

# **Empire as a Career: Hagop Grjigian or an Armenian in the Ottoman Bureaucracy\***

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## **Introduction**

Until the Reform Edict was issued in 1856, the Ottoman Empire operated on the principle that its Muslim subjects were superior to their non-Muslim counterparts such as Christians and Jews. Under this principle, non-Muslims, making up about one-third of the empire's population, were severely limited in the ways in which they could participate as members of the ruling class while maintaining their own faiths, with such avenues as financier, language interpreter, and physician remaining open to them. The 1856 Reform Edict promised political and legal equality between Muslims and non-Muslims and opportunities for positions of power were made available for the latter. The Ottoman government officially recognized the rights of non-Muslims to participate in central and provincial administrations as full-fledged members of the bureaucracy.

This article will be devoted to Hagop Grjigian, an Armenian Christian who pioneered the involvement of Armenians in the Ottoman bureaucracy by entering it two decades before the issuance of the Reform Edict. Grjigian was a member of the diplomatic corps since the 1830s, and he rose to a position of leadership among Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. Hopefully, tracing the little-known life of Grjigian for the first time will accord a new perspective on the mid-19th century Tanzimat reforms and the roles played by non-Muslims at that time. In addition, it will help scholars to understand the transformation of the power structure within the Armenian community better. In so doing, Grjigian's political career as the mediator between a religious community and the world of Ottoman politics will help illuminate the functioning of an empire comprised of people from diverse religions and denominations.

Within the research done to date on the history of the Ottoman Empire, the mid-19th century has been characterized as an epoch during which the central government in Istanbul attempted to recover its authority by transitioning to a modern state, through radically reforming its administration,

taxation, and military institutions. Prior to these reforms, which are termed Tanzimat, the rebellions of Christians in Serbia and Greece resulted in their obtaining autonomy and independence from the Ottoman Empire. It was this phenomenon that became the context of an important issue that had to be addressed by Tanzimat: the political integration of the empire's non-Muslim subjects. Consequently, conventional research has been strongly inclined to depict top Muslim government officials as protagonists of top-down reform and to exhibit non-Muslims as the objects of integration and governance.<sup>1)</sup> By depriving non-Muslims of the proactive roles they played in the reform movement, it becomes simple for researchers to regard non-Muslims as mere subjects of the empire, and to depict the history of the Ottoman Empire as that created exclusively by Muslim Turks.

Some scholarly research does attempt to elucidate the roles played by non-Muslim individuals and lineages, analyzing hard data regarding their political careers to demonstrate their engagement in one section of the Ottoman ruling class.<sup>2)</sup> However, this body of work, while pointing to important contributions of non-Muslims to governing agencies, has not paid sufficient attention to the association between their positions in Ottoman political society, their concomitant leadership positions within their own religious communities, and their roles as mediators between the two entities, as proven in the many cases of prominent Armenians of the 19th century.

During the early years of the 19th century, the Armenian patriarchate of Istanbul was gaining importance as the administrative center of that particular Christian community. The Amira class of its laity were connected closely to the sultans and top Ottoman officials in capacities such as financiers, architects, and manufacturers of gunpowder. These non-Muslim individuals became very prosperous and utilized their wealth to enhance their influence within their own community.<sup>3)</sup> In comparison to such well-documented careers, the cases of Armenian Christians from mid-century onwards have not been sufficiently scrutinized by researchers. This paucity has resulted in a lack of understanding relating to the transition in the power structure that accompanied the dismantling of the Amira class. There is no better way to gain a better grasp of that process than to focus on the career and the activities of Hagop Grjigian. Therefore, the pages that follow will track the life and times of Grjigian and the surrounding circumstances of the Tanzimat era as revealed by the Armenian language periodicals published during the period in question and other relevant sources housed in the Presidency Ottoman Archives.<sup>4)</sup>

## 1. From the Armenian Community to the Ottoman Diplomatic Corps

Details surrounding Hagop Grjigian's birth and early life are limited to the information outlined in his obituary in the Armenian language newspaper, *Masis*.<sup>5)</sup> According to this biography, Grjigian was born as the first son of a common laundry presser (*ütüci*) in the neighborhood of Beyoğlu. He had at least two younger brothers.<sup>6)</sup> In those days, Beyoğlu was a neighborhood on the hillside over the northern shore of the Golden Horn where many immigrants from Western Europe, including Catholic missionaries, chose to reside. Both Beyoğlu and the neighboring seaside district of Galata were home to most of the city's Armenian converts to Catholicism. Therefore, like other Armenians, the Grjigian family were accorded the choice of sending their children to schools set up either by members of the Armenian Church or by Catholic missionaries,<sup>7)</sup> deciding to send their first born to a school operated by the former. At the end of the 18th century, Istanbul's Armenian community began to set up new types of education institutions, which would result in the gradual spread of school learning among their members.<sup>8)</sup> The school that Hagop Grjigian attended must have been one of these establishments. Nevertheless the Beyoğlu school did not satisfy Grjigian's thirst for knowledge; therefore, he learned Armenian from well-known tutors. Soon, he wanted to learn French; however, his parents would not agree. They preferred for him to be trained in the liturgy of the Armenian Church, and in 1822 they entrusted him as a student of the patriarch of Istanbul, who subsequently allowed the already Turko-Armenian bilingual Grjigian to study French under an Armenian teacher. He continued to study French for next eight years.

It was no coincidence that Grjigian aspired to study French and that the patriarch's permission for him to do so was granted the year after the beginning of the Greek War of Independence. Up until the early 19th century, it was uncommon for Muslims of the Ottoman Empire to study European languages. Thus, the government and business community depended on non-Muslim language interpreters for the performance of diplomatic and foreign commerce tasks.<sup>9)</sup> Among these linguistic experts were notable Phanariot Orthodox Christians who worked as interpreters for the central government. However, after the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence, the Phanariots became temporarily mistrusted and were relieved of their duties. The circumstances forced the government to search for personnel to replace them. Consequently, in 1821, the Translation Office was established to train primarily Muslims in the European languages, particularly French.<sup>10)</sup> Grjigian took this opportunity to learn French, which was then the lingua franca of international diplomacy.

Moreover, the outbreak of war in Greece resulted in the increased intervention of European powers into the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, diplomatic negotiations with them became vital for Ottoman political circles, and leading figures of the empire began to appear from those exhibiting fluency in French.<sup>11)</sup>

Later, Grjigian made a living as a private tutor to Armenian financiers.<sup>12)</sup> The introduction of life-long tax farming contracts in the late 17th century enabled a portion of the Muslim officials to accumulate great amounts of wealth. Along with these officials emerged a contingent of financial experts who made their own fortunes by providing financial services as guarantors and lenders of advances on due taxes. Armenian financiers had come to occupy these positions of fiscal responsibility in Istanbul from the 18th century.<sup>13)</sup> In 1826, with the dissolution of the Janissaries, the Jewish financiers who had served them were put out of business, and the importance of their Armenian counterparts increased.<sup>14)</sup> The Armenian financial business reached its peak during the 1830s, while Grjigian was working as a tutor.

The 1830s also marked the establishment of permanent Ottoman embassies in major countries of Europe. When the Ottoman embassy was reestablished in Paris in 1834, Mustafa Reşit (later Reşit Pasha) was appointed as its ambassador with none other than Hagop Grjigian in tow as a member of his language interpreter corps.<sup>15)</sup> At the time, Mustafa Reşit was distinguishing himself in the Ottoman political society. It is not clear how the two men became acquainted but Reşit had close connections with Armenian financiers. Thus, it is quite possible that they had been introduced to each other by one of these financiers and that Grjigian owed the advances in his career from that point on to an Armenian connection. Meanwhile, Reşit was so deprived of capable interpreters in government service that he needed to turn to someone like Grjigian.

