The Ledger Volume 2 • Issue 1-2 • Spring-Autumn 2022

Bulletin of The Feriköy Protestant Cemetery Initiative



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Editor's Note

The second of two installments, this expanded edition of *The Ledger* for 2022 resumes last issue's theme of heritage at the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery from the Graveyard of the Franks in Istanbul's former Grand Champs des Morts. It introduces monuments from the earlier cemetery now in Feriköy as well as other, related traces of the past in different sources, including the image above. This anonymous painting from the Ömer M. Koç Collection offers an unparalleled view of the Grand Champs des Morts's burial grounds in the first half of the nineteenth century. It is the best pictorial representation of the general landscape of the lost necropolis known to date.

The tombs in the foreground mark the edge of the Armenian cemetery that once stretched from the north end of Gezi Park up to Harbiye. The Muslim and Frankish burial grounds are in the middle ground. The gravestones and grove of Cypresses on the slope above the Bosphorus, to the left of the Taksim Military Barracks, delineate the former, while the tombs between the barracks wall and line of tress on the right depict the latter (land now occupied by the north side of Gezi Park and the InterContinental Hotel).

Also shown is the vibrant social life that revolved around the Grand Champs des Morts, personified by the colorful figures passing time. Many like them, who once strolled in the vanished fields of the dead, must have gazed upon or touched the monuments presented in the following pages, as we still do today at the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery.

Brian Johnson

The Tombstone of the Prince's Physician Hungary's Oldest Heritage at the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery

György Csorba

In the Hungarian section of the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery, close to the north wall, lies a weathered tombstone of considerable age. Its faded Latin inscription shows that it was made to commemorate Jacob (Jacobus) Ambrosius Lang of Langenthal, a German-born physician who served the Hungarian nobleman and prince of Transylvania Ferenc Rákóczi II (1676–1735) and took part in his struggle for independence (1703–11).





Ferenc Rákóczi II

Although the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) concluded the Great Turkish War of 1683–99 and ended a century and a half of Ottoman control over most of Hungary, it did not bring freedom and tranquillity to the kingdom's populace. Following the Ottoman withdrawal, Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I (1657–1705) sought to abolish Hungary's independence, curb the power of its nobility, and impose an autocratic Habsburg regime.

The Hungarian landed gentry could only recover their properties recaptured from the Ottomans through difficult procedures that included excessive fees, and their estates often ended up in the hands of foreign mercenaries or high-ranking Habsburg officials. Heavy burdens on other classes of Hungarian society after almost two decades of conflict were left unaddressed. Popular discontent was compounded by that of soldiers who had defended Hungary during the war but were now discharged and replaced by Habsburg troops, especially in frontier garrisons. For many in all levels of society, peace had not brought liberty, just a switch of imperial masters.

In the face of Habsburg oppression, Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II led a revolt in 1703 to re-establish an independent Hungary. He enjoyed many successes, but internal divisions and lack of support from European powers eventually hindered his effort, which ended with a peace agreement in 1711. Although the

insurrection failed to achieve complete independence, it kept Hungary from merging fully into the Habsburg Empire and restored the status and rights of the Hungarian nobility. Nonetheless, Rákóczi could not accept a partial accomplishment. He went into exile, and after sojourns in Poland and France, finally settled in the Ottoman Empire, where he lived out his days in Rodostó (today's Tekirdağ, Turkey).

Jacob Lang of Langenthal

Little is known about the life of Jacob Lang. He was born in Nuremberg in 1663, and after studying medicine at the University of Altdorf, he moved to Hungary, where he practiced as a physician. He rose to noble rank in 1695 and remained in the country at the outbreak of Rákóczi's War of Independence.

Jacob Lang's tombstone



Among Lang's prominent patients was Rákóczi's wife, and when the prince himself became seriously ill in 1704, the doctor was summoned to care for him. Rákóczi's regular French Catholic physician was away, and Lang journeyed several days to reach the prince. Apparently, many in Rákóczi's retinue mistrusted the German Lutheran doctor and warned that his remedies might contain poison. But the prince was in so much pain that he took the prescribed medicines and recovered faster than expected. Lang's success earned him an appointment as Rákóczi's court physician.

Lang also worked as chief surgeon for the prince's forces and improved medical care in the field. He created the post of regimental surgeon, set up clinics, and organized medical supplies. When Rákóczi went into exile, Lang accompanied him. While with the prince in France, he tried to cure Louis XIV in the last days of the Sun King's life, but the monarch's personal physicians ignored his advice.

