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THE PARTICIPATION OF THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY  
IN OTTOMAN PUBLIC LIFE IN EASTERN ANATOLIA  
AND SYRIA, 1860-1908

THE PARTICIPATION OF THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY  
IN OTTOMAN PUBLIC LIFE IN EASTERN ANATOLIA  
AND SYRIA, 1860-1908

By

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Thesis submitted to the University of Durham for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

November 1963

School of Oriental Studies  
in the University of Durham

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Arm	Armenian
Arb.	Arabic
<u>CTA</u>	V Cuinet, <u>La Turquie d'Asie</u>
<u>EI</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>The Encyclopaedia of Islām</u> , 1st Edition
<u>EI</u> <sup>2</sup>	<u>The Encyclopaedia of Islām</u> , 2nd Edition
F.O.	Foreign Office, London
<u>IA</u>	<u>Islām ansiklopedisi</u>
Mod. Turk	Modern Turkish
Ott Turk	Ottoman Turkish
P R O	Public Record Office, London

## I N T R O D U C T I O N

### The Scope of This Work

The participation of the Armenian community in Ottoman public life in Eastern Anatolia and Syria has not been as yet a subject of particular research. There are some studies on the political, religious and cultural history of the Armenians of Anatolia and Syria, but there is no special study in any language on their participation in Ottoman public life.

In Turkish sources the role which the Armenians played in Ottoman governmental affairs of the community has been intentionally ignored, and even Armenian sources have paid little attention to this. To the Armenian mind a churchman or a man of letters tends to be more appreciated and better remembered than a humdrum administrator in a district or province. This is the reason why the local histories of Anatolia and Syria, written by Armenian scholars, contain little material on the biographies of those who served in the different departments of the Ottoman Government.

In 1953, at Istanbul, an Armenian Catholic priest, Y Çark, published an illustrated book, Türk devleti hizmetinde Ermeniler, 1453-1953 [The Armenians in the service of the Turkish State, 1453-1953], in which he recorded those Armenians who held more or less important positions in the Turkish State from 1453 to 1953. In point of time, this

study covers a period of five centuries and, geographically, the whole Ottoman Empire to 1923 and the Turkish Republic thereafter

Secondly, the book related not to what the Armenians, taken as a community, have achieved, but what individual Armenians have done in the Turkish service. Moreover, the author has not produced any new information, but has been content to compile only well-known printed material. Only at pages 168-179 of his compilation does he mention the names of some of the Armenians who took part in Ottoman public life in Eastern Anatolia and Syria

My main sources in writing the present work, have been the provincial year-books (sāl-nāme)<sup>(1)</sup> of Eastern Anatolia and Syria. Although these are printed or lithographed books, the fact that they are scarce and not much explored, gives them the character of unedited materials

The service of the Armenians to the central government of the Ottoman Empire in and around Istanbul is known to some extent. This is the reason why I have chosen as geographical limits (a) That part of Anatolia which was called in the West 'Turkish Armenia' and which was considered in western diplomacy to be 'provinces inhabited by Armenians', and (b) Syria, where the Armenians began to settle as early as the XIIth century, and which since the XIVth century included the important See of Aleppo of the Armenian Cilician

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(1) Turkish equivalent terms are throughout given in the singular

## Catholicate

Chronologically, this work covers the period between 1860 and 1908. The year 1860 is significant in Armenian-Ottoman history for several reasons. (a) On the 3rd November 1839, the Khatt-i Şerif (noble rescript) of Gülkhāne, which was reaffirmed on the 18th February 1856 by the Khatt-i Hümāyūn (Imperial rescript), proclaimed freedom of worship and civil equality to all Ottoman subjects. As a result of these imperial edicts non-Muslims were admitted in greater numbers than before to employment in the Ottoman public administration. (b) From 1857-8, the Armenians and other non-Muslim students were also allowed to attend the Turkish state high schools. Through this new arrangement Armenians enjoyed the opportunities of learning advanced Turkish and various professions and skills and were thus fitted to engage in public affairs. It must be mentioned here that, apart from Turkish schools, the Armenians had their own secondary schools, as well as others run by French Catholic and American Protestant Missions which did much to develop popular education.

Many Armenians, after leaving the local high schools, went abroad, especially to Paris and New York, and, nearer home, to the two colleges, later universities, of Beirut, (1)

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(1) These two universities are (a) The Syrian Protestant College founded in 1866 by the American Presbyterian Mission, became the American University of Beirut in 1920, and (b) the Jesuit College founded in 1881 (run by French Fathers), now the University of Saint-Joseph.

in order to continue education Most of the students returned home and devoted themselves to public services and the private professions (c) In 1860 the Constitution of the Armenian community was first promulgated This stimulated a renaissance of education and literature in the national life and awakened the national conscience of the younger generation (d) In 1860 occurred the massacres of the Maronites of Mount Lebanon by the Druzes, and consequently Jabal Lubnān became an autonomous territory guaranteed by international agreement (e) In October 1864 the Ottoman Empire was itself reorganized and divided into reconstituted provinces (vīlāyet) under governors designated vālī This territorial reorganization created employment for many new officials in public life, for which the Armenians and Greeks were now available

My period ends in 1908-909 when the Young Turks came into power and pursued a nationalistic policy which had its result in the extermination of the whole Armenian population from Anatolia in 1915-1920, bringing misery to Turk and Armenian alike (1)

There are hundreds of books on the Armenian Question and massacres but they emphasise one side of the story to the obscuring of the other side, and accordingly one can hardly

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(1) See Appendix VI below

Imagine after reading this type of literature that Ottoman-Armenian cooperation ever existed or that the Armenians had rendered a considerable service to Ottoman public life. My work has been, therefore, to demonstrate the great part which the Armenians took in the public administration of Eastern Anatolia and Syria in the period of the Tanzīmāt (reforms). It should be understood how much the three million Armenians of Anatolia contributed to the economy and general development of the country, apart from the official services, through trade, agriculture, handicrafts and the professions.

The Regulation of the Armenian Community

The Armenians' way of life had distinctive features and their cultural and educational affairs were carried out in the main by clergymen, assisted by prominent laymen. The Armenian communities in the Ottoman Empire up to 1860 were governed by the Patriarch of Istanbul through councils in which the ordinary people had almost no representation.

On the 11th Cemādhī'1 akhīr 1272 H (18th February 1856) the Khatt-ı Hümāyūn (Imperial rescript) of the Sublime Porte proclaimed personal safety and freedom of worship to all Ottoman subjects without any distinction and promised to non-Muslim communities restoration of all immunities and

privileges in a new legislative form (1) Reform in the state suggested reform in the religious communities The Armenians with all the non-Muslim communities were pleased and enthusiastic Some intellectuals such as Grigor Ōtean (1834-87), Nahapet Rusinean (1819-76) and Dr Serovbē Vičēnean (1815-87) who were educated in the secular environment of Paris, urged the necessity of a new constitution for the Armenian community in order to restrict the arbitrary acts of the patriarchs, amīrs (high officials at the Court) and āḡās (chiefs, notables) and to give the ordinary people a say in the ordering of their communal life

In the year 1856/57 a special committee by Grigor Efendi Markosean, drew up a draft regulation for the Armenian community This was examined in February - March 1857 by the communal Supreme Assembly, and on the 3rd April 1857 was approved by the General Council It was not, however, accepted by the Porte, because it was said 'no state can be within another state' (2) The Armenians were thus compelled

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(1) The text of this Imperial rescript can be found in Düstūr [Code of laws], Istanbul, 1 (1289 H /1872-3), pp 7-14 In French translation see G Young, Corps de droit ottoman (7 volumes), Oxford, 1905-906, 11, pp 3-9, E Engelhardt, La Turquie et le Tanzimat ou Histoire des reformes dans l'Empire ottoman depuis 1826 jusqu'a nos jours (2 volumes), 1882 and 1884, 1, pp 263-70, and G Noradounghian, Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire ottoman, 111, 1902, pp 83-88

(2) B Kēčean, Patmutiwn surb Prkči hiwandanocin Hayoc 1 Kostandnupolis [History of S Prkič hospital of the Armenians in Constantinople], Istanbul, 1888, p 95

to prepare a new constitution which was completed in 1860  
 These were its main lines - (1)

1 'Each individual has obligations towards the nation<sup>(2)</sup> and the nation towards the individual' Every Armenian would participate in elections of the patriarch and community councils through representatives and would pay taxes in order to preserve and defend his rights

2 The patriarch is no longer an omnipotent authority in the community, but merely 'the president of the communal councils', who also 'administered the executive power of these councils'

3 The supreme communal authority is the General Council with the power to elect the patriarch, to organize the community, to oversee and inspect the activities of the directorship of the councils and to preserve the Constitution

4 Next to the General Council are set up the Religious and Political councils, the Boards of Education, Finance, Expenditure and Income, Social Litigation (concerning

(1) This constitution was edited by A Pērpērean, in his Patmutiwn Hayoc [History of Armenians], Istanbul, 1871, pp 390-427

(2) The word 'nation' here is used as equivalent to the Turkish term millet and in the sense of 'community'

family disputes) and Parish Councils

5 The task of the Parish Council (tağakanutiwn) is to administer the local community affairs of the district, to maintain the church and the school, to settle the disputes which arise between the members of the Parish and to help the poor

6 In the provinces also, there would be Diocesan, Religious, Political and Parish councils Representatives of these councils and also other Armenians who held a respectable position in Ottoman public life, would form the General Council of each vilāyet The duty of the General Council is to elect the prelate, to organize the Religious and Political councils, and to oversee the activities of the councils

On the 5th June 1860 representatives of all classes of the Armenian community met in general council in Istanbul in which the new Regulation was approved and signed and at the same time provisional councils were formed A copy of the Constitution was submitted to the Sublime Porte for ratification, in three months new councils were elected and the community life suddenly began to be administered according to the new regulations until the 27th August 1861, when the execution of the Constitution was forbidden by the Ottoman Government Again a special committee was appointed, this time by the Sublime Porte, under the chairmanship of Dr Serovbē Vičēnean (known as Dr Servičēn), which revised

the Constitution and re-submitted it to the Government in January 1862. On the suggestions of the Government once more certain changes were made and the people awaited anxiously the ratification of the Constitution (1)

It is of interest to note here the main points which were altered in the regulations

1. Some terms such as the council of 'National administration' apparently were regarded as suspicious by the Government, were cut out or replaced by other words, e g in the 'Fundamental principles', instead of 'National Constitution' of the 1vth and vth articles, in the revised Constitutions the term is shortened to 'nation' (articles 11 and 111). Again, in article v of the 'Fundamental principles' it was suggested that the 'National Administration' should not spare any labour for the reformation and progress of the nation, in the revised form it is said that 'the nation should devotedly work for the national progress' (article 111) and thus the dangerous word 'reformation' was missed out

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(1) The revised Constitution was drafted and published by the Armenian Patriarchate at Istanbul in 1863, which contains both the Armenian and Turkish (in Arm characters) texts in parallel lines, Azagayın Sahmanadrutıwn Hayoc [National Constitution of the Armenians]. The Turkish official version was published in the Ottoman Düstür [Code of laws], Istanbul, 11, (1289 H /1872-3), pp 938-61. In this the 'Preface' and the 'Fundamental principles' are omitted (see the Armenian text, pp 9-12). An English translation of the Constitution was published by H F B Lynch, in his Armenia travels and studies, 1901, 11, pp 445-67. There is an abridged French translation by G Young, in his Corps de droit ottoman, 11, pp 79-92

The 27th article also, 'The Political Council is composed of 20 political<sup>(1)</sup> laymen', because of the word 'political', is altered to this 'The Political Council consists of 20 laymen well acquainted with the national affairs and with the laws of the Ottoman Empire' (article 36)

2 In the revised Constitution every mention concerning the relations of the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul with the Holy See of Echmiadzin in Russian Armenia, is eradicated In the 8th article it was said that the National Administration 'in connection with the Araratean Mother See<sup>(2)</sup> would remain faithful to the same relations by which the Nation and the See were joined together from the beginning' and in the 115th appears this 'The patriarch should be ordained by the Catholicos of Echmiadzin and should be an Ottoman subject' These parts of the Constitution are omitted from the revised form and it is stated that the patriarch should be elected from the bishops who live in the Ottoman Empire (article 2nd) and who by birth are Ottoman subjects

3 According to the revised Constitution the election of the patriarch and of the Political and Religious councils

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(1) In the text the Armenian word is kağakagēt, which means 'he who understands politics, a politician'

(2) 'The Araratean Mother See' refers to the Holy See of Echmiadzin in Armenia

must be 'affirmed by Imperial order', whereas previously only the election of the patriarch was to be presented to the Porte for approval

4 In the revised Constitution a special section (articles 17-23) is added concerning the election of the Armenian patriarch of Jerusalem

The Government did not immediately confirm even the revised Constitution. The people, thinking that the Patriarchate was delaying the matter, organized demonstrations. Eventually by a decree dated 9th Şevvāl 1279 H (30th March 1863) the Sultān 'Abd ūl-'Azīz approved the Community Regulation which was handed over to the patriarchal locum tenens, Bishop Stepan Mağakean, by the Grand Vizier Mehmed Emīn 'Alī Pāşā

It is worth noting that, although the Armenians have their new Regulation called 'National Constitution' (Arm Azgayın Sahmanadrutıwn), the Turkish text is entitled 'Regulation of the Armenian nation' (Nizāmnāme-i millet-i ermeniān), whereas in Düstūr<sup>(1)</sup> it is named 'The regulation of the Armenian Patriarchate' (Ermeni baṭırıklığı nizāmātı). These differences in the title of the Armenian Constitution help us to observe the differences between the Armenian and

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(1) See Düstūr [Code of laws], 11, (1289 H /1872-3), p 6 (the index). Curiously enough the text itself (p 938) has no title

Turkish attitudes to the national status      While the Armenians thought that the new Constitution would bring secularism, internal freedom and safety to their lives, to the Turks the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire like the other non-Muslim peoples, in spite of promised or written reforms, were still treated as a religious community, a millet,<sup>(1)</sup> and was recognized and treated only through its religious organization      However, it is a fact that the Constitution basically organized the Armenian community, limited the power of the patriarch and of lay despots, stimulated learning among the people, and thus became one of the main factors which resulted in a renaissance of literature among the Armenians of Turkey

In the days of patriarch Mağakia Örmanean, the Constitution was suspended from 1898-1906, because the Sultān 'Abd ūl-Hamīd demanded a new revision of it      In 1923, in the creation of Turkish Republic it became invalid, since all the

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(1) 'Millet' is an Arabic word 'millaḥ' whose original meaning in the classical literature was 'a religion, a way of belief and practice in respect of religion' (E W Lane, An Arabic-English lexicon, 2nd impression, U S A 1955-56, book 8 and Supplement, p 3023, cf 'EI', 111, pp 497-8)      In modern Arabic, in addition to its old sense, it came to mean also a religious community (H Wehr, A dictionary of modern written Arabic, edited J M Cowan, Wiesbaden, 1961, p 918), whence in Turkish millet, 'community, people united in a common faith'

Ottoman legislation ceased to be valid (1)

Russo-Turkish War and the Treaty of S. Stefano

No historical phenomenon or event can be precisely represented without the background of political life of the time. In order to show the difficult conditions under which the Armenian community of Eastern Anatolia took part in Ottoman public life from 1860 to 1908, it will be necessary only to list some of the principal external events. The Russo-Turkish War, the Treaty of San Stefano, the Congress of Berlin and the Ottoman Reforms proposed by the Powers

For nearly four centuries the Armenians of Eastern Anatolia were oppressed under the Ottoman rule. Especially in the vilāyets of Van, Bitlis and Erzurum, far from the control of the central Government and at the mercy of Kurdish and Turkish petty despots and local thieves, the Armenian population was much maltreated. In 1876 the Armenian Patriarchate at Istanbul published a report<sup>(2)</sup> based on material from its archives, in which the sufferings of the

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(1) Further bibliography on the Armenian Constitution. A. Alpōyaçean, Azgayin Sahmanadrutıwn [The National Constitution], in the annual of the Armenian S. Prkič hospital in Istanbul, 1910, pp 76-528, A. Saruxan, Haykakan xndirəw Azgayin Sahmanadrutıwnə Tıwrkiayum [The Armenian Question and the National Constitution in Turkey], Tiflis, 1912, M. Ōrmanean, Azgapatum, [History of the Armenian nation], 111, Jerusalem, 1927, pp 4015-74, and Masis, [a daily newspaper], Istanbul, 1857-63

(2) Teğekagırk gawarakan harstaharuteanc, [Report on the outrages which occurred in the provinces], Istanbul, 1876

Armenians of the Eastern provinces were brought to the attention of the public

On 31st March of 1877, the Powers drafted an agreed project of reform respecting the countries and peoples under the Ottoman rule and submitted it to the Sublime Porte. On the 9th April 1877 the Ottoman Government rejected the project. Russia undertook military action and marched into the Ottoman territories. Turkey asked for an armistice to which Russia agreed and negotiations for a treaty were held at Adrianople. The Armenian prelate of Adrianople, Rev Gēorg Rusčuglean, together with the Yovhannēs Efendi Nurean and Stepan Arslanean (both of them men of distinction from Istanbul), on the suggestion of the Armenian Patriarchate and 'National Council' at Istanbul, represented the Armenian Question to the Grand Duke Nicholas, the Russian Commander, and to Count Ignatiev, a Russian Statesman and former consul at Istanbul asking them for reforms in Eastern vilāyets (1). The Russians promised that the treaty in preparation would include the following clause in favour of Armenians -

'For the purpose of preventing oppressions and atrocities which have occurred in Ottoman Empire's European and Asiatic provinces, the Sultān guarantees, in agreement with the Czar, to grant administrative local self-government to the provinces inhabited by Armenians (Van, Bitlis, Erzurum,

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(1) Lēō, Hayoc harci vaweragrera [The documents of the Armenian Question], Tiflis, 1915, pp 45-55, and Saruxan, op cit,

Diarbakir, Elāzığ and Sivas)' (1)

When the Russian delegates came to San Stefano (now Yeşil Köy near the Istanbul airport, west of the city) and resided at the house of an Armenian notable named Arakel Bey Tatean, the Armenian Patriarch Nersēs Varžapetean went personally and besought Count Ignatiev to insist on urgency of the reforms affecting the Armenians of Eastern Anatolia (2)

On the 3rd March 1878 the Russians and the Turks signed a treaty of peace in San Stefano, granting favours to Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and especially to Bulgaria which would constitute an autonomous tributary under a Christian government and with a national militia Article 16 of the treaty also was a guarantee for the reforms in 'the provinces inhabited by the Armenians', as follows -

'As the evacuation by the Russian troops of the territory which they occupy in Armenia and which is to be restored to Turkey, might give rise to conflicts and complications detrimental to the maintenance of good relations between the two countries [Russia and Turkey], the Sublime Porte engages to carry into effect, without further delay,

(1) Saruxan, *ibid* , p 285

(2) K Tumayean, Patmutiwn arewelean xndroy ew arajñord haykakan harci [History of the Eastern Problem and a guide to the Armenian Question], (2 volumes), London 1905, p 518, and Ōrmanean, Azgapatum [History of the Armenian nation], 111, p 4342

the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians and to guarantee their security against the Kurds and Circassians' (1)

The Armenians at that time were enthusiastic and hopeful that after long centuries they would again have, if not complete independence, a semi-independence or local Christian administration in their homeland, like the Christians of the Lebanon. It was however ingenuous of them to expect any independence or even reform, because firstly, they lacked a resolute Power to protect them, and secondly the eastern frontier of Anatolia, particularly the fortress of Erzurum, had great strategic importance. A Turkish document which survives in French translation in the Public Record Office, London, 'Resume de differents memoirs speciaux concernant notre arrangement defensif au theatre de la guerre armenien', (2) illuminates the matter. This document is the report of the meetings of an assembly (1858-60), under the presidency of Selim Pāşā, which planned in detail how to defend the Empire in case of a Russian attack. It is said there, that Armenia and Asia Minor are the body of the Ottoman State, while other

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(1) E. Hertslet, The map of Europe by treaty (4 volumes), iv, (1875-91), 1891, p 2686, T. E. Holland, The European Concert in the Eastern Question, Oxford, 1885, p 343, and G. Noradounghian, Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire ottoman, iii, 1902, p 516 (the full text pp 507-521)

(2) P R O , F O 78/1521

Ottoman regions form its members, and that Erzurum is the most important centre from which the body could be defended -

'Ce qui le centre du theatre de la guerre, le point auquel toutes les routes mentionees se reunissent, la ville d'Erzeroum, soit fortifiee a grande echelle, comme pivot et depôt general pour toutes nos forces La dite capitale, est, pour ainsi dire, la clef de l'espace a defendre, puisqu'elle domine toutes les communications importantes qui y aboutissent comme au point de noeud naturel' (1)

From this statement it can clearly be seen that any demand for independence or reform by Armenians in or around the province of Erzurum would inevitably meet with the resistance of the Turks (2)

### The Congress of Berlin

The European Powers, particularly England and Austria, were discontented with the Treaty of San Stefano The

(1) Ibid., the document, pp 12-13

(2) Further bibliography on the treaty of S Stefano - E Hertslet, The map of Europe by treaty, iv, (1875-1891), pp 2658-60 and 2672-94, A Schopoff, Les reformes et la protection des chretiens en Turquie 1673-1904, 1904, pp 353-71, X Badalyan, 'Haykakan harcə' San-Stefanoyi paymanagrum ew Berlini kongresum 1878 t [The Armenian Question in the Treaty of San Stefano and in the Congress of Berlin in 1878], Erevan, 1955, pp 11-85, La Jonquiere, Histoire de l'Empire ottoman (2nd edition), 1914, 11, pp 68-80, J de Morgan, Histoire du peuple armenien, 1919, p 256, H Pasdermadjian, Histoire de l'Arménie, 1949, pp 337-56, and A O Sarkissian, History of the Armenian

Prime Minister of Great Britain, Lord Beaconsfield, commented in the House of Lords that by the Treaty of San Stefano European dominions were put under the Russian administration and that the Black Sea was to be a Russian lake as much as the Caspian (1) Lord Salisbury also expressed his view on the subject that the Russian Government by the Treaty of S Stefano would be 'dominant over the vicinity of the Black Sea', Armenians would fall under the immediate influence of Russia, while the extensive European trade, passing from Trebizond to Persia, would be 'liable to be arrested at the pleasure of the Russian Government by the prohibitory barriers of their commercial system' (2)

The Ottoman Government itself was not at all happy with the Treaty of San Stefano The Armenians being Christians like the Russians and having a part of their country under Russian domination, especially after the Russo-Turkish War, were much suspected of being Russian agents For this reason Turkey strongly endeavoured to reject the Russian troops, who were to guarantee the execution of the

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continuation of footnote (2) on p. xvii

Question to 1885 (University of Illinois, Bulletin, vol xxii, nos 3 and 4), Urbana, 1938, pp 57-72

- (1) Lord Beaconsfield in the House of Lords, 8th April 1878, Speeches, 11, p 170
- (2) 'The Marquis of Salisbury to Her Majesty's Embassies', 1st April 1878, British and Foreign State Papers 1877-78, vol 69, 1885, pp 812-3

administrative reforms in Eastern Anatolia ('the provinces inhabited by the Armenians')

From the 13th June 1878 to the 13th July, Russia was urged by the European Powers to attend the Congress of Berlin to reconsider the Treaty of San Stefano. An Armenian delegation, composed of Mkrtič Xrimean (former patriarch and the archbishop of Beşiktaş in Istanbul), and of two lay deputies from the Armenian national Council of Istanbul, Minas Ćeraz and Stepan Papazean, went to Berlin and submitted a letter to the Congress together with a project for the reorganization of Turkish Armenia, in which they said -

- - 'Nous ne reclamons donc pas de liberte politique et nous ne voulons nullement nous separer du Gouvernement Turc. Nous voulons seulement avoir dans une partie de l'Armenie Turque, c'est-a-dire dans les vilayet d'Erzeroum et de Van et de dans la partie septentrionale du vilayet de Diyarbekir (v la carte ci-jointe) ou nous avons la majorite sur les Turcs, conformément aux documents statistique/ ci-inclus, nous voulons avoir, disons nous, un vali Armenien nomme par la S Porte avec l'assentiment des Puissances. Ce vali sera charge de l'administration locale pour un temps determine, il devra disposer d'une police pour maintenir l'ordre et la securite, et d'une partie des revenus du pays, pour en assurer le developpement

moral et materiel' (1)

Apparently the Armenian Question was affected by the conflict between the Powers Turkey was afraid of the partition of her dominions, the Western Powers were pursuing only their own interests, while Russia this time was not insistent in respect of the Armenian problem Consequently the 16th article of the Treaty of S Stefano was one of the articles tampered with at the Congress of Berlin in favour of the Turks (2) It was pushed back to the end of the new treaty, as the 61st, and direct Russian supervision was exchanged for the oversight of six Powers This is the full text of the article -

'Improvements and reforms in favour of Armenians  
Protection against Circassians and Kurds The  
Powers to be kept periodically informed

Art LXI The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds

- 
- (1) Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien, Politisches Archiv III, Karton 115, Berliner Kongress, the letter, 'Schreiben der armenischen Delegierten an den Minister des Aeussern, Grafen Karolyi', dated 25th June 1878 It is signed only by the two clergymen See Appendix V below
- (2) E Pears (Sir), The Life of Abdul Hamid, 1917, pp 218-20

It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application' (1)

The Armenian delegates who were not allowed even to enter the building of the Congress, returned home dejected, having lost what was already gained through the treaty of S Stefano They realized that there was no room for any religion or pity in diplomacy and that in politics self-interest and strength are always triumphant (2) Xrimean on his return to Istanbul allegorically expressed his conclusions on the Congress of Berlin thus - 'All the dominions came to the Congress with iron spoons and took their share of the harisa (3) Since our spoon (i e the letter) was of paper, we could not get any of it' (4)

The Armenian intellectuals at Istanbul and in Anatolia were disappointed by the Treaty of Berlin, but the Armenian masses were enthusiastic and active In 1880 the 'United Society' (Miaçaal Ənkerutıwn) (5) and other societies were

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- (1) E Hertslet, The map of Europe by treaty, iv, p 2796
- (2) See M Xrimean, Mşak ['Cultivator', a newspaper], 1878, No 159
- (3) The harisa is an oriental dish, cooked with meat and wheat pounded together
- (4) See Xrimean's Literary Collection (in Armenian), Tiflis, 1908, p 98, and H Aċemean, Hayoç Hayrik [Armenians' father (M Xrimean)], 2 vols, Tavrız, 1929, ii, pp 511-14
- (5) S Palasanean, Patmuşıwn Hayoç [History of the Armenians], Tiflis, 1890, p 490

organized which sponsored many schools in Turkish Armenia and stimulated education and literature in the new generation<sup>(1)</sup>  
The Massacres of 1894-1896 and the Administrative Reforms of 1896

The administrative reforms which by the Treaty of Berlin the Sublime Porte promised to the European Powers for the 'provinces inhabited by Armenians' in Anatolia, were not executed for more than fifteen years. The Armenians being disappointed protested and demonstrated, but this was unwise. The Porte, instead of fulfilling his promises, grew obdurate, and, as it were by a coincidence, massive massacres broke out in the Asian part of the Empire. The vālīs and the army, aided by the Kurds, killed many thousand Armenians in Anatolia, and many houses, shops and other properties of the Armenians were destroyed or robbed<sup>(2)</sup>

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- (1) Further bibliography on the treaty of Berlin - the documents of the British predisposition and the protocols of the Congress of Berlin, British and Foreign State Papers 1877-78, pp 802-841 and 886-1078, and P R O , F O 97/526 'Berlin Congress protocols 1 to 20', 1878. The protocols together with the treaty G Noradounghian, Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire ottoman, iv, (1878-1902), 1903, pp 1-192, A Schopoff, op cit, pp 371-91. Studies X Badalyan, op cit, pp 86-141 and 145-61, La Jonquiere, Histoire de l'Empire ottoman, pp 80-83 and 121-27, J de Morgan, Histoire du peuple armenien, pp 256-60, H Pasdermadjian, Histoire de l'Armenie, pp 356-65, A O Sarkissian, History of the Armenian Question to 1885, pp 73-86, J A R Marriott, The Eastern Question (4th edition), pp 334-46, and E Pears (Sir), The Life of Abdul Hamid, pp 81-86 and 214-27
- (2) A historical survey of the massacres of 1894-1896 is in Ormanean's Azgapatum [History of the Armenian nation], 111, pp 5020-47, 5063-6, 5074-92

The first echo in England of the Armenian massacres was a short report in The Times of 21st February 1894 on the trouble in Yozgat (1)

In March 1894 H F B Lynch having returned to England from his tour of Armenia in a letter addressed to the editor of The Times, criticized the oppressive policy and the hostile treatment by the Turks in Eastern Anatolia and concluded thus -

'Unless our diplomacy is able to persuade the Porte that in pursuing their present policy towards the Armenians they are digging the grave of their Empire in Asia, the consequences are likely to be momentous not only for Turkey but for ourselves' (2)

The European States unfortunately could not stop the massacres which continued in the years 1895 and 1896 throughout Anatolia. The correspondent of the Times in Turkey reported on the results of the troubles as follows -

'They [the Armenians] are considerably reduced in numbers, there are thousands of helpless widows among them, and tens of thousands of fatherless children, pillage and confiscation

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(1) See another report on the troubles of Yozgat in The Times, 2nd March 1894, p 5e

(2) The Times, 20th November 1894, p 11c

have stripped them of the greater part of their belongings, their trades and crafts are broken down, their markets disorganized, and in wide regions there is nothing left from which a man may earn his bread' (1)

In England the Anglo-Armenian Association had many meetings<sup>(2)</sup> under the presidency of F S Stevenson, M P , and besought the British Government to urge the Ottoman Porte to introduce reforms in the administration of Turkish Armenia. An 'Armenian Relief Fund' was organized in England in order to help the homeless and the poor in Anatolia. The president of this Fund was the Duke of Argyll, and the chairman F S Stevenson. The committee itself included such important persons as the Archbishop of York, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, James Bryce, M P , John H Kennaway, M P , and Charles E Schwann, M P.

It must be noted here that Great Britain was the first among the European States to intervene with the Ottoman Government to stop the massacres. Russia, France and America joined her in an inquiry to be made at the places where the massacres occurred. A special commission was organized with the following representatives -<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Ibid , 28th December 1897, p 2d

(2) Ibid , 12th Dec 1894, p 10f, 18th Dec 1894, p 10e, etc

(3) The Times, 21st Nov 1894, p 5, 25th Dec 1894, p 3c, 26th Dec 1894, p 3c, and 21st Jan 1895, p 5d

Tevfik Pâşâ, General of Brigade and Aide-de-camp  
Şefik Bey, President of one of the chambers of the  
Court of Cassation

Celâleddin Bey, President of the Correctional  
section of the Court

Necib Bey, Director of the Secretary-General's  
Office at the Ministry of Interior

Omer Bey, Director of the Savings Bank

Mr H S Shipley, delegate of England

Mr Prejewalsky, delegate of Russia

Mr Vilbert, delegate of France

Dr Miles Jewett, delegate of America (1)

During the very time in which the Inquiry Commission had gone to Erzurum and Bitlis to investigate the alleged outrages, massacres were actually being carried out systematically in other parts of Anatolia. On the demand of the Commission the vâli of Bitlis Tahsîn Pâşâ was deprived of his post and provisionally replaced by Omer Bey at the end of January 1895 (2). On their return to Istanbul the European members of the commission presented to the Sublime

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(1) M. Jewett, United States Consul at Sivas, was to present a separate report on the Armenian troubles to the General Secretary of the States. See The Times, 8th Dec 1894, p 5a

(2) The Times, 29th January 1895, pp 5-6

Porte the necessity of applying a programme for the reform of the administration of Turkish Armenia (1) The Porte received the demands of the European States, but the Sulṭān 'Abd ūl-Hamīd was apparently not yet satisfied with the blood already shed In the following months of 1895 the slaughter was continued in all the principal towns of Turkey These anti-Armenian outbreaks were crowned, in June 1896, by the atrocities of Van, and in August 1896, by the massacre of Istanbul Thus in 1894-96 more than 300,000 Armenians perished during the assaults organized by the Ottoman Porte (2)

At the end of the troubles, on the 11th October 1896 the Porte issued an Imperial decree which sanctioned some reforms respecting the administration of Eastern Anatolia which were suggested by the European commission The reforming decree was composed of 16 chapters and 32 articles (3) Although it

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- (1) K Ṭumayean, Patmutiwn arewelean xndroy ew arajnord Haykakan harci [History of the Eastern Problem and a guide to the Armenian Question], ii, pp 654-68
- (2) Ōrmanean's Azgapatum [History of the Armenian nation], *ibid*, p.5030, but J Bryce, The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire (1916, p 624), says 'In all more than 100,000 men, women and children had perished'
- (3) G. Noradounghian, Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire ottoman, iv, (1878-1902), 1903, pp.511-19, Young, Corps de droit ottoman, i, (1905), pp 97-105, A Schopoff, Les réformes et la protection des Chrétiens en Turquie 1673-1904, pp 518-25, and M Léart (G Zöhrap), La Question arménienne à la lumière des documents, 1913, pp.53-58

was dated Cemādhī'1 evvel 1313 (21st October 1895), but this date was faked in order to cover the complicity of the Ottoman Government in the massacre'. The note in reply<sup>(1)</sup> by the ambassadors of Great Britain, France and Russia<sup>(2)</sup> dated 24th October 1896 over a year later, supports my conclusion. These were the main points of the reforms -

1 In Eastern Anatolia (or the 'provinces inhabited by Armenians') each vāli would be accompanied by a non-Muslim assistant (art 1)

2 Likewise, the governors of sancāks and kazās would be accompanied by non-Muslim assistants (art 2)

3 The governors of kazās would be elected by the Ministry of the Interior from among the graduates of the civil School and appointed by Imperial decree. If there were not sufficient Christians graduated from the state School to assist the governors, then people experienced in Ottoman public life would be called to fill these posts (art 3 and 4)

4 The number of non-Muslim officials in political administration, police and gendarmérie would be in accordance with the number of the Christian population and fixed by the

(1) Noradounghian, *ibid*, pp 519-20

(2) These ambassadors were Philip Curry for Great Britain, P Cambon for France, and Nelidov for Russia

Permanent commission of control (art 5)

5 The governors of nāhiyes would be elected among the majority and the assistant-governors from the minority (art 8)

6. Each vilāyet was to be given a judicial inspectorate of about six members, half of whom would be Muslim and the others Christian (art 19)

7. The number of Muslim and non-Muslim policemen in the vilāyets would be in proportion to the number of the Muslim and Christian inhabitants (art 20)

8 The number of gendarmes also would be in proportion to the number of the Muslim and Christian inhabitants (art 22)

9. In order to improve the collection of taxes, the tax-collectors should hand over the tax-bills to the mukhtārs of villages and quarters These, after collecting the taxes, would remit the money to the State coffers

10 A dignified Muslim functionary was to be appointed and sent as High Commissioner by the Sublime Porte to the Eastern provinces to oversee the execution of the reforms This Commissioner would be accompanied by a Christian assistant

#### Offices and Officials in Ottoman Public Administration

During the XIXth century the population of Anatolia, especially the Christians, suffered much through anarchy and oppression and from irresponsible officials After the proclamation of Khaṭṭi-i Hümāyūn (18th February 1856) the

Great Powers proposed plans of reform to the Sublime Porte, including the participation of Christians in the administrative apparatus. In 1860 the Şadîr a'zâm (Grand Vizier) Kibrisli Mehmed Pâşâ visited the provinces and personally listened to the complaints of the people and in October 1864 the new Vilâyet nizâmnamesi (provincial regulation) was promulgated in order to reform the administration of the Ottoman provinces<sup>(1)</sup>. By this enactment the Ottoman territories were divided into - (a) the vilâyet (province), (b) the sancâk (subdivision of a vilâyet, county), (c) the kazâ (administrative division next to sancâk, district), (d) nâhiye (subdivision of a kazâ, communē) and (e) kariye (quarţer or village)

The vilâyet was to be governed by a vâlî, the sancâk by a mutaşarrîf, the kazâ by a kâymakâm, the nâhiye by a müdürr, and the kariye by a mukhtâr. The vâlî, who was appointed by the Sultân, possessed the executive power in all branches, apart from the military. Under his immediate authority were all the heads of the various administrative departments, and he was also in charge of the police of the province. Usually the vâlî had an assistant (mu'âvin) who replaced him in case of absence or sickness. Where there was no mu'âvin available, the defterdâr (general director of the financial department of a province) assisted the governor general.

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(1) See E Z Karal, Osmanlı tarihi [Ottoman history], viith volume (1861-1876), Ankara, 1956, pp 152ff

The defterdār, although acting in cooperation with the vālī was immediately responsible to the Finance Minister at Istanbul. The mutaşarrıf, also appointed by the Sultān, carried out his office under the authority of the vālī. Apart from being the general administrator of a sancāk, he was the head of its administrative council (idāre meclisi), and of its boards of public works (nāfi'a) and education (ma'ārif). Other senior officials in a sancāk, next below to the mutaşarrıf, were the deputy judge (nā'ib), the head of the financial department (muhāsebeci), and the chief secretary (tahrirāt müdürü). The kāymakām of a kazā, like the mutaşarrıf, was at the same time ex officio head of the administrative council and of the board of Public works. His assistants were the deputy judge, the head of the financial department (māl müdürü), and the chief secretary (tahrirāt kâtibi). The administrator of a nāhive, the müdür, was appointed by the general governor of the province, but he took instructions from the kāymakām of his kazā. He gathered the taxes, executed the sentences of the judicial court, and sometimes personally tried to pacify quarrels and disputes. The mukhtār (head man) of a qariye was chosen by the inhabitants of his quarter or village and affirmed by the governor of his kazā. He was assisted by a council whose members were mainly elders, for which reason it was called ikhtiyār meclisi (council of elders).

