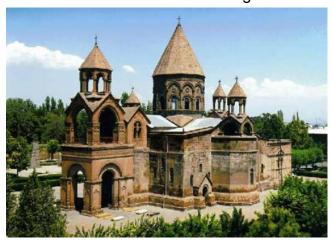
# THE HEADS OF SMYRNA'S *TERUNI* DIOCESE (from the 1610s to 1825)

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The restoration of the Official List of the heads of the diocese of Smyrna is closely related to the history of Ejmiatsin *teruni* (belonging to Ejmiatsin) diocese as a religious institution which had a historical significance of preserving Armenian national values.



St. Ejmiatsin Cathedral

The study of the Official List of the heads of the diocese of Smyrna takes its beginning in the researches of eminent scholars A. Alpoyachyan and Bishop T. Palyan<sup>1</sup>. We launch the List of the heads of the diocese of Smyrna with a quite different from each other order and dating, discussing them separately. First, we have to note that the said List of Trdat Palyan begins with the name of Vardapet (Archimandrite) Hovsep,

starting from the year 1689; and A. Alpoyachyan does it with the head, mentioned long before that.

## 1. Prkntosh Karapet, 1614-15.

A. Alpoyachyan cites his primary source, the wellknown work by G. Srvandztyants with а remarkable writing, which is unfamiliar to Trdat Palyan. Here, Grigor of Caesarea, who seated on the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople more than once (in the 1st half



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of the 17<sup>th</sup> century), rebukes the Catholicos of the time, Melkiset, for having violated the ecclesiastical order, "And Prnktosh Karapet who became a *Horom* (a Catholic) and took

<sup>՝</sup> Ալպօյաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բիւզանդիոն, Կ. Պոլիս, 1904, 14/27 - 15/28 ապրիլի։ Նույնի՝ Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի (առաջնորդական ընտրութեան առթիւ), Բիւզանդիոն, 1908, 10/23, 10/25, 13/26, 14/27, 15/28, 16/29 ապրիլի։ Also see Իզմիրի հայոց առաջնորդները, Դափնի, Ձմյուռնիա, 1922, թիւ 9, էջ 280-282։ Պալեան Տ. եպս., Գաւազանագիրք առաջնորդաց Ձմիւռնիոյ, Դափնի, 1921, թիւ 1, էջ 25-28, թիւ 2, էջ 59-63, թիւ 3, էջ 91-93։

a Roman wife and more than seven years with that wife lived in Rome, now you have given an order of episcopacy and appointed him as the head of Tira, Izmir<sup>2</sup> and Manissa"<sup>3</sup>.

# 2. Archbishop Trdat, 1635.

Priest Sarkis mentions in the colophon of the book of cures copied by him in that same year, "By the grace of God our spiritual father and living martyr, his eminence Archbishop Trdat invited us and bestowed us with the power of priesthood...we went to Izmir and Kozelhissar, which is a Diocese of evangelist Ohan and we received the order and honor of the priesthood there, came to Izmir and began writing the book of cures again...And this event took place in the Armenian year  $\Omega\Omega$  (1635), on the 10th of June...This was written in the time of Catholicos Philipos, Supreme Patriarch, who is the second Illuminator of the Armenians for now"<sup>4</sup>.

The present valuable record permits us to conclude that in about 1635 the principal eparchial center of Smyrna and its suburbs was not there but in Aytn (Kuzelhissar), where Archbishop Trdat held the eparchial position. Second, Smyrna was the diocese of Ejmiatsin as it was in the 1610s, in the time of Prnktosh Karapet, which is certified by Priest Sargis through the citation of Catholicos Philipos. We have to add that this record was not at the disposal of T. Palyan, hence, Archbishop Trdat is off his list.

#### 3. KirakosTalintsi, 1651.

He is mentioned in one of the manuscripts of the said year as a "guardian" (the head) of the Smyrna diocese; and according to a colophon, "sinful Kirakos Talintsi of the Ararat land and of the diocese of St. Illuminator, educated and nurtured in the Mother See of Holy Ejmiatsin and nominated as a trustee in Smyrna of Lycians…"<sup>5</sup>.

One doesn't know when Kirakos Talintsi had been appointed eparch and left this position; only according to his testimonies, he was the eparch of Smyrna in 1651 (that is, during the war of Candia), and the population of this city suffered all of the disasters of the war.

This eparch is missing from the lists of the mentioned authors, too.

#### 4. Archmandrite Stephanos, 1655.

A. Alpoyachyan mentions this Archimandrite as a disciple of Hakob Jughayetsi, citing "Divan of Armenian History"<sup>6</sup>. A. Alpoyachyan considers the years 1657-1663 as a period of his leadership. Davit Baghishetsi tells in his Chronology that Stephanos was

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Smyrna.

<sup>3</sup> Սրուանձտեանց Գ., Թորոս աղբար կամ ճամբորդ Հայաստանի, մասն Բ, Կ. Պոլիս, 1884, էջ 281.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ ԺԷ դարի, հ. Բ (1621-1640), կազմ. Հակոբյան Վ., Հովհաննիսյան Ա., Երևան, 1958, էջ 596։

<sup>5</sup> Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ ԺԷ դարի, հ. Գ (1641-1660), կազմ. Հակոբյան Վ., Երևան, 1984։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Մատենադարան, Ա. Ալպոյաճյանի դիվան, թղթ. 7, վավ. 17-1: Also see Դիւան Հայոց պատմութեան, h. Ժ, Ժե-ԺԹդարեր, հրատ. Աղանեանց Գ., Թիֆլիս, 1912, էջ 52։ Մանր ժամանակագրություններ, XIII-XVIII դդ., h. 2։ Կազմ. Հակոբյան Վ., Երևան, 1956, էջ 361։

the eparch of Smyrna, being one of the disciples of Catholicos Hakob Jughayetsi among others<sup>7</sup>. It is hard to say what a source A. Alpoyachyan used when pointing the years 1657-1663. T. Palyan doesn't mention this head.

