on-canvas portraits that were produced to be hung on the walls of administrative buildings, barracks and embassies catered to a local audience. While it was Selim III who initially attempted to have his image distributed, it was his successor Mahmud II who

before its publication. Therefore, an almanac for the year 1855 should be understood to list data from 1854. Cf. BOA, İ.HR. 143/7500.

²⁴⁶ İrepoğlu, "Innovation and Change," *The Sultan's Portrait*, 400; İrepoğlu, "Ottoman Portraiture During the Reigns of Mustafa III and Abdülhamid I," *10^e Congrès international d'art turc*, 391; İrepoğlu, "18. Yüzyıl Betimlemesine Bakış," *18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Kültür Ortamı*, 171.

ended up realizing this project, and the sultanic image officially met the local population—marking perhaps the most important historical juncture for the change in the visibility of the sultanic image.

At the turn of the 19th century, reigning in an environment fraught with political anxieties and in an era which demanded a different outlook from the Ottoman rulers, Mahmud began to engage with his subjects through his visibility.²⁴⁷ Rather than creating the counterintuitive omnipresence through the potential gaze as Mehmed II had done, Mahmud sought to renegotiate his relationship with his subjects by establishing his physical omnipresence through personal visits to the provinces of the Empire and to a greater extent through the proxy of his official portraits.²⁴⁸ After the conquest of Constantinople it was Mehmed II who had decided against ruler-visibility as a system for the new Empire he had forged, a system that had been demanded of his predecessors. Following the shift in Ottoman identity to that of imperial successor to the Roman Empire, Mehmed II sought a new source of power and authority through mystification in line with those he may now have seen as his historical predecessors, by exerting his authority through seclusion.²⁴⁹ In contrast to the Greek, Habsburg, and classical Ottoman traditions, the Persian, Mughal and French²⁵⁰ had a culture of greater monarchical visibility where these rulers made frequent appearances, which allowed for greater familiarity with their subjects²⁵¹ —a mode of power projection that first Selim III, then Mahmud II sought to implement. Necipoğlu explains that “the

²⁴⁷ Necipoglu, “Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces,” *Ars Orientalis* 23, 306.

²⁴⁸ Kırılı, “The Struggle over Space,” 263.

²⁴⁹ Necipoğlu, *Ibid.*, 303. In his *Kanunnâme-i Âl-i Osman*, Mehmed II coined a new legal code which reflected this shift; the Sultan declared that a new audience hall would be built and that he would remain behind a curtain as his viziers and chief judges come into his presence for audiences four times a week. He added that he would no longer dine with anyone, even members of his own family, and proclaimed that he would henceforth abolish the tradition followed by his glorious forefathers of dining with his viziers. (Mehmed Arif Bey, *Kanunnâme-i Âl-i Osmân*, 23, 27.)

²⁵⁰ Necipoğlu, *Ibid.*, 306.

²⁵¹ It is important to note here that although French kings made themselves accessible to their subjects, in the European context their position fell at the midpoint between the seclusion of the Spanish kings and the vernacular attitude of the Danish and the Swedish. (Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 183-4)

Safavid and Mughal rulers had to rely on the fickle allegiance of powerful nobles and tribal chieftains whose constantly shifting loyalties had to be carefully balanced,” therefore they “could not afford to remain invisible.” Their palace structures were configured in a way that reflected this sentiment.²⁵² The French viewed it as a false kind of power if it were unable to stand up to the closer inspection of public visibility; “La vérité alloit plus loin que la fiction,”²⁵³ writes Mongin in trenchant criticism of rulers who exercise power through seclusion. In this light, he reports of Louis XIV that ‘his greatness’ was not one that diminished by proximity unlike, “those mysterious kings who keep themselves hidden to be respected,” and that by allowing himself to be seen “he did not have anything to spare but his modesty,”²⁵⁴ while Flachet expounds on the polarity between the attitudes of French kings and Ottoman sultans through a collocation of Versailles as a space that inspires tender respect, and the Seraglio, dread.²⁵⁵ The Ottoman sultans were re-evaluating the most effective way to implement their power and authority with the understanding that their chosen mode of power projection was being perceived both by subjects within the Empire as well as observed in the context of international diplomatic relationships.²⁵⁶ Mahmud’s decision to reverse the previous paradigm by incorporating himself back into sight also worked to reinstate the population’s access to political discourse and opened the way to a renegotiation of civic dynamics, as the Sultan was the embodiment of all politics.²⁵⁷ Now the sultans sought to incorporate the

²⁵² Necipoğlu, *Ibid.*, 306.

²⁵³ Mongin, *Oraison funebre de Louis le Grand*, 10.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 10-11. Saint-Simon emphasizes Louis XIV’s visibility by saying that through the festivals he held, Louis XIV articulated his desire to the world “that he wished to be seen.” (Saint-Simon, *Memoires de Monsieur le duc de S. Simon, sur le règne de Louis XIV*, 1:103-4.)

²⁵⁵ Flachet, *Observations sur le commerce et sur les Arts d'une partie de l'Europe, de l'Asie, de l'Afrique, et même des Indes Orientales*, 2:177. In his instructions to the dauphin, Louis himself draws a parallel between nations whose rulers rely on concealment and their subjects being governed through ‘fear’ and ‘terror’ and juxtaposes this mode of rule with the one that exists in France that is built on the principle of accessibility to the king, regardless of one’s birth or rank, which results in a just society. (Louis XIV, *Mémoires de Louis XIV pour L’Instruction du Dauphin*, ed. Charles Dreyss, 2:567.)

²⁵⁶ Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 183-4.

²⁵⁷ Kirli, “The Struggle over Space,” 271-3.

participation and approval of Ottoman subjects into the political framework to derive legitimacy through representing the will of those they ruled rather than solely relying on the well-established sultanic image as the arbiter of justice and munificence, or on their sacred right to rule through divine ordination.²⁵⁸ It is disputable whether any of the dynastic cultures enumerated above served as the source of inspiration for the Ottoman sultans in making this shift in power projection,²⁵⁹ and if so, which among them did, or if this development is better deciphered against the prehistory of indigenous Ottoman ceremonial, where the visibility paradigm had previously been administered. However, even if one or multiple of these models served as a catalyst, the motivations of the sultans should be understood as having been endemic.

The Ottomans looked both towards the East and the West for inspiration throughout the existence of their polity—at times displaying a more conservative aesthetic attitude, while at others a more permeable one—as is evinced in the way the Ottoman visual idiom was enriched by elements from a variety of cultures, both eastern and western. Therefore, the insistence that the gaze of the Ottomans had been fixated on the West to the exclusion of all other geographies and their respective cultures is ahistorical and teleological.²⁶⁰ Against a backdrop characterized by such motivations, many later Ottoman and European historians, as well as modern scholars have theorized that the 18th century, specifically the years between 1718 and 1730, witnessed an episode of ‘precocious modernization’²⁶¹ on the part of the Ottoman polity, dovetailing this belief with the ‘supposed French origins’ of Saadabad’s architectural program, which neatly formed the foundations of a retrospective reading of the then Ottomans as “contemplating an ideological move

²⁵⁸ White, *The Emergence of Minorities in the Middle East*, 28-9.

²⁵⁹ Hamadeh, “Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the “Inevitable” Question of Westernization.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 1 (2004), 43-4.

²⁶⁰ Cf. Erimtan, “The Perception of Saadabad,” 42-3.

²⁶¹ Salzmannn, “The Age of Tulips: Confluence and Conflict in Early Modern Consumer Culture (1550-1730),” *Consumption Studies and the Histroy of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922*, ed. Donald Quataert, 83. Cf. Erimtan, “The Perception of Saadabad,” 48-9.

to the West.”²⁶² Erimtan has astutely argued against this *ex post facto* line of reasoning and the decoding of this period, problematically coined the ‘Tulip Era’,²⁶³ as a “short-lived but highly productive era of Westernization” and by extension Saadabad as a Western structure, by postulating that the 18th century Ottomans were more engrossed with their eastern rival, Safavid Persia, and other Islamic entities and that Saadabad is redolent of Safavid structures like Chihil Sutun,²⁶⁴ as previously advanced by Shirine Hamadeh.²⁶⁵ Taking it a step further, Erimtan asserts that the Saadabad may have in fact been built with a Safavid aesthetic program in mind to “humble the Safavid palace symbolically” with the use of more columns, as “a cultural declaration of the Ottomans’ political and military resolve to conquer the lands of Iran.”²⁶⁶

Both French historian Albert Vandal (1853-1910) and late Ottoman-early republican historian Ahmed Refik (1881-1937), closely following Vandal, and at times lifting passages verbatim from his account, conclude that 18th century Ottoman artistic milieu was one that harbored inspirations from both France and Persia, “tantôt à Versailles, tantôt à Ispahan”,²⁶⁷ “gâh (Versay), gâh (İsfahan),”²⁶⁸ yet both historians determinedly assert that Saadabad located in Les Eaux-Douces d'Europe had been modeled after Versailles.²⁶⁹ Even the need to pin down the ‘specific’ artistic current in an Ottoman structure’s formulation appears as a modern preoccupation, which necessitates that everything be pigeonholed into proper, clear-cut categories. Such sensibilities, however, are antithetical to grasping the ‘open’ and ‘innovative’ nature of 18th

²⁶² Erimtan, *Ibid.*, 61.

²⁶³ Erimtan explains that the denotation of the period as the “Tulip Age” while unprofound and trivial at first glance, has come to be extremely consequential in the construction of the perceptions of this stage in Ottoman history as a particular imagining of the period. (Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West?: The origins of the Tulip Age and its development in Modern Turkey*, 2.)

²⁶⁴ Erimtan, “The Perception of Saadabad,” 42-3, 53.

²⁶⁵ Hamadeh, *Ibid.*, 41.

²⁶⁶ Erimtan, *Ibid.*, 53, 57-8.

²⁶⁷ Vandal, *Une ambassade française en Orient sous Louis XV*, 85.

²⁶⁸ Refik, *Lâle Devri*, 37. Cf. Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West?*, 38.

²⁶⁹ Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West?*, 90.

century Ottoman architectural iconography that did not necessarily uphold a “particular aesthetic inclination.”²⁷⁰ Moreover, even if certain Ottoman structures were definitively known to have been modelled after European ones this should not necessarily lead to an understanding that the Ottomans were now following *in the path of Europe* and that they were willing to emulate every aspect of European artistic and cultural life.²⁷¹ There is a common misconception in the analysis of art and architecture, which on the one hand views European rendition in Ottoman settings as indicative of the Ottomans’ westernizing aspirations, and on the other, interpreting the reverse scenario as a mere ‘fad’. As Hamadeh points out, “one cannot but wonder what makes a cartouche on a fountain in Istanbul an index of westernization, and a Turkish pavilion in Vienna merely an Oriental folly.”²⁷²

It was in line with the state program centered around visibility that the Sultan began to have his imperial portraits displayed in government buildings, military barracks, and on board imperial ships as he sought to forge the “much needed direct vertical ties of subject allegiance,”²⁷³ while also using them as proxies to reinforce his unfaltering watch and authority over his subjects. The ubiquity of his image in military barracks was perhaps the most purposeful of all in this regard, with the intention of inculcating and demanding utter loyalty to the throne. Under Mahmud, the visual idiom continued to be more European-inspired both in technique and iconography with the retention of some Ottoman artistic elements, which is apparent in this Sultan’s portraits.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ Hamadeh, *Ibid.*, 45.

²⁷¹ Hamadeh, *Ibid.*, 33-4.

²⁷² Hamadeh, *Ibid.*, 45.

²⁷³ Stephanov, *Ibid.*, 136.

²⁷⁴ Selim III had begun taking steps in this direction before Mahmud II, but his vision and plans were undercut by his deposition.

The sultan began gifting his portraits in medallion form²⁷⁵ to dignitaries and it quickly became the most prestigious award of the time “demonstrating its holder’s rare proximity and high loyalty to the Sultan.”²⁷⁶ The more personal nature of the award derived from its carrying of the sultan’s portrait, gave it a measure of distinction that surpassed the *nişân-ı iftihar*,²⁷⁷ a point that was well recognized by foreigners.²⁷⁸ The Grand Vizier, commander-in-chief, the district governor (*qaimaqam*), commander-vizier (the *seraskier*), and the Grand Admiral of the Navy were all awarded a bejeweled medallion portrait of the sultan in the year 1832.²⁷⁹ In 1833 the Grand Admiral of the Navy was gifted a large imperial portrait²⁸⁰ to be hung on board the imperial galley.²⁸¹ The Sultan’s portrait was introduced to the Rami Barracks in 1836, in the midst of

²⁷⁵ Eldem points out that these sultanic medallion portraits should be grouped under *décoration* rather than order. (Eldem, *İftihar ve İmtiyaz*, 131.) Miniature portrait medallions had a long history in Europe before this mode of representation appeared in the Ottoman context. First emerging in the 1520s in French and English court life, they quickly became objects that monarchs awarded to their favorites and, in the Elizabethan court (1558-1603) facing the threat of Spain, the queen’s subjects who had the means wore her likeness as a mark of their unfaltering devotion to their queen. In the beginning of the 18th century vellum was replaced by ivory, and it is important to note that until the middle of the 18th century makers of these works were self-taught instead of being professionally trained, as “miniature painting was now an established genteel pastime.” (Victoria and Albert Museum, “A History of the Portrait Miniature,” <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/h/a-history-of-the-portrait-miniature/>, Accessed June 25, 2019.)

²⁷⁶ Stephanov, *Ibid.*, 137.

²⁷⁷ The Order of Glory was devised by Mahmud II in 1831 and was only second in rank to the Order of Distinction.

²⁷⁸ Eldem, *Ibid.*, 130.

²⁷⁹ *Takvîm-i Vakâyi*’, issue 27, 27 Zi’l-hicce 1247, 2; Öner, “Türk Basınının İlk Resmi Gazetesi Takvim-i Vekayi’de Padişah Portresine İlişkin Haberler,” 154.

²⁸⁰ *Kebîr tasvîr-i hümayûn*. In their coverage of the tumultuous state of affairs during Mahmud II’s unveiling of his *tasvîr-i hümayûn*, Rev. Horatio Southgate (1812-1894), Vicomte A. de la Jonqui  re (19th century) who was a history professor at the Imperial School of Military Engineering prior to 1881, and Ottoman chronicler Ahmed L  tf   (1817-1907), known for his conservative outlook, among others, explain that the public unrest created by the unveiling of the Sultan’s likeness had echoes even in Arabia. This backlash to the sultanic portraits seems to have inspired L  tf   to respond in the ruler’s defense, taking pains to explain that the intention was not that they be objects of worship, but instead be used towards the continuation and glory of the Ottoman state. While it would be an oversimplification to assume that the Ottoman population comprised a monolith in its acceptance of images, as there was a variety of opinions in this regard and people exhibited differing levels of toleration and acceptance, the root cause of the displeasure articulated by the people should be sought in the circumstances of the portrait’s introduction and the Sultan’s implied insistence that it be treated with the same respect he himself was due. Cf. D’Ohsson, *Tableau g  n  ral de l’Empire Ottoman*, 4:436. Closer inspection of the commotion around Mahmud’s introduction of his portrait suggests, therefore, that it was not the image itself, which was responsible for the uproar, but its treatment and identification with the person of the ruler, which is strengthened by the fact that this is exactly the concern L  tf   addresses. (L  tf  , *T  r  h-i L  tf  *, 5:51; Cf. Southgate, *Narrative of a Tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia*, 1:74-5; Jonqui  re, *Histoire de l’Empire Ottoman*, 1:421-22.)

²⁸¹ *Takv  m-i Vak  yi*’, issue 68, 21 Zi’l-hicce 1249, 1;   ner, *Ibid.*, 160.

music, prayer, clapping and the loud cries of the battalions chanting “Long live the Sultan.”²⁸² Less than a month later, it was also hung in the Selimiye Barracks with equally pompous ceremonies.²⁸³ The following month the Sultan’s portrait was also sent to the Sublime Porte to be hung.²⁸⁴

In another step towards omnipresence through the dissemination of portraits, in 1838 the celebration of the Sultan’s birthday at embassies across Europe was centered around the royal portrait hung in each embassy, melding Ottoman and European forms in a way that suggested the presence of the Sultan himself through the proxy of the painting. This deliberate and immediate visibility of the Sultan at the focal point of these activities stood in contrast to the earlier traditions which placed him as a hidden observer. In Vienna, “the circle of manifest majesty around the virtuous portrait of his imperial majesty was decorated fittingly...and the three hundred greatest Austrian ladies and gentlemen as well as all ambassadors of friendly states were invited.”²⁸⁵ The presence of foreign dignitaries and diplomats at these celebrations where the Sultan’s portrait took center stage, makes its position as a tool of foreign policy readily apparent. The audience for the portrait’s message included both the foreign dignitaries and diplomats in attendance as well as the members of the Ottoman diplomatic entourage for whom the sultan’s omnipresence may have been a constant reminder of whom they served.²⁸⁶ Given the sensitivity surrounding the use of portraits as proxies for the sultan, it is striking that these paintings were identified by the phrase “Shadow of God” in deference to the title of the sultan, inherited from the Prophet Muhammed,²⁸⁷ a message and recollection of tradition that would not have been lost on the Ottoman subjects who

²⁸² *Takvîm-i Vakâyi* ‘, issue 132, 9 Rebî’ü’l-âhir 1252, 3; Öner, Ibid., 162.

²⁸³ *Takvîm-i Vakâyi* ‘, issue 133, 25 Rebî’ü’l-âhir 1252, 3.

²⁸⁴ *Takvîm-i Vakâyi* ‘, issue 134, 16 Cemâziye’l-evvel 1252, 1; Öner, Ibid., 164.

²⁸⁵ Stephanov, Ibid., 147, 147n2.

²⁸⁶ BOA, HAT 1200/47094. Cf. Stephanov, Ibid., 147n2.

²⁸⁷ Stephanov, Ibid., 146-7.

encountered the paintings. At the same time the Europeanized aesthetic of the portrait sought to convey the Ottoman state as a modern, powerful, and perhaps European Empire to its foreign observers. By gaining new audiences, the impact of court portraiture expanded beyond a gallery for local elite viewership, or a European audience to encompass a role in shaping public opinion of the sultans and the Empire at home as well as among the European rulers and elite abroad.

I.2.3 Court Art & Propaganda

The use of artistic propaganda was in no way specific to the time period analyzed in this dissertation, nor to any specific political formation of the time. The Ottomans' use of it should be deciphered in the framework of visual propaganda, and the Manases' artistic production should be scrutinized accordingly. Understanding artistic propaganda as a creation of the 20th century or a notion that can be traced back only as early as the Napoleonic period overlooks how deeply embedded it had been in artistic production for centuries. In fact many forms of art that had been commissioned by patrons were produced to 'propagate' a certain conception or image, thereby assigning them a propagandistic quality. Ancient Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian kingdoms had made use of artistic propaganda, yet the rise of the Greek civilization marked its methodological use in comparison to its irregular use in these earlier formations and it was in the Greek city-states that the "iconography of propaganda" burgeoned.²⁸⁸

Rarely were artists afforded the opportunity to produce works in an environment completely unbound by financial, political, cultural, or religious strictures; often this took the form of patronage, entangling the artist in the requirements and motivations of others rather than being left free to exhibit his 'pure', untampered artistic vision. While propaganda art has been reduced

²⁸⁸ Jowett and O'Donnell, *Propaganda & Persuasion*, 49.

to an endeavor too formalistic and unoriginal²⁸⁹ in its nature and one that does not allow much room for artistic genius or artistic license to merit analysis, with artists like Picasso proclaiming it as art “so watered down, rendered so impotent,” lacking a ‘subversive’ pulse,²⁹⁰ many compositions hailed as the greatest pieces of European painting were produced in this context.

Velázquez, the painter Picasso so admired and was profoundly inspired by,²⁹¹ was a court painter, and his famous composition *Las Meninas*, which Picasso painted an extended series after, featuring 58 renderings to be precise, was done in the service of the Spanish crown, being part of the synergy between the artist and the court. It is debatable whether or not Velázquez hid his veiled criticisms of the regime and the profligation of the aristocratic classes in his artworks and if *Las Meninas* was making a political statement by focusing attention away from the royal couple or by Velázquez’ inserting himself so conspicuously in the painting to highlight the deserving position of the artists in society. Regardless, the point stands: great artistic bravura was accomplished by some in this mode set within the parameters of the court or other patrons.

Sometimes artists indeed used their art to criticize the very patrons who commissioned them, as was the case with Molière and his *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*. This piece was produced for the *Roi Soleil*, Louis XIV, who wished to use it to lampoon the Ottoman Empire, but which Molière turned into a criticism of the crown, a satire of the *Roi Soleil*, his senior advisors, and the members of the court for the excessive and imprudent reception of the Ottoman envoy Süleyman

²⁸⁹ Basilio, "Genealogies for a New State: Painting and Propaganda in Franco's Spain, 1936-1940," *Discourse* 24, no. 3 (2002), 92.

²⁹⁰ Gilot and Lake. *Life with Picasso*, 181.

²⁹¹ Velázquez had a wide ranging impact on European painting and became a source of inspiration for highly celebrated artists like Degas, Renoir, Manet, Singer Sargent, Klimt, Dali, and Picasso. Cf. Katz, “Velázquez: Embodiment of a Golden Age,” *Smithsonian Magazine* (April 2011) <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/velazquez-embodiment-of-a-golden-age-987531/>

Ağa, as well as of their strict adherence to Ottoman rather than French customs with the French Foreign Minister Hugues de Lionne even playing the part of the Ottoman grand vizier.²⁹²

Like any form of art, propaganda art delivers a message, yet one that may be intended by its patrons, the fine arts being utilized “as an (effective) medium for reaching the masses,” who were “receptive but illiterate”;²⁹³ later on photography would prove to be even more economical and efficient means of spreading the message of the ruler; “influencing public opinion.”²⁹⁴ The power of the fine arts in service of the state was widely accepted by philosophers such as Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and Montesquieu, its power “to mould and influence public opinion was widely accepted” before the French Revolution.²⁹⁵ Even when art was put to the service of a patron or a political cause, it was not necessarily devoid of meaning or artistic persona and such a reductive generalization would warrant the dismissal of a vast body of works not only from the past few centuries, but from a couple millennia, and these would include the works of some of the most celebrated masters. Moreover, there is no indication that court painters in general were insincere in their efforts to promote the messages, which they had been hired to help formulate and promulgate. This would mean that for the artists, upholding certain artistic programs informed by the specific sensibilities and aims of their patrons, which they themselves shared and supported, made the resulting works not so different from the ones where they conveyed their own ideas, beliefs or agendas.

Like Napoléon, Mahmud II perhaps decided to make use of paintings as a way to forge his new contract with the people to “re-establish the psychological unity”²⁹⁶ of the state in line with

²⁹² Ayda, “Molière et l’envoyé de la Sublime Porte,” *Cahiers de l’Association internationale des études françaises* no. 9 (1957), 90. 105.

²⁹³ Dowd, “Art as National Propaganda in the French Revolution.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (Fall 1951): 534.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 535.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 534-5.

the reforms he promulgated as he moved away from the *ancien régime*. While court art was clearly a collaborative project or one intended as such at least, it remains unclear just how much the patron partook in the artistic process. In the context of the Ottoman Empire, one illuminating example comes from the reign of Abdülmecid I, where the painter Wilkie recounts the Sultan's involvement in the process. Wilkie's description of the encounter makes it abundantly clear that Abdülmecid exhibited an interest in the painting process and made suggestions, which would buttress the specific image he wanted to have conveyed in the painting, with special attention to the soldier-like quality and the sense of reform exhibited in the image that had been adopted and fervently upheld by his father Mahmud II. In the initial sitting where the structure of the painting was being laid out Wilkie writes,

He came and looked at it several times; I understood he remarked I was making it too little, then asked if it was to be standing. I assured him no, but sitting on the throne as Sultan, receiving people presented. At another time he said, "Might not the uniform with the epaulettes be seen? but I urged, that for this picture the cloak of the Sultan would be better, and that the hands and sword would be seen; this seemed to please him, and I went on, and I think he thought it like and pleasing."²⁹⁷

The suggestion that the military uniform is a key instance of highlighting the importance of the reformed military for the new imperial identity resonates with his father's sensibilities who had created the 'modern' Ottoman military.²⁹⁸ The 'soldier-king type' propagated in Ottoman

²⁹⁷ Wilkie, et al., *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*, 347.

²⁹⁸ While the increasing incorporation of European visual vocabulary is readily apparent in the artworks produced in this period, Mahmud also propagated his program through his choice of garment and his overall appearance. He abandoned the resplendent robes and dress of the previous sultans and appeared in public in plain military uniform with his 'militarized image' serving as an embodiment of the reforms he instituted. (Stephanov, "Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) and the First Shift in Modern Ruler Visibility in the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, 135.) The striking contrast between the accounts offered by English politician Baron John Cam Hobhouse (1786-1869) and Canadian-British traveler and author John Auldjo (1805-1886) reveals just how much the Ottoman ceremonial and the sultan's attitude and garment had changed over the course of a two decade period between 1810 and the early 1830s. (Stephanov, *Ibid.*, 129-130.) The account of the British Ambassador to the Porte, Viscount Stratford Canning (1786-1880), also paints the sultan in a more modest attire wearing "a sort of Egyptian bonnet" "in place of the Imperial turban" in 1826, after the abolition of the Janissary corps. (Lane-Poole, *The Life of the Right Honourable Stratford Canning*, 1:421.) Hobhouse writing in 1810 describes the thirty-year old sultan as a splendid vision "covered in diamonds" who "neither moved his body nor head, but rolled his eyes from side to side, without fixing them for an instant upon the Ambassador or any other person present." (Hobhouse, *A*

sultanic portraits of the period, created by the Manases among others, are redolent of the images of Napoléon formulated by the Davidian School.²⁹⁹ It is important to note that in Wilkie's narration of the event while the patron Abdülmecid is making comments and suggestions, Wilkie as the painter does not necessarily follow through and instead reassures the Sultan as the expert that it is better done in the way he is doing it. Abdülmecid seems immersed in the composition of this piece, yet his attitude cannot be generalized, and the approach and involvement of the other sultans continue to be opaque. Similarly, the dynamic that seems to have characterized this encounter cannot be used as a basis for extrapolation, but it proves how at least in some instances the artists retained their artistic vision and preferred mode of expression and were not slavishly obeying their patrons.

I.3 The Courtly Visual Idiom in Imperial Portraiture and Imperial Portrait Series Created by Entrepreneurial Artists

I.3.1 The Origins and Development of Imperial Portraiture

A comparison of sultanic attitudes towards imperial portraiture at the time of its introduction and from the 18th century on lays out the difference in agenda, politics, and power dynamics with Europe.³⁰⁰ By commissioning portraits of their own, sultans were able to actively

journey through Albania, and other provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, 2:999.) Reminiscent of Habsburg kings, who also derived authority from mystification and for whom “sosiego [calm dignity], was a highly prized quality,” the sultan engaged with his audience in the most minimal way possible, as was the Ottoman classical tradition. (Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 180.) However, upon coming to the realization that in order to be able to create a shared language with Europe and to have a more meaningful dialogue by means of which he would be able to insert himself more effectively into the diplomatic system, Mahmud had to change the Ottoman ceremonial. Neither Topkapı's architecture, which reflected a completely different mindset, nor the outdated way in which Ottoman sultans had been receiving the diplomatic representatives of foreign powers, could sustain this modern dialogue Mahmud hoped to have. About twenty years later, in 1833, the sultan is presented as wearing a military uniform and having a purposefully more simplified overall appearance, in an effort to increase his accessibility, though still embellished with jewels that denote his majesty. This more approachable attitude of the sultan who “looked earnestly at [his audience],” and truly acknowledged its presence marks a salient shift. (Auldjo, *Journal of a Visit to Constantinople, and Some of the Greek Islands in the Spring and Summer of 1833*, 98. Cf. Stephanov, *Ibid.*, 136.)

²⁹⁹ Terndrup, “Cross-Cultural Spaces in an Anonymously Painted Portrait of the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II,” Master's thesis, 36-44.

³⁰⁰ Necipoğlu, “A Period of Transition: The Portraits of Selim II,” *The Sultan's Portrait*, 203, 206.

participate in the conversation which was shaping their image abroad before they formally introduced their own public to them in the second quarter of the 18th century. In the absence of a self-commissioned portrait, Europeans and other rival powers would still have produced their own versions, but without this authorized image to act as an anchor, there would have been greater leeway in interpretation with regard to political agenda and perspective. Even when an official portrait existed, it would still be open to revision, especially given the propaganda power of these images, but it nonetheless allowed more room for the agency of the sultans.³⁰¹

Following the conquest of Constantinople, the Ottoman sultans could lay claim to the mantle of the Roman and Greek imperial traditions in which visual representations of *caesar* played a significant part.³⁰² Fueled by imperial aspirations, it was at this historical juncture that sultanic portraiture was introduced under the initiative of Mehmed II, the first sultan to have commissioned his portrait, as he undertook the creation of an imperial image in various mediums as well as in the medium of art. He strove to create a distinctive visual idiom, by making use of different artistic traditions, but distilling them to create a uniquely Ottoman normative aesthetic. Italianate, Timurid, and Persianate artistic traditions were merged in the production of Ottoman sultanic portraits to create a distinctive visual idiom shared by these images,³⁰³ though the

³⁰¹ The culture of *Türkengefahr* rampant in Europe and which made its way into some depictions of Ottoman sultans intentionally or otherwise further reinforced the propaganda power of these images, sometimes resulting in striking differences in physiognomy between the sultanic images that were created at the behest of Ottoman sultans and those that were produced by artists at the request of European courts—the latter depicting the sultans in a grim manner, cultivating this mind-set. For a comparison, see the sultanic portrait series prepared by Nakkaş Osman and Paolo Veronese in the 16th century; a side-by-side layout of the two can be found in *The Sultan's Portrait*, 154-5. This approach was followed by some European artists from the onset, and was especially efficacious at the peak of the Ottoman Empire's power and influence when such propaganda was deemed to be decidedly requisite. With the ebbing of the threat posed by the Ottomans to Europe at the close of the 17th century, this concern mostly dissipated. (Theilig, "The Change of Imaging the Ottomans in the Context of the Turkish Wars from the 16th to 18th Century," *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, 83 (2011): 61-68.) The wide distribution of sultanic images abroad in the reign of Selim III, resulted in the decisive anchoring of the officially approved and curated images of Ottoman sultans.

³⁰² Renda, "The Ottoman Empire and Europe: Cultural Encounters," 3. This tradition did not go as far back as Osman I as some have mistakenly assumed due to the existence of complete dynastic portrait series. (Raby, "From Europe to Istanbul," *The Sultan's Portrait*, 136.)

³⁰³ Ibid.

individual pieces were designed by taking into account their prospective audiences, with a particular concern for increasing the power and legitimacy of the Sultan's image by 'tapping into' the standard iconography of each artistic culture.³⁰⁴

The diplomatic exchange of portraits between the Ottoman and European courts is a well-known phenomenon and as Necipoğlu points out, there is a sufficient albeit non-definitive body of evidence alluding to the possible royal gifting of portraits between the Ottoman and Persianate courts.³⁰⁵ Alongside portraits, Mehmed II also showed a great interest in medals (Fig. 3) and sought their wide distribution in Europe as part of an effort to "immortalize his person, as had the emperors of past and present"³⁰⁶ though peculiarly enough he does not seem to have encouraged their full incorporation into the Ottoman visual repertoire.³⁰⁷ Through his invitations to the likes of Costanzo da Ferrara, Matteo de Pasti,³⁰⁸ and Gentile Bellini (Fig. 4), Mehmed cultivated an environment familiar with royal portraiture and coinage and succeeded in establishing portraiture as a powerful form of sultanic representation.³⁰⁹ Notwithstanding the varying degree of enthusiasm shown by Mehmed's successors towards it, the tradition of imperial portraiture was continued until 20th century, although photography, which had been introduced in 1839, had become the preferred form

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 29.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Atıl, "Ottoman Miniature Painting under Sultan Mehmed II," *Ars Orientalis* 9, 105.

³⁰⁷ The lack of rootedness in the Ottoman context is due to Mehmed II's decision to rely on foreign artists rather than establishing a local pool of talent, which led to the abandonment of medals for sultanic representation following his death. (Raby, "Opening Gambits," *The Sultan's Portrait*, 68-9.)

³⁰⁸ Matteo de Pasti was requested by name by Mehmed II, and while Sigismondo had agreed to loan the services of Matteo to Mehmed, the artist never made it to the Ottoman Empire as he was detained *en route* by Venetian authorities. (Raby, Ibid., 67)

³⁰⁹ Florentine painter and historian Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) argues that despite the prohibition dictated by 'Mahometan law' the Sultan was enthusiastic in his acceptance of some paintings offered to him as gifts, which sparked a great deal of 'astonishment' and 'wonder' in him. (Vasari, *Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari*, 3:164-5.) Cf. Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini et Sultan Mohammed II*, 28, 30-2.) In the foreword to his translation of Thuasne's *Gentile Bellini Et Sultan Mohammed II*, Ottoman historian Ahmed Refik (1881-1937) explains Fatih's patronage of the arts with the Sultan's love of and inclination towards beautiful things, and understands this as a crucial point in accurately dissecting Mehmed II's diplomatic life. (Thuasne, *Fâtih Sultân Mehmed ve Ressâm Bellini*, trans. Ahmed Refik, 3-4.) In making sense of the Sultan's passion for and reception of art, some Europeans seem to have overreached in their interpretation to the point where they took Mehmed's interest for either atheism, or a strong affinity for Christianity. See Spandugino, *I Commentari di Theodoro Spandugino Dell'Origine de Principi Turchi*, 66.

of self-representation of the Empire, especially by the reign of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909). As for the patronage extended to Western artists, it was ‘sporadic’ and through ‘informal networks’³¹⁰ unlike Mehmed II’s use of “highly visible diplomatic channels.”³¹¹ One of the most determined efforts to undercut Mehmed’s project came immediately following Mehmed’s death as his son ‘Baiaşit Signor’³¹² not only chose to avoid partaking in this newly coined form of imperial representation, but also sold off all art belonging to his father at the bazaar, as recounted by Angiolello contemporaneously.³¹³ Selim I (r. 1512-1520) does not seem to have shared his father Bayezid II’s ideas and was clearly setting out on a path towards becoming a full-fledged patron of the arts like his grandfather, with the potential to strongly influence the future direction of Ottoman art, as is evinced by the invitation he extended to Michelangelo through the mediation of Tommaso di Tolfo.³¹⁴ Yet, his short reign prevented him from leaving a lasting impression. Thus, the two successors of Mehmed II failed to contribute to the furthering of the portraiture tradition in the Ottoman context, the former due to his lack of interest, the latter notwithstanding it.³¹⁵ As the European stake and interest in Ottoman affairs peaked during the reign of Süleyman I, so did the number of envoys to accommodate the rising demand for information on all aspects of life in the

³¹⁰ Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation,” *Muqarnas* 29, 49.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

³¹² Referring to Bayezid II

³¹³ Angiolello, *Historia Turchesca (1300-1514)*, 121; Thuasne, *Ibid.*, 32. Bayezid II’s staunch rejection of portraiture did not keep him from using it for purely pragmatic reasons, as exemplified by the sending of his brother Cem’s portrait to Francesco II Gonzaga to assist with Cem’s capture. (Raby, *Ibid.*, 74.)

³¹⁴ In the letter dating to April 1, 1519 addressed to Michelangelo, Tommaso di Tolfo points out the diametrically opposed views of the two sultans with regard to the arts, the former being ‘kunstfeindlich,’ and the current ‘kunstfreundlich’. (Sarre, “Michelangelo und der türkische Hof,” 64.) Even though Selim’s efforts towards hosting Michelangelo at his court proved unsuccessful, his artistic inclinations especially with regard to likenesses show through in the structures he had built adorned with various images. (Du Loir, *Les voyages du Sieur du Loir*, 43; Tournfort, *A Voyage into the Levant*, 2:185). In *Tâcû’t-tevârih* there is mention of a portrait of Mehmed II painted by one of the artists commissioned to carry out the artistic work of Selim’s marble kiosk, which Selim I criticized for not being realistic enough by pointing out the fact that “as he recalls from his childhood, when his grandfather would place him on his lap, Mehmed had a falcon-like nose,” which the artist failed to capture. (Hoca Saadeddin, *Tâcû’t-tevârih*, 2:617; Karabacek, *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert*, 62n5.) This incident suggests that, in addition to Selim’s apparent artistic sensibilities, he also had a keen interest in verisimilitude and realism in art.

³¹⁵ Karabacek, *Ibid.*, 64.

Empire, in an effort to render this rising adversary more intelligible. There was an important visual aspect to all of these diplomatic missions with the vast majority of them including artists in their entourage, whose works included a variety of images which then burst onto the European scene.³¹⁶ Both Mehmed II and Süleyman I were highly ambitious sultans with grandiose political aims and this was reflected in the artworks they patronized. What was more eclectic and less solidified became consolidated and refined as it was produced under Süleyman I in what is referred to as the ‘Classical Period’. Thus, Süleyman’s reign witnessed the coalescing of what can be described as a uniquely Ottoman normative aesthetic into which foreign artistic features were no longer as easily incorporated. Despite the ebbing of European influence in art, especially towards the end of Süleyman’s reign, the more persistent influence from eastern painting idioms in royal portraiture is apparent.³¹⁷ At the same time the products of this artistic milieu do not seem to have been produced with a particular concern for the target audience. Nevertheless, it is still possible to detect European elements in painting; for instance in a portrait of Süleyman I attributed to Nigari, the artist’s move away from the standard poses and his adoption of the profile view falls in line with the European pictorial tradition (Fig. 5). In continuation of his father’s practice in his later years, Selim II (r. 1566-1574) did not invite any European artists to have his portrait painted, which resulted in the circulation throughout Europe of lesser quality images of Selim executed by mediocre European artists. The European iconographical and stylistic elements, which had dropped out of frequent use during the process of this genre’s localization under Süleyman I—with Timurid aesthetic taking precedence over the European—were increasingly picked up again as by the Ottomans in the 18th century.

The influential and prolific Musavvir Hüseyin, active during the reigns of Mehmed IV (r.

³¹⁶ Atasoy and Uluç, *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe: 1453-1699*, 345.

³¹⁷ Necipoğlu, “The Serial Portraits of Ottoman Sultans in Comparative Perspective,” *The Sultan’s Portrait*, 31.

1648-1687) and Süleyman II (r. 1687-1691), was responsible for the early efforts to reincorporate some of these elements into Ottoman portraiture, in order to address the rising demand for ‘similitude’ by European customers. He instilled a new sense of realism into imperial portraits by ‘individualizing’ each sultan and with his use of European techniques like *chiaroscuro*,³¹⁸ though he made sure to customize his works according to his respective clients; “more formal portraits for Ottoman, more realistic portraits for European customers.”³¹⁹ Although he seems to have reserved his realism for European clients, this style of his was followed by the succeeding court painters. Their choice to use it more regularly and widely steered the Ottoman portraiture tradition more clearly in this direction. Levni, who is often presumed to be a student of Musavvir Hüseyin was equally—if not more—influential in Ottoman painting than his mentor. Levni shaped the new artistic milieu in which realism was a major concern³²⁰ by introducing ‘new spatial and figural representations’ reinforcing it.³²¹ The extent of his influence during his time and beyond is best described in Ünver’s terms: “Levni lived through this period, and this period through Levni.”³²² He highlighted idiosyncrasies in an effort to individualize sultans, drawing attention to physical imperfections rather than glossing over them. Another major innovation Levni brought to portraiture was his ‘unaccustomed close-up’, which is particularly significant given the symbolic meaning this mode of representation carries in defining sultanic authority over his subjects (Fig. 6).³²³ This opened the door to a renegotiation of the dynamics between the two as the Sultan exposes himself to the scrutiny of and close inspection by one of his subjects, effectively challenging the power and authority Ottoman sultans derived from mystification going back to

³¹⁸ Majer, *New Approaches in Portraiture*,” *The Sultan’s Portrait*, 341-2.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 345.

³²⁰ Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 245.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 272.

³²² Ünver, *Ressam Levnî: Hayatı ve Eserleri*, 6. Cf. Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 272.

³²³ İrepoğlu, “Innovation and Change,” *The Sultan’s Portrait*, 382.

Mehmed II.

During the reigns of Mustafa III and Abdülhamid I, an Ottoman aesthetic that favored European artistic mores was implemented. The three-dimensionality apparent, for the first time, in Levni's work was foundational for the development of a novel style that emerged in the latter part of the 18th century. It was during this period that the presence of European artists in the Ottoman capital ballooned.³²⁴

Beginning in the 17th century, shifts in imperial culture had “suddenly liberated the uncomfortable image, subordinated to the word as an emblem illustrating historical truth,”³²⁵ giving the image a life of its own by deeming it an end in itself. However, the newly emerging concern for realism, apparent in the works of Musavvir Hüseyin in the second half of the 17th century and in those of his immediate successors spearheaded by Levni, gradually paved the way for the adoption of a medium that would allow the artists adequate space to address this concern more fully: the canvas. Levni's successor Rafayel Manas, who had received his artistic training in Italy, was responsible for ‘liberating the image’ from the confined space of album pages. The generous space of the canvas offered enough room for close-up, detailed depictions of sultans, with ‘an emphasis on facial expression’³²⁶ prompted by the keen interest in realism. Through this introduction, Rafayel pioneered a new style, which today art historians refer to as the *Rafayel School*,³²⁷ and established “the new artistic trend [as] the leading painter of the era,”³²⁸ which his son Menasi and his later successors continued to uphold in the artistic programs of their works.

³²⁴ Ibid., 387.

³²⁵ Necipoğlu, “The Serial Portraits of Ottoman Sultans in Comparative Perspective,” *The Sultan's Portrait*, 61.

³²⁶ İrepoğlu, Ibid., 388.

³²⁷ Mahir, *Osmanlı Minyatür Sanatı*, 90.

³²⁸ İrepoğlu, “Ottoman Portraiture During the Reigns of Mustafa III and Abdülhamid I,” 389.

The agency of sultans in the innovations introduced by Rafayel should not be ignored because as the patrons the sultans would have relayed their sensibilities to the artist, who then transposed them onto the canvas. Yet, in the composition of the pieces, the artist may have been the one to suggest certain novelties to his patron and guide the process for the most part. The new visual aesthetic formulated by Rafayel was carried into the periods of the succeeding sultans and further changes to the artistic program were introduced by his successors as well as other court artists.

I.3.2 Imperial Portraiture in the Political and Visual Climate Post-Mahmud II

Mahmud II's successor Abdülmecid I, who exhibited a keen interest in art and the image of the Empire was painted by a number of foreign and local artists in the ranks of Wilkie, Kretschmer, Doussault, Rubio, Sterrer, and Rogier.³²⁹ These portraits were sent to European monarchs as well as to Ottoman embassies abroad. Abdülmecid is also known to have sent Ottoman subjects to Europe to be educated in painting, including the likes of Ferik İbrahim Paşa, who graduated from the *Mühendishâne-i Berr-i Hümayûn* (Imperial School of Military Engineering)³³⁰ and then went on to study in London. His successor Sultan Abdülaziz I was even more fervent in his commitment to painting, laid bare by the fact that he at a young age began taking painting lessons from Qués and Schranz. He also expressed an interest in sculpture and bought paintings from abroad to be hung in the Palace as well as commissioned various sculptures; the animal sculpture series consisting of twenty four figures is but one example.³³¹ "In an effort to quench his thirst for his passion for beauty" the Sultan was able to compile a rich art collection consisting of the works of Gérôme, Yvon, Boulanger, Schreyer, Washington, Van

³²⁹ Sürbahan, *Ibid.*, 25.

³³⁰ This institution was established in 1795 by Selim III.

³³¹ Şerifoğlu, *Eskizden Tablolara Ressam Sultan Abdülaziz*, 14.

Marcke, Ussi, Huguet, Hapignies, and Daubigny among others.³³² Abdülaziz also developed a close artistic collaboration with Stanislaw Chlebowski whom he employed as court painter; Chlebowski was responsible for several large scale portraits and miniature portraits of the Sultan as well as group portraits featuring the Sultan and his ‘military elites’.³³³ In fact, Şerifoğlu was able to detect that some anonymous paintings in the Istanbul Military Museum and the Dolmabahçe Palace Collections overlapped to a great degree with some of the sketches drawn by Abdülaziz in his sketchbook, which he gifted to Chlebowski, and which is currently preserved in the Krakow National Museum. In so doing, he “introduced the possibility that these paintings which up to that point were thought to be the works of Chlebowski could in fact have been by Sultan Abdülaziz himself, or at least were results of the combined efforts of the two, with the Sultan’s collaborations.”³³⁴ The fine arts gallery of the Ottomans at the Paris Exposition in 1867, which Abdülaziz personally attended³³⁵ consisted of the works of Osman Hamdi Bey,³³⁶ M. Serobyen, Rıza Efendi, Ahmed Ali Efendi, and the photographers Abdullah Frères. Şeker Ahmed Paşa, one of the Sultan’s favorite painters, exhibited his charcoal portrait of Sultan Abdülaziz at the Exhibition. The painter Sultan who had a workshop at the Palace, encouraged the opening of a painting studio by Guillemet, which opened in 4 Şabân 1291 A.H. (September 27, 1873),³³⁷ as

³³² Zihnioğlu, *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi 1911-1914*, 185.

³³³ Roberts, “Ottoman Statecraft and the Pencil of Nature,” *Ars Orientalis* 43, 13-6.

³³⁴ Şerifoğlu, *Ibid.*, 7.

³³⁵ The Sultan’s affirmative decision to attend was published in the newspapers. (*Rûz-nâme-i Cerîde-i Havâdis*, issue 656, 17 Muharrem 1284, 2621.)

³³⁶ During this exposition three of Osman Hamdi’s works were put on display, namely, *Gypsy Camp*, *Zeibek on the Lookout*, and *Death of Zeibek*. At the time he was a student of Gustave Boulanger and Jean-Lén Gérôme. Even though the art of Osman Hamdi may strike its viewer as belonging to the Orientalist School at first glance, “his topics, as statements about Ottoman culture and society in the new age,” his conscious “eliminati[on of] the moment of voyeurism” in his paintings, as well as his inserting himself, “an Ottoman actor”, into the composition by means of which he “st[eals] back the act of conquest” distinguish him. (Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World’s Fairs*, 40-1; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 103-5.)

³³⁷ *Basiret*, issue 1324, 4 Şa‘bân 1291, 4. Halil Özyiğit talks about how the newspapers announced Guillemet’s opening of a studio, he includes some of the details in *Basiret* issue 1324, but he gives the issue number as 1327, the

evidenced by the news that appeared in the newspaper *Basiret*. A piece of information worth noting here is that the report in *La Turquie* on the subject specifically singles out the talent and fine execution of Guillemet's Armenian students, praising the "purity of the lines, accuracy of the drawing, and the harmony of the shadows."³³⁸

In 1883, under Sultan Abdülhamid II the School of Fine Arts was established and European artists were brought in as instructors in an effort to establish a more formal artistic training on the European model to replace the need to send artists abroad, just as several of the Manases had studied in Paris, Vienna, and Venice. The Sultan ordered portraits of some of the earlier sultans to both foreign and local artists including, but not limited to Bertaux, Reuter, Zonara, Halil Paşa, and the painter Emin. He set up a museum at the Yıldız Palace, and let local artists use a section of this palace as a studio. Sultan's portraits began appearing on unusual media like porcelain vessels during this period.³³⁹

I. 3.3 Entrepreneurial Artists and Their Sultanic Portraits

Alongside the development of the imperial portraiture tradition, there emerged, beginning in the late 16th and gaining popularity in the 17th century, a parallel culture of painting and images in the bazaar space, where 'entrepreneurial painters' produced single-folio works as well as albums which, though their iconography varied, almost always featured a series of sultanic portraits. This idiom blossomed outside the Ottoman court but also in conversation with it, first catering exclusively to European demand, then also to a cross-section of the local population, which had embraced this visual culture.

dates he provides are also inaccurate. See Özyiğit, "Pierre Désiré Guillemet'nin İlk Resim Atölyesi ve Osmanlı Devleti'nde Sanat Eğitimine Katkısı," in *Bingöl Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 133.

³³⁸ *La Turquie*, 29 Juin 1876, 1.

³³⁹ Renda, "Portraits: the last century," *The Sultan's Portrait*, 461-2. Cf. Sürbahan, *Ibid.*, 89.)

Built on the same template and principles, what distinguished these works from those produced at the court was the variety and difference in subject matter as well as approach and execution; their ‘reductive’ style stood diametrically opposed to the ‘additive’ nature of the courtly visual idiom, which called for as much color, glamour, and detail as possible, and which depicted the sultans in various poses with assorted *accoutrement*.³⁴⁰ Containing stylized characters usually set against a plain background, these images betrayed a conscious effort on the part of their authors to render them intelligible to a variegated audience through standardization (Fig. 7&8). Albums were pulled together according to the will of the customer from the pre-produced pieces available. Being summoned to the Palace to lend a hand for specific projects,³⁴¹ entrepreneurial painters had access to the material produced at the court ateliers. In their shops, these painters produced works for a range of clients, constructing albums according to their specifications. And has argued that for the production of the *Diez Album*, “bazaar painters must have had a foot in the palace door, and some might even have been court painters.”³⁴² As has been previously pointed out, the links between these groups went beyond occasional interaction and it can be deduced that some artists belonged to both groups at once, Konstantin Kapıdağlı being a great example of this.³⁴³ From the

³⁴⁰ And, “Seventeenth-Century Bazaar Painters and the Documentary Value of Their Work,” *Ottoman Figurative Arts 2: Bazaar Painters*, 79.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² And, “The Place and Importance of Bazaar Painters in Turkish Art,” *Ottoman Figurative Arts 2: Bazaar Painters*, 57. It is difficult to ascertain, however, if this album was an intentional collaboration of the court and entrepreneurial artists in its making or if it had been pulled together later by a collector.

³⁴³ The Riksarkivet (National Archives of Sweden) houses a number of letters and correspondence between Mouradgea and his bursar Murat following up on the status of Mouradgea’s financial affairs with regard to the expenses incurred in the production of *Tableau général*, where there are recurring mentions of the painter Constantine working on different illustrations for the book. (Beskickningen I Konstantinople, box.53, letters dating to 26 Avril 1784 and 10 Mai 1784, from Murat to Mouragea). In the preamble to his monumental work *Tableau général de L'Empire Othoman*, d’Ohsson admits to having commissioned local artists, whom he identifies as Greek and Italian (as well as Muslim, specifically for the paintings of mosque interiors and of Mecca and Medina), to create sketches, which were later refined and engraved in Paris, to illustrate his project. (D’Ohsson, *Tableau général de L'Empire Othoman*, 1: xxx-xxxi.) Based on the references in the aforementioned letters, Günsel Renda convincingly argues that this Constantine should be identified with Konstantin Kapıdağlı and notes that Kapıdağlı and other painters in his atelier were responsible for a variety of images extant in d’Ohsson’s work. (Renda, “Illustrating the *Tableau général*

18th century on, these artists functioned in an interconnected artistic environment—eclectic in its nature, but linked through frequent interaction and joint undertakings.

According to the Evliyâ Çelebi's account, paintings were exhibited in stores at the time he was producing his monumental enterprise, *Seyahatnâme* in the 17th century. The *esnâf-ı nakkâşân-ı cihân*³⁴⁴ would decorate every corner of their shops with these images and in a similar fashion the *esnâf-ı fâlcıyân-ı musavver*³⁴⁵ hung them in their shops abundantly. In January 1672, Antoine Galland records having seen multiple albums for sale in the Bezestan³⁴⁶ one of which was a history of Sultan Murad containing several images of the Sultan.³⁴⁷ Thus, the Ottoman population became familiar with the locally produced images, including sultanic portraits, which they consumed widely through their encounters with them in public spaces. This took place in a range of contexts from the bazaar where paintings were sold, to coffeehouses where storytellers, at least in some instances³⁴⁸, used them as visual aids in their performances, to the shops of fortune-tellers who used large versions of these paintings to divine.³⁴⁸ Therefore, this genre of work whose visual repertoire was finalized with a sultanic portrait series almost without exception, was not free of political and diplomatic connotations. The entrepreneurial artists' version of sultanic portraits drew on the official images created at the court, and even when these artists were not the ones responsible for

de l'Empire Ottoman," *The Torch of the Empire*, 67, 72-3.) Renda also argues that while d'Ohsson initially considered hiring Muslims for mosque interiors, Konstantin Kapıdağlı ended up sketching these as well. (Renda, *Ibid.*, 70.) It is interesting to note that while d'Ohsson initially outlines the range of Ottoman attitudes towards images from those who only tolerated animal imagery, to those who found images acceptable provided that they did not exceed a certain size, and those who drew the line at statues and portraits of likenesses, therefore admitting that not everyone fully rejected the use of images, he repines elsewhere in his account about having had to obtain drawings and sketches for his work "au milieu d'une nation ennemie pour ainsi dire des arts libéraux." (D'Ohsson, *Ibid.*, 4:436, 459.)

³⁴⁴ Falling under the umbrella of painters, this group consisted of a 1000 individuals who worked on the upper floor of the Arslanhane and in a 100 shops located elsewhere, according to Evliyâ Çelebi. (Evliyâ Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 1:607-8.)

³⁴⁵ Evliyâ Çelebi only lists one individual as belonging to this group, who produced depictions of stories revolving around the Ottoman sultans and the prophets on large pages and used them to divine. (Evliyâ Çelebi, *Ibid.*, 1:611.)

³⁴⁶ Bazaar where valuable goods were sold.

³⁴⁷ Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople*, ed. Charles Schefer, 1:32-3.

³⁴⁸ Değirmenci, "An Illustrated 'Mecmua': The Commoner's Voice and the Iconography of the Court in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Painting," *Ars Orientalis* 41, 188-190.

the official formulation, they were involved in stylizing and curating them and played a part in popularizing these images, making them available for common consumption.

I.4 Biographies of the Court Painter Manases

I.4.1 Rafayel Manas (?-1780): The First Court Painter of the Family

This esteemed painter, who also painted subjects outside court life,³⁴⁹ was referred to as the ‘Raphael’ of his century in the Empire. D’Ohsson mentions this *sobriquet* given to Rafayel and explains it as a marker distinguishing him from his local colleagues, whom he exceeded in artistic talent. However, he criticizes Ottoman painters as a whole, for failing to reach the ‘perfection’ of European painting, especially that of the Italian, French and Flemish schools of art, despite their not being devoid of talent.³⁵⁰ Toderini who came across two paintings by Rafayel during his visit to Menasi’s studio also identifies Rafayel as a valuable artist:³⁵¹

I saw a painting of his venus, which deserved to be praised. I also saw a large picture of a young girl from the court with a bowl in her hand in which there is a crimson watermelon. It was well drawn and colored, she was adorned with jewelry, necklaces, bracelets and her nails were painted red in line with the custom of the Turkish women.

Rafayel’s artistry is lauded by both of these figures perhaps because he had studied in

³⁴⁹ Step‘anian, “Nkarich‘ Manasnerë: nyut‘er hay kerparvesti patmut‘yan,” 82. Step‘anian has «իր զարուն Ռաֆայելը» which is a typo and it should be corrected to «իր դարուն Ռաֆայելը.”

³⁵⁰ D’Ohsson, *Ibid.*, 4:456. Mouradgea d’Ohsson, an influential Catholic Armenian figure and a native of the Ottoman lands, was educated by Pera’s Franciscan and Dominican clergy and was elevated to Swedish nobility after joining the retinue of the Swedish Embassy. (Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, 94-5.) He was close to the Swedish crown and his advice was regularly sought by Ottoman officials regarding necessary reforms that should be implemented in the Ottoman Empire. In an archival document dating to 1797 noting the huge amount of work that was involved in the creation of Mouradgea d’Ohsson’s grand enterprise, a product of his unrelenting efforts of fifteen years, the sultan’s marginalia addressed to his Grand Vizier orders that Mouradgea be rewarded beyond measure and that he be asked about the procurement of architects and engineers knowledgeable about shipbuilding. (BOA, HAT 268/15634) He financed the work in question, *Tableau général de l’Empire Othoman*, on the basis of the wealth he had amassed. His son would later continue in the footsteps of D’Ohsson, becoming a Swedish diplomat after being educated in the European capitals of Paris, Vienna and Stockholm. He held posts in Spain and France as an embassy secretary before eventually being appointed as the Swedish ambassador in Berlin in 1835. (Göçek, *Ibid.*, 171n36.)

³⁵¹ Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, 3:57n2.

Italy³⁵² and was immersed in European painting conventions, a quality which they appreciated.³⁵³ Rafayel—court painter of Mahmud I (r. 1730-1754) (Fig. 9),³⁵⁴ Osman III (r. 1754-1757) (Fig. 10), Mustafa III (r. 1757-1774) (Fig. 11)—was the first and arguably the most outstanding figure of the Manas dynasty of painters. Before introducing the canvas to Ottoman portraiture, he made miniature paintings and experimented with oil-on-paper. His sultanic portraits of Mahmud I, Osman III, and Mustafa III, added to Levni's *Kebir Musavver Silsilename*, are examples of miniature painting. Levni's portraits of the previous sultans are generally set against a patterned yellow or cream background with the exception of Mehmed IV (r. 1648-1687), Mustafa II (r. 1695-1703), and Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730), that appear on a striped olive and marigold wall-hanging, striped bright orange and Aegean blue wall-hanging, and a colorful tiled background, respectively. Yet, Rafayel chooses to set his subjects against a plain bismarck blue background and depicts them sitting on thrones that appear on a plain brown floor.³⁵⁵ The realistic expression on the faces unequivocally ties all three to the brush of the same artist. While Rafayel seems to play with and introduce some aspects of three dimensionality and perspective into these portraits, the lack of dimensionality and depth in continuation of the traditional miniature technique carries through in an apparent fashion, as well. The placement of the thrones, the sleeves of the *kaftans* hanging from both sides, and the raised appearance and texture of the fur lining of the *kaftans*, all add volume

³⁵² Shaw claims that “the Ottoman-Armenian artist Diradzu Rafail (?-1780) received a passport to study abroad in 1849.” Beyond the very obvious chronological error which identifies a person who died in 1780 as being the subject of an event taking place in 1849, the archival document, BOA, HR.MKT 26/6, DATED 3 B 1265 A.H./ May 25, 1849, which Shaw uses, actually concerns a painter Rafail who was employed at the Imperial Naval School and who was tasked with printing passport papers for those wanting to travel abroad. The other two documents cited in the cluster, videlicet, BOA, İ.HR 37/1738 an İ.HR 40/1874, are pertinent to her discussion of Russian and Prussian artists brought to the Ottoman palace, immediately preceding her remark on Rafail. (Cf. Shaw, *Ottoman Painting*, 21.)

³⁵³ D’Ohsson, *Tableau général de l’Empire Othoman*, 4:456.

³⁵⁴ Tuğ overlooks Rafayel’s authorship of this portrait and assigns it to Levni instead. Even though *Kebir Musavver Silsilename* was indeed Levni’s artistic project, the portraits of Mahmud I, Osman III, and Mustafa III were painted by Rafayel and appended to it. (Tuğ, *Ibid.*, 26.)

³⁵⁵ In Levni’s depictions of the sultans only Sultan Ahmed III appears on a throne, the others sit cross-legged on couches.

and dimensionality to his depictions. Yet, the white headgear and main body of the *kaftan* are very flat, without the necessary folds and texture to give them the kind of realism evident in the fur lining. The sultans all appear in a vacuum with their resplendent robes, bejeweled frogging and ornate headgear, out of touch behind the mighty walls of their palace, in line with the seclusion paradigm. (Fig. 12)

Rafayel was celebrated both in his own time and beyond and while his own artistic style preserved some elements of traditional technique as pointed out above, alongside other key figures such as Konstantin Kapıdağlı, the changes he introduced laid the foundations for a more comprehensive European inspired aesthetic in portraiture.

Sakëzean notes that he had had the chance to personally see the four paintings attributed to Rafayel Manas in an album at the Old Palace/Topkapı in collection 37070, and that two of those paintings depicted two young men wearing *shalvars* and turbans with one's hand in a bowl filled with rose water,³⁵⁶ while the other two paintings depicted two women, one in a pomegranate colored *entari* with a green belt, her breasts only partially covered by a transparent linen shirt, the other one with a blue dress, holding a bow with one hand, carrying a quiver with arrows on her shoulder.³⁵⁷ The latter is most likely a “representation of Artemis in Eastern attire,” reinforcing Rafayel's “familiarity with mythological topics” and his overall knowledge of European themes and techniques.³⁵⁸ A woman's portrait done by Rafayel in which the woman slightly lifts her skirt to the side (Fig. 13), is very different from figures painted by Buhari and Levni in the first half of the 18th century.³⁵⁹ The artist's non-sultanic portraits primarily consisted of single male and female as well as mother-child figures, such as “Portrait of a Mother and Child” (Fig. 14), “The mother

³⁵⁶ Sakëzean, “Manasnerë hay ngarich‘neru harsdut‘iwn më 18-19 tar,” 54.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 54--55.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 55.

³⁵⁹ Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı*, 56.

and daughter in the hamam” (1745) (Fig. 15), “Day of Judgment” (1758), “Woman holding an arrow in one hand and wisteria in the other” and “Lady of the Court,” in addition to the religious paintings he produced for Armenian churches. Rafayel also masterfully engraved the tombstone of Taniēl Vartabed, who died on November 8th, 1747, on which a poem written by Baghtasar Tbir was inscribed.³⁶⁰

Sakisian mentions an architect Rafayel who worked with his students to incorporate Western styles into the Ottoman Empire and to popularize the use of this new style, and claims that he could have been one and the same as the painter Rafayel who worked under Mahmud I, Osman III, and Mustafa III.³⁶¹ Without concrete evidence however, this identification cannot go beyond speculation.

Despite there being Armenian court painters going as far back as the 17th century, exemplified by the figures of Margos and Kapriyel Tbir,³⁶² Armenian painters began to supersede the Persians in dominating court life in the 18th century, with the emergence of figures like Rafayel and Menasi Manas.³⁶³

I.4.2 Menasi³⁶⁴ Manas (18th century-1802³⁶⁵):

The Manases relevant to this dissertation seem to have immersed themselves in multiple fields, taking up different careers throughout their lives. On certain occasions they even pursued careers that appear to be incompatible with one another on the surface; perhaps the most striking

³⁶⁰ K‘ēōmiwrjyan, *Sdambōloy Badmut‘iwn*, ed. Vahram H. T‘orkomyan, 1:332; Hovhannesian, *Payitaht Istanbul’un Tarihçesi*, trans. Elmon Hançer, 28-9.

³⁶¹ Sakisian, *Pages d’art Arménien*, 88. Ghazarian refers to Rafayel as a “great artist and architect.”³⁶¹ following Sakisian. (Ghazarian, *Haykakan Sovetakan Hanragitaran*, 213-214.)

³⁶² Pamukçyan, *Ibid.*, 3:174.

³⁶³ Parseğ who was active during the time of Levni was most likely eclipsed by this prominent artist.

³⁶⁴ His name appears as Manisar in some of the archival documents; namely BOA, C.MF 2/59, C.DRB 43/2137.

³⁶⁵ Beydilli records Menasi’s date of death as September 1804. (Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, 314.) However, BOA, C.DRB 43/2137 firmly establishes that Menasi died before 15 Safer 1217 A.H. (June 17, 1802).

example of which is Menasi's joint career as banker and court portraitist.³⁶⁶ While it would seem unlikely for someone who pursued banking in his later career to have started out as a court painter, knowing that Menasi's father was a renowned court artist and that painting was likely a family tradition, it is not inconceivable for him to have pursued painting on account of the artistic training he received due to his father's position, before transitioning to take up a career in banking or to pursue these two careers in tandem. In accordance with the family tradition, all four of Zenop's sons are known to have received artistic training though only Rupen and Sebuhi have conclusively been established to have continued on to make their careers as artists. When Toderini visited Menasi's studio in the late 1780s he was still an active court painter. Thus, the chronology suggests that he may have switched careers following an early pursuit of painting or that he painted as a secondary occupation in favor of a more lucrative vocation in banking. His career in banking could also explain Menasi's seemingly lackluster artistic one in comparison to that of his father. It is commonly acknowledged that the only sultan painted by Rafayel's son Menasi was Abdülhamid I.³⁶⁷ While the unified style in the works of these two artists complicates the search for authorship, a closer look at Abdülhamid I's portrait that appears in the *Kebir Musavver Silsile*³⁶⁸ reveals a relatively accurate answer. The artistic idiom that is followed overlaps precisely with that of Rafayel's miniature paintings of Mahmud I, Osman III, and Mustafa III, that are added to this compilation, however, the execution betrays a less masterful author. The diamond frogging that appears in the other three sultanic depictions exists here as well, yet it lacks dimensionality and

³⁶⁶ The evidence that Menasi had a career in banking seems uncontested given his links to the Zenop who was teaching at various institutions and offering his translation services at the Translation Bureau, and who is undeniably linked to Rupen Manas identified as his son in documents C.MF 2/59, BOA, İ.HR 37/1727, and HAT 1423/58189 preserved at the Ottoman Archives. See Chapter Four.

³⁶⁷ Sakčezan, "Manasnerē hay ngarich'neru harsdut'iwn mē 18-19 tar," 56; Saris, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Ermeni Resim Sanatı*, 108.

³⁶⁸ This portrait is identified as the work of Rafayel in the scholarship. (Kangal, *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, 429; Shaw, *Ottoman Painting*, 24.)

volume; flat as though it is hanging from a hanger instead of being worn. While the dark fur lining has elements of texture and a sense of depth, the artifice of Rafayel's rendition is absent. What gives away the author the most is the sultan's facial expression as despite the artist's discernible focus on this element, it nevertheless strays from the realism that Rafayel was able to inspire in his figures. The lines are harsh and disproportionate and the strokes less masterful. Therefore, it can be determined with relative certainty that this work must have been produced not by Rafayel, but by his son Menasi (Fig. 16). The eye-witness account of Toderini, who was given a tour of the studio by Menasi himself, identifies him as the author of Abdülhamid's portraits which lends significant weight to this conclusion.³⁶⁹

Unlike his father Rafayel, Menasi is not known to have studied art in Italy and his lack of expertise in applying elements of the Western modality in portraiture could be explained with this detail. As a result, Menasi's style was not one that was necessarily commended by Europeans, who were searching for the sensibilities that were upheld in the European aesthetic as well as their masterful execution.³⁷⁰ During Toderini's visit to his studio located in Balatà/Fanale,³⁷¹ Menasi presented Toderini with some watercolor copies of the original imperial portraits, which Cantemir also described³⁷² as having been acquired by means of his friends at the Ottoman court, being

³⁶⁹ Toderini, *Letteratura Turchescha*, 3:56.

³⁷⁰ Sakēzean, "Manasneru goghme ngaruadz gayserugan gentanagirner T'op'kapui T'ankaranin Mēch," 35.

³⁷¹ Ibid. Sakēzean has the location of the studio as Fener in his Armenian article on the subject (Sakēzean, "Manasnerē hay ngarich'neru harsdut'iwn mē 18-19 tar," 54) and as Fanal Galata in his French work. (Sakızyan, *Pages d'art Arménien*, 98.) Based on Toderini's account, the studio was most likely situated in Balat, Fener (Phanar). In his account published in the 19th century Josiah Conder offers the following insight about this toponymic confusion: "More properly Phanar, (by the French and Italians written Fanal and Fanale), from φανάρι, a light-house. The gate leading to this quarter, near the head of the port is called Fener Capoussi, the light-house gate." (Conder, *The Modern Traveller*, 14:173n1.) Cf. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Egypte et la Perse*, 1:24: "Les Grecs forment à peu près un sixième de la population: ils ont un quartier situé vers le fond du port, désigné sous le nom grec de *fanaraki* ou de *fanal*."

³⁷² Toderini, *Letteratura Turchescha*, 3:56-58.

copied by the *musevîr*, Levni Chelebi.³⁷³ This might help explain one of the ways in which official images produced at the court were transported outside and were able to influence popular art.

In his analysis of this portrait of Abdülhamid I by Menasi, Sakëzean underlines the artist's intention to immerse his audience by intently focusing the attention on the head and drawing the viewers to ponder on the striking facial details, namely "the expression of the eyes with the high eyebrows, the beard and moustache dyed in a dark hue of black."³⁷⁴ This very observation in itself betrays key similarities in painting style between Rafayel and Menasi by proving the artists' shared sensibilities and Menasi's implementation of the Rafayel style, thereby effectively undercutting Sakëzean's conviction that the two had very distinct techniques.³⁷⁵ However, judging by the artistic merit of Abdülhamid I's portrait added to the *Kebir Musavver Silsilename*, discussed above, it can be concluded that while Menasi seems to have upheld his father's artistic legacy and technique, he failed to achieve his father's level of mastery in their execution; therefore, he was unable to build an equal reputation or to truly leave a distinctive mark on the Ottoman portrait painting scene. Nevertheless, his continuation in line with his father's technique, as is evinced by the analysis of their styles, helped solidify the changes that Rafayel introduced, which served as a bridge to future developments in Ottoman aesthetic in portraiture as more elements of European iconography and technique continued to be incorporated into it.

Both Rafayel and Menasi may have fashioned their painting careers along similar lines as the celebrated painter Konstantin Kapıdağlı, so while certain evidence will remain illusory due to the challenges of determining authorship, there is a significant circumstantial case for believing that they participated in 'entrepreneurial' painting. As mentioned above, Rafayel is known to have

³⁷³ Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire*, 161-2n36.

³⁷⁴ Sakëzean, "Manasneru goghme ngaruadz gayserugan gentanagirner T'op'kapui T'ankaranin Mëch," 35.