Lang continued his loyal service to Rákóczi in Rodostó. During a visit to the Ottoman capital in early 1725, he fell ill, and as the inscription on his gravestone relates: "He, who knew all diseases, died of a sickness unknown to him, in Constantinople, in the year of 1725, on January 14, in the 61st year of his life." Lang's remains were interred in the Frankish cemetery in Constantinople's Grand Champs des Morts ("Grand Campo" in Hungarian sources), where his tomb remained for almost a century and a half.¹

When the Frank burial ground closed in the mid-nineteenth century, a new community of Hungarian exiles was residing in the Ottoman Empire, composed of refugees who had fled their homeland after the defeat of the Hungarian War of Independence of 1848–9 against Habsburg rule. In the early 1860s, after the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery opened, these

émigrés raised funds to transfer Hungarian monuments at the old cemetery to Feriköy. In January 1862, the selected grave markers, including Lang's, were moved to the new cemetery and placed in today's Hungarian area, along the north wall.²

A contemporary Hungarian publication, *Emich Gusztáv nagy képes naptára* 1863. évre, recounted this event and even pictured the monuments in their new

¹ László Takáts and Endre Takáts, Lang Jakab Ambrus, a kuruc hadseregtábori főorvosa ["Jakab Ambrus Lang, the head physician of the Kuruc army"], *Honvédorvos* 23 (1971) 1-3, 57-73; László Takáts and Endre Takáts, Lang Jakab Ambrus. *Orvosi Hetilap* 18 (1975), 1051-2.; Tibor Szabó, Lang Jakab Ambrus (1663-1725) II. Rákóczi Ferenc orvosa ["Jakab Ambrus Lang (1663-1725), physician of Ferenc Rákóczi II"], *Orvosi Hetilap* 34 (1994), 1873-5.

² Különfélék ["Miscellaneous"], Pesti Napló (28 March 1862), 2.





Bertalan Kun's illustration of the Hungarian monuments moved from the Grand Champs des Morts to Feriköy, the first known artistic representation of the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery

The same monuments today, with Lang's gravestone behind the sarcophagus tomb and just to the left of the tree

location with an engraving by Bertalan Kun. To date, this illustration is the earliest known image of the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery, which appears to show the north wall still under construction. Lang's gravestone is the third from left. The sarcophagus tomb next to it (on the right), which lacks a lid and inscription, was once thought to have been Rákóczi's, until it was later realized that heraldic emblems carved on either side are not his but probably belong to a German noble family.³

For many years the Hungarian emigrant community looked after these monuments. Today, the Hungarian state cares for this precious legacy, which includes the tomb of the "prince's physician," Hungary's oldest heritage at the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery.

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³ Viktor Szokoly, Magyar fejedelmi síremlékek Törökországban (Öt rajzzal) ["Hungarian princely tombs in Turkey (with five drawings)"], *Emich Gusztáv nagy képes naptára 1863. évre* ["Emich Gusztáv's large pictorial calendar for 1863"] (Budapest 1862), 129–31.

Chance Discoveries in the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery's German Section

Richard Wittmann

When you live your life with an appreciation of coincidences and their meanings, you connect with the underlying field of infinite possibilities.

Deepak Chopra

An Old Map and Magnifying Glass

Andreas David Mordtmann (1811–79) is well known for his scholarly achievements in many fields, including Ottoman history and geography, and his prolific writings are still cited today. Besides academic pursuits, he served as a diplomat to the Sublime Porte for several Hanseatic cities and the Duchy of Oldenburg, and later as a justice in an Ottoman commercial court. He also worked for institutions that catered to the needs of Constantinople's Germanspeaking foreign residents, such as the Teutonia Benevolent Society (Kultur-

und Wohltätigkeitsverein) and the city's German-language schools.

During his diplomatic tenure, in the 1840s and '50s, Mordtmann must have administered burials at the Graveyard of the Franks in its final years as an active cemetery. He also served on the governing board that established the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery in 1858, where roughly twenty years later he himself would be laid to rest. With the passage of time, the location of his grave was forgotten, which was remarkable considering his standing. It was unlikely that he had been buried in an unmarked plot, yet no monument existed that bore his name.

In autumn 2019, I and other members of the recently organized Feriköy Protestant Cemetery Initiative inspected the cemetery's archive housed at the Netherlands Consulate General, in Beyoğu. Along with administrative records dating back to 1857, the archive contained a detailed plan of the cemetery, drawn circa 1910, which we copied to help with our mapping of the site. The plan delineated individual plots in the various international sections, some marked with burial registry numbers, others with surnames.

