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THE PONTIC ARMENIAN COMMUNITIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Bedross Der Matossian

The Pontic Armenian communities of the nineteenth century were distinguished from those of previous centuries in that they were exposed to major social, economic, and political transformations. Social transformation entailed enlightenment of an emerging middle class and revival of Armenian national consciousness; economic transformation was characterized by advancement in the standard of living and growing prosperity; and political transformation entailed participation in the local administration, the adoption in Constantinople of an Armenian “National Constitution,” which broadened the administration of the confessional-based Armenian *millet* to include the middle class, and in the latter part of the century the emergence of Armenian political parties calling for self-defense and national emancipation.

By the Ottoman provincial reform act of 1864, Trebizond, as other provinces, was divided into administrative units and subunits: *vilayet* (province), *sanjak* (county), *kaza* (district), and *nahiye* (village cluster). The Trebizond vilayet was made up of 4 sanjaks, 22 kazas, and 24 nahiyes.¹

Based on Ottoman, European, and Armenian sources, this survey focuses on the changing demographics of these communities and the impact of those changes viewed in a broader context. Such an analysis raises questions about the role and position of the Armenians as historical agents in the economic, social, cultural, and political transformations that were taking place in the Black Sea region during the nineteenth century.

¹ The four sanjaks were Trebizond (Trabzon), Samsun, Lazistan, and Gumushkhane. For more information about the sanjaks, kazas, and nahiyes, see Appendix I.

The Armenian Population

The population of the Pontic Armenian communities varied during the course of the nineteenth century. In the closing decades, approximately 60,000 Armenians lived in the vilayet: some 15,000 in the city of Trebizond, 10,000 in Samsun, 5,000 in Ordu, 2,500 in Gumushkhane, 2,000 in Unieh (Uniye), 1,500 in Kerasund (Giresun), 800 in Tireboli (Tripoli), and the remainder in small coastal towns and numerous rural villages in the interior. The most significant factors that had a direct impact on the number of Armenian inhabitants were the political and socioeconomic conditions of the Black Sea area, particularly as influenced by time of war and peace. During the Crimean War of 1854-56, for example, there was large-scale emigration from the peripheries and from neighboring provinces to Trebizond, Samsun, Ordu, and other coastal towns. The presence in Trebizond of French and the British forces (allies of the Ottoman Empire in that war) created new job opportunities for the native inhabitants and newcomers.

The available information about the Armenian population during the first half of the nineteenth century comes primarily from foreign, primarily European, travelers. These statistics, however, concentrate on the city of Trebizond itself and do not include the entire coastal area. For example, the German traveler Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer, who visited Trebizond in 1840, indicated that the city had between 28,000 and 30,000 inhabitants, composed of 5,000 Turkish, 400 Greek, 300 Armenian, and 98 Catholic households.² Dr. Perunak Feruhan, who traveled through the area in 1848, estimated that there were 3,987 Armenian men and women in the city.³ The Trebizond region was then made up of a large administrative unit known as an *eyalet* with

² İhan Pinar, "Alman gezgini Fallmerayer'in gözüyle 19. yüzyılda Trabzon" [Nineteenth-Century Trebizond According to the German Traveler Fallmerayer] *Tarih ve Toplum* 27, no. 159 (March 1997): 10.

³ In 1847 Sultan Abdul Mejid sent Ragıp Bey, the second *mabeynji* (the go-between officer of the Imperial Palace), to Baghdad for an expedition journey. He was accompanied by Dr. Perunak Feruhan, who stopped in Trebizond where he recorded important information about the history, neighborhoods, population, and daily life of the city. See Usta Veysel, *Anabasis'ten Atatürk'e seyahatnamelerde Trabzon* [Trebizond in Travel Literature from Anabasis to Atatürk] (Trabzon: Serander Publications, 1999), p. 130.

somewhat different boundaries from the Trebizond vilayet that was created in 1864.⁴

Ottoman sources, too, provide little information about the population of these communities in the first half of the century. The census of 1831, for example, indicates that there were 11,431 *raya* (the term used for non-Muslims) living in Trebizond.⁵ The next Ottoman general census was not conducted until more than fifty years later in 1893. That census, which provides a more detailed picture of the distribution of the Armenians along the Black Sea coast, shows that there were 41,786 Armenians in the vilayet of Trebizond.⁶ The four subsequent censuses in the four succeeding years actually reflect an increase in the Armenian population.⁷ Another Ottoman source, the *Salnames* or Yearbooks of the vilayet, provide the following figures for the province's Armenian population.⁸

⁴ The largest administrative division at the time of the 1831 census was the eyalet and its most important subdivision was the sanjak, which was headed by a sanjakbey (a *liva* was the equivalent of a sanjak). The kaza was the main judiciary district, for which a qadi or judge was responsible, while the nahiye was the rural district or village clusters of a kaza. See Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 114.

⁵ In the nineteenth century, the term *raya* or *reaya* was applied to Christians living in the Ottoman Empire. The census of 1831, according to Karpat, for the first time distinguished the Bulgarians, occasionally referring them by their ethnic name. The census takers also referred to non-Muslims collectively as "*rayay-i milel-i selase*," that is, subjects of three nations—Orthodox, Armenian, and Jewish. Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 114.

⁶ Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 138. See Appendix I at the end of this chapter. According to Ahmet Karaçavuş, the most successful census in the Ottoman Empire was the one that began in 1882-84 and ended in 1890. The decision to conduct that census was taken in 1871 by the reform-minded official Midhat Pasha, but because of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 the census was delayed until 1882 and completed only in 1890. See Ahmet Karaçavuş, "XIX. yüzyılında Trabzon nüfusu," [Trabzon's Population during the Nineteenth Century], in *Trabzon tarihi sempozyumu* [Trabzon History Symposium] (Trabzon: Trabzon Municipality Cultural Publications, 1999), p. 431.

⁷ In the four censuses conducted between 1894 and 1897, the number of Armenians rose from 41,780 in 1894 to 47,196 in 1897. In these censuses, the Armenians are identified as "Gregorian." The categories of Catholic Armenian and Protestant Armenian were not shown separately. They were subsumed, however, under the categories of Catholic and Protestant.

⁸ In this survey, the *Salnames* for 1869 to 1881 are also used to assess the degree of Armenian participation in the local administration.

Gregorian (Apostolic) Armenian Population of Trebizond Vilayet⁹

Publication Date of <i>Salname</i>	Armenian Population
1869-70	32,798
1870-71	35,784
1871-72	35,510
1878-79	38,958
1887-88	40,887
1893-94	41,849
1895-96	42,349
1900-01	49,535
1902-03	50,678
1903-04	51,639
1904-05	51,639
1905-06	51,483

The figures given in the provincial yearbook show that the Armenian population was steadily rising, but they do not reflect the negative demographic effects of the Russo-Turkish war (1877-78) and the Hamidian massacres (1894-96).¹⁰ Justin McCarthy, by relying on these problematic figures, argues that, despite the deteriorating Armeno-Turkish relationship, the Ottoman statistics reflect a steady rise in the Armenian population, a point that has been used to support the position that the impact of the upheavals during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid was not great.¹¹

⁹ The first *Salname* in Trebizond was published in 1869.

