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## Armenski natpisi iz 17. stoljeća u Splitu

### Armenian inscriptions from the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Split

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U radu se objavljuju nadgrobni natpisi armenskih i grčkih trgovaca iz dominikanske crkve u Splitu. Armenski su natpisi, uz jedan grčki iz 1637. s grobnice za strance, datirani godinom 1624. i godinom 1678. Natpise su u 19. stoljeću zabilježili Francesco Carrara i Mijat Sabljar, i oni su zanimljivo svjedočanstvo o živoj trgovini koja se odvijala kroz splitski lazaret. Govore o sudbinama kršćanskih trgovaca i njihovoj zaboravljenoj ulozi u levantinskoj trgovini. Na svjetlo dana izišla su imena Philiposa, sina Mkrticheva, Grigora, sina Karapetova, i Giannoulisa, trgovca iz Pogonijana. Fenomeni rubnosti u umjetnosti, kojima se u hrvatskoj povijesti umjetnosti prvi sustavno bavio Ljubo Karaman, u slučaju splitskih armenskih i grčkih natpisa potvrda su multikulturalnosti splitske baštine i na poseban način otvaraju put ideje *memento mori* – zagrobnosti baroknog razdoblja.

**Ključne riječi:** dominikanska crkva u Splitu, Armenci, Mletačka Republika, Tursko Carstvo, Pogonijani, khoja, trgovina, nadgrobni natpisi

The paper deals with gravestone inscriptions of Armenian and Greek merchants from the Dominican church in Split. The Armenian inscriptions, along with a Greek one from 1637 from the tomb for foreigners, are respectively dated to 1624 and 1678. The inscriptions, recorded in the 19th century by Francesco Carrara and Mijat Sabljar, are an interesting testimony to the lively trade that took place via the Lazaretto in Split. They tell of the fates of Christian merchants and their forgotten role in Levantine trade. The names of Philipos, son of Mkrkich, Grigor, son of Karapet, and Giannoulis, a merchant from Pogoniani, have all been brought to light. In the case of Armenian and Greek inscriptions from Split, the phenomena of marginality in art, first systematically dealt with in Croatian art history by Ljubo Karaman, confirm the multiculturalism of Split's heritage and specifically pave the way for the idea of *memento mori* – an after-life of the Baroque period.

**Key words:** Dominican church in Split, Armenians, Venetian Republic, Turkish Empire, Pogoniani, khoja, trade, gravestone inscriptions



## Uvod

Postojanje rubnih područja, u kojima su se prožimale likovne silnice Istoka i Zapada oduvijek je zanimalo povjesničare umjetnosti. Fenomeni rubnosti u umjetnosti, kojima se u hrvatskoj povijesti umjetnosti prvi sustavno bavio Ljubo Karaman u svojoj knjizi *Problemi periferijske umjetnosti*,<sup>1</sup> umnogome su definirali hrvatsku povijest umjetnosti, koja se uvijek treba promatrati kroz prizmu multikulturalnosti i rubnosti. Posebnost hrvatskoga nacionalnog identiteta sagledanog kroz baštinu jest njegova raznolikost, u kojoj se zrcale razni kulturni i politički utjecaji. Baština na nacionalnom teritoriju nastala je unutar srednjoeuropskoga i sredozemnoga kulturnog kruga, a ponegdje se očituju i utjecaji izvan njih. Kulturni je identitet jedan od najvažnijih pojmova koji se odnosi na baštinu jednog naroda i zato je potrebno promatrati ga u njegovoj nacionalnoj sveobuhvatnosti. To i jest cilj ovog rada, u kojem se prvi put razmatra udio armenskih utjecaja u novovjekovnoj kulturnoj baštini Splita.<sup>2</sup>

## Armenci, Venecija i trgovina

Armenci su kao drevni narod bili nazočni u svim porama antičkoga sredozemnoga kulturnog kruga, a tijekom vremena postali su značajan čimbenik u trgovinskoj razmjeni Europe i Azije na Putu svile. U doba seldžučke invazije armenske zajednice imale su posebnu ulogu u međunarodnoj trgovini, od 11. do 13. st., formirajući svoje kolonije u brojnim državama: Gruziji, središnjoj Aziji, kineskom Turkestanu (Turkistanu), u samoj Kini, gradu Bulgaru na Volgi i Akhsaru, kontrolirajući trgovinu na području Zlatne Horde. S druge strane, od 1080. do 1375. godine armenska Kraljevina Cilicija<sup>3</sup> kontrolirala je završetak Puta svile i samu trgovinu svilom kao i trgovinu i dragim kamenjem, ali i dio pomorske trgovine. Prije propasti Kraljevine Cilicije Armenci se intenzivno naseljavaju na Krimu. Ta se kolonija nazivala *Armenia Maritima*, koju u svojoj enciklici spominje papa Eugen IV. (1431. – 1447.). Nakon turske okupacije Krima 1475. svi su se Armenci više-manje našli u jednoj državi. Mehmed II. Osvajač uspostavio je godine 1461. armenski millet za sve Armence u svom Carstvu, s biskupom Burse, kao prvim armenskim biskupom, koji je ujedno postao prvim armenskim

## Introduction

The existence of fringe areas, in which artistic influences of East and West combined, has always been a point of interest for art historians. The phenomena of marginality in art, first systematically dealt with in Croatian art history by Ljubo Karaman in his book *Problemi periferijske umjetnosti* (*The Problems of Peripheral Art*),<sup>1</sup> have largely defined Croatian art history, which should always be viewed through the prism of multiculturalism and marginality. The Croatian national identity, viewed from the perspective of heritage, is specific for its diversity, which reflects various cultural and political influences. The heritage in the national territory originated within the Central European and Mediterranean culture circles, with occasional other influences. Cultural identity is one of the most important concepts related to the heritage of a nation, and therefore it is necessary to regard it in its national comprehensiveness. This is the aim of this paper, the first to discuss the share of Armenian influences in the modern-period cultural heritage of Split.<sup>2</sup>

## Armenians, Venice and trade

The Armenians as an ancient people were present in all spheres of the ancient Mediterranean culture circle. Over time they became a significant factor in the trade between Europe and Asia on the Silk Road. During the Seljuk invasion, the Armenian communities had a special role in international trade. From the 11th to the 13th century, they were forming their colonies in a number of countries: Georgia, Central Asia, Chinese Turkestan (Turkistan), China proper, the city of Bulgar on the Volga, and Akhsar, controlling trade in the Golden Horde area. On the other hand, from 1080 to 1375, the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia<sup>3</sup> controlled the end of the Silk Road and the silk trade itself, as well as the trade in precious stones, and a part of the maritime trade. Before the collapse of the Kingdom of Cilicia, the Armenians settled in numbers in the Crimea. This colony was called *Armenia Maritima*, mentioned in an encyclical of Pope Eugene IV (1431–1447). After the Turkish occupation of Crimea in 1475, all the Armenians found themselves in one state, more or less. In 1461, Mehmed II the Conqueror established the Armenian millet for all the Armenians in his Empire, with the Bishop of Bursa as

1 Karaman 2001; Lupis 2014.

2 Mason 1999.

3 Kraljevina Cilicija nalazila se na granici Male Azije i Sirije, na sjevernoj strani zaljeva Aleksandrette nasuprot otoku Cipru, a sa sjevera se uzdiže gorje Toros ili Taurus. Kraljevina Cilicija nastala je iz kneževine koju je oko godine 1080. osnovao armenski knez Ruben I. (1025. – 1095.), utemeljitelj dinastije Rubenida, a brat i tjelesni čuvar armenskoga anijskoga kralja Gagika II. (1024. – 1079./80.). Kad su mameluci godine 1375. osvojili glavni grad Sis, Kraljevina Cilicija je, kao vjerni saveznik križarskih država, prestala postojati.

1 Karaman 2001; Lupis 2014.

2 Mason 1999.

3 The Kingdom of Cilicia was located on the border of Asia Minor and Syria, on the north side of the Gulf of Alexandretta, opposite the island of Cyprus. The Toros or Taurus mountain range lies north of Cilicia. The Kingdom of Cilicia arose from the principality formed around 1080 by the Armenian prince Ruben I (1025–1095), founder of the Rubenid dynasty and a relative and body-guard of Gagik II, Armenian King of Ani (1024–1079/80). When the Mameluks conquered the capital Sis in 1375, the Kingdom of Cilicia, as a faithful ally of the Crusader states, ceased to exist.

patrijarhom u Carigradu.<sup>4</sup> Budući da su Mongoli kontrolirali azijski Put svile, monopolisti Armenci kontrolirali su trgovinu svilom i europski su trgovci ovisili o njima.<sup>5</sup> Nakon turskih<sup>6</sup> vojnih pobjeda u Maloj Aziji, jugoistočnoj Europi i sjevernoj Africi, zaključno s osvajanjem Carigrada, Trapezunta i Krima, Tursko je Carstvo zagospodarilo trgovinom od Jadranskog i Crnog mora (koje je postalo unutarnje more Carstva) do Perzijskog zaljeva. Turci su nakon osvajanja Egipta pod svoju kontrolu stavili i Put začina od Indije do Egipta, a ekonomskom politikom davanja povlastica janjičarskom sloju gotovo su u potpunosti iz trgovine istisnuli talijanske trgovce. Armenci su tijekom 16. i 17. st., uz Židove Romaniote i novopristigle sefardske trgovce, preuzeli veći dio trgovačke razmjene u Turskom Carstvu te su imali iznimno važnu ulogu.<sup>7</sup> Prije svega, Armenci koji su pripadali klasi *khoja*,<sup>8</sup> tj. trgovačkom sloju nastalom iseljavanjem višeg sloja i većine stanovništva iz povijesne Armenije, nakon potpunog uništenja u turskoj i mongolskoj invaziji, postali su nacionalnom elitom. Nakon sloma armenskoga feudalnog društva, kad je dio visokog plemstva prešao na islam kako bi zadržao svoje povlastice, a stanovništvo bilo izloženo sustavnom pogromu, nastala je golema armenska dijaspora; njezino trgovanje, uloga razmjene dobara između Istoka i Zapada te obrtništvo omogućili su nacionalni opstanak Armenaca. Njemački filozof Immanuel Kant napisao je: *Između kršćanskih naroda jedinstveni trgovački duh je kod Armenaca. Oni su angažirani u izmjeni dobara, trgujući od granica Kine do rta Capo Corsi u Gvineji*.<sup>9</sup>