There are no details about Grjigian's activities in Paris under the July monarchy (1830–48); his obituary states that his capabilities were highly valued by Reşit and that he was promoted to second, then head interpreter, and that in 1839, he was appointed acting deputy ambassador (*tesbanagan deghabahut'iwn*).<sup>16)</sup> Grjigian's younger brother Antranig joined him as a foreign student during the years he spent in Paris,<sup>17)</sup> and there is little doubt that the older brother arranged for this. After his return to Istanbul, Antranig was appointed equipment manager at the military medical school.<sup>18)</sup>

A document dated 1837 places Grjigian as a resident of London. When Reşit assumed the post of ambassador at the reestablished Ottoman embassy in Britain in 1836, Grjigian was probably a member of his entourage and it is

possible that he stayed behind when Reşit returned to Istanbul. In 1837, Grjigian was scheduled to return from London to Paris to make way for Yanko Vogorides, the son of Stephanos Vogorides, a very influential Phanariot.<sup>19)</sup> However, when Yanko became ill and had to return home, Grjigian was ordered to remain in London. When this decision was being made, Sarım Efendi, the presiding ambassador to Britain, described him as astute and well-experienced, and summed up his performance in no uncertain terms as someone eligible to be decorated along with other outstanding interpreters: “As he is an extremely loyal, honest, and capable... person who deserves to be given even more responsibility in the future.”<sup>20)</sup>

After returning to Paris, Grjigian was again dispatched to London in 1840 at a time when Mehmet Ali, the governor-general appointed by Istanbul in Ottoman Egypt, was making gestures aimed at political autonomy and territorial expansion. In the 1830s, after being defeated by Mehmet Ali’s forces in military confrontations, the Ottoman government had sought Britain’s assistance, and an internationalization of the Egyptian situation ensued. According to the obituary published in *Masis*, Grjigian was dispatched to London as consultant to Ambassador Sarım Efendi to participate in negotiations among the great powers on resolving the Egyptian issue. After the Ottoman government came to an agreement with the great powers in London, Grjigian was sent to Istanbul in the capacity of plenipotentiary. Here, he contributed to the settlement of the situation and was praised for his diplomatic acumen by both the Ottoman bureaucracy and the foreign ambassadors.<sup>21)</sup>

According to a newspaper article published in the port city of İzmir, the commercial maritime center of the eastern Aegean seacoast, Grjigian was ordered to accompany Mustafa Reşit, who had been appointed ambassador to France towards the end of 1843. On its way to Paris, the Reşit entourage stopped over in İzmir. At that time, the Armenian community in İzmir had instituted new schools and curriculum<sup>22)</sup> and during this visit, Grjigian, described as the head interpreter, toured boys’ and girls’ schools run by Armenians in the area.<sup>23)</sup> Another newspaper article published in 1844 lists Grjigian as a financial contributor to an Istanbul-based association dedicated to the translation and publication of important books in Armenian.<sup>24)</sup> During his long stay in Europe in the late 1830s and early 1840s, Grjigian was accorded several opportunities to return to the Ottoman territories and to cultivate his relationship with Ottoman Armenians.

As we have already seen, there was a significant change in the international situation and Grjigian’s rise to the position of a capable diplomat of some renown was credited to the Ottoman Empire’s involvement in the process of

the resolution of the difficult external circumstances. The ascendancy of the relative position of Armenians in an internal environment where Orthodox Christians temporarily lost the confidence of the ruling elite also helped his career growth. Ottoman politics became inextricably tied to European diplomacy during the 1820s and 1830s as it confronted the Greek War of Independence and the Egyptian bid for autonomy.<sup>25)</sup> The French-speaking Grjigian made his reputation as a diplomat in the midst of this predicament as he worked as a subordinate with up and coming foreign affairs bureaucrat, Mustafa Reşit. Reşit is widely known as the protector and enabler of reform-oriented Muslim bureaucrats; however, his patronage extended beyond Muslim protégés as is clearly demonstrated in the case of Grjigian and in the example of an Orthodox Christian who has been discussed by Christine Philliou.<sup>26)</sup>

It should be noted that Grjigian's appointment in Ottoman bureaucracy was followed by the incorporation of numerous Armenians. The empire's Armenian community would produce large numbers of Ottoman civil servants as soon as non-Muslims became eligible to be engaged in civil service in 1856. Records from the final years of the 19th century illustrate that Armenians formed the largest contingent of bureaucrats among the empire's non-Muslim communities.<sup>27)</sup> Within that contingent can be counted many who chose diplomatic careers by virtue of their linguistic skills.<sup>28)</sup> Grjigian was a pioneer for many such Armenians.

## 2. Industrialization and Silk Weaving Industry in the Ottoman Empire

Around 1845, Grjigian returned to Istanbul for the most part of the next ten years. In 1846, he published an Armenian book entitled *On Silk Weaving, or the Technical Aspects of Manufacturing Superior Quality Silk*.<sup>29)</sup> The book received the imprimatur of the Armenian patriarch of Istanbul and was commissioned and funded by, and dedicated to, Mgrdich Jezayirlian, a financier under Reşit Pasha. Jezayirlian was touted as "a great lover of his nation and of noble birth." While Grjigian worked as a language interpreter in Paris, France began promoting its silk weaving capabilities even though it still lagged behind Britain in terms of the industrialization. Meanwhile, the Tanzimat reforms in the Ottoman Empire were initiated by the Gülhane Rescript of 1839, which called for the protection of the life, honor, and property of all imperial subjects and carried the objective of expanding both production and tax revenue. The empire's initial efforts at industrialization began within the context of Tanzimat during the 1840s.<sup>30)</sup>

Mgrdich Jezayirlian was one of the first entrepreneurs to aid the empire's

industrialization drive. He was an influential member of the Armenian community and had forged a strong connection with Reşit Pasha, the chief architect of Tanzimat.<sup>31)</sup> It can be ascertained from certain documents that Jezayirlian built factories in the north-western Anatolian city of Bursa, a center of the empire's silk weaving industry. Furthermore, Jezayirlian invited French engineers to Bursa and also sent several Armenian students to study silk weaving in France to introduce the latest silk weaving technology into his country. Grjigian's *On Silk Weaving* was no doubt another aspect of Jezayirlian's business plan. It is noteworthy that even after Jezayirlian's downfall, the Ottoman government continued his practice of subsidizing the overseas education of young Armenian students.<sup>32)</sup>

*On Silk Weaving* consists of an introduction, a brief history of the industry, and a main text divided into three parts. In the introduction, Grjigian attempts to impress on the reader that the development of silk weaving in Europe led to the generation of tremendous wealth. Grjigian continues that on his 1843 visit to Bursa, he realized that:

[At that time] silk weaving here [in Bursa] was still in its infancy. I wouldn't go into detail as to the reasons, but suffice it to say that regardless of the situation in which one found himself, whenever one would naturally desire to advance, it was necessary to discover exactly how. From such a perception I could only deduce that if the people here [of Bursa] were aware of how Europeans went about running the silk weaving business, they naturally would have done as they did. The purpose of this small textbook is to inform the Armenian silk weavers about how the Europeans weave silk...<sup>33)</sup>

The exact time when Jezayirlian commissioned Grjigian to write the book is unclear but the latter stayed in Paris from the end of 1843 up to 1845. It may be surmised that Grjigian spent that time gathering information to compile his volume on silk weaving.

In the brief history of silk weaving that follows the introduction, Grjigian emphasizes that industrialization was the primary reason for the Europe's development and concentrates on the recent advances in French industry. He concludes that if European technology is introduced in Bursa and elsewhere, the Ottoman Empire would be capable of manufacturing silk costing less than the European product. Rather than merely translating the European information he gathered directly into Armenian, Grjigian's content also touches upon the present conditions of the industry in Bursa. Later, in 1847, he

also wrote an article about silk weaving for an Armenian newspaper.<sup>34)</sup>

The first part of the book's main text was co-authored by Krikor Aghaton and Keork Stimarajian. Aghaton was one of the students sent to Paris by Jezayirlian during the 1840s to study agricultural science and he would later be appointed a government official.<sup>35)</sup> Stimarajian, a colleague of Grjigian, worked as an interpreter for Reşit and also found time to study agriculture while in Paris.<sup>36)</sup> The collaboration testifies to the kind of connections Grjigian was able to cultivate with other Armenian members of Reşit's entourage. The Tanzimat reforms led by Reşit were aimed not only at the state mechanism, administration, and taxation, but also at restructuring the domains of economics and business through his ties to non-Muslims.