³⁷⁵ Sakëzean, "Manasneru goghme ngaruadz gayserugan gentanagirner T'op'kapui T'ankaranin Mëch," 35.

painted on private commission in addition to his work at the court and the religious paintings he did for churches. While it is possible to deduce from the available information that the court painters of the family had painted for patrons other than the sultans,³⁷⁶ there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that they were involved in producing this body of art, which appealed to a wide ranging audience, both local and foreign. It was not uncommon for the collectors of such art to create their own *murakkas*³⁷⁷ by compiling and curating single-folio works with pages from other albums; that rendered them ‘open-ended artifact’s,³⁷⁸ further complicating the search for authorship. It is interesting to note, however, that Toderini seems to link some of the paintings he saw in Menasi’s studio to the entrepreneurial art adorning cafes and barbershops, in terms of their style:

In the studio of the Armenian Menasi in Balata I saw two woodland paintings by the brush of Turkish painters, but the human figures and animals were painted without art and form. In the cafes most of all, as well as in barbershops, I found animals painted of the same taste by a Persian dervish.³⁷⁹

The likely participation of the early Manases in this less esteemed genre of painting, which almost always included sultanic portraits, adds an additional component to the part they played in informally shaping the imperial image vis-à-vis the Empire’s own inhabitants, whose perceptions of their rulers and their Empire were fashioned in part through these images of the sultans encountered on a daily basis.

I.5 The Manases at the Intersection Between Painting & Diplomacy

I.5.1 Biography of Zenop Manas (1781/2-1840): The First Artist-cum-Diplomat of the Family

³⁷⁶ Step’anian, “Nkarich’ Manasnerē: nyut’er hay kerparvesti patmut’yan,” 78.

³⁷⁷ album

³⁷⁸ Rothman, “Visualizing a Space of Encounter,” 52-3: “As I show below, the Cicogna Codex was similarly a potentially open-ended artifact, in which stock images were combined with especially-commissioned ones.”

³⁷⁹ Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, 3:49n1.

Zenop Manas was the first member of the family who took upon himself the dual function of artist-cum-diplomat. While some scholars such as Kemal Beydilli argue that Zenop was not a Manas,³⁸⁰ several documents in the Ottoman Archives authoritatively prove otherwise by linking Zenop to Rupen and Sebu. One such document talks about how Rupen, the eldest son of Hoca Zenop—the penultimate head translator of the Vienna Embassy at the time —will be appointed as the first translator at the Paris Embassy.³⁸¹ While in the scholarship to date there has been a significant amount of disagreement among scholars regarding when Zenop lived and which sultans he served in the capacity of court painter and diplomat,³⁸² both of these questions can be authoritatively answered based on new information that has come to light during the course of this research. Firstly, Zenop’s date of birth can be decisively established as 1781/2 based on a registry of Catholic Armenians compiled by the Armenian Patriarch at the behest of the Sultan in 1827 where Zenop is reported as being forty five years of age.³⁸³ Secondly, his service to the court can be said with certainty to have begun during the reign of Selim III and to have continued during the reigns of the succeeding sultans Mahmud II and Abdülmecid I on the basis of archival material where he is praised for his forty years of service to the court commencing during Selim’s reign and its successful continuation thereafter.³⁸⁴ Since the records indicate that Zenop fell sick

³⁸⁰ Beydilli, *Ibid.*, 313n3.

³⁸¹ “Vişana sefâret-i seniyyesi bâş tercümân-ı esbak müteveffa Hoca Zenob’un büyük oğlu Rupen[in]... Paris sefâret-i seniyyesi tercümânlığına ta’yîn ve i’zâmı...” (BOA, İ.HR 37/1727)

³⁸² Step’anian argues that Zenop was a court artist during the reign of Sultan Selim III (r. 1789-1808), who in the meantime also did government service, but he refrains from giving a date range of when Zenop served as a diplomat. (Step’anian, *Kensagrakan Bararan*, 2:281.) Pamukçıyan, on the other hand, argues that Zenop Manas only served Abdülmecid I as court painter. (Pamukçıyan, *Ermeni Kaynaklarından Tarihe Katkılar: Biyografileriyle Ermeniler*, 4:298.) Küçükhasaköylü and Saris both argue that Zenop served the court from Selim III’s reign up through Mahmud II’s reign. (Küçükhasaköylü, “Osmanlı Sarayında Ermeni Ressamlar: Manas Ailesi,” *Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 28, 170; Saris, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Ermeni Resim Sanatı*, 108.)

³⁸³ BOA, HAT 1235/48038. This document will be assiduously explicated in Chapter Three.

³⁸⁴ “... merkûm fi’l-hakika cennet-mekân Sultân Selim Hân hazretlerinin zamanından beri devlet-i ‘aliyye hizmetlerinde bulunarak” (BOA, HAT 1423/58189)

on 10 Muharrem 1256 A.H. (March 14, 1840),³⁸⁵ and died on or before 20 Rebî'ü'l-evvel 1256 A.H. (May 22, 1840), his service to Abdülmecid I who ascended the throne on July 1, 1839 can also be confirmed. The document dated March 14, 1840 which confirms his illness, outlines the appointments he had during his professional life, yet there are no mentions of his career as court painter. His importance in this profession during the reign of Selim III may have been undercut by the fame of his contemporary Konstantin Kapıdağlı,³⁸⁶ the renowned Ottoman Greek artist who was responsible for some of the illustrations that were painted in Istanbul for d'Ohsson's *Tableau général*,³⁸⁷ but who is best known for his half-length portrait of Selim III in three-quarters profile, commissioned to be printed in London and distributed to local and foreign men of importance (Fig. 17).³⁸⁸

While it is well-established that Zenop served the court in the capacity of court painter, through the imperial genealogical tree attributed to him, no other examples from his oeuvre remain. Garo Kürkman attributes this oil-on-canvas genealogical tree of the Ottoman sultans from Sultan Osman I up through Mahmud II (Fig. 18), which is currently preserved in the Venice Mekhitarist Monastery, to Zenop Manas based on a letter attached to it, which bears his signature.³⁸⁹ It was

³⁸⁵ "...ibrâz-ı sadâkat eylemiş ve el-hâletü hazîhi 'alîl ve emekdâr olarak şâyeste-i merhamet-i seniyye bulunmuş olduğundan..." (BOA, HAT 1423/58189)

³⁸⁶ 'Constantin Capoudaghli' in French and 'Konstantinos Kyzikenos' in Greek (Renda, "Portraits: the last century," *The Sultan's Portrait*, 443n4.)

³⁸⁷ Renda, "Illustrating the *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*," *The Torch of the Empire*, 65-6.

³⁸⁸ Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 288-9. This groundbreaking project, however, was compulsorily postponed due to Selim's deposition, until it was taken up in 1815 by Mahmud II, who shared many of Selim's reformist ideas. (Renda, "Portraits: the last century," *The Sultan's Portrait*, 443-4.)

³⁸⁹ Kürkman shares a reduced photograph of the letter, which is in Armeno-Turkish, but does not offer a transcription or transliteration. It reads: "Verabadveli, Tezkerenizi aldım, hakiket bizim uşaklar Hagop'u saraya uşaklığa getirmişler. Lakin zor ile değil hatta kendi rızasıyla. Hagop'u ben odama getirtip sual ettim ki kerabaydzardan izinsiz niçin buraya geldin diye. Serkatibi muhtar Beyefendi'nin huzurunda. Ben çocuk değilim bana ne kerabaydzar karışır ne vartabedler diye cevap verdi. Bu surette ben kendiyeye zor ederek vanka gönderemedim. Ve şu dahi malum ki ola ki güya Hagop'un gözünü korkutmuşunuz seni asker yazdırırız diyerek onun için vanka bir türlü ayak basmak istemiyor. Yarınki gün vanka gelecek olursam keyfiyeti daha tavsillice ifade ederim. Şimdilik kerabaydzar Hazretlerinin mahsus ellerini öperim vanka göndermek elimden geleydi gönderirdim. Sefarethane, 30 teşrin-i evvel" (Kürkman, *Armenian Painters in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1923*, 593) The letter itself does not have a year, just a month, but Kürkman gives the date as 1838.

only during the time of Abdülhamid I that medallion genealogical trees,³⁹⁰ an “innovative way of present[ing] traditional content” was incorporated into the Ottoman pictorial idiom, becoming ‘characteristic of the period,’ with the earliest samples closely following the portraits of the Levni series. While they are anonymous, the technique’s similarity to the Rafayel School³⁹¹ raises the possibility that some of them had been made by the Manases, most likely Menasi or Zenop. However, the artist’s affinity with additional European techniques increases the likelihood that the author of these works was Zenop, who had been educated in Europe and who is known to have produced a work in this genre, rather than Menasi. Zenop’s participation in the popularization of this newly introduced genre is testament to his ability to embrace and support innovative techniques and forms like his grandfather Rafayel. Renda remarks that these genealogical trees were produced in bulk during the reign of Selim III by locals at ateliers on private commission for varying patrons.³⁹² This suggests that Zenop may have worked in collaboration with other artists in studios to produce works in this genre and it is conceivable that he may have partaken in ‘entrepreneurial’ painting.

In the letter attached to this oil-on-canvas genealogical tree, Zenop Manas is responding to a request for assistance from an Armenian priest writing on behalf of the bishop to have Hagop who seems to have been stationed in the Armenian Church, but who then willingly came into the service of the court, returned to them. Zenop mentions that he requested Hagop’s attendance in his

³⁹⁰ The Timurid tradition of recording lineage through portrait medallions in order to legitimize rulership was adopted by the Mughal emperors who also established a tradition of disciples chosen from among the nobles wearing small imperial portraits with a dynastic genealogical tree in the back as a sign of service. No comparable uses of royal portraiture existed at the Ottoman court until the adoption of sultanic genealogical trees in the second half of the 18th century. (Necipoğlu, “The Serial Portraits of Ottoman Sultans in Comparative Perspective,” *The Sultan’s Portrait*, 55.) Medallion genealogical trees of Ottoman sultans began to be produced in Europe in the 16th century by the likes of Ostendorfer and Nelli, where it was already an established form for representing monarchical pedigree, yet both artists diverged from the standard mode of presentation by placing the sultans in an unexpected order with the first sultan at the bottom instead of at the very top. (Raby, “From Europe to Istanbul” *The Sultan’s Portrait*, 137.)

³⁹¹ İrepoğlu, “Innovation and Change,” *The Sultan’s Portrait*, 399.

³⁹² Renda, “Portraits: The Last Century,” *The Sultan’s Portrait*, 516.

room and that he spoke to him in the presence of the chief clerk. Zenop shares the place of the letter's composition as the 'sefarethane,' and given that Zenop summoned the boy in question to his office, the *saray* (palace) in the letter should be understood as referring to the embassy building. The letter's date does not pose any immediate problems, Zenop was stationed at the Vienna Embassy when the letter was composed and was a well-established member of the retinue working as first translator, after having been sent there by Mahmud II in 1834, once embassies and consulates had been reopened. A piece of correspondence written by the Ambassador to Vienna Ahmed Fethi Paşa places Hoca Zenop in Vienna on 8 R 1253 A.H. (July 12, 1837) where he is identified as the translator of the Embassy.³⁹³ In a brief from the following year Rıfat Bey³⁹⁴ reports the details of his upcoming trip to Milan to partake in the coronation of Austrian Emperor Ferdinand I as the King of Lombardy-Venetia on September 7th, where he states that the chief clerk of the Embassy Muhtar Bey and translator Hoca Zenop will be accompanying him. Rıfat Bey gives the date of their departure as Saturday, 13 Ca 1254 A.H. (August 4, 1838).³⁹⁵ During his sojourn in Milan, Rıfat Bey met with the Pope's ambassador to work out some details about the administration of the Catholic *millet* that had been established in 1830 and sent a report back to the Sublime Porte.³⁹⁶ Zenop most likely partook in this conversation in the capacity of translator and showed great interest in the material discussed, being a Catholic himself. In 1848 his son Gaspar would also play a role in the conversation between the Holy See and the Sublime Porte when he joined the first diplomatic delegation from the Empire to the Pope led by Şekib Efendi, in the capacity of head translator. After the coronation, Rıfat Bey got the Sublime Porte's approval to go to Venice, following the Emperor. Even though Zenop's name does not appear in his request

³⁹³ BOA, HAT 1198/47053 B.

³⁹⁴ Sadık Rıfat Paşa. (Later on in his career he would later become a *pasha*.)

³⁹⁵ BOA, HAT 1186/46760, dated 9 Ca 1254 A.H. (July 31, 1838).

³⁹⁶ BOA, HAT 1185/46750.

for permission, neither do the names of any other individuals in Rıfat Bey's retinue, and it can be confidently surmised that Zenop accompanied the ambassador to Venice where they arrived on 12 B 1254 A.H. (October 1, 1838).³⁹⁷ In a later document dated to 14 Ra 1256 A.H. (May 16, 1840) it is revealed that Zenop had also previously worked as an officer of the *Meclis-i Umûr-ı Nâfi'a* established on July 7, 1838.³⁹⁸ This organization was formed with the understanding that education was one of the parameters of economic development and it worked towards laying the groundworks of a modern system of education that would no longer be under the purview of the theological establishment. Its reports and ideas created real change in the educational landscape of the Empire.³⁹⁹ In the document in question the head translator of the Vienna Embassy, Hoca Zenop, is issued a travel allowance of 1000 florins⁴⁰⁰ for his return to Istanbul. The cutting of his salary which amounts to 600 florins on his leave is also among the contents of this document.

Zenop passed away on his way back to Istanbul, adding to the great sorrow of his family. Upon his death, Zenop's wife Diruhi petitioned the Sublime Porte on 20 Ra 1256 A.H. (May 22, 1840) in hopes of receiving the pension⁴⁰¹ of 2000 *kuruş* her husband had been promised, to be dispensed from the revenue generated from taxes on alcoholic beverages as well as the per diem that would be paid on a trimonthly schedule.⁴⁰² As was discussed in the dissertation's introduction, Diruhi pleaded for the mercy and beneficence of the sultan by underscoring her husband's continued loyal service of more than forty years and highlighting the fact that Zenop's six children⁴⁰³ and herself were counting on receiving this amount for subsistence.⁴⁰⁴ The Sublime

³⁹⁷ BOA, HAT 1184/46729.

³⁹⁸ BOA, İ.HR 5/205.

³⁹⁹ Erdoğan, "Maarif-i Umumiyye Nezareti Teşkilatı-I" *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 51/1, 190-1.

⁴⁰⁰ The author of the document equates 1000 florins to 4000 *kuruş*. Yet, later on in the same document he equates 50 florins to 500 *kuruş*, this time ascribing a 1 to 10 value to the florin against the *kuruş*. (BOA, İ.HR 5/205.)

⁴⁰¹ 'tekâ'üdlük ma'âsı'

⁴⁰² *Zecriye*

⁴⁰³ The six children mentioned here must be Rupen, Sebu, Gaspar, Aleksandr, Mari, and Sofi.

⁴⁰⁴ BOA, İ.HR 5/210.

Porte decided to grant half of the promised amount to the deceased's wife on the basis of Zenop's loyal, unrelenting service, while the other half was to be transferred to the Treasury.⁴⁰⁵ Despite this ruling, a document dated to 15 Muharrem 1262 A.H. (January 13, 1846) reveals that the 1000 *kuruş* monthly life-time allowance granted to Zenop's wife had been cut without prior notice, which led Zenop's son Gaspar, the head translator of the Vienna Embassy, and his brother Aleko, second translator at the same embassy, to petition the Sublime Porte for the continuation of this subsistence grant.⁴⁰⁶ The brothers pleaded with the government by declaring the destitute situation their mother and sisters living in Istanbul had been forced into upon the halting of this allowance. The Ottoman administration concluded that even though Gaspar and Aleko were under the patronage of the Vienna Embassy being employed there, the entire family of Zenop should be looked after given Zenop's many years of loyal service and that the allowance should be paid as per the patent issued to his family.⁴⁰⁷

Before taking up diplomatic appointments during the formative years of the second residential diplomacy attempt of the Empire, Zenop pursued a long career in language instruction and translation at prestigious state institutions like the *Mühendishâne-yi Berr-i Hümayûn*,⁴⁰⁸ and the Language Instruction Department at the Translation Bureau.⁴⁰⁹ Zenop's career in language instruction and translation and the subsequent appointments he took in diplomatic service, do not seem to have yielded much financial prosperity, despite the esteem and recognition they brought. Even at the close of his career he was trying to secure a pay raise, in order to be able to meet his

⁴⁰⁵ İ.HR 5/210_2_1.

⁴⁰⁶ BOA, İ.HR 29/1334_3_1.

⁴⁰⁷ BOA, İ.HR 29/1334_6_1.

⁴⁰⁸ This institution was also significant for laying the groundwork for formal painting training at Ottoman government institutions as the curriculum included painting lessons with a military intent, where basic painting principles including perspective and *chiaroscuro* were taught; this burgeoning painting culture in the military context would ultimately yield the soldier-painter generation of important painters.

⁴⁰⁹ Zenop's language instruction and translation careers preceding his diplomatic appointments in the capacity of head translator at the Vienna Embassy will be investigated further in the following chapter.

needs. Despite numerous requests over a period of several years, it seems from HAT 827/37473 that the matter had been overlooked. Eventually, with the backing of several important figures including the Minister of Finance, Nafiz Paşa, and the Undersecretary of the Interior, Sarim Efendi, his long and distinguished service to the Empire was taken into consideration and Zenop was given a raise of 1000 *kuruş*, doubling his prior income.⁴¹⁰ His choice not to pursue banking like his father and his three brothers certainly protected him from the unpredictable dangers of the banking profession, yet significantly limited his financial success. Before he began working in the diplomatic service establishment he applied to renew a patent of exemption, usually granted to bankers, and which he was initially able to secure through his father. This patent exempted him from certain taxes⁴¹¹ and he was able to get by on his meagre salary of 50 *kuruş*, the initial salary he received when he began working at the Engineering School. This patent was later renewed in 1262 A.H (1846) to cover Zenop's sons and two servants.⁴¹² As a court artist, Zenop must have worked on commission, given his other pursuits, although how active he was and how much he earned for his artistic projects remain obscure. It is most likely that he used his painting skills to supplement the limited earnings that his other careers generated,⁴¹³ just like his sons Rupen and Sebuḥ after him.⁴¹⁴

I.5.2 Painter-cum-Diplomat Brothers Rupen and Sebuḥ Manas

When portrait medallions were introduced into Ottoman life, they immediately became a sign of sultanic favor and devotion. It was none other than the Manases who played a major part in the integration and localization of this genre, through the works of Rupen and Sebuḥ, and who

⁴¹⁰ BOA, HAT 827/37473, HAT 1423/58189.

⁴¹¹ BOA, C.MF 2/59. See Chapter Four.

⁴¹² BOA, C.ML 528/21602.

⁴¹³ BOA, HAT 1423/58189, HAT 827/37473.

⁴¹⁴ Sakēzean, "Manasnerē hay ngarich'neru harsdut'iwn mē 18-19 tar," 57; Şehsuvaroğlu, "19. Asırda Osmanlı sarayında resim," *Akşam Gazetesi*, 12 June 1948, 5.

then contributed to its long life in the Ottoman artistic repertoire via the efforts of Josef. Even though it is widely argued in the literature that Sebuḥ and Rupen were active as painters beginning in Mahmud II's reign, due to the lack of concrete evidence it is unclear whether they produced sultanic portraits, either as medallions (Fig. 19) or in larger formats during this Sultan's reign, or whether they upheld the artistic forms and sensibilities that were formulated during Mahmud II's reign in the reigns of the subsequent sultans.⁴¹⁵ What is clear though is that Rupen and Sebuḥ were among the court portraitists who sought to reflect the reformed image of the Empire and the immediacy of the Sultan's rule in the imperial portraits they produced. Following the reign of Mahmud II, his successors continued to use portraiture and the new medium of photography to shape the identity of the Empire.

Rupen Manas (1813/4⁴¹⁶- before 1888⁴¹⁷)

Rupen, Zenop's eldest son, carried out diplomatic functions alongside his work as a court

⁴¹⁵ Halil Edhem points out that Sebuḥ and Maksud Manas were sent by the Sultan to Europe to receive an education in painting and that it was them that created the ivory medallion portraits during Mahmud II's time. (Edhem, *Elvah-ı Nakşiye Koleksiyonu*, 22n2.) Sakēzean agrees with this statement, but a year later, while he retains the same view on Sebuḥ, he makes the following remark regarding Maksud: "In contrast to the testimony of Khalil Ethem, the descendants of the Manases have no idea of a miniature artist named Maksud. It is likely that this famous miniature artist had existed without belonging to this family." (Sakēzean, "19. taru sult'annerun hay manrangarich'nerē ew T'urk' Ishanuhii mē manrangarē," 146, Sakēzean, "Manasnerē hay ngarich'neru harsdut'iwn mē 18-19 tar," 57.) Kabacalı says that some imperial portraits in the form of medallion portraits that were gifted as decorations to the elite were prepared by 'Sabuh' (Sebuḥ) Manas during this period, who had been sent to Europe by Mahmud II to receive an artistic education, and that he and his sons created imperial medallion portraits for Mahmud II and the succeeding sultans. (Kabacalı, II. Mahmud: *Osmanlı Yenileşmesinde Bir Çığır Açıcı*, 223.) This is problematic since we do not know of Sebuḥ's sons as painters, so it is likely that he means Zenop Manas instead. Şehsuvaroğlu also says without citing his sources that an Istanbulite artist by the name Menas was responsible for the medallion portraits of the Sultan. (Şehsuvaroğlu, *Eski Türk Sanatları*, 34.) Arseven goes on to claim that it was in fact Rupen who painted the sultan's portraits during the time of Mahmud II, though again without providing any proof. (Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi*, 128.) Pardoe makes note of the large oil portrait of Mahmud II she saw during her visit to the 'military college,' which she describes as "harsh, and crude, and wiry, as though it had been the production of a Chinese easel, and surmounted by a most elaborate drapery." She also points out that the portrait had been done by an Armenian painter, so there is a likelihood that this painting Pardoe mentions in poor terms was executed by a Manas. (Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*, 1:199.)

⁴¹⁶ BOA, HAT 1235/48049.

⁴¹⁷ In a petition (HR.H 219/2) regarding the estate of Püzant Manas dated to 19 safer 306/13 teşrîn-i evvel 304 (October 25, 1888), the two signatories Sofi and Oseb (Josef) Manas inform the Ottoman government that they are the only inheritors left by that point. However, in an earlier petition to do with the disbursement of the same inheritance both Sebuḥ and Rupen Manas had been named as inheritors, so they must have passed by the date of this later petition. Cf. HR.MKT 159/97.

painter, and was known in Europe by his Francized name Rubens Manasse.⁴¹⁸ Much like his namesake the great painter-diplomat Peter Paul Rubens, who lived approximately two centuries prior and whose, “skill as a painter, was [and still continues to be] almost universally considered without equal, [but whose successful] political career [primarily in the service of the Spanish crown] is almost entirely forgotten [today],” Rupen “honored [his court] with his brush, and served [it] as a diplomat.” Yet, he failed to attain the level of bravura achieved by the Old Master in both regards.⁴¹⁹ It is more than likely, however, that he was familiar with the master and sought to draw some implied connection with him, in an effort to increase his cachet, especially when his European education is taken into consideration. It is also interesting to recall that his great grandfather was described as, “the Raphael of his century” by d’Ohsson. Given his fluency in the French language it is conceivable for Rupen to have been familiar with this characterization and involved in a conscious attempt to put himself on a par with his famous great grandfather through associating himself with yet another giant of the European painting tradition. It is possible that such an action was driven by an underlying anxiety about needing to live up to the deeds of his famous ancestor.

Rupen worked as the translator of Halil Paşa during his governorship in Trabzon and was awarded a medal in 1846 on the recommendation of the pasha, who described him as a loyal, honest, and devoted employee.⁴²⁰ It is unclear for how long Rupen had been in the service of the pasha before receiving this recognition, but it seems plausible for him to have worked for Halil Paşa at least for a few years. During this posting, Russian Prince and field marshal Mikhail

⁴¹⁸ Sometimes his name also appears as Roupén Manass. (*Almanach de Gotha: Annuaire diplomatique et statistique pour l’année 1867*, 639; *Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1868*, 718; *Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1869*, 683.)

⁴¹⁹ Lamster, *Master of Shadows: The Secret Diplomatic Career of the Painter Peter Paul Rubens*, 389-390.

⁴²⁰ “Tercümânlik hizmet-i bendegânemde müstahdem Manas kûlları sıfat-ı sıdk ve istikâmetiyle mevsûf olarak umûr-ı me’mûresinde... hüsn-i sadâkat ve hamiyet izhâr etmekte olarak” (BOA, İ.HR 34/1547). In the official correspondence that follows the initial letter of recommendation by Halil Paşa, Rupen is described in similar terms. Another document pertaining to this medal to be awarded to Rupen Manas is A.}MKT. 38/12.

Semyonovich Vorontsov, who at the time served as the Lieutenant in the Caucasus, conferred on Rupen—the *Armenian Manas*—the third-class Imperial Russian Order of Saint Anne⁴²¹ in the name of the Russian Emperor. It is unclear why Rupen received this award and nothing further can be deduced from the archival document in answer to this question. On that same occasion Halil Paşa was gifted a saber inlaid with precious stones and his personal physician, a diamond box.⁴²² It seems like following Halil Paşa’s dismissal from this post in 1846, Rupen was reassigned and sent abroad to join the ranks of the Paris Embassy personnel as a translator, his appointment being certified on 20 Za 1262 A.H. (November 9, 1846). Official correspondence indicates that he was seen as a perfect fit for the position in all respects given his familiarity with the language, his loyalty, his correct etiquette that stood the test, as well as his talent in the art of painting.⁴²³ This posting would enable him to continue training as a painter, though he had already received some training by the time of this appointment. It is unclear whether this was formal instruction or lessons given by his father Zenop, who was a court painter and competent language instructor.⁴²⁴ While certain aspects of formal art education in the Ottoman context have received moderate discussion in the scholarship, including analysis of painting instruction offered at the military institutions in the 19th century, or the opening of Guillemet’s studio in 1873, little ink has been spilled on the topic of informal painting instruction by native and foreign artists alike in the form of ‘apprenticeship schemes’ and the networks of commercial painters

⁴²¹ Instituted in 1735, this order awarded for meritorious service initially had a single rank, but then four different classes were established for it. Rupen was awarded the third-class rank of the award, in the form of a, “cross worn on the left ribbon, suspended from a ribbon 28 millimeters wide.” It is unclear what the exact nature of Rupen’s service was for being granted this award.

⁴²² BOA, HR.TO 284/58.

⁴²³ BOA, İ.HR 37/1727. Küçükhasköylü interprets this document to mean that Rupen had spent many years in Paris before this posting, but the document does not divulge that kind of information. (Küçükhasköylü, *Ibid.*, 171.) It merely states that he is familiar with the language and is well-versed in painting and that if he gets to spend time in Paris he will be able to solidify his skill in painting.

⁴²⁴ Davidian, *Portrait of an Ottoman Armenian Artist of Constantinople*,” 10.

that developed within Istanbul.

Rupen (appearing as Rubens Manassé) was still working as head translator at the Paris Embassy in January 1848 under the Ambassador Extraordinary Süleyman Paşa, along with Anton (Antoine) Manas, as second translator, according to the *Journal Asiatique* of 1848 and the *Sâlnâme (Le premier Annuaire impérial de l'Empire Ottoman)* of the same year.⁴²⁵ While working as a painter affiliated with the court, Rupen was still trying to improve his technique and painting ability; there are multiple documents concerning his unfinished training, his desire to continue, and the permission issued for him to be able to do so.⁴²⁶ In the plea he submitted at the end of his appointment as translator in Paris, he expressed his desire to be reinstated into the employ of the Embassy for a while longer to continue working on his painting technique. While pointing out that during his tenure as head translator to the Paris Embassy he had had the greatest blessing of being able to thoroughly study and gain a level of expertise in the field, he states that he needs more time in training in order to be able to attain true mastery.⁴²⁷ This plea has no date, but the internal memo regarding the matter, pending the approval of the sultan is dated to 22 S 1264 A.H. (January 29, 1848). The reply issued on the 25th of the same month determines that Rupen should receive a monthly allowance of five hundred francs, inclusive of a per diem as opposed to his previous salary of six hundred and fifty francs and a monthly per diem of two hundred and fifty francs under Süleyman Paşa's embassy, which appears as a sharp cut.⁴²⁸ The document also indicates that Kalimaki (Alexander Callimaki)⁴²⁹ should be notified in writing as

⁴²⁵ Bianchi, et al., *Journal asiatique*, série 4, 11:24; Bianchi, *Sâlnâme (Le premier annuaire impérial de l'Empire Ottoman)*, 54.

⁴²⁶ BOA, İ.HR. 47/2249; İ.HR 47/2255.

⁴²⁷ BOA, İ.HR. 47/2255.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

⁴²⁹ Kallimaki/Callimachi/Calmaşul or Cälmaşu. He was the minister plenipotentiary at the Paris Embassy from 1848 to 1852. (Kılıç, "Osmanlı Hariciyesinde Gayrimüslimler (1836-1876), PhD diss., 135.)

per the decision of Rupen being given accommodation at the Embassy.⁴³⁰ However, it remains unclear how long the extension would be for as it is merely stated that Rupen would be authorized to stay for a little bit longer (birâz müddet dahâ ol tarafta tevakkuf ve ikâmeti).⁴³¹ In 1849 he returned to Istanbul and began working in the Translation Bureau with a monthly salary of 1250 *kuruş*, owing to his language skills.⁴³² A document dated May 25, 1850 proves that after a brief appointment in Istanbul, Rupen was dispatched to Paris once more. On being asked about how much time he would require on this occasion by the Ottoman administration, he replied that a year would suffice for him to remedy his shortcomings in the art of painting,⁴³³ and he was granted the amount of time he had asked for.⁴³⁴

It is unclear whether he pursued this further education through enrolment at an institution or via frequenting a painter's studio for less formal lessons. Finally, Rupen was recalled to the capital in 1853 in a decree that reiterates that the purpose of his posting was to acquire additional education.⁴³⁵ Staying in Istanbul only briefly, Rupen was sent back to Paris again in 1854 to join the staff at the Embassy,⁴³⁶ where he held a position as a secretary (Paris sefâret-i seniyyesi ser-kâtiblerinden). According to the *Almanach-Bottin du commerce du Paris* for the year 1855, he was serving under the Ambassador Extraordinary Velieddin Rifat Paşa⁴³⁷ as secretary-translator at the Paris Embassy.⁴³⁸ The following year he is listed as part of the diplomatic retinue working in the capacity of secretary under Mehmed Cemil Bey alongside his brother Sebuğ as translator,

⁴³⁰ BOA, İ.HR. 47/2255.

⁴³¹ BOA, İ.HR. 47/2249.

⁴³² BOA, İ.HR. 59/2806. Cf. Kılıç, "Tanzimat Döneminde Osmanlı Hariciye Nezâreti'nin Ermeni Memurları," 118.

⁴³³ BOA, İ.HR. 65/3198.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ BOA, A.}MKT.UM. 131/55, İ.HR. 97/4734. Cf. BOA, MB.İ 10/70.

⁴³⁶ BOA, HR.MKT. 79/34. Cf. BOA, HR.MKT. 82/20, dated to 26 Ramazân 1270.

⁴³⁷ Vely-Eddin-Rifaut-Pacha

⁴³⁸ Bottin, *Almanach-Bottin du commerce du Paris pour 1855*, 7.

and Pol Manas as attaché.⁴³⁹ He was still holding the position of secretary (Paris sefâret-i seniyyesi ser-kâtiblerinden) in 1856, albeit with a rather low figure compared to his previous salaries and per diems,⁴⁴⁰ and was given a pay raise based on his statement that at the time the 300 francs he was receiving did not even cover his obligatory expenses.⁴⁴¹ He was incurring extra costs due to his schooling in painting, and his expenses were expected to go up (...mûmâ-ileyhin orada tahsilde bulunarak tesviye-yi husûsâtı dahi ilâveten me'mûriyeti kılındığı cihetle ba'zı zâi'd masârif-i vukû' bulacağından), which is why the suggestion was for his salary to be doubled (ma'âşına üç yüz frânk daha 'ilâve) and an affirmative decision was reached on 18 N 1273 A.H. (May 12, 1857).⁴⁴² He continued to serve in this capacity until 1861.⁴⁴³ Based on the *Almanach de Gotha* of 1867, Rupen was the Consul General⁴⁴⁴ of Milan, which shows that he must have been posted there in 1866, and he served until 1871⁴⁴⁵ at which point he was replaced by Dominian Effendi, who seems to have held the title Consul.⁴⁴⁶ There is mention of an R.

⁴³⁹ Spelled Mehmed-Djemil-Bey. (*Almanach impérial pour 1856*, 35.)

⁴⁴⁰ *Almanach de Gotha: Annuaire diplomatique et statistique pour l'année 1857*, 433.

⁴⁴¹ BOA, İ.HR. 143/7500: "...muhassas olan üç yüz frânk ma'âş masârif-i zarûriyesine kifâyet etmediği ifâdesi.."

⁴⁴² BOA, İ.HR. 143/7500. Cf. BOA, A.}AMD. 74/85.

⁴⁴³ *Almanach de Gotha: Annuaire diplomatique et statistique pour l'année 1858*, 448; *Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1859*, 476; *Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1860*, 483; *Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1861*, 500; *Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1862*, 516. In *Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1863*, only Sebuhan Manas is listed as part of the Paris Embassy's diplomatic retinue. (*Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1863*, 531.)

⁴⁴⁴ In the Ottoman context consular services led by baş şehbenders carried different connotations that were distinguishable from the European counterpart, being much more financially oriented, as the consuls and consuls general were charged with representing the trade interests of the Empire in the respective localities they were posted. (BOA, A.}DVNS.ŞHB.d. 1.)

⁴⁴⁵ This proves that Rupen Manas had not been appointed as the Consul General of Milan in 1869 as Pamukçıyan and Küçükhasköylü argue, but three years earlier, in 1866. (Pamukçıyan, Ibid., 4:298; Küçükhasköylü, Ibid., 171.) Being part of the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia from 1815 until 1859, Milan was later incorporated into the Kingdom of Sardinia, which was rechristened as the Kingdom of Italy in 1861. Until 1866 the Ottoman Empire does not seem to have set up a diplomatic representational office in Milan, the first mission that is listed in 1866 to Milan has Rupen as the consul general. (*Almanach de Gotha 1860*, 740; *Almanach de Gotha 1861*, 779; *Almanach de Gotha 1862*, 628; *Almanach de Gotha 1863*, *Almanach de Gotha 1864*, 669; *Almanach de Gotha 1865*, 703; *Almanach de Gotha 1866*, 707-8; *Almanach de Gotha 1867*, 639.) Rupen served in this capacity from 1866 up through 1871. (*Almanach de Gotha 1870*, 691; *Almanach de Gotha 1871*, 514; *Almanach de Gotha 1872*, 620. Dominian Efendi had replaced Rupen in 1871. (*Almanach de Gotha 1873*, 654.) Sürebahan (Küçükhasköylü) points out that Rupen's tenure as Consul General to Milan must have ended by 1875 since he participated in Şeker Ahmed Paşa's 1875 Exhibition. (Sürebahan, Ibid., 89.) However, the information in *Almanach de Gotha* definitively proves that his mission was in fact concluded four years before the exhibition, in 1871.

⁴⁴⁶ *Almanach de Gotha 1873*, 654; *Almanach de Gotha 1874*, 676; *Almanach de Gotha 1875*, 701.

Manasse, who worked as an archivist at the Paris Embassy from 1869 up through 1871,⁴⁴⁷ which seems to be referring to Rupen Manas given that he was tasked with cataloging the Paris Embassy archives by Mehmed Cemil Paşa, as is recorded in a document dated to December 2, 1868,⁴⁴⁸ though curiously enough at this time he is also recorded as being employed in Milan.

Rupen was commissioned to produce sultanic portraits for embassies across Europe. As an archival source dating to 19 L 1263 A.H. (September 30, 1847) notes, it would be too inconvenient to have the portraits brought from Istanbul, so Rupen would be producing copies of the sultan's portrait based on the one he had in his possession, in collaboration with the craftsman.⁴⁴⁹ Rupen himself writes that he had been charged with producing four portraits of the sultan, intended for the salons of different embassies, in 1855.⁴⁵⁰ Yet another dated to 29 M 1276 A.H. (August 28, 1859) indicates that permission is being sought to commission Rupen to produce an imperial portrait for the London Embassy.⁴⁵¹ Şehsuvaroğlu also mentions how Rupen was commissioned to paint sultanic portraits for the Vienna and Berlin embassies and that he was awarded 5000 francs per painting.⁴⁵² A portrait of Abdülmecid, signed Rubens Manasie, dated 1857, is preserved in the Drottningholm Palace today (Fig. 2).

Rupen was awarded a fifth rank Order of Distinction (*nişan-i ali*) on 17 L 1270 A.H. (July 13, 1854).⁴⁵³ Sebuhan's artistic efforts seem to have been recognized and rewarded before his, since he submitted a petition to be recognized to the extent of his brother. Two sets of documents dating to 15 Za 1274 A.H. (June 27th, 1858) acknowledge the petition and state that

⁴⁴⁷ *Almanach de Gotha 1870*, 587; *Almanach de Gotha 1871*, 813; *Almanach de Gotha 1872*, 839.

⁴⁴⁸ Kılıç, "Tanzimat Döneminde Osmanlı Hariciye Nezâreti'nin Ermeni Memurları," 118; BOA, HR.MTV 543/42.

⁴⁴⁹ BOA, İ.HR 42/2000.

⁴⁵⁰ BOA, HR.TO 419/24: "Je me suis empressé, dès mon arrivée, de m'occuper suivant les ordres qui m'ont été donnés, des quatre grands portraits de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, lesquels sont destinés aux salons de nos différentes ambassades," signed "Rubens Manasse."

⁴⁵¹ BOA, İ.HR 170/9190.

⁴⁵² Şehsuvaroğlu, "19. Asırda Osmanlı sarayında resim," *Akşam Gazetesi*, 12 June 1948, 5.

⁴⁵³ BOA, MB.İ 13/50.

the necessary arrangements would be made.⁴⁵⁴ Given that Rupen received a third tier rank on 9 B 1271 A.H. (March 28, 1855),⁴⁵⁵ he must have petitioned to receive a higher honor in 1274 A.H. (1857/1858). However, this may also have been the result of a request by Rupen that he receive similar recognition to that awarded to Sebuḥ when he delivered the portrait of Abdülmecid I made by Rupen to the Swedish Queen in 1857. It seems highly unlikely for both brothers to have submitted their own portraits of the sultan within the same year to the Swedish court, which is why Sebuḥ must have received recognition for delivery of his brother's painting.

Rupen is known to have produced a miniature portrait of Abdülmecid I's daughter Fatma Sultan in 1850 (Fig. 21),⁴⁵⁶ which appeared on a magnified scale in *L'Illustration's* issue published on September 2, 1854, accompanying the news of Fatma Sultan's marriage to Reşid Paşa's son Ali Galib Paşa.⁴⁵⁷ The motifs surrounding the portrait were done by the famous artist Mıgırdiç Melkonyan.⁴⁵⁸ Rupen produced large as well as medallion portraits depending on what was demanded by the palace. Although none of his alleged portraits of Mahmud II have come down to us, there are several portraits made by him of Abdülmecid (Fig. 20), which betray his pronounced concern and search for verisimilitude in portraiture in a continuation of the artistic sensibilities formulated by Ottoman artists like his great grandfather Rafayel from the second half of the 18th century onward.⁴⁵⁹ Overall, Rupen was an accomplished painter whose "masterful brush technique and soft lighting"⁴⁶⁰ betrayed his authorship in cases where his signature was missing. *La Turquie's* coverage of the 1875 Exhibition,⁴⁶¹ the second of its kind organized by

⁴⁵⁴ BOA, HR.MKT 243/54, İ.HR 156/8285. Cf. BOA, HR.MKT 243/27.

⁴⁵⁵ BOA, İ.DH 318/20549: "...büyük birâderi Mösyö Rupen Manas'ın dahi uhdesine rütbe-yi selâse tevcîhi müte'allik ve şerefsudûr buyurulan emr ü fermân..."

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. Step'anian, "Nkarich' Manasnerê: nyut'er hay kerparvesti patmut'yan," 82.

⁴⁵⁷ De Villers-Franqueux, "Mariage de Fatma-Sultane," *L'Illustration*, 2 September 1854.

⁴⁵⁸ Çark, *Ibid.*, 140n1.

⁴⁵⁹ An analysis of one of these portraits is made at the end of the present chapter.

⁴⁶⁰ Renda, "Portraits: The Last Century," *The Sultan's Portrait*, 454.

⁴⁶¹ This is the second article in a multi-part series on the topic, the first being published the day before, on August 4th.

Şeker Ahmed Paşa, lists a ‘Monsieur Rupin’ among the painters exhibiting works, whose piece “is strangely painted, but as it is well-executed, it would have [nonetheless] achieved the desired effect,” if not for the strangely placed female figure.⁴⁶² There is a chance that the painter in question is Rupen Manas; Pamukçıyan also points out that Rupen partook in this exhibition, without citing his source.⁴⁶³ Rupen is also known to have painted a portrait of Kabuli Mehmed Paşa, which today is part of the Victoria & Albert Museum’s Collection (Fig. 22), as well as having made an engraving of Damad Fethi Ahmed Paşa, and oil portraits of Besim Paşa and his daughter Yegane Hanım.⁴⁶⁴ From his participation in the 1875 Exhibition organized by Şeker Ahmed Paşa, it can be determined that his death could not have preceded this date.⁴⁶⁵

While the emphasis on his painting training in Europe sometimes give the sense that this was the predominant reason for his diplomatic assignments in Europe, his continued service as part of the diplomatic corps and assignment to the elevated position of Consul General of Milan in the later part of his career, suggest that the diplomatic activities he engaged in were ends in and of themselves, especially when the fact that Armenians rarely got to lead Ottoman diplomatic missions abroad is taken into consideration.⁴⁶⁶ It should be pointed out, however, that his career in diplomatic service certainly fed off of his position at the junction of painting and diplomacy and made him more eligible for employment in the eyes of his government,⁴⁶⁷ while his ability as a painter enabled him a source of additional income, which given the financial problems plaguing the Ottoman diplomatic apparatus may have proven to be a real advantage.

⁴⁶² *La Turquie*, 5 August 1875, 2.

⁴⁶³ Pamukçıyan, “Osmanlı Döneminde İstanbul Sergilerine Katılan Ermeni Ressamlar,” *Tarih ve Toplum* 80, 38.

⁴⁶⁴ Pamukçıyan, “Manas Ailesi,” *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 5:286-7.

⁴⁶⁵ Pamukçıyan, “Osmanlı Döneminde İstanbul Sergilerine Katılan Ermeni Ressamlar,” *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 80, 38; Pamukçıyan, *Ermeni Kaynaklarından Tarihe Katkılar: Biyografileriyle Ermeniler*, 4:298.

⁴⁶⁶ See Chapter Two.

⁴⁶⁷ BOA, İ.HR 37/1727. See Chapter Two.

Sebuh Manas (1815/6⁴⁶⁸- before 1888⁴⁶⁹)

Like his older brother, Sebuh was a well-known court painter and an active member of the Ottoman diplomatic apparatus, as evidenced by his many years of service. It is unclear when he received his artistic training and whether or not it was a continuing process as was the case with his brother's artistic formation. Given the similarity of their career paths, it is not inconceivable for him to have kept sharpening his painting skills while serving the court as a diplomat. Sebuh⁴⁷⁰ was part of the diplomatic mission led by Veli Paşa to Paris; the diplomatic retinue was scheduled to depart aboard *Magellan* the following Sunday, according to the news published on Friday October 29th, 1852, hence, the sail date must have been set for November 7th, 1852.⁴⁷¹ A document from the Ottoman Archives dated to 14 M 1269 A.H. (October 28, 1852) regarding the amounts to be paid to the newly appointed Paris Embassy personnel to cover their travel expenses indicates that the Embassy translator Manas (Sebuh Manas) and the second translator Mehmed Bey, from among the corresponding secretaries of the Foreign Ministry⁴⁷² were to be paid ten thousand *kuruş* each.⁴⁷³ A Manasse appears from 1852 up through 1854 as first translator at the Paris Embassy, which must refer to Sebuh Manas.⁴⁷⁴ From 1855 onwards his full name (Sebuh Manasse) appears in the records and his position is listed as secretary up

⁴⁶⁸ BOA, HAT 1235/48049.

⁴⁶⁹ BOA, HR.H 219/2, HR.MKT 159/97.

⁴⁷⁰ Sébuh Manasse

⁴⁷¹ *Journal de Constantinople: Echo de l'Orient*, 29 Octobre 1852, 2; *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, 19 Novembre 1852, 1.

⁴⁷² "Mektubî-i Hâriciye hulefâsından"

⁴⁷³ BOA, HR.MKT 50/52: "...ikinci tercümân Mektûbî-yi hâriciye hulefâsından rif'atlû Mehmed Bey ile sefâret tercümânı Manas'a on bin guruşuna cem'an iki yüz bin guruş harcırâh 'itâsı..."

⁴⁷⁴ *Almanach impérial pour 1853*, 31; *Almanach impérial pour 1854*, 35; Bottin, *Almanach-Bottin du commerce du Paris Pour 1855*, 7. In *Almanach impérial pour 1855*, only the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, the *chargé d'affaires* Halimy-Effendy, and the attaché Sefels are listed as part of the Turkish mission. (*Almanach impérial pour 1855*, 35.)

through 1862.⁴⁷⁵ His name is not mentioned after this date either in the section on the Turkish mission to France or anywhere else in the *Almanach impérial* or *Almanach de Gotha*. This seems to contradict with the assertions put forth by Pamukçıyan and Küçükhasaköylü suggesting that Sebuhan Manas spent thirty years in the service of the Paris Embassy as head translator.⁴⁷⁶

Sebuhan received a fourth class medal in 14 Ca 1274 A.H. (December 31, 1857) and it was for his artistic rather than diplomatic endeavors, with the text identifying him as an artist⁴⁷⁷ worthy of recognition.⁴⁷⁸ As mentioned in the entry on Rupen, Sebuhan seems to have been given a medal by the Swedish court upon delivery of the sultanic portrait made by his brother.⁴⁷⁹ Çark puts forth the argument that Sebuhan was stationed at the Ottoman diplomatic Office in Torino (Turin) as secretary and that the title *cavaliere* was bestowed upon him in 1856 by the Italian court.⁴⁸⁰ This seems highly unlikely because contrary to what Çark argues, Sebuhan had not assumed the role of translator at the Paris Embassy in 1858, but had begun working in that

⁴⁷⁵ *Almanach impérial pour 1856*, 35; *Almanach impérial pour 1857*, 36; *Almanach impérial pour 1858*, 36; *Almanach impérial pour 1859*, 36; *Almanach impérial pour 1860*, 35; *Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1861*, 500, *Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1862*, 516. *Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1863* still lists Sebuhan as translator (*Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1863*, 531), but the *Almanach Impérial* for the same year does not. (*Almanach impérial pour 1863*, 35.) His name appears in the *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmâniyye* volume 8, dated to 1270 (1853), p. 90; v.11, dated to 1273 (1856), p. 117, and in 1278 (1857), p.125. (I was unable to gain access to all the relevant volumes.)

⁴⁷⁶ Pamukçıyan, *Ermeni Kaynaklarından Tarihe Katkılar: Biyografileriyle Ermeniler*, 4:298; Küçükhasaköylü, *Ibid.*, 173.

⁴⁷⁷ *erbâb-ı hünerden*

⁴⁷⁸ BOA, A.}DVN. 128/51: "Paris Sefâret-i seniyyesi bâş tercümânı olan Sebuhan Manas erbâb-ı hünerden olarak kendisine emsâl-i misillû tebdilen dördüncü rütbeden bir kıt'a nişân-ı zîşân i 'tâsına bi'l-istizân irade-yi seniyye-i hazret-i tâc-dârî müte'allik ve şerefsudûr buyrula..." Cf. BOA, HR.MKT. 219/99 is a follow up correspondence regarding the production and dispatch of the medal in question to Sebuhan. Another document dated to 1274 A.H. talks about the issuing of a fourth-class *Mecidiye* Medal to Sebuhan, who is described as 'erbâb ehlinden', and whose successful career in the diplomatic corps as head translator at the Paris Embassy is mentioned. (BOA, A.}DVN.MHM. 24/43.) Sakêzean notes that Sebuhan Manas received an order of merit in 1854 and that at the end of 1854 he was sent a telegram from Çırağan Palace expressing the Sultan's satisfaction with his work and sharing news of the medal he would be awarded. According to Sakêzean, he was ordered to make five more copies of the miniature portrait and in return was promised nine thousand piastres in total, equaling 1500 piastres for each of the six portraits. (Sakêzean, "Manasnerê hay ngarich'neru harsdut'iwn më 18-19 tar," 57.) However, the archival documents referencing this order could not be located.

⁴⁷⁹ BOA, HR.MKT. 243/27.

⁴⁸⁰ Çark, *Ibid.*, 140.

capacity in 1852 and continued until 1862, as substantiated above.⁴⁸¹ While leading up to 1856 *Almanach de Gotha* only lists Cagliari, Nice, and Genoa as centers where an Ottoman diplomatic team was in place in the then Kingdom of Sardinia,⁴⁸² Ottoman sources prove that there was an Ottoman permanent diplomatic office set up in Turin by 1856 with Muzurus Bey as the acting *chargé d'affaires*.⁴⁸³ There is no mention of such an honor conferred upon Sebuhan Manas in the detailed list comprising all the honors and medals awarded to Ottoman officials active in the Kingdom of Sardinia, compiled on May 2, 1856 at the behest of Muzurus Bey.⁴⁸⁴ The chosen career path of Sebuhan did not bring much financial reward as evidenced by a particularized list of documents including Sebuhan's calculations as to how much the Ottoman government owed him, once again shedding light on the disarray of financial affairs in the Ottoman diplomatic establishment, where personnel was not paid on time or in full. The chain of documents that follow order Sebuhan to be compensated for these missed payments along with the accruing interest.⁴⁸⁵

Sebuhan was a well-respected court artist and one that created sultanic portraits which, “would participate in the larger tradition of sultanic portraiture, while being legible in diplomatic exchanges of European royal portraiture,”⁴⁸⁶ thereby serving the agenda clearly set by Mahmud II. The similarities in the structure and iconography of the *Seated Mahmud II* attributed to Sebuhan Manas (Fig. 23)⁴⁸⁷ and that of the 1804 portrait of *Napoléon Bonaparte as First Consul* by Charles

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

⁴⁸² *Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1854*, 617; *Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1855*, 639; *Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1856*, 635; *Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1857*, 663.

⁴⁸³ BOA, HR.TO. 99/5.

⁴⁸⁴ BOA, HR.TO. 99/5.

⁴⁸⁵ BOA, HR.MKT 218/28. See Chapter Four.

⁴⁸⁶ Terndrup, “Cross-Cultural Spaces in an Anonymously Painted Portrait of the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II,” Master's thesis, 38.

⁴⁸⁷ This is an anonymous portrait of Mahmud II, most likely a posthumous work commissioned by Abdülmecid I, that is attributed to Sebuhan by a number of art historians. (Renda, *Portraits: The Last Century*, 505; Bağcı et al., *Ottoman*

Meynier (Fig. 24) betray Sebuḥ's extensive familiarity with the Western visual idiom, perhaps even with this very painting of Meynier. This association strengthens the reformed image of the Empire by linking the Sultan with the powerful new monarchy embodied by Napoléon through the use of similar iconographic elements.⁴⁸⁸ In the *Seated Mahmud II* the Sultan is depicted wearing 'the iconic doeskin jodhpurs of Napoleonic fame' which emerged as the "sartorial symbol ...signal[ing] the key changes that the Sultan brought to Ottoman military uniforms."⁴⁸⁹ Many elements in this painting indicate the infusing of Neo-classical artistic inspiration into Ottoman imperial portraiture, which had been given new life by the Davidian School and reworked into French elite portraiture, being patronized by Napoléon himself. Prevalent artistic trends in French portraiture became 'a convenient source' of inspiration, whence the 'strategizing commander at work' and 'the soldier-king type' were incorporated into the Ottoman courtly idiom⁴⁹⁰ to lend the sultans a new kind of legitimacy, as is visible in the *Seated Mahmud II*. Like his brother Rupen, Sebuḥ must have worked on commission in the capacity of artist for the Ottoman court, and used his income as a painter to navigate the lack of regularity of salary payment schedules in the diplomatic establishment of the Empire.

I.6 Josef Manas (1835-1916): The Last Court Painter of the Family

Painting, 296.) It falls in line with the artistic style that was upheld both in the reign of Mahmud II and the subsequent reign of his son Abdülmecid I. While Terndrup attributes this work to Rupen Manas, she does so by citing *The Sultan's Portrait*, saying that Renda thinks he is the author of this portrait, however Sebuḥ appears as the likely author of the work in Renda's relevant chapter. (Terndrup, "Cross-Cultural Spaces in an Anonymously Painted Portrait of the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II," Master's Thesis, 6; Renda, *Portraits: The Last Century*, 505.)

⁴⁸⁸ Terndrup, "Cross-Cultural Spaces in an Anonymously Painted Portrait of the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II," Master's Thesis, 36-44.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 30.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 36-44.

Josef,⁴⁹¹ the son of banker Mıgırdıç Manas, was the last of the court painters of the family, who incorporated photography⁴⁹² into his production of sultanic miniature portraits. Alongside his respected career as court artist, Josef Manas was also appointed as the administrative assistant of the court photographer Konstantin Kargopoulo. Until the 20th century Josef produced portraits on ivory and mother of pearl⁴⁹³ and colorized photographs in the photography studios of the Abdullah Brothers and Sebah & Joaillier.⁴⁹⁴ He was interested in photography himself, but was more active in producing portraits, which on occasion he did by relying on the photographs of the individuals he was painting.⁴⁹⁵ Photography which had emerged in 1839 as a feasible artistic enterprise, quickly made its way into Ottoman artistic life and as it gained momentum and the patronage of the sultans, it began to supersede portrait painting once so eagerly patronized by the Ottoman sultans to project and shape the imperial image. Due to the prevalence of Greeks and Armenians and local Europeans in professions that required similar technical abilities, photography was more quickly adopted by the members of these communities, who were quick to open studios in Pera.⁴⁹⁶ During the reign of Abdülhamid II eight hundred photograph albums were prepared to “document the events, institutions and structures in the Empire”⁴⁹⁷ and as “...the albums presented the realizations of the Empire, they could rightly be referred to as a new kind of «imperial self-portrait.»”⁴⁹⁸ Josef is known to have produced artworks featuring an array of important people such as German

⁴⁹¹ Küçükhasköylü offers a detailed Küçükhasköylü, Nurdan S. “Dolmabahçe Sarayı’ndan Bir Ressam: Josef Manas.” *150. Yılında Dolmabahçe Sarayı Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildiriler*. Ed. Kemal Kahraman. Vol. 1. Istanbul: TBMM Matbaası, 2007: 377-392.

⁴⁹² For the debut of photography in the Ottoman Empire see *Takvîm-i Vakâyi’*, issue 186, 19 Şa’bân 1255, 5.

⁴⁹³ Renda, “Portraits: The Last Century,” *The Sultan’s Portrait*, 459.

⁴⁹⁴ Küçükhasköylü, “Osmanlı Sarayında Ermeni Ressamlar: Manas Ailesi,” 176.

⁴⁹⁵ Küçükhasköylü, *Ibid.*, 177.

⁴⁹⁶ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 140-1.

⁴⁹⁷ Tekinalp, “Links Between Painting And Photography,” 291.

⁴⁹⁸ Ölçer et al., *Images d’Empire: Aux origines de la photographie en Turquie*, 26.

Empress Augusta Victoria (Fig. 25),⁴⁹⁹ Deli Fuad Paşa,⁵⁰⁰ Serasker Rıza Paşa (Fig. 26), and Cevad Paşa,⁵⁰¹ in addition to the sultans (Fig. 27). He had a studio at 34 Yagh-hané Sokak in Pera.⁵⁰² Garo Kürkman also raised the possibility that Josef painted members of the Fonton family—one of the most well-known and influential Levantine families along with the Giraud and Whittall families,⁵⁰³ yet, no evidence has been encountered in the course of this research to support this claim.

According to the testimony of M. K. Manoughian, a collector of antiquities, Abdülhamid greatly appreciated the talent of Josef.⁵⁰⁴ Josef received a fourth-class *Mecidiye* medal on 22 B 1308 A.H. (19 Şubât 1306/ March 3, 1891),⁵⁰⁵ just like the erstwhile court painters of his family Rupen and Sebu. Şeker Ahmed Paşa “regularly consulted Josef Manas and as he was a valuable miniaturist and painter, asked his opinion of the works he produced.” Dürrüoğlu points out that “after Ayvazovski, he became the head court painter, in which post he was to be succeeded by Hüseyin Zekai.”⁵⁰⁶

Based on the information contained in two documents dated to 5 Ca 1272 A.H. (January 13, 1856) and 10 L 1272 A.H. (June 14, 1856) it appears that Josef was earning a monthly salary of 45 *kuruş*, which was then increased to 50 *kuruş*. Unlike Rupen and Sebu who worked on commission, Josef was a regularly paid artist of the Ottoman court. The payment order concerning the German Empress’ portrait done on ivory prepared by Josef on 2 Ra 1317 A.H. (July 11, 1899) can be taken to suggest, as per historical precedence, that on

⁴⁹⁹ BOA, HH.İ 125/8.

⁵⁰⁰ Sakêzean, “Manasnerê hay ngarich’neru harsdut’iwn më 18-19 tar,” 57.

⁵⁰¹ Sürbahan, *Ibid.*, 83-4.

⁵⁰² Kürkman, *Armenian Painters in the Ottoman Empire*, 2:584.

⁵⁰³ Garo Kürkman, personal communication, 15 June 2015.

⁵⁰⁴ Sakêzean, “Manasnerê hay ngarich’neru harsdut’iwn më 18-19 tar,” 57.

⁵⁰⁵ BOA, İ.DH 1217/95318: “Ressâm Manas Efendi’ye dördüncü rütbeden nişân-ı mecidiî ihsân buyrulmasına mebnî mu’amele-i lâzîmesinin îfâsı...”

⁵⁰⁶ Dürrüoğlu, *Şeker Ahmet Paşa*, 9.

top of their regular salaries, court artists were awarded additional sums on delivery of impressive works.⁵⁰⁷

Having a banker as father, Josef perhaps chose to pursue the family tradition of painting without care for his finances, yet, unlike many, especially of the later generations of his family who combined this profession with other pursuits, he pursued it singularly. Later on, however, he too supplemented his salary with his engagement in photography. Regardless, he seems to have had financial problems. A document dated 8 R 1308 A.H. (November 21, 1890) reveals that the painter Manas asked for financial assistance from the Sultan.⁵⁰⁸ This must be referring to Josef Manas, given that the other painters of the family had passed by that time. Another document dated to 7 R 1318 A.H./ 21 Temmûz 1316 (August 4, 1900) talks about how the pay of Manas Efendi from among the court painters⁵⁰⁹ issued from the destitute reserve shall be increased to 1000 *kuruş*.⁵¹⁰ While the pay allocated to him from the fund reserved specifically for the needy,⁵¹¹ may have been explained away as a mere reallocation of a special fund by the government in the absence of other available such funds, his previous petition to the Sultan for financial aid strongly suggests that he was in truth having financial problems. In a document dated October 25, 1888, Josef's name appears alongside that of Sofi, regarding the acquisition of a certain sum from the Viennese Geine Müller Company that had initially been owed to their late uncle Püzant, but now is due to him, on account of him being of the deceased's inheritors.⁵¹² In the latter part of the 19th century the family members' incessant efforts to

⁵⁰⁷ See Section I.2.

⁵⁰⁸ BOA, Y.PRK.TKM 16/27: "Ressâm Manas Efendi küllarının sadaka-yı ser-ma'âlî efser hazret-i tâc-dârîlerine muntazır bulunduğu ma'rûzdur."

⁵⁰⁹ "mâ-beyn-i hümayûn-ı cenâb-ı mülûk-âne ressâmlarından"

⁵¹⁰ BOA, İ.ML.39/47. Dated to the same year, BOA, BEO 1529/114603 and BEO 1541/115531 are about the increase of Josef Manas' pay from the destitute reserve to 1000 *kuruş*.

⁵¹¹ *muhtâcîn tertîbi*

⁵¹² BOA, HR.H 219/2_8. See Chapter Four.

unsuccessfully come to a settlement about their piece of land located next to the Tarabya Imperial Kiosk, later the Summer Residence of the German Embassy, put financial pressure on all of those involved.⁵¹³ Josef was issued a retirement pension in 1311 A.H. (1893/4), however, the amount is not listed in the relevant document. On top of this sum he also got issued an additional amount of 200 *kuruş*.⁵¹⁴ He is described as a painter who had excelled in his service to the court and had been serving the court since the time of the current sultan's father.⁵¹⁵ Josef is also known to have built a waterfront mansion—today known as the 'Manas Efendi Yalısı'—along the shore of Tarabya. The trail of information on him ends rather abruptly in 1900 and the final decade and a half of his life remains obscure. He is commonly accepted as having died in 1916, which raises the possibility that his death was connected to the 1915-6 Genocide, though there is no concrete evidence establishing this. It should also be noted that a number of Manas family members survived the Genocide and continued to actively participate in the nexus of art and state politics.

I.7 Tracing the Manases' Artistic Expression: A Comparison of Rafayel and His Great Grandson Rupen's Imperial Portraits

In order to evaluate the further shift in the political and visual climate of the Empire that was denoted by the changing artistic currents and iconography in Ottoman imperial portraiture from the second quarter of the 18th century to the reign of Abdülmecid I, it would be valuable to compare the oeuvre of Rafayel Manas to that of his great grandson Rupen, who served the court in these respective periods. To create a fruitful comparison, it is important to

⁵¹³ BOA, ŞD. 2873/18, ŞD. 2871/38, DH.MKT. 1381/112, BEO. 18/1337, BEO. 42/3144, BEO. 100/7434. See Chapter Four.

⁵¹⁴ BOA, BEO. 444/33244.

⁵¹⁵ BOA, BEO. 410/30716.

examine paintings that are in the same medium, so the oil-on-canvas portraits⁵¹⁶ of Sultan Mustafa III (Fig. 1) by Rafayel and of Sultan Abdülmecid by Rupen Manas that was gifted to the Swedish Queen will be compared (Fig. 2).

When one glances at the oil-on-canvas portrait of Mustafa III by Rafayel, the artist's reference to his miniature paintings of the sultans he served, added to *Kebir Musavver Silsilename*, is immediately clear. While not exactly parallel, the pose of the sultan, the placement of the throne in the picture frame, the amalgamation of perspective and depth with flatness and lack of dimensionality, as well as the arduous attention paid to the face establishes an undeniable link to Rafayel's previous work. As is the case in the artist's referenced miniature paintings, the sultan is seated on the throne and appears against a plain background, yet this time instead of using a bismarck blue setting, the artist opts for a dark hue of brown, which focuses the viewer's attention on the head, as the white turban stands in stark contrast to the dark backdrop, almost glowing in the darkness that surrounds it. While there is no significant deviation in the sultan's attire from the artist's earlier works, with the raised and textured dark fur lining that frames the *kaftan*, the diamond frogging and the elaborate headdress, with the turban once again retaining a degree of flatness, the main body of the *kaftan* is discernibly different. While the artist had refrained from adding dimension to the body of the *kaftan* itself in his earlier pieces, in this later work he brings it to life by adding creases and folds as well as light and shine to accentuate them. Overall, the painting takes on a much more realistic sense compared to those that came before it, and yet it still does not fully introduce the realism and attention to perspectival rendition that one can discern in the works of Rafayel's great grandsons, Rupen and Sebu. The iconography is equally significant and

⁵¹⁶ Even though the use of oil-on-canvas had become the norm after Rafayel, it was he who introduced it to Ottoman portraiture..

telling; by eliminating all else, the painter focuses the attention on the person of the sultan and his rule signified by his throne, deeming it the ultimate image of kingship that derives legitimacy through mere existence. The resplendent attire and the impressive jewelry that abound the image of the sultan inspire a sense of awe in the observer, yet the expression on the sultan's face allows the viewer to go beyond these and recognize that a rapprochement may be possible. While the seclusion paradigm as the modality of imperial power projection was still in place at the time, this depiction hints that the strict boundaries may soon be dissolved. It is worthwhile to mention on a separate note that the inscription that appears on the back of the oil-on-paper version of the same portrait enables a definitive determination of the fact that on occasion sultanic portraits appeared in the residences of court circles.⁵¹⁷

Rupen's portrait of Abdülmecid I is recognizably different from his great grandfather's work discussed above with its thorough application of European painting conventions, while the iconography of the sultan is equally distinctive. This portrait is reminiscent of the Greco-Roman tradition that was also part and parcel of the French artistic idiom of the time, applied abundantly to depictions of Napoléon. In contradistinction to Mustafa III, Abdülmecid appears in a military uniform creating a more approachable and modern sultan, yet his fez that features an aigrette and diamonds, the gold embroidery on his uniform, the bejeweled collar and cuffs of his robe, as well as the diamond encrusted hilt of his sword all indicate his regal status. Therefore, while the image has a soldier-like quality it also abounds in royal imagery. In line with the Greco-Roman tradition, the sultan appears in counterpoise (*contrapposto*), with one leg in front of the other that anchors him to the marble floor. The significance of this pose lies

⁵¹⁷ İrepoğlu, "Innovation and Change," *The Sultan's Portrait*, 400; İrepoğlu, "Ottoman Portraiture During the Reigns of Mustafa III and Abdülhamid I," 391; İrepoğlu, "18. Yüzyıl Betimlemesine Bakış," *18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Kültür Ortamı*, 171.

in the way it activates the anatomic structure of the human figure, giving the musculoskeletal system more definition through which a sense of dynamism is inspired in the viewer. This is especially significant and replaces the image of the secluded sultan with that of a dynamic and active one who claims the right to his dominion through his visibility. The sultan stands on the patio *en plein air*, appearing at the head of the staircase denoting his elevated status, with a burnt sienna textured drape that adds a middle ground. He no longer exists in a vacuum, detached from all else, but is grounded in his visibility. Behind him appears the Bosphorus, along the shores of which the powerful Phanariot Greek elite and banker Armenians reside, and which beginning in the 18th century also came to house the diplomatic retinues of European states who migrated to the area for half the year following the sultans who made it a habit to retire to the shores of the Bosphorus, before making it their permanent residence in the middle of the 19th century. Even though these actors are not seen in this painting, their presence is felt. The sultan appears fully in charge of the Bosphorus as the sole arbiter of who would be afforded the privilege and cachet of visibility along its shores through expropriation, bestowal of property, and the supervision of buyers, be they local or foreign.⁵¹⁸ A hazy mosque appears in the background with its lead covered dome and ‘soaring pencil minarets’ piercing the skies in line with the normative aesthetic of the imperial style.⁵¹⁹ The mosque acts as a reminder of the Muslim faith of the sultans and is a reassuring statement that the reforms and new modalities that have been introduced into the Empire in no way contradict this identity.

⁵¹⁸ Girardelli, "Landscapes of the Eastern Question," interview by Emily Neumeier. *Ottoman History Podcast* (audio blog), 5 July 2016. Accessed September 15, 2016. <http://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2016/07/pera.html>
Cf. Girardelli, "Power or Leisure? Remarks on the Architecture of the European Summer Embassies on the Bosphorus Shore." *New Perspectives On Turkey* 50, 55.

⁵¹⁹ Watenpugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City*, 6.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE MANASES & DIPLOMACY

II.1 Introduction

Continuing the previous chapter in offering correctives and building greater depth in areas where the previous scholarship has studied the Manases, this chapter focuses on the diplomatic pursuits of the family during the second effort at residential diplomacy from 1834 on, either in tandem with their artistic careers or as standalone vocations. It was Selim III who officially established residential diplomacy in 1793, however, due to the disruption of the outbreak of the Greek Revolt in 1821 and the following distrust in the Greek diplomatic staff that was heavily

relied upon, this endeavor was halted until Mahmud II resumed it under a more sophisticated rubric in 1834.⁵²⁰ The examination that follows asserts that the Manases' linguistic capabilities, cultural understanding, as well as the artistic background of some members at a historical juncture when the state sought to reduce its over reliance on Greeks following the Greek Revolt (1821-1830), created opportunities for them in diplomatic service. Within the broader context of the diplomatic establishment, the individual Manases' impact was bolstered by the cumulative effect of the number of their family members active in diplomacy, sometimes up to three individuals working at the same mission at once,⁵²¹ the longevity of their service,⁵²² and their participation in certain events of significance in the diplomatic life of the Empire—whether it be Gaspar's participation as a translator during the first Ottoman delegation to the Holy See, or Zenop's in the early development of the Translation Bureau of the Sublime Porte and its Language Instruction Department. Moreover, the artistic talent of some members emerged both as an enabler and a contributing factor to success once in diplomatic service. The Manases' rise in diplomacy during this period was concurrent with the growing activity of Armenians within the translation apparatus of the state, but they stand out to a certain degree in the foreign nature of the careers they pursued. The Manases were not among the three Armenians who led diplomatic missions, yet Rupen and Püzant are both notable for their appointments as Consul General of Milan and Vienna, respectively. This post was one that had under its purview the trade interests of the Empire, one of the primary motivations for the Ottoman Empire's decision to open permanent representation offices across Europe. Therefore, while being organizationally distinct from the diplomatic

⁵²⁰ Cevdet Paşa, *Târih-i Cevdet*, 6:87-9.

⁵²¹ From 1851 (1268 A.H.) up through 1856 (1273 A.H.) Gaspar Manas was employed as head translator at the Vienna Embassy, Anton as second translator, and Püzant as the consul general. (*Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1268 A.H., 78-80; 1269 A.H., 89-91; 1270 A.H., 100-2; 1271 A.H., 109-110; 1273 A.H., 117.)