Za Mletačku Republiku trgovina je bila od presudne važnosti pa su Armenci zauzeli posebno mjesto u njezinu gospodarskom i političkom životu. Naime, nakon propasti armenske Kraljevine Cilicije godine 1375. armensko-mletački trgovački odnosi nisu prestali, već su se nastavili u novim političkim prilikama, i to u trenutku kada Venecija početkom 16. st. zbog otvaranja novih trgovačkih putova gubi svoju dominaciju u trgovini orijentalnom robom.<sup>10</sup> U Kandijskom ratu (1645. – 1669.) armenska je trgovina bila takoreći jedini izvor orijentalne robe na mletačkom tržištu i armenski trgovci imali su poseban položaj u Mletačkoj Republici. Kroz tu političku i trgovačku prizmu treba promatrati i pojavu opata Mehitara te položaj Armenaca kao *nazione prediletta* u Mletačkoj Republici, jer su u teškoj ekonomskoj blokadi tijekom intenzivnih mletačko-turskih sukoba, uz židovske i grčke trgovce, bili žila ku-

the first Armenian bishop, who also became the first Armenian patriarch in Constantinople.<sup>4</sup> Since the Mongols controlled the Asian Silk Road, the Armenian monopolists controlled the silk trade, and European traders depended on them.<sup>5</sup> After Turkish<sup>6</sup> military victories in Asia Minor, Southeast Europe, and North Africa, concluded with the conquest of Constantinople, Trebizond, and the Crimea, the Turkish Empire gained control of the trade from the Adriatic and Black Seas (which became the inland sea of the Empire) to the Persian Gulf. After the conquest of Egypt, the Turks also asserted control over the spice trade routes from India to Egypt under their control, and their economic policy of giving privileges to the Janissary caste almost completely drove the Italian merchants out of commerce. During the 16th and 17th centuries, the Armenians, along with the Romaniot Jews and the newly arrived Sephardic merchants, took over most of the trade in the Turkish Empire and had an extremely important role.<sup>7</sup> First of all, the Armenians from the *khoja*<sup>8</sup> class, i.e. the merchant rank created by the emigration of the upper class and the majority of the population from historical Armenia after complete destruction in the Turkish and Mongol invasions, became the national elite. Following the collapse of the Armenian feudal society, when part of the high nobility converted to Islam to retain their privileges, while the population was exposed to a systematic pogrom, a vast Armenian diaspora emerged, whose trade and the role in the exchange of goods between East and West, as well as their craft industries, ensured the national survival of the Armenians. The German philosopher Immanuel Kant wrote the following: *Among another Christian people, the Armenians, a certain commercial spirit of a special kind prevails; they wander on foot from the borders of China all the way to Cape Corso on the coast of Guinea to carry on commerce*.<sup>9</sup>

Trade was crucial for the Venetian Republic, so the Armenians occupied a special place in its economic and political life. Namely, the collapse of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia in 1375 did not spell the end of commercial relations between the Armenians and Venetians. They were continued in new political circumstances, at a time when Venice lost its dominance in the trade in oriental goods in the early 16th century, due to the opening of new trade routes.<sup>10</sup> During the Candian War (1645–1669), Armenian trade was virtually the only source of oriental

4 Sugar 1996, str. 49, 277; Aram I 2016, str. 1–51.

5 Mikayelian 1974; Le Goff 2014, str. 130.

6 U armenskoj historiografiji, kao i u starijoj hrvatskoj historiografiji, koristi se etnonim Turci, a ne Osmanlije. Shodno tome u radu ćemo koristiti etnonim Turci.

7 Inalcik 1970, str. 210–211.

8 *Khoja* na perzijskom znači gospodin, kraljević, zemljoposjednik ili jednostavno imućan.

9 Kant 1966, str. 572–573. Misli se na rt Cabo Corso u Gvineji Bissau.

10 Hovannisian, Payaslian 2008.

4 Sugar 1996, pp. 49, 277; Aram I 2016, pp. 1–51.

5 Mikayelian 1974; Le Goff 2014, p. 130.

6 In Armenian historiography, the same as in older Croatian historiography, the ethnonym Turks is used, instead of Ottomans. The ethnonym Turks will be used in the paper accordingly.

7 Inalcik 1970, pp. 210–211.

8 *Khoja*: in Persian, this term means lord, prince, landowner, or simply wealthy.

9 Kant 1966, pp. 572–573. This refers to Cape Cabo Corso in Guinea Bissau.

10 Hovannisian, Payaslian 2008.

cavica njezine trgovine.<sup>11</sup> Kao ilustraciju intenzivnih trgovačkih odnosa treba spomenuti da je godine 1686. kapetan Antun Orebić na svom pataču prevezio iz Mletaka na Levant mnogo putnika: trgovaca Armenaca, Turaka, kršćana i ostalih.<sup>12</sup>

Mletačka Republika, čiji su trgovački interesi trpjeli golemu štetu u ratovima s Turcima, pokušavala je tijekom 15. st. uspostaviti diplomatske odnose s Ak-Koynulom, odnosno Safavidskim Carstvom (na području novovjekog Irana). Diplomatski odnosi uspostavljeni su putem iranskih Armenaca,<sup>13</sup> čija je trgovina trpjela velike gubitke, prije svega zbog otomanskih restriktivnih mjera prema Veneciji.<sup>14</sup> Tursko-iranski ratovi, koji su započeli godine 1514. i trajat će cijelo 16. stoljeće i dijelom 17. stoljeća, devastirali su armenska područja i posve uništili nekoć cvatuće gradove. Interes Mletačke Republike bio je velik, pa je po dolasku armenskog trgovca Murada iz Ankare (*Ankiurats'i*) u Veneciju godine 1503. Senat tražio od njega detaljno izvješće o Safavidskom Carstvu i ratnim djelovanjima protiv Turaka.<sup>15</sup> Tursko-iranski ratovi probudili su nadu kod europskih država da će se obnoviti kopnena trgovina s Levantom i Azijom, koja je bila prekinuta turskom ekspanzijom, odnosno da će turska ekspanzionistička politika biti otupljena ratovanjem na dvije fronte. Safavidska država bila je svjesna činjenice da je u borbi s Turskim Carstvom potrebno tražiti saveznika u Europi, prije svega u Mletačkoj Republici, čija je trgovina trpjela veliku štetu. U takvim akcijama sudjelovao je godine 1562. i katolikos<sup>16</sup> Mik'aël Sebastac'i (1567. – 1576.). U pregovorima Mletačke Republike i šaha Tahmaspa I. (1524. – 1576.) godine 1571. – 1572. glavnu su pomoć mletačkom veleposlaniku Vicenzu d'Alessandriju pružali upravo armenski trgovci Mirjan i Marut iz Julfe.<sup>17</sup> Zato je u Veneciji početkom 17. st. pokraj crkve Santa Maria Formosa postojala ulica pod nazivom Ulica Julfa i armenska crkva. Usprkos neuspjehu političkih pregovora, oni su za Armence značili upoznavanje zapadnog tržišta i poslovnih praksi te načina vođenja novčarskih transakcija. Upravo je tijekom tog procesa došlo do suradnje bogatog i obrazovanog armenskog trgovačkog sloja s europskim političkim središtima moći. Armenski trgovci i svećenstvo postali su veza između Perzije i Zapada.

goods on the Venetian market, and Armenian merchants had a special position in the Venetian Republic. The emergence of Abbot Mekhitar and the position of the Armenians as the *nazione prediletta* in the Venetian Republic should be viewed through this political and commercial prism, because, together with Jewish and Greek merchants, they were the life-blood of its trade in the severe economic blockade during the fierce Venetian-Turkish conflicts.<sup>11</sup> To illustrate the intensive trade relations, it should be mentioned that Captain Antun Orebić transported a number of passengers in 1686 on his pettacchio from Venice to the Levant: Armenian merchants, Turks, Christians, and others.<sup>12</sup>

During the 15th century, the Venetian Republic, whose commercial interests suffered enormous damage in the wars with the Turks, was attempting to establish diplomatic relations with the Aq Qoyunlu, and the Safavid Empire (in the area of present-day Iran). Diplomatic relations were established through Iranian Armenians,<sup>13</sup> whose trade suffered heavy losses, primarily due to the Ottoman restrictive measures against Venice.<sup>14</sup> The Turkish-Iranian wars, which began in 1514 and lasted for the entire 16th century and a part of the 17th century, devastated Armenian areas and completely destroyed the once-thriving cities. The Venetian Republic was highly interested, so much so that after the arrival of the Armenian merchant Murad from Ankara (*Ankiurats'i*) to Venice in 1503, the Senate asked him for a detailed report on the Safavid Empire and the war operations against the Turks.<sup>15</sup> The Turkish-Iranian wars awakened hope in European countries that land trade with the Levant and Asia, which had been interrupted by Turkish expansion, would be renewed, and that Turkish expansionist policy would be blunted by a two-front war. The Safavid state was aware of the fact that the fight against the Turkish Empire required looking for an ally in Europe, primarily the Venetian Republic, whose trade suffered heavy blows. The Catholicos<sup>16</sup> Mik'aël Sebastac'i (1567–1576) was also involved in such activities in 1562. In the 1571–1572 negotiations between the Venetian Republic and Shah Tahmasp I (1524–1576), the main assistance to the Venetian ambassador Vicenzo d'Alessandri was provided by the Armenian merchants Mirian and Marut from Julfa.<sup>17</sup>

11 Zekiyan 1987; Hermet, Cogni Ratti Di Desio 1993.

12 Vekarić 1960, str. 184.

13 Mletačka Republika imala je pozitivnu imigrantsku politiku prema kršćanskim denominacijama s Istoka. Imhaus 1997.

14 Baibourtian 1984, str. 16–17.

15 Alishan 1901, str. 204–205.

16 Katolikos je titula poglavara Armenske Apostolske Pravovjerne Crkve. Mik'aël Sebastac'i jedanaesti je katolikos, sa sjedištem u Svetom Eĵmiacinu, nakon godine 1441. i odvajanja od katolikata Velike Kuće Cilicije. Latinička grafija zapadnoarmenske inačice imena donosi se na temelju monografije *Armenian Catholicosate* 2015, str. 380.

