

# The Ledger

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## Editor's Note

2023 has been a busy year for the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery. New administrative policies have been introduced, tombs renovated, and site recordings completed. The cemetery's archive has been digitized and the British Institute at Ankara (BIAA)'s yearlong botanical study finalized. Public outreach also took place at events both locally and abroad.

The international activities included an online lecture for the Church Monuments Society in the UK in November. Besides the cemetery's history, the talk summarized the British Institute's 2022 project to produce 3D models of the memorial stones in Monument Row using Reflectance Transformation Imaging. This issue of *The Ledger* presents an article by former BIAA Assistant Director Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal on one of the stones photographed during the project, highlighting the value of the RTI models as historical sources.

Contributions from international authors are vital for advancing our knowledge of the cemetery, as demonstrated by UK-based genealogist Norman Lamb's piece on John Stevenson Pasha (d. 1904), which corrects a misconception about the nationality of this Englishman who became a general in the Ottoman army. Sarah Elsheimy and Richard Wittmann's "A Feriköy Resident on Screen" offers new details about cemetery notable Traugott Fuchs (d. 1997) and describes a documentary film on his life, produced in 2022 (partly at the cemetery) and shown publicly for the first time this year.

**Brian Johnson**

## A Feriköy Resident on Screen

### *The Life of Philologist and Artist Traugott Fuchs*

Sarah El Sheimy and Richard Wittmann

The morning heat of July. A crowd is gathered around a rather nondescript grave. Microphones are being positioned and several cameras are recording. It's unusually busy at the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery—where on most days at this hour a few cats and perhaps a tortoise might be wandering about.

This lively scene occurred in 2022, when director Dirk Schäfer started filming his documentary about Traugott Fuchs, which took more than a year to produce. Yet this is only a fraction of the time already spent on researching, documenting, and preserving the legacy of this scholar and artist who is buried in Feriköy.



Fuchs' tombstone

Dirk Schäfer (left) directing Richard Wittmann and Julia Völker in the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery, for the film *Traugott*

Close to 14,000 items from the estate of Traugott Fuchs have so far been gathered and housed at Orient-Institut Istanbul and are now listed in the online Kalliope Union Catalogue hosted by the Berlin State Library.<sup>1</sup> They record the life and work of a man who came to Istanbul as an exile and decided to stay. In Germany, Fuchs had been suppressed by the destructive force of National Socialism. In Turkey, he proved that tolerance and dialogue could generate something new and positive in its stead.

Traugott Fuchs was born in 1906 into a Protestant pastor's family in Alsace-Lorraine, then part of Germany, which today belongs to France. This area bears a tragic modern history. Both France and Germany repeatedly laid claim to the region. Alsace-Lorraine switched allegiances four times between 1871 and 1945, during several brutal wars, which resulted in the displacement and exile of much of its populace.

<sup>1</sup> <https://kalliope-verbund.info/findingaid?fa.id=DE-611-BF-77526&fa.enum=2>

Like many of the region's inhabitants, Traugott Fuchs grew up in two cultural spheres, German and Romance, and the conflict over Alsace-Lorraine impacted his personal life. Fuchs' parents left the region with their children after it was ceded to France at the end of World War I. "Although we and our mother had the right to stay and become French, we had to follow our strict Prussian-minded father," Fuchs later recounted. At the time, the privilege of staying was generally only granted to people of French descent or those who could prove that they originated from an allied or neutral state.

The family moved to Germany and settled in Thuringia. Fuchs' writings reveal what the migration across the Rhine meant for his father: "Our return to Germany was an immigration, with our hearts deeply grieving the departure and suffering from the loss of a sense of home that had never been upheld. Father cried as we passed over the Kehl Bridge."



Fuchs (1906-97) at work in Istanbul

1933, after the Nazi regime made it impossible for Jews to teach in universities, Spitzer lost his chair and moved to Istanbul.

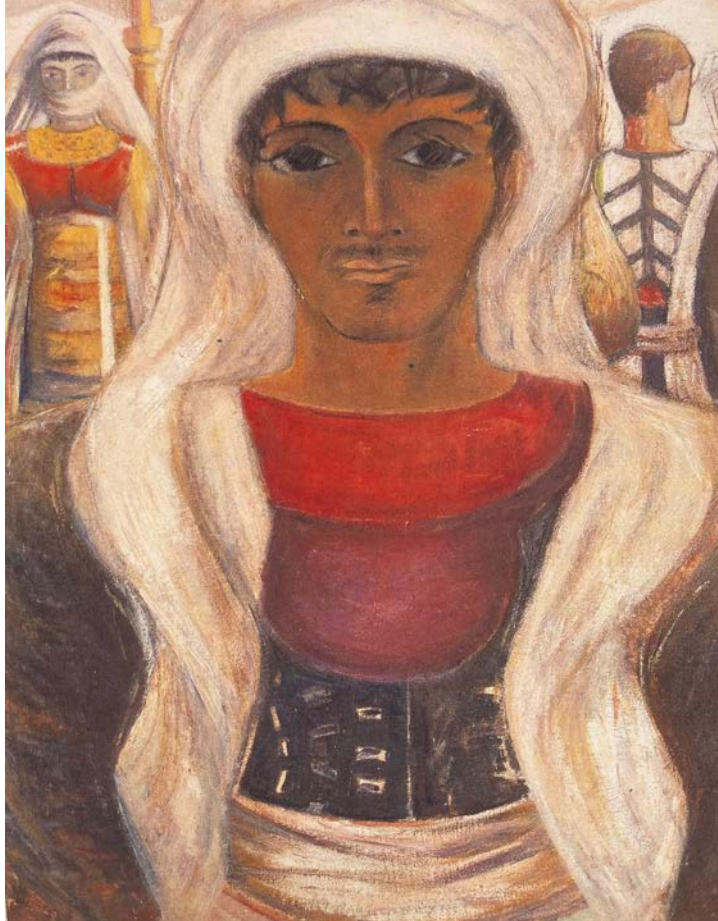
Fuchs did not accept Spitzer's dismissal quietly, and he organized a student protest, displaying his opposition to the regime and its policies fueled by hatred, marginalization, and harassment. Fuchs later noted that his demonstration led to "complete isolation and condemnation" in Germany. In 1934, he followed Spitzer to Istanbul, where the coexistence of different lifestyles was an everyday reality. It would remain his home until his death in 1997.