¹⁰ As a result of these destabilizing events, there was massive Armenian emigration from the Black Sea area to the Caucasus and Russia. Simultaneously, massive immigration of Circassians from the Caucasus and Russia to the Black Sea region took place. This resulted in significant demographic changes. According to Karpat, the 1877-78 war gave new momentum to Circassian immigration. The Circassians who landed in the Trebizond area were drafted into the Ottoman army. When the war erupted, there were already about 3,000 Circassians in Trebizond who joined the Ottoman army to fight against Russia. Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 69, states that the numbers involved in the Circassian immigration ranged from 700,000 to more than 1 million.

¹¹ Justin McCarthy, *Muslim and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia*

Another Ottoman source from the closing decade of the century estimates the Armenians of Trebizond province to be 52,349.¹² At about the same time, Vital Cuinet placed the figure at 47,200.¹³ According to Sarkis Karayan, however, the Cuinet work has serious errors and deficiencies, especially regarding the statistics for Armenians in the central and eastern vilayets of Asiatic Turkey.¹⁴ He points out that Cuinet's figures in many instances appear to have drawn on incomplete and highly questionable Ottoman official figures. According to statistics of the Armenian Patriarchate in 1882, on the other hand, there were 120,000 Armenians in the vilayet of Trebizond.¹⁵ The patriarchate's figures are more than twice as high as those of the European and the Ottoman sources. In his study of Armenian Pontus, Hovakim Hovakimian cites a similar number—125,000, suggesting that he has relied on the patriarchate's statistics.¹⁶ By contrast, Teodik's *Everybody's Almanac* shows the size of the Armenian community as 65,000, while Maghakia Ormanian, followed by Johannes Lepsius, gives 53,500.¹⁷ The figures provided by Ormanian and Teodik are the closest to those cited in Ottoman and European sources.

Caution is required in dealing with these two sources, however, because they pertain to the beginning of the twentieth century,

and the End of the Empire (New York: New York University Press, 1983), p. 60.

¹² Sami Frasheri, ed., *Qamus ül-A'lâm* [Dictionnaire universel d'histoire et de géographie], vol. 3, (Constantinople: Mihran Press, 1891), p. 3005. Frasheri also gives information about the population of certain kazas and sanjaks. His figures approximate those of the census of 1881-82/1893. This is true, for example, for the kazas of Gorele, Fatsa, and Tireboli.

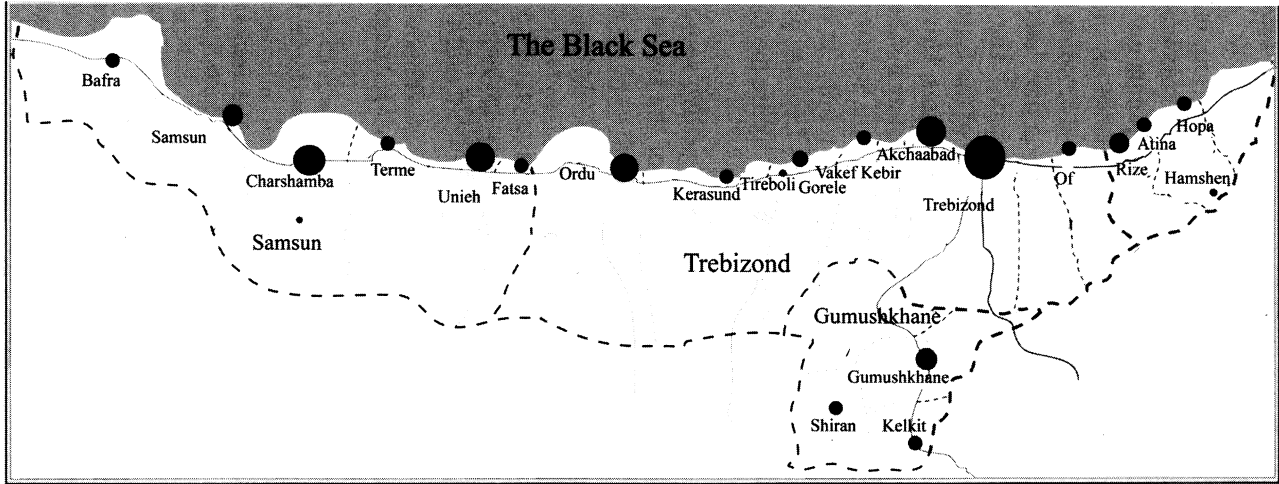
¹³ Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie: Géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie-Mineure*, vol. I (Paris: E. Leroux, 1892), p. 10.

¹⁴ Sarkis Karayan, "Vital Cuinet's *La Turquie d'Asie*: A Critical Evaluation of Cuinet's Information about Armenians," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 11 (2000): 53.

¹⁵ Marcel Léart, *Population arménienne de la Turquie avant la guerre: Statistiques établis par le Partiarcat Arménien de Constantinople* (Paris: A. Challamel, 1913), p. 59.

¹⁶ Hovakim Hovakimian, *Patmutiun Haykakan Pontosi* [History of Armenian Pontus] (Beirut: Mshak Press, 1967), p. 20.

¹⁷ Teodik [Lapjinian], *Amenun Taretsoytse* [Everybody's Almanac] (Constantinople: M. Hovakimian Press, 1922), p. 262. Maghakia Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia* (3d rev. ed., New York: St. Vartan Press, 1988), p. 205; Johannes Lepsius, *Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes: Bericht über das Schicksal des armenischen Volkes in der Türkei während des Weltkrieges* (Potsdam: Missionshandlung, 1919), pp. 304-05.



The Province of Trebizond

not the nineteenth century. Additionally, the patriarchate's statistics may be inflated because they apparently do not take into consideration the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 and the Hamidian massacres of 1894-96, both of which had a profound negative impact on the size of the Armenian population. Through examining the available statistics, it becomes possible to suggest a middle ground synthesizing the Ottoman, European, and Armenian sources. This would give an Armenian population of between 60,000 to 70,000 toward the end of the nineteenth century.