# 5. Bishop Maghakia Epesatsi (of Ephesus), died in 1661.

Referring to an epitaph on this bishop (buried in Aytn, 1661), published by H. Kosyan, A. Alpoyachyan supposes that he "was in this area (coastal regions of the Aegean Sea- A. Kh.) while holding the position of the diocese's head"<sup>8</sup>. The supposition is indeed possible, especially when we saw in the case of the Bishop Trdat that Aytn was the Eparchial See in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

# 6. Archimandrite Barsegh, before 1665.

A. Alpoyachyan mentions this head when pointing to a *Voskeporik* (before 1665), "the head of Izmir city, Archimandrite Barsegh came to the town of Man... (certainly Manissa - A. Kh.), where two priests I ordained as a servants of the St. Illuminator Church…"<sup>9</sup>. Literally, almost the same is found in the Official List of the heads of the diocese by T. Palyan but without Voskeporik and reference of 1665<sup>10</sup>.

We do not know other remark on Archimandrite Barsegh.







The church of St. Stephanos. Senior Altar. Bell tower.

# 7. Archmandrite Hovsep, 1683-1706.

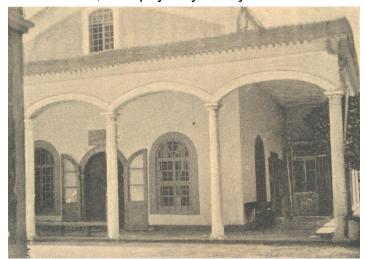
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Մատենադարան, Ա. Ալպոյաճյանի դիվան, թղթ. 7, վավ. 17-1: Also see Դիւան Հայոց պատմութեան, h. Ժ, ԺԵ-ԺԹ դարեր, hրատ. Աղանեանց Գ., Թիֆլիս, 1912, էջ 52։ Մանր ժամանակագրություններ, XIII-XVIII դդ., h. 2։ Կազմ. Հակոբյան Վ., Երևան, 1956, էջ 361։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ալպոյաճյան Ա., Իզմիրի հայոց առաջնորդները, Դափնի, 1922, թիվ 9, էջ 280։ See the article by H. Kossyan, «Ակնարկ մր հնութեան բեկորներու», Հանդէս ամսօրեալ, 1906, թիւ 9, էջ 279։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Մատենադարան, Ա. Ալպոլաճյանի դիվան, թղթ. 7, վավ. 17-1, էջ 72:

<sup>10</sup> Մատենադարան, Ա. Ալպոլաճյանի դիվան, թղթ. 7, վավ. 17-1, էջ 72:

T. Palyan points out this head first in his Official List, based upon the inscription on the repairs of St. Stephanos and St. Bartholomew church, where is mentioned the head of Smyrna, Archimandrite Hovsep<sup>11</sup>. T. Alpoyachyan adds to the mentioned facts other details about Archimandrite Hovsep: Hovsep is mentioned in the inscription (dated 1661) on the chapel of the church of St. Illuminator in Manissa. As H. Kossyan calls attention to the fact that Hovsep stayed and participated in publication of an Armenian book in Venice in 1686-1687. In 1691 he kept the position of the diocese's head, in 1696 was in Constantinople, preaching Catholicism and was imprisoned by Avetik Patriarch's instruction. He was alive still in 1706 (his name is mentioned in the public petition of Constantinople Armenians, addressed to Catholicos Alexander). He is referred to both as the legate of Eimiatsin and the Head of Smyrna's diocese. It matches the name of Archbishop Hovsep Kyoleyan, who was a Catholic and Catholicos had to send him to Rome unless the death occurred. "Now it is interesting to clarify whether the head of Smyrna's diocese, mentioned for the period of 1661-1706, is the same person or two personalities, different from each other. This issue was desirable to be resolved", A. Alpoyachyan says<sup>12</sup>.



The Church of St.Illuminator

An important detail may be added to the biography of Smyrna diocese's head, Archimandrite Hovsep, which, we think, confirms the date when he entered upon the post of diocese's head.

Archimandrite Hovsep himself lets know in a manuscript of Pirghalemyan's collection, kept in the Matenadaran (The Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts), that "I, the head of

Izmir, Archimandrite Hovsep and the attendant (of mine) Azaria entered Izmir on August 26 of the Armenian year 1132 (1683 AD). And we left St. Ejmiatsin for Izmir on July 1<sup>st</sup> of the same year"<sup>13</sup>.

Consequently, the time when Hovsep was appointed to the office of diocese's head is 1683 and the personality of Hovsep, mentioned in the inscription of 1661 in

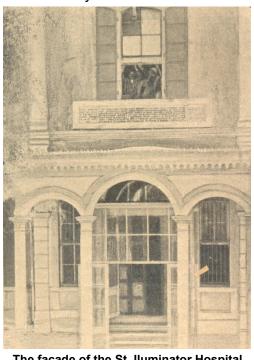
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Пшјшù S., op. cit., N 1, pp. 25-26: This inscription is remarkable for another elucidation, too, "I, the head of Izmir, Archimandrite Hovsep, relied on God's mercy through St. Stephanos and St. Bartholomew, and founded the church", one reads there. The phrase provides evidence about a church with the names of two Saints in Smyrna in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It had been mentioned with the name of one (St. Stephanos) or another (St. Bartholomew) in manuscripts more than once since 1625. The mention of the church's full name in the inscription under question puts an end to every uncertainty in this regard.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ալպօյաճեան Ա., Իզմիրի Հայոց առաջնորդները, Դափնի, 1922, թիւ 9, էջ 281: See ibid., p. 280-281, the remarks of A. Alpoyatchyan about Hovsep.