17 Alishan 1901, str. 372.

11 Zekiyan 1987; Hermet, Cogni Ratti Di Desio 1993.

12 Vekarić 1960, p. 184.

13 The Venetian Republic had a positive immigration policy towards the Eastern Christian denominations. Imhaus 1997.

14 Baibourtian 1984, pp. 16–17.

15 Alishan 1901, pp. 204–205.

16 Catholicos is the title of the head of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church. Mik'aël Sebastac'i was the eleventh Catholicos, residing in St. Eĵmiacin, after the year 1441 and separation from the Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia. The Latin script of the Western Armenian version of the name is based on the monograph *Armenian Catholicosate* 2015, p. 380.

17 Alishan 1901, p. 372.

Armenska nazočnost u Veneciji konstantna je od samih početaka, a godine 1348. spominju se armenska crkva i samostan San Giovanni Battista dei Frari Armeni u četvrti Castello. Godine 1434. prvi put se spominje crkva San Croce u Calle delle Lanterne, poslije prozvanoj Calle dei Armeni, koja je u armenskom kultu do naših dana, a opslužuju je armenski redovnici mehitaristi s otočića San Lazzaro dei Armeni. Armensko groblje u Veneciji smješteno je na otočiću San Giorgio, gdje je i armenska crkva s najstarijom nadgrobnom pločom, iz 1570. godine. U Veneciji su se nastanile ugledne armenske trgovačke obitelji: Shahumians, Sininians, Mirmanis i mnoge druge. O Armencima u gradu na lagunama svjedoče, između ostalog, zavjetni natpisi na crkvi sv. Marka iz 17. stoljeća (sl. 1, 2). Armenci su bili i brodovlasnici, a za Kandijskog rata (1645. – 1669.) na armenske su trgovce Turci gledali sa simpatijom te su upravo oni svojim političkim vezama i posredništvom omogućavali opstanak mletačke trgovine.

Mletačka Republika i Republika Genova armenskim su trgovcima pružale široke povlastice, kako bi ih pridobile za svoje trgovačke interese. Armenci će, također, biti pokretači nizozemske trgovine u Smirni i Carigradu, kao i trgovine Francuske s Turskim Carstvom, te su već 1535. godine ove države imale trgovinske ugovore. Isto su tako armenski trgovci, ponajviše iz Julfe, kontrolirali trgovinu svilom od Dalekog istoka, Indije i Kine, preko jugoistočne, središnje i srednje Azije, do Levanta i Europe.<sup>18</sup> U tadašnjoj trgovačkoj razmjeni Turskog Carstva na području jugoistočne Europe glavni nositelji trgovine bili su, uz Židove, kršćanski trgovci: Armenci, Grci i Cincari.<sup>19</sup> Armenska uloga pritom je iznimno značajna, ali je u dosadašnjoj literaturi zanemarivana u odnosu na židovski udio u međunarodnoj trgovačkoj razmjeni. O onodobnom izgledu armenskih trgovaca (sl. 3) postoji prvoklasni izvor, a to je knjiga talijanskog slikara i gravera Cesarea Vecellija (oko 1530. – 1601.), nećaka slavnog slikara Tiziana Vecellija, koji je 1590. objavio poznatu knjigu *De gli habitanti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo*. Ona sadrži brojne ilustracije odjeće iz Europe, Afrike i Azije, te prikaze armenskih žena i plemića, ali i dubrovačkog trgovca, uskoka, Hrvata i Dalmatinaca.<sup>20</sup>

### Armenski natpisi u Splitu

Grad Split, koji svoje porijeklo vuče od Dioklecijanove palače i naselja koje joj je prethodilo, nalazio se na važnom plovidbenom putu i mogao je već u kasnoantičko vrijeme biti povezan s djelovanjem ravenskih egzarha Armenaca: Nersesa Eunuha (541. – 568.), koji je zaslužan za gradnju crkve sv. Teodora i crkve sv. Geminiana i Mene u Veneciji, Izaka (Sahakoma) (625. – 643.),

This is why there was a street named after Julfa Street and an Armenian church next to the church of Santa Maria Formosa in Venice at the beginning of the 17th century. Despite the failure of political negotiations, the Armenians were able to get acquainted with the Western market and commercial practices, as well as the methods of conducting money transactions. It was during this process that the rich and educated Armenian merchant class collaborated with European political centres of power. Armenian merchants and the clergy became the links between Persia and the West.

The Armenian presence in Venice was constant from the very beginning. The Armenian church and monastery of San Giovanni Battista dei Frari Armeni in the Castello district were mentioned in 1348. The church of San Croce in Calle delle Lanterne, later called Calle dei Armeni, was mentioned for the first time in 1434. The Mekhitarist priests from the islet of San Lazzaro dei Armeni still celebrate mass at the church. The Armenian Cemetery in Venice and the Armenian church with the earliest tombstone from 1570 are located on the islet of San Giorgio. Some prominent Armenian trading families made Venice their home: the Shahumians, the Sininians, the Mirmanis, and many others. The presence of Armenians in the city on the lagoons is reflected, among other things, by votive inscriptions on the church of St. Mark from the 17th century (Figs. 1, 2). Armenians were also ship-owners, and during the Candian War (1645–1669) the Turks looked upon Armenian merchants with sympathy, and it was they who enabled the survival of Venetian trade through their political connections and mediation.

The Venetian Republic and the Republic of Genoa provided Armenian merchants with broad privileges, in order to win them for their commercial interests. Armenians were also the initiators of the Dutch trade in Smyrna and Constantinople, as well as of the French trade with the Turkish Empire. These countries made trade agreements as early as 1535. Likewise, Armenian traders, mostly from Julfa, controlled the silk trade from the Far East, India and China, through Southeast, Central and Central Asia, to the Levant and Europe.<sup>18</sup> In the then trade of the Turkish Empire in Southeast Europe, the trade linchpins were Christian merchants, such as the Armenians, the Greeks and the Aromanians, in addition to the Jews.<sup>19</sup> The role of Armenians was extremely important, but it has been neglected in the literature so far compared to the Jewish share in the international trade. There exists a first-class source on the appearance of Armenian merchants at the time (Fig. 3), viz. the famous book by the Italian painter and engraver Cesare Vecellio (c. 1530–1601), the nephew of the famous painter Tiziano Vecellio, published in 1590 under the title *De gli habitanti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo*. It contains a number of illustrations of the garb

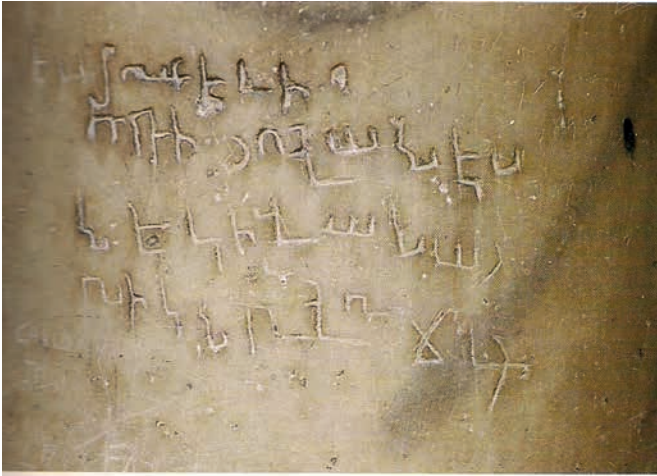
18 Baibourtian 2004, str. 26.

19 Jelavich 1999, str. 62.

20 Vecellio 2008, str. 440, 494.

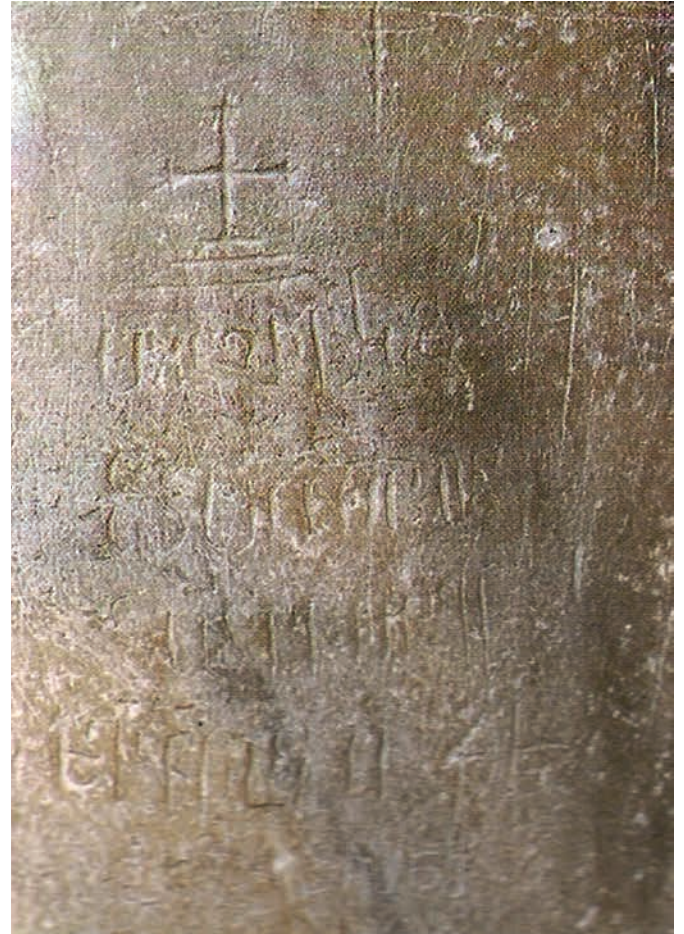
18 Baibourtian 2004, p. 26.

19 Jelavich 1999, p. 62.



Slika 1.  
Zavjetni natpis iz 17. st. na  
jednom od stupova crkve sv.  
Marka u Veneciji

Figure 1.  
Votive inscription from the  
17th century on one of the  
pillars of the church of St.  
Mark in Venice



Slika 2.  
Zavjetni natpis iz 17. st. na  
jednom od stupova crkve sv.  
Marka u Veneciji

Figure 2.  
Votive inscription from the 17th  
century on one of the pillars  
of the church of St. Mark in  
Venice



Slika 3.  
Cesare Vecellio, Prikaz  
armenskog trgovca, 1590.