*Map of the Pontic Armenian Communities
in the Nineteenth Century*

The Armenians were dispersed throughout the coastal areas of the Black Sea but were more concentrated in sanjak centers, especially in the city of Trebizond. The map shows the dispersion of the Armenians in the vilayet of Trebizond based on the 1881 Ottoman census.¹⁸ Large circles indicate major Armenian concentrations, as in Trebizond, Ordu, Charshamba, Unieh, and Akchaabad. The Armenian population in these large circles varied between 4,000 and 14,000, whereas the population represented by the small circles represent between 700 and 1,500 Armenian inhabitants, as in Bafra, Samsun, Terme, Fatsa, Kerasund, Tireboli, Gorele, Vakef Kebir, Akchaabad, Shiran, Kelkit, Gumushkhane, Of, Rize, Atina, and Hopa.¹⁹ As stated, during the Crimean War there was an increase in the population of Trebizond. Many

¹⁸ See Appendix I. "Ottoman General Census of 1881-1882/93, *Armenians*" Source: BA (Başbakanlık Archive) Istanbul, (Y)/(P)/11s311, no. 215, cited by Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, pp. 122-51.

¹⁹ Ibid. See also Hovakimian, *Patmutiun Haykakan Pontosi*, p. 20. Armenians also lived in the peripheral areas of the vilayet and were mostly occupied in agriculture. Thus, it is possible to differentiate between two Armenian social classes in the province: the urban class which was occupied primarily in trade and commerce, and the agricultural rural class. According to S.M. Tsotsikian, Armenians were found in the following villages: Rize, Gromi, Viktor, Of, Surmene, Kadahar, Kendi, Platana, Elevi, Sheyran, Kaylaked, Hadekoy, Mezrud, Baltaji-Dere, Solakle-Dere, Ivan, Ishkenaz, Sekahunruk, Sizene, Zeduka, Yomra, Joshara, Minasli, Afians, Major and Minor Samaruksa, Skafia, Dingils, Ferinzud, Kushana, Bashı-Dere, Samera, Galafga, Abian, Sefter, Kian, Mevrandu, Ulia, Silnas, Halman, Ziska, Ashagi Mavrant, Zisino, Cheno, Fotihos, Vesire, and Khamisi. The Armenians lived alongside the Turks and the Laz. See S.M. Tsotsikian, *Arevmtahay ashkharh* [Western Armenian World] (New York: S.M. Tsotsikian Centinental Committee, 1947), p. 783.

Armenians moved there from Tamzara, Shabin-Karahisar, and Gurun in the vilayet of Sivas/Sebastia, from Karin (Erzerum), and from Caesarea (Kesaria).²⁰ Substantial numbers of Muslims also migrated to the city. When the war ended, however, the population began to decrease.

The size of the Black Sea Armenian population declined during the second half of the nineteenth century as the result of the Turkish-Russian war of 1877-78, the massive immigration of Muslim refugees from the Caucasus to the Trebizond region, and the Hamidian massacres and subsequent large-scale Armenian emigration.²¹ Despite these historical events, the *Salnames* of the vilayet show a steady rise in the Armenian population.²²

Religious Life and Institutions

Much as in other Armenian communities, churches were a central institution around which schools and educational-cultural societies were formed.²³ In the nineteenth century, Trebizond had two dioceses: Trebizond and Samsun. Both were under the jurisdiction of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople. The diocese of Trebizond encompassed the sanjaks of Trebizond, Gumushkhane, and Lazistan, while the diocese of Samsun was limited to the sanjak of Samsun (Janik).²⁴

The Armenian churches and monasteries found in and around Trebizond dated back to as early as the fourteenth century, during the period of the Greek Comnenus Empire of Trebizond.²⁵ At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were three functioning Armenian Apostolic churches in Trebizond: Surb Oksent (Auxentios), Charkhapan

²⁰ Tsotsikian, *Arevmtahay ashkharh*, p. 773.

²¹ As a result of the Hamidian massacres, many Armenians immigrated to the Caucasus and southern Russia. They settled especially in Batum, Sukhum, Gudaudi, Sochi, Kerch, Simferopol, Ekaterinodar, Tiflis, and Baku. See Tsotsikian, *Arevmtahay ashkharh*, p. 773.

²² The province of Trebizond was not part of the traditional six Armenian vilayets for which Armenians were seeking reforms and a degree of administrative autonomy. Ottoman officials did not seem to regard the large number of Armenians in Trebizond as a political-geographic threat, unlike the case of the six vilayets.

²³ For more information about the Armenian churches and monasteries in Trebizond, see in this volume David Kertmenjian's "Armenian City Quarters and the Architectural Legacy of the Pontus."

²⁴ Ormanian, *Church of Armenia*, p. 238.

²⁵ Hovakimian, *Patmutiun Haykakan Pontosi*, p. 76.

(Warder Off of Evil) Surb Stepanos, and Surb Hovhannes (John), an Armenian Catholic church, and an Armenian Evangelical church or *zhoghovaran*. Minas Bzhshkian describes these monasteries and churches in considerable detail in his history of Pontus. He explains that Surb Amenaprkich (All Savior) Monastery on the eastern outskirts of the city was restored and embellished by Khoja Stepanos Shamshadli, a wealthy merchant from Persia, in the fifteenth century. Surb Oksent/Okhsent, known as Sulu (Having Water), was named after an early Christian martyr. Surb Hovhannes was a small church with an adjacent cemetery near the marketplace. The Hing Khoran Surb Astvat-satsin (Holy Mother of God with Five Altars) Catholic Church was a large edifice dedicated to the Holy Virgin.²⁶ The Armenian communities of Samsun and Ordu each possessed an Apostolic and an Evangelical church,²⁷ and the communities of Unieh, Fatsa, Giresun, Tireboli, and Rize each maintained an Apostolic church. There were also small chapels in many of the surrounding villages²⁸

Armenian Participation in the Local Administration

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Armenian communities of the Black Sea did not play an important role in the civil administration or the governmental departments, simply because these positions were held almost exclusively by the ruling classes of the empire. Several reforms in the second half of the century made it possible for Armenians to serve in the provincial administration. The relevant statistics are based on the *Salnames* for Trebizond for the years 1869 to 1881.²⁹

The vilayet of Trebizond was the only place in the eastern Ottoman provinces where the Greek presence in public life was a bit stronger than the Armenian representation. This was not surprising in view of the fact that the Greeks constituted the majority of the Christian popu-

²⁶ Minas Bzhshkian, *Patmutiun Pontosi or e Sev tzov* [History of Pontus on the Black Sea] (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1819), pp. 79-83.

²⁷ Tsotsikian, *Arevmtahay ashkharh*, pp. 623, 811-12.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 813. For more information about the properties of the churches in Trebizond province, see Hovakimian, *Patmutiun Haykakan Pontosi*, p. 83.