As a member of Reşit's inner group, Grjigian was able to develop connections with other high-ranking Muslim bureaucrats. When he expressed his desire to translate *On Silk Weaving* into Ottoman Turkish,<sup>37)</sup> for example, he sought assistance from a future top Ottoman bureaucrat named Ahmet Cevdet. According to the introduction of the Ottoman version of the book, the translation was completed in 1849, and the 1st and 2nd Turkish editions were published by the government printing house in 1852/3 and 1867 respectively.<sup>38)</sup> In addition, Grjigian established a close connection with Fuat (later Fuat Pasha), a Reşit's protégé who would later serve in posts such as the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Grand Vizier. The association of the two men is apparent from Fuat's correspondence.<sup>39)</sup>

### 3. The Publication and Censorship of Multi-Language Periodicals

Grjigian served as an assistant to Reşit Pasha after his return to Istanbul in 1845,<sup>40)</sup> and because he commanded the confidence of the Muslim political elites, he was made a censor for private sector newspapers that were beginning to be published. Ottoman language periodicals began to be disseminated with the publication of the empire's official gazette entitled *Takvim-i Vekayi'*, the first issue of which was printed in 1831. This event was followed by the appearance of Greek, Armenian, and Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) publications during the 1830s and the 1840s in cities such as Istanbul and İzmir.<sup>41)</sup> The circulation of each issue could not have been very large considering the potential size of the readership of non-Muslims' periodicals; however, according to yearbooks of the Ottoman Empire published during the latter half of the century, the number of Greek and Armenian periodical titles rivaled the Ottoman periodicals and outnumbered them from time to time.<sup>42)</sup> This multi-lingual print media milieu also included French and English language newspapers



published in Istanbul. Within this environment, the Ottoman administration, like its counterparts in the countries of Europe,<sup>43)</sup> soon realized the necessity of regulating the content of these publications and employing them as vehicles of indoctrination for the imperial subjects. In 1844, the publication of a Greek newspaper in İzmir was suspended because it carried an article “adverse to the political interests” of the empire.<sup>44)</sup> With regulation came the search for personnel capable of censoring multi-linguistic content.

The first Armenian periodical to be released in the Ottoman Empire was an Armenian version of *Takvim-i Vekayi*’, published in 1832.<sup>45)</sup> A short-lived newspaper in Istanbul and another newspaper in İzmir followed around 1840.<sup>46)</sup> In 1846, the Armenian patriarchate of Istanbul decided to publish its own newspaper titled *Hayasdan*, and this event led to Grjigian’s involvement in the censorship business.

The Patriarch Madteos filed a request with the Ottoman government in 1846 asking permission to release the newspaper.<sup>47)</sup> The petition was reviewed by the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*Meclis-i Vala-yı Ahkam-ı Adliye*), the government’s highest advisory body. The report prepared by this agency declared that while it recognized the merits of a newspaper geared to the Armenian community, “since any attempt in the future to write articles counter to the rules [of not discussing politics] would be detrimental,” the publishing of the newspaper in question would only be allowed if a censor could be appointed from the Translation Office to thoroughly read manuscripts planned for publication each week to ensure that “no information other than that of a scholarly and inoffensive nature would be disseminated.”<sup>48)</sup> Upon receipt of the report, Grand Vizier Rauf Pasha submitted a memorandum to the sultan urging that permission should be granted according to the recommendations of the Supreme Council, “since it is inappropriate to refuse them [the Armenians] a newspaper while Orthodox Christians are already publishing some.”

In his communication to the sultan, Rauf Pasha added that many newspapers in Istanbul and İzmir were being published in various languages like French and Greek, and if they were sufficiently regulated, they would certainly contribute to “the improvement of public opinion (*ıslah-ı efkar-ı ahali*) throughout the empire and a correct publication of the facts to the foreign countries.” However, he continued, none of those newspapers had been subjected to regulation to date, preventing the accrual of such desirable benefits “[t]herefore, since the freedom of publication cannot be appropriate (*basma serbestiyeti tecviz olunamayacağından*) on the soil of the Sublime [Ottoman] State,” it is now “necessary to place the publications under the special supervision of

an inspector called censor (*sansür ta'bir olunur bir me'muriyet-i teftişiye*)...” like in Austria, Prussia, and Russia. In other words, “only after reading thoroughly beforehand manuscripts planned for publication each week and deliberating and confirming all content touching upon facts pertaining to the institutions of the Sublime [Ottoman] State and the daily issues will publication be approved.” On planning actual measures, Rauf Pasha recommended Grjigian for the post of a censor. The reasons tendered for his recommendation were that he had served as the official interpreter at embassies in London and Paris, was fluent in both French and English, and was thoroughly informed with regard to the Ottoman institutions, the print media, and politics in general. In the Translation Office, Grjigian was given the charge of reading manuscripts in French and in “his own language Armenian,” while one of his colleagues was tasked with the reading of Greek newspapers. The publication of *Hayasdan* and the regulation of its content was approved by the sultan in this manner.<sup>49)</sup>

Newspapers published in Muslim languages were still limited to the official gazette and semi-governmental media as of 1846. Conversely, the private newspaper industry was the first to emerge in non-Muslim and European language communities. In response, the Ottoman government decided to introduce a system of prepublication censorship similar to system employed at the time in Austria, Prussia, and Russia<sup>50)</sup> instead of using the French or British models. At this juncture, it is noteworthy to mention the Ottoman Empire’s similarity to Austria and Russia in terms of their multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic cultures. Although the extent to which the Ottoman government actually carried through with its censorship agenda is unclear,<sup>51)</sup> the fact that the content of the Armenian newspapers from their inception reveals no attempts to discuss political affairs suggests that regulations were being imposed. As a censor appointed at a salary of 1500 kuruş,<sup>52)</sup> Grjigian took on a new role in the nascent era of periodical publication both because of his linguistic expertise and the personal trust he had developed with high-ranking Muslim bureaucrats.

The existence of Ottoman-Turkish translations of clippings from *Hayasdan* in the Topkapı Palace archives can be considered artifacts from the Ottoman censorship system.<sup>53)</sup> One clipping refers to a Protestant missionary school and another to a request made by the Russian imperial government to the Catholicosate of Echmiadzin. As the following section will elucidate, these two issues would invoke the Ottoman government’s apprehensions regarding the Armenian community.

#### 4. Grjigian in the Armenian Community

The influence exercised by financiers at the center of the leading strata within the Armenian community was significantly weakened as a result of the temporary abolishment of tax farming under the Gülhane Rescript. Guilds consisting of middle and lower class urban merchants and artisans strengthened their resistance against the leading strata, which assumed attitudes of compromise and appeasement expressed through events such as the 1844 election of the guild favored Madteos as the Armenian patriarch of Istanbul. This event created a split of the Armenian leadership into pro- and anti-Madteos factions.