The Armenian officials in Ottoman public administration appear mostly in the kaḡās and at the headquarters of the sancāks. I shall therefore present here a general picture of the administrative apparatus in the (merkez-i sancāk) and, when there is a relevant department, outlying kaḡās also

## 1 Political administration

### i Administrative council

#### (a) Ex officio member (a'zā' ṭabī'īye)

Governor General

Deputy judge

Head of financial department

Muftū

Armenian bishop

Armenian Catholic bishop (or priest)

Armenian Protestant pastor (sometimes)

Greek metropolitan (if there was one)

In an outlying kaḡā the ex officio members were The governor, the deputy judge, the Muslim priest, the head of the financial department and the chief secretary

#### (b) Elected members (a'zā' mūntekhab)

Usually two Christian and two Muslim members were elected

In outlying kaḡās also two Christians and two Muslims were generally elected to the Administrative council

### ii Municipality

#### (a) Municipal council (belediye meclisi)

Mayor (belediye re'isi)

Members (from 6 to 12)

In a normal kazā the Municipal council had 5-10 members

(b) Municipal officials (belediye me'mūru)

Clerk (kātib)

Cashier (şandık emni)

Engineer (mühendis)

Doctor (tabib)

Vaccinator (āşı me'mūru)

Midwife (kābile)

~~Inspector (müfettiş)~~

Inspector's assistant (müfettiş mu'āvini)

In a usual kazā the Municipal officials were the same, but there were no inspectors

## 2 Secretariat

1 Chief secretariat (also for the Adm council)

Administrative council's clerk

Documents' (archives) official (evrāk me'mūru)

Chief clerk for drafting letter (müsevid evvel)

Second clerk for drafting letters (müsevid s̄anī)

Chief copyist (mübeyyiz evvel)

Second copyist

Third copyist

Assistants (mülāzim), up to 8 in number

ii Chamber of archives (evrāk odası)Documents official (evrāk me'mūru)

An assistant

Stationer (kirṭasıye me'mūru) He was the official

who provided stationery, printed official forms and other papers to different governmental departments

Assistants (1-3)

iii State land registry (defter khākānī idāresi)Chief official (me'mūr)

Chief clerk

Assistant clerk

Title-deeds' clerk (ṭāpū kātibi)

Assistant to the clerk of title-deeds

## iv Secretariat to the financial department

Chief official

Chief clerk

Assistant clerk

Accountant (defterci)

Assistants (about 4)

Cashier

v Secretariat to the Court of first instance  
(bidāyet ḳalemi)

Chief clerk

Civil department's clerk (2)

Criminal department's clerk (2)

## 3 Finance

- i Office of the controller of revenue and expenditure  
(māl kalemi)

Director (müdüür)

Assistants (2)

Cashier

Lawyer for the treasury (khazîne da'vā vekili)

- ii Taxation department (vergî dā'iresi)

Chief official

Cashier

Chief clerk

Accountant

Assistants (about 4)

To the department of taxation was attached the  
Estimates' committee (hey'et takhmîniye) -

Tax assessors, 2 (vergî mukhammini)

Municipal tax assessors, 2 (belediye mukhammini)

- iii Tax collection

(a) Tax collection board (taḥşîlât kōmîsyōnu)

The director (re'is), who was the head of the  
financial department

Four members -

One from the Adm council

One from the Municipality

Chief tax collector (ser taḥşîldār)

Clerk

(b) Tax collection committee (hey'et taḥṣīliye)

Chief official

Chief tax-collector

Clerk

Tax collectors, about 15      Some were pedestrian  
(piyāde taḥṣīldār) and the others mounted (sūvārī taḥṣīldār)

In the usual kazās there were only tax collection  
committees which included the same officials as in the  
central ḳazās of sancāqs

iii Chamber of commerce and agriculture (ticāret ve  
zirā'at odası)

Director

Assistant

Members (about 6)

Clerk

In an outlying ḳazā this chamber had a head, a clerk  
and about four members

iv Agricultural Bank branch (zirā'at bānķası ū'besi)<sup>(1)</sup>(a) Cash account (ḳāṣa idāresi)

Manager

Assistant

Clerk

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(1) In 1868 the Ottoman Government established 'Credit  
offices' (menāfi' ṣandīķi) which in 1888 were replaced  
by the branches of the Agricultural Bank. Both the  
'Credit offices' and the banks gave loans to the farmers  
and agriculturists in order to improve agriculture.  
In the present study under the heading 'Agricultural  
Banks branches' must be understood also the 'Credit  
offices' for the period 1868-88

In the cash account of the outlying kaḏā there were the account's clerk and two assisting officials

(b) The council

Head (re'is)

Members (about 4)

The same officials were in the Agricultural Bank's council of the outlying kaḏā

v Branch of the Ottoman Bank (‘osmānlī bānkaḡı šu‘besi)

Manager

Accountant

Branches of the Ottoman Bank were only very rarely to be found in outlying kaḏās

vi Public Debt administration (dīvān-i ‘umūmiye idāresi)

Chief official

Clerk

Cashier

Weighing-official (kaḡḡārcı)

Tax-collector

In a normal kaḏā the Public debt had the same officials, although not usually a special weigher

vii Customs administration (rūsūmat neḡāreti)

Administrator (nāḡır)

Accounts chief clerk

Chief secretary

Clerk

Assistant clerk

Offices of Custom administration are very rarely to be found in outlying kaẓās

viii Régie

Manager

Accountant

Store-keeper (anbārcı)

Clerk

Lawyer (da'vā vekili)

In a usual kaẓā the Régie had the same officials, except for a lawyer

4 The court<sup>(1)</sup>

Court of First instance (bidāyet mahkemesi)

(a) Civil department (hukuk dā'iresi)

Head (the deputy judge)

Members (2)

Assistant functionary (mülāzim)

In an outlying kaẓā the Court had a head (the deputy judge), two members and two clerks

(b) Criminal department (cezā dā'iresi)

Head

Members (2)

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(1) In the central and outlying kaẓās there were only courts of First instance, whereas at the headquarters of the provinces Courts of appeal (isti'nāf mahkemesi) were also established. In case of difficulties, the disputes were transferred from an outlying kaẓā to the centre of the sancāk, and if necessary, from there to the Court of appeal of the vilāyet

Assistant functionary

Public prosecutor (müdde'î 'umûmî)

(c) Other court officials

Executive officer (icrâ' me'mûru)

Juge d'instruction (müstahfîk)

Notary (mukâvelât muharrırı)

The other court officials of a usual kazâ, were the juge d'instruction, the public prosecutor, and the notary

(d) Commercial court

Head

Members (4)

5 Technical departments

i Public works

(a) Public works' board (nâfı'a kômısyönu)

Head (the governor)

Members     Manager of the Agric Bank

Member from the Adm council

Member from the Municipality

Member from the Chamber of commerce

Registrar of births or census officer  
(nüfûs me'mûru)

Public works engineer

Clerk

In a normal kazâ the Public works' board had a head (who was the kâymakâm) and four members one from the

Adm council, the accounts' clerk of the Agricultural Bank branch, the registrar of births, and one from the Chief secretariat or any other member

(b) Technicians (me'mürin fenniye)

Engineer

Two foremen (köndüktör)

ii Post and telegraph (pösta ve teleğräf idāresi)

Postmaster (pösta müdürü)

Telegraphic superintendents, 2 (mükhābere me'mūru)

Linesman foreman (khaṭ çāvusu)

Clerk

Postmen, 2 (müvezzi')

Postal messenger (pösta şāgirdı)

In the postal and telegraphic service of a usual kazā there were the postmaster, a telegraph superintendent, and a clerk

6 Public Health service

1 Municipality's service (see under Municipality)

ii Public health board (hey'et şihhiye)

Doctor

Chemist

Vaccinator

Midwife

Veterinary surgeon (bayṭār)

## 7 Education

i Educational board (ma'ārif kōmīsyonu)First director (re'is evvel)Second director (re'is şānī)

Members (about 8)

Clerks (one or two)

In an outlying kaḏā the Educational board had a head and about 5 members

ii School of handicrafts (şanāyi' mektebi)

Director

Teacher (of general subjects)

Teachers of joinery, blacksmiths' art, shoe-making etc

8 Forest administration (ormān idāresi)Superintendent of mounted foresters (ormān sūvārī me'mūru)Tithe officials, 3 (ondalık me'mūru)Forest-guards, 3 (kōrūcu)

In an outlying kaḏā normally there was only one official for forest tithes

Sources

In 1263 H /1846-7 the Ottoman Empire began to publish imperial year-books (Devlet-i 'āliye-i 'osmāniye sāl-nāmesi), (1) listing the officials of the central and provincial governments

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(1) S.R. Iskit, Türkiyede neşriyat hareketleri tarihine bir bakış [A historical survey of publishing activities in Turkey], Istanbul, 1939, pp 34-36 and 356-61, and EI, iv, p.83

In 1284 H./1867-8 the chief secretary (mektūbcu) of the province of Aleppo, Ibrahim Halet Bey<sup>(1)</sup> published a statistical annual of the province. Soon other vilāyets followed the example of Aleppo, and thus there were created the provincial year-books (vilāyet sālñāmesi)<sup>(2)</sup>. These sālñāmes gave the geography, produce, population and all the officials and officers of their provinces. As S. Iskit has pointed out in an exaggerated way the vilāyet-sālñāmes are 'for the most part wrong',<sup>(3)</sup> but in my research, misspellings of names, and also mistakes in geographical and historical surveys did not cause any special difficulty for me, because I was interested in differentiating between the names of the Muslim and Christian officials, while compiling statistics of personnel of all the departments of government affairs. In this the evidence of the sālñāmes was essential.

In Europe the best collection of the provincial year-books of Eastern Anatolia is possessed by the Bibliotheque Nubar (of the Armenian General Benevolent Union) in Paris. In order to study a sufficient number of these sālñāmes for comparative purposes, I undertook a tour of the Middle East (in the summer 1960) and worked in the Library of the American

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(1) A biography of Ibrahim Halet Bey is in Türkiye s̄s̄n̄klope-disi [Encyclopaedia of Turkey], Ankara, iii, (1956), p.133

(2) Iskit, *ibid*, pp.96-97

(3) *Ibid*, pp.360-61

University of Beirut, in the State Library at Aleppo, and in the libraries of the University (Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi) and of the Municipality (Istanbul Belediye Kütüphanesi) of Istanbul. The last has quite a large collection of year-books.

At the beginning of each chapter I have made a historical survey of the relevant provinces. For this part of my study I have consulted the Encyclopaedia of Islam (1st and 2nd eds), İslâm ansiklopedisi, S. Fraseri's Kâmûs ul-a'lâm [Dictionary of proper names], R. Grousset's Histoire de l'Arménie, H. Manandyan's Knnakan tesuṭyun hay žoğovrdi patmuṭyan [Critical survey of the history of the Armenian people], M. Örmanean's Azgapatum [History of the Armenian nation], local histories of the Armenian communities in Eastern Anatolia and Syria, and other sources which are referred to as they occur. In presenting the administrative structure of the vilāyets, I have utilized the imperial and provincial sālnāmes, the encyclopaedias given above, and La Turquie d'Asie of V. Cuinet. In order to enable the reader to locate the place names of Eastern Anatolia on modern maps I have adopted the renderings as given in the Gazetteer of Turkey (1)

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(1) Türkiye'de meskûn yerler kilavuzu [Gazetteer of the inhabited places of Turkey], published by the Ministry of the Interior of Turkey, Ankara, 2 volumes, 1946-47

At the end of each chapter I have appended short biographies of selected Armenians who acted in Ottoman public life for a long period or held comparatively high positions in the government. I have drawn these biographies from local Armenian histories. The sālnāmes in this case were of little help, since the officials are very often referred to only by their Christian names. These biographies will serve to give the reader a more substantial idea of the participation of the Armenian community in Ottoman public life.

## CHAPTER I

### THE ARMENIANS OF DIYARBAKIR

#### Historical Survey

Diyarbakir (the ancient Amida) lies on the western bank of the Tigris and includes the larger part of the regions of Copk and Ağjnik of ancient Armenia. In 94-93 B C Copk was joined to Greater Armenia by the King Tigran II. Later it was occupied by the Romans and Byzantines, and in 536 A D the Emperor Justinian made it a Byzantine province calling it Fourth Armenia.

In 19H /640, during the caliphate of 'Umar b al-Khattāb and under the commandment of 'Iyāz b Ğannām al-Nahrī the Arabs conquered Diyarbakir. In 958 the Byzantines succeeded in regaining it, but in 1070 the Salcūk Alp Arslan, and in 1093 the Melik of Syria Tāj al-Dawla Tutuş took possession of it. In 1183 Salāh al-Dīn b Ayyūb occupied Diyarbakir, ceding it to his ally the Artukid Nūr al-Dīn Muhammad (1). In the XIIIth century it fell to the Mongol domination, but after 1335 it was governed by Turkomans.

In 908H /1502-503 Diyarbakir was vanquished by the Safawī Şāh Ismā'īl who appointed the Kara Hasan Ustāclu-oğlu

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(1) Concerning the Artukid period of Diyarbakir see C Cahen, 'Artukids', EI 2, 1, pp 662-7, idem, 'Le Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides', Journal Asiatique, Oct - Dec 1935, pp 219-76

as vālī The Persian control, however, did not last long. The Ottomans taking advantage of the insubordination of the inhabitants, during 921-923H /1515-1517 under the leadership of the vizier of the Sulṭān Selīm I (1512-1250), Bıyıklı Mehmed Pāşā, finally brought Dıyārbakır under the direct government of the Sublime Porte (1)

### Administrative Structure

The vīlāyet of Dıyārbakır was first created in 1867. It had four administrative subdivisions - Dıyārbakır, Erganı, Mardın, and Malatya. In 1297H /1879-80 one part of Dıyārbakır was made the vīlāyet of Elāzığ which included Malatya. The remaining three sancāks, were divided into 14 kazās as follows -

The kazās of the sancāk of Dıyārbakır (Dıyārbakır) -

Dıyārbakır

Sıverek

Derik

Lice

Beşır

Silvan with its centre at Mıyafarkın (now called Silvan) Mıyafarkın (previously named Maıpheracta, Npherkert and Martyropolis), is the ancient Tıgranocerta, which was built by the Armenian King Tıgran II about 80 B C. It was a notable centre for trade and trans-

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(1) C. Huart, 'Dıyār Bakır', EI<sup>1</sup>, i, p 982, and M. H. Yinanç, 'Dıyārbakır', IA, fascicle 28 (Istanbul, 1946), pp 605-626

port (1)

Sancāk of Erganı (formerly called Arğana Ma'den, Arğana and sometimes Osmaniye), had three kazās -

Erganı

Palu

Çermik which included the nāhiye of Cüngüş

The kazās of the sancāk of Mardin -

Mardin

Nüsaybin

Cızre

Midyat

Avine

### Population

In the second-half of the nineteenth century the total population of the vilāyet of Diyarbakır, according to Cuinet<sup>(2)</sup> was 471,462, Muslims, Christians and others. The non-Muslim population was as follows -

Armenians

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(1) Strabo's Geography, xi, 14, 15 and xii, 2, 9, C Tacitus, The annals, xiv, 23-25 and xv, 3-5, Plutarch, Lucullus in the Lives, (translation of A H Clough), 111, pp 259-61, 275 and 286-7, C F Lehmann-Haupt, Armenien einst und jetzt, Berlin, 1, (1910), pp 381-429 and 501-523, H Manandyan, Hayastani glxavor čanaparhners [The main routes of Armenia], Erevan, 1936, pp 85-114, and idem, Tigran Yerkrordə yev Hromə [Tigran II and the Rome], Erevan, 1940, pp 61-72

(2) CTA, 11, p 412

Apostolic <sup>(1)</sup>	57,890	
Catholic	10,170	
Protestant	11,069	
		79,129
Greeks		
Orthodox	9,250	
Catholic	190	
		9,440
Chaldeans		16,420
Syrians (mostly Orthodox)		27,544
Latins		16
Jews		<u>1,269</u>
		<u>133,818</u>

Something which becomes apparent in considering the population of Ottoman Empire is the great difference between the figures quoted by Turkish and Armenian publications. In Turkish sources the number of Armenians in Turkey has been

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(1) The official name of the Armenian national Church is 'The Holy Apostolic and Orthodox Church of Armenia'. The majority of Armenians (85%) are members of this church, and they prefer to be called 'Apostolic' rather than 'Orthodox' or 'Gregorian'. Cuinet, in his La Turquie d'Asie, as well as some other European and Turkish authors refer to the members of the Apostolic Church as 'Gregorian', after the name of the Illuminator of Armenia, St Gregory, but I have used the term 'Apostolic', suggested by Armenian scholars, because the church received the Christian faith before St Gregory through the Apostles Thaddaeus and Bartholomew. See Archbishop M Ormanean (Ormanian), The Church of Armenia (2nd English ed ), 1955, pp 138-9

underestimated in order to minimize the importance of the Armenian Question and to divert the attention of Europeans Cuinet, who has used mainly Turkish sources, gives the number of Armenians in Diyarbakır as 79,129 <sup>(1)</sup>

Published at the same time, an Armenian booklet <sup>(2)</sup> records that 355,000 people, of whom 120,000 were Armenians, were living in Diyarbakır Also an Armenian almanac informs us that the Armenians in Diyarbakır before the World War I were 124,000 <sup>(3)</sup>

It will be seen that while the Turks have reduced the number of Armenians, some Armenians have exaggerated their statistics Therefore we can only approximate the total of the Armenians in Diyarbakır, by taking the mean between the number given by Cuinet and the figures quoted by the Armenian sources mentioned above Thus we have a total estimated population of Armenians in the region of 100,000

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- (1) 'A Cevād in his Mamālikı 'osmāniyenin tārīkh ve coğrāfiyā luğātı [Historical and geographical dictionary of the Ottoman Empire], 'Diyār Bakr', 11 (1896-97), p 402, presents the total of the Armenian population of Diyarbakır as 57,196 which is even less than the figure given by Cuinet
- (2) M A Tıwrkılayı Hayern ew irenç draçiner [The Armenians of Turkey and their neighbours], Marseilles, 1890, see the statistical table
- (3) Tēodik, Amēnun tareçoyçə [The almanac for every one], 1922, p 261

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It is worthy of note that the statistical analysis of the racial elements in Eastern Anatolia, drawn up in 1912 by the Armenian Patriarchate at Istanbul, attests to the fact that the Armenians of Diyarbakır numbered 105,000, which confirms our estimate. The following are the figures taken from this statistical analysis concerning Diyarbakır - (1)

Armenians	105,000
Nestorians, Jacobites and Chaldeans	60,000
Turks	45,000
Kurds	50,000
Kızılbaş (Shī'ites)	27,000
Yezīdīs	4,000
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	291,000

J Lepsius<sup>(2)</sup> also gives the same figure of 105,000 for the number of Armenians in the province Diyarbakır, but 63,000 for the Turks, thus -

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- (1) M Leart (G Zōhrap), La Question armenienne a la lumiere des documents, 1913, pp 60-61, and Viscount J Bryce, The treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1916, p 661
- (2) J Lepsius, Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, Potsdam, 1919, p 74. The same author (*ibid*, pp 306-307) records the number of the Armenians in the province of Diyarbakır as 81,700 (Apostolic 78,000, Catholic 1,500 and Protestant 2,200) probably quoting the figures of Ōrmanean, The Church of Armenia, p 206

Armenians	105,000
Syrians (Nestorians and Chaldeans)	60,000
Greeks	1,000
Kurds	200,000
Turks	63,000
Kızılbaş (Shī'ites)	27,000
Circassians	10,000
Yezıdıslar	4,000
Jews	1,500
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	471,500
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It appears from these statistics that the Armenians living in Dıyārbakır were more numerous than the Turks

#### Trades and Professions of Armenians

In the second-half of the XIXth century, in the province of Dıyārbakır, especially at the towns of Dıyārbakır and Mardin, trade and industry were in a flourishing state. The main productions were silk and cotton textiles, articles of copper and earthenware, and morocco leather (1). The Armenians took an active part in local trade and manufacturing

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(1) C. Huart, 'Dıyār Bakr', EI', 1, p 982, H. Kančean, Aşxarhagrutiwn osmanean petuṭean [A geography of the Ottoman Empire], Istanbul, 1912, pp. 318-9, and Y. Pōğosean, Hayastani aşxarhagrutiwn [A geography of Armenia], Paris, 1952, pp 114-5

as skilled craftsmen, merchants and artisans (1) Martiros Attarean was a famous manufacturer of Turkish linen, (2) Čavraşean was a well-known tailor, (3) while architecture was practised almost entirely by Armenians (4) We have an interesting eye-witness account of a traveller on the business of the Armenians of Diyarbakır as early as the XVIIth century The scribe Simēon from Lwow who visited there in 1612 describes the situation of Armenians in the town of Diyarbakır itself as the following -

'There are 1,000 Armenian houses and all of them were wealthy, luxurious and glorious And whatever business and riches exist, they possess -- the mint, the customs, caravanserais and the rest Also the cooks, restaurant proprietors, bakers, grocers and the butchers, are all Armenian And, when it is Sunday or a holiday, and the Armenians do not open their shops and do not work, you think [the town] is empty and desolated '(5)

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(1) T Mkund, Amitayi arjagangneru verakočumn [Reminiscence of the echoes of Amida], ii (New Jersey), 1953, pp 139-47 (Armeria, 20th January, 1907)

(2) Mkund, *ibid* , pp 139 and 381

(3) *Ibid* , p 140

(4) *Ibid* , p 144

(5) N Akinean, Simēon dprī Lehaçwoy uğegrutıwnə [The travel diary of the scribe Simeon from Lwow], Vienna, 1936, p 205

The kazā of Palu in the sancāk of Ergani which was densely populated by Armenians, was also a centre of commerce and crafts Naṭanean having visited Palu in 1878/1879 attests the following concerning the activity of Armenians there -

'Merchandise for twelve thousand Turkish pounds per annum is imported into Palu Most of the importers and exporters of the articles are Armenian There is a market of medium size where there are about three hundred shops, two caravan-serais built of brick and stone, and four bakeries Most of the craftsmen and traders of this market are Armenian (1)

Members of the Armenian community were also occupied in different professions, especially in law, medicine and pharmacy, of whom the names of Pōğos Efendi Tēr-Gabrielean (lawyer, fl c 1890),<sup>(2)</sup> Karapet Efendi Tapagean (lawyer, fl c 1890),<sup>(3)</sup> Kırakos Efendi Enowkean (lawyer, fl c 1890),<sup>(4)</sup> Dr Čpukčean (municipal doctor, fl c 1892),<sup>(5)</sup>

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(1) P Natanean, Artōsr Hayastanı [The tears of Armenia], Istanbul, 1879, p 58

(2) Mkund, *ibid* , p 169

(3) *Ibid*

(4) *Ibid*

(5) *Ibid* , p 166

Dr Artin Hēlvačean (army physician, fl c 1890),<sup>(1)</sup> Yakob Hēkimean (municipal chemist, fl c 1892),<sup>(2)</sup> and Artin Aḡkēkean (municipal chemist, fl c 1892)<sup>(3)</sup> can be mentioned

### Centres of Armenian Participation

Armenians, living all over the vīlāyet of Dıyarbakır, participated in the public life of the whole province. Localities where they particularly contributed were the centres of the sancāks, and the kaḡās of Siverek, Lice and Derik in the sancāk of Dıyarbakır itself, Palu and Çermak at Ergani, and Mıdyat, Avine and Cızre in Mardin.

The city of Dıyarbakır was inhabited by 10,260 Armenians who constituted one-third of the whole population of 35,000<sup>(4)</sup>. As the offices of the central government of the province were situated in the town, Armenians took an important part in the local life, contributing much to the political administration, justice, finance, technical affairs,

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(1) G Karoyean, Mec eḡernı nahatak hay bžışknerə [The martyred Armenian doctors of the Great Massacre], Venice-Boston, 1957, pp 137-40, and T Mkrtičean, Tigranakerti nahangi jarderə ew Kıwrteru gazaruḡıwnnerə [The massacres of the province of Dıyarbakır and the ferocities of the Kurds], Cairo, 1919, p 96

(2) Mkrtičean, *ibid* , and Mkund, *ibid* , p 166

(3) Mkrtičean, *ibid*

(4) CTA, 11, pp 453-4, cf C Huart 'Dıyār Bakr', EI<sup>1</sup>, 1, p 982

education and public health

Main Fields of Armenian Participation

The Armenians in the centres of the province of Diyarbakır served in most of the governmental departments (1) In the kazās they regularly took part in political administration, justice, finance and mechanics. These posts were, hence, the main fields of Armenian influence.

In the administrative councils of the sancāks and kazās, the Armenians were usually represented by two elected members (2) They had one or two ex officio members as well, the latter being the spiritual heads of the Apostolic and Catholic communities or sometimes of the Protestant, where they were relatively numerous. There was also a lay member ex officio, if he held a high position in the government such as deputy-governor, controller of revenue and expenditure or chief secretary. In the nāhiyes the assistants to the administrators were often Armenian, and from one to three were members or clerks to the local councils.

Many from the Armenian community were appointed to the municipal councils. Here up to five elected members,

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(1) For this chapter of Diyarbakır, I have consulted the provincial annuals of Diyarbakır (Diyārbakır vilāyeti sāl-nāmesi) of the following years: 1286 H /1869-70, 1291 H /1874-5, 1294 H /1877, 1297 H /1879-80, 1302 H /1884-5, 1306 H /1888-9, 1308 H /1890-91, 1316 H /1898-9, 1319 H /1901-902, and 1323 H /1905-906.

(2) The word 'member' is used throughout as a title to indicate a specific office and is different from the other posts in councils and committees, e.g. chairman, clerk or cashier.

cashiers and clerks were Armenian, as sometimes was the mayor. This department was the branch in which the Armenians were occasionally in the majority.

In the judicature the Armenians were included in the courts of first instance, appeal and of commerce. In the commercial courts the Armenian and Greek officials were more numerous than Turks, because, we presume, the trade was for the most part in their hands. Another sphere of Armenian influence was the committee for public prosecution. Government lawyers were found especially in the central parts of the province.

In mechanical affairs Armenians served chiefly as engineers and foremen, in the postal and telegraphic service as operators, especially in the foreign language sections, in public works, and on military transport boards (vesā'it nakliye 'askeriye)

With regard to finance, Armenians played an important role in the public debt administration, the state tobacco monopoly, at the branches of the Ottoman and Agricultural Banks, and tax committees, though in these they did not hold a dominant position.

#### Other Fields of Armenian Participation

Facets of Armenian participation other than the above mentioned, were those of the departments of the secretariat, public health, education, agriculture and police. The

Armenian officials worked as clerks to the administrative councils, judicial courts, investigation committees for title-deeds (tedkik senedāt kōmīsyōnu) and the board of records (evrāk kōmīsyōnu) They were also employed as clerks and translators in the postal and telegraphic service and were always included on the chief secretarial commissions (tahrīrāt kōmīsyōnu)

There was a preponderance of Armenian municipal doctors and chemists, and next to them came Greek medical officials In Diyarbakır city and in the centres of the sancāks of Mardin and Ergani Armenians sat on the educational councils and committees They also taught Armenian and European languages in the schools, as well as crafts, particularly carpet making

In agriculture, Armenians were appointed members, both to the branches of the Agricultural Bank and to the agricultural boards and committees They also worked on the land inspection and land registry commissions The police force accepted a very small number of Armenians as policemen and assistant superintendents of police Where there were from five to nine Turkish policemen in a station there would be only one or two Armenians

#### Comparative Note Greek and Syrian Participation

The public life of the province was, on the whole,

directed by Turks and Armenians, these latter being in the majority among the Christian population. However, to a certain extent Greeks and Syrians also made some contribution. Greek officials mainly in the centres of the sancāks of Diyarbakır, Mardin and Ergani participated in judicature, finance, political administration, technical affairs and public health. It has to be noticed that in the army Greek doctors, surgeons and chemists were more numerous than the Armenians.

Syrian<sup>(1)</sup> officials were to be found throughout the vilāyet, and particularly at Mardin, but there were not as many as the Greeks. — They were usually to be found in the administrative and municipal councils, but a few held posts also in judicature and finance.

#### A General View of the Armenian Participation in Diyarbakır

The Armenians between 1860-1908 served the province of Diyarbakır in many ways. They participated in almost all aspects of governmental affairs, acting in different posts in the political administration, justice, mechanical works, finance, public health, education and secretariat. As Christians they were exempt from the fighting forces and from the departments connected with Islamic life, the Muslim

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(1) Having lived for many years at Aleppo, in Syria, I am familiar with Syrian names both Christian and Muslim. The Syrian officials are thus identified as being Christian.

religious court (mahkeme'ı şer'î şerîf) and Pious Foundation (vakıf) It is worthy of note that they were barred from the registry of births (nüfus dâ'iresi), and very few were accepted in the police department

The Armenians in the administration of public life were mostly subordinate officials, very rarely being given high position They were usually appointed or elected as members of councils, departments and committees, as cashiers and clerks Frequently an Armenian held the office of treasurer in various departments, not for the reason that they were wealthier than the Muslim population but probably because the Turks relied on them in financial affairs

The functions of high rank sometimes granted to Armenians were administrative and judicial We occasionally find Armenians as mayors, assistant administrators of nâhiyes, or general district attorneys (hükümet da'vâ vekîli) They were also specialist and technical officials such as municipal doctors, chemists and public works' engineers

Viewing public life of Diyarbakır as a whole within this period, we notice that generally the Armenians were in a minority compared with the Muslims

#### Some Notable Armenians in Public Life of Diyarbakır

AMASSEAN Efendi About 1892 he was the head of telegraphic

service in Diyarbakir (1)

ARMENAK Efendi In 1903 he was an assistant to the deputy-governor of the kazā of Palu (2)

ARPIAREAN, Pīlippos (fl in the second-half of the XIXth century) Originally from Harput, he was a manager of the Agricultural Bank in Diyarbakir (3)

ĀĒLĒPEAN, Rəzgallah (fl in the second-half of the XIXth century) He was a judge of the court of appeal in Diyarbakir (4)

ĀĒNAZEAN, Matteos Efendi He was the cashier of public finance administration at Diyarbakir (?-1898) Before him his brother Aġeksandr Efendi held the same post, who, in his turn had succeeded his father Arakel (fl c 1860) (5)

ĀĒERRAHEAN, Tigran (fl c 1900) He was a member of public prosecution board in Diyarbakir (6)

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(1) Mkund, Amıtayı arjagangneru verakoçumn [Reminiscence of the echoes of Amida], II, p 157 (according to the testimony of Samuēl Y Zōrean)

(2) The annual of the Armenian S Prkiç hospital at Istanbul, 1903, p 218

(3) Mkrtiçean, Tigranakertı nahangi ĵarderə ew Kiwrteru gazaruñıwnnerə [The massacres of the province of Diyarbakir and the ferocities of the Kurds], p 96

(4) Mkrtiçean, *ibid*, p 96

(5) Mkund, *ibid*, pp 235-6

(6) Mkrtiçean, *ibid*

ČRAČEAN, Xosrov (fl c 1900) Educated in the Euphrates College of Antep, he was a clerk to the public prosecution board of Diyarbakır (1)

ILVANEAN, Tigran (?-1915) About 1900 he was the provincial translator of Diyarbakır, and at the same time a teacher in the government secondary school (2)

GAZAZEAN, Yovsēp Efendi (fl c 1880) A wealthy and influential Armenian Catholic who was a member of the administrative council of Diyarbakır (3)

HĒKIMEAN, Yakob (fl in the second-half of the XIXth century) A chemist who worked for the government in Diyarbakır (4)

HĒLVACEAN, Dr Arṭın (fl in the second-half of the XIXth century) A doctor who worked for the government in Diyarbakır (5)

KIRIŞČEAN, Tigran Efendi From 1905 to 1908 he was the assistant to the governor of the kazā of Palu (6)

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(1) Mkrtičean, *ibid* , pp 53-54 and 96

(2) Mkund, *ibid* , p 354, and Mkrtičean, *ibid* , pp 50, 54 and 96

(3) Mkund, *ibid* , pp 403 and 406-409

(4) Mkrtičean, *ibid* , p 96

(5) *Ibid*

(6) The annuals of the Armenian S Prkič hospital, 1905-1908, and Çark, Türk devleti hizmetinde Ermeniler, 1453-1953 [The Armenians in the service of the Turkish State, 1453-1953], p 168

MARKOSEAN, Pargew Efendi From 1903 to 1906 he was the engineer and inspector of forests and mining in the sancāk of Ergani (1)

MINASEAN, Yarutıwn (fl in the second-half of the XIXth century) He was a head of post office in Diyarbakır (2)

MINASEAN, Yovhannēs Efendi He was a member of the administrative council of Diyarbakır from 1906 to 1908 (3)

NAGGAŞEAN, Karapet-Tıgran Efendi (1864-?) Born in Diyarbakır, he attended the local Armenian primary school, and then taught himself four European languages and in 1885 became an official in the telegraphic service Later, in Istanbul, he was appointed chief of the Pera (Beyoğlu) office, in 1909 assistant director, and in 1912 was made director of telegraph office (4)

NATƏG, Karapet (fl in the second-half of the XIXth century) A lawyer who worked for the government in Diyarbakır (5)

NŞAN Efendi From 1903 to 1908 he was an assistant to the deputy-governor of Maden (6)

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(1) The annuals of S Prkiç hospital, 1903-1906

(2) Mkrtičean, ibid

(3) The annuals of S Prkiç hospital, 1906-1908

(4) An almanac (in Armenian), Istanbul, 1914, published by the Trusteeship of the Armenian Students, p 95

(5) Mkrtičean, ibid , p 96

(6) The annuals of S Prkiç hospital, 1903-1908

ŞIRIKĀEAN, Mısak He was a member of the municipal council of Diyarbakır about 1900 (1)

ŞIŞMANEAN, Sahak Efendi He was the editor of the government official newspaper Diyārbakır about 1880 (2)

ṬĒMOYEAN, Pōğos (fl in the second-half of the XIXth century) He was a member of the municipal council in Diyarbakır (3)

TĒR-MARTIROSEAN (Papazean), Mkrtič (1792-1883) Born in the village of Abuçeh of Kemaliye, he studied medicine under his uncle Dr Pōğos and an Italian physician In 1826 he obtained permission from Istanbul to practise medicine, and thereafter was employed in the Turkish army He followed the army in Baghdad, Bassora, Diyarbakır Van and Erzurum He retired in 1872 and returned to his native village (4)

TIGRANEAN, Xaçatur (?-1915) A banker who was a member of the administrative council of Diyarbakır (5)

XANTĒNEAN, Karapet (fl c 1900) He was a member of the court of first instance (in the criminal section) of Diyarbakır (6)

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(1) Mkrtičean, *ibid* , pp 54 and 96

(2) Mkund, *ibid* , p 118

(3) Mkrtičean, *ibid* , p 96

(4) A Mēzpurean, Hay ew cagumov hay bžışkner, 1688-1940 [Armenian doctors and doctors of Armenian birth, 1688-1940], 1st volume, Istanbul, 1950-1954, pp 44-45

(5) Mkund, *ibid* , p 354, and Mkrtičean, *ibid* , pp 53 and 96

(6) Mkrtičean, *ibid* , p 96

ZÖREAN, Gēorg (fl c 1892) He was an official in the postal and telegraphic service in Diyarbakır, working in the section of foreign languages (1)

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(1) Mkund, ibid , p 156

## CHAPTER II

### THE ARMENIANS OF BITLIS

#### Historical Survey

Bitlis (Arm Bagēš, whence Arb Badlīs or Bidlīs, Ott Turk Bitlīs) included the larger part of the regions of Tarōn-Turuberan and Aġjnik of ancient Armenia

In 20H /640-641 the Arabs subdued the districts of Bitlis, Muş and Siirt, but in 885 the Armenians threw off the yoke of Arab domination under the leadership of the princes of the Bagratid (Bagratuni) dynasty and established a kingdom which lasted until 1045 <sup>(1)</sup> In the XIth century the Salcūks, and in the XIVth the Mongols, conquered Bitlis and its surroundings. Shortly afterwards came the Ottoman Turks, and as the aggressive Kurdish tribes, probably immigrating from Persia, had become a large element in Bitlis, Muş and Van, it was the Kurdish chief who ruled under the suzerainty of the Ottomans. In 1263H /1847 the Ottomans broke the power of the Kurds <sup>(2)</sup> and brought these territories under the direct subordination of their regular government

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(1) See the history of the vassal kingdom of the Bagratids by R. Grousset, Histoire de l'Arménie, 1947, pp 341-584, and H. Harutyunyan, Hayastanē IX-XI dārerum [Armenia during IX-XI centuries], Erevan, 1959

(2) V. Minorsky, 'Kurds', EI<sup>1</sup>, ii, pp 1147-8, M. Streck, 'Bidlīs', EI<sup>1</sup>, i, p 714, G. L. Lewis, 'Bidlīs', EI<sup>2</sup>, i, pp 1206-207, cf. J. H. Kramers, 'Mūsh', EI<sup>1</sup>, iii, p.747

### Administrative Structure

Bitlis and Muş were formerly included in the eyālet (government-general) of Erzurum (1) In 1292H /1875 they were detached and made a separate vilāyet (2) The sancāk of Siirt which had formed a part of the province of Diyarbakir, in 1301H /1883-4 was joined to the vilāyet of Bitlis (3)

The province of Bitlis contained 4 sancāks which were divided into 19 kazās The provincial governor's residence was in the city of Bitlis In the towns of Muş, Siirt and Genç were found the residences of the sancāk-governors, and each of the other kazās was administrated by a sub-governor

The administrative division and subdivisions of the vilāyet of Bitlis was as follows -

The kazās of the sancāk of Bitlis -

Bitlis

Ahlat

Hizan

Mutki

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(1) CTA, ii, p 523 and Streck, *ibid* , p 715

(2) CTA, *ibid*

(3) Kramers, 'Se'erd', EI', iv, p 203

The kazās of the sancāk of Muş -

Muş

Bulanik

Malazgirt

Varto

Sasun (Kabilcevaz)

The kazās of the sancāk of Siirt -

Siirt

Ridvan

Şirvan

Eruh

Kurtalan (Garzan)

Pervari

Kozluk (Hazzo)

The kazās of the sancāk of Bingöl - (1)

Genç

Bingöl (Çapakçur)

Kulp

### Population

The population of the province of Bitlis in the second-half of the XIXth century was estimated by Cuinet as 398,625, (2) and he divided it as follows -

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(1) In the XIXth century the sancāk of Bingöl was called Genç. Now under the name of Genç exists only a kazā

(2) CTA, ii, p 526

Armenians

Apostolic	125,600	
Catholic	3,840	
Protestant	1,950	
		131,390
Greek Orthodox <sup>(1)</sup>		210
Chaldeans		2,600
Syrian Orthodox <sup>(2)</sup>		6,190
Copts		372
Muslims		254,000
Yezidis		3,863
		<u>398,625</u>

These statistics are based mainly on Turkish sources. The Armenian authors give different figures for the population of the vilāyet of Bitlis Örmanean,<sup>(3)</sup>

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- (1) The Greeks all lived in the sancāk of Bitlis (CTA, ii, pp 527 and 558)
- (2) The Syrians of Bitlis were Armenian-speaking, according to the eye-witness account of Lynch - 'They [the Syrians] speak Armenian and are familiar with Turkish. The Bible is expounded to them in Armenian, which may be said to be their native tongue.' Armenia travels and studies, ii, p 152
- (3) 51,500 of the Armenians lived in the sancāk of Bitlis, 94,000 in the sancāks of Muş and Bingöl, 25,500 in Siirt, and 25,000 in the kazā of Hizan Örmanean, The Church of Armenia, pp 206 and 208

followed by Lepsius, <sup>(1)</sup> estimates the number of Armenians as 196,000, the Armenian Patriarchate at Istanbul as 180,000, <sup>(2)</sup> the Tēodik's almanac as 198,000, <sup>(3)</sup> and M A as 308,000 <sup>(4)</sup> I prefer to accept the figures of the Armenian Patriarchate as giving the most probable approximate total of the Armenians who lived in Bitlis, as this presents the mean of two extreme estimates

The statistical analysis produced by the Armenian Patriarchate for the racial elements in the province, is -

Armenians	180,000
Nestorians, Syrians and Chaldeans	15,000
Turks	40,000
Kurds	77,000
Circassians	10,000
Kizilbash (Shī'ites)	8,000
Yezidis	5,000
Zaza, Timbali and Çarikli <sup>(5)</sup>	47,000
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	382,000
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(1) Lepsius, Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, pp 306-307

(2) Léart, La Question armenienne a la lumiere des documents, pp 60-61, and J Bryce, The treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, p 661

(3) Tēodik, Amēnun tareçoyça [The almanac for every one], 1922, pp 261-62

(4) M A , Tiwrkılayı Hayern ew irenç draçiner [The Armenians of Turkey and their neighbours], see the statistical table

(5) These nomadic tribes were mostly Kurds and therefore they could be added to the Kurdish total

According to this table it can be seen that from a racial point of view the Armenians were the largest community in Bitlis (1)

### Trades and Professions of Armenians

Bitlis was a centre of commerce being on the intersection of the Tiflis-Trebizond route, and connected southward with routes to Syria and Mosul

The Armenians in some parts of the vilāyet were occupied in agriculture and cattle breeding, but their main employment was in trade and crafts In the manufacture of carpets, cloth and domestic utensils the Armenians competed with Kurds and Turks, but the rest of commerce and handicrafts was largely in their hands They were engaged in many trades, in the goldsmith's art, sewing, painting, building, blacksmith's craft, farriery, pottery, wood-work, shoe making and general trade A Dō, an Armenian writer who visited Bitlis in 1909 records the occupation of Armenians thus -

'The Armenians of Bitlis are skilled and have natural ability They show a special flare for trade In this district the commerce is for the major part in their hands,

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(1) There is a detailed account of the Armenian population in the province of Bitlis by M K Miraxorean in his Nkaragrakan uḡeworuṭiwn i hayabnak gawars arewelean Tačkastani [Descriptive travel in the provinces inhabited by Armenians in Eastern Turkey], Istanbul, 3 vols , 1884-1885 - Bitlis 1, pp 56, 81, 85-87, 91, 93, 98, Muş iii, pp 39, 45, 47, 49, 59, 60-63, 69-85, 86-93, Siirt 1, pp 65-67

although disturbances and massacres have repeatedly come to disrupt the activities and production of this resilient people ,(1)

The same author states that of 800 shops in the town of Muş, 500 belonged to Armenians 200 of these shop keepers dealt in retail commerce and the remainder were craftsmen (2) Lynch, who visited Muş in 1893, gave this eye witness account concerning the occupation of Armenians there -

'The Armenian minority are artisans, smiths, makers of everything that is manufactured in Mush They are carpenters, plasterers, builders All keepers of booths which we passed in the bazaar plainly belonged to this race ,(3)

In Siirt the Armenians were also engaged in trade and handicrafts

#### Centres of Armenian Participation

The Armenians in the vilāyet of Bitlis, as in other parts of the Ottoman Empire, were mostly concentrated in

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- (1) A Dō, Vani, Bitlisi ew Ērzrumi vilayētnersē [The vilāyets of Van, Bitlis and Erzurum], Erevan, 1912, p 83  
Cf S Ēprikean, Bnaşxarhik bararan [Armenian geographical dictionary], Venice (1, 2nd impression, 1903 - 1905, 11, 1907), art 'Bağēs' [Bitlis], 1, p 381, and Miraxorean, op cit , 1, p 57
- (2) A Dō, ibid , p 110
- (3) Lynch, Armenia travels and studies, 11, p 172  
Cf A Dō, ibid , pp 110-111

the towns According to the statistics of Cuinet<sup>(1)</sup> nearly one-third of the whole Armenian population of the province lived in the towns of Bitlis, Muş, Siirt and Genç This situation was the controlling factor in the participation of the Armenian community in public life Although Armenians living all over the vilāyet of Bitlis served the government throughout the province, the special spheres of Armenian influence were the towns of Bitlis, Muş, Siirt and Genç, where the headquarters of the sancāks were situated Other centres where there was a marked Armenian contribution to public life, were Ahlat in Bitlis, the kazās of Bulanık and Malazgirt in Muş, Eruh in Siirt, and Kulp in the sancāk of Bingöl (Genç)

It is significant that in the kazā of Sasun (Kabilcevaz) where the Armenian population countered persecution with a spirit of independence, they were engaged little in public administration, whereas Saimbeyli (Haçin) in the province of Adana, and in Süleymanlı (Zeytun) in the province of Aleppo, where the Armenians were also remarkably independent, their officials held a dominant position in all departments of local government What was the reason for this difference? It could have been because in Saimbeyli and Süleymanlı, both districts of Little Armenia, there was European influence, and even intervention in the case of Süleymanlı,

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(1) CTA, ii, pp 526, and 562, 576, 600 and 622

and also possibly because the Turks felt safer about Cilicia than Muş, which was near to the Russian border

### Main Fields of Armenian Participation

The main fields of public life of Bitlis into which the Armenians entered were government politics, justice, finance and the secretariat (1)

At the seats of the sancāks, Armenians were to be found in nearly every department, more were employed in some departments than in others, but the principle governing the proportions is not clear. Perhaps there was some nepotism, it may have been pure chance, but more probably, the qualifications required for certain positions made the Armenians particularly suitable. In the kazās where the offices were comparatively limited they contributed constantly to the public administration.