Fuchs first worked at Istanbul University as a French language instructor, laying the foundation of his future as a lifelong mediator of language and culture. Together with Spitzer, he also founded the German studies department in the university's faculty of philosophy. He taught there from 1934 until his retirement in 1978, institutionalizing philological and intellectual exchange that could not be taken for granted, particularly due to the tainted public perception of German culture at the time.

Fuchs also taught German at Istanbul's Robert College, today's Boğaziçi University. Many of his colleagues at both the university and college are buried in the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery, including the American physicist and travel and history writer John Freely and the German Turkologist Robert Anhegger.

These childhood impressions, the question of belonging and the loss of home, would always play a role in Traugott Fuchs' life. This was demonstrated by his choice of studies. At university, he not only enrolled in philosophy, art history, and pedagogy but also in German and Romance studies. He thus started to explore the German and French languages and cultures in his academic pursuits. He moved from Berlin (via Heidelberg and Marburg) to Cologne, where he began working as an assistant to the Romance scholar Leo Spitzer in 1929. In

“Çorum Winter–Stimmung [Atmosphäre],” painted by Fuchs during his internment in Çorum



Advert for the premier of *Traugott*

Besides his German, Francophone, and English-language academic circles, Fuchs socialized with Turkish-speaking Istanbulites, including the educator and artist Fikret Elpe. His relationship with Elpe continued even after Turkey joined the Allies against Germany in 1944, when Fuchs and many other Germans were interned in the Anatolian town of Çorum for about a year and a half. While confined at Çorum, he devoted himself to painting and produced an extraordinary series of canvases that depict the region’s landscape and inhabitants.

Fuchs and Elpe continued to exchange letters and postcards in both German and Turkish over many decades. Fuchs’ writings also include correspondence with many known individuals of the day, such as the professors of literature Erich Auerbach and Leo Spitzer and the philosopher Hermann Hesse. He also translated modern poetry from Turkish into German, introducing the works of Turkish authors internationally.

Dirk Schäfer’s *Traugott*, whose filming began at Fuchs’ final resting place in the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery, presents the life and contributions of this remarkable scholar and artist to a new audience. It was screened publicly for the first time in Basel, Heidelberg, and Vienna in 2023, in the context of *Turkologentag*, a European biannual conference on Ottoman and Turkish Studies, and it is scheduled to premiere in Turkey in May 2024, at Orient-Institut Istanbul, accompanied by an exhibit of Fuchs’ Çorum paintings and letters he exchanged with Fikret Elpe. This unique documentary film renews Fuchs’ legacy of promoting cultural exchange and understanding from beyond the grave. His last place of rest will not only be in Feriköy but also in the hearts of those whom his tolerant and productive life may affect and inspire.

**Sarah El Sheimy** ([el\\_sheimy@studserv.uni-leipzig.de](mailto:el_sheimy@studserv.uni-leipzig.de)), a student of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Leipzig, was an academic intern at the Orient-Institut Istanbul from September to December 2023.

**Richard Wittmann** ([wittmann@oiist.org](mailto:wittmann@oiist.org)) is the deputy director of the Orient-Institut Istanbul. A historian of the Ottoman Empire, he oversees the institute’s research on the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery and on life narratives as sources for the history of the late Ottoman period. In 2022–3, he produced the documentary film *Traugott* with filmmaker Dirk Schäfer.

## British, not American

*Barbara Dobbins Title's A Fine Place of Rest: Americans in the Protestant Cemetery, Feriköy-Istanbul, Turkey (1998), is the chief source of information about US citizens buried in the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery. However, recent site recordings show that the book needs some revision, particularly for interments in the last rows of the newly mapped section S. Burials in this area are mostly British, especially those closest to the cemetery's west wall and adjacent to the main US section across the path to the south. Section S was originally allotted to Great Britain, and though it became mixed over time—so much so that it is considered “international ground” today—most of those interred there in the nineteenth century were British subjects. One such individual is John Stevenson Pasha, who is included in A Fine Place of Rest as an American. Genealogist Norman Lamb clears up the confusion in his summary of this notable Englishman's life and family.*

## John Stevenson Pasha

### “Général d'artillerie de l'armée Ottomane”

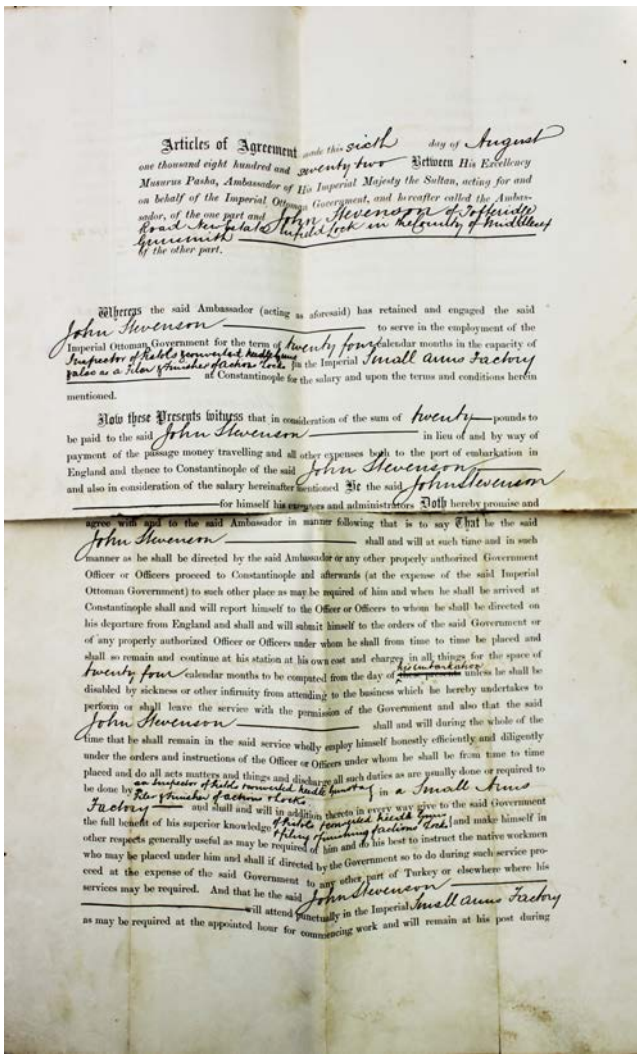
#### Norman Lamb

John Stevenson (1850–1904) was born in Birmingham, Warwickshire, England, on 28 April 1850. The son of John Stevenson Sr., a gunmaker, and Amelia Hughes, he was the seventh of eleven children, five brothers and five sisters. Birmingham had been producing firearms since the early 1600s, and it was considered the center of the world's gun-manufacturing industry in the mid-nineteenth century. The Stevenson family resided in an area of the city known locally as the Gun Quarter, and all of John Sr.'s sons are recorded as working in the firearm industry at some time during their lives.