⁵²² Rupen was seen as an ideal candidate in all respects for the position of translator at the Paris Embassy with his familiarity with the language, his loyalty, his correct etiquette that stood the test, as well as his talent in the art of painting. Cf. BOA, İ.HR 37/1727.

establishment, it was a placement with a highly diplomatic purpose. Despite the symbiotic relationship between the two endeavors of portraiture and diplomatic service, it is important not to assume that the diplomatic roles which the Manases carried out were done only in the service of fulfilling their primary careers as court artists, but that their diplomatic contributions be considered on their own merits. While particularly in the case of Rupen, archival documents talking about his continued painting training in Europe sometimes give the sense that this was the predominant reason for his assignments abroad, his continued service as part of the diplomatic corps and assignment to the elevated position of consul general of Milan in the latter part of his career, suggest that the diplomatic activities he engaged in were ends in and of themselves. An additional factor in the successes of various Manases that becomes salient in the thorough review of their careers is the role of their familial connections through the advocacy of the family on behalf of its members; the letters from Pol's mother and another relative whose identity is obscure seem to have played a part in securing his advancement.⁵²³ It should further be noted that Napoléon III advocated for Pol Manas based in part on his recognition of the family's reputation.⁵²⁴

The chapter at hand argues against the common trope of Ottoman diplomatic historiography that the Empire had a dearth of diplomatic skill and had failed to adequately engage diplomatically with Europe. In contrast, it understands the unilateral diplomacy of the Ottoman Empire as a conscious strategy, which served its purpose at the time. The Sublime Porte's political acumen and artfulness in engaging with European powers which had established permanent diplomatic offices in its own domains further contests notions of its lack of skill. Moreover, this *modus operandi* was not unique to the Ottomans, also being used at times by the Venetians and the Holy See, once again underlining the comparable nature of the Ottoman Empire to European

⁵²³ BOA, HR.TO 429/81, A.}DVN 120/35.

⁵²⁴ BOA, İ.HR 117/5711.

entities. Just as a comparison can be made at the state level, individual bureaucratic offices are also comparable at different points in their evolution, with the emergence of the Ottoman office of the *reis ül-küttab* (chief of the scribes) as a parallel development to similar positions in the Western European and North American centralized bureaucracies, thereby highlighting the domestically motivated process of incremental change in the Ottoman context.⁵²⁵ The Ottoman Empire eventually abandoned its long championed brand of diplomatic interaction, which necessitated for its successful exercise a preponderant diplomatic stature vis-à-vis other powers, in favor of the European model, to sustain newly emerging operations and stipulations, as Abou-El-Haj remarks.⁵²⁶ However, in embracing this foreign system as a newcomer, its lack of understanding and practice with regard to European diplomatic conventions spawned a range of problems, which the Ottoman administration strove to tackle; the Manases were among those who were given an opportunity to participate in the implementation of this new mode of diplomacy. While Philliou's assertion that the 19th century was "an unmitigated failure" in "institutional terms" ⁵²⁷ is problematic and reductive in its generality, she nevertheless offers 'networks' and 'personal autonomy'⁵²⁸ as concepts, which are a helpful framework for making sense of the Ottoman Empire's diplomatic apparatus. Following the scheme advanced by Philliou, it is necessary to dwell on the differences in the structures established in the first and second attempts of residential diplomacy, by Selim III in 1793 and Mahmud II in 1834 respectively, as the second saw a deliberate move away from Phanariot ways of operating characterized by these features. Nevertheless, Phanariots were able to regain some of their influence and successfully sidestep the new mechanisms set in place. The Manases are not known to have been part of this kind of network

⁵²⁵ Abou-El-Haj, *Ibid.*, 66-7.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁷ Philliou, "The Ottoman Empire's absent nineteenth century," 144-5.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, 146-7.

structure, yet the general lack of formalization even after 1834 as evinced by the loose framing of diplomatic roles and associated duties, points to the fact that individuals had more room to maneuver within its vague bounds.

This chapter offers detailed entries on Gaspar, Aleksandr, Pol, Piyer, Anton, and Püzant Manas about whom very limited information has so far been brought to light. In order to properly understand the activities of the Manases within the diplomatic sphere, the chapter commences with an overview of the prelude and transition to residential diplomacy in the Ottoman context before delving into a more substantial discussion of the official translation posts and the dragomans who pursued them. The following analysis with regard to translation and dragomans will consist of three sub-sections: the first, centered around the history of the profession and the ‘Phanariot Ascendancy’;⁵²⁹ the second, around the examination of Zenop’s career as translator at the newly established Translation Bureau and as the top aid to Yahya Efendi, who was appointed as the Dragoman of the Sublime Porte; and the third, around the continued reliance on Greeks despite the adamancy of the Ottoman government’s initial purging of them and its efforts to create openings for other groups, including Armenians and Muslims, to assume these functions. Lastly, the chapter will address the establishment of consular services in the Ottoman context, a field of diplomatic endeavor oriented towards commercial and financial relations, and the activities of two Manases in leading consular services in Milan and Vienna. The present chapter will conclude with a discussion of painting and diplomacy as services that contributed to imperial identity construction. The information uncovered in the course of this research does not allow for a complete picture of the Manases’ diplomatic activities to be drawn, and the Ottoman government’s lack of systematization and regulation of the specific nature and purview of diplomatic postings

⁵²⁹ Philliou, “Communities on the Verge: Unraveling of the Phanariot Ascendancy in Ottoman Governance,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2009, 51 (1), 151.

further complicate the search for their contributions, which given these hindrances, cannot be assessed to the desired level.

II.2 Prelude & Transition to Residential Diplomacy

Despite being a part of the European state system from the end of the 16th century,⁵³⁰ the Ottoman Empire did not reciprocate the establishment of permanent embassies by European states in its capital⁵³¹ in conformity with the mode of power projection by the sultans themselves. Enabled by the power imbalance, the Ottoman Empire sought to gain the advantages of the diplomatic activity taking place in its own capital, without confronting the disadvantages associated with sending a diplomatic corps to foreign territories.⁵³² It dispatched temporary envoys—at times low-ranking personnel and at others ambassadors—as needed, for the purposes of peace talks and truces, the maintenance of amicable relations, delivering sultanic letters, announcing new sultans as well as congratulating new foreign monarchs, carrying out negotiations, and responding in kind to the arrival of foreign envoys, among other reasons.⁵³³ European powers, including Venice, Genoa, France, the Dutch Republic, and England⁵³⁴ continued to maintain ambassadors in Istanbul because of the political and commercial advantages, while incurring a limited financial burden due to the Ottoman custom of offering financial support to the foreign diplomats-in-residence.⁵³⁵ This

⁵³⁰ Continuous diplomacy emerged in Renaissance Italy and spread in the 16th century across Europe "where the emerging nation-states were forging a continent-wide state system" (Hurewitz, "Ottoman Diplomacy and the European State System," *Middle East Journal* 15, no. 2, 141.)

⁵³¹ McCluskey, *Ibid.*, 338.

⁵³² In the European view, as Dutch diplomat Abraham van Wicquefort (1606-1682) put it, it was seen as more beneficial to send than to receive ambassadors and envoys because, while more honor and prestige was afforded to the country receiving the delegation, the delegates themselves were spies, "who ma[d]e their intrigues and cabals, who [were] very often dangerous." During the publication of the book Wicquefort was serving as an advisor to the Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg (Lunenbourg.) (Wicquefort, *Mémoires touchant les ambassadeurs et les ministres publics*, 21-22.)

⁵³³ Ari, "Early Ottoman Diplomacy: Ad Hoc Period," *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or Unconventional*, ed. Nuri Yurdusev, 48.

⁵³⁴ Berridge, *Ibid.*, 117.

⁵³⁵ Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, 126-7. This observance would be revoked and the sum put towards covering the expenses of the Ottoman resident ambassadors with Selim

lack of reciprocal relations allowed negotiations to be undertaken on Ottoman terms, and while Ottoman officials could take immediate decisions, counter parties often had to wait for instructions from their capitals.⁵³⁶

The paradigm of the “Tulip Age” gives the embassy of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi a central placement, choosing it selectively as one of the key events, which anchor the notion of the early 18th century in the Ottoman Empire during Damad İbrahim Paşa’s term in office as a period of ‘precocious modernization,’⁵³⁷ as was discussed at some length in the prior chapter. The embassy of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi to Paris in 1720-1 appears alongside the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718), and the erection of Saadabad, all events carefully cherry-picked to construct the intended storyline of “a Paris-Istanbul axis.”⁵³⁸ In this formulation it is characterized as a watershed moment in the Empire’s diplomatic life and outlook as a gateway to the introduction of European ‘influence’ in all aspects. However, it is better contextualized in the general aura defining Ottoman interactions of the period as the Empire lived through a more permeable moment of its history. This permeability was characterized by a greater openness to both eastern and western artistic inspirations as well as inherited Ottoman tradition, arising from local social change and the Ottoman state’s determination to replenish its imperial image.⁵³⁹ Such receptiveness was not unparalleled and unique in the Empire’s history and was not an attitude necessarily adopted during moments of ‘fall’, weakness, or self-doubt, as the reign of Mehmed II indicates. Mehmed II’s patronage of European artists, the introduction of sultanic portraiture in the Ottoman context, as

III’s decision to establish permanent diplomatic offices abroad upon the realization that European states would not cover the costs of its own personnel. Cevdet Paşa remarks on how, despite the courtesy of this practice on the part of the Ottoman Empire towards foreign diplomats, they grew ever more demanding as they came to view this as a standard obligation rather than as a kindness, and so would harass Ottoman officers in the event of a reduced or delayed payment. (Cevdet Paşa, *Târih-i Cevdet*, 6:128, 260.)

⁵³⁶ Eldem, “Foreigners on the Threshold of Felicity,” 2:123.

⁵³⁷ Erimtan, “The Perception of Saadabad,” 42-3, 48-9.

⁵³⁸ Ibid., 51.

⁵³⁹ Hamadeh, Ibid., 34.

well as of medals bearing Mehmed's likeness and the amalgamation of both eastern and western artistic idioms in the execution of artistic pieces signify a similarly receptive attitude. An openness to external sources of inspiration can be driven by a number of circumstances and does not necessarily indicate that the party on the receiving end is looking for complete reconfiguration in all spheres of life. For a long-lived entity like the Ottoman Empire such an attitude is emblematic of dynamism and is decipherable as an urge to adapt, evolve, and reinvigorate itself to continue its existence.

While in the specific context of diplomatic relations with France, after the last envoy Süleyman Ağa dispatched by the Ottoman court in 1669, the embassy of the 'qualified' and carefully chosen Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi during the reign of Louis XV can be interpreted as a shift in attitude, taking a broader view it becomes visible that the Ottoman Empire had sent high-ranking individuals to represent its interests when it suited its purposes prior to that point. The embassy of the *Rumeli beylerbeyi* (governor-general of Rumelia) Kara Mehmed Paşa to the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1664 is an illuminating example. In fact, the account of Evliyâ Çelebi who travelled as part of Kara Mehmed Paşa's retinue to Vienna tells that the Grand Vizier admonished the ambassador to pay heed to his attire and to have his retinue in perfect form and order, to get the necessary supplies and arms, and to not shy away from spending four to five hundred purses to reflect the grandeur of the Sultan before the King.⁵⁴⁰

The fact that Süleyman Ağa, a mere *müteferrika*,⁵⁴¹ was tasked by the Ottoman Empire to lead the mission in France while five years prior a *beylerbey* had been sent to the Austro-Hungarian

⁵⁴⁰ Evliyâ Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 7:139: “... Paşa sen bu kıyâfetle Alman kralına elçi mi gitsen gerek. Tîz kâpûnu ve tevâbi' u levâhiki mükellef ve mükemmel düz diyip... ve gayrı ümerâlar ve mîr-i mîrânların muhallefâtlarından cümle âlât-ı silâhların, ... zırh ve külâhların ve sâ'ir cebehâne ve gayrı altun ve gümüş evânilerin ve mükellef çerge ve otakların cümle mîrîden satın alıp 'ırz-ı pâdişâhî yerine getirip Nemse kralı vilâyetine esbâb-ı ihtîşâmınla gidip dörd beş yüz kîse harc etmeden elem çekmeyesin.”

⁵⁴¹ Palace official charged with delivering the commands of the sultans, grand viziers, and viziers.

Empire was seen as a diplomatic slight by the *Roi Soleil* given his desire for reciprocity between the Ottoman Empire and France, who in his view were the preeminent Muslim and Christian empires, and therefore should be exchanging senior ambassadors of the same caliber.⁵⁴² The revelation of Süleyman Ağa's low rank, which did not warrant the exalted welcome he had received, led Louis XIV in his resentment to commission Molière to write a play, which the artist turned into a criticism of Louis XIV and his court instead, as was touched upon in the previous chapter. Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi was certainly well-liked by the French court and was someone who exhibited cultural openness. Edmond Jean François Barbier (1689-1771), a contemporary, jurisconsult to the French parliament, and the author of a historical journal concerning Louis XV's reign, described him as, "a minister of forty-five years of age, a man of wit who knows French as well as we [the French] do. He entertained visits from esteemed members of the court and the city with great politeness, as did the rest of his retinue, and conversed freely with his guests, which was well received."⁵⁴³ While during his mission Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi indulged in the prevalent portrait culture by sitting for portraits,⁵⁴⁴ and his son Mehmed Said Paşa would also follow in his footsteps by having his portrait done by both Jacques Aved and M. de la Tour during his own mission to Paris as Ottoman envoy,⁵⁴⁵ it is important to remember that even going back to the end of the 16th century, there are examples of statesmen posing for portraits like a portrait of Grand

⁵⁴² Hossain, "The Chevalier D'arvieux and 'Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme,'" *Seventeenth-Century French Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, 93.

⁵⁴³ Barbier, *Journal historique et anecdotique du règne de Louis XV*, 2: 312. Mehmed Said established the first freemasonic lodge in the Ottoman Empire conjointly with İbrahim Müteferrika in 1720, upon returning from his father's mission as ambassador to Paris.

⁵⁴⁴ *Le Nouveau Mercure*, Avril 1721, 166-7; Engerand, *Inventaire des tableaux commandés et achetés*, 211, 243. Grand Vizier Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa is also known to have sat for a portrait by Jean-Étienne Liotard, in 1742, during the latter's sojourn in the Ottoman Empire. (Avcioglu and Flood, "Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century," *Ars Orientalis* 39, 21.) Cosmopolitan locals similarly participated in this culture, though primarily through their consumption of albums produced by entrepreneurial artists. Therefore, it can be concluded that some Muslim Ottomans other than the sultans had indulged in this sort of image culture in contrast to the information that frequently appears in European travelogues.

⁵⁴⁵ Pesselier, *Lettre au sujet du Portrait de Son Excellence Saïd-Pacha*, 13-4.

Vizier Sokullu Mehmed Paşa that was commissioned by Barbarigo, for which the vizier showed his delight and enthusiasm.⁵⁴⁶ Individuals from courtly circles also interacted with portraiture through the sultanic portraits they received as gifts and were allowed to keep in their residences preceding the official unveiling of Mahmud II's portraits in the 1830s.⁵⁴⁷

The embassy book of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi has been interpreted by some “as containing a manifesto on the desirability of European culture and civilization,”⁵⁴⁸ yet, it is not the first Ottoman text to mention positive aspects of Western societies. It can be put in perspective by Evliyâ's detailed, albeit somewhat fanciful, ten-volume travelogue, which ponders on “the positive virtues of the infidels, including their capacity to build flourishing towns,”⁵⁴⁹ and their accomplishment with regard to the arts, especially painting, among other things, while also heavily focusing on their ‘flaws’ with characterizations like ‘Freng-i bed-reng’ (bad-charactered), ‘Freng-i pür-reng’ (deceitful), and ‘Freng-i pür-ceng’ (warmongering).⁵⁵⁰ Even though the two periods that saw the composition of these accounts are politically and culturally distinct moments in the Empire's history and perhaps also its self-image, and should be interpreted accordingly, this brief comparison nonetheless allows for a broader perspective and context, which removes Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi's embassy and his resulting report from its pedestal where it sat as a momentous turning point in Ottoman diplomatic relations. It is more fruitful to understand this embassy as a step along the path towards the development of more regular bilateral relations, taken at a time when the general aura of the Ottoman Empire was more innovative and more open to different

⁵⁴⁶ Raby, “From Europe to Istanbul,” *The Sultan's Portrait*, 162.

⁵⁴⁷ Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 285; İrepoğlu, “Ottoman Portraiture During the Reigns of Mustafa III and Abdülhamid I,” 391. Cf. Şehsuvaroğlu, *Eski Türk Sanatları*, 17.)

⁵⁴⁸ Erimtan, “The Perception of Saadabad,” 47.

⁵⁴⁹ Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History*, 132.

⁵⁵⁰ Tezcan, “Evliyâ Çelebi'nin *Freng-pesend* Resim Tutkusu.” *Cahiers balkaniques* 41 (2013), 3.

sources of inspiration, be they eastern or western. It would, however, be anachronistic to read backward an intentionality of the eventual course to be taken by the Empire into this embassy.

In his grand work on the Ottoman Empire, d'Ohsson characterizes it as “a nation, always isolated from others, and thereby constantly deprived of the advantages that Europeans [had] of communicating their knowledge, their discoveries, their sciences.”⁵⁵¹ The statement betrays the author's conscious choice of a Western framework to operate from, which comes as no surprise as this work dedicated to the Swedish King was clearly intended for a European audience. It is also important to note that even though the Ottoman Empire did not choose to pursue permanent diplomatic representation prior to 1793, it made a concerted effort to gather information by means of the foreign diplomatic establishments in its domains through Phanariot networks, as will be discussed later in the chapter.

Selim III first initiated residential diplomacy in 1793 and the early efforts of the Ottoman Empire to interject itself into the European system, which had been steadily growing for many centuries in the sophistication of the diplomatic corps and institutions, proved to be a significant challenge. The Ottoman Empire's first foray into this new mode of engagement began with sending an ambassador to Great Britain, yet the contemporaneous correspondences between the Ottoman government and Lord Ainsley, the British Ambassador to Istanbul, make apparent the dearth of experience and foundational knowledge in the Ottoman government necessary to carry out this diplomatic mission. The Ottomans found it necessary to rely on Lord Ainsley to answer basic questions regarding the rank of the officials being sent and how they should travel.⁵⁵² His advice in response, emphasizes the importance of certain characteristics in the choice of ambassador,

⁵⁵¹ D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, 1: xxxii, xxxiii.

⁵⁵² Cevdet Paşa, *Târih-i Cevdet*, 6:257-9.

including acute intelligence and membership among the Empire's most distinguished officials.⁵⁵³ In sending ambassadors-in-residence, the Ottoman state expected that they would train and educate their staff to be knowledgeable on the affairs and positions of states⁵⁵⁴ and that they would defend the rights of Ottoman merchants;⁵⁵⁵ the latter task being one of the primary reasons that European powers had originally sent diplomats to Istanbul centuries earlier. Frequently the Muslims chosen as ambassadors made their entrances into diplomacy with backgrounds in finance and limited language skills, making them reliant on their Greek translators.⁵⁵⁶ Yusuf Agah Efendi was appointed as ambassador to Great Britain and his retinue, on which other missions were modeled, would include Greek translators as well as Muslims in the capacities of officer-in-attendance, chief clerk, and head secretary. As it became clear that European powers would not provide financial support for Ottoman diplomats, the Ottoman state likewise moved away from financing the foreign diplomats resident in Istanbul.⁵⁵⁷ In short, while ambassadors were typically chosen from among the Muslim elite in the first attempt of residential diplomacy, they were heavily reliant on the Phanariot Greeks in their retinues due to the absence of their own foreign language skills and understanding of European diplomatic norms.

The lack of a Foreign Ministry to coordinate diplomatic strategy and a professional corps of diplomats which imposed an over-reliance on interpreters, along with insufficient finances to fund embassies leading to the frequent recall of ambassadors were key factors that placed Ottoman diplomats at a disadvantage when going toe-to-toe with their European counterparts. The limited financial allocation meant Ottoman ambassadors were warned not to accept foreign financial

⁵⁵³ Ibid., 6:258.

⁵⁵⁴ Similar instructions regarding the training of diplomatic staff were given to Muhib Efendi who was sent to Paris. See footnote 350. (Karan, Ibid., 200.)

⁵⁵⁵ Cevdet Paşa, Ibid., 6:260; Kuran, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı İkamet Elçiliklerinin Kuruluşu ve İlk Elçilerin Siyasi Fa'aliyetleri 1793-1821*, 11.

⁵⁵⁶ Kuran, Ibid., 64.

⁵⁵⁷ Findley, Ibid., 126-7.

assistance. Records show that the economic challenges facing the state made themselves felt by those working for the Empire abroad, where many experienced periods without pay as well as salary cuts. With low pay and allowances, and salaries often being paid *en retard*, the post was not as lucrative or attractive as it had once been.⁵⁵⁸ In this climate, “it is hardly surprising that a diplomatic position abroad was often less coveted than a sinecure at home.”⁵⁵⁹ In order to reduce costs in the face of limited success, ambassadors were recalled in favor of leaving Greek dragomans as *chargé d'affaires* in their stead. However, this design was abandoned before it could be implemented due to the outbreak of the Greek Revolt.⁵⁶⁰ As, “diplomacy had not yet become a profession in the Ottoman Empire” early envoys also frequently went without their government’s support and respect.⁵⁶¹ Combined with other contextual circumstances like the recent conclusion of the French Revolution and the on-going Napoleonic wars, this lack of diplomatic sophistication and institutional knowledge in pursuing the European brand of diplomacy contributed to the less than desired performance of Selim’s first experiment with residential diplomacy. Despite the many drawbacks, the efforts to train members of diplomatic missions laid the groundwork for a scribal elite that emerged in the 19th century which would be justified in assuming its diplomatic role on the basis of its knowledge of European languages and cultures. For instance, Raif Mahmud Efendi, who was appointed as chief clerk to Agah Efendi’s Embassy in London learned French during his posting and on his return acquired fame as ‘British Mahmud Efendi,’ publishing works in French such as *Tableau des Nouveaux Règlements de l’Empire Ottoman*, and *Journal du Voyage de*

⁵⁵⁸ Naff, “Reform and the Conduct of Ottoman Diplomacy in the Reign of Selim III, 1789-1807,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83, no. 3 (1963), 305.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 306.

⁵⁶⁰ All Greek personnel employed at Ottoman diplomatic offices abroad were fired at once and it was decided that reliable Muslim men should replace the Greeks in their capacities once the situation had been resolved. (BOA, HAT 1338/52282.)

⁵⁶¹ Kürkçüoğlu, “The Adoption and Use of Permanent Diplomacy,” *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or Unconventional*, ed. Nuri Yurdusev, 134-6.)

The second attempt at resident diplomacy undertaken by Mahmud II in 1834 proved to be more successful than this initial effort. Of equal importance to the increasing experience and the development of bureaucratic infrastructure, was the increased clarity of the aims of Ottoman diplomacy and of its individual missions; namely to record the military and other developments in these countries to assist the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁶³ It was in this period that the Manases became involved in the diplomatic establishment.

II.3 Translation and Dragomans

II.3.1 Dragoman of the Sublime Porte and the ‘Phanariot Ascendancy’

Given that most members of the Manas family worked in the capacity of translator in diplomatic postings, it will be valuable to take a closer look at the evolution of the profession of translation in the Ottoman case, and specifically that of the position of the Dragoman of the Sublime Porte. While it would be problematic to assume a perfect correlation between the merits historically demanded from the holders of this position as well as the requirements imposed on them and that of the translators hired as part of the diplomatic establishment once Ottoman representational diplomacy made its debut, there are nonetheless important underlying similarities between the two. Perhaps the most reliable piece of evidence that can be offered in this regard is the abundant use of Phanariot Greeks in the newly established Ottoman representational offices in Europe, as has been discussed above. Therefore, a historical analysis will establish the necessary backdrop to understand the translation activities of the Manases, and the status and prestige associated with it.

⁵⁶² Cevdet Paşa, *Târih-i Cevdet*, 8:156. Cf. Kuran, “Türkiye’nin Batılılaşmasında Osmanlı daimi elçiliklerinin rolü,” 491; Findley, *Ibid.*, 130.

⁵⁶³ Findley, *Ibid.*, 118. Cf. Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 23-50.

From an indistinguishable member of the background in the 16th and 17th centuries, the dragoman became in increments an identifiable character as he gained agency, “a subject in its own right,” and eventually a focal point as the figure leading the discussion. Close examination of paintings depicting the ceremonial reception of foreign dignitaries by the Sublime Porte across several centuries shows that in a rigid ceremonial system and the ‘landscape of the audiences’, it was only the dragomans whose position changed and was ‘brought to evolve’ (Fig. 28).⁵⁶⁴ As the responsibilities of the office of Dragoman of the Sublime Porte increased, the importance of this office became more clearly recognized, particularly in the conduct of Ottoman Foreign Affairs, as is reflected in the paintings which highlight the physical repositioning of the dragoman over a period of several centuries. In its inception the role was the limited one of a minor bureaucrat, evolving into a key figure of Ottoman diplomatic apparatus as the complexity of the state’s affairs made the role a vital one.⁵⁶⁵ Due in part to the unilateral nature of Ottoman diplomacy and the locus of Ottoman diplomatic relations at the Sublime Porte, the need for translators to serve both foreign delegations and the Ottoman state came to form the foundations for the future development of the state’s diplomatic apparatus and enabled translators to develop as important figures in the establishment of diplomatic institutions and in the conduct of Ottoman Foreign Affairs. The position of dragoman took on varying degrees of importance during the 16th and 17th centuries

⁵⁶⁴ Boppe-Vigne, “L’Iconographie des Drogmans au XVIIIe Siècle,” *Istanbul et les Langues Orientales*, 263. On a separate note, Boppe-Vigne remarks how strange it is that the 16th and 17th century costume albums do not feature the costume of the drogmans and how even Jean-Baptiste Van Mour omitted their depiction in the album he prepared at the behest of Ambassador Ferriol and that it was only in the latter half of the 18th century that one can get a glimpse of the dragoman’s costume. (Boppe-Vigne, “L’Iconographie des Drogmans au XVIIIe Siècle,” *Istanbul et les Langues Orientales*, 263.) However, in fact, the costume album known as Album V or the Cicogna Codex, dated to the 17th century and often presumed to have had dragomans involved in its production, features the strangling of the Grand Dragoman Grillo on the order of the Grand Vizier (fol. 38r) where the costume of the dragoman can be seen.

⁵⁶⁵ Naff, *Ibid.*, 300.

while the tasks undertaken by dragomans varied as well.⁵⁶⁶ They were on occasion sent on diplomatic missions to Europe where they were deemed to be men of much higher status and influence than was the case since the function that they performed, which was sometimes indistinguishable from that of an ambassador, was only carried out by the leading elite in Europe. This discrepancy was due to the lack of any real Ottoman counterparts to the European ambassadors and this deceptive image was reinforced by the dragomans themselves to appear greater in influence.⁵⁶⁷ Translation in this context, which was originally the purview of the Perots⁵⁶⁸ came to be dominated by Phanariot Greeks, often extended beyond linguistics into interpretation and mediation and could at times involve political maneuvering or espionage.⁵⁶⁹ Hired by foreign embassies residing in Istanbul, dragomans at first consisted mostly of the Perot community in the Ottoman Empire, being monopolized by a handful of families that intermarried to maintain their position, where dragomanship developed into a mostly hereditary profession. Writing at the close of the 17th century Parmense traveler Cornelio Magni (1638-1692) remarks on how the Phanariots “boast qualified births, tying themselves to emperors like Paleologhi, Cantaguzeni, Comneni and others; walking with the gravity and *sussiego* of a great satrap.”⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁶ Matuz, “Die Pfortendolmetscher zur Herrschaftszeit Süleymāns des Prächtigen,” *Südost-Forschungen* 34, 24-5. And Davison, “The French Dragomanate in Mid-Nineteenth Century Istanbul,” *Istanbul et les Langues Orientales*, 271.

⁵⁶⁷ Matuz, *Ibid.*, 40-1.

⁵⁶⁸ Also known as the *Magnifica Comunità* or the *Serenissima Comunità di Pera e Galata*, this group consisted of Catholics of Byzantine-Ligurian (Genovese) and Venetian descent residing mostly in Galata and Pera, who had been afforded *dhimmi* status under the Ottomans. Even though in the earlier stages all European powers made use of the local retinue of dragomans in the Ottoman Empire led by the Perots, later on some European powers like France and Austria thought it wise to cultivate their own retinue of translators in order to supplant these dragomans with *berats* (*drogmans barataires*), leading to the establishment of institutions like École des Jeunes de Langues by Colbert on November 18, 1669 and the Kaiserlich-königliche Akademie für Orientalische Sprachen in 1754 (the Austrian government began addressing the issue of native dragomans in 1674). The drogman dynasties of the *Magnifica Comunità* survived this development by forming marriage alliances with the *jeunes de langues* specifically trained for this role by French authorities, who then settled in the Ottoman Empire. (Şeni, “Dynasties de Drogmans et Levantinisme à Istanbul,” *Istanbul et les Langues Orientales*, 167.) When Charles Testa was appointed as first translator at the Austrian Embassy the Austrian translators were thoroughly frustrated and thought it unjust. Cf. Hammer-Purgstall, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben 1774-1852*, 139-40.

⁵⁶⁹ Luca, “Some families of Dragomans,” 214.

⁵⁷⁰ Magni, *Quanto di più curioso e vago hà potuto raccorre Cornelio Magni*, 619.

When the Greeks took on greater influence in this field they married into the Perot families so that the monopoly was expanded to include them.⁵⁷¹ The familial relations among dragomans gave them access to the full range of consular communication and made them targets of pressure from Ottoman officials seeking inside information.⁵⁷² English Orientalist Sir Richard Francis Burton (1821-1890) described the position as, “one of the greatest abuses” and characterized dragomans as spies,⁵⁷³ supporting this contention with the explanation that only this subterfuge could explain their often lavish lifestyles which contrasted with their meagre pay.⁵⁷⁴ As Van Den Boogert explains, however, there is no definitive evidence to bolster this allegation and the consular dragomans’ ability to live above the means of this office should rather be understood by the fact that this group of people hailed from the *non-Muslim* elites of the Empire, “who enjoyed a significantly higher status outside the consular context,”⁵⁷⁵ and who also mostly used trade as another source of income, while others acquired their wealth in the highly lucrative banking sector.

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Until the formation of resident diplomatic offices by the Ottoman Empire, the main source of the Sublime Porte’s information on the affairs of European powers was obtained via the

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., 104-5. Cf. Pippidi, “Drogmans et Enfants de Langue: La France de Constantinople au XVIII^e Siècle,” *Istanbul et les Langues Orientales*, ed. Frédéric Hitzel, 132; Rothman, “Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 4 (2009), 777-9.

⁵⁷² Pippidi, Ibid., 133.

⁵⁷³ Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Medinah and Meccah*, 88n1.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ Van Den Boogert, “Ottoman Intermediaries in the 18th Century: Analysis of a ‘dirty trade’,” *Oriente Moderno*, Nuova Serie 93, no. 2 (2013): 528.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., 528-530. Working as a dragoman for a foreign embassy allowed the office holder to obtain certain legal privileges and tax exemptions, which had considerable advantages particularly in consideration of the fact that many dragomans earned a majority of their income through engaging in trade. This created a situation where some dragomans were legitimately engaged in translation and diplomatic work while others—mostly rich merchants—who constituted the majority of those holding the title ‘dragoman’ associated with foreign embassies, were paying to obtain deeds of appointments known as *berats*, to secure the privileges of the position without really working in that capacity. (Van Den Boogert, “Ottoman Intermediaries in the 18th Century: Analysis of a ‘dirty trade’,” *Oriente Moderno*, Nuova Serie 93, no. 2 (2013): 518-9. There were a number of imperial decrees that prohibited Ottoman nationals from purchasing these *berats* which exempted them from taxes or to enable them to take advantage of reduced customs rates. See imperial decrees dated 19 R 1172 A.H. (December 20, 1758) and 5 Ca 1172 A.H. (January 4, 1759). (Ahmed Refik, *Hicri On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı*, 186-7, 188-9.)

Dragoman of the Sublime Porte. While not a member of the Divan, the *divan-ı hümayun tercümanı* was present as a servant of the council at its sessions in order to translate as required.⁵⁷⁷ The importance and prestige of this office rose later and Phanariots who assumed this task became members of the divan. The Dragoman of the Sublime Porte traded gifts and money for information from the dragomans employed by the foreign embassies resident in Istanbul.⁵⁷⁸ The reliance of foreign delegations on written communication and frequent translation requirements allowed for interception of these messages and the transmission of their content to the Porte.⁵⁷⁹ In the 18th century, the regular appointment of Phanariots as dragomans was coupled with their regular appointment to the esteemed position of *hospodar*,⁵⁸⁰ giving them a monopoly on several offices, which bestowed greater prestige,⁵⁸¹ signaling the ‘Phanariot Ascendancy’.⁵⁸² The four positions under their monopoly were, “imperial dragoman, dragoman of the fleet, *voivode* [or *hospodar*] of Wallachia, and *voivode* of Moldovia.”⁵⁸³ The dragomans, who had historically been able to associate with the *crème de la crème* of the society by virtue of their profession, amassed large fortunes – in some cases through an abuse of office – so significant that they built grand monuments and having stationed themselves firmly in patronage networks, they also sought to secure privileged positions for their kin. It is important to note that the duties attached to the position of dragoman changed over time as the post became more official. Despite the development of this bureaucratic machinery locally, the demands placed on dragomans whether employed by

⁵⁷⁷ Matuz, “Die Pfortendolmetscher zur Herrschaftszeit Süleymāns des Prächtigen,” *Südost-Forschungen* 34, 32-3.

⁵⁷⁸ Kuran, *Avrupa’da Osmanlı İkamet Elçiliklerinin Kuruluşu ve İlk Elçilerin Siyasi Fa’âliyetleri 1793-1821*, 9-10. Berridge lists “couriers, spies, Greek merchants of Istanbul, Salonika, & Smyrna as well as a fifth column in Europe” as sources of information for the Ottoman state. (Berridge, *Ibid.*, 115.) Cf. Cevdet Paşa, *Târîh-i Cevdet*, 6: 257.

⁵⁷⁹ Berridge, *Ibid.*, 121.

⁵⁸⁰ A Slavonic term meaning lord or master. While not parallel etymologically speaking, it is used synonymously with *voivode*.

⁵⁸¹ Naff, *Ibid.*, 300.

⁵⁸² Philliou, *Ibid.*, 153.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*, 155.

foreign delegation or by the Ottoman state were not one and the same as those that would be placed on diplomats residing abroad as representatives of the Ottoman state.

Despite their continued influence, the repercussions for the Greeks following the Greek Revolt created an opening for other groups within the Empire, including Armenians; especially because, “few even of the relatively ‘secular-minded’ scribal officials were capable of the ‘infidel business’ of translating to and from the languages of the Christian West, while those who were able were not always willing to accept such duty.”⁵⁸⁴ The distrust of Greeks was likewise a catalyst for the emergence of this Muslim diplomatic corps through the establishment of the Translation Bureau where most were educated in order to end the reliance on Greek translators.⁵⁸⁵ Constantine Mourouzi, who had been Dragoman of the Sublime Porte was removed and replaced by Bulgarzade Yahya Efendi, who had been teaching at the Engineering School and who was insufficiently qualified for the post. He was helped by Stavraki Aristarchi until he too was found to be unreliable and dismissed. Following this, no Greek held the post of Dragoman of the Sublime Porte again.

II.3.2 Zenop Manas’ Career in Translation Leading to His Appointments at the Sublime Porte

After Aristarchi’s dismissal, Zenop Manas was appointed as Yahya’s assistant to remedy the latter’s apparent lack of linguistic expertise.⁵⁸⁶ Zenop, who unlike many members of his immediate family did not choose to pursue banking and may have opted out of that career, deciding not to follow in the footsteps of his father, in order to evade the vicissitudes of the banking profession. Instead, he chose to work as a translator and language instructor and he would play an important part at the Sublime Porte’s Translation Bureau and its Language Instruction Department

⁵⁸⁴ Findley, *Ibid.*, 91-2.

⁵⁸⁵ Kürkçüoğlu, *Ibid.*, 137.

⁵⁸⁶ BOA, HAT 282/16749.

from their inception on account of his abilities in European languages in a milieu witnessing the rising prominence of the French language in instruction at Ottoman institutions. French “was to become a sort of semi-official language in the Ottoman Empire: it assumed some of the functions of Turkish and was even, in some respects, capable of replacing it.”⁵⁸⁷ His language capabilities coupled with the opening enabled by the mistrust in the Greeks following 1821, and the lack of skill as well as the lack of interest of the Muslims made him for the time being a true asset to the Empire.⁵⁸⁸ Zenop was well prepared to undertake such a task as he had been working in the capacity of language instructor and translator at different government institutions and establishments for the past two decades by that point. In an archival document dating to the end of Zenop’s career, ⁵⁸⁹ Hoca Zenop appears as the head translator at the Vienna Embassy and is described as having served the Empire for the duration of forty years in the capacity of translator and instructor at the *Tercüme Odası* and *Lisan Odası* of the Sublime Porte respectively, the Imperial Arsenal, as well as the Imperial Barracks of the Corps of Bombardiers. In carrying out these posts, he fully exerted himself, and over time distinguished himself with his devotion to the field, becoming an authoritative figure.⁵⁹⁰ His posting at the Imperial School of Military Engineering is not listed in this long list delineating his various appointments.

⁵⁸⁷ Strauss, “Language and Power in the Late Ottoman Empire,” *Imperial Lineages and Legacies in the Eastern Mediterranean: Byzantine and Ottoman Rule*, 121.

⁵⁸⁸ For centuries ‘infidel languages’ had been looked down upon, which led to the hiring of Bulgazade Yahya of *non-Muslim* origin and Zenop—two marginal types. (Findley, *Ibid.*, 133.) Chronicler Şânîzâde Mehmed Atâ’ullah Efendî who had learned Italian, Latin, French, and Greek was put forward as a possible candidate for the position of Dragoman of the Porte that had been left vacant after the firing of the Phanariot Greek Mourouzi. Şânîzâde himself points out that the Sublime Porte sought out an eligible candidate and his nomination was discussed at the Advisory Council, “but given that those who had been enthusiastic about such skills in the past had been brought into disrepute, mocked and held in contempt by high circles, no suitable Muslim could be found. Some days later Yahya Efendi who had previously taught at the Engineering School was enrobed in a *kaftan* and officially appointed to this position.” As for his own nomination Şânîzâde concludes that “it was not deemed fitting due to [his] being an esteemed member of the religious establishment. And so [he] was spared from that kind of work and the inconvenience and drawbacks [that might result from it].” (Şânîzâde Mehmed Atâ’ullah Efendî, *Şânîzâde Târîhi*, 4:34-5. Cf. Findley, *Ibid.*)

⁵⁸⁹ The date assigned to this document in the system of the Ottoman Archives is 10 M 1256 A.H. (March 14, 1840) The date does not appear on the actual document, however, so it cannot be conclusively established.

⁵⁹⁰ BOA, HAT 1423/58189.

Zenop's first appointment in this capacity seems to have been as language instructor at the Imperial School of Military Engineering, commencing on 5 Z 1216 A.H. (April 8, 1802), with a rather low monthly salary of 50 *kuruş* by which point he was 20 years of age. It is made clear that his knowledge of the Italian language, which he learned thoroughly at the Italian Engineering School and his good grasp of geometrical design distinguished him and led to his hiring at this establishment.⁵⁹¹ His salary was later raised to 100 *kuruş* per month to be paid trimonthly on the recommendation of the *defiardar* of the *Irâd-ı Cedid*,⁵⁹² İbrahim Efendi who pointed out that Zenop's father was a banker affiliated with the Imperial Mint and that Zenop might consider working for foreign governments if he cannot earn an adequate amount from his services to the Empire, warning the government that public servants with Zenop's qualifications should by all means be preemptively hindered from entertaining such a course of action.⁵⁹³

Zenop's salary remained the same for the next decade and was only increased in 1814 to a monthly sum of 300 *kuruş* to be paid from the annual revenue generated by the Imperial School of Military Engineering, from the *zecriye eshâmu fâi'zi*,⁵⁹⁴ more specifically. An additional 60 *kuruş* would also be paid on a monthly basis for Zenop's services as repairman of devices and equipment⁵⁹⁵ at the Engineering School.⁵⁹⁶ HAT 282/16749 is registered in the archive's system with the date 29 Z 1246 A.H. (June 10, 1831), however, a review of its contents proves that it cannot be dated later than 1824. One of the people in question in HAT 282/16749, namely İshak,

⁵⁹¹ Beydilli, *Ibid.*, 313-5. Cf. MAD.d 7917, p. 473.

⁵⁹² Bookkeeper of the newly established Treasury to finance the *Nizâm-ı Cedid* which entailed a series of reforms outlined by Sultan Selim III.

⁵⁹³ Beydilli, *Ibid.*, 314. Cf. MAD.d 7917, p. 473.

⁵⁹⁴ Revenue generated from taxes on alcoholic beverages.

⁵⁹⁵ *âlât tam'irciliği*

⁵⁹⁶ Beydilli, *Ibid.*, 315. Cf. MAD.d 7917, p. 452. It is unclear what exactly this job entailed. A document dated June 5, 1822 talks about an Ahmed Efendi who had recently passed away and served in the capacity of librarian (*hâfiz-ı kütüb*), calligrapher (*hattât*), and repairman (*tam'ir-i âletcilik*). (BOA, C.MF 123/6144; cf. Akbaş, "Osmanlı Türkiye'sinde Modern Fizik," PhD diss., 40, 40n2.)

is described as a fresh graduate of the Imperial School of Military Engineering who is currently teaching at this institution with a salary of 45 *kuruş*. İshak who is portrayed as having a better grasp of the French language than either Yahya or Zenop is being put up for a promotion as language instructor at the *Lisan Odası* and as a translator to join the retinue of the then Dragoman of the Porte Yahya Efendi. İshak had already replaced Yahya as Dragoman of the Porte by 1824. An additional document, which appears to respond to the document in question⁵⁹⁷ places HAT 282/16749 before 1 Ra 1239 A.H. (December 5, 1823).⁵⁹⁸ HAT 282/16749 lays out two possible scenarios for the review of the Sultan. The first scenario is for İshak to start occupying the position left vacant at the Imperial School of Military Engineering by Zenop's appointment to the *Lisan Odası* as language instructor and assistant to Yahya in his capacity of Dragoman of the Porte, while the second scenario is for him to replace Zenop in the capacities of language instructor and assistant to Yahya while also keeping up with his teaching at the Imperial School of Military Engineering and for Zenop to be hired back into his previous position at the School, which appears as a demotion for Zenop. The author of the document, Minister of the Bombardier Garrison Mehmed Sadık Efendi, shows a preference for the second option. With the two options being laid out for the review of the Sultan, the Sultan responds that İshak's translation abilities should be tested out by having him summoned to the Sublime Porte and given some documents to translate and if it turns out that his translation abilities supersede that of Zenop, that then he should be hired in his stead.⁵⁹⁹ The decision that was reached was for Zenop to continue his services at the Translation Bureau with a salary of 300 *kuruş* and for İshak to be employed at the Imperial School of Military Engineering with a salary of 300 *kuruş*, effective 1 R 1239 A.H. (December 5, 1823).⁶⁰⁰ Upon the

⁵⁹⁷ MAD.d 7917, p. 452.

⁵⁹⁸ See also Beydilli, *Ibid.*, 318.

⁵⁹⁹ BOA, HAT 282/16749. Cf. İhsanoğlu, "Mühendishâne-i Berrî-i Hümâyûn Başhocası İshak Efendi," 745.

⁶⁰⁰ BOA, MAD.d 7917, p. 452.

death of Yahya Efendi, İshak Efendi was appointed as Dragoman of the Sublime Porte on July 14, 1824.⁶⁰¹

The Armenian ‘Zenob Manassé,’⁶⁰² is reported to have had a European education and a good knowledge of European languages. Judging by the British Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1820 to 1824, Lord Strangford’s comments regarding Yahya, Zenop appears to have been the greater expert, despite being stationed under him: “He has however an able Assistant in one Zenob Manassé, an Armenian, also in the pay of the Turkish Government, who has been educated in Christendom, who speaks and writes several languages admirably well, and who is a man of irreproachable character.”⁶⁰³ Ottoman archival documents confirm this evaluation by pointing out that while knowledgeable about European languages, Yahya fell short of being an expert, which is why Zenop had been hired as his aid.⁶⁰⁴

The Sultan’s apparent frustration with the scribes for their lack of interest and dedication to learning European languages clarifies the indispensable part Zenop and a few others played at a time when Muslims lacked the necessary skill and interest and the well-trained and competent, yet mistrusted Phanariot Greeks were no longer seen as fit to carry out these tasks. Turning to another document dated 1827,⁶⁰⁵ Zenop is described as having a salary of 500 *kuruş*, though it is unclear when he had received this pay raise. The author of the document questions Zenop’s ability as an instructor when he says, “...those who have received instruction from the aforementioned have not been able speak it until now and therefore his instruction has not yielded any fruit.”⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰¹ Beydilli, *Ibid.*, 318; İhsanoğlu, “Mühendishâne-i Berrî-i Hümâyûn Başhocası İshak Efendi,” 746.

⁶⁰² Zenop Manas

⁶⁰³ FO 78/107 (no.52). Letter by Viscount Strangford, dated 25 April 1822, 1-3.

⁶⁰⁴ BOA, HAT 282/16749: “...mûmâ-ileyh Yahya Efendi kûlları her ne kadar lisân-âşinâ ise de mahâreti kemâlde olmamak cihetiyle bir mu’îne muhtâc olduğundan ve mersûm Zenop’a hem ta’allûm edenlere fenn-i lisânı talim ve hem tercüme maslahatında mûmâ-ileyhe mu’âvenet eylemek üzere tenbîh olunmuş...”

⁶⁰⁵ BOA, HAT 502/24621.

⁶⁰⁶ BOA, HAT 502/24621.

Despite his many years of service in the capacities of translator and language instructor to the Empire, Zenop's language and translation skills were called into question on more than one occasion during his career. One of the initial criticisms brought against Zenop was his ignorance of the principles of geometry and mathematics, which prevented him, in the opinion of the Minister of the Bombardier Garrison, Mehmed Sadık Efendi,⁶⁰⁷ from translating works in European languages on these topics. However, this seems to clash with statements during Zenop's initial hiring where he is praised for his comprehension of engineering design and excellent training in Italian,⁶⁰⁸ and it is therefore unclear whether this was a justified criticism. It should also be highlighted that Mehmed Sadık Efendi was the individual who endorsed İshak for a promotion and supported his hiring in place of Zenop at the *Lisan Odası*.⁶⁰⁹ Statements regarding Zenop's lack of skill at writing in Turkish extant in HAT 282/16749,⁶¹⁰ and his lack of ability in effective teaching in HAT 502/24621 contradict with the Porte's preference of Zenop over İshak at the *Lisan Odası* in 1823,⁶¹¹ and Lord Strangford's positive assessment of Zenop's qualifications, as well as Zenop's later appointment as first secretary at the Vienna Embassy, which he successfully held until his final years.⁶¹² In the document in question dated to 1827 both his merit and character were called into question by the Ottoman administration preceding the Catholic Armenian Exile of 1828.⁶¹³ While it is conceivable that Zenop may have had good knowledge of French but an inability to effectively teach the language, when placed in context alongside his Catholicism and the decision to exile him, the criticism of his language skills seems to be an excuse contrived to reduce any potential obstacles in the way of his exile. Therefore, the negative remarks are best

⁶⁰⁷ BOA, MAD.d 7917, p. 452; Beydilli, Ibid., 316.

⁶⁰⁸ BOA, MAD.d 7917, p. 473; Beydilli, Ibid., 312-3.

⁶⁰⁹ BOA, HAT 282/16749.

⁶¹⁰ "... ise de onun dahî elinde Türkçe yazısı olmayarak hizmet-i memûrelerini lâıykıyla beceremediklerinden..."

⁶¹¹ BOA, MAD.d 7917, p. 452; BOA, HAT 282/16749.

⁶¹² BOA, HAT 1423/58189.

⁶¹³ BOA, HAT 502/24621.

understood as a means of undercutting his achievements and service as to facilitate his exile along with other members of his family on the grounds of his Catholic faith and hearsay reports designating him as belonging to the malicious group among this creed.⁶¹⁴

Working as a translator at government establishments such as the Translation Bureau or as a language instructor at institutions like the Military Academy or the Medical School was a stepping stone that recurs frequently in any review of the careers of Ottoman officials. Many who began their careers in one of these areas later went on to represent their government abroad as part of the diplomatic corps; Zenop Manas being a prime example of this prevalent trend.

The Translation Bureau of the Sublime Porte developed from this foundation and remained very small and mostly staffed by *non-Muslim* Ottomans until 1833. The organizational structure for Foreign Affairs became more systematized following the establishment of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1836, which took over responsibility for diplomatic affairs from the Office of the *Reis-ül-küttab* when the last *Reis-ül-küttab* Akif Efendi became *nazır*, the Foreign Minister. As the prestige and power of the foreign ministry increased within the cabinet, the representation of Muslims increased and a position in the Translation Bureau, once perceived as *marginal*, became a desirable step in a scribal career and came to hold a certain prestige.⁶¹⁵ The staff of the Translation Bureau eventually became Muslim majority with Muslims holding the most senior positions, followed by Armenians among the *non-Muslims*. By the late 1860s the senior position of the Foreign Correspondence Office came to be held by an Armenian and the Foreign Correspondence Records Office staff was predominantly Armenian as well. Davud Karabet who was the first Ottoman Armenian to lead a mission abroad in 1848 had a similar background, having

⁶¹⁴ BOA, HAT 502/24621. See Chapter Three.

⁶¹⁵ That both Ali (1815-1871) and Fuad (1815-1869) Pashas, who along with Mustafa Reşid (1800-1858) would be the leading statesmen of the next political period, spent time working in the Translation Bureau is evidence of the increasingly central role of the office where Zenop played an early part. Findley, *Ibid.*, 135.

worked as a language instructor at the Military Academy, prior to serving as the head translator of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁶¹⁶ He would be the bureaucratic successor of Püzant Manas in the capacity of Consul General of Vienna in 1856, upon the latter's death.⁶¹⁷ Sarkis Hamamcıyan who would be sent as envoy extraordinary to Rome in 1872 similarly worked as the head of the Foreign Correspondence Office that was established as a sub-unit of the Translation Bureau.

II.3.3 Continued Greek Service and the Role of Armenians

Even though many of the Greek dragomans were dismissed due to suspicions about their loyalty in the wake of the Greek Revolt in 1821, it would be an error to assume that the service of Greeks was terminated completely, as the evidence shows that many Greeks continued in the employ of the Ottoman state—retained due to their expertise in European languages and diplomatic prowess, which they had cultivated over generations.⁶¹⁸ Despite the dismantling of many of the Phanariot matrices, some of these individuals emerged “from the crises of the 1820s”⁶¹⁹ to remake themselves and reestablish “networks of clientage that connected the Ottoman central state, the emergent Foreign Ministry, the Orthodox Church, Moldavian and Wallachian administrations, and foreign states.”⁶²⁰ The continuation of patterns of interaction and networking into the second residential diplomacy period, initiated in 1834, by means of these ‘Neophanariots’⁶²¹ such as the Vogorides,⁶²² Aristarchi,⁶²³ Kara Theodori,⁶²⁴ Muzurus,⁶²⁵ and

⁶¹⁶ Kılıç, “Tanzimat Döneminde Osmanlı Hariciye Nezâreti’nin Ermeni Memurları,” 112-3.

⁶¹⁷ BOA, HR.MKT 143/2.

⁶¹⁸ Findley, *Ibid.*, 131.

⁶¹⁹ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, xxi.

⁶²⁰ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 87.

⁶²¹ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, xxi, 87.

⁶²² Also spelled Alexandre Vogoridès and Wogorides.

⁶²³ Philliou identifies Aristarchi as the nemesis of Stephanos Vogorides. (Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, xxiii.) She also notes that the Aristarchi family was an originally Armenian hellenized family from the Black Sea coast. (*Ibid.*, 103.)

⁶²⁴ Also spelled Carathéodory and Karathéodery.

⁶²⁵ Also spelled Mussurus or Mousourous.

Kalimaki,⁶²⁶ families creating an extra-bureaucratic structure based on a pre-conflict ‘operational logic’,⁶²⁷ allowed room for ‘personal autonomy’⁶²⁸ even in this more constricted and bureaucratized setting. In contrast to other groups or institutions, which had fallen out of favor and been permanently stamped out, the Phanariot elite proved to be more resilient, adapting to the new landscape of governance and reform⁶²⁹ and making themselves once again indispensable for the sultans. It is clear from a number of examples that modern notions of identity and belonging fail to capture the aspirations of Phanariot Greeks and their willingness to continue in the service of the Ottoman Empire despite the variety of choices available to them. Philliou argues in the specific case of Stephanos Vogorides that his status and economic position would have given him the freedom not to serve in the Ottoman bureaucratic apparatus, yet despite the variety of other alternatives like allying with Greek revolutionaries, which his brother Athanasios had done, or escaping to Russia or Europe, he nonetheless was adamant in his service to the Empire.⁶³⁰

Kostaki, Etienne, and Paul Muzurus were employed together at the London Embassy for almost three decades. Later, Kostaki Muzurus appears as *envoyé extraordinaire et ministre plénipotentiaire* to the London Embassy in the *Almanach de Gotha* for the year 1852,⁶³¹ at which point Paulaky Muzurus emerges as the second secretary;⁶³² positions which they continued to fill in the following five years.⁶³³ The first instance of the three members of the Muzurus family,

⁶²⁶ Also spelled Callimachi or Kalimaki.

⁶²⁷ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, xxv.

⁶²⁸ Philliou, ‘The Ottoman Empire’s absent nineteenth century,’ 146-7.

⁶²⁹ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, xxv.

⁶³⁰ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, xxii.

⁶³¹ *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1852*, 447.

⁶³² *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1852*, 447.

⁶³³ *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1853*, 437, *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1854*, 433, *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1855*, 450, *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1856*, 449, *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1857*, 470. (Beginning in 1855 Paulaky appears as Paul instead. In 1856, Paul is listed as secretary rather than second secretary.)

namely Konstantinos,⁶³⁴ Paul, and Etienne working side-by-side at the London Embassy appears in the Almanach for 1862,⁶³⁵ where Muzurus Bey is the ambassador—his title elevated from bey to pacha in 1867/1868.⁶³⁶ Stefanaki Vogorides' son Aleko (Aléko-pacha/Prince Vogoridès) appears as the Embassy counsellor in Vienna in the Almanach de Gotha for the years 1851 through 1860 before he was replaced by Halil Efendi in 1861.⁶³⁷ He appears as *ambassador extraordinary*, being accredited on July 18, 1876 in the Almanach for the year 1877.⁶³⁸ Aleko resigned in the aftermath of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877, identifying his Bulgarian background and belonging to a Phanariot family as obstacles to his continued service to the Porte.⁶³⁹ Alexandros Kalimaki, the son of Scarlat Kalimaki is listed as the embassy counsellor at Paris, in the Almanach for the year 1847 under the ambassador Süleyman Paşa,⁶⁴⁰ while at the same time being designated as ad interim extraordinary envoy and plenipotentiary at London.⁶⁴¹ Two years later he became the *envoyé extraordinary* at the Paris Embassy.⁶⁴² Prince Kalimaki was replaced in Paris by Velieddin Rıfat Paşa in 1853 and was later sent to Vienna as ambassador where he served from 1857 until 1863.⁶⁴³ A document from the Ottoman Archives records that Prince Kalimaki was conferred the

⁶³⁴ Konstantinos Muzurus (Constantine Musurus) was the son-in-law of Stephanos Vogorides, also known as Stefanaki Bey. Musurus, whom Philliou describes as a 'Renaissance man' was involved in the negotiation between the British and the Ottoman state to secure financing as well as in the creation of the Ottoman Bank. He would also take up the arduous work of translating Dante's *Inferno* in the final episode of his life. (Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, xxvii, 170)

⁶³⁵ *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1862*, 559.

⁶³⁶ *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1868*, 658.

⁶³⁷ *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1852*, 447, *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1853*, 437, *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1854*, 433, *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1855*, 450, *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1856*, 449, *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1857*, 470, *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1858*, 487, *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1859*, 516, *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1860*, 527, *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1861*, 541, *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1862*, 559.

⁶³⁸ *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1877*, 542.

⁶³⁹ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 173.

⁶⁴⁰ *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1847*, 380.

⁶⁴¹ *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1847*, 341.

⁶⁴² Orta elçi. *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye* 1265, 88 and *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1850*, 375.

⁶⁴³ *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1858*, 325, *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1859*, 340, *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1860*, 347, *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1861*, 353, *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1862*, 372, *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1863*, 378, *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1864*, 388. Cf BOA, HR.MTV 609/2.

rank of ‘rütbe-i bâlâ’, which was only second in esteem to that of vizier, in the summer of 1861 and that he became the recipient of a first rank Mecidiye medal in the winter of 1862.⁶⁴⁴ Another Ottoman Greek subject that appears in the service of the court is Kara Theodori, who was the attaché in Berlin from 1854 to 1861,⁶⁴⁵ and then secretary in 1862,⁶⁴⁶ before becoming first secretary in 1863.⁶⁴⁷ In the response of the Berlin diplomatic office to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ali Paşa, who had requested a list of the awards and honors conferred on the staff from each permanent embassy, the first secretary, Etienne Kara Theodori Efendi, is identified as having a third class rank since the Ca 1280 A.H. (October/November 1863), as well as having received a Mecidiye medal of fifth class in the Ca of 1276 A.H. (November/December 1859).⁶⁴⁸ He continued to hold this position until 1866.⁶⁴⁹ His name appears again as envoy extraordinary at Rome in the Almanac for 1875, replacing Sarkis Hamamcıyan.⁶⁵⁰

While in the capital Armenians had a clear preponderance in terms of their numbers in translation related offices, among *non-Muslim* groups, Greeks, especially those of Phanariot background, were decidedly preferred over them as representatives abroad in the second half of the 19th century. And while there was an undeniable Armenian presence in the diplomatic corps with figures such as Davud Karabet, Aleksan Diran, Sarkis Hamamcıyan, Yusuf Dominyan,⁶⁵¹ Agop Gircikyan, Arakel Dadyan, Agop Divitciyan, Yusuf Misak Efendi, Artin Kalburyan, Takur

⁶⁴⁴ BOA, HR.MTV 609/2 lists Callimaki Bey as the ambassador and lists the medals and honors he was conferred upon in the course of his service as a diplomat.

⁶⁴⁵ *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1855*, 588, *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1856*, 589, *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1857*, 617, *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1858*, 637, *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1859*, 676, *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1860*, 690, *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1861*, 712, *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1862*, 747.

⁶⁴⁶ *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1863*, 773.

⁶⁴⁷ *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1864*, 799.

⁶⁴⁸ BOA, HR.MTV 609/2.

⁶⁴⁹ *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1865*, 833, *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1866*, 839-840, *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1867*, 959.

⁶⁵⁰ *L’Almanach de Gotha pour l’année 1875*, 701.

⁶⁵¹ Dominian would replace Rupen Manas as Consul General of Milan in 1871, as pointed out earlier. (Cf. *L’Almanach de Gotha 1873*, 654; *l’Almanach de Gotha 1874*, 676; *l’Almanach de Gotha 1875*, 701.)

Hamamcıyan, and Pertev Efendi, and last, but not least, the Manas family, Armenian bureaucrats rarely led missions, and none reached the rank of ambassador,⁶⁵² while it was not out of the ordinary for Greeks to ascend the position of ambassador with examples including Kostaki Musurus, Prince Kalimaki, as well as Aristarchi. While they never had the rank ambassador, three Armenians led diplomatic missions and two of the Manases, by virtue of being appointed as consul general, represented the trade related interests of the Empire abroad. Of the different divisions in the civil bureaucracy, the Foreign Correspondence Office came the nearest to being a bastion for the Armenians, with the majority of Armenians in the bureaucracy gaining experience in this office during their time in service.⁶⁵³ If median salaries are compared across income segments, it is clear that the position of the *non-Muslims* was now in between that of traditionalist and modernist Muslims where *non-Muslims'* salaries compared favorably to the former and unfavorably to the latter, though most Greeks and Armenians, had reached the second rank first class or better.⁶⁵⁴ The proportion of Armenians that achieved this rank was higher than that of the Greeks, which seems to fit with the trend away from reliance on Greeks. However, their continued service at the highest levels as well as their disproportionately high salaries clearly express the residual superiority of the Greeks with median salaries for Greek officials being higher than those for modernist Muslims in 23 out of 43 years. This is perhaps best explained by the fact that Greeks surpassed all others in study at European universities, a sign in itself that they “had retained something of the elitist aura of the old Phanariots.”⁶⁵⁵ The less stellar salary statistics for the Armenians, reflecting their more recent influx into the bureaucracy and their somewhat lower educational level, are expressed in a

⁶⁵² Kılıç, “Tanzimat Döneminde Osmanlı Hariciye Nezâreti’nin Ermeni Memurları,” 112.

⁶⁵³ Ibid., 354.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., 348.

variant image, where median salaries are higher than those of the modernist Muslims in only 13 years out of 43.⁶⁵⁶

Of the three Armenians that were promoted to lead diplomatic missions, two shared a Catholic background with the Manases. First, Aleksandr Diran served as the *chargé d'affaires* of Brussels with Piyer Manas as head translator,⁶⁵⁷ after the success of which he was also assigned to take over the management of Brussels, following the recently deceased Caradja-Bey.⁶⁵⁸ Second, Davud Karabet served as the *chargé d'affaires* in Berlin for two years in the 1840s and served as the Consul General of Vienna following Püzant Manas' death in 1856.⁶⁵⁹ Finally, Sarkis Hamamcıyan (Sarkis-effendi), an Orthodox Armenian, became envoy extraordinary at the Rome Embassy in 1873⁶⁶⁰ replacing Photiades-bey,⁶⁶¹ a position he appears to have held only for a year given that Kara Theodori is listed as the envoy extraordinary the following year.⁶⁶²

There were also those who after having had appointments at Ottoman government institutions and schools as translators or instructors, were launched to senior positions and in some cases even the highest echelons of the Ottoman bureaucratic apparatus. Among Ottoman Armenian statesmen who had such advancements were Mikayel Portukal Paşa, Andon Tıngır Yaver Paşa, Hovsep Vartanyan,⁶⁶³ Artin Dadyan Paşa (1830-1901), and Nubar Paşa, to name a few. Mikayel

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., 359.

⁶⁵⁷ Piyer Manas, also known as Bedros, is mentioned as the secretary of the Belgium diplomatic office in a letter Diran Bey addresses to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fuad Paşa. (BOA, HR.SYS 220/11) In a letter dated to November 7, 1860, addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ali Paşa, Piyer Manas talks about how he had been appointed as the secretary to Brussels three years ago. (BOA, HR.TO 435/57)

⁶⁵⁸ BOA, HR.SFR.4.36/58: "I am pleased to be able to inform you that His Majesty the Sultan, our Augustus Master, satisfied with the way in which you discharge your duties in Brussels, has deigned to also entrust you with the management of the affairs of the diplomatic office in the Hague."

⁶⁵⁹ BOA, HR.H 219/2.

⁶⁶⁰ Kılıç, "Tanzimat Döneminde Osmanlı Hariciye Nezâreti'nin Ermeni Memurları," 119. Cf. *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1874*, 676

⁶⁶¹ *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1873*, 654.

⁶⁶² *L'Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1875*, 701.

⁶⁶³ Andon Tıngır Yaver Paşa and Hovsep Vartanyan were Catholic. Vartanyan went to Vienna at the age of thirteen to continue his education at the Vienna Mekhitarist Monastery and upon his return to Istanbul began his teaching

Portukal Paşa (1842-1897) became the Minister of the Sultan's Privy Purse⁶⁶⁴ and a vizier after having worked at the Sublime Porte as translator in 1858 and at the Translation Bureau in the 1860s.⁶⁶⁵ Following a similar path, Andon Tıngır Yaver Paşa (1812-1908) became the Minister of Post and a vizier following his appointment as translator to the Paris ambassador Süleyman Paşa in 1846.⁶⁶⁶ Hovsep Vartanyan or Vartan Paşa (1816-1879) became a well-respected bureaucrat subsequent to his posting as translator of the Ottoman Navy.⁶⁶⁷ Hailing from one of the most eminent Ottoman Armenian families as the son of the renowned Gunpowder Head Officer Hovhannes Dadyan, Artin Dadyan Paşa started his assignment at the Sublime Porte's Translation Bureau and was appointed as head clerk at the Paris Embassy the following year; in his many years as a statesman he held numerous eminent positions including the Undersecretary of Finance, the Director of Forests and Mines, the Head of the Sixth District Municipality (Beyoğlu), and Deputy Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.⁶⁶⁸ Nubar Paşa (1825-1899) also worked as translator and head clerk in the diplomatic offices at Berlin and Vienna in the early part of his career.⁶⁶⁹

II.4 The Establishment of Consular Services and the Domain of Responsibility of the Consuls General

In 1725 Grand Vizier Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa appointed 'Kazgancızade' Ömer Ağa as consul to Vienna,⁶⁷⁰ with the rank *mir-i alem*⁶⁷¹ in the first days of the hijri month of Safer.⁶⁷² The

career at the Nersesyan Armenian School located in Hasköy. (Dabağyan, *Geçmişten Günümüze Millet-i Sâdika-ı Osmanlı Ermenileri: âmiralar, devlet adamları, mimarlar, hekimler, ilim adamları*, 63.)

⁶⁶⁴ Hazîne-i hâssa

⁶⁶⁵ Dabağyan, Ibid., 50-1.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., 61-2.

⁶⁶⁷ Vartanyan was also active in the literary realm as a novelist and a journalist who worked in the publication of two Armeno-Turkish newspapers; *Mecmua-ı Havadis* and *Tercüman-ı Efkar*. Among his literary works *Boşboğaz Bir Âdem*, *Paris Meşvereti*, and *Telgraf Risalesi* can be listed. Furthermore he composed a three-volume biography of Napoléon Bonaparte. (Ibid., 64-5.)

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., 542-553.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid., 76-80.

⁶⁷⁰ İsmâ'îl 'Âsım Efendi, *Târîh-i İsmâ'îl 'Âsım Efendi (Târîh-i Çelebîzâde Efendi)*, 307-8. Cf. Findley, Ibid., 127-8.

⁶⁷¹ Or *Bayrak beyi*. It was a rank bestowed upon notable Palace officials.

⁶⁷² İsmâ'îl 'Âsım Efendi, Ibid., 307-8.

first posting of its kind in the Ottoman context, it was created following the advice of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi. The tasks entailed by the positions of ‘consul’ and ‘consul general’ were predominantly centered around the commercial and mercantile interests of the Empire, yet the role also included the protection of Ottoman subjects outside the commercial field, therefore placing it at the intersection of political and commercial diplomacy. Within the consular services there were three ranks, the highest being consul general, followed by the consul and then vice-consul. These individuals were focused on advancing the commercial interests of the Empire through securing privileges from foreign governments which the Sublime Porte had awarded to various European states beginning in the 16th century. In 1793, Selim III initiated the practice of permanent consular services following his decision to open diplomatic offices of this kind across Europe; the two projects were designed to go hand-in-hand in Selim’s vigorous espousal of bilateral relations. When permanent diplomatic offices were closed at the outbreak of the Greek Revolt,⁶⁷³ consular services were also put on pause due to similar reliance on Greeks in this area, specifically those Greeks engaged in commerce who had been operating in Europe.

While a legal framework for the operations of consular offices had not been put in place at the outset of these missions, the consuls and consuls general were each sent general instructions on confirmation of their appointments. Their roles included aiding Ottoman merchants and subjects, protecting ships that bore the Ottoman flag, defending the legal rights of Ottoman subjects in disagreements or other issues that arose between them and foreign nationals, informing the Sublime Porte of developments in Europe, repatriating Ottoman subjects that had received guilty sentences, and last but not least, conducting themselves in the manner appropriate for a servant of the Empire.⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁷³ Findley, *Ibid.*, 127-8.

⁶⁷⁴ Kılıç, *Ibid.*, 99. Cf. BOA, A. {DVNS.ŞHB.d. 1.

The first Ottoman consular office was established in Naples with the appointment of Angelo Fecetin, in July 1802.⁶⁷⁵ Shortly after the establishment of the first office, the Porte quickly increased the number of consuls and consuls general in accordance with the demands of Ottoman merchants. After the establishment of activities in Sicily, similar offices were created in Venice, the Septinsular Republic, Corfu, Marseille, Amsterdam, and Genoa. Thereafter offices were created in Messina in 1804, in London and Malta in 1805, in Alicante in 1806, in Cadiz and Lisbon in 1807, and then Trieste.⁶⁷⁶ While due to the Greek Revolt there was a temporary break, once Mahmud II decided to resume residential diplomacy, both political and commercial diplomatic efforts resumed.

In 1836 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was established in an effort to institutionalize the diplomatic apparatus.⁶⁷⁷ Soon after, in 1840, Mösyö Zehrab was appointed to London as consul general after which point the number of consular offices steadily increased. In 1848/49 eight out of the nine consuls general that had been appointed by the Sublime Porte were *non-Muslim*.⁶⁷⁸ Most Ottoman consular offices⁶⁷⁹ were rented properties in Europe and mostly established in commercially significant port cities. These offices employed a large number of both foreign and Ottoman staff, with the retinue including, aside from consular officers, clerks, translators, *imams*, chanceries, mosque caretakers, guards, and porters.⁶⁸⁰

In the time of Abdülhamid II the number of consuls and consuls general exceeded 200 and the number of Muslim officials who served in either capacity similarly increased.⁶⁸¹ A preliminary

⁶⁷⁵ Kılıç, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Şehbenderlik Kurumu,” *Osmanlı Diplomasi Tarihi: Kurumları ve Tatbiki*, ed. Mehmed Alaaddin Yalçınkaya and Uğur Kurtaran, 98.