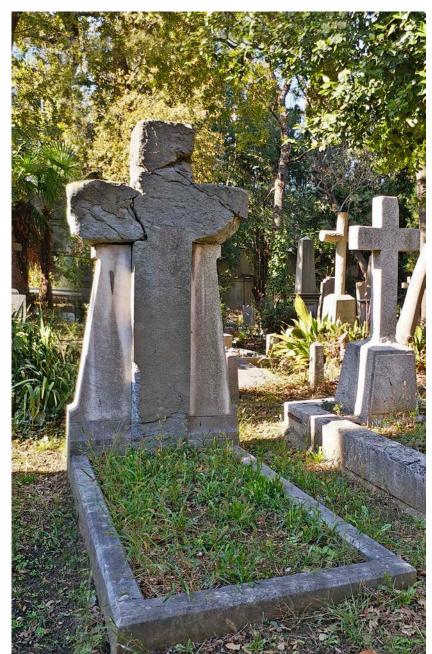
I later examined the family names, trying to link them to individual plots in the cemetery's German section that had monuments. Deciphering the minute old-fashioned handwriting was challenging. In the middle

of the map I came across a name that ended in "mann," common for German surnames, but the rest was indistinct. A magnifying glass amplified the tiny script—as well as my excitement. The first six letters spelled "Mordt": The burial place of Andreas David Mordtmann was no longer anonymous.



Andreas David Mordtmann

¹ Tobias Völker, Holding High the Hanseatic Cross in the Levant. Andreas David Mordtmann and the Diplomatic Milieu of Istanbul, *The International History Review* 43/5 (2021), 1122–41, DOI: 10.1080/07075332.2020.1791223.





The gravestone of Baroness von Zegelin

Mordtmann's tomb

Mordtmann's grave is located in the heart of the German section, alongside many prominent people of the time, befitting his high status. It is marked with a large and impressive cross, also appropriate for his rank. This grand monument is heavily eroded and lacks an inscription. It likely wore away. The only surviving evidence of the plot's famous occupant is a miniscule name on an old map, brought to light by a fortunate archival find and a magnifying glass.

An Email and Family Crest

Baroness Maria Magdalena Elisabeth von Zegelin (1736–66), a daughter of the noble von Oertzen family of Mecklenburg-Pomerania, married Baron Johann Christoph von Zegelin (d. 1809) in 1762, four years before King Frederick II (r. 1740–86) appointed him Prussia's ambassador to the Ottoman Porte. Her life before this marriage (her second) had been marked by grief. Her first husband, a military officer, had been killed at the Battle of Kolin in 1757, and their two sons were taken from her care to be raised by their paternal uncle. Though she had two more children with Baron von Zegelin, she died while trying to bear a third, at age thirty, shortly after arriving in Constantinople.

Over the centuries, the memory of Baroness von Zegelin's brief and tragic life faded, and her death in Istanbul was almost forgotten. Early last year, at the peak of the pandemic, I received an email from Helmut Borth, an historian of

Mecklenburg-Pomerania's landed gentry. Attached was a scan of a grainy blackand-white photograph of a tombstone, captured sometime in the early twentieth century at the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery. Adorned with the von Oertzen coat of arms, the monument apparently once marked the grave of Maria Magdalena Elisabeth von Zegelin. Mr. Borth asked if I could take a new photo.

Covid lockdowns prevented an immediate visit to the cemetery, and I could only explore its hidden corners weeks later. My search led me to the oldest part of the German section, where I noticed a row of tombstones propped up against the cemetery's west wall. They were concealed by shrubbery, and with a pocketknife I cut some branches and leaves to examine them more closely. From the face of one, half-buried in the earth, the von Oertzen crest gazed at me from behind a tree. The inscription below this emblem of Baroness von Zegelin's birth family confirmed that the stone once marked her grave²:

To God, the Best, the Greatest. Under this monument of stone lies Baroness Maria Magdalena Elisabeth von Zegelin, born in Mecklenburg, from the noble line of the von Oertzens, on 26 April 1736. She entered the life covenant with Baron Johann Christoph von Zegelin, major in the Prussian army and envoy of the King of Prussia to the Ottoman Sublime Porte. She had arrived together with her husband in the suburb of Pera on 16 March 1766; on 25 April of the same year she suffered a miscarriage, and on her birthday—the following day—she parted from this world.³

The baroness's death predates the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery's opening, and she was undoubtedly interred elsewhere, most likely in the Graveyard of the Franks, from where her tombstone was probably moved in the 1860s. Indeed, the adjacent monuments also date earlier than 1859, and the whole group was presumably brought to Feriköy and erected in the current spot at the same time. Like the memorial stones of Monument Row on the east wall, these German



Little Monument Row

tombs no longer mark burials. This and other historic similarities to their British counterparts on the opposite side of the cemetery led me to dub Baroness von Zegelin's newly discovered stone and its line of neighbors *Kleine Reihe der Gedenksteine*. Had it not been for an email and a blazon of heraldry, these age-old memorials of "Little Monument Row" would have remained in obscurity.

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² Per the rules for the aristocracy of Mecklenburg-Pomerania, women of noble lineage remained members of their birth families even after marriage.

³ Translated from the Latin on the monument.