The cemetery's section S and Stevenson's tomb



The family later moved to Bermondsey, Surrey, and then to Enfield Lock, Middlesex, the location of the Royal Small Arms Factory, England's largest gun factory. By 1871, John Jr., aged twenty-one, was living in London and working as a gunsmith. A year later, on 6 August 1872, he signed a two-year contract to work for the Ottoman government as an inspector of pistols and converted needle guns, as well as a filer and finisher of action locks, at the Imperial Gun and Small Arms Factory, at Tophane, Istanbul. His salary was £20 per month, or the equivalent of £34,000 per year in today's currency. Stevenson's employment occurred in the context of the contemporary Ottoman effort to industrialize, which witnessed the transfer of both technology and specialists from Britain to Istanbul to aid in this process, especially in military industries.



Stevenson's 1872 contract to work at Istanbul's Imperial Gun and Small Arms Factory, Tophane

The gun finishing room at the Tophane factory

on 2 February 1883 and was admitted to the third degree in Constantinople's Masonic Oriental Lodge, No. 687, on 6 April 1883. He received his official certification on 19 October of the same year. Stevenson's Masonic records also show that he was residing in Istanbul's Galata district at the time, close to the arms factory at Tophane. Although his initial appointment at the factory in 1872 had only been for two years, he remained in Ottoman employment until his death in 1904. He was obviously successful, as he was appointed a general in the



On 6 August 1873, Stevenson married Emma Middleditch at the British Embassy in Istanbul. The couple had five known children, three of whom died in infancy and were buried in the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery. The inscription on John Stevenson's tombstone records this sad episode of their early married life. Jane Anna Stevenson died on 19 July 1876, aged ten months; Hilda Stevenson died on 7 September 1883, aged twelve months; and John George Stevenson died on 7 February 1889, aged one year, ten months. Tragically, Emma soon followed her children, passing away on 22 January 1889, at the age of thirty-seven. Two daughters, Emma and Amelia Stevenson, born on 14 July 1874 and 20 October 1879, respectively, were the only surviving offspring of Stevenson's first marriage.

A year after Emma's death, Stevenson married again, in the parish of Sparkbrook, Birmingham, England (24 May 1890), after which he returned to Istanbul. His new wife, Emily Darby (b. 1871), gave birth to six children in the Ottoman capital, two sons, John (1891) and Thomas (1895), and four daughters, Rosa (1892), Catherine Blanche (1897), Violet (1898), and Alice Olga (1900).

Like many British engineers and craftsmen who pursued careers in Istanbul in the nineteenth century, John Stevenson was a Mason. He was accepted into Free Masonry



Stevenson's death certificate



Stevenson Pasha in uniform

Ottoman army, honored with the title “Pasha,” and decorated during his years of state service with the Order of Osmanieh and the Order of the Medjidieh and two Imtiyaz medals.<sup>1</sup>

Stevenson died on 27 October 1904, at the age of fifty-four, from a cerebral hemorrhage, and he was buried in the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery. His death certificate, in French, notes that he was a “general of artillery,” and the same is recorded on his tombstone.

Stevenson’s two surviving children from his first marriage, Emma and Amelia, eventually emigrated to the United States. They resided in Queens, New York, where they passed away in 1950 and 1970, respectively. The six children from his second marriage, all born in Istanbul, went with their mother to Birmingham, England, after their father’s death. All later moved to Canada, except for Thomas, who remained in Birmingham.

*Norman Lamb (n.lamb@gmx.com), originally from Keighley, West Yorkshire, and now living in Bristol, England, has been researching his family history (Keighley Lambs) since the 1980s. Having retired in 2013, and having more time on his hands, he has been able to use the knowledge he has gained to help many of his close relatives research their families. The Stevensons are one such family.*

1 Thomas James Stevenson, John’s eldest brother, was also employed at Tophane, in the artillery department, with the rank of an Ottoman colonel. He served there from the early 1870s until his death in 1884. Previously, he had worked in the United States, at the Federal Armory and Arsenal in Springfield, Massachusetts, from about 1864 to 1870 (at the end of and after the American Civil War). He rests in Uskudar, in the Haydarpaşa Cemetery, while his first wife, Elizabeth (Hoyle) Stevenson, who died in 1873, is buried in the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery.

# For a “Wonderful, Pious Friendship, to be Venerated in Every Age”

## *The Memorial to Thomas Baines in Feriköy, Companion and Physician to the English Ambassador to Constantinople*

Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal

The Structure from Motion 3D scanning carried out on the tombs of the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery’s Monument Row has facilitated the reading of the mostly Latin inscriptions of the seventeenth-early nineteenth century tombstones that were relocated to Feriköy from the former Protestant burial ground at Taksim and perhaps elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> In many cases, the inscriptions contain more than just names and dates of birth and death, revealing additional details of the lives of important and interesting figures who played a role in the relations between England (later Britain), the Ottoman Empire, and other states.

The hip tomb to Thomas Baines, bearing a 350-word inscription split between two of its four sides (the others bearing two coats of arms), is a case in point. Read alongside biographical information coming from a variety of textual sources, the intimate inscription illuminates Baines’ life and its defining relationship, with John Finch (1626–82), the inscription’s author. Born to a yeoman family, Baines attended Cambridge as a sizar, paying for his education by the performance of menial duties, during which he tended to the needs of a younger student, the nobleman Finch.<sup>2</sup> Forming what would become a life-long bond, the pair continued their studies in Padua, where they earned medical degrees of high repute in England. Baines accompanied his lifelong companion John Finch to Constantinople, where the latter was appointed English ambassador in 1672 after postings in Italy. Baines and Finch later moved to Edirne, following the court of Mehmed IV (r. 1648–87). They disliked their new lodgings in the city and expressed their antisemitic disdain at the Jewish neighborhood in which they found themselves.

Thomas Baines, 1622–80



Their prejudices did not prevent all interactions with locals, however. At regular dinner gatherings, Finch and Baines debated theology with Muslim and Jesuit Catholic guests.<sup>3</sup> Baines sent letters to England advocating against the damaging influence of coffee houses which were “inconsistent with government”<sup>4</sup> and pointed to the example of the Sultan’s suppression of coffee. Such rulings did not, apparently, apply to themselves, as Finch was treated to coffee on meeting the grand vizier Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa (1635–76), and recorded a recipe for making coffee in his notebooks.