The powerful laymen making up the latter are thought to have raised the issue of Madteos' support of the Catholicosate of Echmiadzin.<sup>54)</sup> The Armenian Church of the 19th century recognized two types of leadership: three catholicoi and two patriarchs. The patriarchs held high authority under the protection of the Ottoman government even though their status in the church itself was lower than that of the catholicoi. The Catholicosate of Echmiadzin, which was under the Russian Empire from 1828 onwards, held jurisdiction over almost the entire Armenian Church worldwide, and the jurisdiction of the two other catholicoi was extremely limited. On the other hand, the patriarchate of Istanbul supervised the greater majority of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire under the jurisdiction of the Catholicosate of Echmiadzin. However, there were powerful laymen under the patriarchate who considered the relationship with Echmiadzin as threatening because an association with a religious leadership under the Russian Empire, the archenemy of the Ottoman Empire, was viewed as a possible hindrance to smooth relations between the Ottoman state and its Armenian subjects.<sup>55)</sup>

In such circumstances, Madteos invoked the name of Nerses, the Catholicos of Echmiadzin, without previous notice while conducting Mass immediately after his appointment. This sort of practice was avoided in the Ottoman Armenian churches since the annexation of Echmiadzin by the Russian Empire. Consequently, a conference involving powerful clerics and laymen was held at the patriarchate. The meeting resulted in an announcement that the Istanbul patriarchate officially recognized Nerses as the Catholicos of Echmiadzin.<sup>56)</sup> However, according to a Russian report, the Armenian financiers of Istanbul maintained a vigilant eye on Istanbul Armenians' relationship with the Catholicosate.<sup>57)</sup> In 1846, meanwhile, Madteos adopted a hard-line attitude and excommunicated Armenians who had converted to Protestantism.<sup>58)</sup>

In 1846, the pro-British Reşit Pasha was appointed Grand Vizier. Thus, he wrested power from Tanzimat skeptics and portended changes in the fortunes of the Armenian community by granting a request from Britain to recognize the independence of the Protestant congregation from the Armenian community.<sup>59)</sup> The following year, the dispute between Madteos and the laity developed into a call for the former's resignation, once again bringing the conflict between the pro- and anti-Madteos factions into the forefront. Grjigian, who was respected by both factions, stepped in at this point and persuaded the opposing groups to come to a compromise. It was decided to settle the dispute by proposing to the Ottoman government that the patriarchate should be jointly managed by a Lay Council<sup>60)</sup> and an Ecclesiastical Council. This offer was approved by the government in the hope that this system of two councils would bring stability to the Armenian community.<sup>61)</sup> In 1848, the Ottoman government approved a request from the laity to relieve Madteos of his duties as patriarch. This approval was based on independent information that Madteos was planning to involve the Catholicosate of Echmiadzin in the religious affairs of the empire's Armenian community.<sup>62)</sup> Later, Madteos was elected the Catholicos of Echmiadzin and he relocated to the Russian Empire.

The relationship between Grjigian and the Grand Vizier Reşit was of special importance in the formation of the Lay and Ecclesiastical Councils. According to the obituary published in *Masis*, Grjigian urged the importance of reform within the Armenian community to Reşit Pasha and elicited from him the promise of being appointed the logothete (chief executive) of the Lay Council. Maghakia Ormanian, who held the post of patriarch at the end of the 19th century, also stated that it was Grjigian who appealed to Reşit Pasha with regard to the formation of the councils.<sup>63)</sup> Meanwhile, Reşit established a connection with a prominent Orthodox Christian who was also enthusiastic about reforming his community.<sup>64)</sup> When Grjigian was installed by the government as the logothete of the Armenian Lay Council,<sup>65)</sup> Mgrdich Jezayirlian was also made a member; thus, Reşit was indirectly engaged in the reform of non-Muslim communities.

The existence of Madteos raised suspicions of collusion between the patriarch of Istanbul and the Russians through the Catholicosate of Echmiadzin for Reşit Pasha, who created a new position of leadership in the Armenian community and appointed his close colleague Grjigian to it. In addition, Madteos' extreme attitude against Protestant Armenians threatened to cause reactions in Britain. The creation of the logothete and the councils may be interpreted as the Reşit's move to weaken the influence of the pro-Echmiadzin, anti-Protestant patriarch and to bring the Armenian community under the

purview of the state. In 1840, while serving as Foreign Minister, Reşit was instrumental in the dismissal of a pro-Russian, anti-British, Ecumenical Patriarch of the Orthodox Church at the request of the British government. Reşit's mistrust of Madteos was probably exacerbated by the precedent of a patriarch eliciting British resentment by the adoption of a hardline policy towards Protestant missionaries and interfering in the affairs of the Orthodox Christian community in the British protectorate of the Ionian Islands.<sup>66)</sup> In addition, the British and Austrian ambassadors warned the Ottoman Foreign Ministry of the Echmiadzin's interference, fearing the expansion of Russian influence and interpreting the dispatch of clergy into Ottoman territory by the Catholicos of Echmiadzin as an attempt to control the Ottoman Armenian communities "like the Pope's denominational rule over Catholics."<sup>67)</sup> The treatment of non-Muslims had become a sensitive issue at the time of Tanzimat when Ottoman politics were deeply affected by relations with the great powers. Any unfavorable circumstance related to the empire's treatment of non-Muslims could be utilized by foreign powers as an excuse for intervention. Given the volatile circumstances, Reşit's highly trusted protégé Grjigian was undoubtedly expected to accomplish the critical task of controlling the Armenian community.

Up until the early 19th century, the position of logothete was essentially entrusted to a lay person within the Ecumenical Patriarchate who could act as an intermediary between the patriarchate and the Ottoman government.<sup>68)</sup> After being abolished for a while, the position was revived for prominent Orthodox Christian layman Nicholas Aristarchi in 1824.<sup>69)</sup> The wording of the charter of appointment for post of logothete in the Armenian community strongly suggests its character as the directorship of the Lay Council.<sup>70)</sup> In contrast to regular members of the council who were elected every two years by influential laymen, Grjigian occupied the post of logothete consecutively until 1855, when Sahag Abro of the Translation Office was appointed as his deputy. That appointment was followed by the institution of his colleague Krikor Margosian to the deputy's post in 1856.<sup>71)</sup> There was no set term of office for the logothete and Grjigian was appointed for life, a term suggesting that the office itself was created to make the most of his personal qualities. In a document submitted to the Ottoman government on the occasion of the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1853 and later published in the official gazette, prominent members of the Istanbul Armenian community called for the service of Armenians in the armed forces. The appeal holds the signatures of 45 clergymen beginning with the patriarch, and 51 laymen led by the logothete Grjigian.<sup>72)</sup> This document attests to his role as a mediator between the

Ottoman government and the Armenian community by virtue of his deep knowledge of and personal acquaintance with both groups.

### 5. Later Developments

In the Armenian communities of the Ottoman Empire throughout the first half of the 19th century, schools were newly constructed, first in Istanbul, then in the provinces, although differences in the content and quality of education existed from region to region, and some schools were also shut down.<sup>73)</sup> In an address to the Lay Council in 1848, Grjigian emphasized the necessity of an agency to supervise school education stating,

...Today during the era of our benevolent emperor, the disease [of ignoring the benefits of education] is slowly waning. The enemies of peace are disappearing, security among the people is increasing, and agriculture, commerce, and all kinds of industry are prospering day by day. Our own community has been revived through the enjoyment of the benefits produced by such benevolence, and now we have begun to turn to the power of education... Our community is now fully aware of the obligations, willing to make the necessary sacrifices, and having no qualms about the costs involved. But why, despite such sacrifices and expenditures, are there still schools which are not doing very well? There is only one reason in my opinion. And that is there is no entity that shows them the path [to success]. That is why we must give them an entity that shows them that path.

Grjigian argued that educated members of the community must be organized to deliberate on methods of education, to conduct surveys of the actual situation, and to oversee the drafting of textbooks and school bylaws to provide education of a certain standard.<sup>74)</sup> It should be no surprise that Grjigian, the son of an artisan who had studied hard to become a successful interpreter of the French language, was an avid supporter of and believer in school education. He probably expected that an enthusiasm for education would enable the Armenian community to produce an abundance of capable persons who would find work in the Ottoman government, a situation that would result in the elevation of the community's prestige within the empire.

Grjigian's idea of the educational committee was finally realized in 1853 with the creation of a body that included Serovpe Vichenian, Nigoghayos Balian, Nahabed Rusinian, and Krikor Odian.<sup>75)</sup> Vichenian, who served as the

committee's chairman, was a medical student in Paris during Grjigian's stay there and his personality had been duly noticed by then Ambassador Reşit Pasha,<sup>76)</sup> possibly through the auspices of Grjigian.