²⁹ Despite the fact that the population figures in the *Salnames* are problematic, the same cannot be said about the role of the Armenians in the local administration, as the names of the Armenian members in the administrative councils are listed.

lation and outnumbered the Armenians by a ratio of at least three to one.³⁰ The following table based on the provincial *Salnames* gives the number of Armenians and Greeks from among the approximately 900 officials in the civic administration during this period.³¹

**Number of Armenians and Greeks
in the Administration of Trebizond Province
(1869-1881)**

Year	Armenians	Greeks
1869	31	43
1870	58	65
1871	58	66
1872	63	68
1873	41	48
1874	45	49
1875	42	47
1876	36	45
1877	42	43
1878	50	43
1879	70	63
1881	62	67

This table reflects the increase of Armenians in the administration from 1869 to 1872; the figure fluctuates in subsequent years but reaches an apex in 1879. No major difference is apparent between Armenian and Greek participation. The chart indicates that despite the significant disparity between the size of the Greek and Armenian elements, their participation in the local administration was almost equal. In fact, in 1878 and 1879, more Armenians than Greeks were so employed.³²

³⁰ For example, according to Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, p. 10, the Greek population of the vilayet was 193,000, whereas the Armenian population was estimated to be 47,200. In the Ottoman general census of 1881/1882-83, the Greek population was shown to be 155,039. See McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities*, p. 93. Greek sources give a very different picture

³¹ Names of the individuals have been used to identify the Armenians and Greeks in the administration. There are occasional cases in which the ethnic background based on the name is not conclusive, therefore leaving room for a margin of error.

³² *Salnames* of the vilayet of Trebizond, 1870-1881.

The main fields of Armenian service were in civil administration, justice, and finance. In the administrative councils, there were one or two Armenian members at any given time.³³ The following table gives the names and dates of the Armenian elected members of the Trebizond administrative council:

**Armenians in the Administrative Council
of Trebizond (1870-1881)³⁴**

Name	Year
Anasoghlu, Poghos Agha	1870-71
Mazlumian, Artin Effendi	1872-74
Grekian, Ohannes Effendi	1875-77
Fetvajian, Simon	1878-79
Haji Artin Agha	1881

Based on this information, it is evident that each Armenian representative served in his position for two years or more. In the provincial center at Trebizond, as well as in the kazas of Ordu, Gorele, Kerasund, Akchaabad, and Samsun, there was also an ex-officio member. In the nahiyes, an Armenian was usually included in the local administrative council.³⁵

Mesrob Krikorian argues that the Armenian contribution to the judiciary was considerable. Usually in the sanjak centers of Trebizond, Samsun, and Gumushkhane, one or two Armenians served in the courts of first instance, of appeal, and of commerce. In the kazas, an Armenian normally served in the courts of first instance. Armenians in Trebizond were found in the public notary and the trial committee (*enjumen-i adliye*) as assistants to the inspectors. There were also Armenians in the commercial courts of the sanjaks.³⁶ The following table demonstrates participation of Armenians in the commercial courts.

³³ There were ex officio (*aza-i tabiye*) members and elected member (*aza-i münteheb*) of the council. Ex officio members participated by virtue of their office. At the kaza level, the ex officio members might include the governor, the deputy judge, the mufti, the head of the financial department, and the chief secretary. Usually two Christians and two Muslim members were elected by their respective communities.

³⁴ The *Salnames* of vilayet of Trebizond, 1870-1881.

³⁵ Mesrob Krikorian, *Armenians in the Service of the Ottoman Empire, 1860-1908* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), p.49.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

**Armenians in the Commercial Courts
of the Sanjak of Trebizond (1873-1881)³⁷**

Name	Sanjak	Year
Gulbenkoghlu, Karabet, and Noriyanoghlu	Trebizond	1873
Ohannes and Garabet	Trebizond	1874
Krikor and Aramy Agha	Kerasund	1874
Ohannes and Vartan	Trebizond	1875-77
Gulbenkzade Karabet Effendi; Karabet Agha; and Barkend- kapanzade, Kevork Agha	Trebizond	1878
Ohannes and Vartan	Trebizond	1879
Ohannes and Vartan	Trebizond	1881

Armenians were also active in the financial affairs of the provincial government. They were employees of the taxation department and of revenue and expenditure control, the estimates committee, the Ottoman and Agricultural banks, and the chambers of commerce and agriculture.³⁸ According to Krikorian, many Armenians held responsible positions in the tobacco Régie and in managing the public debt.³⁹ Other fields of public life in which they were active were engineering, the postal and telegraphic services, the press service, and agricultural affairs.⁴⁰ In the kazas of Trebizond and in the sanjak of Samsun, Armenians were included on the agricultural and forestry board, in the municipality as advisory members and doctors, in public works, postal and telegraphic services, and in the chief secretariat.⁴¹

The Armenian role in local administration increased as the result of the Ottoman reforms, which were intended to strengthen the empire by unifying the various ethnic and religious elements and increasing their loyalty to the central government. The beginning of attempts at ethnic

³⁷ The *Salnames* of the vilayet of Trebizond, 1873-1881.

³⁸ Krikorian, *Armenians*, p. 49.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ For example, Artin Cherkesian (1871) and Shirag Boynajian (1872) were the provincial engineers, and Artin Effendi (1869) and Boghos Effendi (1870) were telegraph operators of Arhavi.

⁴¹ Krikorian, *Armenians*, p. 50.

integration in the second half of the nineteenth century occurred within the larger context of Ottomanism, a concept that originated with the so-called Young Ottomans and developed during the first constitutional period (1876-78). In principle, it maintained that all subjects of the sultan, regardless of ethnic and religious affiliation, were equal before the law. As a result, the millet system, in which the several ethno-religious groups had been given a degree of internal social and religious autonomy, was not dismantled but was liberalized through the establishment of secular assemblies.

In addition, these reforms resulted in the participation of secular elements in the local administration and in the affairs of the community while simultaneously decreasing the power of the more subservient elements, that is, the Armenian Patriarchate and the privileged *amira* class of bankers and state officials. The participation of secular elements in both areas led to the rise of new interest groups, comprised primarily of men from the middle class, the renaissance generation of intellectuals, and merchants who demanded more reforms and autonomy. Thus, the government's attempts to incorporate and Ottomanize the various ethno-religious groups indirectly paved the ground for the emergence of new elements, which demanded greater autonomy.⁴²

The Role of the Armenian Communities in the Economy of the Black Sea

European trade which expanded rapidly into the Black Sea in the nineteenth century was the main factor affecting Trebizond's economic development. The Anglo-Ottoman Convention of 1838 and various other commercial agreements with European powers led to a dramatic increase in European access to Ottoman markets. In the eighteenth century, the trade in the Black Sea ports was controlled by Muslim merchants and only a few Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. As trade with Europe increased, however, the balance shifted. European companies and merchants preferred to establish commercial contacts with non-Muslim Ottoman merchants, using them as intermediaries in their trade with the Ottoman state. Gradually, Greek and Armenian merchants began to acquire an upper hand in the Black Sea trade. Some of them