Two Armenians were usually elected to the administrative councils at the centres of sancāks. Besides these the spiritual heads of the Apostolic communities were ex officio members, as were also the assistant governors who after 1896 were normally Armenian. In the councils of

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(1) For this chapter of the province of Bitlis I have consulted these year-books -

(a) The provincial annuals of Diyarbakır (Diyār-bakır vilāyeti sāl-nāmesī) of the following years -1286H / 1869-70, 1291H /1874-5, 1292H /1875, and 1294H /1877

(b) The provincial annuals of Bitlis (Bitlīs vilāyeti sāl-nāmesī) of the following years -1310H /1892-3, 1316H /1898-9, 1317H /1899-1900, and 1318H /1900-901

kazās we find one or, more often, two Armenians who were at all times elected members. Two or three Armenians were also elected to the municipal councils at the central headquarters of the sancāks of Bitlis, Muş and Siirt. There were fewer in the municipalities of the other parts of the province, except in the kazās of Bulanık and Varto in the sancāk of Muş where there was a permanent and quite strong Armenian influence.

In the judicature there were about as many Armenian judges as Turkish. The courts in the kazās had one Armenian member. At the centres of the sancāks there were usually two Armenians in the courts of first instance, and of appeal, one for the civil division, and the other for the criminal division, and either two or three in the commercial courts. For the sancāk governments in the towns of Bitlis, Muş and Siirt, Armenians also acted as members of the boards of public prosecution, executive officers, assistants to the juges d'instruction and process-servers (mübāşır).

In the financial spheres of Bitlis Armenians were much occupied in manufacture and commerce. Apart from that, from one to three of them were employed on the board of tax collection, one or two in the branches of the Ottoman and Agricultural Banks, one or two in the state tobacco industry, one in the public debt administration, and one

as controller in the revenue This was the situation in the sancāks of Bitlis and Muş, but in Siirt and Bingöl the Armenian officials were included only on the committee of tax collection, in the control of revenue and in the administration of public debt

The main function of the Armenians in the public administration of the vīlāyet was the secretariat They were clerks to the administrative councils, to banks, to land registries, to registrars of birth, to investigation committees for title-deeds, and to military transport committees

#### Other Fields of Armenian Participation

We also find Armenians engaged in the technical services, police, education and public health In the centres of the sancāks Armenians worked in the civil engineering departments as engineers and foremen in the public works, in the press and in the postal and telegraphic services

In the junior positions of the police forces and on the education committees of each of the kazās were to be found one or two Armenians, and a few Armenian doctors were also attached to the municipal councils

#### Comparative Note Greek, Syrian and Kurdish Officials

As there were only 210 Greeks living in the entire vīlāyet, these being concentrated in the kazā of Ahlat in

the sancāk of Bitlis,<sup>(1)</sup> very few of them were occupied in public affairs. Some however worked in the police, in political administration, in public health and in the post offices. It is significant that they were appointed as superintendents of police, while the far more numerous Armenians were never selected. The Ottomans pursued this policy of appearing to patronize Christians while at the same time ensuring that the large Armenian community could not use this organization to exert their own independence.

The Syrian population, which was larger than the Greek, was concentrated in the sancāks of Bitlis and Siirt. So in these sancāks especially several Syrian officials worked in public life, notably in the administrative councils.

The Kurds, who were more numerous than both the Greek and Syrians, also took part in local government. Some of them were members of administrative councils and judicial courts, some were policemen, some tax collectors, and others were assistants to the administrators of nāhiyes.

#### A General View of the Armenian Participation in Bitlis

Looking at the participation of the Armenians in the public life of Bitlis as a whole, we can conclude that their particular contribution was in political administration,

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(1) GTA, 11, pp 526, 527 and 564

judicature and finance While there were not sufficient Armenians in Bingöl (Genç) to have any great effect on that sancāk, they had a large share in the public administration of the sancāks of Bitlis, Muş and Siirt

From 1896, as a result of intervention by European Powers, the part which Armenians played in the government of the province of Bitlis increased and became more established In political administration Armenians were given the posts of assistants to the governors of the vilāyet, and of the sancāks and kazās

Armenians were usually employed as cashiers, clerks or members of the administrative, judicial, and financial councils and committees We do not find them as heads of departments or chairmen of councils or committees Therefore, even when the Armenians were equal in number to the Turkish officials in any department, they did not have a decisive influence since the director was Turkish

#### Some Notable Armenians in Public Life of Bitlis

ALIKSANEAN, Nazarēt Efendi He was the assistant to the governor of the sancāk of Muş from 1903 to 1904

ALIKSANEAN, Nşan Efendi He was the assistant to the governor of the sancāk of Muş from 1905 to 1906

BĒKMĒZEAN, Anton Efendi (fl c 1898) From about 1898 to 1901 he was the assistant to the vālī of Bitlis, and at the same time he acted as an ex officio member of the local administrative council, and as the head of the tax revenue board

HAMAMĀEAN, Yakob Efendi From about 1899 to 1903 he was the assistant to the governor of the sancāk of Muş (Is this the same person as the Yakob Efendi who at that time is mentioned as the assistant of the deputy-governor of the kazā of Genç?)

SARGIS Efendi He was the assistant to the deputy-governor of the kazā of Şirvan in the sancāk of Siirt

TĒR-NERSESEAN, Smbat Efendi He was the assistant to the vālī of Bitlis from 1902 to 1903 (1)

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(1) I have taken these notes exclusively from the provincial year-books of Bitlis, and from the annuals of the Armenian S Prkič hospital at Istanbul

CHAPTER III  
THE ARMENIANS OF VAN

Historical Survey

Van (Urartian Biaina-Buana whence Van in Arm , Arb Wān, Ott Turk Vān) covered the regions of Vaspurakan, Mokka and Korček of ancient Armenia It was a centre of culture, in and around which the civilization of the Urartians flourished (1)

The first Arab invasion of Armenia, about 19 H /640, passed through Artaz (Vaspurakan), without establishing an Arab settlement in the country From the middle of the VIIIth century, the Armenian satrapy of Arcruni ruled Vaspurakan, being dependent on the Bagratid (Bagratuni) kingdom, under the suzerainty of the Arabs In the IXth century Arab colonies were founded in Vaspurakan at Malazgirt, and on the north-eastern shores of Lake Van, at Bargırı and Amuk

In 1021 Senekerim, the vassal king of Vaspurakan, being attacked from all quarters, ceded his territories to the Emperor Basil II in exchange for Sivas, where he settled,

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(1) History of Urartu Lynch, Armenia travels and studies, 11, pp 53-76, J Sandaljian, Histoire documentaire de l'Arménie (2 vols ), Rome, 1917, 1, pp 295-384, A Xaçatryan, Hayastani sepagrakan srjani patmutyun [History of the cuneiform period of Armenia], Erevan, 1933, pp 25-35 and 247-84, G Ğapancyan, Urartui patmutyun [A history of Urartu], Erevan, 1940, N Adontz, Histoire d'Arménie, 1946, and Grousset, Histoire de l'Arménie, pp 41-64

bringing with him thousands of families As a result of the battle of Malazgirt against the Salcūks, on the 26th August 1071 the Byzantines lost completely their control of Armenia After this the number of Kurds in Van began to increase rapidly, probably immigrating from Persia Among the Kurdish tribes the Hakkārī who were the most powerful, occupied the regions to the south and to the east of Van, renamed them Hakkārī and seized the control of the local government On the 5th September 1387 the Mongol Emperor Tīmūr captured Van, killed some three thousand of the inhabitants and appointed 'Izz al-Dīn as governor of the vīlāyet of Kurdistān (1) -

In August 1548 the Ottoman Sultān Süleymān I Kānūnī conquered Van and made the defterdār (minister of finance) Çerkez Iskender Pāşā governor Between the XVIth and XIXth centuries, the Kurdish tribes, lead by the Hakkārīs, continued to govern Van and Hakkārī, under the Ottoman overlordship In 1263 H /1847 the Ottomans alarmed by the Kurds' increasing power, brought Kurdistān under their direct control

In April 1915 when the Young Turks began to massacre

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(1) T Mecopeci, Patmuştıwn Lank-Tamuray [History of Tamerlane], Paris, 1860, pp 17-30, S Aneci, Hawakmunk 1 groç patmagraç [A collection from history books], Echmiadzin (Armenia), 1893, p 171, V A Hakobyan, Manr žamanakagrut-yunner [Small chronicles], (2 volumes), Erevan, 1951 and 1956, 1, p 118, and V Minorsky, 'Wān', EI, iv, p 1119

and deport the Armenian inhabitants of Anatolia, the Armenians of Van resisted and defended themselves <sup>(1)</sup> Since they could not elicit support from outside, the majority fled to Russia, Armenia, Iran and Mesopotamia

### Administrative Structure

Van once formed a part of the vīlāyet of Erzurum, but in 1875 it was detached and constituted a separate province <sup>(2)</sup> In 1888 Hakkārī was added to it as a sancāk <sup>(3)</sup> Consequently the province of Van had two sancāks and 19 kazās -  
The kazās of the sancāk of Van -

Van

Karçgan<sup>(4)</sup>

Şatak

Gevaş

Adilcevaz (Arcıge)

Erciş

Muradıye (Bargırı)

Müküs

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(1) A history of this defence is given in Vasपुरakan (in Armenian), Venice, 1930, edited by the directors of the Union of compatriots of Van-Vasपुरakan

(2) CTA, 11, p 632

(3) B Darkot, 'Hakkārı', IA, v (40th fascicle), p 99

(4) 'Karçgan' is now erased from the map of Turkey. It bordered Bitlis on the west, Gevaş on the east, the Lake Van on the north, and Müküs on the south. Apparently it is absorbed now in the kazās of Tatvan and Hizan in the vīlāyet of Bitlis

The kazās of the sancāk of Hakkāri -

Hakkāri (Çölemerik)

Başkale (Elbak)

Yüksekova (Gevar)

Şemdinli (Şemdinan)

Ozalp (Mahmudı)

Norduz

Çal

Hoşap (Mamuret ül-Hamıd)

Beytüşşebap

Oramor

Amadiye<sup>(1)</sup>

The vāilī and the principal officials resided at the Gardens (Arm Aygestan), in the town of Van, and the sancāk-governor of Hakkāri at Çölemerik. Each of the other kazās of the province was administered by a sub-governor.

#### Population

In 1862 the British Consul R A O Dalyell<sup>(2)</sup> reported that the total population of the province of Van was 418,700, of whom 209,100 were Christian, and 209,600 Muslim, as follows -

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(1) Amādiye (al-‘Imādiyyah) now belongs to the Republic of Iraq

(2) P R O , F O 78/1682, 'Tabular view of the population of the mutessariflik [sic] of Wan'

Sancāk of Van - (1)

Christians	90,100	
Muslims	95,100	
		185,200

Sancāk of Hakkāri -

Christians	119,000	
Muslims (mostly Kurds)	114,500	
		<u>233,500</u>
		<u>418,700</u>

In 1890 Guinet<sup>(2)</sup> estimated the total population of the province as 430,000, of whom 178,000 were Christian and 252,000 non-Christian as follows -

Armenians

Apostolic	79,000	
Catholic	708	
Protestant	290	
		79,998

(1) Included in these figures are the following - The city of Van Christians 10,000, Muslims 8,000 Neighbourhood of the city Christians 32,000, Muslims 9,000

(2) CTA, 11, p 636, cf 'A Cevād, Memālıkı 'osmāniyenin tārīkh ve coğrāfiyā luğātı [Historical and geographical dictionary of the Ottoman Empire], 'Vān', 111 (1896-7), p 830, and Ş Fraşerī, Kāmūs 'ül-a'lam [Dictionary of proper names], 'Vān', v1 (Istanbul, 1898-9), p 4673

Syrians	
Nestorian	40,000
Orthodox	52,000
	92,000
Chaldeans	6,000
Latins	2
Kurds	210,000
Turks	30,500
Circassians	500
Jews	5,000
Yezidis	5,400
Gipsies	600
	<u>430,000</u>

The statistics used by Cuynet were distorted in favour of the Turks. The reason for this is quite clear. In Van and Erzurum the Armenians, being more numerous than any of the other races, desired some independence. By publishing figures which showed a numerical inferiority of the Armenians, the Turks rejected their claim. To give an idea of this distortion, it is sufficient to mention that while the Consuls Dalyell<sup>(1)</sup> and J G Taylor<sup>(2)</sup> followed by

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(1) See the statistics of Dalyell above in the footnote No 1 of the 'Sancāk of Van'

(2) P R O , F O 78/2439, 'Consul Taylor's report on Koordistan', (March 18, 1869)

Lynch<sup>(1)</sup>, record the Armenian population of the kazā of Van as 42,000 and the Muslim as 17,000, Cuinet's figures are 13,500 for the Armenians, and 21,500 for the Muslims <sup>(2)</sup>

M A ,<sup>(3)</sup> contemporary with Cuinet, estimated the number of Armenians in the province of Van as 194,000, and even as late as the early years of the XXth century Ōrmanean,<sup>(4)</sup> followed by Lepsius,<sup>(5)</sup> estimated it as 192,000, Tēodik's almanac<sup>(6)</sup> as 197,000 and Eramean<sup>(7)</sup> as 180,000 - 200,000, while the Armenian Patriarchate at Istanbul<sup>(8)</sup> estimated the sancāk of Van alone as 182,000 These statistics concordantly attest that the Armenian population of Van was about 190,000 I would therefore accept, as the most-credible estimate, the mean of the two extremes 135,000

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- (1) Lynch, Armenia travels and studies, 11, p 79
- (2) CTA, 11, p 700
- (3) M A , Tıwrkiayı Hayern ew irenc draciner [The Armenians of Turkey and their neighbours], see the statistical table
- (4) Ōrmanean, The Church of Armenia, pp 206 and 208
- (5) Lepsius, Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, pp 76-77 and 306-307
- (6) Tēodik, Amēnun tarecoycə [The almanac for every one], 1922, p 262
- (7) H Eramean, Yuşarjan Van-Vasपुरakanı [Memorial of Van-Vasपुरakan], Alexandria, 1929, 1, p 15
- (8) Leart, La Question armenienne a la lumiere des documents, pp 60-61, and Bryce, The treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, p 661

Trades and Crafts of Armenians

The Armenians in the plains of Van, occupied in agriculture, contributed much to the rural economy of the province. In other parts of the vilāyet they were engaged in trades and various crafts and professions. A Dō informs us that there were 500 Armenian retailers in Van, and also many of the local craftsmen were Armenian (1). He describes them with the following words -

'The Armenians of Van are noted for their ability. They are clever merchants and skilful craftsmen. The trade of the province is almost completely in their hands' (2)

Lynch also states that most of the tradesmen and merchants were Armenian. According to him the Armenian subject majority were hard-working and created whatever wealth the city of Van possessed (3). He adds -

'Commerce and industry find in the Armenian population of Van a soil in which they would flourish to imposing proportions under better circumstances' (4)

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(1) A Dō, Vani, Bitlisi ew Ērzrumi vilayētnerə [The vilāyets of Van, Bitlis and Erzurum], p 18

(2) Ibid

(3) Lynch, Armenia travels and studies, 11, p 83

(4) Ibid , p 89

At Başkale in Hakkāri, where Armenians had concentrated, they were likewise engaged in different crafts and commerce  
Sources for the Armenian Participation

In all the libraries of Britain, France, Austria, Syria, Lebanon and Turkey that I have investigated, there is only one sālnāme of the vīlāyet of Van This is the year-book of 1315 H /1897-8 at the University Library of Istanbul (1)  
In presenting the participation of Armenians in the public life of Van I have used this sālnāme together with the annuals of the vīlāyet of Erzurum for 1288 H /1871-72, 1290 H /1873-4, 1291 H /1874-5 and 1292 H /1875 when Van was a sancāk of that province

Why is it that only one year-book of Van is available? Perhaps the Turkish authorities did not publish regularly annual statistics because Van was the scene of Armenian troubles, or, possibly, some sālnāmes were printed at first, but were later suppressed by the Ottoman Government, or less probably lost to us through accident or neglect

Centres of Armenian Participation

As the Armenians were the largest community in the town and kazā of Van, they played a conspicuous part in the work of the central government there Consul Taylor, followed by

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(1) Vān vīlāyeti sālnāmesi, 1315 H /1897-8, No 81042 There is another copy of the same annual in the Istanbul Belediye Kütüphanesi [Istanbul Municipal Library], sālnāmes, No 34/1

Lynch, has as we have seen, estimated the number of Armenians in the kazā of Van as 42,000, and Guinet as 13,500. Other places in the sancāk of Van where the Armenians were in the majority and contributed to the public administration were the kazās of Erciş and Adilcevaz.

It is of interest to note that the Armenians, in spite of the fact that they were not so many in Hakkāri, have influenced public life in this sancāk also. We find them in nearly every governmental department, although in a smaller proportion. Outlying districts where the Armenian participation was considerable were the kazās of Başkale and Ozalp.

#### The Armenian Participation in the sancāk of Van

##### 1 The City of Van

In the central government of Van, the Armenians made a large contribution to public life. They had two members elected to the administrative council, and also, from 1896 onwards, an ex officio member, the assistant to the provincial governor, who from this date was always Armenian.

The Armenian assistants to the vālīs of Van were Markos Aġabēkean in 1896, Stepan Mēlikean from Istanbul, who acted for seven months only, from April to October 1896, and Yovhannēs Ferit Pōyačean, 1896-1907. At the provincial headquarters about two Armenians were also elected as members to the municipal council.

In judicature, they were members of the judicial

inspectorate ('adliye müfettişliği) and the committee of public prosecution They also had members in the courts Usually there were four Armenian judges in the court of appeal, two in the civil, and two in the criminal division, and two judges in the court of first instance, one in each section There were as many Armenians as Muslim members in the commercial court

Trade and manufacture in Van was mainly in the hands of Armenians They contributed also to the government's financial affairs, working in the control of revenue and expenditure department, in the tax collection board, the customs and the branch of the Agricultural Bank In the state tobacco monopoly they were employed as assistants to the accountants, as store-keepers and as workmen In each financial department normally there would be found about two Armenians

In the provincial printing works, Armenians were mechanists and compositors, and in the postal and telegraphic service they were operators and translators The police force had Armenian policemen and superintendents of police, as well as clerks These however, were kept in a minority compared with the Muslims

In 1893, Tigran Amirčanean, a learned Armenian with the good knowledge of Turkish and French languages, was appointed head to the educational council and as provincial translator It was the first time that an Armenian held this high

position in Van

## 2 The kazās of Van

In the outer kazās of the sancāk of Van, Armenians were mainly occupied in political administration, finance and justice. In the administrative councils there were generally two Armenian members, as well as, after 1896, some ex officio members who were assistants to the deputy governors and the kazā governor. One or two Armenian members were normally elected to the municipal councils, as against two or three Muslims.

In the courts of first instance, one of the two members was always an Armenian.

In public economy, the Armenians worked in the tobacco monopoly, the taxation department and on the tax collecting committee. At the time when Van was a sancāk to Erzurum, and when the treasury of the local administrations of the kazās was entrusted to the cashiers, the latter were usually Armenian. Here is more evidence for the view that the Turks relied on Armenians in monetary matters.

Armenians could be found in the police force, but this was unusual. They were very few in number and their influence was negligible.

In the nāhiyes of the kazā of Van, namely at Ercek, Tımar and Huvasur, where the Armenian population was in the majority, about two Armenians participated in the political

administration, as elected members to the local councils

The Sancāk of Hakkāri

The sancāk of Hakkāri was inhabited mostly by Kurds. The Armenians were concentrated in the kazās of Hakkāri (Çölemerik) and Başkale. In the central government of Hakkāri, Armenians had two elected members on the administrative council and one or two on the municipal council. There were Armenian officials in the judiciary as well, one in the civil division of the court and another in the criminal. In the revenue control Armenians worked as clerks, and in the tobacco monopoly as assistants to the managers.

In the rest of the kazās we find one Armenian official in each department of the political administration, the court of first instance, the tax-collection committee, and the police force. Only occasionally were two Armenians, instead of one, elected as members to the administrative councils.

Comparative Note Kurdish and Syrian Participation

In the sancāk of Hakkāri, especially, lived many Kurds and Syrian Christians, and naturally they took part in the local government affairs. One would expect that the Syrian officials should be numerous and in many districts, but I could identify them only in the kazā of Ozalp (Mahmudı), where they were included on the administrative and judicial councils, one in each department.

As to the Kurds, as far as I was able to differentiate them from the Turks, I found them in Çölemerik, Başkale, Özalp, and even in the kazās of Gevaş and Şatak of the sancāk of Van. They acted, though not steadily, in the administrative councils and on the judicial courts, being one in either office.

### A General View of the Armenian Participation in Van

Van, from a political point of view, was a province to which the Turks were sensitive and cautious, because like Erzurum it was not very far from the Russian vicinities, and secondly, the Armenians were intending to try to obtain internal independence there with the help of the Great Powers. In spite of this fact Armenians took a reasonable part in the political, judicial and financial administration of the vilāyet. However, whereas in other provinces they worked also in technical, educational, agricultural, medical and police departments, their contribution in Van was little in these fields of public life.

It is interesting to note that after the Reforms of 1895-6, Armenian assistants were appointed to the yālīs of Van. But one can feel that the Turks were not happy with this situation, and were tolerating these appointments only under European scrutiny, because the office of two assistant-governors lasted only for a very short period, and after the resignation of the third (Ferit Yovhannēs Pōyačean) no successors were appointed.

Some Armenian officials were also assigned to assist the deputy-governors of the kazās, especially of Şatak and Gevaş, where the Armenian inhabitants were in a majority from a racial point of view

Some Notable Armenians in Public Life of Van

AĞABĒKEAN, Markos Efendi At the beginning of 1896 for a short while he was the assistant to the vālī of Van (1)

AMIRČANEAN, Tigran, (c 1835-1897) Born and educated in Van, in 1860 he went to Istanbul and taught languages among Armenian families and also in the Aramean school at Kadıköy In 1867 returning to Van, he continued to teach in the school of S Yakob In the days of the vālī Bahrı Pāşā, from 1893 to 1897, he was employed as the head of the education council and as the provincial translator He worked under difficult conditions, because suspected documents found with Armenians were brought to him to be checked or translated For this reason some Armenians attempted to take his life (2)

ČARUXČEAN, Nazarēt About 1908 he was a police superintendent of third grade in Van (3)

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(1) Eramean, Yuşarjan Van-Vasपुरakanı [Memorial of Van Vasपुरakan], 11, p 15, and the annual of the Armenian S Prkiç hospital at Istanbul, 1906, p 313

(2) Eramean, *ibid* , 1, pp 61-63 and 457-65

(3) Eramean, *ibid* , 11, p 88

KARAPET Efendi He was the assistant to the deputy-governor of the kazā of Şatak in 1902 and 1903 (1)

MĒLIKEAN, Stepan Efendi (fl c 1880-1896) Born in Istanbul, he was educated in languages and the Ottoman legal code For many years he served the Ottoman embassies and consulates as dragoman and ambassador and also became the governor of Archipelago In April 1896 he was appointed assistant to the provincial governor of Van After seven months, when the vālī, Şemseddīn Pāşā (2) was called back by the Sublime Porte, he also resigned and went to Istanbul According to our source, Stepan Efendi was suspected of being in contact with the Armenian socialist Hnčakean party (3)

PÖYACĒAN, Armenak In 1905 and 1906 he was the assistant to the deputy-governor of the qazā of Gevaş (4)

PÖYACĒAN, Ferit Yovhannēs (1854-1948) A learned man (the brother of Armenak Efendi Pōyačean), who for many years

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(1) The annuals of the Armenian S Prkič hospital, 1902, p 488 and 1903, p 218

(2) A short biography of Şemseddīn Pāşā is in Türk meşurları ansiklopedisi [An encyclopaedia of renowned Turks] by I A Gövsa, p 367 (see the same in Türkiye ansiklopedisi [Encyclopaedia of Turkey], Ankara, v, 1957, p 228) This source informs us that Şemseddīn was the vālī of Van for about a year (1896), and then was sent to Teheran as ambassador

(3) Eramean, *ibid* , 1, pp 403-409

(4) The annuals of the Armenian S Prkič hospital, 1905, p 200, and 1906, p 317, and Y Çark, Türk devleti hizmetinde Ermeniler [The Armenians in the service of Turkish State], p 168

served the Ottoman Government From the end of 1896 to 1907 he was the assistant to the vālī of Van (1)

VARDAN Efendı He was the assistant of the deputy-governor to the kazā of Gevaş in 1902 and 1903 (2)

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(1) Eramean, *ibid* , 11, pp 15-16, the annuals of S Prkič, 1900-1908, and 1949, p 429, and Çark, *ibid* , p 168

(2) The annuals of S Prkič, 1902, p 488, and 1903, p 218

CHAPTER IV  
THE ARMENIANS OF ERZURUM

Historical Survey

The vilāyet of Erzurum corresponds approximately to the High Armenia or Karnoy aşxarh (country of Karin) of ancient Armenia. The city of Erzurum was called in Armenian Karin Kağak (Karin city) which became Kālīkalā in Arabic. In the XIth century when the Salcūks captured the town of Arzan (15 kms north-vest of Karin), the population moved to Karin = Kālīkalā and gave it the name Arzān al-Rūm, 'Arzān of the Romans', which through a misinterpretation became Arz al-Rūm or Arz al-Rūm, 'the land of the Romans' (1)

The country of Karin (Erzurum) fell within the Roman share when Armenia was divided between the Roman and Persian empires in 387. In about 421 the town of Karin was renovated and called Theodosiopolis, after the name of the emperor of that time. In 526, the Emperor Justinian made the country of Karin a province and named it First Armenia. About the middle of the VIIth century it was occupied by the Arabs, but

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(1) R. Hartmann, 'Erzerum', EI<sup>1</sup>, 11, p 31 (idem, Bohtan, 1897, p 145), and V. Minorsky in Hudūd al-‘ālam [The regions of the world], an anonymous Persian treatise on geography (372 H /982), Oxford, 1937, pp 395 and 143, idem, 'Some early documents in Persian', The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1942, p 188, note 2

it became the cause of much fighting between them and the Byzantines for the next three centuries In 1049 the Salcūks conquered the province and destroyed the town of Arzan killing, according to the chronicles, <sup>(1)</sup> about 150,000 people From 588 H /1192 to 627 H /1229-30 Erzurum was a separate Salcūk kingdom In 1241 the Mongols invaded the country and conquered it, and only in 878 H /1473 as the result of the battle of Tercan against the Ak-Koyūnlu Ūzūn Hasan did the Ottomans take possession of it under the Sultān Mehmed II From that time Erzurum formed an important pāṣālik <sup>(2)</sup> of the Ottoman Empire In 1877 it was occupied by the Russians, but they withdrew after the Treaty of Berlin

#### Administrative Structure

The territorial content of the province of Erzurum in the second-half of the XIXth century has undergone a few changes In 1865 it was made an eyālet (government-general) which included the whole of north-eastern part of Asia Minor In 1292 H /1875 this eyālet was divided into six vilāyets, viz Erzurum, Van, Hakkārı, Bitlis, Hozat (Dersim) and Kars-Çıldır In 1888 by an Imperial order Hakkārı was joined to the province of Van, and Hozat to Elāziğ (Ma‘mūret ül-‘Azīz),

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(1) M Urhayeci Žamanakagrutiwn [Chronicles], Echmiadzın (Armenia), 1898, pp 102-103

(2) The Pāṣālik was a province whose governor bore the title of pāṣā the highest Ottoman civil and military dignity In Turkey and Syria the title died with the Empire

while the sancāk of Bayburt, in Erzurum, was attached to that of Erzincan (1) Consequently the vīlāyet of Erzurum had three sancāks and 19 kazās as follows -

The kazās of the sancāk of Erzurum -

Erzurum

Ovacık

Kığı

Tercan

Hınıs

Tortum

Yusufeli (Kıskın)

Hasankale (Pasinler)

The kazās of the sancāk of Erzincan -

Erzincan

Refahiye

Kuruçay

Kemah

Bayburt

Ispir

The kazās of the sancāk of Doğubayazıt (Bayezıt) -

Doğubayazıt

Diyadin

Ağrı (Karakılıse)

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(1) CTA, 1, pp 131-32

Eleşkirt

Tutak (Entap)

Population

In 1862, the British Consul R A O Dalryell reported that the population of the eyālet of Erzurum (including Muş and Kars) was 732,458 of whom 25% were Christian, most of these being Armenian (1) In 1869 the Consul J G Taylor assessed the Armenians of Erzurum as 295,700 (287,000 Apostolic and 8,000 Catholic) (2) In 1888-9 when Erzurum had become a villāyet, its population was estimated by Fraşerī as 581,753, of whom 464,129 were said to be Muslim and 109,835 Armenian (3) At the same time (1890), Culnet (4) gave these detailed statistics for the province -

Armenians

Apostolic	120,273
Catholic	12,022
Protestant	2,672

134,967

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- (1) PRO , F O 78/1669, Report on the eyālet of Erzurum, No 9, (28th Feb 1862)
- (2) P R O , F O 78/2439, 'Consul Taylor's report on Koordistan' (18th March 1869)
- (3) Fraşerī, Kāmūs ūl-a'1ām [Dictionary of proper names], 'Erzurūm', 11, p 830
- (4) CTA, 1, p 136 See the name in 'A Cevād's Memālıkı 'oşmāniyenin tārīkh ve coğrāfiyā luğātı [Historical and geographical dictionary of the Ottoman Empire], 'Erzurūm,' i (1895-6), p 57 Cf Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, p 34, where Lepsius also gives a total for the general population of the province as 645,700

Greek Orthodox	3,725
Copts	16
Muslims	500,782
Jews	6
Foreigners ( <u>Ecnebi</u> )	1,220
Strangers ( <u>Yabancı</u> )	4,986
	<hr/>
	645,702

According to this author<sup>(1)</sup> Armenians in the various sancāks of the province were as follows -

Sancāk of Erzurum

Apostolic	77,476
Catholic	10,180
Protestant	2,288

Sancāk of Erzincan

Apostolic	34,145
Catholic	88
Protestant	285

Sancāk of Doğubayazıt

Apostolic	8,652
Catholic	1,754
Protestant	99

Armenian sources as late as the first decade of this century

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(1) CTA, 1, p 137

give different figures for the Armenian population. The Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul<sup>(1)</sup> and the almanac of Tēodik<sup>(2)</sup> estimate the Armenian inhabitants of the province as 215,000. Ōrmanean,<sup>(3)</sup> followed by Lepsius,<sup>(4)</sup> presents these statistics totalling the Armenian population as 203,400 for about 1900 -

Erzurum

Erzurum	85,000
Hasankale	10,500
Tercan	15,000
Kığı	25,000

135,500

Erzincan

Erzincan	25,500	
Bayburt	17,000	
Kemah	10,200	52,700
Doğubayazıt	15,200	15,200

203,400

We can conclude that the mean of the figures given by

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- (1) Leart, La Question armenienne a la lumiere des documents, pp 60-61, and Bryce, The treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, p 661
- (2) Tēodik, Amēnun tarecoyçə [The almanac for every one], 1922, p 261
- (3) Ōrmanean, The Church of Armenia, pp 205-206
- (4) Lepsius, Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, pp 304-305

Fraşerī, Cuinet, Ōrmanean and Lepsius, for Armenians, and the total population of Erzurum, i e 150,000 and 624,385, is the most realistic approximation possible This means that 25% of the total population were Armenian, which agrees with the figures given by Dalyell

#### Trades and Crafts of Armenians

The Armenians in the country districts of Erzurum were occupied in agriculture, but not many of them actually owned land Heavy taxation, banditry and oppression by Turkish and Kurdish chiefs had deprived the Armenian villagers of their hereditary estates Therefore those who had no plot or farm of their own, worked on government land or for other landowners After the payment of the government tithe, the remainder of the crop was divided between proprietor and the villagers in varying proportions according to the terms of their agreement (1)

The majority of Armenians were however, concentrated in the towns and occupied in trade and various crafts In 1862 Consul Dalyell reported -

'The mercantile class in the towns [in the eyālet of Erzurum] is accordingly, principally Christian, (2) who generally own their own houses, or shops, but it is to be

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(1) R A O Dalyell, in P R O , F O 78/1669, report No 9 (1862)

(2) The Christians of Erzurum were mostly Armenian, since the Greek population, according to Cuinet, did not number more than 3,800 out of 646,000

observed that it is by no means rare, in this part of Turkey for Christians to possess even considerable landed property' (1)

Through Erzurum ran a road of great strategic and commercial importance This was the historic trade route from Trebizond to Tabriz As a result, Erzurum was a busy centre of commerce, and the Armenians, together with the Greek and Persian merchants, took an active part in its trade A Dō gives his eye-witness account of the share which Armenians had in the trade and handicrafts of the province (2) Speaking especially of the city of Erzurum, he says - - - -

'The Armenians deal mainly with commerce and handicrafts The crafts are well developed here In Erzurum there are more than 3,000 shops and taverns, of which nearly half belong to Armenians About 500 of these Armenians are retail dealers, some are big merchants who have commercial relations with Istanbul and other towns More than 1,000 people are occupied in crafts of which the most

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(1) Dalyell, *ibid*

(2) A Dō, Vani, Bitlīs ew Ērzrumī vilāyetnerə, [The vilāyets of Van, Bitlīs and Erzurum], pp 163, 206 and 220, cf CTA, 1, p 138

advanced - masonry - supports many Armenian families not only in the towns, but also in the villages on the plain' (1)

### Centres of Armenian Participation

Many Armenians lived in the centres of the province, and most of them were settled in the sancāk of Erzurum itself. According to the statistics of Guinet<sup>(2)</sup> 89,944 out of a total Armenian population of 134,967, inhabited the sancāk of Erzurum. From this it follows that the Armenians took a comparatively large part in the public administration of the central sancāk.

In the other two sancāks, the Armenians contributed to public life especially in the town of Erzincan, and in the kazās of Kuruçay and Kemah in the sancāk of Erzincan, and in the kazās of Doğubayazıt, Karakılıse and Eleşkirt of the sancāk of Doğubayazıt.

### Main Fields of Armenian Participation

The main fields of Armenian participation were those of political administration, finance, and judicature (3)

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(1) A Dō, ibid, p 163

(2) CTA, 1, p 137

(3) For this chapter I have used the provincial annuals (Erzurūm vilāyeti sāl-nāmesi) of the following years - 1289 H /1872-3, 1292 H /1875, 1299 H /1881-82, 1304 H /1886-7, 1305 H /1887-8, 1310 H /1892-3, 1312 H /1894-5, 1316 H /1898-9, and 1318 H /1900-901

In the town of Erzurum, where the government headquarters were situated, the Armenians contributed to the public life on a large scale. The bishops of the Apostolic and Catholic communities were ex officio members of the local administrative council, and there were two other Armenian members elected from the respected or educated people. Usually two Armenian members were elected to the municipal council, as against between four and six Turks. In the other parts of the vilāyet, the spiritual heads of the Armenians were ex officio members of the administrative councils in the kazās of Ovacık, Kığı, Tercan and Hasankale in Erzurum, Bayburt and Ispir in Erzincan, and in Doğubayazıt, Ağrı (Karakılıse) and Eleşkirt in Doğubayazıt. In each kazā, apart from the ex officio members, two Armenians were generally elected also. On the municipal councils the Armenians had between one and three, but normally two members, elected, on the whole this was fewer than the Turks.

In the financial affairs of the vilāyet, Armenians, being experienced traders, played a noteworthy role. They worked in the departments of the treasury, the control of revenue, the tobacco monopoly, the public debt administration, the chamber of commerce and in the branch of the Agricultural Bank. They were from one to three in number and were employed as clerks, accountants, cashiers, store-keepers. As a rule about 6 out of the 8 or 9 officials in the tobacco

monopoly were Armenian

In the judicature, at the centre of Erzurum, Armenians were included in the courts of first instance, appeal and of commerce. They acted both in the civil and criminal departments, as judges, being two, but more often one, in each division. In the court of commerce, there were normally two or more Armenian members, sometimes accompanied by a Greek. The situation was much the same at the centres of the sancāks of Erzincan and Doğubayazıt. In each of the outlying kazās, the Armenians were usually represented by one member in the court of first instance, which was the only department of justice.

#### Other Fields of Armenian Participation

Other aspects of Armenian activity in government departments were in the offices of the secretariat, the engineering, the public health service, the agricultural inspectorate, the education committee, and police force. This participation took place mainly in the centres of the sancāks.