The extant research has evaluated these four Armenians, who studied abroad in France, as figures who first drafted comprehensive regulations that determined the manners in which the affairs of Armenian community were administered. Artinian has maintained that it was Grjigian who originally demanded that the education committee embark on the task of drafting those regulations,<sup>77)</sup> which the Ottoman government approved in 1863 under the title "Laws on the Armenian Patriarchate" and Armenians called "Armenian National Constitution" (*Azkayin Sahmanatrut'ıwn Hayots'*). This Constitution established the framework for a community administration based on a General Assembly primarily consisting of influential laymen and the Lay and Ecclesiastical Councils.<sup>78)</sup> Three of the above-mentioned members of the educational committee (excluding Balian who died at an early age) assumed the leadership of the Armenian community in this newly established system. The medical school professor Vichenian and the government official Odian, in particular, teamed up with high government officials Fuat and Midhat Pashas to act, like Grjigian before them, as mediators between the Ottoman government and the Armenian community.<sup>79)</sup>

Incidentally, Mgrdich Jezayirlian, a close associate of Reşit Pasha, fell from power in the early 1850s and his fortune was confiscated in the aftermath of a power struggle within the government.<sup>80)</sup> Reşit Pasha retired from politics in 1855 and his former protégés Ali Pasha and Fuat Pasha grabbed power.<sup>81)</sup> During the same year, Reşit was scheduled to travel to Vienna for the peace negotiation of the Crimean War with Grjigian as his French interpreter; however, the journey was cancelled.<sup>82)</sup> Instead, Grjigian was assigned to Reşit's son Mehmet Cemil, who had been appointed ambassador to Paris, as the counselor of the embassy (*müsteşar*) and served again in Paris under the regime of Napoleon III.<sup>83)</sup> During that time, Grjigian's younger brother Antranig resumed his studies in Paris and also traveled to Britain and Italy.<sup>84)</sup> It is possible that Hagop Grjigian was involved in the Crimean War peace negotiations that began in Paris in 1856.

Grjigian continued his duties at the Ottoman Embassy in Paris until his retirement in 1861. Lots of traces of Grjigian are found in documents of that time drafted at the embassy including some that testify to his participation in a statistical conference held in London.<sup>85)</sup> Another noteworthy activity attributed to Grjigian during that time was his involvement in the founding of the Ottoman Academy (*Mekteb-i Osmani*). In 1856, the Ottoman government

planned to establish a school in Paris for its subjects. A committee was formed in conjunction with the French government to conduct a survey of the Ottoman subjects currently studying at the French capital. According to Şişman's research, Grjigian chaired that committee. He was further selected to act as an advisor to the chairman of the committee formed the following year to supervise the Ottoman Academy. The chairman of this committee was an official from the French Ministry of Education.<sup>86)</sup> A document dated 1859 evidences that Grjigian in the capacity of counselor to the Ottoman ambassador had sent papers to Istanbul's central government with regard to budgetary funding for the Ottoman Academy.<sup>87)</sup>

Upon his retirement and his return to Istanbul in June 1865, Grjigian encountered an outbreak of cholera that claimed the lives of 30,000 citizens by the end of the year.<sup>88)</sup> The renowned Armenian linguist died of cholera on 14 October.<sup>89)</sup> His two brothers received his inheritance and they donated 2000 francs of the legacy to the Armenian community's Hospital of the Holy Savior.<sup>90)</sup> Three boxes containing Grjigian's books were left behind in Paris, and their contents are unfortunately unknown.<sup>91)</sup>

### **Conclusion**

During the first half of the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire found itself embroiled in a transformation of the international environment. The life and political career of Hagop Grjigian, an Ottoman diplomat who was also a member of the empire's Armenian community, reflected the tumultuous changes of the times. During the 1820s, Orthodox Christian interpreters and Jewish financiers were put out of business because of the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence and the abolition of the Janissaries. At this juncture, the Armenian community filled the gaps and took on the roles of financiers and diplomats. In addition, after the outbreak of the Greek War, there was an escalation in the intervention into the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire by the great powers. This increased interest necessitated more extensive diplomatic negotiations and the rising importance of the affairs concerning non-Muslims, which could provide the powers with justification for further intervention. Under such circumstances, Grjigian learned French, which was the international lingua franca of diplomacy. He used this skill as a stepping stone to diplomatic careers as protégés of influential Muslim bureaucrat Reşit Pasha. The trust Grjigian earned in government circles and his superior language skills made him an obvious candidate for the empire's first censor of Armenian and French language newspapers. In tune with the accomplishments



of other Armenians, Grjigian's other achievements included a handbook on European silk weaving, which contributed to Ottoman industrial development along. Subsequently, in 1847, he turned his talents inwards and engaged himself in improving the governance of the Armenian community.

The extant research on the Tanzimat era places a great deal of emphasis on the state apparatus and the administrative reforms. It accords the top Muslim bureaucrats of the central government the credit for most of the restructuring. The present article widened the purview and understanding of Tanzimat by shifting the focus to highlight the involvement of non-Muslims who were directly engaged in the process of driving social and economic change as they managed a variety of functions under the top Muslim bureaucrats. Moreover, the article demonstrated that Grjigian's life was tied to world events engulfing the Ottoman Empire in terms of international diplomacy regarding the treatment of non-Muslims, industrialization, and the regulation of a burgeoning print media.

Grjigian was a valuable human resource for the empire not only because of his expertise in French, but also for his capacity as mediator between Muslim bureaucrats and his own Armenian community. Welcoming a non-Muslim like Grjigian into their political society enhanced the talent available to the Ottoman officials and also signified a conciliation of and better control over the non-Muslim communities of the empire. From Grjigian's standpoint, his educational background in the Armenian community and his effectiveness as a figure who could be trusted with its governance resulted in his rising status and prestige in Ottoman political society. Moreover, he was able to achieve a position of power and influence in his own Armenian community because of his close connections with top Muslim bureaucrats. It may be presumed that Grjigian set a precedent for luminaries such as Serovpe Vichenian and Krikor Odian, who would also subsequently build close ties with top Muslim officials and become leaders in their own community. During the early 19th century, such a role was usually played informally by financiers with personal connections to Muslim bureaucrats. Those who ventured in Grjigian's footsteps as official employees of government agencies were both able to function as intermediaries and to assume the leadership of the Lay Council and General Assembly governing their own communities within the official institutional framework.<sup>92)</sup> At a turning point at which the character of leadership within the Armenian community was in flux, Grjigian became pivotal in the creation of an institutional framework to administer the community affairs. Grjigian's entire career represents the potential of each individual to transcend the barriers erected between the dimension of religious community and the

domains of the Ottoman politics, and to utilize all positions, personal relationships, and unique qualities acquired in one dimension to rise in the other.

### Notes

- \* This article is a slightly modified English translation of the author's following work: Ueno Masayuki 上野雅由樹, "Hi-Musurimu no Osuman kankai heno sannyū: Hagopu Gurujigian (1806–65) no jirei kara" 非ムスリムのオスマン官界への参入：ハゴプ・グルジギアン(1806–65)の事例から. In Suzuki Tadashi 鈴木董, ed., *Osuman Teikoku-shi no shosō* オスマン帝国史の諸相 (Various Aspects of the History of the Ottoman Empire). Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha 山川出版社, 2012, pp. 377–403. In place of dates in Julian calendar, converted dates in the Gregorian calendar have been provided. This work is supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 15K16846.
- 1) For the classic view on Tanzimat, see Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856–1876*, Princeton, 1963. A more non-Muslim inclusive view has been provided by Milen Petrov, "Tanzimat for the Countryside: Midhat Pasha and the Vilayet of Danube, 1864–1868," PhD diss., Princeton University, 2006, Chaps. 5, 6.
  - 2) Y. G. Çark, *Türk Devleti Hizmetinde Ermeniler 1453–1953*, Istanbul, 1953; Mesrob K. Krikorian, *Armenians in the Service of the Ottoman Empire, 1860–1908*, London, 1978; Carter V. Findley, "The Acid Test of Ottomanism: The Acceptance of Non-Muslims in the Late Ottoman Bureaucracy," in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, vol. 1, *The Central Lands*, New York, 1982, pp. 339–368; Pars Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture*, Istanbul, 1990; Anahide Ter Minassian, "A Family of Armenian Amiras: The Dadians," *Armenian Review*, vol. 45, no. 2 (1992), pp. 1–16; Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Dadian Family in Ottoman Social, Economic and Political Life*, Istanbul, 1993; Onnik Jamgocyan, "Meguerditch Amira Djézairlian: Financier, entrepreneur et Mécène ottoman (1805–1861)," *Revue du monde arménien moderne et contemporain*, vol. 1 (1994), pp. 31–43; Sezai Balcı, "Bir Osmanlı-Ermeni Aydın ve Bürokratı: Sahak Abro (1825–1900)," in İbrahim Erdal and Ahmet Karaçavuş, eds., *Osmanlı Siyasal ve Sosyal Hayatında Ermeniler*, Istanbul, 2009, pp. 105–138; Christine Philliou, "Communities on the Verge: Unraveling the Phanariot Ascendancy in Ottoman Governance," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 51, no. 1 (2009), pp. 151–181; Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution*, Berkeley, 2011.
  - 3) Hagop Levon Barsoumian, "The Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul," PhD diss., Columbia University, 1980; Onnik Jamgocyan, "Les finances de l'Empire ottoman et les financiers de Constantinople (1732–1853)," Doctoral diss., Université de Paris I, 1988; Araks Şahiner, "The Sarrafs of İstanbul: Financiers of the Empire," master's thesis, Boğaziçi University, 1995.
  - 4) In the Ottoman language sources Hagop Grjigian is referred to as Mösyö Agop, Hoca Agop or simply Agop, with no mention of his family name. From a comparison with the Armenian sources, it is possible to discern that those sources actually pertain to Hagop Grjigian himself.

- 5) *Masis*, no. 713 (11 November 1865).
- 6) *Ōrat'ert' Masis*, no. 73 (20 December 1866).
- 7) In Istanbul, not only European Catholic missionaries but also Armenian Catholic converts engaged in the propagation activities. Guillaume Aral, “La juridiction du Saint-Siège de Rome sur les arméniens catholiques (XVII<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle),” Doctoral diss., Université de Nice, 2001, pp. 151–164, and Kemal Beydilli, ed., *Recognition of the Armenian Catholic Community and the Church in the Reign of Mahmud II (1830)*, Cambridge, 1995. Concerning the treatment of Armenian Catholic converts by the Ottoman Empire, see Ueno Masayuki, “Mafumuto 2 sei-ki Osuman Teikoku no hi-Musurimu tōgō seisaku: Arumenia Katorikku kyōdōtai dokuritsu shōnin no jirei kara” マフムト 2世期オスマン帝国の非ムスリム統合政策：アルメニア・カトリック共同体独立承認の事例から (Ottoman Integration Policy Aimed at Non-Muslim Subjects during the Reign of Mahmud II: The Case of the Armenian Catholic Community). *Oriente* オリエント, vol. 48, no. 1 (2005), pp. 69–87.
- 8) See Ueno Masayuki, “19 seiki Osuman Teikoku no Arumenia kyōdōtai ni okeru gakkō kyōiku no fukyū katei” 19世紀オスマン帝国のアルメニア共同体における学校教育の普及過程 (Spread of Schooling in the Armenian Community in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire). *Nihon Chūtō Gakkai Nenpō* 日本中東学会年報 (Annals of the Japan Association for Middle East Studies), vol. 25, no. 1 (2009), pp. 141–164.
- 9) See Kuroki Hidemitsu 黒木英充, “Osuman Teikoku ni okeru shokugyōteki tsūyaku tachi” オスマン帝国における職業的通訳たち (Professional Language Interpreters of the Ottoman Empire). In Majima Ichirō 真島一郎, ed., *Darega sekai wo honyaku surunoka: Ajia, Afurika no mirai kara* だれが世界を翻訳するのか：アジア・アフリカの未来から (Qui traduit le monde?), Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin 人文書院, 2005, pp. 211–224 and Sezai Balcı, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Tercümanlık ve Bab-ı Ali Tercüme Odası,” PhD diss., Ankara University, 2006, Chaps. 1, 2.
- 10) Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, pp. 90–95; Balcı, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Tercümanlık,” pp. 82–100; Mehmet Darakcioglu, “Rebuilding the Tower of Babel: Language Divide, Employment of Translators, and the Translation Bureau in the Ottoman Empire,” PhD diss., Princeton University, 2010, Chap. 3.
- 11) Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, Chap. 5.
- 12) *Masis*, no. 713 (11 November 1865).
- 13) Barsoumian, “The Armenian Amira Class,” pp. 87–108.
- 14) Dimitrios Stamatopoulos, “From Millets to Minorities in the 19th-Century Ottoman Empire: An Ambiguous Modernization,” in Steven G. Ellis, Guðmundur Hálfdanarson, and Ann Katherine Isaacs, eds., *Citizenship in Historical Perspective*, Pisa, 2006, p. 257; Ōkawara Tomoki 大河原知樹, “Osuman-chō no kaikaku to Yudaya kyōto kin’yūka: 1822 nen Shiria jiken saikō” オスマン朝の改革とユダヤ教徒金融家：1822年シリア事件再考 (The Ottoman Reform and Jewish Bankers: Reexamination of the Berrieyüş-Şam Affair, 1822–23). *Isuramu Sekai* イスラム世界 (World of Islam), vol. 48 (1997), p. 13.
- 15) Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, p. 134; *Masis*, no. 713 (11 November 1865).
- 16) *Masis*, no. 713 (11 November 1865).
- 17) Çark, *Türk Devleti Hizmetinde Ermeniler*, pp. 104–105. While Çark merely assumes they were brothers, *Ōrat'ert' Masis* (no. 73 (20 December 1866)) confirms the relationship.

- 18) *Hayasdan*, no. 79 (8 January 1848).
- 19) Concerning Vogorides, see Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*.
- 20) COA (Cumhurbaşkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi), HAT (Hatt-ı Hümayun) 46906F, (17 Ramazan H1253: 15 December 1837), HAT 46389, (n.d.).
- 21) *Masis*, no. 713 (11 November 1865).
- 22) Ueno, “19 seiki Osuman Teikoku no Arumenia kyōdōtai,” pp. 150–151.
- 23) *Arshaloys Araradean*, no. 168 (22 December 1843).
- 24) *Hayrenasēr*, no. 45 (28 September 1844).
- 25) Regarding this process, see Kuroki Hidemitsu, “Osuman Teikoku shochiiki no hanran to Yōroppa rekkūyō,” オスマン帝国諸地域の反乱とヨーロッパ列強 (The European Powers and Regional Rebellion in the Ottoman Empire). In Rekishigaku Kenkyūkai 歴史学研究会, ed., *Kindai sekai heno michi: Hen'yō to masatsu 近代世界への道：変容と摩擦* (Towards the World of Modernity: Evolution and Friction), Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai 東京大学出版会, 1995, pp. 329–360. It was also a time when in the Arab regions of the Ottoman Empire, foreign relations with Europe increased in importance and foreign language skill became more and more valued. See Kuroki Hidemitsu, “Chūtō no chiiki shisutemu to aidentiti: Aru tōhō Kirisuto kyōto no kiseki wo tōshite” 中東の地域システムとアイデンティティ：ある東方キリスト教徒の軌跡を通して (Regional Systems and Identities in the Middle East: Tracing the Path of One Eastern Christian). In Mizoguchi Yūzō 溝口雄三, et al., eds., *Chiiki shisutemu 地域システム* (Regional Systems), Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1993, pp. 189–234.
- 26) Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*.
- 27) Ueno Masayuki, “Arumeniajin Osuman kanryō no kyōikuteki haikai” アルメニア人オスマン官僚の教育的背景 (The Educational Backgrounds of Armenian Ottoman Bureaucrats). In Akiba Jun 秋葉淳 and Hashimoto Nobuya 橋本伸也, eds., *Kindai Isurāmu no kyōiku shakai-shi: Osuman Teikoku karano tenbō 近代・イスラームの教育社会史：オスマン帝国からの展望* (A Social History of Modern Islamic Education: From an Ottoman Perspective), Kyoto: Shōwadō 昭和堂, 2014, pp. 138–164; Gülden Sarıyıldız, *Sicill-i Ahvâl Komisyonu'nun Kuruluşu ve İşlevi (1879–1909)*, Istanbul, 2004, pp. 149–165.
- 28) Sarıyıldız, *Sicill-i Ahvâl Komisyonu'nun Kuruluşu*, pp. 149–165.
- 29) Hagop Grġjigian, *Medak'sapanut'ıwn gam Aghġg Medak's Shinelu Arhesd*, Istanbul, 1846.
- 30) Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 118–119.
- 31) Jamgocyan, “Meguerditch Amira Djézairlian,” pp. 31–43.
- 32) COA, İ.MVL (İrade Meclis-i Vala) 10194 (20 Cumadelula H1269: 31 March 1853); İ.MVL 13186 (17 Ramazan H1270: 13 June 1854).
- 33) Grġjigian, *Medak'sapanut'ıwn*, pp. iii–iv.
- 34) *Hayasdan*, no. 67 (16 October 1847).
- 35) Kevork Pamukciyan, *Biyografileriyle Ermeniler*, Istanbul, 2003, pp. 8–10; Çark, *Türk Devleti Hizmetinde Ermeniler*, pp. 199–201.
- 36) Çark, *Türk Devleti Hizmetinde Ermeniler*, p. 130.
- 37) From the fact that a document written in French which Grġjigian sent to the Ottoman Foreign Ministry had to be translated seems to indicate that while he was able to speak Turkish, he was not well-versed in written Ottoman.

- 38) This author has actually inspected the original of its 2nd edition only (Hoca Agop, *İpek Terbiyesinin Ta'limnâmesi*, 2nd ed., [Istanbul], H1284: 1867). The publishing date and printer of the 1st Edition was ascertained from Seyfettin Özege, *Eski Harflerle Basılmış Türkçe Eserler Kataloğu*, Istanbul, 1973, vol. 2, p. 737.
- 39) Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir 40–Tetimme*, Cavid Baysun, ed., 2nd ed., Ankara, 1986, p. 68.
- 40) Concerning Christians employed in the Foreign Ministry at the time, Ahmet Cevdet wrote that Reşit had a French-speaking secretary working for him by the name of Hagop, whom we assume to be Grjigian (Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *Ma'rûzât*, Yusuf Halaçoğlu, ed., Istanbul, 1980, p. 1).
- 41) Server İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat Rejimleri*, Istanbul, 1939, Tahlil ve Tarihçe Kısmı, pp. 1–26; Ali Arslan, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Rum Basını*, Istanbul, 2005, pp. 77–80; Gad Nassi, ed., *Jewish Journalism and Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Istanbul, 2001.
- 42) For example, see *Sâlnâme-i Devlet*, vol. 28, H1290: 1873/1874, pp. 189–192.
- 43) Robert Justin Goldstein, *Political Censorship of the Arts and the Press in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Basingstoke, 1989, Chap. 2.
- 44) COA, HR. MKT (Hariciye Mektubi Kalemi) 2/33 (10 Safer H1260: 1 March 1844).
- 45) The very first periodical published by any Armenian came out at the end of the 18th century in India (Boghos Levon Zekiyan, “The Armenian Way to Enlightenment: The Diaspora and its Role,” in Richard G. Hovannisian and David N. Myers, eds., *Enlightenment and Diaspora: The Armenian and Jewish Cases*, Atlanta, 1999, pp. 65–66).
- 46) Garegin Levonyan, *Hayots' Parberakan Mamulê: Liakatar Ts'uts'ak Hay Lragrut'yan Skzbits' Minch'ev Mer Orevê (1794–1934)*, Erevan, 1934, pp. 3–5; Vartan Artinian, *The Armenian Constitutional System in the Ottoman Empire 1839–1863*, Istanbul, [1988], p. 69. Concerning early Armenian periodicals, see Albert Khařatyan, *Hasarakakan Mitkê Zmyurniayi Hay Parberakan Mamulum (1840–1900)*, Erevan, 1995; V. G. Ghukasyan, *Polsahay Mamuli ev Hraparakakhosut'yan Skzbnavorumê (1832–1853)*, Erevan, 1975.
- 47) COA, İ.MSM (İrade Mesail-i Mühimme) 936 lef2 ([1846]).
- 48) COA, İ.MSM 936 lef1 (29 Rebiülahir H1262: 26 April 1846).
- 49) COA, İ.MSM 936 (2 Cümadelula H1262: 28 April 1846).
- 50) Goldstein, *Political Censorship*, p. 38.
- 51) İskit interprets this as the censorship of publications imported from abroad (Server İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları*, Ankara, 1943, p. 11), while Yazıcı indicates that prior to the legislation of 1864, there were plenty of examples of the Ottoman government demanding to see article manuscripts before granting permission for new publications (Nesimi Yazıcı, “Tanzimat Dönemi Basını Konusunda Bir Değerlendirme,” in *Tanzimat'ın 150. Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu Ankara: 31 Ekim–3 Kasım 1989*, Ankara, 1994, p. 64).
- 52) COA, İ.DH (İrade Dahiliye) 101223 (9 Cümadelahire H1262: 4 June 1846).
- 53) COA, TS.MA.E 558/69 (n.d.); 560/27 (n.d.).
- 54) Ueno Masayuki, “Tanzimâto-ki Osuman Teikoku ni okeru hi-Musurimu no ‘shûkyôteki tokken’ to ‘seijiteki kenri’: Arumenia kyödôtai no jirei kara” タンズイマート期オスマン帝国における非ムスリムの「宗教的特権」と「政治的権利」：アルメニア共同体の事例から (“Religious Privilege” and “Political Rights” of Non-Muslims in the Tanzimat-Era Ottoman Empire: The Case of the Armenian Community). PhD diss., University of Tokyo, 2010, pp. 39–41.

- 55) Ueno Masayuki, “Tanzimāto-ki Arumenia kyōdōtai no saihen: Mirreto Kenpō go no Isutanburu Sōshukyōza wo chūshin ni” タンズイマート期アルメニア共同体の再編：ミットレト憲法後のイスタンブル総主教座を中心に (The Reorganization of the Armenian Community during the Tanzimat Era Focusing on the Patriarchate of Istanbul after the Recognition of the *Millet* Constitution). *Tōyō Bunka*, vol. 91 (2011), pp. 265–267.
- 56) Maghak’ia Ōrmanian, *Azkabadum: Hay Ughghap’ar Egeghets’ioy Ants’k’erē Sgizpēn Mīnch’ew Mer Ōrerē Haragits’ Azkayin Barakanerov Badmuadz*, vol. 3, repr. ed., Beirut, 1961 (orig. 1927), p. 3799; *Arshaloys Araradean*, no. 209 (5 October 1844).
- 57) George A. Bournoutian, ed., *Russia and the Armenians of Transcaucasia, 1797–1889: A Documentary Record*, Costa Mesa, 1998, p. 390: Envoy Titov to Count Vorontsov-Dashkov (26 September 1844).
- 58) H. G. O. Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey: A Narrative of the Protestant Reformation in the Armenian Church*, London, 1854, pp. 215–238, 322–326.
- 59) Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey*, pp. 291–292, 307–308.
- 60) Called *Ashkharhagan Zhoghov* in Armenian, it was later renamed *Kerakoyin Zhoghov* (Supreme Council). “Lay Council” has been used throughout the present article.
- 61) COA, Ī.MSM 937 (9 Cūmadelula H1263: 25 April 1847); Ōrmanian, *Azkabadum*, p. 3812.
- 62) COA, Ī.MSM 941 (29 Şevval H1264: 28 September 1848).
- 63) *Masis*, no. 713 (11 November 1865); Ōrmanian, *Azkabadum*, p. 3812.
- 64) Fujinami Nobuyoshi 藤波伸嘉, “Dimitoriosu Sutamatopurososho, *Kaikaku to sezokuka: 19 seiki no Sekai Sōshukyōza no rekishi no saikaishaku ni mukete*” デイミトリオス・スタマトプロス著『改革と世俗化：19世紀の世界総主教座の歴史の再解釈に向けて』 (Dimitris Stamatopoulos, “Μεταρρύθμιση και Εκκοσμίκευση: προς μια ανασύνθεση της Ιστορίας του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου τον 19ο αιώνα” [Reform and Secularization: Towards a Reappraisal of the History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the 19th Century]). *Tōyō Gakuhō* 東洋学報, vol. 90, no. 4 (2009), p. 56.
- 65) COA, Ī.MSM 940 (8, 14 Receb H1263: 22, 28 June 1847); *Hayasdan*, no. 56 (31 July 1847).
- 66) Jack Fairey, “The Great Game of Improvements: European Diplomacy and the Reform of the Orthodox Church,” PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2004, pp. 102–159.
- 67) COA, Ī.HR (Īrade Hariciye) 604 (15 Receb H1257: 2 September 1841).
- 68) Fairey, “Great Game of Improvements,” p. 43.
- 69) Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, p. 142; Fairey, “Great Game of Improvements,” pp. 459–460; Yoshida Tatsuya 吉田達矢, “1840 nendai ni okeru Tōhō seikyōto ‘kyōdōtai’ un’ei kōzō heno Osuman Teikoku no seisaku: Rogofeto mondai wo chūshin ni” 1840年代における東方正教徒「共同体」運営構造へのオスマン帝国政府の政策：ロゴフェト問題を中心に (Ottoman Government Policy toward the Orthodox Christian “Community” Administrative Structure during the 1840s Focusing on the “Logofet Question”). *Ajia Bunka Kenkyūjo Kenkyū Nenpō* アジア文化研究所研究年報 (Annual Journal of the Asian Cultures Research Institute), vol. 45 (2010), pp. 62–72.
- 70) *Hayasdan*, no. 56 (31 July 1847); COA, A.DVN.MHM (Sadaret Divan-ı Hümayun Mühimme Kalemî) 4/48 (Evahir Receb H1263: 5–14 July 1847).
- 71) *Masis*, no. 180 (19 July 1855); COA, Ī.HR 7150 lef2 (30 Rebiülevvel H1273: 28

November 1856). According to Alböyajian, Grjigian requested to be relieved of duty in 1853, but was refused. By whom is not clear. (Arshag A. Alböyajian, “Azkayin Sahmanatruṭ‘iwně: Ir Dzakumě ew Giraṭuṭ‘iwně,” in *1910 Ėntartsag Ōrats‘oyts‘ S. P‘rgchean Hiwantanots‘i Hayots‘*, Istanbul, 1910, pp. 316–319). According to Balcı, Abro also had connection with Reşit Pasha (Balcı, “Bir Osmanlı-Ermeni Aydın ve Bürokrati,” p. 111).

- 72) *Takvim-i Vekayi‘*, no. 494 (23 Muharrem H1270: 27 October 1857).
- 73) Ueno, “19 seiki Osuman Teikoku no Arumenia kyōdōtai,” pp. 141–164.
- 74) *Hayasdan*, no. 97 (13 May 1848).
- 75) *Masis*, no. 92 (9 November 1853); Alböyajian, “Azkayin Sahmanatruṭ‘iwně,” p. 335.
- 76) Vahram H. T‘orkomian, *Pzhishg Dōk‘t‘. Servich‘en Ėfēndi*, Vienna, 1893, pp. 11–12.
- 77) Artinian, *Armenian Constitutional System*, pp. 77–78, 84–86.
- 78) Ueno Masayuki, “Tanzimāto-ki Arumenia kyōdōtai un‘ei soshiki no tenkai: Mirreto Kenpō seiritsu katei no kōsatsu kara” タンズイマート期アルメニア共同体運営組織の展開：ミット憲法成立過程の考察から (The Development of the Armenian Community Administrative Apparatus during the Tanzimat Era: The Formation of the Millet Constitution). *Tōyō Gakuhō*, vol. 91, no. 2 (2009), pp. 01–026; Masayuki Ueno, “The First Draft of the Armenian Millet Constitution,” *Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies*, vol. 23, no. 1 (2007), pp. 213–251.
- 79) For developments after Grjigian’s retirement, see Ueno, “Tanzimāto-ki Osuman Teikoku ni okeru hi-Musurimu,” Chaps. 3, 4, 5.
- 80) Mustafa Erdem Kabadayı, “Mkrdich Cezayirliyan or the Sharp Rise and Sudden Fall of an Ottoman Entrepreneur,” in Suraiya Faroqhi and Gilles Veinstein, eds., *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire*, Paris, 2008, pp. 281–299.
- 81) Butrus Abu-Manneh, “The Roots of the Ascendancy of Âli and Fu‘ad Paşas at the Porte (1855–1871),” in *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century (1826–1876)*, Istanbul, 2001, pp. 115–124.
- 82) *Masis*, no. 171 (16 May 1855); Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir 1–12*, pp. 39–43.
- 83) COA, İ.HR 6083 (29 Şevval H1271: 15 July 1855); *Sâlnâme-i Devlet* H1272 (1855/56), p. 120; H1273 (1856/57), p. 117; H1274 (1857/58), p. 125; H1275 (1858/59), p. 85.
- 84) Antranig would go on to become a professor at the military medical school in 1874 and received the title of “pasha” in 1884 (Anahit Astoyan, *Hayern Ōsmanyan Banakum (XIV darits‘ minch‘ew 1918 t‘)*, Erevan, 2010, pp. 31–32).
- 85) For example, COA, İ.HR 9682 (1 Cümadelula H1272: 9 January 1856); HR.TO (Hariciye Nezareti Tercüme Odası) 71/8 (9 February 1856); HR.TO 72/29 (8 June 1859).
- 86) Adnan Şişman, *Tanzimat Döneminde Fransa’ya Gönderilen Osmanlı Öğrencileri (1839–1876)*, Ankara, 2004, pp. 24–29.
- 87) COA, HR.MKT 302/40 (25 Muharrem 1276: 24 August 1859).
- 88) The epidemic prompted the opening of the 3rd International Public Health Conference in Istanbul the following year. On the relocation of gravesites as a public health measure, see Masayuki Ueno, “Urban Politics in 19th-Century Istanbul: The Case of the Armenian Cemetery in Beyoğlu,” in Hidemitsu Kuroki, ed., *Human Mobility and Multiethnic Coexistence in Middle Eastern Urban Societies 1: Tehran, Aleppo, Istanbul, and Beirut*, Tokyo, 2015, pp.85–102.
- 89) *Masis*, no. 713 (11 November 1865).

- 90) *Ōrat'ert' Masis*, no. 73 (20 December 1866).
- 91) COA, HR.TO 75/66 (1 December 1865).
- 92) On this process, also see, Masayuki Ueno, "An Experiment in Political Participation: Istanbul Armenians in the 1860s and 1870s," in Hidemitsu Kuroki, ed., *Human Mobility and Multiethnic Coexistence in Middle Eastern Urban Societies 2: Tehran, Cairo, Istanbul, Aleppo, and Beirut*, Tokyo, 2018, pp. 89–102.