Figure 3.  
Cesare Vecellio, Depiction of  
an Armenian merchant, 1590

from Europe, Africa and Asia, as well as depictions of Armenian women and nobles, but also of a Dubrovnik merchant, Uskoks, Croats and Dalmatians.<sup>20</sup>

### Armenian inscriptions in Split

The city of Split, with origins in Diocletian's Palace and the settlement that preceded it, was situated on an important navigation route and could have been connected with the activities of the Armenian Exarchs of Ravenna as early as late antiquity: Narses (541–568), credited for the construction of the church of St. Theodore and the church of Sts. Geminianus and Menna in Venice, Isaac (Sahak) (625–643), buried in the church of St. Vitale in Ravenna, mentioned as the founder of the cathedral in Torcello, and Euty chius (727–750), also buried in the church

<sup>20</sup> Vecellio 2008, pp. 440, 494.

koji je pokopan u crkvi sv. Vitalea u Ravenni, a zapisan je i kao utemeljitelj katedrale u Torcellu, te Eutihija (727. – 750.), koji je također pokopan u crkvi sv. Vitalea.<sup>21</sup> Brojni su Armenci obnašali dužnosti u bizantskoj državnoj upravi i vojsci, pa i u bizantskim talijanskim posjedima, a moguće je da ih je bilo i u bizantskoj temi Dalmaciji.<sup>22</sup> U temi Langobardiji brojni su stratezi, katapani, bili armenskog podrijetla: godine 891. Sembat, godine 1011. Bazilije Mesardonit, godine 1017. Leon Tornic i mnogi drugi. Početkom 11. st. katapan Barija bio je Armenac Hovannes Gurgen (1008. – 1010.), a strategom je tada bio Leon T'ornikian Kontoleon. Diljem Apulije Armenci su posjedovali svoje crkve: u Bariju (Sv. Grgur Prosvjetitelj, sagrađen 1011.), u Napulju (Sv. Grgur Armenski), u Nardòu (Sv. Grgur), Materi (Sv. Marija Armenska), Tarantu (Sv. Andrija Armenski) te u Sipontu u dva manja mjesta (Fabrica, Santa Maria di Fasioli). Iz Salenta poznata su dva armenska nadgrobnata natpisa iz 1109. te jedan iz grada Lecce.<sup>23</sup>

Ravenna je na kasnoantički Split osim u političkom utjecala i u crkvenom smislu.<sup>24</sup> Tako crkve nad vratima Palače dobivaju titulare tamošnjih svetaca, sv. Teodora, sv. Apolinara i sv. Anasztazije, a u Split dolaze i moći ravenkog biskupa sv. Severa. Spomenimo da je salonitanski biskup Maksim zbog višegodišnjeg spora s papom Grgurom morao otići u Ravennu u kolovožu 599. godine.<sup>25</sup> Postojanje Armenije i Armenaca vjerojatno je bilo poznato u srednjovjekovnom Splitu i iz djela *Lucidar*, jer su se početkom 12. st. u Europi počeli pojavljivati tekstovi enciklopedijskoga karaktera pod naslovom *Lucidarius*, *Elucidarius*, *Elucidarium*. Prvi *Elucidarium* napisao je Honorije Augustodunski na latinskom jeziku, a onda je nastala njemačka inačica tog teksta. Ona će postati iznimno popularna te je prevedena na razne jezike, pa i na hrvatski, a rukopisi *Lucidara* vjerojatno su bili poznati u ondašnjem Splitu. U hrvatskom prijevodu *Lucidara* među inim starim zemljama spominje se i Armenija.<sup>26</sup>

Posve je razumljivo da armenske trgovce nalazimo i u dalmatinskim gradovima. Bilježimo ih u Korčuli, a prije svega u Dubrovniku, gdje njihovu nazočnost možemo gotovo u kontinuitetu pratiti od 16. i 17. st., a kontakti Dubrovnika s Kraljevinom Cilicijom postojali su već u 13. stoljeću.<sup>27</sup> Utemeljenjem skale (pretovarišta) u Splitu u posljednjoj četvrtini 16. st. otvorila su se vrata žive trgovine, koja je prevladala i ratove i granice. O važnosti skale i živosti trgovine svjedoči izvješće mletačkom Senatu splitskoga kneza i kapetana Cesarea Dolfina od 22. travnja 1611., u kojem navodi da preko Sarajeva dolaze

of St. Vitale.<sup>21</sup> Many Armenians held positions in the Byzantine state administration and army, as well as in connection with Byzantine Italian possessions, and possibly there were some in the Byzantine Theme of Dalmatia.<sup>22</sup> In the Theme of Longobardia, a number of strategoi or catapans were of Armenian origin: Sembat in 891, Basil Mesardonites in 1011, Kontoleon Tornikios in 1017, and many others. At the beginning of the 11th century, the catapan of Bari was the Armenian John Kourkouas (1008–1010), while the strategos at the time was Leo Tornikios Kontoleon. Armenians had their churches throughout Apulia: in Bari (St. Gregory the Illuminator, built in 1011), Naples (St. Gregory of Armenia), in Nardò (St. Gregory), Matera (St. Mary of Armenia), Taranto (St. Andrew of Armenia), and in Siponto in two smaller towns (Fabrica, Santa Maria di Fasioli). There are two known Armenian gravestone inscriptions from 1109 in Salento, and one in the town of Lecce.<sup>23</sup>

Ravenna had an influence on late antique Split not only politically but also in the ecclesiastical sense.<sup>24</sup> Thus the churches above the gates of the Palace were named after Ravenna's saints, St. Theodore, St. Apollinaris and St. Anastasia, and the relics of St. Severus, a Bishop of Ravenna, also arrived in Split. It is worth mentioning that Maximus, a Bishop of Salona, had to go to Ravenna in August 599 due to a long-standing dispute with Pope Gregory.<sup>25</sup> The existence of Armenia and Armenians was probably known in mediaeval Split from the *Lucidarius*, since encyclopaedic texts entitled started appearing in Europe at the beginning of the 12th century under the titles *Lucidarius*, *Elucidarius*, or *Elucidarium*. The first *Elucidarium* was written by Honorius Augustodunensis in Latin, followed by its counterpart in German. It became extremely popular and was translated in various languages, including Croatian. The manuscripts of the *Lucidarius* were probably known in Split at the time. Armenia is mentioned as one of the old countries in the Croatian translation of the *Lucidarius*.<sup>26</sup>

It is quite understandable that there were Armenian merchants in Dalmatian towns as well. They could be found in Korčula, and above all in Dubrovnik, where their presence can be traced almost continuously from the 16th and 17th centuries, while Dubrovnik had had contacts with the Kingdom of Cilicia as early as the 13th century.<sup>27</sup> The establishment of a transshipment terminal (skala) in Split in the last quarter of the 16th century provided a gateway for lively commerce, which transcended

21 Goldstein 1992, str. 115.

22 O temi Dalmaciji Ferluga 1957, str. 68–86; Goldstein 1992, str. 181–182.

23 Zekiyan, 1987, str. 118–120; Lavermicocca 2012, str. 31–33.

24 Duplančić 2013, str. 220–221.

25 Duplančić 2011, str. 147–148; Duplančić 2013, str. 214 (s navođenjem ranije literature); Kunčer 2011, str. 20–23.

26 Kapetanović 2005, str. 4.

27 Lupis 2009.

21 Goldstein 1992, p. 115.

22 For the Theme of Dalmatia, see Ferluga 1957, pp. 68–86; Goldstein 1992, pp. 181–182.

23 Zekiyan, 1987, pp. 118–120; Lavermicocca 2012, pp. 31–33.

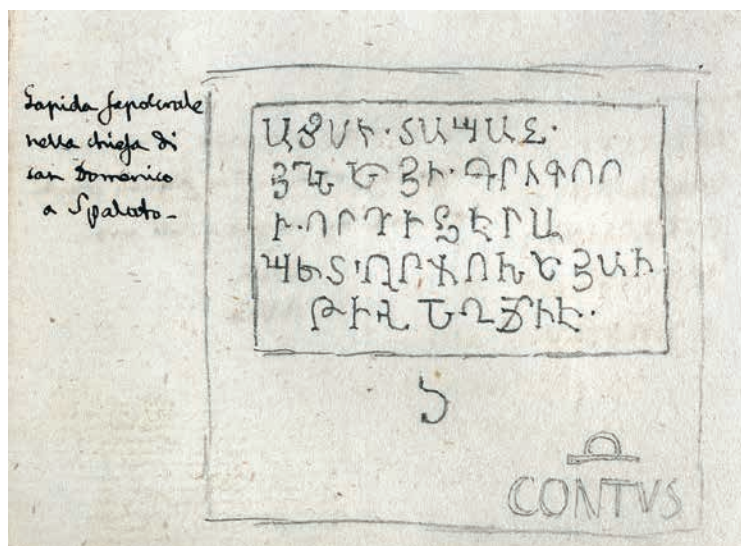
24 Duplančić 2013, pp. 220–221.

25 Duplančić 2011, pp. 147–148; Duplančić 2013, p. 214 (with earlier literature); Kunčer 2011, pp. 20–23.

26 Kapetanović 2005, p. 4.

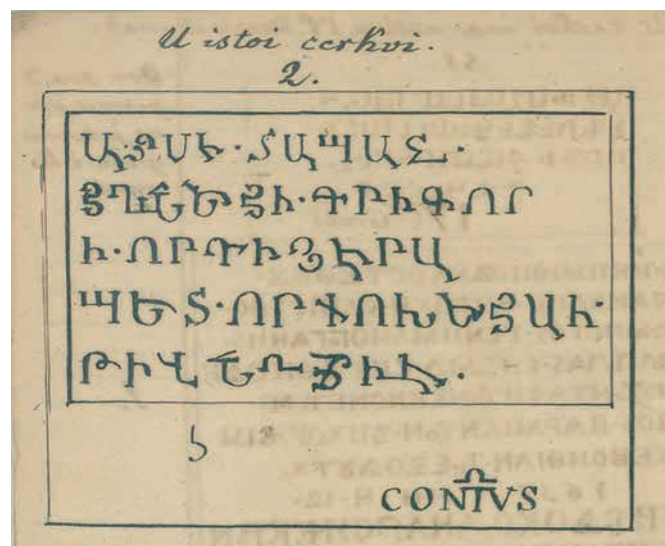
27 Lupis 2009.