Baines played an important side role in Finch’s quest to secure a renewal of the capitulations granted to England, making a visit to the influential religious scholar Vani Mehmed Efendi (d. 1685), a close associate of the sultan. Baines reportedly impressed him by pointing to similarities between Protestant puritanism and Islam. In September 1675, after much maneuvering, an updated *ahdname* (a concession issued by the sultan) specifying tariffs and the legal rights of English subjects in the Ottoman Empire was finally granted.<sup>5</sup> The period witnessed a boom in English trade to the Levant, which overtook that of other European nations. By the end of Finch’s ambassadorship, however, the Levant company faced new challenges under Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed’s successor, Kara Mustafa Paşa (1634/5–83), with the seizure of English ships over an unpaid

1 Scans of the tombs, made by Aykan Akçay, and inscriptions with translations, provided by Matthew Tanton and Annika Asp, are available on the British Institute at Ankara’s Digital Repository’s website at the following address: <https://digitalrepository.biaa.ac.uk/ferikoy-protestant-cemetery-collection>

2 Norman Hammond, “The Anatomist’s Arms. The Memorials to Sir Thomas Baines (1622-1681) in Christ’s College Cambridge,” *The Coat of Arms. The Journal of the Heraldry Society*, 4th ser., vol. 2 (2019): 109–22, 113.

3 Archibald Malloch, *Finch and Baines. A Seventeenth Century Friendship* (Cambridge 1917), 68.

4 Baines to Earl of Conway, 11–12 May 1681, quoted in Malloch, *Finch and Baines*, 69.

5 Maurits van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System* (Leiden and Boston 2005), 46.





Seventeenth-century map-view of Istanbul, showing St. Demetrius Hill (right)

bill for the transportation of silks.<sup>6</sup> In his study of Finch's ambassadorship, George Frederick Abbott uncharitably blamed Finch's failures on his infatuation with Baines and the latter's "malignant influence."<sup>7</sup> Abbott came from a Levantine family long-resident in Salonica and Constantinople, and wrote a number of works on Greek and Turkish history and contemporary culture, as well as acting as a correspondent in the region for multiple newspapers.<sup>8</sup>

Baines and Finch's residence in Edirne and Istanbul coincided with an outbreak of plague in both towns. In an attempt to avoid contracting the disease, they kept themselves to the urban periphery, living in the village of Karaağaç in Edirne and residing on St Demetrius hill in Constantinople (in present-day Istanbul's Kurtuluş neighborhood). While the plague retreated, in September 1681 Baines was struck by a fever, apparently the result of kidney stones, and died several days later. Finch was deeply affected, describing his friend's death as having "cutt off the thread of all my worldly happinesse and application to business."<sup>9</sup> Finch had Baines' body embalmed by Jenkins and Cranmer, a doctor and a ship surgeon respectively, so that it could be transported back to England. His "viscerals," i.e. his organs, which could not be transported, were buried at Taksim (possibly also at St. Demetrius Hill), however, and a monument of sorts was erected which bears a long dedication written by Finch for his deceased friend, celebrating the "marriage of souls" between the pair.

6 G. F. Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople. A Record of Sir John Finch's Embassy* (London 1920), 178.

7 *Ibid.*, 353.

8 Nadia Giraud, *Searching for Distant Relations, the Abbotts of Salonica*, <http://www.levantineheritage.com/testi60.htm>.

9 Quoted in Malloch, *Finch and Baines*, 72.

The south face of Baines' tomb in the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery



Stupendse, Piae, ac omni Seculo Venerandae Amicitiae, S: Inter  
Clarissimum Illustrissimumque Virum  
D: Thomam Baines Equitem Auratum  
Cujus Interiora hie posita sunt;

Et

Illustrissimum Excellentissimumque D: Johannem Finch E: A: Legatum & cra  
Qui post suave et irruptum Animorum Connubium Indivulsumque per XXXVI  
Integros Annos Sodalitium;

Has Exuvias Inenarrabili Amori Sacras,  
Et sibi percharas Reliquias, Byzantinae Ditioni Gemebundus, Committit Simul et  
Invidet: Quicquid praeterea Pollinctura condiri potuit,  
Totum illud Secum abducit Legatus redux, in Angliam, Charum sed Triste  
Consortium,

Ut eodem Sepulchro claudantur Inseparables Amici.

Nec enim par erat ut distinguerentur eorum Cineres mortui  
Qui Mei ac Tui Nomina tanquam Amicitiae Exosa et Infesta  
Dum inter Vivos essent, in Exilium egerunt.

Atque hinc Amicitia quae a caeteris Mortalibus pro nudo Nomine habetur, Inter  
Nos indubitato extitit Res; ac vera Virtus;

Elapsis Seculis, licet Fabulosis inaudita, et futuris. aegre imitabilis.

Decus hoc et honestamentum Amicitiae, semper miraberis Viator; Sed modo  
deflebis

Si Viscera habeas vel Ferentis, vel Ponentis hoc Marmor.

--

This is erected to the wonderful, pious Friendship, to be venerated in every age, between the most renowned and illustrious man Sir Thomas Baines, Knight, whose bowels are deposited here, and the most honourable and excellent Sir John Finch, Knight, Ambassador, etc., Who after a beautiful and unbroken marriage of souls and a companionship undivided during XXXVI complete years, with groanings commits (and at the same time envies) these parts, sacred to an unspeakable love, and these remains very dear to him, to the Byzantine dominion Whatever further of the body by preparation could be embalmed, all this the Ambassador brings with him coming home into England, a dear but sad companionship, so that the inseparable friends may be enclosed in the same tomb : for it does not appear right that their dead ashes should be distinguished who, whilst they were living put far away from them the words Mine and Thine, as hateful and hostile to friendship : and hence Friendship which to other mortals is a bare name, between us without doubt became a great thing, and a true virtue, in times gone by perhaps unheard of in history, and in the future scarcely to be imitated. This ornament and honour to friendship, always thou shalt wonder at oh traveller, but now thou shalt weep, if thou hast a heart like his who bears or like his who places this marble.

