

remarkable. Such were the cases of Simon *Çelebi*, who was the son of *Hoca* Tovma;³⁹ Maghakia *Çelebi*, son of Hoca Eremia from Amit or Diyarbekir, mentioned earlier;⁴⁰ Markas *Çelebi*, son of Khanents *Hoca* Tuma from Van;⁴¹ Pegi *Çelebi* and Peglar *Çelebi* and Hagop *Çelebi*;⁴² Skandar *Çelebi*, son of *Hoca* Sanos of Aleppo.⁴³

The blurring of boundaries between the two titles must have started by the early seventeenth century, at which point we begin to encounter prominent Armenians who bore both titles as a matter of course. Such were the brothers *Hoca* Bedik *Çelebi* and *Hoca* Sanos *Çelebi*; the latter was the former's assistant when *Hoca* Bedik held the concession for collection of customs duties in Aleppo. Later, when Sultan Murad IV named Bedik as chief customs-duties collector at Erzurum, the two brothers were instrumental in organizing the ransoming (and rescue) from slavery of over a thousand Armenians who were taken as booty by the Tartar army fighting along with the Ottomans against the Persians in the war of 1638.⁴⁴ *Hoca* Bedik was involved in so many business affairs and held so many official or semi-official positions that an Armenian cleric, Simeon Tbir Lehatsi, describes him as "a person of notoriety who walked about like a pasha, with thirty, forty guards; he had janissaries and *sipahis* ("cavalryman"). His account-books held as many as twenty-four entries at a time, so diverse were his sources of income, which included "customs [duties], the inspection of markets, the police superintendency, the *khans*, the public bathhouses."⁴⁵

There are no contemporary historical accounts that describe in clear terms the circumstances in which an individual acquired either of the two titles. The abundance of colophons concerning the use of the two titles has

³⁹ **H. M. Ughurlian**, *Patmutiun Hayots Gaghtakanutean ev Shinutean Ekeghetsvoy i Livornoy Kaghaki* [History of the Armenian Settlement in the City of Livorn and of the Construction of their Church] (Vienna, 1891), p. 30; **Siruni**, *Polis*, 1:491.

⁴⁰ See note 30, p. 23.

⁴¹ **Davrijetsi**, *Patmutiun*, p. 513.

⁴² **Karekin Srvandsdians**, *Toros Aghbar* [Brother Toros], 2 vols. (Constantinople, 1879-1884), 2:400.

⁴³ **Hagopian** and **Hovhannisian**, *Dseragreri*, p. 743.

⁴⁴ **Simeon Tbir Lehatsi**, *Ughegrutiun* [Travelogue] (Vienna, 1936), p. 318; **Siruni**, *Polis*, 1:487-488.

⁴⁵ **Daranaghtsi**, *Jamanakagrutiun*, p. 580.