⁶⁷⁶ Akpınar, “XIX. Yüzyılda Batıyla İlişkilerde Osmanlı Şehbenderlikleri,” *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 41 (2017), 132-3.

⁶⁷⁷ Akpınar, *Ibid.*, 134.

⁶⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 134-5.

⁶⁷⁹ *şehbender-hâne*

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 138-9.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 135.

statute was established in 1863 to regulate these offices, yet it was only in 1882 that the government developed a code of practice. A more detailed guideline of descriptions of responsibilities and instructions was then drawn up in 1884.⁶⁸² Honorary consulships were also established, during this period allowing the hiring of local residents of the city where the missions were established; however, these positions did not accord their holders the same level of prestige as did other consular services, and were only semi-official.⁶⁸³ The salaries of the consular offices changed by rank and location and eventually consular staff also began attending schools that were geared towards the pursuit of this career once such institutions had been established. The individuals educated in the new institutions came to be preferred in hiring and appointment to those with backgrounds as merchants who originally filled these ranks.

No documents have been uncovered in the course of this research outlining the specific consular activities of Rupen or Püzant, however, given the length of their tenures which in both cases went beyond five years, it can be surmised that they had attained a certain level of success. Another factor limiting the assessment of the Manases' activities in this field to the desired level is the extensive lack of a systemization of roles within the Ottoman foreign service establishment or a clear delineation of the tasks associated with their appointments, as outlined above. This kind of organizational setback was apparent across the diplomatic establishment and was often one of the biggest factors leading to the general under-performance of these missions. At the root of this lay the Sublime Porte's lack of familiarity with the European diplomatic system in which European states had been operating for centuries, while the Ottoman Empire had chosen to pursue a unilateral policy only to embrace bilateral relations in earnest in the reign of Selim III.

II.5 The Diplomat Manases

⁶⁸² Ibid., 136-7.

⁶⁸³ Ibid., 138.

II.5.1 Gaspar Manas⁶⁸⁴ (1819⁶⁸⁵-1880s)

Gaspar (Kaspar von Manass) entered the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts on August 21, 1837 at the age of 18 where he studied at the Elementary Drawing School for a year, before switching to the Landscape School. He studied under Professor Joseph Mössmer, Adjunct Professor Thomas Ender, and proofreader Franz Steinfeld and most likely graduated sometime in 1839. The profession of his father is listed as ‘first translator of the Ottoman Embassy in Vienna’.⁶⁸⁶ While Gaspar’s brother Aleksandr’s graduation from this institution is asserted in the literature,⁶⁸⁷ Gaspar’s educational background had remained in the dark until now.

Though the scholarship has suggested that Gaspar trained as a painter and may have worked in such a capacity for the Ottoman court, the dearth of evidence to this point prevented any kind of certainty in that conclusion. While there continues to be a lack of evidence of a pursuit of a career as a court painter, in the form of attributable paintings and the like, newly discovered documentation shows that the court sent a stipend to a Gaspar training in art in Paris beginning in 1840,⁶⁸⁸ alongside an Aleksandr, which may be taken to suggest that the two individuals in question were Gaspar and Aleksandr Manas.⁶⁸⁹ Though the records are incomplete, the availability of these three documents dated to 1255 A.H. (1839/1840), 1257 A.H. (1841/2), 1259 A.H. (1843/4). imply that the students in question were receiving monthly stipends over the course of several

⁶⁸⁴ Other spellings of his name include Kasbar, Kaspar, and Kasparaki.

⁶⁸⁵ In the Archive of the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts, Gaspar’s registration documents indicate that he was 18 years of age when he entered in 1837, confirming that he was born in 1819. (*Protokoll [Protocoll] der die k.k. Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien frequentirenden Schüler vom Jahre 1797 bis 1850*. Vol. 7: 297.) Cf. BOA, HAT 1235/48038. Küçükhasaköylü previously pointed out that given that Gaspar was the third son of Zenop, that he must have been born after 1816, as Zenop’s second son Sebuhan was born in 1816. (Küçükhasaköylü, Ibid., 174. However no one in the scholarship had been able to identify a certain year of birth for Gaspar.

⁶⁸⁶ “erster Dragomann bey der ottomanischen Gesandtschaft in Wien. (*Protokoll [Protocoll] der die k.k. Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien frequentirenden Schüler vom Jahre 1797 bis 1850*. Vol. 7: 297.)

⁶⁸⁷ Sakisian, *Pages d'art arménien*, 101, Bohjalyan, *Agnarg mē Hay Ngarch 'ut 'yan Vray*, 32, Küçükhasaköylü, Ibid., 175.

⁶⁸⁸ BOA, C.MF 13/622. Cf. C.MF 98/4872, C.MF 155/7723.

⁶⁸⁹ BOA, C.MF 13/622, C.MF 98/4872.

years via the Ottoman intermediary financier Jacques Alléon and his European counterpart Pillet-Will & Cie.⁶⁹⁰ The document dated to 1255 A.H. is a money order of 200 francs each to Alexandre, Gaspard, and Akiff,⁶⁹¹ while the one dated to 1257 A.H. is an order of the same amount to Alexandre, Gaspard, and Sarandi.⁶⁹² The final one dated to 1259 A.H. is only directed to Gaspard for the month of June of the respective year.⁶⁹³ Given these documents, and the fact that Alexander is also listed, along with what is known about the length of artistic training undertaken by many of the Manases, it is reasonable to conclude that following his time in Vienna, Gaspar pursued further artistic training in Paris during which time the government supported him. This continued support increases the likelihood that Gaspar was expected to have a career as a court painter and that he did indeed go on to do so.

Gaspar (Gaspar Manos) resurfaces in *Le Journal Asiatique* dated to January 1848, as translator at the Vienna Embassy under the ambassador Şekib Efendi, (Chekib efendi) who belonged to the first rank of the first order,⁶⁹⁴ and alongside Arif bey as first secretary and Ali Efendi as second secretary.⁶⁹⁵ *En route* to take up his position in Vienna, Şekib Efendi stopped in Rome to lead the first-ever diplomatic delegation from the Sublime Porte to the Holy See, which Pope Pius IX received with elation according to Şekib Efendi's reports to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was viewed as a momentous event, and was not to the liking of France or Austria, which had exerted influence over the Catholics in the Ottoman Empire prior to this rapprochement between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy See. This event was not only perceived as a very

⁶⁹⁰ Jacques Alléon was a Levantine *banquier* from Galata, who worked as the banker for the Imperial Mint and Ottoman embassies for an extended period of time. The government favored him because he was a prestigious banker who could facilitate interactions with European finance circles. He was responsible for remitting bills of exchange abroad for a commission by using other European banks as intermediaries.

⁶⁹¹ BOA, C.MF 13/622.

⁶⁹² BOA, C.MF 98/4872

⁶⁹³ BOA, C.MF 155/7723.

⁶⁹⁴ “rütbe-yi evveli sınıf-ı evvelinden” (*Le Journal Asiatique*, Janvier 1848, 25.)

⁶⁹⁵ *Le Journal Asiatique*, Janvier 1848, 25.

positive development by the Vatican, but also found its place into the Ottoman and world press.⁶⁹⁶ The *Journal de Constantinople: Echo de l'Orient* wrote in 1848 that the mission of Şekib Efendi to the Pope was of greater significance than the independence of Greece from the Ottoman Empire due to its potential to alter the course of East-West relations. The newspaper further suggests that the reception this delegation received from the Pope is an acknowledgment that historical enmities could be overcome resulting in an eventual treaty between Christendom and Islam.⁶⁹⁷

Gaspar who is listed as the interpreter for the Vienna Embassy in 1847 was most likely part of the mission to the Pope given that Şekib Efendi continued on to Vienna with his retinue after paying this visit.⁶⁹⁸ So in all likelihood he had left as part of the diplomatic mission between the 18th and 28th of Muharrem of the hijri year after going before the Sultan as is customary before such appointments.⁶⁹⁹ Ahmed Türkan, Taha Toros, and Fuad Carım all note the presence of Gaspar (Gasparo de Manasse, Minass Kaspar) as the translator of Şekib Efendi during this event without providing concrete evidence.⁷⁰⁰ Taking part in an event of this significance and import in a context of historical tension would have been one of Gaspar's more notable contributions to the diplomatic efforts of the Ottoman state.

Gaspar seems to have had appointments as an embassy employee beginning in 1839, by his own account.⁷⁰¹ He is known to have been head translator at the Vienna Embassy in 1846.⁷⁰² In a letter addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Fuad Paşa dated to September 12, 1856,

⁶⁹⁶ Cf. İ.MSM 32/897; Ahmed Râsim, *Târîh ve Muharrir*, 143.

⁶⁹⁷ *Journal de Constantinople: Echo de l'Orient*, issue 65, 1 Janvier 1848, 1.

⁶⁹⁸ *Ceride-i Havâdis*, Issue 327, 17 Rebî'ü'l-âhir 1263, 1. Cf. *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette for 1847*, Jan. 16, 19.

⁶⁹⁹ *Takvîm-i Vakâyi'*, Issue 317, 28 Muharrem 1263.

⁷⁰⁰ Türkan, "Osmanlı ile Papalık Arasındaki İlk Dostane İlişkiler ve Bunun Doğu Kiliseleri Açısından Önemi," *International Journal of History* 6, issue 6, December 2014, 198n3, Toros, "Tanzimat'ın İlânından Sonra Papalıkla İlk İlişkimiz," *Tarih ve Toplum* 109, January 1993: 27-8, Carım, "İşlenmemiş Konular," 94.

⁷⁰¹ BOA, HR.TO 425/17: "Votre Excellence n'ignore pas peut-être qu'il y a déjà 17 ans que je sers notre gouvernement en qualité d'employé d'ambassade."

⁷⁰² BOA, İ.HR 29/1334. In this document his name appears as Kasparaki.

Gaspar entreats the Minister for a promotion in line with his many years of experience during which time he did not receive any, “increase in [his] salary, or any distinction of any kind.” Gaspar goes on to note that this is in contrast to many other government officials including his own brothers who received the Mecidiye order and who were higher ranking. The one salary increase of 200 florins per month that Gaspar did receive, was reallocated to the Consulate General, which was a significant loss for him.⁷⁰³ Following his plea, Gaspar was awarded a fifth-rank Mecidiye medal.⁷⁰⁴

Eight years later in 1864, in response to an internal memo coming from the Foreign Ministry (Dispatch No. 10969/68), Sadık Efendi wrote that after 28 years in the employ of the government, Gaspar Manas, the first secretary/translator of the Embassy, had only been accorded the fifth rank of the Mecidiye order and he was among the officials in Vienna, who in his view was deserving of recognition for the service he rendered to the state.⁷⁰⁵ The inability of Gaspar to obtain a high honor or secure a more senior post stood out as unfair to the head clerk to such an extent that he urged the Foreign Minister to bestow upon Gaspar a proper rank.⁷⁰⁶

Perhaps due to his lack of promotions or his financial security, Gaspar was apprehensive about his position despite his long years of service. In a letter he addressed to Ali Paşa, he indicated that he would be forgoing the indispensable leave he had requested in relation to his wife, in order to avoid the then ambassador Prince Kalimaki’s displeasure.⁷⁰⁷ Gaspar had initially underscored his two decades of loyal service as the head translator of the Vienna Embassy in order to secure this leave.⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰³ BOA, HR.TO 425/17.

⁷⁰⁴ He received it in February, 1857. BOA, HR.MKT 176/4, BOA, A.}DVN 123/4. Cf. BOA, HR.MTV 609/2.

⁷⁰⁵ BOA, HR.MTV 609/2.

⁷⁰⁶ BOA, HR.MTV 609/2.

⁷⁰⁷ BOA, HR.SYS 206/19.

⁷⁰⁸ BOA, HR.TO 575/49.

Gaspar's name is mentioned as head translator in the *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye* 1268 A.H., where Püzant Manas appears as the Consul General of Vienna and Anton as second translator.⁷⁰⁹ Gaspar keeps appearing as the head translator until 1856/7,⁷¹⁰ after which point he is listed as the other head clerk,⁷¹¹ and in 1868 as clerk in attendance.⁷¹² In the *Almanach de Gotha* he is listed as first secretary from 1851 until 1869, serving the ambassadors Arif Efendi, Prince Kalimaki, and Haydar Efendi,⁷¹³ respectively.⁷¹⁴

After his time in Vienna, he is said to have worked at the Paris Embassy in the same capacity,⁷¹⁵ though there is no concrete evidence of this. This time spent in Paris early on after he graduated from the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts would fit with his frequent travel between these two cities later in his career and perhaps offer an explanation as to why he did so.

In his long years in diplomatic service Gaspar seems to have struggled both financially and in terms of the recognition he desired. His inability to receive his share of his uncle Püzant's inheritance in a timely fashion could not alleviate any of these challenges.⁷¹⁶ Despite this, he participated in a singular event in Ottoman diplomatic history and undoubtedly shaped the Ottoman mission in Vienna during his time at this post.

⁷⁰⁹ *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1268 A.H, 78-80.

⁷¹⁰ *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1269 A.H, 89, *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1270 A.H, 100, *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1271 A.H, 109, *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1273 A.H, 117, *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1274 A.H, 125.

⁷¹¹ 'diğer serkatib'. (*Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1278 A.H, 105.)

⁷¹² 'maiyet katibi'.

⁷¹³ His name appears as Haider effendi.

⁷¹⁴ *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1852, 294, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1853, 297, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1854, 295, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1855, 305, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1856, 312, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1857, 318, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1858, 325, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1859, 340, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1860, 347, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1861, 353, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1862, 372, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1863, 378, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1864, 388, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1865, 406, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1866, 414, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1867, 423, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1868, 445, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1869, 449, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1870, 450.

⁷¹⁵ Çark, Ibid., 143, Pamukçıyan, "Manas Ailesi," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 5:286; Küçükasköylü, Ibid., 175.

⁷¹⁶ BOA, HR.MKT 297/2.

II.5.2 Aleksandr⁷¹⁷ Manas (1821/2⁷¹⁸-after 1846⁷¹⁹)

Aleksandr was the youngest son of Zenop born in 1821/2. While many scholars conclude that Aleksandr was also artistically gifted, but that he died very young in 1839, shortly after having graduated from the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts,⁷²⁰ an archival document proves that Aleksandr in fact lived at least until 1846, when he was serving at the Vienna Embassy in the capacity of second translator, with his brother Gaspar as head translator.⁷²¹ In the document in question Aleko petitions the Sublime Porte with his brother for the continuation of the subsistence grant that his mother had been promised.

Though there is limited evidence, which prevents certainty, the scholarship suggests that Aleksander studied painting and may have gone on to work as a court artist. Like Gaspar, there is a lack of attributable paintings, though there is similar evidence that an Aleksander received a stipend to study art in Paris beginning in 1840, as was discussed in the entry on Gaspar.⁷²² Mehmed Salahaddin mentions that Aleko Manas who had been the second translator at the Vienna Embassy⁷²³ continued his Foreign Service career, serving as translator to Tahir Paşa, who was the governor of Bosnia at the time. The circumstances of his travel are a useful window not only into the financial difficulties faced by the Manases in their diplomatic careers, but also into the obstacles confronting the Ottoman diplomatic establishment at this stage, plagued by lack of funding and the necessary level of sophistication. In order to travel to Bosnia Aleksandr had to

⁷¹⁷ His name also appears as Aleko in some documents.

⁷¹⁸ BOA, HAT 1235/48038.

⁷¹⁹ BOA, İ.HR 29/1334.

⁷²⁰ Sakisian, *Pages d'art arménien*, 101, Bohjalyan, *Agnarg mē Hay Ngarch 'ut 'yan Vray*, 32, Küçükhasköylü, Ibid., 175.

⁷²¹ BOA, İ.HR 29/1334.

⁷²² BOA, C.MF 13/622, BOA, C.MF 98/4872.

⁷²³ Anton seems to be second translator at the Vienna Embassy from 1851 to 1857, so Aleksandr must have served as second translator after this date. (*Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1268 A.H, 78-80; 1269 A.H, 89; 1270 A.H, 100; 1271 A.H, 109; 1273 A.H, 117.)

finance himself, but lacked the money to do so. Therefore, he traveled first to Istanbul, where he requested travel expenses from the state in order to be able to make the trip to Bosnia. The government determined that 7500 *kuruş* would be allotted and given the urgency of his travel for Tahir Paşa the government sought to expedite the process. At this point the regulation was not yet in place requiring that Foreign Affairs personnel be reimbursed for the expenses they incurred for travel or other requirements imposed by their service. The *ad hoc* procedure in place at the time only compensated those who were otherwise unable to cover these costs.⁷²⁴

An Aleksandr appears as attaché at the Paris Embassy in 1869,⁷²⁵ and is listed as attaché at the Paris Embassy from 1873 until 1878, in 1873 alongside Donon, Stefan Melik Efendi, and Cemal Bey⁷²⁶ in 1874 and 1875 alongside Donon, Stephan Mélik-effendi, and Emin Eşref Bey,⁷²⁷ in 1876 alongside Nedjib-bey, and M. Donon,⁷²⁸ and in 1877 and 1878 alongside M. Donon and Ferid Bey.⁷²⁹ There is a chance that this is Aleksandr Manas, though there is no further evidence available with which this can be verified.

II.5.3 Piyer Manas⁷³⁰ (? - after 1860)

Biographical information available on Piyer Manas is especially scant; it is unclear when he was born, when he died, or who his parents were. He was sent to Brussels in 1857⁷³¹ where he worked as secretary. Three years later he sent a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to request an increase in his salary over the temporary allocation of 150 francs per month.⁷³² Piyer notes in

⁷²⁴ Mehmed Salâha'd-dîn, *Bir Türk Diplômâtı'nın Evrâk- Siyâsiyesi*, 122-3. Cf. Kılıç, "Tanzimat Döneminde Osmanlı Hariciye Nezâreti'nin Ermeni Memurları," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 31 (2012), 116n13.

⁷²⁵ *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1286 A.H, 147.

⁷²⁶ *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1874, 592. Their names are spelled Stephan Mélik-effendi, and Djemal-bey.

⁷²⁷ *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1875, 604, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1876, 617. Spelled Emin-Echreff-bey.

⁷²⁸ *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1877, 662.

⁷²⁹ *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1878, 667, *L'Almanach de Gotha* 1879, 667. Spelled Férid bey.

⁷³⁰ Different versions of this name include Pierre and Bedros.

⁷³¹ BOA, HR.MKT 237/45. The unnamed 'Manas' appointed to the Brussels diplomatic office in this document can be identified as Piyer given the dates which correspond with Piyer's tenure in Brussels.

⁷³² BOA, HR.TO 435/57.

his letter that the head of the mission, Diran Bey, had sent a similar request on his behalf nearly a year earlier and had received a response promising a raise, and that it is on this basis that he makes this request.

Despite his remuneration issues, Piyer seems to have been a dedicated employee and there are records of his efforts to pass on information he had learned, which he thought might be of value to the Ottoman State. At this point in Ottoman diplomacy one of the aims of the missions abroad was to gather information that would help to strengthen the Empire vis-à-vis its European peers. In 1860, Diran Bey writes to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fuad Paşa, to “transmit to [him] herewith, a report concerning the institution of the Court of Accounts in Belgium, which [their] Secretary, Piyer⁷³³ reproduced with the desire to make himself useful.”⁷³⁴ Diran Bey suggests that Piyer thought the report could be of use in implementing reforms that he understood the Sultan desired to carry out.

Çark suggests that Piyer was awarded the medal of ‘Chevalier de l’Ordre de Léopold’ by the Belgian government for his service at the Ottoman Embassy, citing a record from the Belgian government’s department of Foreign Affairs.⁷³⁵

In an archival document from 1278 A.H./ 1861, a Bedros Manas who is described as being a government translator is accused of aiding a certain Heci Kostandi for obtaining fake licenses to go to various places and the government is demanding that Bedros be questioned. The Armenian name Bedros comes from the name Petrus or Peter, whose French equivalent is Pierre and the Manases very frequently Francized their names on their assignments abroad. By the point of this document, Piyer must have come back from his assignment in Brussels as the Ottoman authorities

⁷³³ His name appears as Mr. Pi  re Manasse.

⁷³⁴ BOA, HR.SYS 220/11.

⁷³⁵   ark, *Ibid.*, 141-2. Though I was unable to independently verify his source,   ark cites an official decision of the Foreign Ministry of the Belgian Government; decision number: 569, dating to October 20, 1860.

decided to shut down that mission in 1861, but it is unclear if the Bedros Manas in question is one and the same as Piyer Manas.⁷³⁶

II.5.4 Pol⁷³⁷ Manas (? - after 1858)

Pol Manas was the son of Sofi Manas and though limited information is available on his early life, at the beginning of his career Baron Jérôme David, the Order Officer of Prince Napoléon III recommends to the Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the name of the Prince, that “Monsieur Paul Manasse; a young Armenian associated with the Manasses who perform diplomatic functions in Vienna and Paris,”⁷³⁸ be assigned to fill the position of ‘free attaché’ at the Ottoman Embassy in Paris. The letter shows a warmth and familiarity saying, “His Imperial Highness Prince Napoléon (III) warmly desires this appointment and to recommend it especially to His Excellency Ali Pasha” and highlights not only Pol’s “very elegant French and Italian” but also that, “Mr. Paul Manasse writes Turkish and French very well...his wife is very good and he would perfectly fulfill this position.”⁷³⁹ As was true of many other members of his family, Pol is identified in this request as being an excellent speaker of French and Italian. By 1855, archival records indicate that Pol had been assigned to the Paris Embassy as an attaché holding the fourth rank.⁷⁴⁰ After fulfilling this unpaid position for several months, Prince Napoléon III again advocates on behalf of Pol via his *aide-de-camp* in a letter addressed to Reşit Paşa so that he will be able to advance into a paid position writing, “this young man to whom people are drawn because of his intelligence and good manners...and who would be able to succeed in any function with

⁷³⁶ BOA, A.}MKT.UM 528/67.

⁷³⁷ His name also appears as Boğos and Paul.

⁷³⁸ BOA, İ.HR 117/5711.

⁷³⁹ BOA, İ.HR 117/5711.

⁷⁴⁰ BOA, A.}AMD 78/84. While it was initially decided that Pol should replace Anton at the Vienna Embassy in 1854 as the latter expressed discontent with his position, the government does not seem to have not gone through with this decision. (BOA, HR.MKT 79/91.)

which he is honored, should Your Highness deign to obtain an appointment for him.”⁷⁴¹ Napoléon III’s *aide-de-camp* goes on to suggest that Pol could take the place of Kadri Efendi, Şinasi Efendi, or Aziz Efendi, who are expected to return to Istanbul shortly.⁷⁴² Following the request by one of Pol’s family members, whose identity cannot be ascertained, sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1856 urging that Pol be promoted to the third rank in light of his loyalty, etiquette, and the fact that he continues to further distinguish himself from his colleagues day after day, Pol received an advancement.⁷⁴³

In 1856 an archival document indicates that Pol was entrusted to deliver from Istanbul a saber of honor addressed to Muzurus Bey as well as a fifth rank order of Mecidiye Medal to Mehmed Cemil, which the latter then awarded to Mr. Carandzal.⁷⁴⁴ In 1858 after holding the same position in Paris for two years, during which time he received a monthly salary of 250 francs, Pol’s mother Sofi wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to advocate for Pol to receive a raise in salary or at least an award or honor for his service, considering his knowledge of several languages as well as the important missions he had carried out.⁷⁴⁵ She mentions that his colleagues had all received distinctions from foreign governments during this time as well as the still greater honor, the Mecidiye. Beyond the information these letters hold about the life of Pol, perhaps their greater value is what they suggest about the importance of political connections and family networks to the career successes of the individual family members. Prince Napoléon III appears to have been familiar with both the Manases as a family of Ottoman diplomats who worked in Paris and Vienna and with the personal attributes of someone who would only have been at the very outset of their

⁷⁴¹ BOA, HR.TO 419/26.

⁷⁴² BOA, HR.TO 419/26.

⁷⁴³ BOA, A.}DVN 120/35. This letter identifies Pol as holding the fifth rank, which seems to be an error based on the archival records of his promotion during the same year that indicate Pol advanced from the fourth to the third rank.

⁷⁴⁴ BOA, HR.TO 71/28.

⁷⁴⁵ BOA, HR.TO 429/81.

career. That Pol was soon thereafter promoted following the recommendation of one of his family members suggests the importance of these familial ties as well as their standing within the Ottoman Foreign Affairs community.⁷⁴⁶ Despite the prestige associated with Foreign Service positions, however, Pol seems to have had a meagre income—an issue raised by his mother Sofi in her recommendation of him. He was earning 250 francs at the time of this letter and it remains unclear if he secured a pay raise soon after his mother intervened on his behalf.

II.5.5 Anton⁷⁴⁷ Manas (1825⁷⁴⁸-after 1898⁷⁴⁹)

The scholarship to date had not yielded much information on Anton, either biographical or professional, with the extent of uncovered data so far having been limited to enabling the determination of his careers as the Director of the 8th District Municipality, and Municipality Council Member, with tentative dates of birth and death,⁷⁵⁰ which are amended here. This entry goes well beyond the bounds of this meagre information with extensive use of untapped archival documents, which enable a rich account of Anton's life.

Anton was born on 26 L 1240 A.H. (June 13, 1825) in Istanbul as the son of Mıgırdıç Efendi.⁷⁵¹ In addition to helping to conclusively determine his biographical information from date of birth and parentage, DHSAİDd. 4/604 also gives insights into the variety of positions that Anton carried out within the bureaucracy all the way up to first order second rank. He seems to have been better able to achieve financial success than some of his relatives, at one point attaining a salary of

⁷⁴⁶ The letters of recommendation written for Pol will be further discussed in the context of Chapter Four.

⁷⁴⁷ Other variations of his name include Antuvan, Andon, and Antoine.

⁷⁴⁸ According to the document that records all of the positions Anton held during his lifetime, he was born on June 13, 1825 (26 L 1240). (The document is registered as BOA, DHSAİDd. 4/604, but a different number (DHSAİDd. 4/303) is assigned to it on the physical page.) Cf. BOA, HAT 1235/48038.

⁷⁴⁹ A document dated to 3 C 1316 A.H. (October 19, 1898) regarding Anton's debt to Adolin, daughter of Bodre, which dictates the Court's decision about his repayment plan indicates that he was still alive at this time. (BOA, DH.MKT 2120/41.)

⁷⁵⁰ Pamukçıyan, *Ermeni Tarihinden Tarihe Katkılar: Biyografileriyle Ermeniler*, 4:296.

⁷⁵¹ BOA, DHSAİDd. 4/604.

10,000 *kuruş*. Thus, Anton is a good example of the Ottoman bureaucratic elite that emerges with the Tanzimat who follows the well-trodden path to high office from a starting point in the Translation Bureau of the Sublime Porte.

When Anton was 2/3 years old, he was exiled with his extended family in the Catholic Exile of 1828.⁷⁵² He is reported to have received his education from private tutors and was able to read as well as speak Turkish, Greek and French and write in French in line with the interest the Manases took in properly educating their children. At the age of 22, on 14 S 1262 A.H. (February 11, 1846), he was appointed as second translator at the Paris Embassy with a monthly salary of 250 francs. On 7 Z 1266 A.H. (October 14, 1850) he was appointed as the second translator at the Ottoman Embassy in Vienna, where he received a monthly salary of 150 florins. The Ottoman government evaluated a petition from Anton in 1854 requesting that he be relieved of his post in Vienna due to his inability to adapt to the climate and water as well as the burden of losing part of his salary each month due to the foreign currency exchange rates, making his pay insufficient. The government took some measures including giving him a pay raise in order to alleviate his financial situation, yet ultimately determined that Pol should replace him in this capacity and that Anton should be posted elsewhere.⁷⁵³ However, the government seems to have changed its planned course of action as Anton kept being employed in Vienna in the same capacity. In 1855, Anton was still a translator in Vienna and he was promoted to the third rank.⁷⁵⁴ In 1272 A.H. (1855/6), when he held the third-class rank, he was transferred to the Sublime Porte's Translation Bureau

⁷⁵² BOA, HAT 502/24621, HAT 1235/48038.

⁷⁵³ BOA, HR.MKT 79/91.

⁷⁵⁴ BOA, A.}DVN 107/50. Musa points out that Anton, who was Zenop's nephew was appointed to the Paris Embassy in 1846, but that he quit two years later. (Musa, "Tanzimat Döneminde Osmanlı Hariciye Nezâreti'nin Ermeni Memurları," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 31 (2012), 116-7.) Manas was to continue his work in the Translation Bureau until he got another appointment. (Ibid., 117n1.) Cf. BOA, A.}DVN 114/92. Cf. *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1268 A.H, 78-80; 1269 A.H, 89; 1270 A.H, 100; 1271 A.H, 109; 1273 A.H, 117.

with a monthly salary of 1000 *kuruş*.⁷⁵⁵ A payment order from 1856 describes Anton as an employee of the Vienna Embassy prior to being transferred to the Translation Bureau and indicates that his salary had been accumulating without being paid.⁷⁵⁶ A second payment order from the same year similarly describes the money and interest owed to Anton who was now working at the Translation Bureau.⁷⁵⁷ Aside from the financial implications for Anton, which can be inferred from these documents, they also reflect the malfunctioning of the Foreign Affairs apparatus. In 1857 an order of travel expense payment documents that he received 10,000 *kuruş* along with Temistokli who had been assigned to the retinue of the Foreign Affairs Chamberlain, Kamil Paşa.⁷⁵⁸ Anton continued to have difficulty receiving his salary in a timely manner through 1858, when documentation shows that he had not been able to claim his salary for two months and six days and was owed 640 florins.⁷⁵⁹ Mid-Şa'bân 1275 A.H. (March 1859)⁷⁶⁰ he was awarded a fifth rank Mecidiye Medal.⁷⁶¹

In 1275 A.H. (1858/59) he became the first examiner of military law enforcement⁷⁶² with a salary of 1750 *kuruş*⁷⁶³ in addition to his usual salary from the Translation Bureau. On 10 Za 1279 A.H. (April 29, 1863) he gave up his appointment due to medical problems he was encountering. In 1281 A.H. (1864/5), he was still taking his Translation Bureau salary in addition

⁷⁵⁵ BOA, HR.MKT 233/80 pertains to the additional salary of 500 *kuruş* he would receive for his work at the Foreign Correspondence Office on top of his Translation Bureau salary.

⁷⁵⁶ BOA, HR.MKT 157/70.

⁷⁵⁷ BOA, HR.MKT 151/13.

⁷⁵⁸ BOA, HR.MKT 178/43.

⁷⁵⁹ BOA, A.}AMD 82/47.

⁷⁶⁰ 'Evâsıt' designates the days between the 11th and 21st of a given month. Therefore, the time frame in question would correspond to the days between the 16th and 26th of March in the Gregorian Calendar.

⁷⁶¹ BOA, A.}DVN.MHM 27/79: "...mevsûf olduđu gayret ve istikâmet ve umûr-ı me'mûresinde hüsn-i hareketi cihetiyle..."

⁷⁶² "Bâb-ı Zabtiye Müstantik-i Evvelliğine bi't-ta'yîn"

⁷⁶³ BOA, HR.MKT 498/29. Ali Budak mentions a Manas Efendi who worked in this capacity and adds that of the thirty three permanent Board Members, he was one of the nine Armenians to join the *Board of the Cemi'yyet-i İlmiyye-i 'Osmâniyye*, the first civil educational institution of the Ottoman Empire. (Budak, "Ermeniler'in XIX. Yüzyılda Yeni Bir Hayatın ve Edebiyatın Oluşum Sürecine Katkıları," *Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi* 30, 147-8.)

to a salary of 3000 *kuruş* which he was issued in his capacity as the Erzurum Vilayet's deputy *agent politique*⁷⁶⁴ before being promoted to second order, second rank soon thereafter. He quit this post a month shy of three years in this position.⁷⁶⁵ He was then employed as the Deputy Director of the Vilayet of Erzurum's Foreign Affairs.⁷⁶⁶ On 24 Ş 1286 A.H. (November 29, 1869) he was appointed as a Municipality Council Member⁷⁶⁷ with a salary of 4000 *kuruş*. In 1287 A.H. (1870/1), his salary fell to 3800 *kuruş* and he left the position on 23 R 1289 A.H. (June 30, 1872). Five years later (in Ca 1294, 1877) he was appointed as tax collector for the Vilayet of Yanya⁷⁶⁸ with a salary of 7500 *kuruş*, a post he only held for 9 months before quitting. On 8 C 1296 A.H. (May 30, 1879) he was given a salary of 10,000 *kuruş* to serve as the second inspector to Diyarbakır and Mamuretü'l-aziz⁷⁶⁹ and he was given a promotion to second order first rank. The petition of Anton, second inspector to Diyarbakır and Mamuretü'l-aziz, about the payment of his belated salary is answered favorably and a payment order is issued, yet it is unclear when the government actually paid him.⁷⁷⁰ This appointment ended on 17 Ra 1297 A.H. (February 28, 1880). A document dated to 9 S 1297 A.H. (January 22, 1880) pertains to the government's recognition of Anton's diligence and progression during his tenure as second inspector to Diyarbakır and Mamuretü'l-aziz by awarding him a promotion in rank on the basis of his virtuous conduct, acumen, and competence.⁷⁷¹ Yet, it should be pointed out that a couple complaints had been filed on 1 Kanûn-ı evvel 1295 (28 Z 1296 A.H./ December 13, 1879) against Anton while he was holding this position, specifically with regard to his conduct and treatment of others in the course

⁷⁶⁴ 'Erzurûm Vilâyeti Pôlitika Me'mûriyeti Mu'âvinliği' Cf. BOA, HR.MKT 529/82.

⁷⁶⁵ 'Cf. BOA, HR.MKT 606/28.

⁷⁶⁶ 'Erzurûm Vilâyeti Umûr-ı Ecnebî Müdür Mu'âvini'. (BOA, HR.MKT 583/3, HR.MKT 622/92, HR.MKT 622/96.)

⁷⁶⁷ 'Şehr-emâneti Meclis A'zâsı'

⁷⁶⁸ "Yanya Vilâyeti A'şâr Müfettişliğine bi't-ta'yîn"

⁷⁶⁹ 'Diyâr-bekir ve Ma'mûretü'l-'azîz'. Cf. BOA, İ.MMS 61/2893.

⁷⁷⁰ BOA, DH.MKT 1332/20.

⁷⁷¹ BOA, A.}MKT.MHM 485/16.

of his investigation of the former *mutasarrıf* of Mardin, Hurşid Bey, who complained of Anton's unjust treatment of him and of his highly corrupt ways.⁷⁷² Yet, the government does not seem to have accused Anton of misconduct following these complaints, which lends greater weight to his innocence. On 28 B 1303 A.H. (May 2, 1886) he was issued 2500 *kuruş* as severance before again taking up an appointment as a Municipality Council Member in September of the same year, on 1 M 1304 A.H. (September 30, 1886)⁷⁷³ where he earned 2000 *kuruş*. Another document dated to 29 B 1304 A.H. (11 Nisân 1303 in Rumi calendar/April 23, 1887) reveals that Anton had also been serving as the Deputy Chair of the Chamber of Agriculture for the past two years.⁷⁷⁴ He was promoted to first order second rank on 29 N 1305 A.H. (June 9, 1888) and was made Director of the 8th District Municipality with a salary of 2500 *kuruş* on 8 M 1306 A.H. (September 14, 1888). He was transferred to the 5th District while maintaining the same salary on 1 Ra 1306 A.H. (November 5, 1888).⁷⁷⁵ On the last day of Ramazan of the hijri year 1307 (May 1890) he received a third rank Mecidiye Medal. He attained a raise of 1000 *kuruş* 23 Za 1308 A.H. (June 30, 1891),⁷⁷⁶ then was transferred to the 7th District without any pay raise on 16 L 1309 A.H. (May 14, 1892).⁷⁷⁷ Finally he was posted to the 8th District with the same salary on 15 R 1312 A.H. (December 14, 1894).⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷² BOA, DH.ŞFR 113/26.

⁷⁷³ Cf. BOA, İ.DH 1006/79500.

⁷⁷⁴ 'Zirâ'at Odası riyâset-i sâniyyesinde bulunan 'izzetli Manas Efendi'. (BOA, DH.MKT 1414/115.)

⁷⁷⁵ On 25 S 1306 A.H. (19 Teşrîn-i evvel 1304/October 31, 1888) the Sublime Porte sanctions the wish of 5th District Municipality's Director Tahsin Efendi and 8th District Municipality's Director Anton Manas to switch positions with one another. (BOA, DH.MKT 1560/17, DH.MKT 1564/83.)

⁷⁷⁶ BOA, DH.MKT 1843/57.

⁷⁷⁷ On 19 L 1309 A.H. (May 17, 1892) the Sublime Porte decides to transfer the Director of the 7th District Municipality Cemal Bey with his current salary to the 8th District and put Anton in his place. (BOA, BEO 5/369.)

⁷⁷⁸ Cf. BOA, BEO 497/37217.

A document dated to 1853 records that two Frenchmen sought to collect on a debt of 1870 francs (8097 *kuruş*)⁷⁷⁹ from Anton, but in an interesting turn of events he had refused to repay them. The document suggests that the amount should be garnished from his wages over a period of months until the amount is repaid in full.⁷⁸⁰ Anton seems to have made a habit of incurring liabilities to certain private individuals, as he is reported to have been indebted to Adolin, daughter of Bodre in the amount of 51 Ottoman *liras* (5100 *kuruş*/1186 francs),⁷⁸¹ in a document dated 3 C 1316 A.H. (October 19, 1898). While the document indicates that initially the court had decided to allow Anton to pay his debt in increments from his monthly income in the amount of 875 *kuruş* (203.5 francs) per month, given that in the duration of two years this plan resulted in the payment of only 14 *liras* (1400 *kuruş*/325.6 francs), the creditor applied to the government to express her victimhood and pleaded for a just solution.⁷⁸² Anton was one of the inheritors of his uncle Püzant's estate, and also inherited a prestigious plot of land in Tarabya along the Bosphorus from his father Mıgırdiç, the discussions of which will be reserved for Chapter Four.

II.5.6 Püzant⁷⁸³ Manas (1793/4⁷⁸⁴-1856⁷⁸⁵)

⁷⁷⁹ This calculation is based on table 13.1 "The exchange rates of other currencies expressed in Ottoman gold *liras*, 1850-1914" presented by Pamuk. (Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, 209.) Prices maintained consistent levels between 1860 and the beginning of World War I and according to Pamuk's table of trends in consumer price index and the value of workers daily wages, between 1890 and 1899 the weighted average of the prices of the contents of the commodity basket was 235.6 *akçes* or 1.967 piasters. The commodity basket used in the calculation was based on the purchases of religious endowments in Istanbul and comprised 288.6 kg of flour, 51.2 kg of rice, 11.5 kg of cooking oil, 16.6 kg of honey, 51.2 kg mutton, 2.56 kg of chickpeas, and 6.4 kg of olive oil. (Özmucur and Pamuk, "Real Wages and Standards of Living in the Ottoman Empire, 1489-1914," *The Journal of Economic History* 62, no. 2 (2002), 298, 301.)

⁷⁸⁰ BOA, A.}MKT.UM 136/50.

⁷⁸¹ 1 Ottoman *lira* (Lîrâ-i 'Osmânî) corresponded to 100 *kuruş*.

⁷⁸² BOA, DH.MKT 2120/41. This document is the last document that contains information on Anton and allows his time of death to be placed after it.

⁷⁸³ His name is also spelled as Pozand, Pozanet, and Bozanet.

⁷⁸⁴ BOA, HAT 1235/48038.

⁷⁸⁵ The date of Püzant's death in 1856 can be conclusively determined from a letter signed by Hovsep (Josef) and Sofi Murad, where Püzant is described as their uncle who had occupied the position of Consul General of Vienna until his death, 32 years prior. (BOA, HR.H 219/2, dated to 10/30/1888). Cf. BOA, HR.MKT 159/97. A second document dated to 17 M 1273 A.H. (September 17, 1856) refers to Püzant as 'mütefevvâ' (deceased) making clear that by this point he had passed away.

Püzant was the brother of Zenop, Mıgırdiç, and Nasip and left his estate to his nephews, indicating that he probably did not have children of his own. In the registry of Catholic Armenians compiled by the Armenian Patriarch, which was used as the basis of the Catholic Exile of 1828, Püzant was 35/36 years old and among those exiled was his adopted son Anton, 17/18 at the time. However, given Anton's lack of mention in the documents on Püzant's inheritance, he likely passed away either during the exile, or before Püzant's death in 1856. According to HAT 1235/48038 Püzant was affiliated with banking prior to the exile, like his brothers Nasip and Mıgırdiç. The discussion of his banking activities and the estate he left behind will be scrutinized in Chapter Four.

After the exile Püzant seems to have sought out career opportunities representing the Empire abroad, like many other members of his family. He is documented to have served the Ottoman government in the capacity of Consul General of Vienna and during this appointment, his loyalty and ardor are reported to have been recognized by the Porte.⁷⁸⁶ He held this position at least from May 1848⁷⁸⁷ until his death in 1856⁷⁸⁸ at which point the torch was passed to Davud Karabet, who had previously been employed at the Translation Bureau.⁷⁸⁹ Püzant is listed as having earned a monthly salary of 100 florins (1100 *kuruş*),⁷⁹⁰ although this sum most likely did not include the per diem. When he passed, his estate amounted to a total of 37,500 silver *kuruş*.

⁷⁸⁶ BOA, HR.MKT 20/60.

⁷⁸⁷ BOA, HR.MKT 20/60.

⁷⁸⁸ BOA, HR.MKT 32/22. Also see *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1268 A.H., 80, *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1269 A.H., 91, *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1270 A.H., 102, *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1271 A.H., 110, *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1273 A.H., 117.

⁷⁸⁹ BOA, HR.MKT 143/2, dated to April 17, 1856.

⁷⁹⁰ BOA, HR.MKT 20/60, HR.MKT 143/2. This figure does not include the per diem however, and given that Anton was working at the Vienna Embassy and earning an amount of 290 florins per month (150 florins salary and 140 florins per diem), it can be construed that Püzant was in reality earning around 190-200 florins with the per diem included.

Like many others in his family he also received his salaries in a tardy fashion; at one point the government owed him a bulk amount of 4293 florins (47,200 *kuruş*).⁷⁹¹ He seems to have supplemented his earnings from his appointment as Consul General of Vienna by investing in businesses, as shall be later discussed.⁷⁹² This was perhaps not only enabled by his well situated position in the financial network of Vienna, being in charge of representing the Ottoman Empire's trade interests in this locality, but also by his former profession of banking that frequently involved loaning large sums to private individuals, Ottoman public figures, as well as, sometimes to the sultans themselves.

II.6 Conclusion: Painting & Diplomacy

From the initial outset, sultanic portraits played a part in shaping the image of the Empire through the representation of rulers who were actively forging a narrative and iconography to reflect their respective agendas. As a result of the interaction between court and marketplace, and catalyzed by the initial demand from foreigners, non-court painting emerged as an entrepreneurial endeavor, enabling the local population access to sultanic images. It was Rafayel Manas, the first known court painter of the family, who played a significant part in the more thorough embrace of the European pictorial idiom with his introduction of oil-on-canvas portraits alongside Europeanized technique and iconography, enabled by his European education. Given the artistic milieu of the 18th century, Rafayel and Menasi can be presumed to have worked for other patrons than the sultans and functioned in the capacity of entrepreneurial painters as well. Taking up the legacy of Selim III, Mahmud II sought to change the mechanism of his relationship to the Ottoman population from one in which the sultans exerted their power through creating a chasm between

⁷⁹¹ A figure of 50,200 *kuruş* is provided, but it is indicated that this amount included other expenses as well.

⁷⁹² BOA, HR.MKT 144/75, HR.MKT 159/97, HR.MKT 286/63, HR.MKT 297/2, HR.H 219/2. See Chapter Four.

themselves and those they ruled, to one that hinged on direct accessibility and visible presence to his subjects, achieved through the proxy of his imperial portraits. Therefore, the sultanic images produced by Zenop and the successive generations now also officially catered to a popular local audience. Rupen and Sebuhan produced imperial portrait medallions, while also authoring larger pieces that were hung in the diplomatic offices locally and abroad, or gifted to European monarchs. Josef, the last court portraitist of the family, continued producing paintings while also incorporating photography into his work to create mixed media pieces such as colorized photographs. While the artistic productions of this talented family of painters that gave rise to a new set of 'Old Masters'⁷⁹³ were already heavily steeped in diplomatic import, the artistic talent of some of the family members also facilitated the pursuit of careers in the diplomatic establishment as they became even more coveted candidates owing to this consequential skill. While the Manases are not the lone historical example of the intersection of painting and diplomacy, as is exemplified by momentous figures like Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), nor unique in their pursuit of painting across multiple generations, being in certain respects comparable to the Peales, they were distinctive in the Ottoman context.

The paradigm of court artist-diplomat was historically established and had been embodied to great effect by European figures centuries prior to the Manases. In the winter of 1627, the agents of Buckingham and the Infanta Isabella met under the pretext of an art sale. The two individuals concerned were Balthasar Gerbier and Peter Paul Rubens, and though they were first introduced in an artistic setting and claimed to meet again for a related purpose, in fact the primary aim was to begin informal talks to end the Anglo-Spanish War.⁷⁹⁴ The artful alibi allowed for additional

⁷⁹³ This word play is inspired by the fact that Rafayel was referred to as the Rafael of his century, while Rupen Manas signed his works as Rubens perhaps in a conscious attempt to associate himself with one of the most recognized names in the field.

⁷⁹⁴ Osborne, *Dynasty and Diplomacy in the Court of Savoy: Political Culture*, 124-5.

secrecy and reduced political pressure in the high tension environment, where entering negotiations or the failure of negotiations would have had significant political implications. This artistic cover for diplomatic efforts became a common place one, such that the Caroline Court was described as having merged the two.⁷⁹⁵ The sophistication of the European diplomatic system allowed both for an informal and a formal diplomatic environment, where facility with language and a cosmopolitan education, including a familiarity with art and religion was important in allowing for dialogue and shared understanding between parties. The dual careers of the participants, particularly with regard to the informal discussions, was useful for maintaining their discreet nature. In the event described, “Gerbier was secretly representing Buckingham in meetings with Catholic Spain, publicly at war with Protestant England; Rubens was representing the Infanta Isabella, rather than Philip IV, in negotiations that in early 1627 were not clearly endorsed by the court in Madrid.”⁷⁹⁶ The level of sophistication of the European diplomatic apparatus that had developed over centuries stood in stark comparison to the lack of refinement in the Ottoman Empire’s bilateral foreign diplomatic structure. Thus, the part of an Ottoman diplomat-painter was by no means as consequential as that played by Rubens, who was described by one interlocutor as being, “capable of much more than producing pictures.”⁷⁹⁷ Nevertheless, there are certain advantages evident in the use of diplomat-painters that are exhibited in the careers of European examples and of the Manases, which made the latter an asset for the Empire. As artists and Ottoman subjects with knowledge of several languages and cultures, the Manases Rupen and Sebu were themselves also a representation or embodiment of the renewed image of the Ottoman state that the sultans sought to project in the cities where these diplomats were posted. When

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid., 125.

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid., 126.

receiving the award from the Swedish Queen on the delivery of the portrait produced by his brother, Sebuḥ came to be a representation of the Ottoman state in the eyes of that European court no less than the painting he gifted. Even though Gaspar and Aleksandr are not definitively known to have pursued court painting as a formal career, their training in painting made them more eligible for diplomatic positions following this formula where it can be argued that this education made them able to project the new propagated image of the Empire in their person.

In addition to their cosmopolitan education and immersion in languages and cultures, which would be an asset as a diplomat, and the access portraiture could create—painting for a particular political purpose was intimately connected to the enterprise of Foreign Affairs. While the investigation of the professional lives of the artist-cum-diplomats of the family reveals a balanced motivation between these two pursuits, their skill and success in painting served as a foundation on which to build and further a diplomatic career. In the instructions regarding the training of diplomatic staff that were given to the Ambassador to Paris, Muhib Efendi, it was dictated that, “All of the officers in this ambassador’s retinue are to engage in the learning of languages, sciences, culture, and the arts that will be useful to the service of the exalted state. Instead of being idle there, they should busy themselves and continually work towards these goals day and night.”⁷⁹⁸ The painter-diplomat Manases would therefore have been ideal candidates to take up diplomatic appointments, in the opinion of the Porte. While engagement in the arts certainly contributed to success in the diplomatic field,⁷⁹⁹ it was not a necessary stepping stone, as

⁷⁹⁸ Karal, *Ibid.*, 200.

⁷⁹⁹ It was not only painting that made for a useful second role in diplomatic interactions, but historically also medicine, as was used by Venetian diplomats to great effect and breadth in the Levant from the 14th century on. In the 15th century, Venetian consuls general and ambassadors across the Ottoman Empire saw an opportunity in hiring Jews, who following their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula, went on to pursue training in medicine at the University of Padua on their way to the Middle East. Being educated at the main university of the Republic of Venice, these individuals not only possessed the necessary skillset as doctors, but were also abundantly steeped in the ‘academic and intellectual culture of the Italian Peninsula’. Hence, they were perceived to be well-equipped to have sophisticated

many Manases forged careers in the Foreign Service establishment without artistic skill. The Manases' facility with languages, their cultured backgrounds, and affinity with the European culture were strong enough qualifications in and of themselves making them desirable for appointments in a milieu where the Sublime Porte's decision to end its sole reliance on Phanariot Greeks in translation and where Muslim Ottomans' lack of interest and knowledge created an opening for other qualified candidates.⁸⁰⁰ The singular pursuit of a diplomatic career on the part of some family members contributed to the projection of Ottoman imperial identity that some earlier members helped to shape through their portraiture, and yet others through both. Nevertheless, as can be deduced from available evidence, Phanariot Greeks continued to occupy some of the most prestigious positions in the Foreign Service establishment, owing to their extensive expertise and significant language capabilities, which in most cases still superseded that of other groups, garnering more esteem for them than any other *non-Muslim* group in Foreign Service.

interactions with the Ottoman elites who had a familiarity with Jewish doctors by way of which it was hoped that they would be able to penetrate the decision making circles. (Pugliana, Valentina. "Venetian Physicians in the Ottoman Empire. Interview by Nir Shafir. *Ottoman History Podcast* (audio blog), 18 March 2016. Accessed September 20, 2016.)

⁸⁰⁰ People who were appointed as ambassadors were chosen from among those with foreign language capacities, conversational skills as well as those versed in the intrigues of the Christians; it is clear, however, that some, if not all of these skills were sought in others being given diplomatic missions, such as the Manases, who were mostly appointed as first translators and first secretaries. (Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, 23.)

CHAPTER THREE:

THE MANASES & CATHOLICISM

III.1 Introduction

Through the use of archival material, most of which is being presented here for the first time, the following two chapters intend to deepen the understanding of the Manases and their impact by shedding light on aspects of the family as well as its members that have either not received sufficient discussion or have been omitted entirely from the scholarship. The primary aim of the present chapter is to contribute to previous literature on the Manases by establishing a framework for the analysis of the family's Catholic identity, the discussion on which has hitherto been limited to noting the family's conversion to Catholicism sometime in the 18th century.⁸⁰¹ Conversion to Catholicism in the Ottoman Empire was catalyzed in the late 16th century by the missionary activities of various orders including the Jesuits and the Capuchins with Papal backing and the fervent support of the French monarchy. France was willing to take the entire burden of Catholic conversion in the Empire upon itself through the financing of conversion by paying the bribes of converts, aiding those who had the potential to further their aims, and paying off

⁸⁰¹ Sürbahan who wrote her Master's thesis on the Manas family has a brief footnote where she indicates that the Manases had been exiled in 1828 based on Beydilli from whose work she cites page 106, which does not include any information on the members of the Manas family, but rather mentions a Catholic Armenian by the name Manasa, son of Sahak. (Sürbahan, *Ibid.*, 43n2.) Çark has a passing remark about the Manases having been exiled in 1828 to Bursa without citing his sources and the location he provides seems inaccurate. (Çark, *Ibid.*, 143.) The Manases appear in the Patriarch's list of Catholic Armenians to be exiled and in a second document among those designated as particularly seditious in the transcriptions included in Beydilli's work. (Beydilli, *Recognition of the Armenian Catholic Community and the Church in the Reign of Mahmud II (1830)*, 98, 173-4.)

patriarchs to adhere to a lenient policy towards Catholics, by means of which it sought to shape the internal social dynamics of the Ottoman Empire to its own ends. Eventually the political pressure exerted by France, Austria, and Spain helped to force the creation of a separate Catholic *millet* in 1830, which the Catholic Manases joined upon its creation. Protestant converts of the Empire under American and British patronage were also organized into their own *millet* in 1846/7.⁸⁰² While lacking a similarly longstanding formalized claim of patronage to that of France, as even the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca ratified in 1774 did not feature an equally explicit proviso, Russia extended its patronage to the Orthodox Christians of the Empire. The analysis undertaken suggests that the Manas family's Catholic identity was the cause of some of the most significant traumas it faced, while also arguably a contributing factor to some of its successes. It also becomes clear from the following examination that it is perhaps most useful to understand the impact of the family's Catholicism in two periods defined by the turning point in 1830 when a separate Catholic *millet* was established. Prior to this inflection point, the negative repercussions perhaps outweighed the advantages, whereas following the community's formal recognition within the framework of the Ottoman Empire's social governance, the benefits of this identity became more discernible.

Catholic Armenians of the Ottoman Empire have not received sufficiently nuanced attention in the scholarship so far. By delving into the experiences of the Catholic Armenians, their dynamics and struggles with the state as well as with their Orthodox counterparts, and their symbiotic relationship with Catholic Europe, the chapter at hand aims to rectify this shortcoming and prevent future misconceptions as even well-established scholars have made incorrect assumptions either overlooking or overemphasizing the wealth and influence Catholic Armenians

⁸⁰² Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople from 1896 to 1908, Maghak'ia Ōrmanian, argues that this first separation, meaning the creation of the Catholic *millet*, encouraged Protestants to model their evangelization efforts after them. A year after the creation of the Catholic *millet*, the first Protestant missionary travelled to Constantinople to begin teaching and gathering followers. (Ōrmanian, *Hayots' egeghets'in*, 125.)

were able to accrue.⁸⁰³ Moreover, their study helps to once more highlight the many different identities that were merged under the canopy of the Armenian *millet*, be they distinguished by “language, culture, religion, locality, region, and class,” as Der Matossian aptly indicates.⁸⁰⁴ Instead of restrictively conceptualizing European patronage extended to various *non-Muslim* groups in the Ottoman Empire in official terms or at the state level, this chapter looks at its impact on the individual axis of converts in an attempt to decipher the personal encounters of the Manases with it. While missionaries in various parts of the Ottoman Empire zealously supplied monetary and educational support as well as spiritual aid in the most dire of times, while providing a pipeline for additional subsidies from Rome used for local initiatives,⁸⁰⁵ Catholic converts both faced additional hurdles and persecution, and benefited from their stronger ties and associations with Catholic Europe through patronage and privilege. This was not only the case for Catholic Armenians, but also for other communities like the Maronites of Lebanon, who so totally merged their interests with those of France that a contemporary observer suggested that the Maronites saw France as their patron and the source of their continued aspiration as a community.⁸⁰⁶ Despite the equivocal nature of the formal right espoused by the Russian Empire in the eyes of the Ottoman state, the fact that some Orthodox Greeks were willing “to link their fate to Russia’s” even before 1774 as exemplified by the John Vlachos/Daskaloyiannes revolt in 1770 as an epiphenomenon of the Russo-Turkish War (1768-1774), underlines the necessity to move beyond the statist line of discussion in understanding the appeal of such patronage.⁸⁰⁷ This chapter also draws a parallel

⁸⁰³ Cf. Findley, *Enlightening Europe on Islam and the Ottomans: Mouradgea d'Ohsson and His Masterpiece*, 18: “Kuleliyan was also Catholic, as the wealthy *sarrafs* tended to be.” An examination of Armenian bankers reveals that while there certainly were influential Catholic Armenian bankers who accumulated great wealth, there were equally as many Orthodox Armenian ones of that stature, if not more.

⁸⁰⁴ Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution*, 4. It is important to highlight that the Armenian *millet* also comprised other ethnicities like the Syriacs, Copts, and Ethiopians and their various factions.

⁸⁰⁵ Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 47.

⁸⁰⁶ Fairey, *The Great Powers and Orthodox Christendom*, 65-5; Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 45.

⁸⁰⁷ Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, 206-8.

between the war-time circumstances and the state justification behind the 1828 Catholic Exile and the 1915 Genocide, while being fully cognizant of the difference in the scale and acuteness of human tragedy between the two. Armenian converts to Catholicism were seen by the state as a fifth column and a proxy of Catholic Europe from the 17th century onward and were abruptly ousted from the capital with an imperial decree dating to 1827, their possessions and properties confiscated, in the wake of the Battle of Navarino, which was part of the Greek War of Independence. The Catholic Armenians' 'demonization' in the face of deteriorating relations of the Porte with European powers supporting the Greek cause, resulted in increasing fears around the misplaced allegiance of the Catholic Armenians, which finds parallels in the official rationale of the 1915 Genocide targeted at Armenians in the context of World War I and the aftermath of the Balkan Wars of 1912-3, with Armenians being framed as pawns of foreign powers and as 'Russophiles' with questionable allegiances.

In the analysis that follows, the Manases' Catholicism will be discussed in relation to their forced participation in two impactful events concerning Catholic Armenians that resulted in their displacement and the confiscation or forced abandonment of their assets and property.⁸⁰⁸ The former bears specifically on those affiliated with the Düz dynasty, the latter on thousands of Catholic Armenians who had been displaced in an exile of much larger size and scope. The incident relating to the Düz dynasty pertains specifically to Sofi Murad Manas, who is a member of the family that has not been mentioned in the scholarship on the Manases thus far, and hinges upon her financial suffering in direct correlation with the downfall of the Düz family in 1819.

⁸⁰⁸ Catholic Armenians were given merely ten days to sell off their properties and since many failed to do so in the sanctioned time frame, they were made to forfeit ownership. Many "houses, some of which were very splendid" were auctioned off by the Ottoman administration following the exile. (Walsh, *A Residence at Constantinople*, 2:434.) Beydilli offers a list of formerly Catholic Armenian properties that were sold by the government, see Beydilli, *Ibid.*, 19-20.

Three sets of documents from the Ottoman Archives concern her later petition for financial assistance from the Ottoman government as a result of her losing her entire fortune “in the catastrophe of the Duze family,”⁸⁰⁹ in relation to her Catholic faith,⁸¹⁰ as her earlier applications had been refused. While Sofi’s financial suffering is linked to the events of 1819, the sets of documents that will be scrutinized come almost four decades later, in continuation of her initial petitions for the reimbursement of ‘her unjustly confiscated wealth’ and are the internal correspondence composed by government officials regarding Sofi’s original petitions that reiterate her case.⁸¹¹ The Sublime Porte’s later decision to compensate the entirety of her financial losses due to the ‘Catholic matter’ mark a salient shift in its attitude towards its Catholic Armenian subjects, whom it had dispossessed, imprisoned, and exiled upon discovery of their Catholic faith prior to 1830. The chapter then moves on to discuss the Manases’ inclusion in the mass exile of Catholic Armenians in 1828 based on three further documents, the first of which decrees the banishment of Zenop, the French language instructor at the Translation Bureau at the time, along with his family.⁸¹² The other two documents that had been compiled by the Armenian Patriarch at the behest of Mahmud II list the Manases Zenop, Rupen, Sebu, Gaspar, Aleko, Mıgırdıç, Anton, Nasep, Dikran, Menas, Salim, Hüsrev, Mikayil, Evans, Püzant, and his adopted child Anton among the names of Catholic Armenians resident in Istanbul, on the basis of which the exile was carried out, and among those designated as particularly seditious.⁸¹³

⁸⁰⁹ BOA, İ.HR 135/6982: “La soussignée Sophie Murad, fille de feu banquier Raphail Mourad de Constantinople, prend la liberté de porter à la connaissance de Son Excellence que dans la catastrophe de la famille des Duze elle a eu la malheur de perdre toute sa fortune.”

⁸¹⁰ BOA, İ.HR 135/6982: “Manas fâmiyâsından Paris’de bulunan Sofi Murad Kâtôlik keyfiyyetinde ba’zı mertebe ziyân görmüş olduğundan,” BOA, HR.MKT 161/83: “Manâs fâmiyâsından Paris’te bulunup Kâtôlik maddesinden dolayı ba’zı mertebe zarar görmüş olan Sofi Murad,” BOA, A.}AMD 72/86: “Manas fâmiyâsından Paris’de bulunup Kâtôlik maddesinden dolayı ba’zı mertebe zarar görmüş.”

⁸¹¹ BOA, İ.HR 135/6982.

⁸¹² BOA, HAT 502/24621.

⁸¹³ Both documents are listed under reference code BOA, HAT 1235/48038. Beydilli offers transcriptions of these documents, see Beydilli, *Ibid.*, 173-4.

In addition to elucidating the impact of the family's Catholic identity on the lives of its members and enabling a broader discussion of the insider-outsider dynamics at play in light of the politics of conversion, these documents offer rich insights into other aspects of the Manases' lives, which will be thoroughly dissected by means of a text-centered approach, and their valuable content revealed in due course. In an effort to contextualize the Manases within the surrounding social and economic realities, each section examining the respective documents relating to the family will be tied back to the broader Ottoman milieu with discussions of missionary efforts, France as the patron of Catholics, and the eventual creation of a separate Catholic *millet*, anchoring the analysis.

III.2 Catholicism and the Politics of Conversion in the Ottoman Empire

In exploring the Manas family's Catholic creed, it is necessary to scrutinize the *de propaganda fide* efforts in the Ottoman Empire and the politics of conversion which create the relevant backdrop for the examination of the ways in which this identity posed obstacles for them and when it may have aided them in gaining prominence.

Beginning in 1572 Papal policy towards the Ottoman Empire took on a new form, as did that of Catholic states, directed at proselytization of subjects of the Ottoman Empire by means of various religious orders like the Jesuits.⁸¹⁴ Pope Sixtus V acquired the support of France in mobilizing missionary efforts to “gain souls for the Church and subjects for the French monarch.”⁸¹⁵ The earliest efforts at proselytization went essentially unnoticed by the Ottoman state;⁸¹⁶ it was not until the reign of Louis XIV that the Ottomans began suspecting the motivations

⁸¹⁴ Kılıç, "Osmanlı Ermenileri Arasında Katolik Kilisesi'nin Kuruluş Faaliyetleri," 135.

⁸¹⁵ Ibid., 136.

⁸¹⁶ In the 1630s the missionaries highlight their freedom of movement and dress in the Ottoman Empire, which they describe as surpassing that of England and Holland. They also report that they were able to maintain an active and thriving parish in Galata while also assisting Armenians and preaching in their churches, adding that one among them had even learned Armenian. (Legrand, *Relation de l'Établissement des PP. de la Compagnie de Jésus en Levant*, 7.)

of the Jesuits,⁸¹⁷ and local subjects who had converted to Catholicism came under pressure due to the accusations that they had become ‘Franks’.⁸¹⁸ Later as Catholic Armenians came to outnumber the Latins and Franks in Istanbul, ‘Catholic’ came to indicate ‘Armenian’, while the European members of the faith were known as ‘Franks’ and those of European descent as ‘Latins’ more exclusively. In the 17th century Armenians quickly became the targeted local group on which the French Catholic missions concentrated their efforts, both in the Ottoman Empire and in Persia.⁸¹⁹

Catholic converts were seen to have joined a ‘foreign *millet*’ which seemed to suggest that they might now submit to that foreign administrative power;⁸²⁰ this close identification of Catholic Armenians with the Franks that cemented itself early on, persisted. Importantly, the leadership of

⁸¹⁷ Kılıç, "Osmanlı Ermenileri Arasında Katolik Kilisesi'nin Kuruluş Faaliyetleri," 139. The Sublime Porte continued to permit the settling of Jesuits in the environs of Galata at the bidding of France despite its suspicions concerning missionary activities. (Ibid., 138.)

⁸¹⁸ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 179.

⁸¹⁹ Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, 5:306. Cf. Ter Minassian, "Les 'Arméniens' du Roi de France," *Istanbul et les Langues Orientales*, 215; Palasanean, *Patmut'wn hayots': skzbits' minch'ew mer örerë*, 712: "Rome by means of its satellites had begun pursuing the Armenians of Turkey from very early on. Benefiting from the patriarchal throne disputes, Latin Catholics of various denominations and the Jesuits in particular" ensured some success in their conversion efforts. (Ibid., 712-3.) Monsignor Urbano Cerri (d. 1679) the secretary of the Congregation *de propaganda Fide* writes in his work intended for the use of Pope Innocent XI, that the Greeks who had studied at the Greek College at Rome not only did not contribute to the efforts of the Church to "bring the Schismatics into the Bosom of Holy Mother Church," but, converting back to their original creed, they actively and vehemently derailed the activities of the Catholic missionaries. Cerri gives the example of Paionotto, an Orthodox bishop and the interpreter of the Grand Vizier, who having been educated at this college "has proved the greatest Persecutor of the Catholics." (Cerri, *An Account of the State of the Roman-Catholic Religion Throughout the World*, 50-1.)

⁸²⁰ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 181. Due to fears of foreign intervention in the Empire's internal affairs, the Ottomans were unwilling to recognize a separate Catholic denomination made up of new converts. That being the case, the Pope was temporarily satisfied to appoint an Armenian bishop to the See of Constantinople in 1758. (Palasanean, *Patmut'wn hayots': skzbits' minch'ew mer örerë*, 713.) It should be pointed out that the Latin *millet* in the Ottoman Empire comprising the *Magnifica Comunità* of Italian origins was the only legitimate Catholic group within the Empire until 1830. While Rome had officially recognized the formation of Catholic churches that broke off from Orthodox bodies as autocephalous patriarchates, major archiepiscopates, metropolitanates, eparchies, apostolic administrations, or apostolic exarchates in Ottoman domains, the Ottoman Empire did not give these churches an official status before the formation of the Catholic *millet* in 1830. The Chaldean Catholic Church of East Syriac Rite had entered into a full, but short-lived communion with the Roman Catholic Church in 1552 following the Great Schism of that year between the Eliya and Shimun lines, while the Chalcedonian Maronites of Antiochene Rite reached a definitive consolidation with Rome in 1582. The Melkite Greek Catholic Church of Byzantine Rite was established in 1726 among other Byzantine Rite Catholic Churches that emerged in Ottoman domains from the 17th century onward. The Coptic Catholic Church of Alexandrian Rite broke from the Oriental Orthodox Coptic Church in 1741, the Armenian Catholic Church of Armenian Rite from the Oriental Orthodox Armenian Church in 1742, while the Syriac Catholic Church of West Syriac/Antiochene Rite from the Oriental Orthodox Syriac Church in 1781.

the Catholic community in the Ottoman Empire held official recognition from the Pope in Rome, but had no formal association with the Sublime Porte or the Armenian *millet*, heightening the perception of foreign interference and raising the issue of mixed loyalties. The foreign Catholic Armenian clergy, Mekhitarists, exacerbated this perception and raised the ire of the Turks. Until the official recognition of the community as a separate *millet* in 1830, Catholic converts continued to be punished for centuries to come and were viewed as troublemakers with a corrupting influence on the society as a whole, a noxious faction that subjected itself to ultramontane authority.⁸²¹ The Ottoman government sought to impede the efforts of the missionaries and to halt conversions with limited success through the censure of local subjects influenced by the conversion efforts via numerous decrees issued from the 17th up through the 19th centuries including those regarding the detention of Armenian priests who intended to proselytize and the shutting down of Armenian printing houses used towards the same end.⁸²² This issue found its way into European travelogues of the time as well into later iterations of the genre and into histories of the Ottoman Empire as well, which similarly reflect the hardships experienced by Catholics in the Empire. The Porte imposed a wide range of deterrence on its subjects including imprisonment, galley sentences, confiscation of wealth by the Exchequer,⁸²³ and exile. The deterrence of the Catholic missionaries who traveled widely in an effort to expand their operations in the Ottoman Empire,⁸²⁴ was a priority

⁸²¹ Ahmed Refik, *Hicrî On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı (1100-1200)*, 22: Regarding the conversion of some Armenians of Istanbul to the Catholic denomination, fi evâ'il-i zi'l-ka'de (May 1697); Ibid., 33: Regarding the imprisonment of the Armenian Patriarch, fi evâsıt-ı cemâziye'l-evvel (October 1702).

⁸²² Ibid., 32: Regarding the printing press of the Armenians in Valdehani, fi evâsıt-ı safer 1113: July 1701; Ibid., 32-33: Regarding the detention of the Armenian priests, who intend to catholicize Armenians, and the shutting down of the Armenian printing houses, fi evâ'il-i rebü'l-evvel 1113: August 1701; Ibid., 35: Regarding the prevention of Catholic propaganda among Armenians, fi evâsıt-ı cemâziye'l-evvel 1114: October 1702.

⁸²³ Ibid., 160-3: Regarding the Catholicization of Armenians, fi evâsıt-ı muharrem 1159 (February 7, 1746) (This command was reissued in 1173).