The north face of the tomb



Nunc de Integerrimo et Conjunctissimo Meo Bainesio, Pauca ex multis dicam.  
 In omni Re Literaria fuit tarn profunde eruditus  
 Ut Platonis et Stagiritae Manes in illo credideris redivivos  
 Nisi quod Sublimitate Ingenij Utrosque Illorum, Caeterosque omnes Celebritate  
 Nominis Insignes, facile Superaret.  
 Momenta enim rationis Universalis Illi Soli (quod Sciam) inter Mortales  
 innotuerunt.  
 Nec Minor fuit in Rebus gerendis: Quibus nominibus  
 Ssmi Ferd: H: et Cosm: III: MDH: Principes Immortalis Prudentiae  
 Bainesium Nostrum, inter Viros Summe praeclaros annumerabant, Famamque  
 Ipsius, cum Colloquiorum, turn Literarum,  
 Insuper et Munerum frequentia extendebant: More His Heroibus consueto, erga  
 Viros Primarios. Princepsque Pater, Ilium Caput Ferreum Vocitabat:  
 Nam vel inter facetias (Vir enim fuit Amoenissimi Ingenij)  
 Nihil protulit quod non Simul in Scopum aliquem Serium dirigeretur.  
 Ea denique illibata Virtute ac morum gravitate praeditus fuit, Ut nemo ausus sit  
 Ipsius Aures Minus honeste dictis vulnerare.  
 Atroces Cruciatu; Exortos a Lancinatione Calculorum Vesicae;  
 Duo enim aderant In glandis Magnitudine, Christiana fortitudine, ultra Stoicismi  
 jactantiam pertulit.  
 Tanti Viri, Talisque Amicitiae irreparabilem proh dolor! Jacturam feci; Dum inter  
 Amplexus et Gemitus, ultimum Ipsius Spiritum Exciperem; Die V: Septembris H:  
 III. PM: MDCLXXXI: JEt: Sua; LIX.  
 Vivam Charissime! Memor Nostra? Amicitiae, et Nulla Dies Unquam Memori Nos  
 eximet Ævo.

Now let me say a few things out of many, concerning my most honourable and beloved friend Baines. In all things literary he was so profoundly learned that thou wouldst have believed the shades of Plato and the Stagirite to have lived again in him, were it not that he easily surpassed each of them in the sublimity of his knowledge, and all other famous men in the celebrity of his name: for to him alone (as I know) were known the movements of universal reason. Nor was he less great in what he did : on which account the most serene Ferdinand II and Cosimo III M.D.H. Princes of immortal wisdom, numbered our Baines amongst the most famous men, and spread forth his fame by conversations, letters, and above all by their gifts, as is the manner of these heroes towards remarkable men, and the Prince, the father, used to call him "The Iron Head." For indeed in his jests (for he was a man of charming wit) he put forth nothing that was not at the same time directed to some serious object. Thereupon by this unimpaired virtue and by the gravity of his manners he was revealed so that no one dared to wound his ears with speeches less becoming. Cruel tortures, arising from the laceration of the stones of the bladder (two were of the size of a walnut) he bore with Christian fortitude, beyond the boasting of the Stoicism—alas what grief! I have suffered the irreparable loss of such a man, and of such a friendship, whilst between embracing and groaning I have listened to his last breath on the Vth day of September Illrd hour P.M. MDCLXXXI in the LIXth year of his age. I shall live, O beloved ! mindful of our Friendship, and no day shall ever remove us from a remembering age.

The translation provided here comes from Archibald Murray's 1917 study *Finch and Baines*, where he notes that Sir Edwin Pears created a compilation of inscriptions of the tombs from Feriköy which was "deposited in the chapel of the embassy," a document that would be of great value to future research if it were to be recovered. Alongside the inscription, on either end of the monument, are two armorial bearings. Each contains a pair of bones in a cross position, a coat of arms acquired by Baines that is recorded (in a saltire arrangement) on a mural in Padua and was later used on the joint monument to Finch and Baines in the chapel of Christ's College, Cambridge.<sup>10</sup>

On his return to England, Finch also fell ill and set out his own will and testimony. He requested to be buried together with Baines at Christ's College Chapel and endowed a number of scholarships in both their names. After Finch's death on 18 November 1682, a monument was built for the two men in Christ's College Chapel, with a second inscription noting that Finch had "taken care of the viscera of his friend burying them in the Byzantine earth, adding an elegant marble where he thanked for their battle together," referring to the tomb now located in Feriköy. The chapel monument is joined by that of clergyman John Covel, who had met the pair in Edirne on his travels in Asia Minor, before being appointed Master of Christ's College Cambridge from 1688–1723.

The two monuments make clear the extent of Finch's devotion to his friend.

Their relationship was the subject of amusement among the merchants in the Ottoman empire.<sup>11</sup> Finch never married, apparently dissuaded from one potential match by Baines' insistence.<sup>12</sup> The language he employed on the Feriköy monument suggests that their relationship was romantic, with use of words typically associated with marital relations, while at the same time underlining the pair's purity, a theme repeated visually and verbally in the Christ's College memorial.<sup>13</sup> Such emphases were necessary in a period in which homosexuality was castigated, despite the existence of this and a number of other early modern monuments romanticizing male-male relationships.

*Daniel Joseph MacArthur-Seal, PhD (d.macarthurseal@ssmeridionale.it) is currently a research fellow at the Scuola Superiore Meridionale in Naples, Italy. From 2019 to 2023, he served as Assistant Director of the British Institute at Ankara and as a member of the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery Initiative, in which capacity he oversaw BIAA's project to create the 3D scans of the stones in Monument Row.*

Baines' coat of arms on the tomb's west face

The monument for Finch and Baines in Christ's College Chapel, Cambridge, UK



<sup>10</sup> Hammond, "The Anatomist's Arms," 118.

<sup>11</sup> Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 41.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>13</sup> Jean Wilson, "'Two Names Of Friendship, But One Starre.' Memorials to Single Sex Couples in the Early Modern Period," *Church Monuments* 10 (1995): 70–83, 75.

# Reflections of a Cemetery Intern

## Joseph Perez

When I was selected for an ARIT summer internship in 2023, I wasn't sure what to expect. I knew I'd be living in Istanbul for two months, that I'd be living with three other guys from Hillsdale College, and that I'd be working with archives in some capacity. But I didn't know where I'd be working or what my daily schedule would look like. I didn't know what documents I'd be handling or what they meant. And I certainly didn't know anything about the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery.

Accustomed as I was to American suburbs and college towns, life in Istanbul was a big adjustment at first. I was struck by the insistent, everyday presence of the call to prayer, which resonated loudly even inside our apartment; ultimately, I learned to appreciate the beauty of the rhythm it imposes on public life. I learned to communicate in broken Turkish with waiters and shop owners, relying on hand signals or Google Translate when my rudimentary vocabulary inevitably failed me. I learned how to get around the city by bus, tram, ferry, and metro—the metro lines I rode were bigger, cleaner, and more modern than any I had seen in Paris or New York. On our last day in the city, my friend Ciaran and I got stranded in the middle of the Karaköy-Beyoğlu Tünel and had to walk out because the metro car stopped halfway up the hill. That became one of my favorite memories of my time in Istanbul.