<sup>13</sup> Մատենադարան, Փիրդալեմյանի հավաքածու, ձեռ. 6332, էջ 251ա։

Manissa church and referred to by H. Kosyan, seems to lose its significance in this case, for he is not mentioned as a head. A. Alpoyachyan stays on this fact, too, remarking "one does not say that he is an Eparch" 14. Therefore, it remains to identify Hovsep between the years of 1689 (the inscription in St. Stephanos church) and 1706 (the latest evidence of Hovsep).

Let us come again to the mentioned inscription of 1661 in Manissa church. Having no concern specifically with the practice of Hovsep as an eparch, it helps anyhow to determine the period of the said practice. If the long and hard course of his rule as an eparch, the period of 1661-1706, could give rise either to doubt or to correction then the same can't be said about the time of 1683-1706, when nothing is strange regarding both the evidences of Hovsep and the logicality of the eparchial period, first of all. Hence, it is very likely that, as we have observed, Hovsep or Hovsep Kyoleyan is one and the same person mentioned in all records of 1683-1706, the legate of Ejmiatsin and the diocese's head in Smyrna in those times.



The facade of the St. Iluminator Hospital

## 8. Ignatius Miakani, before 1670.

This clergyman was not included in the lists of Alpoyachyan and T. Palyan. He is mentioned as a legate (which is synonymous with the eparch) of Ejmiatsin in negative colors in a writing of 1670 by E. Kyomurtchyan<sup>15</sup>. Therefore, Ignatius was a legate and eparch either in 1670 or earlier, most likely in the 1660s, when the dispute between Hakob Jughayetsi (of Jugha) and Yeghiazar Ayntaptsi for the rights of Ejmiatsin in the Ottoman Empire was escalated<sup>16</sup>. E. Kyomurtchyan, encouraging Yeghiazar, speaks thoroughly about the supporters of Catholicos Hakob and, in parallel, the death of Ignatius Miakani, as well.

A. Alpoyatchyan and T. Palyan, following included Archimandrite him, have

Samuelyan in the Official List of eparchs for the period of the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>17</sup>. According to A. Alpoyatchyan, the records on Samuelyan "need to be reinvestigated since the period, determined for his eparchial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ալպօլաճեան Ա., օp. cit., p. 280.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> See Գալէմքէարեան Գր., Կենսագրութիւններ երկու հալ պատրիարքներու և տասն եպիսկոպոսներու և ժամանակին հայ կաթողիկեայք, Վիեննա, 1915, էջ 73։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն, h. IV, Երևան, ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1972, էջ 125։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ալպօլաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բիւցանդիոն, 1904, 12/25 ապրիլի։ Պայլան S., op. cit., Դափնի, 1921, 1, p. 26:

rule, turns to bishop Hovsep"<sup>18</sup>. Indeed, it is Hovsep who was the eparch of Smyrna in 1683-1706 we have seen above.

# 9. Archimandrite Hayrapet, 1715.

He is one of the first eparchs of the 18<sup>th</sup> century who is mentioned in a colophon of Pirghalemyan's collection, "the writing of mine was made in the time of giving the staff of eparchial power to father Hayrapet, divine archimandrite, to have benefit of on May 21<sup>st</sup> of the Armenian year 1164 (1719 AD), who is the diocese head of the Lycians' town Smyrna and its province"<sup>19</sup>.

We don't know additional information about this eparch.

## 10. Bishop Nerses of Ephesus, 1717.

He is mentioned in the list of A. Alpoyatchyan with a reference of the colophon of "Interpretation" by Hovhannes Voskeberan, published in 1717, where is mentioned "honorable Bishop of Ephesus, Nerses". A. Alpoyatchyan, naturally, doesn't consider Ephesus, near to Smyrna, as a separate diocese and thinks truly that Nerses was the head of the same Smyrna episcopate just with the title "of Ephesus"<sup>20</sup>.

### 11. Archimandrite Simeon, 1718.

His name appears exactly after the name of Bishop Nerses and herein the historian points to an encyclical of Catholicos Astvatsatur in 1718, where the latter orders the Armenian merchants of Venice to dispatch some goods for Archimandrite Simeon<sup>21</sup>. Bishop Nerses and archimandrite Nerses were inserted in the chronological table of T. Palyan.

## 12. Ghazar Jahketsi, 1735-1737.

According to T. Palyan, Ghazar Jahketsi implemented the duty of legate in the mentioned period, and A. Alpoyatchyan had determined 1737 before A. Alpoyatchyan<sup>22</sup>. Immediately after finishing the office he was elected Catholicos of Ejmiatsin. M. Ormanyan points out more precisely that Jahketsi was elected catholicos in July 1737 and left for Ejmiatsin from his eparchic seat<sup>23</sup>.

## 13. Archbishop Minas Pervazyan, 1735.

As A. Alpoyatchyan points out, he was the diocese head in 1736 (before Ghazar Jahketsi, we would add) for a short while, for the latter receiving his post in the same

<sup>22</sup> Պալյան Տ., օp. cit., p. 26։ Ալպօյաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բյուզանդիոն, 1904, 12/25 ապրիլի.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ալպօլաճեան Ա., Իզմիրի հալոց առաջնորդները, էջ 281։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Մատենադարան, Փիրղալեմյանի հավաքածու, ձեռ. 6332, էջ 268-ա։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ալպօլաճեան Ա., op. cit., p. 281.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Օրմանյան Մ., op. cit., h. Բ, pp. 3373-3374:

year, 1735, continued the duty until 1737. "The head and Archbishop of Smyrna" was already in Italy where he had adopted Catholicism and "stayed along with the Mekhitaristes as a bishop-consecrator" 24.