Jacquette Gyldenstolpe—The Tragic Life of a Nineteenth-Century "It Girl"

Kelly Scarborough

Imagine walking in the countryside near the Swedish legation in Pera on a sunny day in late 1838. After passing two watchful guards, you encounter a woman, no longer young but still beautiful, sitting at an easel with her wooden watercolor box on a small table. She is a less-than-accomplished artist, but seems satisfied with her work, and smiles as she watches her two small daughters running and playing in the grass. Something about her intrigues you, perhaps the tilt of her head, her noble chin, the way she throws her shoulders back when she scolds her girls with a twinkle in her mischievous blue eyes, which hint at having known interesting times.

The woman is Baroness Jacquette von Troil (1797–1839), newly arrived in Constantinople from Sweden, ready to begin her new life.

Today, if one visits Jacquette's impressive tomb in the Swedish section of the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery, the mystique that surrounds her is not immediately apparent. She rests next to her second husband, Baron Uno von Troil (1803–39), Swedish minister to the Ottoman Porte, and the inscription on her tomb identifies her as a lady in waiting to the queen of Sweden and Norway. Upon

Portrait of Jacquette Gyldenstolpe by an unknown artist. It may have been painted around the time she met Prince Oscar in 1811



Crown Prince Oscar (1825, Fredric Westin)

further investigation, one finds that their monuments and remains, originally located at the old Graveyard of the Franks near today's Taksim Square, were moved to Feriköy in the summer of 1861.

But who, really, was Jacquette, and why is she still remembered now, more than two and a quarter centuries after her birth in Stockholm in 1797?

The eldest child of prominent courtiers, Jacquette Gyldenstolpe was born a countess, and her godfather was the king of Sweden. She spent her childhood at the family estate, idyllic Finspång Castle in Östergötland, where cannons had been manufactured since the 1600s at the world-famous Finspång iron works. But the Napoleonic era was a tumultuous one in Sweden, and after the king was dethroned in a coup and her parents divorced, Jacquette's future seemed uncertain.

Her mother's 1811 remarriage to Gustaf af Wetterstedt (1776–1837) had a profound impact on Jacquette's life. Later to become Sweden's foreign minister, Wetterstedt was one of the closest advisors to Sweden's new crown prince, the future King Carl XIV Johan (r. 1818–44). The unexpected choice of the Swedish diet to succeed the throne, Carl Johan, formerly Marshal Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte, was a French commoner who rose to the rank of general, became a marshal of France, and ultimately defied Napoleon I's wishes by accepting the Swedish crown. Seen by the Swedish

government as a solution to the clear threat presented by the French emperor, Bernadotte also offered an answer to Sweden's succession problem, being the father of a healthy twelve-year-old son, Oscar, who in 1844 would ascend the throne as King Oscar I (r. 1844–59).

While the precise date Jacquette first met Oscar is unknown, her destiny was irretrievably altered by their relationship, which lasted for much of her adult life. Oscar and Jacquette shared a birthday, July 4, and on that date in the summer of 1811, she turned fourteen and celebrated together with Oscar at Drottningholm Palace outside Stockholm. Two years younger than Jacquette, Oscar eventually fell in love with the beautiful and impulsive young countess.

In the spring of 1816 when Jacquette was eighteen, a newborn baby was found outside the Stockholm home of an elderly countess who was an acquaintance of Jacquette's mother. Among the blankets, a note was found indicating that the infant girl's name was Oscara. For more than two centuries, it has been asserted that Oscara's parents were Jacquette and the young Prince Oscar. One reason this contention has persisted is that after a three-year stay in a children's home and placements with two foster families, Oscara was taken in by Jacquette's mother and Wetterstedt and lived with them in Stockholm and at Finspång Castle until she married in 1833.

Jacquette and Oscar's story did not end with Oscara's birth. About eighteen months later, Jacquette quietly married Oscar's close friend and chamberlain, Carl Gustaf Löwenhielm (1790–1858), a fascinating figure in his own right with a connection to the Swedish ministry in Constantinople. It seems likely that Löwenhielm had some knowledge of Jacquette and Oscar's relationship. In a

strange twist, Oscar attended their wedding and served as a witness in place of Löwenhielm's father.

After her marriage, Jacquette left Stockholm with Löwenhielm and withdrew from court life to live at his estate in Värmland. After almost three years of separation, Oscar, who had become crown prince, summoned them back to the capital and named Löwenhielm head of his household. Jacquette and Oscar resumed their relationship which, by some accounts, scandalized Stockholm society. Jacquette addressed Oscar by his first name, and the couple had heated and public arguments. None of this escaped the notice of King Carl Johan, who sent Oscar on a European tour to choose a bride. Remarkably, Löwenhielm, Jacquette's mother, and Wetterstedt were chosen to accompany Oscar on the seven-month journey. Jacquette, less surprisingly, was left at home. Oscar's choice of bride, the barely sixteen-year-old Princess Josephine of Leuchtenberg, was the granddaughter of Napoleon I's first wife, Empress Josephine.