A few days after we arrived, we all went to the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery. Brian Johnson gave us a tour, explaining its rich history and



Joseph Perez at work on the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery archives

introducing us to the ongoing projects related to its legacy (some of which we would participate in). Several things about the cemetery impressed me. I was struck by the international quality of the place—it is managed by the consulates of various foreign nations, each of whom is represented in a different section.

Within each area, there is a striking mixture of old and new graves, rather than a subdivision of each section according to time. Lastly, I was amazed by the serenity that seemed to always pervade the cemetery, in contrast to the huge crowds and constant sensory stimulation of the Old City or İstiklal Avenue. In the cemetery, one could sit alone with the stones and the trees and be truly at peace. No other place in Istanbul was like that.

Within the first week, I was assigned to work on the cemetery archives. While I had no archiving experience, I soon got a sense of how the process works— what to look for, what not to look for, how to record relevant information, etc. Many of the documents were in foreign languages, most commonly French—my

French improved considerably over the course of the summer through my reading of diplomatic correspondence.

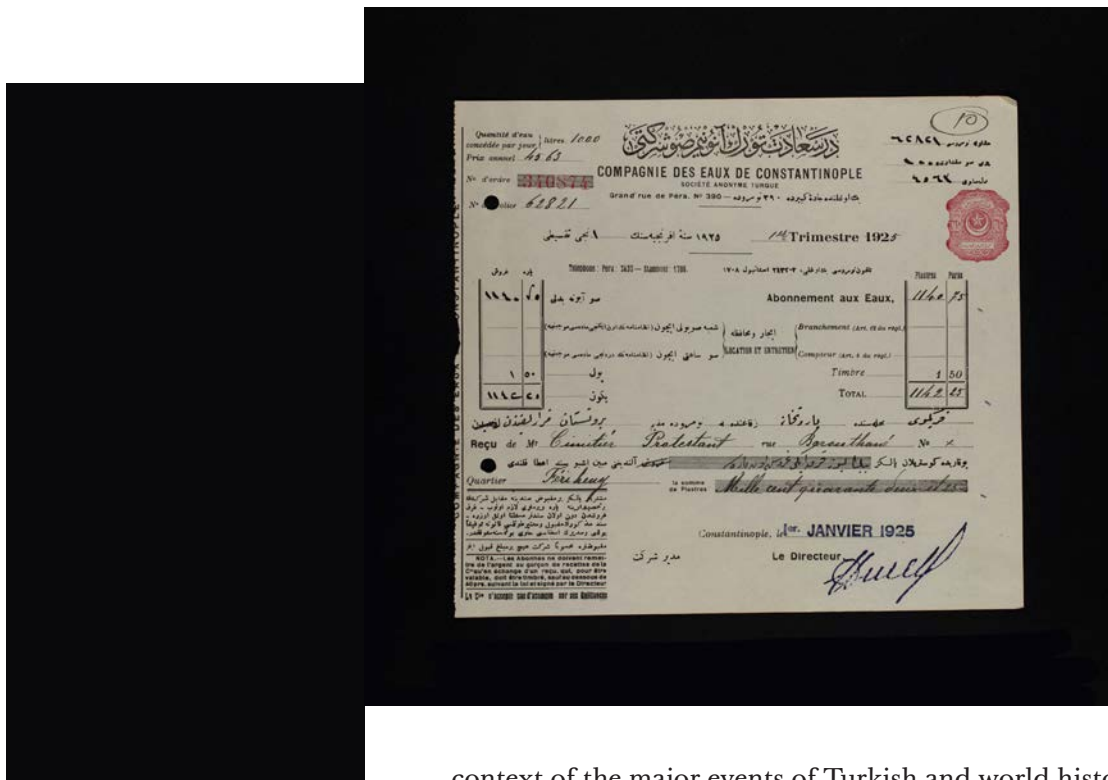
What surprised me about the reality of the archiving work was the consistency of the sources and the events they documented. I imagined the archives would show rapidly changing trends and facts in the period they covered; I envisioned myself piecing together a grand narrative from surface details that I could place in the

context of the major events of Turkish and world history. What I encountered instead was a world of peace, which remained largely independent of major political and economic developments, and a world of suffering, or rather of sufferers—thousands of human deaths and grieving human relatives.

The absence of documents on war or politics, and the consistent recurrence of those for everyday necessities, like water payments, reflected the peace of the cemetery itself, which all nations recognized and respected. Yet each individual person or family recorded in the archive had an experience of tragedy or trauma which seemed to cry out against that peace, even if it was usually hidden behind a burial application or a hospital record. Ultimately, however, the suffering of each person finally came to rest, and was finally incorporated into the physical earth of the cemetery to reaffirm the same overwhelming peace I had felt on my first day there.

I am very grateful that I was able both to work on the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery archives and to visit the place in person. Reading the documents helped me to contextualize the names on the gravestones and develop a deeper understanding of the cemetery's history, but being there in person gave me a sense of the peaceful permanence underlying each historical moment of suffering. I hope the cemetery can continue to be what it has been, a neutral haven where trees grow and the dead of all nations are remembered, for as long as possible. It was one of the most memorable places I visited in Istanbul, and I hope to be able to return someday.

*Joseph Perez (Josephwperez@protonmail.com), a history major at Hillsdale College, MI, USA, and president of the senior class of 2024, took part in the 2023 ARIT-Hillsdale summer internship program. He was given the task of cataloguing the archives of the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery in preparation for scanning the collection.*



A cemetery water bill

## Cemetery Happenings

2023 President of the Governing Board Kirsten Thompson receiving the cemetery's Association of Significant Cemeteries of Europe (ASCE) membership certificate from Brian Johnson (left) and Richard Wittmann (December 2022)



2023 has been both eventful and productive for the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery. During this year's American presidency of US Consulate Section Chief Kirsten Thompson achievements have been made in recording the site and its historical records, renovating its built heritage, and promoting its cultural and ecological importance. Undoubtedly, however, the most noteworthy progress has been in administration, particularly with the introduction of a new set of general rules by the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery Initiative.