⁴² On the Armenian constitutional movement, see Vartan Artinian, *The Armenian Constitutional System in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1863: A Study of Its Historical Development* (Istanbul: Isis, 1988).

even established branches in other cities and in Russian coastal towns.⁴³

According to Üner Turgay, the Crimean War was responsible for important demographic changes in Trebizond.⁴⁴ The war period transformed Trebizond into a more powerful commercial center, which primarily benefited the Armenian and Greek merchants who dominated the city's trade. As a result of this development, the economic gap between the Muslims and the non-Muslims became greater. The volume of trade and commerce increased dramatically. Many people moved to the city from towns and villages near and far. By the end of 1856, the population of Trebizond had grown to about 70,000.⁴⁵ The immigrants included Armenians and Greeks, as well as a substantial number of Turks. The economic boom created by the war gave rise to a rich class of non-Muslim merchants, while most Turks continued to be employed at minimal wages.⁴⁶ In the 1860s and 1870s, Trebizond's volume of trade decreased and then leveled out before gradually continuing to decline until the end of the century.⁴⁷ Despite this downward turn, the Armenian merchants were able to maintain their strong economic position.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the major exported goods from the vilayet were filberts, tobacco, wood, beans, maize, and dried foods, as well as porpoise oil, minerals, wool, and hides and leather. The following table indicates the number of Armenian merchants and craftsmen in several urban centers.⁴⁸

⁴³ Üner Turgay, "Trade Merchants in Nineteenth-Century Trabzon: Elements of Ethnic Conflict," in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, 2 vols. (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 287-89.

⁴⁴ The war had a positive impact both on the economy of the Black Sea region and on daily life. According to Turgay, the concentration of the population and wealth in the city permitted the investment in income-producing public buildings and resulted in the establishment of new religious and educational institutions. See Üner Turgay, "Trabzon," *Review: Fernard Braudel Centre* 16:4 (Fall 1993): 459.

⁴⁵ Turgay, "Trade Merchants in Nineteenth-Century Trabzon," p. 291.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

⁴⁷ See Charles Issawi, "The Tabriz-Trabzon Trade, 1830-1900: Rise and Decline of a Route," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 1 (1970): 18-27.

⁴⁸ Hovakimian, *Patmutiun Haykakan Pontosi*, p. 25.

**The Number of Armenian Merchants
and Craftsmen in Trebizond**

Place	Merchants	Craftsmen
Kerasund	50	25
Samsun	55	20
Trebizond	60	25
Ordu	30	40
Fatsa	10	5

The table shows that Trebizond had the largest number of Armenian merchants, whereas Ordu had the greatest number of Armenian craftsmen. The Armenian merchants of Trebizond were competitors with the Greeks and had an important influence on the city's commerce.⁴⁹ They entered into major trade agreements, and some of them had representatives and branches in foreign countries. Samsun, too, was an important trading center.⁵⁰

According to a British document from the end of 1884, the foreign trade of Trebizond had clearly come under the domination of Greek and Armenian merchants. As the following table illustrates, five out of fourteen commission agents were Armenian. The majority of these served in Anatolia and the remainder in Persia.

**List of Trebizond Merchants Dealing in Foreign Trade
(as of December 1884)⁵¹**

Ballassarian	Anatolia
Constantinoff, D.J.	Persia
Hadji Mirza Baba	Persia
Dernersessian, M.	Anatolia
Hadji Djavid	Persia

⁴⁹ Examples of the wealthy Armenian households in Trebizond were those of Elmasian, Tiriakian, Fetvajian, Gureghian, Marimian, Nurikhanian, Hekimian, Anushian, and Turkian. Though the Khubessians were the first class commissioners/agents, they still had serious competitors such as the Gureghians, Makhokhians, Maranians, Marimianians, and Meserians. See Hovakimian, *Patmutiun Haykakan Pontosi*, p. 22.

⁵⁰ Tsotsikian, *Arevmtahay ashkharh*, p. 776.

⁵¹ Great Britain, Foreign Office Archives, FO 526/10, cited by Turgay, "Trade Merchants in Nineteenth-Century Trabzon."

Hadji Mehmet Hassan Hochtrasse and Co.	Persia Anatolia; Agent for Lloyd's, Imperial Ottoman Bank, etc.
Inebeoghlu fils Khedecheian and Khoubesserian	Persia Persia; Agent for Reliance Insurance Company of New York
Makhokhian, A. Mirimian, B.O.	Anatolia and Persia Persia; Agent for Manheimer Insurance Company, etc.
Triandaphilides, A.	Anatolia; Agent for La Fonciere Insurance Company, etc.
Efremides, A.C. Kedikoglou Lazar Effendi	Lawyer Lawyer

Another British document lists the Trebizond merchants engaged in foreign trade, both import and export.⁵² It reveals that only 3 of the 32 exporters were Turks, whereas 16 were Armenians, and 14 were Greeks. The breakdown is similar among the 63 importers, of whom only 10 were Turks, whereas 20 were Armenians, and 33 Greeks.⁵³ Imported items included various colonial wares, bags, leather goods, metals, silk and woolen stuff, and raw cotton. Some Armenian merchants imported goods from as distant as Aleppo and Manchester.⁵⁴ Armenians were also agents at the other ports.⁵⁵ When the Europeans

⁵² See Appendix II: "List of Trebizond Merchants Dealing in Foreign Trade as of December 1884—Exporters and Importers," from Turgay, "Trade Merchants in Nineteenth-Century Trabzon," pp. 308-10.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ During this period, Aleppo and Manchester were important trade centers. In both cities Armenians had a substantial economic presence. For Aleppo, see Krikorian, *Armenians*, pp. 80-91. On the history of the Armenians of Manchester, see Mushegh Seropian, *Manchester-i hay gaghute* [The Armenian Community of Manchester] (Boston: Azg, 1911); Joan George, *Merchants in Exile: The Armenians in Manchester, England, 1835-1935* (London: Gomidas Institute, 2002).