Oscar's marriage did not put an end to his liaison with Jacquette, and one can only speculate about Oscar's involvement in Löwenhielm's 1824 appointment as Swedish minister in Constantinople. With her husband away in Turkey for several years, Jacquette enjoyed an independent life. As a court mistress to Oscar's mother Desideria, the queen of Sweden and Norway, Jacquette had an income, an apartment at the royal palace in Stockholm, and the protection of her influential stepfather, Foreign Minister Gustaf af Wetterstedt.

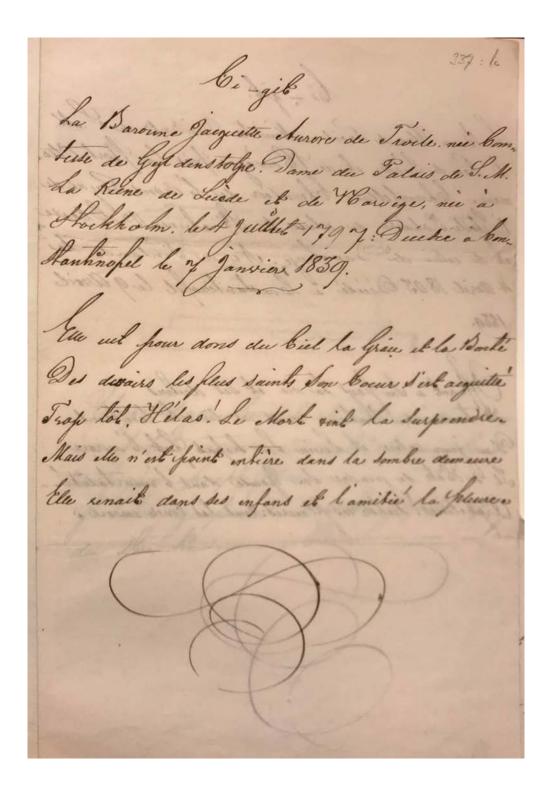
Jacquette's carefully constructed life fell apart in 1827 when Löwenhielm, having successfully concluded a treaty with the Ottomans regarding access to the Black Sea, left Constantinople and returned to Sweden. The marriage had never been a happy one, and Jacquette had recently rebuffed Löwenhielm's offer of a reconciliation. When he arrived at her palace apartment and found it filled with expensive furnishings, Löwenhielm decided to divorce Jacquette, and gathered evidence of her infidelities. Avoiding further scandal, the king facilitated and finally granted the divorce, and Löwenhielm was soon sent to Vienna as Swedish minister.

Her romantic relationship with Oscar in the past, Jacquette remained in Stockholm in the queen's service. After several years, she met Uno von Troil, the Russo-Finnish baron whose tomb sits beside hers today at Feriköy. Despite having two daughters with Troil, Jacquette showed no desire to marry him until her stepfather, Wetterstedt, died in 1837. With her mother and Wetterstedt gone, she had no protector and admitted to her brother Nils that the girls, whom he believed were foster children, were her own daughters and that Troil was their father. Nils, a powerful courtier, demanded that Troil marry Jacquette, and with the king's assistance Troil was named Swedish minister in Constantinople. Jacquette forfeited her status as a Swedish countess because of her marriage to Troil, due to his Russo-Finnish lineage.

The tombs of Uno and Jacquette von Troil



Despite her fragile health, Jacquette accompanied Troil on the long journey to Constantinople, and they brought their two young daughters. As instructed by Troil's superiors at the foreign ministry, they visited Jacquette's first husband, Löwenhielm, at his post in Vienna, where Troil was to receive his instructions. In his memoirs, Löwenhielm recalls Jacquette telling him about her premonition that she would not survive long.



Handwritten copy of the inscription on Jacquette's tomb, included among the papers of her first husband, Carl Gustaf Löwenhielm, in the library of Uppsala University Little is known about Jacquette's tragic end. Less than four months after arriving in Constantinople, she succumbed to illness in January 1839, and Troil followed her to the grave in April. With the intervention of the Testa family of Constantinople, the children were returned home to be raised with family, and Jacquette and Troil were laid to rest in the Graveyard of the Franks.

Despite the passage of two centuries, Jacquette's story lives on today and can be discovered in the recent, excellent biography that provided much of the source material for this article: Anna-Lena Berg, Jacquette Gyldenstolpe. Romantik och tragik i skuggan av tronen ["Jacquette Gyldenstolpe. Romance and tragedy in the shadow of the throne"], Stockholm, Santérus Forlag, 2022.

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New Finds

A "Tombe of Faire Marble"

Daniel Bátrla (center) and Mai Bakr (right) with ARIT intern Emmanuel Houalla (who helped train them) Richard Wittmann's contribution to this issue of *The Ledger* shows how discoveries can happen almost purely by chance. More often, however, they are the product of purposeful planning and effort along with a measure of serendipity—as demonstrated this summer by American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT) interns Daniel Bátrla and Mai "Volt" Bakr, who solved one of the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery's longstanding mysteries.