Soon after forming in 2018, the Initiative realized that the cemetery's existing regulations didn't address many current needs. In 2021 it made revision a priority and tapped local and international resources for help, especially through the Association of Significant Cemeteries

of Europe (ASCE). Research, discussion, and drafting took about a year. The resulting rules were approved by the Governing Board in early 2023, and the Initiative supplemented them this fall with procedures to manage plot sales and monument construction. Never in its history has the cemetery had such comprehensive policies to guide its operations.

Enes Sayın (left) and Joseph Perez at the cemetery (in their intern outfits)



To help streamline administrative tasks, President Thompson also decided to procure software. The Initiative investigated several commercial providers, and based on its findings, the Governing Board contracted OpusXenta to provide the package. Initiative member Fokke Gerritsen (Netherlands Institute in Turkey, NIT) then began collecting archival data to upload to a system database, including information about burial plot locations, occupants, and rights holders. He was assisted by Jane Bragdon, an MA student at Koç University and intern for the American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT).

In accordance with a plan prepared in 2022 by Bernard Mantel, a consultant from the Netherlands' National Archives, the cemetery's archival records were catalogued and digitized this year. Fokke and Brian Johnson (ARIT) oversaw the project, in which student interns played a crucial role. Enes Sayın (Boğaziçi University) and Joseph Perez (Hillsdale College) produced the catalogue. Enes used his previous volunteer experience with ARIT's American Board Archives to create its structure. Digital capturing was completed at ARIT by photographer Sevil Üzrek and amounted to more than 5,000 files and 180 GBs of data. The paper archive was repacked at NIT in acid-free folders and boxes to ensure its long-term preservation.

Chief conservator Jan Gavrilof (left), Brian Johnson, and Richard Wake-Walker beside the restored tombs of Caroline and Frances Catherine Walker



Resetting a monument in the cemetery's US section

Monument conservation also topped the agenda in 2023. From July to December twelve nineteenth-century tombs in the cemetery's US section and two in the British were renovated under the direction of chief conservator Jan Gavrilof, conservation specialist Selin Birgöl, and project supervisor Brian Johnson. The monuments were excavated, dismantled, and realigned and reconstructed on new bases. Repairs, cleaning, and application of a protective coating rounded out the work. Restoration of the two tombs of Joel and Seraphina Everett was funded by their third-great grandchild, Kimball Loomis, of White Bear Lake, Minnesota, USA.<sup>1</sup> The US Mission to Türkiye financed the renovation of the other ten American monuments, including the tombs of the family of Cyrus Hamlin, founder of Istanbul's Robert College (RC). Restoration of the tombs of Caroline and Frances Catherine Walker in the British section was funded by

<sup>1</sup> Joel and Seraphina Everett served the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in Constantinople from 1845 until their deaths in 1856 and 1854, respectively



Joel and Seraphina Everett



The chest tombs of Joel and Seraphina Everett (foreground, side by side) in 1922, 2022, and after renovation in 2023 (top to bottom)

Richard Wake-Walker, whose article about the girls and their father, his ancestor, Admiral Baldwin Walker, appears in *The Ledger* 1.2.

The US Mission to Türkiye also financed the manufacture of a new RC memorial plaque (mounted on the wall behind the Hamlin tombs) and an information panel for the cemetery's American section. All the projects were showcased in December, at the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery Initiative's second annual seasonal gathering in the cemetery. The event—attended by members of foreign diplomatic missions and research centers, RC students and administrators, and other guests—included a tour of the US section work site (pictured in the photo below this issue's masthead).

Besides its winter celebration, the Initiative hosted a public gathering in the summer, chiefly to mark the conclusion of the yearlong British Institute at Ankara (BIAA)'s Feriköy Protestant Cemetery Plant Survey. In 2022–3, the

project's team of botanists (İlgin Deniz Can, Hacettepe University; Necmi Aksoy, Düzce University and Barış Necdet Uğurman, Gül Nilhan Tuğ, and Ahmet Emre Yaprak, Ankara University) compiled a list of the plants on site and determined the number of species, identified their varieties, and assessed their health to help with conservation. They presented their findings at the summer celebration and highlighted the cemetery's many rare plants and monumental trees.

The new US section information panel



The cemetery was publicized at several international events this year, including the screening of the film *Traugott*—produced by Richard Wittmann (Orient-Institut Istanbul, OII)—in Austria, Switzerland, and Germany (see pp. 2–4). Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal (former BIAA assistant director) and Brian Johnson gave an online talk in November for the Church Monuments Society (CMS) in the UK that focused on the cemetery's history and heritage as well as BIAA's 2022 project to record the memorial stones in Monument Row with RTI photography (a recording is available on the CMS YouTube channel). In December, former NIT intern Ahmet Can Karapınar, a Research Master European Studies (RMES) student at Maastricht University, introduced the cemetery to an audience in The Netherlands, on “NIT Day” in Leiden. He recounted his work as a cemetery

BIAA's botanical study included five fieldworks in 2022-3, to study the development of the cemetery's plants across the seasons

## Plant and Tree Survey

The urban landscape of Istanbul has been changing, especially in recent years due to its rapid growth. While cemeteries like Feriköy were originally located outside of the city, they now serve as urban green areas, playing an important role in urban biodiversity due to the heterogeneity and continuity of the habitat they provide. They act as sanctuaries for urban wildlife, particularly for birds and insects, within cities. Additionally, they can serve as connectors between natural and semi-natural areas within the city, facilitating the formation of ecological corridors in urban environments.

The aim of *Feriköy Protestant Cemetery Plant Survey* was to compile a list of plants in the field, determine the number of species and species diversity in the area, identify native, cultivated, and invasive species, assess the health status of trees, and prepare a comprehensive report for future maintenance and conservation efforts related to the plants of the cemetery. With funding from a research grant from the British Institute at Ankara, a team of botanists comprising İlgin Deniz Can (Hacettepe University), Barış Necdet Uğurman (Ankara University), Gül Nilhan Tuğ (Ankara University), Necmi Aksoy (Düzce University), and Ahmet Emre Yaprak (Ankara University) was assembled to carry out the project.

Over the year 2022-2023, a series of five fieldworks were conducted to allow examination of different stages of plant development across the seasons. Most of the vascular plant species were sampled in the cemetery area. Common shrubs and trees were noted. Plant samples were taken to Ankara University Herbarium for identification, preservation and future storage. A preliminary health status analysis was conducted for trees, including measurements such as age, height, and diameter.



Prof. Dr. Mustafa Aksoy measuring the diameter of a tree trunk during the fieldwork.



Prof. Dr. Ahmet Emre Yaprak photographing plant samples during the fieldwork.