In 1736 he was not in his position, being already in Italy, but he is mentioned with that position, which had already been left behind.

# 14. Bishop Alexander Byuzandatsi (of Byzantium) (Garagash), 1743-1745.

A. Alpoyatchyan and T. Palyan trace the period of his pastorship of Garagash through the years 1743 and 1745; at the same time T. Palyan takes into account both the inscription in St. Stephanos church and the colophon of the book "Interpretation of Narek", published by Patriarch H. Nalyan<sup>25</sup>.

A. Alpoyatchyan puts under question the parsonage of Archimandrite Petros, chronologically (1746) following Garagash, pointing to a short recording in a notebook of the Aytn church with the following phrase, "during the time of Archimandrite Petros" Apparently, T. Palyan reiterated either the record of Alpoyatchyan or the source Alpoyatchyan has applied to, he himself having been uncertain on the authenticity of evidences about Archimandrite Petros<sup>27</sup>.

Alexander Byuzandatsi has been elected Catholicos of Ejmiatsin.

## 15. Sahak Ahagin (Huge), (Isahak), 1754-1755.

A. Alpoyatchyan ascertained him the date of 1755 both as an eparch and as a disciple of Patriarch Kolot Hovhannes (Iohannes), taking into account the encyclical of Catholicos Al. Garagash, addressed both "to our beloved brother, Isahak, at first, and to our eparch and divine archimandrite" Sahak Ahagin was elected Catholicos after the death of Byuzandatsi (1755) but neither left for Ejmiatsin nor assumed the position, and Hakob Shamakhetsi was elected Catholicos just in 1759. Sahak died in St. Illuminator monastery of Karin (Erzrum) in 1763<sup>29</sup>. Having pointed out the virtual resignation of Sahak, Gr. Galemkeryan, too, reports that he was the eparch of Smyrna up to then<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Գալէմքեարեան Գր., Կենսագրութիւն Սարգիս արքեպ. Սարաֆեան եւ ժամանակին հայ կաթողիկեայք, Վիեննա, 1908, էջ 224։ The fact that Archbishop Minas was in Italy in 1736 and had with him some of St. Hripsime's remains is informed by M. Tchamtchyan for the first time (see Չամչեան Մ., op. cit., p. 573)։ Also see Ալիշան Ղ., Հայ-Վենետ կամ յարընչութիւնք հայոց եւ Վենետաց, Վենետիկ, 1896, էջ 343.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ալպօյաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բիւզանդիոն, 1904, 12/25 ապրիլի։ Պալեան Տ., օр. cit., pp. 26-27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Գալէմքեարեան Գր., Յարութիւն Վ. Լեւոնեան, Հանդէսամսօրեայ, 1913, թիւ 9, էջ 386-387: See also Մանր ժամանակագրություններ, XIII-XVIII դդ. (կազմ. Հակոբյան Վ.), Երևան, 1951, էջ 342: About the ambiguous relations of Sahak Ahagin with the Brotherhood of Ejmiatsin after 1756 see Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 2, վավ. 12, where Sahak takes the position of catholicos as "Father Isahak, His Holiness Catholicos of All Armenians".

M. Ormanyan indicates 1754 as a period of his pastorship<sup>31</sup>, and T. Palyan<sup>32</sup>, 1755; however, it remains unknown which one is the previous date of Sahak's pastorship.

#### 16. Abraham Astapattsi, 1756-1764.

He was the successor of Sahak Ahagin<sup>33</sup>. Abraham Astapattsi undertook educational-instructive activities in Smyrna. The printing house of Mahtes's Markos was built up during his ministry, in 1759, where three books were published, including the work of Yeznik (1762). Astapattsi assisted Catholicos Simeon in the cultural field and fostered his aspirations to oversee the patriarchate of Constantinople through the pontifical vicar<sup>34</sup> as a result of which he was expelled from Constantinople<sup>35</sup>. In his turn, M. Mseryants observes that the item of establishing a vicegerency of Ejmiatsin in Constantinople was brought forth by Astapattsi<sup>36</sup>.

## 17. Ghukas Karnetsi, 1764-1775.

Catholicos Simeon lets know the people of Smyrna's patriarchal diocese through the encyclical, dated March 10 1764, that he dispatches "Ghukas, a divine Archimandrite, to be your eparch who went there" Having already been ordained as Catholicos, Ghukas points out the date of his pastorship in the encyclical sent for Smyrnians, "because I was still in the post of both Cathedral legate and Eparch of the capital city Smyrna and the whole of your diocese as well for twenty years", that is, 1764-1776. One might think that Ghukas prolongs the date of his duty for a year, which will be seen below. A. Alpoyatchyan and T. Palyan mention supposedly and, at the same time, rightly the date of assuming the pastorship by Ghukas (1764), but both of them misjudge when considering the year 1780 (when Ghukas was elected Catholicos) as a termination of his ministry<sup>38</sup>.