⁵⁵ At Samsun, the agents included the following: Theodore J. Arzoglou, Algardi, Henri Coranze, I.J. Marcopoli, J. Joannides, J. Hekimian, and Y.A. Dervichian. At this port, the *Idare-i Mahsusa* (Ottoman State Shipping Company) was also represented by a Greek resident, M. Sevastikoglou. At Kerasund, Georges Mavrides, E. Pappadopolou, T. Genna, M. Pysolian, Alexi Kypriotti, S.C. Papadopoulos, G. Pisani; at Ordu, Afendul Pouloulides, D. Gregoriades, M. Vostanik, G.P. Coucoulidis, Pandeli Ionnidis, Boghos Tchildjian, Agop and Hrand Kubdjian; at Tireboli, G.P. Mavrides and H. Boyadjian as representatives of various steamship companies. See Raphael César Cervati, ed., *Annuaire Oriental du commerce, de l'industrie, de*

left Trebizond for Smyrna/Izmir and Constantinople in search of better economic opportunities, ownership of the insurance agencies passed to their local partners. By mid-1894, half of the fourteen insurance companies in Trebizond belonged to Armenians.⁵⁶

Insurance Companies in Trebizond

Marine Insurance Company of London	J. Enepekoglou & Sons
North British Mercantile and Northern Company	Agop Shavarsh
The Patriotic Insurance Company	A. Sciandaphylidis
The New York Life Insurance Company	S. Ekmedjian
Gie.Gle. de Dresden	A. Makhokhian
Manheimer Transport Versicherungs	Boghos O. Marimian
La Fonciere et Union de Paris	A. Sciandaphylidis
Ottoman Insurance Company	Imperial Ottoman Bank
Helvetia	Hochstrasse & Company
Lloyd Suisse	Hochstrasse & Company
British Llyod	Hochstrasse & Company
La Badoise	Nourian Brothers
Le Maritime Belge	Boghos O. Marimian
Cie. Francfortaise	Boghos O. Marimian

The prominent merchants of the sanjak of Trebizond were Boghos Arabian, Gaydzag Arabian, Ipranossian, Maranian, H. Tahmazian, A. Minassian, Gureghian, Aslanian, and the Aznavourian brothers, who controlled almost the entire filbert business in the vilayet.⁵⁷ In the kaza of Samsun, Armenians excelled in the cultivation and production of tobacco. The noted Armenian merchants and tobacco producers of Samsun were, among others, the family firms of Ipekian, Kherian, Ipranossian, Gudugian, Meserian, Aprahamian, Bahchegulian, and Chekmeyan.⁵⁸

Thus, despite their minority position within the region, Armenians were highly influential in all the fields of the economy. To recapitulate, the following factors led to this development:

l'administration et de la magistrature, Constantinople (Constantinople: The Annuaire Oriental & Printing, 1903), pp. 1649-50.

⁵⁶ Great Britain, Foreign Office Archives, FO 526/13, cited by Turgay, "Trade Merchants in Nineteenth-Century Trabzon," p. 295.

⁵⁷ Tsotsikian, *Arevmtahay ashkharh*, p. 776.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 623.

1. The Crimean War greatly impacted the emergence of a new middle class and merchants, leading to a large immigration of Armenians and Turks from the peripheries to the centers. This caused a significant demographic change in the area. At the end of the war, the Turks returned to the peripheries, while most Armenians remained in the urban centers.

2. Educational institutions played a central role in the economic advancement of the Armenian communities. The students in these schools had special courses in business and were trained in several European languages.

3. Great Britain and other trading partners of the Ottoman Empire often preferred to establish commercial bonds with non-Muslim Ottoman merchants, using them as intermediaries in trade with the Ottoman state. As a result of the associated privileges, many Armenian merchants improved their economic status. For example, the local British consul obtained a list of persons who had acquired Russian passports during eighteen months following the Crimean War. The roster included 89 Greeks, of whom 42 were merchants, and 116 Armenians, of whom 77 were merchants. According to Turgay, Russia, by extending its protection over these elements, was in fact providing the Greeks and Armenians with various capitulatory privileges and hence enhancing their domination of the city's economic life.⁵⁹

Armenian Educational Institutions and Intellectual Life in Trebizond

The Armenian communities of the Black Sea experienced an entire century of national and educational enlightenment. This process was itself reflected in the increased number of educational institutions and societies, cultural organizations, and newspapers. The growth was part of the cultural nationalism that emerged during the nineteenth century in the Black Sea area and gradually transformed into political nationalism. In Trebizond, the first Armenian public school was established in 1803, after which the number of schools and students continued to grow, especially during the second half of the century.⁶⁰ In 1866, for example, the Azgayin Varzharan (National School) headed by principal Nerses Mezburian had 600 male and female students and seven teach-

⁵⁹ Turgay, "Trade Merchants in Nineteenth-Century Trabzon," p. 298.

⁶⁰ Hovakimian, *Patmutiun Haykakan Pontosi*, p. 20.

ers. The students were taught French, Armenian, and Ottoman, sciences, and religion. In addition to the national schools, there were also private ones, such as the Elmasian and the Farukhian schools. The Mekhitarist Catholic school established by Minas Nurikhanian in 1866 was another major educational institution in the life of the Pontic Armenian communities.⁶¹

According to the 1869 *Salname* of the vilayet, the Armenian community in the sanjak of Trebizond collectively had 34 schools, 3 of which were Catholic. In the sanjak of Samsun (Janik), there were 35 Armenian schools, 1 of which was Catholic; in the sanjak of Lazistan, there were 8 schools, of which 4 were Catholic; and in the sanjak of Gumushkhane, there were 5 Armenian schools.⁶² Such findings suggest that already in 1869 the Armenians had 74 national or private schools with 1,753 students, and 8 Catholic schools with 584 students.⁶³

Besides schools, the Pontic Armenian communities developed educational and cultural societies such as Enkerutiun Veratsnundian Tangarani (Society for Museum Revival), Surb Prkich (Holy Savior), Surb Gayanian (Saint Gayane), and branches of the Haykazian, Siuniats, Surb Stepanos, and Usumnasirats societies. The first newspaper, the short-lived *Hayastan* (Armenia), appeared in Trebizond in 1847. The Hayk printing press was set up there in the 1850s, publishing a series of periodicals such as *Khariskh* (Anchor), *Geghchuk* (Villager), *Motsak* (Mosquito), *Bzhishk* (Physician), and *Pontos*.⁶⁴ The historical journal *Dprots* (School), a monthly, was published for a time in Samsun.

Political Parties and the Hamidian Reaction

According to Karen Barkey, ethnic struggles emerge when groups perceive territories to have been assigned unjustly, when boundaries are decided by administrative fiat or manipulated by foreign powers, and when groups perceive that they have not been awarded what they should rightfully possess and enjoy.⁶⁵ These conditions all existed in

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 117-28.

⁶² The *Salname* of 1869 of the Vilayet of Trebizond.

⁶³ While the numbers in the *Salnames* may seem a bit high, they are reasonable considering that in the villages alone there were nearly forty Armenian schools before 1915. See Hovakimian, *Patmutiun Haykakan Pontosi*, pp. 126-27.

⁶⁴ Tsotsikian, *Arevmetahay ashkharh*, p. 774.

⁶⁵ Karen Barkey, "Thinking about Consequences of Empire," in Karen Barkey

the case of the Armenians. The Armenians perceived, especially after the Congress of Berlin in 1878, that they had not been granted what was their due, namely reforms and broader autonomy. When diplomatic and peaceful efforts failed, resistance and revolutionary movements emerged.