Daniel, a public administration and records management student at Prague's Charles University, and Mai, a computer engineering student at Istanbul's Kadir Has University, spent July and August working on the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery Initiative's recording project. Besides documenting new areas of the cemetery, they checked and revised the work of past interns. Mai also rephotographed approximately seventy-five percent of the site's monuments to upgrade earlier photos taken with mobile phones.

Their dedication to the recording project was remarkable. Besides regular workdays, they were often at the cemetery on Saturday and Sunday. Daniel even suggested staying overnight at Feriköy to work late and start early. It was a commendable offer, but unfeasible.

The monuments recorded by Daniel and Mai included the old gravestones lined up on the cemetery's south wall. Although they are similar in age to the memorials of Monument

Row and originate from the same source (the Graveyard of the Franks), they have received less attention than their more conspicuous neighbors. Neglect has led to damage, and these stones are as much in need of care as those in the "Row."

Daniel and Mai were especially intrigued by the second to last monument at the end of the line closest to the Armenian burial ground, a small rectangular block of marble tilted against the wall. This modest stone had sparked curiosity for years, but its dense Latin inscription made even harder to read by pitting and layers of dirt had discouraged attempts to attribute it. Daniel and Mai determined to decipher the writing and solve the puzzle.

Water and a light touch with a soft brush made some of the letters clearer. Charcoal rubbings helped to interpret others. Even though the inscription's meaning remained elusive, Daniel and Mai started to transcribe it. Despite gaps in their rendering, they picked out two key names: *Anna Lamb* and *Thomae Glover*. Further work, including research in written sources, confirmed that the stone commemorates Anne Lamb, wife of Sir Thomas Glover, English ambassador to the Ottoman Porte from 1606 to 1611.

Born in Suffolk, Anne had married Sir Thomas in 1606, shortly before they left England for his diplomatic post. Other than a contemporary reference to her attendance at an audience with Sultan Ahmed I, little is known about her life in Constantinople. Her residence was brief. She died of plague in 1608.

¹ Gerald MacLean, The Rise of Oriental Travel. English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720 (London 2004), 223.

Grief-stricken, Sir Thomas postponed her burial. It seems he meant to send her remains home to England. But repatriation was delayed, then apparently forgotten, and he kept her corpse in the cellar of the ambassadorial quarters for the next three and half years, preserved in bran.²

Sir Thomas was only stirred to give his wife a Christian burial in 1612, when he was preparing to return home some months after his diplomatic assignment had ended. Lady Anne's funeral was a major event, which earned mention in Richard Knolles' *Generall Historie of the Turkes*:

Lady Anne Glover's tombstone



On the 14 of April, the ladie Anne Glover, wife to sir Thomas Glover, Embassador residing at Constantinople for the English, was buried with very great solemnitie, the like had not beene seene in that countrey, since the Turks conquered Constantinople. There were present at this funeral of most nations in the world; the sermon was preached in a large garden under a Cypres tree The Sermon being ended, the bodie was carried from Pera unto the English graves, which were almost a mile from the place [in the Frankish burial ground]; it was closed in lead, and layed in a Caroch [coach] covered over with blacke velvet, and the horses with blacke cloth. The Dutch Embassador, the Hungarian Agent, the French Colonell, with a great number of all nations both men and women followed her to her grave.³



Eastern motifs merge with Western tradition: stylized Turkish flowers framed by the Latin epitaph on Lady Anne's tombstone

As for the monument that marked Lady Anne's burial place, the text further relates, "The tombe was of faire marble built foure square almost the height of a man, having an Epitaph engraven thereon."

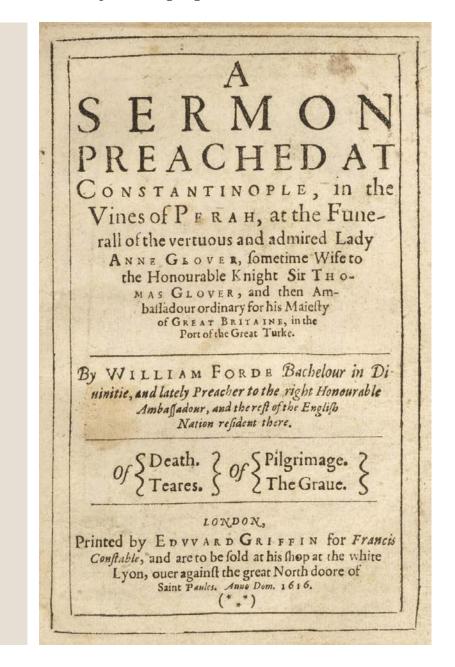
² MacLean, 223-4; John Sanderson, *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant, 1584–1602*, ed. Sir William Foster (London 1931), 259, 265, 274-5.