The Armenians served in the departments of engineering and public works as engineers and foremen, in the postal and telegraphic service as operators, and in the press, as compositors and machani<sup>l</sup>sts. In secretarial work it is notable that the vilāyet translator was often Armenian. Armenian translators were employed in the postal and

telegraphic service Armenian clerks worked in the chief secretariat, the land registry and the registry of births

With regard to the agricultural participation we find the Armenian officials principally engaged as forestry inspectors In education Armenians cooperated with the Turks in the education councils and committees It is interesting to see that after the Reforms of 1896 the Armenian language was introduced into the syllabus of the secondary school in the town of Erzurum

There were occasionally one or two Armenian policemen in the police force At the centre of the vilāyet were sometimes one or two assistant superintendents also Again at the centre in the city of Erzurum itself, Armenians were appointed as municipal doctors, but not regularly

#### Comparative Note Greek Participation

The Greek community of Erzurum was quite small Guinet records their total number as about 3,700 (1) The Greek participation accordingly was not large They served the public life sometimes and were very few in number

The Greek officials took part in public administration in the sancāks of Erzurum and Erzincan, and especially in the centres of these districts They acted in the administrative councils, in the courts of justice and commerce, tobacco monopoly, public debt administration, and postal and

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(1) CTA, 1, p 136

telegraphic service Their co/operation is noticeable in public health as well, particularly as chemists As concerns their number, they were not usually more than one in each department

#### A General View of the Armenian Participation in Erzurum

Erzurum, according to the Armenian sources, was the vilāyet where the Armenians were most numerous Consequently one could expect a greater participation from them in the public life of the province But in fact this is not so Their part in public administration was neither very large, nor very steady The vilāyet of Diyarbakır, e g presents a contrasting situation

Why was the participation of Armenians in public life of Erzurum thus limited? I should think, because this province bordered Russia, and the Turks were very cautious concerning the security and preservation of it Still, the Armenians took a considerable part especially in the administrative councils, courts of justice, and public debt, being quite influential in the latter They usually held moderate offices, as consultant members, cashiers, clerks, as artisans in various technical departments, and as physicians or chemists Sometimes they were also appointed to higher positions, such as heads of the public debt administration, chamber of commerce, municipal council, and as provincial translators

Some Notable Armenians in Public Life of Erzurum

AYĀĀEAN, L He was an assistant to the vālī of Erzurum (1)

DARPASEAN, Derenik The son of Yovhannēs who himself for a while was the cashier of the taxation department Derenik learned good Turkish and became the notary of the census office Profiting from the advantages of his office he greatly helped his compatriots by providing them with new identity cards and travel documents (2)

EARMAYEAN, Dr Minas (?-1915) Originally from Tokat, he studied first in the College of Merzifon and then went to Beirut to study medicine In 1904 he graduated from the American University of Beirut, and returning home he served in the military Azīziye hospital at Erzincan (3)

GARAĀEAN, Daniēl In 1876 he was elected by the Armenian community of Erzurum a deputy in the Ottoman Parliament at Istanbul (4)

HĒKIMEAN, Mikayēl Efendi From about 1903 to 1906 he was a provincial translator (5)

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(1) Āark, Türk devleti hizmetinde Ermeniler, 1453-1953 [The Armenians in the service of the Turkish State, 1453-1953], p 168

(2) Ā Āarag, Karınapatum [A history of Karın], Beirut, 1957, p 655

(3) A AlpōyaĀean, Patmutıwn Ewdokıoy HayoĀ [History of the Armenians in Tokat], Cairo, 1952, p 1334

(4) Āark, *ibid* , p 113

(5) The year-books of the Armenian S PrkiĀ hospital at Istanbul, 1903-1906, and Āark, *ibid* , p 168

MĒLIKEAN, Dr Karapet (1883-1915) Born at Arapkır, he studied in a local school and then in the Euphrates College of Harput In 1902 he went to Beirut and studied medicine In 1907 getting his degree of M D , he went to Kığı and was employed as a municipal doctor (1)

MKRTIÇ Efendi He was the chief clerk in the public debt administration of Erzurum from 1903 to 1906 (2)

PALLAREAN (Ballarian), Hamazasp In 1876 he was elected deputy for Erzurum in the Ottoman Parliament at Istanbul (3) His brother, M Pallarean (M Ballarian) was a banker in Erzurum (4)

PAPAZĀEAN, Dr Enowk (?-1913) - He was a chief doctor in the army medical corps at Erzurum (5)

PILLOREAN, Andranık He was an assistant to the provincial governor of Erzurum (6)

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(1) Album of the graduated Armenian students of the American University of Beirut (in Armenian), Beirut, 1935

(2) The year-books of S Prkiç hospital, 1903-1906

(3) Çark, ibid , p 113

(4) P R O , F O 78/2647, see the document dated 3rd January 1877

(5) Çark, ibid , p 229

(6) Ibid , p 168

ŞAPANEAN, Grigor Efendi (1835-1908) In 1865 he was elected a member of the administrative council of Erzurum, and in 1885 he held the post of the director of public debt administration About 1893 he was appointed assistant to the public prosecutor, but soon resigned (1)

TĒR-NERSESEAN, Xaçatur (1810-1895) Born at Bitlis, he became a merchant and was appreciated even by the Persian government He directed the customs first at Erzurum, and then in Van 'For many years' he also participated in the administrative council of Erzurum In 1877 he was employed by the Russian Consulate at Erzurum as translator In the same year he was elected deputy in the Ottoman Parliament at Istanbul When the Parliament was dismissed, he settled down at Istanbul For his public services he was given decoration by the Sublime Porte (2)

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(1) Handēs amsōreay, 1890, p 255, and Çark, *ibid* , pp 171-73

(2) Tēodik, Amēnun tarecoycə [The almanac for every one], 1912, pp 404-405, and Çark, *ibid* , p 174

CHAPTER V  
THE ARMENIANS OF TREBIZOND

Historical Survey

Trebizond (Gr Trapezous, Arm Trapizon, Arb Atrābazund and Tarābazunda, Ott Turk Tarabzūn or Tarabzōn, and Mod Turk Trabzon) in the early centuries of the Christian era was a region of the Roman, and later of the Byzantine Empire

After the VIIth century Arabs penetrated the area, inhabited and traded there. During the Arab period, until the invasion of Salcūks, Trebizond became an important centre of commerce, from where Byzantine merchandise was carried to the Muslim world, through Erzurum.

In 1204, Alexis founded the Comneni Empire and made Trebizond his capital. This tiny empire had a short life, for in 1214 when the Salcūr Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaykobādh captured Sinope, the Emperor of Trebizond was forced to recognize his suzerainty. And in 1240 when the Mongols subjugated the Salcūks, the Emperor Manuel admitted himself to be a vassal of the Mongol Empire. Until the middle of the XVth century, the country flourished again economically.

From the beginning of the XIVth century Trebizond was attacked by the Turkomans who came to possess the strongholds on the mountains in the hinterland. In 865 H /1460-61, the

Ottoman Sultān Mehmed II, marching through Kastamonu and Sinope, conquered Trebizond. Many of the inhabitants of the town, the majority most probably Greek with an Armenian minority, were transported to Istanbul, and only a remnant were allowed to live in the suburbs. This was the last Byzantine citadel to fall to the Ottomans. Under the Ottoman rule, Trebizond became a centre of an eyālet, and in the XIXth century of a vilāyet, but it never recovered its former great commercial activity.

From the Armenian point of view, Armenians had lived on the coasts of the Black Sea, in the regions of Trebizond and Rize (Lazistan) for centuries. In 536 the Emperor Justinian included Trebizond in First Armenia (1). After the VIIth century, the Armenian Paulician sectarians took shelter there (2). In 788 when the Armenians were suffering from the Arab atrocities in their homeland, 12,000 of them escaped to Pontus. The Emperor Constantine VI (780-797) welcomed the notables into his palace and army, and settled the rest of the people 'in good and fertile country', actually

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(1) Y. Taşean, Hay bnakçutıwnə Sew Covēn minçew Karın [The Armenian population from Black Sea to Karın], Vienna, 1921, p 15. There is a French translation of this work by F. Macler, La population arménienne de la région comprise entre la Mer Noire et Karın, Vienna, 1922.

(2) A. Alpōyačean, Patmutıwn hay gağtakanutean [History of the Armenian emigration], Cairo, 1945, 1, pp 275-6.

in Rize (the former sancāk of Lazıstan) (1) The leaders of this emigration were the prince Şapuh Amatunı and his son Hamam, after whose name the district where the Armenians settled was called Hamamşēn, i e 'built by Hamam', and later Hamşēn After the fall of the Armenian kingdom of Bagratunı, many people were spread abroad, of whom some came to join their compatriots in Trebizond

The Armenians of Hamşēn in the XVIIIth century were converted by force into Islam, but they preserved certain Christian customs and their native tongue, (2) as did the Greeks who shared the same fate

#### Administrative-Structure

The vilāyet of Trebizond was divided into four sancāks and included 22 kazās -

The kazās of the sancāk of Trebizond -

Trebizond

Sürmene

Akçaabāt (Polathane)

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(1) Ğewond Vardapet, Arşawank Arabaç ı Hays [The Arab invasions into Armenia], Paris, 1857, pp 201-203, S Tarōneci, Patmutıwn tiezerakan [General history], S Petersburg, 1885, p 134, Örmanean, Azgapatum, [History of the Armenian nation], 1, pp 900-902, and V Minorsky, 'Laz', EI, 111, p 21

(2) M Bžşkean, Patmutıwn Pontosı [History of Pontus], Venice, 1819, p 97, Taşean, op cit, pp 31-32, S Ęprikean, Bnaşxarhık bararan [Armenian geographical dictionary], 11, 'Lazıstan', pp 82-83, and H Ačaryan, Knuţyun Hamşeni barbarı [Study of the dialect of Hamşēn], Erevan, 1947

Vakfikebir

Görece

Tirebolu

Giresun

Ordu

The kazās of the sancāk of Samsun (Canık) -

Samsun

Fatsa

Unye

Terme

Çarşamba

Bafra

The kazās of the sancāk of Rize (Lazıstan) -

Rize

Of

Pazar

Hopa

The kazās of the sancāk of Gümüşane (Gümüşhane) -

Gümüşane

Torul

Şiran

Kelkit

The last two kazās, viz Şiran and Kelkit, were formerly included in the vılāyet of Erzurum, but in March 1888 were

attached to Trebizond (1)

Population

The general population of Trebizond in the second-half of the XIXth century according to Cuinet<sup>(2)</sup> was as follows -

Armenians<sup>(3)</sup>

Apostolic 44,100

Catholic 2,300

Protestant 800

47,200

Orthodox Greeks 193,000

Latins 400

Muslims

Turk 691,700

Laz<sup>(4)</sup> 55,000

Circassian 60,000

806,700

Jews 400

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1,047,700

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(1) CTA, 1, p 5

(2) CTA, 1, p 10, cf Cevād, Memālıkı 'osmāniyenin tārīkh ve coğrāfyā lugātı [Historical and geographical dictionary of the Ottoman Empire], 'Tarabzōn', 11, (1896-7), p 522

(3) In the sancāk of Trebizond 21,435, Samsun 18,465, Gümüşane 2,200 and Rize 5,100

(4) The Laz are of South Caucasian stock. Their native language is Mingrelian. They were Christians since the VIIth century, but after the Ottoman conquest of Trebizond, they were converted to Islam

Fraṣerī<sup>(1)</sup> in 1874 presents the total of the Armenians in the vilāyet as 52,349, and some years later the provincial sālnāme of 1320 H /1902-903 gives the following estimate -<sup>(2)</sup>

<u>Sancāk</u> of Trebizond	28,707
<u>Sancāk</u> of Samsun	20,184
<u>Sancāk</u> of Gümüşane	1,767
<u>Sancāk</u> of Rize	20
	<hr/>
	50,678
	<hr/>

It will be observed from these statistics that the Armenians of Trebizond were about 51-52,000, and therefore more than the number given by Guinet. The Armenian sources, anyhow, record different figures. Tēodik's almanac<sup>(3)</sup> accounts the total of the Armenian community as 65,000, while Ōrmanean,<sup>(4)</sup> followed by Lepsius,<sup>(5)</sup> records these statistics -

Apostolic	50,000
Catholic	2,500
Protestant	1,000
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	53,500
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(1) Fraṣerī, Kāmūs ul-a'ḷām [Dictionary of proper names], 'Tarabzōn', iv, p 3005

(2) Tarabzōn vilāyeti sālnāmesi, 1320 H /1902-903, pp 338-9. In the provincial sālnāmes of 1321 H /1903-904 (pp 470-73) and of 1322 H /1904-905 (pp 430-33), the total of the Armenians is given as 51,639

(3) Tēodik, Amēnun tareçoyçə [The almanac for every one], 1922, p 262

(4) Ōrmanean, The Church of Armenia, p 205

(5) Lepsius, Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, pp 304-305

### Trades and Professions of Armenians

The Armenians in Trebizond were occupied in agriculture, handicrafts and manufacture, and especially in trade. In those parts of the province where the soil was suitable, they cultivated fruit and cereals and bred cattle, but as they were rather concentrated in littoral towns they dealt mainly with commerce and crafts (1)

The Armenians were also engaged in the various professions, particularly in medicine. Many of them, having studied in the schools of Istanbul and Paris, served the people as doctors and chemists. The provincial sālnāme of 1322 H /1904-905 records the names of the following Armenians who were apothecaries at Trebizond -

Karapet Črakean

Karapet Surmalean

Stepan Surmalean

Pōğos Zahıgöy

### Centres of Armenian Participation

The Armenians of Trebizond were more influential at the headquarters of the sancāks. Since about half of the Armenian population of the vilāyet lived in the sancāk of

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(1) CTA, 1, pp 10 and 120, and Ēprikean, Bnaşxarhık bararan [Armenian geographical dictionary], 'Gümüşane', pp 532-3

Trebizond itself, they played an important role in public administration

Apart from the centres, Armenians worked in different governmental departments of the kaḡās Ordu, Giresun, Tirebolu and Görele of the sancāk of Trebizond, in the kaḡās Fatsa, Ünye, Çarşamba in Samsun, and in the sancāk of Gümüşane, in the kaḡās of Kelkit and Şiran. In Rize the Armenian officials on paper were very few, for it was not possible to identify the islamized Armenians, since, if there were any, these would appear with Muslim names

#### Main Fields of Armenian Participation

Trebizond<sup>(1)</sup> is the only vilāyet within the limits of this study where Greek influence in public life was stronger than Armenian. The reason was that among the Christian population the Greeks were in a majority. It is interesting to note, however, that in the sancāks of Trebizond, Samsun and Gümüşane, the Armenians were also employed in many governmental departments, although not in equal number with the Greeks

The main fields of Armenian participation were in the political administration, justice and finance. In the administrative councils there were one or two Armenian elected members. In the centre of Trebizond, as well as in

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(1) For this chapter of Trebizond I have consulted the provincial year-books (Ṭarabzōn vilāyeti sālñamesı) of the following years: 1282 H /1865-6, 1287 H /1870-71, 1288 H /1871-72, 1292 H /1875, 1298 H /1880-81, 1305 H /1887-8, 1309 H /1891-92, 1316 H /1898-9, 1318 H /1900-901, and 1322 H /1904-905

its kazās Ordu, Górele, Giresun, Akçaabāt, and in the headquarters of Samsun, there was also an ex officio member who was the Apostolic bishop of that district. In the centre of Trebizond and Samsun, only the Armenian Catholic vicars were also ex-officio members. In the nāhiyes an Armenian was usually included on the administrative council.

In a high position we find a certain Karapet Efendi as assistant to the governor of the sancāk of Samsun in 1319 H./1900-901. In the municipal councils there were one or two Armenian elected members. At Fatsa, in Samsun, between 1298 H /1880 and 1309 H /1891-2 the mayor was an Armenian.

In the judicature, particularly at the courts, the Armenians made a considerable contribution. In the centres of the sancāks of Trebizond, Samsun and Gümüšane, both in the courts of first instance and appeal, and of commerce, there were usually one or two Armenian members. In the rest of the kazās in every court of first instance an Armenian would be found. In some of the kazās Greeks were influential and in others Armenians. Out of the courts, Armenians also served the public notary and the trial committee (encümen-i ‘adliye) as assistants to the inspectors.

In the financial affairs of the government, Armenians took a large part, and their activity was regular especially in the centre of the province. The Armenian officials were members (one to three in number) of the taxation department

and revenue and expenditure control, the estimates' committee, the Ottoman and Agricultural banks, and chambers of commerce and agriculture. They also shared in a large proportion and in responsible positions, the work of the tobacco monopoly and public debt. For example, from 1900, the head of the Ottoman debt administration was usually an Armenian.

In the other kazās of the vilāyet, the Armenians likewise took a notable part in the field of finance. They were employed in tax collection, estimates' committee, tobacco monopoly, the banks, chamber of commerce and in public debt administration. As to their proportion, there were generally two in each department. The functions which they filled were usually the offices of accountant, cashier, clerk and storekeeper. Trebizond, situated on the Black Sea with a bad though viable harbour, was a busy port. There were resident agents for Turkish, French, Russian, Italian and Greek shipping interests. The Armenians, by virtue of their knowledge of European languages, were employed in these agencies as managers (acenta me'mūru) or managers in charge (me'mūr vekflı) and as clerks. The French, Russian and Italian companies of Trebizond, Ordu, Giresun, Samsun and Ünye entrusted their agencies to the Armenian officials.

#### Other Fields of Armenian Participation

Other fields of public life in which the Armenians acted, were engineering, postal and telegraphic service, agriculture, public health, education and the police force.

Their participation in these spheres of public administration was not very influential since they were few in number

At the town of Trebizond, in the headquarters of the province, there were Armenians in the engineering department, as engineers and foremen, in the public works' board in the postal and telegraphic service as operators in the foreign communication section, and in the press as mechanics and compositors Armenian officials were employed as well on the agricultural board and education council, in the chief secretariat and land registry board, and in the police force The municipal doctor was sometimes Armenian

In the rest of the kazās of Trebizond itself and of the sancāk Samsun, Armenians were included on the agricultural and forestry board, and in the municipality as advisory members and doctors, in the public works, postal and telegraphic service, and in the chief secretariat While in the central provincial government's departments the Armenians were one to three in number, in the kazās they were usually only one in each office In the sancāks of Gümüşane and particularly Rize we scarcely ever find Armenians out of the affairs of political administration, justice and finance

#### Comparative Note Greek Participation

As has been mentioned, Trebizond is the only vilāyet of Eastern Anatolia where the Greeks were more influential than the Armenians Comparing the participation of these two Christian nations in the public life of the province, one

can notice that the Greeks made a larger and steadier contribution. Since they were in the majority we find them more numerous in the government departments. They sometimes held high positions as mayors and administrators of the tobacco monopoly. There was even a Greek assistant to the provincial governor, between 1286 H /1869-70 and 1288 H /1871-72. On the other hand it is noticeable that in the judiciary the Armenians were predominant. The probable reason for this was that the Turks desired to counterbalance the influence of Greeks, or there may simply have been more law officials available among the Armenians. From a geographical point of view, while the Armenians were only included in the departments of political administration, finance and justice, in the sancāk of Gümüşane, the Greeks also acted in agriculture, technical crafts, public health service and education.

In the central government of the vilāyet, at Trebizond, the Greeks took part in the political administration, judicature, finance, agriculture and technical works. There were Greek members of the administrative council, one ex officio and one elected, and in the municipality there were usually two. In the courts of first instance, appeal and of commerce there was one Greek in each section. In financial spheres they worked in tax collection, estimates' committee, tobacco monopoly, Ottoman and Agricultural Bank-branches, and public debt administration. As for education,

they were sometimes employed on the education committee and in the secondary school. They made an important contribution to the engineering and public works as engineers, and in the postal and telegraphic service, as operators.

In the other kazās of Trebizond, Samsun and Gümüşane, the Greeks likewise influenced the political administration, justice, finance, public health and mechanical affairs. There were two Greek members in the administrative councils, one ex officio and another elected, and in the municipal council, one or two. In the courts of first instance there was a Greek member, who was sometimes replaced by an Armenian.

Greek officials were also members of the boards of agriculture and the branches of the Agricultural Bank and of tax collecting committees. The municipal doctors were often Greeks. They outnumbered others in the tobacco monopoly and one Greek would usually be found in the postal and telegraphic service, and one or two in the public works.

#### A General View of the Armenian Participation in Trebizond

To summarize the Armenian participation in the public life of Trebizond, we can say that on the whole the Armenians were treated fairly. In spite of the fact that they were not in a majority, they were included in most of the government departments of the sancāks of Trebizond, Samsun and Gümüşane and they were especially influential in political administration, justice and finance.

Armenian officials were generally employed as advisory

members in various offices, as lawyers, clerks, cashiers, translators, doctors and mechanics To recall some names, Anton Efendi was provincial translator, 1902-906, Lewon Arslanean was a municipal doctor from about 1906 to 1915, Gēorg Efendi Fıkrı was head of the commercial court and assistant to the general judicial inspector, from 1900 to 1908, Grigor Efendi Şapanean was director of the public debt administration, 1900-906, Oskan Efendi Aslanean was a provincial forestry inspector in 1908, and Edoward Efendi Xōrasēan was a chief engineer about 1870 (1)

Why should the Armenians have been better treated in Trebizond than in the inland provinces, where they were more numerous? Perhaps it was because the Western Countries and Russia had consulates there, and perhaps also because this vilāyet, being not so far from the Sublime Porte, was influenced by its control It is possible that the caprices of the vālī and robbery by bandits were thus to a certain extent restrained No doubt, that, had the other provinces also been as well governed and the life of the population secure, the Armenians could have been spared massacres and Turkey could have retained the services of this industrious people for her own development

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(1) Because of the lack of sources I have not been able to provide biographies of some notable Armenians who participated in the public life of Trebizond

## CHAPTER VI

### THE ARMENIANS OF SIVAS

#### Historical Survey

Sivas (class Megalopolis and Sebastia, Arm Sebastia and later Səvaz, Arb Sīwās, Ott Turkish Sīvās) in the Byzantine period was included in Second Armenia. In 1021-1022 it was given by the Emperor Basil II to the Armenian king Senekerim Arcruni in exchange for the province Vaspurakan (Van and its surroundings) for defence purposes. About 14,000 families followed their king and settled in Sivas (1)

In 451H /1059 the Salcūks, under the command of Samūkh, invaded Sivas, and sacked it, massacring many of the population and burning the town. The sons of Senekerim, Atom and Apusahl escaped to Gabadonia.

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(1) G Cedrenus, Annālēs, (I Bekker's ed), Bonn, 1838-1839, II, p 464, Aneḡi, Hawakmunḡ i groḡ patmagrac [A collection from history books], pp 104-105, Vardan (Vardapet), Hawakumn patmutēan [A historical collection], Venice, 1862, p 92, and T Arcruni, Patmutiwn tann Arcruneaḡ [History of the Arcruni dynasty], Tiflis, 1917 pp 499-500. This last historian records the number of Armenian immigrants to Sivas as '14,000 men, not including women and children'. M Çamçean (Patmutiwn Hayoḡ [History of the Armenians], Venice, 1784-1786, II, p 903), gives the number as 400,000 people, while Minorsky ('Wān', EI', IV, p 1119), as 40,000 families.

(Develi) (1) After eight days the Salcūks withdrew, but at the battle of Malazgirt, on the 26th August 1071 Cappadocian Armenia fell into their hands. Subsequently Sivas was ruled for a period by Turkoman dynasties, and in 1398 was taken over by the Ottoman Sūlṭan Yıldırım Bāyezīd I. In 1400 the Mongol Emperor Tīmūr attacked Sivas with huge armies, undermined the high walls of the town, captured the people and put many of them to death. He was particularly cruel towards the Armenian regiment which had strongly resisted him on behalf of the Ottomans. However the Mongols' domination in Asia Minor did not last long and on their withdrawal in 1403 the Ottomans again brought Sivas and its adjacent regions under their rule. Hereafter Sivas became the centre of an eyālet, including the sancāks of Amasya, Çorum, Bozok, Samsun, Divriği, and Arapkir. In the XIXth century, when the new provincial constitution was proclaimed, Sivas formed a vilāyet covering the sancāks of Amasya, Tokat and Şebinkarahisar (2)

#### Administrative Structure

The vilāyet of Sivas was divided into four sancāks,

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(1) Urhayeçi, Žamanakagrutiwn [The chronicles], pp 133 - 5

(2) A general history of Sivas which particularly considers the Armenians, is edited by A Aġek-sandrean, Patmuṭiwn akanawor kaġakin Sebastioy ew saħmanac nora [History of the famous town of Sivas and of its boundaries], Venice, 1911

Sivas, Tokat, Amasya and Şebinkarahisar, and had 26 ka<sub>z</sub>ās as the following -

The ka<sub>z</sub>ās of the sancāk of Sivas -

Sivas

Zara (Koçkiri)

Divriği

Şarkışla (Tonus)

Gürün

Darende

Hafık

Yıldizeli

Pınarbaşı (Azızıye)

The ka<sub>z</sub>ās of the sancāk of Tokat -

Tokat

Erbaa

Zile

Niksar

The ka<sub>z</sub>ās of the sancāk of Amasya -

Amasya

Merzifon

Vezirköprü

Osmancık

Gümüşhacıköy

Ladik

Havza

Mecidiözü

The każās of the sancāk of Şebinkarahisar (Şarkī-karahisar):-

Şebinkarahisar  
Mesudiye (Hamıdıye)  
Koyulhisar  
Suşehri  
Alucra

Population

The total population of the vilāyet of Sivas in the second-half of the XIXth century according to V Cuinet (1890) was 1,086,015, of whom 170,433 were Armenian -<sup>(1)</sup>

Armenians

Apostolic	129,523
Protestant	30,433
Catholic	10,477

170,433

Orthodox Greeks

76,068

Muslims

Turk, Turkoman and Circassian	559,680
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Kizilbash (Shī'ites)	279,834
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839,514

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1,086,015

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(1) CTA, 1, p 617

The same figures are given by Fraṣerī<sup>(1)</sup> in 1893-4, but with addition of 400 Jews to the total. The provincial sālnāme of 1321H /1903-904 estimates the number of the Armenians at about 133,700<sup>(2)</sup>

According to Cuinet<sup>(3)</sup> the Armenians of Sivas lived in different sancāks of the vīlāyet, as follows -

<u>Sancāk</u> of Sivas	63,868
<u>Sancāk</u> of Tokat	37,919
<u>Sancāk</u> of Amasya	50,600
<u>Sancāk</u> of Şebīn-karahisar	18,046

The Armenian authors in connection with the Armenian population of Sivas, present different numbers to the above quoted figures. Gabikean estimates the total as 350,284<sup>(4)</sup>, Ūrmanean as 200,000, while the almanac of

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(1) Fraṣerī, Kāmūs ul-a'lām [Dictionary of proper names], 'Sīvās' iv, p 2797

(2) Sīvās vīlāyeti sālnāmesi, [Year-book of the province of Sivas], 1321H /1903-904, pp 160, 237 and 239

(3) CTA, 1, p 618

(4) K Gabikean, Eğernapatum Pokun Hayoç ew norin meci mayrakakağın Sebastioy [History of the massacres of Lesser Armenia and of its great capital Sivas], Boston, 1924, pp 597 and 598-604

Tēodik gives 225,000 <sup>(1)</sup> According to Ōrmanean, <sup>(2)</sup> the Armenians of Sivas were concentrated in different districts of the province as follows -

Sivas	Apostolic	80,000	
	Protestant	1,000	
	Catholic	5,000	86,000
Divriği	Apostolic	11,000	
	Protestant	300	11,300
Gürün	Apostolic	17,000	
	Protestant	1,000	
	Catholic	500	18,500
Darende	Apostolic	7,000	7,000
Tokat	Apostolic	21,000	
	Protestant	500	
	Catholic	2,000	23,500

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(1) Tēodik, Amēnun tarecoycà [The almanac for every one], 1922, p 261

(2) Ōrmanean, The Church of Armenia, pp 205 and 207, cf Lepsius, Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, pp 304-307

Amasya	Apostolic	25,000	
	Protestant	3,000	
	Catholic	500	
			28,500
Şebinkarahisar	Apostolic	25,000	
	Protestant	200	
			25,200

In my opinion the total recorded by Ōrmanean for the Armenian population of Sivas is a moderate and reasonable one in comparison with the figures of Turkish and Armenian sources, the first of which have apparently underestimated and the latter exaggerated the numbers according to their inclinations or interests

#### Trades and Professions of Armenians

The Armenian peasants in Sivas were employed in agriculture They had obtained improved implements for cultivation Many others were occupied in various handicrafts, mainly in the printing of cotton hangings, making belts, blacksmith's art, in painting and dye-works, watch-repairing, sewing, shoe-making, carpentry and mason's work, and in carpet and textile weaving Natanean speaking of the centre province Sivas, records thus -

'In Sivas there are about thirty handicrafts which appertain in the main to the Armenians  
In the town of Sivas there are also large markets

divided into parts which include many shops of all sorts of merchandise, about 1,200, large and small. The craftsmen mostly are Armenian, and particularly the traders' (1)

More wealthy Armenians were engaged in commerce and money-exchange. The trade of the province was principally in their hands and they were regarded as shrewd merchants. Cuinet says -

'Pour la plupart, les Arméniens de cette province s'occupent de prêts d'argent, de change de monnaies et d'autres trafics semblables (2)

A much populated Armenian district was the sancāk of Tokat. According to Alpōyačean the Armenians were generally concentrated in the towns, and were mostly occupied in arts and trades (3). The same author attests the following concerning the town of Tokat itself -

'The main houses of commerce and haberdashery or of import and export of articles by retail and wholesale belonged to the Armenians. For this reason they were not a contemptible and neglectable element in the economic life of the town (4)

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(1) P. Natanean, Teğekagrutiwn əndhanur vičakin Sebastioy [Report on the general diocese of Sivas], Istanbul, 1877, pp 148-9

(2) CTA, i, p 620

(3) A. Alpōyačean, Patmužitwn Ewdokioy Hayoc [History of the Armenians in Tokat], p 1298

(4) Ibid, pp 1305-306

It is noticeable that the Armenians also contributed, officially and unofficially, to the public hygiene of Sivas. There were many chemists and physicians serving different parts of the vilāyet, of whom Sargis Barseġean,<sup>(1)</sup> Hindlean,<sup>(2)</sup> Lewon Hiwsisean,<sup>(3)</sup> Miriĉan Karmirean<sup>(4)</sup>, Karapet Paşayean<sup>(5)</sup> and Yarutiwn Vēznēyea<sup>(6)</sup> can be named

#### Centres of Armenian Participation

In Sivas the Armenians took part in the public administration of almost all the districts of the province. Their participation, however, was larger in the sancāk of Sivas where the government headquarters were situated. In the rest of the vilāyet particular centres of Armenian contribution were the qazās of Merzifon, Vezirköprü, Ladik, Mecidozu in the sancāk of Amasya, Zile and Niksar in the sancāk of Tokat, and the qazā Suşehri in Şebinkarahisar.

#### The Main Fields of Armenian Participation

The Armenians in the central government of the sancāqs took part in most public affairs, and their influence was

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(1) A Haykaz, Şapın Garahisar [History of the Armenians in Şebinkarahisar], New York - Beirut, 1957, p 91

(2) Ibid

(3) Ibid

(4) Ibid

(5) G Karoyean, Mec eġerni nahatak hay bżişknerə [The martyred Armenian doctors of the Great Massacre], pp 31-36

(6) Ibid , pp 75-77

stronger in the centres than in the other kazās (1)

The main fields of Armenian participation were the departments of political administration, finance, justice and secretariat

In the administrative councils of the merkez-kazās of Sivas, Tokat, Amasya and Şebinkarahisar, there were usually two Armenian elected members After the Reforms there were also two ex officio members, one Apostolic and one Catholic At Sivas four Armenians were elected to the central municipality, while in the other municipal councils two or three Armenian members were elected

In the spheres of finance the Armenians were employed in many offices, particularly at Sivas They served the control of revenue and expenditure, treasury, the chamber of commerce, tobacco monopoly, the branches of the Agricultural and Ottoman Banks, public debt, administration of tithes and sheep (a'şār ve aġnām idāresi), customs, and the taxation board (vergi kōmīsyōnu) There were also Armenians in the salt administration (memlaḥa idāresi) who worked as clerks, weighing-officials and store keepers The proportions in which the Armenians participated were not very constant In these financial departments they varied in number from one to four

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(1) For this chapter of Sivas, I have consulted the provincial annuals (Sīvās vilāyeti sāl-nāmesi) of the following years - 1287H /1870-71, 1292H /1875, 1301H /1883-4, 1306H /1888-9, 1308H /1890-91, 1321H /1903-904, and 1325H /1907-908

In the judicature of the headquarters of the province the Armenians held offices in both sections, civil and criminal, of the courts of first instance and of appeal. They seem to have been influential in the courts of appeal, having two or three judges in each. In the departments of first instance there were only one or two Armenians, but in the commercial court they were given a large part and sometimes even the presidency. We find Armenian officials also employed in the trial commissions ('adliye kōmīsyōnu) and as lawyers.

As to the secretariat the Armenians, due to their good knowledge of Turkish and other languages, served in many offices, viz chief secretariat, land registry, municipality's secretariat, registry of real-estates, secretariat of revenue control, and the postal and telegraphic service. In these departments they were usually two or three in number.

In the outer kazās of the province, the Armenian officials were not so numerous as in the centres, as the number of government offices and of their personnel was by comparison limited. One or two were however, elected members to the administrative councils, and two or three to the municipalities. The spiritual heads of the Apostolic communities were sometimes included on the administrative councils as ex officio members. In the

government of nāhiyes, there were Armenian administrators, assistants to the administrators, and members to the local councils, but they did not hold a predominant position compared with the Turks

Armenians contributed more to the financial affairs of the kazās than to any other circles. They were in particular employed in the tobacco monopoly, the branches of the Agricultural Bank, and in the control of revenue. The district managers of the tobacco monopoly were often Armenian. Other departments where they cooperated with the Ottoman Government were the treasury, tax collection, public debt administration, and the chamber of commerce. Their share was not very steady and sometimes they were two or three in number, and sometimes only one.

In the judicature of the kazās the part of Armenians was limited to the courts of first instance. They always had one member, and sometimes two, in the courts, but naturally they could not guarantee a right judgment in the cases of the Armenian communities since the Turks were more numerous. They numbered three or four, apart from the president who was always a Turk.

In respect of the secretariat there were usually three Armenian officials employed in the chief secretariat and a general average of two in the land registry.

Other Fields of Armenian Participation

In the agriculture of this province, particularly of the merkez-sancaks, Armenians were employed by the forestry board, by the inspectorate board of agriculture and crafts, and as forest rangers. They normally numbered between one and three but on the board of agriculture the Armenian membership reached up to six persons.

In the technical affairs Armenian officials also took a notable part. They worked as engineers and foremen in the road and building office, the engineering department and the public works, as mechanists in the postal and telegraphic service, and as compositors in the press. The chief compositors were usually Armenian. It is of interest that the vilāyet press at Sivas had a section for Armenian printing. The provincial annual of 1301H /1883-4 gives the names of two compositors of Armenian, viz Mkrtič Efendi and his assistant Hayk Efendi. Natanean who in 1875/1876 visited Sivas, records the following about the printing house -

'A winding path through some willows leads from the upper part to Sivas, at the western entrance of which on the right side can be seen a one-storeyed barracks built in stone of medium size. On the left there is a marble

fountain of sweet water      The government house, a large building, is erected a little beyond where the vālī of the province resides and has a newly established printing office under the management of Andranik Efendi Vardanean, who also edits the local Turkish newspaper Sivās' (1)

From a different source we know that Vardanean Efendi had an Armenian press on his own, from 1871 to 1875 where, among other editions, he published the Prayer Book (1875) of the Armenian Church (2)      Apparently in 1875/1876, when he was appointed by the government as the manager of its printing office, he gave up his own work

The Armenians also contributed to the local state industry as technicians and managers for the textile, mining, leather, and timber boards

In the public health service the Armenians, together with the Greeks, took a considerable part as municipal doctors, surgeons and chemists      In the infirmary of Sivas (Ḥamīdiye ğurebā khastakhānesı) the Armenians rendered good service as well      As to education, we find Armenians in the schools as teachers, and one or two acting as consultants on

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(1) Naḩanean, Teĝekagrutıwn əndhanur viçakin Sebastioy [Report on the general diocese of Sivas], pp 67-68

(2) Tēodik, Tıp u tar [Type and letters], Istanbul, 1912, p 143

the education committees At Sivas Armenians taught in the preparatory and the girls' schools In the latter Iskuhi Khanım<sup>(1)</sup> and Elbiz Khanım<sup>(2)</sup> taught carpet-making

Armenians were rarely employed in the police force and even then only one or two in number In the kazās and nāhiyes they were used as policemen, but in the merkez-sancāks as assistant superintendents and police sergeants also

#### Comparative Note Greek Participation

The Greeks in Sivas did not take a large part in the public administration Their participation was considerable only at the centres of the sancāks, in Merzifon, in the kazās Ladik and Havza in Amasya, at Nıksar in the sancāk of Tokat, and in the kazās of Hamidiye and Alucra in Şebinkarahisar

Greeks were included on the administrative councils, education committees and judicial courts They were employed also as provincial translators and as clerks in the chief secretariat Their share was greater in financial affairs, to which they contributed by working in the departments of tobacco monopoly, public debt administration, customs, and in the branch of the Agricultural Bank We

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(1) Sivās vilāyeti sāl-nāmesi [The annual of the province of Sivas], 1321H /1903-904

(2) Sivās vilāyeti sāl-nāmesi [The annual of the province of Sivas], 1325H /1907-908

notice that the municipal doctors of merkez-sancāk Şebinkarahisar were often Greek. The Greeks in these offices did not usually number more than one to each, and they were not in permanent employment.

After the Reforms, the Greeks were used by the Ottoman Government to patronize the Christian population. They were given higher positions in the political administration as assistants to the vālī and to the governors of the other sancāks and some of ķazās.

#### A General View of the Armenian Participation in Sivas

The participation of the Armenian community in public life of Sivas was larger in the centres of the sancāks, especially in the sancāk of Sivas. The principal fields where the Armenian participation was really influential, were the departments of political administration (administrative and municipal councils), of finance, of justice and secretariat.

In the political and judicial councils the Armenians were mere members, and they were not given high positions, even after the Reforms of 1896. In financial affairs the Armenians were the leading and predominant officials who worked as managers, members, consultants, cashiers and clerks.