The situation of the Armenians, not only along the Black Sea, but even more in the internal provinces was not satisfactory. Frequent Kurdish attacks, heavy taxation, friction with newly-immigrated Muslims from the Caucasus and the Balkans, corruption in the administration, as well as the failure of Armenian efforts to solve these problems diplomatically, all led to the emergence of Armenian revolutionary groups. The Treaty of San Stefano in March 1878, which offered so much to the Armenians at the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish war, was largely nullified by the European-imposed Treaty of Berlin in July of that year. Between 1878 and 1880, as the European powers limply reminded Sultan Abdul Hamid of his commitment to implement effective Armenian reforms, a major ideological shift was taking place within the Armenian communities of the empire. It was only after 1880 that self-defense movements emerged in the eastern provinces. Ideological and logistical tactics came from Europe and from Russian Armenia, which was experiencing a similar transformation. Initially, small groups emerged at Van and Erzerum "whose rudimentary programs called for defending the honor of the nation against those who violated the people, their religion and culture."⁶⁶ Their main aim was to fight against the oppression and the injustices of corrupt local officials and the encroaching Kurdish tribes.

The Armenians of Trebizond also began to organize politically. The first political group was formed there in the 1880s by several students whose goal was Armenian emancipation.⁶⁷ Then in 1889, a society called the Secret Educational Society (Krtasirats Gaghtni Enkerutiun) was organized by Ervand Zeytunjian.⁶⁸ The emerging revolutionary parties also established branches in Trebizond, although none of them chose Trebizond as their headquarters. It was only when the Hnchakian

and Mark Von Hagen Mark eds. *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), p. 111.

⁶⁶ Richard G. Hovannisian, "The Armenian Question in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1914," in Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, 2 vols. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), vol. 2, p. 213.

⁶⁷ Hovakimian, *Patmutiun Haykakan Pontosi*, p. 133.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

Revolutionary Party first agreed to enter a proposed coalition with the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries in 1890 that Trebizond briefly and only nominally became the center for the tenuous organization. The city was suggested by Hnchakian leader Khan-Azat as a compromise between Geneva, the center of his party, and Tiflis (in the Russian Caucasus), the organizational center of the party that soon assumed the name Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Hai Heghapokhakan Dashnaktsutiun). Although the union did not last, branches of both political parties were formed in many cities in Turkish Armenia, Cilicia, Constantinople, Trebizond and other Black Sea ports, Odessa, Russian Armenia and other parts of Transcaucasia, and Persia.⁶⁹

An assassination attempt on Bahri Pasha, the governor of Trebizond, by an Armenian youth in 1895 held disastrous consequences for the Pontic Armenians. Rage against Armenian civilians filled the streets of Trebizond and resulted in a great loss of life, limb, and property in what has become known as the Hamidian massacres. According to Reverend Edwin Bliss, the assassination attempt was a purely personal matter, as the assailant seems to have been seeking vengeance for injustices done to his family and himself in Van while Bahri was the governor there.⁷⁰ The violent response revealed the general approach of the declining Ottoman center toward its subject populations. The Armenians of Trebizond were cruelly punished collectively for acts of individuals in the massacres and looting that spread over every eastern

⁶⁹ The Armenakan Party also had a branch in Trebizond. On the other hand, the Hnchak Party chose Constantinople as the center of its organizational activities in Turkey. Within seven months, the Hnchaks had enlisted 700 members in the capital. Most of them came from the educated class. The Hnchaks sent out leaders from Geneva and Constantinople to numerous towns and villages in Turkey. These places included Bafra, Marsovan, Amasia, Tokat, Yozgat, Agn, Arabkir, and Trebizond. See Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement: The Development of Armenian Political Parties through the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 117, 154.

⁷⁰ Edwin Bliss, *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities* (repr., Fresno, CA: Mshag Publishing, 1983), pp. 406-08. For more information about the Hamidian massacres in Trebizond, see Christopher Walker, *Armenia: The Survival of a Nation* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), pp. 156-59; Robert Melson, *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 43-69. For more detailed information about the assassination attempt and its aftermath, see George H. Hughes, *Through Armenia on Horseback* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1898); extracts in Vatche Ghazarian, ed., *Armenians in the Ottoman Empire: An Anthology of Transformation, 13th-19th Centuries* (Waltham, MA: Mayreni Publishing Co., 1997), pp. 732-85.

province of the empire during the winter of 1895-96. As a result, numerous Armenians emigrated from the Pontic region to the Caucasus and Russia and as far away as the United States of America.

Conclusion

The Armenian communities of the Black Sea area underwent major social, economic, and political transformations during the nineteenth century. They increased their access to education and their participation in local administration, and they prospered in the economic sphere. During the latter part of the century, the Armenian population declined, although those who remained continued to further their social, economic, and political endeavors. For a short period after the reforms of the 1860s, the government succeeded in maintaining the loyalty of the Armenians but in so doing perhaps also paved the way toward the emergence of new interest groups which would come to demand greater reforms to protect the interests of the Ottoman Armenian population. After the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, this issue became known as the Armenian Question. When all diplomatic and peaceful efforts failed, an Armenian self-defense and revolutionary movement emerged, provoking severe retaliatory measures by the sultan's regime. The Hamidian massacres had a direct impact on the decline of the Pontic Armenian communities. Yet, the Young Turk revolution in 1908 inspired new hopes and a brief period of revival. Such optimism was soon to be drowned, however, in the bloody events of 1915, leaving behind only a fading legacy of Armenian enlightenment, commerce, and civil service along the southern littoral of the Black Sea.

Appendix I

**Armenians in the Province of Trebizond [by Kaza]
According to Ottoman General Census of 1881/82-1893⁷¹**

Trebizond Sanjak	Female	Male
Trebizond kaza	4,440	5,106
Ordu	3,586	3,966
Giresun (Kerasund)	610	629
Tireboli	232	281
Gorele	99	82
Vakfikebir	29	27
Akchaabad	1,367	1,591
Surmene	71	107
Of	---	---
Total	10,434	11,789

Janik/Canik (Samsun) Sanjak	Female	Male
Janik kaza	459	709
Charshamba	4,670	5,105
Unieh (Ünye)	1,662	1,973
Fatsa	354	448
Terme	763	878
Bafra	466	546
Total	8,369	9,659

Lazistan Sanjak	Female	Male
Rize kaza	---	---
Pazar (Atina)	20	22
Hopa (Khopa)	2	5
Total	22	27

⁷¹ Source: BA(Y)/(P)/11s311, no. 215, in Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