Slika 4.  
Armenski natpis iz 1678. godine  
u prijepisu F. Carrare (foto: Ž.  
Bačić)

Figure 4.  
F. Carrara's transcription of the  
Armenian inscription from 1678  
(photograph: Ž. Bačić)



Slika 5.  
Armenski natpis iz 1678.  
godine u prijepisu M. Sabljara

Figure 5.  
M. Sabljara's transcription of  
the Armenian inscription from  
1678

u Split trgovci iz Perzije, Armenije, Sirije, Kaira, Aleksandrije, Ankare, Carigrada, Drinopolja, Sofije i drugih krajeva Balkana.<sup>28</sup> I knez Pietro Basadonna u svojem izvješću iz 1638. govori o dolasku turskih, židovskih, armenskih i grčkih trgovaca u Split,<sup>29</sup> a 1640. splitski nadbiskup Sforza Ponzoni u izvješću o svojoj nadbiskupiji također piše o dolasku turskih, armenskih i grčkih trgovaca.<sup>30</sup>

Prisutnost Armenaca u Splitu, koju tek treba podrobnije istražiti, osim ovih izvora dokumentiraju također grobnice Armenaca i jednog Grka u dominikanskoj crkvi. Njih su u svojim putnim bilježnicama nacrtali Francesco Carrara, ravnatelj Arheološkog muzeja (sl. 4), i Mijat Sabljara, vojnik u mirovini i čuvar nekoliko zbirki Narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu (sl. 5).<sup>31</sup> Carrarin crtež nadgrobne ploče iz 1678. nastao je krajem 1849. godine<sup>32</sup> i očito je na nju mislio kad je u članku o starinama u Dalmaciji napisao: *jedna sama ploča u crkvi S. Dominika u Spljetu, ima napis u istočnim pismenima*.<sup>33</sup> Sudeći po crtežu bila je manja, gotovo kvadratna, kakve su uglavnom bile ploče nad grobovima koji su pripadali bratovštinama. Sabljara je prigodom posjeta Splitu 1854. također nacrtao tu ploču,<sup>34</sup> ali i jednu veću, s tri natpisa,

ed both wars and borders. The significance of the terminal and liveliness of trade is evidenced by the report dated 22 April 1611 from Cesare Dolfin, the Duke and Captain of Split, to the Venetian Senate, stating that merchants from Persia, Armenia, Syria, Cairo, Alexandria, Angora, Constantinople, Edirne, Sofia and other parts of the Balkans were arriving in Split via Sarajevo.<sup>28</sup> In his 1638 report, Duke Pietro Basadonna also mentioned visits of Turkish, Jewish, Armenian and Greek merchants to Split,<sup>29</sup> while Sforza Ponzoni, the Archbishop of Split, in his 1640 report on his archdiocese also wrote about the arrivals of Turkish, Armenian and Greek merchants.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to these sources, the presence of Armenians in Split, which has yet to be investigated in detail, was also documented on the tombs of Armenians and a Greek in the Dominican Church. They were drawn in travel journals by Francesco Carrara, director of the Archaeological Museum (Fig. 4), and Mijat Sabljara, retired major and custodian of several collections of the National Museum in Zagreb (Fig. 5).<sup>31</sup> Carrara's drawing of the 1678 tombstone was made in late 1849.<sup>32</sup> He obviously referred to it when he wrote the following in his article on antiquities in Dalmatia: *a single plaque in the church of St. Dominic*

28 Novak 1920, str. 19; Novak 1970, str. 177.

29 Novak 1977, str. 218, 230.

30 Jačov 1983, str. 55.

31 Mirnik 1981, str. 210–211; Juranović-Tonejc 2010, str. 10–11; Tomaso-  
vić 2013, str. 11–12.

32 Arheološki muzej u Splitu, arhiv F. Carrare, poz. X. – Arheologija, Carrarin terenski notes, l. 51v: *Lapida sepolcrale nella chiesa di san Domenico a Spalato*. Bilješke u notesu su između 1844. i 1850. godine.

33 Carrara 1852, str. 330.

34 Ministarstvo kulture i medija, Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine, Ostavština Mijata Sabljara (MK-UZKB-OMS), teka br. 17, str. 11.

28 Novak 1920, p. 19; Novak 1970, p. 177.

29 Novak 1977, pp. 218, 230.

30 Jačov 1983, p. 55.

31 Mirnik 1981, pp. 210–211; Juranović-Tonejc 2010, pp. 10–11; Tomaso-  
vić 2013, pp. 11–12.

32 Archaeological Museum in Split, F. Carrara archive, pos. X. – Archaeology, Carrara's field notebook, f51v: *Lapida sepolcrale nella chiesa di san Domenico a Spalato*. The entries in the notebook date between 1844 and 1850.

od kojih su gornji i donji natpis bili na armenskom, a u sredini je bio natpis na grčkom.<sup>35</sup>

Carrarin i Sabljarov crtež, koji prikazuje istu ploču, ima u donjem dijelu latinsku riječ CONTVS, sa znakom kraćenja iznad nje, i armenski natpis pisan grabar jezikom (գրաբար – odnosno zapadnoarmenski krapar), tj. klasičnim crkvenim armenskim jezikom: ԱՅՍԻ ՏԱՊԱՆ ՅԻՇԱՏԱԿԵՅԻ ԳՐԻԳՈՐ Ի ՈՐԴԻ ՀԷՐԱՊԵՏ ՈՐ ՓՈՒԽԵՅԱ Ի ԹԻՎՆ ՌՃԻԷ. Translitteracija natpisa: AYSI TAPAN HISHATAKEYI GRIGOR I VORDI HERAPET<sup>36</sup> VOR POKHEYA I TIVN RJIE. Brojčana vrijednost natpisa RJIE iznosi 1678. (1127+551) pa se ploča datira u tu godinu.<sup>37</sup> U prijevodu natpis glasi: *Ovo je nadgrobni spomenik Grigora,<sup>38</sup> sina Herapetova, koji je preminuo 1678. godine.* Latinska riječ CONTVS skraćena je od *conventus*, ‘samostan’ na hrvatskom, što znači da je grob pripadao samostanu dominikanaca.

Druga ploča koju je nacrtao Sabljari ima tri natpisa (sl. 6). Središnji je pisan grčki, a dva su na armenskom, od kojih je donji natpis okrenut zrcalno. Armenski su natpisi pisani klasičnim jezikom krapar/grabar, a poput grčkog uklesani su s iznimno mnogo pogrešaka. Međutim, postoji mogućnost da su pogreške posljedica lošeg prepisivanja natpisa.

Središnji natpis na grčkom (sl. 7) transliteriran glasi: ΕΚΗΜΙΘΗ Ο ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ / ΓΙΑΝΟΥΛΗΣ [...] / ΕΜΠΟΡΟΣ ΓΕΝΗΜΑ ΠΟΓΟΓΑΝΗΣ / [...] ΚΕ ΕΤΕΘΗ ΟΔΕ / ΗΣ ΤΙΝ ΤΑΦΗ ΤΟΝ ΞΕΝΟΝ ΕΤΟΜΕ / ΝΟΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΑΝΤΟΝ ΧΗΧΟΓΗΧΗ / ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΙΑΝ ΤΗΣ(?) ΕΞΟΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ / 1637 ΜΗΝ Ν 12 / ΠΡΟΚΔΟΚΟ ΑΝΑΨΑΧΗ ΝΕΚΡΟΝ / ΚΕ ΖΟΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΛΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΟΝΟΚ. Ispravljeno čitanje natpisa glasi: Εκοιμήθη ο δούλος του θεού Γιαννούλης [...] έμπορος, γέννημα Πωγωνιανής [...] και ετέθη ώδε εις την ταφη(ν) των ξενων αιτούμενος παρά πάντων συγχώρησιν και βοήθειαν τ[ης?] εξόδου του. 1637 μην(ι) Ν[οεμβρίω] 12. Προσδοκώ ανάστασιν νεκρών και ζωήν του μέλλοντος αιώνος. U prijevodu na hrvatski natpis pak glasi: *Sluga Božji, Giannoulis (Ivan) [...] trgovac, porijeklom iz Pogonianija [...] usnuo je i bio je položen ovdje u grobu stranacâ, tražeći oprost od svih i pomoć pri njegovom izlasku 1637 u mjesecu s[tudenom] 12. Ćekam uskrsnuće mrt-*

*in Spljet, bearing an inscription in Eastern characters.*<sup>33</sup> Judging by the drawing, it was small-sized, almost square, like most of the plaques on the graves that belonged to fraternities. During his visit to Split in 1854, Sabljari also made a drawing of this plaque,<sup>34</sup> as well as of a larger one, with three inscriptions, of which the ones on the top and bottom were in Armenian, while the middle one was in Greek.<sup>35</sup>

Carrara and Sabljari's drawings, which depict the same plaque, have the Latin word CONTVS in the lower part, with a siglum above, and an Armenian inscription written in the Grapar language (գրաբար – viz. Western Armenian Krapar), i.e. Classical Liturgical Armenian: ԱՅՍԻ ՏԱՊԱՆ ՅԻՇԱՏԱԿԵՅԻ ԳՐԻԳՈՐ Ի ՈՐԴԻ ՀԷՐԱՊԵՏ ՈՐ ՓՈՒԽԵՅԱ Ի ԹԻՎՆ ՌՃԻԷ. The transliteration of the inscription is as follows: AYSI TAPAN HISHATAKEYI GRIGOR I VORDI HERAPET<sup>36</sup> VOR POKHEYA I TIVN RJIE. The numerical value of the RJIE inscription is 1678 (1127 + 551)<sup>37</sup>, so the plaque is dated to that year. The translation of the inscription reads: *This is the tombstone of Gregory,<sup>38</sup> son of Karapet, who died in 1678.* The Latin word CONTVS is a clipped form of *conventus*, viz. ‘monastery’, which means that the grave belonged to the Dominican monastery.