⁸²⁴ İsmâ'il 'Âsım Efendi (d. 1760) writing in the 18th century also mentions the measures taken by the Sublime Porte to restrict the missionaries' freedom of movement within the Ottoman Empire, as they travelled from town to town to initiate Greek and Armenian subjects into the vain Frankish creed, and to limit their residence to areas where their consuls have historically resided as per the imperial 'ahidnâme. (İsmâ'il 'Âsım Efendi, *Târîh-i İsmâ'il 'Âsım Efendi (Târîh-i Çelebîzâde Efendi)*, 314-5.)

of the Sublime Porte which viewed them as “increasingly spread[ing] sedition—their evil-minded bedrock of intrigues of agitation in the protected domain, [for which reason] *dhimmi* subjects came to [the] Imperial Council and complained.”⁸²⁵ Patriarchs who were suspected of having converted to Catholicism were imprisoned as was the case of Suphi for whose release the French government poured in its time, manpower, and financial resources,⁸²⁶ while in other cases a far worse fate awaited converts some of whom were beheaded for their beliefs, as happened to Gomidas.⁸²⁷ Even those who were seen as lenient towards Catholicism were severely punished like the ‘infidel’ Sahak who was sent to the galleys,⁸²⁸ and Jacobite Patriarchs Bedros, Sahak, and Abdullah who were exiled to the island of Lemnos for failing to contain the Catholic propaganda prevailing among the ‘Jacobites’ in Aleppo.⁸²⁹ Armenian subjects who attempted to enter Roman Churches were apprehended and the rich were fined, while the poor bastinadoed.⁸³⁰ In some decrees, the sultans ordered for the entirety of the wealth of the accused to be confiscated.⁸³¹ Almost seven decades later, the decree dating to 1828 on the exile of Catholic Armenians from the capital to the provinces of Anatolia that emerged as a peak point in the harsh measures taken against Armenian converts to Catholicism, reads:

Thereby, through painstaking attention and caution paid towards the matter, the non-occurrence of impropriety of any kind shall be ensured. And henceforward, the necessary severe edification of anyone, without regard for their person, who

⁸²⁵ Ahmed Refik, *Hicrî On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı (1100-1200)*, 35: Regarding the prevention of Catholic propaganda among Armenians, fi evâsıt-ı cemâziye'l-evvel 1114: October 1702.

⁸²⁶ Archives Nationales (France), Affaires étrangères, AE/B/I/383/319, AE/B/I/384/30, AE/B/I/384/46, AE/B/I/384/69, AE/B/I/384/75, AE/B/I/384/112, AE/B/I/384/125, AE/B/I/384/154, AE/B/I/384/189, AE/B/I/384/192, AE/B/I/384/255, AE/B/I/384/319.

⁸²⁷ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 181. Carbognano shares French Ambassador Marquis de Ferriol’s letter to Pope Clement XI concerning Gomidas’ martyrdom. (Carbognano, *Descrizione Topografica dello Stato presente di Costantinopoli*, 68-9n1.)

⁸²⁸ Ibid., 33: Regarding the imprisonment of the Armenian Patriarch, fi evâsıt-ı rebîü'l-evvel 1113: August 1701. Palasanean highlights the fact that while some Armenian Patriarchs strove to thwart missionary efforts with agreeability, others opted for strict measures. (Palasanean, *Patmut' iwn hayots* ‘: skzbits ‘ minch ‘ew mer ôrerê, 713.)

⁸²⁹ Ahmed Refik, “Türkiye’de Katolik Propagandası,” *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası*, 264.

⁸³⁰ La Motraye, *A. de la Motraye's travels through Europe, Asia, and into part of Africa*, 1: 222.

⁸³¹ Ahmed Refik, Ibid., 160-3.

dares to harbor in any locality those sort of corrupt ones shall be instantly and by all manner of means carried out...⁸³²

A segment of Catholic Armenians in the Ottoman Empire occupied high administrative positions, being well-equipped to hold high office and in time reached a level of prosperity that stood out in their *millet*, their controversial identity notwithstanding.⁸³³ Therefore, despite the negative light cast on them, some Catholic Armenians were able to accumulate great wealth and prestige not only in their community, but also in the eyes of the Ottoman state, the prime example being the Düz dynasty. In addition to Catholic Armenian families such as the Düz, the Angourioties also penetrated the upper echelons of the banking sector with Krikor Tıngıryan becoming head banker for the grand viziers İzzet Mehmed (1774-1775) and Mehmed Selim Sırrı (1781-1782), Davudoğlu, becoming banker of Grand Vizier Mehmed Emin Rauf (1815-1818), and Bilezikçıyan becoming Master of the Mint (1822-1824) upon Artin Amira Bezciyan's exile. Thus, it should come as no surprise that, "always in Yenikoy [there were] the Duzians...and Hovsep Davudoğlu, the Armenian Catholic amira who founded the company of sarafs of Roumelia in 1842."⁸³⁴ With the urbanization of the Bosphorus and the establishment of summer residences along the waterfront neighborhoods in the 18th and 19th centuries, these areas became the most prestigious, and the inhabitants were granted the distinction of being 'visible along the shores of the Bosphorus.'⁸³⁵

While Armenians were not the only group that responded to the missionaries' proselytization efforts, they constituted the majority of the converts. The French even named the students at the Collège Louis-le-Grand established in Paris as a Jesuit undertaking to cultivate a national base of translators, either *jeune de langues* or 'Armenian' irrespective of the students'

⁸³² Ahmed Refik, *Onüçüncü Asr-ı Hicrî'de İstanbul Hayatı (1786-1882)*, 26-9: Regarding the measures taken in the case of the Armenians, fi evâhir-i şa'bân 1243 (March 1828).

⁸³³ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 256-7.

⁸³⁴ Jamgocyan, *Ibid.*, 166-7.

⁸³⁵ Girardelli, "Landscapes of the Eastern Question," interview by Emily Neumeier. Ottoman History Podcast (audio blog), 5 July 2016. Accessed September 15, 2016. <http://www.ottomanhistoricalpodcast.com/2016/07/pera.html>

ethnic origins,⁸³⁶ even though the percentage of the Armenians in the student body to become dragomans was very slim. At the turn of the 18th century, only four out of the entire body of 392 apprentice-dragomans, both in Péra and Paris, were in fact Armenian.⁸³⁷ Given this, the origin of the term ‘Armenian’ for apprentice-dragomans should be sought elsewhere than the number of ethnic Armenian students that joined the school to constitute the future French retinue of dragomans, and perhaps more than anything else in their importance to France not only from a proselytization point of view, which afforded France political power,⁸³⁸ but also from a commercial point of view as the Armenians ran extensive trading operations in the Levant.⁸³⁹

French historian Albert Vandal (1853-1910), who was an influence on late Ottoman historians like Ahmed Refik, points out that the Armenians had for centuries been the primary brokers in France’s commercial dealings with Upper Asia and continue to play this role and “that the Armenian question deserves France’s consideration and calls for its intervention from an honorary, political and commercial point of view.”⁸⁴⁰ Thus, French missionary activity was tied up with trading interests from the outset and the French concern with Armenians was centered around expanding opportunities for economic growth. Armenians became a very important part of Catholic existence in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, whose numbers had exceeded that of the Latin⁸⁴¹ and European Catholics by the second half of the 18th century.⁸⁴² The number of Armenians came to justify the establishment and renovation of Catholic churches at the same time that the balance of power shifted in favor of Europe, enabling and prompting the expansion of

⁸³⁶ Ter Minassian, “Les ‘Arméniens’ du Roi de France,” *Istanbul et les Langues Orientales*, 215.

⁸³⁷ Ibid., 222-3.

⁸³⁸ Ibid., 215.

⁸³⁹ Ibid., 233.

⁸⁴⁰ Vandal, *Les Arméniens et la Réforme de la Turquie: conférence*, La Salle de la Société de Géographie, le 2 février 1897, 45-6.

⁸⁴¹ The Latin denomination of the Empire consisting of Catholic subjects, the remnants of the Italian colonies.

⁸⁴² Girardelli, “Architecture, Identity, and Liminality: On the Use and Meaning of Catholic Spaces in Late Ottoman Istanbul,” *Muqarnas*, Vol. 22 (2005), 246-7.

Catholic places of worship in a way that had not previously been possible; “the very existence of these Catholic Armenians represented a major *raison d'être* for the Catholic establishments of Istanbul and an encouragement to invest in the future of the Catholic community.”⁸⁴³ The melding of artistic and architectural norms in these spaces reflected the ambiguous standing of the Catholic Armenian community they sought to serve: a community that had come to occupy a liminal space in relation to both religion and culture. Structures like the Church of St. Maria Draperis drew on the architecture and the more familiar artistic queues and proportions of the Ottoman Empire and the Eastern churches to this end.⁸⁴⁴

European powers viewed the protection of local Christians in the Ottoman Empire not only as a religious duty, but also as a means of extending their power beyond their own territories—imposing a degree of religious and cultural suzerainty, which would enable them to interfere in the private affairs of the Ottoman state. The French king, for instance, bearing the title *Rex Christianissimus* (*Roi Très-Chrétien*) as “the most majestic Monarch of the Belief of Jesus, the Choice of glorious Princes of the Religion of the Messiah, the Arbiter of all the Christian Nations,”⁸⁴⁵ had long asserted his status as the defender of Catholics everywhere. This figurative asseveration borne out of the ideology of *Antemurale Christianitatis* increasingly galvanized greater involvement in the domestic affairs of the Ottoman Empire, eventually leading France to officially secure this status in the Ottoman realm through the stipulation of capitulations by the Ottoman Empire.

⁸⁴³ Ibid., 247.

⁸⁴⁴ Ibid., 246-8.

⁸⁴⁵ *La Gazette* (N° 129) du 2 novembre 1669.

http://moliere.humanum.fr/base.php?L%27ambassade_de_S%C3%BCleyman_A%C4%9Fa_%28Soliman_Aga%29_dans_la_Gazette_de_l%27ann%C3%A9e_1669

Given the political power associated with being the protector of Catholics in the Ottoman lands, various European powers came into competition with one another over the right to offer this protection, initially placing the Catholics on the fault lines between France, the Papacy, and the Venetians with Austria gradually becoming more relevant to this dispute. Even after the official recognition of Catholic converts by the Sublime Porte, France and Austria continued to vie for control over the protection of this group and would come to fear the loss of their status to the Pope when an official rapprochement between the Porte and the Papacy was established.

III.3 France as the Patron of Catholics in the Ottoman Empire

Beginning in 1603 when the members of the Society of Jesus were granted permission by the Sultan to use the Church of Saint Benedict in Pera⁸⁴⁶ following the intercession and negotiation of M. de Bredes who was the French envoy at the time, the presence of Jesuits in the Ottoman Empire began to grow.⁸⁴⁷ As the protector of the Jesuits, the French took on a growing role in the expansion of missionary activity in Ottoman lands supported by the extension of the capitulatory privileges granted to France by the Sultan. Due to the support and protection offered by France, Jesuit missionaries were able to make inroads into the region of Greater Syria alongside the traders who were likewise extending their reach to the interior of the Empire.⁸⁴⁸

Writing in the early 20th century, Ahmed Refik understood the behavior of France and its promotion of missionaries as the protector of Catholic faith in Ottoman domains as an abuse of the historical affinity the Ottoman Empire felt towards it. He accused France of taking advantage of

⁸⁴⁶ It is interesting to note that Guillaume Antoine Olivier (1756-1814), member of the National Institute, explains, albeit with an underlying orientalist tone, that the wealthy Catholic Armenians flocked to the adjoining neighborhood of Pera as residents in the years that followed, in order to evade, “the cruelties and insults of the Turks, and to enjoy a little more freedom in the favor of Europeans,” driving up the price of accommodation. (Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l’Egypte et la Perse*, 1:14-5.)

⁸⁴⁷ Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, 4:362

⁸⁴⁸ Ter Minassian, “Les ‘Arméniens’ du Roi de France,” *Istanbul et les Langues Orientales*, 215-6. Cf. Palasanean, *Patmut ‘iwn hayots’: skzbits ‘minch’ew mer ōrerē*, 713.

some of the prerogatives it had received from the Sublime Porte on matters of faith, especially in relation to Christian holy places in Jerusalem.⁸⁴⁹ Relying on the substantive patronage of the French king, the missionaries expanded their proselytization by increasing the number of their headquarters and attempted to curry favor with state grandees. Eventually, the project superseded all of France's other interests at the Porte so much so that the, "supervision and protection of Catholic missionaries busied the French ambassador to the Porte more than the entirety of his other tasks."⁸⁵⁰ Marquis de Nointel who served as ambassador to the Porte from 1670 to 1680 wrote that, "having slipped by obscure paths into oriental society at large the Capucins and Jesuits praised the invincible power of the King and the strength of [France's] armies for which they [the missionaries] considered themselves to be the scouting party."⁸⁵¹ France continued to support and protect the priests who were engaged in proselytization and to lobby the Ottoman government on behalf of Catholics, which contributed to the rise of animosity towards the Franks by the neighboring Ottoman population who revolted to have them expelled. The matter was eventually resolved following the intervention of the French ambassador Châteauneuf.⁸⁵²

The recognition of the French ambassador "as the sole interlocutor of the Ottoman Porte for all that concerns the Catholics of the Empire,"⁸⁵³ placed the other European powers in a subservient position with respect to nominations and appointments as well as complaints, all of which passed through the French ambassador on their way to the Sublime Porte. Thus, the Catholic Church in the Ottoman Empire became an important tool for shaping the diplomatic contests not only between the Ottoman state and Europe, but perhaps more importantly amongst the European

⁸⁴⁹ *Makamât-ı mübârake*. Ahmed Refik, "Türkiye'de Katolik Propagandası," *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası*, 256.

⁸⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 258.

⁸⁵¹ Vandal, *L'odyssée d'un ambassadeur: Les voyages du marquis de Nointel (1670-1680)*, 8. Ahmed Refik quotes Marquis de Nointel as well. Cf. Ahmed Refik, *Ibid.*, 259.

⁸⁵² Ahmed Refik, *Ibid.*, 262.

⁸⁵³ Şeni, "Dynasties de Droghmans et Levantinisme à Istanbul," *Istanbul et les Langues Orientales*, 164.

powers.⁸⁵⁴ The primacy of the French Embassy in politics and protocol in Catholic related matters in the Ottoman Empire, “coupled with the stranglehold of Rome,” proved disruptive to prevailing social dynamics and power relations such that the once harmonious relations between the Catholic *Magnifica Comunità*⁸⁵⁵ and the Orthodox Phanariot Greeks was permanently fractured.⁸⁵⁶ As a result of a decree banning inter-marriage between the Catholics and the Orthodox by the Patriarchal Vicar in the beginning of the 17th century,⁸⁵⁷ the formerly common marriages between these two powerhouses were put to a halt, which led the members of the *Magnifica Comunità* to begin allying themselves by marriage to the Levantines, disparagingly monikered ‘freshwater Franks’.⁸⁵⁸ Later on, in search of new powerful alliances the *Magnifica Comunità* turned to the Catholic Armenian Düz family which emerged as a viable option for its obsession with strategic marriages. Matrimonial politics laid at the heart of the *Magnifica Comunità*’s grip on power and prestige throughout the centuries, and the marriage alliance formed between Lucie Testa (1762-1794) from the Dutch branch of the famous dragoman dynasty Testa, with Krikor Mihran Düz (1745-1833) on April 29, 1789, fits this recurring pattern perfectly.⁸⁵⁹

⁸⁵⁴ Ibid., 164, 165-6.

⁸⁵⁵ This group initially used endogamy to ensure the solidity of its economic and political interests and to monopolize the translation sector, which its members successfully did until the rise to prominence of Phanariot Greeks and the Levantines with whom they formed powerful alliances through marriage. Writing in the 17th century Cornelio Magni lists the most prominent families of this group as the Grilli, Perone, Negri, Draperis, Usama, Testa. (Magni, *Quanto di più curioso e vago hà potuto raccorre Cornelio Magni nel primo biennio da esso consumato in viaggi e dimore per la Turchia resta distribuito in questa prima parte*, 104-5.)

⁸⁵⁶ Şeni, “Dynasties de Drogmans et Levantinisme à Istanbul,” *Istanbul et les Langues Orientales*, 166-7.

⁸⁵⁷ Marriages took place between the *Magnifica Comunità* families like Grillo and Salvago and Phanariot Greek families like Cantacuzene and Mavrocordato. (Şeni, “Dynasties de Drogmans et Levantinisme à Istanbul,” *Istanbul et les Langues Orientales*, 163.) Zallony recounts an interesting incident where a “vain” Greek *boyar* family (*boyar* designates Phanariot Greek families who served as voivodes to Moldova and Wallachia) wanted to “dissolve a union recognized by the church between their daughter and a Catholic” so that their daughter could attain higher status by becoming the wife of a *boyar* instead. (Zallony, “Essay on the Phanariots,” *Journal of A Voyage Up the Mediterranean*, 2:368.)

⁸⁵⁸ Şeni, “Dynasties de Drogmans et Levantinisme à Istanbul,” *Istanbul et les Langues Orientales*, 166-7.

⁸⁵⁹ Jamgocyan, *Les Banquiers des Sultans*, 178n4.

Marquis de Villeneuve, French Ambassador to the Porte from 1728 to 1741, points out that while the proselytization efforts targeting Armenians proved successful in the 17th century, some extreme actions taken by the Jesuits and the French administration, such as the kidnapping of Avedik,⁸⁶⁰ the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople from 1702 until 1703,⁸⁶¹ who had been a relentless opponent of the Catholics, instigated active hostility by the Porte against the proselytes and brought the conversion movement to a standstill.⁸⁶² Already in the 1720s the French Ambassador to the Porte complained about the growing Austrian and Russian influence at the court and how this was damaging the French and Catholic cause. The Ottomans are described by the Ambassador as having given into fear over friendship due to the privileges granted in the Treaties of Carlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1718) which saw the Austrians and Russians able to counterbalance the influence of France in the Ottoman Empire. Finally, following half a century of effort, imperial decrees issued limiting missionaries' operations to the confines of the capitulations of 1673 reversed the successes France had seen in exerting its influence. This is an important signpost in the development of Austria as a champion of the Catholics which would eventually lead to both France and Austria pushing for the creation of a separate Catholic *millet*.⁸⁶³

As even the French Ambassador to the Porte, Marquis de Villeneuve admitted, the kidnapping of the Armenian Patriarch Avedik went beyond the pale as a result of the, “reckless zeal of some Jesuits, [and] the very violence of the Ambassador”⁸⁶⁴ and showed the extent to which France was willing to go in the furthering of its aim to support the Ottoman Catholics. Emerging as the most blatant intervention of France in support of the Catholic cause, the abduction of Avedik

⁸⁶⁰ Also spelled Avedic, Avedick, or Avidick.

⁸⁶¹ He was kidnapped in 1706.

⁸⁶² Vandal, *Une ambassade française en Orient sous Louis XV*, 41.

⁸⁶³ Ibid., 63.

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid., 41.

was carried out after he had received money from the missionaries on condition that he would not interfere with their proselytization efforts once elected Patriarch, but upon his election “declar’d himself rather a more zealous Anti-Catholick than before, to the great Disappointment of the Missionaries; for which Infidelity to them he paid very dear...”⁸⁶⁵

A number of correspondences exist between Ferriol’s predecessor Châteauneuf and Secretary of State of the Maison du Roi, Jérôme Phélypeaux, Comte de Pontchartrain, as well as from Ferriol himself which shed light on the Avedik affair as a whole.⁸⁶⁶ One acknowledges the efforts of the Sultan to limit Catholic conversion saying, “the Porte seems resolved to execute the commandments of the Great Lord against his subjects who have become Catholic and to prevent the number from increasing...”⁸⁶⁷ Avedik was similarly devoted to this cause and put considerable effort into distrusting Catholic priests and missionaries. French efforts to impede Avedik met with some success,⁸⁶⁸ as Ferriol recorded on November 3, 1703 that Avedik was imprisoned in Andrinople as he bemoaned the “endless chaos of Armenian affairs.”⁸⁶⁹ Avedik returned from exile in a matter of weeks and had, according to Ferriol, secured his reinstatement as Armenian Patriarch following a payment to the Grand Vizier,⁸⁷⁰ prompting Ferriol to make another request to the Grand Vizier that Avedik be removed from his office.⁸⁷¹ Avedik was seen as perhaps the primary obstacle to France’s aspirations with respect to the Catholics and the French internal correspondence continue to reflect this enmity⁸⁷² foreshadowing the misstep which took place in

⁸⁶⁵ Coming from a French Huguenot family that had fled to England to evade Catholic persecution, Aubry de la Motraye (1674-1743) offers a non-Catholic European perspective on the matter of Catholic conversion in the Ottoman Empire and a contemporaneous account on Avedik. (La Motraye, *A. de la Motraye’s travels through Europe, Asia, and into part of Africa*, 1: 222.)

⁸⁶⁶ Archives Nationales (France), Affaires étrangères, AE/B/I/382/86.

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid., AE/B/I/383/331.

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid., AE/B/I/384/89, AE/B/I/384/106.

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid., AE/B/I/384/112.

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid., AE/B/I/384/308.

⁸⁷¹ Ibid., AE/B/I/384/334, AE/B/I/384/437.

⁸⁷² Ibid., AE/B/I/385/27.

the spring. Ferriol wrote on May 6, 1706 that, “finally the treacherous Avedik fell into our hands.”⁸⁷³ After his apparent kidnapping, Avedik was brought to France⁸⁷⁴ and Ferriol sent a detailed account of his expenses to Pontchartrain which included the costs associated with the abscondment of the Patriarch.⁸⁷⁵ Pontchartrain highlighted the ongoing concerns the French had about the fallout from this event when he wrote,

...because the daring act committed by M. de Ferriol might lead to remonstrances on the part of the Porte, and it would be difficult to avoid sending him back to Constantinople where the authorities would feel themselves obliged to re-establish him, which would be the ruin of all the Armenian Catholics. M. de Ferriol and all the missionaries declare that he is the most ungodly, the most designing, and the man the most to be feared in the world.⁸⁷⁶

Following this brazen act, the Sultan threatened the French with the executions of the Armenian Patriarchs of Constantinople⁸⁷⁷ and Jerusalem, both of whom had been sent to the galleys, if Ferriol did not return Avedik.⁸⁷⁸ On July 6, 1706 Ferriol reiterates, “the desire of the Great Lord to have Avedic brought back to Constantinople” writing that, “... if I did not bring Avedic back, the Great Lord would kill the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem who are in the penal colony and all the other Catholics who have been imprisoned ...”⁸⁷⁹ Similar requests for Avedik’s return were issued by the Grand Vizier.⁸⁸⁰ The Avedik issue continued to be a ‘constant bone of contention’ between the Sublime Porte and France⁸⁸¹ as the former kept demanding that

⁸⁷³ Ibid., AE/B/I/385/37.

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid., AE/B/I/385/39.

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid., AE/B/I/385/47.

⁸⁷⁶ Bingham, *The Bastille*, 2:15. Irish military historian Denis Bingham (1829-1897) records that Avedik was in fact first sent to Messina under Spanish rule and transported to Marseille therefrom. Louis XVI expected that Philip V would have the Inquisition take care of Avedik given that he himself had some enemies of the Spanish King imprisoned in his domains. (Bingham, *The Bastille*, 2:14.) Ch’amch’eants’ confirms Avedik’s transfer along this route without making note of France’s involvement. (Ch’amch’eants’, *Badmut’iwn hayots’*, 3:748.)

⁸⁷⁷ Mardiros III of Constantinople was appointed as the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople in 1706, upon the kidnapping of Avedik.

⁸⁷⁸ Archives Nationales (France), Affaires étrangères, AE/B/I/385/55.

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid., AE/B/I/385/58.

⁸⁸⁰ Ibid., AE/B/I/385/67, AE/B/I/385/69.

⁸⁸¹ Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 7:123.

Avedik be returned, while the latter denied playing any part in his disappearance. Ferriol's successor, Pierre Puchot des Alleurs, continued to try to mitigate the fallout from this affair and the resentment it created.⁸⁸²

Another lucid example of the French effectuating their aims and securing the Catholic agenda in the Ottoman Empire through bribery was their procuring of the release of Patriarch Melkiseteg Suphi II⁸⁸³ (1698-1699 and 1700-1701) from prison through the agency of Father Hyacinthe. The former Armenian Patriarch of Istanbul, Suphi, had converted to Catholicism and thus was imprisoned by Ottoman authorities; on April 6, 1704 Ambassador Charles de Ferriol writes, "Father Hyacinthe requests reimbursement of the expense incurred for the release of the Armenian Patriarch Suphi."⁸⁸⁴ The Ottoman administration was aware of its officials' association with bribery and their abuse of office. In a decree addressed to the governor and qadi of Haleb, the Sultan specifically demands that the officials categorically refrain from acting contrary to the imperial decree out of a desire to enrich themselves.⁸⁸⁵

The Avedik incident was such an imbroglio that it continued to be recorded in the accounts of Europeans and Ottomans alike,⁸⁸⁶ with some including those of the famous Austrian orientalist, translator, and historian Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856) and French historian Schoell (1766-1833) who designated Avedik as the mysterious *masque de fer* locked up at the Bastille until his death.⁸⁸⁷ The outright transgression of the sovereign will of the Ottoman Empire was a step which ended up temporarily reversing the influence France had built, shaping the future of Ottoman-French

⁸⁸² Archives Nationales (France), Affaires étrangères, AE/B/I/386/247-8.

⁸⁸³ He appears in French diplomatic correspondence as Soupy.

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid., AE/B/I/384/255, AE/B/I/384/319, AE/B/I/384/125.

⁸⁸⁵ "...celb-i mâl için hilâf-ı emr-i şerîf hareketten ziyâde tevakkî eylesin" (Ahmed Refik, "Türkiye'de Katolik Propagandası," *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası*, 271-2.)

⁸⁸⁶ Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 7:123-5, 151, d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, 5:115, Ahmed Refik, Ibid., 266-7.

⁸⁸⁷ Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 7:125, Schoell, Ibid., 31: 393-4.

relations⁸⁸⁸ and introducing a more balanced role for European powers in the shaping of the Empire's religious policy. In the aftermath of the French Revolution the legitimacy of France's patronage of Catholics in the Ottoman Empire was briefly called into question as the Latin denomination petitioned the central government to have Saint Antoine Church removed from French patronage on the grounds of this regime change.⁸⁸⁹ This threatened France's long held status as protector of Catholics, but its role was quickly reinstituted and it continued to champion the Catholic cause even after it secured the establishment of a separate Catholic *millet* in 1830.

III.4 The Manas Family's Links to the Düz and Their Suffering Thereof

A petition written by a Sofi Murad Manas/Sophie Mourad Manas is of great interest for the purposes of this chapter, not only because of the document's connection to the Catholic issue, but also because of how it allows the exploration of so many different aspects of the Manases' lives in this chapter and the next. It emerges as a valuable source for the evaluation of the family's financial resources and fluctuations in their wealth more generally across the many centuries, the family's standing and name recognition, as well as its marriage alliances with other banking families. There are three different sets of archival documents that pertain to the issue at hand; namely İ.HR⁸⁹⁰ 135/6982 dating to 21 Muharrem 1273 A.H. (September 21, 1856), HR.MKT⁸⁹¹

⁸⁸⁸ Ibid., 266-7. Ahmed Refik seems to have misspelled the name of one of the Jesuits involved in the kidnapping of Avedik; he spells Ferillon as Tariyon. Cf. Schoell, *Cours d'histoire des états européens, depuis le bouleversement de l'Empire Romain d'Occident jusqu'en 1789*, 36: 105, Ibid., 31: 394.

⁸⁸⁹ The Latin subjects of the Ottoman Empire petitioned the Ottoman government in the wake of the French Revolution and as a result the Church was taken out of French protection by the decree dating to 1214 A.H. before being placed under its protection again in 1217 A.H.: "The church known as Sent Antuvan designated specifically for the [Ottoman] subjects of the Latin denomination of the realm was placed under French protection, during the time of the French kings (*Ancien Régime*) as per the *ahidname* with France, since they too observed the same rite, and its affairs had been overseen by the French envoys. Then they abolished religions and sects amongst themselves at the dawn of the French Revolution," and "it is unclear in what manner the French Republic will evolve." (Ahmed Refik, *Onüçüncü Asr-ı Hicrî'de İstanbul Hayatı (1786-1882)*, 18-9: Regarding the Removal of the Saint Antoine Church in Galata from French Patronage, *fi evahîr-i rebî'ül-evvel* 1214 (August 1799), French patronage was reinstituted in *evahîr-i cemaziye'l-evvel* 1217 (September 1802).)

⁸⁹⁰ İrade- Hâriciye (Imperial Decree- Foreign Affairs)

⁸⁹¹ Hâriciye Nezâreti Mekûbî Kalemi (Chief Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

161/83 dating to 3 Safer 1273 A.H. (October 3, 1856), and A.}AMD⁸⁹² 72/86 dating to 1273 A.H. (1856-1857).⁸⁹³

The first petition of Sofi taken up here is dated to 1856, almost forty years after the incident, which shows that Sofi suffered financially for the duration of almost four decades with her former petitions being turned down by the Ottoman government, which reads as follows:

My Lord Your Blessed Excellency

Because Sofi⁸⁹⁴ Murad, a member of the Manas family who is in Paris has suffered to some extent due to the Catholic issue, she has petitioned for the high mercy of His Majesty the benefactor, in regard to her destitute state. On this matter she has written to the Imperial Embassy and the truth of the matter is that the aforementioned dame, despite coming from a good family, has been obliged to make a living for herself and the aforementioned letter has been presented to the Grand Vizier in enclosed form for his high review.... the order and decree rest with His Majesty, the benefactor.⁸⁹⁵

In the above document, Sofi Murad is described as a member of the Manas family who is residing in Paris. Sofi seems to have married into the Manas family given her use of the additional name “Mourad” in her petition. The emphasis on her maiden name suggests that the issue was related to the family she was born into rather than the family she married into. This also distinguishes her from the Sofi who petitioned the government regarding the estate of Püzant Manas and who was born into the Manas family as a sibling of Rupen, Sebu, Gaspar, Aleksander, and Mari.⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁹² Sadâret Âmedî Kalemi Evrâkî (The Foreign Correspondence Office of the Grand Vizier)

⁸⁹³ The document is not dated in Ottoman, a date is provided in the right hand side corner in Latin numerals ‘1273 H’ in faint handwriting.

⁸⁹⁴ صوفى

⁸⁹⁵ BOA, İ.HR 135/6982.

⁸⁹⁶ The name Sofi appears in relation to Püzant Manas’ estate. However, unlike the document transcribed above (İ.HR 135/6982), where Sofi is written with a ‘ص’, in HR.MKT 159/97 it is written with a ‘س’. While this may be taken as evidence that these two Sofi Manases are indeed different people, it should be remembered that there is no unification in spelling when it comes to names of individuals in Ottoman documents; the same names frequently appear with various spellings; for instance Rupen is sometimes spelled with a ‘پ’, sometimes a ‘ب’ etc. It should be noted that both of these documents were composed by Ottoman officials, not by Sofi. Therefore, the reader must take the context into consideration in assessing if these references are to the same individual. Given the addition of ‘Mourad’ to Sofi’s name in the above document, as well as the identification of her father as Rafail Mourad rather than Zenop Manas, the references cannot be to the same person, suggesting that the two were in fact related through marriage.

While it is made clear that she was in need of financial assistance and had therefore appealed to the Sublime Porte, the details of her situation are not expounded on, aside from a brief reference to the Catholic issue as the cause of her suffering. Sofi is also described as being from a good family, but as having been reduced to having to support herself. The emphasis on her belonging to a well-known, good family is particularly important in showing the name recognition of the Manas family. It remains unclear why being married into a ‘good family such as the Manases’ as stated by government officials, she was reduced to having to make a living for herself, but as has been highlighted in the dissertation introduction, petitioners frequently exaggerated the distress of their current state in the hope of securing a favorable ruling and this may have been such an instance. The document, which is written in French that follows divulges more details on her lineage and as to the specific conditions that landed Sofi in this undesirable position:

His Excellency

The undersigned Sophie Murad, daughter of the late banker Raphail Mourad of Constantinople, takes the liberty of informing Your Excellency that in the catastrophe of the Duze family she had had the misfortune of losing her entire fortune amounting to twelve thousand five hundred piastres, and her efforts with the authorities to regain possession of this unjustly confiscated money having been unsuccessful, she found herself forced to live on the product of her work, to which she has devoted herself.

Old age has come to interrupt the only hope of her existence, and so she appeals to the magnanimity of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, and to the generous benevolence of His Excellency Mohammed Bey and begs him to grant her as compensation all that His Excellency will see fit.

She implores His Excellency to accept the expression of her gratitude and her deep respect.

She has the honor of being the very humble and very obedient servant of His Excellency Mohammed Bey

Sophie Mourad⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁹⁷ BOA, İ.HR 135/6982.

The document above provides more evidence in the way of Sofi having married into the Manas family through her identification as the daughter of the late Rafail Mourad, a banker who had operated in Constantinople. Aside from this information on the Mourad family, no other information can be traced in other sources. It should be noted that Pamukcıyan mentions a Kaspar Muradyan as an *amira* whose family was one of the prominent Armenian families of the 18th century.⁸⁹⁸ In the “Roster of the Amiras” appended to his work, Barsoumian lists six Muradyans as such, including Kaspar, his father Bağdasar, Hagop, Pilibos and his brother Hovhannes, and Parunag, all active in the 18th century.⁸⁹⁹ While it is conceivable that Rafail and Sofi belonged to this family, it cannot be definitively established. More important than the banking connection, it was Sofi’s family’s ties to the highest regarded of all Catholic Armenians, the Düz, that made the marriage of Sofi Murad into the Manas family so estimable. The document cites the downfall of the Düz as the reason for Sofi’s financial troubles therefore providing a lot more context than the first document in Ottoman outlined previously, which gave a vague reference to the ‘Catholic issue’ as the reason. Of all three sets of documents on the matter, this document in French that appears in İ.HR 135/6982 is the only one that makes this connection.

Given that the event is being referred to as a ‘catastrophe’ it must be assumed that the reference is to the events that took place in 1819 resulting in the execution of four members of the Düz family, and the exile of three brothers, in addition to the confiscation of their wealth and assets and exile and dispossession of many members of their extended family. The Düz had initially become prominent as jewelers of the court before eventually being appointed as Masters of the Imperial Mint.⁹⁰⁰ With interests in silk production and elsewhere, the family also asserted

⁸⁹⁸ Pamukcıyan, *Ibid.*, 4:313.

⁸⁹⁹ Barsoumian, “The Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul,” PhD diss., 228-9.

⁹⁰⁰ Superintendent. Yarman, *Ibid.*, 260.

itself as a patron of artists⁹⁰¹ and of the Armenian academies and societies established in Istanbul and Venice.⁹⁰² Enabled by their Catholic identity, the Düz fostered strong relations with powerful Europeans and gained close proximity to the Pope, which enhanced the power and prestige of the family alongside envy, including that of several of their fellow Catholic Armenian bankers who are said to have cheered in 1819 upon hearing the news of the Düz family's demise.⁹⁰³ Philliou argues that the Düz were a 'Phanariot-affiliated' family that made use of Phanariot networks and matrices and that Stephanos Vogorides was tightly allied with this family living in close proximity.⁹⁰⁴ The Düz hosted high-ranking European clerics, who sought their advice and preferred to stay at their estate, when they visited Istanbul.⁹⁰⁵ Therefore, the combination of their high degree of saturation with European culture and lavish lifestyle distinguished them from the surrounding community, making them outsiders to a certain extent in the Ottoman Empire despite their being Ottoman subjects alone. They continued to belong equally both at the heart of Ottoman society as court jewelers and heads of the Imperial Mint, and in Europe where their advice was sought and heeded.⁹⁰⁶ In 1812 Ohannes passed away and his sons Krikor and Sarkis were appointed to take over the Mint and during their tenure some irregularities appeared. Soon thereafter Kazaz Artin resigned from the Mint and requested a letter from Abdurrahman Bey confirming his good conduct and following his resignation an investigation was launched into the accounts of the Düz based on the irregularities and shortages at the Mint that had come to light, which resulted in the immediate arrest of the relevant members of the Düz family and of Abdurrahman Bey. Krikor and

⁹⁰¹ Yarman, *Ibid.*, 68. Yarman also mentions the Düz family's support for the bimonthly magazine *Tidak Püzantyan* (Byzantine Telescope/Observer) that was published in Venice. *Ibid.*

⁹⁰² Thomson, *Annals of Philosophy*, IV: 392-3.

⁹⁰³ The Düz through their proximity with the Pope created envy and drew power and prestige, so much so that even some of their fellow Catholic-Armenian bankers cheered when four of them were hung in 1819. (Yarman, *Ibid.*, 259.)

⁹⁰⁴ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 29, 238.

⁹⁰⁵ Yarman, *Ibid.*, 259.

⁹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

Sarkis were released from prison only to be beheaded directly thereafter in front of the *Bâb-ı Hümayûn* (Imperial Gate).⁹⁰⁷ Their brother Mikayel (born on January 21, 1786) and their nephew Mıgırdiç were hanged at their *yalı* in Yeniköy by order of the Sultan. Following the execution of a number of Düz family members, the remaining ones were banished to various remote locations throughout the Empire,⁹⁰⁸ while the women and children were all sent to the Patriarchate to be imprisoned.⁹⁰⁹ The eight million in jewels that was discovered with one of the aunts during the inspection of the Düz residences and the five million *kuruş* in jewels that was found with one of the sisters, were understood to have been stolen, resulting in the drowning of one and the strangling of the other.⁹¹⁰ The famous historian and geographer Ğugas İnciciyan actually went into hiding in Odessa following this incident due to his close relationship with the Düz family. He would take a similar course of action when during the exile of the Catholic Armenians to different corners of Anatolia in 1828 he thought it unwise to remain in Istanbul and went back to Venice.⁹¹¹

The first question that emerges from the identification of the ‘Catholic issue’ with that of the catastrophe that befell the Düz is why an incident that appears to have resulted from the embezzlement charges levied against this family by the government should be understood to have resulted from the family’s Catholic allegiance, and not their negligence at best, or misconduct at worst. The initial charges brought against the Düz were that they had either willingly abused the power and responsibility entrusted to them at the Imperial Mint by engaging in embezzlement or had enabled such behavior out of negligence or lack of care, costing the Empire dearly in the amount of 10,123,796 *kuruş*.⁹¹² In response, the Sublime Porte ordered the imprisonment of the

⁹⁰⁷ Պատմը Հիւսկայուն

⁹⁰⁸ Şânizâde Mehmed Atâ`ullah Efendî, *Şânizâde Târîhi*, 3: 68-9.

⁹⁰⁹ Ibid., 3: 62.

⁹¹⁰ Jamgocyan, Ibid., 103.

⁹¹¹ Pamukciyan, Ibid., 4:251.

⁹¹² Aysan, “II. Mahmud Döneminde Dersaadette bir Ailenin Muhallefatı: Düzoğulları,” Master’s thesis, 58-59, 70, 93, 97, 135.

accused and forced their extended family to sign bonds for their debts.⁹¹³ However, upon the discovery of unwarranted chapels in the properties of the Düz and their extended family, the Sultan gave orders for the execution of Krikor and Sarkis at the Imperial Gate and Mikayel and his nephew Mıgırdıç at their waterfront mansion in Yeniköy, as indicated in the following decree,

... for the past three-four years the oversight and dereliction of the officers of the Imperial Mint have enabled the infidel conduct of an embezzlement of more than 20,000 purses of silver coins and using them to engage in various forms of debauchery and splendor including buying waterfront mansions and other properties and by doing so they have wasted the Treasury of the Muslims (beytül-mâl-ı müslimîn). Not only that, but they have built churches on their own as well as on the premises of their extended family and brought Catholic priests [to sanctify and also perform religious rites] and by doing so they have outright dared to engage in the performance of invalid rites in the capital of my Sultanate.⁹¹⁴

The actions described above violate the clearly stated Ottoman rules and regulations against the building and use of places of worship without the knowledge and authorization of the Sultan. With this discovery, the matter took on a different significance, one relating to Catholicism and the politics of conversion and sparked the anger of the Sultan not only because it was against clear regulations, but perhaps also because it was a Catholic place of worship where the Düz had foreign priests perform rites. This idea fed the constant reservations of the Ottoman sultans regarding outside intervention and their subjects becoming somewhat detached from them by falling under the rule of foreign entities. Almost all accounts on the subject talk about this incident being a result of Halet Efendi's hatred of the Düz,⁹¹⁵ yet it remains unclear what sparked his hatred and if it had anything to do with the former's Catholicism. In making sense of Halet Efendi's

⁹¹³ Ibid., 97.

⁹¹⁴ BOA, HAT 1314/51203.

⁹¹⁵ The contemporaneous account offered by Sadık Rıfat Paşa (1807-1857) seems to blame Halet Efendi for what had happened to the Düz family. (Yenidünya, "Halet Efendi'ye Dair bir Risale," *Trakya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 11/2, 23.) Cf. Aysan, Ibid., 52. Many works in the modern scholarship also support this claim. Cf. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923*, 256-7, Yarman, Ibid., 387-8. Yarman also adds that beside Halet Efendi, a Jew by the name Iskhel slandered the Düz family.

hatred of the Düz, it is useful to refer to Philliou, who identifies the ‘master courtier’⁹¹⁶ Halet Efendi as an “Ottoman statesman-turned-villain”⁹¹⁷ who became closely associated with Phanariot networks, both as a protégé and patron,⁹¹⁸ between 1808 and the surge of revolt by the Greeks in 1821.⁹¹⁹ During this time Halet Efendi “held together...the volatile synthesis of Ottoman governance—and the phanariot and janissary patronage networks...”⁹²⁰ In his apologia, Stephanos Vogorides refers to Halet Efendi as an ‘all-powerful Christian-killer [Christianomachos]’⁹²¹ who turned on the Phanariots as well following the Greek Revolt. On his demise his associates were banished and his rivals, including the Düz, returned from exile into favor.⁹²²

While the initial charges may not have been tied to the Catholicism of the Düz, they took on that character as the event unfolded. HAT 1253/48461 which is the joint report of Halet Efendi and the Minister in charge of the Imperial Mint lays special emphasis on the Catholic creed of the Düz and their relatives, pointing out how it was not just their building of unauthorized places of worship on their premises, but their Catholicism in itself which was a direct violation of the rites of their *millet* and a cause of disruption to the order of the Ottoman realm.⁹²³ Halet Efendi presented this to the Sultan as a direct attestation of the Düz and their extended family’s “engaging in unthinkable depravities by subjecting themselves to the manners of a denomination that goes against and threatens the order of the realm.”⁹²⁴ While in the first instance members of the extended family were made to sign bonds for the debt of the Düz⁹²⁵ and would have clearly taken a financial

⁹¹⁶ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, xxviii-xxix.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid., 96.

⁹¹⁸ Ibid., 57.

⁹¹⁹ Ibid., xxviii-xxix.

⁹²⁰ Ibid., 43.

⁹²¹ Ibid., 2.

⁹²² Ibid., 96.

⁹²³ BOA, HAT 1253/48461.

⁹²⁴ BOA, HAT 1253/48461.

⁹²⁵ Kelekyân, “Kazâz Ârtîn,” 89. Cf. Aysan, Ibid., 49.

hit for what the Düz had done, it is unclear whether or not the Sublime Porte would have taken the next step of sending them into exile were it not for the discovery of the chapels on all of their premises. All in all, the Düz and the extended family's punishments are also related to their Catholic creed, so this affair should be understood in that light.

The other important question that faces the researcher with this connection established to the Düz is why the Murads would lose their entire wealth during what had happened to this family. Given that it does not make sense for the banker Rafail Murad to have been the banker for the Düz family on the grounds that the Düz were bankers themselves, the plausible explanation would be for him to have been one among the extended family⁹²⁶ of the Düz. As explained above, it was not just those initially accused of embezzlement who got punished, but the entire extended family, which was forced to give up its wealth as well, meaning all of its known funds, real estate, revenue rendering properties, cash, belongings, and debts [they were due]. These were to be collected by means of officers and officials sent from the *Mîrî* (State Treasury) and sold to settle not just the fiscal deficit at the Imperial Mint, but also the personal debts of the Düz family to numerous private individuals⁹²⁷ including foreign and local merchants and jewelers from whom they had bought precious stones, craftsmen including furriers and clothiers, as well as artisans, in the value of sixteen thousand purses; altogether amounting to a staggering thirty eight thousand purses.⁹²⁸ Using HAT 1562/16 and HAT 280/16551, Aysan presents the names of the most important members of this extended family who were sent into exile to various parts of Anatolia, however Sofî Murad Manas' father Rafail Murad does not appear among those listed:

⁹²⁶ *müte'allikât*

⁹²⁷ BOA, AE.SMHD.II. 53/3535. Cf. C.ML 396/16239, C.ML 468/19037, HAT 1253/48461.

⁹²⁸ Şânîzâde Mehmed Atâ'ullah Efendî, *Şânîzâde Târîhi*, 3:65-6.

Damat Ohannes, his brothers Dülbendçi Aleksan, Çerçici Kirkor and Kuyumcu Oseb to Niğde, son-in-law Artin Tingiroğlu,⁹²⁹ clerk Atnas, and brother Çerçici Agop to Nicosia, son-in-law Oseb Camcioğlu and Catholic priest İstefan to Lesbos, Garabed, Agop, and Boğos Düz to Kayseri, their aunt-in-law Maryana and her son Artin to Kos, Oseb Aznavuroğlu and his two brother to Limnos, and servant Ohannes to Rhodes.⁹³⁰

The omission of the Murads from the list suggests that the family was not among the most significant or wealthiest branches of the family and makes it likely that their loss on account of these events was also relatively less significant. Sofi's claim of 12,500 piasters pales in comparison to the wealth some banker families were able to accumulate like the Düz family whose estate amounted to around 6,397,114 *kuruş*.⁹³¹ Yet it is important to keep in mind that Sofi's claim is likely her share of the losses and without further information about the number of her siblings it is difficult to determine the overall loss of the Murads. If as a woman, Sofi's claim to the family's inheritance was much more limited than the claims of any male siblings then the actual estate could have been several orders of magnitude greater.

This document is also significant because it underlines the precariousness of the banking profession, irrespective of religious denomination. Though bankers could attain significant wealth along with power and prestige, this success made them targets including for their clients within the senior most positions in the Empire.⁹³² An accusation, whether false or justified, from an influential figure could result in the downfall of a *sarraḡ* or his family and these accusations were sometimes thrown by a client solely with the aim of avoiding the need to repay a loan. The Düz family is a prime example of both the potential to achieve wealth and influence and of the risk

⁹²⁹ Şânîzâde Mehmed Atâ'ullah Efendî records an exile of some prominent Catholic Armenians among the events of 1233 A.H. (1817/1818 CE) that precedes the Düz Incident, in which another member of the Tingiroğlu family namely Agob Tingiroğlu was banished to Lemnos and Anton Davudoğlu to Rhodes on account of their voicing and promotion of the Catholic agenda in gatherings of men of importance, which was enabled by their profession of banking. They suggested that the Catholic would not bow to the Patriarch and that the disorder will not come to an end unless the Catholics secede. (Şânîzâde Mehmed Atâ'ullah Efendî, *Şânîzâde Târîhi*, 2:367-8.)

⁹³⁰ Aysan, *Ibid.*, 51.

⁹³¹ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁹³² See Chapter Four.

associated with the profession by becoming a primary lender to the Ottoman state and heading up the Imperial Mint for generations prior to its demise, as well as after the members of the family came back from exile and were appointed to their previous positions.

The Ottoman government decided to reimburse Sofi, who was “in every way deserving of imperial mercy and beneficence” for the entire amount she had asked for, thereby granting Sofi her wish after almost a full four decades:

The correspondence sent by the Ambassador to Paris His Excellency the merciful Mehmed Bey Efendi, including the letter of recourse by Sofi Murad, a member of the Manas family in Paris who has suffered to some extent due to the Catholic issue and who has been deemed worthy of imperial mercy, together with the aforementioned letter has been presented for high review. According to the bey in question, the forenamed dame has endured damage in the utmost degree and is deemed in need of imperial beneficence, and on the matter of her being granted an imperial gift of 12,500 *kuruş* in order to mitigate her losses in the shadow of His Beneficent Imperial Majesty, the order and decree rest with His Majesty the Sultan by any means, and with the declaration that the high word (that of the Sultan) shall be carried out, this laudative letter has been composed. (September 21, 1856)⁹³³

It is decreed to the Ministry of Finance that the necessary actions be carried out by the imperial order on the matter of the granting of a sultanic gift of 12,500 *kuruş* to Sofi Murad, who is a member of the Manas family and who is in Paris, given that she is in every way deserving of imperial mercy and beneficence.⁹³⁴

High Correspondence to the Imperial Embassy in Paris

After being read, the petition of assistance and mercy by Sofi Murad, who is a member of the Manas family and who has been hurt to some extent due to the Catholic issue has been submitted and presented to the esteemed review of the Sultan (lit. to the dust of the feet of the Sultan), who [in turn] deemed her deserving of imperial mercy and beneficence, and so the matter of her being granted an imperial gift of 12,500 *kuruş* by the imperial order of the Sultan who is the custodian of the world has been referred to the Ministry of Finance, to take the necessary steps demanded by the situation. A receipt for the aforementioned amount has been sent; the order and decree belong to my master on this matter.⁹³⁵

⁹³³ BOA, İ.HR 135/6982.

⁹³⁴ BOA, HR.MKT 161/83.

⁹³⁵ BOA, HR.MKT 161/83. Cf. BOA, A.}AMD 72/86.

Finally these sets of archival documents provide a window into the lives and influence of the women of the Manas family, who are rarely mentioned in the literature, either primary or secondary, as has been discussed in the introduction. Sofi Murad Manas also appears as the author of a letter of recommendation on behalf of her son Pol, written on April 17, 1858.⁹³⁶ This recommendation that offers a valuable glimpse into the lives of the female members of the Manas family,⁹³⁷ will be examined in the coming chapter.

III.5 The Inclusion of the Manases in the Exile of Catholic Armenians in 1828

A document uncovered at the Ottoman Archives reveals some interesting insights into the banishment of the Manas family, including women and children, during the mass exile imposed on Catholic Armenians in 1828 and clarifies some of the implications of conversion, while also adding to the understanding of the Manases' standing within Ottoman society. The document at hand was composed as a proposal to the Sultan outlining a suggested course of action to be taken in relation to Zenop and his family along with two others, in response to which the Sultan recorded his decision in the marginalia above. The proposal reads as follows,

“My puissant, gracious, venerable, mighty benefactor
As is known by Your Imperial Majesty, the Language Instruction Department at the Translation Bureau was specifically established in the Sublime Porte five-six years ago for the instruction and learning of French. In order to teach the language in question to those among the clerks with a strong aspiration to learn it, the *dhimmi* Zenob from the Armenian community was appointed as instructor with a monthly salary of 500 piasters (*kuruş*) by the State Treasury. However, those who have received instruction from the aforementioned have not been able speak it until now and therefore his instruction has not yielded any fruit. The language in question is currently also taught at the newly established Military College of Medicine, so this department at the Sublime Porte is deemed redundant, and the monthly salary issued to the aforementioned, in vain. In addition to this fact, as the aforementioned is from the Catholic faction and according to hearsay from the malicious group, and as the imperial capital under the shadow of His Auspicious Highness (praise and gratitude be to God) is being purged of the malignant Catholics, it would not be fitting for the aforementioned to frequent the Sublime Porte on this account. Therefore, henceforth it has been

⁹³⁶ BOA, HR.TO 429/81.

⁹³⁷ Sofi's involvement in maintaining the family's prestige will be discussed in the following chapter.

decided for the aforementioned to altogether leave this department and for his salary to be forfeited and for the *dhimmi* Zenob to be banished to a suitable location with his family as were the other expelled ones. Aside from him, Şalcı Küçükoglu Anton and *dhimmi* Artin⁹³⁸ from among his [Anton's] relatives are also among those seditious and disorderly ones of the Catholic faction who will not embrace their *millet*. These types of seditious and disorderly ones have been being exiled to suitable locations and driven away [from the capital] as the Armenian Patriarch gave statements against them to the Sublime Porte. It has come to light that the Patriarch had not reported the aforementioned individuals earlier, most likely out of lack of courage as these individuals have dealings with men of importance. That being the case it has come to mind that these aforementioned ones should be sent into exile just like others before them, together with their families, but the decision rests with His Highness, my Sultan, my puissant, gracious, venerable, mighty benefactor.”⁹³⁹

First it is important to establish the identity of the Zenop mentioned in this document, who is working as language instructor at the Language Instruction Department of the Sublime Porte. Several documents enable the identification of this Zenop with Zenop Manas, “another ‘marginal’ type... reported to be of European education and a good linguist,” who was the assistant of Yahya and who was transferred to the Translation Bureau of the Sublime Porte.⁹⁴⁰ Despite the lack of a

⁹³⁸ Jeweler Küçükoglu Artin's name appears alongside other craftsmen in a document that is about the settling of the debts owed to them by the Ottoman state. (BOA, MB.İ 2/84, dated to 1264 A.H.)

⁹³⁹ “Şevketlû kerâmetlû mehâbetlû kudretlû veliyy-i ni'metim efendim

Ma'lûm-ı hümayûn-ı mülûk-âneleri buyrulduğı üzere lisân-ı efenciyye ta'lim ve ta'allümü için bâb-ı âlilerinde beş altı sene mukaddem mahsûsen Lisân Odası tahsis olunmuş ve ba'zı ketebeden istekli olanlara lisân-ı mezkûru öğretmek için cânib-i miriden beş yüz gurûş mâhiye ile Ermenî tâi'fesinden Zenob nâm zımmî mu'allim ta'yîn kılınmış ise de mersûmdan ta'allüm edenler lisân-ı mezkûru şimdiye kadar tekellûme muktedir olamayıp bir semere hâsıl olamamış el-hâletü hâzihi müceddeden tertîb ve tanzîm buyrulan Tıbhâne-yı Âmirelerinde dahî lisân-ı mezkûr ta'allüm olunmakta olarak bâb-ı âlîde olan işbû Lisân Odası şimdiki halde bî-lüzûm gibi olup mersûma verilmekte olan mâhiye dahî bî-hûde gibi görünmüş olduğundan başka mersûm Katolik zümresinden ve ba'zı rivâyete göre bed-hâh gurûhundan olup li'l-lehû'l-hamdü ve'l-minne sâye-i hüma-vâye-i şâh-ânelerinde Dârü's-saltanatü's-seniyyeleri o makûle Katolik habîslerinden tathîr olunmakta olduğuna ve bu cihetle mersûmun bâb-ı âlilerine gelip gitmesi münâsib olmayacağına binâen fimâ-ba'd zikr olunan Lisân Odası külliyyen terk ve mâhiye-i mezkûre dahî kat' olunarak mersûm Zenob zımmî sâi'r def' olunanlar misillü 'ıyâl ü evlâdıyla bir münâsib mahale def' olunması ve bundan başka Şalcı Küçük/Köçek oğlu Anton ve mersûmun akrabâsından Artin zimmîler dahî kezalik *milletce* kabûle gelmeyen Katolik gurûhunun uygunsuzlarından olup bu makûle müfsid ve uygunsuz olanlarını Ermenî Patrîki bâb-ı âlilerine ifâde ve inhâ ettikçe münâsib mahallere nefy ve def' olunmakta ise de mersûmlar için patrîk-i mersûmun şimdiye kadar bir şey dememesi galibâ ba'z-ı ricâl dâi'releriyle ahz u i'tâlarından dolayı 'adem-i cesâretten neş'et eylediği anlaşılmış olduğundan kezalik mersûmânın dahî sâi'releri misillü 'ıyâl ü evlâdlarıyla münâsib mahale tard u def' kılınmaları mütebâdir-ı hâtır olunmuş ise de her ne vechle emr ü irâde-i seniyye-i şâhâneleri sünûh ve sudûr buyrulur ise emr ü fermân şevketlû kerâmetlû mehâbetlû kudretlû veliyy-i ni'metim efendim pâdişâhim hazretlerindir.” (BOA, HAT 502/24621.) Musa Kılıç makes a brief reference to this document, yet he inaccurately references it as HH. 24621. Moreover, in the one-line transcription he offers from it he reads “ba'zı rivâyete göre” as “ba'zı zevâta göre”, which appears to be a clear error. (Cf. Kılıç, “Tanzimat Döneminde Osmanlı Hariciye Nezâreti'nin Ermeni Memurları,” 97.)

⁹⁴⁰ Findley, *Ibid.*, 134.

surname in HAT 502/24621, it can be determined that the *dhimmi* being referred to is Zenop Manas also because this ‘Hoca’ (instructor) Zenop is mentioned in BOA, İ.HR 37/1727 as the former head translator at the Vienna Embassy and the father of Rupen, his eldest son.⁹⁴¹ Additionally BOA, HAT 1423/58189 makes note of Zenop’s career in the Foreign Service and his prior occupation as translator and instructor for the government in which capacity he had been posted to the Sublime Porte’s Translation Bureau and to its Language Instruction Department, the Imperial Arsenal, as well as to the Imperial Barracks of the Corps of Bombardiers.⁹⁴²

The document itself does not have a date inscribed, but the archive’s system assigns the date 29 Z 1238 A.H./ September 6, 1823 to the document. However, the references made to two institutions definitively identify 1827 as the *terminus post quem*. In the first instance, the document references the *Tıbhâne-yı Âmire* (Imperial School of Medicine),⁹⁴³ which was founded on March 14, 1827, establishing that it must postdate the founding of this institution. Secondly, the author of the document specifically mentions that the Language Instruction Department at the Translation Bureau had been created five or six years prior, and the Translation Bureau was established in 1821, which again places the document no earlier than 1827.⁹⁴⁴ Given that Zenop and the other

⁹⁴¹ BOA, İ.HR 37/1727: “Vişana sefâret-i seniyyesi bâş tercümân-ı esbak müteveffa Hoca Zenob’un büyük oğlu Rupen...”

⁹⁴² BOA, HAT 1423/58189.

⁹⁴³ It later took the name Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne (Imperial Medical School of Medicine).

⁹⁴⁴ Even though the document with reference code HAT 282/16749 from the BOA is registered in the archive’s system with the date 29 Z 1246 A.H. (June 10, 1831), a review of the document shows that the date is in fact inaccurate. At first glance the document strikes one as a useful aid in understanding the aftermath of exile for Zenop and the other two Catholic Armenians Anton Küçükoglu and his relative Artin, (BOA, HAT 502/24621) given that the system dates it to 1831. However, a more careful analysis authoritatively places it before 1 R 1239 A.H. (December 5, 1823), as has been established in Chapter Two. (Cf. BOA, MAD.d 7917, p.452; Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, 318.) Being dated earlier than the document pertaining to the exile of Zenop, there are no documents that enable an assessment of when the Manases came back from exile and were rehabilitated back into society. It is, however, clear that Zenop was a successful diplomat who had also worked as translator and instructor in various government institutions including the Sublime Porte Translation Bureau, its Language Instruction Department, the Imperial School of Military Engineering, the Imperial Barracks of the Corps of Bombardiers (*Humbarahâne-i ‘âmire*), and the Imperial Arsenal, (BOA, HAT 1423/58189) until his death on or before 20 Rebi’ü’l-evvel, 1256 (May 22, 1840), but their personal story in this episode of mass exile remains shrouded in mystery. Cf. BOA, HAT 1235/48038; Beydilli, *Recognition of the Armenian Catholic Community*, 173-4.

mentioned individuals were sent into exile as part of the mass exile of Catholics in 1828 following the decree issued on December 30, 1827, this date should be taken to mark the *terminus ante quem*.

The document revolves around the Catholic creed of the individuals it mentions, including Zenop, whose faith resulted in his dismissal from his position on the basis that his frequenting of the Sublime Porte would not be appropriate. The document paints these individuals as unwanted, dangerous subjects who ought to be removed from the capital in line with the firmans that had been issued up to that point on the matter of Catholic conversion. An additional layer of undesirability is placed on Zenop with the statement that he is “from the malicious group,” but this allegation is based on hearsay, as the author of the document acknowledges, without offering any concrete evidence by way of proof. It is worthwhile to mention here that the Manases appear as such in the registry of Catholic Armenians compiled by the Armenian Patriarch as well, which will be scrutinized in the following section.

This document is also a useful one in assessing the standing and influence of the Manases within their community and the prestige which they had accumulated by the first quarter of the 19th century. The Armenian Patriarch who stood at the head of the Armenian *millet* and who was therefore a figure not only of significant religious stature but also of state sanctioned administrative authority, nevertheless expresses reticence to report the named individuals because of their association with men of high importance, as the Vizier composing the proposal makes clear. If the Patriarch had indeed hesitated to report Zenop and the others in question because of their connections to those he viewed as powerful, then it would suggest that Zenop and perhaps his family had themselves achieved a certain social standing.

In response to the proposals submitted by his Vizier, the Sultan gave orders for the immediate banishment of the mentioned Catholics, ordering that, “none of the infidels can be trusted and should all be driven out from the capital.”

In *Türk Devleti Hizmetinde Ermeniler (1453-1953)* Çark has one line about the Manases having been exiled to Bursa in 1828, but he does not divulge his sources.⁹⁴⁵ It seems like Çark may have used and misinterpreted the contents of HAT 502/24621 to arrive at this outcome. The document’s structure comprises two separate proposals in the body of the text, one related to Zenop (and Anton and Artin) and the other to the wife and treasurer of the deceased Ali Pasha of Ioannina (Tepedelenli Ali Paşa). In the marginalia above, the Sultan notes his decision regarding the two separate matters. With regard to Zenop he states that the infidels cannot be trusted and should therefore be banished from the capital immediately, before clearly taking up the second matter saying, “bend-i sâñide beyân olunduğu vechle” where he indicates that the widow and treasurer of Ali Pasha of Ioannina should retain their salaries as before and be banished to Bursa.⁹⁴⁶ Thus, while the decision makes clear that Zenop and his family were exiled, the location of their exile remains uncertain.⁹⁴⁷

Perhaps one of the most trying episodes in the communal history of Ottoman Catholic Armenians prior to the 20th century was the mass exile in 1828. Aside from the sultanic decree in

⁹⁴⁵ Çark, *Ibid.*, 143, Sürbahan, *Ibid.*, 43n2.

⁹⁴⁶ BOA, HAT 502/24621.

⁹⁴⁷ BOA, HAT 1235/48041 offers a list of some of the locations and the names of the exiles. Among those listed in Ankara are Davudoğlu Agob and Mirzaoğlu Krikor, in Kangırı Çamiçoğlu Oseb and Canbazoğlu, in Kayseri Tıngıroğlu Oseb, in Sivas Tıngıroğlu Agob, in Karahisar-ı şarki (modern-day Giresun Province) the Aznavuroğlu brothers Anton, Oseb, and the other brother (his name is not provided). Both Çamiçoğlu Oseb and the Aznavuroğlu brothers were from the extended family of the Düz who had been exiled in 1819 following the execution of the Düz brothers for embezzlement, the former being exiled to Lesbos, and the latter (the three Aznavuroğlu brothers) to Lemnos. This document proves that they were sent into exile once more, this time purely for their Catholic creed; one of them to Kangırı, the other to Karahisar-ı şarki. (BOA, HAT 1235/48041). Boré highlights the fact that the Catholic Armenians were sent to Ankara and from there to various other locations throughout Anatolia. (Boré, *Correspondance et mémoires d'un voyageur en Orient*, 160.)

favor of Zenop's banishment and the list prepared by the Armenian Patriarch of those who were to be exiled which included the names of the Manases,⁹⁴⁸ there are no available records that allow for an analysis of the specific circumstances of this family. So details such as when they were allowed back into the capital, or when they were rehabilitated back into society cannot be gleaned from the sources. Even after the establishment of the Catholic *millet*, there were some exiles who had not yet been allowed to return and the Manases may have been included in this group. One of the major points Edhem Efendi raised upon being appointed *nazır* to the Catholic *millet* was the necessity to allow back the exiles who had not already returned.⁹⁴⁹ The abruptness of the 1828 Exile, imposed without forewarning, was the largest cause of loss of life due to the inability of those exiled to gather the necessary food and supplies to withstand the winter cold. This was a traumatic event by any measure for all who were forced to partake in it; their properties were confiscated, lives were risked and some lost along the way. For those who managed to survive in relative safety it is unclear how much of their assets and properties they were able to reclaim despite the agreements that the properties would be returned to their previous owners.⁹⁵⁰ The limitations attached to this restoration act prevented some from claiming back their homes, which had been repainted and had been rearranged for the habitation of Muslims as these were not to be returned to their former owners.⁹⁵¹ The government was also slow in returning the properties, which it had already agreed to do, prompting the French government to expedite the process by petitioning the Sublime Porte on the matter.⁹⁵² Even for those who did manage to regain their

⁹⁴⁸ Cf. BOA, HAT 1235/48038. The Manases appear in the Patriarch's list of Catholic Armenians to be exiled in Beydilli's work. Beydilli, *Ibid.*, 173-4.

⁹⁴⁹ Türkan, *Ermenilerin ve Doğu Hristiyanlarının Sorunları Çerçevesinde Osmanlı Papalık İlişkileri*, 18.

⁹⁵⁰ Walsh points out that Catholic Armenians were permitted ten days to sell off their properties, which given the paucity of time many were unable to do, resulting in great financial loss on their part. (Walsh, *Ibid.*, 2:434.)

⁹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵² BOA, HAT 1333/51994.

properties and homes, the disruption of the exile and temporary loss of livelihood certainly took a significant toll.

In her work, *Denial of Violence: Ottoman Past, Turkish Present and Collective Violence Against the Armenians, 1789-2009*, Göçek explores episodes of ‘collective violence’ carried out against the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, studying the Hamidian Massacres of 1894-6 as the first such instance, without examining the 1828 Exile relevant to the present discussion. While putting these earlier instances of violence on a par with the Armenian Genocide would be a failure to account for the marked difference in scale, the radicalness of agenda with the Genocide targeted at “rid[ding] eastern Anatolia of a whole people,”⁹⁵³ as well as the resulting human suffering, it is possible to detect underlying patterns of ‘demonization’ and the resorting to brutality to deal with the Armenian ‘threat’.

The analysis of collective violence reveals that it is carried out not only by the state but also by non-state actors and with the tacit approval of society present as an observer, as was the case for Catholic Armenians when the Orthodox Armenians and other *millets* did not interfere on their behalf.⁹⁵⁴ In covering these events, Göçek theorizes the idea of violence as falling under the categories of physical or symbolic, and it is this latter form of violence—the destruction and confiscation of property as well as the mental and emotional harm against those subject to it⁹⁵⁵—with which the 1828 Catholic Exile is laden. Delving into the underlying motivations for violence against Armenians in the later periods, Göçek suggests that the Ottoman administration framed the discontent of its Armenian citizens as the machinations of Western powers. At the same time the Ottoman state was unable to respond against Western powers directly and saw in the carrying out

⁹⁵³ Suny, “Writing Genocide: The Fate of the Ottoman Armenians,” *A Question of Genocide*, 41.

⁹⁵⁴ Göçek, *Denial of Violence : Ottoman Past, Turkish Present and Collective Violence Against the Armenians, 1789-2009*, 19.

⁹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.

of violence against this group, so closely linked with Catholic Europe, an opportunity to react against it.⁹⁵⁶ Göçek's analysis can similarly be applied to the 1828 Exile, as from its inception the community of Catholic converts in the midst of the Ottoman Empire was seen as a proxy—this concern being a thread running throughout the history of Ottoman Armenian conversions to Catholicism—and was therefore subject to the symbolic violence of the state from its earliest formation. The Exile, marking the culmination of these measures to that point, was imposed at that historical juncture due to the souring of relations between the Ottoman Empire and Europe in the aftermath of the Battle of Navarino and the Porte's growing qualms regarding the misplaced allegiance of the Catholic Armenians.

The Sultan specifically focused the 1828 Exile on the Angouriotēs⁹⁵⁷ and identified them as the root cause of corruption,⁹⁵⁸ but Catholic Armenians who had long been settled in the capital were banished as well, the Manases being one such family. While HAT 502/24621 does not indicate that any of the three (Zenop Manas, Anton, and Artin Küçüköğlü) were originally from a city other than Istanbul, it nevertheless seems to dictate their expulsion. The document compiled

⁹⁵⁶ Ibid., 36-7, 43.

⁹⁵⁷ This group also called the Ancyriotes, originating from Ankara, seems to have been picked out from the body of Catholic Armenians and specifically designated as trouble-makers in the many decrees that were issued on the matter of conversion to Catholicism. The Lazarist missionary Boré refers to these Catholics who hail from Ankara as the “most Catholic among Catholics.” (Boré, *Correspondance et mémoires d'un voyageur en Orient*, 159.) In a ruling dated to February 1746 issued by Sultan Mahmud I, there are mentions of previous rulings from 1739/1740 and 1741/1742 in which Aleppo and Ankara are specifically identified as hotbeds of conversion that require special attention. (Ahmed Refik, *Hicri On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı (1100-1200)*, 160-3: (This command was reissued in 1173) Angouriotēs, are specifically named in the imperial decree that led to the exile of Catholic Armenians from Istanbul in 1828: “It has been incontrovertibly substantiated through inquiry and is without dispute that the majority of those who presume to engage in this sort of unbecoming conduct, are Armenian subjects, who are originally from Ankara [but] have been residing in my capital (lit. the Gate of Felicity: Istanbul) for a while now as *sarrafs* (bankers), *esnafs* (artisans or traders under the organization of a guild), and traders.” (Ahmed Refik, *Onüçüncü Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1786-1882)*, 26-9: Regarding the measures taken in the case of the Armenians, *fi evâhir-i şa'bân* 1243: March 1828.) When due to incessant pressures from France and Austria the Sultan decided to allow Catholic Armenians who had been banished back into the capital, he said specifically of the Angouriotēs that “while those infidels from Ankara are of an especially factitious breed, see them allowed back as well.” (BOA, HAT 1235/48038.)