Gumushkhane Sanjak	Female	Male	
Gumushkhane kaza	514	638	
Torul	---	---	
Kelkit	58	55	
Shiran	100	121	
Total	672	814	
Trebizond Province	19,497	22,289	
Grand Total			41,786
Catholics	629	644	1,273
Protestants	440	445	885

Appendix II

List of Trebizond Merchants Dealing in Foreign Trade (December 1884)⁷²

Exporters

NAME OF MERCHANT	EXPORTED ITEMS
Arnaoudoglou Brothers	Nuts, beans, tobacco, salt fish (anchovies)
Aznavourian Brothers	Nuts, beans, porpoise oil
Boyadjihis, P.	Bones, horn scrapings, rags
Caprielian Brothers	Skins, tobacco, nuts, beans, walnut loupes, wools
Captranian, M.	Cereals, beans, nuts, linseed, linen stuffs
Cacoulides, P.	Nuts, tobacco, maize
Caragheuzian Brothers	Boxwood, walnut loupes
Carvonides, Georges	Nuts, tobacco
Constantinoff, D.G.	Skins, beans, tobacco, cereals, nuts
Davidian, G.	Skins, tobacco, wax, linseed, beans, nuts
Dernersessian, M.	Beans, nuts
Diradourian Brothers	Cereals, nuts, beans, walnut loupes
Djermakian, G.	Guts, porpoise oil
Efremides, L.P.	Nuts, beans, tobacco, cereals, wax, porpoise oil
Ghiurekian, S.	Beans, nuts, cereals
Hadji Ali Halfouz Effendi	Wheat, nuts, tobacco
Hochstrasse and Co.	Nuts, tobacco, beans, etc.
Khedechi, Vartan	Linen stuff
Lemlioglu Brothers	Nuts, beans, tobacco, raisins, wax, cereals, etc.
Makhokhian, A.	Nuts, beans
Marmarian, S.	Tobacco, beans, maize, nuts, skins

⁷² Source: FO 526/110, in Üner Turgay, "Trade Merchants in Nineteenth-Century Trabzon: Elements of Ethnic Conflict," pp. 308-10.

Melides, S.	Nuts, cereals, tobacco, linseed
Missir, O.	Skins, beans, nuts, maize, tobacco
Nourian Brothers	Beans, skins, nuts, maize, linen stuffs
Pareghentanian, S.J.	Beans, nuts, skins, maize, hair
Parigoris, Th.	Nuts, salt fish (anchovies)
Sahadjian, H. Boghos	Boxwood
Salihoglou, Ali Hafouz	Nuts, tobacco, beans
Sarafian, B.	Beans, nuts, guts
Sassi, A.	Porpoise oil, nuts
Saoulides, C.	Tobacco
Triandaphilides, A.	Maize, beans, nuts, tobacco, porpoise oil, etc.
Vartabedian Brothers	Nuts, maize, beans

Importers

NAME OF MERCHANT	IMPORTED ITEMS
Arabian, Maranian	Manchester goods, Aleppo goods, yarn bagging, metals, etc.
Arabian Brothers	Manchester goods, Aleppo goods, fezes
Arghiropolous, D.	Colonial wares, bags, shot, steel
Arnaoudoglou Brothers	Colonial wares, flour, metals, gold thread, jewelry
Boyadjidhis, P.	Fancy goods, perfumery, hosiery, cloth, etc.
Calpakdjides Brothers	Manchester goods (especially prints)
Capayanides, G.	Colonial wares, tea, soap, candles, metals, etc.
Caprielian Brothers	Colonial wares, bags
Captanian, M.	Flour, bags
Cariofili Brothers	Manchester goods, yarn
Casfkis, D.	Cloth, spirits wine, grocery

Condozi Constantinof	Grey goods, Aleppo goods, bags and bagging
Congalides Brothers	Colonial wares, metals, olives, oil, fruits, etc.
Constantinides, D.	Drugs, spices, haberdashery, hardware
Derhampartzoumian Brothers	Leather and shoemakers' articles
Djermakian, G.	Matches, scythes
Djoulfazoglou, Hadji Hussein	Grey goods, Aleppo goods, tea, metals
Efremides, P.L.	Flour, petroleum, indigo, hides
Eleferiadhi, Lefter	Gold thread and laces, haberdashery
Fetvadjian Brothers	Cloth, fezes, fancy goods, hardware, etc.
Goondoubzade, Vehib Effendi	Grey goods
Hamamdjizade, H. Ismael	Manchester goods
Hekimian, J.	Spirits, wine, beer, provisions, empty bottles
Israelian, Nigoghos	Sewing machines
Kazandjioglous Brothers	Manchester goods, Russian cotton manufactures
Khedechian, Caloust, and Cie	Manchester goods
Khederian, Artin	Fezes, tassels
Kytrides, Anesti	Grocery, looking glasses, lamps, bedsteads
Lemlioglou Brothers	General goods, colonial wares, metals, salt, etc.
Makhokhian, A.	General goods, colonial wares, metals, bags, candles, etc.
Marengo, J.B.	Apothecary
Marengo, J.N.	Apothecary
Meghavorian Brothers	Silken and woolen stuffs
Melides, S.	Sugar, spirits, matches
Metaxa Brothers	Manchester goods, bags, wax-cloth, fezes
Mikaelian, O.	Jewelry, watches
Missir, O.	Colonial wares, cochineal, bags, leather, etc.

Nourian Brothers	Aleppo goods, raw cotton
Pareghentanian, S.J.	Hides, cereals
Petropoulos, P.	Cereals
Sarafian, B.	Matches, steel
Serassi and Elefteriadi	Manchester goods (especially prints)
Serdarzade Salih Effendi	Yarns
Shoemakers' Society	Leathers and shoes, etc.
Sirinopoulos, Y.	Grey goods
Sofianopoulos, L.	Colonial wares, chemicals, dyes, paints, window glass
Taghmazian	Aleppo goods
Tailors' Society	Cloth, haberdashery, etc.
Tchairoglou, P.	Crockery and glassware, lamps, hardware, etc.
Tezopoulos, V.	Aleppo goods, yarn
Tigdaban, Vahid and Akif Effendi	Manchester goods
Tirakian, Garabed	Window glass, lemons and oranges
Triandaphilides, A.	General goods, colonial wares, rice, tea, metals
Tzouliadis G.	Flour, biscuits, and macaroni
Vafiadis, Mourad	Colonial wares, chemicals, dyes, paints, window glass
Vafiadis Brothers	Bags and bagging
Vartabedian Brothers	Grey goods, colonial wares
Velissaridhi Brothers	Cloth, fezes, fancy goods, haberdashery
Xifilino and Sofiano	Bookseller and binder, printer, stationer
Yanicapani, Panajoti	Silken and woolen stuffs, velvets
Yelkendjizade Brothers	Flour, maize
Zimplindes Brothers	Manchester goods