³ Richard Knolles, The Generall Historie of the Turkes, fourth edition (1631), 1313.

⁴ Ibid.

This description indicates that the marble block in Feriköy is only a portion of the original tomb, which must have been bigger and fully square. Holes on the top and bottom of the extant slab also suggest that it was part of a larger monument, to which it was somehow attached, perhaps by pins.

The Levant Company chaplain who presided over Lady Anne's funeral in 1612, William Ford, later published his sermon as a book, in which he included a transcript of most of the epitaph inscribed on her tomb. His address fills eighty-two pages. Many of those attending the service must have been relieved when he uttered the final words, "Up let us be going." 5



William Ford's published funeral sermon

In the epilogue to his 2004 book *The Rise of Oriental Travel*, Gerald MacLean devotes a section to Anne Lamb and her death and burial in Constantinople, where he mentions that the site where she was interred "is now part of Taksim Square, Istanbul's busiest hub." He also adds, "Of her marble tomb and engraved epitaph, no trace can be found."

Thanks to the project to record the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery and the determination of two student interns, his note can now be revised. Although the grave where Lady Anne was laid to rest has vanished, a trace of the monument that once marked its spot has been discovered.

⁵ William Ford, A sermon preached at Constantinople in the Vines of Perah, at the funerall of the vertuous and admired Lady Anne Glouer, London 1616.

Cemetery Happenings

31 October 2022 - Feriköy Protestant Cemetery chapel, official opening after renovation (second from left to right): Swedish Consul Martin Fredriksson; Swiss Consul Adrian Sieber: UK Consul General Kenan Poleo; German Consul General Johannes Regenbrecht; Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Mayor Ekrem İmamoğlu; Feriköy Protestant Cemetery Governing Board President Gábor Fodor; Consul General of the Netherlands Arjen Uijterlinde; US Consul General Julie A. Eadeh; Şişli Municipality Mayor Muammer Keskin; Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Deputy Secretary-General Mahir Polat Publication of this issue of the *The Ledger* comes just after the transfer in November of management responsibility for the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery from Hungary to the USA. Much was achieved during the Hungarian administration in 2021–2. Two onsite restorations were finalized; new conservation and documentation projects were launched; a revised set of cemetery regulations was drafted; and work to fully record plots and monuments was brought closer to completion. A chief aim of the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery Initiative was also realized when the cemetery joined the Association of Significant Cemeteries of Europe (ASCE) in September 2022.

Renovating the cemetery's gate and chapel was at the top of Gábor Fodor's agenda when he took over the governing board's presidency in August 2021. The cemetery's entryway, its most prominent outer feature, had long needed attention, and with financial support from Mustafa Rahmi Koç and the Hungarian Consulate General in Istanbul, it was replastered and painted in October 2021. About a month later, President Fodor arranged for the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality to restore the chapel.



The cemetery's centerpiece since its construction in the 1860s, the chapel had fallen into disrepair. The last comprehensive maintenance was done about twenty-five years ago, and a leaky roof, faulty drainage, and damaged walls required care. Directed by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Deputy Secretary-General Mahir Polat, conservation specialists revamped the building from March to October 2022. Financed entirely by the municipality, their work included replacing two missing marble crosses on the roof with carefully modeled replicas. On 31 October, the renovated chapel officially opened with a ribbon-cutting ceremony attended by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Mayor Ekrem İmamoğlu and Şişli Municipality Mayor Muammer Keskin.



BIAA ecological survey team members at work in the cemetery



2022 cemetery recorders (left to right): Ahmet Can Karapınar; Brian Johnson (project advisor); Emmanuel Houalla; Simon Sackers; Esma Eskin

Besides its built heritage, the cemetery's natural setting is a precious asset. To better understand and preserve this environment, the British Institute at Ankara (BIAA) initiated a survey of the plant and tree life in summer 2022. Prof. Dr. Ahmet Emre Yaprak and Prof. Dr. Gül Nilhan Tuğ from Ankara University's biology department are supervising the project, with the consultancy of tree-specialist Dr. Necmi Aksöy of Düzce University's forestry department, as well as the support of PhD students Ilgin Deniz Can and Barış Uğurman, who



Feriköy Protestant Cemetery (2022, Fabian Scherf)

previously helped catalogue BIAA's herbarium collections. The team is making multiple visits to Feriköy throughout the year to record variations in the plants over the seasons. Next summer they will present their findings, with the aim of demonstrating the cemetery's biodiversity and ecological value within the local urban environment.