⁹⁵⁸ Ahmed Refik, *Onüçüncü Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1786-1882)*, 26-9.

by the Armenian Patriarch that includes the names of all Catholic Armenians settled in Istanbul,⁹⁵⁹ lists the Manases as Catholics local to Istanbul (*şehrî*). While the Catholic Armenians from Ankara⁹⁶⁰ were viewed with particular concern, the government seems to have seen all Catholics as a threat irrespective of their geographic origin as the clear majority of those banished from the capital were originally from Istanbul. Out of the 1068 families that are listed, 676 families comprising 1648 individuals appear as Istanbulites, 287 families comprising 734 individuals as Angourioties, followed by 29 families comprising 71 individuals hailing from Erzurum. The origins of 100 families on the list are not specified, and the rest that are listed originate from various localities: Halep, Bursa, Bilecik, Edirne, Ahıska, Pirkinik, Kütahya, Kayseri, Sivas, Georgia, Tokat, Van, Artvin, Gümüşhane, Tekfurdağ, Trabzon, Harput, Kürdistan, and Kala-i Sultaniyye.⁹⁶¹

III.6 Registry of Catholic Armenians and List of Those Specifically Deemed Seditious

The first of these two documents which share the reference code HAT 1235/48038 is a thorough and detailed list commissioned by the Sultan to be drawn up by the Armenian Patriarch, of Catholic Armenians resident in Istanbul prior to the Exile of 1828, on the basis of which the exile was implemented. The list includes the full names, ages, respective parishes and the cities of origin of the Catholic Armenians as well as frequently their occupations. Even though there is nothing to be found in this particular document to indicate the reason for its compilation or by whom it was compiled, BOA, HAT 1235/48049 indicates that the Patriarch of the Armenian community had been asked four-five months prior to prepare a separate registry of the Catholic faction in clandestine fashion, which must be referring to the list in question. It is further indicated

⁹⁵⁹ BOA, HAT 1235/48038. Beydilli also designates HAT 1235/48038 as ‘the list of Catholic Armenians to be exiled, prepared by the Armenian Patriarchate,’ though he does not offer a basis for this attribution. (Beydilli, *Ibid.*, 37.)

⁹⁶⁰ Walsh explains that several thousand Catholic Armenian “residents of the capital were supposed to belong to this colony [in Angora, in Asia Minor]” and these people residing in Pera were banished from the city on the pretext that, “they were therefore violating the ancient laws of the Empire, which prohibited Rayas from changing their abode.” (Walsh, *A Residence At Constantinople*, 2:434.)

⁹⁶¹ Beydilli, *Ibid.*, 15, see chart.

that there were over 1000 Catholic ‘heretics’ in Istanbul based on this registry that the Patriarch had drawn up and those among the Catholics who repented and reverted back to their original creed would have been left in peace, while those who refused would have been banished to their city of origin or to other cities that were decreed.

In this document that lists a total of 1068 families with 2730 individuals, the Manases appear on page seven, on the left of the double-sided page, from lines 8-11 and are listed as falling under the parish of Archpriest Kevork which comprised 50 individuals. The transcription of this section is as follows:

Şehrî mu‘allim-i sıbyân Zenop veled-i Manas, 45, ve oğulları Rupen, 13,
Sebuh, 11, Kasbar, 8, Aleko, 5.
Şehrî sarrâf Mıgırdiç veled-i Menas, 35, ve oğlu, Anton, 1.
Şehrî darbhâneli Nasip veled-i Menas, 38, ve oğulları Dikran, 12, Menas 12,
Salim, 9, Hüsrev, 8, Mikayil, 6, Evans 5.
Şehrî sarrâf Pozanet veled-i Menas, 33, can evlâdı Anton, 15.

A ‘mim’ appears next to all the lines marking the Manases as particularly seditious—an assessment which falls in line with the remarks about Zenop in HAT 502/24621⁹⁶² and the fact that the Manases also appear in the second document that has the reference code HAT 1235/48038 which designates the seditious ones among the Catholic faction. In this document, however, the Manases are not marked, so while they are understood to belong to the seditious faction, they are not seen as the worst of the worst.

The date that appears in the system cannot be verified as the document itself does not have a date inscribed on it. However a piece of reliable evidence suggests that the date given in the system might not be accurate, namely that Anton is listed in this document as being a year old, whereas DH.SAID.d 4/604 clearly indicates that Anton, the son of Mıgırdiç was born on 26 L 1240 A.H./ June 13, 1825, meaning that he should have been older than two years and some months

⁹⁶² “mersûm Katôlik zümresinden ve ba‘zı rivâyete göre bed-hâh gürûhundan olup...” (BOA, HAT 502/24621.)

at this point. So, the document should be dated instead to 1826/1827. The only other birth year that is solid is that of Gaspar given that Gaspar's registration documents in the Archives of the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts indicate that he was 18 years of age when he entered the School in 1837, confirming that he was born in 1819.⁹⁶³ However, the day and month of his birth remain uncertain, so the difference between the ages of Anton and Gaspar recorded in BOA, HAT 1235/48038 should either be six or seven depending on the month of their birthdays. Based on a comparison of Anton and Gaspar's ages alone, it seems that the ages of the Manases were not recorded inaccurately but that the date of the document is listed inaccurately instead. The fact that HAT 1235/48049 states that the Patriarch had been tasked with preparing this list four-five months prior, lends greater weight to the argument that it was indeed drawn up at an earlier date. Unfortunately HAT 1235/48049 does not have a date inscribed on it either, though the content of the document definitively places it before the exile as it is here that the Sultan decrees, "the time has come to cleanse the capital of the evils and mischiefs of the malignant Franks, Greeks, and Catholics and in accordance with this, join forces to ensure the fast execution of this with the banishment of some groups of the ones that should be banished in the meantime." Given that the decree of banishment comes at the end of December 1827, this list cannot be dated later than June 1827 and since Anton was born on June 13 1825, if it were earlier than June 13, 1827 he would still have been described as being a year old.

This document is also ground-breaking for the study of the Manases because the ages of all the mentioned Manases are provided, enabling a catalog to be compiled. This is especially significant given that so many members of the family's birth dates have been unknown up to this point and those that have been widely accepted were not necessarily based on hard evidence. This

⁹⁶³ *Protokoll [Protocoll] der die k.k. Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien frequentirenden Schüler vom Jahre 1797 bis 1850*. Vol. 7: 297.

document allows for the determination, within the small margin of error of a year or two, the birth dates of the Manases that appear as part of Archpriest Kevork's parish. Even this small margin of error can be reduced or altogether eliminated if two of the Manases' birth dates that are known to be accurate based on hard evidence are utilized as the backdrop, as suggested above.

Another invaluable insight offered by this document is its unveiling of an entirely new branch of the family that does not appear in the previous scholarship on the Manases, namely that of Nasip and his six children Dikran, Menas, Salim, Hüsrev, Mikayil, and Evans. A previously unmentioned son of Menasi, Nasip appears to have been the second eldest son after Zenop.

This document also enumerates the occupations of the Manases beside each of their names. Though Zenop appears as a teacher, which must be referring to his career as language instructor at the Imperial School of Military Engineering, in addition to his career as instructor of French at the Sublime Porte,⁹⁶⁴ Püzant and Mıgırđıç both appear as bankers, while Nasip appears as *darbhâneli* (affiliated with the Imperial Mint), which tightly links the second generation of the family after Menasi to the banking sector.⁹⁶⁵

While it was already established that the Manases had been settled in Istanbul at least since the time of Rafayel who worked as the court painter of Mahmud I (r. 1730-1754), rendering them century old residents of Istanbul by the time of the exile, HAT 1235/48038 offers additional proof that they were perceived as such by local authorities. It is on the basis of this document that designates them as '*şehrî*,' that it can be conclusively argued that they were not perceived as Angourioties.

⁹⁶⁴ BOA, HAT 282/16749 discusses whether Zenop should be hired back into his previous position at the Imperial School of Military Engineering.

⁹⁶⁵ See Chapter Four.

Due to lack of material, there is no way to assess the personal tragedies of the Manases, however there are several cues that point to possible additional challenges they may have faced. For one, the Manases were sent away with their 12 children aged 2-16 to be exact,⁹⁶⁶ and given that the exile was especially difficult and deadly for young children, it can be deduced to have been particularly onerous.⁹⁶⁷ While all four of Zenop's children and Mıgırđıç's son Anton had survived the exile, it is unclear if all the other Manas children did. The severity of the financial hit the family took remains similarly ambiguous. Nevertheless, it is possible that this event played a part in pushing the Manas brothers Zenop and Püzant⁹⁶⁸ towards careers in diplomatic service, which would allow them to be stationed in Europe and out of the way of any future exile.

The second document is a shorter one that is said to comprise the names of the seditious (*müfsid*) Catholic Armenians; the document reads, “Beyoğlu’nda kâi’n sâbık mukata‘a sarrâfı Manasa oğulları şehri Mıgırđıç, ve karındâşları Pozand ve Naseb ve Zenop.” The letter ‘mim’ appears throughout the list as a marker of the most evidently seditious. The Manases are not marked, though about one third of the list is, including the entirety of the list of *sarrafs*. While there is ambiguity, the document seems to suggest that all of the Manas brothers were former bankers, and because this was their former occupation, they appear under the section ‘other craftsmen’.⁹⁶⁹ While Püzant, Mıgırđıç, and Nasip are all known to have been affiliated with banking, Zenop never seems to have partaken in the family’s banking tradition, therefore his

⁹⁶⁶ This age range is based on the calculation, as explained above.

⁹⁶⁷ The charts drawn up by Beydilli suggest that 717 of the people who were banished were between the ages 1 and 10, 507 between the ages 11 and 20, 502 between the ages 21 and 30, 394 between ages 31 and 40, 222 between 41 and 50, 196 between 51 and 60, 73 between 61 and 70, and 25 above the age of 80. It looks like children were in clear majority followed by young adults. (Beydilli, *Ibid.*, 16.)

⁹⁶⁸ Püzant is listed as a banker prior to the Exile of 1828, the chapter on banking will delve into this further. See BOA, HAT 1235 /48038.

⁹⁶⁹ BOA, HAT 1235 /48038. Beydilli has the order wrong, the Manases appear as number six in his transcription, they are in fact number seven. Cf. Beydilli, *Ibid.*, 173-4.

inclusion should be understood as an oversight by the author of the document—perhaps a result of the patent of exemption, usually awarded to bankers, held by Zenop.⁹⁷⁰

III.7 The Exile of Catholic Armenians & the Creation of a Separate Catholic *Millet*

The defeat of the Ottoman Empire at Navarino⁹⁷¹ by the European alliance of the United Kingdom, France, and Russia in October 1827 was at the root of the Sultan's actions against the Catholic Armenians, who crecscively raised the suspicion of the Sublime Porte on account of their sustained association with the Latin Catholics and Europeans with whom they shared religious beliefs.⁹⁷² The contemporaneous account of Irish clergyman Robert Walsh (1772-1852) also suggests that the migration of Orthodox Armenians into the provinces captured by Russia led the Turks to suspect the allegiances of the Roman Catholic Armenians at a time when there was growing animosity between the Turks and European powers. This provided the Ottoman authorities with “a pretext for proceeding against the schismatic Catholics, who were supposed to be similarly affected to the Christians of the Latin Church.”⁹⁷³ The firman calling for the exile of Catholic Armenians was dispatched to Patriarch Garabed on December 30, 1827,⁹⁷⁴ which he read in the Surp Kevork Church in Samatya;⁹⁷⁵ consequently, Catholic Armenians were exiled beginning in January.⁹⁷⁶ At least in the short-term, as a result of the newly imposed restrictions on

⁹⁷⁰ See Chapter Four.

⁹⁷¹ The Battle of Navarino was part of the Greek War of Independence. The victorious outcome of the battle significantly increased the chances of the war being won; the Greeks finally broke off from the Ottoman Empire in 1830.

⁹⁷² Ch'akmakchean, *Ėntardzag badmut'wn hayots': skizpēn minch'ew mer ōrerē*, 564. Cf. Palasanean, *Patmut'wn hayots': skzbits' minch'ew mer ōrerē*, 720-1.

⁹⁷³ Walsh, *Ibid.*, 2:434.

⁹⁷⁴ Bērbērean gives December 27, 1827 as the day marking the beginning of the exile of notable Roman (Հռոմէկալսն) Armenian bankers including the Davudyans, Gilciyans, and Tingiryans, by which he means Roman Catholic. (Bērbērean, *Badmut'wn hayots'*, 196.)

⁹⁷⁵ Yarman, *Ibid.*, 390. Pamukciyan, *Ibid.*, 4:251-2.

⁹⁷⁶ McFarlane whose account is based on his residence in Constantinople in 1828 points out that “of these [Catholic Armenians] the more opulent had been banished some months before into Asia Minor, and the others were relegated in miserable villages.” (MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828: A Residence of Sixteen Months in the Capital and Provinces*, 2:274.)

where Catholic Armenians were allowed to reside within the Empire and the exile they had been subjected to, many of the wealthier members of the community emigrated to Europe, which could potentially have had the counterintuitive result of strengthening the ties which so concerned the Sublime Porte.⁹⁷⁷

Following the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish War with the Adrianople Treaty (1829) the Sultan was obliged to grant his subjects religious freedom.⁹⁷⁸ So, through the arbitration of the ambassadors, Catholics returned from exile and were afforded the right to have a separate *millet* provided that an amount of 1500 gold coins be delivered to the State Treasury and 300 gold coins paid as tax per annum. It was mostly through the efforts of the French⁹⁷⁹ and Austrian ambassadors that Sultan Mahmud II eventually issued an imperial decree recognizing a distinct Catholic *millet* with a particular set of rights⁹⁸⁰ on January 6, 1830. The French ambassador intervened on behalf of the Catholics who had been exiled and pleaded with the Ottoman government for their return. As a result, tobacco customs agent Edhem Efendi was put in charge of compiling a list of the exiles who were alone in other locations and he marked the names of those deemed inoffensive, submitting this for the review of the Sultan. While the Sultan was yet to decide on the number of exiles he would pardon, it is telling that the Sublime Porte decided to take action on the matter presented by the French ambassador to ‘shut his mouth’ by allowing some of the harmless exiles to come back.⁹⁸¹

⁹⁷⁷ Yarman, *Ibid.*, 327.

⁹⁷⁸ Palasanean, *Patmut ‘iwn hayots ‘: skzbits ‘ minch ‘ew mer ôrerê*, 722; P‘ap‘azean, *Patmut ‘iwn hayots ‘ grakanut ‘ean (banahiwsut ‘ean patmut ‘iwn) skzbits ‘ minch ‘ew mer ôrerê*, 444.

⁹⁷⁹ In the notes (Protocol 3, no. 25) of the meeting held by the plenipotentiaries of United Kingdom, France and Russia on February 3, 1830 at the Foreign Office the French plenipotentiary states that, “France had been in possession of the right to exercise special patronage for the Catholics subject to the Sultan.” (BOA, HR.SYS 1768/1).

⁹⁸⁰ Juchereau de Saint-Denys, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman depuis 1792 jusqu'en 1844*, 2:17.

⁹⁸¹ BOA, HAT 1235/48041: “...bunlardan zararsızca ‘addolunanların ıtlâklarıyla elçî-i mersûmun ağzı kapatılması münâsib görülerek...” (June 10, 1831). (The above document registered with the same reference code is in fact a different document, but both have this code assigned to them.) Austria and France repeatedly pressed the Sublime

Andon Nurican was sent from Rome as the Patriarch to oversee the new Catholic *millet*,⁹⁸² but he was opposed by the Sublime Porte as the candidate of the Vienna and Venice Mekhitarists, supported by the Pope.⁹⁸³ Upon this election, Sultan Mahmud II pointed out that,

The Franks had long sought the opportunity to have the Catholics recognized as per their wish and that even though it is beyond doubt that the Catholics will engender all sorts of mischiefs in the future, irrespective of the course of action that is followed, some of the wishes of European powers are being accommodated by necessity.

However, on this particular point the Sultan states that “no compromises shall be made and that it is out of the question for an infidel from Rome to be appointed as the bishop of the Catholic community.”⁹⁸⁴ On the command of the Sultan, the Catholics held elections once more and elected Hagop Çukuryan as bishop to head the Catholic *millet*, resulting in a bifurcated leadership. Initially the head of the Catholic community was designated as bishop and it was only in 1835 that the Sublime Porte decided to authorize the use of the title of ‘patriarch’ for the holder of this position.

In an effort to detach the Catholics from European powers to the extent possible, Edhem Efendi, who had been appointed as *cemaat nazırı* argued that new churches ought to be built for Catholic Armenians so they would not attend foreign churches, and that those from the community elected to the episcopate should have been born and raised in the Ottoman Empire. He also argued that those families of bankers and craftsmen with historical ties to Istanbul should be returned to the city from their exile if they had not already come home. Thus, following the establishment of the Catholic *millet* on January 6th, 1830 the property and rights of those exiled were restored, the right to build churches was granted, and Catholic clerics were allowed privileges in line with the

Porte to extend its tolerance and patronage to the Catholics, underlining the fact that they cannot turn a blind eye to the suffering of their co-religionists. (BOA, HAT 1334/52030.)

⁹⁸² Ch‘akmakchean, *Ėntardzag badmut‘iwn hayots‘: skizpĕn minch‘ew mer ĕrerĕ*, 565.

⁹⁸³ Tŭrkan, *Ermenilerin ve DoĖu Hristiyanlarının Sorunları Çerçevesinde Osmanlı Papalık İlişkileri*, 19.

⁹⁸⁴ BOA, HAT 1235/48038.

clerics of other established sects.⁹⁸⁵ A sultanic decree dating to 21 B 1246 A.H. (January 5, 1831) announced that henceforth Armenians would perform their religious ceremonies in the churches specifically assigned to them as they had suffered long enough from having had to attend the churches of the foreigners to perform their rites out of necessity, due to the differences between their rites and those of the Greek and Armenian *millet*s.⁹⁸⁶

Even after the successful establishment of the Catholic *millet* in 1830, multiple factions continued to exist within it concerning issues of governance and the relationship the community ought to have with the Papacy and the Orthodox Patriarchate, reinforcing the complexity of the community's identity. While the Pope and propagandists sought the complete severing of relations with the Orthodox Patriarchate, these efforts were resisted by the Mekhitarists, the Antonine Monastic Community⁹⁸⁷ and the Constantinopolitan Catholic Armenian clerics. The tensions reached a boiling point in 1870 when the Pope excommunicated several bishops and the Archbishop of Antioch for their contestation of his authority as well as 17 Antonines and 20 Mekhitarists.⁹⁸⁸

During the reigns of Sultan Mahmud II and Abdülmecid I ethno-religious groups were extended further protections and freedoms. On November 3 1847, three months shy of 17 years after the creation of the Catholic *millet*, Abdülmecid I recognized Stepan Serovpian as the initial head of a new Protestant *millet*.⁹⁸⁹

⁹⁸⁵ Türkan, *Ermenilerin ve Doğu Hristiyanlarının Sorunları Çerçevesinde Osmanlı Papalık İlişkileri*, 18-9.

⁹⁸⁶ BOA, AE.SMHD.II 119/9952.

⁹⁸⁷ The Antonine Monastic Community had emerged in Mount Lebanon, but a large contingent migrated to Constantinople at the turn of the 19th century.

⁹⁸⁸ Türkan, "İstanbul'daki Katolik Ermeni Gruplarının Problemleri ve Papalığın Müdahaleleri (19. yy.)," 333-4.

⁹⁸⁹ Jamgocyan, *Ibid.*, 247.

III.8 Conclusion

The examination of archival sources undertaken here in relation to Zenop and his family's exile and the impact of the Düz family's downfall on Sofi, who married into the Manases, in the context of the history of the Catholic Armenian community in the Ottoman Empire makes clear that with respect to the persecution and other obstacles faced by converts to Catholicism, the experiences of the Manases were not unique. The negative implications of conversion to Catholicism are clear and find explicit support in the archival sources. These conversions called into question the connection between political allegiance and religious communal identity, particularly due to the merging of religious leadership with administrative political authority in the Ottoman Empire's *millet* system. Catholic converts were seen to have joined a sort of 'foreign *millet*' which seemed to suggest that they might now submit to that foreign administrative power,⁹⁹⁰ provoking the government's efforts to suppress this 'fifth column'. The emergence of foreign centers of authority⁹⁹¹ over Catholic Armenians, one in Venice, one in Vienna, and the other in Paris, in addition to the Pope, was a concern for the Ottoman administration. It is for this reason that even after the creation of the Catholic *millet*, the Sublime Porte refused to accept the nomination of the Austrian Mekhitarist bishop Andon Nurican as its leader on the basis that he was not a subject of the Sultan and had neither been born nor raised in the Ottoman Empire.⁹⁹²

It is also possible that the persecutions faced by Catholic Armenians, encouraged the Manases in the direction of Foreign Service, which would be in line with the thinking and actions

⁹⁹⁰ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 181.

⁹⁹¹ They were both subjects of the Ottoman Empire, but aliens whose records existed in foreign institutions operating outside the bounds of the Ottoman Empire. In an internal correspondence from the Minister of Foreign Affairs His Excellency Said Paşa to Ambassador to Vienna His Excellency Sadoullah/Sadullah Paşa dating to July 2, 1889, Said Paşa writes that "the deceased [Pouzant Manasse Effedi] who was at the time of his death Consul General in Vienna having died in this city, the Archives of the Imperial Embassy must contain the information requested by the Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the event of this information being lacking, however, the Vienna Mekhitarists would likely provide it." (BOA, HR.H 219/2.)

⁹⁹² Türkan, *Ermenilerin ve Doğu Hristiyanlarının Sorunları Çerçevesinde Osmanlı Papalık İlişkileri*, 18.

of many wealthy Catholic Armenians who decided to escape to Europe to evade persecution by Ottoman authorities at different times, including the mass Exile of 1828.⁹⁹³ Another example is Hagop Çelebi Düz who was arrested on Chios as he was trying to make his way to Europe in the wake of the 1819 Incident and brought to Istanbul.⁹⁹⁴ Yet, the flight of the most well-known Catholic Armenian monk, Mekhitar⁹⁹⁵ of Sebaste,⁹⁹⁶ to Morea, which was under Venetian control, and then to the Island of San Lazzaro—which came to be known as San Lazzaro degli Armeni—on the invitation of the Republic of Venice is the most prominent example of this trend. While seeking aid from Europe under unfortunate circumstances was not limited to Catholic Armenians, as exemplified by Orthodox Armenian Mıgırdiç Cezayirliyan’s unsuccessful application for British citizenship to save his fortune,⁹⁹⁷ using Europe as a safe haven to escape persecution seems to have been more typical of Catholic Armenians than of any other group. Even though in 1830 Catholic Armenians acquired a legal status, it is unclear whether they believed this would prevent any future persecution; with exile and displacement having been such a constant and imminent threat, perhaps it had become cemented in the collective psyche of Catholic Armenians.⁹⁹⁸ Similarly, the fact that all of Zenop’s children and Anton, Mıgırdiç’s son, had been exiled at such a young age must have left a scar.

There were a number of Catholics among the *amiras*, who were without a doubt the most prominent Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and some Catholic families such as the Düz were

⁹⁹³ Yarman, *Ibid.*, 327.

⁹⁹⁴ Yarman, *Ibid.*, 387-8; Azadean, *Dadean Kertasdanë ew ir Aganawor Tēm̄k’erē*, 15-6.

⁹⁹⁵ Mekhitar had converted to Catholicism at the instigation of Roman Catholic religious orders proselytizing in Anatolia.

⁹⁹⁶ Sivas

⁹⁹⁷ Pamukcıyan, *Ibid.*, 4:146, Dabağyan, *Geçmişten Günümüze Millet-i Sâdika-ı Osmanlı Ermenileri*, 315.

⁹⁹⁸ Members of the Tingiroğlu and Davudoğlu families had been exiled on three occasions in a single decade on the grounds of their Catholic faith, in 1817/1818, 1819, 1828. (Şânîzâde Mehmed Atâ’ullah Efendî, *Şânîzâde Târîhi*, 2:367-8, Aysan, *Ibid.*, 51; BOA, HAT 1235/48041.)

‘staunch Catholics’ though they were hesitant to display this overtly.⁹⁹⁹ At the same time some Catholics were quite public in their convictions, like Tıngiroğlu and Davudoğlu who were exiled in 1817-1818 for their open promotion of the Catholic faith in elite circles, as Şanizade points out.¹⁰⁰⁰ Kılıç argues similarly that some Catholic Armenians began proclaiming their faith openly following the Treaty of Bucharest in 1812,¹⁰⁰¹ so it remains unclear to what extent the administration was aware that its appointees were Catholic. At best, however, the religious identity of these converts can only have been an open secret as their lack of attendance at the Orthodox churches would have been noticed by the patriarchs and the wider community.

The Manases sustained successful careers in the service of the Empire, and while the precise timeline of the family’s conversion cannot be established, by the time the Manases began working for the court in the 18th century during the reign of Mahmud I with the appointment of Rafayel Manas as court painter, the family must have been Catholic. Thus, despite the obstacles and persecutions faced by the Catholic Armenian community in the Ottoman Empire it is readily apparent that these did not prevent the success of many individuals who claimed this identity.

This raises the question of whether or not the Catholic identity of Ottoman Armenians like that of the Manases offered any advantages or aided in the accumulation of material, social or political standing. The archival proof for this is less clear than it is regarding the disadvantages as no archival records have been uncovered in the course of this research on the Manas family, which directly state that certain jobs, titles or awards had been granted due to the Catholic identity of the recipient. This lack of direct proof, however, should not prevent thoughtful consideration of the question on the basis of the evidence accumulated, which suggests that the Catholicism of these

⁹⁹⁹ Barsoumian, “The Dual Role of the Armenian Amira Class Within the Ottoman Government and the Armenian Millet (1750-1850),” *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Abridged Edition*, ed. Benjamin Braude, 142.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Şânîzâde Mehmed Atâ’ullah Efendî, *Şânîzâde Târîhi*, 2:367-8.

¹⁰⁰¹ Kılıç, “Osmanlı Ermenileri Arasında Katolik Kilisesi'nin Kuruluş Faaliyetleri,” 143.

Ottoman Armenians may be best understood as a transregional identity, belonging to which forced adherents into a liminal insider/outsider status. Due to their perceived as well as real ties to Europe, many of the members of this community were educated at European institutions. The education of the Manases in European capitals and the time they spent in European surroundings in turn created a cultural understanding, language skills and strengthened whatever ties that existed, while also making them more eligible for certain professions than other subjects of the Ottoman Empire including Foreign Service, where so many of the Manases pursued careers, sometimes up to three family members working at the same mission at once.¹⁰⁰² The family's European education began with the family's first court painter Rafayel (?-1780). While the institution he attended remains obscure, Rafayel is said to have studied in Italy¹⁰⁰³ and his grandson Zenop was likewise educated in Christendom.¹⁰⁰⁴ Zenop's son Rupen studied for many years in France in order to perfect his painting technique while he served at the Paris Embassy,¹⁰⁰⁵ and the same was most likely the case for his brother Sebuhi who also worked as court painter while pursuing a career in diplomatic service. While the institutions the elder brothers attended remain unclear, Gaspar and Aleksandr are known to have attended the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts.¹⁰⁰⁶ As much as the Catholic Armenians were not unique among the *non-Muslim* subjects of the Ottoman Empire in pursuing education at European institutions, they seem to have adopted this practice earlier than their

¹⁰⁰² From 1851 (1268 A.H.) up through 1856 (1273 A.H.) Gaspar Manas was employed as head translator at the Vienna Embassy, Anton as second translator, and Püzant as the consul general. (*Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1268 A.H., 78-80, *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1269 A.H., 89-91, *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1270 A.H., 100-2, *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1271 A.H., 109-110, *Sâlnâme-yi Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmânîyye*, 1273 A.H., 117.)

¹⁰⁰³ D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, 4:456.

¹⁰⁰⁴ FO 78/107 (no.52). Letter by Viscount Strangford, dated 25 April 1822.

¹⁰⁰⁵ BOA, İ.HR. 47/2249, BOA, İ.HR. 47/2255, BOA, İ.HR. 65/3198, BOA, İ.HR. 143/7500.

¹⁰⁰⁶ (*Protokoll [Protocoll] der die k.k. Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien frequentirenden Schüler vom Jahre 1797 bis 1850*. Vol. 7: 297.)

Orthodox Armenian counterparts.¹⁰⁰⁷ However, Phanariot Greeks also sent their sons abroad to be educated from relatively early on; especially to Italy to study medicine as well as to Austria and Germany.¹⁰⁰⁸

Though it would be overly simplistic to assume that this was limited to Ottoman Catholic converts, as Ottoman subjects of different creeds and nations seem to have forged ties with different European countries on different accounts, it seems undeniable for the Catholic converts from the local Ottoman population, to not have come together with Catholic countries in Europe at a different level; the Düz, who adopted many European customs and who sought to interact in elite European circles are a great example of this.¹⁰⁰⁹ The rapprochement between the Europeans settled in the Ottoman capital and the Catholic Armenian converts also becomes clear in the choice of the latter's accommodation in Pera once having converted, to distance themselves from Ottoman authorities and take advantage of the greater freedoms associated with proximity to the Europeans.¹⁰¹⁰ Dabağyan has also argued for the advantage Catholic Armenians had over their non-Catholic counterparts with respect to building relations with Europe, since the influence of Catholic France, Austria, and Italy was paramount in this period. He argues that while being Christian did not necessarily help Ottoman Armenians forge amicable relations with the West, being Catholic served as an additional buttress, further guaranteeing the good nature of such connections. In the European perception, identified by Dabağyan, Armenians fell into two categories: refined and crude; non-Catholicism was synonymous with crude, ignorant and

¹⁰⁰⁷ With the invention of steamships and railways Europe became more accessible for the Turks and it was the Armenians who made use of it the most. The energetic trade relationship that the Armenians had begun with Europe necessitated the learning of European languages and so the sons of Constantinople's merchant class were urged to go to France for their studies; "the dream of the Turkish-Armenian youth was [now] to study in Italy and France." (P'ap'azean, *Patmut' iwn hayots' grakanut' ean (banahiwsut' ean patmut' iwn) skzbits' minch' ew mer örerë*, 636.)

¹⁰⁰⁸ Strauss, "La tradition Phanariote et l'art de la traduction," *Istanbul et les Langues Orientales*, 374-5.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Yarman, *Ibid.*, 259.

¹⁰¹⁰ Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Egypte et la Perse*, 1:14-5.

unrefined and *eastern* in the pejorative sense. In contrast, Catholic Armenians, who joined the Europeans in this deemed equivalence, were considered to be more refined due to their association with what was seen as European.¹⁰¹¹ MacFarlane's account seems to reinforce this division that existed in the minds of Europeans when he writes,

The Armenians are afraid of contact with Europeans, lest it should excite the jealousies of their masters, the Turks. Their modes of life and of thought are also at variance with ours, and I could not promise myself much gratification from an intercourse with an ignorant, gross, and sordid race. My curiosity would, however, have induced me to seek an occasional ingress into their generally impenetrable domestic circles, and my friend Z. might have procured it for me, but his connexions of relationship and friendship lay entirely among the Armenians of the Catholic persuasion like himself, and of these the more opulent had been banished some months before into Asia Minor, and the others were relegated in miserable villages, and had their usual fears of the observations and jealousies of the Turks, added to those of their favoured schismatic brethren, increased to a downright panic.¹⁰¹²

Due to the nature of the question and the variety of factors that contribute to success, definitive proof of the degree to which the Catholic identity of the Manas family was a determining factor cannot be ascertained; the circumstantial evidence, however, suggests that it was one of several factors that aided them in their success. The shared cultural understanding and language together with a shared religion with Catholic Europeans would have made Catholic Armenians like the Manases an asset to the Ottoman Empire in carrying out its foreign policy especially in the aftermath of the creation of a Catholic *millet*, making those who pursued this career insiders *because they were outsiders* and because they were perceived to a certain extent to be insiders by the Europeans. It is interesting to note that among Armenians, Catholics tended to achieve the highest ranks within the Foreign Service bureaucracy and—whether by chance or intention—two

¹⁰¹¹ Dabağyan, *Türkiye Ermenileri Tarihi*, 470-471.

¹⁰¹² MacFarlane, *Ibid.*, 2:274. Charles White also emphasizes how compared to the Catholic Armenians who more readily adopted European habits, the *schismatic* Armenians (Orthodox Armenians) like the Turks were slow to adapt. (White, *Three Years in Constantinople or, Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1844*, 2:41.)

out of the three Armenians chosen to lead missions were Catholic,¹⁰¹³ while the Catholic Armenian Manases filled the ranks of Foreign Service across Europe with two members appointed as consul general. Perhaps their Catholic identity should be understood as something that benefited them from early on through the better education it allowed them to receive that was not as accessible to others. At the same time it was something dangerous, the discovery of which could mean the loss of everything in an instant. Despite the lack of clarity on where the preponderance lay prior to 1830—with the benefits or the negatives—in the aftermath of the creation of a legitimate *millet*, it clearly lay on the side of the advantages.

¹⁰¹³ Aleksandr Diran served as the *chargé d'affaires* of Brussels with Piyer Manas as head translator (BOA, HR.SYS 220/11) and Davud Karabet served as the *chargé d'affaires* in Berlin for two year in the 1840s and served as the Consul General of Vienna following Püzant Manas' death in 1856. (BOA, HR.H 219/2.)

CHAPTER FOUR:

THE MANASES IN THE CONTEXT OF BANKING, PRESTIGE, AND WEALTH

IV.1 Introduction

In tackling unaddressed or under-addressed issues in relation to the Manas family, in a continuation of the previous chapter, the one at hand focuses on the family's ties to the elite banking profession through Menasi and his four children and through Mıgırdiç, his third eldest, in particular. The discussion offered in this chapter is the first ever to examine the Manases in the context of banking and it not only adds to scholarship by firmly tying the Manases to this profession, but also by illuminating the lives and banking careers of Menasi, Püzant, Nasip, and Mıgırdiç about whom almost no information had been relayed by previous scholarship and by significantly adding to the body of information that had existed on Mıgırdiç's children. The Empire's financial institutions and bureaucratic structures were reshaped in the latter part of the 17th century with the adoption of the *malikane* system as a new form of tax-farming based on life-long contracts as opposed to the previous short-term ones, thereby instituting a system of internal borrowing, which the Ottoman state found itself in dire need of, while at the same time resulting in the reconfiguration of power between the state on the one hand and the bureaucratic elite and rural gentry, on the other, who were now allowed 'greater authority over the resources of the state'.¹⁰¹⁴ These individuals were closely allied with their primarily Armenian bankers, who constituted the backbone of the fiscal system by supplying the required large upfront payments to secure land contracts.¹⁰¹⁵ Armenian bankers were also well-established at the Imperial Mint from 1758 with the appointment of Mikayel Düz as its head up through the reign of Abdülmecid I. Beginning in

¹⁰¹⁴ Salzmann, "An Ancien Régime Revisited," 405.

¹⁰¹⁵ Ibid., 403; Faroqi, *Approaching Ottoman History*, 214.

1854 the Ottoman state began to borrow from foreign banking institutions, eventually forcing it to negotiate, “its sovereignty with the financiers and diplomatic representatives of France and England.”¹⁰¹⁶ With the first loan taken out by the Ottoman state from a European financial institution in 1854, the Empire underwent a pivotal shift in its foreign relations as well. Driven by its financial obligations and exacerbated by European efforts to impose its direction, the fiscal stability of the Ottoman state became increasingly precarious, leading to the ballooning of the state’s accumulated debt after 1863. Eventually, in 1875, the Empire declared bankruptcy precipitating the creation of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration to oversee state finances six years later, in 1881.

This chapter argues that given the level of influence and prestige accorded to bankers during the time period in which the Manases were involved in banking, the family must have held a higher level of influence both in its own community and in the broader context of the Ottoman Empire than had previously been suspected or than is usually associated with the artistic talent and diplomatic duties the Manases have been known for. It also asserts that while the banker Manases and their children suffered the unfortunate ramifications of the banking profession, they also shared in its privileges as is evinced by the patent of exemption that had been granted to banker Menasi that covered his sons as well as two of his servants and one that was regranted to Zenop at Menasi’s passing,¹⁰¹⁷ the prestigious plot of land located in Tarabya, which Mıgırdiç’ children inherited from him, as well as the inheritances the Manases were able to leave behind,

¹⁰¹⁶ Salzmann, *Ibid.*, 411.

¹⁰¹⁷ BOA C.MF 2/59.

Close examination of the establishment of a bureaucratic and rural elite with control over state resources and the creation of the essential features nearing private ownership¹⁰¹⁸ in the Ottoman context, which led to a reconfiguration of social and political dynamics between them and the state, reveals that these developments were not dissimilar to the constraints of the nobility on European monarchs, as Faroqhi notes.¹⁰¹⁹ This necessitates a reevaluation of early Ottoman absolutism due to the limits placed on sultanic authority by the “well-entrenched households” with land contracts and the resulting understanding that “sultans were not nearly as free in their decisions as official ideology postulated.”¹⁰²⁰ Therefore, the adoption of the *malikane* system is better understood as a transformative step in the Ottoman Empire’s historical trajectory, as Abou-El-Haj identifies.¹⁰²¹ The system that emerged as a homegrown solution to the fiscal problems plaguing the Ottoman state suffering “extreme financial instability” due to wars with the Habsburgs, and the Holy League,¹⁰²² and perhaps also the residual effects of the climate driven catastrophe of a century prior, was one enabled by bankers, mostly Armenian, which necessitates their key role in this system to be acknowledged. During the 1700s approximately 1 to 2 thousand inhabitants of Istanbul and 5 to 10 thousand provincial elites came to wield power over a sizeable portion of Ottoman state assets, together with the many associated “subcontractors, agents, bankers, accountants, and managers” who were part and parcel of the system.¹⁰²³ In the fiscal bounds of the *ancien régime*, then, Armenian bankers owned the debt of the elites that controlled large swaths of state property, which afforded them great wealth, while at the same time placing them in a precarious position. While during the reign of Mustafa III the state sought to revise the

¹⁰¹⁸ Salzmannn, Ibid., 402.

¹⁰¹⁹ Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History*, 5-6, 216-7.

¹⁰²⁰ Ibid., 5-6.

¹⁰²¹ Faroqhi, “Preface,” *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*,” by Rifa‘at Ali Abou-El-Haj, xvi-xvii.

¹⁰²² Salzmann, Ibid., 400-1.

¹⁰²³ Ibid., 402.

system by withdrawing some of the contracts, reassessing the values, and re-parceling the shares into smaller chunks, this was met with resistance by the contract holders who were able to leverage a sizeable amount of power, as Salzmann remarks.¹⁰²⁴

An aspect previously brought to the reader's attention was the indirect linking of the Manases to the eminent Düz dynasty by marriage through Sofi Murad, the daughter of the late banker Rafail Murad who operated in Constantinople and who appeared to be related to the Düz, proving that the Manases formed marriage alliances with other banker families.¹⁰²⁵ This chapter will further establish the Manases' ties to and involvement in banking, beginning with Menasi Manas and then moving on to the second-generation bankers of the family in light of the two documents discussed in the context of Catholicism, which identified some of the Manases as bankers,¹⁰²⁶ as well as additional documents reinforcing their careers in this field. Menasi Manas had only ever been discussed in his capacity as a painter succeeding his father in the post of court artist. However, by means of certain Ottoman state documents that tie a banker Menasi¹⁰²⁷ to language instructor Zenop Manas, it has been possible to prove that Menasi Manas was in fact a banker affiliated with the Imperial Mint.¹⁰²⁸ Menasi's son Mıgırdiç, who appears to have been the banker for Kamili Paşa, has also not been discussed in relation to banking so far. In fact, no information has been divulged regarding this personage, whose name does not even frequently

¹⁰²⁴ Ibid., 406.

¹⁰²⁵ The revelation of the family's tight association to banking makes this marriage more translatable into historical patterns as banker families had a tendency to intermarry. Two examples of these types of unions that occurred between Catholic Armenian banking families are the marriage of Hagop Düz and Lutsika Bilezikçıyan, and that of Hovsep Çamiçyan and Marianne Düz. (Jamgocyan, Ibid., 178n4-178n5.)

¹⁰²⁶ These two documents share the reference code BOA, HAT 1235/48038.

¹⁰²⁷ In some documents he appears as Manisar or Menasa.

¹⁰²⁸ Beydilli talks about a Manisar/Menasa who was affiliated with the Imperial Mint, referring to him as the father of Zenop. Yet, he concludes that these individuals were not linked to the Manas family. (Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, 313n3.) However, as has been established in Zenop's entry in Chapter Two, this argument falls apart in the face of the archival evidence. Nevertheless, despite his oversight in this regard, in his investigation of the Engineering School's teachers, the formation of the translator corps and the Translation Bureau, Beydilli pulls together many valuable documents that not only elucidate the language instruction career of Zenop, but also prove that Menasi was a banker. (Ibid., 312-8.)

appear in publications on the family. In those limited number of instances where it does, the information communicated about him is limited to his mere presentation as the brother of Zenop, and the father of Josef, the last court portraitist of the family.¹⁰²⁹ In the context of diplomacy, Mıgırđıç Manas was mentioned in the detailed entry on Anton Manas as his father, based on previously unearthed archival documents,¹⁰³⁰ which added to Mıgırđıç's biography while also expanding that of Anton, whose life and deeds had been largely unknown. The chapter then proceeds with an examination of Mıgırđıç about whose banking career and financial circumstances there exists the greatest amount of material including an archival source¹⁰³¹ dated to 12 Za 1271 A.H. (July 27, 1855),¹⁰³² which indicates that he was the banker of Kamili Paşa during his governorship of Erzurum and that the former's wealth was confiscated at the time of his death by the pasha in question. The petition that includes this information was written by the children of Mıgırđıç, although it is simply signed as the "children of the late aforementioned" who do not disclose their identities.¹⁰³³ The ungrounded confiscation of a banker's assets finds many parallels in Ottoman history, and was not out of the ordinary by any measure, being a firmly established aspect of the career of an Ottoman banker, and this document places Mıgırđıç in that crowded and unfortunate group.¹⁰³⁴ The analysis then proceeds with another document uncovered at the archives that ties Mıgırđıç to a prominent piece of land, adjacent to the imperial kiosk located in Tarabya¹⁰³⁵

¹⁰²⁹ Pamukcıyan does not devote a separate entry to the discussion of Mıgırđıç in his account; Mıgırđıç's name appears in that of Josef Manas as his father. (Pamukcıyan, *Ibid.*, 4:297.) Cf. Küçükasköylü, *Ibid.*, 168, Sürebahan, *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁰³⁰ BOA, DHSAİDd. 4/604 emerges as the most important document among these in providing a full account of Anton's activities, and it is this document that states that Anton was born to Mıgırđıç.

¹⁰³¹ BOA, MVL 166/56.

¹⁰³² The date appears on the second page of the document, in Latin numerals as a note that was put while cataloguing the document in the system of the Ottoman Archives. No other dates exist anywhere else on the document, so this date cannot be verified.

¹⁰³³ "Müteveffâ-i merkûmun evlâdları" (BOA, MVL 166/56)

¹⁰³⁴ Jamgocyan offers a list of bankers whose wealth had been confiscated from 1763 up through 1852, ending with Mıgırđıç Cezayirliyan, but does not include Mıgırđıç Manas. (Jamgocyan, *Ibid.*, 294-5.)

¹⁰³⁵ BOA, ŞD 2871/38.

that would later become the German Embassy's Summer Residence upon its bestowal on Germany by Abdülhamid II. The land in question, however, had been incorporated back into the imperial estates and prior to his death Mıgırdiç had been petitioning for its return to his possession. When the matter took too long to be resolved, his children took up petitioning where Mıgırdiç had left off. There are several document chains relating to the Manases' ownership of this land; namely ŞD 2856/48, ŞD 2873/18, DH.MKT 1381/112, BEO 18/1337, BEO 42/3144, BEO 100/7434, which will be scrutinized for more information concerning the state of affairs of the Manas family.

The chapter takes a text-centered approach with a focus on newly uncovered archival material, in an effort to unpack their implications and thereafter knit them together with the wider Ottoman reality. Some of the texts, which this chapter is founded on are petitions by the Manases, therefore the nature of petitioning as an extensively utilized tool of social impact and change and the rhetorical strategies that are widely applied in its genre to achieve desired rulings will provide the scaffolding to stand on in their interpretation. In order to parse the activities and experiences of the Manases and place them in the relevant milieu, the broader realities of the banking profession will also be discussed. The issues revolving around banker Manases and their children serve as a segue into the following discussion of prestige, and the broader financial standing of the family.

IV.2 Banker Manases

IV.2.1 Menasi/Manisar Manas

The first member of the family affiliated with the banking sector appears to be Menasi Manas who is described as having been a head silver or goldsmith and a banker associated with

the Imperial Mint.¹⁰³⁶ While many details of Menasi's banking career remain obscure, he appears to have served the *Kapudan Pasha*¹⁰³⁷ Küçük Hüseyin Paşa from 1 L 1206 A.H. up through 5 Ra 1207 A.H. (23 May – 7 October 1792), which becomes clear in the daily accounts of expenses¹⁰³⁸ belonging to the pasha that were drawn up by his *sarraf*, Hoca Menasi.¹⁰³⁹ Him being referred to as 'hoca'—a title that was used synonymously with that of *amira*—especially when the Manases' Catholic identity is factored into the equation, makes it likely that he was indeed an *amira*, a status, which distinguished its holder from all others in the Armenian community.¹⁰⁴⁰ Menasi is also identified as the chief goldsmith and banker of the Mint, jointly with Yorgi, where he earned a 60 *akçe* daily wage;¹⁰⁴¹ it is unclear, however, for how long he held this position prior to his death in 1802. C.MF 2/59 notes that Menasi's son Zenop applied to the government for the renewal of the patent of exemption, which he had held due to his father, but which expired upon his father's death.¹⁰⁴² The privilege of these patents of exemption¹⁰⁴³ given to bankers and their close family members, was an important factor not only in the bankers' ability to accumulate wealth, but perhaps more crucially in the ability of the family's non-bankers to do the same.¹⁰⁴⁴ Menasi had

¹⁰³⁶ Menasi Manas must be one and the same as Minas Ağa working at the Imperial Mint as a banker and head silver or goldsmith. Azadean describes Minas Ağa as having been a silversmith and Çark as a goldsmith. (Azadean, *Dadean Kertasdanê ew ir Aganawor Têmk'erê*, 15 BOA, C.MF 2/59, Çark, Ibid., 67; Beydilli, Ibid., 313n3.) Pamukçıyan has a separate entry on Minas Manasyan, whom he describes as a banker affiliated with the Imperial Mint, yet he does not associate him with the Manas family. (Pamukçıyan, *Ermeni Kaynaklarından Tarihe Katkılar: Biyografileriyle Ermeniler*, 4:298.)

¹⁰³⁷ Grand Admiral of the Navy

¹⁰³⁸ *defter-i masârifât-i yevmiye*

¹⁰³⁹ TS.MA, TS.MA.d 2108. Menasi's name appears along with the title 'hoca' in TS.MA.d 2108, 4, 8A, 11: "Darbhâne-i 'âmire sarrâfi Hoca Menase," while it appears simply as banker Menasi in TS.MA.d 2108, 2, 6, 9, 14.

¹⁰⁴⁰ This will be discussed further in the section on the family's prestige in the current chapter.

¹⁰⁴¹ Upon his death his post, patent of exemptions, and salary was transferred to Küçük Yorgi. (BOA, C.DRB 43/2137.) The document in question is dated to 15 S 1217 A.H. (June 17, 1802). While Beydilli records Menasi's date of death as September 1804, it is clear from this archival document that he in fact died before June 17, 1802. (Beydilli, Ibid., 314.)

¹⁰⁴² BOA, C.MF 2/59.

¹⁰⁴³ *mu'âfiyet berâtı*

¹⁰⁴⁴ It is worth noting that the privileges offered by the *mu'âfiyet berâtı* expired for its associated beneficiaries upon the death of the banker to whom the original rights had been granted, so that the non-bakers of a family might suddenly find themselves in financial straits as happened to the Manases. Zenop lost the benefits of the patent that had been

received this patent of exemption on 23 S 1206 A.H. (October 22, 1791), which covered his sons as well as two of his servants, exempting them from the *jizya*, the *avarız* and the *tekalif* taxes¹⁰⁴⁵ and granting them an extensive indemnity over the entirety of their assets—although it is unclear how airtight this was—as well as immunity from a wide range of judicial proceedings.¹⁰⁴⁶

IV.2.2 The Second Generation's Links to Banking

The participation of the second-generation Manases in banking after Menasi is established by the registry of Catholic Armenians that had been compiled by the Armenian Patriarch at the order of the Sultan and the registry of those Catholic Armenians deemed to be malicious.¹⁰⁴⁷ In the first of these documents Mıgırdıç and Püzant are both identified as bankers while a previously unknown son of Menasi, namely Naseb/Nasip, is said to have been affiliated with the Imperial Mint, a segment of the financial sector which was very much under the monopoly of the Catholic Armenians, beginning in 1758 with the appointment of Mikayel Düz as its head. This continued to be the case up through the reign of Abdülmecid I, excluding a brief period after the ‘catastrophic’ events that befell the Düz, when the renowned non-Catholic Harutyun *Amira* Bezciyan was appointed as co-head of the Imperial Mint¹⁰⁴⁸ alongside Boğos *Amira* Bilezikçıyan, a Catholic

given to his father, until he reapplied and was successfully granted one for himself. (BOA, C.MF 2/59. Cf. Beydilli, Ibid., 313-4.)

¹⁰⁴⁵ The *jizya* was an annual tax levied on the permanent *dhimmi* population of the Empire for the creation of a fund to cover public disbursements while the *avarız* was a tax that had originally been established as a wartime necessity or one which would be enforced to cover large sudden expenses, but which in time evolved into a regular tax paid by registered households. The *Tekalif-i orfiye* would be put into effect during extraordinary times whereas the *tekalif-i şakka*, usually considered iniquitous, was a burdensome tax that was not permissible by sharia law.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Beydilli, Ibid., 313, BOA, C.MF 2/59. The Ottoman state took measures to make sure that these exemptions would not be abused and set clear regulations one of which was for the names of Menasi's sons and servants to be clearly stated so that other, ineligible individuals would not be able to take advantage of these privileges. The government also curtailed the patent holders' exemption from property taxes by stating that the exemptions would only be valid for properties acquired prior to the issuance of the patent. (Beydilli, Ibid., 313-4.) Moreover, the central government reiterated the annulment of the previously granted privilege in such patents which allowed the patent holders to wear yellow footwear, which was a color reserved only for Muslims. (BOA, C.MF 2/59.)

¹⁰⁴⁷ BOA, HAT 1235/48038.

¹⁰⁴⁸ *darbhâne emîni*

Armenian, after he came back from exile.¹⁰⁴⁹ Before he passed away Bezciyan bequeathed that Hagop Düz should succeed him in this position,”¹⁰⁵⁰ thereby prompting the resumption of the Düz’ control over the Mint. Nasip, seems to have been employed in a lesser position than the Masters of the Mint, though the registry is short on additional details.¹⁰⁵¹ Nasip’s involvement in banking at the Imperial Mint comes as no surprise knowing that his father, Menasi Manas, was also affiliated with this institution in the capacity of banker, as highlighted above. The second document, which shares the same reference code as the first, includes the Manases under the section ‘other craftsmen,’ where they are listed as former bankers. It does specify, however, that at least Mıgırdiç was involved in the sub-sector of banking described as ‘*mukâta’a sarrâfliği*’ where a banker loaned large amounts of money to notables who were looking to purchase taxing rights to land in the *malikane* system, which was launched in 1695.¹⁰⁵²

¹⁰⁴⁹ Bezciyan had been sent into exile in 1820 on account of his participation in the group of Armenian grandees that drafted the document *Hrawēr Siroy* (Invitation to Love), in an effort to unite the Orthodox and Catholic Armenians under the banner of the Armenian Patriarchate. Upon the havoc that was wrecked at the project’s unveiling, however, most of these grandees including Bezciyan were sent into exile by the Sultan. (Ch’akmakchean, *Ētardzag badmut’iwn hayots’*: *skizpēn minch’ew mer ôrerē*, 561-2; Palasanean, *Patmut’iwn hayots’*: *skzbits’ minch’ew mer ôrerē*, 714-7; Yarman, *Ibid.*, 110.)

¹⁰⁵⁰ Dadyan, *Ibid.*, 23-5.

¹⁰⁵¹ In his discussion of Püzant, Çark mentions another Manas by the name of Krikor who at some point was employed at the Imperial Mint, without divulging his sources. (Çark, *Ibid.*, 143; Sürbahan, *Ibid.*, 44.) This cannot be verified due to a lack of available information on the matter. However, were this true, it would mean that the Manases had also established themselves at the Mint. It is important to note here that there is a reference to a Krikor Manasean Aghay (*agha*) of Constantinople who was a *mukat’a sarafi* (Մուկաթա սարափի) in Mrmërean. Krikor Manas appears in the section where Mrmërean discusses the contemporary great Roman [Catholic] Armenians (the term *մեծաւորնիւ* could also be translated as financier; it is unclear if the author was using the word in its general sense or to particularly underline their line of work) of the 19th century living in the Ottoman Empire, five or six of whom he says were called *amira*, but who more generally bore the title *hōcay* or *ch’ēlēbi* instead, on account of their moral authority and financial and intellectual power. (Mrmërean, *Masnagan badmut’iwn hay metsadunneru: 1400 ēn 1900*, 106, 110.) While Azadean mentions a Krikor ‘Manasean’ Aghay of the Imperial Mint as a *mukat’a sarafi*, Pamukciyan has a brief entry on Krikor Manasyan Ağa who lived in the 19th century and was a banker affiliated with the Imperial Mint. (Azadean, *Dadean Kertasdanē ew ir Aganawor Tēm’erē*, 15, Cf. Çark, *Ibid.*, 67, 67n2; ; Pamukciyan, *Ermeni Kaynaklarından Tarihe Katkılar: Biyografileriyle Ermeniler*, 4:298.) It is important to note here that in another work Mrmërean lists *aghay* as a word that is used interchangeably with *amira*, which could be taken to mean that Krikor Manas was in fact an *amira*. (Mrmërean, *Hin ôrer u ayt ôrerun hay metsadunnerē: 1550-1870*, 5.)

¹⁰⁵² The earlier *tımar* system, which resembled the Islamic *iqta* and the Eastern Roman *pronoia*, as well as many others that came before it, was the tax-farming system of the Ottoman Empire from approximately 1300 to 1600. This system granted to an individual the revenue from a piece of land with the provision that part of that revenue be used by the fief holder to feed and maintain a number of mounted soldiers for the Ottoman State—the number each was obligated

Due to the inherent ambiguity in the phrasing of the sentence, it is unclear how many of the Manases listed after Mıgırdiç were in fact bankers, but the phrasing leans more towards suggesting that *sarraḡ* applied to all of them rather than just to Mıgırdiç, which is reinforced by the clear indication in the first document that at least two, meaning Mıgırdiç and Püzant, were bankers and that Nasip was affiliated with the Mint. Again the word ‘sâbık’ that appears before the word *sarraḡ* is understood to mark this profession as their former rather than current line of work.¹⁰⁵³ While another possible conclusion that can be derived from this document is that Zenop had also worked as a banker before he switched to language instruction, as his late age allows for the possibility of a former career in a different sector, his language instruction career that began at the age of 20¹⁰⁵⁴ as well as statements about his inability to make a living during his career¹⁰⁵⁵ definitively prove otherwise. The existence of his translation and language instruction careers do not categorically rule out the possibility of him having pursued these activities alongside a career in banking, yet, his financial suffering throughout his professional life clearly indicates that he was

to provide being relative to the land’s revenue. Each piece of land was categorized as belonging to one of the three tiers based on the range of annual revenue it could yield; namely: 3,000 to 20,000 called *tımar*, 20,000 to 100,000 called *zeamet*, and above 100,000 *akçes* called *has*, which were awarded to cavalymen (*sipahi*), second grade officers (*sanjak-beys*) (lit. lord of the standard), or *beylerbeys* (lit. bey of beys), respectively. The pieces of land that yielded large revenues could not be inherited by the former bey’s progeny upon his death, but the *timariots* were allowed to pass the land onto their sons in some instances, assuming their continued loyal service, though even this was rare and difficult to arrange. The Ottoman Empire later switched to the *iltizam* system, where the rights to tax different plots of land were auctioned off for an upfront payment. In turn, these investors tried to raise enough through taxation to earn their investment back with interest. While this reduced the administrative burden on the state and hedged against the risk of lower than expected tax revenues or delayed payments, it also resulted in the overburdening of the land and the peasants as the owners of these tax rights sought to boost their earnings. At the end of the 17th century the state saw a great need for an influx of cash to the treasury; a problem, which was resolved through the transition from short-term *iltizam* contracts to life-long ones, known as the *malikane* system. This new fiscal arrangement introduced in 1695 functioned as an internal borrowing mechanism. It also had the effect of reducing exploitation of lands by creating a long-term interest in the productivity of the lands in contrast to the prior short-term stake of contract holders, who had a tendency to exploit the lands and the farmers to the greatest extent possible. (Genç, “A study of the feasibility of using eighteenth-century Ottoman financial records as an indicator of economic activity,” *The Ottoman Empire and The World Economy*, ed. Huri Islamoglu-Inan, 347.)

¹⁰⁵³ While ‘sâbık’ could also be translated as prominent, the Manases’ inclusion in the list titled ‘other craftsmen’ rather than the list above it comprising the names of bankers, deems this possibility obsolete.

¹⁰⁵⁴ MAD.d 7917, p. 473.

¹⁰⁵⁵ MAD.d 7917, p. 473.

not involved in the lucrative profession of banking. He may have been falsely identified as a banker due to the patent of exemption granted to him once the one that initially covered him through his banker father Menasi expired,¹⁰⁵⁶ as was highlighted above.

As for the banking career of Püzant whose diplomatic career has been discussed previously in the relevant chapter, it can only be added that this transition from a career in banking to one in Foreign Service significantly diminished his chances for a substantial income. As Consul General of Vienna he was earning a monthly salary of 100 florins (1100 *kuruş*)¹⁰⁵⁷ and when he passed away, left behind an estate amounting to 2091 florins and 34 kreuzers/krajcar, meaning 230 gold or 23,000 silver coins¹⁰⁵⁸ to his nephews Rupen, Sebu, Josef, Gaspar, Anton, Artin,¹⁰⁵⁹ and nieces Mari and Sofi.¹⁰⁶⁰ Compared to Mıgırdiç, who continued to work as a banker and was able to leave behind at least 83,000 *kuruş*, if not more, Püzant's finances were less substantial. Although a set of documents dating to 1888-1890, more than three decades after Püzant's passing indicate that an additional sum in the amount of 1345 florins and 72.5 kreuzers,¹⁰⁶¹ 148 gold *liras*, 14,800 *kuruş*,

¹⁰⁵⁶ BOA, C.MF 2/59.

¹⁰⁵⁷ BOA, HR.MKT 20/60, HR.MKT 143/2. This figure does not include the per diem however, and those employed in consular services are known to have received per diems. Given that Anton was working at the Vienna Embassy and earning an amount of 290 florins per month (150 florins salary and 140 florins per diem), it can be construed that Püzant was in reality earning around 190-200 florins with the per diem included.

¹⁰⁵⁸ This calculation is based on table 13.1 "The exchange rates of other currencies expressed in Ottoman gold *liras*, 1850-1914" presented by Pamuk. (Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, 209.) This amounted to 1518 grams of gold given that each gold coin included 6.6% of actual gold, meaning the amount equaled 48.8 troy ounces and approximately 85,000 USD.

¹⁰⁵⁹ BOA, HR.MKT 297/2 indicates that Püzant Manas' inheritance had been apportioned among the inheritors but that head translator of the Vienna Embassy, Gaspar Manas, had not received his share, even though a named Artin Manas who is listed as a nephew of Püzant living in Vienna, had received his. This is the first and last reference to Artin, it is unclear whose son he was.

¹⁰⁶⁰ BOA, HR.MKT 144/75, HR.MKT 159/97, HR.MKT 286/63, HR.MKT 297/2, HR.H 219/2.

¹⁰⁶¹ BOA, HR.H 219/2_8. There are variations in the amounts listed throughout this archival chain (BOA, HR.H 219/2) and the one provided above is from the most recent document dated December 19, 1889. The amount appears as 1500 florins in the petition by Josef and Sofi Manas, which would correspond to 165 gold or 16,500 silver coins, dated to 19 Safer 1306 A.H./13 teşrîn-i evvel 1304/ October 25, 1888. (BOA, HR.H 219/2_36.) In addition to the money Carl Steiner informed them of, they also ask for any further sum that may be due to their uncle from the company be paid to them. The amount that is reported as 1500 florins appears as 3000 francs in the document (document 32 of this chain) from the Armenian Catholic Patriarchate to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated 29 teşrîn-i sâni 1304/ December 11, 1888: "Manâsyan Pôzânt Efendi'nin tereke-i metrûkesine bu def'a Karl Isteiner (Carl Steiner) nâm

that had remained unknown to the inheritors¹⁰⁶² was due to them by the bankrupt Geine Müller Company to which Püzant had been a creditor.¹⁰⁶³ The inheritors were informed of this additional amount by the clerk Carl Steiner who demanded that $\frac{1}{3}$ of this sum be left to him for his communication of this intelligence, but eventually settled for the 200 florins offered to him by the heirs who found his initial suggestion excessive.¹⁰⁶⁴ Given the amount Püzant was owed as his share of the bankruptcy of this Viennese company and the archival evidence that he had previously worked as a banker, it is most likely the case that he continued to loan money and invest in businesses, possibly as a means of supplementing the more limited income he received as a salary for his appointment as consul general.¹⁰⁶⁵ With his expertise in banking and his operations in the financial realm of diplomacy by representing the Sublime Porte's and its merchants' trade interests in Vienna he would have been well-placed to pursue such activities. This argument is further bolstered by another document dated to 3 M 1273 A.H. (September 3, 1856) indicating that several merchants owed Püzant money and a council was formed in Vienna for the collection and payment

zâtın muhbirliği ve Viyana'da saltanat-ı seniyye sefâreti te'sîr ve ma'rifetiyle üç bin frânk mîkdârı bir meblağ tahsîl olunabileceğini..." However, Pamuk does not assign an equivalence of 1 to 2 between the florin and the franc, rather suggesting that the Austrian florin's value compared to the Ottoman gold lira was 0.11 in 1850, and the French franc's value was 0.0433. So 3000 francs would equal 129 gold coins or 12,900 silver coins. (See Table 13.1 in Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, 209.)

¹⁰⁶² BOA, HR.H 219/2.

¹⁰⁶³ BOA, HR.H 219/2_38. This is the letter addressed to Sébough Manasse by Carl Steiner (II. Blumauergasse Nr. 2.) dated October 18, 1888. (The envelope (HR.H 219/2_40-41) indicates that the letter in question was placed in the responsibility of S. Hekimian and his address is provided as Galata Sélanique Khan No. 25, Constantinople) In this letter Steiner suggests to the inheritors that they would have never known of this amount were it not for him and remonstrates with Sebuğ by pointing out that he finds it unjust that his claim to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the amount is refused. Later, however, he accepts the 200 florins offered to him by the inheritors. (HR.H 219/2_22.) Steiner also indicates in this letter that one of his lawyers wanted to get in touch with Sebuğ, but was informed that he had moved his place of residence in Paris.

¹⁰⁶⁴ BOA, HR.H 219/2_22, HR.H 219/2_26, HR.H 219/2_27.

¹⁰⁶⁵ BOA, HR.H 219/2_8. Josef and Sofî additionally point out that the Geine Müller company had owed their uncle a large sum of money which would have been issued at its bankruptcy. While this amount due to Püzant was issued, later, Püzant allowed Monsieur Geinemüller to pay this sum in multiple installments since Geinemüller was a man of his word. Püzant's inheritors had been paid some of this amount 26 years prior, but Carl Steiner informed them of an amount yet to be paid to them, which Josef and Sofî report to be 1500 florins. (BOA, HR.H 219/2_36.) In later correspondence, however, the amount appears as 1345, and with 200 deducted to be paid to Steiner, the amount that was left to the inheritors appears as 1145. (BOA, HR.H 219/2_4,5,6.)

of the debts that Püzant's heirs were asking to be settled.¹⁰⁶⁶ Thus, the total estate left behind by Püzant equaled at least 37,500 silver *kuruş*.

In the framework of the mass exile of Catholic Armenians in 1828 government officials had entertained the risk of banishing the bankers included in this group. The Ottoman high administrative circles discussed whether the state would suffer were Catholic Armenian *sarrafs* included in the exile and, while they arrived at the conclusion that there would be material losses in pursuing such a course of action, it was nonetheless a necessary sacrifice to maintain order. Arguments were also put forth suggesting that the *sarrafs* were not really so essential and that, “aside from submitting the sums that came from the areas subject to the *iltizam* and earning undeserved money in the process,” they really did not do that much.¹⁰⁶⁷ Nevertheless, it seems like the Ottoman administration was genuinely concerned about the successful continuation of affairs, which highlights the essential role that the *sarrafs* played in the existing system.¹⁰⁶⁸ The banishment of the bankers during this exile may have forced some of them into other career paths upon their return as was the case for Püzant. Mıgırdıç seems to have been the only member of the family who continued with his career in banking on his return, as is evidenced by MVL 166/56, transcribed in the following section. The Manases frequently and skillfully used petitioning as a legal recourse mechanism that was highly encouraged by the sultans themselves as a check on intermediary power holders, in contrast to other systems like that of Russia and British India, where petitioning peasants were disciplined.¹⁰⁶⁹

As was previously discussed in the dissertation introduction, petitioners often elaborated and exaggerated their circumstances, “creat[ing] a ‘fictional narrative’ by embellishing stories

¹⁰⁶⁶ BOA, HR.MKT 157/85.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Beydilli, *Recognition of the Armenian Catholic Community*, 9.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy*, 286.

about themselves, conveying their emotions, and remolding their identities.”¹⁰⁷⁰ However, it is important to approach the authors of these petitions not as fraudulent actors,¹⁰⁷¹ but as individuals who were reproducing events within the bounds of a specific genre that demanded a heightened emotional vocabulary. Similarly, it would be a mistake to be caught up in the ‘submissive’ tone of these petitions and conclude that the dynamic was characterized by obsequious entreaties from downtrodden subjects to an omnipotent ruler¹⁰⁷² or to fail to recognize the common formulas and phrases in these petitions as such.

While the *arzuhalci* was usually involved in the process of composing the petition, the Manases who were employed in bureaucratic and diplomatic positions would presumably possess the savvy to be able to produce petitions on their own behalf. Yet, not all of the petitions by the male members of the family bear the signature of their authors, some are simply signed as ‘Manas’¹⁰⁷³ or the “children of the late aforementioned,”¹⁰⁷⁴ so it is not possible to discern whether they were composed by individuals with the necessary wherewithal or not. Even in those instances, however, those members of the family who might not have possessed the requisite knowledge, may have been able to rely on their relatives or on writing manuals that had become widespread, which enabled people from all walks of life to write petitions which would fit into the necessary parameters.¹⁰⁷⁵

The petitioners who “engaged in a creative process of crafting their own political and social personae”¹⁰⁷⁶ employed a range of rhetorical strategies including merging their own personal

¹⁰⁷⁰ Akin, *Ibid.*, 433-4. Cf. White, *The Emergence of Minorities in the Middle East*, 6.

¹⁰⁷¹ Tuğ, *Ibid.*, 111-2.

¹⁰⁷² Darling, “Petitioning the Sultan: protests and justice in late Ottoman Palestine, by Yuval Ben-Bassat,” 270.

¹⁰⁷³ BOA, ŞD. 2873/18.

¹⁰⁷⁴ BOA, MVL 166/56.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Ben-Bassat and Zachs, *Ibid.*, 1-4.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Akin, *Ibid.*, 443-4.

interests with that of the state,¹⁰⁷⁷ and appealing to the magnanimity of the sultan, which underpinned his legitimacy as per the social contract, in an attempt to secure favorable rulings. In the Manases' petitions, the reliance on sultanic magnanimity in the sultan's capacity as the 'haven of justice' is a salient feature,¹⁰⁷⁸ as is the Manases' strong emphasis on their loyal enduring service to the court.¹⁰⁷⁹ They also employed detailed descriptions of their 'poor' living situation¹⁰⁸⁰ and poignantly conveyed their requests as a discursive strategy. In some instances, as in the case of the petition that directly follows, the Manases resorted to the oversight of the imperial authorities to thwart the '*zulm*' of an 'abusive' intermediate power such as Kamili Paşa. Even though a favorable decision had been reached in their case, the resolution was not being carried out, which is why the Manases petitioned the Imperial Council as "a way to facilitate or intervene in the local legal judgment and enforcement process"¹⁰⁸¹ as the intermediary structures including the qadi courts were not autonomous and the intervention of the sultans in judicial proceedings was well within accepted norms.¹⁰⁸²

IV.2.3 Mıgırdıç & His Unjustly Confiscated Estate

When our father Mıgırdıç was serving His Excellency Kamili Paşa during his governorship of Erzurum in the capacity of banker, he passed away and even though the inheritors were not prepared, a ledger of account had been drawn up there and the 83,000 *kuruş* worth of belongings, debts, and cash of the late aforementioned have been taken as payment of his alleged debt. Upon hearing [of this], the fact that the amount in question was the true property of the late aforementioned has been proven by means of an '*ilâm-ı şer'î*' in the presence of His Excellency the *shaykh al-Islam* during the pleadings through the agency of our executor Hosref. The matter of the inquiry into the book and documents in question presented by His Excellency the aforementioned pasha pertaining to the mentioned debt, have been referred by the *shaykh al-Islam* to the Imperial Mint. Upon the investigation of the matter several times, it was concluded and reported by means of a mandate that the documents and books in question were not

¹⁰⁷⁷ Ibid., 444-5.

¹⁰⁷⁸ BOA, MVL 166/56.

¹⁰⁷⁹ BOA, ŞD. 2873/18, MVL 166/56.

¹⁰⁸⁰ BOA, ŞD. 2873/18, MVL 166/56.

¹⁰⁸¹ Tuğ, Ibid., 104.