The second plaque drawn by Sabljari bears three inscriptions (Fig. 6). The middle one is written in Greek, while two are Armenian, of which the lower inscription is in mirror image. The Armenian inscriptions are written in the classical Krapar/Grabar language, and engraved with many errors, like the Greek one. However, the errors may be due to a sub-standard transcription of the inscription.

The transliteration of the central inscription in Greek (Fig. 7) reads: ΕΚΗΜΙΘΗ Ο ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ / ΓΙΑΝΟΥΛΗΣ [...] / ΕΜΠΟΡΟΣ ΓΕΝΗΜΑ ΠΟΓΟΓΑΝΗΣ / [...] ΚΕ ΕΤΕΘΗ ΟΔΕ

35 MK-UZKB-OMS, teka br. 17, str. 12. Iznad crteža velike ploče zapisao je: *U cerkvi manastira P.P. Dominikanah*, a sa strane: *Ova sva 3 pisma jesu na jednomu grobu i kamenu*, i broj 1., a iznad manjeg natpisa, na poledini lista: *U istoi cerkvi*. 2. Zanimljivo je da Carrara, iako je bio Splićanin i poznavatelj spomenika, nije zabilježio i veću ploču.

36 Herapet/Karabet (armenski իւրապէտ) ili Garabed u zapadnoarmenskoj inačici, izvedenica je imena Ivan Krstitelj. Poznata je crkva Surb Karapeta u samostanu Noravank, samostan Surb Karapet u Glaku iz 4. st. i crkva Surb Karapet u kompleksu samostana Khtzkonk, pokraj povijesne armenske prijestolnice Ani.

37 Armenski povijesni brojčani sustav bio je sačinjen od majuskulnih slova armenskog alfabeta koji imaju brojčanu vrijednost i nije imao brojčane vrijednosti za nulu, a sustav brojanja bio je blizak starom grčkom i židovskom sustavu.

38 Krikor je zapadnoarmenski oblik imena, koji je u istočnoarmenskom obliku Grigor, a u hrvatskom obliku glasi Grgur.

33 Carrara 1852, p. 330.

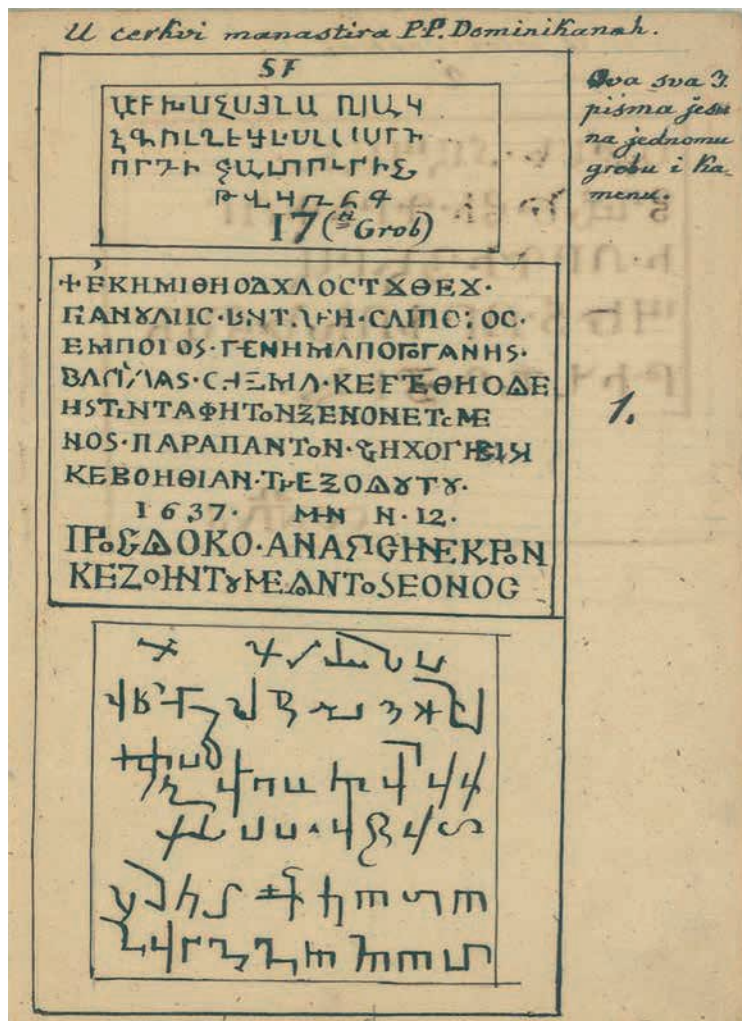
34 Ministry of Culture and Media, Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Legacy of Mijat Sabljari (MK-UZKB-OMS), notebook No. 17, p. 11.

35 MK-UZKB-OMS, notebook No. 17, p. 12. He wrote the following above the drawing of the large plaque: *In the church of the Dominican Friars' Monastery*, and on the side: *All these 3 scripts are on one grave and stone*, and the number 1., and above the smaller inscription, on the back of the sheet: *In the same church*. 2. It is interesting to note that Carrara, although he was from Split and a connoisseur of monuments, did not record the larger plaque.

36 Karapet/Karabet (Armenian: իւրապէտ) or Garabed (Western Armenian), is a derivative of the name of John the Baptist. We know of the church of Surb Karapet in the monastery of Noravank, the monastery of Surb Karapet in Glak from the fourth century, and the church Surb Karapet in the Khtzkonk Monastery complex, near the historic Armenian capital of Ani.

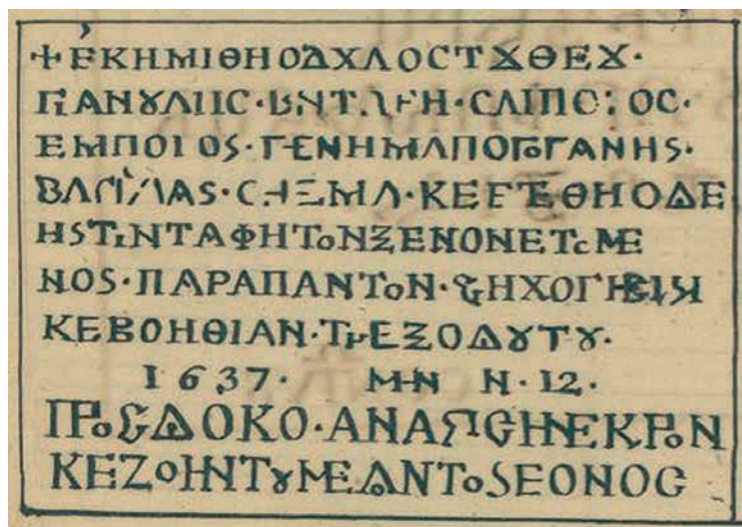
37 The Armenian historical number system is made of the majuscules of the Armenian alphabet. There was no notation for zero, and the system was close to the Ancient Greek and Hebrew numerals.

38 Krikor is the Western Armenian form of the name Gregory, equivalent to the Eastern Armenian name Grigor, while the Croatian variant is Grgur.



Slika 6.  
 Sabljarov crtež nadgrobne ploče  
 s tri natpisa

Figure 6.  
 Sabljar's drawing of the grave  
 plaque with three inscriptions



Slika 7.  
 Crčki natpis iz 1637. na sredini  
 nadgrobne ploče

Figure 7.  
 Greek inscription from 1637 in  
 the middle of the grave plaque

/ Η Σ Τ Ι Ν Τ Α Φ Η Τ Ο Ν Ζ Ε Ν Ο Ν Ε Τ Ο Μ Ε / Ν Ο Σ Π Α Ρ Α Π Α Ν Τ Ο Ν  
 Χ Η Χ Ο Γ Η Σ Η / Κ Ε Β Ο Η Θ Ι Α Ν Τ ης(?) ΕΞΟΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ / 1637 ΜΗΝ  
 Ν 12 / Π Ρ Ο Σ Δ Ο Κ Ο Α Ν Α Σ Τ Α Σ Η Ν Ε Κ Ρ Ο Ν / Κ Ε Ζ Ο Η Ν Τ Ο Υ  
 Μ Ε Λ Ο Ν Τ Ο Σ Ε Ο Ν Ο Σ. The corrected reading is as follows:  
 Εκοιμήθη ο δούλος του θεού Γιαννούλης [...] έμπορος, γέννημα  
 Πωγωνιανής [...] και ετέθη ώδε εις την ταφη(ν) των ξενων  
 αιτούμενος παρά πάντων συγχώρησιν και βοήθειαν τ[ης?] εξόδου του.  
 1637 μην(ι) Ν[οεμβρίω] 12. Προσδοκώ ανάστασιν νεκρών και ζώην του μέλλοντος αιώνος. Translated into Croatian, the inscription reads: *Servant of God, Giannoulis (John) [...] merchant, originally from Pogoniani [...] fell asleep and was laid here in the foreigners' grave, seeking forgiveness from all and help in his departure in 1637 in the month of N[ovember] 12. I await the resurrection of the dead and the life of the age to come.*

In short, this is the gravestone inscription of the Greek merchant Giannoulis of Pogoniani, a village near Ioannina in the Greek province of Epirus.<sup>39</sup> Pogoniani was an important trading centre in the Turkish period, with numerous merchants trading throughout Southeast Europe. Giannoulis was buried in the grave intended for foreigners and sought God's forgiveness and help. The inscription has many grammatical and spelling errors. The Latin letter S is often engraved instead of the Greek letter C, which suggests that the local stonemason was not familiar with Greek. Due to the poor condition of the inscription or incorrect carving, it was not possible to read the merchant's last name and the first two words of the fourth line.<sup>40</sup>

The plaque with the name of the merchant Giannoulis also bears two Armenian inscriptions. The upper one (Fig. 8) is the earliest Armenian inscription from Split, written in the Classical Liturgical Armenian Krapar/Grabar language, with many errors: ՄԲ ԽԱՉՍԻՍ ՅԻՇԱՍԱԿ Է ՋՈՒՂԷՅԻ [???] ՈՐԴԻ ՏՍՏՈՒՐԻՆ ԹՎ ՌՀԳ. In the Latin transcription, the inscription reads: SB KHACHS HISHATAK E JUGHETSI [???] VORDI TATURIN TV RHG. The numerical value of RHG is 1624 (1073 + 551), which dates the plaque to that year. The Croatian translation reads: The Holy Cross is for the son (*illegible name*) in 1624.<sup>41</sup>

The third field (Fig. 9) of the tombstone for the burial of foreigners bears the inscription carved in a mirror image, also in Classical Liturgical Armenian language. The stonemason did not know the Armenian alphabet and made many mistakes, or perhaps Sabljar also made them during his transcription, so that only the part that resembles the Armenian italic alphabet is legible: ՏԱՊԱՆՆ ՀԻՇԱՍԱԿ Է ՄԿՐՏԻՉԻ ՈՐԴԻ ՓԻԼԻՊՈՍԻՆ. The transliterated inscription reads: TAPANN HISHARAK E

39 For this information we thank our colleague Margarita Voulgaropoulou, PhD, from Thessaloniki.

40 The inscription was transliterated and translated by our colleague Margarita Voulgaropoulou.

41 The Armenian inscriptions were transcribed, transliterated and translated by the eminent Armenian scientist Anna Givargizyan, PhD, from Moscow.

vih i život budućega vijeka.