However, Ghukas had been called back to Ejmiatsin in 1775 (and not in 1780), and a new eparch, that same Archimandrite Yesaya, was referred for Smyrna instead of him<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> Մսերեանց Մ., Պատմութիւն կաթողիկոսաց Էջմիածնի, 1763-1831։ Մոսկվա, 1876, էջ 1։

<sup>31</sup> Օրմանեան Մ.,Ազգապատում, հ. Բ, էջ 3454։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Պալեան S., op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> ԱլպօլաճեանԱ., op. cit., Պալեան S., op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Չամչյան Մ., op. cit., h. III, p. 872.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Ibid, h. III, p. 872.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 243, վավ. 22։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Ալպօյաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բիւզանդիոն, 1904, 13/26 ապրիլի։ ՊալյանՏ., op. cit., Դափնի, 1921, թիւ 1, p. 28։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Դիւան Հայոց պատմութեան, Գիրք Ը, Սիմէոն կաթողիկոսի յիշատակարանը (1767-1776), հրատ. Գ. քահ. Աղանեանց, Թիֆլիս, 1908, էջ 452-453։ Ինքը՝ Ղուկասը, Էջմիածին է վերադարձել 1776 թ., ինչպես գրում է ինքը (Դիվան Հայոց պատմութեան, Գիրք առաջին, Ղուկաս Կարնեցի, հ. Ա, 1780-1785։ Աշխատասիրութ. Վ. Գրիգորյանի, Երևան, 1984, էջ 103.

# 18. Archimandrite Yesaya, 1775-1779, 1782-1784.

Yesaya was appointed eparch twice; first, as we saw, by Simeon's order in 1775, when Yesaya took the place of Ghukas and whom M. Ormanyan writes about very precisely, "Archimandrite Yesaya was appointed successor and departed on June 23 1775"<sup>40</sup>. Then, Yesaya gave the position of diocese's head to Philipos (Philip) as Catholicos Simeon was announcing about that to the compatriots living in Amsterdam<sup>41</sup>; Yesaya was again appointed the head of diocese on May 1782, superseding Philipos<sup>42</sup>. Both Yeasaya and Philipos are not mentioned in the work of T. Palyan at all; remarks are made for the pastorship of Bishop Isahak (also called Sahak Ahagin/Huge/) after Ghukas in 1784 and the "following few years"<sup>43</sup> in the table of Palyan, which is not correct. Yesaya died in the position of both Smyrna's head and legate; Smyrnians informed Catholicos Ghukas about his death who recollects this event in the paper, addressed to them in 1784<sup>44</sup>.

## 19. Bishop Philipos, 1779-1782.

He was the diocese's head between the two periods of Yesaya's pastorship.

A. Alpoyatchyan writes that "Izmirians rejected him in 1782"<sup>45</sup>. Accomplishing the first triennial period, Philipos came into collision with the Armenians of Smyrna; hence, he was called back to Ejmiatsin, conceding his position to Yesaya. Nevertheless, Yeasaya did not accomplished the second triennial of his officiating and returned to Ejmiatsin in 1779. The appointment of Philipos was not a smooth process from the beginning; once his position was affirmed by Simeon Ghukas reaffirmed him in 1780, recommending Smyrnians "to love (him) again apparently...both as a Supreme Nuncio and as an Eparch" 46.

Probably, this date of reappointment gave reason to A. Alpoyatchyan for tracing the period of Philipos's pastorship with the year 1780.

## 20. Archimandrite Michael, May 1784 - December 1784.

This eparch is not mentioned in any of the eparchial tables. He was the nephew of the late Archimandrite Yeasayaand whose appointment is recorded by Ghukas in his encyclical, dated May 16 1784<sup>47</sup>. Catholicos apprises of the same matter to the eminent Armenians of Smyrna, Astvatsatur Aproyan and K. Tchelikyan of Mahtes<sup>48</sup>. However,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Օրմանեան Մ., op. cit., p. 3627.

<sup>41</sup> Դիւան Հալոց պատմութեան, Գիրք ԺԱ, էջ 321։

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Պալեան S., op. cit., Դափնի, 1921, N 1, p. 28.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 243, վավ. 51:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Դիվան Հայոց պատմության, Գիրքառաջին, Ղուկաս Կարնեցի, էջ 421։ Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 5, վավ. 32, էջ 8։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Ibid, p. 7.

Ghukas offers him decisively to return to Ejmiatsin as a response to the request of "Superior Michael" to prolong his stay in Smyrna, "your stay doesn't bring a profit for you, and be in a hurry to reach Holy See a day before"<sup>49</sup>.

## 21. Archimandrite Galust, 1785-1790.

T. Palyan misses four years after 1784, having seen the eparchy seat occupied only in 1788 in the person of Archimandrite Galust<sup>50</sup> and, meanwhile, not mentioning the termination of his eparchy function. The reference of Catholicos Ghukas's encyclical, addressed to K. Tchelikyan and dated July 25 1790, made by him is noteworthy, by which Catholicos reassures his addressee "to assist our sacred son and genius Archimandrite, Galust, as expected...and we have an intention by the leave of God to prepare and send him as a legate and Eparch in the autumn." <sup>51</sup>

It is beyond doubt that Catholicos accomplished his intention after that, sending Isahak as a new eparch and legate afterwards, in 1791, which we'll consider shortly after. The abovementioned encyclical of Catholicos makes clear that Galust had terminated his period of legate's duty still in 1790, which could last three and more years, according to the tradition. Therefore, one can consider the period of at least three years after 1788, pointed out by T. Palyan, as an outset of Galust's nunciature, more precisely, the year of 1785, especially since Archimandrite Michael occupied his post in 1784, as we saw, and the new head (Galust) could move out to Smyrna in 1785.