Members of the Armenian community cooperated with the government of Sivas also in the spheres of agriculture, public health and education. In the police force their

part was kept to the least, but in technical affairs they were treated well From 1875/1876 the manager of the newly established press was an Armenian, namely Andranik Efendi Vardanean

Some Notable Armenians in Public Life of Sivas

ANSUREAN, Manuk Born about 1863, 'for many years' he worked in the postal and telegraphic service in Sivas Then he became the translator of the local French consulate (1)

ASLAN, Oskan Born about 1853, he studied at Istanbul and in Europe He was a forest and mining inspector in Sivas (2)

BARSEĖEAN, Sargis A learned and active man According to our source, 'he was the only chemist' at Şebinkarahisar (3)

BASGAL Efendi He was the assistant to the deputy-governor of the kazā of Gürün from about 1903 to 1908 (4)

FRENKIWLEAN, Yovhannēs He was a municipal architect in Sivas, in the second-half of the XIXth century (5)

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(1) Gabikean, op cit , pp 579-80

(2) Ibid , p 579

(3) A Haykaz, Şapın Garahisar [History of the Armenians in Şebinkarahisar], p 91

(4) The year-books of the Armenian S Prkiç hospital, 1903-1908, and Çark, Türk devleti hizmetinde Ermeniler, 1453-1953 [The Armenians in the service of the Turkish State, 1453-1953], p 168

(5) Gabikean, ibid , p 586

GABRIELEAN, Martiros Efendi (fl in the second-half of the XIXth century) Originally from Muş, he became a provincial translator in Sivas He was succeeded by Senekerim Kiwrkčean who embraced Islam, probably to retain his office permanently, but during the massacres of World War I, in spite of this, the Turks did not spare his life (1)

GALBAGLEAN, Dr Awetis (1872- c 1935) Born in Maraş, he studied at the Imperial Military School of Medicine in Istanbul In 1898, after graduating, he was sent to Zile (in Tokat) as a municipal doctor, where he served for four years Then he moved to Gürün and worked there, again as a municipal doctor In 1905 he returned home, to Maraş, and was employed there by the government as a teacher of physics in the secondary school During the World War I he worked in the Ottoman army For his services he was honoured by the Sublime Porte (2)

ĞUKASEAN, Gaspar Originally from Çüngüş (Diyarbakır), he lived at Şebinkarahisar during the second-half of the XIXth century Although uneducated, he was a clever merchant and a notable member of the Armenian community Before World War I, 'in the times of peace' he was elected

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(1) Gabikean, *ibid* , pp 579 and 567

(2) E Tölpagean, Libananahay patkerazard oraçoyç  
[Illustrated almanac of the Armenians of Lebanon],  
Beirut, 1936, March 30-31

a member to the local administrative council (1)

YRASUNEAN, Awetis (fl in the second-half of the XIXth century) A land-owner and merchant in Tokat, he acted as a judge in the local court of first instance (2)

MESROPEAN, Karapet (fl in the second-half of the XIXth century) He was a teacher in the government secondary school of Tokat (3)

MIKAYĒL Efendi From 1907 to 1908 he assisted the governor of Tokat A Alpōyačean, who has studied the history of the Armenians of Tokat, writes the following about him and his predecessor (Yakob Tənkərean) -

'Both of them were insignificant and uninfluential people who did not play any important role Even the Armenians of Tokat have neglected their existence, and remember nothing about them' (4)

MIKAYĒL Efendi He was a clerk in the public debt administration at the town of Sivas from 1903 to 1908 (5)

NAZARĒT Efendi From 1900 to 1906 he assisted the governor

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(1) A Haykaz, op cit , pp 401-403

(2) Alpōyačean, Patmutiwn Ewdokioy Hayoç [History of the Armenians in Tokat ], pp 1337-8

(3) Ibid , p 1337

(4) Ibid , p 1210

(5) The year-books of S Prkiç hospital, 1903-1908

of the sancāk of Amasya (1)

PALIÖZEAN, Ara Born about 1865, the son of Petros, 'for many years' he was a superintendent of police in the town of Sivas (2)

PAŞAYEAN, Dr Karapet (1864-1915) Born in Istanbul, he studied at the Imperial Military Medical School After graduating in 1888, he worked as a municipal doctor first (for a year), in Palu and Malatya, and then from January 1889 to August 1890 in Divriği In 1891-1892 he practised his profession in Şebinkarahisar He was beloved both by the Christians and Muslims (3)

PASPANEAN, Gēorg ( ? -1915) Until 1912 he worked as a clerk in the chamber of archives (4)

PÖĞÖSEAN, Paroyr ( ? -1911) He was a cashier in the taxation department at Sivas (5)

SĒFEREAN, Yakob Before 1890 he officiated in the

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(1) The year-book of S Prkič, 1900-1906, and Çark, *ibid* ,p.168

(2) Gabikean, *ibid* , p 579

(3) Karoyean, Mec eġerni nahatak hay bžiġknerē [The martyred Armenian doctors of the Great Massacre], pp 31-36, and Tarecoyç 1914 [An almanac], Istanbul, 1914, published by the Trusteeship of the Armenian Students

(4) Alpōyačean, *ibid* , pp 964 and 1337

(5) Gabikean, *ibid* , p 41

administration of justice in Tokat as juge d'instruction (1)  
ŞAHINEAN, Yakob In 1876 he was elected a deputy for Sivas  
in the Parliament of Istanbul (2)

ŞIRINEAN, Gēorg (1828-1899) Born in Sivas, he studied  
medicine under Dr Henry West (3), and obtained permission  
from Istanbul to practise his profession He settled in  
Tokat and, according to our source, 'for many years' was  
municipal doctor there (4)

TAĞAWAREAN, Dr Nazarēt (1862-1915) Born in Sivas, he  
studied at Istanbul and in France, at the Universities  
of Merchine, Paris and the Sorbon In 1893, after  
graduating and getting diplomas and degrees in agricultural  
engineering and medicine, he returned to Istanbul and  
settled in Pera (Beyoğlu) to practise medicine In 1908  
he was elected a deputy for Sivas in the Ottoman Parliament  
at Istanbul (5)

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(1) Alpōyačean, *ibid* , p 1668

(2) Çark, *ibid* , p 113

(3) Dr Henry West (1827-1876), a medical missionary who in  
1859 was sent by the American Board to work among the  
Armenians of Anatolia His centre was in Sivas  
J Richter, A history of Protestant missions in the Near  
East, 1910, p 133

(4) A Mēzpurean, Hay ew cagumov hay bžışkner, 1688-1940  
[Armenian doctors and doctors of Armenian birth, 1688-1940],  
i, p 170

(5) Y Tağawarean, Azgabanuṭiwn Sebastioy Çatrčean gerdastani  
[Genealogy of the Çatrčean-Tağawarean family in Sivas], New  
York-Beirut, 1957, pp 8-18, and Karoyean, *ibid* , pp 25-30

TĒVĒĀN, Garegin Efendi (1868- ? ) Born at Harput, he studied in Istanbul, and then worked in the public debt departments of Sivas, Bursa, Salonica and Beirut From 1903 to 1908 he was a clerk in the public debt administration in the town of Sivas He published a book in Turkish and French, Pêche et pêcheurie en Turquie, which was highly appreciated (1)

TĀNKĀREAN, Yakob Efendi (1839-1909) Born at Istanbul and educated in London, from 1900 to 1903 he was the assistant to the governor of Tokat (2)

VEZNEYEAN, Dr Yarutiwn (1883-1915) Born in the Huseynik village of Elāziğ, he studied in the Imperial Military School of Medicine in Istanbul In 1907, after graduating, he was sent to Talas and Zile (in Tokat) as a municipal doctor (3)

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(1) Çark, ibid , pp 175-9, and the year-books of S Prkiç hospital, 1903-1908

(2) The year-books of S Prkiç hospital, 1900-1903, Handēs ansoreay, 1951, p 484, and Alpōyačean, ibid , p 1210

(3) Karoyean, ibid , pp 75-77

## CHAPTER VII

### THE ARMENIANS OF SEYHAN

#### Historical Survey

Seyhan is the new name of the province of Adana which in the second-half of the XIXth century, included the larger part of Cilicia. The name Adana (Arb Adana, Adāna, and later Atana, Arm Atana, and Ott Turk Atana and Adana) is explained by a Greek mythological story according to which the brothers Adanus and Sarus built Adana giving it their names, but in fact it is derived from the Hittite Ataniya, 'Adana' (1)

In the VIIth century, at the time of the Khalif 'Umar b al-Khattāb, the Arabs came to Adana and occupied it. The Byzantines kept up the fight for it and eventually conquered it in the Xth century. In the XIth century it fell to the Salcūk rule.

Armenians are mentioned in Adana as early as the IVth century A D, but by the beginning of the XIth century they had much increased in number, because Armenia had lost its independence and was suffering from the harshness of the Salcūks. After the battle of Malazgirt (26th August 1071) Philaretos, an Armenian commander in the Byzantine army, withdrew to Cilicia and settled there, choosing Maraş

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(1) J Garstang and O R Gurney, The geography of the Hittite Empire, 1959, pp 60-61

as his seat (1) In 1080 when Dāniṣmend oppressed Cappadocia the Armenian vassal princes moved to Maraṣ and there they received districts and strongholds from Philaretos as fiefs Rubēn, one of these princes, gathered around him many supporters and established a principality from 1080 to 1095 He was succeeded by his son Kostandin, who extended the boundaries of his dominion with new regions and castles At that time when the Crusaders appeared, the Armenians achieved good friendship and collaborated with them Adana at first in 1132 temporarily, but finally in 1172-3 was incorporated in the Armenian kingdom In 1198, Lewon, one of the successors of Kostandin, was recognized as the vassal king of Cilicia by the Emperor of Germany, Henry VI, by Alexis III of Byzantium, and the Pope Celestine III of Rome He organized his court and army in a European form, and stimulated the arts and trades Lewon's daughter Zapēl married Hetum, the son of her tutelar They ruled together over Armenian Cilicia, Zapēl until 1252, and her husband alone until 1270 when Hetum went to Karakorum in

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(1) Concerning the life of Philaretos see M Urhayeci, Žamanakagrutiwn [The chronicles], pp 206-34, Vardan (Vardapet), Hawaḡumn patmutēan [A historical collection], pp 104-107, K Ganjakeçi, Patmutiwn Hayoc [History of the Armenians], Tiflis, 1909, p 78, Michael of Syria, Chronicles, (in Armenian), Jerusalem, 1871, p 399, J Laurent 'Byzance et Antioche sous le curopalate Philarete', Revue des Études Armeniennes, ix (1929), pp 61-72, Kommagenaci (E Kasuni), Pilartos Haya [Philaretos the Armenian], Aleppo, 1930, and R Grousset, L'empire du Levant (2nd ed ), 1949, pp 176-85

1254 and presented himself as a vassal king to the Mongol Great Khān Mōngke (1) The Armenian and Mongol allied armies invaded Syria and conquered Aleppo, Urfa and Damascus in 1260 On the death of Mōngke the victorious troops withdrew Hetum's son, Lewon III was attacked by the Egyptians in Tarsus but he succeeded in strengthening his army and together with the Mongols marched into Syria as far as Hims

The dissolution of the Crusades and the weakening of the Mongols left the Armenians of Cilicia alone to the continual and violent offensive operations of the Mamlūks The last king, Lewon VI, was captured in Sis on the 16th April 1375 and taken to Egypt Later, being saved by ransom, he wandered through Europe trying to rally support to regain his throne but did not succeed Thus the Armenian state of Cilicia came to its end (2)

On the fall of the Armenian kingdom Adana with the surrounding country passed to the Mamlūks In 1378 its governor was the Turkoman Yuregir-oğlu Ramazān under the

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(1) G of Akanc, History of the nation of the archers (translated from the Armenian by R P Blake and R N Frye), Harvard, 1954, pp 73 and 75, Ganjakeçi, *ibid*, pp 350-57, Vardan (Vardapet), *ibid*, pp 148-9, and R Grousset, *ibid*, pp 397-8

(2) An accurate history of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia is by G G Miḡayelyan, Istoria Kilikiyskovo Armianskovo gosudarstva [History of the Armenian state of Cilicia], Erevan, 1952

suzerainty of Egypt      The Ramazān-oğlu dominated there for more than two centuries      In 1608 it became a directly governed Ottoman eyālet      From 1833 to 1840 Adana, together with Syria, was occupied by the Egyptians but was subsequently ceded again to the Ottomans (1)

### Administrative Structure

In the second-half of the XIXth century, the province of Seyhan (Adana) contained four sancāks      Seyhan (Adana), Içel, Kozan, and Cebel-i Bereket      In 1305H /1887-8 the qazā of Mersin in Seyhan was transformed into a separate sancāk (2) which included the qazā of Tarsus (formerly a part of the sancāk of Seyhan)      The following are the qazās of the five sancāks -

The qazās of the sancāk of Seyhan -

Adana

Karaisalı

Ceyhan (Hamidiye) (3)

The sancāk of Mersin, had the qazā of Tarsus

The qazās of the sancāk of Içel -

Silifke

Ermenāk

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(1) C Huart, 'Adana', EI<sup>1</sup>, i, p 129, R Anhegger, 'Adana', EI 2, i, pp 182-4, and B Dargot, 'Adana', IA, i, pp 127-9

(2) B Darkot, 'Mersin', IA, vii, p 770

(3) The qazā of Ceyhan was added to Seyhan after the detachment of Mersin and Tarsus

Mut

Gülнар

Anamur

The kaẓās of the sancāḳ of Kozan -

Kozan (Sis)

Kadırlı (Kars)

Saimbeyli (Haçın)

Feke

The kaẓās of the sancāḳ of Cebel-i Bereket <sup>(1)</sup>

Yarpuz

Osmaniye

Islāhiye

Hassa

Bahçe (Bulanık)

Payas

### Population

The general population of this province in the second-half of the XIXth century was, according to Guinet, <sup>(2)</sup> about 403,500 -

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(1) 'Cebel-i Bereket' now is called 'Osmaniye', but I kept the old name in order not to confuse it with the kaẓā of Osmaniye

(2) CTA, ii, p 5, cf Cevād, Memāliki 'osmāniyenin tārīkh ve coğrafiyā lugāti [Historical and geographical dictionary of the Ottoman Empire], 'Ātana', i, (1895-6) p 15

Armenians

Apostolic 69,300

Catholic 11,550

Protestant 16,600

97,450

Syrian Orthodox 20,900

Greek Orthodox 46,200

Latins and Maronites 4,539

Muslims

Turk 93,200

Kurd and  
Turkoman 39,600

Circassian 13,200

Syrian and  
Arab 12,000

158,000

Persians, Afghans and others 4,400

Gipsies 16,050

Fellahs, <sup>(1)</sup>Ansaris and  
Nusayris 56,000

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403,539

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Frazerī in 1889 estimates the population of Adana as 350,000 Christians (the Armenians being the majority of

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(1) Fellāh (Arb -Turk ) means 'agriculturalist', but it also denotes 'Egyptian peasant'

them), Turks, Kurds, and Arabs (1) However, it is interesting to mention that the number given by Cuinet for the Armenian inhabitants, viz 97,450, is exceptionally more than the figures recorded by the Armenian sources Ūrmanean, (2) followed by Lepsius (3) and the almanac of Tēodik, (4) presents the Armenian population as the following -

Adana (including Mersin and Içel)

Apostolic	35,000
Catholic	2,000
Protestant	900

37,900

The sancāḳ of Kozan

Apostolic	9,000
Protestant	500

9,500

The ḳazā of Saimbeyli

Apostolic	20,000
Catholic	1,000
Protestant	200

21,200

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(1) Fraṣerī, Ḳamūs ūl-a'ḷām, 'Ātana', i, p 219

(2) Ūrmanean, The Church of Armenia, p 207

(3) Lepsius, Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, pp 304-305

(4) Tēodik, Amēnun tareḳoyḳə [The almanac for every/one], 1922, p 262

Payas and the surrounding kazās of  
Cebel-i Bereket

11,000

79,600

The difference between the Turkish and Armenian statistics is caused, firstly, by the non-existence of an official or reliable census in the Ottoman Empire and secondly, in this particular case, by the fact that the Armenians did not intend to obtain any independence in Adana, and on the other hand the Turks were not concerned about any separatist movement

The Trades and Professions of Armenians

Some of the Armenian inhabitants of the province of Seyhan were engaged in the cultivation of cereals and fruit, and in cattle breeding Their popular occupations, however, were the trades, crafts and professions They were especially busy in commerce in the manufacture of cloth, towels, handkerchiefs, bags, carpets, earthenware, and various silver adornments They also laboured in tanning of leather, dye-works and painting, tinning, saddlery and stone-masonry

The Armenian traders and artisans were concentrated in the towns, and thus they presented the main industrial element Ēprikan speaking of the district of Seyhan

wrote -

'The local crafts are mostly in the hands of the Armenians, likewise the commerce They are also engaged in agriculture, for which they have brought special implements from Europe '(1)

Many Armenians also specialized in different professions and arts, such as medicine, law, engineering, the postal and telegraphic service, and architecture They were trained in the high schools and institutions of Tarsus, Antep, Istanbul, Beirut and Damascus

#### Centres of Armenian Participation

The Armenians took a comparatively large part in the public life of the merkez-sancāks, and particularly in the headquarters of the province Outside the centres, the Armenian influence was considerable in Tarsus (Mersin), in the ķazās Saimbeyli and Feke of the sancāk Kozan, in Anamur (Içel), and Payas (Cebel-i Bereket) It is worth noting that in Saimbeyli Armenian officials enjoyed predominant positions and high rank

#### Main Fields of Armenian Participation

The participation of the Armenian community in the

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(1) Ēprikan, Bnařxarhık bararan, [Armenian geographical dictionary], 'Ařana', i, p 272 Concerning the occupation of Armenians in trades and crafts in Sıs, see M Kēlēřean, Sis-matean [Book of Sıs], Beirut, 1949, pp 423-32, and for Saimbeyli, Y P Pōğosean, Hačēni andhanur patmuřiwā [The general history of Haçın (Saimbeyli)], Los Angeles, 1942, pp 165-76

public life of Seyhan<sup>(1)</sup> was largest in the centre of the province. At the headquarters there were two or three Armenians on the administrative council representing the Apostolic, Catholic and Protestant communities. In the rest of the vilāyet one or two Armenians were elected to the administrative councils. In the kazās of Yarpuz and of Kozan (Sis), which once was the seat of the Armenian kingdom, and until World War I was the See of the Armenian Patriarchate, there were generally two Armenian members. From three to six Armenians were elected to the municipality of Adana, while the other municipal councils had only one or two Armenian members. It is remarkable that the municipality of Saimeyli was almost entirely left in the hands of the Armenians.

In the financial affairs, especially at Adana and Saimeyli, the Armenians took an important part. One to three were employed in the control of revenue and expenditure and in the taxation department, one or two in the Ottoman Bank, and between two and four in the branch of the Agricultural Bank, as well as in the public debt and in the

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(1) For this chapter of Seyhan I have consulted the provincial year-book of Aleppo of 1284H /1867-8, and the sālnāmes of the province of Adana (Āṭana vilāyet, sālnāmesi) of the following years - 1289H /1872-3, 1294H /1877, 1297H /1879-80, 1308H /1890-91, 1309H /1891-92, 1312H /1894-5, and 1319H /1901-902

salt administration Their service was considerable also in the tobacco monopoly where we find two or three of them The tobacco departments were sometimes entirely run by Armenian officials

As to judicature, the Armenians were included in the courts of first instance and of appeal at the headquarters In each division of the courts, i e civil and criminal, there was at least one Armenian but in the criminal department of appeal there were often two Armenian judges Their influence was strongest in the court of commerce where from three to five of them were to be found They also worked as executive officials, members of trial councils and as notaries In the outlying kaḏās Armenians served the courts of first instance and of commerce, and the executive departments In the courts of merkez-sancāks they participated in both offices of the judicial court, but in the courts of the outer kaḏās only in the department of first instance, which had no division into civil and criminal offices

In the technical field, Armenians filled the posts of chief and second engineers in the engineering department at Adana, and two or three of them were foremen as well In the public works there were usually two, and in the post office at the section of foreign languages the directors and operators of the telegraphic service were frequently Armenian There were Armenian technicians in printing A compositor

for Armenian is mentioned which implies that the press also had a section for Armenian printing At the railway stations of Adana, Mersin and Tarsus about twenty Armenians worked as station masters, mechanics and locomotive drivers Outside the centre of the vilāyet, the technical activity of the Armenians was limited to the sphere of the postal and telegraphic service, and the public works

As to the secretariat Armenians often held the positions of clerk, accountant, and cashier in the various departments of the local government They were principally employed in the departments of the chief secretariats , land registries, archives, customs, and control of revenue They were particularly many in the merkez-sancāks, but were fewer in the outlying kazās In the latter Armenian clerks worked mainly in the offices of chief secretariat, land registry and customs It is worth noting that many vilāyet translators were Armenian, of whom we can record the names of Tiran and Awetis Efendis

#### Other Fields of Armenian Participation

Other fields of Armenian participation were agriculture, public health, education and the police force At Adana Armenian officials filled posts on the forestry board, agricultural inspectorate, and the board of trade, and in crafts and agriculture there being about two or three in each They were also employed in the other merkez-sancāks,

but in the outer kazās we scarcely ever find an Armenian since there were often no special departments of agriculture

In respect of education from two to four Armenians were included on the education council and committees, as cashier or member, and a few taught in the preparatory, secondary and girls' schools The sālnāme of 1319H /1901-902 mentions a teacher of the Armenian language in the secondary school of Adana, which attests to the fact that Armenian was taught there I could not, however, check up from other sources how long Armenian was taught in that school In the school of crafts as well, some Armenian masters taught shoe-making, tailoring and cabinet-making In the police force at the headquarters of the province, Armenians were sometimes employed as assistant superintendents of police, police sergeants and policemen There were no Armenian officials in the service of education and police, outside the city of Adana

In public health, at the centres of the sancāks, Armenians held the positions of doctor and chemist for the municipalities and in Adana they were also employed in the infirmary and army medical corps

#### A general View of the Armenian Participation in Seyhan

To summarize, the Armenian participation in public life of Seyhan was extended over political and financial

administration, judicature and mechanical crafts In these fields the part of Armenians was strong and steady In the spheres of agriculture, public health service and education, their contribution was limited, while in the police force very few Armenians were included

It is interesting to note that in the kazā of Saimbeyli (Haçın), the Armenian inhabitants of which were endowed with a courageous and freedom-loving spirit, the Armenian participation in public life was larger and more regular It seems ludicrous, but it would appear that the Turks, in organizing the public life of Saimbeyli, had taken into consideration the resisting disposition of the Armenians there

#### Some Notable Armenians in Public Life of Seyhan

AĞA-SARGISEAN, Mikayēl Efendi (1857-1942) Born in Kozan (Sis), he became proficient at Turkish and served the local government in many ways and for many years He was a member of the court of justice first, and then the juge d'instruction He was also the clerk of land registry office for a while, Later, until 1915, he was a member of the court of Osmaniye In 1921 he settled in Beirut (1)

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(1) M Kēlēşean, Sis-matean [Book of Sis], p 302

BATATEAN, Karapet Āgā (1865-1934) He was a member of the administrative council and of the court of first instance in Kozan (1)

ĒVIXANEAN, Karapet Efendi (1885-1919) 'For many years' he worked in the telegraphic service of Saimbeyli, first as an ordinary official, and then as director (2)

FĒRMANEAN, Karapet Efendi (1847-1908 ?) Born in Kozan and the son of Şahin, 'for many years' he was the cashier of the local public finance administration Archbishop Xad Aĵapahean who is an elder from the Armenian Patriarchate of Sis, writes in a private letter (dated 5th March 1959, Damascus) the following about him -

'Karapet Efendi Fērmanean was an influential Armenian, His dealings with other people revealed him as a diplomatic and understanding man who was very much beloved in government circles (3)

FĒRMANEAN, Şahin (1790-1876) Born in Kozan, from 1865 to 1876 he participated as a member in the local municipal council and the court of first instance (4)

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(1) Ibid , p 301

(2) Y P Pōġosean, Haĉeni əndhanur patmuġiwnə [The general history of Haĉin], p 649, and Y Tērzean, Kilikioy aġētə [The calamity of Cilicia], 11, p 241

(3) See also Kēlēşean, ibid , p 298

(4) Ibid , p 295

GASPAREAN, Aristakēs Efendi (1861- ? ) Born in Adana, between 1880-1882 he was an official in the foreign languages section of the local telegraphic service From 1883 to 1886 he was elected a member to the court of first instance in Adana From 1889 to 1891 he worked in the public debt administration as first clerk and consultant in legal matters In 1908 he was elected a deputy for Adana in the Ottoman Parliament of Istanbul (1)

GEORGEAN (Sačlean), Andrēas (1864-1938) Born in Kozan, he studied in a Turkish school and in 1898 was licensed as a lawyer by the government He practised his profession and at the same time he was a 'judicial official' (2)

GRGEAŞAREAN, Barseğ (1872-1920?) He studied in Saimbeyli and Istanbul, and for a while was engaged in commerce Later, 'for many years' (according to Tērzean) he served as a cashier in the public finance administration at Saimbeyli (3)

GUYUMČĀAN, Mkrtič Efendi (1875-1936) Born in Kozan, he studied first in a local Armenian school and then in Istanbul in the Armenian secondary School of Pērpērean

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(1) Tareçoyc 1914 [An almanac], Istanbul, 1914, published by the Trusteeship of the Armenian Students, pp 92-94

(2) Kēlēşean, *ibid* , pp 344-5

(3) Pōğosean, *ibid* , p 435 and S Tērzean, Hacani utamseay diwcaznamartē [The eight months heroic resistance of Haçin], 2nd impression, Buenos Aires, 1956, p 539

He worked in the administration of tobacco monopoly in Kozan as assistant-manager and accountant (1)

KARAPET Efendi (fl c 1900) He was the manager of the branch of the Ottoman Bank in Mersin (2)

ՔՕՐ-ԱՎԵՏԻԿԵԱՆ, Grigor Efendi (1841-1916) A member of the Armenian Protestant community in Kozan, he practised for thirty years as a lawyer, and was a government official as well for an unknown period (3)

MAMALEAN, Dr Sedrak (1875- c 1940 ?) Born in Osmaniye, in 1899 he went to Beirut to study medicine at the American University In 1903, after graduating and getting his degree of M D , he came to Adana and worked there as a municipal doctor until 1909 (4)

NALPANTEAN, Karapet Efendi (1873- c 1950) Born in Kozan, he was a wealthy land-owner He became proficient at Turkish and served in the local government as a member of the administrative council and the court of first instance, and as mayor (5)

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(1) Քելեշեան, ibid , p 303

(2) The year-book of S Prkiğ hospital, 1900, p 320

(3) Քելեշեան, p 344

(4) Album of the graduated Armenian students of the American University of Beirut (in Armenian), 1935

(5) Քելեշեան, ibid , pp 304-305

NALPANTEAN, Mattēos Efendı (1876-1942) Originally from Kozan, in 1906 he became the deputy-governor of the kazā of Saimbeylı, and by his wise conduct satisfied both the government and the Armenian community therein In 1914 he was elected a deputy for Kozan in the Ottoman Parliament at Istanbul (1)

NALPANTEAN, Yakob Āğā (1830-1907) Born in Kozan, he was a wealthy land-owner Starting as a young man, he participated in the local administrative council 'for many years '(2)

PAPAHĒGEAN, Toros (1860-1917) Born in Saimbeylı, he learned carpentry and taught himself local constructional methods He was employed by the municipality as engineer and architect, and his work and opinions were much appreciated Many buildings in Saimbeylı were constructed under his management (3)

PAŞAPEZEAN, Grigor (1871- ? ) Born in Kozan, he studied in Adana and Istanbul In 1890, returning home, he was included in the court of first instance, until the World War I (4)

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(1) Ibid , pp 305-306

(2) Ibid , p 298, and the private letter of Archbishop Xad Aĵapahean (5th March 1959, Damascus)

(3) Pōğosean, ibid , 145-6

(4) Tōlpagean, Libananahay patkerazard oraçoyc [Illustrated almanac of the Armenians of Lebanon], Beirut, 1936, Dec 28-31

REĀEPEAN, Hambarjum (1845-1918) Born in Saimbeyli, he was a merchant first, but then served the Ottoman Government According to our source, 'for ten years' (starting in 1896 ?) he was a consultant to the local deputy-governor, and for three years the mayor For his services he was given decoration from the Sublime Porte (1)

SĒKSĒNEAN, Martiros (1858- ? ) Born in Saimbeyli, the son of the mayor Minas, he served the government for many years He worked as a cashier in the administration of public finance, and as a clerk in the chief secretariat, in the census office and in the land registry In 1923 he settled in Beirut (2)

SĒKSĒNEAN, Minas Born in Saimbeyli, he was the mayor of the town from 1879 to 1894 During his office Saimbeyli greatly flourished with new buildings, roads, bridges and drains He was succeeded by other Armenian mayors, until the World War I, who were Gēorg Mankrean, Hambarjum RēĀēpean, Minas Pahatrean, Yarutiwn Şxrtmean and Karapet Kēşişean (3)

SISLEAN, Awetis Efendi From 1903 to 1908 he was the provincial translator of Seyhan (4)

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(1) Pōgosean, ibid , p 161, and S Tērzean, ibid , p 76

(2) Pōgosean, ibid , p 479

(3) Ibid , pp 538-9

(4) The year-books of S Prkiç hospital, 1903-1908 and Çark, ibid , p 168

SŪĠANALEAN, Awetik (1869-1920) Born in Saimbeyli, he became a cloth merchant He served the local government as cashier, and as a member of the court of first instance and of the municipal council He was 'twice elected deputy' for Saimbeyli in the Ottoman Parliament at Istanbul (1)

ŞXRTŌMEAN, Karapet Āġā (1844-1899) Born in Saimbeyli, he was engaged in trading In 1875 he was elected to 'the highest post in the government' (deputy-governor ?), and he was very helpful both to the Christians and to the Muslims (2)

TAGWOREAN, Pōġos Efendi (1860-1909) He was a chief engineer in Adana (3)

ṬĒRZEAN, Yarutıwn (1858-1920) Born in Saimbeyli, after finishing his studies, he entered government service He became the cashier of the local public finance administration and a member of the municipal council 'For more than fifteen years' he was a member of the court of first instance, and 'for eighteen years' a member of the administrative council as well Although he was condemned to forced labour a few times, still for his public services was given

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(1) Pōġosean, *ibid* , pp 436 and 643, and S ṬĒrzean, *ibid* , p 240

(2) Pōġosean, *ibid* , pp 159-60, and S ṬĒrzean, p 72

(3) Y ṬĒrzean, *op cit* , 1, p 100

decorations from the Sublime Porte (Ottoman policy ') (1)

TŌPALEAN, Sokrat Originally from Saimbeyli, in 1896 he was the municipal chemist of Kozan (2)

TRDATEAN, Haçı (1877-1920) Born in Saimbeyli, the son of Simon, he studied in a local Armenian school 'For a while' he was the cashier of the public finance administration in Feke He rendered many services to the government of Saimbeyli (3)

URFALEAN, Dawit Efendi (1859-1909) Born in Adana, he served the local government in many ways He was a member of the court of appeal (4)

ZAHREĀEAN, Stepan ( ?-1909) Being employed by the Ottoman public debt administration, he was the sericultural inspector in Adana (5)

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(1) Pōğosean, *ibid* , pp 162-3, and S Tērzean, *ibid* , p 74

(2) Kēlēṣean, *ibid* , p 334

(3) Pōğosean, *ibid* , p 478

(4) Y Tērzean, *ibid* , 1, pp 30-31

(5) *Ibid* , p 152

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE ARMENIANS OF ELĀZIĞ

#### Historical Survey

The province of Elāziğ (shortened form of Ma‘mūret ūl-‘Azīz) covered the districts of Harput (Kharpūt), Mezre, Malatya (Malātiya) and Hozat (Khazāt). In the days of Sultān ‘Abd ūl-‘Azīz (1861-1876) Mezre became an important governmental and military centre, and was called Ma‘mūret ūl-‘Azīz ('the town rendered prosperous by ‘Azīz') by the vālī Ismā‘īl Pāšā in honour of the Sultān. After the proclamation of the Vilāyet niẓāmnāmesi, together with Harput it formed a mutaşarrıflık, first attached to Diyarbakır and then independent (1875), until 1296H /1878-9 when it was re-organized as a separate province (1)

Harput (Greek Xarpote, Arb Khartabirt, and Ott Turk Kharpūt or Kharpūṭ) is explained by the Armenian form Xarbert (pronounced 'Kharpert') or Ḳarberd. 'Berd' means 'castle', but the origin of the word 'xar' is obscure. This could be either an old local name, or the same as the Armenian 'kar', i e stone. Anyhow,

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(1) V Minorsky, 'Ma‘mūret al-‘Azīz, EI', iii, p 224, J Kramers, 'Kharpūt, EI', ii, pp 915-6, B Darkot, 'El‘aziz', IA, fascicle 31 (Istanbul, 1946), pp 221-22, CTA, ii p 317, and the year-books of the province of Ma‘mūret ūl-‘Azīz

historically the district of Harput corresponds to the province of Anjit or Hanjit (Greek Klima 'Anzētīnīs, Xanzit, Syriac Anzīt and Hanzīt, and Arb Hanzīt or Hinzīt) in ancient Armenia, the castle of which is mentioned by historians and geographers under the name Ziad or Ziata (Latin Ziata castellum, Syriac Ziyāt and Hisnā dē Zāid, Arb Hisn Ziyād, and Ott Turk Hisn Ziyād )

In the XIIth century the Turkoman Artukid house, and in the XIIIth century the Ayyūbids and the Salcūks dominated Harput In 1230 it was occupied by the Mongols, but three years later (631H /1233-4) the Salcūk Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaykobādh conquered it The history of the Salcūkid period is confused and almost unknown In the middle of the XIVth century Harput was governed by the Turkoman tribes of Eretna and Dhu'l-Kādir In 767H /1365-6 the Egyptians seized it, and towards the end of that century the monarch of Sivas, Kāzī Ahmed Burhān al-Dīn took possession of it and defended himself there against the Ak-Koyūnlu Kara 'Osmān

The Mongol Emperor Tīmūr on his return from the campaign of Anatolia, subjugated Harput also to his dominion After Tīmūr the tribe of Dhu'l-Kādir ruled there again, and in the days of Melik Arslān the Ak-Koyūnlu Ūzūn Hasan occupied it In 913H /1507-508 it came under the rule of the Safawī Şāh Ismā'īl, but the vizier of the Sultān Selīm I, Biyıklı Mehmed Pāşā, after

the conquest of Diyarbakir (921-923H /1515-1517) brought Harput also under the immediate government of the Sublime Porte (1)

Administrative Structure

The vilāyet of Elāziğ contained three sancāks and 18 kazās as follows -

The kazās of the sancāk of Elāziğ -

Elāziğ (Harput-Mezre)

Arapkir

Kemaliye (Eğın)

Keban (Kebān Ma'den)

The kazās of the sancāk of Malatya -

Malatya

Besni (Behisni)

Adiyaman (Hisni Mansur)

Kāhta

Akçadağ

The kazās of the sancāk of Hozat (Dersım) -

Hozat

Çemişgezek

Pülümür (Kuzıçan)

Peri (Çarsancak)

Mazgirt

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(1) B Darkot 'Harput', IA, fascicle 42 (Istanbul, 1949),  
p 297

Ovacık  
 Pertek  
 Pah  
 Nazimiye (Kizilkilise)

Population

The provincial year-book of 1312H /1894-5 estimates the number of the Armenian inhabitants as 75,416, (1) and adds 357 'stranger Armenians' Guinet records the total population of Elāziğ as about 575,314, of which 69,718 were Armenians, 650 Greeks, and the rest were Turks, Kurds and Kızilbash (Shī'ites) (2) The same author gives the following detailed statistics for the Armenian population - (3)

Sancāk of Elāziğ

Apostolic	39,343	
Catholic	905	
Protestant	5,100	
		45,348

Sancāk of Malatya

Apostolic	15,080	
Catholic	770	
Protestant	350	
		16,200

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(1) 52,407 Armenians lived in the sancāk of Elāziğ, 9,933 in Malatya, and 13,076 in Hozat

(2) CTA, 11, p 322

(3) Ibid

Sancāk of Hozat

Apostolic	7,560	
Protestant	610	8,170
		<hr/>
		69,718
		<hr/>

It will be noticed that once again Cuinet has been more conservative than the Turks. The numbers given by the Armenian sources for the Armenians of Elāziğ are quite different from the above quoted estimations. Tēodik's almanac presents the approximate total of the Armenians as 204,000, <sup>(1)</sup> while Ōrmanean, <sup>(2)</sup> followed by Lepsius, <sup>(3)</sup> estimates it at about 131,200,—thus — — — — —

Harput	51,000
Kemaliye	10,200
Arapkır	19,500
Çemişgezek	9,000
Peri	18,500
Malatya	23,000

We are inclined to accept Ōrmanean's statistics as, relatively speaking, more reliable

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(1) Tēodik, Amēnun tareçoycə [The almanac for every one], 1922, p. 261

(2) Ōrmanean, The Church of Armenia, pp. 206-207

(3) Lepsius, Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, pp. 306-307

### Trades and Professions of Armenians

The Armenians of the province of Elāziğ were engaged in cultivation in the fields and on the mountains, and in the towns they were busy in various trades, crafts and professions. The compiler of the history of the Armenians in Elāziğ attests the following concerning the economic situation of the Armenian community -

'Many Armenians in Kharpert [Harput] were land owners. At the beginning of the last quarter of the last century, three fourths of the land belonged to Turkish Aghas, but by 1908, more and more Armenians became property owners. No doubt the money sent to their families by those who had emigrated to the United States, helped to bring about this change. In spite of government restrictions and blind hatred of Islam, the Armenians took advantage of any opportunity and it can be said without reservations that in the field of economics the Armenians became the more superior and the management of real estate passed into the hands of the Armenians, as also business, industry, arts and crafts due to the higher mentality of the Armenian and his

ambition and vision (1)

In Harput many Armenians were occupied in the textile industry, dealing with import and export. The Brothers Fabrikatorean (2) and Kiwrkčean Grigor and the son Xosrov (3) had big concerns manufacturing silk textiles. Other renowned firms in textiles were the families of Şağalean, Hambarjumean, Tēvrizean, Enowkean, Tiwfēnkčean, Hindlean, Taragčean, Tēmīrčean etc (4). According to Ēprikean the hand work of the Armenian ladies, the works of fine goat-hair, and the beautifully woven rugs and carpets were appreciated very much (5).

The Armenians cooperated with the Ottoman Government in mining and iron work also. At Maden (Ergani Madeni) the Ignatiosean family were engaged in copper mining, (6) and at Keban (Kebān Ma'den) the Arpiarean family worked the silver

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(1) V H<sup>^</sup>ayk (Haig), Xarberd ew anor oskerğēn daštə [Harput and her golden plain], New York, 1959, p 53

(2) Ibid , pp 641-43, and M G Čizmēčean, Xarberd ew 1r zawaknerə [Harput and her sons], Fresno-Venice, 1955, p 92

(3) V Hayk, ibid , pp 649-52, Čizmēčean, ibid , pp 89-90, and Ēprikean, Bnaşxarhik bararan [Armenian geographical dictionary], 'Xarberd', 11, p 161

(4) V Hayk, ibid , pp 639-40

(5) Ēprikean, ibid

(6) V Hayk, ibid , pp 656-9

mines by Imperial writ (1) The iron factory of the Barikean Brothers in Harput was well-known and even carried out work for the government (2) Natanean giving his eye-witness account states that the Armenians made various 'European' arms, cartridges, and 'other machines' (3)

In the other kazās also of the sancāk of Elāziğ the Armenians were the main industrial element 'Almost all of the craftsmen of Arapkir were Armenian', (4) and in Kemaliye (Eğin) 'the majority of the merchants, of the retailers, chemists and watch-makers were Armenian but half of the carpenters and hair-dressers were Armenian, and the other half were Turkish (5)

In the sancāk of Malatya the Armenians were engaged in the preparation of dried fruits, in cotton textiles and various crafts and professions Alpōyačean gives the following evidence - '95% of the artisans were Armenian

These by virtue of their crafts stayed economically secure So the most vital and essential and as well lucrative arts were in the hands of the Armenians Among the Turks

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(1) Ibid , pp 659-60

(2) Ibid , pp 644-8, and Čizmēčean, p 90

(3) P Natanean, Artōsr Hayastani [The tears of Armenia], p 136

(4) S Baxtikean, Arabkir ew şrjakayi giwğera [Arapkir and the surrounding villages], Beirut, 1934, p 39.

(5) M Parsamean, Akn ew Akneçik [Eğin and its Armenian population], Paris, 1952, p. 144

also there were people more or less skilled in crafts, but their number was limited, as was the number of Armenian agriculturists ,<sup>(1)</sup>

In the sancāk of Hozat (Dersim) both agriculture and industry were backward, possibly because the majority of the population was Kurdish. Only in the kazās of Çemişgezek and Peri were the Armenians occupied in the cultivation of cereals (2)

In the province of Elāziğ the popular professions of the Armenians were medicine and pharmacy

#### Centres of Armenian Participation

The participation of the Armenian community in public life was steady in the sancāks of Elāziğ and Malatya. In all kazās of these districts, except Akçadağ (in Malatya), the Armenians had a striking participation in different fields of the government affairs

In Hozat (Dersim) the Armenians' service in public administration was noteworthy only in the kazās of Çemişgezek and Peri. In the other parts of the sancāk also the Armenians worked for the government, but their contribution was limited to a few departments and was not strong, possibly because comparatively they were not so many

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(1) A Alpōyaçean, Patmuşlwn Malaşlōy Hayoç [History of the Armenians in Malatya], Beirut, 1961, p. 1004

(2) CTA, 11, p 389

in number

Main Fields of Armenian Participation

At the headquarters of the province, <sup>(1)</sup> in the administrative council of Elāziğ the Armenians had regularly four representatives two elected and two ex officio members, the latter being the spiritual heads of the Apostolic and Catholic communities In the kazā of Arapkir in addition to the two elected Armenians, there were two or three ex officio members, the third of whom was the controller of revenue and expenditure (c 1887-1891) In 1880-81 even the parson of the Armenian Protestant community took part there in the administrative council in virtue of his office At Kemaliy (Eğin) the head of the Apostolic community was alone an ex officio member, having beside him one or two elected Armenian participants In the kazā of Keban the Armenian representatives, one or two, were usually elected, but from about 1890 to 1895, the Armenian clerk of the tax collecting board was an ex officio member At the centre of the sancāk of Malatya the Armenians had two elected members on the administrative council, and after 1890 the prelates of the Apostolic and Catholic communities were continuously

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(1) For this chapter of Elāziğ I have consulted the provincial year-books (Ma'mūret ül-‘Azīz vilāyeti sāl-nāmesi) of the following years - 1298H /1880-81, 1300H /1882-3, 1302H /1884-5, 1305H /1887-8, 1307H /1889-90, 1308H /1890-91, 1310H /1892-3, 1312H /1894-5, 1321H /1903-904, and 1325H /1907-908

appointed as ex officio members In the kazās of Besni and and Adiyaman, two, and at Kāhta and Akçadag one or two, Armenians were usually elected to the council At the centre of the sancāk of Hozat and in the kazās of Çemişgezek and Peri there were normally two Armenian elected members, but in Mazgirt, Ovacik and Nazimiye only one member would be found, as elected or ex officio, the latter being the controller of revenue

At Elāziğ from four to nine Armenians (in 1887-8 nine) were included on the municipal council of the provincial headquarters In the kazās of the central sancāk there were usually two Armenians elected to the council, but in Kemaliye they were sometimes three in number At Malatya two or three Armenians sat on the municipal council, in Adiyaman and Besni after 1890 two members were given posts, while in Kāhta and Akçadag there were no Armenians at all In the sancāk of Hozat, Armenian members were elected occasionally to the municipal councils about 1880 and after 1900, but only in the districts of Peri (Çarasancak), Çemişgezek and Mazgirt

Out of the administrative and municipal councils, the Armenians in the political administration of Elāziğ served on the imputation committee (hey'et i<sup>7c</sup>thammiye) of the central headquarters and on the governing bodies of some nāhiyes After 1890, at Elāziğ there were one or two Armenians on the

imputation committee which was formed within the superintendence of the administrative council In 1298H /1880-81 in the central sancāk of the province eight Armenians were assistants to the administrators of different nāhiyes, and two others were administrators At the nāhiye of Argavan in Keban, from about 1887 to 1895, the taxation department and title-deed's clerks were Armenian In 1907-8 Armenians assisted the governing officials of the nāhiyes of Agin, Iliç and Abuçeh in Kemaliye One would expect that after the Reforms of 1896 there would be Armenian assistants to the mutaşarrıfs and to the kāymakāms, but this is not so Only in between c 1900 and 1908 an Armenian assisted the vālī, and for the kazās of Arapkır and Peri Armenian assistant-governors were appointed

In the economic field of Elāziğ many Armenians cooperated with the Turks in various capacities In the finance department the cashier was normally Armenian, and apart from that there were always about two clerks in the secretariat In 1884-5 six and in 1907-8 three Armenian officials worked at the chamber of commerce, one or two in the customs, and in the tax collecting board four Armenians would be found From 1880 to 1885 there were Armenian clerks and cashiers in the tithe administration too The Armenian participation was particularly large and steady in the régie where the cashier and the store-keeper were usually Armenian Apart

from them two or three others also, acted as advocate, clerk and accountant. It is interesting to note that in 1887-8 the head of the tobacco monopoly was Armenian, and in 1894-5 nine Armenian officials were employed there. In public debt administration two or three Armenians were included as clerks or inspectors. In 1907-8 the chief secretary and the memoranda clerk, as well as the silk inspector agent and the guard of this department were Armenian. In the kazās of the sancāk of Elāziğ one or two Armenians worked in the office of controller of revenue, and in the regie, the Agricultural Bank, and in the administration of public debt and of tithes (1880-1885) At Keban in between 1884 and 1891 and at Arapkir from 1884 to 1908 the sole administrators of tobacco monopoly were Armenian, and in Kemaliye there was always an Armenian. In the latter kazā in between 1880-1885 the managers of public debt administration were Armenian, and at Arapkir in 1907-8 a certain Mansurean Efendi was the accountant and at the same time the clerk of that office. At the centre of the sancāk of Malatya the public finance cashier was always Armenian, in regie the chief agent or the clerk was Armenian, and in public debt administration from 1884 to 1888 the one and only official was Armenian. Tax-collectors and members of the chamber of agriculture and crafts were occasionally Armenian. In the kazās of Malatya the Armenians worked

mostly in the control of revenue, often as cashier They were sometimes employed also in the branch of the Agricultural Bank and in the administration of tithes In the sancāḳ of Hozat, at Hozat, Peri and Çemişgezek the Armenians coöperated with the government serving as tax-collectors, as cashiers in public finance, and as agents or clerks in tobacco monopoly, but their participation was not regular

In judicature of the provincial headquarters at Elāziğ there were always two Armenian judges in the court of first instance, one in the civil- and another in the criminal-section After 1890 two Armenians sat also in the court of appeal In between 1880 and 1890 two or three Armenian members were included on the commercial court In 1884-5 the executive officer was Armenian Sometimes Armenian clerks were employed in the court of first instance In the ḳazās of Elāziğ an Armenian member was regularly elected to the court of first instance, and from time to time other officials were employed as well At Arapkir in 1887-8 the notary was Armenian, and in between 1887 and 1895 the process servers were usually Armenian In Kemaliye in 1887-8 the assistant of the juge d'instruction and in 1890-91 the process server were Armenian At the centres of Malatya and Hozat two Armenian judges participated in the court of first instance, one in the civil and the other

in the criminal division In the kazās of these sancāks where the court was not separated into civil and criminal departments, an Armenian would always be found in the court of first instance, but in Hozat this was true only for Peri, Çemişgezek and Mazgirt

#### Other Fields of Armenian Participation

In the spheres of technical affairs, of secretariat, education, agriculture and public health the Armenian participation was noteworthy, but not so strong as in the other departments At Elāziğ, at the government headquarters, the technical contribution of Armenians was limited to the engineering department The Armenians worked there as first or second engineers and as foremen It is interesting to mention that in 1894-5 the municipal engineer, and two other engineers as well in the engineering department, were Armenian The foremen normally were <sup>two or three</sup> In the rest of the province the Armenian participation in technical fields fluctuated However, at Arapkir in 1890-91 two Armenians were acting in the road building board (çarık kōmīsyōnu), and at Hozat in 1889-90 the chief engineer was Armenian

The Armenians apart from being in charge of records and accounts in different government offices, were employed as well in purely secretarial departments At Elāziğ in the chief secretariat there was usually an Armenian clerk In

1880-81 and 1884-5 three Armenians worked on the land registry, and in the postal and telegraphic service an Armenian clerk would be found. In the kazās of Elāziğ there were occasionally from one to three Armenians in the land registry, and curiously enough at Arapkir an Armenian clerk was acting in the birth registry (census office), although not frequently. In Malatya only at the centre, and at Besni and in Hozat only in the kazā of Perı, Armenian officials worked from time to time in the land registry.

In the field of education, the Armenians cooperated with the local government as teachers and as members of the education committees. At the centre of the vilāyet usually two or three Armenians participated in the education council, while in the kazās of Arapkir, Kemaliye and Keban one or two Armenians would sometimes be found in the education committees as against two Turkish members. At Elāziğ itself in the government secondary school Armenian teachers were occasionally employed. For instance, Petros Efendi c 1887-1890 taught French and geography there. It is worthy of note that in the same school from about 1890 to 1908 the Armenian language was taught as in some other provinces. In the rest of the province there was no Armenian participation in educational affairs.

At Elāziğ in 1880-81 there were four Armenians in the agricultural inspectorate, and in 1889-90 two members served on

the trade and agricultural board At Arapkir in 1890-91 three Armenians were included on the trade and agricultural board At the centre of the province in 1890-91 the chemist and the vaccinator, and in 1894-5 the chemist and the doctor of second municipality, were Armenian In the kazā of Arapkir only in 1907-8 was the municipal physician Armenian

As to the police force, in the year 1907 only at Elāziğ there were two assistant superintendents of police and one policeman, but in each station of Arapkir, Malatya, Adıyaman and Besni, one Armenian policeman was included At Keban in the same year two policemen were employed

#### Comparative Note Greek Participation

The Greek participation in public life of the province of Elāziğ was very irregular However we find Greek officials in the departments of political administration, finance, justice, technical affairs, secretariat and public health Their activity was limited to the central sancāk of Elāziğ, but in Malatya in 1889-90 and 1894-5 the municipal doctors were Greek As to their number, they were not more than one in each department

In political administration, at Keban in 1907-8 there was a Greek member in the local council, and in Kemaliye in 1890-91 a Greek member served on the administrative council At the centre of the province, in 1907-908 the judicial inspector was Greek, as was the officer of the commercial

court in Kemaliye (1907-8) Again at Elāziğ in the tobacco monopoly in 1890-91 and 1894-5 there were Greek officials A Greek worked in the Agricultural Bank in 1890-91 and in 1894-5 the assistant manager was Greek At Arapkir in 1890-91 a certain Idris Efendi was the public finance agent, and at Kemaliye, in 1907-8, in tobacco monopoly, and in 1890-91 in the Agricultural Bank one Greek would be found

In secretariat, at the centre of the vilāyet in 1880-81 there was a Greek registrar, as was another Greek in the chief secretariat in 1884-5 In 1887-8 and 1889-90 Greek officials were employed in the chamber of archives, but in 1894-5 and 1907-8 the managers of the same chamber were Greek In the field of technical affairs, in 1889-90, the chief engineer of Elāziğ was Greek, and in 1890-91 the assistant administrator of the provincial press was Greek as well

#### A General View of the Armenian Participation in Elāziğ

The Armenian participation in public life of the vilāyet of Elāziğ was largest in the central sancāq, i e in the provincial headquarters and in the kazās of Arapkir, Kemaliye and Keban The spheres of strong Armenian influence were the political administration, finance and justice In technical affairs, secretariat, education, agriculture, and public health service also, the Armenians took part, but their activity was not consistent

in these fields As in the other provinces, in Elāzığ too the Armenians were intentionally kept out of the police force, so that they could not exercise this power in any way

It is of special interest that the Armenian language was taught in the government secondary school at Elāzığ, the teachers were Yovhannēs Efendı Eazāčean and Edowarḁ Efendi

### Some Notable Armenians in Public Life of Elāzığ

ARCRUNI, Nşan (1849 - 1895) Born in the village of Abuçeh (Kemaliye), he studied in the Medical Military School at Istanbul In 1871 having graduated, he entered the service of the Ottoman army as a chemist and surgeon From 1881 to 1889 he was employed as municipal doctor in the kazās of Kemaliye and Çemişgezek (1)

ARSLAN, Dr Edoward Studied medicine at the University of Padua and graduated in 1889 About 1890 he was appointed as municipal doctor in Elāzığ (2)

ASASLAN, Yovhannēs Efendı He was the assistant to the vālī of Elāzığ from about 1900 to 1908 (3)

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(1) M Parsamean, Akn ew Akneçik [Eğin and its Armenian population], p 264

(2) V Hayk, Xarberd ew anor oskeğēn daşta [Harput and her golden plain], p 728

(3) The year-books of the Armenian S Prkış hospital at Istanbul, 1900-1908, and Y Çark, Turk devleti hizmetinde Ermeniler [The Armenians in the service of Turkish State], p 168

CERŌN, Manuk (1862 - 1938) Born in the village of Perçenç (Elāziğ) and educated in the Euphrates College of Harput, he studied civil engineering at the University of Istanbul On his return home, in 1886, he was employed as assistant to the provincial engineer For about four years he cooperated in the road building works Intolerant of the oppression of the rulers, in 1890 he emigrated to United States (1)

ĀLĀLEAN, Yarutiwn (1870 - 1915) Born and educated at Malatya, he taught French in the local government secondary school At the same time he also taught French and Turkish in the Latin school of Malatya (2)

ĀUGASĀZEAN, Minas Efendi He was the assistant to the deputy-governor of the kazā of Perī from about 1903 to 1908 (3)

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(1) Hayk, op cit , pp 897 and 1252

(2) According to X Pōnabardean (Pap uxti, 11, No 4, p 19), see Alpōyačean, Patmutiwn Malaṭioy Hayoç [History of the Armenians in Malatya], p 753

(3) The year-books of S Prkič hospital, 1903 - 1908, Çark, ibid , p 168, and Ā Erewanean, Patmutiwn Āar-sançagi Hayoç [History of the Armenians of Çarsancak (Perī)], Beirut, 1956, p 408 According to the latter source Minas Efendi succeeded Pōğos Toṭvayean (dead in 1895) Can one conclude that he began to assist the deputy-governor of Perī from 1895 onwards?

ÇUGASƏZEAN, Sarım He was the assistant to the deputy-governor of the kazā of Arapkır from about 1905 to 1908 (1)

EĞƏÇEAN, Ūhan (c 1800 - c 1890) He lived in Kesırık (Elāziğ) and was a merchant During the Russo-Turkish War he supplied the Ottoman army with food, working under difficult conditions For his services he was offered decorations and an honorary dress with a sword (2)

EAZƏÇEAN, Yovhannēs Efendi (fl in the second-half of the of the XIXth century) He was a provincial dragoman, and a teacher of Armenian in the government secondary school at Elāziğ (3)

ƏNŞƏREAN, E (1846 - 1910) Originally from Diyarbakır he studied medicine in New York and graduated in 1877 Returning home, he worked as municipal doctor first in Elāziğ for about ten years, and then in Trebizond for seven years After the troubles of 1895, he settled in America (4)

ƏRMOYEAN, Yarutiwn Efendi He was a tax collector in the kazā of Peri (5)

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(1) The year-books of S Prkiğ, 1905 - 1908, and Çark, ibid , p 168

(2) Hayk, ibid , pp 885-6

(3) Hayk, ibid , p 727

(4) Tēodik, Amēnun tareçoyçə [The Almanac for every one], 1911, p 374, and G Karoyean, Mec eğerni nahatak hay bžişknerə [The martyred Armenian doctors of the Great Massacre], p 267

(5) Erewanean, op cit , pp 241, 443, and 447

GALƏNEAN (Terzean), Xorēn In 1899 he graduated from the Euphrates College of Harput and taught for one year in the Protestant School of Malatya Then he went to study medicine in the American University of Beirut, and soon after finishing his course he became municipal doctor of Mezre for three years According to our source, later 'for ten years' he served in the army medical corps and afterwards went to Egypt and settled in Alexandria (1)

HĒLVAĀĒAN, Artin (c 1850 - 1915) He studied medicine at the Medical Military School of Istanbul, and for 'fourty long years served the Turkish government' at Elāziğ For his conscientious services he was offered decorations by the Sublime Porte (2)

HOLOBIKEAN, Grigor A leader of the Armenian Protestant community at Peri, he was educated in the Euphrates College of Harput He served the local government of Peri as mayor (3)

IGNATIOSEAN, Pōğos (1837 - 1905) Born in the village of Hüseynik (Elāziğ), he was engaged in sericulture He supplied the Turkish army in Elāziğ with clothes In 1876 he settled in Ergani Madeni and was employed in the mining

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(1) Alpōyaĉean, *ibid* , p 740 (according to Yıřatakaran Eprat Golēĉi [Memorial of the Euphrates College], p 199)

(2) N Piranean, Xarberdi eğernə[The massacre of Harput], Boston, 1937, pp 84-86, 101-102 and 234-8

(3) Erewanean, *ibid* , pp 241, 443, and 449-50.

administration At the same time he imported sewing machines from Europe In 1893 he returned to Harput (1) KEĀĀEAN, Arakel (1885- ? ) Born in Kemaliye, he studied at the Aramean School of the village of Gemirgāp After finishing his course he served in the finance administration of Kemaliye as accountant, until 1908 Then he settled in Istanbul where he continued to work as government official (2)

KEŠIŠEAN, Mikayēl (1874 - 1943) Studying medicine, he graduated in 1898 from the American University of Beirut and the next year received a diploma from the Medical Military School of Istanbul After 1902 he officiated as a municipal and court doctor in Malatya (3)

KIWNTIWPEKEAN, Serob Efendi (c 1868 - 1915) In 1893 he became the manager of land registry (emlāk müdürü) and also an agent in public finance administration at Malatya In 1904 he was superintendent of police in the kazā of Adiyaman (Hisni Mansur) (4)

KIWNTIWPEKEAN, Yovhannēs (Mkrtič) (c 1865 - 1915) From 1890 to 1903 he was an agent for the taxation department

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(1) Hayk, ibid , p 658

(2) Parsamean, op cit , p 674

(3) Alpōyačean, ibid , p 1248

(4) Ibid , pp 1241-2

and a member of the judicial court in Malatya (1)

MAKAREAN, Makar (? - 1915) A learned man who served his community and the government He was the administrator of the village of Kuyulu (Elāziğ) where he was born He founded the local Armenian Lusaworčakan school (2)

MISAKEAN, Marka Efendi (fl in the second-half of the XIXth century) For 'many years' he was a municipal engineer at Elāziğ and Erzurum (3)

PEKEAN, Gēorg (1848 - 1894) He studied medicine at the Medical Military School of Istanbul, and returning home, served the government He was employed as municipal doctor in Harput, Arapkir, Kemaliye, Bitlis and Erzurum (4)

PULUTEAN, Abgar (fl in the second-half of the XIXth century) He was a member of the administrative council of Peri (5)

TĒR-DAWITEAN, Sargis (c 1860 - 1935) A learned man and a merchant, he served the court of Malatya (c 1890) as a member of the public prosecution board From 1895 to 1897 he lived in Elāziğ and in 1907 he went to settle in America

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(1) Ibid , p 1242

(2) Hayk, ibid , p 824

(3) Hayk, ibid , p 727

(4) Parsamean, ibid , p 685

(5) Erewanean, ibid , pp 241, 443 and 447

with his family (1)

TĒRXANEAN, Mikayēl Efendi (1865 - 1915) From about 1880 to 1909 he served the government of Malatya in various offices First he was employed as an agent in the tax collection, but then was assigned cashier to the kazā of Adiyaman In 1889 returning to Malatya he continued to work in finance administration as cashier (until 1909) According to our source, he was also a member of the administrative and municipal councils, and of the court of justice (2)

TIWTELEAN, Yovhannēs (1855 - 1895) Educated at Malatya and Istanbul he served the government of Malatya From 1873 to 1888 he was the first clerk in the chief secretariat and in between 1888 and 1895 he officiated as the cashier of the public finance administration (3)

TŌTVAYEAN, Pōğos In 1895 he was appointed assistant to the deputy-governor of the kazā of Perı (Çarsancak), but he was killed by the brigands of Arslan Bey (4)

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(1) Alpōyačean, ibid , pp 1240-41

(2) (Alpōyačean,) ibid , pp 1242-3

(3) Ibid , pp 1239-40 (Pap uxtı, 1952, No 59)

(4) Erewanean, ibid , p 408

CHAPTER IX  
THE ARMENIANS OF SYRIA  
(The Province of Aleppo)

Historical Survey

Aleppo is an old Assyrian city which is mentioned in the historical records of Boğazköy under the name Hallap (Hallaw, or Halvan), as early as the second millenium B C. The Hittite king Mursilis I (1620-1590 B C ) destroyed Aleppo and took its treasures and slaves to his capital Hattusa. It was then dominated by the Medes but in about 1430 B C it passed again to the Hittites.

In 312 B C Seleucus Nikator, a commander of Alexander the Great, founded the Seleucid dynasty in Syria. He renamed Aleppo Beroia and established a Macedonian colony there. In 64 B C it became part of the Roman province of Syria and during the Byzantine period it was devastated, together with Antioch, by the Persians in 540. The Emperor Justinian rebuilt the town and erected a beautiful cathedral there.

In 16H /637 Aleppo was conquered by the Arab Muslims under the command of Khālīd b al-Wālid. Although the Salcūk Turks had remained there since the days of Mirdāsīs (XIth c ), it came under direct Ottoman

government in the XVith century (1)

The association of Armenians with Aleppo goes back as far as the first century B C (84-83 B C ) when Tigran the Great annexed Syria and Lebanon to his empire and for fourteen years Syria was governed by the Armenian armies (2) During the III-VIth centuries the Roman emperors established military colonies in Syria and on the mountains of Lebanon of the Armenian warrior satrapies About 632-640 there were Armenian soldiers serving the Byzantine and Sassanid armies in Syria against the Arabs (3) After 1065, on the fall of Ani, the capital of Armenia, many Armenians were pushed towards Cilicia and Syria (4) There were apparently several organized Armenian communities in Syria in the XII century, because when the Catholicos Grigor IV assembled a church-council in Rumkale (Halfeti) in 1179, six Armenian bishops took part in it who came from Mesopotamia and Syria

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- (1) Historical survey of Aleppo M Sobernheim, 'Halab', EI<sup>1</sup>, 1, pp 229-33, and J Sauvaget, 'Haleb', IA, fascicle 40, pp 117-22 Sauvaget has also a monograph on Aleppo - Alep Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du xixème siècle, 1914
- (2) R Grousset, Histoire de l'Arménie, pp 86-92, and Y Manandyan, Tigran yerkrordə yev Hromə [Tigran II and the Rome], pp 49-55
- (3) E Kasuni in S Varžapetean's Hayerə Libanani mē [The Armenians in Lebanon], Beirut, 1951, p 12
- (4) S Tarōneçi, Patmutiwn tiezerakan [General history], p 258

These were, Bishop Gēorg of Miyafarkin (Silvan), Archbishop Stepanos of Urfa, Archbishop Grigorios of Antioch, Bishop Kostandin of Apamea, <sup>(1)</sup> Bishop Sargis of Lād<sup>h</sup>ikiyyah, and Archbishop Sahak of Jerusalem <sup>(2)</sup>

In the XI-XIVth centuries, at the time of the Armenian kingship of Cilicia, there were Armenian communities flourishing in the main towns of Syria - Aleppo, Hamāh, Lād<sup>h</sup>ikiyyah, Antioch, and Damascus. After the fall of Cilicia, the Armenians moved more and more into Syria for safety. In the XIVth century Aleppo especially became a centre for Armenians, where they had their church, school and community leaders, both clerical and lay. A Gospel written in 1355 by Yovhānnēs, son of the priest Ġazar, was acquired in 1379 by an Armenian Amīr in Aleppo <sup>(3)</sup>. In 1400 the head of the Armenian community was a certain Tawakal, son of Karapet <sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) Apamea was built by Seleucus Nikator and dedicated to the name of his wife. Now it is in ruins at the site of Kal'at al-Muzīk, on the west of Khān Şaykhūn, in Northern Syria.

(2) Nersēs Şnorhali, Āndhanrakan tuġtġ [General letters of St Nersēs the Graceful], Jerusalem, 1871, pp 198-9, and Ōrmanean, Azgapatum [History of the Armenian nation], pp 1466-70 (esp p 1468)

(3) A Siwrmēean, Mayr cucak hayerēn jeragraç Erusaġēmi srboc Yakobeanç vanġi [Catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts of St James monastery in Jerusalem], 1, Venice, 1948, pp 347-8, idem, Patmuġiwn Halēpi Hayoc [History of the Armenians of Aleppo], iii, Paris, 1950, pp 8-11

(4) B Sargisean, Mayr cucak hayerēn jeragraç matenġadaranin Mxiġareanç 1 Venetik [Catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts of the Mkhitharist library in Venice], Venice, 1, 1914, pp 401-402, and Siwrmēean, History of the Armenians of Aleppo, iii, pp 20-21

In 1499-1500 the church of Forty Martyrs in the quarter of Salībah was enlarged at the expense of Reis Isa (1) After this renovation Aleppo became next to Sīs (Kozan), the second seat of the Catholicate of Cilicia, where the patriarchs resided from time to time From the beginning of the XVith century the Armenian community of Aleppo had its regular episcopal prelacy, archbishop Xačatur (c 1525-1545) being the first prelate of this new period (2) About the bishops of Aleppo before Xačatur we know very little Only two bishops are mentioned in history books - 1 Bishop Yovhannēs who in 1307 took part in the church-council of Sīs (3) 2 Bishop Yovakim who in 1438 participated in the council of Florence (4)

During the XVI-XVIIth centuries many new Armenians came from Julfa (Old Julfa in Armenia) to settle in

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- (1) A Siwrmēean, Cucak hayerēn jeragrac Halēpi surb Karasun Mankunk ekeğecwoy [Catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts of the church of Forty Martyrs in Aleppo], 1, Jerusalem, 1935, pp 151 and 340-41, idem, History of the Armenians of Aleppo, iii, pp 30-34
- (2) A Siwrmēean, History of the Armenians of Aleppo, iii, pp 39-45, idem, the Catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts of Aleppo, 1, p 8b, and the Catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts of Jerusalem, 1, p 348b
- (3) M Čamčean, Patmutiwn Hayoc [History of the Armenians], iii, p 309, and Ūrmanean, Azgapatum [History of the Armenian nation], ii, pp 1784-6
- (4) Čamčean, ibid, p 475, Ūrmanean, ibid, pp 2079-81, and Siwrmēean, History of the Armenians of Aleppo, iii, p 21

Aleppo<sup>(1)</sup> These people were clever merchants and contributed much to the community life and trade of the city. Until 1915-1920, however, the Armenians of Aleppo were not numerous. After the massacres of World War I thousands of Armenians fled from Anatolia into Syria and sought refuge in the different towns of Syria and especially in Aleppo. There are now about 135,000 Armenians in the Syrian Arab Republic.

#### Administrative Structure

In the XIXth century, under the Ottoman dominion, Syria<sup>(2)</sup> was divided into three parts -

- (a) Vilāyet of Aleppo
- (b) Vilāyet of al-Şām (or Sūrīyyā), and
- (c) Mutaşarrıflık of Dayr al-Zōr

The mutaşarrıflık (an independent sancāk) of Dayr al-Zōr was a separate administrative unit, the province of Şām included parts of Lebanon, whereas the vilāyet of Beirut had the sancāk of Lādhiykiyyah in it. It is quite evident that until September 1, 1920, when General Henri-Joseph-Eugene Gouraud, the High Commissioner of France, proclaimed the

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(1) Siwrmēean, History of the Armenians of Aleppo, pp 47-64, 66 and 86-87

(2) I have written 'Syria' and other well-known place-names of Syria as spelt in English, e.g. Aleppo and Damascus, but the rest I have transliterated according to a map of Syria 'al-Iklīm al-Sūrī' (scale - 1 700,000) which was printed in 1959 at Groningen and published in Aleppo under the supervision of the Ministry of Education.

creation of the Lebanese State ('État du Grand Liban')

Lebanon was included in the title 'Syria' This is why it has been taken in the present work

The province of Aleppo contained three sancāks, Aleppo, Maraş and Urfa, which were divided into 23 qazās as follows -

The qazās of the sancāk of Aleppo -

Aleppo (Ḥalab)

Gaziantep (Antep)

Kilis

Iskenderun

Antakya (Antioch)

Belen (Beylan)

Jabal Samʿān

Ḥārem

Idleb

Jisr al-Şuġūr

Maʿarrat ul-Nuʿmān

al-Bāb - Jabbūl

Manbij

al-Raqqah

The qazās of the sancāk of Maraş -

Maraş

Süleymanlı (Zeytun)

Elbistan

Pazarcık

Andirin

The kaḏās of the sancāk of Urfa -  
Urfa

Birecik

Halfetı (Rumkale)

Suruç

The mutaşarrıflık of Dayr al-Zōr had four kaḏās as follows -

Dayr al-Zōr

al-ʿAşārah

Ra's ul-ʿAyn

Abū Kamāl

### Population

Owing to the lack of an official census there are no complete and reliable statistics for the Armenian population of the province of Aleppo. The figures of Cuinet are so spread over the general statistics of the different towns and sancāks of the vilāyet,<sup>(1)</sup> that it is impossible to collect them and present his total for the Armenians of Aleppo. The provincial year-book of 1908 gives the following<sup>(2)</sup> for the general population of the province -

#### Armenians

Apostolic	65,033
Catholic	10,016

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(1) See CTA, 11, pp 178, 189, 192, 201, 209, 227, 246, 249, 280, 296, and 297

(2) Ḥaleb vilāyeti sālñāmesi, 1326H /1908, p 504

Protestant <sup>(1)</sup>	6,071	
		81,120
Greeks		
Orthodox	11,632	
Catholic	8,291	
		19,923
Syrians		
Orthodox	1,852	
Catholic	3,130	
		4,982
Protestants		
(Greek and Syrian)	6,000	
Latins	2,283	
Maronites	1,647	
Chaldeans	582	
Muslims	759,040	
Jews	11,748	
Strangers ( <u>Yabancı</u> )	11,759	
Foreigners ( <u>Ecnebi</u> )	4,185	
		<u>903,269</u>

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(1) The year-book records for all the Protestants of the vilâyet of Aleppo '12,071' I have reduced this total to the half in order to give the approximate number of Armenian Protestants in this province Örmanean (The Church of Armenia, pp 206-207), estimates the Armenian Protestants of Aleppo as 12,300

To the 81,120 Armenians we have to add the Armenians of the mutaşarrıflık of Dayr al-Zōr who, according to Cuinet,<sup>(1)</sup> numbered 400, of whom most were Catholic

Armenian sources estimate the total Armenian population of the vilāyet of Aleppo as twice that of the provincial sālnāme Ōrmanean,<sup>(2)</sup> followed by Lepsius,<sup>(3)</sup> records 163,800, whereas Tēodik's almanac<sup>(4)</sup> gives 186,000 Here are the detailed statistics of Ōrmanean -

The kazās of Aleppo, Iskenderun and Belen

Apostolic 15,000

Catholic 5,000

Protestant 2,000

22,000

The sancāks of Urfa and Dayr al-Zōr

Apostolic 24,000

Catholic 1,000

Protestant 800

25,800

The kazās of Maraş, Elbistan  
and Pazarcık

Apostolic 30,000

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(1) CTA, 11, pp 280, 296 and 297

(2) Ōrmanean, *ibid*

(3) J Lepsius, Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, pp 304-305

(4) Tēodik, Amēnun tareçoyçə [The almanac for every one], 1922, pp 262-3

Catholic	4,000
Protestant	3,500

37,500

The kaḏās of Süleymanlı and  
Andırın and the nāḫiye of Firnis

Apostolic	27,000
Catholic	500
Protestant	500

28,000

The kaḏās of Gaziantep and Kilis

Apostolic	30,000
Catholic	1,000
Protestant	4,000

35,000

The kaḏās of Antioch, Jisr al-Şuğūr  
and Şahiūn

Apostolic	12,000
Catholic	2,000
Protestant	1,500

15,500

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163,800

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To find the most probable estimate for the Armenian population of the vilāyet of Aleppo, I have taken as I did for the other provinces, the mean of the two extreme figures, which is 133,560

Trades and Professions of Armenians

In the XIXth century Aleppo was the centre of trading for Northern Mesopotamia and Northern Syria especially about 1880 when she had a commercial revival in both imports and exports (1)

In 1860 the British Consul T H Skene reporting about the traders and craftsmen of the vilāyet of Aleppo wrote the following -

'All the proprietors in the country are Mussulmans Almost all the traders in the towns are Christians Almost all the cultivators are Mussulmans, and the pastoral tribes of Arabs, Kurds, and Turcomans, are nominally Mussulmans Almost all the manufacturing population is Christian (2)

Armenians in the towns were practising different trades and professions, and in the villages they were engaged in agriculture (3) Their popular handicrafts were sewing and

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(1) EI<sup>1</sup>, 1, pp 228-9

(2) P R O , F O 78/1538, T H Skene, British Consul at Aleppo, to Home Office (to Sir Henry L Bulwer), No 27, Aleppo, August 4, 1860

(3) CTA, 11, p 129

shoe-making, the fur and silk trade, painting and tanning, the goldsmith's art and watch making Siwrmēean, speaking of the traders of Aleppo, attests -

'Since the XVIIIth century the main business of the Armenians who immigrated from Asia Minor to Aleppo has been sewing, and skilled sewers not only reached respected positions as the private tailors of the vālīs succeeding one the other, and other government officials, but they also provided the clothing of the army Together with sewing we can remember also the preparation of furs

Aleppo from old times was renowned for every sort of textile, especially silk, and we know that in the XVI-XVIIth centuries Aleppo had been a large market for silk and that the textile trade was in the hands of the Armenians, with wide connections extending from China to Holland (1)

What is said concerning the city of Aleppo, goes also for the other parts of the province For instance Farley,

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(1) A Siwrmēean, Patmutiwn Halēpi Hayoc [History of the Armenians of Aleppo], iii, p 973, cf ibid , pp 974-8, and K Gabikean, Eğernapatum Poğun Hayoç ew norin meci mayrağakın Sebastioy [History of the massacres of Lesser Armenia and of its great capital Sivas], pp 542-3

in his study of the resources of Turkey, testifies the following about the important role of the Armenians in the industry and trade of Maraş -

'They [the Armenians] are the most industrious portion of the inhabitants of Marash, a large proportion being engaged in carrying on a commerce with Aleppo and Aintab, each merchant keeps his own shop, where he sells his merchandise, either wholesale or retail, but five or six only aspire to the title of wholesale merchants '(1)

From the witnesses quoted above one can conclude how useful the Armenians of the vīlāyet of Aleppo were also in the trades and professions of the Ottoman Empire

#### Centres of Armenian Participation

Under the Ottoman dominion the province of Aleppo included parts of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia (Little Armenia), namely the kaḏās of Gaziantep and Belen in the sancāk of Aleppo, the whole sancāk of Maraş, and the kaḏās of Urfa and Halfetı (Rumkale) in the sancāk of Urfa. These territories had been populated by Armenians since the XIth century, and in the XIXth century they were real Armenian

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(1) J L Farley, The resources of Turkey, 1862, p 249  
See also G H Galustean, Maraş kam Germanik ew heros Zēytun [Maraş or Germanicia and the heroic Zeytun],  
New York, 1934, pp 276-306

centres Probably this fact has influenced the amount of Armenian participation in local public life, because there were many Armenian officials engaged in government duties

It is noticeable that a comparatively large proportion of the Armenians of the kazā of Süleymanlı (Zeytun) were in public office The reason for this could have been the freedom-loving spirit of the Armenians of Zeytun with which in 1860, 1862 and 1895-6 they faced the oppressing activity of the Ottoman Government, or perhaps it was the intervention of the European Powers that assured more privileges for them

During the period 1860-1908 there were not many Armenian inhabitants in the southern and eastern regions of Aleppo Because of this we do not find many Armenian public officials in the kazās of Jabal Sam‘ān, Hārem, Idleb, Jisr al-Şuġūr, Ma‘arrat ul-Nu‘mān, Bāb - Jabbūl, Manbij, and Raqqah The same was true in the mutaşarrıflık of Day al-Zōr, since there were only 400 Armenians living there and very few of them worked in the government

#### Main Fields of Armenian Participation

We noticed in the preceding chapters that the participation of Armenians in Ottoman public life was especially marked in the provincial centres In the

vilāyet of Aleppo the situation was different (1) At the headquarters of the province and in the centre of the sancāḳ of Urfa the Armenian officials were not more numerous than in the other outlying ḳazās Only in the merkez-sancāḳ of Maraş the Armenians were predominant comparing with the related ḳazās, but even in this case, the ḳazā of Süleymanlı (Zeytun) shows a preeminent position

In the centre of the province, at Aleppo, one could usually find in the administrative council an Armenian elected member beside other Christian and Muslim officials There were only a few ex officio members In 1882-3 an Armenian Catholic was an ex officio member of the local council In the other parts of the vilāyet, normally one or two but sometimes three Armenian members were elected to the administrative councils In Gaziantep and Maraş, apart from the elected members there were sometimes also some ex officio members As for the municipal councils there were one or two Armenian members, but again in Gaziantep, Belen, Birecik and Maraş there were often three As usual, they were always ordinary officials, and only occasionally

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(1) For this chapter of Aleppo, I have used the provincial year-books (Ḥaleb vilāyeti sāl-nāmesi) of the following years 1284 H /1867-8, 1286 H /1869-70, 1290 H /1873-4, 1300 H /1882-3, 1304 H /1886-7, 1307 H /1889-90, 1310 H /1892-3, 1314 H /1896-7, 1316 H /1898-9, 1320 H /1902-903, 1324 H /1906-907 and 1326 H /1908

was an Armenian appointed as mayor

In financial spheres most of the Armenians were in the taxation department, in the tax collecting board, régie, and public debt administration. With regard to taxation there was one Armenian official in the department of each kazā and he was usually the cashier. Scarcely ever was an Armenian the head of a department, although one was in 1873-4 in the kazā of Belen, or assistant to the head, as in 1889-90 in the kazā of Iskenderun. In regie the Armenian officials were comparatively more numerous, there being from one to three. In these departments the clerk and the store-keeper were very often Armenians, and sometimes so was the manager, as in 1889-90 and 1898-9 in Iskenderun, in 1902-3 in Birecik, and in 1908 in Andırın. Normally one or two Armenians could be found in the branches of Agricultural Bank, employed as cashier or account's clerk. The kazā of Gaziantep had an Armenian manager in 1896-7, 1898-9 and 1908. In public debt administration also the Armenians numbered one or two and usually held the offices of clerk, cashier and accountant. In 1908 at the kazā of Kilis, and in 1896-7 at Antioch the chief officials of the public debt administration were Armenian. Apart from these departments Armenians were from time to time employed as tax-collectors and as officials of the branches of the Ottoman Bank, but these were only in Aleppo and Urfa. In the centres of the three sancāks

they were also included in the chambers of commerce

In judicature the Armenians took part in different offices, but the main departments where they worked regularly were the courts of first instance and of commerce. In the court of first instance of every kaḏā there was normally an Armenian as well as the Turkish member. In the commercial courts there were up to three Armenians who acted as members or clerks. At Aleppo there were usually two Armenian judges in the court of appeal, one in the civil and one in the criminal department. Other judicial duties which the Armenians carried out were the offices of juḡe d'instruction, lawyer, judicial inspector, notary and clerk. In Aleppo, in 1878-9, the judicial inspector and, in 1902-903, the lawyers were Armenian. At Gaziantep in 1896-7, 1898-9 and in 1902-903, the lawyers were Armenian. At Gaziantep in 1896-7, 1898-9 and in 1902-903 the notaries were also Armenian.

As for the public health at Aleppo, the Armenians rendered notable service in the infirmary and military hospital, especially during the years 1896-7, 1902-903 and 1908. They held positions of doctors and chemists. In 1908 the surgeon of the infirmary was a certain Sargis Efendi and the chemist Petros Efendi Mazlumean. In the kaḏās of Gaziantep and Antioch, and at the centre of the sancāk of Maraş, the municipal doctors were often Armenian, as were

sometimes the chemists At Maraş Doctor Gēorg Efendi was employed by the municipality from about 1873 until 1889-90 In the other kazās also there were Armenian doctors, chemists and vaccinators who worked in the public health departments but there were not many and their service does not appear to have been long-lasting

### Other Fields of Armenian Participation

Other fields of Armenian participation in the province of <sup>Alepp</sup> Syria were in technical affairs, the secretariat, education and agriculture

At Aleppo in the postal and telegraphic service there were almost always from two to five Armenians who served as mechanists or telegraph superintendents For instance, in 1908 Grigor and Nersēs Efendis were working at the section of foreign languages and were assisted by Čakr and Asaturean Efendis Armenians were also employed in the provincial printing house as mechanists, compositors and editors In 1284 H /1867-8 Ahmed Cevdet Pāšā, <sup>(1)</sup> the vālī of Aleppo and an h<sup>is</sup>torian, established the weekly newspaper Ğadīr al-Furāt (The rivulet of Ephrates) in which the news, orders and declarations of the government were published in Arabic and Turkish In 1286 H /1869-70 it was called just al-Furāt (The Ephrates) and a new section in

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(1) A biography of Ahmed Cevdet Pāšā (1822-1895) can be found in IA, 'Cevdet Paşa', by A Ölmezoğlu, iii, (22na fascicle), pp 114-23 See also H Bowen, 'Ahmad Djewdet Pasha', EI <sup>2</sup>, 1, pp 284-6

Armenian was added This newspaper continued until 1918 but the Armenian part, for reasons unknown to me, lasted only one and a half years (1)

At Gaziantep in 1882-3 and 1902-903 the municipal engineers were Armenian, and in 1898-9 two members were included on the public works' board In 1889-90 at the kazās of Belen and Iskenderun the postmen were Armenian, and in Maraş and Urfa one or two members sometimes sat on the board of public works In connection with the secretariat it must be said that the Armenian officials in the different departments of public affairs were often given the duty of clerk or accountant Likewise in Aleppo, Iskenderun and Belen some Armenians were engaged in the purely secretarial departments, e g chief secretariat, land registry and customs administration In 1873-4 the assistant translator of the province was an Armenian

With regard to agriculture at Aleppo, in 1896-7 and 1908 the model-farm managers (nümüne çiftliki müdürü) were Armenian In the kazās of Gaziantep, Belen, Iskenderun, and at the centres of the sancāks of Maraş and Urfa, one or two Armenian members sometimes sat on the forestry board and on the boards of trade and agriculture In the sphere of education

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(1) Ph dı Tarrāzī (Count), Tārīkh assahāfa'l 'arabiyyah [History of the Arabic press], Beirut, 1913, 1, p 68 and 11, pp 222-3, A Mrūeh, Asṣahāfa'l 'arabiyyah [The Arabic press], Beirut, 1961, p 207

Armenians were included on the education council, in the secondary school and in school of handicrafts at the centres of the sancāks At Aleppo, as in the centres of some other provinces the Armenian language was taught in the government's secondary school from about 1898-9 until 1908 In 1908 the teacher of carpet weaving in the handicrafts school of Aleppo was Akob āğā, and in the preparatory school (mekteb rüşdiye) for girls Aznowuhi was the lady-teacher of hüner (art) Again in the same year at Urfa a certain Akob āğā taught the blacksmith's art and shoe-making, while Karapet Imirzean was on the school board

#### Armenian Participation in Zeytun

In the second-half of the XIXth century the Armenians of Zeytun (now Süleymanlı) enjoyed a comparatively advantageous position in the public life of the district This is why I have described here the part of Armenians in the governmental affairs of Zeytun In the administrative council of the kazā the Armenians were represented by two or three elected members In addition to these there were sometimes two Armenian ex officio members, one Apostolic and one Catholic After 1896 the governors (kāymakām) were Christian, most of them being Greek The municipal administration was almost entirely in the hands of the Armenian officials There were between three and six members and from 1896 the mayor was also Armenian In the

years 1898-9 and 1908 there were no Turks at all, and in 1902-3 only the clerk was Turkish, Armenians were influential in the administration of the nāhiye of Fırnıs also, having usually two members on the council After 1896 the müdür (administrator) of this commune was sometimes Armenian as well

There was always an Armenian member beside the Turkish on the trial council or on the court of first instance From time to time the notary was also Armenian, and in 1896-7 an Armenian held the position of assistant juge d'instruction

Armenians had a large participation in matters of finance In the administration of public finance the cashier was normally Armenian, as was sometimes the assistant to the head In regie the administrator was often Armenian, being the sole official of the chamber At the branch of the Agricultural Bank, there were two or three Armenian members and after 1896 the chief manager was often Armenian, as in 1896-7, 1902-3 and in 1908

The Armenians of Zeytun also participated in other fields of public life, such as in agriculture and technical works, but since such affairs in an outlying kazā were not extensive their part was not great

#### Comparative Note Greek Participation

Greek participation in the public life of this province

was neither large nor constant but we do find some Greek officials in different governmental departments Their contribution to public affairs was notable mainly in the sancāk of Aleppo, and particularly in the town of Aleppo itself Here at the provincial headquarters one or two Greeks occasionally worked in the administrative council, in the courts of appeal and trade, in the administration of finance and the branché of the Agricultural Bank, at the public works' department and the postal and telegraphic service, in the military hospital and in the state secondary school

Outside of Aleppo, in the kazās of Iskenderun, Idleb, and Antioch, Greeks were sometimes included on the administrative councils as elected members, in the municipalities as doctors, in the courts of first instance as judges, in the Agricultural Bank's branches as cashiers or clerks, and in the postal and telegraphic service as telegraph superintendents in the section for foreign languages

In the sancāk of Urfa, Greek participation in public life would be found mainly at the centre of the county and in the kazā of Birecik, as members of commercial court and as cashiers or clerks in the finance administration There was only one of them in each department In the sancāk of Maraş, at the centre of the county and in Elbistan

occasionally Greek officials were employed as municipal doctors or chemists, and after 1896 the governor of the kazā of Süleymanlı was usually Greek

A General View of the Armenian Participation in the Province of Aleppo

In the province of Aleppo, the Armenian participation in Ottoman public life was especially notable and constant in the city of Aleppo itself and in that part of the vilāyet called the sancāk of Maraş which in the middle ages once belonged to the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia From a chronological point of view the Armenians were given a larger part and higher positions in the different governmental units of the province after 1896 - The main fields of public life in which the Armenians took part were the political administration, finance, judicial courts and the public health service In these departments of the vilāyet were to be found usually one or two, but sometimes three or four, Armenian officials

Some Notable Armenians in Public Life of the Province of Aleppo

ABRAHAMEAN, Yarutiwn ( ? - 1895) An Armenian Protestant chemist who worked in the municipality of Urfa (1)

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(1) A Sahakean, Diwçaznkan Urfan ew ir hayordinerə [The heroic Urfa and her Armenian sons], Beirut, 1955, p 373

ARƏGEAN, Yarutiwn (1815 - 1890) - Born in Maraş, he was a merchant and on very friendly terms with the Turks For 38 years he acted as a member of the administrative council He was honoured by the Sublime Porte with the Mecidiye and Ogmaniye orders, third class (1)

AṬṬAREAN, Abraham ( ? - 1915) A Protestant Armenian of renown in Urfa 'For many years' he was the chemist of the German Hospital and at the same time he served on the local municipal council (2)

AYVAZEAN, Grigor ( ? - 1900) Born in Urfa, he learned Armenian and Turkish, and became a shop-keeper One of his customers, a binbāşî (battalion commander) recognized his cleverness and invited him to go with him to Dayr al-Zōr and become a purveyor of food for the army Ayvazean thus went to serve the Ottoman army (c 1885) in which he was accorded the rank of Kōl āğāsî (adjutant major) In 1895-6, at the time of the massacres, he returned home with the same binbāşî and saved his parents and about 1000 other people After the atrocities he returned with his brothers to Dayr al-Zōr and continued his work (3)

ĀANSƏZEAN, Martiros, Originally from Maraş, he came to

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(1) G Galustean, Maraş kam Germanik [Maraş or Germanicia], p 916

(2) A Sahakean, op cit , p 795

(3) Ibid , pp. 429-31

Kilis in 1905 and was appointed manager of the public debt administration. He carried out this office until 1912 (1)

GATĒHĀČĒAN, Sargis (c 1830 - 1907) A self-trained architect in Gaziantep who built several caravanserais and churches, like for example the large and beautiful church of S Astowacacın (Mother of God). 'For many years' he was a governmental chief-architect (mi 'mār bāši) (2)

HĒKIMEAN, Sargis Son of Gēorg, he was a municipal and military doctor in Gaziantep. Being a well-known figure he was appointed to this office by a special Imperial order. He lived in the XIXth century but no dates for his life are recorded (3)

IMIRZEAN, Karapet (? - 1915) Born and educated in Urfa, he was a merchant and possessed villages which were cultivated by Armenian as well as Kurdish and Arab peasants. From 1895 he was a member of the local administrative council and in 1903 was appointed to the court of justice. At the same time he directed the financial administration of the Turkish Hospital and the government secondary school at

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(1) According to the witness of A Tēr-Sahakean, S Eniḳomṣuyan and Y Eniḳomṣuyan, elders from Kilis, now in Beirut

(2) G Sarafean, Patmutiwn Antēpı Hayoḳ [History of the Armenians of Antep], 2 volumes, Los Angeles, 1953, i, pp 443-4

(3) Ibid , 11, pp 663-4

Urfa (1)

IŞXANEAN, Iskender Born in Gaziantep in 1893, he settled in Aleppo where he was appointed municipal doctor. He carried out this office 'until his death' (?) His son Nuri was also a military doctor from 1919 to 1923 (2)

KĒYIKEAN, Grigor (1855-1916) He was born and educated in Maraş where he became a tradesman. For about 25 years he was a member of the local administrative council. He also acted as an agent for the American and German Missionaries in their dealings with the government (3)

KARKOTOREAN, Sargis (1854 - ?) Born in Maraş he learned masonry from his father and developing his craft became an architect. He built the barracks at Maraş and Süleymanlı as well as some Armenian churches. After the great fire of 1884 in Maraş he restored the Eski and built the Yeni covered markets, the Municipal market, and the khāns of Tuz and Hişır. He also repaired three bridges on the river Aksu and two on the Ceyhan. During World War I he fled to Lebanon and settled in Beirut (4)

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(1) Sahakean, *ibid*, pp 735, 736, 798, 1050, 1051-53, and Surhandak [Courier, a newspaper], Istanbul, 3rd May, 1903

(2) Sarafean, *ibid*, 11, p 686

(3) Galustean, *ibid*, p 920

(4) Galustean, *ibid*, p 927

- KIRAKOSEAN, Martiros ( ? - 1909)      Until 1909 he was a member of the administrative council of Antioch (1)
- KIREMITÇEAN, Pōğos (fl c 1900)      He was a veterinary surgeon in the army at Aleppo and was a censor at the same time (2)
- KIWLIWZEAN, Gēorg (c 1840 - 1895)      Was born and educated in Maraş where he practised medicine for some years as medical officer of health to the municipality      During the cholera epidemic of 1890 he saved many lives by using the Hamlyn mixture (3)
- MAGSUT Efendi - From about 1900 to 1908 he was a provincial forest inspector of the vīlāyet of Aleppo (4)
- MAHIKEAN, Toros (1862-1916)      Born in Maraş and educated in local Armenian schools, he learned Turkish and worked in government departments as a clerk and as an official of the judicial court of first instance      From 1880 onwards in addition to these functions he taught Turkish in Armenian schools (5)

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(1) Y Tērzean, Kılıkıoy aḡētā [The calamity of Cilicia], Istanbul, 1912, 11, p 255

(2) K Gabikean, Eḡernapatum Pokun Hayoç ew norin meci mayraḡaḡaḡın Şebastıoy [History of the massacres of Lesser Armenia and of its great capital Sivas], p 507

(3) Galustean, *ibid* , p 911

(4) See the provincial year-books of Aleppo, 1900-1908

(5) Galustean, *ibid* , pp 557-8

MANUŞAKLAN, Nazarēt (1874 - 1933) Born in Gaziantep, he studied in the Armenian Vardanean School After finishing his studies he was engaged in trade, mainly importing paints He was a member of the commercial court In 1921 he settled in Aleppo (1)

MELITOSEAN, Lewon From about 1895 until 1915 he was a municipal doctor in Süleymanlı (2)

MOMČEAN, Sargis About 1895 (until 1915 ?) he was a manager of the regie in Süleymanlı (3)

MURATEAN, Gēorg (1831 - 1894) Born in Maraş, he worked as a weaver while studying Turkish literature and the legal code For about 30 years he was a member of the civil court, and a government lawyer as well He owned land and was influential in government circles, but (according to our source) because he publicly accused the officials of bribery and staunchly defended the rights of his compatriots, he was deposed from his judicial post in 1892 (4)

NALÇAČEAN, Karapet (1862 - 1916) He was born in Maraş and educated in the local schools of the Armenians and of the Franciscan Fathers He also studied the Turkish legal code

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(1) Sarafean, *ibid* , 11, pp 767-8

(2) M Oskeričean, Zeytun album (in Armenian), 2nd ed , Beirut, 1961, p 147

(3) *Ibid*

(4) Galustean, *ibid* , pp 722-3

on his own and was afterwards appointed chief clerk in the criminal court For two years he was the juge d'instruction of the qazā of Andırın in Maraş, and later worked as a lawyer in Maraş for twelve years (1)

NORAŞXARHEAN, Gēorg The son of Şil-Panos, from 1869 to 1883 he was the chief of police in Süleymanlı (2)

NORAŞXARHEAN, Papik ( ? -1886) A notable man of the Armenian community of Süleymanlı From 1879 he was the mayor of the district (3)

PARSUMEAN, Pağtasar Born in Gaziantep, he studied medicine in the American University of Beirut In 1897, after graduating, he settled in Kilis where he was appointed municipal doctor He left Kilis in 1903 (4)

PASMAČEAN, Armenak Born and brought up in Kilis, from 1906 to 1910 he was a finance administration agent there (5)

PASMAČEAN, Ğazar He was a member of the administrative council at the qazā of Kilis from 1885 to 1914 (6)

PAYRAMEAN, Gēorg From 1885 to 1905 he was a member of the

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(1) Galustean, *ibid* , p.914

(2) Oskeričean, *op cit* , p.146

(3) M Sēmērčean, Zēyṭunı ançalēn ew nerkayēn [From the past and present of Zeytun], i, Vienna, 1900, pp 133-48

(4) According to the witness of A Tēr-Sahakean, S Enikomşuyan and Y Enikomşuyan

(5) As the above

(6) As the above

administrative council (1)

ŞATAREWEAN, Toros (1854 - 1924) An Armenian Catholic born and educated in the Armenian schools at Maraş, he took private lessons in Turkish from the Çitilci Hocas In 1870 he was employed as chief clerk in the town courts of justice and commerce In 1881 he went to Aleppo and, having passed the legal examinations, became a lawyer Thereafter he practised his profession in Aleppo and was appointed president of its trial board He was honoured by the Sublime Porte with the Mecidiye Order, second class (2)

TAŞÇEAN, Yakob ( ? - 1915) The son of the architect Xaçer in Urfa, he was influential in the Armenian community as well as in the government 'For many years' he participated in the court of justice as a member He also presided over a conciliation committee whose function was to settle differences between the Kurdish and Arab tribes around Urfa (3)

TĒR-PETROSEAN, Ağačan An educated and clever merchant of Urfa who was in the import and export business with his brother Nşan He was elected member to the criminal and commercial courts About the beginning of the XXth century

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(1) According to the witness of A Tēr-Sahakean, S Enikomşuyan and Y Enikomşuyan

(2) Galustean, ibid , p 914

(3) Sahakean, ibid , pp 1049 and 1055-6

he acted as assistant mayor and also supplied provisions for the army (1)

TŌPALEAN, Yovhannēs Originally from Maraş where he was a member of the administrative council In 1895 he moved to Gaziantep and worked there first as the manager of the régie and then as a lawyer (2)

XƏRLAGEAN, Yakob (1856 - 1920) An Armenian Catholic merchant who was army contractor in Maraş He received honours both from the Sublime Porte and Pope Leo XIIIith (3)

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(1) Ibid , pp 729, 1050, and 1054-5

(2) Sarafean, ibid , 11, p 774

(3) Galustean, ibid , p 920

## CHAPTER X

### THE ARMENIANS OF SYRIA

(ii Damascus, Beirut and Jabal Lubnān)

#### Historical Survey

In this chapter is described the Armenian participation in Ottoman public life of littoral Syria and the region of Damascus (Dimeşq), as well as of the province of Beirut (Bayrūt) and the mutaşarrıflık of Jabal Lubnān (Ott. Turk. Cebel-i Lübnān)

Beirut,<sup>(1)</sup> a Phoenician town, mentioned in history as early as the Tell ul-‘Amārinah tablets, has been and is the centre of learning and commerce. It passed from the Greeks and Romans to the Arabs and then to the Crusaders. During the Turkish period it was possessed by the amirs of the house of Ma‘n of whom was the famous Druse (Durzi) prince Fakhr al-Dīn (1595-1634). It was brought under the direct Turkish rule in 1763. Until 1888 it formed a part of the province of Syria, then it was made a separate vilāyet including the sancāks of Beirut, Tripoli, Lādhiqiyyah, ‘Akkā and Nāblus.

Jabal Lubnān, sometimes referred to as Lebanon, was at the beginning of our period, 1840-1860, a theatre of fighting between

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(1) For a historical survey of Lebanon see 'Bairūt' by J. Hell, EI<sup>1</sup>, 1, pp 595-6 (the same is in AI, fascicle 18, pp.587-8, N. Eliséeff, 'Bayrūt', EI<sup>2</sup>, 1, pp 1137-8, H. Lammens, 'Lubnān', EI<sup>1</sup>, iii, pp.32-33, and Ph. K. Hitti's Lebanon in history, London-New York, 1957 (concerning the period 1860-1908 see pp 436-82)

the Maronites (Mārūnī) and Druses <sup>(1)</sup> The disturbance ended in 1860 in the massacre of Maronites whereupon the French forces intervened to re-establish peace Fū'ād Pāšā (1814-1868) was sent from the Porte as a plenipotentiary representative Among the attendants of the Pāšā were the following Armenians Isahak Abro Efendi <sup>(2)</sup> and Stepan Arzumanean <sup>(3)</sup> as secretaries, Rizkāllah Hassūn al-Halabī <sup>(4)</sup> as translator, Dr. Serovbē Vičēnean, <sup>(5)</sup> Dr. Nahapet Rusinean, <sup>(6)</sup> and Dr. Gabriēl Sewean <sup>(7)</sup>

In order to prevent any further turmoil, an international

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- (1) On the massacres of Lebanon I.b Ya'kūb Abkārīūs (an Armenian), The Lebanon in turmoil, Syria and the Powers in 1860, translated from the Arabic and annotated by J.F. Scheltema, New Haven-London-Oxford, 1920, P.R.O., F.O., 78/1591, 'Disturbances in Syria (Mount Lebanon)', F.O. 78/1557, 'MS correspondence on affairs of Syria (disturbances), laid before Parliament (No. 628, 1860)', which are letters and reports of the British consuls of Beirut, Şaydā and Jerusalem, and Parliamentary papers, 1861/ii, 'Syria'
  - (2) Abkārīūs, *ibid.*, pp.169-70, and E Pōgosean, Karapet Arṭin Paşa Tawutean (1816-1873), Vienna, 1949, p.17
  - (3) E Pōgosean, *ibid.*, pp.17-18
  - (4) Sāmī'l Kayyālī, Al-adāb al-'arabī'l mu'āşır fī Sūriyyah [The modern Arabic literature in Syria], Cairo, 1959, pp.47-53, Louis Şaykho, Al-adāb al-'arabiyyah fī'l ḳarn al-tāsi' 'aşar [The Arabic literature in the XIXth century], 2nd imp., Beirut, 1926, ii, p.48, and Jurjī Zaydān, Tārīkh adāb al-luġa'l 'arabiyyah [History of the literature of Arabic language], 2nd ed., Cairo, iv, 1957, p.248
  - (5) Ōrmanean, Azġapatum [History of the Armenian nation], iii, p.4006, G. Karoyean, Mec eġerni nahatak hay bžışknerə [The martyred Armenian doctors of the Great Massacre], pp.162-5, and Dr. V.Y. Torgomean, Bžışk Doct. Serviçēn Efendi [Dr. Serviçēn Efendi], Vienna, 1893
  - (5) Karoyean, *ibid.*, pp.170-74
  - (6) V.G. Zardarean, Yişatakaran, 1512-1912 [Memorials, 1512-1912], Istanbul, 1910-1912, pp.228-30, and Karoyean, *ibid.*, pp.183-5

commission was assigned to achieve a 'Reglement organique'<sup>(1)</sup> to offer the Mount Lebanon a semi-independence under the control of the Powers. As a result of the European intervention Jabal Lubnān was made a separate mutaşarrıflık attached directly to the Porte. The mutaşarrıf would be a Christian and act for three years on the approval of the Powers. Thus the first governor came to be Dāvūd Pāşā, an Armenian from Istanbul, whose office was prolonged for another five years until 1868. From this new regulation emerged the modern Lebanon which traditionally has a Christian president as the head of the Republic.

As to the Armenians, they were related with Lebanon about 84-70 B.C., when the armies of the King Tigran the Great conquered the larger parts of Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine. The Armenians came in close contact with Lebanon especially after the creation of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. But until the XVIIIth century the Armenian inhabitants there were few. In 1721, under the leadership of

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(1) See this Regulation in French, Noradounghian, Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire ottoman, iii, pp 144-50 (dated 9th June 1861), pp.149-50 is the additional article (19th June 1861), and the revised version (6th Sept 1864), ibid, pp.223-8, V Cuinet, Syrie, Liban et Palestine, pp.283-9 and 289-95 (the revised version). The Turkish text is in Düstür [Code of law], iv, pp.695-701

Abraham Muratean (1663-1738), an Armenian Catholic brotherhood of St. Anton was established on Mount Lebanon, at Kureym (near the village of Ġōstā), which in 1750 got another monastery in Bayt Khaṣbo, near Ġazīr At the same time<sup>(1)</sup> the patriarchate of the Armenian Catholics of Syria, created in 1772, was founded in Bzommār<sup>(2)</sup> This monastery apart from being a religious centre became a shelter for the Armenians who left Turkey for political reasons This encouraged the settlement of Armenians in Lebanon

The Armenians increased in number during the troubles in Anatolia in 1894-96, but above all during World War I when many refugees came and settled in and around Beirut Lebanon has now the most vigorous and active community of the Armenian Dispersion

### Administrative Structure

The provinces of Damascus and Beirut, and the independent mutaṣarrıflık of Jabal Lubnān are considered here together, as the rest of Syria, because in the second-half of the XIXth century not so many Armenians lived in these regions

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- (1) The monastery of Bzommār was founded in 1749 and completed in 1771, but the friars started to inhabit there in 1750
- (2) In 1923/24, the last few friars of the order of St. Anton joined the monastery of Bzommār

The province of Syria or of Damascus<sup>(1)</sup> had four sancāks, Damascus, Ḥamāh, Haurān, al-Salt, and 22 ḳazās as the following -

The ḳazās of the sancāk of Damascus -

Damascus

Dūmā

Nabak

Ba‘labakka

Rāṣayyā

Ḥāṣbayyā

Al-Biḳa‘ ul-‘azīzī

Wādī’l ‘ajam

The ḳazās of the sancāk of Ḥamāh -

Ḥamāh

Ḥimṣ

al-Salamayyah

Ḥamīdiyyah

The ḳazās of the sancāk of Ḥaurān -

Haurān

Knayṭrah

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(1) I have written 'Damascus', 'Beirut' and 'Tripoli' as spelt in English, but the rest of place-names I have transliterated according to these maps - (a) A map of Syria, 'al-Iklīm al-Sūrī', (scale 1 700,000), printed in 1959 at Groningen (Netherland) and published in Aleppo under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, (b) A map of Lebanon, 'Lubnān', (scale 1 160,000), printed in 1956 at Paris and published in Beirut under the supervision of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts

Başra'l Ḥarīr

Dar'ā

Jabal al-Drūz

ʿAjlūn

The ḳazās of the sancāk of al-Salt (now in Jordan) -

al-Salt

al-Karak

al-Ṭufaylah

Ma'ān

The province of Beirut had five sancāqs, Lādhikīyyah,

Beirut, Tripoli, ʿAkkā, Nāblos, and 21 ḳazās as the

following -

The ḳazās of the sancāk of al-Lādhikīyyah -

al-Lādhikīyyah

Jablah

Marḳab

Ṣahīūn

The ḳazās of Beirut -

Beirut

Ṣūr

Ṣaydā

Merj ʿayūn

The kaḏās of the sancāḑ of Tripoli -

Tripoli

‘Akkār

Ṣāfiṭā

Ḥuṣṇ al-akrād (Kal‘at ul-Ḥuṣṇ)

The kaḏās of the sancāḑ of ‘Akkā -

‘Akkā

Ḥayfā

Ṭabariyyā

al-Nāṣīrah

Ṣafad

The kaḏās of the sancāḑ of Nāblos -

Nāblos

Jabīn Salṭī

Bani Sa‘ab

Jamā‘īn

The mutaṣarriflik of Jabal Lubnān included these kaḏās -

al-Ṣūf

al-Metn

al-Batrūn

Jezzīn

Zaḥlah

Kisrūān

al-Kūrah

Dayr al-Kamar (a mūdūriyet)

Population

In the XIXth century the Armenian population of the littoral Syria, the district of Damascus and of Lebanon was not numerous. They increased after World War I when many of them were transported into the Syrian deserts. Some of them fled or moved from Syria to Lebanon where there are now about 100,000 Armenians.

The year-book of the province of Syria (or Damascus) for 1900-901 records the following concerning the Armenian population - (1)

Damascus

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Apostolic	257	
Catholic	179	436
Wādī'l 'acam		
Apostolic		52
Rāṣayyā		
Catholic		30
Ḥamāh		
Apostolic		5
		<hr/>
		523

Örmanean, (2) followed by Lepsius, (3) gives the number of

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(1) Sūriye vilāyeti sāl-nāmesi, 1318 H /1900-901, pp 364-5

(2) Örmanean, The Church of Armenia, p.207

(3) Lepsius, Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, pp.308-<sup>3</sup>09

the Armenians of the vilāyet of Syria as 2,000 which is much higher than the figures of the sālnāme of 1900-901 Cuinet also records the Armenian population as 2,025, a number which is in close agreement with Ōrmanean's figures (1)

As to Lebanon, the sources account the Armenian population of the province of Beirut as about 1200-1300 Ōrmanean (2) estimates the number of the Armenians as 1300 (1000 Apostolic and 300 Catholic), while the provincial sālnāme of 1908 gives 1218 (3) These are the detailed statistics of the year-book -

Beirut

Apostolic 108

Catholic 461

569

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- (1) Cuinet, Syrie, Liban et Palestine, pp 307, 386, 394, 458 and 480 According to him 1,925 (1,025 Protestants and 900 Apostolics) Armenians lived in the sancāq of Damascus, and 200 Apostolics in Jabal al-Drūz
- (2) Ōrmanean, *ibid* , cf Lepsius, *ibid*
- (3) Beyrūt vilāyeti sālnāmesi, 1326 H /1908, straight after p.424 According to Cuinet (*ibid* , pp. 14, 52, 53, 82, 89, 149, 160 and 162) 2,931 Armenians lived in the province of Beirut about 1895, 2,001 Apostolics (200 in Beirut, 201 in Merj'ayūn and 1,600 in Lādhikiyyah), and 930 Catholics (400 in Beirut and 530 in Şūr) These figures are higher than the numbers given both by the Turkish and Armenian sources

Tripoli	
Catholic	14
Lādhīkiyyah	
Catholic	243
Şahiūn	
	<u>392</u>
	<u>1,218</u>

In Jabal Lubnān it would appear that there were very few Armenians. The year-books<sup>(1)</sup> of this mutaşarrıflık record the number of the Armenians as about 5 together with the Syrians (Christian) in the kazā of Kisrūān. Possibly there were also Armenians accounted among Protestants, who are estimated to be 167. It is interesting and a little astonishing that Ōrmanean,<sup>(2)</sup> followed by Lepsius,<sup>(3)</sup> presents the approximate number of the Armenians of Jabal Lubnān and of Jerusalem as 3,200 (3,000 Apostolic, 200 Catholic). If about 2,000 of those lived in Jerusalem, as it is said in Tēodik's almanac,<sup>(4)</sup> then one would conclude that there were 1,000 or 1,200 Armenians in Jabal Lubnān, but unfortunately we do not have any other source to ascertain this information.

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(1) Cebel-i Lübnān sāl-nāmesi, 1306 H /1888-9, p 92, and 1307 H./1889-90, p.100

(2) Ōrmanean, *ibid*

(3) Lepsius, *ibid*

(4) Tēodik, Amēnun tareçoyçə [The almanac for every one], 1922, p.263

To sum up, again we would take the mean of the two antipodal numbers The Armenians of littoral Syria, Damascus, Beirut and Jabal Lubnān, according to the Turkish sālnāmes were about 1,800, and according to Ōrmanean as 4,500 The mean of these figures, 3,150, possibly gives the best estimate of the Armenian population

#### Trades and Professions of Armenians

In the second-half of the XIXth century, the Armenians of Syria were occupied in agriculture, crafts and trade The main produce of this province were wheat, barley, maize, rice, cotton, sugar-cane, tobacco, vegetables and fruits, timber, limestone, slate, coal, iron and copper The leather work of Damascus was (and still is) popular, while wood and metal inlaid work was exported to other countries

The Armenians of the vilāyet of Syria were more industrious and prosperous before 1860, when the Christians were tortured and massacred in Damascus and Jabal Lubnān At that time, apparently, some Armenians were troubled but others escaped Ēprikean, speaking especially of the Armenians of Damascus, attests the following -

'In Damascus before the massacres of 1860, there were about 30 naturalized Armenian families and quite a few alien merchants But from those at this time [i e 1897/8], have remained only five families, and none is engaged in trade Now the

Armenians are about 40 houses, approximately 300 persons, immigrated from different towns, who hardly earn their daily living' (1)

The Armenians of Lebanon were engaged in different professions and trades This is the conclusion of Varžapetean who has studied the history of the Armenians there -

'Before 1895, the Armenian community of Lebanon was composed of 30-40 houses, that means, approximately there were about 200 Apostolic Armenians in the whole of the province There were about the same number of Catholic Armenians The Armenians were generally state officials of high ranks and renowned merchants, who enjoyed an exceptional position here, being respected both by the Turkish government and by the natives (2)

Among the numerous Armenian merchants of Beirut we can mention the following as very active and well-known tradesmen who flourished about 1890 Petros Ağačanean, Sargis Eğiayan, Gabriël Gabrielelean, Tigran Galēmķērean, Tigran Gasarčean, Mkrtič Hazarapetean, Yovhannēs Kiwlpēnkean, Yakob Muxțarean, Nazarēṭ Pağtasarean, Parsum Petrosean, Stepan

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(1) Ēprikean, Bnaṣṣarhik bararan [Armenian geographical dictionary], 1, p.574

(2) S. Varžapetean, Hayerə Libanani mēj [The Armenians in Lebanon], p.285

Tōpuzxanean, and the Xrlagean family

Centres of Armenian Participation

In the province of Syria the centres of Armenian participation were Damascus, Ba‘labakkā, and Rāṣayyā in the sancāk of Damascus, Hamāh and Himṣ in the sancāk of Hamāh, and the kazā of ‘Ajlūn (sancāk Haurān) There were no Armenian officials in the sancāk of Salt

In the vilāyet of Beirut, the Armenians worked in the departments of the central government, in the kazā of Tripoli (sancāk Tripoli), in ‘Akkā and Ṣafad of the sancāk of ‘Akkā, and at the centres of the sancāks of Lādhikiyyah and Nāblos

As to the mutaṣarrıflık of Jabal Lubnān, Armenian officials in public life would be found, apart from in the centre, only at the kazās of Ṣūf and Zaḥlah

The Armenian Participation in Public Life of the Province of Damascus

In the province of Damascus (or Syria) the Armenians took part mainly in the departments of finance, engineering and the public health service (1)

At the headquarters of the vilāyet, in 1888-9 the Agricultural Bank agent was an Armenian, as was the accountant of the Ottoman Bank in 1900-901 In the technical field, in

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(1) For the vilāyet of Damascus (Syria) I have used the provincial year-books (Sūriye vilāyeti sālnāmesi) of the following years - 1286 H./1869-70, 1296 H./1878-9, 1298 H./1880-81, 1301 H./1883-4, 1306 H./1888-9, 1309 H./1891-92, 1312 H./1894-5, 1315 H./1897-8, and 1318 H./1900-901

1888-9 there were an Armenian engineer and a foreman in the department of public works, in 1895-6 the assistant engineer was a certain Tigran Efendi, in 1900-901 Şahin Efendi was the assistant engineer, while Melkon Sukiasean who between 1892-1903 was the agricultural inspector, became an engineer of mining from 1904 to 1908 In 1883-4 the forestry agent was an Armenian, Pöğos Efendi

In the spheres of public health, at the military hospital, in 1878-9 the surgeon was Yovhannēs Efendi, in 1888-9 the chemist and adjutant-major doctor were Armenian, in 1895-6 Arşin Efendi was a major doctor and Martiros Efendi was a hospital warder, but in 1900-901 the chemist of the municipality was Ohannēs (Yovhannēs) Efendi As to education, in 1900-901 the vice-director of the government secondary school was Hambarjum Efendi Nizamean who at the same time taught arithmetic, cosmology, chemistry and engineering

At the każā of Ba‘labakka the controller of revenue and expenditure was Armenian in 1888-9 In 1900-901 in the department of régie there was an Armenian official, and at the branch of the Agricultural Bank in 1895-6 and 1900-901 the accountant was Armenian

In Dīmā, in 1883-4 the controller of revenue and expenditure was Iskender Gēorgean Efendi, who in the capacity of his office was also ex officio member to the administrative council

At Nabak in 1888-9 the title-deeds' clerk was Armenian, and from about 1878 to 1895-6 there was an Armenian member in the administrative council of the kaḡā of Rāḡayyā

In the centre of the sancāk of Ḥamāh an Armenian was elected to the administrative council in 1869-70, and in 1900-901 the municipal chemist was Petros Efendi

At the kaḡā of Hims from about 1869-1884 there was an Armenian member in the municipal council and in 1900-901 a member was in the administrative council

In 'Ajlūn in the sancāk of Haurān, in 1900-901 the municipal doctor was Mihran Efendi Petrosean

The Armenian Participation in Public Life of the Province of Beirut

The participation of Armenians in public life of Beirut<sup>(1)</sup> was most evident at the centre of the province. They worked in the departments of technical affairs, public finance, of public health service, judicature, education and of agriculture. In the engineering department the engineers in 1900-901 and 1908 were Armenian, Yovhannēs and Viḡēn Efendis, and from 1892 to 1901 the foremen were also Armenian. In 1908 there was an agent in the postal and telegraphic service, while in 1893-4 the postmaster was Hambarjum Efendi. At the state press in

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(1) For the vilāyet of Beirut I have consulted the year-books of Syria (Sūriye vilāyeti sālnāmesi) and the year-books of Beirut (Beyrūt vilāyeti sālnāmesi) of the following years - 1310 H./1892-3, 1318 H./1900-901, 1319 H./1901-902, and 1326 H./1908

1893-4 the chief compositor was Armenian

In 1908 in the public debt administration the first account's clerk was Armenian and in the customs-house the chief clerk was Armenian In 1900-901 the agent for the forest and mine inspectorship was Oskan Efendi and from 1905 to 1908 Yakob Efendi Aslanean was the agricultural inspector

In judicature, from 1900 to 1902 a certain Grigor Efendi was included on the commercial court and during 1905-906 Arțur Efendi Mağakean was the judicial inspector In the spheres of education the accounts keeper of the education council was Armenian in 1893-4, as were the first and second assistants of the director in the state secondary school From about 1900 to 1908 Erowand Efendi Garagașean lectured in the same school in French, general history, law, book-keeping and astronomy, and in 1901-902 Erowand Efendi Tamğaçean taught geography, book-keeping and chemistry

In connection with the health service the Armenians contributed much particularly after 1890 In the military hospital from about 1888 to 1894 an Armenian, Mihran Efendi, was surgeon, and from 1900 to 1908 Tigran Efendi was the chemist In 1893-4 there were three Armenian doctors in the army medical corps In 1900-901, Arșak Efendi was health inspector for animals, and in the same year Aristakēs Efendi was clerk of French in the quarantine department Among the practising doctors of Beirut, the provincial year-book of

1908 records the name of Yūhannā Wortabed, <sup>(1)</sup> and among the graduated chemists Edwar Țoġatli (Edoward ȚogaȚlean)

At 'Akkā, an Armenian was quarantine agent from about 1893-4 to 1908 In the kaẓās of Tabariyyā and Nāşırah in 1900-902 the postmasters were Armenian, being Barseğ Efendi and Erowand Efendi, respectively Likewise at Şafad in 1893-4 the postmaster was an Armenian while in the same district Nşan Efendi was the municipal doctor in 1901

In Tripoli in 1893-4 Margar Efendi was the quarantine doctor and Yovhannēs Efendi was the engineer of public works from 1900 to 1902 In 1893-4 at the postal and telegraphic

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(1) Yūhannā (or John) Wortabed (M.D.), son of Yakob Wortabed, was born at Şaydā (Lebanon) in 1826 He learned first in a local missionary school, and then received higher education in Scotland 1851-55 he was the parson of the Protestant Church at Haşbayya, (being ordained in May, 1853) He went back to Scotland and in 1860 published his important book Researches into the religions of Syria (drawn from original sources) Afterwards he was sent to Aleppo as a missionary of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland where he acted until 1896 when he was called to a professorship in the Medical College of Beirut (later American University of Beirut) From October 1867 to 1882 he lectured in anatomy and physiology He was also on the committee which organised the 'Aşfürıyyah' hospital for the insane 1882-1908 (until his death) he served the people as a doctor having his clinic at Bāb Idris He was granted decorations by the Ottoman Government See H.H Jessup, Fifty-three years in Syria, New York-London, 1910, i, pp.48-49, 303-304, 344-5, ii, p 781, D Bliss, The reminiscences (of Daniel Bliss), New York-London, 1920, p.189, Dr. V.Y Țorgomean, Hay bżşkakan arjanagrabanuŧıwn [Armenian medical inscriptions], Venice, 1931, pp 186-8, Varżapetan op. cit , pp 72-91, and Jurjı Zaydān, Maşāhir al-Şark [The renowns of the East], 2nd imp , Cairo, ii, p.262

service of the quay the chief agent was an Armenian, Petros Efendi

At the centre of the sancāḳ of Nāblos in 1893-4 there was an Armenian in the administrative council, from 1900-901 the municipal doctors were Armenian, viz Arḩin and Nṣan Efendis and from about 1893-4 to 1900-901 an agent of the Agricultural Bank branch was Mırıĉan Efendi (Armenian?)

In Lādhiḳıyyah (now in Syria) some Armenians worked in the postal and telegraphic service during the period of 1878-9 - 1901-902, and from 1869-70 to 1878-9 an Armenian was included on the judicial council At the ḳazā of Jablah, in 1901-902 Matḩios Efendi was the municipal doctor

The Armenian Participation in the Public Life of Jabal Lubnān

The part of Armenians in the public life of Jabal Lubnān<sup>(1)</sup> was very limited, possibly because there were very few of them living in this mutaşarrıflıḳ

In the chief secretariat of the central government, Grigor Efendi ḳiwpēlean was the head of clerks from 1888 to 1892 At the same time there was an Armenian copyist in that office Again, during 1888-1892 the postmaster was Armenian

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(1) For this section of Jabal Lubnān I have used the year-books (Cebel-i Lubnān sāl-nāmesi) of the following years - 1304 H /1886-7, 1305 H /1887-8, 1306 H /1888-9, 1307 H /1889-90, 1308 H /1890-91, and 1309 H /1891-92

At Zahlah in 1878-9 the chief official of the postal and telegraphic service was Yovhannēs Efendi In the municipal council of the nāhiye of 'Akıba, in 1888-9 there was an Armenian member

#### A General View of the Armenian Participation

The Armenian participation in the public affairs of the provinces of Damascus and Beirut was not very large or constant, and especially in Jabal Lubnān Armenians had very little part in the public administrative apparatus The reason, I think, was that the Armenians of these districts were few in number, viz 3,150 Comparing the number of Armenian participants in Ottoman public life with the total number of Armenian inhabitants one can rightly conclude that they were well treated But why was this? Possibly because the Armenians were an industrious element, or it could also be that the Turks, from a political point of view, trusted them in Syria and Lebanon

It is interesting to note that while in other provinces Armenians were mainly included on the administrative and municipal councils and in the courts of justice, in the vilāyets of Damascus and Beirut and in the mutaşarrıflık of Jabal Lubnān they acted mostly in technical departments, the health service, in public finance and agricultural affairs I think the reason for this phenomenon was that for political administration and justice the officials would be elected

among the communities according to their number, whereas the other offices were acquired through appointment

In the spheres of education the Armenians, due to their knowledge of Turkish and Arabic languages, were employed in the government secondary schools as vice-directors and teachers

The Armenians in the Lebanon increased after the troubles of 1915-1920 Today there are four Armenian deputies in the Parliament and many Armenians are employed in different fields of public life

Some notable Armenians in the Public Life of Damascus, Beirut and Jabal Lubnān

ՇԱԹՐՇԵԱՆ, Mkrtiç (1870-1937) Born in Diyarbakır he learned, apart from his mother tongue, Turkish, Arabic and Persian In 1895/6 he settled down in Beirut and for 'long years' worked there in the public debt administration (1)

ԴՅՄՍԸ ՔԱՅՅԱ, Karapet (1816-1873) Born at Istanbul he was the son of an Armenian Catholic named Arçin Dāvūd (Davudean) or Dāvūd oğlu He received his higher education in Germany at the university of Berlin, and on his return to Istanbul he was employed in the ministry of foreign affairs Later he became the attache at the Turkish Embassy in Berlin, where he wrote a remarkable study on old German law, Histoire

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(1) Varžapetean, Hayerə Libanani mēj [The Armenians in Lebanon], pp 376-7

de la législation des anciens Germains (Berlin, 1845), for which in August 1858 he was granted an honorary doctorate by the faculty of law in Jena. On the 7th April 1856 (first day of Şa'bán 1272) he was appointed by an Imperial writ as the Ottoman general consul at Vienna. In 1858 he became the state printing director of the vilāyet of Aleppo, in 1859 the head of the department of censure at Istanbul, and in 1860 the minister of telegraphic service.

In the middle of June 1861, at the critical situation of Lebanon, he was assigned as the first governor general of the mutaşarrıflık of Jabal Lubnān (1861-1863). For having shown wisdom there, his office was prolonged for five more years (1863-1868). In 1868 he became minister of public works at Istanbul where he was successful in managing the construction of the Rumelian railway. In 1871 he retired, already ill, and died at Biarritz on the 4th November 1873 (1)

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(1) Ş. Fraşerî, Ḳāmūs ūl-a'ḷām [Dictionary of proper names], iii (1890-91), p.2111, EI<sup>1</sup>, i, p.929, K S Salibi, 'Dāvūd Pasha', EI<sup>2</sup>, ii, pp 184-5, IA, iii (1945), p.498, State Archives of Vienna (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Wien), 'Administrative Registratur des kaiserlich königlichen Ministeriums des Aeussern', F/9, Türkei-Wien, Karton 7, eight documents concerning Dāvūd Pāşā, dated May-June-July 1856, and two others from September 1859, Jessup, Fifty-three years in Syria, i, pp.234, 249, 250, 254, 266-7, 290-91 and 332, Hitti, Lebanon in history, pp 443-5 and E. Pōgosean, Karapet Arḡın Paşa Tawutean (1816-1873), (a study in Armenian), Vienna, 1949

ISHAK, 'Awni (1860-1935) Born at Damascus, he became a lawyer and served the courts of justice in Beirut and Jerusalem He translated the Ottoman criminal code into Arabic For his service he was given the order of Osmaniye by the government (1)

HALĒPLEAN, Daniēl Born in Arapkir and educated in the local Armenian Catholic school, he was employed in the telegraphic service at Alacahan, Tokat and Istanbul Later he moved to Beirut and worked there in the postal and telegraphic service for 'twenty years', 1905-1915 (?) (2)

MANUKEAN, Manuk-Bşara (1841-1925) He learned engineering and in 1860 was employed to work on the causeway from Beirut to Damascus On that occasion he made the acquaintance of Fū'ād Pāşā (1814-1868) who sent him to Trebizond to cooperate in the construction of the road leading to Erzurum In 1870 he returned to Beirut and continued to work there According to our source for 'a long time' he was chief engineer in the villāyets of Damascus and Beirut In 1890 he directed some excavations at Şaydā For his public services he was honoured with 'five decorations' by the Ottoman Government (3)

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(1) Varžapetean, op cit , pp 181-82

(2) Ibid , pp.342-3

(3) Ibid , pp.183-90

MINASEAN, Petros (1881-1935) Born in Bursa, he was educated in Jerusalem in the Armenian monastery of St. James and at the local French school In 1900 he settled in Beirut where he was employed in the post as 'an official of high rank' He carried out his office until 1914 (1)

NAFILEAN, Gaspar (1875-1938) Born at Istanbul in the family of Dr. Anton, he studied architecture in Paris and finished his course in 1895 In 1902 he went to Beirut on the invitation of Muzaffar Pāşā to design the plan of a government building He remained in Lebanon and served the country in his capacity as an architect (2)

SUKIASEAN, Melkon (1860-1915) Born in a village of Çemişgezek (in Elāzığ), he studied agronomy at Istanbul and Paris In 1883-4 he was employed in the ministry of agriculture at Istanbul and two years later he was sent to Aleppo as the provincial administrator of agriculture In 1892 he was transferred to Damascus where he worked first as the agricultural inspector until 1903 and then, from 1904 to 1908, as a mining engineer (3)

XAŞO, Emil The son of Joseph and the grandson of Antun, he came from Tiflis, but by 1820 had settled in Damascus Emil

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(1) Ibid , pp 352-3

(2) Ibid., pp 371-72

(3) Ibid , pp 408-410, and the year-books of the province of Damascus

studied constructional engineering at St Joseph University of Beirut and the University of Louvain From 1897 to 1902 he worked in Belgium and then returned to Beirut In 1904 he was appointed chief engineer, but he only carried out his office for three years He constructed several buildings in Beirut of which the hospital 'Autel Dieu de France' is famous (1)

XAYAT, Yovsēp (Joseph). He was born in Beirut, but his ancestors were from Tiflis In 1870 he was employed as a government engineer at Damascus and later worked in the municipality of Beirut for 18 years (2)

XNTAMEAN, Arakel (1856-1914). Born at Üsküdar, he was sent by the Ottoman Government to Russia among a group of students to learn engineering there After obtaining his degree he was employed in Jerusalem as a government official from 1895 to 1903 In 1904 he moved into Beirut and in 1907 into Aleppo, always being a government engineer (3)

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(1) Varžapetean, *ibid* , pp.238-9

(2) *Ibid* , p.248

(3) *Ibid* , pp.333-4

## CONCLUSIONS

### The Armenian Participation in Administrative and Municipal Councils

In the public life of the Ottoman Empire the administrative councils (meclis-i idāre) were the main governing bodies which acted under the presidency of the vālīs (provincial governor), mutaşarrıfs (governors of sancāḳ), kāymakāms (governors of kazā) and müdürs (governors of nāhiye) The members of these councils came into office by election, being representatives of Muslim and Christian communities Each community would have officials in the councils according to its number In the administrative councils the Armenians normally had two or three representatives At the provincial headquarters and in the centres of the sancāḳs, there were also one or two ex officio Armenian members who were the spiritual heads of the Apostolic and Catholic communities If there was a substantial Protestant community, they too were entitled to representation This number was increased to three if the head of the government department of finance happened to be an Armenian The elected Turkish and Armenian members of the councils were usually equal in number, but the ex officio Turkish members were always more numerous, since in addition to the governors and müftüs, the deputy judges and often the heads of financial departments were Turks

Consequently the Turkish members of the administrative councils were in the majority, and the controlling power was in their hands. This is the reason why the Armenians, in spite of their participation in political administration, were not able to defend their lives and rights.

It might be thought that the Armenians were exaggerating their discontent about the Ottoman administration in Anatolia as, for instance, in their published report on outrages,<sup>(1)</sup> and when they demanded reforms at the Congresses of San Stefano and Berlin. But there are eye-witness accounts by foreigners which attest to the abnormal situation. Here is what the British Consul of Aleppo, T H Skene, wrote to the Home Office -

'There are two Christian members of the Medjlis, but their presence at the sittings is a mere matter of form, as they take no part in deliberations and are treated with utter disregard, never venturing to express dissent in any decision, even though it be calculated to injure their brother Christians.'<sup>(2)</sup>

Here is also what 'a Prussian gentleman' from Erzurum

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(1) Teğekagirk gawarakan harstaharuteanc [Report on the outrages which occurred in the provinces], Istanbul, 1876

(2) P R O , F O 78/1538, T H Skene British Consul at Aleppo, to the Home Office, No 27, Aleppo, August 4, 1860

affirmed concerning the administrative councils -

'Dans chaque conseil les communautés arméniennes doivent être représentées là où elles le sont, les membres chrétiens des conseils ne sont que des personnages muets sans aucune influence (1)

It is evident that in a despotic regime like that of the Ottoman Empire the chief governors had final authority in every matter. Until 1896 the Armenians were not given high positions in political administration. In the Congress of Berlin 'Reforms' were promised for 'the provinces inhabited by Armenians' according to which the governors in Eastern Anatolia would be accompanied by Christian assistants. The Sublime Porte did not in fact keep her promises, and the advantages conferred upon Christians were not respected fully and consistently - on the whole they remained paper promises.

In the municipal councils the Armenians were treated better, comparatively speaking. There were usually two or three of them as elected members and, in addition, the doctor or the chemist or the engineer was Armenian. Sometimes even the mayor was Armenian. It is worthy of note that the municipality was the only department of public activity where the Armenians, before and after 1896, were from time to time

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(1) P R O , F O 78/1588, a descriptive memorandum prepared by 'a Prussian gentleman' residing in Erzurum and sent by Consul R A O Dalyell to the F O , 13th June 1861

in the majority, probably because the municipality did not possess any political power

### The Armenian Participation in Justice

The judicature was one of those fields of public life in which the Armenians were regularly represented. In the centres of the sancāks, especially at the provincial headquarters, there were from one to three (usually two) Armenian judges in the courts of appeal, one acting in the civil and the other in the criminal sections. In the courts of first instance, in the outlying kazās one, and at the centres, two Armenian members were elected. In the courts of commerce there were two or three, and in the central districts up to five, Armenians. Scarcely ever were they given the post of president, normally being mere members. If we take into account the Greek participants also, it can be noticed that sometimes in the commercial courts the Christians were in the majority. Turks were not concerned much about these courts, because the trade was mostly in the hands of Greeks and Armenians, and therefore the disputes would usually involve only these two peoples. For the Turkish ruling class at that period there was a social aversion against profiting by trade.

Apart from being judges, the Armenians were admitted into the administration of justice as judicial inspectors or assistants, as juges d'instruction or assistants, as

executive officers, members of public prosecution committees, lawyers, notaries, clerks and process-servers

It is interesting that, during the Tanzīmāt period, many Armenians were employed continuously in different departments of justice. Members of the courts were elected by the people, but others were selected by the government. The motive for this behaviour was perhaps that the Turks wished to appear to patronize their Christian subjects, or more probably because they really needed the cooperation of qualified Armenians. We have a notable testimony of a Turk<sup>(1)</sup> which shows the deep interest of Armenians in law -

'As I pointed out in the last chapter,<sup>(2)</sup> among forty-five students of the faculty of law [at Istanbul], thirteen were Armenian. Thirteen out of forty-five is proportionately a large number, considering the small number of Armenians relatively to other nationalities of the Ottoman Empire. The Armenians are admittedly very inauspicious people. They won good marks in the entrance examination, and the authorities at the Ministry of Public Instruction would not affix a limit of number, but admitted as many as successfully passed the examination.'

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(1) H. Halid, The diary of a Turk, 1903, p. 126

(2) Ibid., p. 103 where it is said - 'In our first year's class at the law college, in which there were about forty-five students, the number of Armenians alone reached thirteen.'

Not only at Istanbul, but in the universities of Syria, Europe and the United States, Armenians studied law and, on their return home, served the Ottoman Government. In any case the Armenian officials in the judicature as a rule, were less in number than the Turks, since the chairman of the judicial councils was always a Turk and there were one or two Turkish members more than the Christians. This is one of the reasons why the Armenians, in spite of the fact that many of them were included in the courts of justice, were themselves generally denied justice.

The Armenian Participation in Finance

The financial departments in the provinces of Eastern Anatolia present the field where the Armenians had the largest participation. They cooperated with the government in all offices of economic affairs. The following were the special departments where they were constantly included -

- Taxation department                      about three Armenians
- Tax collection board or  
Tax collection committee              2 - 5 Armenians
- Chamber of commerce (and  
agriculture)                              2 - 5 Armenians
- Ottoman Bank                              about two Armenians
- Agricultural Bank                        about two Armenians
- Public debt administration            2 - 5 Armenians
- Customs administration                about two Armenians
- Tobacco monopoly                        2 - 5 Armenians

The tobacco monopoly in the provinces was sometimes almost entirely run by Armenian officials. Here even the administrators were from time to time Armenian. In the taxation departments very often the cashiers were from the Armenian community, and in the branches of the Agricultural Bank the sole agents sometimes were Armenian.

In public finance the posts which Armenians filled were those of board committee member, tax collector, clerk, accountant, store-keeper, and particularly that of cashier. Evidently the Turks trusted the Armenians in fiscal matters and employed Armenian officials in large numbers. It would appear that while in connection with political administration the Turks were very cautious, concerning financial affairs they felt quite safe towards Christian participation. The political considerations, therefore, were one of the main factors which governed the acts of Ottomans in proportioning the offices among Muslims and Christians.

#### The Armenian Participation in Technical Affairs and Agriculture

The technical and agricultural departments were secondary fields in which Armenian participation was not very influential or continuous. In public works Armenians were included as chief and second engineers, and as foremen, being two or three in number. They were also employed

in road-making as engineers and foremen From three to five of them worked in the provincial presses as mechanists and compositors It is interesting to recall that in the vilāyets of Sivas, Seyhan and Aleppo, the government presses had sections for Armenian printing In the postal and telegraphic services Armenians acted as directors, operators and translators, especially in the divisions of foreign languages At the centres of the sancāks or provinces Armenian participation in technical affairs was quite remarkable, but in the kazās it was limited

As for agriculture, Armenians were employed in the agricultural and forestry boards, and in the inspectorates of agriculture and forests In each of these departments the Armenian officials were two or three, and sometimes as many as six It was particularly common to see forestry or agricultural Armenian inspectors in various provinces of Anatolia

#### The Armenian Participation in Secretariat and Education

In government departments of Eastern Anatolia Armenians were mostly to be found in secretarial positions They were employed as clerks, copyists or accountants in administrative and municipal councils, in different financial chambers, in the courts, and in technical affairs In each office there would be two or three of them Armenian clerks were employed in a larger number in purely

secretarial work, i e the chief secretariat, chamber of archives, state land registry, and the investigation committee for title-deeds Naturally there were more Armenians acting in the centres of the provinces than in the outer kazās

Armenian translators were employed in the provincial headquarters as chief translators, especially in the vilāyets of Van, Erzurum and Seyhan, and in the postal and telegraphic services in the foreign languages sections

The translators, clerks or accountants were called to office not by election but by appointment Why is it that relatively so many Armenians were admitted to secretarial duties? I suggest that the reason was that they were generally honest and methodical in their work, no other explanation is satisfactory

In the field of education, two or three Armenians were included on each of the education councils and committees The councils were established in the sancāk centres, and the committees in the kazās It is interesting that Tigran Amirčanean was the head of the education council in Van, from 1893 to 1897, in Damascus Hambarjum Efendi Nizamean was the vice-director and a teacher in the government secondary school, about 1900, and in Beirut the first and second assistants to the director of state secondary school were Armenian in 1893-4 Armenian

teachers were employed in preparatory and secondary schools and in the schools of arts and crafts. They usually taught French, mathematics, science, and among various crafts particularly carpenter's work and carpet-weaving. It is important to note that from about 1890 the Armenian language was introduced in the syllabus of the government secondary schools in the centres of the provinces of Diyarbakır, Erzurum, Seyhan, Elāziğ and Aleppo. Possibly it was taught also in the vīlāyets of Van, Bitlis and Sivas, but no evidence on this matter was available.

It is worthy of mention that in respect of editing official newspapers Armenians rendered a noticeable assistance to the local governments. In Sivas Andranik Efendi Vardanean was the editor of Sivās from 1875/1876, in Diyarbakır Sahak Efendi Şişmanean was the editor of Diyārbakır about 1880, while in Aleppo the weekly al-Furāt (The Euphrates) was published in Turkish and Arabic as well as in Armenian, one and a half years during 1286-1287 H /1869-1871.

#### The Armenian Participation in Public Health Service and the Police Force

The participation of Armenians in the department of public health of Eastern Anatolia, in this work has been described generally as minor in comparison with their contribution to the political administration, justice and

finance Although their share was larger and more constant, in some provinces and in particular periods, nevertheless it was the Armenians who in the main carried on the medical service together with the Turks The Greeks were more employed in the army medical corps and were in a predominant position only in the province of Trebizond

The Armenian participation in public health was remarkable in the vilāyets of Diyarbakır, Sivas, Seyhan Elāziğ and particularly in Aleppo, Damascus and Beirut Whereas in other places the medical contribution of Armenians, compared with the other aspects of their activities was small, in the latter three provinces it was of the first rank Armenians, who even went so far as New York to study medicine, nostalgically preferred their native Anatolia to the expanding New World and the prospect of lucrative practice Armenian medical men were employed chiefly in the local municipalities of different districts, and also in the government hospitals at Sivas, Seyhan, Aleppo, Damascus and Beirut They held various posts, but usually were doctors, surgeons and chemists, and their activity was larger and more firmly established at the centres of the provinces than in the kazās

In connection with the police force, Armenians were included only in the police stations at the centres of the 'provinces inhabited by Armenians', and scarcely ever in

outer districts They were employed as assistant superintendents of police, police sergeants, and policemen, but were few in number

The Participation of Greeks, Syrians and Kurds in Ottoman Public Life of Eastern Anatolia and Syria

It is advisable for comparative study to notice the parallel participation of the other principal non-Turkish elements of the population Summing up the participation of the communities other than Armenian, it is clear that none of them had such a large and permanent coöperation with the Ottoman Government in the public affairs of Eastern Anatolia and Syria as the Armenian millet The Greeks worked in the governments of all provinces, but only in the vilāyet of Trebizond, the ancient capital of the Pontine Empire and a historic centre of Hellenism, were they more influential than the Armenians Generally speaking they took part in most aspects of Ottoman public life, their contribution however, was particularly noticeable in the public health service and political administration In judicature and finance also their participation was of value, but in technical affairs, and especially in education, secretariat, agriculture and the police force, their influence was almost negligible

Syrian officials in Ottoman government work were found in the vilāyets of Diyarbakır, Bitlis and Van Possibly

there were some in other provinces as well, but I was not able to identify them. They served the departments of political administration, justice and finance.

As to the Kurds, I succeeded in finding personal names which are exclusively Kurdish only in the vilāyets of Bitlis and Van. They were included in political administration, judicature and the police force, and as far as I was able to recognize them, were very few. We must always remember in this connection that the Kurdish community was in essence nomadic and rustic. Civilized culture was alien to them, and all governments were obnoxious, whether Ottoman or Persian. However, individual Kurds, once removed from their native pastures, have achieved distinction in the Ottoman forces.

In all the local Armenian histories of Anatolia I have not come across any evidence that there was a rivalry between the Armenian and other minorities in respect of their participation in public affairs. Apparently the Christian communities lived together in harmonious and peaceful relations.

#### How the 'Loyal Community' became the hated Community of the Ottoman Empire

The Armenians in the very early days of the conquest of Constantinople were treated by the Ottomans in a friendly manner and were granted all the privileges proper to a religious community within the Ottoman and Islamic framework.

Especially in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries, until in fact about 1875, when many Armenian notables served the Ottoman Court as bankers, mint-masters, superintendents of powder-mills and architects, <sup>(1)</sup> the Armenian community was regarded and called by the Turks as 'millet-i şādika' ('the loyal community') It is instructive to note how Ubcini about 1850, speaking of the Christians of the Ottoman Empire, said that 'the Greek and Slavonic population are instinctively hostile', <sup>(2)</sup> while he described the Armenians as 'peaceable, industrious, and contented, connected by interest with the Turks' <sup>(3)</sup> But in the second-half of the XIXth century, as the Tanzimāt and the new provincial organization gave to the Armenians opportunity of participating in Ottoman public affairs on a large scale, the Turkish-Armenian concord instead of becoming more fraternal and tactful, descended to suspicion and antagonism How did this change come about?

The bonds of peace and harmony between the Turks and Armenians did not decay suddenly, but decreased in the course of time and through unfortunate events -

(a) The first troubles, in my opinion, started with

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(1) M A Ubcini, Letters on Turkey, 1856, 11, 310-18, J Deny, in 'Arminiya', EI 2, 1, p 640, and F Nansen, L'Armenie et le Proche Orient, 1928, pp 297-9

(2) Ubcini, *ibid* , 11, pp 244-5

(3) *Ibid* , pp 252-3

the Armenian 'National Constitution' In 1856 when the Khatt-ı Humāyūn (Imperial rescript) of the Ottoman Government promised to non-Muslim communities re-instatement of all immunities and rights in an advanced form, the Armenians were hopeful that their civil life, particularly in Anatolia, would be reformed and secured They immediately compiled a community-regulation and presented it to the Sublime Porte It was rejected on the ground that 'no state can be within another state' (1) In this formula we see a new subtle influence - Young European-orientated Turkish rulers began to be disillusioned with the Islamic-Ottoman state structure Certainly, the old Ottoman state structure, which could readily absorb a state such as the Republic of Ragusa and a 'nation' such as the Armenian, could legitimately be described as 'states within a state' Before the days of the impingement of European ideas, it could never have occurred to an official in the Sublime Porte to have used such an expression Subsequently the Armenians prepared a new constitution (1860) which, on the suggestions of the Ottoman Government, was revised and altered in some places The people being very anxious to have the new regulation, organized demonstrations, whereupon the police intervened

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(1) B Kēčean, Patmuṭıwn surb Prkçı hiwandanoçin Hayoç ı Konstandnupolis [History of S Prkiç hospital of the Armenians in Constantinople], p 95

to establish peace, and finally on the 30th March 1863 Sultān 'Abd ūl-'Azīz by a special Imperial rescript, ratified the new 'Regulation of the Armenian Patriarchate'

(b) In 1878 the Armenians were involved in the negotiations of the Treaties of San Stafano and Berlin and with the assistance of Russia and Great Britain drew the attention of Europe to the Armenian Question and succeeded in obtaining 'improvements and reforms' from the Ottoman Government for the 'provinces inhabited by Armenians' Sultān 'Abd ūl-Hamīd II and the Sublime Porte were angry with this conduct of the Armenians and they did not fulfil their promises of 'Reforms' In desperation the Armenians protested and demonstrated against the Government Massive massacres were carried out during the years 1894-1896 in Anatolia and Istanbul, until under the pressure from the Great Powers the Sublime Porte began reluctantly to execute the 'Reforms' At that time the Armenians, since they enjoyed the protection of some European States, were suspected of duplicity and of being agents of Great Britain and especially of Russia (1)

(c) After the Congress of Berlin Armenian political parties were founded to defend the life of the Armenians in Anatolia and with the help of Europe, to hasten the

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(1) M Fuat (Köprülü), Les minorites en Turquie, Strasbourg, 1936, pp 118-21, and H Halid, The diary of a Turk, pp 115-16

effectuation of the 'Reforms' These were the H<sup>n</sup>çakean Socialist Party, formed in Geneva in 1887, and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, founded in Tiflis in 1890 The members of these parties in Anatolia were mostly Turkish Armenians, but the founders and leaders were from Russian Armenia, influenced by the guerilla tactics of the Russian revolutionists In Europe they achieved favourable relations with English and French diplomatists and in Istanbul they organized demonstrations demanding the execution of the 'Reforms' The climaxes of their audacious and imprudent activities were the siege of the Ottoman Bank at Galata (26th August 1896) and the attempt with aid of a time-bomb on the life of the Sultān 'Abd ūl-Hamīd (1905) which failed and caused a new massacre

In 1908 the Young Turks came into power and in 1909 Sultān was deposed, but the Armenians, for the reasons mentioned above, were no longer regarded as 'millet-i şādiqa' The leaders of the Young Turks and of those of the Armenian political parties were at first of one mind and banded together, but generally speaking the Turks were so full of suspicion and intolerance that the way was already prepared for 'the final solution' of the Armenian Question in the First World War

#### Principal Findings

The present work enables us to give here some general

conclusions on Ottoman-Armenian relations, and particularly concerning the participation of the Armenian people in Ottoman public life in Eastern Anatolia and Syria from 1860 to 1908 -

(a) In Eastern Anatolia and Syria there lived a large Armenian community which, according to my estimate, numbered at least 1,200,000 in the second-half of the XIXth century. They were a civilized and hard-working people, and as such contributed much to the economy as well as to the affairs of government there.

(b) After the new geographical-administrative division and organization of the Ottoman Empire in 1864, a demand for many more officials arose. The Armenians filled the necessity acting almost in all departments. In some fields of public life their participation was steady, as in finance, municipal councils, law courts, secretariat, but fluctuated in others, as in the technical field, public health and agriculture.

(c) It would appear that the political questions were an important factor in the method of the Ottoman Government in employing Christian officials. For instance, in municipalities and in finance departments the Armenians were included, comparatively speaking, in considerable number and continuously, whereas in administrative and judicial councils they were kept to a minority, and as to the police

force Armenians appear to have been barred from participation. Although in the 'Reforms' of 1896 it was said that the Christians would have policemen and gendarmes in the governments according to their number, even then this promise was not honoured. To my view, the 'Reforms' for which the Armenian ecclesiastical and civil leaders strove so hard, instead of being any help in reforming the life of the Armenian community in Anatolia, were transformed into a calamity exciting the anger of Sultān 'Abd ūl-Hamīd and of the Turkish nationalists of the new school who had no toleration for these autonomous 'nations' of the Ottoman past.

(d) In spite of the unfortunate events, we notice that Armenians continued to serve the Ottoman Government. In retaining the Armenian officials the Turks were in part respecting public feeling among the Christian peoples, and at the same time satisfying the European States, particularly Great Britain, France and Russia, who showed an interest in the Armenian Question. From this it follows that the Armenians performed great services for the Ottoman Government, but received little in return.

APPENDICES

- I General Table of the Armenian Participation in Ottoman Public Affairs of Eastern Anatolia and Syria by Avocation
- II General Table of the Armenian Participation in Ottoman Public Affairs of Eastern Anatolia and Syria by Provinces
- III General Table showing Greek, Syrian Christian and Kurdish Officials in Ottoman Public Affairs of Eastern Anatolia and Syria by Avocation
- IV General Table showing Greek, Syrian Christian and Kurdish Officials in Ottoman Public Affairs of Eastern Anatolia and Syria by Provinces
- V The Letter of the Armenian Delegates submitted to the Congress of Berlin
- VI A Modern Turk on the Armenian Past

A P P E N D I C E S

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Explanatory Notes for the Tables (Appendices I - IV)

- I           The first appendix is a general table which shows the extent to which Armenians participated in the main fields of Ottoman public life of Eastern Anatolia and Syria, 1860 - 1908, by avocation. It is marked by 'C', if their participation was considerable, or by 'M' when it was minor.
- II           The second table is similar to the first, but it draws the attention of the reader to the provinces I also wished to present by tables the Armenian participation in public affairs of a particular province, but I noticed that it will enlarge the work too much. In order to fill the gap, I have described in full the share of the Armenian community in public life of the last three provinces, viz Elāziğ, Aleppo and Beirut-Jabal Lubnān (chapters VIII, IX and X). In these chapters the numbers of the Armenian officials in each department of various districts, dates in which the Armenian participation was especially remarkable, and even some names of renowned<sup>er</sup> officials have been sufficiently indicated.
- III          The third general table shows the participation of the Greek, Syrian Christian and Kurdish communities in Ottoman public life by avocation.
- IV          The fourth table is similar to the former, but it

presents the Greek, Syrian and Kurdish officials in  
Ottoman public affairs by provinces

APPENDIX I

General Table of the Armenian Participation in Ottoman  
Public Affairs of Eastern Anatolia and Syria by Avocation

	Diyarbakir	Bitlis	Van	Erzurum	Trebizond	Sivas	Seyhan	Elâzığ	Aleppo	Damascus	Beirut
Administrative Councils	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	M	M
Municipal Councils	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	-	-
Judicature	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	-	M
Finance	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Technical Affairs	C	M	M	M	M	M	C	M	M	C	C
Secretariat	M	C	-	M	M	C	C	M	M	-	-
Public Health	M	M	-	M	M	M	M	M	C	C	C
Education	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Agriculture	M	-	-	M	M	M	M	M	M	C	M
Police Force	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	-	-	-

C = Considerable participation

M = Minor participation

APPENDIX II

General Table of the Armenian Participation in Ottoman  
Public Affairs of Eastern Anatolia and Syria by Provinces

	Administrative councils	Municipal councils	Judicature	Finance	Technical Affairs	Secretariat	Public Health	Education	Agriculture	Police Force
Diyarbakir	C	C	C	C	C	M	M	M	M	M
Bitlis	C	C	C	C	M	C	M	M	-	M
Van	C	C	C	C	M	-	-	M	-	M
Erzurum	C	C	C	C	M	M	M	M	M	M
Trebizond	C	C	C	C	M	M	M	M	M	M
Sivas	C	C	C	C	M	C	M	M	M	M
Seyham	C	C	C	C	C	C	M	M	M	M
Elāziğ	C	C	C	C	M	M	M	M	M	M
Aleppo	C	C	C	C	M	M	C	M	M	-
Damascus	M	-	-	C	C	-	C	M	C	-
Beirut	M	-	M	C	C	-	C	M	M	-

APPENDIX III

General Table showing Greek, Syrian Christian and  
Kurdish Officials in Ottoman Public Affairs of  
Eastern Anatolia and Syria by Avocation

	Diyarbakir	Bitlis	Van	Erzurum	Trebizond	Sivas	Elâzığ	Aleppo
Administrative Councils	G S	G S K	S K	G	G	G	G	G
Municipal Councils	S				G			
Judicature	G S	K	S K	G	G	G	G	G
Finance	G S	K		G	G	G	G	G
Technical Affairs	G				G	G	G	G
Post Office		G			G			G
Public Health	G	G		G	G	G	G	G
Education				G	G			G
Secretariat						G	G	
Agriculture					G			
Police Force		G K						

G = Greek

S = Syrian

K = Kurdish

APPENDIX IV

General Table showing Greek, Syrian Christian and  
Kurdish Officials in Ottoman Public Affairs of  
Eastern Anatolia and Syria by Provinces

	Administrative councils	Municipal councils	Judicature	Finance	Technical Affairs	Post Office	Public Health	Education	Secretariat	Agriculture	Police Force
Diyarbakir	G S	S	S	S	G		G				
Bitlis	G S K		K	K		G	G				G K
Van	S K		S K								
Erzurum	G		G	G			G	G			
Trebizond	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	G		G	
Sivas	G		G	G	G		G		G		
Elāziğ	G		G	G	G		G		G		
Aleppo	G		G	G	G	G	G	G			

APPENDIX V

The Letter of the Armenian Delegates submitted to the  
Congress of Berlin

Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien,  
Politisches Archiv III, Karton 115,  
Berliner Kongress

Schreiben der armenischen Delegierten  
an den Minister des Aeussern, Grafen Karolyi

Excellence'

Charges, par S.S le Patriarche Arménien de  
Constantinople et l'Assemblée nationale des Arméniens de  
Turquie de la mission de plaider la cause de notre peuple  
auprès des Puissances réunies en Congres, nous nous  
adressons à Votre Excellence pour La prier de vouloir bien  
prendre en consideration nos demandes

Les Armeniens, dont la cause sera soumise au Congrès  
par le fait meme de l'Article 16 du Traité de St Stefano,  
désirent avoir les améliorations administratives, qui seront  
données aux populations chrétiennes de la Turquie d'Europe,  
car le regime sous lequel ils ont vecu jusqu'a présent en  
Arménie est bien plus oppressif que celui subi par les races  
chrétiennes de la Turquie d'Europe

Nous ne réclamons donc pas de liberté politique et nous  
ne voulons nullement nous separer du Gouvernement Turc  
Nous voulons seulement avoir dans une partie de l'Arménie  
Turque, c'est-à-dire dans les vilayets d'Erzeroum et de Van  
et dans la partie septentrionale du vilayet de Diarbekir

(v la carte ci-jointe) ou nous avons la majorite sur les Turcs, conformément aux documents statistiques ci - inclus, nous voulons avoir, disons nous, un vali Arménien nommé par la S. Porte avec l'assentiment des Puissances Ce vali sera chargé de l'administration locale pour un temps déterminé, il devra disposer d'une police pour maintenir l'ordre et la sécurité, et d'une partie des revenus du pays, pour en assurer le développement moral et matériel

Le Projet de Règlement organique que nous avons l'honneur de soumettre à l'appréciation de Votre Excellence aussi bien qu'à celle de tous les Plénipotentiaires, pourra donner à Votre Excellence une idée sur le caractère et les détails du régime administratif, que nous sollicitons aujourd'hui pour la paix et le bien être des populations de l'Arménie Turque

Notre expérience personnelle des hommes et des choses de l'Orient nous porte à prendre la liberté de déclarer qu'un Gouverneur Turc et une administration musulmane ne peuvent pas faire les réformes nécessaires à notre pays Si le Gouvernement Turc est laissé libre dans le choix du vali Arménien, les caprices de Constantinople perpétueraient fatalement les abus mêmes que l'Europe cherche à faire disparaître S'il conserve le droit de changer le vali arbitrairement, il ne lui laissera ni le temps de consolider son autorité, ni celui d'entreprendre des réformes

nécessaires et sérieuses Si c'est au Gouvernement Turc à élire les fonctionnaires du vilayet, il tombera dans les mêmes erreurs que par le passé Si le vali n'a pas une gendarmerie sous ses ordres, son autorité sera tout-à-fait impuissante Si on laisse au Gouvernement central la faculté de régler lui-même le budget de la Province, il s'emparerait de tous les revenus, ne laissant au pays qu'une somme si minime, que tout progrès et toute bonne administration deviendraient impossibles Si enfin tous ces arrangements n'étaient pas sauvegardés par la garantie d'une surveillance européenne, les tristes traditions du régime musulman feraient nécessairement renaître ces convulsions périodiques que les efforts de l'Europe réunie cherchent à prévenir

Après ces explications succinctes, nous avons l'honneur de soumettre notre cause à la sagesse et à l'équité de Votre Excellence en La priant de vouloir bien lui accorder son bien veillant appui au sein du Congrès

Veillez agréer, Excellence, l'hommage de notre plus haute considération

Délégués des Arméniens de Turquie

Berlin, ce 25 juin 1878

Khorène de Nar Bey,  
Archevêque de Beschiktasch

(Signé Meguerditch Kherimian, Archevêque de Daron et ex-Patriarch des Arméniens du Turquie )

APPENDIX VI

A Modern Turk on the Armenian Past, Erinal, Günay  
(Assistant to the Agricultural Inspector), 'Fabrika yemı'  
[Manufactured animal food], Milliyet, Istanbul, 25th  
October 1962, translated by M.K.K

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There is a famine in Eastern Turkey Last winter all  
the newspapers reported that animals were dying of hunger  
Bulanık is a kağā which is also suffering from lack of  
animal food in the East The local Bank offered to give  
food to the peasants' animals In looking through the  
documents I noticed the following letters -

'We do not approve of manufactured food which  
the Bank is offering to give us Instead of food  
we want to be given money'

Why did they refuse the offer of the Bank? Is it  
because they did not know what factory food was, or  
because they did not need any? The first suggestion  
is much more likely In the beginning of 1962 in  
Saimbeyli (Haçın) the villagers said -

'In the days of the Armenians more people lived  
here, the grapes and their wine were very well-  
known At that time there was also a college,  
which disappeared with the Armenians "The making  
of wine is sinful", we said, and destroyed the  
vineyards In course of time Saimbeyli was

deserted by most of its inhabitants In the old houses of the Armenians the wine cellars still remain' 'In the days of the Armenians here ' I had heard these words long ago, and I heard them very often recently In July 1961 we were listening to the radio in the one-roomed house of Dr. Enver Dağasan. At night there was a knock on the door and we saw a gendarme

- 'Doctor Bey', he said, 'the villages of Hunu and Lorşun have quarrelled and fired on each other It is necessary to intervene'

The kāymakām, the superintendent of police, the doctor and the gendarmerie commandant sat in a car and went to Hunu The next day I found out the reason for the dispute between the two villages Through Hunu flows a stream called Hunu Çayı A tributary of this stream flows into Lorşun The people of Hunu, claiming that their water was not enough, damned the branch of Lorşun The kāymakām went and ordered that Lorşun must have water two days a week putting a gendarme on the border The people of Hunu again stopped the water, whereupon an armed fight, like an open battle, took place

This stream has been a point of dispute between Afşin and Elbistan as well When I was there, two committees from the two kazās were discussing an agreement in the presence of the kāymakām I do not know the result, because

meanwhile I went somewhere else At that time some people said -

'When the Armenians were here there was a dam on the river by virtue of which we had no shortage of water Parts of this barrage still remain in the water, and three or four hundred sacks of cement would be more than enough to repair the dam If the two villages come together and accomplish this work, then both kazās of Afşin and Elbistan may have sufficient water'

In Hakkāri also I heard Armenians mentioned The valley of Zap runs from Hakkāri to Çukurca through rocky mountains The officer of the Bank, who was from Hakkāri itself and named Coşkun, said -

'The Armenians, by planting terrace-vineyards on the steep mountain-side, produced grapes, and it was very successful'

- 'But it does not exist now', I said

- 'Our people neglected the land', he added

In the Gürpınar kazā of Van there is a spring of the same name Two streams come out of this spring, one flows towards Van and into the lake near Edremit, and the other flows in the opposite direction through the plains The length of the first stream is said to be more than 70 Kms ,

but I do not know about the second, probably it is longer  
These were also set in order by Armenians, and now both of  
them are abandoned The water is being exploited, but  
not as efficiently as by the Armenians

In the Çatak kazā of Van there are thousands of  
pistachio nut trees, but they are not fertilized Last  
year some trees were fertilized, but this year the new shoots  
were not cleaned off, due to the lack of skilled gardeners  
On the road to Hakkāri and on the boundaries of the Zap  
valley there are infertilized pistachio nut trees As yet  
nobody has looked after them, in spite of the fact that the  
value of pistachio nut is well-known - - - - -

I knew Eastern Turkey as much as what had remained in  
my memory from the geography books which we had learned at  
the schools mountainous, stony, rocky, the winters long-  
lasting and the summers are so short that one may say they  
hardly come Whereas I saw uncultivated land there In  
between Adilcavaz and Van, Van and Hakkāri there are many  
such places You would say that 'They breed cattle and  
produce grass there' There was no grass to reap, and as  
far as my eye could reach I did not see any animal In my  
opinion this means that our peasants, beside their ignorance,  
also do not like to work, though the making profitable these  
people would be very easy

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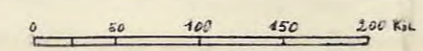
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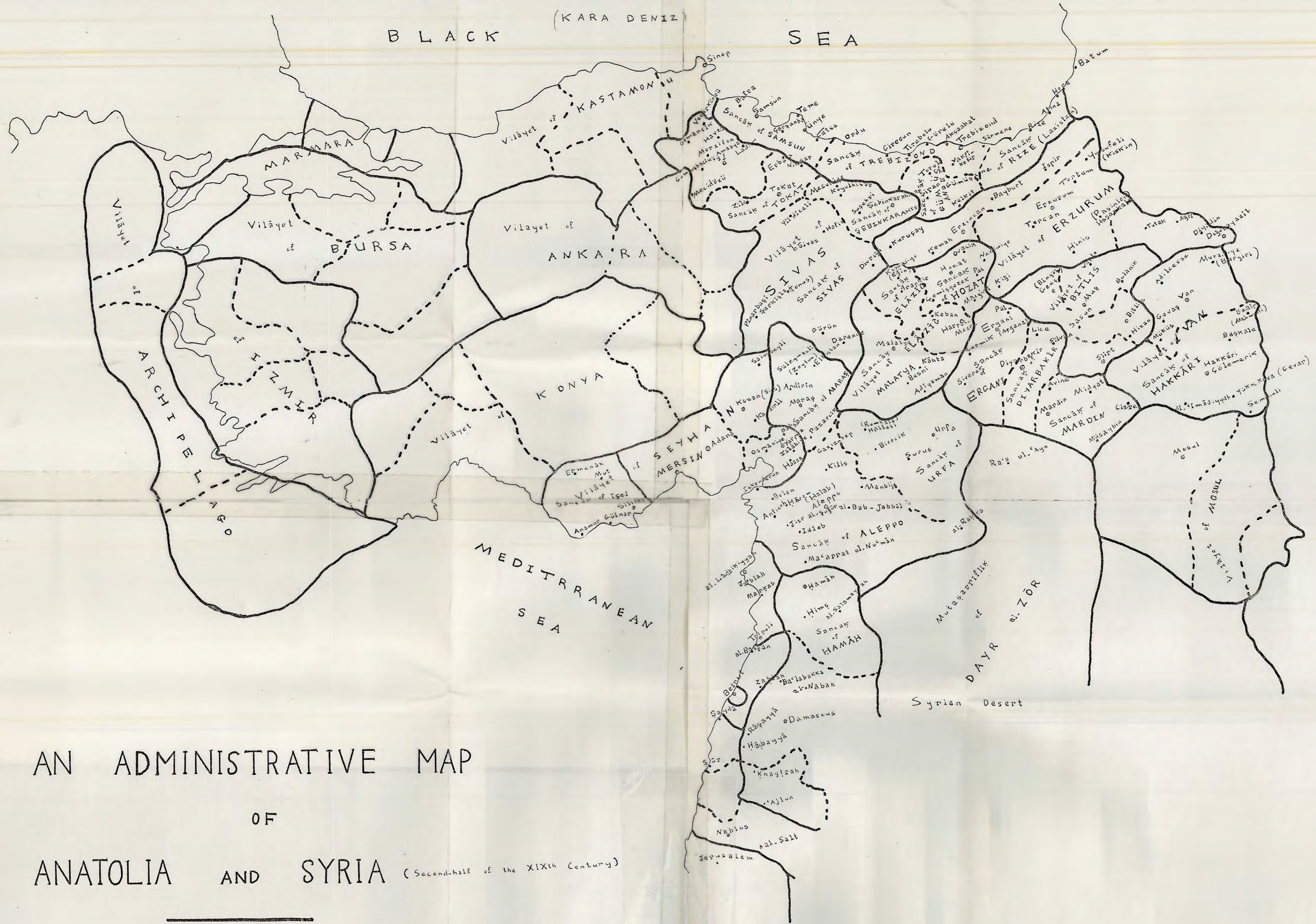


AN ADMINISTRATIVE MAP  
OF  
ANATOLIA AND SYRIA (Second-half of the XIXth Century)

Scale: 1: 6,000,000.



Signs: ○ = Centres  
● = Outer districts



AN ADMINISTRATIVE MAP  
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Scale: 1: 6,000,000.

0 50 100 150 200 Kil

Signs: ○ = Centres  
 ● = Outer districts