Although the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery Initiative expected to wrap up its site recording program this year, some tasks remain for 2023. Since it started in 2019, this project has been implemented entirely by student interns and volunteers. Daniel Bátrla and Mai Bakr's efforts last July and August have already been highlighted, and the contributions of others in 2022 deserve mention here. In the spring and early summer, Netherlands Institute in Turkey (NIT) intern Ahmet Can Karapınar and American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT) intern Emmanuel Houalla revised the recording project style sheet and began rechecking and editing the data entries of previous recorders. This work is still in progress, with NIT intern Sedef Yurdagul continuing to review the records into December. Ahmet and Emmanuel also helped train new interns, including Simon Sackers and Esma Eskin of the Orient-Institut Istanbul (OII), who spent several weeks documenting the oldest part of the cemetery's German section. Simon and Esma's work was supplemented by the efforts of OII intern Fabian Riesinger, as well as Fabian Scherf, who shared his impressions of the cemetery in striking abstract sketches.

The British Institute at Ankara added a further dimension to the recording program when it engaged Aykan Akçay of Antalya University to create 3D scans of the memorials in Monument Row. The coats of arms and inscriptions on many of the stones have eroded to the point that they are difficult to read or interpret. Using the structure from motion photogrammetry techniques that he employed to scan ancient tombs at Phaselis and Termessos, Akçay produced models of the Monument Row memorials that allow researchers to manipulate lighting and color to enhance legibility. To augment his images, BIAA volunteer Natalie Stuart recorded the dimensions and other features of the stones and transcribed their inscriptions. Akçay's models are freely available

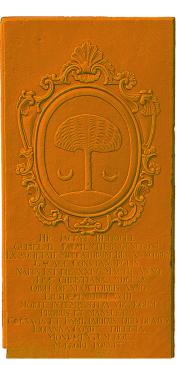
to view and download online (https://sketchfab.com/Ferikoy). Hopefully, funding can be found to carry out the same scanning process on equally important and hard-to-decipher memorials on the cemetery's south wall.

Groundwork was also laid this summer to digitize the cemetery's archive housed at the Netherlands Consulate General in Istanbul. Composed mainly of burial permits and management records, the collection is a crucial historic resource. In June 2022, Bernard Mantel, a consultant from the National Archives of the Netherlands, visited Istanbul to assess the collection and prepare a preliminary inventory and report. Based on his recommendations, the Initiative has developed a plan to catalogue and scan the archive in 2023.









3D images of a Monument Row memorial

The Initiative's most important step to date in promoting the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery as a heritage site was accomplished in September, when the Association of Significant Cemeteries of Europe approved its application for the cemetery's membership. Dedicated to preserving European burial grounds and raising public awareness about their cultural value, ASCE includes more than 150 cemeteries across the continent. Acceptance by the association gives the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery access not only to a professional network and base of knowledge for cemetery operation and care but also to a key media channel for international publicity.

Even before the cemetery's official recognition by ASCE, the Initiative tapped into the association's resources, specifically while drafting new cemetery regulations for the governing board. The Feriköy Protestant Cemetery lacks comprehensive written rules, which has often led to management dilemmas. Thorough guidelines are especially needed if the board wishes to preserve the cemetery's dual function as an active burial ground and cultural heritage site into the future. With this end in mind, the Initiative prepared a revised set of regulations and presented it in June for review. Components of the draft stem from information and expert advice obtained through ASCE connections. The governing board's most pressing task for 2023 is to finalize the new rules and bring them into force.

As in every year, the cemetery witnessed special celebrations and visits in 2022. Particularly noteworthy in light of the Hungarian administration was a wreath laying ceremony on 12 June attended by Hungarian MP Attila Tilki, chairperson of the Hungarian-Turkish Friendship Group in the Hungarian National Assembly; Mr. László Keller, consul general of Hungary in Istanbul; and twenty-eight mayors from Hungary's Nyírség region. The visitors had come

to Turkey to participate in "Hungarian Day" during the annual cherry festival in Tekirdağ, and they made a trip to the cemetery to pay their respects at the Hungarian memorial.

A second observance was held four months later to commemorate the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. One of the most momentous events in twentieth-century Hungarian history, the nationwide uprising against the Soviet-controlled government is celebrated annually at the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery. On 21 October, the Consulate General of Hungary laid a wreath in front of the cemetery's memorial plaque for Veronika Márta Arbatli, a hero of 1956, who spent much of her life and passed away in Istanbul.

12 June 2022 Hungarian wreathlaying ceremony



To conclude, special thanks are due to Gábor Fodor, whose term as president of the governing board has been one of the most dynamic and productive in the last two decades. His efforts are deeply appreciated, and they will serve as a benchmark for future chief administrators of the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery.



Güle güle, Gábor

The Ledger: Bulletin of The Feriköy Protestant Cemetery Initiative

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The Ledger is published twice a year online and in print by The Feriköy Protestant Cemetery Initiative. Written contributions are welcome. Queries should be addressed to the editor at: bdjohnson62@gmail.com.

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Support for layout and design is provided by the American Research Institute in Turkey and web hosting by the Orient-Institut Istanbul.

Flora and Fauna



Taking a break, curbside

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.