## 22. Isahak (Sahak Ahagin/Huge II), 1791-1793.

A. Alpoyatchyan regards 1790-1793 the period of his pastorship<sup>52</sup> while Isahak had been sent to Smyrna in 1791 as Catholicos Ghukas informs Hovsep Arghutian<sup>53</sup>. T. Palyan considers wrongly 1784 as the onset of Sahak's (or Isahak) leadership, which is improper, "He came to Constantinople as a legate of Ejmiatsin in 1884 and was sent to Izmir with the position of eparch in the same year", he writes<sup>54</sup>. It could be considered that T. Palyreiterated the imprecision, effectuated by H. Asatur; the latter writes that Bishop Toros Ssetsi (of Sis) was ordained Catholicos of Cilicia in Constantinople on September 1784 and "during that period Archimandrite Sahak was a legate of Ejmiatsin...Sahak had feelings of hate toward Patriarch Zakaria and slapped him in the face in anger one day during a quarrel. Having heard the true story, Catholicos sent immediately the former legate Bishop Minas to Constantinople as a legate instead of Sahak and Sahak Ahagin went to Izmir as a diocese's head (\*1792) (i.e. died in 1792)<sup>55</sup>. But H. Asatur points the year of Sahak's death wrongly and that of the pastorship's

<sup>52</sup> Ալպօլաճեան Ա., Իզմիրի հայոց առաջնորդները, Դափնի, 1922, թիւ 9, էջ 282։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Դիվան Հայոց պատմության, Գիրք առաջին, Ղուկաս Կարնեզի, էջ 493։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Պալլան S., op. cit., Դափնի, 1921, N 1, p. 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ալպօյաճեան Ա., Իզմիրի հայոց առաջնորդները, Դափնի, 1922, թիւ 9, էջ 282։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Պալեան S., op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>55</sup> Հրանտ Ասատուր, Կոստանդնուպոլսոլ հալերը եւ իրենց պատրիարքները, Ստանպուլ, 2011, էջ 128:

termination, accordingly; while the latter died in Smyrna as an eparch and legate, two or three months before November 1793<sup>56</sup> as Catholicos Ghukas indicates in his encyclical of November 1793.

# 23. Bishop Danyel, 1793-1797.

In that same encyclical, where Ghukas was informing of Archimandrite Isahak's death, it is noted as well that he ordains Danyel both as a legate and as a head of Smyrna, "requiring him to change the name of the great encyclical given to the late Archimandrite Isahak by that of his"<sup>57</sup>. The 1793 is remarked also in the publication of AI. Yeritsyan as a starting time of Danyel's ministry<sup>58</sup>, whereas A. Alpoyatchyan considers 1797-1798 the period of commencement and termination of Danyel's pastorate. T. Palyan repeats the same inaccuracy and M. Ormanyan points out 1796-1797, in his turn<sup>59</sup>.

Danyel reaches Smyrna from Constantinople on August 1794, which is evidenced by the paper written by Ghukas for Smyrnian pastor Galust in the same month<sup>60</sup>.

One knows the discords between Danyel and some people of Smyrnian Armenians' elite since the coming of the new head to his service place. Things reached the point where the opponents addressed Catholicos through a formal request to replace Danyel by another head<sup>61</sup>.

Danyel had the support of influential Margar from the Aproyan house. The efforts of both Catholicos and Patriarch Zakaria Kaghzvantsi that they exerted in 1795-1797 to reconcile the two sides were all for nothing<sup>62</sup>. Catholicos was supposing among other things that the matter would not be solved through reconciliation and was writing, consequently, to patriarch Zakaria that he had an intention of replacing Danyel by Bishop Martiros in case of failure to reach a peace, and to send Danyel with the same authority to Rumelia<sup>63</sup>. In reality, Danyel departed to Rumelia in 1797 and was elected Catholicos in 1801.

# 24. Bishop Martiros, 1797-1816.

T. Palyan considers the year 1798 the starting time of his pastorship, and A. Alpoyatchyan deems incorrect both the name and the period of Smyrna's head in 1800-

<sup>58</sup> Նիւթեր Ներսէս Ե-ի կենսագրութեան համար։ Ժողովեաց Աղ. Երիզեանց, Թիֆլիս, 1877, էջ 27։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> See Ղուկաս կաթողիկոսի 1793 թ. նոյեմբերի կոնդակը Ձմյուռնիայի հայերին (Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 243, վավ. 59, նաև՝ թղթ. 5, վավ. 46).

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Ալպօյաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բիւզանդիոն, 1904, 13/26 ապրիլի։ Պալեան Տ., օթ. cit., Դափնի, 1921, թիւ 2, էջ 59։ Օրմանեան Մ., Ազգապատում, հ. Բ, Էջմիածին, 2001, էջ 3692։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսականդիվան, թղթ. 6, վավ. 40, էջ 36։

<sup>61</sup> Դիւան հալոց պատմութեան, ԳիրքԴ ,Ղուկաս կաթողիկոս, Թիֆլիս, 1899, էջ 744։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսականդիվան, թղթ. 6, վավ. 40, էջ 55-56:

<sup>63</sup> Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 6, վավ. 40, էջ 55-56:

1801, that is, Bishop Martiros Syunyats, noted by H. Kossyan. He observes that in reality it comes to eparch Martiros Kesaratsi (of Caesarea) in the period of 1797-1816, and this fault of H. Kossyan derives from a colophon being read inaccurately<sup>64</sup>. At the same time, he considers the period of 1798-1810 as a stage of Martiros's pastorate, noticing in addition that he doesn't know whether Martiros continued to officiate after 1810 or not<sup>65</sup>. The commencement of pastorship is recorded more precisely by the evidences of Al. Yeritsyan, 1797, for Danyel leaves for Rumelia in 1797 after the unsuccessful attempts of both Catholicos and Patriarch Zakaria to reconcile Smyrnian elite and Danyel; and he could appear in Smyrna after that and during the same year<sup>66</sup>. In addition, Martiros was writing to Catholicos Davit on July 1801, "Now...since the second year is passed that the sacramental affair was over and only the Diocese's Head exists and we are engaged in the work"<sup>67</sup>. Hence, Martiros terminated the position of a legate, lasting three years as a rule, still in 1800, which had been commenced along with pastorship in 1797.