İlgin Deniz Can is collecting plant samples.



Prof. Dr. Gül Nilhan Tuğ being photographed by a student.



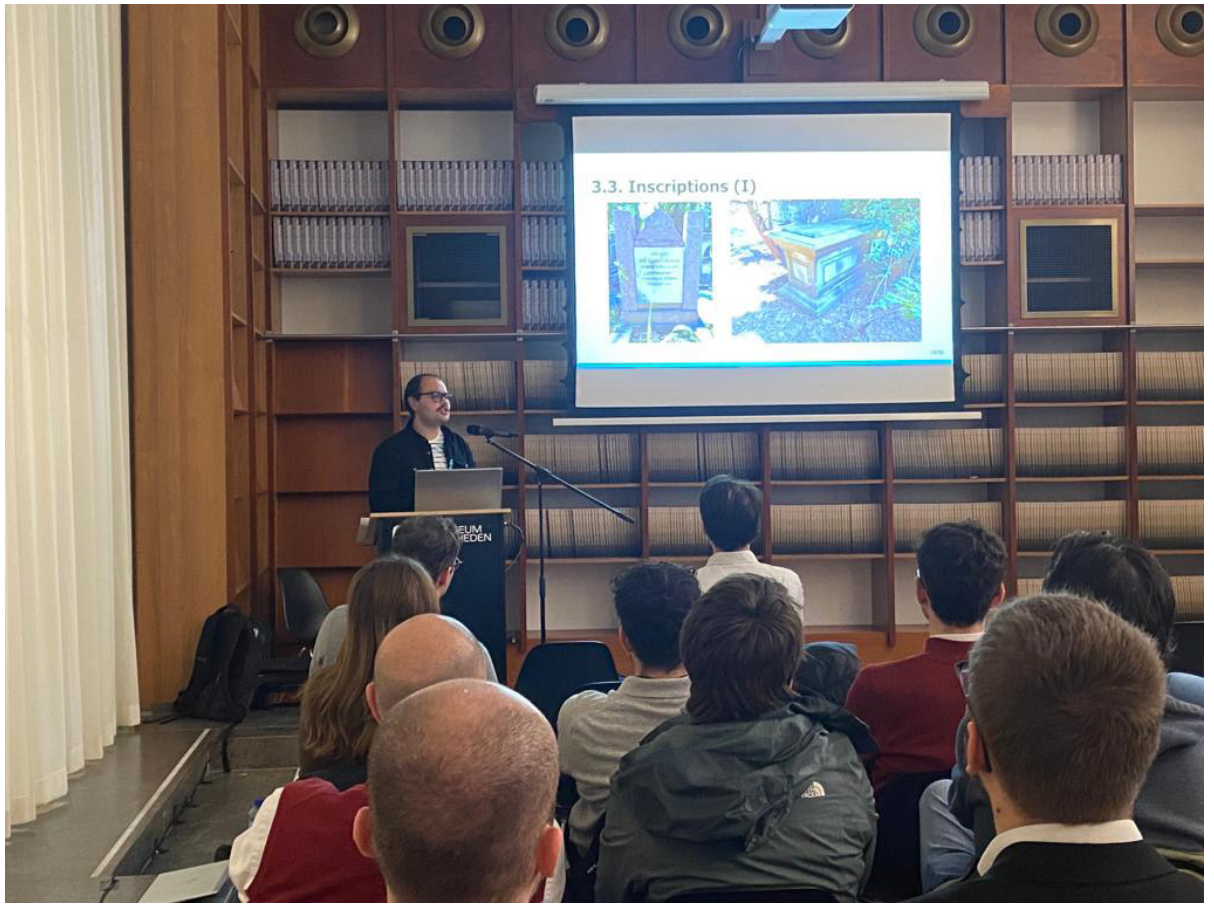
İlgin Deniz Can and Barış Necdet Uğurman taking a plant sample during the fieldwork.



The Feriköy Protestant  
Cemetery Initiative

**BIAA** British  
Institute  
at Ankara





Ahmet Can Karapinar speaking about the cemetery in Leiden

recorder in 2022 and remarked that it was both gratifying and intellectually rewarding to contribute to the discovery of Europe’s hidden legacy in Feriköy.

Student volunteers continued to document the cemetery throughout 2023. ARIT intern Adam Bentley (Hillsdale College) recorded the Armenian burial ground in the summer, with help on the gravestone inscriptions from ARIT’s administrative secretary Selin Hagopian. Progress was also made in the German sections by OII interns Yiğitcan Aziz Bilgin (University of Bonn), Sarah El Sheimy (University of Leipzig), and Katharina Krause (University of Oxford). At the end of her internship, Sarah noted that the experience offered far more



Katharina Krause (left) and Sarah El Sheimy enjoying tea with Aslan and Necla Demirkol

than academic rewards. The cemetery was a place of personal connection for her and Katharina, where they formed a close friendship and learned from each other through their work. They will always cherish their memories of breakfasts together with the custodian Aslan Demirkol and his wife Necla, when they conversed about topics “ranging from politics to matters of the heart.” For Sarah and Katharina, as for so many other past interns, the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery was a remarkable place of life and growth.

## The Ledger: Bulletin of The Feriköy Protestant Cemetery Initiative

Brian Johnson, Editor  
Peter Cherry, Assistant Editor  
Murat Celep, Design  
Cenk Korkmaz, Website

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Front page: Tour of the US section restoration work site, 15 December 2023 (Levent Karaoğlu)

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### Last Words



"Memento mori . . . Who cares? I still have eight lives."

Founded in 1859, the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery is the main burial ground for Istanbul's foreign Protestant and otherwise non-Catholic or Orthodox dead. It is managed by a governing board comprised of the consuls general of Germany, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Sweden, Hungary, Switzerland, and the USA. The cemetery is registered as a "Significant Cemetery" by the Association of Significant Cemeteries of Europe (ASCE): <https://www.significantcemeteries.org>.

The Feriköy Protestant Cemetery Initiative is a scholarly working group established in 2018 to document and preserve the Protestant cemetery at Feriköy as a heritage site. Affiliated with six Turkey-based international research centers (the American Research Institute in Turkey, the Netherlands Institute in Turkey, the Orient-Institut Istanbul, the Hungarian Cultural Center, the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, and the British Institute at Ankara), it serves as an advisory body to the cemetery's diplomatic governing board. For more information, please visit the Initiative's website: <http://www.ferikoycemetery.org>.



The Feriköy Protestant  
Cemetery Initiative