¹⁰⁸² Baldwin, "Petitioning the Sultan in Ottoman Egypt." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 75, no. 3 (2012), 502-3.

reputable. As a result, decrees have been repeatedly issued stating that the aforementioned amount should be ceded to the inheritors. Even though its decree fee has been paid in full, we have been stalled by authorities who state that the decree will have to be issued for a second time. The long duration of this process and the wait for the sharia decree that we have been repeatedly told will be issued any day [but has not been,] having been turned into a knot of delay, we had no choice in the matter, but to raise the issue with the Supreme Council. And given that in addition to all the toil and grievances, we have incurred quite a bit of cost, and heaven knows we have not been able to acquire an answer of a mediating nature even from the Supreme Council, our aforementioned executor has had enough of the matter and has been unable to pursue it [any further]. Therefore, the aforementioned amount of 83,000 and more *kuruş* which is rightfully ours, has been left in the possession of the pasha in question. His Highness the Sultan, who is the shadow of justice, demands and deems as necessary the protection of the subjects of the imperial realm altogether from oppression and injustice. It would be against the will of His Majesty the Sultan and the will of His Excellency the Vizier for us humble four siblings, despite being true and devoted, each scattered some place doing as much as we can by performing service, to resist the enemy on land and sea, being committed to the point of self-sacrifice for our gracious benefactor, our Sultan, to be inflicted with malice and damages as has been reported...¹⁰⁸³

The document is dated to 12 Za 1271 A.H. (July 27, 1855), however this date is not part of the archival material, but is a later note that was inserted while cataloguing it in the system of the Ottoman Archives. While the date on this document cannot be readily verified, it cannot be dated earlier than 1840 which marks the date of Kamili Paşa's appointment to the governorship of Erzurum. Two chains of documents¹⁰⁸⁴ regarding the plot of land in Tarabya which was in the possession of Mıgırdıç offer additional information in assessing the accuracy of the date provided. Both of these documents indicate that for about twenty five years the Manases had been petitioning to reclaim the Tarabya estate and point out that initially the father Mıgırdıç had been alive and overseeing the process. Given that the first of these is dated to April 19, 1870, Mıgırdıç must have still been alive by 1845. Taking into consideration the fact that the Manases explicitly state that the conflict with Kamili Paşa had been an ongoing issue, the passing of their father should be understood to have preceded the date of this petition by at least a few months. This data allows the

¹⁰⁸³ BOA, MVL 166/56.

¹⁰⁸⁴ BOA, ŞD 2856/48 (dated April 19, 1870) and ŞD 2873/18.

time frame to be narrowed down to 1845-1855. This also provides an approximate date for Mıgirdiç's death, to go with his known date of birth in 1794.

The above document is useful first and foremost in providing information on a member of the Manas family, whose life had almost entirely been shrouded in mystery and secondarily in placing Mıgirdiç on the map as a banker and through providing details regarding his profession, one of the most lucrative in Ottoman society and one held by the highest echelon of the Armenian community, that of the *amiras*. Although it is important to recognize that there were bankers of various stature and reputation, being the banker to a pasha, most certainly places Mıgirdiç in the highest tier. Nevertheless, it is unclear whether the 83,000 *kuruş* in question constitutes the entirety of his wealth or, as is more likely, is only a fraction of it. In this document Mıgirdiç is listed as the *sandûk sarrâfi*, in contrast to the previous document where he is recorded as a former *mukâta'a sarrâfi* before the exile.¹⁰⁸⁵

The actions undertaken by Kamili Paşa¹⁰⁸⁶ in order to confiscate the wealth of his banker fit the general pattern perfectly as many bankers were unjustly relieved of their assets either on occasion of the ruin of the state grandee they had been working for, or in the event that the very grandee they had been serving came after them, slandering them in order to get out of the large debt that he owed. The petition submitted by Mıgirdiç's children makes clear that the charges levied against him by Kamili Paşa, namely that Mıgirdiç left behind a debt, were not grounded in fact. The evidence that the pasha in question submitted was not found to have been reputable during the inquiries that were carried out by the Imperial Mint officers. The heirs of Mıgirdiç lamented that even though the inquiries into the matter by the Imperial Mint officers had been

¹⁰⁸⁵ BOA, HAT 1235/48038. Beydilli lists 25 *sarrâfs* who were included in the exile.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Halil Kamili Paşa (? - 1866) was sent with the rank of vizier to serve as Governor of Erzurum in 1840, he then served as the Governor of Bosnia. It remains unclear how long he served in that capacity before being transferred to Bosnia; it would enable a more accurate dating of the document at hand if the exact dates of his tenure were known.

concluded in their favor, they continued to be stalled by authorities who gave them pretexts as to why it was taking long and the funds were not being released into their possession. The heirs also raise the extra charges they incurred as a result of their chasing the issue and bring up their executor Hosref's unwillingness to pursue the matter any further as an additional inconvenience.

Another finding in this document is the very mention of the four siblings who were involved in the petitioning. While Josef is widely recognized as being Mıgırdiç's son, and Anton had also been proven to be so,¹⁰⁸⁷ although his mention in the documents on the Tarabya land reinforce this connection even further,¹⁰⁸⁸ it is less clear who the other two might have been. There is reasonable evidence to suggest that Aleksan¹⁰⁸⁹ was the other son—a member of the family who will not be examined in this dissertation beyond the detailed biography offered below, since he falls outside the scope of research given the lack of his participation in Foreign Service, court painting, or banking. There is a strong case to be made in favor of him being the third sibling since his name also appears in the documents on the Tarabya land.¹⁰⁹⁰ Aleksan was the husband of Maryonka and the father of Avrani and Edgar Manas,¹⁰⁹¹ who are recorded to have received a salary after the passing of Aleksan on 20 Kânûn-ı sâni 1300 (the date is based on the Rûmî calendar, the Gregorian equivalent is February 1, 1884), who had worked in the capacity of head translator to the Ottoman Public Debt Administration. As per the administrative decision, each had been assigned a salary of 558 *kuruş*, with the caveat that Edgar would only receive it until he turned 20.¹⁰⁹² Aleksan's right to the land in question was also passed down to his inheritors listed above,

¹⁰⁸⁷ BOA, DHAİDd. 4/604, HAT 1235/48038. Anton is referred to as “the son of the late banker” in a document dated 18 Ş 1274 A.H. (April 3, 1858). (BOA, HR.MKT 233/80.)

¹⁰⁸⁸ BOA, ŞD 2871/38_3_1.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Also appears as Aleksi.

¹⁰⁹⁰ BEO 18/1337_16_1, BEO 18/1337_19_1.

¹⁰⁹¹ BOA, ŞD. 867/67.

¹⁰⁹² BOA, ŞD. 867/67 is also of interest as it comprises what appears to be a full account of Aleksan's professional life, with the exact dates down to the month as well as the salaries. Aleksan like many other members of the family

as will be discussed in further detail later in this chapter.¹⁰⁹³ While another diplomat of the Manas family who is known to not have been Zenop's son, namely Pol Manas, emerges as another possible candidate, HR.MKT 79/91 definitely proves otherwise. This document pertains to Anton's replacement in the Vienna Embassy by Pol Manas following Anton's petition where he raised his discontent with his appointment in Vienna because he had not been able to adapt to the climate and was financially suffering due to the loss of part of his salary each month because of the foreign currency exchange rates. The crucial detail that nullifies the possibility of the two being brothers is the raising of the issue of Pol's sick father as an additional reason for Pol's appointment to Vienna in an attempt to curtail the suffering of the family. If the two had been brothers, one would not have been replacing the other on these grounds. It is also possible for Piyer Manas,

had only been meagerly discussed in the scholarship up to this point. Pamukçıyan says that Aleksan died sometime before 1888 and that he had studied at the Paris Mouradyan College and that he was translator and officer at the records department of the 6th District of the Municipality (Beyoğlu). Çark does not have more to offer and Sürbahan uses Çark and Pamukçıyan's accounts to reiterate their findings, which she also alludes to in a later article she published. (Pamukçıyan, *Ibid.*, 4:296, Çark, *Ibid.*, 191, Sürbahan, *Ibid.*, 120 (Appendix I), Küçükhasköylü, *Ibid.*, 168.) Because he falls outside the scope of this dissertation the information provided on him will be limited to the contents of this footnote. The document at hand lists Aleksan's first appointment as translator to the maritime force that had been dispatched to England, with a salary of 600 *kuruş* effective (based on the Rûmî calendar) 15 Hazîrân 1266 until 21 Ağustos 1267, from which point he was laid off for 2 years 4 months and 27 days (from 22 Ağustos 1267 up through 18 Kânûn-ı sâni 1269.) His next appointment appears to have been as translator for communication between the Ottoman and French navies during the Crimean War in 1853; France was one of the allies of the Ottoman Empire in this war against Russia. This appointment earned him 1000 *kuruş* per month, and he pursued it from 19 Kânûn-ı sâni 1269 up through 4 Mâys 1273. Then he was posted as translator to the Hüdâvendigâr *Vilâyet* (otherwise known as the Bursa *Vilâyet*, comprising what is today Bursa, Çanakkale, Afyon, Kütahya, Balıkesir, Sakarya, and Bilecik) with a salary of 1500 *kuruş* which he pursued from 5 Mâys 1273 up through the end of Şubât 1275, for a total of 2 years 9 months and 26 days. His longest appointment was to the Office of Records and Translation at the 6th District Municipality, covering Beyoğlu and Galata, which he pursued for a total of 20 years from 1 Mârt 1276 up through the end of Şubât 1295, with a salary of 2000 *kuruş*. (The 6th District Municipality was established in order to introduce European urban services to Istanbul as well as to regulate commerce; though the first of its kind in Istanbul, this municipal district was known as the sixth after the *sixième arrondissement* of Paris—the heart of Paris—given that this area was the most thriving and thus the Istanbul equivalent of it.) His last posting was as head translator to the Ottoman Public Debt Administration (Düyûn-ı Umûmiyye-i 'Osmâniye Vâridât-ı Muhassasa İdâresi) which he pursued from 1 Mârt 1296 until his passing on 20 Kânûn-ı sâni 1300, although due to his changing salary this posting appears in five consecutive rows (as though they were different appointments); the first appointment from 1 Mârt 1296 to end of Mârt 1296 with a salary of 2450 *kuruş*, the second from 1 Nisân 1296 until end of Hazîrân 1296 with a salary of 2041 *kuruş*, the third from 1 Temmûz 1296 to 14 Eylûl 1298 with a salary of 2400 *kuruş*, the fourth from 15 Eylûl 1298 to the end of Temmûz 1299 with a salary of 2500 *kuruş*, and finally from 1 Ağustos 1299 until 20 Kânûn-ı sâni 1300 with a salary of 2600 *kuruş*.

¹⁰⁹³ See BEO 18/1337_16_1, BEO 18/1337_19_1.

whose biographical details remain tenebrous, to have been the unidentified sibling, however, there is no evidence to link him to Mıgırdiç. It is also important to recognize that the word “karındâş” used in the document to mean sibling is gender neutral, so it could possibly be referring to a sister.

IV.3 Armenian Bankers & Their Crucial Position at the Fulcrum of the Empire’s Financial System

It will be worthwhile at this point to briefly discuss the preeminent position Armenians held in the banking sector¹⁰⁹⁴ beginning in the reign of Ahmed III to put the banker Manases’ careers and lives into perspective. In order to assess this, the bankers’ pivotal support of the Empire’s financial system until the penetration of European banking practices in the latter half of the 19th century, their very influential yet deeply precarious positions, as well as their impressive fortunes and riveting estates will be discussed. Information on Armenian bankers abounds in European accounts on the Ottoman Empire, which for the period in question offer insights into the Armenian bankers’ operations and prominence. These are not only valuable for their corroboration of widely acknowledged facts, but also for their conveyance of the European perception, which was not free of value judgments by any measure. Therefore, while being cautious of the pitfalls of bias inherent in them, the specific prejudices that these bankers were viewed with will be highlighted in some instances as they enable a glimpse into the European impression of the Ottoman reality.

From the reign of Ahmed III the Ottoman Armenians emerged as the most influential group within the sector. With the advent of Armenians’ control over the three segments of banking, namely the Corporation of the *Sarrafs*, the Sublime Porte, and the Palace, the influence of the Jews was relegated to the Mint and the Janissaries. The rise of Catholic Armenians to prominence in

¹⁰⁹⁴ Excluding the Janissary segment which continued to be administered by the Jews until the corp’s abolition in 1826.

the sector with figures from the Tingiryan, Davudoğlu, and Bilezikçiyan families and most importantly the Düz who took over the affairs of the Mint, the Jews' share in the sector further shrank and became limited to the Janissary corps alone.¹⁰⁹⁵ The private banking of the sultans was conducted exclusively by Armenians from the lattermost period of Ahmed III's reign, who was served by Erévanents Serpos from 1727 up through 1730, until the reign of Abdülmecid I, who employed Hagop Bey Düz and Artin Küçükoglu, but who also received services for a year from Abraham Salomon Camondo, a Jew.¹⁰⁹⁶ Again, the bankers of the Sublime Porte listed by Jamgocyan from 1718 until 1852 are all Armenian with the exception of Jeosua Soncino, a Jew, and Scanavi Capsaloni, a Greek, who both seem to have served for a year each.¹⁰⁹⁷ The heads of the Imperial Mint from 1758 on were Armenians to the exclusion of all other groups,¹⁰⁹⁸ and the heads of the Banker Corporation headquartered in Istanbul likewise appear to have been Armenians from 1731 up through 1850.¹⁰⁹⁹ The majority of the bankers of high dignitaries as well as the bankers who worked in Constantinople were also Armenian¹¹⁰⁰ and hence, the Armenians' prominent standing in the banking sector remained essentially unchallenged into the reign of Abdülmecid I.

In the lead up to the reign of Ahmed III, while there had been some important Armenian bankers, the Jews controlled the banking sector.¹¹⁰¹ Even though it remains unclear what caused this switch, some have argued that it was tied closely to the discrediting of Sabbatai Sevi, which tainted the image of all Jews, while others argue that the Jews' influence in banking may have

¹⁰⁹⁵ Jamgocyan, *Ibid.*, 37n1.

¹⁰⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 283.

¹⁰⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 284-5.

¹⁰⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 286.

¹⁰⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 287.

¹¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 289-290, 291-3.

¹¹⁰¹ Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques dans Constantinople et sur les rives du Bosphore, suivies d'une notice sur la Dalmatie*, 3:200-1.

declined on account of the services they offered to the Janissaries, which eventually lost them their more elite clientele.¹¹⁰² Irrespective of the reason behind it, this transition allowed ample opportunity for the expansion of Armenian influence in the sector beyond the limited representation the community had previously had going back to “Ruhitcan of Van, *sarrâfbaşı* of Hüsrev Paşa, Grand Vizier from 1628 to 1631, and of Yeremia Hamtetsi, Chief Financial Officer of Ahmed Paşa Hazarpara, Grand Vizier from 1647 to 1648, [and] Armenian Abro Çelebi as the treasurer and trusted advisor of Ahmed Paşa Koprülü from 1661 to 1676.”¹¹⁰³ European accounts validate the secondary position Jews held vis à vis Armenians in the sector, confirming that they had been ousted, “from the banking and property administration business with the distinguished Turks” by the Armenians,¹¹⁰⁴ and who, despite their renowned skill in matters of profit and finance “[shone] only in the second rank” after the Armenians.¹¹⁰⁵ There exist also more tendentious European views which suggest that the Jews had lost their prominence in banking to the Armenians due to their excessive greed, which they “regret to this day and begrudge the privilege and welfare of the Armenians.”¹¹⁰⁶

Armenians, who made up the biggest group among the bankers working for state grandees and the Sultan after the decline of the Jews in this profession, were indispensable to the continued operations of the Ottoman State, as they not only enabled the upkeep of the Sultan and state grandees, but also the *malikane* system on which the financial structure of the Ottoman Empire relied.¹¹⁰⁷ The new fiscal arrangement that was introduced in 1695 did not only have financial

¹¹⁰² Jamgocyan, *Ibid.*, 73-5.

¹¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰⁴ *Die Osmanen, Constantinopel und der türkische Staat*, 4:136-7:

¹¹⁰⁵ Collas, *La Turquie En 1861*, 30.

¹¹⁰⁶ Juchereau de Saint-Denys, *Ibid.*, 2:16n1. Juchereau de Saint-Denys, (not to be confused with the French-Canadian soldier Juchereau de St. Denis (1676-1744)), was *maréchal de camp* and former Director of Military Engineering in the Ottoman Empire.

¹¹⁰⁷ Cf. Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks*, 448-9; Engelhardt, *La Turquie et le tanzimât*, 1:106; Walsh, *Ibid.*, 2:430-1, Fowler, *Turkey, Or, A History of the Origin, Progress and Decline of the Ottoman Empire*, 304-5n.

ramifications, but was one that eventually reshaped the dynamics between the Ottoman state, and the Istanbulite and rural gentry, through “the appropriation as quasiprivate property...of much of the land previously controlled by the state.”¹¹⁰⁸ Even though these were technically life-long contracts, they occasionally remained in the hands of the same family for several generations, establishing “a base for political power”,¹¹⁰⁹ resulting in “the rise of semiautonomous local dynasties.”¹¹¹⁰ Armenian bankers were responsible for granting the large loans to wealthy notables who sought to purchase the taxation rights to land, without which most if not all would have been unable to supply the large upfront payments to the government that this system required.¹¹¹¹ So, they became “indispensable adjuncts to tax-farming Muslim dignitaries” and they gained significant influence through their ownership of the debt of this newly emerging land-owning elite.¹¹¹² By financing *mültezims*, the Armenian bankers “helped sustain the...Ottoman financial structure until European capitalist penetration in the 1850s,”¹¹¹³ when their role was superseded by the advent of European banking in the Empire,¹¹¹⁴ ushering in the transition from domestic to foreign borrowing. Their contributions were paramount in the carrying out of operations to such an extent that their refusal to collaborate and unwillingness to loan money could cripple the system or even stand in the way of military actions that the grandees wanted to be taken. In one instance, when Tahir Paşa was subduing an uprising in Bosnia in January 1850 the finances were under

¹¹⁰⁸ Faroqhi, “Preface,” *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*,” by Rifa‘at Ali Abou-El-Haj, xvi-xvii; Salzmann, “An Ancien Régime Revisited,” 405.

¹¹⁰⁹ Faroqhi, *Ibid.*, xvi-xvii.

¹¹¹⁰ Abou-El-Haj, *Ibid.*, 64.

¹¹¹¹ Hell, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse exécuté par ordre du gouvernement français*, 1(2):351-2.

¹¹¹² Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History*, 214. Cf. Salzmann, *Ibid.*, 403.

¹¹¹³ Barsoumian, “The Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul,” PhD diss., v-vii. Barsoumian provides the Crimean War as the milestone after which the Armenian *sarrafs*’ influence steadily declined. (Barsoumian, “The Dual Role of the Armenian Amira Class,” 136.)

¹¹¹⁴ Urquhart, *Turkey and Its Resources*, 111.

significant strain due to the costs of the 12,000 men being stationed in Wallachia for a year and a half, and due to poor credit the Armenians were hesitant to lend anything.¹¹¹⁵

Writing in mid-19th century French historian Ubicini (1818-1884) described the *malikane* system as one of exploitation where the state elites and the rural gentry purchasing the taxing rights to lands were compelled to, “have recourse to the Armenians who made the necessary advances of funds to them and then helped them in pressurizing the populations,” which made the Empire into “a society of exploitation between the high Turkish officials and the *sarrafs*, with the tax falling on the populations, burdened with all the demands of overbidding, usury and emulation profits between donors and sponsors, while the legal product was only a part of the catch in the vast spoliation...”¹¹¹⁶ If Ubicini’s judgments regarding the exploitative nature of the *malikane* system are laid aside, the remaining content of his account confirms the central role Armenians played as financiers of the system. While some Europeans like Ubicini painted Armenians as accomplices of the Turks, who had a stake in maintaining the status quo and who thus enabled the continuation of corrupt practices,¹¹¹⁷ others cast a favorable light on the Armenians for their aptitude and skill in finance, describing them as great capitalists “who were appointed to all those situations which the Turks themselves are incapable of filling.”¹¹¹⁸ And yet others painted them in mixed terms, as “an industrious people, but rapacious and fond of money—they sometimes arrive at great eminence as bankers,”¹¹¹⁹ who controlled “all of the financial affairs within the Empire” per se.¹¹²⁰

¹¹¹⁵ Poujade, *Chrétiens et Turcs*, 282.

¹¹¹⁶ Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, 1:289.

¹¹¹⁷ Urquhart, *Turkey and Its Resources*, 111.

¹¹¹⁸ Conder, *The Modern Traveller*, 14:169-170.

¹¹¹⁹ Fowler, *Ibid.*, 266.

¹¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 424n1.

There seems to have been significant variability in the rates charged by *sarrafs* which can be attributed to a number of factors¹¹²¹ including both the frequent devaluations of currency and the potential for running afoul of powerful clients which Olivier gives a sense of in his account, though he like many other contemporary European observers shades his picture with Orientalizing judgments. He justifies the high interest that Armenian bankers charged, for which they were often criticized by Europeans, by enumerating the unreliability and uncertainty of the system, “the tyrannical rule,” “the venality of the tribunals,” and “the innumerable multitude of false witnesses,” while also pointing out that the rates differed from client to client; 8-10% interest rate was charged on Europeans, 15-20% on traders of any nationality, 30-50% on Turks affiliated with the government.¹¹²²

By virtue of pursuing this profession, some Armenians such as Kazaz *Amira* Bezciyan, the Düz family, and Mıgırdiç Cezayirliyan amassed colossal fortunes. Though it is difficult to calculate the wealth of Kazaz *Amira* Bezciyan, an approximation is possible through an examination of his philanthropic endeavors like the reconstruction of several churches and a patriarchal building at the cost of 3 million *kuruş* as well as the Surp Pırgiç Hospital,¹¹²³ which suggests that he may have accumulated a fortune in the tens of millions. Prior to its downfall in 1819 the Düz family’s wealth was approximately 6.5 million *kuruş*¹¹²⁴ which pales in comparison to the fortune of 120,858,500 *kuruş* Mıgırdiç Cezayirliyan had built before the death of his primary advocate and client Grand Vizier Koca Mustafa Reşid Paşa, after which point he lost it all and unsuccessfully sought to gain it back through obtaining British citizenship.¹¹²⁵ While the accounts

¹¹²¹ D’Ohsson, *Tableau général de l’Empire Othoman*. 6:103-4. “Often bad-faith debtors refuse to pay them, and if they can prove in court that part of their debt comes from interest, they are released. This risk naturally contributes to raising the rate of profit on the money loaned...”

¹¹²² Olivier, *Voyage dans l’Empire Othoman, l’Egypte et la Perse*, 1:334-5.

¹¹²³ Dadyan, *Ibid.*, 26. Cf. Barsoumian, “The Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul,” PhD diss., 125-6.

¹¹²⁴ Aysan, *Ibid.*, 97.

¹¹²⁵ Cf. Bilan de Meguerditch Amira Djézairlian (Jamgocyan, *Ibid*, 299-301.)

given in European travelogues and histories cannot necessarily be taken at face-value with respect to the specific figures presented, they are nonetheless worth mentioning for glimmers of factual information they may contain. White, who spent several years living in Istanbul records that an Armenian *sarraf* paid 500,000 *kuruş* to Hüsrev Paşa in 1838 to free his son, though the exact amount of the ransom in this situation should be treated as unconfirmed, it speaks to the kind of wealth Armenian *sarrafs* were able to accumulate.¹¹²⁶ Again, Jouannin and Van Gaver report that the wealth of the triumvirate consisting of the Kızlar Ağa Békir,¹¹²⁷ a Turk named Soliman, and Armenian banker Yacoub who served Sultan Mahmud I amounted to 45 million *kuruş* in minted coins, excluding their other assets.¹¹²⁸ In the view of European observers, Armenian *amiras* had enough wealth and influence to play a role in the nomination of even the grand viziers which would have meant that as a group, the Armenian community was able to protect itself to a certain degree from the whims and vagaries of those who would seek to seize their wealth without constraint.¹¹²⁹ This, however, was a misreading of the real conditions by some Europeans because as much as Armenian bankers amassed large fortunes and through them a great deal of esteem, their influence in real terms was much more limited than such European accounts make it out to be.¹¹³⁰ Europeans also commented on the glamorous estates the Armenian bankers were able to acquire by means of the large fortunes they had accumulated, whose “two-story houses ostensibly shame Turkish

¹¹²⁶ White, *Ibid.*, 1:55-6.

¹¹²⁷ Also known as *Dârî's-sa'âde ağası*: head eunuch in charge of the Imperial Harem.

¹¹²⁸ Jouannin and Van Gaver, *Turquie*, 343-4. Cf. Barsoumian, “The Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul,” PhD diss., 125-6.

¹¹²⁹ Urquhart, *Turkey and Its Resources*, 109; Barsoumian, PhD diss., 125.

¹¹³⁰ Cf. Barsoumian, “The Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul,” PhD diss., 125-6. White suggests that one example of Armenian bankers effectively exercising their influence, which is more indicative of the extent of their power over imperial policies, relates to a firman issued by the sultan, which required a return to national dress by those who were not authorized to wear the “new uniform” composed of trousers, *fêz*, and coat. Those below the rank of colonel or the equivalent civil degree were restricted from wearing the thickly frogged coats signifying elite status. Due to the resistance of the wealthy Armenian banking community—particularly the Catholics among them—which had adopted the new dress, however, this firman was never implemented. (White, *Ibid.*, 2:53.)

dwelling.”¹¹³¹ Many Armenian *sarrafs* managed to attain a high standard of living and were able to afford to live in Beykoz, which was at the time a well-to-do village on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, “dotted with orchards gathering all the species of fruit” and inhabited by “Armenian saraffes, or else ... Turks of the distinguished class.”¹¹³² Again in the correspondence from French Ambassador to the Porte between 1747 and 1755, Roland Puchot, to Antoine Louis Rouillé, Puchot speaking of the fire that broke out on March 9, 1754 points out that among the approximate 2000 homes which had been destroyed, there were “some very beautiful ones belonging to the richest Armenian sarrafs.”¹¹³³

This great wealth enabled by their profession, however, did not come free of great risk and the confiscation of the assets of many Armenian bankers is a well-documented historical fact. And so the financial success that the Armenian bankers were able to achieve was more than balanced out by the volatility of the profession and the hazards of serving the elites of the Empire, who when they fell in disgrace, brought down their bankers with them.¹¹³⁴ These connections enabled the bankers to earn more and to gain influence, but also tied them to those who had the most volatile careers due to the court politics and rivalries that shaped the innermost circles of power. On occasion, the downfall of the banker was due not to the demise of a client, but to the client himself who sought to avoid repayment of his large loan by slandering the banker.¹¹³⁵ In yet other cases, the enemies of the *grande*s went after the bankers in order to undercut their enemies financially and so there were a variety of ways in which the Armenian bankers found themselves stripped of their entire wealth and in some instances also their lives. Jamgocyan provides a list of the *sarrafs*

¹¹³¹ Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques dans Constantinople*, 3:182-3

¹¹³² *Ibid.*, 3:168-9.

¹¹³³ Archives Nationales (France), Affaires étrangères, AE/B/I/433/116-7, from Roland Puchot to Antoine Louis Rouillé, secrétaire d'État de la Marine, 16 mars 1754.

¹¹³⁴ Juchereau de Saint-Denys, *Ibid.*, 2:16n1.

¹¹³⁵ Yarman, *Ibid.*, 51.

who were victims of a confiscation¹¹³⁶ from 1763 until 1852: Abraham *Amira* Koulélian, Baghdassar *Amira* Nalbant Oglou, Bedros *Amira* Alexanian, the Armenian *sarraḡ* of the Grand Vizier in 1781 (name not provided), Garabed Manoug Oglou in 1811, Manoug *Amira* Allahverdian in 1816, Hagopdjan Aga in 1817, Hovhannes *Amira* Alexanian, Hovsép Tchamitchian, the three Aznavours, Garabed and Hagop Duzian, Antoine Malakian, and Michel de Serpos in 1819, Kazaz Artine *Amira*, Boghos Amira Guélguélian, Boghos Markarian, Megeurditch *Amira* Arpiarian, Abraham *Amira* Eramian in 1820, Garabed Manoug Oglou in 1822, Sophialian, Davoud Oglou, Pekmezian, Ouzanian, Hagop *Amira* Tinghirian, and Hovsép *Amira* Tinghirian in 1828, Meguerditch *Amira* Djézarlian.¹¹³⁷

The perilous condition of Armenian bankers as, “the very favour they [were] shewn [was] a snare for their destruction”¹¹³⁸ is another ubiquitous aspect in the discussion of the matter in European accounts where there are also stories revolving around the grim fates that befell Armenian bankers, again which cannot be fully confirmed, and so should be interpreted with caution. According to Irish historian Rev. Robert Walsh’s (1772-1852) account the banker collected 10% interest on all purchases made on behalf of the pasha and 2% per month on all advances, so that approximately 1/3 of the revenue of a pasha ended up in the hands of his Armenian *sarraḡ*. The wealth amassed in this way was then reclaimed by the state in case of great need by executing the *sarraḡ* and confiscating his property. Despite the many cases where executions were carried out, in at least some cases the initial accusations against *sarraḡs* might be understood as an opening negotiating position, so that after surrendering an agreed upon amount

¹¹³⁶ Zinkeisen argues that there was an effort to formalize this precarious status through legislating the confiscation of a percentage of a *dhimmi*’s wealth without evidence in 1776 with a kind of *droit d’aubaine*, but this failed on the initial attempt at implementation when the *kazasker* rebelled against it. The offending firman was withdrawn, but the informal confiscation of wealth and property at a negotiated rate seems to have continued for centuries. (Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, 6:40.)

¹¹³⁷ Jamgocyan, *Ibid.*, 294-5.

¹¹³⁸ Conder, *The Modern Traveller*, 14:169-170.

the *sarraf* might pick up his affairs where he left off.¹¹³⁹ It seemed to British traveler Charles White (1793-1861) who sojourned in Constantinople for three years, that no real crime was necessary to confiscate the wealth of a successful *sarraf* whose means of demise would be recorded on his gravestone with “rudely-carved figures...There is scarcely a single Armenian family of rank or antiquity that has not been deprived, at one time or another, of some relative by these acts of despotism.”¹¹⁴⁰ Interestingly the successes of the Armenian *sarrafs* is visible in the degree of their downfalls etched into their gravestones that White and Walsh observed. All of these describe executions for various crimes, which allowed the wealth of these individuals to be seized rather than passed on to inheritors. In describing the precariousness of the banker’s position and those of the viziers, British merchant Thomas Thornton (1762-1814) suggests that the latter were not unaware of the likelihood that at some point they would face financial ruin if not loss of life, and so it was common for grantees to clandestinely allocate money for their families and dependents, keeping it with someone who would be able to assist their family when the time came. This agreement would be done in secret and without receipts or records to ensure that the saved money would not be at risk of confiscation at the time of their downfall.¹¹⁴¹ Frequently the details of these savings would be known by the bankers and so it was understood that, “on the death or deposition, therefore, of any public minister, the way to get at his property was to torture his banker.”¹¹⁴²

At the passing of Koca Ragıp Paşa, who had served as Grand Vizier from 1757 to 1763, both his wealthy Armenian banker and the treasurer were imprisoned and interrogated about the former Grand Vizier’s wealth and where it may have been hidden. The banker and the treasurer lost their entire fortunes after each “suffered the most cruel torments” at the hands of their

¹¹³⁹ Walsh, *Ibid.*, 2:430-1.

¹¹⁴⁰ White, *Ibid.*, 1:104.

¹¹⁴¹ Thornton, *The present state of Turkey*, 1:212.

¹¹⁴² Walsh, *Ibid.*, 2:20-1.

inquisitors according to Baron de Tott (1733-1793).¹¹⁴³ This account emphasizes the ‘cruelty of the Sultan’ and of the Ottoman system that placed the bankers in this position, but it nevertheless corroborates the central themes in the careers of the Armenian banking community.¹¹⁴⁴ Writing a few years after Tott, French *homme de lettres* and soldier Salaberry (1766-1847) recounts the same event which is consistent in many of the details, but which adds that the Grand Vizier’s banker and treasurer were put in the cell known as the *bostancı fırını* (the oven of the Chief Imperial Guard), which was where various forms of torture were carried out. According to Salaberry it was only the Armenian banker who was deprived of the entirety of his fortune before he left the prison, which he suggests was all the more iniquitous because the banker had inherited this fortune from his father who had accumulated it by means of commerce.¹¹⁴⁵ These two accounts are nearly contemporaneous, which coupled with the known confiscation of Ragıp Paşa’s banker’s assets, lend them weight, though the accuracy of certain details remains in question. Thornton claims that he was personally acquainted with the Armenian banker in question, whom he identifies as Abraham *Amira* Kuleliyan.¹¹⁴⁶

As can be deduced from the case of Mıgırdiç Manas discussed above, the Manas family was not exempt from these widespread confiscations directed at the banking community. In the following section this issue will be examined further in relation to the land the family owned in

¹¹⁴³ Baron de Tott was a French military officer and aristocrat of Hungarian descent.

¹¹⁴⁴ Tott, *Mémoires du Baron de Tott, sur les Turcs et les Tartares*, 1:212-4.

¹¹⁴⁵ Salaberry, *Histoire de l’Empire Ottoman depuis sa fondation jusqu’à la Paix d’Yassi, en 1792*, 3:287-9.

¹¹⁴⁶ Thornton, *The present state of Turkey*, 1:213. While Jamgoçyan confirms that Abraham *Amira* Kuleliyan was Ragıp Paşa’s banker and that his wealth was confiscated in 1763, he also lists two other bankers, Baghdassar *Amira* Nalbant Oglou and Bedros *Amira* Alexanian, who likewise served Ragıp Paşa as bankers and whose estates were appropriated in 1763. (Jamgoçyan, *Ibid.*, 284, 294.) Abraham *Amira* Kuleliyan was the father of Eva Kuleliyan who married Mouradgea d’Ohsson in 1774. (Findley, “Writer and Subject, Self and Other: Mouradgea d’Ohsson and his *Tableau Général de l’Empire Othoman*,” *The Torch of the Empire*, Ed. Fatma Canpolat, 25, Jamgoçyan, *Ibid.*, 294n1.) Findley points out that while Kuleliyan’s ‘first fortune’ was confiscated in 1763, he was able to rebuild a formidable fortune after being appointed as the ‘*sarraf* to the Treasury of the Two Holy Cities’ in 1774. (Findley, *Enlightening Europe on Islam and the Ottomans: Mouradgea d’Ohsson and His Masterpiece*, 18-9.)

Tarabya next to the imperial kiosk, which the Ottoman government had decided to reincorporate into the imperial assets, thereby relieving the Manas family of its possession of it.

IV.4 Mıgırdiç's Land in Tarabya

Turning to the issue of the land in Tarabya owned by the Manases that had been mentioned in brief above, which had been passed down from Mıgırdiç to his heirs, it is quite significant in showing that the Manases were in possession of a valuable plot on the Bosphorus, in one of the most prestigious areas of Istanbul imaginable. However, some years before the passing of Mıgırdiç, the Porte decided to have it sequestered, which prompted Mıgırdiç to petition about this plot of land in order to have it returned into his possession. Since the resolution of the matter took too long, he died before its conclusion and so the matter was left to the care of his children. The land along the Bosphorus, especially areas such as Yeniköy and Tarabya had gained significant prestige beginning in the 18th century, flaunting the cachet of being present and visible there.¹¹⁴⁷ British poet and traveler Julia Pardoe (1806-1862) describes Therapia (Tarabya) and Yenikeuij (Yeniköy) in the following manner,

Therapia and Buyukdèrè, (or the Great Bay), however, deserve more especial mention, being the favorite summer residences of the European Ambassadors, and, consequently, the occasional focus of the Frank aristocracy. Both are beautifully situated... At Therapia the Sultan has both a summer-palace and a kiosque, each touching upon the channel. The former is a plain unpretending pile, looking extremely like a manufactory, scantily furnished, but the grounds attached to it are most magnificent, and extend over three leagues of land, the whole of which is enclosed by high walls...The kiosque is an octagonal, brightly-painted, many-windowed retreat, commanding views on all sides of the Bosphorus and its shores, and overshadowed by a couple of very fine maple-trees... There are few prettier villages on the Bosphorus than Yenikeuij, which is situated on the European shore, within two miles of Therapia... The heights above the hamlet are profusely wooded; and many wealthy Armenian sarafs and Greek merchants have their maisons de plaisance among them.¹¹⁴⁸

¹¹⁴⁷ Girardelli, "Landscapes of the Eastern Question," interview by Emily Neumeier, *Ottoman History Podcast* (audio blog), 5 July 2016.

¹¹⁴⁸ Pardoe, *The beauties of the Bosphorus*, 86-7, 92.

Many properties along the Bosphorus that had previously belonged to the prestigious Phanariot Greek families were confiscated following the Greek Revolt, and some were transferred to Armenian ownership.¹¹⁴⁹ Speaking of this trend White writes that, “Numberless instances of spoliation might be recorded. It will suffice to mention two or three, part of whose property was situated at Therapia, and is well known to all strangers who have visited that romantic and healthy spot,”¹¹⁵⁰ and reinforces his point with three examples of Phanariot Greek properties changing hands. The first he identifies as the property of Greek Prince Ypsilanti, *hospodar* of Wallachia, which was seized following his fall from grace, and upon its confiscation was granted to the French government during Horace François Bastien Sébastiani de La Porta’s tenure as French Ambassador between 1806 and 1812. The second, “a property of a Wallachian *boyard*, named Yacovakerizo, who likewise fell into disgrace somewhat later. He escaped with his life, but his estate was seized, and sold by the Porte to an Armenian, named Manessy.” The third he says was also a Phanariot property, belonging to the Wallachian *hospodar* Michel Soutzo the Elder, who sold it to a rich Armenian called Allah Verdy Oglou (Allahverdiyan) in an effort to settle his debts.¹¹⁵¹ Girardelli also speaks of this trend concluding that, “Before the 1821 Greek Upheaval

¹¹⁴⁹ In 1819 when all of the Düz estates had been confiscated and sold off, three of the most valuable were bought by Phanariots. The most expensive property that was the waterfront mansion and garden located in Yeniköy sold at auction to the then voivode of Wallachia Aleko (Alexandru Sutu/Soutzos), who bought it for 765,000 *kuruş*. (Aysan gives the name of the voivode as Alkon, but this appears to be a misreading of the name, since Alexandru Sutu was in power during the time period in question.) The waterfront mansion in Kuruçeşme was bought by İstavrakı (Aristarchi), the permanent representative of the Wallachian voivode stationed in Istanbul (ked-hüdâ-i Bâb-ı Eflak), for 178,500 *kuruş* and two plots of land in Yeniköy were purchased by Nikolaki, the brother of the then voivode of Moldavia for 255,000 *kuruş*. (Aysan gives İstavrakı’s name as İstoraki.) The voivode in question must be Mihail Suțu (Soutzos) (r. 1819-1821) because the bill of exchange for these two plots of land is dated 15 Ca 1235 A.H. (February 29, 1820). (See Aysan, *Ibid.*, 61, 104.) This shows that prior to the outbreak of the Greek Revolt until which time the loyalty of the Phanariot Greeks was still intact, Armenians and Phanariot Greeks shared the privilege of being present along the Bosphorus shores in the most coveted areas including Yeniköy and Tarabya; a status marker enabled by their great wealth.

¹¹⁵⁰ White, *Ibid.*, 1:106-7.

¹¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 1:107-8.

the properties along the Bosphorus were mostly Greek, but after 1821 they became Armenian.”¹¹⁵²

The second example stands out the most for the purposes of the present study for its mention of “Manessy” as it recalls the property that Mıgirdiç Manas owned in Tarabya next to the imperial kiosk, which had formerly belonged to the Moldavian Phanariot *boyar* and princely Kalimaki family.¹¹⁵³ Since no mention could be found of a boyar family with the name Yacovakerizo, it is likely the case that White made an error in recording the name of this family and that this reference is to the same land. This trend of formerly Phanariot Greek properties changing hands to Armenian ownership, was later supplanted by a pattern of Armenian dispossession by the Ottoman government. These properties were then frequently granted to foreign powers as summer residences. In one example, the Cezayirliyan estate was bestowed on the Austro-Hungarian government by the Sultan, though it is important to note that there were at least two decades between its confiscation and the time of its granting to Austria which took place on October 10, 1883.¹¹⁵⁴ It was only a couple years earlier that Sultan Abdülhamid II granted his kiosk in Tarabya, formerly owned by the Phanariot Greek Mavrocordato family and adjacent to the land the Manases owned, to the Germans. Edwin Grosvenor (1845-1936), who served as a professor of history at Robert College in Istanbul for many years, writes of the Cezayirliyan estate that it was ‘a colossal ruin’ which had been given to Austria a few years previously and tells a tragic tale about the Armenian banker, Djezaerli (Cezayirliyan) who invested more than a million dollars in its construction before it was taken from him prior to its completion and who died soon thereafter. Due to his downfall, people were hesitant to offer their aid to his wife, who eventually followed

¹¹⁵² Girardelli, “Landscapes of the Eastern Question,” interview by Emily Neumeier, *Ottoman History Podcast* (audio blog), 5 July 2016. In highlighting the ‘dynamic pattern of ownership and inheritance’ he points out that some of the estates of the disgraced had later been returned upon their being pardoned by the Ottoman government.

¹¹⁵³ Also written as Calmaşul or Călmaşu

¹¹⁵⁴ 8 Z 1300 A.H./ 28 Eylül 1299. BOA, Y.A.HUS 174/108. Cf. Girardelli, “Léon Parvillée’s Early Years in Istanbul: Cezayirlioğlu Mansion and the Church of Surp Krikor Lusavoriç in Kuzguncuk,” 69, 69n2.

him in death.¹¹⁵⁵ As mentioned earlier, Cezayirliyan who had accumulated an impressive fortune of 120,858,500 *piasters*¹¹⁵⁶ was financially ruined following the death of his patron and personal friend Grand Vizier Koca Mustafa Reşid Paşa whom he served in the capacity of banker¹¹⁵⁷ and the Manas land stood in close proximity to an estate belonging to this other Armenian banker Mıgırdiç.

As sultans began to show an interest in retiring to the waterfront during the summer months, foreign powers followed suit, and these areas became increasingly sought after. At first foreign powers rented property along the Bosphorus but later, especially in the 19th century, they came to own very prestigious estates that had previously belonged to the local *non-Muslim* elite; mostly Phanariot Greeks and Armenians either through purchases or “expropriat[ion] by the Sultan and [their] donat[ion] to the foreign representatives.”¹¹⁵⁸ From the months of May to early November this district became the center of diplomatic life in Istanbul, which is reflected in the addresses for all European diplomatic correspondence during these months, which are either “Bouyoukderé” or “Therapia.” This practice of moving to the Bosphorus in the summer months is emblematic of a shift in the locale of the center of power which now extended beyond the geographical purview of

¹¹⁵⁵ Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, 1:180.

¹¹⁵⁶ Cf. Bilan de Meguerditch Amira Djézairlian (Jamgocyan, Ibid., 299-301.)

¹¹⁵⁷ Mıgırdiç h*Amira* Cezayirliyan (1805-1861), the son of Sarkis *Amira* Cezayirliyan, was born to one of the last magnificent bankers in an ‘illustrious family of *sarrafs*’; his grandfather, Hovhannes *Amira* Hovian, served Cezayirli Hasan Paşa, and his father continued to serve the pasha as banker, thereby earning them the patronym “Cezayirli.” “Meguerditch Djézairlian: rarely has a name aroused so much hatred and passion; that of an oriental Rotschild from the 19th century... born in[to] gold and silver.” (Jamgocyan, Ibid., 133, 133n2.) He was the banker of the Sublime Porte from 1846 and even though Cezayirliyan experienced some hardships in between Mustafa Reşid’s Paşa’s tenures, his troubles really began after the death of Reşid Paşa while he was holding this position for the sixth time. It is commonly argued that a high-ranking official who had a substantial debt to Cezayirliyan did not pay his debt, which led to Cezayirliyan’s financial ruin and to his enemies plotting against him once he had lost his influential patron. Pamukciyan says that Cezayirliyan’s entire wealth was seized by an order in 1859 until an official review of his accounts was conducted, which never took place. Cf. Pamukciyan, Ibid., 4:145-6, Jamgocyan, Ibid., 285; Dabağyan, *Geçmişten Günümüze Millet-i Sâdıka-ı Osmanlı Ermenileri*, 312-5.

¹¹⁵⁸ Girardelli, “Power or Leisure? Remarks on the Architecture of the European Summer Embassies on the Bosphorus Shore.” *New Perspectives On Turkey* 50, 39.

the palace grounds.¹¹⁵⁹ Visibility on the Bosphorus was a sign of significant social standing and prestige which made the delineation of who had the right to reside in these neighborhoods a contentious issue. Following the 1831 Fire, there was a further shift in the neighborhood's composition as a number of embassies relocated to the area all year round. Visibility and gaze had long been important aspects of Istanbul's urban design and the politics of its architectural layout, as was readily apparent in the Sultan's gaze over the city from the Tower of Justice in the inner courtyard of the Topkapı Palace. The many windows of the *yalis* on the waterfront had a similar role to play in establishing visibility and gaze. The Sultan, who was at the center of this power structure, played out via prominence in the urban landscape, also shaped the power relations of the Empire through exerting control over who could be visible through the confiscation of property, the assigning of ownership, and the regulation of buyers, whether *non-Muslim* or foreign.¹¹⁶⁰

Given the presence of the Manas estate in this extremely prestigious neighborhood it makes sense that Mıgirdiç would have been involved in the lucrative profession of banking in order to have been able to secure such a piece of land. Formerly the base of Phanariots and then Armenian *amiras*—though the latter had long had a moderate presence—that this area was occupied by the diplomatic retinues of European states is indicative of the Manases' social standing. Some of both Orthodox and Catholic Armenian banker families resided in Yeniköy, Tarabya and Kalender including the “Düz, the Scanavi, Hacı Nicolaki, the banker of *kapudan-i derya* Cezayirli Hasan, Camondo, Zizinia, and Hovsep Davudoğlu, an Armenian Catholic ‘Prince’ of the high bank, member of the Company of sarafs of Roumelia founded in 1842.”¹¹⁶¹

¹¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 37.

¹¹⁶⁰ Girardelli, "Landscapes of the Eastern Question," interview by Emily Neumeier. *Ottoman History Podcast* (audio blog), 5 July 2016. Accessed September 15, 2016. <http://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2016/07/pera.html>
Girardelli, "Power or Leisure? Remarks on the Architecture of the European Summer Embassies on the Bosphorus Shore." *New Perspectives On Turkey* 50, 55.

¹¹⁶¹ Jamgocyan, *Les banquiers des sultans*, 166-7.

The earliest document that could be accessed pertaining to the dispute around the Manas owned land in Tarabya is dated to 17 M 1287 A.H. (April 19, 1870), more than two decades after the issue transpired, as the earlier ones seem to have been lost:

It is the petition of the humble servant that,
[The subject of this petition is] the property in Kalender, owned by my late father, who did not live long enough to see the result of his petitions because of how long the matter took to be resolved. [His petitions concerned] the reclaiming of the estate in question that got incorporated back into the imperial estates. My humble entreatings regarding the obtainment of the land in question due to my right of inheritance, that have been going on for the past twenty five years were about to yield a just result by the decision of the Judicial Office of the State Council until difficulties emerged in the general assembly of the aforesaid office.¹¹⁶²

Given that the author of the document does not disclose his identity, it is unclear which of Mıgırdıç's sons composed this petition. What can be inferred from the document, however, is that the Sublime Porte had confiscated the land from Mıgırdıç, and although the reason is not explained, by considering the historical pattern it can be surmised that he either fell from grace or his assets were confiscated on unjustified grounds as was the case for many Armenian bankers with high status. In this petition addressed to the Grand Vizier,¹¹⁶³ the author of the document cites the amount of time that they, as a family, had been suffering from this issue as 25 years, which indicates that the instigating incident occurred in 1845 based on the date of the document.

A document dated to three years later on 27 Za 1289 (January 26, 1873)¹¹⁶⁴ and addressing the Ministry of the Sultan's Treasury reveals further information on the matter,

To the Ministry of the Sultan's Treasury,
My High and Mighty Excellency
Given there not yet being a verdict since the land in question touches the land that is part of the Private Treasury of the Sultan, another petition containing some statements of the late aforementioned's inheritors followed their earlier petition pertaining to the transfer of the plot of land that is adjacent to the imperial kiosk located in Tarabya, known otherwise as Yanko Kalimaki's land, that was in the

¹¹⁶² BOA, ŞD 2856/48.

¹¹⁶³ *vekâlet-penâhî*

¹¹⁶⁴ The Rûmî date provided is 15 Kânûn sâni 1288, which when converted to the Gregorian calendar actually appears to be a day later, as January 27.

guardianship of their late father Mıgırdiç Manas. This petition was read at the Ministry of the Interior and the report that had arrived from the Ministry of Pious Endowments stated that necessary areas of the land in question should be identified on the basis of the land's vicinity to the Imperial Kiosk. Based on this order now it has been shown that certain departments are corresponding with one another and since it had become clear that the Ministry should take care of this issue at hand, its immediate addressing had been directed to the Office of the Grand Vizier on 3 B 1289 A.H. (September 6, 1872). However, given that not a single notice has been issued as of yet, the inheritors of the aforementioned deceased are frustrated...Accordingly, the petition in question should be sent to the Office of the Grand Vizier. The command rests with my master on this matter.¹¹⁶⁵

One of the most salient aspects of this document is its indication of the former owners of the land that would later come into the possession of Mıgırdiç Manas as the Kalimaki family. This proves that the Manas family was one of those Armenian families that played a part in the 'Armenianization' of the waterfront as formerly Phanariot Greek properties were transferred into the hands of the Armenians in the pattern noted above. The Sultan's decision to incorporate the property back into the imperial estates at a later date, which the Manases petitioned against for many years in order to preserve their right to this land, shows that they also lived through the dangers of the second phase, that is, the Armenian dispossession of lands along the Bosphorus, especially in Yeniköy and Tarabya, which were then frequently given to foreign powers.

The Phanariot Greek Kalimaki family was a princely boyar family some of the members of which served in the capacity of voivode of Moldavia and less frequently as voivode of Wallachia—two of the most powerful and prestigious positions any Phanariot Greek could have hoped to attain. It could be argued with a good degree of certainty that the reference of Yanko Kalimaki who is specifically mentioned in the document is to Ioan Callimachi. Ioan appears to be an alternate form of the name John in Romanian, Janko being the Slovak or Hungarian form of the name, spelled as Yanko in Turkish. There were two Ioan Callimachis, however, and so the

¹¹⁶⁵ BOA, ŞD 2871/38.

reference could have been to either one of them. The first of these was Ioan Teodor Callimachi (1690–1780) who had been prince of Moldavia from 1758 to 1761. The later Ioan Callimachi (1781–1821), was the Dragoman of the Porte, who married Ruxandra, daughter of Constantin Mouruzi.¹¹⁶⁶ The Kalimaki family seem to have lost this land by falling out of favor with the court as had many Phanariot Greek families during and after the Greek Revolt. After being accused of treasonous collaboration with Russia, Scarlat Kalimaki was transferred to Istanbul to be executed in 1819, whereupon he managed to have his sentence overturned. Soon thereafter, he was appointed as *hospodar* of Wallachia by the Sublime Porte in 1821, but was unable to take up this position for several months after being appointed. The eruption of the Greek Revolt in the same year raises questions regarding Kalimaki's death by poisoning in late 1821, given that he was suspected of being pro-independence. The standing of the family seems to have been later restored however, at least partially, given its continued prominence in the higher ranks of the Foreign Service establishment into the second half of the 19th century.¹¹⁶⁷ Having said that, this land does not seem to have been returned to them, as is known to have happened in the case of some pardoned Phanariot Greeks.

The third document of the chain identifies the petition's author as "Manas Efendi,"¹¹⁶⁸ but the fifth document clarifies that this Manas Efendi is Anton Manas, while also stating that the petition was submitted by others as well, whose names are known.¹¹⁶⁹ It is unclear who is meant by this phrase however, as in this chain of documents consisting of ten pages, no other individuals

¹¹⁶⁶ See figure 29: Arborele Genealogic al Casei Callimachi/The Genealogical Tree of the House of Callimachi, in Romanian.

¹¹⁶⁷ See Chapter Two.

¹¹⁶⁸ BOA, ȘD. 2871/38_2_1.

¹¹⁶⁹ "Andon Manas ve sâi'r ma'lûmü'l-esâmî kesânın 'arz-hâli"

are mentioned.¹¹⁷⁰ The situation of the land is also described in further detail as falling between the imperial kiosks of Kalender and Tarabya, which it bordered.¹¹⁷¹

The lack of resolution of the matter created numerous problems for the Manases, both from a financial point of view, and also from a respectability one as a result of the financial loss the family experienced, as is outlined in the petition dated 21 Za 1289 A.H. (January 20, 1873) below:

The plot of land adjacent to the imperial kiosk located in Tarabya, which has passed down to us from our father, has been being used by the guards of the Imperial Kiosk. For twenty five years we have been petitioning to redeem it. Fifteen years ago through the agency of the [Bureau of] Imperial [Administration of] Pious Endowments and other bureaus, [the matter] had been investigated and examined, and furthermore [the matter] had been looked into for seventeen months at the State Council, and even though our humble petition appeared as righteous, because the plot of land in question is situated next to the Imperial Kiosk, the ordinance was issued in order for it to be sold to the Private Treasury of the Sultan if need be, or in the case of there being no such need, for it to be left to its owners. The matter had been deliberated in the Council of Ministers and had been presented to the Sultan. Four years ago the imperial decree had been issued, but the Private Treasury of the Sultan still will not allow either its sale or its surrender and delivery [to its owners] and the matter has been suspended. Due to this, the entirety of our family has fallen into an inexpressible state of wretchedness and suffering. On the one hand our creditors have been attacking us and making us lose our sleep and comfort and, on the other, the interest rates continue to accrue and so in the end even having gained back our land is not going to be enough to cover the accrued interest. Together with this, our humble family has served under the shadow of the exalted sultanate for two hundred years faithfully and with the utmost submission and has been privileged in its community and among its contemporaries. However, now in contradistinction to our [previous state], we find ourselves entangled in a grave misery to such a degree that in the end because we will have lost, without reason or necessity, not only our material possessions, but also our honor with them, we dared to entreat that we be treated with the previous sultanic mercy and subject-loving justice, that are typical of the exalted Sultanate, given our humble conviction that the Sultan's justice and mercy would not stand for or tolerate [this situation we are currently in] under any circumstances."¹¹⁷²

It appears that the heirs of Mıgırdiç Manas were eventually able to assert their right to the land after the passing of their father, when the ownership was successfully transferred to them

¹¹⁷⁰ BOA, ŞD. 2871/38_3_1.

¹¹⁷¹ BOA, ŞD. 2871/38_4_1, BOA, ŞD. 2871/38_6_1.

¹¹⁷² BOA, ŞD. 2873/18.

following a long period of continuous petitioning and effort. The second group of petitions regarding the Manas estate in Tarabya concern the family's complaints regarding the encroachment of the German Embassy into their land after the Tarabya Imperial Kiosk was granted to the German government by Abdülhamid II in 1880 to be used as its summer residence. The first set of this group of petitions is dated 4 Ra 1304 A.H.¹¹⁷³ (December 1, 1886). Here the land in question is described as belonging to Manas, who was an associate at the Municipal Council, and Şevket Efendi, deputy at the special division of the Ministry of War.¹¹⁷⁴ The Manas in question can be identified as Anton Manas who had been appointed as Municipality Council Member on 1 M 1304 A.H. /18 Eylül 1302 (30 September 1886) with a salary of 2000 *kuruş*.¹¹⁷⁵ Two years later, he became the Director of the 8th District Municipality with a salary of 2500 *kuruş* on 8 M 1306 A.H. (September 14, 1888). He was later transferred to the 5th District while maintaining the same salary on 1 Ra 1306 A.H. (November 5, 1888),¹¹⁷⁶ to the 7th District without any pay raise on 16 L 1309 A.H. (May 14, 1892),¹¹⁷⁷ and finally to the 8th District with the same salary on 15 R 1312 A.H. (December 14, 1894)."¹¹⁷⁸ It is unclear when this Şevket Efendi came to partially own the land of the Manases and no further information has been uncovered in this regard.

Another document dated to 2 M 1310 A.H. /14 Temmûz 1309 (July 27, 1892) and written on the letterhead of the *Hazîne-i Hâssa-i Şâh-âne Emlâk-ı Hümayûn İdâresi* (Imperial Estates Administration of the Private Treasury of the Sultan) pertains to the creation of a commission to investigate the intrusion into the land of Manas and Şevket Efendis by the German Embassy. The author indicates that they had not been able to reach any information regarding the presence of an

¹¹⁷³ The Rûmî date is given as 18 Teşrîn-i sâni 1302 (November 30, 1886).

¹¹⁷⁴ *Bâb-ı ser-‘askerî*, also known as Harbiye Nezareti

¹¹⁷⁵ BOA, DHSAİDd. 4/604, İ.DH 1006/79500.

¹¹⁷⁶ BOA, DHSAİDd. 4/604, DH.MKT 1560/17, DH.MKT 1564/83, DH.MKT 1843/57.

¹¹⁷⁷ BOA, DHSAİDd. 4/604, BEO 5/369.

¹¹⁷⁸ BOA, DHSAİDd. 4/604, BOA, BEO 497/37217.

officer from the *dâi're-i 'askeriye* when the borders of the land that had been granted to the aforesaid Embassy were being registered four years prior, and that they checked with the Private Treasury of the Sultan to see if its officers had been present instead, based on the Ministry of War's raising of the likelihood of this having happened. However, the answer was also non-affirmative.¹¹⁷⁹ Finally BEO 100/7434 dated 12 R 1310 A.H. (November 3, 1892), addressed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and pertaining to the commission that was formed as a result of the need to investigate the encroachment by the German Embassy on some of their land, declared Manas and Şevket Efendis co-owners of this piece of land without offering any further information. An additional petition includes some statements of fact concerning the situation and asks for help regarding the successful resolution of the issue.¹¹⁸⁰

The next document chain on the matter includes 37 documents dating from 1886 to 1892, and contains petitions as well as internal correspondence between different agencies of the state; among them the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Pious Endowments, the Municipality, Ministry of Property Records, Ministry of Trade and Public Works, Ministry of War, Private Treasury of the Sultan, Court of Inspection, and Tax Administration.¹¹⁸¹ Going over these documents is worthwhile in showing the intricate bureaucracy involved between the various government organizations and is also indicative of the length of time it took to resolve this land dispute.¹¹⁸² Document 3 of the series dated 9 Za 1303 A.H. (August 9, 1886) is an order from the Office of the Grand Vizier addressed to the *Virgû/Vergi Emânet-i celîlesi* (Tax Department) which provides details on the exact location of the land—

¹¹⁷⁹ BOA, BEO 42/3144.

¹¹⁸⁰ BOA, DH.MKT 1381/112.

¹¹⁸¹ BOA, BEO 18/1337.

¹¹⁸² As these documents are not catalogued and numbered chronologically in the chain, they may appear to be addressed out of order here, though they are in fact being presented chronologically.

waterfront mansion number 190 co-owned [by Manas and Sevkett Efendis]—which extended over 758 meters (1000 *arşûn*),¹¹⁸³ where the claims of Manas and Şevket Efendi regarding the German Embassy’s intrusion by means of the wall erected is raised.¹¹⁸⁴ Document 28 of this chain confirms the Manases ownership where it reads, “as per reliable documentation the land is in their possession together with the inheritors of Aleksan Manas.”¹¹⁸⁵ The 34th document dated to 20 Teşrîn-i evvel 1302 (November 1, 1886) reinforces these points and reads,

Excellency,

The land that is in our humble responsibility and in that of the inheritors of Aleksan Manas based on reliable deeds, that lies adjacent to the land which was granted to the Embassy of the German state by the Sultan, has been [partially] incorporated into the land of the aforementioned Embassy. Our consecutive applications regarding the issue have not yielded a result yet. As is known by the Grand Vizier, the land [that had been incorporated by the German Embassy] had previously been certified as falling within the bounds of our estate, but has nonetheless been incorporated by the Embassy. The verity of our statements and humble petitions will no doubt become clear from the investigation that will be conducted by the special commission, and it is beyond dispute that the infringement upon the legal possession of the orphans from among the aforesaid inheritors would not be in line with the wish of the Sultan (lit. the haven/sanctuary of the Caliphate). We kindly ask permission that the necessary commission be appointed so that the investigation can be carried out for the preservation of the rightful legal claims (*hukûk-ı sarîhalarının*) of the inheritors.

Signed:

Manas, associate at the Municipality

Şevket, deputy at the Special Division of the Ministry of War¹¹⁸⁶

Given that Aleksan/Aleksi Manas had passed away on 20 Kânûn-ı sâni 1300 (February 1, 1884) and that his daughter Avrani and son Edgar appear as his heirs, the inheritors in question described as orphans must be these individuals.¹¹⁸⁷

¹¹⁸³ The calculation in meters is based on the *mi‘mârî arşın* value (1 *mi‘mârî arşın* = 24 *parmak* (finger) = 240 *hatt* (line) = 75.774 cm) rather than the regular *arşın* which equals 68 cm, the reason being that the former is an architectural value also referred to as construction yard whereas the latter was mostly used in the market, so even though the document does not specify which *arşın* is being used, it should be understood to be the former.

¹¹⁸⁴ BOA, BEO 18/1337_2_1.

¹¹⁸⁵ BOA, BEO 18/1337_16_1.

¹¹⁸⁶ BOA, BEO 18/1337_19_1.

¹¹⁸⁷ BOA, ŞD. 867/67.

Dated to 29 Kânûn-i sâni 1304 (February 10, 1889), document 11 is a correspondence between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Pious Endowments, which reiterates the allegations of the petitioners and is important for forming the basis for the creation of a specific force to investigate the matter since even though the approximate area of the land was known, the only measurement value that appeared on file was the length: “The copy of the deed of the aforesaid waterfront mansion only has the length of the land from the seashore, which is recorded as 138 *zira* (103.5 meters), but there is not an iota of clarity as to the width of the land.”¹¹⁸⁸ Document 17 dated to 23 Za 1306 A.H. (July 21, 1889) divulges an additional piece of information by suggesting that Tıngiroğlu Petri could have in his possession the map that could answer this question,

When the deed submitted by the men in question who lay claim to this land was investigated, it was discovered that only the length of the land from the sea side was mentioned and that there was not a single record or indication as to its limits...In truth a record was happened upon dating back to 14 Ca 92 (June 18, 1875) from which it became evident that at the time a piece of map of the land in question was prepared upon the request of Petri Tıngır Efendi and submitted to the sir in question... As long as the necessary information is not obtained concerning the limits of the land by means of this map, it will not be possible to determine what kind of basis Manas Efendi has for his claims. Therefore, we ask that the necessary orders be given to the Court of Inspection at once so that they will communicate the information that our humble commission had been requesting since its inception.¹¹⁸⁹

This document is signed by *Hâriciye müsteşâr mu‘âvini* (the assistant to the undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) İlyas/Elyas¹¹⁹⁰ (Çayyan)¹¹⁹¹ and *bâb-ı ‘âlî hukûk müşâviri* (legal counselor to the Sublime Porte) Geşer.¹¹⁹²

¹¹⁸⁸ BOA, BEO 18/1337_7_1.

¹¹⁸⁹ BOA, BEO 18/1337_10_2.

¹¹⁹⁰ Another rendering of his name is Yeğyazar

¹¹⁹¹ Son of Fulig Çayyan, née Dadyan. His mother was from one of the most important Armenian *amira* families, he was enrolled in the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1876 and was chosen as a member of the State Council’s Finance Department in 1894. (Pamukçıyan, Ibid., 4:160-1.)

¹¹⁹² Alfred and Carl Gescher were German legal advisors who worked in the Ottoman Empire and due to their never having used their first names it is unclear which legal opinions can be attributed to whom. (Genell, “The Well-

Document 14 of the series dated to 28 M 1308 A.H. (September 8, 1890) once again states that the map of the aforementioned land had been given to Petri Tıngıroğlu on request, but on 16 R 1308 A.H. (November 29, 1890) Petri says he does not have the map in his possession.¹¹⁹³ Document 20, dated to 27 Ş 1292 A.H. (September 28, 1875), is by Tıngıroğlu Petri Efendi, who confirms at this date that he had the map showing the dimensions but that he had returned it.¹¹⁹⁴

Dated 14 Za 1309 A.H. (June 10, 1892) and addressing the *Ticâret ve Nâfi‘a Nezâreti* (Ministry of Trade and Public Works) and the *taraf-ı vâlâ-ı ser-‘askerî* (Ministry of War), document 2 of this series yet again addresses the formation of the commission at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to investigate the claims of Manas and Şevket Efendis in order to gain the assertive and evidentiary information on the measurements of the land that had not yet been obtained.¹¹⁹⁵

Documents 25, 26, and 27 are undated and provide a detailed summary of the affair in French. It is stated here that a commission made up of Gecher Effendi and Elias Effendi¹¹⁹⁶ had been established at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to investigate the complaint by “Manass and Chevket Effendis concerning their land located at Therapia, part of which had been duly incorporated into the park of the German Embassy,” and conclude that the title deed only contained the length of the land on the seaside and gave no indication as to its other limits. The *Evkâf-ı Hümayûn Nezâreti* (Ministry of Pious Endowments) was addressed in order to obtain the necessary data on the boundaries of the land as well as a map of the above property, whereupon the Ministry of Pious Endowments replied on January 4, 1304¹¹⁹⁷ (January 16, 1889) that

Defended Domains: Eurocentric International Law and the Making of the Ottoman Office of Legal Counsel,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 3, no. 2 (2016), footnote 26.)

¹¹⁹³ BOA, BEO 18/1337_9_1. The fourth document is one addressed to the Office of the Grand Vizier dated 11 Za 1309 A.H. (June 7, 1892) and yet again informs that Tıngıroğlu Petri Efendi had a map of the land.

¹¹⁹⁴ BOA, BEO 18/1337_12_1: “Tarabya’da kâi’n Manâs oğullarının arsasına dâi’r olan cûsâm haritası yine i‘âde olunmak üzere evkâf muhâsebesinden ahz eylediği mübeyyen işbû muharrer senedim ‘itâ kılındı.”

¹¹⁹⁵ BOA, BEO 18/1337_1_2: “arâzî-i mezbûrenin vüs‘atı hakkında sarîh ve kat‘i ma‘lûmât istihsâl olunamadığından”

¹¹⁹⁶ Gescher Efendi and İlyas Çayyan

¹¹⁹⁷ This date is based on the Rûmî calendar.

according to the opinion of the *Mahkeme-i Teftîşe* (Court of Inspection) to whom it had referred the case, the information in question should be sought at the *Defter-i Hâkanî* (State Archives Department). Consequently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs immediately addressed this administration, which communicated in response on February 1, 1304¹¹⁹⁸ (February 13, 1889) that in the opinion of the *Senedât İdâresi* (Title Deed Administration) the title deed produced by Manass Effendi conformed with the original but that no further information could be provided as the cadastre of the property was made at the time by the Ministry of Pious Endowments itself. Upon receiving this response, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs contacted the Ministry of Pious Endowments for a second time. Eventually it was discovered that a map of the region had been made at the request of Petri Effendi Tinghir to whom it had been given. Following this finding, the commission respectfully requested the Office of the Grand Vizier to send orders to the Court of Inspection to answer the questions that the committee had been asking from the beginning, as it was impossible to assess the verity of the claims of Manass Effendi without knowing the limits of the land in question and without having seen the map which had been drawn up.¹¹⁹⁹ An additional finding in the report is a special note to the editor that had been crossed out¹²⁰⁰ which reads, “Pétri Effendi Tinghir is indeed the owner of a land bordering on that of Manass Effendi and I understand that he also complains about the delimitation which was made for the park of the Embassy.”¹²⁰¹ Since two of the neighbors of German Embassy’s Summer Residence had complained about encroachment into their land, the allegations levied against it appear to be stronger, however, the documents which indicate the final official resolution cannot be located.

¹¹⁹⁸ This date is based on the Rûmî calendar.

¹¹⁹⁹ BOA, BEO 18/1337_15_1-3.

¹²⁰⁰ It should be noted that this is a draft document with corrections, rather than a final draft, hence the corrections.

¹²⁰¹ BOA, BEO 18/1337_15_2: “(note particulière au rédacteur): Pétri Effendi Tinghir est en effet propriétaire d'un terrain limitrophe à celui de Manass Effendi et je crois savoir qu'il se plaint également le délimitation qui a été faite pour le parc de l'ambassade.”

Today the German Embassy's Summer Residence sits on a land of 18 hectares; it is unclear whether the gardens and grove of the residence have been enlarged by the incorporation of some of the lands of the neighboring estates. Even if the matter was resolved in favor of the Manases, it is clear that the process itself had been destructive enough, causing pecuniary and non-pecuniary damages, as had been raised in an earlier petition by the family members.¹²⁰²

With the addition of Tıngır to the picture it seems like that entire part of the coast consisted of the estates of Armenian grandees one after another: The Cezayirliyan owned what would later become the Austrian summer residence, the Manases owned the land in close proximity to it, and according to this note it seems that the Tıngırs owned the property adjacent to the Manases on the other side. This shows just how elevated the status of the Armenians had become, to the extent that they had clearly substituted the presence of the Phanariot Greeks along the Bosphorus. While by all indications the land that the Manases owned was very valuable in a prime spot along the Bosphorus, its exact value is not known, and there is not enough data to go off of for a somewhat accurate appraisal either. Since the petitions refer to the property as "land" we should treat it as though no structure had been built on it, therefore one point of comparison might be the two plots of land owned by the Düz in Yeniköy which were sold to the brother of the voivode of Moldavia, Nikolaki, for a combined amount of 255,000 *kuruş* in 1821. Based on this information, the land that the Manases owned was perhaps valued in the 100-200,000 *kuruş* range by the valuation of *kuruş* in 1821.¹²⁰³

¹²⁰² BOA, ŞD. 2873/18.

¹²⁰³ There is a waterfront mansion in Tarabya called 'Manas Efendi Yalısı' which is commonly thought to have been originally built by Josef Manas in 1878 and then rebuilt, but the land this property sat on does not seem to have been the same as the land discussed here and was one that was significantly less valuable, less prestigious, and without room for a garden. Rupen and Sebuhan Manas also seem to have inherited the plot of land at number 15 on Taksim Street in Beyoğlu as well as a small house in Tarabya in the vicinity of the French Embassy from their mother. (BOA, HR.MKT 753/93.)

IV.5 Prestige of the Manas Family

This section addresses the prestige of the family, which will be assessed here in cumulative terms due not only to its members' perception of themselves as a single unit that had served the Ottoman court without interruption for two centuries,¹²⁰⁴ but also its reception by others both within the Ottoman Empire and without, as such. This emerges as a subject that requires further attention and nuance as previous scholars have made certain exaggerated claims about the family's standing in its own community and the Empire without offering support for their remarks, which have then been reproduced uncritically by others.¹²⁰⁵ In his account in the 1933 *Surp Pırgiç Almanach*, Sakēzean uses the term 'հարստութիւն' (dynasty) to define the Manases and explains his reasoning in the following way: "I hope the reader would not take as an exaggeration the fact that I have named it a dynasty for regard of their producing of at least six portraitists and miniaturists over the duration of almost two centuries [spanning the reigns] of eight Ottoman monarchs."¹²⁰⁶ In the same vein, Pamukciyan concludes that the Manases were the fourth most important Armenian family in the Empire after the Balyans, Dadyans, and Düz,¹²⁰⁷ glossing over the existence of a number of multi-generational Armenian *amira*¹²⁰⁸ families of great renown with which it is unclear that the Manases could be put on a par. These remarks remain controversial even though ruminating on the family's tight association to the banking sector has revealed that the Manases had a higher level of prestige than what they had attained with the positions they held in the Foreign Service establishment and in the capacity of court artist, and in some cases both.

¹²⁰⁴ BOA, ŞD. 2873/18.

¹²⁰⁵ Wharton, *Ibid.*, 101.

¹²⁰⁶ Sakēzean, "Manasnerē hay ngarich'neru harsdut'iwn mē 18-19 tar," 57.

¹²⁰⁷ Pamukciyan, *Ibid.*, 3:42.

¹²⁰⁸ According to the "Roster of the Amiras" appended to Barsoumian's work, Armenian families with four or more *amiras* included the Aliksonian (4), Azadian (5), Aznavorian (6), Diuzian (9), Djezayirlian (4), Hovuiian (7), Muradian (6), Papazian (11), Pingerian (4), Pishmishian (6), and Tcherezian (8). (Barsoumian, "The Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul," PhD diss., 222-232.) Also see Dabağyan, *Geçmişten Günümüze Millet-i Sadıka-ı Osmanlı Ermenileri*, 401-782.

While the artist-cum-diplomat careers certainly brought the individual members and the family a substantial degree of esteem, as did the work of other members of the family as editors, musicologists, journalists and theatre personalities, having had at least four members of the family affiliated with the banking sector strongly suggests a higher social standing for the family than had previously been assumed. While the Manases were able to maintain a standard of success and accrue enough of a fortune to have been able to hold a privileged status among their fellow Armenians until the 20th century, albeit with some fluctuations and changes across the several generations of their activity as would be expected, their influence can hardly be said to be commensurate with that of this group. One indication of this is that the most elite members were expected to extend their largesse to their community through philanthropic endeavors like building hospitals, repairing churches, and the like. Such acts not only established their status, but also helped to maintain it, yet there is no evidence that the Manases engaged in this kind of philanthropy, which points to their relatively limited impact.

‘Amira’ was not an official rank bestowed on Armenian subjects by the Ottoman sultans; yet this ‘honorific appellation’ was secured in the Armenian community through wealth and proximity to the sultanate, which proves that the Manases fell short of attaining the highest caliber of recognition in the eyes of the sultans and accordingly in the eyes of their *millet*. Individuals belonging to this prestigious group bore remarkable ‘tokens of power’ that distinguished them from ‘others’ such as the special dress they wore, which was a hallmark not only among *non-Muslim* commoners but also among the Muslims, as well as easy and frequent access to the Sultan, and, in some cases, the privilege to ride horses and retain attendants.¹²⁰⁹ In more rare instances the sultans showed members of the community such affinity that they were visited at their bedside by

¹²⁰⁹ As in the case of the Balyans. (Barsoumian, “The Dual Role of the Armenian Amira Class,” 139.)

them when sick¹²¹⁰ or were allowed to attend funerals of sultans and accompany the body during the funeral procession.¹²¹¹ By means of the wealth and privilege they had accumulated, *amiras* were able to exert control over the members of their community and a significant amount of influence over the Patriarchate, even to the point of dismissing and selecting patriarchs.

Amiras consisted mostly of *sarrafs*, though there were several technocrat *amiras* as well, such as the Balyan family, which bore the hereditary title of imperial architect and the Dadyans who monopolized the gunpowder industry. There also existed a class of *amiras* known as *bâzergân amiras* or merchant-*amiras* who were ‘officially appointed purveyors’ and were associated directly with the Sublime Porte, each monopolizing a particular commodity or trade route which allowed them to attain great wealth. There were fewer *bâzergân amiras* than those associated with ‘finance and industry’, and there are no references to them after the turn of the 19th century.¹²¹² One such figure that deserves mention is *Mahdesi*¹²¹³ Seghbestros (1680-1754) from Eğin (modern day Kemaliye) who worked as banker and head *bâzergân* and was the court jeweler of the khedive along with Hacı Arutyun Çobanyan.¹²¹⁴ Other prominent figures include Yusuf Çelebi who enjoyed a respectable name and position with a considerable fortune through his importation of watches mainly from England, Boghōs Ghazar and Aslan *amiras* who were appointed as head *bâzergâns* of the Grand Vizier in 1760, followed by Sarkis Jansuzean and Mardiros Sak‘ayean, as

¹²¹⁰ Kazaz Amira Bezciyan was visited at his home by the Sultan when he fell gravely ill. Cf. Barsoumian, “The Dual Role of the Armenian Amira Class,” 139.

¹²¹¹ Garabet Düz was allowed to escort Atiye Sultan’s body during her funeral procession. (Jamgocyan, *Ibid.*, 84.)

¹²¹² Barsoumian, “The Dual Role of the Armenian Amira Class,” 137; Mirmërean, *T‘urk‘ahayots‘ hin vacharaganut‘iwn ew vacharagank‘: 1740-1890*, 8-9.

¹²¹³ *Mahdesi* is a term derived from the Arabic word ‘mukaddes’ meaning sacred, specifically designating those who had made pilgrimage to Jerusalem. (Barsoumian, “The Dual Role of the Armenian Amira Class,” 144n4.)

¹²¹⁴ Mirmërean, *T‘urk‘ahayots‘ hin vacharaganut‘iwn ew vacharagank‘: 1740-1890*, 8; Pamukciyan, *Ibid.*, 4:348, 3:131.

well as Manug Oghlu Garabed from Amasya whose ships commanded the Istanbul-Russia trade.¹²¹⁵

The banker Manases, aside from possibly Menasi, do not seem to have attained enough influence to have held the title *amira*, but the status of *sarraḡ* was significant enough in itself that Anton, was referred to as, “the son of the late banker”¹²¹⁶ in a document unrelated to his family or upbringing. The document in question is about the additional salary of 500 *kuruş* Anton would receive for his work at the Foreign Correspondence Office on top of his Translation Bureau salary, suggesting that despite not being a banker himself he had inherited a certain status or identity on the basis of his father’s career. As discussed above, having a banker as a member of the family had very real benefits that went beyond the mere prestige and social standing it bestowed, as is evidenced by the tax breaks accorded to the sons of banker Menasi Manas along with two of his servants. These patents of exemption given to bankers and their close family members enabled the non-bankers of a family linked to the banking sector to accumulate wealth beyond their means by exempting them from certain taxes.¹²¹⁷

Given the existence of technocrat *amiras*, the Manases who did not pursue banking—the standard profession of the *amiras*—would still have been eligible to bear the prestigious title as one among the technocrat faction by virtue of their technical abilities in the field of portraiture, but this does not seem to have been the case either. Pamukçıyan introduces the possibility that the Armenian *amira* Manase, who had a *yalı* in Çengelköy in 1789, was most likely painter Manase

¹²¹⁵ Mirmërean, *T’urk’ahayots’ hin vacharaganut’iwn ew vacharagank’*: 1740-1890, 8-11; Barsoumian, *Ibid.*, 137.

¹²¹⁶ BOA, HR.MKT 233/80: “Tahrirât-ı ecnebiye me’mûrlarından müteveffâ sarrâfin oğlu Manas Efendi,” “Tahrirât-ı ecnebiye Odası me’mûrlarından mersûm Mösyö sarrâfin oğlu Manas bendeleri.”

¹²¹⁷ BOA, C.MF 2/59. Cf. Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, 313-4. A new patent of exemption was granted to Zenop upon the death of his father, which also covered Zenop’s sons and two of his servants and these exemptions were later renewed for Zenop’s sons once he himself had passed. (BOA, C.ML 528/21602.)

(Menasi) Manas,¹²¹⁸ without substantiating this claim by way of concrete proof. An important point that needs to be raised with respect to this argument is that *amira* was not necessarily a hereditary title, and while there were *amira* families that passed the title onto consecutive generations this was not always the case, and even when this did occur, not all the sons received this title; therefore the children not having been *amiras* does not rule out the possibility of their father having been one. Also, given that the title *amira* was an honorific appellation that existed within the bounds and context of the Armenian community and not one that was granted by the Ottoman government, *amiras* are not referred to as such in Ottoman documents. Therefore, the lack of mention in Ottoman official correspondence cannot be construed as conclusive proof of the Manases not having been *amiras*. That being said, in the course of this research a reference to the Manases as *amiras* has not been encountered in Armenian histories and chronographiae that were checked either, while others appear as such. While this argument may nevertheless be accurate on the basis of Menasi being referred to as Minas Ağa and Mrmërean's classification of *aghay* as a term synonymous with that of *amira*,¹²¹⁹ the lack of any similar usage of these two terms synonymously in other sources, prevents Menasi's *amira* status from being conclusively proven based on this alone. An additional strong piece of information that can be offered in favor of this argument is the use of the title *hoca* to describe Menasi in the daily accounts of expenses of the Grand Admiral of the Navy, Küçük Hüseyin Paşa.¹²²⁰ Taking into consideration the fact that

¹²¹⁸ Pamukçıyan relays that during the downpour that flooded various parts of Istanbul on October 11, 1789, an unknown personage who took refuge at the waterfront mansion of Manase *Amira* in Çengelköy, composed an account of this incident, which was published in the Mekhitarist periodical *Pazmaveb*. On the basis of this account, Pamukçıyan makes a connection between this Manase *Amira* and Menasi Manas based singularly on the fact that the name 'Menasi' was rarely used among Armenians and so must be referring to Menasi Manas. (Pamukçıyan, Ibid., 1:107-9; Ibid., 4:298.)

¹²¹⁹ Azadean, *Dadean Kertasdanë ew ir Aganawor Tēm̄k'erë*, 15; BOA, C.MF 2/59; Çark, Ibid., 67; Beydilli, Ibid., 313n3. The equivalence Mrmërean assigns between *aghay* and *amira*, also lays the groundwork for the possibility that Krikor Manasean Aghay was also an *amira*. (ay, *Hin ôrer u ayt ôrerun hay metsadunnerë: 1550-1870*, 5; Ibid., *Masnagan badmut'iw n hay metsadunneru: 1400 ên 1900*, 110.)

¹²²⁰ TS.MA, TS.MA.d 2108, 4, 8A, 11.

the Manases were Catholic and that the titles *hoca* or *çelebi* were even more common for this group than the title *amira* even though they meant the same thing, the chances of Menasi having been an *amira* are significantly heightened.¹²²¹ This also raises the possibility that the title *hoca* that sometimes appears in front of Zenop's name may not be linked to his teaching as *hoca* in Ottoman Turkish also means teacher, but that it may in fact be a title inherited from his father, signifying a much greater status. While in the case of Menasi with his profession as banker and the use of the title 'hoca' to describe him as well as his appearance as 'agha' in some sources a strong case can be made for his status as an *amira*, in the case of Zenop the proof is much weaker and much less clear.

While the work Manases did in representing and portraying a particular image of the Empire by means of court portraiture and Foreign Service gained them prominence first and foremost because of the longevity and consistent standard of their service, it is important to note that in comparison to others working in the Foreign Service establishment, the Manases did not constitute the highest-paid cadre or those with the most eminent posts and awards. They frequently worked alongside other *non-Muslims* including Armenians, with more clout and often occupying higher positions than their own. Their abundance in Foreign Service did not translate into the selection of any members of the Manas family to be among the three Armenians appointed to lead diplomatic missions, yet it did lead to two of them securing the highly consequential position of consul general, in the purview of diplomacy.¹²²² Despite the above points made regarding their comparatively less significant standing to that of the *amiras* and also perhaps to others in the Foreign Service establishment, there are some cues that reinforce their prominence in their own eyes as well as in the eyes of their *millet* and Patriarch, the sultans, and other outside observers.

¹²²¹ Mrmërean, *Masnagan badmut 'iwn hay metsadunneru: 1400 ėn 1900*, 106.

¹²²² These were Aleksandr Diran, Davud Karabet, and Sekis Hamamciyan.

Aside from the most self-evident aspects that speak to the family's favorable reputation in the eyes of the Ottoman court like the Manases' continuous service to consecutive sultans for 200 years in various capacities, as well as the awards and ranks they had received, the family being described as "a good family"¹²²³ in the documents pertaining to Sofi Murad's petition for help to the Ottoman government, and her being described as "worthy of the sultan's beneficence in every respect"¹²²⁴ are reinforcing. Another document that had been cogitated on in the context of Catholicism, HAT 502/24621 also shows the high standing of the family, this time in the eyes of the Armenian Patriarch, who had been very hesitant to report Zenop because he had dealings with men of importance.¹²²⁵ The letters of recommendation written for Pol Manas by the Office of Prince Napoléon III, are likewise indicative of the family's recognition and prestige in the eyes of foreign entities. While both of these letters from Napoléon III's Office¹²²⁶ attest to the very positive reception of Pol, the second of these is especially significant with regard to the hints it exposes about the general positive reception of the Manas family as a network that operates in European cities as agents of diplomacy,¹²²⁷ thus showing official foreign recognition of the family's existence, success, and esteem. The letter in question notes that Pol belongs to the Manas family as an indication of his suitability for the diplomatic position in question and allows it to be inferred that belonging to the family was a factor in creating certain career opportunities for its members,

Prince Napoléon recommends to the benevolence of His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Paul Manasse; a young Armenian who is allied with the Manasses who fulfill diplomatic functions in Vienna and in Paris; he speaks French and Italian very elegantly, his wife is very good and he would perfectly fill the position of free attaché at the Ottoman Embassy in Paris.

¹²²³ BOA, İ.HR 135/6982.

¹²²⁴ BOA, HR.MKT 161/83.

¹²²⁵ "...mersûmlar için patrik-i mersûmun şimdiye kadar bir şey dememesi galibâ ba'z-ı ricâl dâi'releriyle ahz u i'tâlarından dolayı..." (BOA, HAT 502/24621)

¹²²⁶ BOA, HR.TO 419/26, BOA, İ.HR 117/5711.

¹²²⁷ BOA, İ.HR 117/5711.

The other letter of recommendation written for Pol that comes from his mother,¹²²⁸ Sofi Murad Manas, daughter of banker Rafail Murad, addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs is yet another valuable source of insight into the status of the Manas family and the role of family connections in the successes of its individual members. Written in Constantinople and dated to April 17th, 1858, an initial glance at Sofi's letter reveals a well-educated author with a reasonably good command of French.¹²²⁹ The letter which seeks a promotion for her son, notes that the reason for the request is not due to financial need, for which the family can compensate, but for an 'honorary advancement': "He is far from claiming against the modesty of this treatment to which his family can compensate, what he would like to obtain, and what we cannot do for him, without your protection, is an honorary advancement in his functions." This suggests that in 1858 the Manas family felt secure enough in its financial position that it would have been able to make up for any deficiencies in salary that might be experienced by an individual member like Pol. Despite the lack of financial concerns, Sofi does seem to see prestige as an issue of importance and given Pol's fluency in Italian and French it is clear that significant effort had been made by the family to

¹²²⁸ BOA, HR.TO 429/81: "Excellency, For the more than two years that my son Paul Manasse has been employed at the Imperial Embassy in Paris, he has always kept, despite the excellence of his services, as you must know, the same salary of 250 francs per month . He is far from claiming against the modesty of this treatment to which his family can compensate, what he would like to obtain, and what we cannot do for him, without your protection, is an honorary advancement in his functions. As the position of second secretary-interpreter is vacant, I dare to flatter myself of the hope that Your Excellency will not find it bad for a mother to assert, before Your Excellency, the rights that she thinks her son may have to this appointment. Relying on what I take from Mr. Naoum recently arrived in Constantinople, namely that His Excellency Méhemmed Djemil Bey spontaneously deigned in a dispatch, which His Majesty's Ambassador the Sultan addressed from Paris recently to Your Excellency, gives you knowledge of the aptitude and the intelligence with which my son Paul carries out the work of the Chancellery and the Correspondence. However his work, his good conduct and the various important missions, which he fulfilled, to the complete satisfaction of his superiors in Russia, and in the interior of France have so far earned him no decoration, while that he saw successively all [his] colleagues obtain some the French cross, Sardinian or Belgian and others the distinction more honorable still in his eyes of the Médjidié. So please humbly request Your Excellency to have the kindness which seems to me to be fair, in view of his knowledge of several languages, to make this inequality disappear by appointing him second secretary-interpreter because, if it remained always subsisting, it would be likely to compromise the consideration and the future of my son Paul Manasseh. Receive in advance, my lord, the thanks that I take the liberty of addressing to you and deign to accept the assurance of the deep respect with which I have the honor to be the very humble and very obedient servant of Your Excellency, Sophie Manasse"

¹²²⁹ The letter includes only occasional grammatical errors; *récem*[m]ment, *compromet*[t]re, and an instance where it should have been 'tous' instead of 'tout' as 'tous ses collègues'.

achieve and perpetuate certain markers of respectability, like knowledge of European languages. Sofi's recommendation may be understood as an indication of the importance of family connections involved in the family's professional success and that recommendations of this sort may have landed them in certain desirable positions or that the name recognition of the family often brought some sort of personally unearned acknowledgement. There is not enough evidence to determine that either was a prominent trend and it would be reductive to generalize based on the paucity of examples noted here. Nevertheless, among the extant instances is a letter one of Pol's family members wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs advocating for Pol to be raised to the third rank on the basis of his exemplary performance.¹²³⁰ Sofi's letter and this advocacy for an advancement on behalf of Pol both appear as possible archetypes of how the family might have been able to further its influence across generations by making sure that the young members also got to play important parts in the same kinds of tasks that their predecessors had. Though archival and secondary source mentions of Manas women are extremely rare, as had been problematized in the dissertation introduction, this letter is an illuminating exception and is perhaps the single document that enables a proper estimation of the Manas women.¹²³¹ Here Sofi appears as a well-educated, intelligent figure with the knowhow to navigate the intricate bureaucratic workings of the Ottoman system. Despite the insights it offers into Sofi, it is unclear whether it is possible to extrapolate from the letter to other female members of the Manas family. However, if it is assumed that the qualities reflected in the letter were shared by other female members, then it would suggest that they played a part not only in maintaining the family's financial well-being,¹²³² but also in

¹²³⁰ BOA, A.}DVN 120/35.

¹²³¹ Even though the chains of archival documents regarding her petitions to be reimbursed enabled some insight, they were too limited in their scope to allow for a real evaluation of the character of Sophie. The narrow scope of the petition of Zenop's wife Diruhi concerning the allotment of her husband's pension to her and her children similarly hinders an accurate estimation of her character. (BOA, İ.HR 5/210.)

¹²³² Cf. Zenop's wife Diruhi's petition for financial assistance. (BOA, İ.HR 5/210.)

furthering the career successes of the male members. The good education the family was able to give to its children emphasizes its high standing, the availability of financial means as well as the mentality and culture required to pursue that. Anton for instance is known to have received private tutoring and was able to read and speak Turkish, Greek, French, and write in French.¹²³³

The document dating to 21 Za 1289 A.H.¹²³⁴/January 20, 1873 on the Manas owned land in Tarabya, discussed above, is instrumental in highlighting the family's self-perception as "being privileged in its community and among its contemporaries" in addition to outside recognition that had been discussed above. This petition addressed earlier in this chapter, written by a member of the family whose name is not disclosed, highlights the family's continuity of service to the sultans across two centuries as a credit to the individual members, due to the cohesive unity of the family across the generations, as well as the author's belief that the family was viewed with favor as a privileged one within the community and among its peers. It is on this basis that the author suggests that the "Sultan's justice" would not accommodate the poor treatment and losses the family had been subject to on account of their dispossession.¹²³⁵

While the above document speaks to the self-perceived prestige of the family, it also provides a view into the financial troubles the family faced through the discussion of its financial downfall resulting from this very issue, which the following section examines further.

IV.6 The Financial Standing of the Manases

In continuation of the assessment of the standing of the Manases, which the previous section treated with respect to the family's prestige and esteem, this section aims to ponder on the

¹²³³ The document is registered as BOA, DHSAİDd. 4/604, but a different number (DHSAİDd. 4/303) is assigned to it on the physical page.

¹²³⁴ The Rûmî date is given as 10 Kânûn-ı sâni 1288 (January 22, 1873), so it does not match the hijri date that is provided.

¹²³⁵ BOA, ŞD. 2873/18.

financial standing of the family as how the family fared economically can be taken as a partial reflection of their success. There is not enough data to paint a comprehensive picture of the family's financial activities, however there are some written records that allow a limited picture to be drawn. As was previously discussed in the context of Catholicism, the family took financial hits on account of its Catholic faith, at least twice, and while in the first instance revolving around Sofi Murad Manas the figure of 12,500 piasters is known, in the case of the 1828 Exile, the extent of the family's financial losses cannot be quantified. In addition to the material drawbacks the family experienced including loss of pay, loss of its belongings and estate,¹²³⁶ the exile may have had other long term effects, like instigating a desire to change careers to less lucrative but equally less precarious fields, as Püzant who had been a banker seems to have done when he took appointments as part of the Foreign Service establishment after the 1828 Exile. Menasi's involvement in banking enabled his sons to be exempt from certain taxes and gave them a clear advantage over others who lacked these privileges. It is worth highlighting the importance of having a banker as a father, which could have a significant impact on children regardless of how lucrative the professions they eventually pursued were. Through familial association with a banker, the children also benefited from the exemptions and privileges granted to the father, so that that they would have been in a stronger and more secure financial position regardless of their choice of profession. This security may also have allowed the children greater freedom to pursue a profession for other than financial reasons. The tax breaks, however, were not sufficient to permit the children of a banker to ignore their finances altogether as is visible in the financial hardship experienced by Zenop.¹²³⁷ As has been outlined in the discussion of Zenop's language instruction career, he significantly suffered

¹²³⁶ As explained in the previous chapter not all of the properties that had been confiscated and sold were returned to their previous owners meaning that the Manases may not have regained ownership of their estates.

¹²³⁷ BOA, HAT 827/37473; C.MF 2/59; HAT 1423/58189; MAD.d 7917, p. 452,473.

from low pay that did not enable him to sustain himself as he started out his career as language instructor at the Imperial School of Military Engineering in 1802 with a meagre monthly salary of 50 *kuruş*, which was only increased to a 100 *kuruş* in 1803.¹²³⁸ Suffering from significant financial hardship even while he benefited from the patent of exemption that had been granted to his banker father, he found himself in an unsustainable position upon the loss of these privileges following his father's death, so he applied for the patent's renewal and was granted one in 1804.¹²³⁹ However, it was not until 1814 that his salary was bumped to 300 *kuruş* and he was granted a 60 *kuruş* monthly wage for his services as repairman of the devices and equipment (*âlât tam'irciliği*) at the Imperial School of Military Engineering,¹²⁴⁰ with a further increase to 500 *kuruş* in 1827.¹²⁴¹ Even when he had transferred to diplomatic service financial problems continued to plague him. A year before his passing he was still trying to secure a pay raise and transfer to Istanbul that would enable him to live comfortably.¹²⁴² It is made clear from HAT 827/37473 that Zenop had been petitioning about these matters for a while by that point, but that his requests were being ignored.¹²⁴³ However, upon his incessant pleas to various men of importance including the Minister of Finance, Nafiz Paşa, and the Undersecretary of the Interior, Sarim Efendi, and on the basis of his unrelenting loyal service to the Empire, the Porte decided to grant him an additional amount of 1000 *kuruş* making his monthly earnings 2000 *kuruş*.¹²⁴⁴

Anton's financial troubles are similarly reflected in the petition he submitted to be moved to another posting than the one he held at the Vienna Embassy as second translator because his salary was insufficient, especially after an additional amount was lost due to currency

¹²³⁸ Beydilli, *Ibid.*, 313-5. Cf. MAD.d 7917, p. 473.

¹²³⁹ BOA, C.MF 2/59.

¹²⁴⁰ Beydilli, *Ibid.*, 315. Cf. MAD.d 7917, p. 452.

¹²⁴¹ BOA, HAT 502/24621.

¹²⁴² BOA, HAT 827/37473, dated 16 S 1255 A.H. (May 1, 1839)

¹²⁴³ BOA, HAT 827/37473.

¹²⁴⁴ BOA, HAT 827/37473; HAT 1423/58189.

conversion.¹²⁴⁵ It could also explain why Anton opted to leave the diplomatic service and used his Foreign Service appointment as a springboard for obtaining prestigious postings within the Empire.¹²⁴⁶ His salary is given as 150 florins/1650 *kuruş* at the time of this appointment, however another document that also includes his per diem, reveals that he was being paid 290 florins/3190 *kuruş* per month.¹²⁴⁷ Although it does not seem to have been initially the case, towards the end of his career Anton was earning significantly more. One of the most lucrative positions he held was that of second inspector to Diyarbakır and Mamuretü'l-aziz where he was making 10,000 *kuruş* commencing on 8 C 1296 A.H. (May 30, 1879). The plot of land in Tarabya owned by the Manases was another significant cause of financial distress for the family to the extent that the family experienced 'grave misery' as a result of it.

Other data that can be used in assessing the financial burdens on the family is the late payment of the salaries of family members as well as some payments made to Josef from the *muhtâcîn* fund, reserved specifically for the needy. While BOA, İ.ML39/47 dated to 21 Temmûz 1316/ 7 Rebîü'l-âhir 1318 (August 3, 1900) and BEO 1529/114603 dated to 22 Temmûz 1316 (August 4, 1900) discuss the allotment of a higher portion from this fund to Manas Efendi, painter of the Imperial Chancery on His Majesty's Service,¹²⁴⁸ which must be referring to Josef given the dating of the document, the previous amount that was issued to him is not specified. The document merely indicates that the amount should be increased to 1000 *kuruş*. It seems difficult to ascertain Josef's financial standing on the basis of this document alone, given that this could have been a rerouting of available funds in a certain account to be used towards other matters. However, the

¹²⁴⁵ BOA, HR.MKT 79/91.

¹²⁴⁶ For a full account of Anton Manas' professional life see BOA, DHSAİDd. 4/604 and its discussion in the context of diplomacy.

¹²⁴⁷ BOA, A.}AMD 82/47.

¹²⁴⁸ *mâ-beyn-i hümayûn-ı cenâb-ı mülûk-âne ressâmlarından*

fact that he was looking out for the Sultan's charity a decade before this document on 9 Teşrîn-i sâni 306 (November 21, 1890) considerably strengthens the argument that he was indeed in a financially tenuous position.¹²⁴⁹

Tardy payment of salaries was in no way specific to the Manases, as it seems to have been a ubiquitous plague across the whole Ottoman system, emanating from a switch to a cash based economy from one based for centuries on tax-farming. As the state created more centralized institutions the cost of maintaining and developing these organizations increased the financial burden on the central government.¹²⁵⁰ While Ottoman currency and exchange rates remained relatively stable during the first half of the 18th century, after 1760 wars with Russia and the Habsburgs put significant financial pressure on the state and under Abdülhamid I (r. 1774-1789) the alloy content of the *kuruş* increased though it continued to hold its value relative to the *ducat*. This stability collapsed in 1789 under Selim III when the currency was debased and the *kuruş* saw its silver content fall by a third. The 19th century saw significant changes take place in the Ottoman economy and fiscal governance evolving towards a more centralized system of tax-farming or direct taxation by the “New Revenue Treasury” which had been established in 1793¹²⁵¹ in an attempt to meet the growing demand for revenue. Early in the 19th century the Ottoman state also sought to monetize the economy through the introduction of cash salaries in place of the traditional allocation of taxation rights, so that by 1813 nearly 69% of the 33,621 purses paid to Ottoman bureaucratic officials were paid as cash salaries.¹²⁵² Tax-farming had previously served as a method for what was in essence short-term borrowing and the *malikane* system then allowed for longer-term borrowing through the increase in the size of advanced payments in return for

¹²⁴⁹ BOA, Y.PRK.TKM 16/27.

¹²⁵⁰ Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, 189.

¹²⁵¹ Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 46.

¹²⁵² Ibid.

extended contracts.¹²⁵³ In addition to expropriation of wealth and war-time taxes, in the face of financial deficits, the Ottoman state also implemented a number of debasements beginning in 1808 so that by 1844 83% of the silver had disappeared from the *kuruş*.¹²⁵⁴ This spurred inflation and impacted the exchange rate with European currencies and was met by some local opposition particularly among local merchants and artisans and those on fixed salaries.¹²⁵⁵ The Ottoman state stopped the practice of debasing the coinage after 1844 and began issuing what were essentially bonds (*sergi*) as well as *kaime*, a form of handwritten paper currency.¹²⁵⁶ As the Ottoman Empire became increasingly integrated into the European economic framework, European banks came to be established within the Ottoman Empire beginning in the 1840s. The Empire switched from internal to foreign borrowing, which would eventually lead to the defaulting of the Ottoman state and the establishment of foreign control over state finances.¹²⁵⁷

While late payment of salaries was an Ottoman reality instead of being specific to the Manases, it still deserves attention as it took a toll on the finances of the family. The first document chain that will be analyzed in this regard is one dating to 13 R 1274 A.H. (December 1, 1857), which is a testament composed by Sebuhi himself outlining the precise dates and figures of the debt the government owed to him. According to his calculations, his pay had been cut upon the leave of Veli Paşa as ambassador to Paris and he had not been paid in the interim between the tenures of Veli Paşa and Mehmed Cemil Efendi from March 11, 1855 to August 6, 1855. He gives his salary as 500 francs (2150 *kuruş*) and calculates the number of days for which the Ottoman government defaulted on paying him as 4 months and 25 days, equaling 2416 francs and 50 centimes. In

¹²⁵³ Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, 190.

¹²⁵⁴ Ibid., 93. Cf. 200-204 for discussion of the role of Armenian *sarrafs* and the Düz family in particular with regard to the debasement of the currency and the financing of the state.

¹²⁵⁵ Ibid., 198.

¹²⁵⁶ Ibid., 210-211. The *kaime* was frequently counterfeited and failed to have a lasting impact.

¹²⁵⁷ Ibid., 161, 170.

addition to this amount he points out that he had not been paid from the beginning of August 1857 until November 25 of the same year, for a duration of 3 months and 25 days, amounting to 1916 francs and 50 centimes, meaning 4333 francs (18600 *kuruş*) in total. This document serves as proof that the outstanding amounts sometimes remained unpaid for years, as was the case in this particular instance where Sebuḥ was not paid for more than two years. A payment order is part of this document chain and dates to 13 R 1274 A.H. (December 1, 1274).¹²⁵⁸ Another example of a late payment made to the Manases is dated to 4 C 1266 A.H. (April 17, 1850), this time to Püzant Manas. While the dates for the missing salary are not shared, it is stated that a bulk amount of 4293 florins (47.200 *kuruş*)¹²⁵⁹ was due Püzant, which appears as a rather high figure.¹²⁶⁰ Püzant's salary appears as 100 florins in multiple documents,¹²⁶¹ but given the lack of a figure for his per diem, it is unclear how much he was being paid in total. Since both Püzant and Anton were stationed in Vienna and Anton was earning a wage of 150 florins and 140 florins monthly per diem amounting to 290 florins per month, meaning almost double when the per diem is taken into consideration, one might assume that Püzant was in fact earning around 190-200 florins rather than 100 florins in total. The figure given in HR.MKT 32/22, 4293 florins, then would suggest that the Ottoman government owed him approximately two years' worth of salary payments. It was not just those Manases in diplomatic service like Sebuḥ and Püzant, but those that had transferred to positions within the Empire like Anton, who after being employed as second translator at the Vienna Embassy continued his career as translator at the Sublime Porte's Translation Bureau that suffered the same fate, as evidenced by three archival documents pertaining to the issuing of his salaries

¹²⁵⁸ BOA, HR.MKT 218/28.

¹²⁵⁹ A figure of 50,200 *kuruş* is provided, but it is indicated that this amount included other expenses as well.

¹²⁶⁰ BOA, HR.MKT 32/22.

¹²⁶¹ BOA, HR.MKT 20/60, HR.MKT 143/2.

that had not been paid.¹²⁶² The earliest of these, HR.MKT 151/13 dated to July 4, 1856 is an official correspondence from the Office of the Grand Vizier to the Ministry of Finance regarding the payment of Anton's accumulated salaries, which indicates that Anton had been working in the capacity of second translator to the Vienna Embassy and had been transferred to the Translation Bureau and orders the payment of the unstated outstanding amount. HR.MKT 157/70 dated to 2 M 1273 A.H. (September 2, 1856) is regarding the same matter, which indicates that an additional two months had passed without him having been paid, despite the explicit order that was issued. A.}AMD 82/47 is a document that is dated later, to 11 Ş 1274 A.H. (March 27, 1858) but is a retrospective order related to the unpaid per diem and salaries of Anton from when he had been working in Vienna as second translator and points out that due to his changing of posts, an amount that was due to him had not been paid. On 17 N 1295 A.H. (September 14, 1878) while working as the second inspector to Diyarbakır and Mamuret'ül-aziz, Anton petitioned the government about his belated salary payments,¹²⁶³ proving that despite having left the diplomatic establishment, he continued to encounter this issue.

A.}AMD 82/47 also indicates that Anton's unpaid salary and per diem of two months and six days amounted to 640 florins. It is this document on the basis of which it can be determined that Anton was in fact receiving a monthly sum of 290 florins (3190 *kuruş*), as opposed to the 150 florin figure that is given in DHSAİDd. 4/604; the reason for the discrepancy can be attributed to the latter amount not being inclusive of the per diem. This very fact, meaning the absence of the figures for the per diem in official documents regarding salaries further complicates the search for precise figures for the amounts that the Manases earned. Given the family's success proved by their ability to hold on to similar positions across generations and the apparent prestige ascribed to

¹²⁶² BOA, HR.MKT 151/13, HR.MKT 157/70, A.}AMD 82/47.

¹²⁶³ BOA, DH.MKT 1332/20.

them, it can be determined that most retained at least relative financial prosperity throughout the period in question, though there were exceptions as the financial strain Sofi Murad Manas found herself in tells a different story.

As for the salaries of the Manases employed in Foreign Service, when he was second translator to the Vienna Embassy Anton was making 290 florins (3190 *kuruş*) a month including the per diem,¹²⁶⁴ while Püzant as Consul General of Vienna was making 100 florins,¹²⁶⁵ although as argued above this figure was most likely 190-200 florins including the per diem, so more in the range of 2090 *kuruş*. As outlined above Sebuğ was earning 500 francs (2150 *kuruş*) when he was working at the Paris Embassy. Pişer/Bedros Manas who was appointed to the Brussels diplomatic Office in place of Monsieur Glavani who had been transferred to the Madrid Office, was allotted a salary of 159 francs (684 *kuruş*) on 24 N 1274 (May 8, 1858),¹²⁶⁶ this again probably did not include a per diem, but even with the inclusion of a per diem his salary was a lower figure. Another document dating to 18 L 1271 A.H. (July 4, 1855) indicates that a Manas working at the Paris Embassy, whose position is not specified, but simply put as one of the retinue, was issued a salary of 250 francs (1075 *kuruş*), again presumably excluding the per diem.¹²⁶⁷ Given that Rupen, Sebuğ, and Pol were concurrently employed at the Paris Embassy at the date of the document it could be referring to any of them, but HR.TO 429/81 which contains Sofi Manas' recommendation of her son Pol strongly suggests that he was the Manas in question. In her letter dated to April 17, 1858 Sofi complains that despite his excellent service her son who had been recruited two years prior with a salary of 250 francs had not been given any pay raise over time. Although Gaspar's salary is not mentioned anywhere, he does complain in a petition dated to September 12, 1856 that over

¹²⁶⁴ BOA, A.}AMD 82/47.

¹²⁶⁵ BOA, HR.MKT 20/60, HR.MKT 143/2.

¹²⁶⁶ BOA, HR.MKT 237/45.

¹²⁶⁷ BOA, HR.MKT 111/61.

the decades he had served at the Vienna Embassy he had not received a real pay raise and that the 200-florin raise he managed to secure was reallocated to the Consulate General.¹²⁶⁸ This at least indicates that he was dissatisfied with it, suggesting it could not have been high. As for Rupen he was earning 300 francs (1290 *kuruş*) as the secretary at the Paris Embassy in 1856, but because the amount did not even cover his obligatory expenses, and on account of his incurring extra costs due to his schooling in painting and with the expectation that his expenses would only go up, he was issued an additional 300 francs on 18 N 1273 A.H. (May 12, 1857), making his salary 600 francs (2580 *kuruş*).¹²⁶⁹ As was previously mentioned, Rupen in fact earned significantly more in the service of the Paris Embassy in 1846 under Süleyman Paşa, with a 650-franc monthly salary and 250-franc monthly per diem, than in 1848, when his salary was cut down to 500 francs.¹²⁷⁰ It declined even further after that, reaching an all-time low in 1856, when it fell to 300 francs.

While there is a certain risk in making historical wage or standard of living comparisons particularly when done with a lack of specificity, this kind of contextualization can strengthen our understanding of the financial circumstances of the Manas family. Beginning in 1838, each civil servant was promised a monthly salary payment which was distributed from the Treasury.¹²⁷¹ Early on there was a significant gap between the salaries received by high-level officials, which were approximately 50% higher than those of European counterparts, and those of lower ranking bureaucrats.¹²⁷² In the context of inefficient tax collection and the financial burden on the state outlined above, the Treasury struggled from the beginning to pay bureaucratic salaries.¹²⁷³ When an official received the *suret* which certified his right to a salary, this did not mean that the funds

¹²⁶⁸ BOA, HR.TO 425/17.

¹²⁶⁹ BOA, İ.HR. 143/7500.

¹²⁷⁰ BOA, İ.HR. 47/2255.

¹²⁷¹ Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History*, 294.

¹²⁷² *Ibid.*, 296.

¹²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 296.

allotted were in fact available. Delayed payments were a frequent problem and it is reasonable to estimate that in a given year a typical civil servant would receive only between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ of their salary.¹²⁷⁴ For some members of the Manas family it seems that the rate of unpaid salary was sometimes even higher as was the case for Püzant who was issued a combined payment order for approximately the equivalent of two years of his salary. Over the span of an official's career, the lack of clear ranks across the bureaucracy also meant that he would experience increases and reductions in salaries when appointed to new positions.¹²⁷⁵ According to the data set offered by Findley, in 1869 the average median salary for the Foreign Ministry was 1291 *kuruş* and 699 *kuruş* for Armenians, while a decade later the average median salary was 1237 *kuruş* and 1444 *kuruş* a decade after that, when the median salary for Armenians in the Foreign Ministry was 1949 *kuruş*.¹²⁷⁶ While there are apparent challenges with the data that Findley presents, particularly with respect to Armenians up through the 1880s, as evidenced by drastic fluctuations like a median salary of 9 *kuruş* in 1868 to a median salary of 699 *kuruş* in 1869 and then down to a median of 11 *kuruş* in 1870, it does offer a basis for comparison in broad strokes.¹²⁷⁷ When compared to the first reasonable figure that appears in this data set with respect to the Armenians, 349 *kuruş* in 1865 all of the Manases are above it. It is only Piyer Manas whose salary falls below the median salary of 699 *kuruş* indicated for Armenians for the year 1869, while all the other Manases seem to have earned wages significantly above this median figure for their Armenian counterparts. Evaluating the salaries of the Manases together with Findley's data is useful in contextualizing the Manases' salaries against the background of the earnings of the rest of the Foreign Service

¹²⁷⁴ Ibid., 300.

¹²⁷⁵ Ibid., 297.

¹²⁷⁶ Ibid., 356.

¹²⁷⁷ Findley, "The Acid Test of Ottomanism," *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Abridged Edition*, 229. The fluctuations may be due to the size of the data set or the lack of sufficient data available. Owing to the lack of clarity in the citations it has not been possible to check the work or to separately carry out the calculations.

personnel, however, the vast fluctuations in Findley's data set weaken the fruitfulness of the comparison.

While the juxtaposition to Findley's data yields results without a firm foundation, a comparison of the Manases' salaries to each other on the basis of their comments regarding their living standards and their requests relating to their salaries enables a framework to be established for understanding their pay. Using location as a marker, Sebu, Rupen and Pol employed at the Paris Embassy and Anton and Püzant, who were in Vienna, can be compared to each other. Anton who was making 290 florins per month, inclusive of the per diem, complained about the deficiency of his salary, as pointed out above and requested a change of post. Püzant was making even less, so it can be surmised as previously suggested, that Püzant was supplementing his low salary by investing and lending money on the side. Returning to the three who were working at the Paris Embassy, Rupen's salary of 300 francs did not even allow him to cover his minimum expenses, so earning 250 francs Pol would have been in a worse situation, which is corroborated by his mother who stated that he required the help of his family to make ends meet. Rupen's salary was doubled to 600 francs which seems to have made his situation significantly better though it remains unclear how well it allowed him to live. Sebu was in a similar situation, earning 500 francs. There is no evidence confirming whether or not Pol received the salary increase. It is difficult to make sense of the salary of Piye in relation to other family members based on the specific location given that he was the only Manas in Brussels, however it should be noted that his salary appears to be the lowest among all members of the family.

On the whole it seems that the Foreign Service careers of the Manases were not especially lucrative and that they suffered financially on many occasions. Therefore, while it did not necessarily offer stability either, as a career path the Foreign Service appears to have been a safer,

albeit less financially rewarding alternative to banking for the Manases. Zenop's later career in the diplomatic field provided a more substantial income than the 500 *kuruş*¹²⁷⁸ he had earned from his work in translation and language instruction at various state institutions as he is reported as having a salary of 600 florins in May 1840.¹²⁷⁹ Data pertaining to Josef's more recent salary figures from his employment as a court artist could not be located either, though at the very beginning of his career in 1856 he seems to have earned 45 *kuruş* per month, which was bumped to 50 *kuruş* six months later.¹²⁸⁰ He is also known to have received a sum of 1000 *kuruş* from the fund reserved for the needy at the turn of the 19th century-. It is possible that before retiring, he supplemented his salary as a court artist with the additional sum he earned as the administrative assistant of the court photographer Konstantin Kargopulo and with his earnings from colorizing photos at photography studios.¹²⁸¹ Rupen and Sebuhan Manas also supplemented their incomes via their artistic skills by earning additional sums for the paintings they made during their employment in diplomatic service. Sebuhan was promised 9,000 piasters on delivery of five copies of a miniature portrait, for instance, while Rupen was promised a total of 10,000 francs for two sultanic portraits he would paint for the Vienna and Berlin Embassies.¹²⁸² While the Manases analyzed in the context of this research all appear to have earned salaries sufficient for maintaining their livelihoods with the prestigious positions they held, aside from the profession of banking which singlehandedly yielded the possibility of a substantial income, among those occupied in the Foreign Service, the family members who supplemented their salaries with additional work, like Püzant, Sebuhan, and Rupen

¹²⁷⁸ BOA, HAT 502/24621.

¹²⁷⁹ BOA, İHR 5/205.

¹²⁸⁰ TS.MA, TS.MA.e, 1350/171, TS.MA.e 1353/54.

¹²⁸¹ Küçükhasköylü, *Ibid.*, 176-7.

¹²⁸² Sakëzean, "Manasnerë hay ngarich'neru harsdut'iwn më 18-19 tar," 57; Şehsuvaroğlu, "19. Asırda Osmanlı sarayında resim," *Akşam Gazetesi*, 12 June 1948, 5.

were more financially secure with a more comfortable standard of living than those who did not pursue additional means.

IV.7 Conclusion

The participation of several of the Manases in the profession of banking, as has been established here for the first time, forces the family to be seen in a different light than that which they have been viewed in by scholarship up to this point. While the family's longevity in Foreign Service and court portraiture, which has received scholarly recognition, allowed them to play a significant role in imperial identity construction, it did not suggest the level of stature that they can be known to have held on the basis of their participation in banking.

Just as the Catholic identity of the Manases contributed both to the family's ability to succeed in the contexts of the Foreign Service and court portraiture, as well as to a number of the hardships that the family faced including the exile of Catholic Armenians in 1828, so too did the family's participation in banking. While involvement in the banking profession enabled a higher social standing and clear material advantages, even just through familial association as in the case of the patents Menasi's children were able to take advantage of, as well as the acquisition of a piece of land along the Bosphorus previously owned by the Kalimaki family, substantial inheritance, and supplemental income during Foreign Service employment as was the case for Püzant, the Manases also very much experienced the other side of the coin. The challenges the Manases faced with respect to reclaiming Mıgırdiç's estate which had been unjustly confiscated by Kamili Paşa and reacquiring their land in Tarabya which were laid out in the numerous petitions that have been uncovered and examined here, not only prove the negative experiences the Manases went through on account of the precariousness of high-level banking, but also serve as a useful window into the Ottoman political environment and the bureaucratic landscape that shaped the

interactions between esteemed members of ethno-religious communities and the state. The Phanariot Greeks' and then the Armenians' rise in and fall from sultanic favor is visible in the property changing hands from one community to another along the Bosphorus and in the changing of the urban landscape.

In some cases, the negative experiences of the Manases both with regard to impactful events such as the 1828 Exile and the general vicissitudes of the banking profession encouraged their change of profession to Foreign Service, which was subject to less volatility and which allowed them to contribute to the construction of imperial identity while avoiding the great risk associated with contributing in the financial realm. Though this area offered a more secure career path in some ways, pursuing it also diminished the chances of accumulating wealth as had been touched upon in the comparison of Püzant and Mıgırdiç's estates.

In addition to the findings presented in this chapter pertaining to the Manases' tight association with banking commencing with Menasi Manas, this chapter has also placed several members of the Manas family, who had hitherto been discussed only in passing, such as Mıgırdiç, Püzant, Anton, and Aleksan firmly into the family network. With the help of the new data accumulated, this chapter has also endeavored to go beyond the palled descriptions of the family's perceived prestige and high social status and deepened the discussion both in this regard and in regard to the family's financial standing.

EPILOGUE

The Manases operated throughout a period of great change in the Ottoman Empire, reflected in the transformation of its imperial portraiture, mode of diplomatic engagement, banking, taxation, and monetary practices, as well as its intra and inter ethno-religious community dynamics. Holding positions in various areas of the diplomatic establishment, court art, and banking during this time, they both suffered and benefited, socially and professionally from their Catholic identity. Aside from their talent and respective skillsets that proved to be vital, the combination of the activities they took on appears to have been a conspicuous feature in the story of the Manases, which enabled them to carry out some of the various transitional steps during this period. Not always obvious professional pairings, such as the court painter-banker career of Menasi Manas, the dual pursuits of many of the Manases helped to increase their successes in each individual facet. Through the family's name recognition and support mechanism, members endeavored to perpetuate the success of other individuals affiliated with the family, as is evidenced in the letters of recommendation various members wrote on behalf of others for promotions. The family's success through the name that it had built for itself was greater than the sum of the successes of the individual members who relied on this collective identity. While some members of the family became *prominent* leaders in their respective fields, the *mediocrity* of others was eclipsed by the more impactful individuals of their professions.

It is safe to say that the members of the family under investigation here were resourceful individuals with a great capacity for adaptation engendered in part by the good education their family was able to provide for them. The Manases were survivors and inherently practical individuals who took advantage of the opportunities they saw, while also being mindful of building potential for growth in social stature in each generation, thereby contributing to the progress of

their family as a whole. They held fluid identities and perhaps were brought up with the sensible approach required to make sure they could adapt in an environment where they were not only a *non-Muslim* group, but also held an identity that was not officially recognized by the Ottoman state—specifically one that the Ottoman administration was trying to suppress, viewing its members as a ‘fifth column’. While the third generation experienced the establishment of the Catholic *millet* in their late middle ages, members of the fourth generation were still in their youth, and yet experiencing the trauma of the 1828 Exile would have unquestionably been formative for their views of the world. Though they receive little space in the archival and secondary literature, the glimpses of the women of the family suggest that they shared this solid cultural background and wherewithal that enabled them to cleverly operate within the bureaucratic and social environment of the Empire in ways that contributed to maintaining the unity of the Manas family and to the lasting achievement of its members. As has been shown, the Manas family rose to achieve a certain amount of success and distinction within the Armenian community and the Ottoman Empire as a whole and declining in certain moments, only to rise up again. Therefore, it would be a misinterpretation to assert that the family’s trajectory adhered to a simple arc with a rise to great achievement and prestige and then a fall into obscurity.

This family had a penchant for the arts, and although they fell outside the scope of this dissertation, there were a number of family members who emerged as prominent figures in the artistic milieu of the 19th and 20th centuries, like Sirapyon Manas (1837-?), a well-known theatre personality and director, and the musicologist and composer Edgar Manas (1875-1964), who did the orchestration of the Turkish Republic’s national anthem. Edvar (?-1927) and J. D. Manas,¹²⁸³

¹²⁸³ Sakisian lists M.J.D. /B.H.D as his oral source in the production of his works pertaining to the Manas family particularly with respect to the biographies of the family’s painters. In his Armenian article on the topic he has his informant’s name abbreviated as B.H.D., while in his French work, as M.J.D. The difference between the two

on the other hand, were active in the literary arts as writers and editors, the former being the editor of the French periodical *Stamboul* for many years, while the latter worked as the Alexandria correspondent for the *Akşam* Newspaper, then led the Egypt branch of *L'Illustration de la Turquie rénovée*, eventually being appointed to head the publication of the Turkish Chamber of Commerce in Alexandria, while he was its secretary. J. D. Manas published numerous articles which played a part in shaping foreigners' views of Turkey.¹²⁸⁴

Therefore, while the contributions of the family to the fabric of the Empire and later to the Turkish Republic did not come to an abrupt halt, the story of the Manas family laid out in this dissertation ends at the turn of the 20th century, not only due to the limitations on length and scope, but also as guided by the source material, which dries up to a great extent at the turn of the century. The study of this phase of the family's history is a clear limitation of the present project and one, which deserves to be remedied through a dedicated work. The narratives of the Manases around the tragic events of the Genocide are shrouded in mystery and the study of this period in particular poses great obstacles to the scholar not only because information has been inadvertently lost over time or intentionally destroyed to avoid incrimination, but also because of the limitations on accessing information most prominently at the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office, the General Staff Archive of the Military History and Strategic Studies Directorate (ATASE), and the Archives of the Armenian Patriarchates of Istanbul and Jerusalem, for this period's study. These structural challenges warrant an especially creative and comprehensive methodology and approach to effectively surmount them. In the analysis of the Genocide it is of paramount

abbreviations might be explained by the 'B' signifying Baron (Mr.) in Armenian and the 'M', Monsieur in French. The use of 'H' in Armenian and 'J' in French is due to the Europeanizing of Armenian names such as Hovsep into Joseph (Josef). (Sakisian, *Pages d'art arménien*, 99; Sakčezan, "Manasnerē hay ngarich'neru harsdut'iwn mē 18-19 tar," 56.)

¹²⁸⁴ Çark, *Ibid.*, 190-1; Step'anian, *Kensagrakan bararan*, 2:282.

importance to view ‘victim’ sources as conducive to historical reconstruction just as much as those of the ‘perpetrator,’¹²⁸⁵ instead of brushing them off as inherently devoid of historical value, thereby losing the great many details and pieces of information housed in memoirs, eyewitness accounts, survivor historical works, and oral histories and interviews, used to great effect by scholars like Kévorkian¹²⁸⁶ and Kasbarian, among many others.¹²⁸⁷

It is equally valuable to take a broad view by incorporating an array of sources including missionary accounts, the various foreign diplomatic archives and historical accounts by diplomats like the United States ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1913 to 1916, Henry Morgenthau’s memoir, foreign newspapers and magazines, as well as Czarist Russian and Soviet archival records and Armenian newspapers, one of the largest collections of which is found in the Gulbenkian Library in Jerusalem.¹²⁸⁸ Taking inspiration from Suciyan and Ekmekçioğlu who use Armenian periodicals as a key source in reconstructing the past, such a project might make use of the ‘missing columns’ ubiquitous across Armenian periodicals to pursue leads on the Manases’ circumstances during and following the Genocide, as a way forward.¹²⁸⁹

What is so interesting and striking about the Manas family is that they seem to have merged, either within single individuals or in alternating generations civil and financial services and artistic activities. For instance Edgar as the son of Aleksan, who ended his long translation

¹²⁸⁵ Der Matossian, “The Genocide Archives of the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem.” *Armenian Review* 52, no. 3 -4 (Fall-Winter 2011): 17-8.

¹²⁸⁶ Kévorkian, Raymond. *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2011.

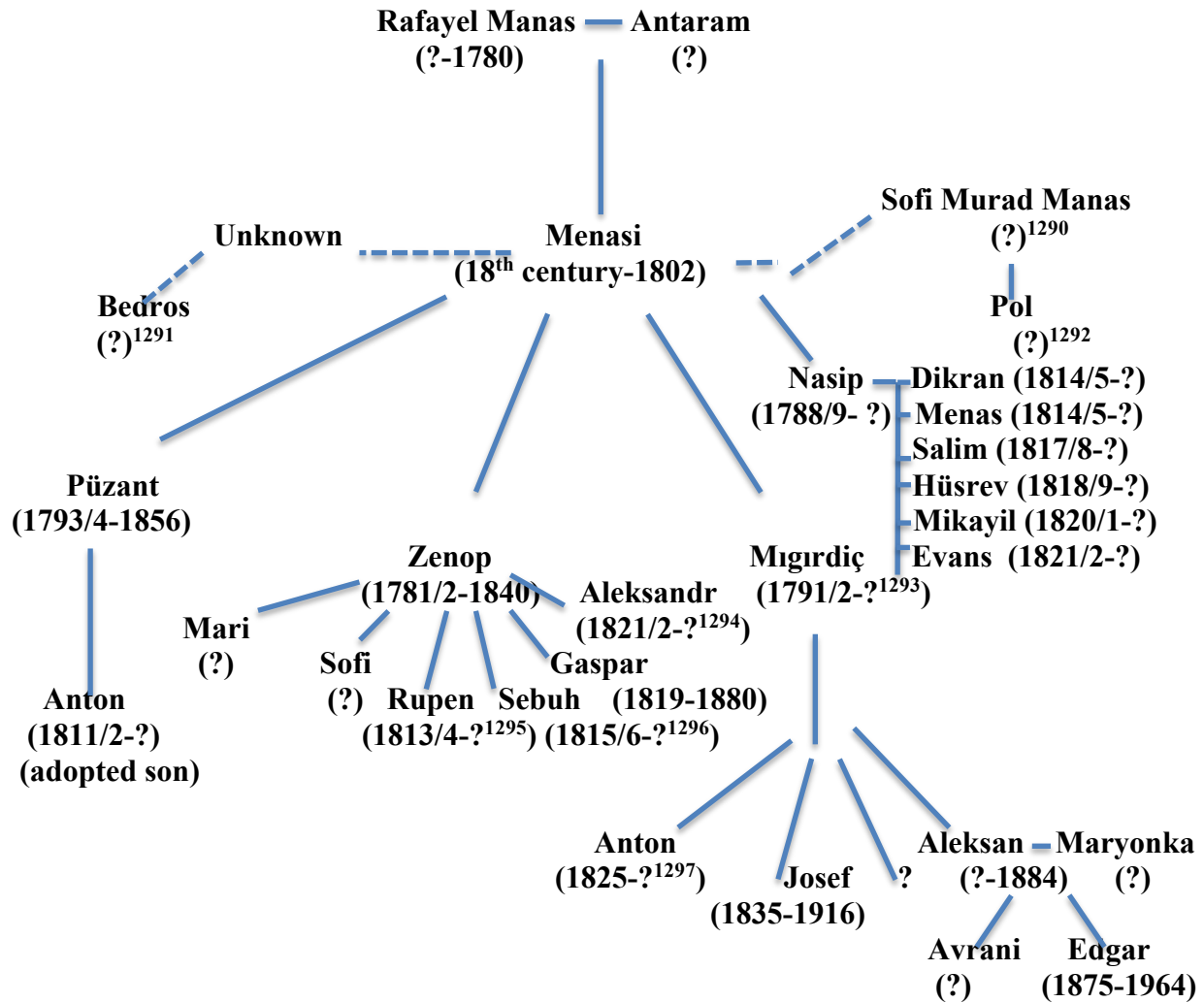
¹²⁸⁷ Kasbarian, “The Istanbul Armenians: Negotiating Coexistence.” *Post-Ottoman Coexistence: Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict*: 207-237.

¹²⁸⁸ Nevertheless, all of these sources should be approached with caution because each is prone to bias in its own specific way, though this does not detract from their value for the researcher. At times, these specific biases are valuable in and of themselves when they have been identified, as has been pointed out in the prevalent use of European accounts in discussing the Armenian bankers’ circumstances in the bounds of Chapter Four.

¹²⁸⁹ Suciyan, *The Armenians in Modern Turkey: Post-Genocide Society, Politics and History*, ix, Ekmekçioğlu, *Recovering Armenia: The limits of belonging in post-genocide Turkey*, 16.

career as head translator to the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, became an eminent composer. As is the case with all national anthems, its creation was a defining feature of this new republic's identity, which Edgar successfully participated in, carrying on the legacy of his family in framing the image of the state. Similarly, the father of Josef Manas, the last court portraitist of the family, had been the banker Mıgırdıç. In other instances the dual roles were embodied in a single member of the family, as has been amply discussed in this work. In following the lives and careers of the Manases though, a thread appears throughout, tying the endeavors of its members to pursuits that helped to shape the identity of the Empire and subsequently, the Republic. It is perhaps the salience of this thread which is most indicative of the overarching impact of the family.

APPENDIX A: THE MANAS FAMILY TREE



¹²⁹⁰ Died after 1858.

¹²⁹¹ Died after 1860.

¹²⁹² Died after 1858.

¹²⁹³ Died before 1855.

¹²⁹⁴ Died after 1846.

¹²⁹⁵ Died before 1888.

¹²⁹⁶ Died before 1888.

¹²⁹⁷ Died after 1898.

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Figure 1. Rafayel Manas. *Portrait of Mustafa III*. 1857. Oil-on-canvas. Circa 1757-89. 151 x 100 cm. From: *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*. Translated by Priscilla Mary Işın. Istanbul: İşbank, 2000.



Figure 2. Rubens Manasie. *Portrait of Abdülmecid*. 1857. Oil-on-canvas. Drottningholm Palace, Sweden. From: *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*. Translated by Priscilla Mary Işın. Istanbul: İşbank, 2000.



Figure 3. Gentile Bellini. *Portrait Medal of Mehmed the Conqueror*. Circa 1480. Medal. 9.2 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. From: *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*. Translated by Priscilla Mary Işın. Istanbul: İşbank, 2000.



Figure 4. Gentile Bellini, *Mehmed II*. 1480. Oil-on-canvas. 70 x 52 cm. National Gallery, London. From: *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*. Translated by Priscilla Mary Işın. Istanbul: İşbank, 2000.



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Figure 6. Levni, *Mehmed II, Kebir Musavver Silsilenâme*. 1703-1730. Miniature Painting. A. 3109, fol. 7v.. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul. From: *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*. Translated by Priscilla Mary Işın. Istanbul: İşbank, 2000.



Figure 7. Anonymous, *Akide (hard-boiled sweets) hawker*. 17th century. Album painting. Naval Museum, Istanbul. From: *Ottoman Figurative Arts 2: Bazaar Painters*. Ed. Tülün Değirmenci and E. Sabri Koz. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2018.



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Figure 9. Rafayel Manas, *Sultan Mahmud I*. Circa 1757-1789. Miniature Painting. A. 3109, fol. 24r. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul. From: *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*. Translated by Priscilla Mary Işın. Istanbul: İşbank, 2000.



Figure 10. Rafayel Manas, *Sultan Osman III*. Circa 1757-1789. Miniature Painting. 26.7 x 18.2 cm, A. 3109, fol. 24v. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul. From: *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*. Translated by Priscilla Mary Işın. Istanbul: İşbank, 2000.



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Figure 12. Rafayel Manas, *Sultan Mustafa and his son in Silsile-i Osmaniye*. Circa 1757-1789. Watercolor on Paper. 21.5 x 14 cm. Istanbul University Library, Istanbul. From: *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*. Translated by Priscilla Mary Işın. Istanbul: İşbank, 2000.



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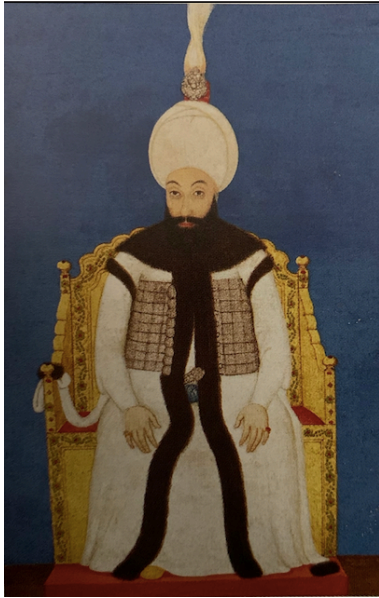


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Figure 17. Konstantin Kapıdağlı, *Sultan Selim III*. 1793. Engraving. 47 x 35 cm. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul. From: *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*. Translated by Priscilla Mary Işın. Istanbul: İşbank, 2000.



Figure 18. Zenop Manas. *Genealogy of the Ottoman Sultans* (From Sultan Osman up through Sultan Mahmud II). Oil-on-canvas. 98 x 96 cm. Mekhitarist Monastery, Vienna. From: *Armenian Painters in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1923*. Istanbul: Matüsaleman Uzmanlık ve Yayıncılık, 2004.



Figure 19. Marras. *Sultan Mahmud II*. 1832. Oil on ivory. Diameter: 6 cm. Topkapı Palace Museum (17/208), Istanbul. From: *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*. Translated by Priscilla Mary Işın. Istanbul: İşbank, 2000.



Figure 20. Attributed to Rupen Manas. *Sultan Abdülmecid I*. Circa 1850. Oil. 255 x 152 cm. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul. From: *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*. Translated by Priscilla Mary Işın. Istanbul: İşbank, 2000.



Figure 21. Rupen Manas, *Fatma Sultan*. 1849-1850. Engraving. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul. From: *Başlangıcından Günümüze Ermeni Resim Sanatı*. Istanbul: Agos Yayıncılık, 2003.



Figure 22. Rupen Manas, *Kabuli Mehmed Paşa*. 1853. Watercolor-on-ivory. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. From: <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O139223/miniature-manas-rupen/>



Figure 23. Attributed to Sebuhan Manas, *Sultan Mahmud II*. 1828-1830. Oil-on-canvas. 190 x 135 cm. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul. From: *Ottoman Painting*. Ankara: Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture and Tourism Publications, 2010.



Figure 24. Charles Meynier, *Napoléon Bonaparte as First Consul*. 1804. Oil-on-canvas. 225 x 160 cm. Musées de la Ville de Bruxelles, Bruxelles. From: "Cross-Cultural Spaces in an Anonymously Painted Portrait of the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II." Master's Thesis, University of South Florida, 2015.



Figure 25. Josef Manas, Augusta Victoria. 1899. Oil on photograph. 24 x 32 cm. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul.
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Figure 26. Josef Manas, Serasker Rıza Paşa, Colored Photograph. 50 x 80 cm. Dolmabahçe Palace Museum, Istanbul.
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Figure 27. Josef Manas, Sultan Abdülaziz. 1892. Mixed media on paper. 13.5 x 11 cm. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul. From: *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*. Translated by Priscilla Mary Işın. Istanbul: İşbank, 2000.

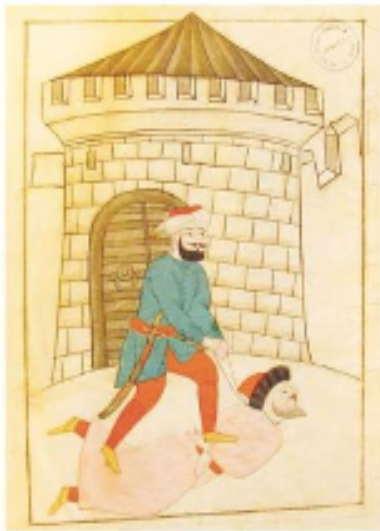


Fig. 23 *Grand Dragoman Grillo Strangled by Order of the Grand Vizier*. MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 38r

Figure 28. Anonymous. *Grand Dragoman Grillo Strangled by Order of the Grand Vizier*. Cicogna Codex, 1971, fol. 38r. From: Rothman, E. Nathalie. "Visualizing a space of encounter: Intimacy, alterity, and trans-imperial perspective in an Ottoman-Venetian miniature album." *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 40, no. 40 (2012): 39-80.

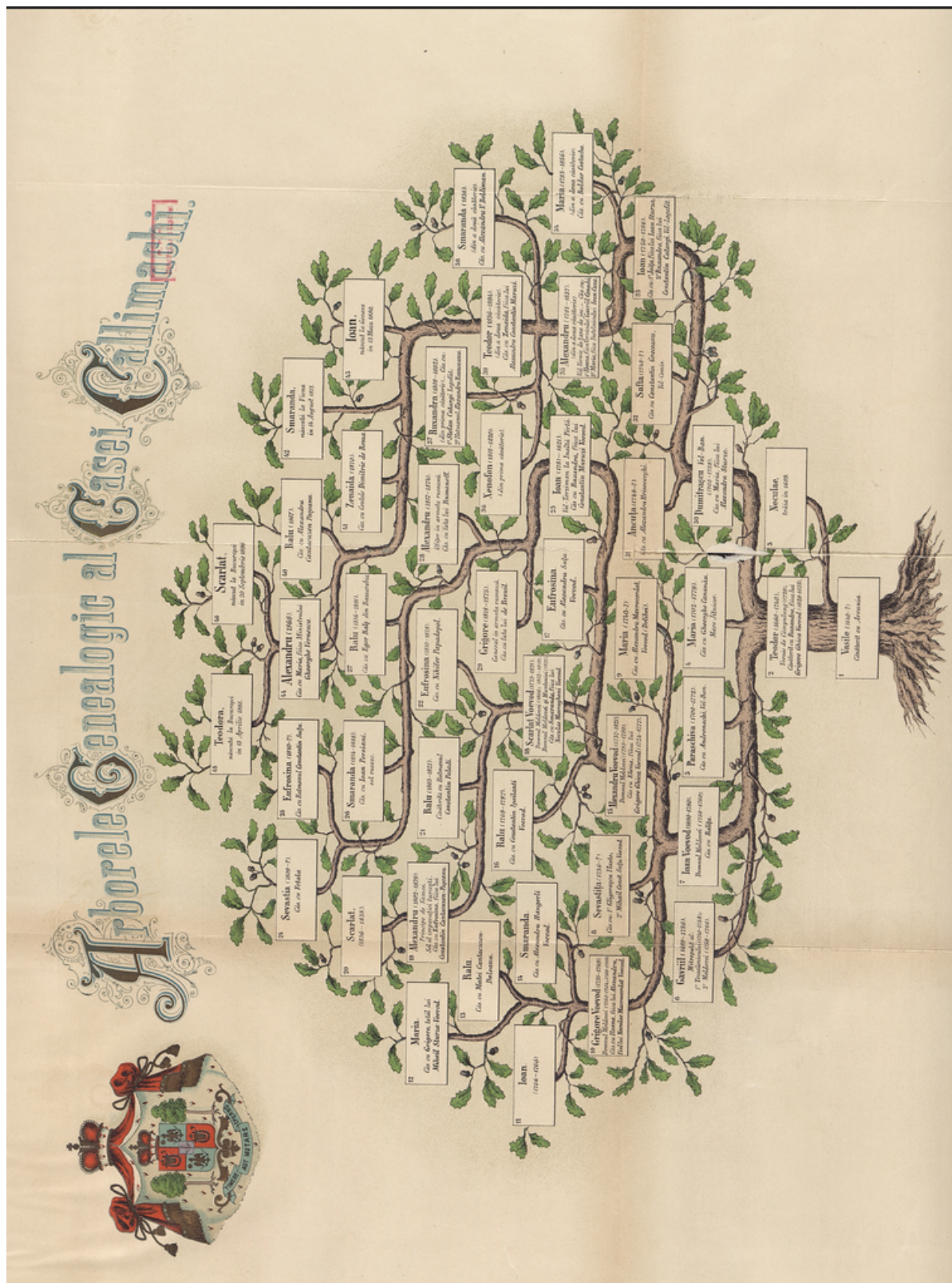


Figure 29. Arborele Genealogic al Casei Callimachi (The Genealogical Tree of the House of Callimachi).
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4c/Arborele_genealogic_al_casei_Callimachi.jpg