Now let's return to the termination of Martiros's ministry, which is traced with 1810 by A. Alpoyatchyan. Nevertheless, Martiros was officiating in 1812; he had written a letter to Nerses Ashtaraketsi on December 18 of the said year, informing about the plague broken out in Smyrna<sup>68</sup>. Furthermore, there is a book on economic accounts of Ejmiatsin, where is found the following mention, "the tribute of Izmirians was seventy five tournans and was received through Bishop Martiros"<sup>69</sup>. It is interesting that the testament of Martiros, dated September 1<sup>st</sup> 1811 and endorsed by the Smyrna Armenian "princes" in 1825, has been preserved<sup>70</sup>.

Martiros was a reliable supporter of Davit during Davit-Danyel conflict, who was using his authority not only in the circle of Ejmiatsin's congregation but in that of Constantinople's high clergy for the benefit of his client and confederate<sup>71</sup>. Needless to say that the supporters of Danyel were united against him that gave rise to long lasting divisions<sup>72</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Պալեան Տ., օp. cit., Դափնի, 1921, N 2, p. 60։ Ալպօյաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բիւզանդիոն, 1904, 14/27 ապրիլի։ Տես նաև Քոսեան Հ., Հայք Ի Ձմիւռնիա, հ. 1, էջ 113-114։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Ալպօյաճեան Ա., op. cit., Բիւզանդիոն, 1904, 13/26 ապրիլի։ The problem of the period of Martiros's ministry is more complicated with a record (an unreliable one in our opinion) of N. Akinyan, according to which "the head of Smyrna, Archbishop Mesrop is also busy" with Aproyans' lineage in 1804. (Ակինեան Ն., Երեմիա Չէլէպի Քէօմիւրճեան, Վիեննա, 1933, էջ 239)։ We haven't further information of Archbishop Mesrop. Other way round, a document is preserved in Mekhitarists' storage of manuscripts in Venice, according to which the lineage of the Aproyans had been made by the head of Smyrna, Martiros, based on the documents; and the certificate was signed and endorsed by a group of priests and laymen on April 20 1804 (see Ցուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Մխիթարեան Մատենադարանին ի Վիեննա, հ. Բ, կազմ. Յ. Ոսկեան, Վիեննա, 1963, էջ 333).

<sup>66</sup> Նիւթեր Ներսէս Ե-ի կենսագրութեան համար, էջ 27։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսականդիվան, թղթ. 11, վավ. 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Ibid, թղթ. 29, վավ. 133:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Ibid, թղթ. 29, վավ. 151:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Ibid, թղթ. 22-բ, վավ. 52-ա։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Դիւան հայոց պատմութեան, գիրք Դ, էջ 746։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Davit and, consequently, Martiros were under the support of famous people in Smyrna, Moskov Hovhannes, St. Azaryan, G. Harutyunyan, and others; Danyel was apparently backed by the most influential persons, Margar Aproyan

Danyel was considering Martiros a dangerous opponent, having complained of him in a letter addressed to Alexander I<sup>73</sup>. For his lasting parsonage Martiros was obliged to the confusion of Davit-Danyel struggle.

# 25. Bishop Philipos (Philip), 1816-1821.

A. Alpoyatchyan refers to the donative of a book, dated October 26 1820, Izmir, "from your humble servant Philipos, Bishop of Smyrna", adding that "hereby one can't say, of course, either when he had come to Izmir or when he had left it"<sup>74</sup>. However, some sources provide sufficient records both for one and the other. Philipos succeeded Martiros in the same year, 1816, which is evidenced by the encyclical of Catholicos Yeprem, dated April 15 1816, about the appointment of Philipos as a legate and head of Smyrna as well as about calling Martiros back to Ejmiatsin<sup>75</sup>.

Philipos himself reached Smyrna on May 1816<sup>76</sup>. It was the time of Philipos's pastorship when Smyrnian priest H. M. Vanandetsi copied the composition "Book of souls and angels" by Thomas Aquinas and translated by Stephanos Lehatsi (of Poland), in 1817-1820<sup>77</sup>. In the autumn of 1816 and thereafter Philipos implemented his mission as a legate in the neighboring dioceses of Smyrna, Manissa, Kassaba, Payantir, Eydemish and elsewhere<sup>78</sup>. This head has the same name in the person of Philipos, the eparch of Smyrna in 1779-1782. Perhaps, they are the same person from the standpoint of time and in theory, but they are different persons; one has provided the biography of the last Philipos in a manuscript composed in 1820 during his pastorate, which says that he was a legate in Karin, Tigranakert and Amid prior to coming to Smyrna, and not a single word is found about him being an eparch there previously<sup>79</sup>.

Philipos came into collision with the elite of Smyrnian Armenians like the eparch of the same name in former times. Nerses Ashtaraketsi wrote to Margar Aproyan not in vain on December 1819 that "the division is not discontinued there on account of discord's planters"<sup>80</sup>. These collisions lasted in 1820 as well and up to the departure of Philipos to Ejmiatsin on March 1821<sup>81</sup>.