Ukratko, ovo je nadgrobni natpis grčkog trgovca Giannoulisa iz Pogoniana, sela kod Janjine (*Ioannina*) u grčkoj pokrajini Epiru.<sup>39</sup> Pogoniani je bilo važno trgovačko središte u turskom razdoblju, s brojnim trgovcima koji su trgovali po jugoistočnoj Europi. Giannoulis je bio pokopan u grobu namijenjenom strancima i tražio je Božji oprost i pomoć. Natpis ima puno gramatičkih i pravopisnih pogrešaka, a često je latinično slovo S uklesano umjesto grčkog slova C, što sugerira da je domaći klesar bio nenaviknut na grčki. Zbog lošeg stanja natpisa ili nepravilnog klesanja nije bilo moguće pročitati trgovčevo prezime i prve dvije riječi četvrtog retka.<sup>40</sup>

Na ploči s imenom trgovca Giannoulisa nalaze se i dva armenska natpisa. Gornji je (sl. 8) najstariji armenski natpis iz Splita i pisan je klasičnim crkvenim armenskim jezikom krapar/grabar s mnogo pogrešaka: ՄԲ ԽԱՉԱՅՍ ՅԻՇԱՏԱԿ Է ՋՈՒՂԷՅԻ [??] ՈՐԴԻ ՏՍՏՈՒՐԻՆ ԹՎ ՌՆԳ. U latiničnoj transkripciji natpis glasi: SB KHACHS HISHATAK E JUGHETSI [??] VORDI TATURIN TV RHG. Brojčana vrijednost RHG iznosi 1624. (1073 + 551), što ploču datira u tu godinu. Prijevod na hrvatski jezik glasi: *Sveti križ je za sina* (nečitljivo ime) *godine 1624.*<sup>41</sup>

Na trećem polju (sl. 9) nadgrobne ploče za ukop stranaca uklesan je natpis koji je ispisan zrcalno, također armenskim klasičnim crkvenim jezikom. Klesar nije poznao armensko pismo te je napravio mnoge pogreške, ili ih je možda napravio i Sabljar prigodom prepisivanja, tako da je čitljiv samo dio, koji naoko slični na armensko kurzivno pismo: ՏԱՊԱՆՆ ՆԻՇԱՏԱԿ Է ՄԿՐՏԻՉԻ ՈՐԴԻ ՓԻԼԻՊՈՍԻՆ. Transliteriran natpis glasi: TAPANN HISHARAK E MRKTICHI VORDI PHILIPPOSIN. Na hrvatskom jeziku on glasi: *Ovaj nadgrobni spomenik je za Philoposa, sina Mrkticheva.*<sup>42</sup>

Uz pokop spomenutog Grigora vezan je spor između splitskoga kaptola i dominikanaca, koji dodatno dokazuje prisutnost Armenaca u Splitu. Kaptol je od davnina smatrao kako ima pravo voditi sprovode, za što su kanonici i članovi katedralnog klera primali određene pristojbe.<sup>43</sup> Kad je u siječnju 1678.<sup>44</sup>

MRKTICHI VORDI PHILIPPOSIN. In the Croatian language it reads: *This tombstone is for Philopos, son of Mrktichi.*<sup>42</sup>

The burial of mentioned Gregory is associated with a dispute between the Split Chapter and the Dominicans, which is yet another proof of the presence of the Armenians in Split. The Chapter considered that it was entitled to conduct funerals since ancient times, for which the canons and members of the cathedral clergy received certain fees.<sup>43</sup> When the Armenian merchant Gregory died in January 1678<sup>44</sup> in the lazaretto<sup>45</sup> where he had apparently been in prescribed quarantine, the funeral was led by the Dominicans, and they buried him in their church. The Chapter believed that this violated its rights, which it had on the basis of papal decrees, so the canons decided to oppose the Dominicans, regardless of the fact that the archbishop had given them verbal approval for the funeral.<sup>46</sup> At the Chapter meeting dated 3 February 1678, Father Švaganic attended on behalf of the monastery and declared that the Dominicans accepted the decision of the Auditor (church adjudicator) in this case, and the canons elected their representatives in the dispute, with the intention to reach an agreement.<sup>47</sup>

The Dominicans consulted Girolamo Priuli, the Duke and Captain of Split,<sup>48</sup> who declared they were in the right, and that the Armenians were entitled to be buried in the church of St. Dominic in two graves with old inscriptions that had been discovered during the rebuilding of the church.<sup>49</sup> Namely, due to the fortification of the city, the Dominican church and monastery had been torn down in late 1657, and the new complex was built from 1666 to 1682,<sup>50</sup> when the mentioned plaques were

39 Na informaciji zahvaljujemo kolegici dr. sc. Margariti Voulgaropoulou iz Soluna.

40 Natpis je transliterirala i prevela kolegica Voulgaropoulou.

41 Armenske natpise transkribirala je, transliterirala i prevela ugledna armenska znanstvenica dr. sc. Anna Givargizyan iz Moskve.

42 Mkrkich (armenski: մկրտիչ) muško je armensko ime, a znači Krstitelj. Cijelo ime je Ivan Krstitelj, odnosno sveti Ivan Krstitelj (Surb Hovhannes Mkrkich).

43 Ostojić 1975, str. 144–146, 168–169. O sprovodima i plaćanju naknada raspravljalo se i na sjednicama kaptola 7. XI. i 30. XII. 1677. Nadbiskupski arhiv u Splitu (dalje NAS), Kaptolski arhiv Split (dalje KAS), br. 7, l. 13–14.

44 U splitskim matičnim knjigama umrlih nema upisa njegove smrti. Da se zbilja u siječnju, i to prije 25. siječnja, godine 1678. zaključujemo na temelju zapisnika kaptolskih sjednica, jer ona na kojoj se raspravljalo o tom sprovodu nema nadnevak, ali je održana između prethodne, od 30. XII. 1677., i sljedeće, od 25. I. 1678. NAS, KAS, br. 7, l. 14v, 16v.

42 Mkrkich (Armenian: մկրտիչ) is a male given name, meaning Baptist. The name originally refers to John the Baptist, viz. Saint John the Baptist (Surb Hovhannes Mkrkich).

43 Ostojić 1975, pp. 144–146, 168–169. Funerals and payment of fees were also discussed at the Chapter meetings dated 7 November and 30 December 1677. Archbishopric's Archives in Split (hereinafter AAS), Chapter's Archives, Split (hereinafter CAS), No. 7, f13–14.

44 There is no entry of his death in the death registry records of Split. We can conclude that it had taken place in January, i.e. before 25 January 1678, based on the minutes of Chapter meetings, because the one at which this funeral was discussed is not dated, but it was held between the previous one, dated 30 December 1677, and the next one, held on 25 January 1678. AAS, CAS, No. 7, f14v, 16v.

45 His name is not mentioned in documents, but it can be deduced from them that he was an Armenian merchant, and that he died in the lazaretto.

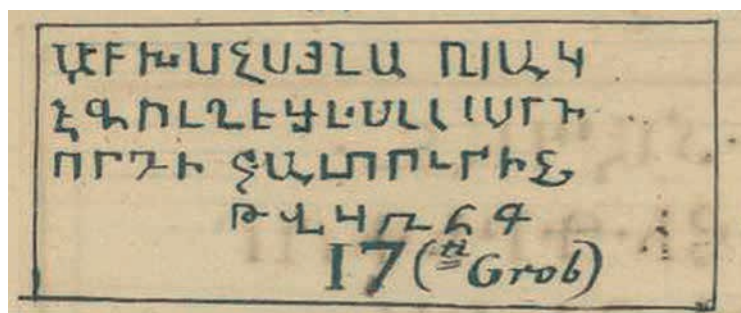
46 AAS, CAS, No. 7, f16. The main point of the meeting can be found on f143v: *Morto un certo uomo nelli Lazaretti, i P.P. di S. Domenico volendo sepellirlo nella loro Chiesa, anche per Decreto vocalmente espresso da Monsignore Arcivescovo, il Venerabile Capitolo si oppone.* For the sake of clarity, the abbreviations throughout the document are the same as in the following footnotes.

47 AAS, CAS, No. 7, f18, the main point of the meeting is on f143v.

48 He served from 9 August 1675 to 19 May 1678.

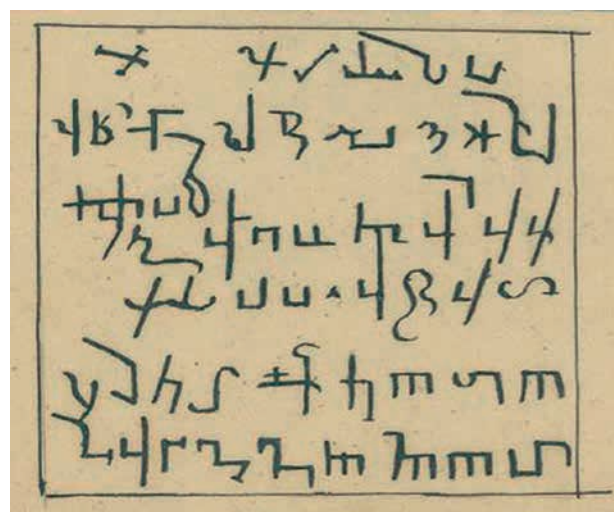
49 State Archives in Zadar, Governors-General, box 45, G. Cornaro (1680–1682), V. I, f306v–307r.

50 Duplančić 1998, pp. 78–19; Duplančić 2007, pp. 25, 60, fn. 136.



Slika 8.  
Armenski natpis iz 1624. na  
gornjem dijelu nadgrobne ploče

Figure 8.  
Armenian inscription from 1624  
on the upper part of the grave  
plaque



Slika 9.  
Armenski natpis na donjem  
dijelu nadgrobne ploče

Figure 9.  
Armenian inscription on the  
lower part of the grave plaque

armenski trgovac Grigor umro u lazaretu,<sup>45</sup> gdje je očito bio u propisanoj karanteni, sprovod su vodili dominikanci i pokopali ga u svojoj crkvi. Kaptol je smatrao da su time povrijeđena njegova prava, koja je imao na temelju papinskih dekreta, pa su kanonici odlučili suprotstaviti se dominikancima bez obzira na to što im je nadbiskup dao usmeno odobrenje za sprovod.<sup>46</sup> Na kaptolsku sjednicu 3. veljače 1678. došao je u ime samostana pater Švaganić i izjavio da dominikanci prihvaćaju odluku auditora (crkvenog suca) o ovom slučaju, a kanonici su izabrali svoje predstavnike u sporu, s namjerom da se postigne sporazum.<sup>47</sup>

Dominikanci su se obratili splitskom knezu i kapetanu Girolamu Priuliju,<sup>48</sup> koji im je dao za pravo, kao i Armencima da se pokapaju u crkvi sv. Dominika u dva groba sa starim natpisima koji su bili otkriveni prigodom ponovne gradnje crkve.<sup>49</sup> Naime, zbog utvrđivanja grada srušeni su krajem 1657. dominikanska crkva i samostan, a novi je sklop građen od 1666. do 1682.<sup>50</sup> te su tada nađene navedene ploče. Kanonici su se pozivali na papinske dekrete i pravo da vode sprovode i u redovničkim crkvama<sup>51</sup> te

found. The canons referred to papal decrees and the right to conduct funerals in monastic churches as well,<sup>51</sup> and the dispute came before the Governor-General Girolamo Cornaro, who reported everything to the authorities in Venice on 6 October 1679. In the ducal dated 8 February 1681, the doge Luigi Contarini ordered the governor Cornaro to investigate the case to avoid future disputes.<sup>52</sup> We do not know what happened next, but the ducal suggests that there was another grave in the church in addition to the one with the plaque with inscriptions from 1624 and 1637, which increases the number of burials of Armenians in the Dominican church,<sup>53</sup> and thus also indicates their even greater presence in Split.

The Greek and Armenian inscriptions are extremely inter-

45 Njegovo se ime ne spominje u dokumentima, ali se iz njih doznaje da je bio Armenac, trgovac, i da je umro u lazaretu.

46 NAS, KAS, br. 7, l. 16. Regest sjednice na l. 143v: *Morto un certo uomo nelli Lazaretti, i P.P. di S. Domenico volendo sepellirlo nella loro Chiesa, anche per Decreto vocalmente espresso da Monsignore Arcivescovo, il Venerabile Capitolo si oppone*. U dokumentu smo, radi preglednosti, kratice razriješili kao i u sljedećim bilješkama.

47 NAS, KAS, br. 7, l. 18, regest sjednice na l. 143v.

48 Bio je na dužnosti od 9. VIII. 1675. do 19. V. 1678.

49 Državni arhiv u Zadru, generalni providuri, kut. 45, G. Cornaro (1680. – 1682.), knj. I, l. 306v–307r.

50 Duplančić 1998, str. 78–19; Duplančić 2007, str. 25, 60, bilj. 136.

51 O tome Ostojić 1975, str. 146. Godine 1770. gvardijan samostana Ambrozije Gorda izjavio je da je kaptol uvijek vodio sprovode u dominikanskoj crkvi. NAS, S, br. 102, [Stampa 1770], str. 23: 1770. 30. *Luglio*. S.

51 For more, see Ostojić 1975, p. 146. In 1770, Ambrozije Gorda, the guardian of the monastery, declared that the Chapter had always conducted funerals in the Dominican church. AAS, S, No. 102, [Stampa 1770], p. 23: 1770. 30. *Luglio*. S. *Domenico Spalato. Atesto io infrascritto, che questo Venerabile Capitolo della Cattedrale di Spalato ha sempre esercitato il diritto di fare li Funerali nella nostra Chiesa, da quali conseguiscono la quarta porzion delle Cere*.

52 Ref. codes the same as in fn. 49: *la contesa nata l'anno 1678 di Febbrao trà li P.P. di S. Domenico di Spalato, e li Capitolari di quella Cattedrale per occasione di dar sepoltura all'Armeno mancato di vita in quei Lazaretti, osserviamo dalle vostre informazioni de 6 Ottobre decorso esser seguito giudico, e sentenza del Conte d'all hora Priuli favorevole ai Padri, et alla Natione Armena per le due sepulture, che con antiche iscrizioni nel rifabricar' essa Chiesa si sono ritrovare*. Cornaro served from April 1680 to June 1682.

53 The connection between the Dominican Order and the Armenians can also be seen in the activities of Ivan Dominik Stratik (1732–1799), a Dominican from Zadar and the Bishop of Hvar, who fought for Armenian religious freedom, as well as of Jozo Marinović, a Jesuit from Perast. Krasić 1991; Krasić 2017.

je spor došao pred generalnog providura Girolama Cornara, koji je 6. listopada 1679. o svemu izvijestio vlasti u Veneciji. Dukalom od 8. veljače 1681. dužd Luigi Contarini naredio je providuru Cornaru da ispita slučaj kako bi se ubuduće izbjegli sporovi.<sup>52</sup> Nije nam poznato što je bilo dalje, ali se iz dukale može zaključiti da je u crkvi osim groba s pločom s natpisima iz 1624. i 1637. postojao još jedan, što s onim Grigorovim povećava broj ukopa Armenaca u dominikanskoj crkvi,<sup>53</sup> a time ujedno ukazuje na njihovu još veću prisutnost u Splitu.

Iščitani grčki i armenski natpisi iznimno su zanimljivi i proširuju naša znanja o levantinskim trgovcima u splitskom novovjekovlju. Nažalost, od Carrarina i Sabljara vremena obje su nadgrobne ploče nestale jer ih je zadesila tužna sudbina crkve, njezine opreme i umjetnina pa ih danas nema ni u crkvi ni u samostanu, a ni u Arheološkome muzeju i Muzeju grada Splita. Ipak je sreća da su ih Carrara i Sabljar prepisali te nam tako, makar posredno, ostavili ova svjedočanstva o Armencima u Splitu. Na temelju njih i dukale iz 1680. vidimo da tijekom rušenja i ponovne gradnje crkve u drugoj polovini 17. st. nisu uništene sve stare grobnice te da su se ukopi obavljali i u vrijeme gradnje crkve (ploča iz godine 1678.).

Ovi su natpisi, uz slične u Italiji, potvrdili pojavu levantinskih trgovaca u Splitu tijekom stjecaja povoljnih trgovačkih okolnosti za khoja Armence. Stalno propitivanje nacionalne baštine i njezino sustavno popisivanje i obrađivanje potrebno je kako bi se mogao pravovaljano sagledati hrvatski kulturni identitet, koji je sačinjen od brojnih utjecaja, a sadrži i komponentu armenske dijasporne kulturne baštine, kao fenomena jednog raseljenog naroda iznimno teškog povijesnog usuda. Splitski su natpisi potvrda kozmopolitizma trgovine koja se odvijala na hrvatskim područjima u 17. st. pa su tako u istoj grobnici zajedno s Armencima pokapani i Grci iz Epira.

esting and expand our knowledge of Levantine merchants in modern-period Split. Unfortunately, since the time of Carrara and Sabljara, both tombstones have disappeared. They shared the sad fate of the church, its furnishings and works of art, so today they are no more, neither in the church nor in the monastery, or in the Archaeological Museum and the Split City Museum. Luckily, Carrara and Sabljara transcribed them and left us these testimonies about Armenians in Split, at least indirectly. Based on them and the 1680 ducal, it can be seen that not all old tombs were destroyed during the demolition and rebuilding of the church in the second half of the 17th century, and that burials were also carried out during the construction of the church (the plaque from 1678).

These inscriptions, together with similar ones in Italy, confirm the arrival of Levantine merchants in Split when the trade circumstances turned favourable to the khoja Armenians. Perpetual questioning of national heritage and its systematic cataloguing and processing is necessary in order to validly perceive the Croatian cultural identity, which is composed of numerous influences, and also contains a component of the Armenian diaspora's cultural heritage as a phenomenon of a displaced people with an extremely difficult historical destiny. The inscriptions from Split confirm the cosmopolitanism of trade in the 17th-century Croatian territories, and thus Greeks from Epirus were buried in the same tomb together with Armenians.

**Prijevod / Translation:** Denis Gracin

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*Domenico Spalato. Atesto io infrascritto, che questo Venerabile Capitolo della Cattedrale di Spalato ha sempre esercitato il diritto di fare li Funerali nella nostra Chiesa, da quali conseguiscono la quarta porzion delle Cere.*

52 Sign. kao u bilj. 49: *la contesa nata l'anno 1678 di Febraro trà li P.P. di S. Domenico di Spalato, e li Capitolari di quella Catedral per occasione di dar sepoltura all'Armeno mancato di vita in quei Lazaretti, osserviamo dalle vostre informazioni de 6 Ottobre decorso esser seguito giudico, e sentenza del Conte d'all hora Priuli favorevole ai Padri, et alla Natione Armena per le due sepulture, che con antiche iscrittioni nel rifabbricar' essa Chiesa si sono ritrovare.* Cornaro je bio na dužnosti od travnja 1680. do lipnja 1682. godine.

53 Povezanost dominikanskog reda i Armenaca vidi se i u djelatnosti zadarskog dominikanca i hvarskog biskupa Ivana Dominika Stratika (1732. – 1799.), koji se borio za armenske vjerske slobode, ali i Peraštanina isusovca Joza Marinovića. Krasić 1991; Krasić 2017.

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