# 26. Bishop Stephanos (Stephan) Yenovkyan, 1821-1825.

Both A. Alpoyatchyan and T. Palyan are overstepping the order of priority of the diocese heads, considering Bishop Stephanos (Stephan) Aghavni (Pigeon) as a

with his supporters (see Դիւան հայոց պատմութեան, Գիրք Է, մասներկրորդ, Դաւիթկաթողիկոս։ Հրատ. Գ. Աղանեան, Թիֆլիս, 1909, էջ 164-165).

<sup>73</sup> Դիւան հալոց պատմութեան, Գիրք Ե, հրատ. Գ. Աղանեան, Թիֆլիս, 1902, էջ 290։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Ալպօլաճեան Ա.,Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, «Բիզանդիոն», 1904, 14/27 ապրիլի։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 243, վավ. 148:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Մատենադարան, ձեռ. 2718, էջ 77:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Մատենադարան, ձեռ. 2718, էջ 77:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 29, վավ. 160, էջ 12, 33, 39-41, 46-47:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 29, վավ. 160, էջ 12, 33, 39-41, 46-47:

<sup>80</sup> Մատենադարան, Ներսես Աշտարակեցու արխիվ, թղթ. 165, վավ. 165

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> See Տես Դիւան հալոգ պատմութեան, Գիրք Դ, էջ 746.

successor to Philipos<sup>82</sup>, whereas Philipos was succeeded not by Aghavni, but by the namesake of the latter, Bishop Stephanos Yenovkyan, who reached Smyrna on January 21, 1821 and undertook the duty of pastorate; and Philipos moved to Ejmiatsin from Manissa on March 20 of the same year<sup>83</sup>. As concerns Bishop Stephanos Aghavni, he appeared in Smyrna not as a traditional head from Ejmiatsin and a legate, but as a patriarchal vicar from Constantinople after resignation of Stephanos Yenovkyan on February 1825<sup>84</sup>.

The fact that the Sublime Porte was preparing to take out the diocese of Smyrna and those of other districts of the Ottoman Empire from the jurisdiction of Ejmiatsin, conducting a Turkish insidious policy, was known to the latter still in 1824. The legate of Ejmiatsin to Constantinople, Archbishop Astvatsatur was seeking "to drop his duties" because of "public suspicion", as Nerses was cautiously writing to Stephanos<sup>85</sup>. To confront the threats, excited against Astvatsatur, Stephanos should leave for Constantinople. This fact becomes obvious from the letter of Nerses Ashtaraketsi, dated December 24 1824 and addressed to Stephanos; apparently, he requires the head of Smyrna more than once to be cautious for information oversupply<sup>86</sup>.



The facade of St. Mesropian Male College, Smyrna

It's clear that Ejmiatsin tried to sustain the presence of Astvatsatur in the Ottoman Empire for the price of providing him with the head's position of Stephanos in Smyrna, in particular. That is exactly what the Smyrnians asked for in their plea addressed to patriarch, that is to say, they wanted Astvatsatur to undertake the duties of their resigned head, Stephanos. As Stephanos writes in his letter of May 5 1825, Patriarch intended to send the head of Pantrma, Stephanos Arhi (that same Aghavni/Pigeon), to Smyrna as a patriarchal vicar by the advice of Amiras, rejecting the mentioned plea<sup>87</sup>. It meant that Ejmiatsin was henceforth deprived of its diocese in Smyrna, which was going under the disposal of Constantinople's Patriarchate. By the way, A. Alpoyatchyan thinks, and it's hard to accept his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Ալպօյաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բիւզանդիոն, 1904, 14/27 ապրիլի։ Պալեան Տ., օр. cit., Դափնի, 1921, թիւ 2, էջ 61.

<sup>83</sup> Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ, 38, վավ. 108-ա։

<sup>84</sup> Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ, 38, վավ. 108-ա։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Մատենադարան, Ներսես Աշտարակեցու արխիվ, թղթ. 166, վավ. 16:.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Մատենադարան, Դիվան Կարապետ արքեպիսկոպոսի, թղթ. 163-բ, վավ. 786:

opinion, that "the Patriarchate makes an effort to join Smyrna to its diocese at the beginning of 1825 for the first time, sending Bishop Stephanos Aghavni there with the title of Patriarchal Vicar", after which "made a second try and succeeded this time"<sup>88</sup>.

The mentioned letter of Stephanos disproves completely the Patriarchate's initiative or an attempt in this matter. It comes to the general decision both to liquidate teruni dioceses not only of Smyrna but also those of the patriarchal ones in the whole of the Ottoman Empire and to take them out of the jurisdiction of Ejmiatsin, which could do only the Ottoman state.

Stephanos Yenovkyan, the last legate and the head of patriarchal diocese of Smyrna, terminated his ministry with the liquidation of that diocese at the beginning of 1825<sup>89</sup>.

Roughly speaking, such is the overall portrait of the Official List of both the legates from Ejmiatsin and the heads of Smyrna's patriarchal diocese, which needs further additions and adjustments.



The building of Hripsimyats Female College, Smyrna



Ghukas Karnetsi

Due to the nationwide authority of Smyrna's Patriarchal Diocese, five of its heads were elected Catholicoses of All Armenians in the period of 1737-1801, Ghazar Jahketsi (1737-1751), Alexander Byuzandatsi (of Byzantium) *Garagash* (1753-1755), Sahak Ahagin (1756), Ghukas Karnetsi (of Karin) (1780-1799) and Danyel Surmaretsi (of Surmary) (1807-1808).

It is interesting to note, that later the All Armenian Catolicos Matteos I of Gonstantinople also was the head of the Smyrna (the first half of 1840s).

Translated from Armenian by V. M. Gharakhanyan

<sup>88</sup> Ալպօյաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բիւզանդիոն, 1904, 14/27 ապրիլի։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Ibid, թղթ. 163-բ, վավ. 760: