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Foundation for the Establishment
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Prepared for publication by the
Historical Research Publishing Unit
under the supervision and general
coordination of the Istanbul Research Center

Documentary Publications

Ankara Cad. Ankara Han Kat. 3 No. 301-309 34410 Sirkeci-İstanbul
Phone: (90-1) 527 29 43

Editor : Tülây Duran
Translation : Prof. Dr. Süheyla Artemel
Bosphorus University
Typesetting : Reba Reklam
Graphics : Zaman Tanıtım
Offset Photography : Laçın Repro
Printing : Alaş Ofset
Binding : Numune Ciltevi

ISBN 975-7555-00-2

THE ARMENIANS IN HISTORY AND THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

ESAT URAS

English translation of the
revised and expanded second edition



DOCUMENTARY PUBLICATIONS
1988

ARMENIANS IN HISTORY AND THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

Author's Preface (Esat Uras)	219
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PART I

BACKGROUND

I.	Sources of Armenian History and the Armenian	
	Historians	225
	Works on Armenian History and Language by Foreign	
	Writers	231
	Moses Horenatsi (Moses of Khoren), his Life	
	and Works	233
II.	Geography of Armenia	239
III.	A Summary of the History of Armenia According to the	
	Armenian Historians	245
	Armenia in the Time of Alexander the Great and his	
	Successors	263
	Armenia Under Parthian Rule	264
	The Arsachagouni	265
	Armenia Under Arab, Persian and Byzantine Rule	289
IV.	Studies in Armenian History	309
V.	Various Views on the Origins of the Armenians	319
	The Names Armenia and Armen	321
VI.	The Ethnological and Anthropological Characteristics of	
	the Armenian People	327
VII.	Language and Literature	329
VIII.	Armenian Mythology	337
IX.	The Armenian Church	341
	The Place of the Armenian Church in the Christian World,	
	The Schism of the Latin and Orthodox Churches	343
X.	Attempts at Unification With the Byzantine Church	349
XI.	Attempts at Union With The Church of Rome	351
XII.	The Armenian Population	353

PART II**REFORM AND THE ARMENIAN QUESTION**

I.	The Situation Of the Armenians in Turkey up to the Ottoman - Russian War of 1877 - 1878	369
II.	National Constitution of the Armenians in The Turkish Empire	375
	The Central National Administration	382
	I. The Patriarch of Constantinople	382
	II. The Bureau of the Patriarchate	386
	III. The Patriarch of Jerusalem	387
	IV. National Religious Assembly	388
	V. The Political Assembly	390
	VI. Councils and Committees Organised by the Political Assembly	391
	VII. Councils of Quarters	395
VIII.	The National General Assembly-Its Organisation And Its Duties	396
III.	Law Relating To the Catholicos Of the Russian Armenians (Pologenia)	407
IV.	First Steps	411
V.	Review Of The Reform Question up to the 1877-78 Ottoman-Russian War	419
VI.	Initiatives Following The Ottoman - Russian War of 1977-78: The Congress of Berlin	439
VII.	The Congress of Berlin	459
	The Nubar Pasha Projects	461
	(Administrative Project for Turkish Armenian Representatives Presented by the Delegation of Armenian Representatives to the Congress of Berlin)	469
	Statistics appended to the Project (Ottoman Armenia) ...	472
	Memorandum on the Armenian Question	476
VIII.	After the Congress of Berlin	495
IX.	Initiatives and Correspondence on the Reform Question	519
X.	The Project and Memorandum on the Question of Reform Submitted by the Ambassadors of Russia, Great Britain and France	545
	State of the Armenians in Russia at that Time	617
XI.	The Reform Question After 1908	625

PART III**ASSOCIATIONS – POLITICAL COMMITTEES AND REVOLTS**

I.	Associations	671
II.	The Foundation of the Political Committees	677
	The Hunchak Committee	682
III.	Mutinies and Rebellions	713
	The Erzurum Incident	713
	The Musa Bey Incident	715
	The Kumkapı Demonstration	716
	The Merzifon, Kayseri and Yozgat Incidents	719
	Memorandum (Confidential)	723
	The First Sasun Mutiny	726
	The Sublime Porte Demonstration (18 September 1895)	733
	After the Proclamation of the 1908 Constitution	810
	Terror in Adana	818

PART IV**FROM 1908 UNTIL THE END OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR**

I.	Political Committees	833
II.	The World War	841
III.	Revolts and Relocation	855
IV.	Armenian Emigrations and Relocation	887
V.	Changes in Russian Policy Towards Armenia	891
VI.	The Situation of the Armenians after the Russian Revolution	905
	The Batum Conference (April - May 1918)	911

PART V.**PEACE, SÉVRES AND LAUSANNE TREATIES**

I.	Peace-Wilson's Principles - The Treaty of Sévres	917
II.	The Phases of the Armenian Question Prior to the Treaty of Lausanne as Reported in Armenian Memorandum	923
III.	The Armenian Question From the Establishment of the National Government Until the Conference of Lausanne	951
	The Treaty of Alexandropol (Gümri)	959
IV.	The Conference of Lausanne	971

V.	The Situation of the Armenians After the Conference of Lausanne	1001
VI.	Activities for the Independence of Armenia	1005
	1. The Activities of Israel Ori	1005
	2. The Attempts by Catholicos Hovsep Arguthian	1010
	3. The Attempts of Catholicos Nerses Ashtaraketsi	1015
VII.	Russian Views on the Armenians	1019
	Appendix	1023
	Bibliography	1029
	Index	1033

**ARMENIANS IN HISTORY
AND
THE 'ARMENIAN QUESTION'**

Esat Uras

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Anatolia is undoubtedly one of the most important regions of the world from the point of view of the role it has played in social and cultural history. From the very earliest times it had been the cradle of civilization, and many states and civilizations under many different names have been established here. The soil of Anatolia, which has produced so many great men and conquerors, has attracted every nation of the world. The Armenians, who form the subject of this book, have laid claim as an indigenous people and on historical, political and cultural grounds, to a large part of Anatolia, and have attempted to prove that the region they call Armenia has belonged to them from ancient times, that on this soil they established independent Armenian kingdoms and that the whole remained under their sway for hundreds of years. This has given rise to a very serious problem in the history of Anatolia.

Before going on to discuss the contents of this book I should like to stress that the region defined as Armenia and which the Armenians constantly claim to be their own, has been the scene of great wars and migrations and lies on the path taken by great conquerors arriving from the south and the east, with a local population which has continually varied its allegiance in accordance with the strength of the invaders. Armenia cannot be regarded as anything more than a simple geographical entity having no definite political frontiers, and it is quite impossible that an organized and continuous Armenian state, recognized by other nations, with definite boundaries and with a specific national outlook, could ever have existed in that part of Anatolia.

This book, entitled *Armenians in History and the Armenian Question* is divided into five parts.

Part I contains a discussion of the information provided by Armenian writers on the Armenian geographical situation, history, language, literature and mythology, the place of the Armenian church in the history of Christianity, its relations with the Catholic and the Orthodox churches, and the population of Armenia.

Part II treats relations with the state that remained under Armenian domination from the Middle Ages to the present day. There is also a discussion of the reform question and the various changes it underwent. There follows an examination of the state of affairs both before and after the Congress of Berlin, with reference to political views and correspondence in official sources.

Part III deals with the active stage in Armenian politics, with the beginning of actual revolt and the setting up of revolutionary groups. The work of these revolutionary groups is examined together with their political programmes.

Part IV deals with the period from the Proclamation of the Constitution in 1908 to the end of the First World War.

Part V deals with the Armenian question during the Armistice and Republican periods, the Treaty of Lausanne and subsequent events.

All these various sections contain a comparative examination of Armenian activities in Iran, Russia and Turkey.

The views expressed in this book regarding the "Armenians" should not be taken as referring to those Armenians who, as honourable, hard-working citizens of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, have lived for hundreds of years on good terms with the Turks. These are people of great nobility of character, who link their own future with that of the Turks and who have performed remarkable service to the country in the field of science, art and scholarship. The "Armenians" who are the subject of this book are those who have worked for their own independence to the detriment of the country as a whole, who have endeavoured to involve foreigners in our domestic politics, and who have created what is now known as the "Armenian Question". These comprise people who have dragged the Armenian people from catastrophe to catastrophe, writers and poets who have stirred up the people by means of poems, novels and fictitious epics, and Catholicos, Patriarchs and priests who have taken undue advantage of their authority over their congregations. I feel it is my duty as a citizen of this country to make my attitude on this point quite explicit.

In preparing this book I have relied mainly on Armenian sources. Prime importance has been given to information given by the Armenian writers, and these I have examined and translated. I have

also had recourse to Western European sources, mainly English and French, and I have translated from these the relevant political views.

I have endeavoured to remain absolutely impartial as regards political and historical topics, and I have taken great care to present an accurate copy of all documents and leave the readers of this work to draw their own conclusions.

I have presented all the works mentioned in the bibliography contained in my own private library and comprising a number of works in the Armenian language and script as well as a number of books on the subject in various foreign languages to the Library of the Grand Turkish National Assembly. These can be examined by any who are interested in the subject.

Esat URAS
Ankara, April 10, 1953

PART I

BACKGROUND

I SOURCES OF ARMENIAN HISTORY AND THE ARMENIAN HISTORIANS

Most of the historians who wrote on Armenian history were clergymen, the majority of whom belonged to other nations. They wrote either in their own or other languages, chief among these being Greek or Assyrian. As for the Armenian historians, they also belonged to the clergy and wrote in the tradition established by the Greek and Assyrian historians and even made adaptations from them into Armenian. The following are the most important historians who have produced works on Armenian history:

1. MAR IPAS KADINA¹ - He is believed to have been an Assyrian scholar who lived around 149 B.C. His name was first mentioned by Moses of Khorene who is considered the father of the Armenian history and who wrote a history of the Armenians starting with their origins. In Moses' history it is mentioned that Mar Ipas Kadina was sent with a letter from Vagarshak, the king of Armenia, to his brother Arshak who started the Ashkenian dynasty in Iran, requesting that he be granted access to the archives of Nineveh to do research on Armenian history. Arshak grants him the permission to work in the archives. There Mar Ipas Kadina finds a manuscript history of all the nations of the world translated into Greek at the order of Alexander the Great. He takes the part concerning the Armenians which gave an account of the origins of Armenian nation and the beginning of Haik dynasty and ended with King Vahe. To make it possible for his nation to see and understand its past, Vagarshak had excerpts from this history inscribed on the columns of his palace in Mezpin (Nusaybin),

and Moses of Khorene used this work as the source of his history. Both Armenian and other historians are of the opinion that this person, about whose life and personality there is absolutely no information, may have been an invention of Moses.

2. LARUPNA or LERUPNA – This historian who is a Nestorian knew both the Assyrian and Greek languages. He is a contemporary of Apkar's, the king of Edesse (Urfa). He wrote a biography of Apkar in which he included Apkar's conversation with Jesus Christ, and says that Apkar, who was a leper, was healed by a miracle of Jesus' He wrote his history in Assyrian which was later translated into Armenian. Although a copy of the work attributed to him is extant, scholars rightly doubt its authenticity and reject Larupna's authorship.

3. BARDAZAN – There is no information on Bardazan's personality or his nationality. Some of the Armenian historians claim him to be an Armenian from Part, others from Iraq, and still some others from Edesse (Urfa). Most probably he is an Assyrian, and according to some hearsay he was born in Edesse and educated there. When the Romans conquered Edesse he went to the fort of Ani where he wrote his history in Assyrian. Later it was translated into Greek by one of his students and preserved in Edesse (Urfa). This work may also be included among the sources written in a language other than Armenian.

4. AGATANGELOS (Angel of Good Tidings) – As is understood from his name he was a Greek. He wrote his history in Greek in the fourth century. In the beginning of his work he says that he was born in Rome and studied Latin and Greek. According to rumour, he was Dertad's secretary. In his history he writes about the introduction of Christianity into Armenia. Starting with Dertad's father, Hosrov, he continues with the martyrdom of the two Apostles, Thateos and Bartholomew, gives an account of Dertad's life, and of the persecution of Kirkor Lusavorich,² and concludes with a description of Dertad's madness and of his conversion to Christianity. According to V. Langlois, his history which has come down to our time was written in both Armenian and Greek. The expressions and phraseology of the Greek version proves that it is a translation. The language used when writing about the king and also the content of the work itself shows that it was written by some other person after the acceptance of Christianity. There is no doubt that Agatangelos wrote a history, but it is also certain that in the place of the work which became lost, another totally different work was written, a century and a half later,

by an anonymous author who inserted myths into the narrative. We can, therefore, see that what we have in our hands today as Agatangelos' history is also a fabrication which has nothing to do with the original work.

5. ZENOB OF GLAG – This historian who was Assyrian by origin came from Kayseri with Lusavorich and later became the head of the Surp Karabet Church in Muş. He wrote a church history on Daron (the environs of Muş) in the Assyrian language. This work relates Lusavorich's life and achievements and includes an account of the introduction of Christianity into Armenia. The original work is lost but the copy which is extant has been altered drastically. A continuation has been written to this history during the seventh century by Ohannes the Bishop Mamikonian, a contemporary of Catholicos Nerses III. Langlois says that Zenob's history, in the form we have it today, has undergone substantial corruption and therefore has almost nothing to do with the original. In fact, such corruptions and alterations are not exceptional in the old historical accounts on the Armenians.

6. PAVSDOS PUZANTI (Faustus of Istanbul) – He lived during the fourth century, and was given this appellation as an indication of his having studied in Istanbul. We do not have a biography of this historian, yet, although some people have claimed that he was either Armenian or Assyrian, there is no doubt that he was, in fact, Byzantine. In the first half of the fifth century his work, which includes the happenings of sixty years, was translated into Armenian. In his history he summarized Agatangelos' and Zenob's works and wrote about the lives and deeds of Lusavorich and Dertad and the fall of Armenia to the Byzantines and Persians. Pavsos' history which was strongly influenced by Greek works contains a great deal of popular stories. The Armenian historian, Indjidjian³ says that with only a few exceptions the events related in Pavsos' work have nothing to do with reality.

7. EZNIK KOGPATSI (Eznik of Gogh) – He was a student of Sahak and Mesrop who invented the Armenian alphabet. He was educated in Istanbul, visited the Greek academic institutions and spent some time at the Bishopric of Pakrevant (Eleşkert). He wrote a religious history and also refutations of idolatry and the Persian religion.

8. GORIOUN – He was one of the first translators to be sent together with other students to foreign academic institutions in

Istanbul and Jerusalem in order to be able to translate the Bible into Armenian, and on his return to his country he was made the Bishop of Georgia. He wrote the biographies of his teachers, Sahak and Mesrop and also refutations of the works of Greek philosophers. It is said that he also translated Agatangelos' work into Armenian.

9. ELISEE VARTABET⁴ – Although he was born in the beginning of the fifth century, his place of birth and date are unknown. He was in the services of Vartan Mamikonian, the religious and national hero of the Armenians and also acted as his secretary. He participated in the religious meeting of Armenian spiritual leaders in Ardaşat, held in 449 in order to defend Christianity, the religion of the Armenians, against Yezdegerd II. He wrote an account of religious battles and later went to Müküs mountains where he died.

10. LAZAR PARBESI (Lazar of Parbe) – This historian who lived during the fifth century wrote a history of Armenia at the order of Vartan Mamikonian. He studied in Greece and upon his return was appointed to the Catholicosate of Etchmiadzin. However, he was obliged to leave on account of personal frictions. The appellation 'Parbe' comes from the monastery of Parbe where he stayed for a while.

11. MOSES HORENATSI (Moses of Khorene) – Further information will be given on this historian and his work. He wrote the first Armenian history, which became the source for all Armenian historians.

12. CATHOLICOS KIUD⁵ – A historian who lived during the fifth century and knew Greek.

13. HOVHAN MANTAGUNI – He was Catholicos during Vahan Mamikonian's times. He has works on religious and historical themes.

14. THE BISHOP OF SEBEOS – The history of this person who lived in the seventh century, includes accounts of the Persian campaign of Emperor Heraclius, the Sassanid period, and the invasion of the Arabs. The book has also a section on the actions taken by the Armenians upon the decrees of the first of which has been proved to have been written by somebody else later on.

15. ANANIA OF SHIRAK⁶ – He is a historian of the seventh century.

16. GHEVOND YERES (Ghevond Vartakes) – He lived during the end of the seventh century. He wrote a short history describing the life and times of Prophet Muhammed, the achievements of his successors and the Arab invasions.

17. CATHOLICOS HOVHAN VI (or Hovhannes) – He is famed as the historian of the Pakradunis. He was born in Tovin around 830-835, was appointed Catholicos in 897 and died in 925. He wrote his history four and a half centuries after Moses of Khorene. He knew Greek and used Greek works and Moses' history as sources for his work. The first part of his history is based on fables and hearsay with no grounding in fact, yet his work is important because it casts light on the Arab-Byzantine relations during his times.

18. TOMAS ARDZROUNI – This historian of the mid-tenth century wrote a history of the Armenians and the Arzrunis.

19. KIRKOR MAKISDROS (*Magistros* = judge or master) – It is reported that this title was given to him during his visit to Istanbul by Emperor Constantine Monomachus. Kirkor, who lived during the eleventh century, was the first Armenian historian who was not a clergyman. He wrote a history of the Old and New Testament. He was known to be a great admirer and supporter of the Greeks and was persecuted because of this. He was expelled by the last Armenian King Kagik. First he went to Muş and then to Istanbul and after the capture of Ani by the Byzantines, he left his possessions in Armenia in return for a place to settle in El Jezira.

20. ARISDAKES LASDIVERTSI – He wrote a very exaggerated history of the Seljuk invasion.

21. NERSES SHNORHALI (Virtuous, refined Nerses) – He lived between the years 1102 and 1173. He served as the Catholicos of Cilicia. He was interested in politics and has written works which are extant.

22. NERSES LAMPRONATSI (Nerses of Lamprona) – He wrote a biography of Nerses Shnorhali.

23. MATEOS OF EDESSA – This historian who lived during the second half of the twelfth century spent a great part of his life at the Monastery and the theological school of Edessa (Urfa). He has a history on the events which took place between the years 932 and

1136, actually starting a century and a half before the First Crusade arrived in the Holy Land. The invasion of Anatolia by the Seljuks and the rule established by the Rupinians in Cilicia also form a part of his introduction.

24. MEKHITAR GOCH (*Koş* = a billy goat) - Nicknamed 'Koş' because of the sparsity of his beard, this renowned historian of the twelfth century, was born in Gendje (Kanzak), educated in a theological school and spent all his life in eastern Armenia. He died in 1213. His famous work entitled *Düstur* (Collection of Laws) consists of three parts: Introduction, Canon Law and Civil Law.

25. VARTAN BADMICH (*Badmich* = historian) - He is known to have spent the whole of his long life in Cilicia. His work is a general survey of the events of several millennia and also contains a detailed account of the invasion of Cilicia by the Egyptians. Vartan Badmich died in 1271.

26. KIRAGOS OF GENDJE (KANZAK) - This historian of the thirteenth century wrote about the kingdom of Cilicia and the invasions of the Mongols. His book, the first part of which deals with ecclesiastical history, includes an account of the events that took place during the period that extends from the reign of Tiridat to that of Hetom (1260). He died in 1271.

27. STEPHANOS ORPELIAN - He wrote a work dealing with the events of Armenian history until the rule of Vagarshak (Vagarşak).

28. HISTORIAN HETOM - His history written in Latin constitutes yet another source in a foreign language on the Armenians. Hetom also wrote on the East or the Tatars.

These comprise the most important historians of Armenian history. There are also some works written by the members of Catholic Armenian Mekhitarist organization but these writers took the history of Moses of Khoren as their source and based their accounts on it. Mikayel Chamichian's (1738-1823) history of Armenia in three volumes, which falls in this category, is, therefore, not considered to be of any scholarly value. The same could be said of Indjijian's (1758-1833) work, *The Oldest Geography of Armenia, Antiquity and the Armenians*.

Gevont Alishan who studied the geography of Armenia, wrote a

geographical description of the country in ancient times. Karabet Shahnazarian, a priest at Etchmiadzin, studied classical Armenian histories and published some of them. Apart from these, Katirdjian (1852) also wrote a history of Armenia.

There are also some contemporary historians some of whom followed in the paths of classical Armenian historians or took Moses' work as their source, while some others attempted to write works based on their own views. Some of these contemporary authors taking advantage of the lack of information in the West about the region, produced works about Armenia, written solely for the purpose of spreading propaganda.

WORKS ON ARMENIAN HISTORY AND LANGUAGE BY FOREIGN WRITERS

Schroder, J. (1680-1756): A German Orientalist who published *A Treasury of the Aramian (Aramaic) Language*, 1711.

Whiston Brothers: Translators of Moses Khoren's history and geography into Latin.

Vilefroid (1690-1777): An orientalist born in Paris. Did research on Armenian works in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Boré, Eugène (1809-1878): Born in Angers in 1809, he served as head of the establishment called the Daughters of Compassion, and died in Paris in 1878.

P.E. Le vaillant de Florival (1828): Taught at the School of oriental Languages in Paris. Translated Moses of Khoren into French.

Edouard Dulaurier: Born in Toulouse. Knew Armenian and Arabic. He has works on Armenian history.

Auguste Carrier: A French theologian who also worked at the library of the School of Oriental Languages. He has a work on the bliography of Moses of Khoren.

Saint-Martin (1791-1832): Was born in Paris. Has a work on the history and geography of Armenia.

Brosset: Compiled a collection of Armenian histories.

Victor Langlois: Was born in France in 1829 and studied at the School of Modern Languages. Travelled extensively in Anatolia, particularly in Cilicia and has a work entitled *Travels in Cilicia and the Taurus Mountains*. His *Collection of Armenian Historians*, in two volumes, was published with the aid of Nubar Pasha.

J. Gatteyras (1855-1883): Has a work entitled *Armenia and the Armenians*.

Felix Nève: Besides translating Armenian hymns, this Belgian writer also did research on Armenian history and literature.

Petermann (1801-1876): For a while he stayed with the Mekhitar on the Island of San Lazzaro, Venice. *A Short General Grammar, Arab Governors in Armenia* and *A History of the Crusades according to Armenian Sources* are his main works.

P. Delegard (1827-1894): Was born in Berlin and had works published on the Armenians and their early history.

Friedrich Muller (1834-1896): Was born in Bohemia and taught for many years at the University of Vienna while doing research on the Armenians.

J. H. Hubschmann (1848-1908): He was the first to propose the theory that the Armenian language belongs to the Indo-European family.

Prof. A. Meillet: Published works on the Armenian language and grammar.

The study of these works, which are the main foreign sources on the Armenians reveals that while some of the authors knew Armenian and based their history on the accounts, without making any changes; however, there are others who carried out independent research but confined their studies within narrow limits. On the whole, even the latter did not diverge significantly from the models set by the classical Armenian historians.

When we turn our attention to the works written during the last century by foreign writers in order to support the Armenians as well as to serve the political interests of their own country, these are no

more than propagandist writings interspersed with massacre stories, utterly devoid of scholarship or truth. Having been inspired by political motives or excessive Christian zeal they lack objectivity.

MOSES HORENATSI (MOSES OF KHOREN) HIS LIFE AND WORKS

Until the nineteenth century almost all of the Armenian historians were clergymen. Moses Horenatis or Moses of Khoren, the first Armenian historian, whose statements were accepted as guidelines and whose work was used as source material by most of the writers, was also a priest. It is said that this person, who had great influence on the Armenian history, was born during the second half of the fourth century. Although his place of birth or death is not definitely known, it is reported that he may have been born in the village of Khoren in the vicinity of Muş, and that he was nick-named "Khoren" in allusion to this fact.

It is also related that he was one of a group of persons who were sent in the beginning of the fifth century to Syria, Egypt and Greece in order to master the languages necessary for translating the Bible into Armenian. According to these reports, he first went to Edesse (Urfa), then to Alexandria, Athens and, finally, to Byzantium. He returned to his country in 446, having become an expert in the Greek culture and language. Since his patrons had all died during his absence, for a time, he suffered poverty and destitute. He wrote a history of Armenia and dedicated it to Sahak Pakraduni who was appointed *Marzban* (Governor) of Armenia by the Persians in 481, but put to death the next year because of his rebellion against them. He is said to have also written a work on the geography of Armenia.

It may be useful, as preparation for the historical analysis carried out below to mention the views of some of the scholars who wrote about the personality and works of Moses of Khoren (Moses Horenatsi),

In his *Armenian Works*. Peter Vetter says the following about Moses of Khoren: "Moses' writings were either lost or did not come down to us in their original form. They were not even known to be his works. This means, therefore, that someone using Moses Khoren's name as an authority on history has written a historical work in imitation of the style of a fifth century author. Moses of Khoren compiled his work from epic poems and folk tales in the region of Koghten (today's Akulis). The first and second volumes are based on folk tales and stories. Mythical personalities were presented as real historical figures. He has also changed historical events to suit his

wishes. In the information he gives about the Eshkanians and the Sassanians, and in his account of heroic epics such as *Dahhak and Ardashir*, he made use of old Persian historical sources." ⁷

An Armenian author remarks, "We must consider Moses Khoren's history as a skillful compilation of Syriac tales and Armenian fables. Besides being of no value on the subject of the origins or sources of Armenian history, it is also extremely inadequate. On the proper historical periods, such as the Arsacid period, it is wrong. He used Persian and Syriac sources and took excerpts from Joseph's work on the Jewish wars, Eusebius' history of the church, and the works of Pascale and Malalas." ⁸

According to another author, "The first Armenian dynasty of Haikazian mentioned in this work, did not actually exist; its members are personages taken from folk tales. Moses of Khoren is not a historian who lived in the fifth century. He may have been an impostor who lived during the seventh century. His work is made up of myths and fables and has no historical value. If he was not an impostor, then the name Moses of Khoren must have been confused with that of another person." ⁹

J. de Morgan: "The historians of this country, that is, Armenia were all clergymen, and we can see how they corrupted ancient tales and traditions in order to establish a connection between the Bible and the line of Haik (Hayk) and the figures of the Bible. This is true not only for the historical events but also for the ruling families." ¹⁰

Karakashyan (Karakashian): According to Karakashyan, "There is no source of information, neither in the oral traditions nor in histories, about the ancestors of the Armenians. After conversion into Christianity, (Haik's) relationship to Noah was proclaimed. It was assumed that his family line descended from Torgama (Togarma), one of the grandchildren of Japheth, son of Noah. This was due to the fact that some of the old historians attributed the name of Torgama, mentioned by Jewish writers, to a region of Armenia or to the race or people of Torkom, and Moses Khoren was the first to make this classification." ¹¹

V. Langlois comments, "There is no one named Tiras in the Bible. The Armenians have placed him in the line of descent between Gomer and Torkom and by doing so have tried to establish a kinship between Noah and Haik." ¹²

Etienne Quatremère: "It is the fabrication of Moses of Khoren that Mar Ipas conducted research in the archives of Nineveh. Indeed, the relation of this Armenian author exhibit all the characteristics of mythology. Since such rumours flatter the pride of the Oriental people, Moses of Khoren has accepted them as being true, and all the other

Armenian historians have followed suit." ¹³

Tumaian says, "Roman historians give completely different information on Armenian history than what was written by Moses of Khoren and other Armenian historians. Since most of the Roman historians either lived during the period they wrote about or were actually eye-witnesses of the events they relate, There is no doubt about the correctness of the information they give. Therefore, how can the accounts of two groups of historians be reconciled? This is where the problem lies. Although Chamichian Karakishian and some others have attempted to resolve these contradictions, it cannot be said that they were very successful." ¹⁴

Basmadjian says, "The origins of the Armenians and Armenia are very obscure. Long ago this region was invaded by tribes migrating from the high plateaus of the Pamir and the Karakush mountains. Like the Greeks, Romans, Persians and other nations, the Armenians also have their own mythological heroes; and national historians who did not have access to a clear and precise knowledge about their origins, substituted these heroes for the real ones." ¹⁵

Kevork Aslan writes, "Moses Horenatsi's history tells us nothing about the Armenian ruler except verifying one or two names found in the Assyrian inscriptions. It was based on the accounts given in the Bible. As a matter of fact, originally the Armenians did not live in the regions around the Araxes and the Euphrates." ¹⁶

Another writer says, 1) "It is doubtful that during Arşak's (Arshak's) time a royal archives existed in Nineveh, because even if Alexander the Great had wished to have the historical works of Nineveh translated into Greek there would have been no time for it. 2) The name Mar Ipas Kadina did not exist in the times of Arshak, because the words comprising this name were not in use before the conversion of the Assyrians to Christianity. 3) Moses of Khoren based his work on Eusebius' history of the church and never saw the original writings from which he quoted or to which he refers. 4) He took what he wrote from the Armenian folk tales and epics and not from the text claimed to have been brought by Mar Ipas from Nineveh. 5) The first ten rulers of the first Haykazyan dynasty mentioned in his work were not real historical rulers but heroes taken from folk tales. The following thirty rulers, according to Ketesias' history, were the insignificant and incapable followers of Shamram. 6) Moses' history could not have been written in the fifth century, because of the following reasons:

a) although Gazar Parbesi gives an account of the historians before his time, yet he never mentions Moses' name;

b) if the work was written on the order of *Marzban Sahak*

Pakraduni, then he should have witnessed the battle of Vartan in 482, which event he does not even mention in his history. If he does not know about the battle, then he must have lived during Pakraduni's childhood.

7) Horenatsi mentions historians from the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. 8) Moreover, if he had been ordered to write a history on the Pakradunis, then the work should have included the eighth and the ninth centuries in order to show the height of the power of this dynasty.

Therefore he is not a historian of the fifth century but an imposter who lived probably in the seventh century. His work is a compilation of myths and folk tales which does not have true historical value." ¹⁷

Again Karakashian says the following in connection with the text which Moses of Khoren attributes to Mar Ipas: "Where did Moses of Khoren see this work or from whom did he get it or what language was the original copy written in? He does not tell us anything about these facts. Moreover, for hundreds of years Nineveh had ceased to exist. Even the ruins were gone when in 450 B.C. Herodotus passed by this city. Fifty years later Xenophon does not at least once mention the name of Nineveh. How could Vagarshak have known about the existence of such a text in Nineveh? The history of Mar Ipas no doubt, was compiled after the second century A.D. Since Moses did not know ancient history he thought that Nineveh existed also during Vagarshak times. Moreover, since he was not aware of the history of the Semitic Languages he believed that before and during Vagarshak's times both Chaldean and Assyrian languages were used in inscriptions. Thus in his imagination he fabricates a text supposed to have been composed in Chaldean for which he believes Nineveh to be as the suitable city of origin. Then he presents to Vagarshak through Mar Ipas an Assyrian translation of this work, itself translated from the Greek language. Likewise since he was not aware of the history of the Armenian language, he believed that the work was written in Armenian many centuries before the times of Sahak and Mesrop. According to our opinion, presentation of the history of Mar Ipas as having been discovered in the archives of Nineveh, is the result of a lack of information on the ancient history, especially the histories of Nineveh and Geldani (Chaldea). In the light of our present knowledge about the city, this account becomes totally unacceptable." ¹⁸

NOTES

1. According to some sources it is Mar Ipas Kadina. "Mar" is a clerical title in Assyrian and Kadina means a perceptive and careful person.

2. Lusavorich (who enlightens) is the person who brought Christianity into Armenia for the first time. See section on religion.
3. *Armenian Archaeology*, vol. 2, p. 185 (in Armenian).
4. Vartabet is clerical rank.
5. This highest spiritual position is the religious authority of the Armenians belonging to the Lusavorchagan denomination.
6. Shirak is today's Diyadin.
7. P. Vetter, *Works by Armenians*, Vienna, 1895 (from the Armenian translation by Dashian).
8. K. Aslan, *Études Historiques sur le Peuple Arménien*, Paris, 1909, Introd., p. XV.
9. Papazian, *Armenian Literature*, Istanbul, 1913 (in Armenian).
10. J. de Morgan, *Histoire du Peuple Arménien* Paris, 1919, p. 128.
11. Karakashian, *Annotated Armenian History*, Tiflis, 1895 (in Armenian).
12. V. Langlois, *Collection des Historiens Anciens et Modernes de L'Arménie*, Paris, 1867-69, Introd., p. 7.
13. E. Quatremère, *Collection des Historiens Arméniens*, Introd., p. 7.
14. G. Tumaian, *A History of the Eastern Question and an Introduction to the Armenian Question*, London, 1905 (in Armenian).
15. K.J. Basmadjian, *Histoire Moderne des Arméniens*, Paris, 1917, p. 3.
16. K. Aslan, *L'Arménie et les Arméniens*, Istanbul, 1914.
17. K. Ozanian, *The History of the Armenian Language*, 1913, p. 193.
18. Karakashian, *Annotated Armenian History*, p. 128.

II THE GEOGRAPHY OF ARMENIA

According to Armenian geographers, Armenia proper or Greater Armenia was situated between 36-45 degrees eastern longitudes from the Parisian meridian and 36-42 degrees northern latitudes, that is, between the Mediterranean, the Black and the Caspian Seas in the western part of Asia. If Cilicia and Lesser Armenia were to be included within the borders of Armenia proper the area encompassed would extend from 32 to 45 degrees eastern longitudes.

Historical Armenia covered an area approximately 250,000 square kilometres, extending for more than 1000 kilometres from East to West and 500 kilometres from North to South. ¹

Greater and Lesser Armenia together occupied an area almost as wide as France, having a population of thirty million. ²

THE BORDERS OF ARMENIA

It was surrounded by the Black Sea and Georgia in the North, Persia, Syria and the Mediterranean Sea in the South, Persia and the Caspian Sea in the East and Asia Minor and the Mediterranean in the West. Starting from Mesopotamia the Armenian lands gradually rise in altitude towards the River Kura forming a high plateau between the Black and the Caspian Seas. Armenia was divided into two by the Euphrates; the land lying on the eastern side of the river being Greater, and that on the western side Lesser Armenia.

The Rivers

The main rivers which rise from and flow through Armenia are the Euphrates (Yeprat), the Tigris (Dikris), the Meزامor, the Araxes (Yerash), the Kura, the Kars Çayı (Akhurian) are the Arpa Çay, the Murat Çayı (Arazanin), the Sehun, the Jehun, the Kızılırmak, the Yeşilirmak and the Çoruh (Chorokh).

Of these the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes and Çoruh (Chorokh) were believed by the Armenians to be the four rivers which rose from the Garden of Eden mentioned in the Bible.

The Lakes

Lake Van (Piznunik or Tospa), Lake Urmiye (Urmia, Gabundan, meaning blue coloured), Gökçay (Kegam or Sevan) and Lake Çıldır (Childir).

The Mountains:

1. Ararat
2. Arakaz
3. Gortuas (the Kurdish mountains)
4. Bingöl
5. Ardas (in the vicinity of Lake Van)
6. Sipan (Suphan)
7. Munzur (in Erzincan)
8. Barhar
9. Sasun
10. Toros
11. Sugav (Mount Köse)
12. Mesha (Karacadağ)
13. Nipat (Alacadağ)
14. Zankezor
15. Arsah (Karabağ mountains)
16. Karkûr

The Division of Armenia

Armenia proper was divided into Greater and Lesser Armenia, and Cilicia. The last came into existence after the decline of the Armenia proper and was also divided into coastal and mountainous Cilicia. In the geography of Moses of Khoren which, in fact, is a translation of Ptolemy's work, and which according to Saint-Martin,³

must have been written in the seventh century and not, as the author wrongly claims, in the fifth century, Greater Armenia was divided into fifteen provinces as follows:

1. High Armenia, that is, Garin (Erzurum)
2. The Fourth Armenia
3. Agznik or Agzen on the Tigris
4. Duruperan or Daron (Muş)
5. Mog (near Assyria)
6. Gorçayk (Gorjaik)
7. Persian Armenia (nearby Azerbaijan)
8. Vaspuragan (in the northwest of the former, Lake Van region)
9. Siyunik (on the River Araxes)
10. Artsah (Arsah, next to it)
11. Faydagaran (west of the Araxes, on the coast of the Caspian Sea)
12. Udi (nearby Albani and the River Kura)
13. Gugarik (nearby Iberia)
14. Dayk (nearby Colchis)
15. Ararat (which is in the centre of the other provinces)

High Armenia

According to Moses of Khoren, "It is not only Armenia's summit but of the whole world, in fact, it is the crown of the earth. Many rivers rise from this area and flow in the four directions of the earth: the Euphrates westward, the Araxes eastward, the Lycus southward and Acampsis the (Çoruh, Choroch) northward. It has high mountains, and the country abounds in elk, goat, ibex, wild sheep, sheep, roe deer, boar, partridge and peacock. Its soil is very fertile and has thermal springs and salt pans." According to Saint Martin the boundaries of these provinces are as follows:

I. *Higher Armenia*: This mountaneous territory in the northwestern part of the Greater Armenia is bordered by the provinces of Dayk and Ararat in the east, the provinces of Duruperan and the south, the Euphrates and the Lesser Armenia in the west and Trabzon (Trebizond) and Colchis, where mostly Lazes lived, in the north. The Euphrates, the Çoruh (Acmpys), the Kura and the Araxes rivers start in this province. Its renowned cities were Ispir, Erzurum (Erzenürrüm, Teodosopolis), Bayburt, Tercan, Erzincan (Yeriza, Yervinga), Kemah.

II. *The Fourth Armenia*: It occupies the two banks of the middle section of the Euphrates and extends from the Lesser Armenia and Syria down to Mesopotamia. The Fourth Armenia is bordered by

High Armenia in the north, Duruperan in the east, Agznik in the south-east, and Mesopotamia in the south.

Hanzit, Harput, Palu, Kığı, Ergani, Amid, Çemişkezek, Mazgirt, Çapakçur, and Hozat were its most important cities.

III. *Agznik or Agzen*: This province, stretching along the banks of the Tigris in the southern section of Armenia is bordered by the Fourth Armenia in the south-east and Duruperan and Mogk in the West. Mesopotamia lies to the south and west of Agznik.

The most prominent cities of this province were Diyarbakır, Urfa (Ruha), Harran, Sürüç, Birecik, Siverek, Mardin, and Nusaybin (Nisibe).

IV. *Duruperan*: Stretching up to Lake Van in the south, this province was bordered by the Fourth Armenia in the east, Agznik in the north, Vaspuragan in the west and Ararat in the south. The northern plains were traversed by the Euphrates. The vicinity of present-day Muş and Hınıs and the towns of Ahlat and Bitlis were the most outstanding places of settlement. As will be mentioned below in the section on the history of Armenia, the cities of Hark (Bulanık) and Menazgirt (Haykaşen - Haykashen) built by Hayk were in this area.

V. *Mogk*: It was situated next to Agznik on the eastern banks of the Tigris. Mogk is surrounded by the provinces of Duruperan, Vaspuragan and Gorçayk with Assyria in the south. The present day Müküs, Karkar, Hizan, pervai and Şatak are in this region.

VI. *Corçayk or Kurdistan*: This province was bordered by Mogk in the west, Vaspuragan in the north, Persian Armenia in the east and Assyria in the south. In some works this place is called the Hakkari region. The most prominent cities are Çölemerik, Kevar, Nordoz, Zaho and Beytüşşebap.

VII. *Persian Armenia*: It was east of Gorçayk and south of Vaspuragan. The Armenian geographical sources lack information on the exact location of this province. The cities of Rumiye and Dilman were in this region.

VIII. *Vaspuragan*: It was the largest of the Armenian provinces. Starting from the mountains south of Lake Van it stretchend up to the Siyunik mountains beyond the Araxes Vaspuragan was bordered by the provinces of Ararat and Siyunik in the north, Azerbaijan and the city of Mugan in the east, Persian Armenia, Gorçayk and Mogk in the south, Duruperan and the country of the Ardzrounis in the west. For a long period of time it remained under the rule of the Arzerunis. It constituted the largest part of the province of Van.

During the Eşkani rule it consisted of about thirty-seven cantons. Nahçevan, Koghten (ulis), Azerbaijan, Tabriz, Merend, ordubad, Makû, Bargiri, Erciş, Van, Hoşap, and Hakkari were the

most outstanding cities of the province.

IX. *Siyunik*: It was bordered by the provinces of Gugark in the north, Artsah in the east, Vaspuragan and Azerbaijan in the south and Ararat in the west. It stretched from the River Araxes to Gökçay (Sevan) Lake. The Persians used to call this area Sisagan⁴. The cities of Zangezor, Kapan and Vayotsor were found in this region.

X. *Artsah*: It was a small region between the Kura River and Siyunik, stretching from the borders of Gugark and Udi east of Siyunik, to the banks of the Araxes. Artsah was surrounded by Udi in the north, Faydagaran and Agvan lands in the east, Mugan and Azerbaijan in the south and Siyunik in the west. Its most prominent cities were Gence, Karabağ, Şuşi and Gülistan.

XI. *Faydagaran or Paydagaran*: It was the easternmost province of Armenia, situated in the delta of the rivers Araxes and Kura. Vartanakert, Baku and Şamahı were its main towns.

XII. *Udi*: It was wedged in between the Kura River and Gugark in the east and Artsah in the north, alongside Agvan. The Kura River besides irrigating this land all along its length, also formed the boundaries of this province. Faydaragan was situated in the southeast, and according to Saint Martin, "This province also included part of the region called Aran or Karabağ." Ancient geographers believed that Udi was separated from Azerbaijan by the River Araxes. After the decline of the Ashkenians, this province came into the possession of the Agvanlıs. Berde (Partav) or Berdaah was its capital.

XIII. *Gukark*: Gukark was bordered by Dayk in the east, Ararat and Siyunik in the North and Udi in the west. It had Georgia in the north and was surrounded by the River Kura in the east and the west. After the Ashkenians, during the Persian rule, this region was governed by a military commander. The most important cities were Ardahan, Çıldır, Ahilkelek, Ardanuş, Şavşat and Lori.

XIV. *Dayk*: It was situated in the northeast of High Armenia, in the north of Ararat and west of Gukark. Its main towns were Acara, Göle, Oltu, Tortum, Narman, and Artvin.

XV. *Ararat*: It was just in the centre of Armenia, surrounded by the other provinces. Dayk and Gukark were in the north, Siyunik in the east, Vaspuragan and Duruperan in the south, and High Armenia in the west. The River Araxes cuts across this territory from the west to the east, is the most prominent cities were Kars, Şöregel, Eleşkirt, Karakilise, Diyadin, Beyazit, Şarur, Ani, Hasankale, Mercingert, Kağuzman, Vagarşabat (the present Etchmiadzin) and Revan.

Lesser Armenia was also divided into three sections, namely,

First, Second and Third Armenia.

The First Armenia: It occupied the eastern part of Cappadocia, stretching as far as the shores of the River Euphrates and separating the Second Armenia from the Third. Thus the First Armenia remained in the north and the Second in the south. It is not possible to ascertain its boundaries because its area varied in proportion to the changing number of Armenian settlers migrating from the other side of the Euphrates. The city of Kayseri (Caesarea) was its capital, and the plains East of Kayseri were called Arzias by the Armenians.⁶

The Second Armenia: It occupied the northern part of Lesser Armenia. Since its area changed over time it is almost impossible to determine its boundaries. Actually it consisted of a section of Lesser Armenia, together with parts of Cappadocia and Pontus. The main cities of the Second Armenia were Sivas, Tokat, Zile, Divrik, Arapkir and Darende.

The Third Armenia: In this case, too, it is impossible to ascertain the boundaries. The First Armenia lay to the west, the Second to the north and Cilicia to the south. In the east, the River Euphrates separated it from Greater Armenia. The headstream of Seyhan rises in this area. Malatya, Elbistan, Maraş and Göksun were its most important cities.

NOTES

1. Babesian, *The Geography of Armenia*, Paris, 1938, p. 7 (in Armenian).
2. K.J. Basmadjian, *Histoire Moderne des Arméniens*, Paris, 1917, p. 3.
3. *Saint-Martin Mémoires Historiques et Géographiques Sur L'Arménie*, Paris, 1818.
4. Armenian historians trace the name of this region to 'Sisak' who was one of Haik's grandchildren.
5. Saint-Martin, *op.cit.*

III A SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF ARMENIA ACCORDING TO THE ARMENIAN HISTORIANS

Armenian chroniclers can be divided into two groups. One group, taking the Bible as their source, claim that the Armenians descended from Haik, one of the grandsons of Japheth, and that they are the native people of the territory called Armenia. Another group of contemporary historians state that they were a tribe related to the Phrygians whose history starts from the seventh or sixth century B.C., when they came to the land known as Armenia together with the Phrygians.

According to the first group of chroniclers, during the deluge Prophet Noah's ark came to rest on Mount Ararat, and his sons and grandsons whose progeny increased here had to emigrate to other lands. While some of Japheth's sons stayed in the vicinity of Mount Ararat, the others went towards Mesopotamia. Haik, who was believed to be one of Japheth's grandsons and the heroic patriarch of the Armenian people, was among the latter group.

Haik, according to Armenian chroniclers, was the grandson of the Prophet Noah's grandson. At the age of 130 he went to Sendjar, worked on the construction of the Tower of Babel; and when it fell down, fleeing from Bel, he came to the regions of Armenia and settled here together with his sons and grandsons from whom Armenians descended. Moses of Khoren writes,¹ Arshak the great, a Parthian by birth, the ruler of the Persias and Parths, conquered Assyria and made Nineveh his capital from where he ruled the whole world. He put his brother Vagarshak on the Armenian throne and gave him the

kingdoms of Mezpin (Nusaybin), Palestine, Azerbaijan, Pontus and many others in the regions of Asia Minor, the Mediterranean and Caucasia. Thus Arshak became the first and Vagarshak the second Arsas.²

After establishing his rule and organizing the administration Vagarshak became interested in finding out about the lives and personalities of the rulers before him and also about the history of his country. He sent the Armenian scholar, Mar Ipas Kadina, who knew Chaldean and Greek, to his older brother Arshak, with valuable gifts and a letter requesting him to allow Mar Ipas to study in the royal archives.

Arshak, monarch of the earth and the seas, who resembles the gods, who is more fortunate and exalted above all other kings, whose fame has spread as wide as the skies, Vagarshak, your younger brother and comrade at arms, wishes that your victories and conquests may continue for ever and extends you his greetings. I have never forgotten your instructions to combine courage with wisdom. I have tried to be always alert to the best of my power and ability. Now that as a result of my efforts this kingdom has become securely established, it has come to my mind to study the lineage of the princes who ruled over Armenian lands before me and to find out about their reigns. Because in this country there is no established order or method, it is impossible to know who is best and who is worst. Everything is confused and in a primitive state. Therefore I should like to beg Your Majesty to allow my emissary to study in the royal archives. This person will find what your brother and son desires to have and will bring back the original documents to me. I know that the success we will attain through our achievements will be a source of pride and joy to you. Greetings to you who give with his presence glory and honour to the immortals.

On reading the letter Arshak the Great was very pleased that such an idea occurred to his brother on whom he had bestowed half his kingdom and immediately ordered the doors of the royal archives of Nineveh to be opened.

After studying all the texts Mar Ipas Kadina found a book on which was written the words, "This book has been translated into Greek from Chaldaean on the order of Alexander the Great and shows the history and origins of our ancestor." The book was mostly on Wruvan, Titan and Japheth and their illustrious descendents and the events which took place during their times. Mar Ipas took only that

section of the history which dealt with the Armenians, written in Aramaic and Greek and brought it to Vagarshak who then dwelt in Mezpin.³

The great archer Vagarshak, handsome, agile, skillful and eloquent, deeming it to be the most valuable book of its kind, put it in his palace for safety purposes and had some parts of it inscribed with the following statements.

The ancient gods, the creators of the universe and of the joys of the earth, were magnificent. They are the progenitors of the giant-like race. These giants of extraordinary strength, in their arrogance and pride decided to build the Tower of Babel and set to work. Then a strong wind, caused by the wrath of the gods, demolished the Tower. The gods gave each man a different language so that they could not understand one another. Hence, confusion ensued. Haik was one of this generation, a capable man and a skillful archer coming from the race of Japheth.

Haik's race is given as follows:

Japheth
Merod
Sirad, that is, Taglat
Japheth
Gomer
Tiras
Torgom

Apparently Haik is Torgom, Torgoman or Togarman's son who is Tiras' son and Chamichian also writes the following in his history:⁴

After the Flood, Prophet Noah's sons Japheth, Shem and Ham settled in the Ararat region and increased there. Then Shem took his sons and went north-west in search for a new place of settlement. Coming to a plain in the high mountains, he stopped by a river and named the mountain Sim after his own name. He gave this region to his youngest son, Darpan. Then he continued his march in the south-eastern direction and gave the regions there to his other children. Darpan remained with his sons and daughters in the region given to him by his father and called it Daron and later Duruperan after his own name.⁵ His children settled in this area and Ham's and Japheth's sons spread out to the various regions of the Greater Armenia. Ham's sons settled in the west, the Ararat mountain region. They all spoke the same

dialect of the same language which in all likelihood was Armenian. From Japheth Gamer or Gomer and from Gomer Torgom was born, and from Askenaz and Torgom, Haik was born who is the progenitor of our nation. In fact, the meaning of Haik is Father, and since he was the father of our nation, he was called Haik. Hence our history starts with him.

After the Tower of Babel collapsed, Haik, who was famous for his handsome appearance, curly hair, keen sight, mighty arms, and skill in archery, dominated both the giants and the heroes, and subdued those who defied him. In the chaos that reigned, men became so restless that they were ready to plunge their swords into their friends' bosoms, and everyone tried to dominate the other. After the dispersion of the human race all over the world, the mighty giant Haik, famed for his courage and audacity, tried to defy Belos and his tyranny.⁶ However, fortune was on Belos' side, and helped him conquer the whole world. He subdued all the giants and proclaiming himself deity ordered everyone to worship him, but only proud Haik refused to do so.

After the birth of his son Armenak in Babylon, with his three hundred sons, daughters, grandchildren and a retinue of strong followers, Haik marched towards the north, to the region of Ararat. However, Chamichian says the following about this migration:

During the time of the construction of the Tower of Babel, when men started to speak different languages, Bel was the ruler of the realm, but Haik refused to submit to him. In this realm his sons Armenak, Manavaz, Hor and others were born, and his family grew larger and larger. Since he did not accept Bel's sovereignty, he left for Ararat in the north with his three hundred sons, grandsons and a retinue of his ablest men. There he found some people of his own nation, who, being the victims of the God's wrath at Bebel, had migrated there and spoke the language of the Prophet Noah. Therefore Armenians claim that they still speak the language of Noah.⁷

Haik who lived the territories he took, and gave them to Armenak's son Gatmos and went in the north-western direction with his retinue. In a high, mountainous region which he named Hark; that is, "The place where fathers of Torgoma's race dwelt", he had a city built called Haykashen or the city built by Haik.

Bel, being displeased by Haik's migration, sent one of his sons in the company of his most trustworthy men to order him to come back,

saying: "You have settled in icy lands. Temper the harshness of your proud nature, submit to me and live comfortably in the place of your desire." But Haik belittling these messengers, sent them back to Babylonia. Upon this, collecting his forces, Bel marched northwards and reached the region of Ararat not far from where Gatmos dwelt. Gatmos fled, sending the following message to Haik:

Oh, the greatest of heroes! Bel and his immortal warriors, heroes and giants are coming upon you like a torrent. I fled when I heard that they had entered my realm. With the utmost speed I am coming to you. Decide what is to be done.

Bel and his famous army of mighty soldiers, like a torrent tearing down a mountain, entered Haik domain. Bel had faith in the virtue and courage of his soldiers. Haik, this curly-haired, keen-sighted, cautious and calm giant, immediately collected under his command his sons, grandsons and ablest men who were skilled archers, warlike and valiant but few in number. He came to the shores of a lake⁸ whose salty water fed its little fish. Here he lined them up and said, "We must make haste to reach the country surrounded by Bel's heroes and strike at them there. If we die all that which belongs to us will become theirs, but if we defeat them by the strength of our own muscles, then the victory will be ours."

Haik's speech spurred on his small army, and going forth with speed, in a short period of time they covered a great distance. They came to a plain situated between very great mountains. They climbed a hill to the right of the river. Both armies had reached the mountains flanking the valley; from there they saw Bel's army which was attacking with terrible violence. Bel, at ease and sure of himself in the midst of his powerful followers, stood on a high spot as if on a lookout on the left side of the river. Haik saw Bel's outstanding and well-armed army. There was a fairly great distance between his army and Bel's. Bel was wearing an iron helmet the plumes of which blew in the wind and iron armour protecting his chest and back, and covering his hips and arms. On his left a sharp sword hung from his belt, and he carried a fine lance in his right hand and a shield in his left. On his two sides stood picked soldiers. When Haik saw Bel thus equipped and surrounded by soldiers, he put his son Armenak with his two brothers on his right and Gatmos with two of his sons on his left, all of whom were famed archers and swordsmen. He himself took position in front, and the soldiers who followed slowly took a triangular formation. The battle started. The collision of the giants, their terrifying roaring, the brutality and violence of the attacks, spread horror around. On both

sides giants of huge stature and mighty strength were felled by the blows of swords. Nevertheless, it was still too early for both sides to know the outcome of the battle.

When Bel saw the unexpected and dangerous resistance, he climbed back on the hill from which he had descended with the hope of finding a safer place among his soldiers and decided to stay there until his remaining army got together in time to attack again from all directions. However, Haik, who was a mighty and skilled archer, understood Bel's aim, and standing opposite to him, he stretched his bow and shot a three-feathered arrow at his heart. The arrow pierced and passed through his chest,⁹ and thus the vain Bel was felled and gave out his last breath.

When Bel's army saw this frightful sight, it retreated without looking back. Haik named this battlefield *Hoyotstzor* (the Armenian valley) and the spot where Bel fell with his warriors Kerezmank (the Grave). The battle had taken place on the banks of Lake Van. Haik had the corpse of Bel colourfully dyed and hung from a high place so that his wives and children could see it.

Haik, then, set himself to develop and beautify the lands where he had settled. From that time onwards, the Armenians were named Hay 'Hai' after Haik, and the country was known as 'Haiastan.'

After this battle, Hayk returned to his native land. He bestowed most of the booty on Gatmos and the bravest of his followers. Haik remained in the place called Hark. He lived for many years and died at the age of 400 (2028 B.C.), leaving the rule of the country and all his nation to Armenak.

Armenak left the region of Hark to his brothers Hor and Manavaz and to Paz, the son of Manavaz. Manavaz and Paz became the ancestors of the Manvazyan and Peznuni dynasties. Hor had many cities built in the north. His descendants became the brave and famous members of the Horhoruni dynasty.

Moses Khoren describes the achievements of Armenak in the following manner:

Armenak went north-east with his numerous followers. He reached a valley surrounded by huge mountains, traversed by rivers flowing from the west. The valley extended under the bright sunlight, spring waters gushed out of the clean rocks at the foot of the mountains. The waters joined together to form rivers which skirted the mountains and winded along the sides of the valley with the graceful movements of young girls. The high mountains covered with snow were gazing at the sun. It was removed that a traveller could not reach the top in less than

three days. Armenak settled in this valley. He developed and beautified its northern part, and gave the highest mountain, which was also the youngest among the others, the name of Arkadz¹ and the city at the foot, Arkezodn (the foot of Arkadz).

Armenak had a son called Aramays, who built a city on the hill next to the bank of the river. He named this city Armavir² after his name and the river Erash or Erasd³ after the name of his son Erasd.

Aramays sent his other son Shara, who was a glutton, to a place reported as being very fertile and plentiful, and named this place Shirag after him. The saying "you may have Shara's gluttony and greed, but we do not possess the barns of Shirag" became proverbial.

Amasya, the son of Aramays, settled in Armavir. He had three sons called Paroh, Kegam and Cholag. He gave the names of the latter two to the cities that he built at the foot of Mount Ararat.⁹ Amasia also gave his own name to the mountains of Ararat as Massis. He died in Armavir.

From Kegam Arma was born at Armavir.¹⁰ Leaving his son at this place, he went northwards to a land next to a lake¹¹ and built a city there. He called this city Kegh and gave the lake his own name. Here his son Sissak was born. Sissak was renowned for his nobility, pride and dignity, as well as for his strength, eloquence and skill as an archer. Kegam gave him a great part of his possessions and many slaves. Together with lands that stretched from the sea east of his country to the valley where the river Yerash (Araxes) descended in tumultuous fury after having cut a course for itself through the hollows of the mountains and having traversed wooded mountains and narrow straits. Sissak settled there. He beautified his country, and gave it the name of Siunik. But later the Persians chaged the name more aptly to Sissagan.

Kegam returned to the valley at the foot of the mountain. He built a city on a steep slope and named it Keghami after himself. This city was later called Karni after his grandson Karnik.

To Kegam's son Harma, Aram was born. Aram's martial prowess was admired by everyone. He subjugated the nations in his vicinity. His fame spread everywhere; it was as a tribute to him that his people were called Armenians and their country Armenia.

Aram (1827-1769 B.C.) became suspicious of the bordering nations before Ninus acceded to the throne, and gathered together all the warriors who were skilled at throwing arrows and javelin and also at using the sword. With their courage and prowess, these warriors could repulse an army of fifty thousand soldiers. At the borders of Armenia, Aram came across an army of young fighters under the

leadership of Mates Niukar, a brave and able warrior. Like the Kushans Mates had also succeeded in subjugating Armenia and keeping it under his domination for two years. During the battle which ensued, Aram destroyed the enemy army and took Niukar as his prisoner to Armavir. He had him displayed to everyone by having him nailed to the highest tower of his fort. He made himself obeyed over the entire area, as far as the mountain of Zarasb and exacted tribute until Ninus became king of Nineveh. In his heart Ninus was cherishing revenge on account of the death of his ancestor, Bel. For many years he had been planning to avenge Bel's death and to wipe out the offspring of Haik. But, taking into account the possibility that he could be destroyed in the course of seeking to take revenge, he postponed his action and concealed his intentions. He bestowed on Aram the right to wear a crown of pearls and the title of second king under him.

After ending his wars in the east, Aram marched to Assyria with his army. There, fighting Parsham¹⁵, of the progeny of the giants, who had devastated his country with an army of forty thousand foot soldiers and five thousand cavalry, made him retreat to the Assyrian plains. He utterly destroyed the enemy and killed Parsham. For many years, part of Assyria paid tribute to Aram. Then, he returned west with forty thousand foot soldiers and two thousand cavalry. He entered Cappadocia, took the city of Kayseri (Caesarea) and established his domination over the regions in the east and the south. He entrusted the rule of the regions in the east to the Sisagans, and Assyria to the family of Gatmos. He now feared no one. Aram remained in the west for a long time. A king by the name of Baiabis Kagia who had conquered all the countries between the Pontus and the Ocean warred against him. Aram marched his armies against Baiabis and drove him as far as an island on the Asian Sea. After this Aram left a commander called Mishak, who was related to him, in charge of the defence of the region, together with ten thousand soldiers. He himself returned to Armenia. He ordered the people of the countries he conquered to speak Armenian. For this reason, these lands came to be known as the First Armenia.

Mishak established the city of Mishagh, (Kayseri, Caesaria) named after him on the skirts of Mount Erciyeş (Arge). He had the city enclosed by walls and battlements. Since the local people could not pronounce the name of the city, it was later transformed into Mazaca (Majac).

Aram was succeeded by his son Ara or Arai, the handsome, and the place he settled was named Ararat after him.

At this time the famous Semiramis, or Shamran in Armenian, was

ruling Nineveh. Her husband Ninus, who came to loathe her for her infidelity, left his country. Semiramis, who had heard about the fame of the handsome Armenian prince, Ara, fell in love with him and invited him to come to Nineveh and marry her. Upon Ara's refusal, she marched her armies towards Armenia.

Ara had inherited the 'title of the second king' bestowed by Ninus on his father, Aram. Battle started between the two sides when Semiramis arrived in the region called Ararat. She ordered her commanders to capture Ara alive, but Ara was vanquished and killed by one of Semiramis' sons. His body was found on the battlefield among the other slain soldiers. In order to calm the Armenians who wanted to fight again to avenge Ara's death Semiramis said, "I have prayed to the god¹⁶ to lick Ara's wounds and heal him. Ara will revive." She was so crazed and desperate that she believed she could revive him. When his corpse decayed she had her servants bury it in a deep grave. Dressing as Ara one of the men from her retinue of lovers, she said to the Armenian people, "Licking his wounds the gods gave life back to Ara, thus fulfilling our deepest yearnings. Since they have bestowed upon us happiness we should exalt them more than never before." She had a new statue erected to the gods and offered them many sacrifices for saving Ara. These rumours spread all over Armenia deceiving the people, and thus preventing another battle from being waged against Semiramis.

In order to eternalize her love for Ara, she named his son Gartos, who was born from his wife Nuvart and was twelve years old at the time, after him and, although he was so young, made him the ruler of Armenia.

On her way to Nineveh, the proud Assyrian queen took the route on the eastern bank of Lake Van. She fell in love with the beauty of this region and bringing thousands of workers and many architects here, had a magnificent summer palace built for herself on the rocky cliffs of Lake Van.

Since Semiramis always spent her summers in the north, in the city she had built in Armenia, she left as her representative in Assyria and Nineveh, Zoroaster, the religious leader and oracle of the Medes, and, thus, for a long time he ruled the country very satisfactorily. Upon being criticized by her children for her lustfulness, she had them all killed, leaving only the youngest son alive called Ninyas or 'Zamassias'. In fact, Semiramis left her throne and treasury to her lovers and never took care of her children.

Semiramis' husband, Ninus, did not die in Nineveh and is not buried in the palace, as it is said, but actually fled to Crete. When her children grew up they wanted to seize her throne and confiscate her

treasury and openly accused her of having committed disgraceful deeds. This enraged her, and she had all of her children killed with the exception of Ninyas.

Zoroaster also tried to usurp the throne, and in the ensuing battle Semiramis was defeated which caused her to flee to Armenia. Her son Ninyas saw this as an opportune moment to fulfil his ambition and by killing her became the ruler of the kingdom. Ara also died during this battle, leaving his son Anushavan behind.

Prophet Abraham is known to have died during the reign of Ninyas.

The name Sos was given to Anushavan who was a brilliant and capable man, appointed as the religious keeper of the poplar forest called Aramaniak in Armavir¹⁷. There was a tradition in Armenia of deducing a meaning from the sounds created by the leaves of 'sos' (silver poplar) trembling in the wind.

For a long period of time Anushavan stayed at the palace of Zamassias (Ninyas) where he was constantly insulted by the King. Finally with assistance of his followers and in return for a certain tribute he was made ruler first of one part of Armenia and later of the whole country.¹⁸

Catholicos Ohannes the historian says, "Since Anushavan left no heirs some persons who belonged to a foreign race conquered Armenia and became her rulers instead of Torgoma's line. Thus the Armenians remained under the sovereignty of the Assyrians for a long period of time," confirming that Haik's line ended with Anushavan, after whom Armenia was ruled by a foreign dynasty.

However, Moses of Khoren writes in his history that after Anushavan, Bared, who belonged to the line of Haik, became the ruler of Armenia which shows that Moses' list of Armenian rulers is quite different from the one prepared by Catholicos Ohannes.

The fifth successor after Anushavan, Parnaz, was defeated by Sesostri, the king of Egypt, after which event Sur came and settled here, and the third successor after him, by the name of Haikak was killed in a rebellion which he started during the reign of Belochus, king of Assyria.

Haikak was succeeded by Sigaiorti (son of a giant)¹⁸, during whose reign Armenia became a very prosperous and joyous country. His successor, Barouir, who was an Armenian hero, was proclaimed king of Armenia for the first time in 734 B.C. The title of king was bestowed upon him by Varbace (Arbaces), the king of the Medes, for assisting him in his struggle to overthrow Sardanapalus, the king of Assyria.

Baruyr was succeeded by his son, Hratchia to whom this name was given because of his fiery looks and the sharpness of his features.

During Nabuchadnezzar's campaign on Necho, the king of Egypt and Joachim, the king of Jerusalem, Hratchia gave him an army for which service and assistance he received a great number of Hebrew slaves whom he settled in different parts of the country. Before Nabuchadnezzar's reign, Sanassar had killed Osee, the king of Israel in 730 B.C. and demolishing Samaria, had sent ten tribes beyond the Euphrates to South Armenia whilst Nabuchadnezzar had brought with him only ten thousand slaves. Among the Jews taken captive by Hratchia there was a man by the name of Champat or Sempat-Bagrart who was the progenitor of the Pakradouni dynasty which centuries later occupied the throne of Armenia. Hratchia appointed Sempat to very important positions. According to the Byzantine historian Faustus, the number of the Jews living in Armenia who had accepted Christianity amounted to 40,000 in the third century.

Moses of Khoren makes the following statement in his history¹⁹: "Pakradunis come from Sempat. Some say that come they from Haik, but this is wrong. The Pakradounis only give the name Sempat to their sons. It is a Hebrew name and is actually Champat." Sempat is the progenitor of the dynasty which later on ruled Kars, Ani and Georgia.

Eighty years before Nabuchadnezzar, the Assyrian king Sanherib besieged Jerusalem. This king's sons Adrameleh or Arkamozan and Sanassar killing their father, took refuge in Armenia. Of these two brothers Sanassar was settled in the south-west on the border of Assyria. Sanassar's descendants settled around Mount Sim²⁰ in the vicinity of Muş (Moush), and Arkamozan was settled in the south-western part of the country. These are the progenitors of the Ardrounis and the Kenunis. After Hratchia the Ardrouni dynasty ruled the country for some years and after Parhanavaz, Badjoidj, Gorhnag, and Phavos, Dikran I, the greatest and most noble prince belonging to this dynasty, became the king of Armenia. Moses of Khoren describes him as follows:²¹

The most upright of our kings is Dikran. He helped Cyrus to conquer the Medes. For a long period, he kept the Greeks under his sovereignty. Exalting the dignity of his people he brought the boundaries of his country to their former state. He received tribute from many countries. His riches increased, and gold and silver was stocked every where. The country became prosperous and fertile, and its people were immersed in abundance. Erouant's son Dikran had brown curly hair, handsome features,

kind hazel eyes, broad shoulders, strong legs and although large of stature, he was very agile. Dikran was known to observe moderation in all his habits and pastimes, even in eating and drinking. Our minstrels sang of his merits, caution, moderation, talents and knowledge, eloquence and oratory, kindness and humaneness. Moreover, he was very just and impartial, and never envied his seniors or insulted his subordinates. Above all, he seemed intent on showing kindness and compassion to everyone.

Dikran joined with Cyrus against Astyag²², the king of Medes, whom he killed. This event is recounted in the following manner:

Dikran gave his sister in marriage to Astyag, with whom he had concluded a number of treaties of friendship. Astyag saw this as an occasion which could either draw him closer to Dikran, leading him to love him forever or else provide him with the opportunities for setting traps in order to destroy him. In fact, Dikran was a source of anxiety for Astyag. The primary reason for this was the friendly relations between Cyrus and Dikran. Astyag became greatly worried on this score, and frequently asked his followers what would be the best way of severing the links between the two kings, made even more formidable by the prospect of a union between the Persians and the descendants of Haik in their thousands.

Once, having fallen asleep in a state of great agitation, he had a dream where his plight was revealed to him. He woke up with a start and although there was still a long time until dawn, he called his close followers to his side without the customary ceremonies. There was a very sad and sorrowful expression on his face; his eyes were fixed on the ground and he was sighing and moaning from the depths of his heart. When they asked him what was the cause for this great grief, for a long time they could get no reply. Finally Astyag told them all his secret apprehensions and suspicions and related to them his terrible dream:

"I was standing in a strange land by a mountain the peaks of which were covered with snow and ice. They called this country the land of Haik's descendants. My gaze was fixed to the top of the mountain. I saw a woman sitting on the peak who was wearing a purple dress and was wrapped in a sky-blue veil. She had beautiful eyes. She was tall and had a rosy complexion. She was having labour pains, and while I was looking at this strange sight, she gave birth to there very strong and healthy heroes. The first one mounted on a lion and flew westwards, the second rode on a

leopard and charged northwards, and the third one getting on a huge dragon, with great rage stormed our country.

"In this confused dream I saw myself on my royal terrace with its elaborate over-hanging eaves covered with magnificent rugs. Our gods, to whom I owe my crown, were also assembled there in all their grandeur and glory. I was, together with you, offering them sacrifices and incense, when suddenly I lifted my head, and I saw the third hero on the winged dragon getting ready to attack us. He wanted to destroy our gods. I, Astyag, threw myself in front and tried to resist his terrible blows. First we fought with lances and shed each other's blood so that it streamed down the palace terrace shining in the sun. Then we fought for hours with other weapons. I do not want to go on relating what happened for it was all to end with my destruction. I am now distraught by the sense of the great danger I experienced in my dream. I cannot sleep anymore, and I no longer feel I am in the world of living people, because the meaning of this dream is that Dikran, who belongs to the line of Haik, will occupy our country. Who among those present here will give us advice and enlighten us on our course of action with the help of our gods?"

Then the king thanked his followers who expressed their opinions and gave him good advice and ideas.

Astyag told his courtiers that he first thought of having Dikran poisoned or stabbed but later decided to ask instead for his sister's hand in marriage, thus establishing a relationship with him. He sent an envoy to Dikran with valuable gifts and a letter where he wrote:

"As my dear brother knows, the most valuable thing that our gods bestow upon us in our life time are wise and powerful friends, through whose intervention disagreements and confusions cannot reach us or are immediately repelled if and when they enter our borders. Therefore treachery cannot live among us and all kinds of differences and vices are stifled as soon as they are discovered. Hence, taking into consideration the great advantages we might gain from our close friendship, I wish to strengthen the relationship between us two, and thus make our countries twice as much stronger and more stable. You only can bring about this alliance by giving your sister, the daughter of great Armenia, Dikranuhi, in marriage to me. I hope you would approve of this union which will make your sister the queen of queens. My royal friend and dear brother, may you always be healthy."

Dikran who was not aware of Astyag's intentions, consented

to give his sister in marriage to him. Astyag who was pleased with the success he achieved and also because he admired her beauty, made her his chief wife and continued with his treacherous plans.

After making Dikranuhi the queen, he ordered all his subjects to submit to her and started slowly to influence her with his malicious thoughts and plans, saying "You are not aware that your brother at the instigation of his wife Zaruhi, is jealous of you and cannot bear your authority upon the people of Ari²³. Do you want to know the outcome of this? First I will die and then Zaruhi will dominate Ari and will be worshipped as a deity. Therefore you have to choose one of the following: either because of your sisterly love for Dikran your will witness the complete annihilation of the people of Ari or taking into account your own interests, by heeding the wise counsel given to you, change the course of events."

It was assumed for the realization of this treacherous plan that if Dikranuhi did not comply with the wishes of the Persian king, she would be put to death. But this beautiful and cautious woman divined Astyag's intention and gave him suitable answers. She also sent reliable messengers to her brother to let him know of her husband's treachery.

This first step Astyag took was to ask Dikran for a meeting on the border in order to solve a problem which he said could not be discussed in a letter. However, Dikran replied informing him that he understood his intentions. Upon this, war was proclaimed. Collecting soldiers from Cappadocia, Aguvan, Lesser and Greater Armenia, Dikran with all his forces, marched on the Medes. Thus Astyag was obliged to fight with Dikran, the descendant of Haik. This war lasted for five months. Dikran was trying to gain time in order to save his sister. Finally, in an encounter Dikran pierced Astyag's heavy bronze armour with his lance and making a deep hole in his chest, he drew out his lungs. With the death of Astyag the war ended²⁴.

Dikran had three sons named Pap, Dikran and Vahaken. Of these Vahaken was known as the Hercules of Armenia because of his courage and great prowess. There are epics in Armenian on his fights with dragons and his victories.

The Vahnouni dynasty started with Vahakan and the Arhavan dynasty with his sons. His son Nerseh had a son named Zareh who was the founder of the Zarehavan dynasty.

Zareh's son is Armok and Armok's son is Pakam or Paigam, and his son is Van or Vahan, and his son is Vahe. He died in the war

between Darius and Alexander the Great. After his death his soldiers and his courtiers were all killed or dispersed, and the country was seized by Alexander the Great, thus ending Haik's dynasty.

According to Armenian historians Haik's dynasty remained in power during the years 2200-350 B.C. In Moses of Khoren's account sixty kings who descended from Haik ruled the Armenian kingdom during this period. He gives their names as follows:

1. Aram
2. Ara
3. Gartos, who was named Ara by Semiramis and put in charge of the kingdom.
4. Anushavan
5. Baret
6. Arpak
7. Zavan
8. Pharnag
9. Sur
10. Havanak
11. Vashdak
12. Haikak I
13. Ampag I
14. Arnak
15. Shavarsh I
16. Norair
17. Vasdam-Gar
18. Korhag
19. Hrant I
20. Inzak
21. Kaghag
22. Horoi
23. Zarmair
24. Berdj I
25. Arpun
26. Pazuk
27. Hoi
28. Husak
29. Gaibag
30. Sigaiorti
31. Baruir, the son of Sigaiorti, crowned by Varpak, the king of the Medes.
32. Hratchia

33. Parnuas
34. Badjoidj
35. Gorhnag
36. Pavos
37. Haikak II
38. Erouant I
39. Dikran I

According to Basmadjian, the names of the princes and kings who were descended from Haik are as follows, in their order of succession:²⁵

Princes:

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Haik: the eponymous hero | 2350 B.C. |
| 2. Armenak | |
| 3. Armays | |
| 4. Amasia | 2300-300 B. |
| 5. Kegam | |
| 6. Harma | |
| 7. Aram | |
| 8. Ara the Handsome | 2000-1870 B.C. |
| 9. Gartos or Ara, son of Ara | |
| 10. Anushavan | |
| 11. Baret | |
| 12. Arpak | |
| 13. Zavan | 1870-1700 B.C. |
| 14. Pharnag | |
| 15. Sur | |
| 16. Havanak | |
| 17. Vashdak | |
| 18. Haikak | |
| 19. Ampak | |
| 20. Arhnag | |
| 21. Shavarsh | 1700-1200 B.C. |
| 22. Norair | |
| 23. Vesdam | |
| 24. Gar | |
| 25. Korhag | |
| 26. Hrant | |
| 27. Endzag | |
| 28. Kegah | |
| 29. Horoi | |
| 30. Zarmair | |

- | | |
|---------------|---------------|
| 31. Berdj | |
| 32. Arpun | 1200-870 B.C. |
| 33. Hoi | |
| 34. Husak | |
| 35. Gaibak | |
| 36. Sigaiorti | |

The Kings:

- | | |
|--------------|--------------|
| 1. Baruir | |
| 2. Hratchia | |
| 3. Parnuvas | |
| 4. Badjoidj | |
| 5. Gorhnag | 870-700 B.C. |
| 6. Pavos | |
| 7. Haikak II | |
| 8. Erouant I | |
| 9. Dikran I | |
| 10. Vahaken | |
| 11. Arhavan | |
| 12. Nerseh | |
| 13. Zareh | 700-330 B.C. |
| 14. Armok | |
| 15. Pakam | |
| 16. Van | |
| 17. Vahe | |

Chamichian gives the following chronological list of Armenian kings and *marzbans*.

The Dynasty of Haik

B.C.

- Prophet Noah's son Japheth
 2342 Japheth's son Gomer (Gamer in Armenian)
 2305 Gamer's son Torgom (Torkom in Armenian)
 2197 Torgom's son Haik
 2026 Haik's son Armenak
 1980 Armenak's Aramais
 1940 Aramais' son Amasia
 1908 Amasia's son Kegam
 1858 Kegam's son Harma
 1827 Harma's son Aram

- 1769 Aram's son Ara the handsome
 1743 Ara's son Gartos (also called Ara)
 1725 Gartos' son Anushavan (Anushavan and his successors were tributaries of the Assyrian kingdom.)
 1662 Bared
 1612 Arpag
 1568 Zavan
 1531 Pharhnag
 1478 Sur
 1433 Havanag or Honag
 1403 Vashdag
 1381 Haikak I
 1363 Ampag I
 1349 Arhnag
 1332 Shavarsh I
 1326 Norair
 1302 Vesdam
 1289 Gar
 1285 Korhag
 1267 Hrant I
 1242 Endzag
 1227 Kaghag
 1197 Horoi
 1194 Zarmair
 1182 Interregnum
 1180 Shavarsh II
 1137 Berdj I
 1102 Arpun
 1075 Berdj II
 1035 Pazug
 985 Hoi
 941 Husag
 910 Ampag II
 883 Gaibag
 838 Pharhnavaz I
 805 Pharhnag II
 765 Şigaiorti
- Baruir, the son of Sigoiorti, is freed from allegiance to the Assyrian kingdom as a result of Sardanapal's death.
- 700 Hratchia
 678 Pharhnavaz II
 665 Badjoidj

- 630 Gorhnag
 622 Pavos
 605 Haikak II
 569 Erouant I
 565 Dikran I
 520 Vahaken
 495 Arhavan
 475 Nerseh
 440 Zareh
 394 Armok
 385 Paikam
 371 Van
 351 Vahe This king died in the war with Alexander the Great in 328.

Eugène Boré²⁶ cites sixty rulers who descended from Haik and reigned during a period that lasted eighteen centuries. He took the date 2107 B.C. as the starting year for Haik's reign and gave the date 351 B.C. as the year marking the end of the dynasty. Those who governed Armenia until Vahe remained under the domination of the Persian Achaemenid kings and they paid allegiance to them.

ARMENIA IN THE TIME OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND HIS SUCCESSORS

After having routed Darius and overthrown the Achaemenid Empire, Alexander the Great annexed Armenia, which now became a province of the Macedonian Empire, and appointed as governor of Armenia a man of Persian extraction by the name of Mithrines, who had been responsible for the surrender to Alexander of the Sardis acropolis. (325)²⁷ Neither Mithranes nor any of his successors bore the title of king.

After the battle of Ipsos, Armenia passed into the hands of the Seleucids, who divided Armenia into two sections.

Greater Armenia was administered on behalf of the Seleucids by Orontes²⁸ (284 B.C.) and Ardavaz (239 B.C.) but, after Antiochus' defeat by the Romans, Artaxias (Ardaschas, Ardashes), a general appointed by Antiochus the Great, declared the independence of the region (190 or 188 B.C.).

Artaxias extended and developed the country, and proved popular with the local inhabitants. Just then, the Carthaginian

general Hannibal escaped from Antiochus' palace and took refuge in Armenia, where he was given a warm welcome by Artaxias. It was on Hannibal's suggestion that the city Ardaschad was founded on the Aras.

In 180 B.C. Artaxias combined the small countries of Pergamon, Cappadocia and Pontus. The descendants of Zadriades retained their dominion over Upper Armenia until the time of Dikran the Great.

Artaxias' son succeeded him on his death in 161 B.C., but was deposed by the Parthians. Artaxias extended the territory of his small kingdom in the direction of Media and Georgia, while at the same time a general by the name of Zadriades, who had been appointed by the Seleucids to Lesser Armenia, freed himself from the domination of the Seleucids and extended the territory under his control.²⁹

The two kingdoms remained separate despite the racial link between them. In the conflict that arose between Zadriades' brother and his son and successor Mitrobarzan, Artaxias aided the brother, and was also involved in intrigues centering around the Cappadocian king Ariarath IV, who had taken refuge with Mitrobarzan. The Cappadocian king led his army against his rebellious brother, defeated him and had him kidnapped.

Armenia subsequently remained under Seleucid domination until the arrival of the Parthians.³⁰

The Seleucids, threatened by the Parthians and other nations from the north, were unable to continue their one hundred and fifty years' domination of Armenia.

ARMENIA UNDER PARTHIAN RULE

Sixty years after the death of Alexander the Great the ambitious Arsas (Arshak)³¹ became ruler of the Parthians.

According to Armenian historians, Arsas was descended from Cetura or Kedurgha, the woman whom the Prophet Abraham married after the death of his first wife Sarah, and the words of God to Abraham, "I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee" were thus fulfilled.³²

Arsas, who resided in Pahl,³³ the city of Aravadin in the country of Koushans, conquered the whole of the east and drove out the Macedonians. He later offered to come to an agreement with both the Romans and the Macedonians, refusing to pay taxes but agreeing to give a certain number of gifts.

Arsas ruled for twenty-one years, and was succeeded by his son Arsas the Great, who was engaged in a war against Demetrius and his son Antigone. Antigone led the great Macedonian army against Arsas

in Babylon, but was defeated by Arsas the Great, loaded with fetters and sent to Khorasan in Parthia. When his brother Antiochus heard what Arsas had done he marched against him with a force of 120,000 men, but Antiochus and his army were completely annihilated in a narrow pass in the midst of a severe winter. Thus Arsas became the master of "the three parts of the world",³⁴ and went on to achieve further success. In order to defend his frontiers against any kind of attack he founded the Kingdom of Armenia in order to have a country under his own rule and suzerainty and to be able to exert pressure on the Caucasian and Caspian kingdoms. He made Valarsas³⁵ who was either his brother or his son, king of the region and entrusted him with the task of preventing the Seleucids from making armed attacks against himself or the Parthians. This led to the foundation of the Arsachagouni (Arsacids) dynasty in Armenia.

The Arsachagouni

Valarsas I (Vagarshak) (150-128 B.C.)³⁶ led a punitive expedition against the bandits and barbarians on the shores of the Pontus and routed the army of Morfilig, who had stirred up the inhabitants of Chaldaeia, Phrygia and Caesarea, none of whom knew anything of Arsas' victories. Having extended his domination over the whole of the country he set about reforming the domestic administration and introducing new laws and regulations. He established a new administrative organization with a system of governorships. At the same time he sent Mar Ipas Kadina to the Nineveh archives to bring back a copy of those portions of ancient eastern history concerning the Armenians.

He rewarded Pakarad Shampa,³⁷ a man of Jewish extraction who traced his pedigree back to King David, for his loyalty and the services he had performed for him, granting him the privilege of wearing the crown worn by Armenian kings on their accession to the throne and the command of ten thousand horse.

According to Moses of Khoren, the Ardzrounis were Ardzivounis³⁸ and carried gold eagles before Valarsas. Vagarshak built a temple in Armavir and adorned it with pictures of the sun, the moon and of his ancestors. He tried to persuade the Jew Pakrad to worship these, but Pakrad refused. Vagarshak, however, demonstrated the generosity of his nature in not punishing this man for his remaining faithful to his own beliefs. Vagarshak died at Mezpin (Nusaybin) after a reign of twenty-two years.

Arshak I (Arsas) (115-90 B.C.)

Arshak I, the son of Vagarshak, ruled Armenia for twenty-three years. He fought with the inhabitants of Pontus and won a number of victories. During his reign, a great turmoil broke out in Caucasia, and many refugees from the Bulgarian countries around the Caucasian mountains arrived and settled in Armenia.

Two of Pakarad's sons were ordered by Arshak to worship idols, and on their refusal to do so became victims of their devotion to their father's faith.

Ardashes I (115-90 B.C.)

Like his predecessors, Ardashes refused to submit to the Parthian yoke, under which Armenia had remained since the reign of Vagarshak. He refused to recognize the Parthian king Arshagan, and liberated his country from Parthian rule.

Ardashes made an agreement with Mithridates the Great, King of Pontus and gave the king his daughter in marriage. Following this, Ardashes marched east and north with an army so large that he himself was unable to tell the number of his soldiers.³⁹ He went as far as Thrace and Greece. He seized King Croesus and ordered that he should be roasted on a grill. Croesus was thus reminded of Solon's remark that "No one should count himself happy until the day of his death".⁴⁰ Ardashes began naval preparations for the conquest of the whole world and succeeded in conquering Pontus and several other regions. The Greeks presented him with a number of statues, including bronze statues of Artemis, Hercules and Apollo, as well as a statue of Diana, to whom the Armenians had given the name Anahit, and Ardashes had all these statues brought back to Armenia and erected in the city of Armavir. In addition to these, Ardashes also had statues of Zeus, Athene, Hephaistos and Aphrodite transferred to Armenia and after his death the Armenians erected the statue of Hercules in place of their ancestor Vahaken. The statue of Diana was later erected by Dikran in the city of Eriza (Erzincan).

On his return he wished to attack Iran, but his weary soldiers rebelled and he was stabbed to death by one of his officers.

Dikran II (Dikran the Great) (90-36 B.C.)

Dikran had been surrendered by the Armenians as hostage to the Parthians as a demonstration of Armenian loyalty. He became king at the age of forty-five by agreeing to relinquish seventy cities to Iran.

He continued good relations with Mithridates, and agreed that the cities taken as a result of the agreement between Ardashes I and Mithridates the Great should revert to Mithridates, and that the Armenians should retain only their slaves and their personal property.

Dikran re-united Armenia which, until then, had been divided between the dynasties of Sophene and Zadriades. The dynasty of Zadriades, which had ruled the country for two hundred years, came to end with the death, by order of Dikran, of Artan, the last ruler.

Dikran seized Cappadocia at the suggestion of his brother-in-law Mithridates, who had entered upon hostilities with the Romans. He repelled Ariobarzanes, who was under Roman protection and granted Mazaka (Kayseri) and the Mediterranean shores to his brother-in-law. He also seized Lesser Armenia, bringing back three hundred thousand prisoners from his invasion of Cappadocia and building the city of Dikranakert (Diyarbakır) with their labour. From his invasion of Palastine he brought back a number of Jewish prisoners, whom he settled in Armavir in the vicinity of Vagarshabat. He built temples dedicated to the Greek gods, and punished Ashot, a member of the Bagratunid family, for his refusal to worship these gods by having his tongue cut out. He erected the ivory statue of the god Parshama he had brought back with him from Mesopotamia in the country town of Tortan. Mithridates took refuge with him after his defeat at the hands of Lucullus who, having received a negative reply to his demand that Mithridates should be delivered up to him, crossed the Euphrates with an army of twenty thousand men and approached the city of Dikranakert (Diyarbakır). Realizing the danger, Dikran abandoned his treasure and his wives and fled. Lucullus sacked Dikranakert, sending the foreign slaves back to their own countries and then returned to Mesopotamia, Pompey having been sent from Rome to take his place. Pompey marched into Armenia and defeated Mithridates and Dikran's son, Dikran the Younger, rebelled against his father and joined Phraat, the twelfth in the dynasty of the Arsasids. Guided by Dikran the Younger, Pompey's army surrounded Dikran and demanded unconditional surrender. Upon this, Dikran surrendered to the Roman army removed all symbols of kingship, begged forgiveness of the Romans and prostrated himself before them. Pompey restored him to his kingdom, and an agreement was concluded with the Romans according to which Dikran, as the king of Armenia, should retain both Armenia and Mesopotamia, but should pay taxes to Rome and surrender to the Romans the provinces of Cappadocia, Cilicia and Syria. Dikran accepted these conditions and thus received the

friendship of Rome.

Dikran the Younger was given the provinces of Gordian and Sophen as a reward for his treachery, but he had actually hoped to gain his father's kingdom and, disappointed in his ambitions, he incited the Parthians to revolt against the Romans. This final act of treachery led to his seizure by Pompey and his being sent in chains to Rome. Thereupon his friend Phraat seized Armenia (64 B.C.), but Pompey came to the aid of the aged Dikran and acted as mediator between the two monarchs. After this Dikran remained completely loyal to the Romans.

Ardavast I (36-33 B.C.)

During the reign of Ardavast, son of Dikran the Great, Armenia became the scene of the ambitions of the Parthians and a number of Roman generals. The Roman Marcus Crassus invaded Mesopotamia with the intention of seizing Armenia and Parthia. At first, Ardavast joined Crassus with an army of six thousand men, but he later left him and returned home in order to defend his own country. After the death of Dikran, Ardavast transferred the seat of government from Mezpin to Ararat.

The Parthian King Orode I, who was now engaged in hostilities with Crassus, divided his army into two sections, sending one against Crassus and the other against Ardavast. Croesus was routed by the Parthians and, on his way to the Parthians to sue for peace, he was seized and beheaded. Peace was then concluded between the Parthian King and Ardavast, who agreed to surrender to the Parthians the largest section on the right hand side of Armenia. Thereupon Mark Antony led a punitive expedition into Iran against the Parthians and carried out great devastation in Azerbaijan. Ardavast supported him for a time with an army of sixteen thousand men, but Mark Antony was later defeated and his army disintegrated. Ardavast thereupon abandoned Antony and returned to his own country.

Antony was forced to flee in disorder and spent the winter in Armenia. Intending to avenge himself on Ardavast, whose treachery had greatly offended him, Antony prepared a trap into which Ardavast might unsuspectingly fall. Antony hoped to inveigle Ardavast to a castle between Sidon and Beirut where he was spending his time with Cleopatra, and used as bait the idea of a marriage between Alexander, the son of Cleopatra, and Ardavast's daughter.

Ardavast was immediately seized on arrival and he and his sons

were thrown into chains. When Antony and Cleopatra returned together to Alexandria, Ardavast, his wife and children were dragged in chains behind their chariots. After the Battle of Actium, Antony had his prisoner beheaded, sending his head to Ardavast's brother-in-law Artabaz, King of Media.

During Ardavast's captivity, Antony made his son Alexander king of all the Armenian provinces between the Aras and Mesopotamia, and handed over to the King of Media Lesser Armenia together with the Armenian provinces on the other side of the Aras.

After this, Armenia remained for a long time the scene of conflicts and turmoil arising from the invasions of the Romans under first Antony and then Augustus, the raids and looting of the Parthians and the Iberians and, finally, of the rivalries and jealousies between the Armenian feudal lords.

The Armenians refused to recognize Antony's son Alexander, and on the withdrawal of the Roman army a meeting of the Armenians was summoned by the Persian ruler Ardash, and Arsham, the son of Ardash, brother of Dikran and father of Apkar was chosen as their king.

Arsham (33-3 B.C.)

Arsham was at first expelled by the Romans but later, with the help of Phraat IV, succeeded in conquering Lower Armenia and setting up a kingdom linked to Parthia. At the same time he transferred the seat of government to Mezpin (Nusaybin), Upper Armenia remaining under Parthian rule. A little later, an agreement was concluded between Arsham and the Emperor Augustus by which Arsham agreed to pay taxes to Rome. Armenia thus became a country liable to taxation by the Roman government. As a result, the kingdom of Dikran was divided into three separate kingdoms.

Arsham died after a reign of twenty years and was succeeded by his son Apkar. Phraat IV appointed Artaxes II as viceroy of Upper Armenia, now in the hands of the Parthians. Artaxes, however, was driven out by the Armenians with the help of the Romans, and replaced by his brother Dikran III. On Dikran's death, the Romans appointed Erouaz, one of his brothers, in his place, but the Armenians refused to recognize him and demanded the appointment of Dikran, one of the sons of Dikran the Great. This was opposed by the Romans, who appointed Ardavast II, the son of Artaxes II.

These petty kings remained of little importance compared with the Roman generals and consuls. The choice of king depended largely on whether the Armenians accepted the suzerainty of the Romans and

the Parthians, or whether they were moved by a desire for independence. Dikran IV, who succeeded Ardavast II without first applying to the Romans for their approval, was deposed by Gaius Caesar acting in the name of his grandfather the Emperor Augustus. (2 B.C.) His place was taken by the Median King Ariobarzan, who failed to win the support of the Armenian people and his son Artabaz or Ardavast III was deposed a short time later, to be replaced by Erato, the wife of Dikran IV (12-14 B.C.) Erato was soon expelled by the feudal lords, who refused to submit to the rule of a woman, and Erato's short rule was followed by a period of anarchy.

The Armenians wished to have Vonones as their king. This Vonones, who had been sent as a hostage, was the eldest of the four sons of Phraat IV.

Augustus acceded to their wishes by appointing Vonones King of the Parthians, but Vonones' Roman up-bringing and education made him unacceptable to the Parthian people and he was deposed by one Artaban from Eshkanian. Vonones fled to Armenia and from there sent a request to the Romans that he should be made king. In view of Artaban's threat to resort to armed intervention against the Romans, Vonones' request was ignored. Vonones thereupon fled to Cilicia where he was murdered. At the request of Artaban III Germanicus, the commander of the eastern provinces, drove Vonones out of Armenia and, after consulting the Armenian leaders, made Zenon, the son of Polemon, King of Pontus. Zenon's coronation at Artaxata ushered in an era of peace and tranquillity. His reign was followed by the very short reign of Dikran V.

For many years Artaban had wished to keep the kingship of Armenia within his own family, and in 35 A.D. he proclaimed his eldest son king. This would have meant the collapse of Roman policy, and Tiberius immediately incited Mithridates, the brother of the Iberian king Pharsman, against him. Mithridates succeeded in having the Armenian king assassinated by several of his close associates whom he had succeeded in winning over to his own side. Thereupon Armenia was invaded by an Iberian army which captured Artaxata. Meanwhile, Artaban was forced to flee in the face of the Romans, who were supporting Mithridates who was advancing together with the Sarmathians from the Caspian region, and from his own people, who had rebelled against his oppressive rule. He fell into a trap treacherously prepared by Radamiste, Mithridates' nephew and his own cousin, and was strangled.

Just then, Vologese, otherwise known as Arsas XXII, acceded to the Parthian throne. The first task he set himself was the conquest of Armenia, which had once been ruled by his ancestors but was now

under foreign domination, and to set his brother Tiridat on the throne. He invaded Armenia and occupied the cities of Artaxata and Dikranakert. Radamiste fled, but returned when Vologese was driven by the severity of the winter to withdraw his troops. His oppressive rule, however, drove the Armenians to rebellion, and he was once again forced to flee. A couple of years later the Iberian king, fearing that he might attempt to oust him and take his place, had Radamiste and his whole family put to death.

Armenia was the scene of continual hostilities between the Parthians and Iberia. The Armenians from Armenia appealed for protection to the Romans. The Emperor sent an army under the command of Corbulon to expel the Parthians. This army sacked Artaxata and, taking advantage of Vologese's finding himself totally occupied with the rebellions, established Roman rule in Armenia. The Emperor chose Dikran VI as king of the region. (60 A.D.)

After the return home of the Roman commander, Vologese again invaded Armenia, and a pact was later concluded between the Romans and the Parthians by which the Emperor would recognize whoever was chosen king by the Parthian rulers.

The throne thus reverted to Tiridat, and Erouant, who succeeded him, combined Upper and Lower Armenia, though he later had to abandon Lower Armenia to the Romans.

To sum up, in around 189 B.C. Artaxias proclaimed himself king of the region known as Greater Armenia. Artan, who succeeded Zadriades, was killed by Dikran the Great, and Lesser Armenia was annexed to Greater Armenia. Some time later, Pompey seized the region from Dikran and gave it to Dejotarus, King of Galatia. On the collapse of the Dejotarus dynasty, Lesser Armenia passed into the hands of the Median king Artabaz, but was later given to Polemon, the King of Pontus, by Mark Antony. Lesser Armenia was later taken over by the kings of Cappadocia and other kingdoms. After the death of Dikran, the last king of the region, which occurred during the reign of the Emperor Vespasian, the region became a Roman province, and fifty years later, under the Emperor Trajan, Mesopotamia and part of Lower Armenia met the same fate.

The kings of southern Armenia, like the those of Lesser Armenia, accepted Roman hegemony without much objection. Arsham, the king of Lower Armenia, paid taxes to Augustus while at the same time entering an agreement with the Parthian king Orodes, who had helped him in gaining the throne.

Arsham was succeeded as king of Lower Armenia by his son Apkar (3 B.C. - 35 A.D.). According to Armenian historians his real name was Avaghair, meaning great or learned man, but as the

Romans and the Syrians were unable to pronounce this they called him Abgar or Ap. The Syrians added the cognomen *Ushama* (black).

Hostilities broke out between Arsham and Herod, who was ruling in Jerusalem under Roman suzerainty, and the conflict ended with Arsham's being forced to submit to Herod. From the second year of his reign onwards Arsham was obliged to pay taxes to the Romans for the whole of Armenia. Rome sent procurators to Armenia who placed pictures of the Roman Emperor Augustus in all the temples. Herod also demanded that his own picture should be hung beside that of Augustus but the Armenians refused. Thereupon Herod issued orders to his troops that they should devastate Armenia on their way to Iran, and Apkar was defeated in the war which followed. He transferred his seat of government to the city of Edessa (Urfa)⁴¹ which he had built on the banks of the Euphrates and devoted himself to relations with Iran. It was during the reign of Apkar that Christ was born in Bethlehem.

The Parthian King Phraat IV died around this time, leaving three sons, Ardashes, Garen and Suren, and one daughter, Goshen. According to the historian Ohannes Catholicos, Gregory Lussavoritch was a descendant of the Suren family, while the Gamaragan family was descended from Garen. Ardashes seized his father's throne and threatened to kill his brothers, who thereupon rebelled against him. Finally, they invited Apkar to Iran to act as arbiter. Apkar went there, and it was decided that Ardashes should retain the throne, but that the brothers and his sister should bear the title *Pahlav*, that they should have precedence over all other Iranians, and that if the Ardashes dynasty should die out the crown should pass first to the Garen Pahlav family and then to the Suren Pahlav family. The Romans, however, saw in this visit to Iran preparations for an attack against themselves and the Emperor appointed Marius commander of Phoenicia, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia. Apkar sent Ananus, one of his close associates, accompanied by two officers, Marihap and Shampsiceramus, to confirm his loyalty to Marius and to pay the taxes. They received a warm welcome from Marius and sent word to Apkar that as long as they paid their taxes they and nothing to fear from the Emperor. On their return the legation told Apkar of the miracles performed by Christ. Apkar, who had been suffering from leprosy for seven years, sent a messenger to Christ asking him to pray for his cure and to send him his picture. In response, Christ wiped his face on a piece of cloth and gave the messenger this cloth, on to which his likeness had miraculously been transferred, to take back to Apkar. After the ascension of Christ, the apostle Thomas sent Tatyos to Apkar. Having cured Apkar himself, Tatyos cured all the sick and the maimed of the city in the name of Jesus Christ. He also baptized

Apkar, and chose Atte as the spiritual leader of the city.⁴²

After Apkar's death the government was divided between his son Ananun (34-35) and his cousin Sanadrug. Apkar's son had the spiritual leader Atte's legs cut off, while he himself was crushed beneath a falling pillar during repair work on the palace, whereupon Sanadrug went to the capital Edessa, looting the city and killing all the members of Apkar's family.

Sanadrug thus made himself sole ruler (35-36). At first he opposed Christianity and had Tatyos and his followers, including his own daughter Santuh, first tortured and then executed. He also had the apostle Partogomyos, who had been entrusted along with Tatyos in spreading the Christian faith in Armenia, put to death in the city of Adiev Panos. After reigning for thirty years he was accidentally killed by an arrow during a hunt.

Erouant II (65-85) or (58-78)

The death of Sanadrug was followed by a period of anarchy, but the Armenian leaders finally decided to accept Erouant, who was connected with the Parthians on his mother's side, as their king. No sooner had he ascended the throne than he had all members of Sanadrug's family put to death. Only one child, by the name of Her in Iran, where he was given to Sempat of the Bagratunids. He in turn sent the child to the palace of the Parthian king, Vologes I.

Fearing the child, Erouant made representations to the king, insisting that the child be returned to him, but met with no response. During the reigns of **Titus** and **Vespasian**, Erouant received the protection of Rome in return for the abandonment of Mesopotamia. From that date onwards, this region remained quite independent of Armenian rule. The Romans repaired and restored the city of Edessa, and established there an organization for the collection of taxes from Armenia, Syria and Mesopotamia. They also opened two schools to teach the language of the country and Greek.

Erouant transferred the seat of government from **Armarvir** to a city in the vicinity of the rivers Aras and Arpacayi. He built Erouantaguert, and a city of temples known as Pakaran to which he transferred all the statues then to be found in Armavir. He appointed his brother Eruaz head priest in these temples. Meanwhile, the young Ardashes grew up under the supervision of his ward and protector Sempat, who asked the Parthian king to help him in setting his young ally and friend on the Armenian throne. Thereupon the king sent Assyrian and Azerbaijan troops to help Sempat in the realization of

his plans. At that time Erouant was in the province of Udi. Ardashes was joined by a number of the governors of Armenia, and Erouant and Ardashes met in battle on the shores of Lake Kegam in the vicinity of Mt Arakaz. Some of Erouant's commanders went over to Ardashes, and Erouant was routed. He was later killed by Ardashes' soldiers in the city in which he had taken refuge.

Ardashes II (85-126)

Ardashes was then proclaimed king. He immediately seized the temple treasure by killing Erouant's brother Erouaz and, adding a number of other presents, he sent it to the Parthian king as a token of his gratitude. Meanwhile the envoys sent by Rome to organize the payment of taxes arrived in Armenia and Ardashes won over the Romans by promising to pay twice the amount paid in taxes by his predecessor Erouant. Ardashes built the city of Ardashad, the name of which bears a strong resemblance to his own, in the vicinity of the Aras, and transferred here the statue of Artemis together with all the other statues belonging to his father then reserved in Pakaran.

He settled the Jewish prisoners that had been brought from Armavir to Erountaguert in the new city of Ardashad, which he made his seat of government.

Meanwhile, the Alains settled in a region of Iberia advanced towards Armenia, stopping on the banks of the river Kur.

Ardashad remained in the south. The son of the king of the Alains was captured by the Armenians and brought to Ardashad, whereupon the Alains sued for peace, promising not to attack Armenian territory. Ardashes refused to return the young prince, whereupon Satenik, sister of the prisoner, climbed to the summit of a high hill on the bank of the river and addressed Ardashes' troops through interpreters as follows: ⁴³

"Bold Ardashes, heroic victor over the noble Alains, agree to hand over this youth to a virgin of the Alain nation. To take revenge by killing the son of a hero, or by taking him captive and casting him among slaves, thus creating permanent hostility between two nations, is an action unworthy of heroes."

On hearing these words Ardashes made his way to the bank of the river where he saw the beautiful young girl and immediately fell in love with her. He sent Sempat with a proposal of marriage. The Alain king proposed a treaty between the two countries and the liberation of the young prince, and Sempat responded by asking for the hand of

Satenik on behalf of King Ardashes. In reply the king asked if the hero Ardashes could give a thousand times a thousand and ten thousand for the noble princess and the virgin of the Alains." The noble king Ardashes thereupon mounted a black horse and drawing out a lasso of crimson leather adorned with golden rings he sped across the river with the speed of an eagle, flung the lasso with the gold rings around the princess' waist and carried her back to his own army.

Crimson leather was very highly valued by the Alains ⁴⁴ and by giving a number of pieces of leather of this colour Ardashes succeeded in winning the princess Satenik. This was the aim of the lasso adorned with the gold rings.

Satenik, Ardashes' first wife, gave birth to Ardavast and a number of other children.

In spite of Ardashes' victory over the Alains the inhabitants of the Caspian region rose in revolt after the death of Arshak, the king of Iran, but were dispersed by Sempat with the help of the Bagratunids.

Emboldened by this success, Ardashes rebelled against the Romans, whose position in the East he felt to be weakening, and refused to pay them taxes. The Emperor Domitian was greatly offended at this and sent an army against Ardashes, which, however, completely failed in its mission. When Trajan succeeded to the throne he himself set out for Egypt and Palastine and, after re-establishing Roman hegemony in these provinces marched east on Iran. On hearing this, Ardashes went personally to meet the Emperor taking with him the tax payments that had accumulated over the years and a number of gifts. The Emperor pardoned him and Ardashes returned to Armenia. For the rest of his life he regularly paid the taxes due first to Trajan and then to Hadrian, with both of whom he remained on very friendly terms. He fell ill and died while preparing for a campaign against the Parthians.

Ardavast II (126-130)

On Ardashes' death and during the illness which had led to it, sacrifices were performed in accordance with the pagan rites. Several of his wives, relations, friends and nobles committed suicide on his grave during the funeral ceremony. According to the Koghten chroniclers Ardavast made a bitter complaint to his father's spirit: "How can I build my kingdom on these ruins, now that you have carried off the whole country with you," he exclaimed. His father pronounced a curse upon him and declared, "When you go hunting to Masis on horseback, the Katch ⁴⁵ will take you to Massis and you will never see daylight again."

On acceding to the throne Ardavast removed all his brothers from Ararat and settled them in other provinces. As he had no son he made his brother Diran his heir. The father's curse, however, was fulfilled when Ardavast, who had gone out hunting wild boars and asses, was suddenly seized by a fit while riding across a bridge and, after the horse and its rider had thrown themselves to one side and the other, they both plunged down a great precipice and disappeared.

There is an old wife's tale to the effect that Ardavast was bound by chains in a cave, that two dogs attempted to break the chains by licking them and that Ardavast tried to escape in order to bring catastrophe to the world, but that the chains were restored to their former strength by blacksmiths beating them on an anvil with steel hammers. Even today, some blacksmiths who still believe in this legend always hammer two or three times on their anvil on Sunday, the first day of the week, in order to strengthen Ardavast's chains.⁴⁶ There is also a legend⁴⁷ that when Ardavast was born some women of Astiag descent cast a spell on him and kidnapped him, leaving a monster in his place.⁴⁸

Diran I (130-151)

Ardashes' son Diran succeeded his father in the thirteenth year of the reign of Beroz (Firuz) I, the ruler of Iran. His reign was uneventful. He remained loyal to the Romans, and lived in peace and tranquillity, spending his time in hunting and other pleasures. He ruled for twenty-one years and died in an avalanche.

Dikran III (151-193)

He acceded to the throne in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Beroz (Firuz). He had an uneventful reign of forty-two years. In the course of Beroz's Palestinian campaign, Dikran invaded the Mediterranean provinces on the orders of the monarch. Here he was taken prisoner. The Romans sent a large army to the Mediterranean provinces and after Beroz's death they took over Armenia. At the same time they freed Dikran and concluded an agreement with the Parthians. He was succeeded by Vagarsh, his son by an Eshkani woman.

Vagarsh (193-213)

Vagarsh built a city in the Pasin region in which he was born and named it Vagarshavan. It later grew into an important commercial

centre. During his reign, Caspian and other tribes from the north crossed the Kur and gathered there. Vagarsh proceeded against them with an army and routed them. In another battle, however, Vagarsh was shot and killed by one of their highly skilled archers after he reigned for twenty years.

Hosrov the Great (213-261)

Hosrov set out for the Caucasus to avenge his father's death and on the way erected stones with Greek inscriptions declaring that his country was under Roman jurisdiction.⁴⁹ The Parthian king Ardavan or Artaban was killed during a national or religious revolt instigated by Ardashes (Ardashir), the governor of Persepolis, who claimed to be descended from the family of the old Persian ruler.

Ardashir roused revolt in Mesopotamia, Medea and Iran. In the third battle he killed the Parthian king Artaban and seized the throne, thus replacing the Parthian by the Sassanid dynasty. On Artaban's death and the extinction of the Parthian dynasty the Armenian king Hosrov sent word to the Kushans, to whose country he originally belonged, asking for their help. The Kushans, however, refused their help, declaring that they preferred to live under Ardashir's rule. The Suren and Aspahabed branches of the Pahlavs joined Ardashir, but the Garen branch set out of Armenia to join their brother Hosrov. Ardashir succeeded in capturing them and put them all to death. Only one child escaped, and was taken off to the country of the Kushans. This child was to become the ancestor of the Gamaragan family.

Hosrov sent word of this incident to the Roman Emperor and asked for his assistance, upon which the Emperor sent orders to Pontus and Egypt to send troops to Armenia. With the help of this army Hosrov defeated Ardashir who, realising that he was no match for Hosrov, promised very great rewards to anyone who would kill him either by poison or the dagger. "If any should arise who can avenge me and assuage my wrath I will award him second place in my realm, inferior only to the monarch himself," addressing himself more particularly to the Parthians, he went on, "You will more easily succeed in this because of your friendship and kinship." So saying, he promised to give any Parthian who did this the city of Pahlav and the countries of the Kushan.

A man by the name of Anag belonging to the Suren branch of the Pahlav family promised that he would avenge both Ardashir and himself by assassination Hosrov. "Look after my dependants" he said to Ardashir, "This day my brother and I are bidding you farewell". To which Ardashir replied, "If you succeed in avenging me I shall restore

to you the country of the Pahlavs, I shall richly reward you, throughout your whole life I shall heap honour and fame upon you, you will be second only to me!" Anag thereupon pretended to revolt against the king and fled to Hosrov as if seeking refuge. "I have come to you," he said to Hosrov, "to join with you in taking revenge on our common enemy." Hosrov gave him a warm welcome, trusting him because of his having brought his whole family with him, and sent him to the province of Ardaz. In the Ardaz plane Anag accidentally pitched his tent on the exact spot where the apostle Thateos had been killed. There Anag's wife gave birth to a child that would later be known as Gregory Lusavorich (The Illuminator). Thus on this spot was born the saint who was to complete the work of the apostle.⁵⁰

Anag remained with Hosrov for two years, but one day, while they were out hunting, Anag and his friends took the opportunity of murdering him. News of the crime immediately spread and the murderers fled to the Aras, but the river was in such flood that their pursuers were able to catch them up and seize them, hurling them down from the Daper Bridge into the torrent below. Just before his death, Hosrov gave orders that all Anag's family should be put to death. Only Gregory escaped, being taken off by his Christian foster-mother to Kayseri where he was brought up as a Christian.

On receiving news of Hosrov's death Ardashir marched on Armenia and had all members of Hosrov's family put to death. Only his son Tiridat escaped and was smuggled to Rome. This boy later returned to Armenia and became king. After Hosrov's death, the Armenian nobles called upon the armies in Phrygia and at the same time informed the emperor Valerian of what had happened. They were unable to withstand Ardashir, and finally the Romans concluded an agreement with Ardashir by which Armenia was divided up between Ardashir and the Persians. Ardashir added Armenia to his own territories and introduced pyrolatry. He demolished all the temples, including the temple to the sun and the moon in Armavir, and introduced numerous taxes.

For twenty-six years Armenia was ruled by Persian governors. Ardashir was succeeded by his son Shabuh (Shapur), who ruled until Tiridat. During the reign of Shapur, the son of Ardashir, a prince by the name of Mamkun arrived in Iran from China. He later settled in Armenia, and it was from this prince that the Mamikonian family was descended. During the reign of the emperor Diocletian, Dertad marched on Armenia with a great army. On arriving in Kayseri he was joined by several of the nobles and Ardashir's son was unable to withstand the attack. It was thus that Dertad acceded to the Armenian throne.

Dertad (Tiridat) (286-342)

Gregory, who had been aware of the treacherous murder of his father even before Dertad's return from Rome, offered his services to Dertad and, when Dertad marched on Armenia to seize his father's crown, Gregory was at his side.

Dertad wished to re-establish the old religion and on acceding to the throne he made sacrifices to Anahid in return for her help and protection. Dertad ordered Gregory to imitate the other officers in placing a wreath of flowers before her image, but Gregory refused, declaring himself a Christian and was subjected to terrible tortures. Dertad, learning that Gregory was the son of his father's murderer, had him thrown into chains and sent to Ararat where he was confined in a dry well known as "Virap" where he remained for fifteen years. Dertad was engaged for many years in war with the Persians, and in his old age he was smitten by a terrible disease as a punishment for his having killed a Roman Christian saint called Hripsime⁵¹ and her companions. He imagined that he had been transformed into a wild boar, but was cured on Gregory's being brought before him. Thus Christianity took root in Armenia with the baptism of the king and the state dignitaries.

On Dertad's death, after a long reign of fifty-six years, the country was thrown into a state of anarchy. As soon as the Daronids of the Mus region learned of his death they attempted to kill their Christian leader. The Phaidagaran leader Sanadroug killed the Christian leader who had been sent to him, proclaimed his independence and formed an alliance with the Persians.

The Armenian nobles thereupon gathered around their religious leader Virtanes and sent a petition to the Emperor Constans with a request that Dertad's son Hosrov should be made king. Constans responded by arriving with a great army and placing Hosrov on the throne. Sanadroug took refuge with Shapur.

Hosrov II (342-350)

Hosrov II was lazy and pleasure-loving and spent his time in sport and revelry. He built the city of Tovin and made it his seat of government. He made peace with the Persians, returning all the territory that had been captured from them and paying them tribute, on learning that the Iranian ruler Shapur was assisting the Caucasians who were attacking Armenia from the north he refused to continue the payment of taxes and, placing himself at the head of a Roman army, he marched upon Iran. He died after a reign of eight or nine years.

The Christian leader Virtanes gathered together all the Armenian leaders and commanders and entrusted the government of Armenia to Arshavir Gamsaragan. Then, taking with him Hosrov's son Diran, he went to the Emperor Constans to ask him to appoint him king.

As soon as Shapur learned of Hosrov's death and his son's journey to meet the Emperor he sent a great army to Armenia under the command of his brother Nerses, whom he wished to make king. Arshavir Gamsaragan opposed him with Armenian forces and succeeded in defending the country until Diran's return.

Diran II (350-361)

The Emperor appointed Diran, the son of Hosrov, as his father's successor on the Armenian throne and sent him back to his country along with the great Virtanes. On his return to Armenia Diran was willing to make peace at any price, and with this aim in view agreed to pay taxes to both the Romans and the Persians. In the third year of his reign the great spiritual leader Virtanes died, and was succeeded by his son Husig. At the same time a close friendship was formed between King Shapur and Diran.

When the Emperor Julian, who had succeeded Constans on the throne, arrived in Armenia to pursue the war with Shapur, Diran afforded him great assistance and joined with him in his attacks on the Persian army. He did not, however, accompany Julian to Iran, but demonstrated his loyalty by sending his wife and all his children except his second son with him as hostages. In return for his help Julian sent him his picture and ordered it to be placed in the eastern part of the temple, as was the custom in all the countries paying taxes to Rome or under Roman hegemony. Diran wished to place it in the royal church, but the spiritual leader Husig, violently opposed to any such idea, tore the picture to shreds and trampled it under his feet. Diran thereupon flogged Husig to death with a whip made from the tail of an ox.

He also had the old Daniel, one of Gregory's successors as spiritual leader, strangled for having pronounced anathema on him following Husig's death.

Meanwhile Julian died of a wound received in Iran. His successor, Jovian, died before reaching Byzantium.

Diran now realized that he was in no position to resist Persian domination and, although he greatly feared that country, he was forced to go to Iran in answer to a summons from the Persian ruler Shapur. On his arrival in Iran, Shapur had his eyes put out and

proclaimed Diran's son Arshak king in his place.

Arshak II (362-382)

In the third year of Arshak's reign his eldest son Nerses became spiritual leader. Nerses had lived in Byzantium and Kayseri and now established a number of religious institutions and organizations.

Arshak came under now Persian now Roman hegemony and rule. Valentinian, who had now become Emperor, sent forces to expel the Persians from the shores of the Mediterranean. At the same time he wrote to Arshak proposing an agreement, which Arshak completely ignored. Valentinian punished very severely anyone who refused to obey him and, highly offended by Arshak's attitude, he had Arshak's brother Tiridat, whom he had with him as hostage, put to death and declared war on Arshak. Thereupon Theodosius marched on Armenia with a large army. Arshak, greatly disturbed, sent Nerses to him with a number of costly gifts and with a promise to pay the taxes he had so far withheld. Nerses then went on to the Emperor, and succeeded in concluding peace and freeing the hostages.

The Persian king Shapur was by no means pleased at Arshak's submission to the Romans and decided to invade Armenia, taking advantage of the rivalries and conflicts between the Armenian nobles. Arshak fled to the Caucasus and, as a result of Nerses' intervention and mediation, Theodosius took Arshak's son Bab under his protection.

Thereupon the Persian armies once again entered Armenia and Arshak was seized and taken off to Iran where he was imprisoned in the 'Anoush' (oblivion) castle in Khuzistan⁵². Here he took his own life.

Bab (385-392)

After Arshak's death, Shapur sent an army to Armenia under the command of Merujan, to whom he gave his sister Ormiztuhut, at the same time promising him the crown of Armenia. Shapur was determined to convert the whole of Armenia to pyrolatry and, in order to achieve this aim, Merujan summoned the heads of the Armenian families, threw all the priests into the flames, burned all the Greek books and set about spreading a knowledge of the Persian language.

On hearing of Arshak's death, Nerses the Great asked the emperor Theodosius for his help in putting Bab on his father's throne. The Emperor proclaimed Bab king and left him a large army. On his return, Bab found his country occupied by Merujan. On receiving a

report from Merujan concerning the state of affairs in the country Shapur sent his whole army to Armenia. Bab appealed to Theodosius for aid and the emperor sent a commander by the name of Addee. Merujan was killed in a battle on the Tzirav plain in the province of Ararat and the country remained under the rule of Bab.

Nerses was continually criticising Bab for his evil ways. For a long time Bab was restrained from killing him by his fear of Theodosius but finally he had him poisoned. In order to appease the people, Bab appointed Shahag of Manazguert spiritual leader without seeking the approval of the Patriarch of Kayseri.

Hearing that the emperor Theodosius had gone from Byzantium to Rome and that a number of revolts had broken out on his return, Bab rebelled in an attempt to throw off the Roman yoke but was captured and sent to the Emperor, who punished his treachery by having him beheaded with an axe.

Varaztad (392-395)

The Emperor Valens placed one of the Armenin nobles who had fled from Shapur on the Armenian throne. on arriving in Armenia he set about establishing good relations with Shapur, to whom he offered the suzerainty of Armenia in return for his daughter. Hearing of this, the Emperor had him seized and sent to the island of Thule. Varazdat reigned for only three years.

Arshak IV (395-401)

Intending to weaken the power of the king by dividing the country in two and thus ensuring obedience and loyalty, Theodosius the Great made the two sons of Bab, whom he had been holding as hostages, kings of Armenia as Arshak IV and Vagarshak II. Keeping their mother as hostage he sent them to Armenia with some trusted men and a Roman army.

Arshak IV established his capital in Tovin. Vagarshak died after reigning for only one year.

During Arshak's reign the country was partitioned between the Roman emperor and Shapur III. Lesser Armenia, Mesopotamia, Erzurum and the region as far as Muş was left to the Romans, while the more fertile and more highly populated region extending to the south-east of Ararat was handed over to the Persians.

Hosrov III (398-402)

On hearing that Shapur had appointed an Ashkenian king to his own section of Armenia the Armenian nobles abandoned Arshak and returned to their homes. The spiritual leader Sahak joined Hosrov and a civil war broke out in which Hosrov routed the rebel nobles. War then broke out between Arshak and Hosrov, in which neither Shapur nor the emperor Arcadius intervened. Arshak's army marched against Hosrov and confronted him on the shores of Lake Kegam or Sevan. Arshak was defeated and fled to his own country where he fell ill and died.

After this, the Roman Emperor appointed no king in Arshak's place, sending a mere governor to rule the country. This offended the Armenian nobles, who thereupon joined forces with Hosrov. Some time later Hosrov sent a legation of Armenian dignitaries to Arcadius asking the Emperor to appoint him king of the Roman section. Hosrov promised that in return he would govern the country well, remain loyal to the emperor and pay all taxes due. The Emperor agreed, and Hosrov chose Sahak, the of Nerses the Great, as spiritual leader.

Shapur protested violently against Hosrov's agreement with the Romans and the appointment of Sahak, but Hosrov completely ignored these protest. The envoys sent by Shapur were treated with contempt and sent back to their country.

Upon this, Shapur sent his son Ardashir with a large army against Hosrov. The Emperor refused to help Hosrov, and seeing no possibility of aid from any other quarter, Hosrov was forced to surrender to Ardashir. Ardashir appointed his brother Vramshapouh king in Hosrov's place and dismissed all the governors and local nobles. He threw Hosrov into chains and sent him to his father, who had him imprisoned in the "Anoush" castle.

Ardashir reigned in Iran and Vramshapouh in Armenia.

Vramshapouh (402-424)

Ardashir was succeeded on his death by Vram (Behram), who continued a friendly and peaceful policy towards the emperor Arcadius. Vramshapouh was on good terms with both sides and paid taxes to both, Vram receiving the taxes from the section under Persian hegemony and Arcadius from the section pertaining to Rome. It was during this period that Mesrop invented the Armenian alphabet.⁵³ The Emperor Arcadius was succeeded by his son, Theodosius the Younger, who established good relations with Vramshabuh but ruled his section of Armenia through procurators.

At the same time he established good relations with Yezdegert, the ruler of Iran.⁵⁴

Vramshapouh died after a reign of twenty-one or twenty-two years, leaving the throne to Ardashir, a boy of ten. Sahak the Great went to Yezdegert in the Persian palace to ask him to allow Hosrov, whose fetters had now been removed but who was still confined to the castle of "Anoush", to return to his throne. Yezdegert granted his request.

The second reign of Hosrov III (424-425)

Hosrov returned to Armenia and died after reigning for only one year.

Shabuh (Shapur) (425-428)

After this, Yezdegert gave the Armenians his own son Shapur as king rather than a king of their own race. Yezdegert's aim was to win over the Armenian nobles by means of feasts and entertainments and to convert them to pyrolatry, thus weaning them away from the Byzantines.

Shapur remained in Armenia for four years, but on hearing that his father had taken ill he went to Iran accompanied by the Armenian army. His father Yezdegert died just as he arrived there, and he himself was murdered after falling into a trap prepared by the courtiers.

Civil war broke out in Armenia and for three years the country remained in a state of anarchy.

Vram (Behram) or Vahram acceded to the Persian throne. Prompted by Sahak he declared a general amnesty and Ardeshes, the son of Vramshapouh, ascended the Armenian throne. This was warmly welcomed by the Armenians.

Ardashes (428-433)

The welcome from the Armenian nobles was, however, short-lived. They accused Ardashes of indulging in illicit pleasures and appealed to the spiritual leader Sahak and the ruler of Iran to have him expelled from Armenia. Vram dismissed Sahak and, angered by the accusations concerning Ardashir, dispossessed him of the crown. Upon the declaration by the Armenian nobles and dignitaries that they would prefer to be ruled by a Persian governor rather than a man like Ardashes, Vram threw Ardashes into prison

and appointed a Persian governor in his place.

Thus ended the Arsasid (Arshakouni, Eshkanian) dynasty which had ruled in Armenia for five hundred and eighty-three years, from 150 B.C. to 433 A.D.

After the end of the Arsasid dynasty the Persians ruled Armenia through *marzbans*.⁵⁵ These *marzbans* were usually foreign to the Armenians in both language and nationality though Armenians of tested loyalty were sometimes, though very rarely, appointed to these posts. The *marzbans* were endowed with very substantial powers and prerogatives in the area over which they ruled but were not empowered to alter the administrative organization. On campaigns they normally employed Armenian soldiers, though in cases of emergency they could have troops brought from Iran.

The governors of the Byzantine Emperors were known as *curopalates*.

After the abolition of the monarchy in Armenia the Persian ruler Vram appointed Veh-Mihr-Shabuk or Mihr Shapur as governor of Armenia.

Veh-Mihr-Shabuh: Vram was succeeded on the Persian throne by Yezdegert II (440-457), the most violent enemy of Christianity. The only means he could see of binding the Armenians to Iran, of putting an end to their longing for independence and of preventing their establishing bonds of friendship with the Byzantine Emperor was to suppress Christian worship and introduce *Mazdaism* amongst them. He realized, however, that as soon as he attempted to do this the Eastern Roman Emperors would be impelled by their common faith to support the Armenians, so he decided that the wisest course would be first to defeat the Byzantines in battle, after which it would be easy to bind Armenia to Iran. He therefore attacked the Byzantine army, then stationed in Mezpin, and ordered the Persian army in Azerbaijan to march on Armenia, at the same time ordering the Armenians and Georgians to join him. In this way he succeeded in defeating the Byzantine forces.

Yezdegert then sent an edict to the Armenians by the commander Mihr Nerseh suggesting that they should accept Mazdaism. Some of the Armenian nobles followed a rather subtle policy and appeared to comply with the Persian ruler's order; but others, encouraged by the religious leaders, insisted on remaining Christian and refused to obey. Appeals to the Emperor Marcian for help and assistance were ignored, and from this time dates the hatred and detestation felt by the Armenians for the Byzantines.

In 448, in order to force compliance with the terms of his edict,

Yezdegert sent seven or eight hundred Zoroastrian priests into Armenia accompanied by an army. Thereupon the spiritual leaders, led by Hovshap, gathered in Ardashad (450) and affirmed their loyalty and obedience to Yezdegert, at the same time declaring that they would rather die than forswear their religious faith. A delegation sent to Yezdegert pretended to accept idolatry but, on the return of the delegates to Armenia they gathered around Vartan Mamikonian, the grandson of Sahak, and decided to defend their country and their religion. Vartan had a force of 66,000 men. Yezdegert dispatched an army under the command of Tenshabuh. Vartan was victorious in the first battles but later some of the Armenian nobles were routed as a result of the treacherous behaviour of the Siunik noble Vasag, who crossed over to Iran accompanied by his family, his relations and his people.

Having joined the Persians, Vasag vainly endeavoured to sow seeds of dissension among Vartan's troops. Finally, on 2 June 451, the two armies met near the town of Avarayr and a great battle took place. The Armenians appeared to be on the point of victory when Vartan and 1036 of his companions were slain. Though Vahan Mamikonian took over the command it was all to no avail. Defeat was followed by massacres. The Armenians attempted to defend themselves against the Persians and even to counter-attack, but were defeated in a series of encounters. Yezdegert appointed a close associate as *marzban* of Armenia, ordering him to employ leniency in the pacification of the Armenian population. Just then the Huns raided the Persian borders, taking a number of prisoners. Yezdegert summoned the Armenian army from Armenia and dispatched it against the Huns. On Yezdegert's death his younger son acceded to the throne by killing his elder brother.

Beroz (Firuz) (458-484)

Beroz behaved with less severity towards the Armenians. He set free the captive Armenian nobles and allowed Vahan to return to his own country. Vahan was killed in a battle with the Huns. After this, Vagarsh (Balas) (484-488) endeavoured to restore peace and tranquillity to Armenia. He made peace with Vahan on condition that:

1. Freedom of Christian worship should be restored in Armenia
2. The fire temples should be demolished
3. The Persian ruler should not condemn anyone to death after investigations by a single governor or government official.

He then appointed himself commander-in-chief of the Armenian armed forces.

Kubad, son of Firuz (488-531)

On Kubad's attempt to suppress Christianity the Armenians took up arms under Vahan's leadership. Kubad sacked Erzurum and Diyarbakır but, pressed on one side by the Armenians and on the other by the Byzantines, he agreed to conclude a seven year peace. He also permitted freedom of worship.

During the reign of Hosrov (531-579), the third son of Kubad, the *Marzban* Chir, a member of the Suren family, attempted to force the Christians to take part in fire worship. He also attacked Armenian women and had some of the Armenian nobles put to death. Thereupon Vartan collected an army and captured Tovin, killing the *marzban*. He called upon the Emperor Justinian II for help, but his own compatriots forced him to take refuge with the Emperor along with the Catholicos. Armenia fell into the hands of Hosrov.

Hosrov dispatched an army under the command of Husag against Vartan, and a number of great battles were fought.

He was succeeded by his son Hurmuzd, who was murdered by his close associates in the palace.

A Persian prince by the name of Vahram (Behram) rebelled against Hurmuzd's successor Hosrov II and proclaimed himself king. Hosrov appealed to the Emperor Maurice for help, and with his assistance he killed Vahram and succeeded in seizing power.

In return for his help in having rescued the throne from Vahram, the Emperor received from the Persian ruler Hosrav II the Armenian provinces of Van and Ararat as far as Lake Sevan. Hosrov also gave Maurice two provinces of Armenia and a number of cities. A certain person by the name of Sempat Bagratuni had performed very valuable services for Hosrov, had assisted him greatly in battle and had routed his enemies. Hosrov was greatly touched by his loyalty and after ascending the throne he did his best to reward him for his services, appointing him *marzban* of the provinces of Hyrcania and Verkan.

When Sempat Bagratuni arrived in his province he found a number of Armenian prisoners who had been captured and sent to Turkestan and who had lost their religion, their country and their families. Sempat had these prisoners teach him Armenian.⁵⁶

Sempat fought twice against Eftal, the king of the Huns. He died some time later.

The Emperor Maurice was assassinated by his soldiers, who

made Phocas Emperor in his place. Phocas marched on Armenia with a very large army, but was defeated by Ashod, who had been sent to Armenia by Hosrov. A battle was fought near Garin (Erzurum). The Persians captured the city and two years later they transferred the whole population of the city to Hemedan.

Heraclius killed Phocas and ascended the throne in his place.

Kubad, the son of Hosrov I, killed Hosrov II and so became Shah of Iran. Appointing Varasdirots, the son of Sempat, governor of Armenia.

Kubad was succeeded by his young son Ardashir, but Heraclius, preferring Siroes on the Iranian throne because of his Christian faith, sent Siroes to Iran. On arriving there, Siroes killed Ardashir and then was himself killed by the soldiers.

He was succeeded by Pepuer, the daughter of Hosrov and the wife of Siroes, who was in turn succeeded by the Sassanid Hosrov and then by Hosrov's son, Azmik. He was followed by Hosrov's grandson Huzmuz, who was strangled. After that Hosrov's other grandson Yezdegert became monarch. Heraclius sent Gnouni, one of his generals, to Armenia.

At this time Sempat's son Varasdirots had taken refuge with the Azerbaijan prince Rustem, but on sensing that Rustem intended to kill him secretly he left with his companions and joined Heraclius.

Heraclius created David Saharouni Prince of Armenia and in the course of the next three years David won a number of victories. Later, however, he was deposed by the Armenian nobles and sent into exile, with the result that Armenia was left for some considerable time in a state of anarchy.

It was around this time that the Prophet Muhammed appeared on the world scene, routing the armies of Heraclius. The population of Jerusalem, fearing that the cross on which Christ had been crucified might fall into enemy hands, fled with it to Constantinople.⁵⁷

At this point Heraclius was succeeded by his son Constantine. The Arabs invaded Syria and devastated Armenia, settling for a time in the Ararat province.

During the reign of the Emperor Constantine the Arabs advanced in all directions, their armies threatening the coasts, the east, Iran and India.

Following this, the Arabs began to invade various countries under Roman hegemony.

ARMENIA UNDER ARAB, PERSIAN AND BYZANTINE RULE

The Arabs began their invasion of Armenia in 637, after which date the Armenians found themselves threatened by the Arabs on the one hand and the Byzantines on the other. In the period after the death of Heraclius, the Arabs followed up their conquest of Syria and their rout of the Persians by invading Armenia, where they embarked upon a military confrontation with the Byzantines.

The Arab armies invaded and conquered Armenia in H. 17, when the Caliph Omer and the forces under his command were engaged in the occupation of Mesopotamia, but withdrew after the acceptance on the part of the local population of the payment of a capitation tax. Following this, Iyaz ibn-i Ganem, the conqueror of Mesopotamia, occupied the territory as far as Bitlis, while Abdurrahman occupied the Muş region. In H. 21 Habib bin Musleme and Selman bin Rebiatulbahili advanced towards the north-eastern frontiers of Armenia, but the most extensive occupation of Armenian territory by the Arabs occurred in the years H. 24-25 under the Caliph Osman, when Habib bin Musleme, to whom Mu'awiya, the governor of Syria, had entrusted the conquest of Armenia, proceeded to conquer Erzurum, routing a Byzantine army reinforced by Khazar and Alain troops. Turning towards Van, he conquered Ahlat and Musk, Persia, and Tovin, the capital of Armenia. Under Mu'awiya, the Armenians acknowledged Arab suzerainty and agreed to pay them taxes. Constans II (641-668), the grandson of the Emperor Heraclius, greatly distressed by the Armenians' acceptance of Arab suzerainty, appointed first Varazdirots and then Sempat as governors of Armenia. In order to avert a second Arab invasion, Sempat found it expedient to pay a very high tax to the Arabs and to acknowledge the Arab Caliph Omer and, subsequently, the Caliph Osman in place of the Byzantine Emperor. Constans was greatly offended at this, and came to Armenia in person in order to force the Armenians to abide by the oath of allegiance they had previously sworn. He decided to devastate the whole of Armenia, but was dissuaded from this by Nerses III, the spiritual head of the community. The governor appointed by the Byzantines after the death of Sempat, finding the taxes imposed by the Muslims too oppressive, at first offered allegiance to the Emperor, but was preparing a campaign against Armenia, the Armenians, driven to despair by the harshness with they were treated by the Byzantines on account of differences in religious belief, appealed to Mu'awiya for help and agreed to acknowledge his suzerainty. (657)

The Byzantine Emperor Justinian came in person to Armenia in

an attempt to persuade the Armenians to accept Byzantine rule. To this the Armenians replied that "during the periods in which we have acknowledged Byzantine rule we have received, in times of difficulty and hardship, nothing but the most ludicrous forms of assistance. Our allegiance has consistently been rewarded by insults. To swear allegiance to you means abandoning ourselves to ruin and destitution. Allow us to remain under the rule of our present masters, who well know how to exercise their authority over us."

The Emperor Justinian returned to the capital leaving thirty thousand soldiers in Armenia. Complete withdrawal of all these forces took place the following year, and the whole of Armenia passed under Arab rule (623-859).

The Umayyad Caliph captured Tovin and appointed a Muslim by the name of Abdullah governor of the region. Sempat, the governor appointed by the Byzantines, and Sahak, the spiritual leader, were captured and sent to Damascus. Sempat escaped and appealed to the emperor Justinian to liberate Armenia. Thereupon a Byzantine army attacked the Arabs along the Araxes. An account of the situation is to be found in a letter written to the Caliph Omer by Yegiya, a descendant of Abdulmelik, who was *Catholicos* during the time of the Caliph Omer.

"In our country we have a Bishop and an unmarried princess. These have toured the country, and are opposed to allegiance to your esteemed government. They even object to joining with me in praising you and including your name in our prayers, and wish to unite with the Roman Emperor. They have thus stirred up confusion and unrest in the country. You must make all haste to destroy them and to remove them by financial and other means."

The *Catholicos* Sahak III, seeing that the Byzantines were intent on the annihilation of the state of Armenia and on forcing the Armenians to adopt a form of Christianity in accordance with Byzantine notions and concepts, set out to visit the Caliph in order to offer the loyalty and allegiance of the whole nation on condition that there should be no interference in religious matters. At Harran he fell seriously ill and, realising that he was on the point of death, he wrote down on a piece of paper what he had intended to say and asked, as his last request, that on his death this paper should be allowed to remain in his hand. The Armenian appeal was accepted by Muhammed bin Ukba, whom Abdulmelik had appointed governor of Mesopotamia and Azerbaijan.

Under Marwan, who appointed Ashot Bagratuni governor with

the title "prince of princes" the Armenians enjoyed very satisfactory conditions. Marwan's successors, however, introduced higher taxation, leading on several occasions to popular revolts. When the governor Ashod attempted to pacify them they seized him and put out his eyes. From 712 to 727 Armenia was under the governorship of Velid, and from 758 to 760 under the rule of Yezid. Sahak Bagratuni, the governor at that time, was dismissed from his post by Jaferilmansur on the grounds of personal weakness.

Later governors of Armenia included Suleyman (766), Bekir (769), Hasan (778), Yezid II (768-788) and Huzeyme (798-818) appointed by the Caliph Harun Rashid and his successors. Though Haul, who was appointed governor by Elme'mun and continued in office for seventeen years, from 819-835, displayed every evidence of the greatest goodwill towards the Armenians, the Armenian Sempat, who had been appointed military commander by the Caliph, conspired in an attempt at his assassination. The conspirators were apprehended but some managed to escape. In spite of this act of treachery, Bagarat, one of Sempat's relatives, was appointed governor of Armenia by the Caliph Mu'tasim (835), and continued in office for thirteen years. The next governor was Ebu Sa'd, who was succeeded in the post by his son Yusuf. Yusuf, however, was killed in a revolt of the Sasunids, and a military commander, Bugha, was sent by the Caliph to suppress the rebellion. Bugha first of all entered the Muş region and seized the sons of Bagarat. He then marched towards Van and its vicinity. Ashot, the leader of the Ardzrounis, tried to muster the Armenians against the Arab forces. On failing to do this he attempted to win Bugha over by means of gifts. Bugha seized him and sent him to Baghdad. He then devastated the Van region, and occupied the province of Ararat.

Various titles were bestowed by the Caliph upon the Bagratuni family. In 745 Ashot was entrusted with the administration of Armenia by Marwan II, the last of the Ummayyad Caliphs. Ashot I, the son of the Sempat who died in captivity and grandson of the Ashot mentioned above, was appointed governor of Armenia by the Caliph Mutevekkilbillah with the title "Prince of Princes". The Armenian chiefs were so pleased with his administration that they went with their spiritual leader Gregory at their head to ask the Caliph Mutemedbillah that he should be made their king. The Caliph granted their request and Ashot was crowned at the castle of Ani by the governor emir Isa on behalf of the Caliph (885). He was congratulated by the spiritual leader Gregory as a king of the Ashkenian (Arsasid) dynasty.

Ashot's appointment as king immediately gave rise to various

ambitions and jealousies in the country. His son-in-law Kirkor Arstruni rebelled and captured Her (Hoy) and Zaravant (Selmas), but was finally seized and put to death. This was followed by civil war. After the death of Ashot his eldest son Sempat was made king by Adernerse, King of Georgia, and recognised by the Caliph Mutemedbillah. Afsin, the governor of Azerbaijan, sent him a royal crown, a horse and a caftan.

Sempat, however, renewed agreements made with the Byzantine Emperor Leo; and Afsin, furious at these agreements with the Byzantines, sent troops into Armenia to attack Nakhichevan, and a battle was fought between Sempat and Afsin on the foothills of Mt. Aragats. Sempat set about extending his territory into the province of Muş, whereupon Ahmet, the governor of Mesopotamia marched on Muş, and Prince Gagik of Vaspurakan went to Ahmed in order to make a secret agreement against Sempat. Sempat's forces were scattered by a sudden attack and Afsin, on hearing the news, immediately entered the Varant (Kars) region of Armenia and took the castle of Karuts (Kars). On Afsin's death, Sempat sued for peace to Yusuf, who had succeeded Afsin as governor. He also agreed to pay taxes directly to the Caliph.

Sempat and the Byzantine Emperor Leo were on excellent terms, and Sempat required the Emperor's affection with a number of gifts. The Arabs doubled the taxes levied and both Yusuf and the Caliph sent strict orders for the immediate payment of the taxes for the whole year. The Armenian leaders regarded this as grounds for revolt, and it was decided that the crown should be transferred to Adernerse, the King of Georgia. Immediately after the suppression of this revolt Yusuf once again marched on Armenia.

Two Ardzrounis by the name of Gagik and Gurken divided Vaspurakan (the province of Van) between them, Gagik taking the northern section and Gurken the southern. At the same time, however, Gagik attempted to occupy Nakhichevan, which Sempat had given to Sempat, Prince of Sissagan and, on failing to do so, sought refuge with Yusuf, who crowned him king on behalf of the Caliph Muktedirbillah (908). Gagik, together with Yusuf, marched against Sempad, who was forced to flee and seek refuge in various castles in the country. His attempts to pacify Yusuf by sending him various gifts proved of no avail.

In 909 the Emir Yusuf crossed the Araks and occupied Nakhichevan, at the same time capturing Smbad and having him put to death. Smbad's son, Ashot, was then made king by Adernerse, King of Georgia (915). This was immediately followed by internecine strife, ambitions, mutinies and revolts. Ashot, finding himself at war with

the Arabs on the one hand and the Armenian chiefs on the other, attempted to find a way out of this difficult situation by appealing for aid to the Byzantine Emperor, who sent a Byzantine force which succeeded in restoring peace to the country. One of Ashot's most bitter enemies was the commander Ashot, son of his uncle Sabuh, whom Yusuf made King of Armenia. This served as an example to others, who immediately began to create kingships on their own initiative. In 962 the kingdom of Siunik was set up, in 970 the kingdom of Lori and in 988 the kingdom of Ristuni. After the death of Ashot the Armenian chiefs made his brother Apas king in his place.

Apas was succeeded by his eldest son, who acceded to the throne as Ashot III and was anointed at Ani in 961. Once king, he proceeded to partition the kingdom, making his brother Museg king of Vanant (the province of Kars). In 962 Abussahl Hamazasp, the brother of Terenig, took over the administration in Vaspurakan, and on his death the province was divided between the kings Ashot, Gurgen and Sennacherib.

In 970 the territory between the Araxes and Lake Sevan became a separate province of Armenia, leaving western Armenia under the suzerainty of the Byzantine Empire. The region known as Armenia was thus divided into separate parts. Ashot III revolted against the Caliph and killed the Arab governor Hamdun. On his death he was succeeded by his eldest son, who was crowned king at Ani as Sempat II (977-990). Sempat II was in turn succeeded by Sempat's brother, who acceded to the throne as Gagik I. Gagik was succeeded by his son Ohannes Smbad, who was made king by the Georgian King Goridge. He was immediately faced by a rebellion led by his brother Ashot but, joining forces with Sennacherib, King of Vaspurakan, he completely suppressed the revolt. Sempat agreed to peace on condition that he should be appointed commander-in-chief and heir to the throne. A little later he made an attempt at assassination with the intention of seizing the throne, but on the discovery of the plot he sought refuge with Basil II, the Byzantine Emperor. He later arrived in the territory with a Byzantine army and succeeded in establishing a kingdom on the borders of Georgia and Iran.

Fearing an invasion by the Seljuk Turks, Sennacherib, the King of Vaspurakan, handed his kingdom over to the Emperor Basil in exchange for a section of the province of Sivas extending as far as the Euphrates.

In 1023 the Emperor Basil II arrived in Trabzon with a large army on a punitive expedition against George, the king of Abasgia, and annexed the whole of that country. Suspecting that Ohannes Sempad had aided the King of Abasgia, Basil decided to lead a punitive

expedition into his territory. Suspecting this, Sempat wrote a letter to Basil declaring that he preferred Christianity to the yoke of the Turks and that on his death he was to bequeath him his whole kingdom together with the city of Ani. The contents of this letter, which was delivered to Basil by the Catholicos Bedros (1023) so gratified the Emperor that he returned home without inflicting the intended punishment.

On Sempat's death, the claim put forward by the Emperor Michael V Calaphates regarding his right to the suzerainty of Armenia was rejected by the Armenian people, upon which the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus sent an expedition against the country which ended with the capture of the city of Ani. Gagik was induced to come to Constantinople by promises made by the emperor, but on rejecting the proposals made to him that he should renounce his rights to the city of Ani he was exiled to one of the islands. On hearing that their king had been treated in this way, the Armenian chiefs sent the Emperor the keys to the city. Faced with this situation King Gagik agreed to give up Ani (1045), receiving in exchange the city of Kayseri in Cappadocia. The Byzantine commander Parakamane, who had meanwhile been sent to occupy Armenia, met with a small amount of resistance but succeeded in capturing the city of Ani as result of the treachery of some of the Armenians.

The entry of the Byzantines into Armenia was the beginning of a series of terrible catastrophes for the Armenian people, who were now exposed to every imaginable type of savagery and brutality. On seizing the city, the Byzantines immediately sent the generals and the leading civilians into exile, and disbanded their armies. They used both poison and the sword, and imposed oppressive taxes on the defenceless people. Byzantine garrisons were stationed in Ani, Muş, Bitlis, Bayezit, Ardahan, Van, Malazgirt, Ahlat, Ercis, Bargiri and several other large cities. At the same time their religious institutions came under attack, and the *Catholicos* and other spiritual leaders were seized and sent to Byzantium. The attitude of the Byzantines was one of vindictive hatred, divided as they were by differences of race and religion. This state of affairs was to persist in the region until its occupation by the Turks. While Armenia was being wracked by such catastrophes, the Armenian people were being massacred by the Byzantines that Sennacherib had introduced into his country.

The union of the Gregorian Armenians and the Orthodox Byzantines had even more disastrous consequences. They themselves were forced to change their own particular religious faith, and the kings that had gone over to the Byzantine side became slaves of their

patrons. They too became a victim of poison and the sword. Gagik, who abdicated in 1045, received from the Byzantines one or two cities in the vicinity of Kayseri, but he was so greatly distressed by the harsh treatment meted out to the Armenians that he decided to take revenge. Armenians arriving in Cappadocia were treated with the most flagrant insults and contumely. A Kayseri bishop by the name of Mark christened a large dog "Armen". Gagik was so incensed by this that he had both the bishop and his dog thrust into a sack and flogged with a stick, so that the dog tore the bishop to pieces. After that Gagik was regarded with even deeper hatred and detestation, until one day, while he was strolling in the vicinity of a castle in the western part of Kayseri, he was seized by the local inhabitants, taken into the castle and murdered. His blood-stained corpse was then hung from one of the towers (1079). A little later they poisoned Gagik's two sons and his grandson.

In 1080 Sennacherib's sons were killed in Sivas while in the hands of the Byzantines.

Arab Rule in Armenia

As we have seen, the type of administration applied by the Arabs in Armenia was quite different from that of the Persians.

The Persians tried to convert the Armenians to Zoroastrianism and to wean them away from the Christian faith they had adopted. The Arabs, on the other hand, left them absolutely free, interfered in no way in their religious beliefs, preferring to exploit them to the limit by levying taxes. In pursuance of this policy, the Arabs established a number of small kingdoms in Armenia. They granted *caftans* and *fermans*, taking taxes in return for such favours.

Under the Arabs there was a feudal type administration with one of the Armenian chiefs as governor and another as military commander. Domestic affairs were left entirely in the hands of the Armenians.

Under Abdulmelik (687-705), governors were chosen from the Moslem military caste to reside in Armenia, command the army and collect the taxes. The local government officials were deprived of administrative authority and the government of Armenia was carried on by governors known to the Armenians as *vostigan*. The Arab governors took decisions in the name of the Caliph. They were not as independent as the *Marzbans*, being under the authority of the governor of Azerbaijan and lacking authority to inflict capital punishment without the orders and approval of the Caliph. As the governor played no part in domestic matters an Armenian, popularly

known as the *naharar* was chosen to look after this side of the administration.

In 885 the *naharars* were given the title of "king", but they still remained subject to the orders of the Arab governor who resided in Azerbaijan as representative of the Caliph.

The Arab governors increased to the maximum the number of Armenian kings in order to increase the revenue yielded by taxation, and kingdoms were set up in Ani, Van, Kars, Gogarik and a number of other places, and the rivalry and excessive demands of the monarchs ruling these small kingdoms gave rise to a great deal of conflict. These kingdoms survived for no more than a century and a half, most of the kings abandoning their kingdoms to the Byzantines. Shahnazarian gives the following account of the Bagratounis, one of those whose kingdoms were established in this way:

In the time of Vagarshak, the Bagratounis, who were of Jewish extraction, joined the Armenians, by whom they were very highly respected. They performed very valuable services for the Haykazunids and Ashkenians. Vagarshak granted them the right to crown kings. The Bagratounis who, like all Jews, were contented, thrifty and far-sighted, amassed vast wealth, and purchased more than half of the provinces of Ararat and Daik. They also had extensive possessions in Duruperan, Upper Armenia and Gugark. In the eighth century, this family also owned property in the cities of Bayezid, Bagaran, Muş, Kulb, Kars, Shirakavan, Ani, Sper (Ispir), Ahiska, Artvin and Ardahan. Under the Caliphs they ruled Armenia as *vostigans*.

In spite of devastating wars, the first century of Arab rule and administration was a period of national and cultural development for the Armenians.

The Kingdom Of Cilicia (1080-1393)

After the Seljuk invasion, some of the Armenians fled from the Turcomans into Cilicia, where they took refuge in the steep, mountainous terrain. Among these was a man by the name of Rupen, concerning whom nothing is known regarding his identity, his place of origin or the country from whence he came. This man arrived at the time of the fall of the Bagratuni kingdom and settled in the Toros Mountains. According to Shahnazarian, Rupen was the companion in calamity of Gagik II. He had personally witnessed the murder of Gagik, and he had fled into the Toros Mountains with hatred and a longing for vengeance in his heart. According to Langlois, "Rupen was

a shadowy, obscure figure of the eleventh century, and the leader of a group of Armenian migrants. He was granted independence by the Byzantines." According to Armenian oral traditions a number of Armenians, including a number of princes and owners of castles, escaped to the Toros at the time of the fall of Armenia.

The best known were the following:

1. Ebulgarib Ardzrouni - He had been appointed governor of Darsune (Tarsus) by the Emperor.
2. Oshin Hetimian - Originally from Kanzak (Gence) he was the son-in-law and heir of Ebulgarib.
3. The Natanaias family.
4. The commander Hachadur
5. Vasil the Thief and his son - Vasil the Thief, the friend of the *Catholicos* Kirkor Vigayeser, lived in Koksun. On his death the territories of Koksun and Maraş passed into the hands of the Western Crusaders.
6. A prince by the name of Pilatos, whose territories extended from Harput and Maraş to Antakya and Urfa.
7. Gabriel, Prince of Malatya - During the crusades he married his daughter to the King of Jerusalem.

Some of the Armenians had arrived here previously to engage in trade with the Phoenicians and Egyptians, others had arrived during the time of Aram and Dikran, while the latest had arrived here to escape from Arab and Byzantine oppression.

Gagik was murdered in 1079. In the following year, Rupen, Vasil the Thief, Apirat and Oshin settled in the Toros with the help of the commander of the Lambrona castle. Some of the indigenous population were put to death and the rest expelled. Until 1095 the territory remained under the peaceful administration of Rupen I, who left his son Constantine (1095-1099) a very great heritage. During the First Crusade, which took place at around this time, and in return for the very great assistance he gave the Crusaders in guiding them on their march to Antioch and in supplying them with grain during the food shortages they had to face at the time of the capture of the city. Constantine was given the titles of *Baron* and *Marquis*. Matthew of Edessa gives the following account of the assistance given to the Crusaders:

The numbers of Franks before Antioch was so great that there was a grave danger of famine. The Armenian leaders Pazuni, Oshin and Constantine the son of Rupen, who lived in the Toros Mountains, sent all the necessary food to the Frankish generals.

The Karadagh (Amanus) priests also supplied food. At this time they were all vying with one another in their eagerness to display their loyalty.

The Crusaders bestowed the title of *comes* upon Constantine as a reward.

Tumaian writes as follows:

The greatest, the most powerful and the longest of all the Crusades was the Armenian Crusade in Cilicia. The Armenians had begun their conflict with the Moslems of the East long before the Europeans, but much later than the others. Finally, weary and disillusioned, they laid down their arms.

These were the only local Crusaders, and they accepted the European Crusaders as their brothers in arms, embracing and assisting them without any thought of personal advantage. But it must be confessed that they received little or nothing in return. Their Latin neighbours regarded them with mistrust, and their friendship with the Europeans was to cost the Rupenian family very dear. Egypt, the most powerful representative of Islam in the region, had forbidden the Armenians any relations with the Europeans and, on the Armenians' persistence in such relations in spite of the prohibition, Egypt deployed its full power in the complete annihilation of the Rupenian kingdom. The Europeans, in spite of all their promises and assurances, lifted not a finger to help.

The sons of Constantine, Toros I (1099-1123) and Leon I (1022-1137), still further enlarged the territory their father had bequeathed them, extending their rule over practically the whole of Cilicia. Leon had a very adventurous life, which came to a tragic end. He was first of all taken prisoner by the Latin prince of Antioch (1136) and was set free only on payment of a very large ransom. The following year the Byzantine Emperor Comnenos arrived with a very large army and conquered the whole of Cilicia. Leon, his wife and his two sons were captured and taken to Istanbul. The Armenians were expelled from Cilicia and replaced by Byzantine force of twelve thousand men. Armenian rule was more or less brought to an end. This state of affairs lasted for six years. Leon and his elder son died in Istanbul.

Leon's second son Toros succeeded in escaping from Istanbul and making his way to Cilicia, where he captured the whole province.

Toros II (1144 - 1168)

The Emperor Manuel sent an army against him on three separate occasions, but each time the expedition ended in failure.

During the reign of Toros the position of Catholicos was held by Nerses Shnorhali, the most famous of all the Armenian Catholicos. But as the Rupenians remained outside the frontiers and the Crusaders remained within, the Rupenians were able to exert very little influence on political events.

One of the most important events during Toros' reign was the capture of Edessa by the crusaders.

Toros was succeeded by his brother Melikh (1169-1175), who differed markedly from his fellow Armenians in both character and education. He was in turn succeeded by Toros' nephew, Rupen II.

Rupen II (1175 - 1187)

He, too, was captured by the Prince of Antioch and freed in return for a ransom.

Leon II (1185 - 1219)

Leon's heroic and intelligent administration led his country along the paths of reform and development. In 1199 he assumed the title of "king" and freed his country from Byzantine domination.

8. Edesse (Urfa) was captured in 1009 by Baudoin, the brother of Godefroy de Bouillon and remained in the hands of the Franks until 1144, when it was recaptured by Imadettin-i Zengi of the Syrian Atabeys.

THE KINGDOM OF ARMENIA

Leon II (1185 - 1219)

He is regarded as the greatest of the Rupenians and the founder of the kingdom.

It was during his reign that Cilicia reached its apogee of power and expansion. Selahaddin-i Eyyubi was too preoccupied with the Crusades to pay much attention to Leon, and on the death of Selahaddin, Leon and Cilicia found themselves freed from a very great danger.

Frederick II passed through Leon's kingdom on his way to Jerusalem and asked for his help in return for a royal crown. Leon sent large quantities of arms and food, and it was on setting out to meet him that Leon received the news that Frederic had been drowned in the Goksu river at the point where it empties into the sea in front of the site now occupied by the town of Silifke. Frederick's son, who acceded to the Imperial throne as Henry IV, fulfilled his father's promise by making him king, and Leon was duly anointed in 1198. Leon made peace with the Sultan of Konya, Izzeddin Keyhusrev, on condition that he abandoned Silifke and the surrounding region. As his capital he chose the fortified city of Sis. His daughter Zabel, who had begun to govern the country under the administration of the commander Constantine, married Philippe, the son of Yekcheshim and Hetom, a man not of royal blood, on condition that he adopted the Armenian faith, lived in accordance with Armenian traditions and observed the laws of the country. Philippe was thus raised to the status of king, but he was later involved in corruption and the theft of the royal jewels and imprisoned in 1225. Zabel later married an older man, a son of Constantine, by the name of either Othan or Hetom, who was thereupon declared king.

Hetom I

The most important event of the reign of Hetom was the agreement reached with the Mongols. Hetom and his father Constantine joined with the Mongols (1226-1270) to oppose the Moslems and make an attempt to reduce their power. The Mongols, however, had no fixed or definite settlements. They were succeeded by the armies of Timur, while at the same time the power of the Turkish Mamlukes of Egypt increased day by day. With the resumption of hostilities in 1243 between the Seljuk Sultan in Konya, Giyasuddin Keyhusrev, and the Mongol commander Paychu Khan and the latter's conquest of the kingdom, Giyasuddin's mother, wife and daughters sought refuge with Hetom I. They were at first very well received by Hetom, but were later handed over to the Mongols. Hetom paid a personal visit to Mengu Khan and concluded an agreement with him concerning a reduction in the taxes levied on Greater Armenia.

When Hulagu arrived in Baghdad, Hetom visited him there and extended the agreement. He also accompanied Hulagu on his Jerusalem campaign and during his attack on Melik Nasir in Aleppo. This agreement with the Mongols was soon to give rise to some unfortunate results. On Hulagu's return, the Mameluke Sultan

Baybars occupied Syria, defeated Abaga, Hulagu's son, with whom Hulagu had left twenty thousand men, captured several cities and occupied Antioch.

The Egyptian commander Semelmot, took advantage of Hetom's absence with the Tartars to occupy Cilicia. Hetom's two sons, Leon and Toros, did their best to defend themselves against this attack but Toros was hacked to death in battle and Leon taken prisoner. Sis was captured by the Egyptians and burned to the ground. On his return, Hetom made peace with the Egyptian Mamelukes, thus liberating his son from captivity.

A year later, the elder Hetom abdicated in favour of his son, and retired into a monastery where he spent the remainder of his days.

Leon III (1271)

During the reign of Leon III, Baybars led two expeditions against Cilicia. In the first of these, Leon fled for refuge to the Toros pass, returning in 1275 to repair the ruined cities.

In 1282 war broke out between the Egyptians and the Tartars. Abaga Khan despatched an army of thirty thousand men under the command of his brother Mengu Timur, who was also joined by Leon. This army found itself opposed by the greater part of the enemy forces under the Egyptian Sultan Seyfeddin, who defeated Leon and Mengu Timur in a battle fought at Hamus, and seized several other places. Leon died in 1289.

Hetom II (son of Leon) (1298 - 1305)

Hetom II abdicated three times to take up the religious life and three times re-donned the robes of royalty. His reign was marked by political and religious uprisings.

Shortly after acceding to the throne, he made his brother Toros his partner in the administration of the realm. Whereupon his other brother, Sempat, killed Toros, imprisoned Hetom and himself usurped the royal power. The younger brother, Constantine, then seized Sempat and threw him into prison. Hetom was thus freed from captivity and restored to the throne. It was during Hetom's reign, in 1291, that Melik Eşref Selahaddin landed on the shores of Palestine and captured the city of Akka with the intention of driving the Armenians out of Cilicia. Hetom found himself helpless in the face of this danger. In 1292 Melik Eşref seized Runkale, the seat of the Cilician *Catholicos*, and captured and imprisoned the *Catholicos*

Istepan who was, however, later liberated by Melik, who arrived shortly afterwards.

Hetom, receiving no help from the Pope, was compelled to come to terms with the Sultan by surrendering a number of territories. He then entrusted the administration of the realm to his son Toros, but resumed power two years later, when he visited Gazan Khan in order to extend the agreement.

In 1296 he again abdicated, this time in favour of his third brother Sempat and made his way to Istanbul accompanied by Toros. On his return he was expelled from Cilicia, and appealed both to the Byzantines and to Gazan Khan for assistance. Subsequently, however, he and his son were captured and delivered to Sempat, who put out Hetom's eyes and had Toros put to death. Learning of these atrocities, Hetom's fourth son Constantine revolted and deposed Sempat, acceding to the throne in his place and at the same liberating his father from captivity. By a miracle, Hetom regained his sight, whereupon he assumed royal power for the third time. This time he seized both Sempat and Constantine and sent them to Istanbul to be kept under close guard.

Gazan Khan made two attempts to seize Syria from Melik Nasir, but on both occasions he was obliged to withdraw in order to suppress a rebellion in his own country led by a kinsman by the name of Paiton. On the last occasion he entrusted the performance of this duty to Kutluk who was, however, unsuccessful.

Gazan Khan died in 1302 and was succeeded by a Moslem who not only abrogated the treaty with the Armenians but also assumed a very hostile attitude. Hetom thereupon entered upon negotiations regarding a union with the Church of Rome in the hope of obtaining assistance.

In 1305 Hetom abdicated for the third time and was succeeded by his nephew Leon, the son of Toros.

Leon IV (1305 - 1308)

The envoys sent by Leon IV to beg Pope Clement V for assistance returned with nothing save empty promises, the Pope responding to every such request for help by insisting on the unconditional acceptance of Catholicism. In 1307 conflicts broke out between those in favour of uniting with the Catholic church and those who wished to remain faithful to Armenian religious traditions. In the turmoil that followed Bilargu Khan, who happened to be in Armenia at that time, took the confusion as excuse for putting both Hetom and his son Leon to death.

The Mongol commander Anazarpa, perceiving the weakness of the Rupenians and hoping to cut them off from the source of their power, seized Cilicia and placed it under his own administration. He then invited Leon and forty Armenian notables to a feast and put them all to the sword.

Another of Hetom's brothers by the name of Oshin joined with the princes to drive the Mongol's out of the country.

Oshin (1306 - 1320)

The Rupenians had asked the Europeans for help on several occasions before this, but Oshin was hoping for help of a much more comprehensive nature. In order to achieve this aim he married a member of the Royal Sicilian family by the name of Ovanna. He then asked the French for assistance against the Mamelukes but his request met with no response. He died in 1320 without having achieved any of his aims.

He was succeeded by his ten year old son, Leon V, the last of the Rupenian-Hetomian dynasty.

Leon V reigned for twenty-one years. At the time the Armenians occupied only Cilicia.

By this time Melik Nasir had annexed Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine to his dominions. He now planned to add Cilicia and Cyprus, and made agreements with Timurtaş Khan, the leader of the Tartars, and Araman, the leader of the Turcomans, to drive the Christians out of Cilicia and to seize Jerusalem and root out the Christian faith. Timurtaş Khan attacked Cilicia with thirty-thousand horsemen, laying waste the whole country. A little later Araman went into action, and the Egyptian army followed suit. Siege was laid to Ayas, and large numbers of the Cilicians fled to Cyprus.

Leon V made continual appeals to Europe for the organisation of a new Crusade, but at the same time earned the hatred of the impoverished masses by his excessive demands and his atrocities. At one point he appealed for help to Pope Benoit II, who sent him a few sacks of wheat and advised patience. In 1335, Melik Nasir, on learning that arrangements were being made in Europe for a new Crusade, again set out for Cilicia with the intention of completely exterminating the whole Armenian population. This forced Leon to sue for peace, and the Armenian king was compelled to swear on the Bible and the cross in the presence of Melik Nasir that he would never again enter into any relations with the Western Christians or form any agreements of friendship with them. Nevertheless, two years later he was again in touch with the Pope, who absolved Leon V from

the promises he had sworn to the Sultan and, by establishing religious links, endeavoured to bring Cilicia under his own control. On hearing of this, the Sultan of Egypt invaded Cilicia with sixteen thousand horsemen. After this, Leon was obliged to carry on his correspondence with the Pope in secret, through the Eastern Latins.

At this time the Armenians were divided into two groups: those who, with the king at their head, wished to negotiate and keep in contact with Europe, and those, headed by the *Catholicos*, felt that contacts with the West would lead to catastrophe and wished to break off all such contacts altogether.

As Leon had no son, the Rupenian-Hetomian dynasty now came to an end, and a king was chosen from Cyprus.

The Foreigners

Ohannes (1342) and Guidon (1344) were the sons of Amaury, the brother of the King of Cyprus and Zabel, the daughter of Leon III. Both of them became kings of Armenia, and both were equally detested by the people, partly because of the weakness of their characters, partly because of their Latin extraction. Both were finally assassinated by the people.

They were succeeded by Constantine III, the son of Marshal Baldwin, who became king with the support of the Cypriot people and immediately entered into negotiations with Europe and the Papacy in the hope of obtaining aid.

Constantine IV (1345 - 1362)

During his reign the territories of the kingdom were still further reduced.

After this there was an interregnum of fifteen months, and amidst the resulting confusion, turmoil and conflict, a certain Lusignan acceded to the throne as Lusignan VI.

Nothing is known of his origin or identity. Though some believe him to have been the nephew of King Guidon. The Egyptians led an expedition against him, and Leon took refuge in the city of Sis (1374). In 1375, after a siege of nine months, Lusignan surrendered to Melik Eşref Şaban, and remained in captivity in Egypt until 1382. In 1382 he was released on the request and mediation of King John of Castile. He first of all went to Jerusalem, and from there to Rome, Spain, France and England. He died in France at the age of sixty on 29 November 1393 "without having been able to take possession of the kingdom God had granted him in this mortal life".

The following facts emerge from the various studies devoted to the history of Armenia:

1. The Haikian dynasty is purely legendary.
2. Until the time of Alexander the Great, Armenia was a Persian province, and the governors appointed here were chosen from among the members of the royal family.
3. During the Macedonian occupation, the province was administered by foreign governors.
4. In the Seleucid period the province was again administered by foreign governors.
5. Under the Parthians, the governors were all Parthian in origin.
6. Neither the territory known as Southern Armenia nor the kings who ruled over it had any connection whatever with the Armenians.
7. In 50 B.C. Armenia was conquered by the allies of Lucullus and Pompey. The Roman domination thus established persisted for a very considerable time. All the governors appointed to Armenia by Rome were accepted. This continued for two hundred years.
8. The Parthians were defeated by Ardashir Sasan in 226, and Persian territory enlarged. Shapur I conquered Armenia after defeating the Roman Emperor Valerian. In accordance with agreements concluded with the Persians during the reigns of Julian in 363 and Theodosius II in 440, the western part of Armenia was left to the Romans and the eastern section to the Persians. This latter territory was administered as a Persian province, sometimes by Persian governors, sometimes by governors loyal to Persia chosen by the Persian government. In 390, after the death of Arshak, the governors appointed to the Roman section were known as *Comes Armenica*, while the generals appointed in 316, during the reign of Justinian were known as *Magister Militum*. In accordance with an agreement concluded in 391 between the Emperor Maurice and the Persian ruler Hosrov, the section pertaining to Byzantium was enlarged and, in the reign of the Emperor Heraclius, was administered by generals known as *Patrice*.
9. In the eighth century, the territory was the scene of conflicts between the Byzantines, the Persians and the Arabs. In the first period, the Armenians were torn between the Persians and the Byzantines, in the second period between the Persians and the Romans and, in the third period, from the sixth century to the

eleventh century, between the Arabs, the Persians and the Byzantines.

In the ninth century, Armenia was partitioned between the two great contemporary powers of the Eastern Roman Empire and the Arabs. The western region of Armenia fell to Rome, while the larger and more densely populated eastern section fell to the Caliphs of Baghdad. The Arabs created a number of small kingdoms attached to their own provinces for the purpose of raising taxes.

10. First the Byzantines and then the Turks took advantage of the weakness displayed by these small kingdoms to completely annihilate them.

11. As for Cilicia, it is obvious that this so-called kingdom consisted of nothing more than a group of migrants who had been driven by the Seljuk invasion to take refuge in the Cilician mountains, who lent their support to the Crusaders in their campaigns, who acted as frontier guards for the Byzantines on the southern borders, who managed to survive for a time in a state of complete anarchy, who were continually being dealt severe blows by either the Byzantines or the Seljuks of Konya or the Mamelukes of Egypt, and who took every opportunity of allying themselves with the enemies of whatever government was in power in the territories in which they resided.

NOTES

1. Moses of Khoren, *History of the Armenians*, Venice, 1881 (Armenian)
2. Arshak was the founder of the Ashkenian dynasty which ruled in Armenia from 549 B.C. to 127 A.D.
3. Mezpin was quite near the present-day Nusaybin. After the Emperor Julian it passed into the hands of the Iranians.
4. Mikael Vartabet Chamichian, *History of the Armenians*, Venice, 1811.
5. Muş.
6. According to Ohannes Catholicos this was Nemrud (Nebrod, Nembrot). The Assyrian god Bel was the Khronos of the Greek and the Saturn of the Romans. "Our father Haik lived under his rule. I say that Haik's name was Khronos (Bel) and Nemrud." (Moses of Khoren, book 1, part 7)
7. Mesrop, *Armenian Grammar*, Istanbul, 1826
8. Lake Van
9. According to Ohannes Catholicos he was shot between the shoulders.
10. Mt. Ailagöz in Caucasia
11. Cities such as Armavir consisted of nothing more than a few huts to protect the inhabitants from the cold and provide shelter for the flocks during the cold winter months. Shahnazarian, *Outline of Armenian History*, Paris, 1856, p.8).
12. The river Aras
13. The Soregel district in Kars

14. Lake Kegam or Kegamkuni is to the left of the Aras in northern Armenia. The lake was known to the Armenians as Sevan or Sevanga on account of the famous monastery on an island in the lake.
15. Parshamor Barshamnia, an Assyrian god that entered Armenian mythology as god of war in very early times. He had a temple at Tortan.
16. Aralez or Haralez: a god born of a dog and with a dog's head who revived warriors who had died on the field of battle by licking them with his tongue.
17. His title was Sossanivar
18. Sigayorti = son of a giant
19. Moses of Khoren, *History*, Bk. 1, Ch. 22
20. The Muş region
21. Moses of Khoren, *History* Bk. 1, Ch. 24
22. Astiyag is the Greek form. The Persian is Ag-de-haf or Ag-der-hag, the Armenian Ag-tahag. This refers to a great monster. Cf. Moses of Khoren.
23. The Arik in the Armenian text is to be found as Arik, Anarik in the Persian, distinguished in modern Persian as Iran and Turan.
24. See Herodotus, Bk. 1, sections 107-108
25. K. Basmadjian, *A New History of the Armenians*, Paris, 1917
26. Eug. Boré *L'Arménie*
27. Chamichian refers to him as Mihran
28. Chamichian refers to him as Hrant.
29. Referred to by foreigners as Artaxias
30. The Parthians were the most powerful of the tribes to emerge after Alexander the Great (255 B.C.)
31. Referred to by Chamichian as Arshak (Bk. 2, part 1)
32. Genesis, Ch. 17, 6-16
33. Pahl was the capital of Bactriana or Bactria. Pahl was rebuilt a little beyond the ancient city. Now known as Belh. Langlois, *Moses Khoren*
34. According to Herodotus the world consisted of three continents: Europe, Libya and Asia.
35. According to the Armenian historians the Greater Aras was the Valarsas.
36. The dates are according Basmadjian
37. This family was known to the Latins as Pagrtaide, and to the Armenians as Pakraduni.
38. This means "eagle" in Armenian. According to the legend a child was sleeping under both rain and sun, and the eagle protected him with his wings.
39. Moses of Khoren, *op. cit.* Bk. 2, Ch. 2
40. According to Tumaian, the legend of Croesus being defeated by the Armenian Ardashesis pure legend. *History of the Eastern Question*, London, 1905.
41. According to Mr. Buckingham, Edessa (Urha or Ruha in Syrian and Arabic) was founded on the ruins of Ur. Ibrahim left here for Harran.
42. This will be treated in the section on religion.
43. Moses of Khoren, *op. cit.* Bk. 2, Ch. 50
44. Moses of Khoren uses the words Layha or Lakha. Moses of Khoren, *op. cit.*, Bk. 2, Ch. 50.
45. In Armenian it has the meaning "bold" or "courageous".
46. Moses of Khoren, *op. cit.* Bk. 2, Ch. 61
47. Other forms of this legend can be found among the Georgians, by whom it is given a Christian flavour. According to this legend, a woman was seized by birth pains while travelling from one place to another and gave birth to a son, whom she named Amiran. At first she could find no one to baptize her son, but finally an old man appeared who baptized him in the Christian faith and, at the request, of the mother, prayed to God that the child should be blessed with great physical

stength. The child grew up to be very strong and in his pride he challenged God Himself, calling down the wrath of God on his head. He was chained to a mountain in the Caucasus, where he remained with his sword by his side. His faithful dog stayed by him and licked at the chains in order to weaken the links and free his master. But every year on Easter Monday a blacksmith would emerge from the ground and bind the chains more firmly to the rock. (Dulaurier, *Etudes sur les Chants Historiques et les Traditions Populaires de l'Ancienne Armenie*, Paris, 1852)

48. Moses of Khoren , *op. cit.*, Bk. 2 Ch. 60
49. *ibid.*, Bk. 2, Ch. 67
50. *ibid.*, Bk. 2, Ch. 74
51. This will be treated in more detail in the section on religion.
52. Anyone imprisoned here remained completely forgotten and was destined never to leave the dungeon alive. It was forbidden to mention the name of the castle, which was located in Suzian or Khuzistan.
53. This will be treated in the section on literature and religion.
54. In Armenian "Hazgert".
55. The title given to the Persian governors of Armenia.
56. *History of Ohannes VI.*
57. *ibid.*

IV STUDIES IN ARMENIAN HISTORY

The country known as Armenia remained for centuries under the rule of various different states and has almost always been the scene of conflict between great powers. It lies on the route taken by invaders from the north and on the path taken by great raids and migrations. This has prevented the establishment of a settled government in this region, and it is thus quite impossible to speak of a national, united, continuous and powerful Armenian presence.

According to Evald Banse,¹ "the history of Armenia consists very largely of the attempts made by Asian states to force their way through this country on their way towards the West, and of the wars waged by the Turks against the Iranians and Russians". Indeed, Armenian history might well be described as a collection of contradictory and extremely doubtful rumours, utterly devoid of scholarly or historical value, relating the legendary deeds of a few heroes who took advantage of the weakness or collapse of the great powers to achieve a temporary freedom of action before being forced once more to accept the yoke of another state.

As pointed out in the historical section, Armenian historians trace the origin of the people to Japheth, son of Noah. As sources for their history they took the works of neighbouring peoples such as the Assyrians, Greeks and Jews.

Moses of Khoren, taking as his basis the Bible and, more particularly, the ecclesiastical history of Eusabius of Kayseri, traces the beginnings of Armenian history back to the collapse of the Tower of Babel, and produces a mythological "Haik" as the father of the Armenian people.

According to Dagavarian, ² "Our national historians, basing themselves on Agatangelos, traced the origins of our people to the descendants of Togarmah and Ashkenaz mentioned in the Book of Genesis. But actually Togarma is a separate country to the south-east of Armenia (Kipert).

Our forefathers, in an attempt to trace the roots of their nation to the Bible, laid claim to Ashkenaz and Torgamah, claiming them as the sole progenitors of the Armenian people, and Haik as the son of Torgamah.

According to another legend, Torgamah is a race of people related to both the Armenians and the Ashkenazi living in the northern regions.

All this clearly shows that the claims made by Moses of Khoren and the other Armenian historians for a genealogy leading back to Japhet, as well as the history of Haik and the royal dynasties of which he is believed to have been the founder are based purely on legend and have no basis in actual historical fact.

Several names are known of the members of the dynasty founded by Haik, described by Moses as a great hero and archer, with curly hair, and of tremendous strength and exceptional beauty. Ara, the second of these legendary personalities, and who may have been one of the Urartian kings given an Armenian name, constitutes a topic worthy of some investigation.

As we have already seen in the historical section, the story of Ara and Semiramis is an Armenian adaptation of the legend of Adonis and Aphrodite.

Lynch ³: Ara and Semiramis, like Tammuz and Ishtar, are manifestations of Adonis and Aphrodite. The worship of the goddess Ishtar in Armenia subsequent to the arrival of the Assyrian queen is closely connected with the introduction of this whole religious cult.

Langlois : Semiramis is nothing more than the imaginary symbol of the wars waged against the Armenian King Ara. One must see in this the rise and development of the Assyrian forces which aimed at the domination and subjugation of the neighbouring countries as related in Greek and eastern legend.

The reign of Dikran the Great of the Arshakounis (Parthians) (95-55 B.C.) is always pointed out as the Golden Age of Armenian history. According to the periodical *Peoples of All Nations*, "For a few centuries before and after the birth of Christ, Armenia was a large, independent kingdom ruled by foreign kings. Armenia was raised to the height of its strength and power by Dikran the Great, the son-in-law of Mithridates. But Dikran is said to have been a Parthian, not an Armenian." ⁴

The Parthian revolt was led by one Arshak or Arsace. Armenian historians gave the name Bartav to the Parthians after Paratava, one of their tribes and referred to the descendants of Arshak as Arshakounis. At that time Parthian territory stretched from south-west of the Caspian Sea, from Mt Alburz, as far as Herat. To the north was the province of Hyrcania (Asterabad). The whole corresponds to present-day Khorasan. Arsace belonged to the Dahnascythian tribe. Gerard de Réal writes as follows on the subject of the Parthians: ⁵

"Hyrcania formed part of the large plain to the east of the Caspian Sea, extending even beyond the Oxus (Ceyhun). Some show it as being bounded by Iberia and Albania. Asterabad is known to have been the real centre of the region. Though the Parthians possessed an Aryan-Armenian culture it has been definitely proved that they belonged to the same race as the Turks. In view of the presence from the time of the Achemenids, in other words, from the sixth century B.C. onwards, of Tartar (Turkish) tribes in Aryan countries it would be surprising if nothing remained of these races in Central Asia.

The Hyrcanians and the Parthians were to be found in a satrapy. According to the Dara inscriptions there had formerly been a number of Tartar tribes who raided and looted the northern boundaries of the Empire and gave assistance to those who attempted to make good their claims to the throne. Arsaces, the founder of the Parthian dynasty, was head of the Daien tribe."

According to *The Historian's History of the World* ⁶ "the Parthians, to whom we have referred on several occasions, are said to have been a scythian (Turkish) tribe occupying the northern part of Iran."

As for Arshak, Phraat, Mithridates, Sanadroug, Tiridat, etc. referred to by the Armenian historians as rulers, these are all to be found in the lists of the Parthian kings. Arsace and his successors conquered Media, Iran and Babylon, ousting the Macedonians and those who had followed them from Asia Minor and extending their rule as far as the Tigris. In order to preserve the strength and power of the now for-flung Parthian Empire a number of kingdoms were established under the rule of members of their own race.

It is obvious that Gregory Lussarovich, the founder of Christianity in Armenia, was of Parthian stock. As we have already pointed out, Ardashir Sasan promised very rich rewards to anyone who would kill the Parthian Husrov II (342-350), who was then on

Armenian soil. Anag, who was descended from the Parthians and the Suren Pahlav family, joined Hosrov and, after staying by his side for two years, finally murdered him. He was then seized by Hosrov's men, who threw him into the Araxes, but was saved by his son Kirkor and conveyed secretly to Kayseri by his foster-mother. There he was instructed in the Christian faith and emerged as the famous Gregory Lussarovich.

According to another rumour, a member of a noble Iranian family by the name of Purtar made his way to Kayseri during the reign of Hosrov and married a Christian woman by the name of Sofi. On their return to his own country they settled in Vagarshabat and there they took in Gregory, whom Purtar's wife Sofi instructed in the Christian faith.

Professor A. Adontz⁷ of the University of Petrograd writes as follows: "There are two legends. According to the one, Kirkor (Gregory) was of Parthian extraction and the son of Price Anag. According to the other, he was related to Purtar, but it should not be forgotten that Purtar was of a noble Persian family and no ordinary person.

In the histories of both Moses of Khoren and Agatangelos, Gregory is very clearly shown to have been a Parthian.

In the same way, Vartan Mamikonian, revered by the Armenians as a great national hero who died along with his men in the struggle to defend the Christian faith against Yezdigert and who was later canonized and accorded a special day in the saints' calendar, was of Chinese and not Armenian extraction.

According to Moses of Khoren,⁸ Mamikonian came to Armenia from China during the reign of Sahup, who had succeeded his father Ardashir. In the last years of Ardashir's reign China was ruled by a certain Arpug who had two nephews, Mam-kun and Peghtokh. Peghtokh embarked on a campaign of calumny against Mam-kun and, ignoring the summons issued by Arpug, fled from the country along with his men and took refuge with the Persian Shah Ardashir. Arpug thereupon sent mediators and ambassadors asking for him to be sent back. Ardashir ignored these appeals, whereupon the Chinese ruler prepared to declare war on Iran. Just then Ardashir died and was succeeded by his son Shapur who, remaining faithful to the oath taken by his father to protect Mam-kun, refused to send him back to China. Instead, he sent him to Armenia, informing the Chinese ruler that "I believe I have acted in accordance with your demands as I have driven him out and sent him to the land of the setting sun, in other words, to the land of the dead. What reason can there be, therefore, for war between us?" As the Chinese were, according to tradition, one of the

mildest peoples in the world, they remained content with this answer and explanation and Mam-kun was allowed to remain in Armenia.

Professor Hannes Skuld of the University of Lund, after quoting Moses of Khoren, gives the following information regarding the origins of the Mamikonian family: "In this case, the Mamikonians must have arrived in Armenia on the death of Ardashir I, in other words, in 241 A.D."⁹

In Armenian the word *Chenk* with its genitive form *Jenas* have the meaning "Chinese". *Chenastan* and *Chinastan* are derived from the medieval Persian *Chen* and indicate the place of origin. From this it would appear that the forefathers of the Mamikonians were actually Chinese. Moses' description of the Chinese as gentle, good-natured and hard-working, and his references to the abundance and prosperity of their country, their agriculture, their rare animals, their costly textiles and the pearls used for adornment, all fit in with what we know about the Chinese from other sources and even with their character and circumstances at the present day. But it is inadvisable to give credence to some of the specific details mentioned by Moses. For example, the names of Mam-kun and his brothers are more Turkish than Chinese, and one thing that proves quite definitely that Mam-kun was of Turkish extraction is the title *Jen-Bakur* meaning "honour of the Sultanate".¹⁰

According to Hubschmann (*Armenische Gramatische*, p. 49) Bakur is the equivalent of the Iranian-Arabic Takfur and is a title to be found in the Chinese Empire. In Horn's opinion, (*Grundriss der Neupersischen Etymologie* p. 71) this word is the Sanskrit-Bhagaputra equivalent. Actually, in the first years of Persian literature, they attempted to Arabicize Persian words. For example, as Arabic had nothing equivalent to the Persian "p", the letter "f" was used in its place, though it should be noted that the Persian *b* was never transformed into *f* in Arabic.

If we are to follow Horn in his derivation we should start from *Takfur*, i.e. *Makrizi*, or *Tekfur*. In one copy "Tekfur" is read "Bakfur", in another copy "Pakfur". Those who attempt to write it in Arabic give the form "Takfur". But how can we explain the substitution of "Y" for "K" and "K" for "Y"? Though the form "Bakfur" displays a certain resemblance, Hubschmann's etymology is quite unacceptable. He gives no explanation as to how the "Son of God" took on the meaning "Honour of the Sultanate". Turkish possesses a word with close affinity to "Bakur". "Cen", on the other hand, refers to a country or a government. In the Khirgiz language "pakry" = "Pakri" = "fame". (Radloff, *Versuch Eine Worterbuch der Turk-Dialect*, IV, 1130), and by changing the place of the final "Y" "Pakry" = "famous". Radloff

believes the word to have been derived from the Arabic "fahr", but this hypothesis is absolutely without any foundation, as the Kirkhiz knew nothing of the changes in names from Arabic that did not exist in the other Turkish languages. There are several words derived from "Pak":

Pakta, Makta = Praised, valued, loved
 Paktan, Maktan = acquired fame, to be distinguished
 Paktal, Maktal = loved
 Paktaci (in the Sahh dialect) = famous
 Pakat (in the Teleuf dialect) = interesting, remarkable
 Pakatti = interesting

"Pakir" is thus very clearly derived from a Turkish root, and produces a numerous family of words in the various Turkish languages. As for the confusion of the Turks and the Chinese to be found in Moses of Khoren, this is typical of Armenian writers and their Persian mentors. Firdausi makes no distinction between Turkish and Chinese rulers, and the Chinese *Cepetus* mentioned in a text by Sebeos translated by J.A. Patkanian (1866) and Marquart, can refer to no other than *Cebu Kagan* mentioned by Moses of Khoren. According to Georgian histories, this was the *Cibga* or *Cibgu* entrusted by Heraclius with the capture of the castle of Kala in the province of Tiflis. The greatest confusion arises from the name "Kitay" applied to the Chinese. He claims that this was the name given to a large and very important Turkish or Mongol tribe.¹¹

According to Langlois,¹² "Cen-Pagur is a compound word of which "Tagfur" is a corrupt form. The word is derived from a Turanian root *Thien-tse* meaning "son of the sky".

According to Deguignes¹³:

"The Chinese referred to the Mongols as "Mum-Ku", and that the family later known to the Armenians as the "Mamikonian" took refuge with the Parthians on account of their racial affinity. They later settled in the region known as Armenia, but had no family connection whatever with the Armenians.

The names of individuals mentioned by Moses of Khoren as kings of the Armenians are quite alien to the Armenian language. Words such as *Ajarian*, *Ararat*, *Van Daron* (Muş) *Garin* (Erzurum) and *Masis* (Ararat) are Khaldaean words that have absolutely no significance in Armenian. Proper nouns such as Aram and Manavaz are derived from the names of the Chaldaean kings Arama and Menuas.

In the first book of his history, Moses of Khoren gives us a number of Armenian names of uncertain derivation such as Haik, Armenak, Amasia, Harma, Ara and Gartos. These are certainly not of Armenian origin and possess no significance in the Armenian language. Could it be that they belong to the *Had* period, or are they derived from the language of Hittites, the Phrygians or some other nation? Or are they mere inventions of Moses of Khoren himself? In any case, they cannot be established by contemporary science."

According to F.Tournebize¹⁴ little is known of the history of Armenia after Ardashes (Artaxas). Some Armenian historians set a Parthian-Arsasid dynasty on the Armenian throne prior to 123 B.C., but all this is purely fanciful and has no more relation to reality than the *Haik* of Moses of Khoren. With regard to the Armenian King Abgar and the province of Edessa (Urfa) which Armenian historians refer to as Southern Armenia, Tournbize writes as follows:

"Even if we accept as true that Abgar was in correspondence with Christ, that he sent one of his men to Christ to ask Christ to cure him of his disease and that after the presentation of the likeness of Christ Thateos was entrusted with the spread of Christianity in the Urfa region, none of this has any relation to the Armenians, the Armenian kings or Armenia. The Abgar who is supposed to have corresponded with Christ was the son of Manu III, and was described by both Tacitus and Pliny as an Arab. The fact that he himself bore the Arian name of one of his forefathers indicates that he must have been a Nabatean."

As Deguigne¹⁵ remarked, the province of Edesse (Urfa), known to the Arabs as Ruha, had its own royal dynasty. According to a Syrian, historian of Edessa, who lived around 550 A.D., the names of these kings were, until 217, in the form "Maanu" and that they then continued in the form "Abgar". After Abgar, the son of Maanu, Edessa passed first into the hands of the Romans and subsequently into the hands of the Moslems. In that case the Armenians are quite unconnected with these kings in name, in nation, in race and in language.

Chakmakchian gives the following information regarding Abgar:¹⁶

"After Ardavaz, the son of Dikran the Great, the state of Armenia becomes very confused. Although Roman and Greek

historians refer to kings residing in the capital Ardashad, no reference is made to these kings by any of the Armenian historians. On the other hand, the Armenians mention Mezpin and the later kings of Edessa, whom foreign historians completely ignore.

In this, Moses of Khoren follows Filavianus, whose takes his history up to Ardavaz, the son of Dikran the Great (34 B.C.). For this period, Moses of Khoren follows Lerubna and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. Lerubna was secretary to King Abgar of Edessa. Moses of Khoren regarded the kings of Edessa as Armenian.

One of the errors consists in the erroneous reading of the title pertaining to Abgar V. This Abgar bore the title *Uhama*. Moses of Khoren read this as *Arshama*, and proceeded to identify this "Arshama" as the son of Apgar. At the same time, by substituting *-an-* for *-m-* Moses produced the name Ananum. He then made Sanadrug a contemporary of Apgar and made him responsible for the deaths of St. Thateos and St. Partogomios, whereas in actual fact Sanadrug lived two centuries later. The incidents related concerning the period between Erouant and Ardashes are purely imaginary. There was no king of the Armenians named Ardashes at that period. The first king of Armenia was Dertad."

According to Profesor A. Hachadurian:¹⁷

"Haiasdan was a scene of action for several different nations, the Armenians among others. Although at certain times the Armenians were in complete and independent control of the region, for most of the time they played a secondary and subsidiary role. Thus Armenian history cannot be identified with the history of Haiasdan, though Armenian history forms a part of this history."

Profesor N. Marr is, very justifiably, of the opinion that:

"Until the separation of the Armenian and Orthodox churches the Armenians had no national name of their own. What has been related concerning the earlier periods of Armenian history consists of pure legend."

According to Sir Charles Eliot:¹⁸

"Armenia was ruled for some time after Alexander by the

Seleucids. After their collapse a number of governments were formed in Asia Minor based on a combination of Greeks and the local population. But as the Armenians remained scattered they were never at any time able to establish an independent government, always remaining under foreign administration or domination. After this the Romans appeared on the scene, and fifty years before the birth of Christ Armenia was captured by Lucullus and Pompey. The Roman hegemony thus established was to persist for a considerable time. Although now and again the local peoples succeeded in expelling the Romans and setting up a government that lasted for a very short time nowhere was a national government ever established.

NOTES

1. Evald Banse, *Die Turkei*, Berlin, 1915
2. Dagavarian, *Outline of Armenian History*, Venice, 1908, p. 40.
3. Lynch, *Armenia, Travels and Studies*, 1914
4. *Peoples of all Nations*, 1934, No. 3
5. Gerard de Réal, *Mémoire sur l'Asie Centrale*, 1875
6. *A Historian's History of the World*, vol. 6, p. 401
7. "Gregoire l'illuminateur et Anag le Parthe", *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, 1928, vol. 8, Fasicule 2
8. Moses of Khoren, *op. cit.*, Bk. 2, Ch. 81
9. *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, vol. 5, fasicule 1, p. 131.
10. Even if we knew nothing else, this word would be sufficient to prove that Mamsun was of Chinese origin as the Chinese gave such names to their sons to protect them from the evil spirits.
11. Hannes Skuld, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiu Occidentaux*, p. 255
12. *Collection of Armenian Historians*
13. Deguigne, *General History of the Huns* vol. 1, p. 275
14. F. Tournebize, *Histoire Politigue et Religieuse de l'Arménie*.
15. Deguigne, *op. cit.*, p. 403.
16. Chakmakchian, *History of the Armenians*, Boston, 1917
17. Hayasdan, *Critical History of the Cuneiform Period*, Erevan, 1933, p.4 (Armenian)
18. *Turkey in Europe*

V VARIOUS VIEWS ON THE ORIGINS OF THE ARMENIANS

There are various, contradictory views on the origin of the Armenians. Those of the old Armenian historians have been examined above. Other views include the following:

1. That the Armenians Arrived in Anatolia Together with the Phrygians

Some of the more recent Armenian historians reject the claims made by the older historians and seek the roots of the Armenian nation in Thrace. The views of these writers may be summarised as follows:

The Armenians migrated from the West in the seventh century B.C. into a region they regarded as suitable for the development of their civilization. They found the Araks basin, particularly the Ararat plain, as particularly suitable for their purposes, and it was here that the Armenian leaders established their kingdom. Darius conquered this region in 516 B.C. and for two centuries it was governed as a province of Iran.

According to Herodotus, the Armenians, in their wars with the Persians and the Greeks, fought side by side with the Phrygians under a single banner and a joint command.

1. According to Herodotus and Xenophon, the Armenians constituted a branch of the Phrygians.
2. They crossed the straits of the Bosphorus and slowly advanced into the interior.
3. The Armenian language is Indo-European, and neither Iranian nor Semitic.

4. In regions occupied by the Armenians are to be found names such as **Alis** (Halys - Kizilirmak) and Mt. Armenium at Sinop.
5. Armenian tombs, buildings, costumes and hats resemble those of the Phrygians.

The Armenian writer Saldadjian has the following to say in contradiction to the above:

"According to one legend, some of the Argonauts arrived in Armenia, and Jason and the hero Armenios/Aremenos, a native of Armenian, captured Armenia, and settled some of their companions in Sysprit, to which they gave the name Armenia. This name is also said to have been derived from Armenos of Rhodes. Neither of these accounts, however, possesses any historical value. Armenion is actually the name of a city in Thessaly. As for the two heroes by the name of Armenos, which has the meaning "just" or "honest", this has no connection whatever with Armenia, the Greek form of the Persian word "Armeni" or "Aramaniya", and was quite unknown to either the Greek or Armenian historians prior to the period of the Achaemenid Empire. These still knew nothing of the extensive Parthian lands. Herodotus probably first mentioned Armenia during the early years of that Empire, but his knowledge of the Armenians was very limited and, as the early Latin writers openly confessed, was just as much a baseless figment of the imagination as any of the other legends based on pure fancy or misunderstanding. This deficiency in knowledge, arising from the remoteness of the country concerned, further increased the amount of error and confusion concerning the origins of the Armenians, and led to the invention of the hypothesis that the Armenians were the descendants of one or several groups of Phrygian migrants. It is unfortunate that this view, purely legendary and utterly uncritical, and first put forward by a few Greek pseudo-historians, should have found adherents among present-day European scholars."

According to Langlois: ¹

"In the *Geography* of Strabo, Armenos of Thessalia joined the Argonauts and gave his name to this region". The same story is to be found in Justinian. It would therefore appear that the name "Armenia" was given to the territory now known by that name long before it became known to the Armenians as Haiasdan or the

"country of Haik". According to some texts, the name "Armenia" appears in Zend books in the form Eriemeno".

Those who derive Armenia from the Armenians claim that the Armenians arrived in the region in the sixth century B.C. and that they are the sole representatives of the local population. It is, however, both unscientific and bizarre to suppose that the people of a region ruled for hundreds of years by independent governments and attaining a very high level of civilization should have been represented by a group of migrants of whose numbers nothing is known, and that the whole of this region should have been named Armenia after the Armenians."

2. The Haik-Armen Approach

Others claim that the Armenians descended from a Haik-Armen community formed by the union of the *Hai* or *Haik* peoples who arrived from the south to settle in Urartu, and the Armenians from the north who crossed the Danube and the Bosphorus into Anatolia. This view has a number of defendants.

3. That the Armenians are Descended from the Hittites

The apparent affinity of some place-names to words in the Armenian language has given rise to a theory that the Armenians were actually identical with the Hittites who inhabited Cilicia and northern Syria before the sixth century B.C., and that they migrated from Cilicia to the upper waters of the Euphrates and Tigris to settle in the Araxes region occupied by the Urartians, but this theory has found few supporters.

As can be seen from the above, Armenian scholars have no definite, acceptable theory to put forward concerning the origin of the Armenian people.

The Names Armenia and Armen

The name is to be found in the Darian inscriptions in the form "Armina" or "Aramaniya" is to be found in the inscription on the Bistun monument. The following references to the Armenians are to be found in the Bistun cuneiform inscription of Dara Vishdashb (510 B.C.)

1. The monarch Dara said: I sent my servant to Arminam "Armeniya"

6. On reaching Arminam "Armeniya"..
 7. To the country town of Zoza, to Armaniya "Armeniya".

According to Karakashian: ²

The name Armenia was given by Dara Vishdasb to the Ararat region known to the Hebrews by an old Semitic name. We ourselves called it "Haiastan". Dara also used the name Armenia for Iranian Armenia. Later, this region was divided by Dara's successors into eastern and western satrapies. Alexander the Great conquered Armenia together with all the territories of the Persians and appointed a governor to administer the region. The Seleuceids divided the region in two.

As for "Armenia", the equivalent of the "Armin" or "Arminik" of the Persians, this is more recent than the word "Ararat", and is to be found used in the Dara inscriptions for "Haiastan". Dara conquered the whole of Central and Western Asia as far as the Aegean Sea and, taking the territory extending from Media in the north as far as Cappadocia in the south and from the Kurduva Mts. to the Kur River, in other words, the whole area known as greater and lesser Haiastan, he divided it up into provinces and satrapies under the name Armin.

Saint-Martin:³

"The name "Armenie" has been given since very early times by almost all the various eastern peoples to the territory referred to by the Armenians as "Haiastan". It was known to the Syrians as Armenia and to the Arabs as Ermeniyye."

Others believe that Urartu was known in the time of the Medes as "Harminap" which was later modified by the Persians to "Arminia". "Ar" refers to a place, as in Ararat, Archish, Aruyr, Archar, Arshav, Arazen and Aror, while "men" is used to refer to spirit, thought or human being, and therefore "Armen" would appear to signify "the people of that place".

G. Alishan ⁴ believes that "according to our national vocabulary "Haik" is the diminutive form of "Hai", and that "Hai" is the name of our nation. Our nation is in no way connected with the word "Armen" that foreigners apply to our people."

It would thus appear that "Armenia" is a place-name, that "Armen" is the name of the people who lived there, and that these are in no way connected with the word "Hai".

Haik and Haiastan

Armenian historians believe Haik to have been a great hero from whom the Armenian people took the name "Hai". But the mere resemblance between the words "Haik" and "Hai" constitutes no real proof, and, in any case, no such theory appears before the time of Moses of Khoren.

The following account is given by an Armenian priest: ⁵

"After his death Bel was deified by his children and the people under the name Baal and became an object of popular worship. Others, centuries later, created a sign of the zodiac under the name of "Orion and his shield". The Armenian translators of the Bible referred to Orion as "Haik", because it was he who had killed Bel. Since Orion was a hunter they placed a dog and a hare beside his sign of the zodiac. Ayk is the break of day the coming of daylight... In Greek mythology Orion was a hero, a great archer and a skilful hunter. This is probably why this hero who, according to tradition, was the slayer of Bel and the ancestor of the people known as "Hai", was referred to as "Haik".

In astronomy Capella and "Ayva" are stars in the Milky Way. They approximate to the form Elfaris. "Eljabbar" is the Arabic equivalent of Orion.

According to G. Alishan ⁶, "This gave rise to the name "Haik" particularly when Orion was being referred to, because this is the form taken by the word in our Bible, and in the ancient books of our saints and fathers of the church, who were, undoubtedly, following an old tradition. If it is necessary to accept that this legend was taken from one of two nations, the Greeks may be said to have based on this their legend of Orion." In other words, Alishan claims that the Greeks borrowed this legend from the Armenians and that "in some Hittite works and calendars Hai is shown as the planet Mars, and in some works of astrology we find it written that "He who is born under the sign of Hai will die by the sword". Others believe that "Hai" was the sign "Libra"."

The word "capella" means "she-goat" and has been used with reference to Amalthea, who suckled Jupiter on goat's milk.

In his book *Sasun - Armenian Cilicia*, the Mekhitarist Alishan writes as follows: ⁷

"At the present day this region is still full of savage people who have no hesitation in attacking and robbing travellers and caravans. These men belong to the various Turcoman and Kurdish tribes and it may be that they include older peoples such as the Armenians. The latter generally belong to the Bozan tribes who are implacable enemies of the Haiug tribe occupying the region in the vicinity of Misis."

This explanation would seem to indicate the existence in the Misis region of Adana of a Turcoman tribe bearing the name "Ayuk".

Haiasa

The following studies show quite clearly that "Hai" and "Haiasa" were no more than general names used by the Hittites to refer to the region known as Armenia.

Professor Hachadurian: ⁸ "Haiasa was the general name used in Hittite inscriptions for Upper Armenia." ⁹

According to Ungnad and Forrer ¹⁰ the Hittite king Murshilis, in 1335 B.C., the tenth year of his reign, chose Yenkalavan in Upper Armenia as the assembly point for the forces to be sent against Haiasa. In that case, this must have been the last and largest place either of the Hittite Kingdom or of Ishuva, and the Roman Ingila must have been situated on the border on the Tigris River to the north of present-day Ekil and Diyarbakir.

The forces marched via Alzia towards Lake Van, the name of which is missing because of a break in the inscription but which was the principal city of Haiasa. In another place, Forrer states that there was only one single inscription (Kahi.1-N 19) which referred to the campaign against the lands of the Nairi and the first Tifulti-Nimurta (1221-1243), and that the Hittites employed "Haiasa" or "Azza", words unknown to the Assyrians, to refer to the whole country of Upper Armenia around the northern sea and Lake Van.

From this it can be deduced that Haiasa was used by the Hittites as a general name for Haiastan. In the thirteenth century B.C., during the reign of Tigulti-Nimurta I, this name was quite unknown to the Assyrians. Thus, it is clear from an examination of the cuneiform inscriptions that Haiasa was a place-name applied to the region around Erzurum, Van, etc. The close affinity between the Hittite Haiasa and Haiastan necessitates an explanation of "Hai" and

"Haiastan", and an examination of the relation between the two words arising from their existence in the same region.

The statement by Moses of Khoren that "Our country was known as Haiastan in honour of our forefather Haik" has been recognized for centuries as sound and reliable. There are also other statements to the same effect. Now, however, comparative methods cannot remain content with statements of this kind. In any case, we have already shown that just as Armenia is derived from Armen, so "Haik" is derived from "Haik".

Yensen, in his *Hittites and Armenians* tries to prove that "Hai" is identical with the Hittite "Hatio", in other words that "Hai" is a Hittite word. Research, however, has proved this erroneous, and shown that "Hai" was derived from "Hatio".

Mortman's attempt to read the Urartu inscriptions as Armenian met with no success. As for Greek, there is no point in even mentioning it.

The resemblance between the words "Haiasa" and "Haiastan" is so obvious that we may well accept "Haiasa" as the oldest form of "Haiastan".

Let us now cast a brief glance on how the words "Hai", "Haikazan" and "Haiastan" entered our older works.

According to Karakashian: ¹¹

"The word "Haik" is never to be found employed with reference to a leader of the Armenian people prior to Moses of Khoren, nor is it ever found employed in the forms "Haika" or "Haykazn".

Agahangelos and Puzant use the word as a title or a place-name (He improved and developed Haiastan, etc.). If the word had referred to a nation and had been derived from "Hai" or "Haik" they could also have used the words "Haikak" and "Haykazn" in a number of places."

It is evident from all this that old historians such as Puzant Parbetsi and Agathangelos used the term "Haiastan" to refer to a country or region, such as the country of Haias, the country of Hatti, the country of Ishua, etc.

As for "Haias-tan", this is a later form. After the scribes had become familiar with Hunasdun (= Greece), Huc-a-sdan, Hucastan and other similar forms, these were easily modified through resemblance to Hai-as-dun and Hai-as-dan. The second step was to separate out the "Hai-" segment in these words and to use it to refer to

a nation, as, for example, "Huyn" from "Hunasdan" (Armenian for Greek). The second segment of this word - "-stan" - is known to be a Persian suffix meaning "place", so this process could only have taken place after relations had been established with the Persians.

According to Professor Sayce,¹² who deciphered a number of Hittite inscriptions:

"In the Hittite language the suffix *-ha* is used to specify quality or species. The words "Haddanas", "Haddina" were used by the Assyrians to refer to the Hittites. With the transformation of the "d" between the two "a" letters to "y" "Hadinasdani" was in this way transformed to "Haiastan".

Professor Grechmer¹³ fully agrees with this point of view, but regards the significance and explanation so far accorded to the terms "Hai" and "Haiastan" as quite unsatisfactory. He finds, however, that a solution to this problem is brought nearer by the name "Haiasa" which is so frequently found in Boğazköy from 1400 B.C. onwards. Forrer takes "Haiasa" as referring to Upper Armenia. In that case it seems likely that "Haiasa" was actually a part of Armenia. The suffix *-dan* is of Anatolian origin. The real root is "Hayasa", which refers to the country of the "Hayasas".

NOTES

1. Langlois, *Collection des Historiens Anciens et Modernes de l'Arménie*, vol. 1, p. XX
2. Karakashian, *Critical History of the Armenians*, Tiflis, 1895 (Armenian), p. 155-158
3. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires Historiques et Géographiques sur l'Arménie*,
4. Gheword Alichan, *Le Haygh, Sa Période et Sa Fête*, Paris, 1850 (Armenian), p. 15-32
5. Hunkarbeghendian, *Armenian Etymology*, Istanbul, 1894
6. Gheword Alichan, *op. cit.*, p. 14-32
7. G. Alichan, *Sissouan, or Armenian Cilicia*, Venice, 1899, p. 483
8. *Critical History of the Cuneiform Period in Armenia*, Erevan, 1933 (Armenian)
9. In the map appended to his history Hachadurian shows Haiasa lying between 41 and 45 degrees latitude.
10. Reallex, *Der Assyriologi*, 1928.
11. Karakashian, *op. cit.*, vol. 1-2-3
12. Sayce, *The Hittites*, 1903.
13. Paul Grechmer, *Armenian National Names*.

VI THE ETHNOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE

E. Chantre writes as follows on this subject:¹

The peoples most closely resembling the Armenians are to be found in Karabagh and the upper reaches of the Araxes-Kur. Skull measurements of local population average 83-86. People with characteristics displaying Semitic influence are to be found mainly in the Araxes valley, Erevan and Migri, for example, in old Gokten, to which large numbers of Jews were transferred and which was frequently exposed to Arab occupation.

The Armenians in Russia may be characterized as follows: Almost all of them are brachycephalic or leptcephalic, very dark, above average height, an Aissores Asian group with close ties with certain Kurdish tribes and Azerbaijan peoples.

According to J. Deniker:²

From the philological point of view, the Armenian and Kurds may be regarded as belonging to the Iranian group. The *Hais*, or Armenians, are to be found in more or less dense settlements only in the Lake Van and Mt Ararat regions, but are also to be found scattered more sparsely in south-western Asia, the Caucasus and South Russia. The Armenians are descended from various elements and from a very mixed race. Their average height varies between 1.63 and 1.69 according to the region. They are almost always short-headed, with skull measurements of 85-87. As a

race they belong to the Indo-Afghan-Assyrian-Turkic family.

Professor Rene Vernont writes as follows:³

The Armenians speak a language markedly different from any of the Iranian languages and bear little physical resemblance to the Iranians. They are to be found scattered in haphazard fashion from Ararat in Turkey to Russia, from Russia to central Asia, and well into south-eastern Europe. The Armenians are a mixture of Semites, Turk, Kurds and Mongols, but some of them display typical Armenian features, e.g. height a little above average, fair complexion, dark hair, dark eyes, very often a hooked nose and a rather wide mouth.

Investigations carried out by N. Kossovitch on the links between Armenian blood groups and their anthropological characteristics led him to the conclusion that the Armenians did not form a distinct race⁴.

1. E. Chantre, *Rapport sur une Mission Scientifique en Asie Mineure, Lyon, 1895.*
2. J. Deniker, *Les Races et les Peuples de la Terre, 1929*
3. René Vernont, *Races et Coutumes*
4. *Institut Internationale d'Anthropologie, Session d'Amsterdam.*

VII LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

It is rather difficult to discover the principles on which the essential structure of the Armenian language is based, nor is anything known of the source of the written language into which the Bible was translated. For the purpose of this translation a number of words from Greek, Assyrian and other languages were introduced into Armenian, together with a number of words specially invented by the translators. Moreover, the Armenians had lived for a very considerable time together with the Iranians, and especially the Medes and Persians, and borrowings from these languages must certainly have taken place. It would thus appear that Armenian had sprung from the same source as Pahlavi, and was closely connected with the Iranians in both culture and tradition.

The Armenians modified the Danielian alphabet, which was already in existence in the fourth century, by the addition of a certain number of vowels, and used this alphabet in writing both Persian and Greek. Until the first century B.C. Greek and Persian was used by high dignitaries and the aristocracy, Armenian being very largely confined to the common people. Gregory Lusavorich is known to have preached in Greek.

According to A. Meillet: ¹

Classical Armenian is known quite definitely to have developed in the region of Lake Van and, as far as the

Indo-European question is concerned, it seems that the number of words that would appear, from certain resemblances, to have been of Indo-European origin does not exceed some four hundred.

The Mihitarist Alishan writes as follows:

Literature among the Armenians began as Scytho-Pahlavi or Parthian and was rendered in the Zend language. This was later replaced by Assyrian, while still later an important role was played by Greek culture.

On the question of the borrowing of words from other languages the *Reallexikon*² writes:

It is generally accepted that words entered Armenian from Finno-Hungarian and from Ur-Turkish. If these two points can be confirmed, this will be of much greater importance for the history of the Finno-Hungarians and the Turks than for that of the Armenians.

According to Lenormant:³

Armenian arose from Zend and Persian as a dialect of the Iranian group. No work exists which reveals it in its original form.

Petermann, Windischmann, Gosche, Delagarde are all agreed that the Armenian language had its origin in Iranian.

Hubschman regards it as an independent Indo-European language. Other scholars regard it as a Turanian language with a later admixture of neighbouring languages, principally Persian and Greek.

According to Profesor Nicola Mar the initial form of Armenian is to be found in the language of the Hittite inscriptions. Later, large numbers of new words were borrowed, giving the language an Indo-European flavour. A large number of historical names, particularly personal names, are borrowings from the Parthians and the Iranians.

According to Jacques de Morgan:⁴

This language contains words from Assyrian, Hebrew, Iranian, Median, Georgian, Mingrel, Urartian, Laz, Nairi, Scythian, Greek, Arabic, Turkish, Mongol, Kurdish, Latin and

Russian. As no alphabet existed before the coming of Christianity there are no written works that could reveal the original form of the Armenian language.

According to another view, Armenian arose from a mixture of the language spoken by the ancient peoples inhabiting the region known as Armenian and the language of the migrant peoples from the Balkans who settled down along with these indigenous peoples.

Literature:

The first specimens of Armenian literature consist of folk songs and epics. In the days long before the coming of Christianity, bards known as *Kusan* used to wander from village to village reciting stories, tales, verse epics and proverbs. Moses of Khoren mentions Koghten minstrels and poets. Some of these folk poets accompanied themselves on pipes or stringed instrument, and also played dance tunes.

According to Dulaurier⁵, the Koghten epics were derived from the old epics of the Medes.

These also comprise the Ara-Shamram, Dikran-Astiyag, Ardashes-Satenig and Ardashes-Ardavaz legends cited by Moses in his book. Although nothing is known of the provenance of these tales or of how or by whom they were compiled, there can be no doubt that they entered Armenian literature from Hindu, Iranian, Assyrian or Greek mythology.

Following the conversion to Christianity, these legends were suppressed, particularly by Gregory Lusavorich, and anything in the way of literature or temples that could have assisted the return of the old pagan days were utterly destroyed.

With the emergence of the alphabet in the fifth century, Armenian, which had previously never been used as a literary language, this function having been performed by Assyrian, Greek and Persian, now began to be employed in religious and literary works. The language that thus emerged was known as *Kirapar*, or "the old language".

The reign of Vramshabuh (400 A.D.), characterized as it was by the emergence of the written language, the development of thought and the translation of the Bible into Armenian for a people who understood neither Greek nor Assyrian, came to be known as the Golden age of Armenian history. This period, which began with the use in the fourth century of a foreign alphabet and continued in the fifth century with the adoption of a native Armenian alphabet, was, for the

Armenians, a period of progress and development which was to die out after a life span of thirty to forty years. The use of the alphabet ushered in twenty-five years of great activity, during which graduates from the schools which were then opened were sent to centres of learning in Greece, Alexandria and other foreign countries. These are known in Armenian history as the "first translators". These could be divided into two categories. The first were the colleagues of Shahak and Mesrop, while the others were students who had been sent to schools in foreign countries and returned to their country after six or seven years to complete the work begun by Shahak and Mesrop.

The Bible was translated into Armenian from the vernacular language known as Assyrian or *Pecito*, and then checked with reference to the Greek. Thus Armenian came under the influence of both Greek and Assyrian, a great many new words being introduced into the language. The translators who returned from studies in Greece were thoroughly familiar with Greek culture, and this, too, had a certain influence on the language they employed. The church hymns, liturgical rites and prayers were all taken from Greek. The translators produced translations not only of the Bible but also of historical and philosophical works, thus laying the basis of Armenian thought and culture.

The cultural activity of his period was inseparable from ecclesiastical literature, all the works produced being strictly religious in character.

Such works included the Catholicos Shahak's hymns of peace and tranquillity and Mesrop's hymns for the Great Fast. Great literary importance is given to the histories produced during this period and particularly to the history of Moses of Khoren, one of the translators.

The works written in the period following this also consisted mainly of histories of the saints and martyrs, hymns, prayers and religious poems. The tenth century writer Gregory of Narek⁶ won great renown for his religious and mystical works.

The first period

The first and longest period began in the fourth century and was in the nature of a preparation for the Golden Age of literature in the fifth. This period persisted until the time of the first Crusade.

This period saw the translation of a number of classics and the very strong influence exerted on Armenian literature by foreign mythological and literary works. It might well be described as a period of awakening.

The second period

This begins in the twelfth century and ends in the eighteenth. The Crusades resulted in a temporary peace and stability in Cilicia which facilitated the birth of literary activity that was to persist in spite of later wars and invasions.

The third period

This begins in the eighteenth century, and was initiated first and foremost by the Catholic organization headed by Mekhitar of Sivas. The Armenian language was reformed and European classics translated. Work was carried out in the fields of theology, history and philology. Armenian works were introduced into Europe.⁷

As for the various stages in the development of the language, the twelfth century was marked by the preponderant influence exerted by the folk poets. The old classical language was taught in churches and seminaries, but this language had gradually declined and had been very much corrupted as a result of the Roman, Arab and Byzantine invasions of the eighth century. Other dialects that had preserved their existence began to penetrate the language, and by the time of the Armenian development in Cilicia a new vernacular Armenian, a new language of the people, had made its appearance. This is generally known as the Cilician period. In the eleventh century *Kirapar* still survived as the language of the church and the priesthood. With the arrival of Catholic priests in Cilicia during the period of the Crusades, the Armenian language came under strong Latin influence, and, later, Greek and Latin influence reduced Armenian to a state of extreme confusion. Even today, Armenian can be divided up into eight different dialects, most of which are corrupt and totally incompatible. The real Armenian literary movement began in the eighteenth century, and with opening of the Nersesian and Lazarian schools in Tiflis and Moscow respectively in 1818. It was in this century, too, that the Caucasian Armenian Apovian, who completed his university education in 1830, began to compose in the vernacular, thus ushering in a new literary epoch. Among the other most distinguished Caucasian Armenian writers, historians and nationalists of the period may be mentioned S. Nazarian. K. Badganian, M. Nalbantian, Ardzrouni and Raffi.

Raffi (Hogap Melik Hagopian) (1835-1888) is known for historical and nationalist works such as *Deli*, *Celalettin*, *Samuel* and *Tavit Beg*. Refael Badganian (1830-1892) won renown by his nationalist poems, particularly *Mayr Araksi*.

Broshian (1837-1907), another of the Caucasian writers, was the

author of a number of works on village life written in the language of the people. After 1885 A. Zadurian, A. Isahakian, A. Aharonian and L. Manuelian were of great importance in both the literary and nationalist fields. A general survey of the work produced at this period confirms the view that Armenian literature was stimulated more particularly by political causes and circumstance. These literary movements were centred mainly in Venice, Istanbul and Tiflis. These three cities also formed the centres of the nationalist movements, with which all the well-known writers of the nineteenth century were closely involved. Poets and prose-writers concentrated on the expression of their troubles and afflictions, and on the struggle for Armenian independence.

Armenian writers in Turkey, Italy (as a result of the work of the Venetian Mekhitarists), England, France and Russia betray strong Russian, German and French influences.

Graduates from the Rapaelian school of the Mekhitarists in Venice and the Muratian school in Paris achieved very notable successes in the intellectual and cultural fields.

The vernacular began to take the place of the literary language. The Mekhitarists were responsible for the production of dramatic works such as *Hosrov* and *Sempat I. G. Alishan*⁸ won very considerable fame by his works on literature, history and geography.

For the Armenian writers of the 1850's, Turkey formed the starting-point of the freedom and independence movements. Those who returned from an education in Europe assumed the role of nationalist leaders rather than merely writers and litterateurs. The aims of the Armenian writers in both Russia and Turkey were first and foremost to realise Armenian independence, to instil the new generation with this ideal, to open up a gulf between their own nation and the regime by which they were administered and to sow the seeds of hatred and mistrust.

Armenian literature from 1860 to 1880 was characterized by lyrical works and historical drama. The most outstanding representatives of this age included Rupinian, Odian, Beshiktashian⁹, Mamorian, Khrimian and Narbey.

1180-1890 is the romantic, philosophical period of Armenian literature with writers such as Thomas Terzian, Yegya and Demirci Bashian.

The Patriarch Khirimian, the old Mekhitarist Khoren Archbishop (Narbey)¹⁰ (1831-1893), Minas Cheraz and his friends represented their nation at the Congress of Berlin, and Caucasians, as well as a number of well-known writers from Turkey, were to be found amongst the most fervent defenders of the "Armenian Question".

NOTES

1. A. Meillet, *Esquisse d'une Grammaire Comparée de l'Arménienne Classique*, Vienna, 1903.
2. *Reallexikon*, vol. 1, p. 220-221
3. Lenormant, F. *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. 1.
4. J.D. Morgan, *Histoire du Peuple Armenien*,
5. Dulaurier, *op. cit.*
6. Kirkor was a native of the village of Narek in the Vastan *kaza* of Van. He was born in 951 and was educated by his uncle, who was a priest in the monastery at Narek. He was encouraged by the priests in the monastery to compile a collection of prayers, which were published in 1002. The date of his death is given as 1003.
7. The Mekhitarist organization was founded by Mekhitar, a priest from Sivas. Mekhitar was born in 1676, and became deacon in the church of Surp Nishan. He later went to Etchmiadzin, and from there he went on to Erzurum, where he held discussions with Roman Catholics. Returning to his native town he was raised to the rank of *vartabet* and attempted to enlighten the Armenians in both the religious and scientific fields. Accompanied by a few close companions he arrived in Istanbul in 1700, and in 1701 he founded an Armenian educational organization which remained for some time in Morea but, on the outbreak of war with Turkey, he was forced to leave Morea together with his disciples and settled in Venice. The Venetian government granted them the island of San Lazzaro, which had been a leper colony. He settled here in 1717 and remained on the island for thirty years. He died in 1749 at the age of 74. The organization continued to develop and many students came to study at the monastery, which published a large number of works on Armenian literature, language and learning. Several dictionaries were published and a number of European classics translated into Armenian.
In 1773 some of the Mekhitarists broke away to form an separate organization in Trieste, and then went on to Vienna to found a Mekhitarist Society there in 1811.
8. Gevont Alichan was born in Istanbul in 1820, the son of a reasonably well-to-do Istanbul money-lender. His real name was Kerope Markarian. He went to Venice at the age of twelve and studied in the Catholic seminary there. In 1840 he became a Catholic priest and was appointed teacher in the Rapaelian School. In 1843 he founded the periodical *Pamzaveb*. He wrote a number of works on history and geography. He was also a poet. He died in 1901.
9. Migirditch Beshiktashian was born in 1828 in the Istanbul suburb of Beşiktaş. He was the son of a very poor Armenian Catholic family. He studied in the Murat-Rapaelian school in Venice and on his return to Istanbul took up teaching as a career. He died of tuberculosis in 1868 at the age of 40.
10. Narbey studied in the Mekhitarist seminary in Venice and became a Catholic *vartabet*. On his return to Istanbul he joined the Armenian Gregorian church. While working as the principal *Masis Dove*. After spending a short time in Theodosia in the Crimea he returned to Istanbul. In 1867 he was appointed Bishop of Etchmiadzin but later returned to Istanbul to become preacher in Beşiktaş. After the Turco-Russian war he was sent together with Khrimian to the Congress of Berlin. His presence at the demonstration at Kumkapı and the discovery of his correspondence with Europe concerning Turkish and Palace affairs led the government to ask the Patriarchate to dismiss him from his post. He died in 1893. He claimed to belong to the Lusinian family and claimed the use of the name. He won considerable renown among the Armenians as poet and playwright.

VIII ARMENIAN MYTHOLOGY

In very early times the Armenians, like the Persians, worshipped the sun, the moon, fire, water, earth and the winds. They also worshipped mountains like the perpetually snow-capped Mt Ararat, Nemrud and Suphan (Sipan), or Mt Aragats pouring forth fire and flame; stars, planets, the constellations of the Zodiac, bare, rugged rocks, great rivers, doves, hawks, eagles, bulls, trees such the Sos (silver poplar), imaginary gods and good and evil spirits.

According to Moses of Khoren the rock beside which Shamram was killed was worshipped by the Armenians as sacred; while according to Dr. Dagavarian the myth that the world rests on the horns of a bull and that this is the cause of earthquakes can be found in the same form among the ancient Armenians, Iranians and Turks.¹

The Armenians worshipped in the open air, without any temples. The sun was worshipped on mountain peaks, while the moon was generally worshipped on Mt. Sebu. The fact that Armenian churches are still orientated towards the east, that worship is carried on facing in that direction, that hymns are sung to the sun and that the sun itself is known as "Areak", i.e. Ar-ek-akn = that eye of God, are some of the remnants of these old beliefs and customs.²

The moon, which is referred to in the Avesta as *Mah* is known to the Armenians as *Mahik*. The moon was regarded as the mother of nature and the nurse of trees and plants.

The Armenians believed in good and evil spirits and in fairies, and they employed magic and sorcery to protect themselves from evil. They believed in the *Katch* who lived on the mountains and rocky places, in the *Haralez* (dog-headed gods) who licked whole the wounds of the heroes who fell on the field of battle and in the powerful

dogs with powers of raising from the dead those who had passed through the *Halds*.

The city of Van, formerly known as Shamramakert (the city of Shamram) – in other words Shah-Mihra-Kert = the city of the Shah sun – was dedicated by the Armenians to the sun, Vostan (the town of Vostan) to the moon, the town of Artamet to Diana. Horses, oxen, goats and ewes were sacrificed to the sun.

A large proportion of the gods and goddesses of Armenian mythology are from India and Iran. These were followed by a large number from the Roman, Greek and Assyrian mythologies.

The Iranian Ahuramazda was known to the Armenians as Aramazt, the father of the gods, the creator of heaven and earth, and the god of good fortune, prosperity and abundance. This god had his temple at old Ani³ (the present-day Kemah). Aramazt was symbolized by fire.

The Iranian goddess Nahit appears in Armenian mythology as Anahit, the daughter of Aramazt. Anahit was the chief goddess, and was represented as a pure, innocent virgin. She was offered libations of the sacred drink *Homa*, sacrifices of white horses, bulls and he-goats. The Armenians celebrated her festival in August which, before the coming of Christianity, was the last month of the year. After the conversion to Christianity the Armenians continued to celebrate this festival as the Transfiguration of Christ. This festival is still known to the Armenians as *Vartevan* or the "Rose Festival". The festival of Anahit took place when the roses were most abundant and it was the custom to wreath the statue in these flowers.

Vahaken was the husband of Astgik (Venus), the goddess of beauty. He was regarded as a great hero and the conqueror of the Greeks. According to popular legend, Vahaken defeated the dragons who wished to devour the sun. Again according to legend, he is supposed to have stolen some hay one winter's day from the Assyrian general Arsham, and from the fragments he scattered in the sky as he fled there arose the Milky Way. The twenty-seventh day of every month is under the protection of this god. According to the Armenians, Vahaken, the god of power and strength, was the son of Dikran, who fought with the dragons. Vahakn is obviously no other than the Indian and Iranian fire-god Agni. Vah = who brings, Akni = fire. Vahakn can thus be interpreted as "the fire bringer".

Moses of Khoren relates the following legend:

Birth-pangs wracked the heavens and the earth. The crimson-shadowed sea was in labour and from the waters was born a crimson reed. From this reed issued forth smoke and

flames, and from these flames there leapt a child. His hair was of fire, and he had a beard of flame. His tiny eyes were like suns.

In the Hindu Veda we find the following account:

Agni, you who were born of the sky, the earth and the waves. Light the fires, the earth, the sky, the sea that bore you. Agni forgives the fire that pours forth flame. Gold-bearded Agni eats the dry food that is offered to him.

Vanatur was the god of time, the season and the new year, and was superior to any of the other gods, being the equivalent of Zeus.

Astgik or Astig (small star) was the Goddess of Beauty, and derives from the Astarte of the Phoenicians and Sidonians, as well as from Ishtar, the wife of the Assyrian Tammuz.

Mithra was the Iranian god of light, and entered the Armenian parthenon in the form "Mihra". Mihra was worshipped throughout the whole of Armenia and his festival was celebrated once every six months. On this festival the Armenians gave each other gifts of flowers and fruit. They would light fires and dance around them and leap over them. He had temples in Muş and particularly in Van, in Upper Armenia. Once a year, on the fourteenth of February, a great fire would be lit in honour of the fire-god Mihra, and newly-married brides and bridegroom would hold hands and dance around it. The same ceremony is still to be observed at the present day. In the Avastā, Mihra symbolizes the male element fire and Anahit the female element water.

Tir, Tiur, Dir, Dur was the god of intelligence and oratory; he is also derived from Iranian mythology. *Sin* was the moon-god of the Sumerians, and is still to be found in the Armenian word "*lusin*" = moon.

Apart from these, a number of Roman and Greek gods can be found in Armenian mythology. Moses of Khoren relates how Ardashes brought back the gilded statues of Artemis, Hercules and Apollo he had discovered in the East and erected them in the city of Armavir.

Some of the gods of Armenian mythology have the following Greek or Roman equivalents:

Ahuramazda	– Zeus, Jupiter
Mihra	– Hephaistos, Vulcan
Anahit	– Diana, Artemis
Nane	– Athena, Minerva

Astgik -Aphrodite, Venus
 Tiur, Dur -Mercury, Hermes

The Armenians remained under Persian domination for a considerable time after the acceptance of western Christianity and were at times compelled to change their religion, with the result that even at the present day Armenian Christianity still retains some traces of Zoroastrian and pagan beliefs.

In contrast to other Christians, Armenians still perform animal sacrifices, particularly to the souls of those who die young.

NOTES

1. Dagavarian, *Ancient Armenian Religions*, Istanbul, 1909 (Armenian)
2. *ibid.*
3. This Ani should not be confused with the Ani in the vicinity of Kars.

IX THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

The church historians connect the entry of Christianity into Armenia with the letter written to Christ by Kara Apkar, King of Lower Armenia and son of Arsham, asking to be cured of leprosy, and the subsequent introduction of the Bible into Armenia by Sts. Thateos and Bartholomew. It is thus claimed that the Armenian government was the first to accept Christianity.

According to Tournebize, the story of Apkar as related by Moses of Khoren in some appendices to his history was proved false by the Roman Synod summoned by Pope Gelas III. As a matter of fact, we have already pointed out that Apkar V, King of Edessa (Urfa) was in no way connected with the Armenians.

Christianity entered Armenia for the first time at the beginning of the fourth century from the West, through the province of Cappadocia. Thereafter the old faith returned until the appearance of Gregory Lusavorich and the final conversion to Christianity.

A very interesting legend concerning Gregory Lusavorich and the spread of Christianity is to be found in Moses of Khoren:

During the sacrifices performed by Tiridat in the temple of Anahit, to whose grace and protection he attributed his successes in regaining power after so long an interval, he ordered those present, including Gregory, then one of the officers and later to become famous as Gregory Lusavorich, to place a wreath of flowers and branches on the altar as an expression of gratitude to the goddess. Gregory, who had been brought up and educated in Kayseri, where he had adopted the Christian faith, refused to carry out the king's request, declaring himself a Christian. "How dare you," exclaimed the King, "worship a God I myself do not worship". Torture having failed to make Gregory renounce his

faith, one of the nobles there present declared. "This Gregory is unworthy to live and look upon the sun. Formerly we were unaware of his personal beliefs, but now we know for certain. This man is the son of Anag, who killed Tiridat's own father and reduced Armenia to slavery and ruin.¹ Whereupon Tiridat threw Gregory into fetters and send him to Ararat. There he was thrown into a dry well in the castle of Artashat, where he remained, forgotten by everyone, for fifteen years.

According to another legend Heripsime, who had fled to Armenia to escape the persecution of the Emperor Diocletian, together with a young nun by the name of Gaiane and a number of other nuns, were seized by Tiridat, who wished to make Hripsime queen of Armenia. Hripsime refused, and they all made their escape. After a long struggle, Tiridat finally succeeded in having Heripsime and all thirty-two nuns seized and put to death. A few days after this horrible event Tiridat fell victim to the wrath of God. The devil entered his body, he imagined himself a wild boar, foamed at the mouth and devoured his own flesh. Thereupon Gregory was brought out of the well and the king cured as a result of his prayers. At sunrise the king and all those present prostrated themselves before this holy man.

Gregory then proceeded to have all the old temples demolished and carried out the Christianization of Armenia. He entered Kayseri in a chariot drawn by sixty nobles and a white mule and was there anointed chief pontiff of Armenia by Leon, the spiritual leader of the province (285-305). On his return, he baptized the royal family, together with all the courtiers and a great mass of people near Pakaran on the banks of the Euphrates. Gregory also brought Christian priests from Syria and Cappadocia.

Gregory had two sons, Aristakes and Virtanes. In 1331 he was succeeded by his son Aristakes, while he himself withdrew into a cave in Mt Sebu, where he died. His body was found by shepherds, who buried it on the spot where he had died.

According to Armenian historians Gregory Lusavorich was succeeded by the following:

Gregory Lusavorich	-301
His son Aristakes	-325
His second son Virtanes	-332
Virtanes' son Husig	-339
Pharen	-347
Nerses (the last spiritual leader to be consecrated in Kayseri)	-324
Nerses' son Sahak	-387-439

Gregory's last descendant, Sahak, left no male heir, and after his death spiritual leaders were chosen from among the priests, in accordance with the accepted custom in the Eastern Church. These were given the title *Catholicos* (ir. Armenian, *Katogikos*) as representatives of the nation and played a very important role in politics. The first patriarchs transferred their seat to Etchmiadzin, abandoning Ardashad in Muş, which had been established by Gregory. After the fifth century the seat of the patriarch was transferred to Tovin.

The Place of the Armenian Church in the Christian World, the Schism of the Latin and Orthodox Churches

For a thorough understanding of the schism between the two churches it is essential that we examine the various stages in the development of Christian beliefs.

In 325 the Emperor Constantine held a synod in Nicaea in an attempt to settle various disputes in religious belief. This synod was attended by three hundred and eighteen ecclesiastical dignitaries, including Aristakes, the son of Gregory Lusavorich. The synod met on 19 June 325, and Arius was summoned to the meeting. The decisions taken at this and the following three meetings were as follows:

1. Nicaea (325): The Council recognized Jesus Christ as the son of God, unbegotten and consubstantial (of one essence) with His Father. This decree was opposed by Arius, an Alexandrian presbyter who defended the belief that "the Son was created by the Father and was distinguished only by his excellence from other created beings". Arius and his supporters were sent into exile, the church was reformed, various laws were passed, and the date of the birth of Christ established.

2. Constantinople (831): The divine nature of the Holy Ghost was upheld against the heresy of Macedonius, who attempted to prove that the Holy Spirit was created.

3. Ephesus (431): A religious problem had arisen in Istanbul in 431 as to whether the Virgin Mary should be described as the Mother of God or merely the Mother of Christ.

Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, accepted the dual nature of Christ in opposition to the Alexandrian patriarch. He defended the view that "the Virgin Mary was simply the mother of

Christ, the mother of a man. She should therefore be conceived as the Mother of Christ and not the Mother of God. The second, divine nature of Christ came later. When Mary gave birth to Christ the divine nature of Christ was not yet in existence and it would therefore be wrong to conceive her as the Mother of God." This gave rise to a number of disputes, with a number of bishops opposing Nestorius' point of view. It became essential that a council should be held to consider the subject.

This Ecumenical Council convened in June 431 attended by two hundred bishops. Nestorius was also invited but did not attend. The discussions ended with the acceptance of the single nature of Christ. Nestorius' views were condemned in a decree signed by one hundred and ninety-eight of the bishops and declared heretical.

Nestorius and his followers now found themselves exposed to violent persecution and dispersed to various different regions. They first of all went to Edessa (Urfa), where they exerted considerable influence on the local church. Edessa thus became the main centre for the dissemination of Nestorianism; but later, in 488, the violently hostile attitude assumed them against Nestorianism and its followers by the Byzantine Emperor Zeno forced them to abandon the city and take refuge in Iran. From here Nestorianism spread to Syria, India, Central Asia and even as far as China. The patriarchs chose Marga, Arabela, Diyarbakir and later Musul as their centres, while in the seventeenth century the choice finally fell upon Kochanes.

4. Chalcedon (451): In opposition to the view of Nestorius, Eutyches, the archimandrite of a monastery in Constantinople, declared "one and the same Christ in two natures without confusion or change, division or rupture". In other words, Christ was at the same time wholly divine and wholly human. This last synod was the most important of the synods convened to condemn the views of those who believed that Christ was harmonious but quite separate natures". In his work entitled *The Armenian Church*,² the late Maghakia Ormanian, one of the former Armenian patriarchs of Istanbul, writes as follows:

The campaign waged by Eutyches against the errors of Nestorianism ended in very unfortunate and quite unintended results, giving rise to disputes on the question of the creation of Christ and the two natures. These controversies were centred mainly in Constantinople, Alexandria and Rome. The school of Antioch, which was connected with the school of Constantinople and acted as the spokesman of its views, taught the unity in Christ of the human and divine natures, whereas the Alexandrian

school, while believing in the preponderance of the divine nature over the human in Jesus Christ, arrived at the conclusion that the human was completely absorbed by the divine substance. This view, put forward by Cyril of Alexandria, was accepted by Second Council of Ephesus.

The theory of the dual nature of Christ formed part of the teaching of Nestorius, a member of the school of Antioch, after his appointment as Patriarch of Constantinople. This view was, however, condemned by the Council, which accepted the view of the archimandrite Eutyches (447) that the human nature of Christ was absorbed in the divine. At the Council convened in Constantinople in 448, Flavian condemned the followers of Eutyches; but Dioscorus of Alexandria, seeing in this decree a return to Nestorianism, persuaded the Emperor to convene a council at Ephesus in 449. A special council was held at Rome in 450 in which the views of Flavian were upheld against those of Eutyches and Dioscorus. In order to strengthen the decree the Emperor Marcian was advised to convene a council in Chalcedon.

The reason for all this dispute and dissension was very obviously a conflict of interest between the Patriarchs rather than a dispute concerning a theological point.

At the Council of Nicaea the Greco-Roman world had been divided into three regions with centres at Rome, Alexandria and Antioch. Administrative and religious affairs were carried on in these centres quite independently and with no one centre claiming pre-eminence over the others. This was to change in the fifth century. In the Council of 381, Constantinople was made the seat of the patriarch and Rome declined in importance. Alexandria refused to accept this, declaring that Nicaea could not relinquish the position ratified at Ephesus to Flavian or Leon in Rome.

As far as the various Councils are concerned, the Roman Catholic church recognized twenty of these, from the council held in Nicaea in the fourth century to the last council in the Vatican in the nineteenth century. The Byzantine or Eastern Orthodox church recognized only the first seven of these councils, concluding with the Second Council of Nicaea in the eighth century, while the Armenians recognized only the first three.

The decrees of the first three Ecumenical Councils were accepted

by the Armenians immediately without argument, but Chalcedon was a very different matter. By then, Armenia was in a state of political turmoil. They had been unable to attend the Council of 451 because of the war then being waged against Iran, nor had they received full and accurate information regarding the decisions taken. This lack of news, combined with the political situation, constituted one of the reasons for their break with the Byzantine Church. The majority of the ecclesiastics attending the Council of Chalcedon were Greek, and the Armenians had received no assistance from the Byzantine Emperor Marcian in the religious wars against Yezdegerd II. The Persians had exploited this situation and the Armenians, losing all hope of Byzantine help, were forced to accept Persian domination. The Catholicos Melite of Manazguer (452-457) transferred the capital to Tovin, the seat of the Iranian marzbans. The Armenians were thus separated both from the Byzantine and the Roman churches and, after remaining neutral for some time, they held a meeting in 491 in Vagarshabat during the period of office the Catholicos Papken. This was also attended by the Catholicos of Georgia and Agvans. This council may be regarded as the first step in the Armenian reaction to the theory of creation defined at the Council of Chalcedon. The separation was placed upon a clearer and firmer footing by Catholicos Merses Ashtarakesi who condemned the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon at a new council convened at Tovin in 527.

Another council was convened at Tovin in 596 by the Catholicos Abraham I. This council affirmed Christ as created homogeneous and simple, unique and of one substance.

According to the historian Ohannes Catholicos, "They carried out excommunication. All contact with them was forbidden in order to prevent unification with the Byzantines and the destruction of the wall of the apostles that defends us, the debasement of the purity of our religion by allowing them to mix among us". This decree was ratified in the Ecumenical Council of 616. This further separation of the Greeks and the Armenians was naturally welcomed by the Iranians. The following passage clearly demonstrates the differences between the Orthodox Christians and the Lusavorchagan Armenians:

We believe in God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible:

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, of the same person and the same identity, God of God, Light of

Light, very God of Very God, begotten, not made, being of the one substance and the one nature with the Father by whom all things were made on earth as in heaven.

Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and became a man, being born by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary complete and mature, a man in body, spirit, reason and intelligence, in truth not in symbol.

He was crucified, He suffered and was buried, and the third day He rose again and ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand side of the Father. And He shall come again, with glory, to judge both the quick and the dead, whose kingdom shall have no end.

And we believe in the Holy Spirit as announced in the laws, the prophets and the Bible, begotten not created, whole and mature, who descended to Jordan, proclaimed the prophet and took place among the saints. And we believe in one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.

We believe in baptism, in the forgiveness of sins through the appeal to God and in punishment.

We believe in the resurrection of the dead, in the judgement of spirit and body, and in the everlasting Kingdom of Heaven.

The most important points of difference between the Armenian and the Roman churches are the following:

The Armenians:

1. refused to accept the authority and religious jurisdiction of Rome
2. refused to accept the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon
3. rejected the notion of the dual nature of Christ. In other words they conceived Christ as one divine person, of the same nature and consubstantial with the Father.
4. rejected the notion of Purgatory
5. refused to recognize the power of absolution of the Pope
6. preserved the practice of animal sacrifice and a number of ancient rites and ceremonies³.

The Catholics, on the other hand, accepted the primacy of the Pope and the apostles, and believed, in accordance with the decrees of

the Council of Chalcedon, in Christ as God incarnate, and in his dual nature as both God and man, in other words, that Christ possessed two separate natures, one divine and the other human. These two natures, they claimed, remained distinct and separate, and were not fused into one nature.

The Monophysite Armenians, who believed in a single nature, had remained firm against the Roman belief since the sixth century, refusing to accept the notion of a dual nature.

The decision adopted at the Council of Chalcedon affirmed "one and the same Christ in two natures without confusion or change, division or separation. It was Christ in human not in divine form who was crucified on the cross."

The Armenian church believed that death was followed either by condemnation to endless suffering or, in the case of a man of pure and sinless nature, to endless bliss. They rejected any notion of Purgatory.

According to the Catholics the Pope was the head of the Christian church. He was the vicar of Christ and successor to St Peter. Every Christian was thus religiously bound to the Pope. All decisions of the Pope were infallible and the Pope was incapable of making a false decision.

According to the Armenians, Christ descended at Etchmiadzin,⁴ and there founded the Armenian Church as a completely separate organization quite independent of the Western and Eastern Patriarchs. The Roman Church, on the other hand, believed that Christ had entrusted St Peter with the foundation of the church in Rome, that St Peter himself had been buried in Rome, and that the Pope was the natural successor of St Peter. They thus believed that the refusal of the Armenians to accept the pre-eminence of the Pope arose from their inability to accept a literal interpretation of the Bible and to accord due importance to the decrees of the Roman Church. The Armenians claimed that if Christ actually pronounced the words ascribed to him he would have proclaimed St Peter head of the church in Jerusalem.

NOTES

1. This topic has been treated above.
2. Maghakia Ormanian, *The Armenian Church*, Paris, 1910, p. 24-25
3. As pointed out in the section on mythology this type of sacrifice is still carried out to avert illness and danger.
4. Etchmiadzin means the place where the only Son of God descended.

X ATTEMPTS AT UNIFICATION WITH THE BYZANTINE CHURCH

Several attempts were made to unite the Byzantine and Armenian churches, but not only were these unsuccessful but each attempt resulted in a further widening of the gap between them.

The first attempt. This took place towards the end of the sixth century. During Mushegh Mamikonian's visit to Constantinople a meeting was held attended by twenty-one Armenian ecclesiastics at which the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon were accepted. This, however, met with opposition from the Iranian Armenians and later from the Catholicos Moses, a very powerful opponent of Chalcedon. In 996, following the action of the Georgian Catholicos in forming a union with Byzantium, Abraham held a religious council at Tovin at which all relations were broken off with the Georgian Armenians.

The second attempt: Forty years later a second attempt was made by Heraclius. In the course of his campaign against the Persians he summoned the Armenian Catholicos to Erzurum (629). The Catholicos Yez returned to his country after having accepted the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, but the Armenians refused to ratify his decision.

During the period of office of the Catholicos Nerses Shinog (641-661) Armenia suffered invasion by the Arabs, whereupon Heraclius' grandson, the Emperor Constantine, arrived in Armenia and insisted on having the Greek rite performed in Tovin. This, however, merely served to exacerbate opposition to the Byzantine church.

The third attempt: Towards the end of the ninth century an attempt was made through the mediation of Patriarch Pod. In 858 the

Byzantine church, having separated from the church of Rome, wished to form a union with the Armenians. An Ecumenical Council was convened at Shirakavan, but this attempt at unification also remained abortive, the Armenians stubbornly refusing to accept the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon.

The fourth attempt: This fourth attempt was made following the hegemony imposed upon Armenia by the Byzantines following the fall of the Bagratunids. Any hope of unification was ended by the conquest of this region by Tughrul and Alp Arslan.

The fifth and last attempt: This took place during the period of office of the Catholicos Nerses Shnorhali. Mamesdiya, son-in-law of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel, had questioned Shnorhali, before he became Catholicos, on the beliefs of the Armenians and Shnorhali had given him a written reply. Thereupon the following proposals were made to the Armenians at an ecumenical council in Constantinople.

1. That the religious leaders upholding the separation of the churches should be excommunicated.
2. That they should reject the conception of Christ as one person, one will, one volition and one action.
3. That the phrases "Dear God, God Almighty" should be recited without the addition of "crucified for us".
4. That the main festivals, such as the birth of Christ, should be celebrated on the same dates as in the church of Byzantium.
5. That the holy oil should be made from olive oil.
6. That, in the celebration of the mass, yeast should be added to the bread and water to the wine.
7. That the priests and the congregation should remain in church during mass.
8. That they should accept decrees 5,6 and 7 of the Council of Chalcedon.
9. That the Catholicoi should be nominated and chosen according to the wishes of the Emperor.

It is thus clear that, since 451, a number of other problems had arisen in addition to those concerning the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon and the dual nature and substance of Christ. All attempts at unification foundered on the Armenians objection on these points. This meant that the idea of union with the Byzantine church had finally to be abandoned.

XI ATTEMPTS AT UNION WITH THE CHURCH OF ROME

The first attempt: This took place at the beginning of the fourteenth century during the period of office of the Catholicos Gregory VII (1294-1307). Gregory, who had already made a number of changes in the rites and ceremonies of the Armenian church, called an ecumenical council in order to bring about a union of the churches. Although he himself died, the council met in 1307 and the changes Gregory had proposed were accepted. When, however, it came to their application, the people objected most decisively. Thus this attempt at union, made in order to please the Latins in Cappodocia, was rejected by the people.

The second attempt: This arose in connection with the Catholic friars' organizations at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In 1218 Pope John XXII appointed the dominican Bartholomew Bishop of Maraga and presbyter of the province of Azerbaijan. Bartholomew found a certain amount of support and worked together with the Armenian bishops of Rumiye and Erzurum. But there was also considerable opposition. The Catholicos Agop II was removed on the grounds of his support for the Dominicans, who drew up one hundred and seventeen points of criticism of the path followed by the Armenian church and forwarded these to the Pope Benoit XII.

The third attempt: The Pope included the Armenians in the invitation he sent out to all the Eastern clerics to a council to be held in Florence, and the Catholicos Constantine V replied by sending four representatives. Although these arrived too late for the council the Pope held a further meeting with those delegates who had remained behind and persuaded the Armenians to sign the document containing the decisions taken. But it was obviously impossible to

solve problems of such importance by means of the signatures of one or two delegates, and this attempt also proved abortive. The Armenians viewed the Catholicate of Sis with some suspicion on account of its close association with the Latins of Cappodocia. After the Rupenian dynasty Cilicia was obliged to join the mother church, and from time to time several of the Catholicoi met for discussion with the Pope in the hope of achieving the same aim.

XII THE ARMENIAN POPULATION

The density of the Armenian population in Turkey, particularly in the eastern provinces, and the considerable numbers of Armenians distributed throughout the Ottoman Empire and making up a sizable proportion of the Ottoman population as a whole, constitute the factors most often quoted as the reasons for the Armenian question and the problem of Armenian reform. Thus, before going on to a discussion of the political events, it would be helpful to obtain some idea of this background topic.

Basmadjian offers the following statistics concerning the Armenian population in the world as a whole: ¹

<u>1915</u>	<u>Armenian population</u>
Turkey	2,380,000
Russia	1,500,000
America	100,000
Iran	64,000
India	20,000
Egypt	40,000
Austria-Hungary	20,000
Bulgaria	20,000
Rumania	8,000
Cyprus, Greece, Western Europe	8,000
	<u>4,160,000</u>

The following statistics are given by Tournebiz in 1900:

Turkey	1,300,000
Iran	50,000
Russia	1,200,000
	<u>2,550,000</u>

According to Tournebiz the figure of 5,000,000 usually given by Armenians is too high, a more appropriate figure being 3,5-4 million.

According to the latest statistics given by L. de Contenson² are as follows:

Anatolia	1,150,000
Thrace	250,000
Russia and the Caucasus	1,500,000
Iran	150,000
Egypt, America, etc.	50,000
	<u>3,100,000</u>

Professor Gelzer³ gives the Armenian population as 20% of the population of the Caucasus (959, 371) distributed as follows in the various regions:

	Armenian Population	Percentage of total population
Tiflis	211,743	24
Erivan	375,700	56
Kars	37,094	21
Kutayis	16,399	1
Black Sea region	2,077	6
Elizaptol	258,324	35
Daghistan	1,054	0.2
Sahatal region	521	0.6
Other regions of Russia		
New Nakhichevan, Bessarabia, Astrakhan	200,000	

The following figures for Turkey can be obtained from information given by the Russian Lieutenant-General Solenoy, and the military consul Trodder.

1) The Armenian population in the nine provinces is 726,750 out of a total population of 4,629,375.

Iran	42,000
Egypt	6,000
Rumania	8,000
Bulgaria	5,839
Galicia	8,206
India	1,480

Small Armenian immigrant groups can be found in Paris, Marseilles, Manchester, London and North America. The whole Armenian population amounts to 2-2.5 million.

According to the book *Young Turkey and the Armenians* by Y. Topchian:⁴

"In his article *Armenier und Kurden*, Prof. Vambéri, a well-known friend of the Turks,⁵ states that in those nine provinces the total population amounted to 5,999,125, of which 4,453,250 were Muslim and 1,131,125 were Armenian.

Very interesting information is given in a book by the English traveller Lynch published in 1901.⁶ Lynch gives the Armenian population as totalling 2,427,397:

1. Turkish and Russian Armenia	906,984
2. Caucacasia and Outer Caucasia	50,000
3. Astrakhan and Bessarabia	75,000
4. Asiatic Turkey	751,000
5. European Turkey	186,000
6. Azerbaijan	28,900
7. Bulgaria	5,010
8. Rumania	8,070
9. Austria	1,320

The total population of Armenians living in Asia Minor would thus amount to 751,000 + 906,984 = 1,658,484.

But this also includes the inhabitants of Russian Armenia. If we subtract 600,000 to cover the Russian Armenians the resulting total of Armenians in Turkey would be 1,158,484.

Bringing together the figures for the Armenian population in the nine provinces of Asia Minor given in English, French, Russian and German sources we can construct the following table:

Trotter	780,750
Rolin-Jacquemyns	1,330,000
Cuinet	838,125
Zelenov	921,000
Vambéri.	1,131,000
Lynch	1,058,484

The highest figure given for the Armenian population is thus 1,330,000.

As we have already pointed out, the lack of any reliable census figures or statistics for Turkey makes all these figures only very approximate.

What do the Armenian sources have to say on this subject? Practically nothing. Unfortunately, we have in Turkey no study on the subject of the size of the Armenian population. In the time of the Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian statistics were drawn up the seven provinces applying for autonomy (Erzurum, Bayburt, Erzincan, Malazgirt, Mus, Bitlis and Van).

The numbers of the various different nationalities are given as follows: ⁷

Armenians	1,150,000
Turks	400,000
Kurds	80,000
Zazas	35,000
Yazidis	13,000
Greeks	5,000
Assyrians	14,000
Total	1,697,000

After this date no attempt was made to establish the size of the Armenian population, or, if such an attempt was made, the results were never published.

An interesting Armenian source is the calendar of the Istanbul National Hospital published under the supervision of the Patriarchate. This gives the numbers of Armenians living in Turkey as 2,500,000. But this total would appear to be not only very approximate but also very much exaggerated, and inspires very little confidence.

The statistics drawn up by the MTA is rather closer to the facts given in the above table. ⁸ According to this, the Armenian population in the provinces of Turkish Armenia amounted to 1,150,000, in other words a little more than the figure given by Vambéri.

In that case the figures given in Armenian and European sources suggest that the Armenian population in the nine provinces of Turkey (excluding Istanbul and Bulgaria) may well have been 1,300,000."

In his book *The Armenian Republic, Its Birth and development* Khatisian gives the following for Armenians throughout the world: ⁹

1. Turkey: Istanbul	150,000	
Anatolia	131,000	
	281,000	281,000
2. Russia: Armenia	1,200,000	
Georgia	400,000	
Azerbaijan	340,000	
The Caspian region	30,000	
Other places	225,000	
	2,195,000	2,195,000
3. Syria, Palestine, Algiers	104,000	
Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia	20,000	
India, Java, Australia	12,000	
Iran	50,000	
	186,000	186,000
4. Greece, Cyprus	79,000	
Bulgaria	46,000	
Rumania, Transylvania, Bessarabia	43,000	
Europe: France, England, Italy,		
Hungary, Germany, Belgium, etc.	38,000	
	206,000	206,000
5. North America and Canada	125,000	
South America	3,000	
	128,000	128,000
Total		2,996,000

The latest official statistics give the distribution of the Armenian population in 1925 as follows: ¹⁰

Armenia		1,000,000
Georgia	450,000	
Azerbaijan	50,000	
Others	300,000	
		800,000
Soviet Union:		
Northern Caucasia	100,000	
Odessa, Ukrania, etc.	112,500	
Crimea	12,500	
		225,000
Syria	120,000	
Turkey: Istanbul	75,000	
Provinces	25,000	
		220,000
North America	125,000	
South America	1,500	
Cuba	1,500	
		128,000
Iran	80,000	
Turkestan, Siberia	75,000	
		155,000
Europe: France	40,000	
Other countries	20,000	
		60,000
Greece	55,000	
Bulgaria	45,000	
		100,000
Rumenia, Besserabia	43,000	
Egypt	20,000	
		63,000
Algiers	8,500	
Cyprus	4,000	
India	2,500	
		15,000
Palestine	2,500	
Ethiopia	700	
		3,200
Eastern Asia, Australia, etc.		600
Total		2,769,800

Keork Aslan ¹¹ gives the following figures for the Armenian population in Turkey:

Armenian provinces in Anatolia	920,000
Cilicia (Adana, Sis, Maraş)	180,000
Other Ottoman provinces	700,000
	<u>1,800,000</u>

He adds the following approximate statistics for the total population of Turkey:

Edirne and Çatalca	700,000
İstanbul	1,200,000
Anatolia	15,700,000
Arabian Peninsula	2,000,000
Algiers, the Mediterranean	400,000
	<u>20,000,000</u>
Muslims	8,140,000
Turks, Turkmen, Arabs and Syrians	4,000,000
Kurds	1,300,000
Circassians, Caucasians	600,000
Laz	300,000
	<u>14,340,000</u>
Christians: Greeks	2,230,000
Armenians	1,800,000
Maronites, Chaldaeans, Nestorians	900,000
Foreigners	120,000
Bulgarians	70,000
	<u>5,120,000</u>
Various: Jews	350,000
Druze	150,000
Gypsies	20,000
Yazidi	20,000
	<u>540,000</u>
Total: Muslims	14,340,000
Christians	5,120,000
Various	540,000
	<u>20,000,000</u>

The following information is given regarding the Armenian population as a whole:

Turkey (Erzurum, Van, Bitlis, Harput, Sivas)	920,000
Cilicia (Adana region)	180,000
Other provinces	700,000
Russia (Russian Armenia, Caucasia)	1,600,000
Other provinces	200,000
Iran (Tabriz, Teheran, Hemedan, Isfahan)	70,000
America	50,000
Hungary, Transylvania, Galicia	23,000
Bulgaria	20,000
Egypt	15,000
India	10,000
Rumania	10,000
England, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy	8,000
Greece, Macedonia	3,000
Sudan, Ethiopia	1,000
Cyprus	1,000
Total	3,811,000

The Patriarch Ormanian gives the Armenian population of Turkey as 1,579,000. The German Lepius gives it as 1,600,000.

Marcel Léart¹² draws up the following table in accordance with statistics given by the Armenian patriarchate:

1882	
Van	400,000
Bitlis	250,000
Diyarbakır	150,000
Erzurum	280,000
Elazığ	270,000
Sivas	280,000
Adana	180,000
Aleppo, Antep, Urfa, Kilis, Maraş	100,000
Trabzon	120,000
Bursa	60,000
Aydın	50,000
Ankara, Kastamonu, Konya	120,000
Syria, Beyrut, Musul, Baghdad, Basra	40,000
Izmir region	65,000
Istanbul region	135,000
Edirne	50,000
Other regions	10,000
Total	2,560,000

The Armenian Patriarchate gives the following figures for the Eastern provinces alone:¹³

Erzurum	215,000
Van	185,000
Bitlis	180,000
Harput	168,000
Diyarbakır	105,000
Sivas	165,000
Armenian population in six provinces	1,018,000

According to Cuinet the Armenian population in Turkey was as follows:

<i>Provinces</i>	<i>Armenian population</i>	<i>% of population</i>
Erzurum	120,466	20.3
Bitlis	131,390	33
Van	79,000	18.6
Diyarbakır	79,129	16
Elazığ, Harput		
Malatya, Dersim,	69,718	12.1
Sivas	170,433	15.7
Trabzon	47,200	4.5
	697,336	
<i>Other Provinces</i>		
Adana	97,450	24
Ankara	94,298	10.5
Konya	9,800	0.9
Kastamonu	2,647	0.3
Istanbul	38,393	16
Bursa	88,991	5.5
Izmir	15,105	1.1
	1,044,020	8.7

Cuinet gives the following figures for the Armenian population in the eight provinces and the two *sanjaks*.

Armenians belonging to the Armenian Church	691,519
Protestans	79,680
Catholicos	57,642
	828,841

The total population in these areas amounted to 5,381,355.¹⁴

According to the 1917 English Yearbook:

Population of Anatolia	8,975,700	
Armenians	1,056,000	
Eastern Provinces ⁶	1,790,000	Muslim
	480,000	Armenian
Western provinces	7,179,900	total
Armenians	576,000	
Armenians in Eastern Provinces	480,000	
In Western Provinces	576,000	
Total Armenian population in Turkey	1,056,000	

In the French Yellow Book ¹⁵ we find the following information on the population of Turkey and the number of Armenians:

(FIRST REGION)

	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Armenians</u>
1. Algiers, Mediterranean	325,886	38,000
2. Izmir	1,399,477	15,105

(SECOND REGION)

3. Bursa	1,626,869	88,991
4. Kastamonu	1,018,912	88,991
5. Ankara	892,901	94,298
6. Konya	1,088,000	9,700
7. Adana	403,539	97,457
8. Aleppo	995,758	37,999

(THIRD REGION)

9. Sivas	1,086,015	170,433
10. Trabzon	1,047,700	47,200
11. Erzurum	645,702	134,967
12. Bitlis	398,625	131,390
13. Elazig	575,814	69,718
14. Diyarbakir	471,462	79,129
15. Van	430,000	80,798
16. Musul	300,280	none
17. Baghdad	950,000	3,300
18. Basra	950,000	1,525
Biga	129,438	1,688
Izmit	222,760	48,635

Provinces with the greatest concentration of Armenians:

Sivas, Trabzon, Erzurum, Bitlis, Van	564,788
Kozan, Maras	113,449
	<u>678,237</u>

Total population of Anatolia	14,856,118
Armenian population in Anatolia	1,475,011

In an Armenian geography book published in Paris in 1933 the Armenian population in the five continents is shown as follows: ¹⁶

Asia	2,097,000
Europe	250,000
America	182,000
Africa	27,500
Australia	200
	<u>2,556,700</u>

It would appear that this book, which was written for use by Armenians, contains the most reliable information.

According to government statistics the Armenian population in 1330 (1914) was distributed as follows: ¹⁷

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Armenian</u>	<u>Armenian Catholic</u>	<u>Armenian Protestant</u>
Edirne	631,094	19,725	48	115
Erzurum	815,432	125,657	8,720	2,241
Istanbul	909,978	72,962	9,918	1,213
Adana	411,022	50,139	2,511	5,036
Ankara	953,817	44,507	7,069	2,381
Aydin	1,608,742	19,395	892	479
Bitlis	437,479	114,704	2,788	1,640
Beirut	824,873	1,118	277	3,823
Aleppo	667,790	35,104	5,739	8,643
Bursa	616,227	58,921	1,278	992
Diyarbakir	616,825	55,890	9,960	7,376
Syria	918,409	413	247	1,873
Sivas	1,169,443	143,406	3,693	4,575
Trabzon	1,122,947	37,549	1,350	1,338
Kastomonu	767,227	8,959	-	-
Konya	789,308	12,971	-	254
Elazig	538,227	76,070	3,751	8,043
Van	259,141	67,792	-	-
Eskisehir	152,726	8,276	316	215
Antalya	49,686	630		

Urfa	170,988	15,161	1,557	1,652
İçel	105,194	241	-	-
İzmit	325,153	55,403	499	1,937
Bolu	408,648	2,961	9	2
Canik	393,302	27,058	261	1,257
Çatalca	59,756	842	-	-
Zor	66,294	67	215	1
Jerusalem	328,168	1,310	-	1,733
Karahisar	285,820	7,437	2	9
Karesi	472,170	8,544	109	51
Kale-i				
Sultaniye	165,815	2,474	-	67
Kayseri	263,074	48,659	1,515	2,018
Kütahya	306,894	3,910	638	-
Maraş	192,555	27,842	4,480	6,111
Menteşe	210,874	12	-	-
Niğde	291,117	4,890	46	769
	18,306,215	1,160,999	67,838	65,844

Taking religious belief into consideration we arrive at the following statistics: ¹⁹

Armenians	1,161,169
Armenian Catholics	67,838
Armenian Protestants	65,844
	1,294,851

According to the latest and most reliable official statistics the Armenian population amounted to 1,294,851. But one must also take into consideration Muslims who were not registered in the total population. In the provinces of Van, Bitlis, Elazig and Diyarbakir the numbers of those unregistered were as follows:

	Registered	Unregistered	%
Van	179,380	122,370	72.2
Bitlis	309,999	92,999	75.9
Elazig	446,379	107,644	85.7
Diyarbakir	492,101	196,840	84.3

Francis de Pressensé writes as follows: ²⁰

"The most reliable writers estimate the number of Russian Armenians as 600-700 thousand, of Armenian subjects of the

Shah of Persia as 300-400 thousand and of the Armenian subjects of the Ottoman Sultan as 1,200,000. In no region, even in the very heart of those territories with which they are so closely associated, such as Bitlis, Van and Erzurum, do the Armenians form a majority of the population. In those provinces in which the Armenian population is at its densest, for example in the province of Sivas where the Armenian population amounts to 170,000, there are 840,000 Muslims, with the result that the Armenians form only 15% of the whole. There is not a single province, not a single *sanjak*, not even a single *bujak* in which the Armenians form the majority and in which the Armenians could claim predominance and superiority."

Hanotaux, in a reply to statements made by Denis Cochin and Jaurès in the French Assembly on 3 November 1869 ²¹ has the following to say concerning the state of the Armenians:

The statistics available concerning the Ottoman provinces in question show that the Armenians account for more than 13% of the total population. The total number of Armenians living on Ottoman territory is certainly less than three million. The distribution of the Armenian population varies according to the province, in some places the Armenian population being very sparsely distributed, while it is more densely concentrated in others. In short, it is impossible to indicate any particular place where this unfortunate people form a majority of the population and which could form a centre for an independent Armenian state.

NOTES

1. Basmadjian, *op. cit.*
2. L. de Contenson, *Les Reformes en Turquie d'Asie*, Paris, 1913, p.10
3. Gelzer, *Short Armenian History*, Vienna, 1897.
4. Y. Topchian, *Young Turkey and the Armenians*, Tiflis, 1909.
5. Vambéry, *Deutsche Rundschau*, February, 1896.
6. Lynch, *Armenia: Travels and Studies*.
7. *L'Arménie*, 1892, no. 42
8. M. Portakalian, *The Armenians and their Neighbours*, Marseilles (Armenian)
9. A. Khatisian, *Origin and Development of the Armenian Republic* Athens, 1920 (Armenian)
10. *General Census*, Venice, Mekhitarist Press, 1926, p. 577 (Armenian)
11. Keork Aslan, *Armenia and the Armenians*, p. 119.
12. Marcel Léart, *La Question Arménienne à la Lumière des Documents*, Paris, 1913, p. 59, appendix 1.

13. *ibid.*, p. 60, appendix 1
14. 25-30% should be added to the number of Muslims in all the eastern provinces to compensate for those on military service not included in the census.
15. *Yellow Book 1893-1897*, Paris, 1897, p. 2-8
16. H. K. Babesian, *Geography of Armenia*,
17. *Osmanlı ülkelerinin 1330 yılı nüfus istatistiki*, Registry Office, Ministry of the Interior, Hilal Press, 1336.
18. The figures for the population of the Ottoman territories are based on the statistics for 1321.
19. In the statistics given by the Armenian Patriarchate and various Armenian writers the numbers of Turks and Moslems are reduced by excluding the Kizilbash, who are pure Turks, from the Turkish community.
20. F. de Pressensé, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1 December 1895, p. 676
21. *Yellow Book 1893-1897*, p. 312, No. 284.

PART II

REFORM AND THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

I

**THE SITUATION OF THE ARMENIANS IN TURKEY
UP TO THE OTTOMAN - RUSSIAN WAR OF
1877-1878**

After the conquest of Istanbul, Sultan Mehmet, entirely on his own initiative, brought Hovakim, the spiritual head of the Armenians in Bursa, to Istanbul and established an Armenian Patriarchate administered by the Armenians alongside that administered by the Greeks.

The duty of the patriarch was to supervise the religious and social aspects of the millet, investigate complaints, administer the lands and property belonging to the millet and collect taxes. Hovakim's official title was "Patriarch of the Armenians of all Turkey". Later, the Istanbul Patriarchs began to play an important role in political affairs. The Patriarchate was recognized by foreigners as a national and political institution and, as we shall see later, the Armenian question emerged mainly as a result of the activities of the Istanbul Patriarchate.

The Armenians who followed Hovakim to Istanbul settled in various parts of the city, such as Kumkapı, Yenikapı, Samatya, Narlıkapı, Edirnekapı and Balat Kapısı, otherwise known as the *Karagümruk odaları*, the *Malta odaları*, the *Çarsamba odaları*, the *Ayakapı*, the *Komürcü odaları* and the *Ahırkapı odaları*. When Kefe was captured by the Ottoman army in 1475 a number of Armenians were brought to Istanbul and settled in Salma Tomruk and Edirnekapı.

In 1479 Sultan Mehmet transferred the Armenian population of Karaman to Istanbul and settled them in Samatya. Until the 19th century the *firman*s issued by the Istanbul Patriarchate bore the official title "Patriarch of the six congregations". Before this, Sultan

Selim I had brought a number of Armenian craftsmen to Istanbul from Tabriz following his Çaldıran campaign. In the three and a half centuries between the reign of Mehmet the Conqueror and that of Mahmud II there was no interference whatsoever in the religious or social affairs of the Christians in general and the Armenians in particular. The communities possessed their own law-courts and prisons. They could inflict corporal punishment and sentence to exile.

Until the *Nizamname-i Millet-i Ermeniyan* (Constitution of the Armenian Community) of 1860 the Patriarch possessed powers, based on his authority deriving from his status as Catholicos, to dismiss spiritual leaders, forbid the performance of religious rites, divest of priestly office and even to have beards shaven. Certain individuals were responsible to the sublime Porte for the collection of taxes, for giving legal and penal decisions in court, for performing marriage ceremonies and for ordering individual corporal punishment.

The Ottoman Armenians lived tranquil and contented lives in Turkey, mainly engaged in commerce and industry. Their exemption from military service led to a steady increase in the Armenian population, and social life showed continual development.

According to Varandian: ¹

"The Turkish Armenian was much more advanced and much freer with regard to his national culture, language, history and literature than his Russian counterpart. At the beginning of the 19th century the idea of an Armenian nation was quite unknown in Europe. The Europeans knew only the Armenians of Istanbul. They tended to look upon the Armenians as merchants scattered around the world, thinking only of their own profit, and resembling the Jews as homeless wanderers without permanent home or country."

In XIX century Turkey the Armenians led a very comfortable life engaged in commerce and arts and crafts. They were also to be found in state employment, as, for example, the Dadyan family during the reign of Selim III, and the Duz Oğulları, Balyan family and Kazaz Artin under Mahmut II.

At the beginning of the present century the Armenian elite, known as the *Amira*, a wealthy urban aristocracy of bankers, merchants and government servants, played a very important role in the development of Armenian society. They founded schools, printing-houses and libraries, and at the same time sent a number of young Armenians to European schools and universities for further

education or vocational training. The Armenians under Russian administration enjoyed none of these opportunities. But such activity was later to prove to Turkey's disadvantage.

Again according to Varandian: ²

"Turkish administration was weak and inefficient. Ambitious, well-educated Armenians could not ignore the rise of other nations and communities. While the Catholicos Nerses and other Caucasian leaders were fighting against the Persians, the Armenians in Turkey preferred to exploit the peace and prosperity bequeathed by the sick man of Europe. They saw the Greeks, who had been their neighbours for centuries, struggling to liberate themselves from Turkish oppression, and they themselves began to take a first few timid steps."

In 1839 Sultan Abdul Mecit proclaimed the *Hatt-i Şerif* of Gülhane, an imperial edict declaring the equality of all Ottoman subjects regardless of race or religion and guaranteeing security of life and property for all. Discrimination between Moslems and Christians was abolished. The *Islahat Fermanı* (Reform Edict) of 1856 confirmed the privileges granted to the Patriarchs. The edict of 1839 had opened the way for the development of the Armenian millet, and, under the veil of equality, a class war began among the Armenians themselves, with the middle-class merchant rebelling against the *Amira* in an attempt to break their influence in millet affairs.

The Mekhitarist-Mudaian School was founded in Paris, and it was here that many of the young Armenians who were later to lead the Armenian movement were given an education that comprised training not only in cultural but also in political leadership. The graduates were later to apply, in a more radical manner, the conclusions reached by the Western revolutionaries and to act as advance-guards of their nation.

During the *Tanzimat* or "period of reform" the revival of Armenia was confined to a very slow progress in the fields of literature and education. In 1717 the priest, Mekhitar of Sivas, founded a national Armenian association at San Lazzaro in Venice, and the Catholic Mekhitarists began to exert great influence on the Armenians known as *Gregorian* who followed the true Armenian faith. Those trained in their institutions were to engage in work of great importance.

According to Saruhan: ³

"The movement was led, not by the ordinary people, but by young intellectuals who had graduated from the Üsküdar College

or Galatasaray Lycée in Istanbul, the Mekhitarist institutions in Paris and Venice and the Gabriel-Ayvazovski (Oriental) School in Paris. In 1846 a group of these intellectuals founded a nationalist association, to which young Gregorian and Catholic Armenians also belonged. A very important role in the movement was played by the Protestant missionaries (Armenian Bible Society). Some of the young members had witnessed the French revolution of 1848, and on 21 October 1853 these founded an "Education Committee" which opened new schools and prepared curricula and regulations. It was this committee that drew up the Armenian Constitution.

In this connection it would be useful to touch upon Gregorian-Catholic Armenian relations and the rise of Catholicism.

As we have already pointed out, the Armenians had rejected the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon and insisted upon the "single nature" of Christ. These Armenians were known as "Gregorian". At the same time, Catholic propaganda began to be propagated among the Armenians in Turkey. This first appeared in 1641 at the time of the transfer of the Patriarchate from Samatya to Kumkapı. A Latin priest by the name of Father Clement Galanó gathered the Armenian children in Galata and gave them lessons. This met with an angry reaction from the Istanbul Armenians and Galanó and his colleagues were obliged to flee the country. In 1688 Catholic priests settled in Tercan, Hasankale, Gümüşhane, Kars, Ispir, Bayburt and Trabzon and began to engage in propaganda activity.

In 1701-1702 a number of Armenians accepted Roman Catholicism, but, as the Catholic priests had no official status, marriage and burial rites were performed by the Armenian priests while confession and religious services were performed by the Catholics.

In 1810 the Armenian Catholics presented five proposals to the Patriarchate, declaring that if these were accepted they were prepared to join the Armenian Gregorian church. The initiative proved abortive, the Gregorian church refusing to accept two of the basic proposals, namely:

1. that the names of the Armenian Catholicos who had fought against the Popes should not be read during the religious service, and
2. that the Synod of Chalcedon should not be anathematized and excommunicated during the conferring of religious degrees.

The Pope sent a bishop to the Catholic Armenians, upon which the orthodox Armenians, seeing this as boding ill for the future, endeavoured to unite in an effort to halt the spread of Catholicism. This, too, proved abortive. In 1819 liturgical objects and ecclesiastical ornaments were discovered in the house of Duzyan, the Minister of the Mint. Discussions were begun between Armenian leaders headed by the Patriarch and the leaders of the Catholics, and union once again appeared on the agenda. The Gregorian Armenians objected, claiming that this lay outside the bounds of the Patriarch's authority. In any case, the proposal of union was accepted only by the Venetians, being rejected by the Armenians from the Lebanon, Ankara and other places.

This was followed by a long series of provocations, incitements and conflict, until finally, in 1830 and upon French intervention, the Armenian Catholics were accepted as an official *millet* by Sultan Mahmut II and an Armenian bishop by the name of Andon Nuridjian appointed the first Catholic *Marhasa*. The fact that Andon Nuridjan was of Austrian nationality made official government recognition impossible, and finally, on 22 December 1831, a priest by the name of Hapogos Chukurian was appointed Catholic Armenian Patriarch. The seat of the Patriarchate was centred first in Adana and then in the Zimmar Monastery on Mount Lebanon. In 1866 the Catholic bishop Andon Hassun was chosen Zimmar Catholic Patriarch. For some time there was great deal of conflict and confusion, but finally the offices of Bishop and Patriarch were united and the seat of the Catholic Patriarchate centred in Istanbul.⁴

The Protestant Representation: In 1828 a group of American missionaries began attempts to convert the Armenians to Protestantism. These missionaries settled in Istanbul and Izmir where they opened free schools for the children, public evening classes and places of worship. They had the Bible translated into the vernacular and freely distributed.

In 1846 an Istanbul Protestant Congregation Executive Committee was set up under the chairmanship of Abraham Utudjian with the support and encouragement of the British Embassy. A decree of 1850 granted them the right to elect a *millet reisi* (head of the millet) and accorded official recognition to the Protestant millet. Their leaders were officially known as *Milletvekili* (representative of the millet.)

NOTES

1. M. Varandian, *Origins of the Armenian Movement*, Geneva, 1914 (Armenian)
2. *ibid.* vol. 2, p. 238.
3. Saruhan, *The Armenian National Assembly*, Tiflis, 1912, p. 5-12 (Armenian)
4. *Tarih-i Ahmet Lutfi*, vol. 22, p. 185-191

II

NATIONAL CONSTITUTION OF THE ARMENIANS IN THE
TURKISH EMPIRE

The administration of the religious and social affairs of the Armenian community and all matters relating to schools and associations was entrusted by *firman* to the Patriarchates.¹

The constitution finally drawn up after lengthy discussion and argument in general assemblies held in the Patriarchate in 1857, 1859 and 1860, included articles of great importance and advantage for the Armenian community.

An imperial edict of 29 December 1841 confirmed the establishment of an elected council of twenty-seven tradesmen in control of community affairs, but this lasted for only a short time. On 25 November 1842 Asdvazadur was dismissed from the Patriarchate and succeeded by the Izmir *Marhasa* Mateos Chubukjian, who ordered the resumption of the interrupted political relations between the Armenians in Turkey and the Catholicos in Etchmiadzin and the mention of the name of the Catholicos in church.

In 1847 two assemblies were held in the Patriarchate. The first consisted of fourteen members of the clergy while the second had twenty members, ten *amira* and ten artisans.

In 1850 a committee was set up to draft a constitution. After delays caused by a number of different reasons the draft was finally sanctioned by the government on 29 March 1862. This was, in effect, the beginning of a new era in the political and social conditions of the Armenians in Turkey, and was of great importance in demonstrating the favourable attitude adopted by the Ottoman government towards them.

Below is quoted the full text of the Armenian National Constitution together with the Introductory Letter of the Sublime Porte and the Report the National Committee and the Committee of the Government:

The Armenian National Constitution

The Sublime Porte,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
No. 191.

To the Prudent Representative of the Patriarch
(*Locum Tenens*)

PRUDENT AND DEAR SIR - The Imperial Firman concerning reforms requires that each community shall take into consideration within a given time the privileges and prerogatives which it enjoys, and, after due counsel, shall decide upon the reforms which are in accordance with the circumstances, the civilisation and the learning of the present time. It shall present a list of such reforms to the Sublime Porte in order that the authority and rights granted to the spiritual heads of each community may be placed in harmony with the position and new conditions secured to each community. In accordance with these behests, the outlines of a Constitution for the Armenian nation have been prepared by a Committee composed of certain honourable persons. But at the same time it has been considered appropriate that the ecclesiastical members of the General Assembly and the delegates of the different Quarters should select by a majority of votes a Committee of seven, to whose consideration the above-mentioned project should be submitted. We therefore beg you to despatch within a few days the summons to hold the election of that Committee, and to direct that the Committee shall meet at the sublime Porte the Committee and functionary appointed specially for this purpose. We beg you also to send us the names of the seven persons thus elected.

(Signature)

1862, Feb. 14 (Old style).

ALI.

Armenia

Document Presented To The Sublime Porte By The National Committee And The Committee Of The Government

To the Sublime Porte,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Imperial Government has from ancient times granted to the different nations under its righteous protection privileges and prerogatives for their religious liberty and the special administration of their internal affairs.

These prerogatives are in their principles uniform for all nations, but they are at the same time adapted to the particular religious regulations and customs of each nationality. And each nationality has used and enjoyed them according to its peculiar manners and customs.

The Armenian nation, like other nations, has had to this day a Patriarch, who has been acknowledged by the Government as the President of the Patriarchal Administration, the representative of the nation, and the medium of the execution of Imperial Orders, and who from ancient times has been elected from the ecclesiastical body by a General Assembly, composed of individuals representing the different classes of the nation.

The Patriarch in his office, which is to preside over the nation and to watch over its interests, has never been exempt from the influence and supervision of the nation, exerted over him through the General Assembly. The proof of this is that the Patriarch has always invited and convoked the General Assembly, and has applied to that Assembly for a decision when a question has been raised by orders of the Sublime Porte.

The Armenian nation about two years ago begged of the Imperial Government to have two Assemblies established in the Patriarchate under the presidency of the Patriarch, one religious, the other political, that they might be participators in and auxiliaries of the office of the Patriarch, and that any deviation on the part of the nation from its ancient regulations and customs, both religious and political, might be prevented.

When these assemblies were established it became necessary to organise other Councils for the administration of the minor affairs of the nation.

But as the authority and duties of each national officer were not definitely defined, it was evident that these efforts to improve the state of affairs in the nation would be the occasion of continual misunderstanding in the different branches of the National

Administration, as well as between that administration and the nation. This naturally would be the cause of many irregularities in the execution of justice for all concerned, and of confusion and disputes in the National Administration.

With the object of doing away with the causes of such confusion and dissension, and with the nuisance of the undue claims of different parties, the Imperial Government, with its paternal solicitude for all its subjects, deems it necessary to organise a National Mixed Committee in order to prepare a Constitution in accordance with the peculiar religious and political customs and long established manners.

Appendix I

Now that Mixed Committee considers it proper according to the outline of the Constitution presented for confirmation to the Sublime Porte,

I. That the office of the Patriarch as the medium between the nation and the Sublime Porte should remain as it was in the old system,

II. That the organisation of the General Assembly should be reformed. The national delegates, instead of being elected by the Esnafs (Artisans) - since the condition of the Esnafs is no longer what it used to be - should be elected by the Committees of churches, that is, by different quarters, in a way that perhaps will be more regular and lawful than the one adopted by the Greeks.

And as Armenians living in the interior of the country rightly complain that they are altogether deprived of participation in the deliberations and decisions of the Patriarchate, a number of the delegates should be elected by the provinces to be added to the number of the delegates of the quarters or sections of Constantinople. The ecclesiastical members, twenty of them, should be elected by the clergy in Constantinople, so that the total number of the members of the General Assembly be 140; their term of office should last ten years, and once in every two years the tenth part should be changed, and new elections take place.

The General Assembly should nominate both the Patriarch and the members of the two Assemblies working under his presidency and should have the supervision of their acts,

III. The administration of religious affairs should belong to the Religious Assembly, the administration of Political affairs to the Political Assembly, and that of mixed affairs to the Mixed Assembly,

which shall consist of the other two Assemblies together,

IV. The Religious and Political Assemblies should manage through the Sectional and other Councils all national affairs of the church communities (that is to say, the people of different sections or quarters) under their jurisdiction, and the affairs of the churches, schools, hospitals, monasteries, and other similar national institutions,

V. The centre of the administration should be the National Patriarchate. The Patriarch, as the Official Head of the Patriarchate, should preside both over the General Assembly and over the two National Assemblies, and he should under the inspection of the General Assembly manage all the affairs concerning the nation directly or indirectly,

VI. The administration of provincial communities should be connected with the Central Administration. The Metropolitans should preside over local assemblies which should be organised in the same way as those in Constantinople, and they should be the managers of those local assemblies,

VII. The Provincial Assemblies should be responsible to the Central Administration. Each one of the Councils of this Central Administration should be responsible to the Assembly to which it belongs. The National Assemblies should be responsible to the General Assemblies, the Patriarch responsible on the one hand to the Imperial Government and on the other to the nation (through the General Assembly),

VIII. And, inasmuch as the Imperial Government considers the Patriarch as the natural medium of the execution of the orders given by it to the nation, and at the same time considers him as the head of the National Administration, and it is to him that it addresses its question, if the Government should command the Patriarch to give his opinion on the question asked, the Patriarch should act according to the decision of the Assemblies under his presidency; but, if he be ordered to communicate to the Government the opinion of the nation, then he should convoke the General Assembly and communicate to the Government the final decision of that Assembly,

IX. The National Administration has three kinds of obligations. First towards the Imperial Government, that is to preserve the nation in perfectly loyal subjection and to secure to the nation in general and to individuals in particular the preservation of their rights and privileges on the part of the Government. The second obligation is to the nation, to treat it in true compassion and in a paternal way. The

third is to the see of Edgmiatsin,* to act in accordance with the religious regulations and laws of the Armenian Church.

These are the features in the Constitution which the Mixed Committee considers desirable. These features are approved by the other Committee which was organised according to the orders of your Excellency, in order to present to the Sublime Porte on behalf of the nation their observations on the Constitution.

CONSTANTINOPLE, 1862.

Signatures of the members of the Committee of the Sublime Porte - Stephanos, Archbishop of Nicomedia, Representative of the Patriarch Elect of Constantinople, three Armenian ecclesiastics, and eight notables.

Signatures of the members of the National Committee, seven notables.

ORDINANCE OF THE SUBLIME PORTE

To the Prudent Representative of the Patriarch Elect of Constantinople.

The Constitution drawn up by the Committee formed at the Sublime Porte for the reforms of the condition and administration of the Armenian Patriarchate, after having undergone certain modifications concerning secular affairs only, was presented to His Imperial Majesty, and, having been approved by His Imperial Majesty, the Imperial Decree, making a law of the features contained in it, was issued to be handed to your Beatitude.

In enclosing to you the above-mentioned Constitution, we commission you to superintend the perfect execution of those features according to the high will of the August Emperor.

1863, *March 17*.

Introduction

The privileges granted by the Ottoman Empire to its non-Mohammedan subjects are in their principles equal for all, but the mode of their execution varies according to the requirements of the particular customs of each nationality.

* i.e. Etchmiadzin. The spelling occurs in the English translation of the text quoted in Lynch, *op. cit.*, II, 446-467.

The Armenian patriarch is the head of his nation, and in particular circumstances the medium of the execution of the orders of the Government. There is, however, in the Patriarchate a Religious Assembly for religious affairs and a Political Assembly for political affairs. In case of necessity these two Assemblies unite and form the Mixed Assembly. Both the Patriarch and the members of these Assemblies are elected in a General Assembly composed of the honourable men of the nation.

As the office and duties of the above Assemblies and the mode of their formation are not defined by sufficient rules and for this reason different inconveniences and special difficulties in the formation of the General Assembly have been noticed,

As each community is bound according to the new Imperial Edict (Hatti Humayun 6/18 Feb. 1856) to examine within a given time its rights and privileges, and after due deliberation to present to the Sublime Porte the reforms required by the present state of things and the progress of civilisation of our times,

As it is necessary to harmonise the authority and power granted to the religious chief of each nationality with the new condition and system secured to each community,

A Committee of some honourable persons of the nation was organised, which Committee prepared for the nation the following Constitution.

ARMENIAN NATIONAL CONSTITUTION

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

1. Each individual has obligations towards the nation. The nation, in its turn, has obligations towards each individual. Again, each individual and the nation have their respective rights over one another.

Hence the nation and its constituents are bound together by mutual duties, so that the duty of the one is the right of the other.

2. It is the duty of each member of the nation to share according to his means in the expenses of the nation, willingly to accept any services asked of him by the nation, and to submit to its decision.

These duties of the individual are the rights of the nation.

3. The duties of the nation are to care for the moral, intellectual, and material wants of its members, to preserve intact the creed and traditions of the Armenian church, to diffuse equally the knowledge necessary to all men among the children of both sexes and of all classes, to watch over the prosperity of national institutions, to

increase the national income in any possible lawful way and wisely to administer the national expenses, to improve the condition of those who have devoted themselves for life to the service of the nation and to secure their future, to provide for the needy, peaceably to adjust the disputes that may arise among the members of the nation – in a word, to labour with self-denial for the progress of the nation.

These obligations on the part of the nation are the rights of its members.

4. The authority which is appointed to represent the nation and to supervise and administer the regular performance of these mutual obligations is called the National Administration. To this body is committed by especial permission of the Ottoman Government and by virtue of the Constitution, the care of the internal affairs of the Armenians of Turkey.

5. In order that the Administration may be national it should be representative.

6. The foundation of this Representative Administration is the principle of rights and duties, which is the principle of justice. Its strength is to be found in the plurality of voices, which is the principle of legality.

CHAPTER I

The Central National Administration

I. The Patriarch of Constantinople

His Election and Resignation

Article 1.—The Patriarch of Constantinople is the President of all the National Assemblies and the representative of their executive authority, and in particular circumstances he is the medium of the execution of the orders of the Ottoman Government.

Hence the person to be elected as Patriarch should be a man worthy of the confidence and respect of the whole nation, and he should possess all the qualifications and dignity required by his position. He should belong to that class of bishops who have always been considered as candidates for the office. At the same time he should be worthy of the perfect confidence of the Government, an Ottoman subject beginning at least with his father and above thirty-five years of age.

Article 2.—In case of vacancy of the Patriarchal Throne, in consequence of the death or resignation of the Patriarch, or from any other cause, the Political and Religious Assemblies meet and elect a Representative (*locum tenens*), and request the Sublime Porte to confirm their choice.

The General Assembly elects the Patriarch, but the Religious and Political Assemblies have the right by a *list of candidates* to express their opinion in regard to the merits of the candidates.

The election of the Patriarch will take place in the following manner:—

In the first place the Representative (*locum tenens*) prepares a list of all the bishops within Ottoman territory, indicating opposite each name their qualifications in the sense of the first article, and presents it to the Religious Assembly.

The Religious Assembly convokes a general meeting of ecclesiastics and prepares a list of candidates by secret ballot – that is, each member present writes on a slip of paper the names of all the bishops that he does not consider unfit from a religious point of view. A list of these names is prepared in the order of the number of votes received by each.

The Representative presents this list to the Political Assembly. This Assembly, after an investigation into the political merits of the persons indicated, elects by a majority of votes five candidates and presents this list to the General Assembly.

At the same time the first list prepared by the General Religious Assembly should be hung in the hall of the General Assembly. The General Assembly, after learning from these two last the opinions of the competent Assemblies concerning the religious and political qualifications of the candidates, elects the Patriarch by secret ballot and by a majority of the votes.

The General Assembly may give its votes to a person outside the last presented by the Political Assembly, but the name of that person must have been indicated in the list prepared by the General Assembly of the ecclesiastics. No one can be elected whose name is not on that list.

If no majority of votes can be obtained on the first ballot the names of those two who have received the largest number of votes are announced by the Representative to the General Assembly, and the second ballot should be on those two names. For this second ballot those of the national deputies who cannot be present may forward their votes in a sealed and signed letter addressed to the Assembly, or to the Representative, or to the Chairman of the General Assembly.

The counting of votes is done by the officers of the General Assembly in the presence of four ecclesiastical and four lay members of the Assembly who act as inspectors.

In case after a second ballot the two candidates receive the same number of votes, then one of them is elected by lot.

Article 3. - After the election a report is prepared, signed by all those present, and it is presented to the Sublime Porte by the Representative, and the election of the Patriarch is confirmed according to the ancient custom by an Imperial edict.

Article 4. - The General Assembly sends a written invitation to the person elected as Patriarch if he be present in the capital, or a special delegate if he be out of Constantinople. On receiving this invitation the newly-elected Patriarch comes to the Patriarchate, and in the Cathedral, in the presence of the General Assembly, takes a solemn oath in the following words: "Before God and in the presence of this National Assembly I publicly vow to remain faithful to the Government and to my nation, and faithfully to see to the maintenance of the National Constitution." Herewith the office of the Representative comes to an end. Upon the invitation of the Sublime Porte the new Patriarch is admitted to the presence of His Majesty the Sultan, his office is formally confirmed, and he visits the Sublime Porte to announce it.

Article 5. - Should the Patriarch act contrary to the rules of the Constitution he is liable to impeachment.

Article 6. - Only the General Assembly and the Political and Religious Assemblies have the right to bring a charge against the Patriarch.

The accusing or protesting Assembly, with the permission of the Sublime Porte, asks the Patriarch to convoke the General Assembly.

Should the Patriarch refuse to do so, this fact again is reported to the Sublime Porte, which then issues a permit for the General Assembly to hold a sitting under the Presidency of the oldest bishop in Constantinople.

The General Assembly chooses five of its ecclesiastical and five lay members to constitute a Committee of ten, among whom, however, there shall be none of those who have accused or protested. This Committee, after investigating the charges, gives a report to the General Assembly which decides the question by a secret vote. The documents containing this decision should be signed by all who have

voted in favour of this decision. If the resignation of the Patriarch be thus decided upon, the two Chairmen of the two Assemblies, accompanied by the presiding bishop wait upon the Patriarch and present to him this document. The patriarch on learning the will of the nation is bound to resign. If however, he do not agree to resign, the matter is reported to the Sublime Porte, which deposes the Patriarch.

Article 7. - The ex-Patriarch after his abdication becomes like one of the diocesan bishops, and the necessary steps will be taken for him by the Mixed Assembly.

Office and Obligations

Article 8. - The duties of the Patriarch are to act according to the principles of the Constitution and to watch diligently over the exact execution of all its points.

The Patriarch refers all business that comes before him to the Assembly to which it belongs for investigation and decision. The *takrirs* and other official papers of the Patriarch cannot be valid and admissible if they be not also sealed and signed by the Assembly that has given the decision. If there be any urgent business for the consideration of which it might be impossible to await the day of the meeting of the Assembly, or even to convoke an extraordinary meeting, the Patriarch may do what is necessary, taking the responsibility upon himself. But he is bound to make a due record of what he may have done, and to present it for confirmation in its next meeting to the Assembly under the jurisdiction of which the case may come.

Article 9. - The Patriarch before signing any papers containing the decisions of the General assembly taken in his absence may make his observations concerning them and submit the case to a second consideration, but after this revision he is bound to sign those papers if he does not find there anything contrary to the requirements of the Constitution.

Article 10. - The Patriarch may propose to the competent Assembly or Council the dismissal of any ecclesiastic, teacher agent of a church, monastery, school, or hospital who has not accordance with the principles of the Constitution.

Article 11. - The Patriarch himself has no right to dissolve and change the Religious and Political Assemblies and the Councils

belonging to them, but, if he notice in any of them conduct contrary to the Constitution, first he demands an explanation of the Chairman of the Assembly or the Council. The second time he warns him, but the third time he applies to the General Assembly if the accused be one of the National Assemblies, or to the Political Assembly if he be one of the Councils and, giving his reasons, he proposes the dissolution of the accused Council or Assembly.

Article 12.—The Patriarch having a salary appointed to him from the National Treasury provides himself for the internal expenses of the Patriarchate.

II. The Bureau of the Patriarchate

Article 13.—There will be a Bureau at the Patriarchate for all necessary national documents. This bureau will be divided into three departments:

- I. The department of correspondence for the documents sent by the Patriarchate and for those received there.
- II. The department of registration, to arrange the papers belonging to the National Assemblies and Councils.
- III. The department of census, to record births, marriages, and deaths. From the last department are issued the papers needed for travelling or other personal transactions: also certificates for births, marriages, and deaths.

Article 14.—The Patriarchal Bureau will have a chief who is responsible for all its transactions. The Political Assembly elects him and the Patriarch nominates him. This chief is also the Secretary of the General Assembly.

It is his duty to see that every year he be supplied with copies of the records of births and deaths both in Constantinople and in the provinces, which records he shall have inscribed in the books of the general census of the Patriarchal Bureau. He should be well versed in the Armenian language, and practised in the French and Turkish languages.

Article 15.—This Bureau will have a sufficient number of Secretaries. These Secretaries also must be well acquainted with the Armenian language, and every one must possess all the necessary qualifications for his position. Each Secretary is responsible in his

department to the Assembly or Council to which he belongs. All of them are responsible to the Chief of the Bureau.

Article 16.—All papers issued at the office of the census must be confirmed by the Patriarchal seal and by the signature of the Chief of the Bureau.

III. The Patriarch of Jerusalem

Article 17.—The Patriarch of Jerusalem occupies for life the Chair of St. James. He is at the same time the manager of all the holy places belonging to the Armenians in Jerusalem, and the President of the brotherhood of the Monastery of St. James.

It is his duty to act in accordance with the regulations of the Monastery of Jerusalem, and to watch over the faithful execution of those regulations.

Article 18.—In case the Patriarch of Jerusalem act contrary in the regulations of his Monastery he will be liable to have a charge brought against him.

Article 19.—A charge can be brought against the Patriarch either by the brotherhood of the Monastery, or by the Religious and Political Assemblies of Constantinople.

In such a case the General Assembly is convoked, and, if after an investigation the charge should appear well founded, the General Assembly in accordance with the sixth article concerning the Patriarch of Constantinople, will act as the case requires either by sending an admonition to the Patriarch, or by compelling him to abandon his office, when his office will be given over to a Representative whom the General Assembly shall elect from amongst the brotherhood by a secret vote.

Article 20.—In case of the death of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the brotherhood elects one of its members as Representative, and he is confirmed by the National Assemblies.

Article 21.—The Patriarch of Jerusalem is elected by the National Assemblies of Constantinople, but the brotherhood has the right to express its opinion in regard to the merits of candidates. Immediately after the death of the Patriarch, the Representative convokes a general meeting of the brotherhood. This meeting prepares a list of

names, just as this as done by the General Religious Assembly of Constantinople for the election of the Patriarch of Constantinople, but the list prepared by the brotherhood should contain at least seven names. This list is signed by the brotherhood and sent to the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Article 22.— The person to be elected as Patriarch of Jerusalem should be at least thirty-five years of age, born an Ottoman subject, and a bishop or doctor (vardapet) belonging to the brotherhood, and not separated from it. Persons who, by the consent of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, have been employed by the Assemblies of Constantinople in some national office are not to be considered as having been separated from the brotherhood.

Article 23.— The Mixed Assembly, composed of the Religious and Political Assemblies, examines the merits of the persons indicated in the above-mentioned list, and, choosing three candidates, presents their names to the General Assembly. The list sent by the brotherhood should be kept hung in the hall of the General Assembly.

Taking into consideration the opinions expressed both by the brotherhood and by the two National Assemblies, the General Assembly elects by secret vote, and by the majority of votes, the one whom it regards as the worthiest in respect of learning as well as of good character

In the General Assembly no votes should be given for any person whose name is not indicated in the list presented by the brotherhood.

IV. National Religious Assembly

Article 24.— The Religious Assembly consists of fourteen worthy ecclesiastics, who should be at least thirty years old and ordained at least five years ago.

Article 25.— The General Religious Assembly by a secret vote elects three times the number of the members of the National Assembly and signs this list and presents it to the National General Assembly.

The General Assembly by a secret vote elects out of this list the members of the Religious Assembly. The report is presented by the Patriarch to the Sublime Porte, and the members of the Religious Assembly thus elected are confirmed by Imperial edict.

Article 26.— The Religious Assembly is dissolved in a body once in

two years, at the end of April, and is re-elected in the beginning of May. The members of this Assembly cannot be re-elected immediately, but only after the lapse of two years.

Article 27.— When there are as many as three members of this Assembly wanting, either in consequence of resignation or from some other cause, others are elected by the General Assembly to take three places, but until this election shall have taken place the majority of the whole number is to rule.

Article 28.— The Religious Assembly undertakes the general inspection of all the religious affairs of the nation. Its duties are to develop in the nation the religious sentiment, to preserve intact the profession and traditions of the Armenian Church, to promote the good order of churches and ecclesiastics, and to try to improve the present condition of ecclesiastics, and to secure the welfare of their future. It should visit from time to time the national schools and supervise the teaching of the Christian doctrines, in order to educate worthy and active doctors (vardapets) and priests, and when investigating any religious disputes that may arise in the nation, it should decide them according to the laws of the Church.

Article 29.— When the Religious Assembly cannot itself decide a purely religious question, it convokes all the bishops in Constantinople, the preachers of all the churches, the head priests, and if necessary the Metropolitans of the dioceses in the vicinity, to a General Religious Assembly. Should this General Assembly consider the question beyond its jurisdiction, then the question is referred to the Oecumenical Katholikos (at Edgmiatsin).

Article 30.— All kinds of reports of the Religious Assembly should always be signed by the majority of its members.

Article 31.— The authorisation for ordaining vardapets, whether in Constantinople or in the provinces, is given by the National Religious Assembly. The authorisation for ordaining priests in Constantinople is also given by the same Religious Assembly, and in the provinces by the local Religious Assemblies.

Article 32.— No authorisation for ordaining a new priest is granted until the priests of the church and the Council of the quarter send a written application urging the necessity of such authorisation.

Article 33.— The Religious Assembly elects the preachers (vardapets) for the churches in Constantinople as well as their head priests, and the Patriarch nominates them.

Article 34.— All elections in the Religious Assembly are by secret ballot.

Article 35.— The Religious Assembly should prepare a set of rules with the object of improving the present condition of ecclesiastics, and of securing their future welfare, so that they may perform gratuitously their spiritual affairs.

V. The Political Assembly

Article 36.— The Political Assembly consists of twenty laymen well acquainted with the national affairs and with the laws of the Government.

Article 37.— The members of the Political Assembly are elected by the General Assembly by secret ballot and by a majority of votes, and the report having been presented to the Sublime Porte by the Patriarch they are confirmed in their office by an Imperial edict.

Article 38.— The Political Assembly is dissolved once in two years at the end of April, and the re-election takes place in the beginning of May. The members of this Assembly may be re-elected after the lapse of two years, and, though for the first two years they cannot be candidates for the Political Assembly, still they may be employed in any other national office.

Article 39.— If any member of the Political Assembly shall have been absent from the sittings three times successively without sending a written explanation, a letter is sent to him by the Chairman of the Assembly asking for an explanation of his absence. If no answer be received he is notified by a second letter that in case of his absence at the next sitting he will be considered as having resigned.

Article 40.— When there are as many as three members wanting in the Political Assembly either in consequence of resignation or from some other cause, others are elected by the General Assembly to take their places, but until this election shall have taken place the majority of the whole number is to rule.

Article 41.— The Political Assembly undertakes the general superintendence of the political affairs of the nation. Its duties are to promote the good order and progress of the nation, to examine carefully any useful projects presented to its consideration by the Councils under its inspection and to facilitate their execution.

Article 42.— The Political Assembly refers the questions presented for its consideration to the Councils to which they belong, and it is only after having heard the opinion of those Councils that it can take action. And though it has the right to refuse for good reasons the decision taken by any of these Councils, yet it cannot by itself make a different arrangement in regard to the case in question, but it should once more refer it to the same Council. Neither can the Political Assembly change or dissolve any of the National Councils so long as they do not act contrary to the fundamental principles of the Constitution. But in case of a default of this kind the Assembly demands in the first instance an explanation from the chairman of the Council in question. The second time it sends a written warning, and on the third occasion it may change the members of the Council, provided always that it shall explain in its biennial report to the General Assembly its reasons for so doing.

Article 43.— Should the Political Assembly consider the solution of any question presented to its consideration beyond its jurisdiction, it refers such question to General Assembly.

VI. Councils and Committees Organised by the Political Assembly

Article 44.— The political Assembly should organise four Councils for educational, economical, and judicial affairs, and for the inspection of monasteries, and three Committees for financial administration. The term of office of the members of these Councils and Committees is two years, but half of their numbers must be changed at the end of each year.

The President of the Judicial Council is the vicar of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

1. The Educational Council

Article 45.— The Educational Council consists of seven well educated laymen. Its object is the general inspection of the education of the nation. Its duties are to promote good order in the national

schools, to help the Societies that have for their object the promotion of the education of both sexes, to improve the condition of teachers and to care for their future, to raise well-qualified teachers and to encourage the preparation of good text-books.

The Educational Council gives certificates to those students who have finished their course in a national school.

It selects the text-books and holds annual examinations.

But the supervision of the religious instruction belongs to the Religious Assembly, which Assembly selects the text books for religious learning and the teachers, holds examinations and distributes certificates.

2. The Economical Council

Article 46. - This Council is to consist of seven well-qualified laymen whom the Political Assembly elects by a plurality of votes.

It is to this Council that belongs the general inspection of the financial administration of all national institutions in Constantinople and their properties. It is its duty to watch over the interests of these institutions.

It is its duty to see that each national estate is provided with the proper title-deed. Copies of the title-deeds of all national real estates in the provinces should be kept in the Bureau of the Patriarchate.

No selling or buying of national property is allowed without the knowledge of this Council and without the consent of the Political Assembly and the confirmation of such consent by the seal of the Patriarch.

In Constantinople and in its vicinity no national building can be constructed or repaired without the knowledge of this Council and without the consent of the Political Assembly.

It is also the duty of this Council to inspect the financial administration of the Committees on finances, on wills, and on the Hospital, and to examine at certain times the books of the Councils of different quarters, and present a report to the Political Assembly.

Two months before the beginning of a new year it should ascertain from the Committee on finances the incomes and expenses for the coming year, prepare a budget, and present it to the Political Assembly.

3. The Judicial Council

Article 47 - The Judicial Council is composed of eight persons versed in law, married, and at least forty years of age, four of whom

should be ecclesiastics, and the other four laymen.

The vicar of the Patriarch is the President of the Judicial Council, and all the members are elected by the Mixed Assembly by the plurality of votes. The function of this Council is to settle family disputes, and to examine and decide any questions referred to it for solution by the Sublime Porte.

In case the Judicial Council should consider any question beyond its capacity, then, according to the nature of the question, it recommends that it should be referred to the Political or to the Mixed Assembly. Should any person protest against the decision taken by this Council, the question is examined again by one of the above-mentioned Assemblies as the case may require.

4. Council for Monasteries

Article 48. - The monasteries are the property of the nation. Hence the supervision and control of their administration and the management of their finance belong to the nation.

Inasmuch as it is necessary for each monastery to have its own particular regulations, the Mixed Assembly, consisting of the Political and Religious Assemblies of the Central Administration, with due consideration of the opinions of the brotherhood of each monastery, and of the opinions of the Council for Monasteries, prepares a set of rules and presents it to the General Assembly for confirmation. The fundamental principles for such rules are:

I. The special management of each monastery belongs to its brotherhood, but the right of the general superintendence of them all belongs to the Central Administration, of which the Council for Monasteries is the executive body.

II. The Abbot of each monastery is elected by its brotherhood, and is confirmed by the Patriarch with the consent of the Mixed Assembly of the Central Administration. The person to be elected Abbot should be over thirty years of age, a vardapet (doctor), and a subject of the Ottoman Empire.

III. All monasteries are obliged to promote the moral improvement of the nation. Hence each one, according to its capacity, should have a seminary, a library, a printing office, a hospital, and other similar useful establishments.

The Council for Monasteries is composed of seven persons elected by the Political Assembly by plurality of votes.

Its functions and duties are to superintend the execution of the rules of each monastery, to ascertain the revenues and the expenditure, and to arrange and regulate it all.

This Council elects from the brotherhood of each monastery the managers of the affairs of the monastery. These should perform their duties under the presidency of the Abbot and in accordance with the rules of the monastery, and at stated times should give an account of their doings to the Council for Monasteries.

5. *The Committee on Finance*

Article 49. – The Committee on finance consists of seven persons versed in financial affairs, who are elected by the Political Assembly by plurality of votes. Its function is the administration of the National Central Treasury.

The revenues of this Treasury are the general national taxes, the incomes of the Bureau of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the donations or wills to the nation without the specification of a place. Its expenditure consists of the usual expenses of the Patriarchate and its Bureau, the pecuniary aids granted to the national institutions under the immediate care of the Central Administration, and to needy quarters, and other casual expenses. The Committee collects the revenues and dispenses the expenditure with the knowledge of the Council for the general administration of finance and with the consent of the Political Assembly.

It is its duty to keep the accounts of the Treasury according to the strictest rules of book keeping, and periodically to present the budget to the Council of the general administration of finance, which Council, after the necessary examination of it, communicates such budget to the Political Assembly.

6. *The Committee on Wills*

Article 50. – The Committee on wills consists of seven persons—three ecclesiastics and four laymen—elected by the Mixed Assembly by plurality of votes.

Its function is the management of wills in favour of the nation. Its duties are to superintend the execution of the wills in strict accordance with the object and intention of the makers of the wills.

Special rules for the guidance of this Committee should be prepared by the Mixed Assembly with the aid of this same Committee and the General Committee for finance, and they are to be confirmed by the General Assembly.

This Committee on wills should periodically present its accounts to the General Council of Finance, which Council, after the necessary examination, should communicate its report to the Political Assembly.

7. *The Trustees of the Hospital*

Article 51. – The Trustees of the Hospital shall be nine persons elected by the Political Assembly by plurality of votes. Two of these persons should be physicians furnished with diplomas. The duties of these trustees are to manage the National Hospital, its estates and revenues and to administer it with these incomes and with the aids received from the Central Treasury.

This establishment should contain four departments one for the care of the sick who are poor, the second for helpless old men, the third for the insane, the fourth for the education of orphans.

The arrangements and administration of this establishment should always be managed according to medical and hygienic laws.

These trustees are responsible to the General Council of Finances for the financial management of this establishment, and to the Educational Council for the educational department of it and they should furnish periodically an account the these Councils.

VII. Councils of Quarters

Article 52. – These Councils consist of five to twelve members according to the locality. Their duties are the management of the affairs of their quarter, the care of the church and schools, the care of the poor and the investigation and settlement of disputes that may rise among their people.

Article 53. – Each quarter should have a treasury under the management of its Council. The income of this treasury is derived from the tax paid by the people of the quarter, the revenues of the church and the school, gifts or wills. Its expenses are the expenses of the school and aid given to the poor.

These Councils should keep a regular register of all births, marriages, and deaths in their respective quarters.

Article 54. – These Councils are directly responsible to the different Central Councils for their different departments. For the management of schools they are responsible to the Educational Council, for financial affairs to the Council of Finances, for judiciary affairs to the Judiciary Council. They should furnish periodically an account to each one of these Councils.

Article 55. – These Councils are elected by the people of the quarters, and whosoever shall not be deprived (according to the 67th

Article of the Constitution) of the right of voting can take part in their election.

Article 56. – The rules to guide these Councils are to be prepared by the Political and Religious Assemblies.

The office of these Councils lasts four years. They are changed in the beginning of the fifth year, and their members may be immediately candidates for re-election.

VIII. The National General Assembly – Its Organisation And Its Duties

Article 57. – The National General Assembly is composed of 140 deputies, of whom

I. One-seventh, that is twenty, are ecclesiastical deputies elected by the ecclesiastics in Constantinople.

II. Two-sevenths, that is forty, are deputies from the provinces.

III. Four-sevenths, that is eighty, are deputies elected by the different quarters in Constantinople.

Article 58. – The members of the Religious and political Assemblies attend the sittings of the General Assembly, but if they are not elected deputies they have no vote in the General Assembly.

Article 59. – The General Assembly can have no sitting if the majority of its members, that is at least seventy-one persons, be not present.

Article 60. – The functions of the General Assembly are to elect the Patriarchs, to participate in the election of the Katholikos, to elect the chief functionaries of the nation and the members of the Religious and Political Assemblies; to oversee the administration of the National Councils, to settle questions which belong to these Councils but are considered beyond their capacity, and to preserve the National Constitution intact.

Article 61. – The General Assembly will have a sitting.

I. Once in two years, according to the old custom, in the latter part of the month of April, to hear the biennial report of the National Administration, to examine the general account of revenues and expenditures managed by financial functionaries, to elect new members for the Religious and Political Assemblies, to settle the national taxation for the next two years.

These biennial sittings should close within two months.

The members of the National Administrative Assemblies who are at the same time deputies in the General Assembly can take part in the discussions in these sittings, but cannot vote in any question except those of taxation and election,

II. To participate in the election of the Katholikos,

III. To elect the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem,

IV. To settle any discord between the Patriarch and the Political or Religious Assemblies. In such cases the parties in discord may take part in the discussions in the General Assembly, but can give no votes,

V. To revise the National Constitution,

Finally, for any question the decision of which belongs to the General Assembly.

But in case of such extraordinary sittings notice is given to the Sublime Porte and its consent is previously obtained.

Article 62. – The Patriarch convokes the General Assembly with the consent of the Political or of the Religious Assembly, or even at the request of the majority of the members of the General Assembly. But before convoking such an extraordinary sitting the reasons for it should be explained to the Sublime Porte and its consent obtained.

The Election of Ecclesiastical Deputies

Article 63. – All the ecclesiastics in Constantinople, at the invitation of the Patriarch, come together in a certain place, and by secret voting and by the majority of votes elect the ecclesiastical members of the National General Assembly from bishops, vardapets, and priests; but the candidates should not be holding any office in the provinces. They should be at least thirty years of age, ordained at least five years ago and under no accusation.

Article 64. – The office of the ecclesiastical deputies lasts ten years, and once in two years the fifth part of them is changed. This fifth part is changed by lot during the first eight years. All those who have ceased to be members either by lot or at the end of the ten years may be re-elected immediately.

The Election of Lay Deputies – Qualifications for Candidates and Election

Article 65. – The national tax and personal merits are considered the basis of the right of being electors.

In order to have the right of an elector a person should pay annually at least seventy-five piasters as national tax.

Those whose personal merits entitle them to be electors are persons employed in Government bureaux and in other Government offices, physicians with diplomas, authors of useful books, school teachers, persons who have rendered some valuable service to the nation.

Article 66. – Persons who are twenty-five years of age are entitled to be electors, provided they be Ottoman subjects.

Article 67. – The following are deprived of their right: –

I. Those convicted of a crime, who, according to the penal laws of the country, are considered as morally dead.

II. Persons who have been condemned by some National Council for fraud in the administration of national affairs and who have been deprived by a decision of one of these Councils of their right to hold any national office.

III. Those who are undergoing a corrective punishment by the Courts of the Government and whose term is not yet finished.

IV. The insane whose complete recovery is not legally confirmed.

Article 68. – Candidates are all those members of the nation who have attained their thirtieth year, are Ottoman subjects acquainted with the laws of the country and with national affairs, and who are not deprived of their right according to the 67th Article of the Constitution.

But at least seven of the eighty deputies to be elected by the different quarters in Constantinople should be persons holding a certain rank.

The Manner of Election

Article 69. – The National Political and Religious Assemblies, with the Chairmen of different Councils, hold a sitting once every two years, in the first part of the month of February, to prepare the list of the deputies to be elected by the quarters of Constantinople and by

the provinces, and with the aid of the general census kept in the Bureau of the patriarchate they decide the number of deputies to be elected by each quarter or by each province, taking as their basis for the quarters in Constantinople the number of the electors, and for the provinces the number of the inhabitants. The number of deputies thus decided upon should be communicated by the Patriarch to each quarter or province.

The office of the deputies lasts ten years, and once in two years the fifth part of the deputies elected by the quarters of Constantinople and by the provinces is changed; the election of this fifth part should take place once in two years by the quarters or by the provinces alternately.

The turn of this alternation should be decided by lot during the first eight years, on condition that in case the number of electors in a quarter or the number of the population in a province is diminished or increased, the number of the deputies to be elected by the quarter or the province in question should be diminished or increased proportionately.

Those who are to take the places of the deputies deceased or resigned should be elected every year two months before the beginning of a new year.

The deputies of the quarters should be elected by the inhabitants of Constantinople. But the deputies of the provinces should be elected by the General Assembly of each province.

Article 70. – The deputies of the quarters or of the provinces need not necessarily be the inhabitants of the same quarter or of the same province, provided they live in Constantinople, are well acquainted with the national affairs of the quarter or of the province they represent, and have, by their love for their nation, by their honesty and justice, deserved the esteem and confidence of their electors.

The national deputies are not regarded in the General Assembly as the deputies of any particular locality, but as the deputies of the nation, all enjoying the same equal rights.

Article 71. – The Patriarch sends a communication to every quarter in Constantinople, in the month of February, in regard to the one-fifth of the deputies to be elected by them every two years, giving notice of the number of the deputies to be elected by each one, and reminding them of the qualifications of electors and candidates.

On receiving this communication, the Councils in the quarters undertake the election of the deputies, but during the process of the election the preacher of the quarter, or in his absence the head of the

priests, will preside, and from three to six honourable inhabitants of the place are added to the number of the Council.

The Electoral Council thus formed ascertains the number of those who have the right of election in their quarter, prepares in alphabetical order a list of electors, and causes it to be hung for eight days in the Council hall, which is to be kept open during all this time.

The Electoral Council, in order to facilitate the decision of electors, prepares a list of candidates in three times the number required, and causes this list also to be hung in the Council hall; the electors, however, are in no way bound to follow this list.

In the provinces the members of the Provincial General Assemblies are elected in the same way.

The Voting

Article 72. – A week after the list of electors has been exposed, on a Sunday morning after service the voting is begun in the Council hall in the following manner.

The President of the Council of the quarter, the list of electors in hand, calls upon the electors in turn, who, after having signed their names in the list of electors, write on a piece of paper as many names as there are deputies required, one under the other, indicating before every name the surname, residence, and profession, fold the paper, and drop it in the box that is prepared especially for this purpose. But if the electors for some reason or other cannot personally come to the Council hall, they send their votes enclosed in a letter, which they should sign.

Article 73. – Voting is secret, so the voters should write their papers alone, so that no one else can see the names they write.

Article 74. – The voting should close the same day that it begins. No elector who does not present his vote that day has any right to protest afterwards.

Article 75. – No one can vote in two quarters at the same time.

Article 76. – If the quarters and dioceses that are united for election are near each other, then the electors come together for voting. But if they are far from each other each quarter or diocese holds its own voting, and then the results of the votes of the two parties are united.

Article 77. – After the voting is over, the same day and in the same sitting, in the presence of the Council of the quarter the box is opened, and the votes are counted by officers specially appointed for this purpose and sufficient in number for the number of voters.

Should any discrepancy be discovered, and should the Council of the quarter have any suspicion of fraud, a second ballot is appointed to be held on some other day before the next Sunday.

In the same way, if the required number of deputies be not obtained the first time, a second ballot is held for the rest some other day.

Article 78. – If it so happen that one of the voters has written on his paper more names than are required, the superfluous names are to be rejected. In the same way are to be rejected all papers where the names are not written one under the other.

Article 79. – Those are elected as deputies who have received the largest number of votes exceeding half the number of the voters, and if two persons have received the same number of votes the older one is to be elected.

Article 80. – If no majority be obtained on the first ballot, the Council of the quarter announces the names of the two persons who have obtained the largest number of votes, and the second ballot should be on those two names.

Article 81. – The Council of each quarter presents to the Patriarch the names of those who have been elected deputies in its quarter in an especial report, in which should be exactly indicated the names of those elected, their surnames, residence, profession, and all the circumstances of the election.

The Patriarch presents this report to the Political Assembly, which examines it and verifies the qualifications of those elected.

After that the Patriarch announces officially to every one of the deputies his legal election, and invites them to hold a sitting of the General Assembly on a certain day.

Article 82. – The General Assembly in its first sitting hears the reports examined by the Political Assembly, and confirms the elections and declares the General Assembly legally organised.

The General Assembly can begin its meetings when the majority of the deputies of Constantinople are elected without awaiting the end of the provincial elections, the results of which will be meanwhile communicated to Constantinople.

Article 83. – If a deputy be elected by several quarters or provinces he himself decides which of the elections he shall accept, and, in case he decline to decide, the General Assembly decides by lot.

Article 84. – The list of the deputies should be hung in the hall of the General Assembly made out in alphabetical order, and before each name should be indicated resignation, death, and anything else that may happen. This list should be revised once in two years.

CHAPTER II

General Laws for Assemblies and Councils

Article 85. – Every Assembly and Council will have its officers, that is a Chairman, a Secretary, and sometimes also a second Chairman and a second Secretary. All these, of course, should be elected from the members of the Assembly. These officers are elected only for one year, but they may be re-elected.

Article 86. – No meeting can be held without the presence of the majority.

Article 87. – A question should be put to vote only after it has been thoroughly examined and discussed, and all decisions should be taken by plurality of voices. In case of a tie, should the President be present the decision will depend upon his vote, and, if absent, it will depend upon the vote of the Chairman.

Article 88. – In order to arrive at a decision in regard to a question discussed in the Mixed Assembly, each of the two Assemblies should vote separately. If the majority of both have arrived at the same decision, then the question is settled. But if the decisions be different, it is considered as difference of opinion, and consequently the final settlement of the question is referred to the General Assembly.

In order that the Mixed Assembly may have a legal meeting the majority of both assemblies should be present.

Article 89. – Invitations should be sent to the members from the Patriarchate at least six days before the day of the meeting.

CHAPTER III

National Taxation

Article 90. – Every member of the nation who is of age and capable of earning money is bound to participate in the national expenditure by paying a tax. This tax is annual, and the basis of its distribution is the capacity of the individual.

Article 91. – There are two kinds of national taxes – one general, for general expenses and collected by the Patriarchate for the National Central Treasury, the other special, for the special expenses of each quarter, and collected by the Councils of the quarters for their private treasuries.

Article 92. – The distribution and manner of collection of the general taxes for Constantinople are settled by the Political Assembly and confirmed by the General Assembly. But the special taxes are arranged by the Council of each quarter. In the same way are managed the provincial general taxes and the special taxes for each locality.

Article 93. – The General Assembly will decide and the Sublime Porte will confirm the manner of distribution and collection of the tax which the provinces have thus far been paying to the Treasury of the Patriarchate.

CHAPTER IV

National Provincial Administration

Article 94. – The Metropolitan is the president of Provincial Assemblies and has their executive power under his control.

His duty is to see that the Constitution is preserved in the provinces.

Article 95. – The Metropolitan cannot reside in monasteries and thus be far from the place of his office, but he will live in the official residence of the Metropolitan, where the Provincial Assemblies also hold their meetings.

When a Metropolitan is at the same time an abbot he can carry on

the two offices simultaneously if the monastery be only one day's journey from the metropolis, paying occasional visits to the monastery, but if the distance be more than one day's journey, he should appoint a representative in the monastery, and he himself should reside in the city. In case of need, however, he can visit any part of his diocese.

Article 96. – Every quarter in the provinces should have in the same way as those in Constantinople its Council, its treasury, and its officers.

In the metropolis there should be Political and Religious Assemblies, and under the direction of the Political Assembly there should be a provincial Treasury; there should be also a provincial Bureau, where should be kept all the census books of all the people of the diocese.

Article 97. – The election of the Metropolitan is carried on in the Provincial General Assembly in the same way as the Patriarchs, and the report of the election is sent to the Patriarch by the Mixed Assembly. The Patriarch, with the consent of the Mixed Assembly of the National Central Administration, confirms the election and gives due notice of it to the Sublime Porte in order to obtain official authorisation.

Article 98. – The Provincial Assemblies are to be organised on the same plan as those of the Central Administration and have the same functions and duties. But the number of the members of the Provincial Assemblies will be fixed once for all according to the proportion of the inhabitants of each province.

Until the national taxation be fixed in the provinces, the electors of the Provincial General Assembly should be only those who belong to the first, second, and third classes of tax-payers to the Government. And the manner of the organisation of these Assemblies will be decided according to the population of each diocese by the Central Administration after due consultation with Metropolitans.

CHAPTER V

Revision of the Constitution

Article 99. – The fundamental principles of the National Constitution are unchangeable. But if experience should make it desirable to modify certain points the General Assembly will, five years after the forming of the Constitution, organise a Committee of Revision. This Committee shall consist of twenty members – three from the Political Assembly, three from the Religious Assembly, two from each of the four Councils, and besides these six from the General Assembly or outsiders. This Committee shall report the necessary changes, which, after being ratified by the General Assembly, shall be presented to the Sublime Porte and put in force according to the Imperial edict.

The legal powers and authority with which the Armenians and the Armenian Patriarch were endowed by this decree were comparable to those enjoyed by the Katholikos, the highest Armenian ecclesiastical authority in Russia.

NOTES

1. The *Tanzimat-i Hayriye* (*Hatt-ı Humayun of Gülhane, 1839*) established equality before the law, security of life and property and the preservation of honour for all Ottoman subjects. The *Reform Firman* of 1856 contained very important items concerning the non-Moslem communities. See Appendix.

III

LAW RELATING TO THE CATHOLICOS OF THE RUSSIAN ARMENIANS (POLOGENIA)

After the religious centre of the Armenian church in Echmiadzin passed into the hands of the Russians the privileges of the Armenian Catholicos were curtailed and their influence over Armenian culture and religion restricted. In 1836, during Ohannes' period of office as Catholicos, a law known as Pologenia was passed confirming this tendency.

According to this law, the Armenian Catholicos was recognized by Russia as the Catholicos of all Armenians, and was elected in the church at Etchmiadzin by representatives of the Armenian communities in all the various countries. The choice, however, had to be ratified by the Tsar.

The authority of the Catholicos was strictly confined to religious matters, and even on these matters he was obliged to consult a synod composed of eight members chosen by the Catholicos and ratified by the Tsar. The Catholicos was the head of the Synod, which had the duty of supervising all religious matters. The government was represented in the Synod by an official known as the *Chinovnik* or *Procuror*. Neither the Catholicos nor the Synod could take any steps without the knowledge and approval of this government representative. This amounted to open government intervention in Armenian religious affairs. Etchmiadzin and all the national institutions were full of government spies who incited the various members of the Synod one against the other, with the result that the choice of Catholicos actually lay in the hands of the government.

Russian interference was strong and systematic. According to the Pologenia law the duties and powers of the Catholicos and the Synod were confined to the following:

1. supervision of the Armenian churches, monasteries, schools and other institutions in Russia.
2. the issue of orders concerning those wishing to enter the ecclesiastical profession and, if necessary, their dismissal.
3. the solution of difficult marital questions.
4. care and custody of the widows and orphans of ecclesiastics.
5. submission to the Minister of the Interior of lists of the names of priests or officials in charge of churches, monasteries and schools, and of deaths and marriages of same.
6. inspection of religious leaders in charge of religious departments or regions and, if necessary, punishment of same.
7. submission to the Tsar of the names of the two candidates for the position of Catholicos.
8. responsibility for ensuring the presence of a *procuror* at meetings of the Synod.
9. administration of religious regions through *marhasas*.

The Pologenia was drafted by a committee composed of the military commander Peputians, Professor Azkin, the principal of the Nersesian School in Tiflis and Archbishop Serop, the Armenian *Marhasa* in Tiflis, and ratified by another committee composed of Rozin, the Governor-General of the Caucasus, the Catholicos Hovhanes, and General Paskevitch.

The articles in the Pologenia relating to the *Procuror* are as follows:

Article 45.—Meetings of the Etchmiadzin Synod must be attended by a *Procuror*. This official should be chosen by the *Senate* from among the officials in receipt of a salary from the state and with a good knowledge of both Russian and Armenian.

Article 46.—The *Procuror* of the Etchmiadzin Synod of the Gregorian Armenians should act in accordance with the articles in the laws and regulations governing the duties of *procurors* in general.

This official will supervise cases, examine the articles presented to the Synod and be present at the election of the Etchmiadzin Patriarch. Details of the law-cases are to be submitted for inspection to the Ministry of Justice and details of other business to the Ministry of the Interior. He should inform the Governors of Caucasia and Georgia of the affairs of the Gregorian Armenians related to the Etchmiadzin Synod.

In 1903, in spite of this law, Russia confiscated all lands and property belonging to the Armenian churches and schools in Russia and handed them over to the Ministries of Education and Agriculture. It was only on discovering that these lands and property were by no means as valuable as they had expected that they decided to hand them back to the Armenians.

IV FIRST STEPS

From the first emergence of the Armenian question the most effective weapon used by the Armenians to arouse the Christian world against the Ottoman State was their exposure, purely because of their Christian faith, to oppression, harassment and massacre. Their own criminal activities and mutinies were always concealed behind this propaganda screen, and yet, as many Christian writers bore witness, of all the various states in the world the Ottoman State was the only one to respect religious freedom.

Elisée Reclus: "The Turkish state has never interfered in the private life of the individual. Turkey, indeed, is far more advanced than the most progressive states of Western Europe from the point of view of the freedom and independence of the masses of the people."

Ubicini is of the same opinion: "As for freedom of conscience, the established religion in Turkey displays a tolerance that is rarely found applied to minority religions in the Christian states."

The well-known Rumanian professor N. Iorga: "At the end of the 18th century the Polish traveller Mikoscha declares that "the Turks show the Armenians much more respect and consideration than they show to any other community. The Armenians are allowed much greater freedom of religion by the Turks than by the Greeks."

The powers and privileges granted the Armenians by this constitution, instead of being employed for future progress, were allowed to become the source of the most tragic developments, with the Patriarchs taking advantage of their freedom to engage in political and nationalist activity. This constitution appeared after the Syrian events of 1860 and the statute of Lebanon, and constituted the first step towards Armenian autonomy. The Armenians believed that if the European intervention following the events in the Lebanon

was to intensify it would be very much to their own advantage.

The weekly discussions in the millet Assembly were followed by hundreds of listeners, and this was observed with satisfaction by the Sublime Porte. The first meeting was held on 25 August 1860 with 120 members before an audience of 60 journalists, teachers and leaders of the Armenian community.

An Armenian writer lists the following advantages to the Armenians:²

1. It was a step towards the acceptance of Western civilization and ways of life.
2. A number of schools and cultural institutions were opened in both Istanbul and the provinces.
3. It led to progress in the development of Armenian language and literature.
4. A greater number of newspapers and periodicals were published.
5. It accustomed Armenians to elections and political activity.
6. The powers of the clergy were circumscribed.
7. It granted the Armenians the power of collective complaint and judicial action.
8. It ensured the union of Catholic, Protestant and Gregorian Armenians in times of emergency.
9. It aroused a revolutionary spirit and placed the Armenian question firmly on the agenda.

The same writer goes on to say "Some Armenians regarded the constitution as a catastrophe for the Armenian people", and asks if they were not, perhaps, justified in his view.

Saruhan:³ "The Armenians lived for more than half a century with this National Constitution as an important national institution. All internal, national and religious affairs were dealt in accordance with this constitution. This law was sanctioned and ratified by the Ottoman government. Once furnished with this constitution they began to work towards the achievement of autonomy. The one led to the other.

In 1866 charges levelled against the leader of the Armenian church in Erzurum led to conflict between the temporal and spiritual assemblies leading to the resignation of the Patriarch Tatakian. After protracted struggles, he was succeeded by Khrimian, who was already well-known to the Armenians in both Turkey and Russia.⁴

Topchian gives the following account:⁵

"Popular movements made their first appearance in the years 1840-1850. Their aim was to incite the ordinary people to rebel against their superiors, and Khrimian was to be found with the local youth in the vanguard of the struggle. When Khrimian arrived from Muş to take up his post in the Istanbul Patriarchate he brought with him the Armenian question, which was thus transferred from Istanbul to Europe. From that time on it was to him that the complaints of the Armenian National Assembly were addressed, and the newspapers became the media of their promulgation.

When Khrimian, who had left Muş to the cries of "Never forget us!", arrived in the Patriarchate, Armenian demands and complaints began to be brought before the National Assembly for discussion.

On his arrival in Istanbul Khrimian resolved to work towards the achievement of two basic aims:

1. The re-examination of the National Constitution and its emendation in accordance with the desires and requirements of the provinces,
2. The bringing to the attention of the Armenian community, the assembly and the government of the idea of Armenia.

In one of his speeches to the National Armenian Assembly he declared: "I am the symbol of a suffering Armenia. I know the manner in which my ancestors appealed to the government for remedy. But I shall engage in a more effective, a more bitter struggle."⁶

Encouraged by Khrimian, complaints began to pour in from every quarter to be read out in the Assembly. The more prudent regarded this as a dangerous procedure, and when they found it impossible to make their opinions heard they refused to remain in the Assembly. Finally, after protracted debate, it was decided to continue with the discussion of the reports. These were collected in the 1870 assembly and the various complaints and events classified. Work on the preparation of a *muhtıra* (note or memorandum) continued from 1870

to 1871, and this *muhtira* was fully discussed before being submitted to the government.

The complaints may be summarized as follows:

1. illegal proceedings in the collection of taxes,
2. abuses indulged in by government servants,
3. the rejection of Christian testimony in the lawcourts and a number of other abuses.

These constituted the first part of the *muhtira*. The second half contained suggestions for the correction of these abuses:

1. That the traditional military exemption tax should be abolished and replaced by compulsory military service. In this way we too should gain honour and respect and be able to prove our equal right with the Muslims to shed our blood for our country.
2. That farming of taxes should be replaced by direct collection under government control.
3. That societies should be established for lending money against security of income and property.
4. Independent, competent inspectors should be sent to the various provinces to get in touch with all the people and gather information concerning the general conditions prevailing.
5. *Düstur* (code of laws) should be translated for the provinces.
6. All civil, commercial and criminal cases should be heard according to the laws in the *nizamiye* (civil), not in the *şariat* (religious) courts.
7. The Kurds and, more recently, the Caucasians were the cause of great depredations in the provinces, at the same time causing damage to the state treasury and refusing military service, whereas the other inhabitants were unarmed and paid taxes to the state. Either the arms of the Kurds and Caucasians should be collected or arms distributed to the rest of the population.

Apart from these it was also proposed that the constitution,

referred to in the *muhtira* as the National Constitutional Law, should also be applied to the provinces and education extended to a large degree to the provincial regions. The *muhtira* received the Patriarch Khrimian's approval and on 18 February 1872 was submitted to the office of the Grand Vizier. The Government set up a commission composed of equal numbers of Muslims and non-Muslims with a brief to punish those causing the conditions referred to in the *muhtira*, to put forward proposals for future action and to consider the various requests. In 1871 another representation was made to the government on this subject.

It proved impossible to enforce the national Constitutional Law as originally desired. The need was continually expressed for changes to be made in the basic articles and this need for change was stressed at every meeting of the assembly. Khrimian insisted that this constitution had been drawn up in accordance with European principles and that a constitution based on such an outlook could never be of service in improving the condition of the Armenian people. He therefore proposed that a commission should be set up to undertake a thorough revision of the constitution on this basis. The problem proceeded through a number of stages during Khrimian's period of office. On the one hand attempts were being made to revise the constitution while on the other hand conflict arose on the question of the number of members to be appointed to the commission. At the same time Khrimian had various rules and regulations drawn up for the provinces. The number of members appointed to the theological and lay committees were quite disproportionate. It was because of this basis that the Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian and Mateos Izmirlian were later to enter the theological committee.

Khrimian's real aim was to divide the work of the assembly between Istanbul and the provinces, to increase the authority of the Patriarchate and, as it was very difficult to find 140 members, to reduce the number to 50. Of these only ten would be from the clergy, half of the others being from Istanbul and half from the provinces.

Khrimian's influence over the assembly increased day by day. On one occasion he declared that "If the powers and authority of the Patriarch were not increased he would find it impossible to continue with his duties, and that he himself, if he so desired, would take decisions on behalf of the assembly". Khrimian was engaged for a considerable time in discussions on this subject. The political committee opposed Khrimian and stirred the people up against him. His opponents included Mateos Izmirlian.⁷ The provincial Armenians were on Khrimian's side and some of them, on hearing of the struggle between Khrimian and the political committee,

attempted to win the favour of the Patriarch by assaulting the committee members.

Finally, in August 1873, Khrimian, unable to achieve the ends he had pursued as Patriarch, decided to resign. This move was opposed by the *çorbacis* (Armenian leaders), bankers, *sarrafs* (money lenders) and government servants, in other words by reasonable people who wished to remain linked to Turkey and were unwilling to see the community dragged into adventurism. These were attacked by the other side as government agents, spies, traitors and cosmopolitans.

In the end, the *muhtıra* was once more examined by a committee under the chairmanship of Nerses Varjabedian, and an addition made to this *muhtıra* to the effect that the Armenian leaders in the provinces were exploiting the people in order to extend and perpetuate their own influence and that they were working in collusion with government servants.

Nerses Varjabedian accepted the post of deputy Patriarch for twenty-one days on condition that a new Patriarch should immediately be chosen, and in 1873, at a meeting of the national assembly, he handed in his resignation.

Khrimian had a very high standing among the provincial Armenians, but this was countered by the very high respect in which Varjabedian was held by the Armenians of Istanbul, and his reputation for resolution and initiative led to his election as Patriarch by 60 of the 64 members of the assembly (1874-1884).

Nerses immediately entered upon a radical revision of the constitution, entrusting Dr. Rusinian with the drafting of an internal constitution for the National Assembly. This constitution was practically identical with the internal constitution of the French parliament. He also regulated the budget and the state of the Akhtamar Catholicosate.

The *muhtıra* concerning atrocities once more made its appearance during the Patriarchate of Nerses. At this time Turkey was passing through a crisis that threatened its very existence. Revolts had broken out in Thrace and Bosnia - Herzegovina and had spread to Bulgaria. Taking advantage of these favourable circumstances Nerses Varjabedian collaborated with Simon Maksud bey and Bishop Khoren Narbey to attract the attention of the Ottoman government more effectively towards the Armenian question. The European states were pressing the Ottoman government to take urgent measures to deal with the Bosnia - Herzegovina crisis and to introduce immediate reform. Meanwhile, Abdul Hamid had ascended the Ottoman throne and had proclaimed the Constitution. The Armenian *muhtıra* was published, together with

a manifesto addressed by the Patriarch to the Armenian community. During the conference held in Istanbul in 1876 to consider the Bulgarian question, Varjabedian presented to Lord Salisbury, the British envoy, a report showing that pressure had been brought to bear by Khrimian on the Armenians in Turkey, but this move proved abortive as the conference was not concerned with the Armenian question.

The Armenians were faced with two alternatives: 1) to remain associated with the Turks and the Ottoman government, or 2) to follow the example of the other Christian communities in trying to involve the European states in their affairs. The whole future of the Armenian community depended on which alternative was chosen.

NOTES

1. N. Iorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 5, p. 606.
2. K. Ozanian, *The Historical Mission of the Armenians*, 1919 (Armenian)
3. Saruhan, *The Ottoman Armenians and the National Constitution, 1860-1910*, (Armenian)
4. Migirdich Khrimian played a very important role in Armenian history. Born in Van in 1820, he was Patriarch of Istanbul from 1869 to 1873 and became Catholicos in 1893 at the age of 72. He died in 1907 at the age of 87. He was educated by his uncle and became a teacher at the age of 20. He married on his mother's insistence but his wife died very shortly after their marriage. After visiting various parts of Northern Iran, Caucasia and the Etchmiadzin region he settled in Istanbul. He became *vartabet* of the Akhtamar Monastery in 1854 at the age of 34 and soon became renowned for his impassioned sermons. At Van he published a periodical entitled *The Van Eagle* in which he appealed to the younger generation to engage in struggle and revolution. In Muş he produced a similar periodical *The Muş Eagle*. He defended the Armenian Cause at the Congress of Berlin.
5. Topchian, *op. cit.*
6. M. Varandian, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 49
7. *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 71.

V

**REVIEW OF THE REFORM QUESTION UP TO THE 1877-78
OTTOMAN-RUSSIAN WAR.**

The first general movement towards internal reform on the part of the Ottoman government began during the reign of Mahmut II, to culminate in the proclamation by Sultan Abdul Mecid of the Hatt-ı Humayun of Gülhane (Imperial Edict) in 1839. The aim of this edict was to bring the Muslim and Christian subjects of the Empire closer together and to ensure a more modern and civilized way of life. After the end of the Crimean War (1855), England, France and Austria, who had been allies of the Ottoman Empire in the campaign, began work on the peace treaty to be signed with the Russians. It was proposed that an article should be included concerning "the freedom of the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire", but the idea was abandoned on the grounds that this had already been guaranteed by various *firman*s and that in Turkey freedom was enjoyed by all races and religions. An item, however, was finally included that "no Ottoman subject should be liable to persecution on religious grounds". The Reform Edict was proclaimed in conjunction with the Treaty of Paris in 1856, and the government endeavoured with all the powers at its disposal to put this *firman* into effect. Nevertheless, in 1859 the European governments made another approach to the Ottoman government on the subject of reform.

Before the Crimean war, Russia had been following a policy of protective influence as regards the Christians in Turkey. This influence was drastically reduced during the Crimean War and attempts in this direction lay for some time in abeyance. Once the war was over, steps were immediately begun in the same direction with

Russia demanding general or local reforms for the non-Moslem elements in Turkey. It gave particular attention to the Slavs in the Balkans to whom it offered protection against the cruel oppression of the Ottoman government and insisted on the establishment of a third commission to examine the situation and take the necessary measures. Although the Ottoman government responded by carrying out an inspection of the region and laying the basis for an effective reform, Russian insistence remained firm. Complaints and petitions continued to arrive from Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and these were gradually transformed into rebellion and mutiny. In 1856 a *Vilayet Kanunu* (Provincial Law) was passed on the basis of French law giving the provinces greater independence of the central government and ensuring the participation in the administration as elected representatives of the people, Moslems and non-Moslems alike.

Before the Congress of Paris Gorchakov stated that "the religious communities (*millets*) in Turkey could not form independent nations, that they nowhere took the form of a nation and that there was no movement anywhere in this direction. It was therefore essential that they should be converted into nations by establishing their own religious and social foundations."

In 1867 Russia issued a note demanding that "the interests of the non-Moslems should be distinguished from those of the Moslems". They insisted that the acceptance and application of principles of equality could never be realised in Turkey. The attention of the other states was therefore drawn to the question of reform demands put forward for the introduction of a decentralised local administration. Although Austria proposed that a conference should be held to consider these problems the idea was subsequently abandoned. Differences in outlook appeared in the proposals put forward by the French and Russian governments and England remained neutral. It was obvious that the Christian *millet*, Russia proposed to protect, was that of the Slavs in the Balkans. In any case, Russia had already presented a detailed note on the subject of the Balkan Christians to the European powers demanding:

1. the division of Ottoman territories in Europe on the basis of nationality,
2. the determination of administrative attitudes,
3. judicial re-organization,
4. military reform,

5. financial reform,
6. educational reform,
7. general reform.

At the same time it was proposed that this re-organization and reform should be carried out under the control and supervision of the European governments and not left to the Ottoman government alone.

The proposals put forward by the Russian government under the heading of decentralisation had from the very beginning been aimed at the disintegration of the Ottoman State. In expounding his Eastern policy in 1868 Prince Gorchakov had employed the slogan "Ou autonomie ou anatomie", in other words, "either the Christians should be granted autonomy or the Ottoman State should be carved up".

The Ottoman government approached the problem with good will. Laws were passed to meet the real requirements of the country and a Council of State, a third of whose members and officials were non-Muslims, was set up to carry out investigations into the suitability of European laws in the Turkish context and their possible acceptance. In 1858 an Armenian, Krikor Agaton, was for the first time appointed Minister of Public Works.

France, apart from acting as the protector of the Catholics in Turkey, also offered protection to the Christians in general. In 1860 the Druse incident in Lebanon together with the events in Damascus served as justification for the establishment of autonomy in Lebanon. Immediately afterwards attention was directed towards Zeitun, and in order that the autonomy established in the Lebanon should also be applied to this territory, Prince Leon arrived in Zeitun, where he had the people draw up a petition addressed to Napoleon III, which he took back with him to Paris. This individual called himself Leon Lusinian, and claimed to be a member of the royal Armenian dynasty, a close friend of Napoleon III and kin to several other European rulers. He also claimed to have engaged in discussions with Napoleon and Palmerston on the recovery of Cilicia from the Turks. On his death in Milan in 1876 the Armenians of Istanbul donated 4,000 liras for the education and upbringing of the children of "the last member of the royal family". In the petition mentioned above, reference was made to the oppression suffered by the inhabitants of Zeitun under the Turkish administration and a request made that the autonomy applied to Lebanon should be extended to their own country under the administration of an

Armenian prince. On receipt of this petition, Napoleon forwarded it to the French ambassador in Istanbul. In this petition Leon had stated that the inhabitants of this region of the Toros Mts. were capable of bearing 70,000 weapons.¹

Rebellion broke out in Zeitun, and a long and bitter struggle was only brought to an end by an appeal addressed to Napoleon III by the Catholic Patriarch in Istanbul.²

Saruhan gives the following account of the Prince Leon episode:³

"A person by the name of Prince Leon arrived in Zeitun from Hachin and incited the local inhabitants to draw up a petition to Napoleon III which he took with him to Paris. The petition contained an account of the wrongs and injustices to which they were exposed. They begged that a state of autonomy similar to that enjoyed by Lebanon should be applied to Zeitun under the rule of an Armenian prince. This upstart adventurer adopted the title *Ishan* and gave himself very great airs. He claimed to be the friend of Napoleon and to have discussed with Napoleon and Palmerston the recovery of the province of Cilicia from the Turks."

This Leon, the cause of the events in Zeitun in 1862, died in Milan in 1876. His wife Antonia Lozzi also died in Milan in the September of the same year. The *Secolo*, a Milanese newspaper, gave the following account of her circumstances:

"The Princess Lusinian left six, utterly destitute children. Her eldest son, Marclien, was placed in a poor-house and her two daughters in another poor-house, while the three other sons were employed by an Italian by the name of Merlini. A French journalist wrote an article on the subject, with the result that the Armenians of Istanbul collected 3-4 thousand liras for the upkeep and education of these children of the last Armenian monarch."

Leo⁴ gives the following account of the episode:

"Girardin and V. Langlois wrote a number of articles on the events in Zeitun. The spiritual leaders of the Armenians who were, and had always been, the masters and governors of the fate of the Armenian people and wielded great influence in the administration of the region, appealed to Napoleon, who was persuaded to support the application to this small country town of the same status of autonomy as had been applied to Lebanon.

But it was necessary that these, like the Maronite Christians, should belong to the Catholic church. This policy constituted the keystone of French policy in the East. The problem arose of converting the inhabitants of Zeitun to Catholicism. But here, as always in Armenian history, the monster of Armenian bigotry and fanaticism once more reared its head and prevented such a move. Their bigotry was so intense that even in the fourth century the Armenians chose to be Gregorians rather than ordinary Christians. Ever since that time the Gregorian priests had exploited and oppressed the Armenian people for their own advantage, employing the Gregorian church as the basis for the ruthless exploitation of the Armenian people.

The same thing was repeated in Zeitun, where the common people found themselves at the mercy of Gregorian priests on the one hand and the Catholic priests on the other. The Gregorians were the victors and Napoleon forgot the whole question.

Two political initiatives had ended in failure, but this meant little. The Armenians had been filled with great aspirations and had learned to knock with stubborn insistence on the doors of European diplomats."

After the Franco-Prussian war of 1871 Russia found the field open and began once more to pursue a panslavist policy. For the moment they approached the Porte only on behalf of the Bulgarians, Montenegrins and Serbs. On 30 December 1875 The Austrian Foreign Minister, Count Julius Andrassy presented a memorandum to the other states on behalf of Austria, Germany and Russia proposing close scrutiny of the reform question and the establishment of a mixed commission of Muslims and Christians for this purpose. This in spite of the fact that just a month previously, in November 1875, the Ottoman government had issued a *firman* dealing with reform. In May 1876 the French and German consuls in Salonica were assassinated. Thereupon the Russian and Austrian governments followed the German in announcing that they would request the immediate application of essential reforms and that if this request was not complied with they would resort to force. Subsequently, with the co-operation of England and France, they proposed the granting of a measure of autonomy to the *vilayets*, as put forward in the Russian memorandum of 1867, and decided to hold a conference of ambassadors in Istanbul to consider the matter.

Meanwhile Abdul Aziz had been deposed, Sultan Murad had been

removed from the throne on the grounds of illness and had been succeeded by Abdul Hamid II. The Constitution was proclaimed for the first time during this conference, and was followed by the general conviction that the rule of law had begun.

In the Patriarchate General Council of June 1876, both the lay and clerical members handed in their resignations at the end of their legal period of office. Simon Maksud was succeeded as chairman by Sahak Abro, Garabed Shabaz was elected vice-chairman, Sebul Maksud deputy vice-chairman, Ohannes Boyajian secretary and Archbishop Khoren Mekhitarian spiritual leader of the assembly.

Meanwhile, Russian volunteers, together with local gangs furnished with weapons, ammunition and money and incited by Pan-Slav propagandists, began hostilities in Montenegro and Serbia.

At first the Armenians appeared to welcome the proclamation of the Constitution, but after a short time, realising that the time had come to bid farewell to any ideas of autonomy or independence and that there was no possibility of achieving their aims under a strong, constitutional Turkish administration, they seized every opportunity of exploiting the situation. Complaints were put forward alleging brutal treatment and forced conversions, and the meetings of the Assembly were from now on almost entirely devoted to discussions and the preparation of memoranda on this subject.

According to Saruhan: ⁵

“Several items were added to the memorandum drawn up by Khrimian in 1876 and presented to the office of the Grand Vizier. This memorandum was the work of Izmirlian, one of the leaders of the Armenian cause and future Catholicos. The Patriarch and the Millet Assembly were convinced that in the event of autonomy being granted to the Bulgarians and Serbs, the situation could be effectively exploited to their own advantage.”

The Patriarch was in continual consultation with the various ambassadors, while private, unofficial Armenian organizations were also active. In 1876 the Patriarch had an interview with the English ambassador Sir Henry Elliot, who wrote a very interesting letter on the subject, ⁶ describing how the Patriarch had told him that the Armenians did not intend to insist at the Conference of Ambassadors that privileges should be granted only to the population of the province that had actually rebelled, and that he hoped that the other provinces that were now at peace would not be excluded.

Sir Henry replied that the restoration of peace in the rebellious

provinces was the task of the Conference of Ambassadors and that the Ottoman government was under no obligation to establish an Administrative Plan for all the provinces. The Patriarch thereupon replied that if, in order to attract the attention of the world to the Armenian problem it was necessary to incite rebellion and mutiny, there would be no difficulty in doing so.

At the same time a memorandum was handed to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Derby, expressing the Armenian point of view. This memorandum was on the following lines:

“In Asia, on the frontiers of the civilized world, in a country that was once the cradle of humanity and progress, at a time when the hour has struck for the forgotten Christians of the East, there is a people awaiting a hearing before the court of justice of the Great Powers.⁷

If the backwardness, injustice and barbarousness that has prevailed here for five hundred years is now gradually opening up to freedom of conscience, justice and true progress, the people of Armenia, who have groaned beneath the same yoke, should not be excluded. Armenia is not begging for grace or favour, it is demanding its rights. Like every other country that has played its part in the work of humanity and progress, Armenia asks England to ensure proper respect for its legitimate rights, an end to its sufferings, and freedom for its development.

The Western nations, aware of our calamities and aspirations, will hold out a helping hand. That is the hope of all Armenians. When the Muslims from Arabia penetrated into the very heart of Europe waving the banner of the Prophet, the Armenians, crushed beneath the continuous onslaught of their barbarian neighbours, lacked the strength to oppose the oncoming waves of destruction. The Turks brought their armies into Armenia, as they were later to bring them into Byzantium. Since then, Armenia, wounded, crushed, under threat of complete extinction, has had only one thought. To work for the establishment of an Armenian nation, to preserve in as pure a form as possible the Christian faith they received from their fathers, and to await the day of freedom when they will at last be granted justice and equality.

There are, at the present time, four million Armenians in

Turkey. Before the Ottoman invasion there was probably twice that number. Engaged in agriculture and commerce and paying the heaviest taxes, displaying goodwill, affability, love of hard work and a religious tolerance rare in this part of the world, the Armenians have always endeavoured to live in harmony with people of different races and religious beliefs.

The Armenians place respect for the law above all else. They will never engage in armed revolt, because, with their characteristic prudence and foresight, they are convinced that, unless supported in such an enterprise by a powerful state, such action will bring, not freedom, but calamity, and collapse. It has always been the policy of the Armenians, whose condition at the present day we well know, to seek justice and equality by legal means - unfortunately, to no avail. Crushed beneath brutal forces and surrounded on all sides by hatred and religious fanaticism, the Armenians, though greatly reduced in numbers after so many years of enslavement, are more united than ever. Surviving until now by the blood of their martyrs, expending all their strength and determination in the service of their religion, attempting to preserve their national culture by means of the few fragments they have managed to save from the hands of the destroyers of their books and libraries, the Armenians find themselves, after so many years of servitude, confronted with the light of European progress. It was the first ray of light to strike their half-opened eyes, and it was along this path that they are now determined to advance.

Clearly discerning the qualities and virtues of the Armenian people, Mehmed, the Conqueror of Istanbul, granted them certain rights and privileges, leaving the administration of their estates, their churches and their national property in the hands of individuals chosen by the Patriarch. The Administration of this group led, as a result of corruption or, at least, certain difficulties, to a more or less desperate situation. In order to prevent the recurrence of such a state of affairs the community has prepared, over the last fifteen years, a constitution that would provide a model of law and administration.⁸

This constitution was, after a few changes, ratified by the Sultan, and the Armenian community, at the cost of great self-sacrifice, self-denial and a bitter struggle with the enemies surrounding them, produced the necessary resources to

found and administer churches, hospitals and, above all, the schools to which they give such great importance.

Following the example of the Armenians in the Turkish capital, they devoted a part of the funds they had succeeded in rescuing from the clutches of their oppressors, to the development of schools. The results of so much effort and self-sacrifice were not, however, as great as they had hoped. Surrounded by reactionary and barbarous Turks, Kurds and Afshars, the Armenians have survived up to the present day under all kinds of oppression and hostility. Their barbarous neighbours, gaining their livelihood from looting and extortion, are permitted to continue in their evil ways by the tolerant attitude taken by the local authorities, who even assist and encourage them in their crimes. Not a day passes without the ill-treatment and harassment of the peaceful, hard-working Armenian population, without their suffering attacks on their religion, their freedom, their honour and their property. Their lands are torn from them, their churches and holy places desecrated, their wives and children forced to change their religion, their houses burnt over their heads and their people robbed, raped and massacred.

The Circassians have joined the Turks, Kurds and Afshars in setting up a local despotism in several regions, the local authorities remaining powerless while, under their very eyes, they extort exorbitant taxes, thrust their noses into the most private and intimate affairs of the Christians, destroy their produce on the most trivial and meaningless pretexts, burn the villages and drive out the population at sword-point or under threat of rifle-fire. In Armenia, anarchy is a permanent feature. The local authorities rarely disturb these blood-thirsty criminals, closing their ears to the complaints of the oppressed.

Encouraged by their systematic exemption from punishment, these now perpetrate new crimes with renewed vigour. Only the Muslims have the right to carry arms, with the result that these wandering tribes, paying no taxes and recognizing no law, employ their weapons, with the full knowledge of the authorities and under their very eyes, as their only real means of livelihood. If an Armenian should take the matter to court, he can hope for justice only if the case is conducted in conformity with religious laws and if he is defended by Muslim witnesses. As a Muslim dare not act in

opposition to the Qur'an, he cannot be expected to bear witness against a fellow-Muslim on behalf of a Christian. This is the source of all injustice. Today, in Armenia, there are nearly a million Kurds, Afshars and Circassians who live idle lives, without engaging in any trade or useful activity, at the expense of the hard-working farmer. Crushed beneath the oppression of these organized bands of murderers, exposed to the apathy and indifference and reactionary attitudes of the Turkish *valis*, the Armenians have no alternative but to appeal for help to the Patriarch of Constantinople. On the occurrence of an atrocity of this kind – and the continued perpetration of these atrocities cannot but give rise to feelings of hopelessness and despair – the Patriarch attempts to draw the attention of the Sublime Porte, which sometimes completely ignores the appeal, sometimes orders that an investigation should be carried out by its own officials, or even by the very *vali* accused of criminal negligence and apathy. It is easy to guess the results of an investigation undertaken under such circumstances. Sometimes the signatories of the complaint are forced, under threats from the officials whose names were mentioned in the report, to submit a second petition withdrawing their former complaints. Christians who have the insolence and temerity to make such a complaint will be very lucky indeed if they can escape without punishment!...

The events we have touched upon here are confirmed by reliable witnesses, by the published minutes of the community councils, and even by documents produced by Turkish officials.

Each of these acts in contravention of the most basic human principles is recorded in files carefully preserved in the Armenian Patriarchate. The headings alone would make up an enormous volume. The events mentioned are also confirmed by two important reports published by the General Council on 11 April 1872 and 17 September 1876.

No matter how devoted the Armenians may be to work and progress it is obvious that little can be achieved in such abnormal circumstances.

And now the Ottoman government administration, which the Sultan himself in his *Hatt-ı Humayun* described as arbitrary and despotic, has no hesitation in placing obstacles in the way of the work and effort of the population in these provinces. But the

Armenians, at the cost of great self-sacrifice, determination and persistence, and without help from any foreign country, have introduced into their schools a European system of education, thus successfully achieving an honourable place in the arts and sciences, as well as in trade and commerce. For thirty years now, young Armenians have benefited from the products of civilization in America and the principal European centres. It can now be said that in this so much coveted region of Asia, all the factors required to bring about a great blossoming of civilization in the very near future have been gathered in its bosom. The Armenians have the right to reap the benefits of their initiative and enterprise in this region of the old world in which they have acted out their magnificent history and whose soil they have watered with the sweat of their brows.

If Europe truly and sincerely desires to dispel the darkness and barbarism in which more than twenty million people of various races are submerged, they will find by their side a people who will volunteer all their strength and ability in their efforts to achieve this worthy aim. This has always been the hope of all Armenians who have followed with keen interest and close attention the efforts made by Europe to ameliorate the condition of the Eastern Christians. But it is with boundless grief and a growing sense of fear and dread that we see all attention directed towards the Christians in European Turkey. No importance whatever is given to the far more serious complaints of Anatolian Armenians groaning under the yoke of an obnoxious administration. The Christians in European Turkey are regarded as the only victims of Muslim backwardness and indifference. If the Western Powers have no intention of remedying the evils to which the Armenians are exposed, neither the memorandum of the Patriarch nor the note with the seven principles is capable of revealing the sufferings of the people he leads. The sufferings of the Armenians cannot be cured by a mere petition.

To work by diplomatic or other means for the amelioration of the condition of the Christians in Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina and the satisfaction of their aspirations, while completely ignoring the Christians of Anatolia, is merely to transfer the areas of oppression elsewhere and to remove the conflagration to a more remote region.

In rejoicing over the skilful removal of a part of European

Turkey from Muslim domination and the reduction in the power wielded by the Turkish government in the Rumelian provinces, one tends to forget that the perpetrators of the atrocities in Bulgaria and other regions will now migrate to Asia with hatred and detestation of the Christians in their hearts. Is not this rancour and hostility something to be feared and dreaded by all the followers of Christ? As they continue their activities unimpeded, what crimes will they not wreak on this unarmed, defenceless people?

As for the government, with its power and prestige reduced, even in the eyes of the Muslims, its treasury exhausted and its resources limited, how can it ever hope to implement any reforms that could bring about a radical change in the condition of the Anatolian Christians? The Ottoman government, in spite of all the goodwill shown towards it, will never be able to take the necessary measures to develop its agriculture, and thus increase its revenues and provide its tax-payers with some comfort and relief.

The Armenians refuse to accept at their face value the promises of reform made by the Ottoman government. Ever since the *Hatt-ı Humayun* of 18 February 1856 the Ottoman government has been extremely liberal in such promises. But even if it were really sincere in its desire to implement the reforms suggested by the Powers, national habits are so ingrained in the administration that even if not entirely impossible, any action of this kind is highly unlikely at any time in the reasonably near future. All such enterprises will always come up against obstacles created by ignorance and superstition. Furthermore, the most influential Ottoman statesmen who hold the fate of the Empire in their hands are so convinced of their superiority over the Christians in both the moral and intellectual spheres that they could never be persuaded to put their signature to any document attesting the equality of all Ottoman subjects, and many of them would, indeed, vehemently oppose such a move.

The measures that are now being considered concerning our fellows in suffering and calamity in the province of Rumelia will further exacerbate the situation of the mass of Armenians in Anatolia. If Christian Europe sincerely desires the political and spiritual liberation of their fellow-Christians in the East they must avoid creating such obvious injustices and inequalities.

In submitting this summary of their memorandum to the Great Powers, the Armenians dare to hope that their cause will not be utterly neglected or ignored.

Istanbul: 1876

The series of complaints that had begun during Khrimian's period of office as Patriarch reached the height of intensity with the rise of unrest among the Christians in Thrace. Examination, however, of the reports of brutal treatment and oppression presented to the Sublime Porte and various European governments will show that most of the incidents referred to are no more than routine matters of public order. The Patriarch seized upon the most trivial incidents, sending the most exaggerated accounts of these to the Ottoman government while at the same time presenting a memorandum to the representatives of the European governments in which these incidents were transformed into events of great political significance.

The memorandum listed the following grievances:

1. The apathy and negligence of the provincial administrators in the enforcement of law and order, and the abuses and corruption in the exercise of their powers.
2. The provincial government assemblies were composed of privileged self-seekers and opportunists.
3. The provincial Armenians were exposed to the insults and attacks of fanatical Muslims.
4. That forced labour should not be employed in public works and money unlawfully extorted.
5. Unlawful force and compulsion should not be employed in road construction.
6. That the people should not be compelled to pay tithes in cash in response to the illegal demands of the tax farmers.
7. That produce grown in one's own house or garden for family subsistence should not be included in the calculation of tithes.
8. That farmers themselves should not be compelled to transport the tithes to the tax-farmer's depot.

9. That crops should not be left to rot under the rain owing to the late arrival of the tax farmer and that tithes should be calculated in accordance with the price of sound grain.
10. That farmers should not be compelled to offer bed and board to the tax-farmer and his men.
11. That, as often in Erzurum, taxes should not be levied on yokes of oxen.
12. That Armenian peasants should not be compelled to pay extra taxes known as *Şahnalık* and *ölçek* ($1/4$ of a bushel)
13. That the share due for payment by deceased persons, refugees and deserters should not be included in the military service exemption tax.
14. That the income and property taxes should not be unfairly distributed with the greater share of the burden falling upon the Armenian farmers.
15. That Armenian farmers should not be forced to sell their tools and implements to meet taxation, and that they should not be exposed to beating and imprisonment.
16. That women and illegitimate children should not be forcibly converted to Mohammedanism.
17. That crimes such as abduction, theft and murder remained unpunished because of the refusal to accept the testimony of non-Muslims in the law-courts.
18. That an end should be put to the depredations and torture inflicted by the Kurds, the mountain tribes, the Circassians and *derebeys* (feudal chiefs) of Turkish extraction on the Armenian population.

After putting forward the above grievances, the report suggests seven measures to be taken for the solution of this problem in accordance with the terms of the report of April 1872:

1. The enforcement of the terms of the memorandum on the problem of landed property, approved as being in accordance with law and justice by the commission set up by the Imperial Divan (Council).

2. That church property should be exempt from taxation.
3. That individuals such as Shah Hüseyin Oğlu, Kaykelan Oğlu Aziz, Abdulfettah Bey and Abdullah, Agha of Kangal, should be punished by law for acts of cruelty and injustice concerning which complaints had been presented by the local inhabitants.
4. That a commission should be established in the Sublime Porte and that the members of this commission, together with individuals sent by the Patriarch, should tour Anatolia to investigate and punish acts of cruelty and injustice.
5. That a permanent mixed commission should be established in the Sublime Porte under the chairmanship of the secretary for religious sects.
6. That investigations should be made in connection with matters submitted by the Patriarchate and the necessary measures taken by order of the office of the Grand Vizier.
7. That the testimony of Christians should not be rejected in the law-courts.

The chairman of the committee responsible for the composition of this report was the future Patriarch and Catholicos, Mateos Izmirlian. Complaints were received from all quarters as a result of the initiative taken by the Patriarchate and the communications sent out to the various *vilayets* or provinces. The movement received Russian backing.

At the same time the Armenians in Russia petitioned the Russian government requesting its intervention on behalf of the Armenians in Turkey. In 1876 a delegation of Armenians headed by Gurju Dimitri, the mayor of Tiflis, presented to the Governor-General of Tiflis, the Grand Duke Michael Nicholaievich, the following petition to be forwarded to the Tsar:

“To His Imperial Majesty

We, the Armenian inhabitants of Tiflis, who live in comfort and tranquillity under the benevolent administration of your exalted government, motivated by the humane feeling that is one of the indispensable requirements of the Christian faith, feel we

cannot remain indifferent to the miseries experienced by our compatriots living on the other side of the border, to the injustices to which both they are exposed both as individuals and as a community in religious and family life, and to the attacks perpetrated on the virtue of their women and girls.

Knowing the benevolence shown by our beloved Majesty and the whole Russian people towards Christians of Turkish nationality, we are sure that our Emperor will lead the way in offering protection to our brothers in race and religion. The Christian love of justice has encouraged us to be so bold as to present to your Imperial Majesty's attention the wretched state of our brothers in race and religion and to beg for your intervention.

We appeal to your grace and benevolence towards the non-Muslims in Turkey and towards the Armenians exposed to Muslim cruelty and oppression. Intervention in this matter and if necessary the settlement of the problem is dependent upon your Majesty's approval and approbation".

The petition, presented to the Tsar by the governor-general, was enthusiastically welcomed by the leaders of the Armenians in Turkey, and by the Patriarch in particular.

In 1876, a note on the Armenian moves was sent to the Foreign office by the British ambassador in Istanbul,⁷ who observed that there was growing discontent among the Armenians, and that a leading member of the community had voiced his conviction that, although the main responsibility for the discontent lay with the Sublime Porte, yet the agitations and unrest were no doubt instigated by Russian propoganda, which was particularly effective in swaying the minds of ordinary folk, the enlightened being firmly anti-Russian.

The report sent by J.C. Taylor, British consul in Erzurum, in 1869, runs as follows:⁸

"Everywhere throughout these districts I found the Armenians bitter in their complaints against the Turkish Government, at the same time that they were unreserved in their praises of Russia, openly avowing their determination to emigrate. This bias is owing, as already stated, to the constant hostile teaching of their clergy; at the same time, ample cause for discontent, as has already been shown further back, is afforded by the really wretched system of Turkish provincial administration,

the unequal imposition of taxes, scandalous method of levying them and the tithes, persistent denial or miscarriage of justice, and practical disavowal of the Christians' claim to be treated with the same consideration and respect as their equals among Moslems. But experience has taught me that which candour and strict impartiality compel me to state, that the subordinate officers of the local Government are aided and abetted in their disgraceful proceedings or encouraged in persistent indifference to crying wrongs, as well by the criminal assistance as wilful apathy or silence of the Armenian Medjliss members, ostensibly elected by the suffrages of their co-religionists to guard their interest. Unfortunately then, as the evil lies as much with the Christians as the Turks, under existing regulations there is no remedy for it, and there can be none till the local authorities really see for themselves that the Porte's orders are really carried out and to open the way for the introduction of a higher class of people for such employments. As it is, no man of wealth, influence, or character will accept a seat in any one of the Councils; he will not waste time in attending to official duties in a place where he has to put up with the contumely and impertinent insults of the Moslem members, all which are patiently borne by the fawning and obsequious Christians whose living depends upon this appointment. And even were a man of character and ability to accept a nomination at the hands of his community, the Pasha, with whom in fact the fate of such elections lie, as he has the power of rejection, would always prefer a needy, pliant member to one whose riches and position would place him beyond the reach of his menaces or influence. The interests of the community are consequently intrusted to speculators accustomed to the atmosphere of the Serai in their capacity of revenue farmers or Seraffs, who in such positions have, in addition to their own disgusting servility, all the chicanery and vices of Turkish officials-acquired a dangerous influence, either as the partners or creditors of the chief provincial officers. Such an influence might be meritorious and useful if exercised in the interests of justice and duty, but it becomes a downright evil when practised, as it always is, for their own benefit or that of their partners in corruption, and scarcely ever for their brethren. The claims of the poor are either neglected or betrayed, and those of the rich depend upon the amount of their presents or degree of their sycophancy. The Armenian clergy and head men, on their part, purposely ignoring the villainous conduct of their Medjliss members representing the repeated failures of justice that

inevitably result as due to the fanaticism or imbecility of a Government determined to ignore all just claims, exaggerate actual facts; the more readily to induce their dependants to adopt the disloyal views they propagate. As they pursue such intrigues, apparently unchecked and with the secret approval of Russian agents, wavering members, formerly content with or resigned to their lot, openly express disaffection and traitorous ideas.

Some of the reasons educated Armenians give to account for this Russian feeling among their countrymen are well expressed in a letter I lately received from one of the most intelligent Armenians in the capital. I am obliged to state that as far as my experience goes, his views are not groundless. While English and French Agents support by all legitimate means the efforts of their missionaries and complaints of proselytes, the Armenians are left to fight their battles through the interested elders or corrupt Medjliss members of their creed, and are thus perforce driven to seek protection from a Power that does everything to gain their sympathy. The inhabitants of the Erzeroum Vilayet, as being closer to and more in contact with Russia, more especially the borderers, partake in a greater degree of this feeling than those living in the remoter districts of Diarbekr and Kharpoot, where it is comparatively confined to the Armenian agriculturists; but here in Erzeroum, I do not believe that one of the members of the higher moneyed classes does not in a greater or lesser degree heartily share such sentiments, while most of them, though Turkish subjects, are supplied with Russian passports. The traffic in such documents, carried on as secretly as possible, is well known and widely disseminated; no large town in my district being free from these pseudo-Russians.

The exaggerated pretensions, overbearing conduct, and ostentatious display of the Russian Consul in his relations with the local authorities, in which it is needless to say other Consuls do not indulge, coupled with him, tends, among an ignorant people, to give a false value to his particular importance or rather to that of the country he represents, which by still further strengthening their belief that no other Power than Russia is so able or willing to help them, makes them eager to apply to him in their differences and to acquire documents that to them appear claims to the interference of a foreign Power in their behalf. That the intriguing meddling conduct of the Russian Consul is approved, I may state that, although in disfavour with the

Embassy at Constantinople, he is supported by the authorities in the Caucasus, to whose diplomatic Chancery at Tiflis he is directly subordinate.

In spite of the proclamation of the Constitution by the Ottoman government the conference of ambassadors continued with its discussions, together with work on a project for Bulgarian autonomy and another project for the autonomy of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The question of the Slavs in Thrace led to the outbreak of war with Russia. The ambassadorial conference proved abortive. The Patriarch Varjabedian presented a petition to Sultan Abdulhamid. Discussions continued on this subject in the Armenian national assembly. Preparations for rebellion were gradually begun, but it appeared advisable to await the result of the war before taking action.

NOTES

1. *Zeitun Past and Present*, 1900 (Armenian)
2. For more details see the section on the Zeitun Mutiny.
3. Saruhan, *Revue de Constantinople*, 1878, p. 94 (Armenian)
4. Leo, *The Ideology of the Armenian Revolution*, Paris, 1935, vol. 1 (Armenian)
5. Saruhan, *The Armenian Question and the Armenian National Assembly*, Tiflis, 1912 (Armenian)
6. *Blue Book. Turkey*, 1877
7. This was prepared in Istanbul in September 1876 and submitted to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Derby, by Seth A. Apkar on behalf of the Armenians.
8. The Istanbul Patriarch was chosen by the General Assembly and presided over the Executive Council. He acted as intermediary between the state and the people. The General Assembly was elected by popular vote and consisted of 140 members. It was divided into groups, the one dealing with ecclesiastical affairs and the other with various secular matters. There was a similar assembly in each of the provinces.
9. *Blue Book, Turkey*, N. 1, 1877.
10. *ibid.*, N. 16

VI
INITIATIVES FOLLOWING THE OTTOMAN-RUSSIAN WAR
OF 1877-78; THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

At around the end of the Ottoman-Russian war, the Armenian Assembly, meeting in secret session under the leadership of the Patriarch Nerses and Izmirlian, decided to send a memorandum to the Etchmiadzin Catholicosate to be forwarded to the Tsar. This memorandum contained the following requests on behalf of the Armenians in Turkey: ¹

1. That the territory as far as the Euphrates should not be restored to the Turks, but should be united with the province of Ararat and form a part of the Tsar's dominions.
2. If what we have heard is true that there is no question of annexation of territory, then the same privileges accorded to Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people should also be granted by your Imperial Majesty to the Armenian people.
3. If the occupied territory is to be vacated, firm security should be obtained from the government on the question of reform, and the territory should not be vacated by the Russian soldiers until the introduction and full enforcement of these reforms.

These reforms should be based on the following principles:

- A. That a majority of the officials responsible for public order should be chosen from among the Armenians,

of the wrongs and injustices that we have suffered. It is, however, undeniable that whatever ills the other Christian peoples have suffered, the Armenians have suffered these twofold. They are beleaguered by non-Armenians and enemies who consistently remain indifferent to their sufferings. These are now convinced that the Armenians have been abandoned to their fate, but the Armenians are well aware that large numbers of their compatriots live under Russian administration and that the holy office of Etchmiadzin enjoys the protection of the Russian Emperor. The Armenians are convinced that they will be able to enjoy the protection granted to other Christians and that special laws and regulations relating to them will be issued and enforced in Turkey. If the Armenians fail to receive this protection they will be exposed to even greater dangers.

We trust that your noble and generous wisdom and foresight, that has always always agreed so well with the desires of your glorious sovereign, will allow you to present this question to the attention and approval of His Imperial Majesty. We raise our voices in appeal to the person who has drawn his sword from its sheath in defence of the Eastern Christians. We ask only to be treated in the same way as our brothers in Thrace. In Turkey lives a people bound to its homeland of Armenia. To establish an administration for themselves there would be an easy task. All we desire is to live in Armenia under our own rule, free from the oppression of another state, where we can preserve our homeland and our temples.

The Armenians possess all the means for living and developing under the protection of our saviour, His Majesty the Emperor. There are as great administrators among the Armenians as among the Turks. Education is more widely disseminated among the Armenians than among the Turks. If it is claimed that they lack the administrative ability to rule themselves it is perfectly possible to establish, as in Thrace, a form of administration by which this may be ensured.

This request for Armenian independence is based on valid reasons and factors. We have, therefore, no hesitation in presenting this to Your Excellency as the most important means for our salvation.

Will our voice be heard? If only, Your Excellency, you could

perceive the boundless gratitude in our own hearts, and in the heart of every member of the Armenian nation.

We remain proud to be the humble Christian servants of your exalted person.

1-3 February 1878

The Patriarch
Nerses Varjabedian
Nine Bishops

Peace was expected daily. There was very little time. One copy of the petition was sent to Grand duke Nicholas Nicholaievich and another to Ignatiev at Edirne. Other copies were sent to Bishop Khoren Narbey³ and to the former Patriarch Khrimian to be forwarded to the Tsar through Etchmiadzin. At the same time Izmirlian set out for Etchmiadzin to consult the Catholicos on this question and to discuss some points in person.

The Grand Duke Nicholas took the two petitions from the Armenian bishops and sent them to the Emperor Alexander in St. Petersburg. In any case, the Emperor had already been made familiar with the background to the Armenian question through a petition prepared by Kirkor Arzuni on behalf of the Caucasian Armenians presented to the Governor-General of the Caucasus and sent on to St. Petersburg. The Emperor thereupon gave orders to Ignatiev that the Armenian question should be taken into consideration during the peace negotiations and an article inserted that would relieve the situation of the Armenians. The Patriarchate had prepared a memorandum outlining the demands of the Armenians which had been used as a basis for Lebanese autonomy and had been presented to the government. It was at this time that Armenians who had formerly been friendly with the Turks now turned toward the Russians.⁴

The strategy pursued by the Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian has been summed up as follows: "To show gratitude to the Russians while ensuring English material and moral assistance for the Armenians."

It would be useful to examine in detail the initiatives taken by the Istanbul Armenians together with the Catholicos Keork IV. Saruhan gives the following account:⁵

"The leaders of the Istanbul Armenians regarded it as absolutely essential that the Catholicos Keork IV should intervene in the Armenian question and that either he himself or a delegation should forward the Armenian petition first to the

Russian Tsar and then to the representatives of the European powers. The task of persuading the Catholicos to undertake this was entrusted to Bishop Mateos Izmirlian, who was to leave as soon as possible for Etchmiadzin.

In his letter of 4 February 1878 the Patriarch Nerses gave the Catholicos the following information regarding Izmirlian. "His Holiness will set forth the desires of all our compatriots, both clerical and lay. We hope and trust that both Bishop Mateos and the two envoys accompanying him (Khrimian and Narbey) will find favour with Your High Holiness."

The war had just ended and regular communications between Istanbul and Caucasia had not yet been restored. The only road was via Odessa and Poti. Realising that his arrival would be delayed, Izmirlian sent a letter to Bishop Vahram Manguni, a close friend and confidant of the Catholicos. Nerses, in another letter dated 12 February; asked the Catholicos to appeal first to the Tsar or, if this should prove impossible, to the Congress of Ambassadors.

The Catholicos Keork IV felt no hostility towards Russia, but Bishop Manguni, by whom he was very much influenced, was definitely hostile, and Izmirlian thus endeavoured to bring as much influence as possible to bear upon him. In a letter to Manguni dated 13 February 1878 he writes:

"Nothing is so effective as the passage of time. Time can alter many things. We must bow to the requirements imposed by changing conditions. We must change our old modes of conduct. Our traditional prudence and foresight impel us now to appeal to the Tsar. Today, following the loss of a large and important part of its territory, Turkey lies prostrate at his feet. We must seize this opportunity of taking possession of the Asiatic territories. Even if Turkey remains in that section of the Empire, it will remain there as a humble vassal of Russia. We are undoubtedly dependent on Russian assistance. We must therefore endeavour to attract its favour and sympathy, and to bring forward the Armenian question now so that we can become masters of our own country when the problem of Asiatic Turkey once more emerges, as it most certainly will, if not in the immediate, at least in the very near future."

Izmirlian was in Etchmiadzin by the beginning of March and made his first approach to Vahram Manguni. In view of the Catholicos

Keork's illness, Manguni suggested that Izmirlian should present the appeals and petitions to the Catholicos through himself as intermediary and that he should receive the reply in the same way. Izmirlian rejected this offer of mediation and appealed to the Catholicos through Bishop Bedros, suggesting that the Catholicos, in spite of his illness, should perform, ill as he was, his duties as Catholicos in attempting to solve what was a matter of life and death for the Armenian people. He was received by the Catholicos, but neither this interview nor any of the interviews that followed produced any result. Izmirlian returned to Istanbul at the beginning of April having accomplished nothing and gave a full account of his failure. Old acquaintances of the Catholicos appealed directly to him and attempted to explain the real truth of the situation.

One of these, Dr. Servichen, explained the viewpoint of the Istanbul Armenians in a letter addressed to the Catholicos dated 12 April 1878.⁶

"I believe that I know the sentiments and attitudes of Your Holiness as well as Your Holiness knows my humble self. Unfortunately, the distance that separates us prevents my being fully familiar with your own situation, and Your Holiness is also unaware of the changes that have taken place here since you left us. Therefore, I feel obliged to forward to your honourable self an account of the action that has been undertaken here or that is about to be taken.

Following the failure of the steps taken by Reşit, Ali and Fuad Pashas at the suggestion of England and France, and the inability of the state to revive its former power and influence, the only recourse for the various groups is to disperse and seek their own solution. That is the present situation.

You well know that I and people like me have always endeavoured to convince a State of the necessity for the strengthening of the Asiatic provinces for the advancement of Armenian interests. The Turks also share this view. But even although they may be of the same opinion they have neither the strength nor the power to do anything about it.

What should be done in the context of the present actions and activities? Nations such as the Bulgarians, the Greeks and the Bosnians are bringing out their own problems. What action should we Armenians take? Past experience proves that the only

possible way of uniting with them is to reject Islamic nationality. This is the source of the Armenian problem. Conditions and circumstances, not we Armenians, have produced this problem.

We have appealed to the victorious power⁷ with whom we are so closely acquainted and whose future line of conduct is also so well known to us, in our attempt to preserve the national traditions we so dearly cherish, and which include the religion, language and memories of our forefathers and ancestors, and have petitioned assistance in endowing our nation with constitutional status.

As you are well aware, we wish to become neither Turks nor Russians. We are Armenian, and we wish to remain Armenian.

We have always worked, and will continue to work, in the interests of the Armenian nation. Even if all our efforts should prove futile, at least no one can accuse us of having failed to perform our duty as Armenians. Even if we should err, our action should be treated with forbearance.

Your Holiness suspects us of selling ourselves and our nation. This is by no means the case. There may be potential buyers, but there are no sellers. May it not be that you err with regard to our line of action? And yet how is this possible when our aim is so well known to you?

You are aware that at the moment there is no Turkish government in existence. For the Armenians there are only the Kurds and their cruel depredations. It is a question either of the establishment or the extinction of a nation. The situation being as it is, inactivity on our part would be a terrible crime and a terrible sin.

If you, who have been appointed to shed the light of the spirit upon us and form a centre for all friends of our nation and your Holy Office of the memories and traditions of our forefathers, should fail to support us, then you would be failing in your duty. What are you afraid of? We are all mortal. We have all come into this world to do our duty. We shall end our lives in the performance of our duty. That is my own conviction and belief, and I believe that there is no disagreement between us on this point.

Know then, Your Holiness, that we have applied for the political future of our nation not only to Russia but also to the English, the Germans, the French and the whole of Europe. Whoever is with us is our friend. We have never surrendered to anyone and never will. We seek a protector in our helplessness and misery. We will work with anyone who is capable of combining his own interests with the interests of the Armenian people. Our only leading principle is the interests of Armenia. I am convinced that this also holds true for yourself. So that is what we have done and what we intend to do. It remains for your to lend you sanction and approval."

Your Holiness' Humble Servant and Dr. Servichen

Tumaian writes as follows:

"On seeing no mention of even the name of Armenia in the Peace Treaty - the Armenians had suffered severe losses on the battlefield - the Patriarch, entirely on his own initiative, went to the Russian army headquarters at Ayastefanos and asked the Grand Duke Nicholas to include an article concerning the Armenians. The Grand Duke informed him that he had arrived too late and that the Peace Treaty was to be signed the next day. Count Ignatiev and Baron Nelidoff gave sympathetic support to the Patriarch's request and the Grand Duke Nicholas finally told Count Igantiev to compose an article on the Armenian question. The Igantiev article constituted article 16 in the Ayastefanos (San Stefano) agreement."

The next day, when the Ottoman delegates met the Grand Duke Nicholas in the house of the Armenian Dadian, they were amazed at being asked by the Russians to consider a new article on the Armenians, and objected that the Armenian question was not under discussion. The Grand Duke replied that special instructions had been received from the Tsar, and the Ottoman delegates were obliged to accept. The article ran as follows:

"As the withdrawal of the Russian troops from those parts of Armenia now under their occupation and the return of those territories to the administration of the Sublime Porte may give rise to conflicts injurious to the friendly relations between our two governments, the Sublime Porte engages to carry out, without loss of time, the reforms and re-organization demanded by local

interests in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians and to ensure the security of the Armenians against the depredations of the Kurds and Circassians."

This article in the peace agreement failed to satisfy the Armenians, who were striving towards complete autonomy, but a certain amount of satisfaction was later derived from the fact that the Ottoman government had entered into an engagement regarding Armenia and that relations had been forged with the Tsar.

From the very beginning the Armenians had had higher expectations. The assistance offered to the Russian army by the Caucasian Armenians and the use made of Armenian commanders in the Russian army had raised their hopes. The memory was particularly strong of the Armenians who had served in the Russian army in 1826-28 in the time of Nerses Ashdarakesi. Instead of complete independence they received only this article.

Actually, this treaty secured the Armenians a considerable political advantage in so far as this article⁸ gave them the honour of being included in an international treaty. Thus the date of this treaty, 3 March 1878, marks an important milestone for the Armenians.

The Treaty of Ayastefanos includes three basic principles:

1. that a state of Armenia actually exists,
2. that this state is in urgent need of reform and re-organization,
3. that the security of the Armenians is threatened by the Kurds and Circassians.

The necessary measures to be taken are outlined together with the condition "without delay".

The treaty made it quite clear that the parts of Armenia occupied by the Russians were to remain in Russian hands until the necessary reforms were carried out. In other words, certain parts of Armenia were to be annexed to Russia, while the other parts were to remain under Russian occupation on the pretext of "supervision of the reform measures". That this was the attitude of the Russians was openly stated at the Congress of Berlin by Count Shouvalov, the Russian Ambassador in London. If the article had remained in this form, concerning as it did only the Russian and Ottoman governments, Russia would have retained permanent control of the area.

The Treaty of Ayastefanos placed the Armenians under Russian protection. If Armenia had been left to Russia would things have

turned out any better? Russia clearly showed⁹ that it would have given a very cool welcome to a free or reformed Armenia. This did not, however, prevent the Armenians from continuing their activity. Izmirlian went to Etchmiadzin, while Bishop Khoren Narbey went to St Petersburg, taking with him the project for an independent Armenia that had been prepared in Istanbul, and made contacts with senior Russian political circles.

The above-mentioned project contained the following:¹⁰

1. A Governor-General will be appointed to Armenia and this Governor-General will belong to the Gregorian sect.
2. The governors, *kaymakams* and mayors will also be chosen from among Armenians of the Gregorian sect and their appointment will be approved by the Sublime Porte.
3. The maintenance of law and order in the province will be entrusted to Armenians, and the gendarmerie will be composed entirely of Armenians.
4. The judicial system will be based on Christian principle and the judges will be Armenian. There will be no religious courts, *Cadis* or similar religious officials.
5. Kurdish *derebeys* will be removed and the privileges granted to Kurds and *derebeys* will be rescinded.
6. The levy and collection of taxes will be re-organized on a just basis.
7. Laws relating to property, the pious foundations and other tax laws will be revised and deeds drawn up anew.
8. All weapons belonging to Turks in Armenia will be collected.
9. A new law will be drawn up for the administration of Armenia and this law will be enforced after ratification by Russia.
10. The restoration of independence in Zeitun will be guaranteed.

It was also requested that Russian soldiers should not be withdrawn from Armenia until these demands had been granted. Great hopes were laid on this project, which had been prepared by

both lay and clerical assemblies in the Armenian Patriarchate. Russian diplomats also gave assurances that the terms of this project would be put into effect. Khoren Narbey intended to have the Armenian general Loris Melikov appointed Governor-General of Armenia. His real aim was to follow Loris Melikov's advice to "abandon hope for the upper section. That is necessary for us. You should do something lower down. We shall help you there", thus facilitating the Russian occupation of Armenia and preparing the way for an occupation of Cilicia.

After the Treaty of Ayastefanos the Grand Duke Nicholas visited Sultan Abdul Hamid in Istanbul and was given Beylerbeyi Saray as his residence. The Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian visited him on the pretext of the Easter festival in order to thank him for his help and sympathy for the Armenians, had presented him with a memorandum on the subject of Armenian independence.¹¹ He also dwelt on the barbarity to which the Armenian peasants would be exposed after the withdrawal of the Russian troops.

An account of the intrigues that lay behind the inclusion in the Treaty of Ayastefanos of article 16 relating to the Armenians and the various stages through which these passed is given in the following passage from Saruhan:¹²

"The more reasonable members who made up the majority of the Armenian National Assembly met in the Galata Armenian school on Friday, 21 November 1877 and drew up a memorandum to be presented through the good offices of the Etchmiadzin Catholicos, the spiritual leader of all the Armenians. It was decided that a commission should be chosen from among the church members to convey this memorandum to the Catholicos but when it transpired that Nerses Vartabet Partigamian was to go to Etchmiadzin they decided that it was he who should be entrusted with the mission.

In addition to this the following requests were addressed to the Catholicos:

"Your Holiness should send an efficient, high-ranking member of the clerical assembly with a good knowledge of languages to the peace conference that will be meeting in the near future to put forward these as his own views in the assembly of European representatives as head of the Armenian millet. The delegate attending the conference should present the 2nd and 3rd sections of the above

proposals in writing to the Congress of Ambassadors, with the titles and phrases relating to the monarch replaced by the words "to the grace and favour of the European states and for the consideration and approval of the European governments". The delegate should conduct negotiations on behalf of the Catholicos with the cabinets and assemblies of the Great Powers, and more particularly with the governments of England, France and Prussia whose support has been won through our national assembly in Istanbul. The important task of presenting the question to the meeting of ambassadors was entrusted to the Catholicos."

As Nerses Varjabedian was suspected of being on the side of the government, Khrimian called a meeting of all the bishops at his house in Kuzguncuk in 1877. After prolonged debate he declared that "the policy pursued by Nerses was unacceptable and that he should be replaced by someone with a more modern approach", proposing Izmirlian as the new Patriarch. Nerses found Khrimian's strictures fully justified, declaring that he would perform whatever duty his country required him, but asked the assembled bishops to come to his assistance. He subsequently completely changed his attitude under the influence of the new policy introduced by Khrimian and thereafter pursued the Armenian problem with all his strength and ability.

In January, at the same time as the Sublime Porte was sending representatives to Edirne to come to a decision regarding the first conditions of the peace treaty, the Patriarch Nerses was presenting a memorandum to Kevork V Ruschuklian, the deputy *marhasa* in Edirne. Ruschuklian gives the following account of how it all began:¹³

"I was obliged to pay a courtesy call on the Grand Duke Nicholas and Count Ignatiev. While I was awaiting a suitable opportunity, Girov, the former Russian consul in Plovdiv and a friend of the Armenians who had played an important role in Bulgarian affairs, arrived in Edirne as assistant to the Russian ambassador. I asked him to act as intermediary in procuring me an interview with Count Ignatiev and to help me in obtaining information regarding the situation in Armenia. Girov accepted my proposal, introducing me to Count Ignatiev the following evening and acting as my interpreter. At the same time he told the Count that we could meet in secret. I first of all prayed for the continuing felicity of the Russian Emperor, who had declared war in the name of Christianity to save the Christians of the East, and who had succeeded, by the grace of God, in saving not only the

Christians of Bulgaria but also the Armenians, a Christian people inhabiting the East who were no less wretched and destitute than the Bulgarians and had been no less exposed to brutality and torture. 'I have heard,' I continued, 'that the Russian armies have occupied certain parts of Armenia, such as Kars and Erzurum. As all my information is obtained from Istanbul I know nothing of the situation of our brothers in Armenia. It is essential that I should procure information on this subject.'

The Count replied: 'The Russian army has advanced as far as Erzurum and occupied that region, bringing freedom to that part of Armenia. Nevertheless, the Armenian millet and the larger part of Armenia will never be able to attain the independence achieved by the Bulgarians. As the Armenians do not themselves occupy Armenia it inevitably remains a dead letter. For three years I have worked as the defender and representative of the Armenian people. Let's leave aside the fact that the provincial Armenians are wretched, apathetic and dispersed. Even the enlightened and hard-working Armenians of Istanbul, Nubar Pasha included, placed obstacles in the path of my work and well-meaning endeavours. But don't worry. You are Turkish citizens. Begin your preparations now, with good hope for the future, for the day when you will gain your independence through knowledge and learning, civilized behaviour, spiritual and material means, internal organization and sound policy. I am always willing to support your Patriarch. Let him not wait. Let him start work immediately. The time is ripe.'

On 20 January 1878 I informed the Patriarch of what Count Ignatiev had said and the orders he had given me. At the same time I informed him that my meeting with Ignatiev had been realised through our old and sincere friend Girov, and I asked him, if he approved of the steps I had taken and the relations I had established on behalf of the oppressed and unjustly treated people of Armenia, to let me know as soon as possible so that I should not let this opportunity slip.

To what did the Patriarch Nerses owe his success, or was he aided by a lucky coincidence? That remains a mystery. But ten days after the arrival of his letter Stepan Aslanian Pasha and Hohannes Nurian Efendi were sent by the Sublime Porte on a special mission under the orders of Saffet and Server Pashas. This mission was concerned with the transport of sick Turkish

soldiers to Istanbul. But at the same time these two persons were sent to me with a recommendation letter from the Patriarch dated 31 January 1878 to act as advisers on the Armenian question. We told them of our interview with Count Ignatiev and its results, while they informed us of the account given by the Holy Patriarch to the Russian Ambassador and the Grand Duke Nicholas of the injustice and misery suffered by the Armenians and of their desire to arouse the sympathy of the Russian Emperor, adding that only through his help and assistance could the Armenians attain, as an independent Armenian nation, the freedom already achieved by the Bulgarians.

As ten days had now passed since the Patriarch had been informed by report of the situation, I decided to strengthen my relations with the Russian delegation without waiting for a reply. On the recommendation of our friend M. Girov and the approval of Count Ignatiev I had another audience with the Grand Duke Nicholas, in the course of which I requested that a responsible official should be sent to be present at the service to be held in church the following day in accordance with Russian usage and custom, at which prayers would be said for the health of the Emperor and for the souls of the Russian soldiers killed in battle.

The Ambassador, Count Ignatiev, who knew the reason for my audience with the Grand Duke, and Count Nelidov, the Ambassador in Istanbul, were also present, and a heated discussion in Russian took place between the three men. The Grand Duke then replied to my invitation by saying, 'I am very pleased to receive this invitation from the Armenian people. They have always shown great sympathy and affection for our soldiers. They have opened up their houses to them and assisted them in many ways. I feel both love and respect for the Armenians. I should like to be present personally at this service in your church. But we are at war, and it would be better if no definite date was set. Postpone the service for a time. I myself shall decide on the date and inform you of the matter.' I thanked him for this reply and withdrew from his presence.

I informed my worthy associates of this news and the promise I had received from the Grand Duke. It was essential that they should be introduced to Count Ignatiev before the Grand Duke came to the church, but this would be rather difficult as they could go nowhere without the knowledge and approval of Saffet and

Server Pashas. However, in spite of all their vigilance, we succeeded one night in secretly introducing Nurian Efendi to Count Ignatiev and, describing the miseries and injustice to which the Armenian people were exposed, we begged the Russian Emperor's sympathy. We remained for some time with Count Ignatiev. He said that he would further our cause by arranging an audience with the Grand Duke, and told us that we should return two days later at the same time bringing Stepan Pasha with us. This we did, arriving at the appointed time accompanied by Stepan Pasha. 'I have talked to the Grand Duke,' he said to us, 'and your cause has achieved a certain success. We are in touch with the Emperor. I hope that the matter will be approved by the Emperor in two or three days. Pray God to assist you.' We were very excited at the news and filled with hope and, begging once more that the Emperor might extend his pity to the Armenian people we returned well pleased. I immediately sent news of the result of this interview to Patriarch Nerses by Russian courier and received a letter of thanks in return.

The Grand Duke attended our church, as he had promised, on 8 February, accompanied by Count Ignatiev, Count Nicholas and sixteen generals and high-ranking officials. The service of thanks and good wishes passed off in good order. After the service, I invited him to the *marhashane* (the residence of the *marhasa*). Stepan Aslanian Pasha and Hohannes Nurian Efendi were also present. Saffet Pasha had refused permission for them to attend the church service. The talk centred on the Armenian people and their unjust treatment. The Grand Duke asked a number of questions on the geographic situation of Armenia and the state of the inhabitants I felt I lacked the necessary knowledge to answer. This offered me the opportunity of introducing Stepan Aslanian Pasha and Nurian Efendi, so I immediately informed the Grand Duke that 'full and accurate answers could be given His Highness' question by two leaders of the Armenian Assembly that were there with Saffet Pasha and that if he wished they would attend him immediately'. 'Yes, I should very much like to see them,' the Grand Duke replied, 'Let them come.', and immediately sent one of his aides-de-camp to Saffet Pasha's house. Our friends were waiting there ready for news from us. Saffet Pasha did not oppose the Grand Duke's order and allowed them to go. The interview lasted half an hour. They, too, asked for the independence of Armenia. As the Grand Duke was leaving I again begged him not to forget the wrteched and oppressed Armenian people. 'Neither

I nor my brother,' he said, shaking my hand, 'will ever forget them.'

The next day I went to Count Ignatiev to express my gratitude and asked him to arrange an audience for me with the Grand Duke. The day and hour were decided. We were received at the appointed time. Again Count Ignatiev and Count Nelidov were in attendance. I expressed the thanks of the Armenian people, whose hearts were filled with hope and affection for the Russian government, for the great love and favour that had been shown them.

'I am much gratified by the Armenians' expression of love and affection,' the Grand Duke said, respectfully shaking my hand. 'I have informed my brother the Emperor by telegram of my satisfaction and of my having been so warmly received neither by the Greeks nor any of the other nations. I shall be leaving in a few days time for Ayastefanos and there I shall be in closer touch with your Patriarch at Kumkapi. Write to your Patriarch. Your hopes and endeavours will not be in vain. You can feel confident. I am in touch with my brother.'

These semi-official contacts raised our hopes and we returned in good spirits. Two days later I was summoned by Count Ignatiev. I immediately went to him. 'Congratulations,' he said, 'Things are going well. We have received the Tsar's approval. Your affair is to be included in the Russo-Turkish agreement. You should prepare a memorandum for the Grand Duke stating the desires and demands of the Armenians.'

There was a third person in addition to Stepan Aslanian Pasha and Nurian Efendi who in spite of his delicate position performed a great service to the national cause and was particularly influential in having article 16 included in the Ayastefanos Treaty. This was Foreign Secretary Sergis Hamamjian, who had been appointed assistant to the Foreign Minister Saffet Pasha and Sadullah Bey, the Ambassador to Berlin.

At that time the eyes of all Istanbul, from the greatest to the least, were fixed upon the Russians, who were about decide the fate of Turkey. They were fully expecting them to grant the independence of Armenia. In other words, they expected for

themselves the conditions that had been granted to European Turkey. Everyone, great and small alike, was working towards this end."

In addition to the envoys sent to Edirne, congratulations were sent to the victorious Russian Emperor on behalf of the Armenian people. The Patriarchate prepared a number of different projects to be applied in accordance with the situation that had developed. One of these was based on the type of independence granted to Lebanon.

During the negotiations on the Edirne agreement two of the representatives there present petitioned Count Ignatiev, through Kevork Vartabet Ruschuklian, for the creation of an independent Armenia composed of the provinces of Van, Muş, Erzurum, Diyarbakır and other regions. Ignatiev informed them of the good news that the following had been included as article 16:

"As the same maladministration and oppression as existed in European Turkey are also to be observed in the Asian provinces, the Ottoman Sultan and the Russian Tsar have decided to grant complete independence to regions inhabited by the Armenians immediately adjacent to the Caucasian provinces (Erzurum, Muş, Van, Diyarbakır, Sivas, etc.) and to introduce the necessary changes in the laws governing the provinces."

This request met with objections from the Turkish delegation. They openly declared that they could not accept Armenian independence without the approval of the Sultan and expressed their astonishment at a demand for the independence of an integral part of Anatolia. They immediately summoned the deputy *marhasa* and asked him for an explanation.

Ruschuklian, rather disingenuously, declared that the Armenians were not playthings in the hands of the Russians. Russia had attempted the same thing before, but the Armenians were content with the administration under which they had lived for five hundred years.

On Ignatiev's insistence that this was the desire of the Emperor, the Ottoman representatives were finally obliged to accept its inclusion in the Treaty of Ayastefanos (San Stefeno).

The Grand Duke arrived in Ayastefanos, where he stayed in the house of Dadian Arakel Bey. Here he was begged by Dadian's

daughter to include the article concerning the Armenians.

At Ayastefanos, the Armenian point of view was defended by Bishop Khoren Narbey. After two weeks' activity by the side of Count Ignatiev he succeeded, thanks to his personal and private relationship, in procuring the acceptance of article 16.

England disapproved of the Ayastefanos Treaty, feeling that it greatly increased Russian influence in Eastern Anatolia, and insisted that an agreement concerning the situation in the East was not a subject to be decided between the Russian and Ottoman governments, but should have previously been discussed by the states participating in the Congress of Paris. Having received a grant of six million pounds from the House of Commons, Lord Beaconsfield sent the British fleet to the Bosphorus and a section of the Indian Army to Malta. For a time war between Russia and England appeared imminent. Russia, however, partly from exhaustion, partly from its uncertainty concerning Austria's friendship or neutrality, yielded to England's demand that the Treaty of Ayastefanos should be referred to the Congress of Berlin.

NOTES

1. Saruhan, *The Armenian Question and the Armenian National Assembly*, p. 261-262 (Armenian)
2. Leo, *Documents on the Armenian Question*, Tiflis, 1915, p. 56-58 (Armenian)
3. Bishop Khoren Narbey, whose real name was Khoren Kalfaian was a Mekhitarist who played a very important role in the Armenian Question.
4. M. Varandian, *op. cit.*, vol. 2
5. Saruhan, *op. cit.*, p. 321.
6. *ibid.*
7. i.e. Russia
8. Tumaian, *A History of the Eastern Question*, vol. 2.
9. *ibid.*, p. 256.
10. Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 61
11. Saruhan, *op. cit.*,
12. *ibid.*, p. 259-280
13. Leo, *op. cit.*; also see the *Ramik* newspaper published in Filibe, 1907.

VII CONGRESS OF BERLIN

On 30 May 1878, just before the opening of the Congress of Berlin, Russia and England signed a memorandum listing the points on which they could unite. The Armenian question was one of these, and they both decided that this should be brought up for discussion at the Congress. Russia agreed to the alteration of some of the articles of the agreement. The Congress of Berlin began on 13 June 1878 and ended on 13 July.

The Armenians were greatly displeased at the decision to re-examine the Treaty of Ayastefanos at the Congress of Berlin. They had hoped for much greater advantages from the Congress. Reports and memoranda were prepared on the Armenian situation and propaganda set in motion. The Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian had played an influential role in having article 16 included in the agreement and he would never consent to its removal. On a proposal put forward by Kirkor Odian it was decided that the Patriarchate should send a delegation to the Congress. This delegation was composed of the former Patriarch Khrimian and Bishop Khoren Narbey, both of whom were well versed on the subject of Armenia, together with Stepan Papazian and Minas Cheraz as secretary and interpreter respectively. The delegation went first to Rome, then to Paris. They had conversations with the French Foreign Ministry and the German and British Ambassadors, to whom they submitted the memorandum that had already been presented to the ambassadors. After taking the necessary steps in England they set out for Berlin. Khoren Narbey went to Russia, where he was received by Gorchakov and Tsar Alexander II. Stepan joined the delegation bringing the Patriarchate code.

Khoren Narbey gives the following account of his audience with Tsar Alexander II on 18 March 1878: ¹

"In the anteroom a number of people were waiting their turn but I was introduced to the Tsar ahead of all the others. Tsar Alexander said: 'I know you. I'm very happy to see you again. I have seen your memorandum. If conditions and the political situation allow I hope to satisfy the Armenian people.' He then asked me how the reforms mentioned in article 16 of the Ayastefanos Treaty could be put into effect. I replied that we had been so often deceived by the Turks that we no longer placed any faith in their false promises, and that in any case, even if they were sincere, they were quite incapable of controlling the Kurds and the other barbarous tribes who inhabited Armenia. I also added that until Armenia was granted autonomy on the Lebanese model the Armenians could be protected from oppression and marauding attacks only by Russian protection and the presence of Russian troops. (At this point I presented him with the project on Armenian independence drawn up by Narbey.) The Tsar took the project and, after glancing through it, replied 'Good. Do your best, and pray God to help me.'

I repeated Gorchakov's statement that our nation had never opposed the flag and Crusade raised by the Tsar for the liberation of the Christians. The Tsar said: 'The heroism you have displayed is indeed praiseworthy. The whole world owes its gratitude to the heroism, loyalty, prudence and civilized behaviour of the Armenian commanders. They have given me great satisfaction.'

'May I bring up another important point,' I added. 'Your Highness has greatly facilitated the spread and diffusion among the Armenians of Turkey of the saving influence and spiritual light of the Catholicosate.'

The Tsar: 'Any action in response to this that may be taken by you in the future may be extremely damaging.' 'I hope,' I continued, 'you will forgive my dwelling on this point. Our nation recognizes the Catholicosate as a holy office, the centre of a religious unity. We therefore hope that it will continue to exert its old influence upon us, seeing it as we do as working towards our advantage and salvation. It is, however, opposed by the Sublime Porte. Count Ignatiev has, during his fifteen years of office, become fully familiar with our desires in this respect and with the opposition offered by the Sublime Porte, particularly during the signing of the agreement. I have already assured your Majesty that for us this is a matter of life and death. The Tsar: 'Yes, this is indeed a matter of life and death. It was discussed at the time.' 'I beg you,' I replied, 'to allow me to convey the gratitude felt by my

compatriots for the promises I have heard from Your Majesty's lips.' 'Please convey to your compatriots,' he replied, 'the love and affection I bear them.' On leaving his presence I seized his hand and, kissing it, exclaimed 'May I beg your exalted and blessed self to allow me, on behalf of four million suffering Armenians, to kiss the sacred and holy hand to which Armenia will owe its salvation.' 'Yes,' replied the Tsar, 'You will always be the object of my favour and affection.' Then I left his presence, praying, with tears of joy running down my cheeks, for the health and long life the Tsar, his family and his children."

The Nubar Pasha Projects

In addition to the project drawn up by the Patriarchate there was also a memorandum drawn up by Nubar Pasha in Egypt.² No demand was made for this 1878 memorandum which incorporated the following points:

1. The reform of the administration of Armenia under the supervision of the Powers,
2. The Governor-General should be chosen by the Powers and ratified by the Sultan,
3. The lawcourts, police, etc. should be placed in the hands of European officials,
4. A gendarmerie should be established with European officers.

As the Patriarchate wished complete independence this memorandum was never called for. The memorandum ran as follows.

*Some views on the reforms to be introduced in Armenia*³

"As the European powers are anxious that a state of peace and tranquillity should obtain in the East, their attention is directed more particularly to the Balkan provinces and regions in Asia Minor inhabited by the Armenians. They are also anxious that this artistic, hard-working and intelligent nation, situated so far from the Sublime Porte, Europe and European delegates, should not be allowed to remain in their present state. There is no point in comparing the Armenians living here in their own homeland with the million of their compatriots living in Caucasia. The Sublime Porte, in accepting the article in the Treaty of

Ayastefanos calling for reforms in the Armenian administration and for the urgent protection of this people against the Kurds, has confessed and confirmed the weakness of the administration under which the Armenians are suffering and their wretched and neglected condition in the face of Kurdish attacks.

The Armenians are not demanding a political existence or a political future. They are simply demanding a civilized freedom by which their property, their wives, the virtue of their daughters, in other words their rights as human beings, could be preserved and guaranteed. If the civilized freedom promised by the *Gülhane Hatt-i Serif* and the various other edicts that have succeeded it since 1840 had been properly enforced, the homeland of the hard-working Armenian race would have presented a very different aspect. The population in the Armenian province in Russia has doubled in thirty years. How fortunate they are!

Whatever the reforms seen as necessary for this country, inhabited as it is by an intelligent race forming a link between the East and the West, a factor that should never be ignored and without which any measures of reform will prove abortive is the choice of the officials by whom the reforms will be implemented. Until now the officials have been chosen from the establishment. It would appear, therefore, that the success of the reforms depends on the choice of Governor-General and officials from quite a different class, i.e. the Christians. And since the question primarily concerns the Armenians it is obvious that the Governor-General should himself be an Armenian. Whatever the nationality and the moral qualities of these administrators, the fact that they are faced with the possibility of dismissal at a moment's notice makes it vain to expect that they should make effective use of their powers. His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, in his speech on the accession to the throne, mentioned the appointment and dismissal of officials as one of the flaws in the administration. His Majesty, thinking of the good of the Armenian people, should appoint a governor to the Armenian provinces assured of remaining at the head of the administration for at least six or seven years.

As the choice of Governor-General is a basic condition of reform, the Powers could, in conformity with article 16 of the Ayastefanos Agreement and without impairing in any way the prerogatives of the Sultan, have included the necessity of the

Sultan's approval, as is the case in the appointment of the governor of Lebanon, thus ensuring that the choice should be made in the desired, effective manner. A Governor-General to be entrusted with the implementation of reform measures who had been chosen in this way and his choice ratified by the Sultan, would have the power and authority required to carry through the necessary measures on his own initiative. What exactly are these measures of reform and re-organization? The Armenian nation believes that these will be easy to define once the sources of complaint have been individually identified.

The first such source of complaint is obviously the attacks and depredations of the Kurds. It is essential that these tribes should be reduced to submission and obedience. Although nothing could be easier for a regimental commander nothing has as yet been achieved. Either the means and measures adopted have been inappropriate or the desire to succeed have been lacking. Is it wise to inculcate a people with the idea of self-defence as the only way of protecting themselves from all types of danger? Whether Muslim or Christian, surely security is the basic essential for all. Thus it is essential that a gendarmerie should be established responsible for the preservation of general law and order and the defence of the country against any who would infringe it. This force should be composed of Muslims and Christians, without discrimination of race or religion, and their numbers and proportions can easily be decided in advance. The appointment of the officers would be made by the Governor-General responsible to the Sultan for the preservation of law and order in the region. That a force of this kind, responsible for the security and tranquillity of the province, should be composed of both Muslims and Christians, would be very useful in bringing the two groups closer together. This fraternization would be very easy to achieve in Armenia, since all the people live in a simple society exposed to the same conditions and with the same exigencies, with the result that they all desire the same things. Moreover, the regimental commanders would owe obedience to the Governor-General in all matters pertaining to general order and security and provide both the governor and the gendarmerie all necessary backing and support in the performance of their duties.

Once law and order has been ensured in the material field, attention must be given to the relations between the administrators and the common people, in other words, to the

judicial organization. Without a proper judicial system it is impossible for the people to take action against the methods and attitudes to which officials have become accustomed. It is also impossible to ensure any effective and lasting reforms. Law cases are conducted by administrative councils comprising tax-collectors or other officials directly or indirectly involved in public administration who are incapable of understanding the most elementary legal principles. Lawbooks are mere toys in their hands. The arbitrary enforcement of the laws is thus handed over to the common people, who know even less than the administrators.

The question of the establishment of a judicial system to regulate public legal and commercial relations is a very delicate one. No measure taken for its security can be too meticulous. The whole administration hinges upon it. It is absolutely essential that, as in the present-day assemblies, the judges appointed to the courts to be established should have no connection whatever with government business. The question of the Governor-General should be examined, and the results of these investigations, after being discussed by a commission, should be forwarded to the department with the responsibility and the necessary powers for giving orders and putting them into effect. Only in this way could a judicial system be established that would reflect as accurately as possible the social and intellectual state and condition of the country. The judicial system is the controller and regulator of the government. The investigating committee must decide the duties of the courts and what powers they should possess to deal with the trial of public officials accused of corrupt practices in the course of their duties.

The governor-general should be invested with authority to invite persons of foreign nationality to assist him in questions concerning the judicial system. He himself would define the extent of his powers in this matter. The Armenians believe that the inclusion in the high court of elements of known learning and independence would be in no way incompatible with the social structure of the country. On the contrary, it would assist in the development of the social structure and strengthen the authority of the courts in dealing with cases of official corruption. They are convinced that this would result in the formation of a firm foundation and support for the effective enforcement of the necessary reforms.

Once law and order has been firmly established by the gendarmerie and the judicial system, attention will naturally turn to another evil familiar to everyone who is acquainted with the East. This is the property tax, the tithes and the method by which they are collected. The property tax ought to be calculated in accordance with the size of the estate, its type and quality. In the province of Pompei, the conversion of the tithes into a property tax has doubled the value of the land in the course of twenty-six years. No cadastral survey has been carried out in Armenia. But this deficiency can be made good in other ways, as in India and other countries in which this system of taxation is applied. The firm establishment and enforcement of these three reforms will result in a great development and amelioration in the condition of the country. But for this to be placed on a regular and secure foundation it is essential that the Governor-General should be furnished with material power.

As has already been pointed out, the Armenians are not aiming at complete independence or at any sort of secession from the Ottoman Government. Their aims are quite different. They are not demanding that the wealth of their country should be employed as they alone desire or purely for their own use. They only wish that after the taxes have been collected and deposited in the State Treasury, the province should be provided with funds for the maintenance of the gendarmerie, the judicial system, religious institutions and communications. They are also convinced that if they were given the power and authority to levy and collect taxes for their own local needs, this would secure a sounder foundation for the reforms to be introduced, as these sums could be used to meet the expenses of the officials in charge of the application and enforcement of reforms. These expenses would not then remain the responsibility of a government department lacking any real interest in and painstaking devotion to the work of reform and the satisfaction of local needs. On the other hand, as the interests of the government coincide with the general interests of the whole of His Imperial Majesty's subjects, the government should levy only the taxes required to satisfy the general needs of a just administration for the whole country, while leaving to local administrations the levying and collection of taxes for local needs.

The collection of the revenues to be allocated to local administration could be based on the following principles:

The Governor-General and the *kaymakam* of each district, working in conformity with his orders, should have the authority to form assemblies composed of the leading local citizens. No decision should be taken at the moment regarding the composition of these assemblies, but it is of first importance that the Governor-General and *kaymakams* should choose the members from amongst the most worthy of the leading citizens. The general assembly to be held in the provincial capital will be composed of representatives from the various local assemblies. Both the general and local assemblies will possess the power of deciding on the amount of revenue required to meet the expenses of the various departments. These assemblies will under no circumstances interfere with the administration of justice nor with the administration itself. Future experience and future developments will give a definite form to the method of choosing the members of these assemblies and the powers and authority which which they should be invested. But it seems to us that in order to avoid initial confusion – although this is something scarcely to be hoped for when it concerns the interests of a people who have been abandoned for so long to apathy and indifference – these powers should be drawn up with prudence and wisdom. In this way the administration of the provinces of Armenia would ensure the happiness and prosperity of all subjects, Muslim or Christian, of His Imperial Majesty, possessing the same needs and the same interests.

The aim of this organization would be the peace and prosperity of all. Thus the proportion of Muslims and Christians is a matter of secondary importance. This should have no influence on the political situation, but a number of officials should be appointed to the government who could, under the auspices of certain organizations and, above all, the judicial system, put into effect the reforms granted by the grace and favour of His Imperial Majesty and who would ensure that these would not, like the other projects of reform previously promised, remain a dead letter.

Nubar Pasha

Paris 1878

The delegation formed by the Armenian Patriarchate to present the Armenian problem to the Congress of Berlin and defend their various claims and requests, having visited Rome, Paris and London and made the necessary contacts, finally arrived in Berlin. Khoren

Narbey joined the other members of the delegation in Berlin after having visited the Tsar in St. Petersburg.

The Armenian delegation presented the representatives of England, Russia, Austria, Germany and Italy with a memorandum setting out a draft plan for the administration of Armenia. The letter appended to the project runs as follows:

Your Excellency,

The Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul and the national assembly of the Armenians in Turkey have entrusted us with the duty of presenting the case of our nation to the powers gathered here in congress. We humbly request that your excellencies should consent to take our requests in this connection into your consideration.

The Armenians, whose problems are touched upon in article 16 of the Treaty of Ayastefanos, desire the application to themselves of the same form of administration applied to the other Christians under Ottoman administration. The type of administration under which the Armenians have lived up to now in Armenia is much worse and more oppressive than the life and conditions of the Christians in Thrace. We do not wish political independence or secession from Turkey. We wish only the concession of the Erzurum and Van provinces of Armenia, together with the northern section of the province of Diyarbakir in which, according to statistics, Armenians form the majority of the population. We repeat, what we wish is the appointment here, with the approval of the European powers and the ratification of the Sublime Porte, of an Armenian governor. This governor would be appointed for a certain period of time, law and order and the gendarmerie should be placed under his jurisdiction, and a certain proportion of the local revenue should be allocated to the moral and material development of the country.

Your Excellencies may obtain some idea of the conditions we deem necessary for the peace and prosperity of the Armenian people from the memorandum to which this letter is appended and one copy of which we have sent to each representative of the European powers.

Our ideas and nations concerning the peoples of Eastern Turkey and the realities of the situation there have emboldened us to convey to your excellencies our conviction that Turkish

officials and Muslim administration can never implement or enforce the reforms essential for the country.

If the choice of governor is left to the Turkish government, the apathy and indifference reigning in Istanbul will result in the continuance of the state of affairs Europe is anxious to alter. And again, if the appointment and dismissal of the governor is left to the arbitrary decision of the Turkish government, the governor will be given no time to establish his authority or to embark upon the basic measures of reform. If the choice of provincial officials is entrusted to the Turkish government, the same maladministration will continue. Unless the forces of law and order are placed under the governor's jurisdiction he will be completely incapable of exerting or enforcing his authority.

If the regulation of the budget is left entirely to the Ottoman government all the revenue will be appropriated for its own use, leaving so little for the provinces that it will be quite impossible to find the money necessary either to satisfy local needs or to make possible the introduction of reforms. Unless the whole organization is kept under European control, the character of Ottoman administration is such that the country will inevitably relapse into the condition from which Europeans are now endeavouring to reclaim it.

By presenting this brief note we hope and pray that you will display your grace and generosity during the discussion of this subject in the course of the congress by responding to our humble request. ⁴

Berlin, 25 June 1878

Delegation of Envoys of the Armenians of Turkey

Archbishop Khrimian Khoren Narbey
(Former Armenian Patriarch) (Archbishop of Beşiktaş)

ADMINISTRATIVE PROJECT FOR TURKISH ARMENIA
PRESENTED BY THE DELEGATION OF ARMENIAN
REPRESENTATIVES TO THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN.

I

Ottoman Armenia, as can be seen from the appended map, consists of the provinces of Van and Erzurum together with the northern section of the province of Diyarbakır, i.e. the northern section of the *sandjak* of Harput, the northern section of Siirt and the *sandjak* of Ergani, bounded on the west by the Euphrates (all of these forming the Turkish section of Greater Armenian), together with the port of Rize between Trabzon and Batum, which is essential for trade and commerce.

Armenia will be administered by an Armenian governor appointed by the Sublime Porte and ratified by the Guarantor Powers. This governor will be resident in Armenia.

The Governor will be furnished with full executive powers, and will appoint officials responsible for the preservation of law and order and the collection of taxes under his supervision throughout the whole province.

This Governor-General will be appointed for a five year period and can be dismissed only with the approval of the Guarantor Powers.

A central committee presided over by the Governor-General will be established in the province consisting of 1) the director of finances, 2) the director of communications, 3) a legal advisor, 4) commander of the forces of law and order, 5) the inspector of Christian schools, 6) a Muslim inspector. This inspector will be appointed subject to the approval of the Cadi.

The *vilayet* (province) will be divided into *sandjaks*, and the *sandjaks* into *kazas*. The *mutasarrıfs* (governors) of the *sandjak* and the *kaymakams* of the *kazas* will be appointed by the Governor-General. The *mutasarrıfs* and *kaymakams* will represent the Governor-General in the various administrative districts. Each of these will be assisted in their administrative duties by two advisers, also appointed by the Governor-General.

II

As the preservation of law and order will be the responsibility of each *vilayet*, each year 20% of the general revenue of the *vilayet* will be paid into the State Treasury.

The remainder of the revenue, after the necessary allocations have been made for administration, justice, the gendarmerie and the

militia, will be distributed as follows:

1. 20% to roads and general utilities and amenities
2. 20% to the building, repair and maintenance of schools, the sum remaining after allocations have been made to higher schools to be distributed to the Muslim and Armenian schools in each city according to the proportion of Muslims and Armenians forming the population.

III

A president of the *shari'ah* court will be appointed by the Sultan to inspect the *shari'ah* courts (courts of canonical law) throughout the province. The *shari'ah* courts would be confined to hearing cases involving Muslims.

Civil, commercial and criminal cases, whether between Christians or between Muslim and Christians, will be heard in the civil courts. In such law-courts cases will be heard by three judges, one of whom will preside.

The president of the court and the judges will be appointed by the Governor-General. Petty offences will be dealt with by the *kaymakam* and his advisers. The powers and authority of the civil and *shari'ah* courts will be defined by special laws and decrees. Civil and criminal law will be based on the latest European models.

IV

There will be complete freedom of religious belief.

Each *nahiye* (subdivision of a *kaza*) will be responsible for the administration of religious institutions and the appointment of priests.

V

The policing of the *vilayet* will be carried out by 1) the gendarmerie and 2) the militia. The militia will be drawn from Armenians and from non-Armenians resident in the *vilayet* for at least five years, with the exception of Kurds, Circassians and other nomadic peoples.

The gendarmerie will be responsible for the preservation of law and order throughout the province.

The gendarmerie will be commanded by an officer appointed by the Governor-General with the knowledge and approval of the

commander of the armed forces of the *vilayet* and will be placed immediately under his orders.

The militia will be under the orders of the commander of the armed forces and will be responsible for assisting the gendarmerie in the performance of its duties. Under normal circumstances the police force will consist of four thousand armed men, and the Ottoman government will not have the authority to send them to fortified places or to station and distribute them as they can the other armed forces.

VI

The general assembly will be constituted as follows:

Two representatives of the Muslims and two representatives of the Armenians will be chosen by the inhabitants of each *kaza*. These will gather in the capital of the *sandjak* to choose two representatives from the Muslims and two from the Armenians. The following may elect and be elected on strictly equal terms:

1. All inhabitants of the *vilayet* who have completed their 25th year and who either have an income or pay direct taxes of whatever amount,
2. Priests and spiritual leaders of the various religious sects,
3. Teachers and schoolmasters.

One leader from the congregations of each sect of the recognized religions will be included as members of the assembly.

The assembly will meet at least once a year in the capital of the *vilayet* to discuss the budget and decide upon the levying and distribution of taxes. The Governor-General will present an annual report to the assembly on the financial situation of the *vilayet*. The imposition and collection of taxes will be so arranged as to increase the wealth of the inhabitants of the province.

Once every five years the Governor-General and the General Assembly will fix the amount of money to be given to the Sublime Porte in accordance with the above articles.

VII

Within three months of the signing of the protocol an international commission will be set up by the Guarantor Powers to supervise the implementation of the terms of this memorandum.

Statistics appended to the Project

OTTOMAN ARMENIA

(A)

The provinces of Erzurum and Van apart from the territories left to Russia by the Treaty of Ayastefanos. The most densely populated cities of these provinces are: Bayburt, Erzincan, Malazgirt, Muş, Bitlis and Van. The total population has been given as two million sixty-six thousand (2,066,00). If we subtract the population of those territories that have been ceded to Russia (366,000) this will leave 1,700,000.

This population is distributed as follows among the various races:

Armenians	1,150,000
Turks	400,000
Kurdish nomads	80,000
Zaza or Dimbilik with distinctive languages	35,000
Yezidi, sun-worshippers and mostly nomadic with distinctive language	13,000
Gypsy nomads	3,000
Jews and Anatolian Greeks	5,000
Assyrians	14,000
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	1,700,000

The province possesses 109 churches.

(B)

The northern section of the province of Diyarbakır, i.e. the eastern section of the *sandjak* of Harput (bounded on the west by the Euphrates), the *sandjak* of Ergani and the north section of the *sandjak* of Siirt. The most densely populated centres are Harput, Eğin, Çemiskezek, Palu and Siirt. The population of this region is as follows:

According to the official yearbook	664,000
To be subtracted for the section remaining in the <i>vilayet</i>	-302,300
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	362,300

Distribution among the various races:

Armenians	180,000
Turks	130,000
Kurdish nomads	40,000
Zaza	2,300
Yezidi	2,000
Assyrians, Chaldaeans	8,000
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	362,300

General List

Provinces	Erzurum, Van	North Diyarbakır	Total
Armenians	1,150,000	180,000	1,330,000
Turks	400,000	130,000	530,000
Kurds	80,000	40,000	120,000
Greeks	5,000	-	5,000
Assyrians	14,000	8,000	22,000
Zaza	35,000	2,000	37,000
Yezidi	13,000	2,000	15,000

Erzurum and Van: 3,000 gypsies

Armenians	1,330,000
Turks	530,000
Kurds	120,000
Various	82,000
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Total	2,062,000

Statistics concerning the population of Ottoman Armenia

The same difficulty to be found in establishing the number of Ottoman Armenians is also to be found in any attempt to calculate from official sources the number of inhabitants in the various *vilayets*. There was no regular census of the population. According to Ubcini, the census carried out on the orders of the Ottoman government in 1845, on which writers on Turkey mainly base their calculations, was, although more accurate than any of those preceding or succeeding it,

clearly deficient. The population of Turkey was very definitely opposed to the idea of a census. The non-Muslim population saw a census as heralding a rise in taxation or the military exemption payment. As the government officials possessed no reliable registry of births the non-Muslims always attempted to make the population appear as small as possible.

Ubicini, basing himself on the census of 1845, gives the Armenian population as 2,500,000. Of these, 400,000 were to be found in Istanbul and the Balkan peninsula, and the remainder in Anatolia. But the figures given by the 1845 census for the various parts of the Ottoman Empire, for Rumania, for example, in which a reliable census has recently been carried out, are much lower than more modern and more reliable figures:

Egypt, 1876	5,200,000
Tunisia, 1876	1,500,000
Serbia, 1876	1,300,000
Rumania, 1876	5,000,000

Whereas in Ubicini:

Egypt and Tunisia	3,000,000
Serbia	1,000,000
Moldavia and Wallachia	4,000,000

Here there is a difference of 4,800,000, or, on an average, 60% of the population. In that case can a survey carried out thirty years ago giving the number of Armenians as 2,500,000 be regarded as a reliable basis for present-day calculations?

In the provinces, most of the Armenians lived in the villages. The Turkish peasants were unable to compete with the Armenians and tended to migrate to the cities where they could earn an easier living in professions closed to other nationalities, such as government service, tax collecting and the armed forces. Present-day village life, especially in a poor country in which there is no, or very little, industrial development, offers the most favourable conditions for a rapid increase in population. In Bulgaria, the Muslim population in the villages has decreased, whereas the Christian population, in spite of turbulence and war, has steadily increased. Moreover, there is a strongly-rooted tradition among the Armenians according to which young men and girls marry as soon as they come of age. Children and grandchildren live in the same house with their parents and grandparents. Thus they find little or no difficulty in self-subsistence

and in bringing up their children. No matter how poor the family may be they can always obtain an adequate livelihood. On the death of the head of the family his place is taken by the eldest son, with the result that the richer, harder-working members of the family will settle elsewhere and begin to form a new family nucleus. On the death of their parents the grandchildren are called upon, as head of the family, to regulate the family affairs. Given a situation in which no severe obstacles are placed in the way of normal development by the presence of Kurds in the vicinity and in which one or two members of large families who find it impossible to earn sufficient money to pay their taxes by the cultivation of their land, leave their children to be looked after by their brothers or other relations and migrate to the provincial capital to earn the tax money, we should be prepared, provided that satisfactory information was obtained concerning the areas inhabited by Armenians, to agree with those who estimate the Armenian population at some three and a half million. Taking into consideration the excess of births over deaths and the unsatisfactory nature of the official records, we could add half a million, i.e. twenty percents, to the official 1845 census figures, thus reducing the figure given above to three million. These three million Armenians would be distributed as follows:

400,000 in Istanbul and the Balkan peninsula. This figure was accepted by Ubicini and retained by ourselves. The Armenians in Europe were to be found resident in all the cities and were mainly engaged in crafts and trade. We have good reasons to believe that the population has not increased in the meantime. 600,000 in Anatolia and Cilicia, 670,000 in Lesser Armenia (the *vilayet* of Sivas and the *sandjak* of Kayseri), and 1,330,000 in Greater Armenia. i.e. the provinces of Van and Erzurum and the northern section of the province of Diyarbakır, i.e. the western section of the *sandjak* of Harput bounded on the west by the Euphrates, the *sandjak* of Ergani and the *sandjak* of Siirt.

Travellers in Anatolia and the Balkan peninsula believed that the Armenians were evenly distributed throughout the whole of Turkey. In this they erred. The majority of Armenians still live in their old homeland. It is not enough merely to examine the populations of the cities. If in Crete one took into consideration only the cities, in which the Moslems form the majority, or if in Bulgaria one based one's calculations solely on the populations of Edirne, Ruschuk and Mostar one would come to a quite erroneous conclusion. In Armenia, as in many other parts of Turkey, there has been a great change in the proportion between the Moslem and Christian populations since 1845. While the Christian population has shown a steady increase since

1845 there has been a definite decrease in the Muslim population. There are various causes for this decrease.

1. Military service
2. The concentration of Moslems in the cities
3. Migration to the capital or other places to earn a livelihood in government service.

If a proper census were carried out at the present day in the provinces of Ottoman Armenia, it would show that the Armenian population now exceeds the Muslim.

Another important point is that a proportion of the Muslims inhabiting Armenia are actually of Armenian extraction, and in many places retain the characteristics of their race, its language and its customs. Nor is it uncommon to find individuals known by the names of their forefathers, such as *Margos oğlu Mustafa* (Mustafa son of Margos) or *Kirkor oğlu Mehmet* (Mehmet son of Kirkor). The same thing is to be found among the Kurds living in Armenia. In names like Mamksi, Mantıklı, Sivantsi and Riskantsi we find ancient Armenian names like Mamkonian, Mantakuni and Sikuni. Most of these follow Christian customs and usages and are not accepted as Muslims. It may occur to our readers to ask why the Turks do not form a large proportion of the inhabitants of Armenian cities. The severity of the climate in these regions has offered protection to its own offspring. The naturally lazy indolent comfort-loving Turks prefer European Turkey or the hot or temperate countries of Assyria to eternally snow-capped mountains or highland pastures several thousand metres above sea-level. In any case, they have seen no political necessity for settling there, as the inhabitants are rendered cowed and helpless by the presence of Kurds and other savage tribes. It is sufficient to connive at their practices or, at times, even encourage them. This is indeed the strategy adopted by the Turks. Probably it is this alone that makes it impossible to accuse the Turks of being intolerant and domineering.

Memorandum On The 'Armenian Question'

The Eastern Question has now entered a phase when a definite and immediate solution is absolutely imperative. We may now say that this problem, which for over a century has remained unsolved and has been continually exploited in the form of a threat, no longer

constitutes a threat of any kind. Nothing has proved of any avail – neither political arrangements, nor agreements, nor compromises, nor requests or promises of reform. But the various postponements and delays, and the calamitous condition of affairs have proved to everyone the justice of the cause.

Recent events have demonstrated to Europe the two urgent and necessary aspects of the problem. Either this problem and all its consequences should be expunged without trace, or a perfect, definite solution should be found.

The foresight and vigilance of Europe, and its respect for its own interests, will prevent it from seeking any other solution than one inspired by reason and the actual state of affairs.

The Eastern Question is one aspect of the weakening of Ottoman despotism in a country inhabited by a mixed population of Moslems and Christians; and it is precisely this heterogeneity of population that is the most vexatious aspect of the problem, the one that constitutes the greatest and most imminent danger, that demands immediate solution, and which makes any continuation of the present state of affairs quite intolerable. From here emerge voices foretelling catastrophe and doom.

Turkey has a number of neighbours, both large and small. Until now, material interests have neither necessitated nor given grounds for hostilities. The parts of Turkey inhabited solely by Moslems have remained outside the area affected by the Eastern Question. Thus, if the Moslems had realised how the Christians with whom they were living were treated, they would have been forced to acknowledge that all danger would have been removed by immediate action or any effectively implemented solution to the problem.

The European powers, realising that their victory in the Crimean war, which they had waged to protect Turkey from Russian aggression, had not immediately put an end to the problem and that it was highly unlikely that a final solution to the Eastern Question could ever be found, turned their attention to the state and conditions of the Christians in general. A *Hatt-ı Humayun* was issued in 1856, and there is no denying that this contains the first steps towards a guarantee of the security of life, property, honour and esteem of the Christians, and their equality with the Moslems.

This was followed from time to time by the issue of further *firman*s in the same spirit. The most important step towards union and equality was taken by the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution. Yet all these efforts were to prove abortive as a result of weakness and incompetence. The Christian still remained inferior in status to the Moslem. Social and political equality remained empty

words. The same was to be observed wherever the administration remained in the hands of the Moslems, against whom the law proved incapable of giving the Christians any real protection. New laws and legal guarantees proved of no avail and served only to further complicate the situation.

For example, though judgement might be given by a Christian judge, it was invariably enforced by Moslems.

In this respect, there was a clear demonstration of good-will on the part of the Sublime Porte, and any denial of this would only be proof of malice and malevolence, but in the end it led only to promises that could never be realized.

Although universal equality was a principle accepted and defended throughout the world, for Moslems, even freedom of conscience, the most basic of principles applied by any state, together with legal and judicial impartiality, could not be enforced without violating religious law.

Freedom of conscience in Turkey meant the freedom of a Christian to accept Islam. The conversion of a Moslem to Christianity could not, and can never be, tolerated by any Moslem administration. There is no instance of pardon being given to such an act. The principle of freedom of conscience is applied to judicial and legal impartiality. If the case is one between Christians, religion plays no part whatever. But if it is a case of a complaint brought by a Christian against a Moslem, then the Moslem is always given partial treatment. The court accepts the evidence of the Moslem but will never accept the evidence of a Christian.

These circumstances clearly demonstrate to what extent the essentially religious administration of the Moslems is imbued with the spirit of discrimination against the Christians. No matter how enlightened and innately virtuous a Moslem official may be, he is obliged to conform to the prevailing state of affairs. This is clearly felt in his daily relations with accomplices in crime. Any accusation would be unfair, because we are dealing with an ideal impossible of attainment. The powerful influence of Europe opposed and to a certain extent arrested this abuse. But the foresight and even the patriotism of Turkish statesmen have been eroded, and one might well go as far as to say that new reforms only serve to give rise to further subterfuge and confusion. If this religious discrimination on the part of the Moslem administration is to be regarded as rising inevitably from the very nature of Islam and forms part of the essential spirit of the Moslem religion, if the principles of this religion are accepted as the basis of the approach adopted by Moslem officials, and if the government thus assumes a theocratic character, one is led to the

inevitable conclusion that the problem of the Christians in Turkey can only be solved by making a strict division between Moslem and Christian settlement and ways of life.

Only a Christian administration can establish equality. Only a Christian administration can enforce it. A Christian administration alone can guarantee freedom of conscience. It therefore follows that in regions with a mixed population of Christians and Moslems it is necessary to place the administration in the hands of the Christians. This state of affairs is to be found in almost all the cities in European Turkey and in Asian Armenia and Cilicia.

It is towards this that the entreaties and prayers of the Armenians are directed. They not only believe that they have the same right as the other Christians in a similar situation to the care and attention of the European powers, they are fully convinced that such a step constitutes the only possible solution to the problem.

For five hundred years since the loss of their independence many of the Armenians have abandoned Armenia to the depredations of savage tribes and migrated to various other parts of the Empire. But a considerable number still remained in their homeland, and have persevered in the preservation of their holy places and their national traditions.

At the present time there are more than two million Armenians living in Greater and Lesser Armenia surrounded by savage, non-Turkish raiders and marauders. For centuries these tribes have held Armenia in thrall, indulging in uninhibited rape and devastation. The Bulgarians and Greeks may suffer oppression in European Turkey, but the Armenians in Asia are daily exposed to the attacks of these barbarians without recourse to even the most ineffectual government or administration or to the investigation and inspection of European powers. The situation prevailing at the moment in Rumelia is the permanent situation and state of affairs in Armenia. This nation, proclaimed and vouchsafed by England's greatest poet as probably the only nation of all the nations of the world whose history is unsullied and unstained by crime and which, in the XIXth century, still preserved its power and strength, now finds itself forced to witness the destruction of its native land, the degradation and humiliation of its honour and self-esteem, and the devastation of its holy places.

Witness to all this is borne by the enormous volumes of reports presented over the last ten years by the Armenian Patriarchate to the Sublime Porte and, in translation, to the European powers. The Eastern Christians are the only millet which has remained a mere spectator in the face of the various promises made since the end of the

Crimean war, and has been abandoned to a sustenance of mere hope.

As long as there were men of good-will in Europe, and even among the Turks, who offered ground for hope, the Armenians continued to live in confidence and trust, and demonstrated their good-will by engaging in no opposition whatever to the government. I may confidently affirm that the Sublime Porte recorded not the slightest movement of rebellion on the part of the Armenians. Like good-natured orphans, the Armenians assisted in every attempt to improve the government and introduce measures of reform. But now they see all their hopes shattered. Nevertheless, they still have faith in the future. They still hope that they will one day have the good fortune to enjoy an administration that would rescue them from their present situation and at the same time put an end to the intolerable lawlessness and confusion that now reigns.

The protection and surveillance of Russia has been completely unconditional. It only remains for other nations to offer the same help and protection. What will happen if the Armenians are abandoned once again to the mercy of the officials of a Moslem administration. Only the severe worsening and deterioration of their conditions. To all the other causes of cruelty and oppression will now be added the fanaticism aroused in all the Moslem population who have followed the Istanbul Conference and seen the beginning of the struggle for the liberation of the Christians. The bigoted and reactionary European Moslems will cross to Asia, bringing with them their inextinguishable hatred and vindictiveness. At the same time, the Armenians living in provinces adjacent to Russia but outside Russian rule will see their compatriots in the territories ceded to Russia enjoying a new life under new laws and a Christian administration, and will undoubtedly find their own situation intolerable.

The Armenians have no political ambitions. They request only that Armenia should be granted an independent Christian administration similar to that in Lebanon. Under such an administration Armenian officials would ensure equal rights to Moslems and Christians, and the Armenians would continue to be faithful subjects of the Sultan.

These requests are made in the name of the torments they have suffered, in the name of the essential needs of Turkey, the peace and tranquillity of the East and the advantages accruing to Europe from a final settlement of the Eastern Question.

Istanbul, 1/14 March, 1878

Saruhan comments upon the Armenian proposals at the Congress of Berlin as follows:⁶

"Nubar Pasha sent the project from Paris to Berlin. A copy was given to each of the members of the Congress. There were thus two sets of proposals, one from Nubar, the other from the Armenian Patriarchate. One of them wanted independence for the Armenians in Turkey, the other limited its requests to the appointment of a few judicial and administrative officials and certain measures of reform. Bismarck accepted the first set of proposals and presented it to the Congress, thus bringing the Armenian problem to the members' attention. A meeting was held by English friends of the Armenians in London attended by several well-known liberals and conservatives. Several Armenians came from Manchester. The meeting was presided over by the Bishop of Westminster. Lord Beaconsfield was asked to put every effort into finding a solution to the Armenian question."

Nubar's proposal was written in a very humble style and language. The supporters of the Patriarch Nerses, the head of the Armenians in Istanbul, immediately sent word to the Armenian delegation in Berlin that no importance should be given to Nubar's proposals and that they should insist on independence. Patriarch Nerses was advised to go to Istanbul and defend his own proposals and permission was sought from the government through his deputy Mighirian. The Patriarch first of all alleged the state of his health as a pretext, claiming that he was in need of medical treatment. Later he declared that he was going to defend the proposals concerning the Armenian provinces. The Grand Vizier said that it would be more appropriate if Khrimian, then in London, were to go to Berlin.

The Patriarch being refused permission, Mighirian requested that the government should send a telegram to the Turkish representatives instructing them to assist the Armenian delegation, and asked for permission to conduct correspondence with the Patriarch in code. The Grand Vizier preferred the idea of correspondence in code to the Patriarch's going to Berlin. The key to the code was thus sent to Berlin with Stepan Papazian, who was familiar with the events in the East and the ideas of the Nerses-Odian faction. The correspondence with the Patriarch was to be deciphered by Hachik Odian, brother of Kirkor Odian and head of the code room in the Sublime Porte, who was sent by the government to Berlin to work with the Ottoman representatives.

Khirmian and Cheraz arrived in Berlin on 1/14 June. Papazian also arrived in Berlin with the code to be employed in the correspondence between the Patriarch and the delegation of representatives. Khoren Narbey arrived in Berlin from St Petersburg the following evening. None of them knew German, and an Armenian by the name of Beylerian was sent from Paris to act as interpreter. There were also a number of high-ranking Ottoman Armenians in Berlin, and it was impossible for them to remain indifferent to the work of the delegation of Armenian representatives. These Armenians⁷ were 1) Ohannes Baghdatljan (secretary in the Berlin Embassy), 2) Hachik Odian (code secretary to the Ottoman delegation and head of the code room in the Sublime Porte), 3) Garabet Karakash (secretary for official correspondence of the Ottoman delegation).⁸ Sadullah Bey was the first to meet the Armenian delegation. Wishing to avoid direct appeals and petitions by the Armenians he told them that if all they wanted was the appointment of an Armenian governor to the province of Armenia he would immediately write to the Sublime Porte. In this way their demands would be met much more quickly than through European mediation. Khoren Narbey replied that the Sublime Porte could very easily appoint an Armenian governor today and remove him tomorrow. We must have Europe as guarantor. The delegation appealed to the diplomats of all countries and were invariably assured of their sympathy and support. The Istanbul government asked the Patriarch to appoint a representative of the Patriarchate to the delegation to be sent on a tour of inspection of the eastern provinces, but this request was firmly rejected.

Minas Cheraz gives the following account of the interview between the Delegation and Gorchakov:

"The first Russian representative received us very warmly. We expressed our gratitude for his kind reception and for the interest he had taken in article 16 of the Treaty of Ayastefanos. We also added that the only aim of the memoranda we had presented to the representatives of Russia and the other states was to explain this article and widen its scope. Prince Gorchakov, explaining that article 16 had not yet come up for discussion at the Congress but that he had read our proposals, went on to say that some of these proposals were closely connected with that article and that he would speak strongly in their defence, but that some points included, such as administrative independence, went beyond his brief. He could not therefore promise to defend them.

He was not alone in the Congress. There were six or nine others, and some of these might well speak in opposition to us. But the Armenians could rely upon Russian favour and support.

Bishop Khoren Narbey, whom the Prince addressed as an old friend, told the Prince that it was essential that the Congress should be persuaded to accept the administrative project prepared by the Patriarchate. The elderly diplomat went on to say: 'The Armenians have approached me as well as the other representatives. I am not a man to play with words. I have no wish to deceive you. I will promise only what I can perform.' Narbey replied that the fact that Russia had shed its blood in its endeavours to liberate the Christian peoples lent weight to its defence of Armenian interests, to which the Prince replied, 'Other states accuse us of committing crimes in shedding our blood and squandering our money. But we struggle on behalf, not only of the Slavs, but of all Christians.'

Patriarch Nerses was also working with all his strength in the Armenian cause, arranging meetings of Armenians in various centres such as Paris and London and appealing to various people in high stations.

Before Khirmian's arrival in London several newspapers had published articles unfavourable to Armenia. At the conference of ambassadors Lord Salisbury spoke as follows:

"The conditions are not ripe for Armenian independence. In any case independence for a people like the Armenians, dispersed as they are throughout a large country, mingled with people of other sects and religions and nowhere constituting a clear majority, is quite out of the question. It would be very difficult for the Armenians to find a central point for the province of the form they desire."

Khirmian felt obliged to make a reply to Salisbury's statement, and sent a letter dated 24 June 1878 setting forth the basic principles of the Armenian demands. The letter, written from the Grand Hotel de Rome in Berlin, ran as follows:

"In Armenia, the Turks are not so mixed with the Armenians as to make a special arrangement for the Armenians impossible. My Lord, it is true that in various cities in which, in order to win the approval of foreign Christians, they are called up to perform

public service, they are in a majority. But, leaving aside Lesser Armenia, Armenians are in a large majority in the Greater Armenian provinces of Van, Muş, Bitlis, Harput, Erzurum and Erzincan.

The Armenians constitute the most important element in the provinces forming their own homeland, in spite of the many migrants who, if a good administrative system were established, would return to their own country. The situation of the Armenians is favoured by the reputation gained by the climate of Armenia. The Turks prefer warmer, or at least more temperate cities. It is true that we have no definite information on the population of Armenia, there being no census in Turkey, but it would be unfair to base estimates on the moneys paid for exemption for military service or on the number of houses, for in order to escape from oppressive taxation the Christians are in the habit of concealing their real numbers. In Armenian houses the whole family lives together with children and grandchildren, which makes the number of inhabitants per household much greater among the Armenians than among the Turks, who follow the *harem* tradition. It follows that we Armenians know the size of our own population much better than the foreigners do, and we may confidently state that in our own country we constitute three fifths of the population. The remaining two fifths consist not of Turks but of nomadic tent-dwellers such as Kurds, Yazidis and Zazas who cannot be regarded as forming a settled population. According to the information given to the Istanbul Patriarchate by the offices of the various *Marsahas* the Armenian population in the above-mentioned provinces amounts to 1,300,000, while the Turks number only 530,000 and other races 202,300. The official Ottoman *salnames* (yearbooks) give the total population in these provinces as 2,062,300. It should therefore be no difficult matter for the Powers to approve the administration of Armenia, nor for the Sublime Porte to appoint an Armenian to the post of governor and leave Rize as a port on the Black Sea between Batum and Erzurum. The Turks would have no objection to this as they themselves are Armenians by birth and origin. They would, in any case, have complete religious freedom, and would be free to practise the *shari'ah* law, while it is quite impossible for Christians to enjoy freedom and equality under a Muslim administration. The situation in this region of the East has periodically given rise to considerable unrest, which indicates the necessity for the establishment of a number of different administrations. Your

Lordship must have felt the necessity for an administration that could ensure equality for the various races inhabiting the region. This is precisely what we too desire. Since the State that has prevailed so far is essentially a religious one, since the administration is based on principles stemming from the religion practised by the dominant race and since none of the Imperial Rescripts or Constitutions so far proclaimed by the Turkish State have succeeded in overthrowing the *shari'ah* law, we wish an administration based, not on religion, but on the principles of European civilization, that would ensure full and effective equality for all. Such an administration would be the only remedy for the calamities that have afflicted the Armenian people of Turkey." 9

In a letter addressed to Karakin Papazian, the head of the Armenian committee in Manchester, Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian expresses his policy and outlook in the following terms:

To the honourable and patriotic Karakin Papazian *Confidential*

"I have received your esteemed letter of 11 April. I cannot find words to express the gratitude I feel on learning of the magnificent work on which you have been engaged. So much effort cannot possibly prove abortive. You may rest assured of that. But let me add that if it should prove necessary for the whole nation to work together we are all ready and willing. It is essential that I muster the zeal and responsibility to ensure unity in our work. You may apply to me with full trust and confidence, and at the same time show full confidence in our holy brother Khrimian, who is now in London. Encourage him. Help him. What you do for him is done for the whole nation, for our poor, beloved motherland. These words are addressed not only to you but to all our beloved, patriotic colleagues who are struggling in the same spirit in our national cause. Our hopes here are centred on the Conference of Ambassadors. If this conference actually takes place we must concentrate all our endeavours upon it. Voices will be raised against us at the conference. But the proposal should come from England. If England so wishes, Armenia will be founded.

Armenia, or what remains of Armenia, will either come under Russian rule or become an independent country with an independent administration. Which of these is in closer harmony with

England's interests? You have explained this point very clearly in your memorandum. But I am afraid we cannot present this memorandum officially as we have already presented our official memorandum to the various Powers. Nevertheless, it could be included in the agenda by being presented privately to the conference by the Armenians in London. Now let me reply to each of your questions in turn:

A. Our policy is, while remaining grateful to Russia, to place our hopes in England and to achieve comfort and well-being on both the material and spiritual planes with England's help. This aim can only be achieved through the independence of Armenia. Let no one be taken aback by our use of this word. Our slogan is the following:

Administration of Armenia by the Armenians.

B. The first part of our policy is being carried out by Bishop Khoren in St Petersburg, while the second part is being carried out by Khrimian in London.

C. When the Conference of Ambassadors actually convenes, a delegation of representatives of our nation will definitely attend. Khrimian has been entrusted with this mission for Europe.

D. We have taken the necessary steps regarding Germany and Italy. We are quite sure of the sympathy and support of these countries. As for France, we have done all that we can possibly do through the medium of the Ambassador here. We do not know whether or not Khrimian has done the work to be done in Paris, to what extent he has been successful, what exactly he has done, and what he has attempted with regard to Austria. He has written us no letters from Paris.

I ask you on behalf of our nation to exercise every effort, in a spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice, to contribute articles every day to the London press. The governments are sufficiently aware of our problem but this is not true for public opinion. It is therefore necessary to publish the reports of atrocities which Khrimian has with him and to publicise the recent attacks by the Kurds. The information possessed by Khrimian on the way of life of the Kurds should also be made known.

1878

Your Humble Servant
Nerses Varjabedian

The Armenians in London arranged several interviews for Khrimian. In his reception by the Archbishop of Canterbury he made the following speech:

Your Grace and Holiness,

First of all, as the humble representative and envoy of the Istanbul Patriarch and the Armenian people of Turkey, I should like to express my most profound gratitude to Your Grace that, in the midst of so much business, you should have received my humble visit in the spirit of Christian brotherhood. In displaying this cordial brotherliness you are following the injunction of the Apostles, "You are all brothers". The sacred principle of Christian brotherhood inculcated by the New Testament gives me the right of appealing to Your Exalted Brotherliness for your attention and protection regarding the Armenian cause I am now in Europe to bring before the tribunal of the Christian world.

Your Grace, you know only too well that the Armenian people, in the context of the Eastern question, have, as a Christian nation, the right to an equal share of the rights granted to the other Christian nations. The Bulgarians and Greeks are not the only nations to have suffered for centuries under cruel oppression. The defenceless Armenian nation in the Asian provinces has suffered the same torments a thousandfold.

For nearly five centuries the Armenians have suffered the fate of martyrs, and have been kept alive only by hopes for a future freedom. Old calamities have been succeeded by the unendurable calamities of war. But Armenia, helpless and destitute as it is, stood up to it all, although its villages were turned into ruins by the hands of savage, barbarian Kurds. The wretched Armenian people have been left stripped naked on their native soil. Some of them have been forced to leave their beloved homeland and migrate abroad. The war ended. We thought that the cruelty and injustice to which the Armenian people had been exposed would now come to an end. But, unfortunately, they have only further intensified! Everyday complaints arrive at the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul of frightful atrocities and unheard-of crimes.

Our Most Holy Prop and Support, we await a remedy from your Christian humanity. The Armenians believe that their torments are now approaching an end and that Fate has decided

that they have suffered sufficient torment. They are convinced that God has appointed as the hand that will liberate Armenia from a servitude of five hundred years the powerful and freedom-loving hand of Great Britain, which has brought freedom to so many enslaved peoples. It is from that protective hand that the Armenian people prays for its rightful share,

Your Grace's Humble Servant
The former Armenian Patriarch
Archbishop Mighirdich Khrimian

After the memorandum of the Armenian representatives concerning the administration project had been presented to the conference the delegation, on the advice of the French, made the following appeal for it to be placed on the conference agenda:

"The Turks are obliged by the terms of the Treaty of Ayastefanos to introduce reforms in accordance with local conditions. We have presented to Your Excellency, as well as to the representatives of the other powers, a memorandum setting out how this was to be done. We should be grateful if you would present our memorandum to the congress and are ready and willing to offer any information required concerning Armenia."

The 12th protocol of the meeting of the Congress of Berlin on 4 July 1878 gives the following account of the discussion leading to the acceptance of article 61 replacing article 16 of the Treaty of Ayastefanos:

"Lord Salisbury proposed the discussion of article 16 of the Treaty of Ayastefanos relating to Armenia, going on to say that if the Congress decided to remove the first three lines of the article in question, which would seem to make implementation by the Sublime Porte of the reforms concerning the Armenians a necessary condition for the withdrawal of Russian troops, he would be willing to accept the last three lines outlining the reforms, otherwise he would later present and propose a special article concerning the Armenians.

Count Shouvalov, while not insisting on the discussion of a question for which there was no time on that particular day, expressed the fear that the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Armenia before the implementation of the promised reforms

would give rise to serious disorder, and suggested that the views of the Congress on the Armenian question should be discussed in a special session at a later date."

The protocol of the 14th meeting of 6 July 1878 runs as follows:

"The Congress began with the examination article 26, which had been mentioned in one of the previous meetings. Lord Salisbury, in a memorandum circulated to the representatives, proposed the omission of the first lines of the article as far as the word "country", and the addition at the end of the article of the sentence "The under-signed representatives agree that measures should be taken for the full implementation of the terms of the agreement." He went on to say that Armenian interests must be safe-guarded, and that the aim of this proposal was immediate introduction of reforms, the prospect of further progress in the future and assurance of their happiness and security.

Alexander Pasha admitted that certain tribes had been guilty of violent and unruly behaviour in the course of the recent war, but he insisted that on receiving word of these disturbances the Sublime Porte took immediate measures to put an end to the disorders, whereas Lord Salisbury's proposal appeared to refer to measures to be taken in the future. He suggested that the measures prepared and accepted by the Sublime Porte should be taken into consideration and that the formula "The Sublime Porte will inform the six Powers of the result of the measures taken." should be added at the end of the article in question, thus satisfying the six Powers and completing the formula proposed by the English representatives.

Count Shouvalov announced that he preferred the proposal put forward by Lord Salisbury but he saw no point in referring to measures accepted by the Sublime Porte but not put into effect.

The chairman declared that measures adopted with regard to the unruly tribes might be difficult to implement and that more practical results could be expected from the addition suggested by Lord Salisbury.

Alexander Pasha, while insisting on the inclusion of the addition proposed, asked for the discussion to be postponed to a later date to allow the changes proposed by Lord Salisbury to be made in the article itself."

The 15th protocol of the meeting held on 8 July 1878 runs as follows:

"The chairman announced that, although it had been decided at the last meeting of the congress that the results of additional discussions on the subject of the city and port of Batum and similar topics should be placed on the agenda for discussion on that day, the decisions taken on the question by the representatives had not yet been announced. He therefore proposed that the discussion should be postponed to a later meeting and that the article relating to the Armenians should be drawn up by Lord Salisbury. As for the draft of article 16, after announcing that the results would be proposed to the congress after consultation with the representatives of the Ottoman government, the following draft decided upon by the representatives of England and the Ottoman government was read out to the meeting:

'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.

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

The Congress announced the acceptance of this article.

There was also an article 62 in addition to article 61. Although article 62 is not directly concerned with the Armenians, as it refers to all non-Moslems in the regions under Ottoman rule, the Armenians would also benefit from it.

The article in question runs as follows

"The Sublime Porte having expressed the intention to maintain the principle of religious liberty, and give it the widest scope, the Contracting Parties take note of this spontaneous declaration.

In no part of the Ottoman Empire shall difference of religion be alleged against any person as a ground for exclusion or incapacity as regards the discharge of civil and political rights, admission to public employments, functions and honours, or to the exercise of the various professions and industries.

All persons shall be admitted, without distinction of religion, to give evidence before the tribunals.

The freedom and outward exercise of all forms of worship are assured to all, and no hindrance shall be offered either to the hierarchical organization of the various communions or to their relations with their spiritual chiefs.

Ecclesiastics, pilgrims, and monks of all nationalities travelling in Turkey in Europe or in Turkey in Asia, shall enjoy the same rights advantages and privileges.

The right of official protection by the Diplomatic and Consular agents of the Powers in Turkey is recognized both as regards the above-mentioned persons and their religious, charitable, and other establishments in the Holy Places and elsewhere.

The rights possessed by France are expressly reserved, and it is well understood that no alterations can be made in the *status quo* in the Holy Places.

The monks of Mount Athos, of whatever country they may be natives, shall be maintained in their former possessions and advantages, and shall enjoy, without any exception, complete equality of rights and prerogatives."

The Armenians were at first warmly received by the Congress, Bismarck treating them with great courtesy but, after the announcement of the Cyprus agreement, discussion on the Armenian question was abandoned and work on this topic entrusted to Britain.

The first article of an agreement signed by Great Britain and the Ottoman government ten days before the opening of the Congress of Berlin and one month before the discussion of the Armenian question on 4 July, runs as follows:

Should Russia retain under occupation Batum, Ardahan, Kars and any other of the above-mentioned provinces and should, at any time in the future seize or invade any part of any of the Asian territories assigned by the Peace Treaty to the Ottoman Empire, Great Britain promises to protect and defend the said territories by force of arms, and in return for His Imperial Majesty's undertaking to take all the necessary measures to

implement the reforms to be agreed upon between the two countries as to the protection and good administration of the Christian population of the large cities, the said government agrees to the use of the Island of Cyprus to ensure the requisite means for the implementation of these measures of reform.

Although the Armenian delegation were pleased to be placed under European rather than Russian protection, they were disappointed at their failure to gain complete independence. They therefore decided to make further attempts and appealed to the Russian ambassador in Paris. To this appeal they received the reply that "Russian policy was not concerned with the question of the Christians in the East". Nor did they receive any more sympathetic a hearing from the other delegates. They informed the Istanbul Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian of the situation and asked for instructions. Nerses told them to present a strong protest against this decision. Thereupon they presented the following protest to the congress:

"The Armenians are greatly disappointed at the rejection of the just and moderate proposals put forward by the Armenian delegation. We Armenians, who have never acted as the tool of any foreign power, who have been exposed to more attacks and depredations than any of the other Christian communities in Turkey, who have never been the cause of any annoyance to the Turkish government, and who are not of the same race as any great power, had hoped that we would receive the same protection as the other Christian communities. We imagined that we, as a nation with no particular political affiliations, would find support and protection, and that we would be able to live in Armenia under the administration of Armenian officials. The Armenians are a peaceable community. But they have gained nothing from retaining the independence of their churches and preserving the integrity of their community.

The Armenians will take the lesson they have learned here back with them to the East. Until Europe responds in such a way as to give hope to their cause and aspirations they will never cease to raise their voices.

Berlin 1878

After presenting this protest, the Armenian delegation returned to Turkey.

The Armenians had set great hopes on this congress. They had hoped that the defeat of the Ottomans by the Russians would result in their achieving the independence they had so long desired, and that the Russian diplomats who had striven to realize similar political objectives in the Balkans would assist them in the realization of their own particular aims.

NOTES

1. Letter written by Narbey from St Petersburg to the Catholicos Keork dated 2 March 1878. Saruhan, *op. cit.* p.330-332
2. Father of Bogos Nubar, who on several occasions had headed Armenian delegations and was lastly in Lausanne.
3. *Le Haïasdan*, London, 1889, no. 15-16.
4. *Armenia*, a newspaper published by Minas Cheraz, Headmaster of the Galata Armenian School and one of the members of this delegation. 1890, no.3
5. *Bill for the Foundation of an Ottoman Armenia*, Patriarchate Publication, Istanbul, 1878, p. 8-16; Leo, *op. cit.*
6. Saruhan, *op. cit.*, p. 445.
7. *ibid.*, p. 415-416
8. Apart from those mentioned by Saruhan there were a number of Armenians employed in various departments of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs as well as in important posts in the Embassies in Berlin, Paris, Vienna and Rome.
9. Bishop Mushegh, *Armenian Immigrants in Manchester*, Boston, 1911, p. 82-85 (Armenian)

VIII AFTER THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

Armenians endeavours continued even after the end of the Congress of Berlin. The Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian, in a letter written to the Armenian committee in London, gives the following account of the situation, with advice on how to win British support.¹

“The decisions of the Congress had the following effect on the Armenians: Is it now imperative that we should turn our eyes and our hopes to Russia? So far, all the nations in Turkey that have developed, progressed, and finally achieved an independent status have done so thanks to Russian protection. These nations were either of the same religion and the same race, or at least of the same religion as the Russians. We can guess the result. I cannot understand what England has to gain from throwing several million Armenians in Asia into Russia’s arms. I believe that we should concentrate further on English public opinion. The reforms to be carried out in favour of the Christians as a result of the Anglo-Turkish agreement will be implemented by Turkish and British cooperation, in other words, by the Sublime Porte and the English Ambassador. From what I have heard, Layard, the British Ambassador, to whom I have sent increasingly bitter complaints, wishes to prepare a memorandum regarding the Armenians. In view of this, those of you in London can be of very great service. I appeal to you, in the most heart-rending tones, in the name of our nation and our compatriots. That public opinion should exert an influence on the government, whether through newspapers, meetings, gatherings or questions in Parliament, will be of inestimable value. At this particular time, questions in Parliament would be of immense importance. This should be

carried out by two noble and worthy Lords who have most generously supported our cause and who have been of the greatest assistance. Placing all my hopes in your fame, your zeal and your love of country I impatiently await the consolation of your reply.

The Patriarch
N. Varjabedian

P.S. There is no need for me to remind you that the article contains no mention of Armenia nor of any Armenian city nor of reform. The Europeans have not yet realized that reform can only take place as the result of Turkey's choice of good administrators, and that without reform this can never be implemented by Turkish officials.

The Patriarch Varjabedian wrote to Karakin Papazian, his colleague in London, giving the following reasons for the failure of the Armenian case at the Congress of Berlin: ²

"You are no doubt familiar with the decisions so far taken by the Congress regarding the Armenian question. These decisions have given rise here to very great disappointment. There are various reasons for these decisions: 1) Ambassador Layard, a firm friend of the Turks, gave the government false information in the reports he presented. 2) The British government, having behaved towards Turkey with some harshness in the course of the Congress, wished to display more complaisance on secondary issues. 3) Whereas the Turkish delegation, which was headed by a Greek, had remained quite silent on other questions, here they came out in violent opposition. Kara Todori Pasha, although he had received no instructions from here and had been given no orders concerning the Greek and Austrian questions and our own cause, stood up heroically against them. The fourth, and most important of the reasons, was the secret agreement that had been concluded between England and Turkey."

The Armenians themselves attributed the failure of the mission to the lack of political experience possessed by the delegates sent to Berlin by the Patriarchs and to their acting without due reflection and consideration.

S. Kaprielian : "The presentation of the Armenian position to the European cabinets was a matter of great delicacy and difficulty.

The question was a political one. The task ought to have been given to someone capable of dealing with people experienced in political controversy and who had gained the highest skill and competence in the world of diplomacy.

Where could such a man be found? The Armenians had no political life. And such a man could not be chosen from the *efendis* of the sublime Porte. The Patriarch had recourse to two members of the clergy. Khrimian, one of the most distinguished personalities of the time, as a provincial *marhasa* and a former Patriarch, had a certain experience in politics, though in a rather narrow field. As for Khoren Narbey, he was utterly devoid of any political experience and was completely unsuitable for the job."³

Leo:⁴ "If there was one thing for which Khrimian was utterly unsuited it was political leadership. He himself was a Gregorian who wanted to see a free and independent Armenia ruled by an Armenian government. A king also wanted this, (i.e. English) The Armenian clergy venerated this king. It was because of this and in this belief that he set out to convince the powerful of Europe. He saw not a single one of them. His secretary Minas Cheraz had hoped for an audience with the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs. And he waited for a considerable time. The German Empress wept on hearing of the sufferings of the Armenians and gave Khrimian a promise in the name of the Emperor. England gave him a magnificent welcome. But with no result."

Krikor Ardzrouni writes as follows in *Mishak*, an Armenian newspaper published in Tiflis: ⁵

"If the Armenians, having made Armenians of the Kurds, Assyrians and Yezidis, had applied to the Congress of Berlin as a united nation, and if they had shown themselves capable of using weapons and shedding blood, they would have obtained greater support at the Congress, and the Armenians of Turkey would have been recognized as a nation worthy of political independence."

On his return from Berlin Khrimian gave the following reply to questions on the situation: ⁶

"In Berlin they were distributing *keshkek* (wheat boiled with meat) for the souls of the dead, and you sent me there to bring

back the Armenians' share. I picked up my bowl and rushed there as quickly as I could. There I saw Serbians, Montenegrins, Greeks, Bulgarians and Roumanians filling up their bowls with the iron ladles hanging from their waists, getting their shares and taking them away. Instead of a ladle you gave me a piece of paper. The more *keshkek* I put in the paper the wetter the paper got. Finally it disintegrated in my hand. I came home empty-handed. I forgot to take a few Zeitun rebels with me. They have ladles. They would have been able to scrape something from the bottom or the side of the bowl."

To those who asked how he could undertake a political mission of this kind and how he could speak without knowing a foreign language he replied:

"I will speak a language the whole world knows, a language expressing pain and suffering, in other words, I will weep."

The speeches delivered by the Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian in the National Assembly are of great interest. As those of 4 and 21 July are in the nature of historical documents we give here a literal translation from the Armenian.⁷

The minutes of the National Essembly are as follows:

4 July 1878 "Fourth Sitting
Chairman: Stepan Aslanian Pasha

The following motion put forward by 12 deputies was read:

The High Assembly of Berlin has completed its work and has no doubt come to a decision on the Armenian question. We request that His Excellency the Patriarch should give us the necessary information:

DEPUTIES

A.V.⁸ Urinian
Himaiak V. Timakian
Yeznik V. Abahuni
Kevork Ajemian
Sahak Der Serkisian
Partog Kurkchian
M. H. Melikian

Dertad Papazian
Harutiun Tulian
H. Fenerjian
Hohannes Markarian
Keork Vartanian

On the proposal of the committee it had been decided that the Patriarch should reply at the next meeting.

July 21, 1878
Fifth Sitting

Chairman: Patriarch Nerses
Chairman of the Assembly:
Stepan Arslanian Pasha

Business : The Patriarchs reply to the question put by twelve deputies.

Chairman: Members of the Assembly will recall that at the last sitting the following motion was put forward by a group of twelve deputies:

'The High Assembly of Berlin etc.etc.'

His Excellency the Patriarch was not present at the last meeting of the Assembly. It was therefore impossible for him to give an immediate response to the question. We sent a copy of the motion to his Holy Office and he has graced the committee with a written reply. I call Mighirian and Hohannes to come to the rostrum and read the reply. (Mihgirian immediately came to the rostrum and read as follows:)

'Honourable members,

In reply to a question concerning our community addressed to me a month ago in this assembly by a few nationalist deputies I replied, referring to the efforts we had expended and the respect with which we had been received, 'I am not the only one involved in the work, but it is I who have had to bear all the responsibility'.

The time for this responsibility has not yet arrived. For it is a double responsibility. My first responsibility is to this great assembly of the Armenians, the second is to Armenian history, and to both the past and the future. Yes, for me the weight of this responsibility is much more onerous than you can ever imagine. I feel responsible not only to you, today's representatives of our community, but also to the souls and the memory of our

ancestors, who preserved Armenia and the Armenian people, and to the innumerable Armenian generations of the future who will take the place of the generation of today. The second responsibility is much heavier and more formidable than the first. But let me say quite frankly that I have never been afraid of this responsibility. I can answer with a clear and untroubled conscience. Nevertheless, the first responsibility, which brings me here before you today, is a very delicate one. If my explanation should fail to satisfy you I shall have no alternative but to appeal to the court of history. For all of us, for you and for me, that is the only court to which whatever is said or written may be sent outside this assembly. By saying this, I do not mean in any way to belittle your dignity and authority. I should prefer, in the interests of my honoured nation, to be unjustly declared guilty and condemned by that same nation. Had I not, from the very first day, been prepared to suffer every type of persecution, condemnation, punishment and pain, had I not been utterly devoted to my aim, had I not promised to sacrifice myself for the cause, why should I have undertaken this task?

Honourable members,

The Armenian question did not arise spontaneously in its present form. It arose as one aspect of the Eastern question. The Armenian question existed ten years before the emergence of the Bosnia-Herzegovina question or the present situation in Bulgaria. This question arose from the atrocities to which Armenians were exposed in Armenia. The problem was one between the people and the government. For ten years the people appealed to the Sublime Porte through political assemblies, delegations of deputies and the Patriarchs to put an end to these atrocities. The Armenian question consisted solely of this. After that the Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgarian questions arose.

Together with these two questions arose the problems of both injustice and independence. These provinces raised the banner of revolt against their lawful master. The resulting bloodshed made European intervention inevitable. The other great empire that borders upon this great empire raised its voice above all others in the name of Christendom. The Powers held a conference in Istanbul. What did the Armenian community do? It remained obedient to the laws. The Armenians were content with Ottoman

rule but complained of their conditions. The Christians talked of reform of these conditions, and the Armenians waited for these reforms to alleviate their situation.

Honourable members,

As you know, your Patriarch did not remain idle. He was very active in his relations with the Sublime Porte and the Ambassadors. But the Conference of Ambassadors, instead of turning their attention to the reform of the situation, remained entirely absorbed with the problems of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgaria. At the same time and you will allow me to trespass a little beyond this country – the Ottoman government, by stirring up revolt among the remaining Christian peoples by means of the injustices inflicted upon them, deliberately prepared the ground for a massacre.

The Ottoman government refused to accept the decision made by the Conference of Ambassadors. We Armenians were in no way grieved to see the Ottoman government reject a special reform project as this would have resulted in a serious worsening of our situation, with very heavy taxation being added to the other woes of our country. But our country was now faced with an even greater calamity: the outbreak of war.

In the great war that followed, the Ottoman government first of all deployed its forces against the mutinies in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgaria and, by opening a regular campaign against the Montenegrins and Serbs, who were receiving aid from the Slavs, they successfully silenced their guns. Then came the turn of the rich and fertile plains of Bulgaria. Unfortunately, the sacred plains of our own Armenia, watered with the blood and sweat of so many of our compatriots, also became the scene of the destruction caused by the calamity of war.

The Ottoman people, with the characteristic feelings and qualities of its race, for a time repelled the great enemy, making a heroic stand that aroused the wonder and admiration of the whole world. Later, it was forced to yield to a greater force, and Russia's victorious armies advanced on the one side towards the capital of Armenia and on the other towards Istanbul, the capital of Turkey. The hour of peace struck at last. Negotiations began between the two sides (Kızanlık) and the general conditions were agreed upon at Edirne. Discussions were to begin immediately on the signing

of an agreement. No one can withstand force, least of all those who possess only moral strength. No one could have halted the course of events. No great intelligence or foresight was required to see that a change would take place in the situation of the country and the condition of the Christian peoples. In short, there was an obvious danger for me and for everyone. If the conditions of existence of the Armenian people were not strengthened they would cease to exist as a separate entity. To the question of injustice and oppression was added an even greater question: that of existence or non-existence.

Under general conditions the Armenian nation possesses not even a name of its own. And discussion of the agreement could be included only under those conditions. The situation was almost completely hopeless. Why we didn't lose all hope, I don't know. Let me say that it was impossible to explain the misery and the fate of the nation. I felt this in my heart and my whole being. At the same time I felt the formidable burden of responsibility laid upon me. The national assembly of our nation had entrusted me with the nation's business. No success could be achieved through ordinary ways and means, nor was it possible to wait. I could have called you to a meeting and divested myself of responsibility in your presence without doing anything, or at least I could have worked together with the lay assembly. Ought I, under these conditions, have felt remorse and self-reproach at thus renouncing my responsibility?

Honourable members,

No doubt the memory of those days still remains with you. The Ottoman community had poured out its blood on the battlefield, and on meeting with defeat after so much suffering, although the sound of the word "Christian", that had been the cause of it all, rang in their ears, they experienced a wonderful enthusiasm.

At such a time it was more than ever necessary to act with caution and foresight, but at the same time in an effective manner. Our Patriarch pondered and consulted on the matter. All the bishops were prepared to work together on behalf of the nation and if necessary to sacrifice themselves in the cause. Our reverent bishop united with his brethren. In any case, they had taken an oath to this effect in the presence of God on the day of their

ordination. They now took the same oath in the name of their community.

The Ottomans had just sent representatives to Edirne invested with full authority and I and my esteemed colleagues immediately set about the work. Everyone knows our aim. It was quite simply that the Armenians should be explicitly referred to in the text of the agreement. Now a special article has been inserted in the draft agreement. Are the Armenians now mentioned in the way we wished? No! They are not!... But in politics they say that 'if you can't do what you want, do what you can'.

(Article 16 is read)

It was on the strength of this article that the Armenians were given security against the depredations of the Kurds and the Circassians. The appeals of the last ten years had at last been given a hearing and a part at least of the case we had put forward on behalf of our nation had been placed on the basis of international principles. Our national question, together with the Eastern question as a whole, had assumed a new form. This country has until now been administered by Turkish officials. The maladministration of these officials is common knowledge. It has even been proclaimed by the Sublime Porte and the Sultan himself. It would be erroneous to state that the evils to which the Armenians are exposed in Armenia are due solely to the Kurds and Circassians. There is also another calamity, another evil. Worthless administrators. From one end of Armenia to another there is not a single Armenian official.

Before the war, the ruler of this great country of which we are the subjects wished to solve the Eastern problem on the basis of equality and the Constitution. All religious discrimination was abolished in politics and administration, public service was shared out equally among all subjects. Only one type of inequality was accepted, and that was the inequality based on personal worth and ability. In this last patriotic move the Armenian people acted neither in a timid nor in a bold or insolent manner. Most put every effort into reaching a satisfactory solution to the problem. Why? Because the Armenian had a brilliant part to play in this type of solution. Because the Armenian has never confused his own church and his own nation with any foreign church or any

foreign nation. He could work in complete freedom towards the rebirth of his country. I do not say that he is one of the leading workers. Though perhaps I may say that he is one of the leading workers in view of the qualities and virtues with which he has been endowed by the grace of God to a greater extent than any other nation. The initiative taken by His Imperial Majesty on his accession to the throne was an admirable one. No one can blame the Armenians for allowing their hopes to be raised by it. Another trial was to follow. The enemy's victory in the war gave a different slant to the solution of the Eastern question. The Eastern question could now be solved in no other way. By the grace of God this could be done only by division of the territory or by a special and separate administration for the various peoples. The provinces which formed the traditional centre and homeland of the various peoples and the greater part of which are still inhabited mainly by the same Christian peoples would remain under the permanent and inalterable rule of the Sultan but with the administration in the hands of Christian officials, creating in this way the provinces of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Greece and Armenia. In cities which had not formed the cradle of Christian peoples and in which Christians had always remained in a minority all Moslem officials would be left in charge of administration. In this way, the division and establishment would be in no way political in form or result.

The Treaty of Ayastefanos offered no solution to this aspect of our national question. On the contrary, it tended to completely ignore it. And yet this is the very keystone of reform. It is the only possible solution, and only an administration founded on this basis could prove solid and lasting. We as a nation shall be forever grateful to those who put their signature to this article. And I should like to take this opportunity of proclaiming this gratitude on behalf of our whole nation. One of these is now guiding the domestic and foreign affairs of his country with caution and intelligence in an extremely difficult and delicate situation.

Having obtained strength and encouragement from article 16 of the Treaty of Ayastefanos we began to work with greater ardour and zeal. Our endeavours were not over, they were just beginning. The Treaty of Ayastefanos was not to remain as it was. Various items could be changed in accordance with European views. It was absolutely inevitable that alterations should be made to article 16. Just as the future political situation of the

Danube region was of vital importance for the political interests of Europe as a whole, in the same way, but even more particularly, English interests were closely involved in the political situation of the Euphrates. No matter how friendly and unselfish the Armenians might be and no matter how much these feelings were to prevail in the signing of article 16, it was inevitable that England should suspect that a new political situation was being developed in the Euphrates basin very much in the interest of one of the signatories of article 16. It was obvious that England would refuse to accept this, and would endeavour to suppress or modify it. I use the word "suppress" quite consciously and deliberately. This was the word actually employed by the politicians. To actually suppress it was, however, out of the question. For a free country like England this would have been nothing but cold-blooded inhumanity. The only alternative was to convert an article written concerning the Armenians into an article concerning the reform of Armenia, and to put aside the Armenian question as a purely Armenian problem. But our own endeavours could never, by themselves, have been capable of reviving our forgotten name. Yet it was essential to make Europe realize that we were the descendants of an old glorious nation that was now no more. It was necessary that Europe should learn that the Armenian people were fully self-aware and well knew how to protect their own rights. Bishop Khoren was sent to St Petersburg. Khrimian was sent to Europe accompanied by the most distinguished of the younger Armenian generation, a young man whose youth and high intelligence would represent in Europe the brilliant hopes for the future cherished by the Armenian nation. Khrimian bore with a noble patience the sorrow and affliction of the glory and honour of Armenia. Bishop Khoren represented the heart of the Armenian people throbbing with ancient memories and beating with new hopes. It was the duty of every Armenian to cooperate and collaborate with them. In such a situation I had the right to appeal to all sons of Armenia for the necessary assistance.

Every Armenian whose heart beat with Armenian blood and felt that he might be of assistance to the nation worked together with myself and our representatives in Europe. And their labours were accompanied by love and respect from every side. The newspapers served to translate these feelings to the public. Everyone, practically without exception, supported and defended our cause. Societies were founded. Discussions of our

national cause were to be heard from political platforms. The sympathy of Europe appeared to be on our side. But unfortunately I knew only too well that in this present century feelings express only selfish interests, and that in Berlin in particular, in the discussions of old, hardened diplomats, only interest prevailed. We had abandoned interest on our own side. I have just described what happened. The states met in conference for one or two sittings. I received hopes and official promises from all sides and from every Power. They assured me that whatever was granted to the other Christian nations would also be granted to the Armenians. The Armenians neither had, nor could have, a vote in the Congress. But our hopes had been raised. The French Ambassador, who was acting as minister and head representative of foreign affairs for France, a great and noble nation, took upon himself the responsibility for the defence of our cause in the assembly, and himself approved the method and approach we proposed in the official correspondence between us. Finally the chairman of the Congress, the most eminent of the representatives and the most skilled and experienced of all the diplomats, examined our correspondence and our cause with the greatest attention and, lending our problem the greatest importance from the very first day, included in the agenda of the assembly the letter from the Istanbul Patriarch, the petition presented to him by the Armenian representatives and the statistics on Armenia. We may therefore be forgiven for having hoped that the Armenian question was to be thoroughly examined and a radical solution found. Just then we learned of the secret agreement between Turkey and England.

Honourable members,

It is not for me to say how guilty we Armenians were in having failed to discern this new policy, which had not been discerned by any European power and in the formation of which it was impossible to decide which policy was playing the predominant role. This agreement, undeniably a god-send to Turkey and also beneficial to the Armenians, proved an obstacle in the way of discussion in the assembly of article 16. The Conference changed the guarantee and supervision of one into the supervision and guarantee of all the great Powers. Furthermore, the agreement between Turkey and England endowed England with special responsibility for the protection of the Armenians. But, at the same time, it prevented the thorough and comprehensive investigation of the Armenian problem.

An impartial consideration of the matter will reveal quite clearly that if the Anglo-Turkish agreement had not based the reform projects concerning the Eastern Christians on agreement between the British and Turkish governments, the project would have been decided by the Powers in accordance with their own points of view.

Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin runs as follows:

(Article 61 is read.)

Honourable members,

If there is anything to be regretted in this article it is the partial postponement of a solution to our problem, its failure to satisfy the hopes of our people and its failure to offer any hopes for the future. What nation has ever succeeded in achieving all its hopes at a single stroke? It is only death or disaster that comes to an individual or a nation suddenly, without warning. Life and happiness appear slowly and tardily. Those who declare that 'if we were not to succeed, why did we ever start' are therefore completely mistaken. If I had known beforehand that in order to succeed they would have to sacrifice everything they possessed, some their wealth, others their fame, I should still have begun. I submit my conduct in this matter to the judgement of my nation.

But I did not act here on my own initiative. The aspirations of my nation were even stronger and more determined than my own. It was only in order to realize these aspirations that I assumed leadership.

Two objections have been raised, and the pain caused by these are added to the pain I already feel. One of these objections is that 'we asked little and received little; we gave inadequate, defective expression to the desires of our nation; and we even worked for an imperfect type of administration quite designedly, deliberately and intentionally.' This objection has been raised by number of our own compatriots and, by creating an atmosphere of distrust, an attempt is being made to add evidence and proof of the vicious exploitation and enslavement of our compatriots.

Ah! If those who condemn with such boldness and audacity only knew what I know. If they only knew how those who have striven over the last six months have never in their whole lives striven with such fervour, how they sacrificed everything they

possessed, some their wealth, others their fame and influence, how they set at naught the difficulties and dangers they incurred, how they risked their personal profit and advantage in order that not a single letter of the national project should be omitted, how they acted with sacred, patriotic ardour, without any thought for future fame or reputation, they would have felt agonies of conscience in putting such an objection forward.

The second comes mainly from foreigners, for such an objection would never be voiced by an Armenian. This is 'that what the Patriarch described as a national question was entirely his own invention and lacked any support from the nation itself'. Apparently this foreigner had remained deaf to the cries uttered by the Armenian people for so many years, and had also remained unaware of the duty with which I was endowed by the nation, a duty which was quite recently renewed.

I have already described in what form and in what terms the Armenian question was presented to Europe. I may sum it up in the following words: 'Armenia and Armenian rule' with our Sultan's approval and under his jurisdiction. We have no political ambitions, nor can we ever have any.

I ask you, representatives of the nation, you who have been chosen by the votes of the whole people! Is what I presented truly the will of the nation? Could you ever have forgiven your Patriarch if he had remained indifferent at a time when the fate of all the Christian peoples was being decided by the government of Turkey? Would you have forgiven me if had not appealed to the national assembly that Europe should be informed of the existence in the East of a desperate and defenceless Armenian people? I ask you, would you have forgiven me? I ask you, if I had not thrown aside all obstacles and obstructions to let Europe hear the cry of the Armenian people, would they and you ever have forgiven me? I ask you to respond with your votes, your unanimous votes. For in such matters votes must be unanimous. I ask you to respond with your votes to such an unjust and anti-national objection.

But where is the loss? Where is the failure of so much zeal and endeavour? Where is the failure? Where is the misfortune, the hopelessness? For the first time the revered name of the Armenian nation has been included in an agreement. Is this the loss? By this agreement the Armenians have been freed from

oppression and injustice. Is this the misfortune? The seed of the Armenian future has been strengthened. Is this the failure of our work? The people and governments of Europe have become acquainted with the Armenian people and grown to love them. Is this failure? At this very moment, as I speak to you from the national platform, from all the great platforms of Europe questions are being addressed to the European governments concerning the Armenian people. Is this our neglect? Is this our abandonment to despair?

Honourable members,

I had said that our case did not receive an immediate and complete hearing. I complained on those grounds both to the ambassadors here and to the delegates in Berlin. Complaint is the right of the weak, and is very often used as such. But not in this case. Because here the result appeared at the last moment, in the inclusion of this article. It is true that we have not achieved a full solution to our problem. But by the inclusion of this article in the agreement we have achieved not a little. And no one can deny that the special protection of England is of no less importance. It was not on such protection that we had relied for the necessary direction towards a solution to our problem. But nothing is as strong as reality. It has a definite effect on the policy of governments. Interest, design and preference may take their places in the front rank of the policies adopted by the British people. Then, like the boundless ocean that surrounds their eternal island, they will struggle indefatigably among themselves until they finally achieve a new spirit and a new form. Let us too, honourable members, finish what we have begun.

Such things cannot be achieved in a single day or by one single man. Let us prepare for the future. Let us not be content to remain at this or that point. Let us send our most competent, renowned and patriotic teachers and ecclesiastics to Armenia. Armenia awaits our trainers, our teachers, our ardent young men. Armenia awaits our tradesmen and artists. Cruelty and oppression are no more. There are no longer any attacks on life or property or honour. Roads will be constructed, canals opened, factories built. The British will go to Armenia to invest their money. Our own capitalists will also make their way there. Let companies be established to ensure the building of schools, the establishment of commercial relations, and the construction of factories. Let all the Armenians in India, Armenia, England, Russia, Turkey,

particularly indebted to the second representative of Great Britain.

The Congress of Berlin decided to inform the various European powers of the measures to be taken by the Sublime Porte for the security and well-being of the Armenians. This made the Sublime Porte answerable for the situation in Ottoman Armenia. If Europe should find that the measures taken are inadequate it can ask the Ottoman government to take more effective action. This is indeed a boon of inestimable value.

The Congress of Berlin decided that the Sublime Porte should report to the European powers from time to time on the measures taken for the reform and improvement of the conditions of the Armenians. The phrase 'from time to time' means that it will not suffice for the Sublime Porte to take the necessary measures on one occasion only, but that permanent reform must be ensured and that new measures must continually be taken to improve the conditions of the Armenians. This too is a boon of inestimable value.

The six states participating in the Congress of Berlin have assumed responsibility for the supervision of the various means and measures applied. Indeed, it is quite possible that many of the measures reported by the Sublime Porte to these powers might never actually be implemented in Anatolia. This suspicion will be removed by the supervision to be carried out by the six states. Europe thus abandons the policy of non-intervention adopted in 1856 and assumes the right to intervene on behalf of Armenia.

An examination of the above articles clearly shows that the work of the Congress of Berlin was not confined to transforming article 16 of the Ayastefanos agreement into article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin. On the contrary, the principles now laid down will form the basis on which we can build our own country and our own homeland. The work of the Patriarch and the *marhasas* have not been in vain."

After discussing the Cyprus agreement Minas Cheraz continues as follows: ¹⁰

"This agreement will be of great advantage to us. From now on England and Russia will compete for influence in Armenia, and Armenia can exploit this competition for her own advantage.

The Russian government will use article 61 as a weapon against her enemy England to destroy the agreement of 23 May. Russia will hold her enemy responsible for any corruption or misgovernment in Armenia and will publish any such defect to the European community of nations. As England has no right to forbid Russian intervention in Armenia, as mentioned in the Congress of Berlin, she will make every effort to prevent any aggression or injustice in order to avoid having to assume moral responsibility. Will it not be possible for our nation also to exploit this situation? For if England cannot provide a remedy for our troubles and calamities the Armenians have the right to appeal for protection to Russia and the other four states."

Minas Cheraz goes on to discuss the question of independence: ¹¹

"Did Armenia have the right to the independence granted to Crete? Were we worthy of an independent existence? As we are well aware of our own situation I have no intention of going into this question here. But let me say only this, that although Europe has failed to grant us administrative independence it has given us an article that will allow us gradually to achieve our aims: 'The Sublime Porte undertakes to implement immediately and without delay all reforms and improvements required by local conditions in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians.' This sentence is, in a sense, a herald of future administrative independence."

After the Congress of Berlin the Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian again attempted to establish relations with the Ottoman government with a view to the introduction of reforms.

In January 1879 a mixed delegation of members of the assembly presented a complaint on the subject of atrocities to the Sultan and received the following reply: 'Every group under Ottoman rule, Armenian, Arab, etc. etc., is obliged to aid the government in its work and to refrain from stirring up trouble. Unfortunately, in spite of this, the Armenian community insists on appealing to foreign bodies. What do they expect foreigners to do? The Armenian community will end up as puppets in the hands of foreigners.' ¹²

Nerses Varjabedian and his colleagues believed that independence could never be achieved in this way and were convinced that it was essential that they should engage in acts of mutiny and rebellion in order to force European intervention.

Topchian writes as follows: ¹³

"After Berlin, Khrimian used his sermons as a means of convincing the people of the necessity of working for freedom and independence. Khoren Narbey blamed their failure on the apathy and passivity of the people, while Varjabedian advised them to work strenuously towards independence. Minas Cheraz and others advised them not to depend on foreigners but to work together as a nation, while Kamar Katiba ¹⁴ demanded that they should bow to no one, beg independence from no one and themselves take to arms. Raffi ¹⁵ in his writings explained to the Armenians the plans they should follow. But it was life itself, rather than orators and writers, that drove the people to active protest, to organized resistance and to the resort to armed struggle."

Such ideas became very widespread. The provinces soon learned of the Patriarch's initiatives and the failure of the conference. The ground was very skilfully prepared. The propaganda of the Armenians in Russia had a profound influence on those in Turkey. It was time to take action.

The Patriarch Varjabedian died in 1884 and was succeeded by Harutiun Vahabedian, the former *Marhasa* of Erzurum. He was of advanced age, but during his period of office considerable expansion was to be observed in the revolutionary committees and organizations. Centres were opened in Europe and America, while at the same time a very close interest was taken in the situation of the Turkish Armenians by the Armenians in the Caucasus. In 1888 Vahabedian was appointed Patriarch of Jerusalem and Ashikian was elected in his place. The weakness of his character and the failure of the revolutionary committees to display sufficient activity led the Hunchak committee to make an attempt on his life, but they succeeded merely in wounding him. ¹⁶

Max Choublier describes the situation at that time in the following terms: ¹⁷

"They were convinced of the necessity of rebellion against the Ottoman government. In schools and churches, pupils and congregations were instilled with the idea of the old Armenian kingdom by indirect references on the part of teachers and priest. The secession of Rumelia and the sympathy shown towards the rebels by the European states aroused new hopes among the Armenians. While the Armenians in Anatolia sent letters to the

various states demanding implementation of the reforms that had been promised them at the Congress of Berlin, those who had taken refuge in various European cities, such as London and Vienna, or in countries such as Russia and Iran, set up propaganda committees to distribute manifestos asking Europe to proclaim Armenian independence. They pointed to the incompetence of the Sublime Porte, and advised their brothers to strive for the liberation of their country and to fight against those who were oppressing them."

By the Ayastefanos agreement the regions inhabited by Armenians were placed under Russian protection. According to this agreement Russia was not to evacuate the region known as Armenia until reforms had been carried out, in other words these regions would until then remain under official Russian occupation and administration and would, in effect, be annexed to Russia. Thus the Armenians would follow the Balkan Slavs in coming under Russian hegemony.

Russia, having lost all hopes of capturing Istanbul with the formation of Roumania and Bulgaria, now found the way to the Gulf of Basra, India, Iran, Suez, Syria and Anatolia opened up to them by the agreement of Ayastefanos. Their occupation of Batum, Ardahan and Kars had allowed them to descend into the valley of the Euphrates, and their future plans could now be realized as a result of the mandate over the Armenians. All this in spite of the fact that the Congress of Berlin had transferred this responsibility from Russia to the signatories of the Berlin agreement. According to article 61, the Sublime Porte had promised to carry out the necessary reforms in the areas inhabited by the Armenians, and the process of reform was to be supervised by the signatory powers.

The Armenians, who had placed great hopes on the outcome of the war between Turkey and Russia and the Treaty of Ayastefanos, and who had regarded this agreement as a step towards their own independence and the expulsion by the Russians of all Turks and Moslems from the area, were naturally by no means satisfied by the Berlin agreement.

As pointed out above, the aim of the Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian and his colleagues in approaching Grand Duke Nicholas at Ayastefanos was to seek means of achieving complete Armenian independence. They presented petitions calling for the independence of the areas inhabited by the Armenians or at least their transference to Russian control and administration.

Although it was the Russians who had brought up the Armenian

question at Ayastefanos and who had taken the Armenians under their protection, and although they made several representations to the Ottoman government in accordance with the form taken by the Armenian question after the Berlin agreement, they were not really in favour of Armenian reform. They were worried by the possibility that once the Armenians had achieved complete independence this might very well lead to a revolt by the Armenians in the Caucasus and a union between the Caucasian Armenians and those in Turkey.

Boplonoseff, who had succeeded Loris Melikoff, remarked that "The Armenians are perfidious, they are totally lacking in goodwill. They constitute a danger not only in the Caucasus, but everywhere else as well. They are a danger to the integrity of the country." Following the re-appearance of the question of the Turkish Armenians on the agenda of international diplomacy, he hastened to St Petersburg, declaring that "We have no desire for another Bulgaria on our borders."¹⁸ A little later, Lobanoff uttered his famous remark, "We want an Armenia without Armenians!" With special reference to the project of 1895 Lobanoff declared that "The Armenians are dispersed. There is no Armenia to which an independent administration could be granted. The Armenians in the Caucasus are in a position to engage in subversive activity, and are even now attempting to incite widespread mutinies in Turkey. If it is a question of reforms for all the Christians in Turkey then we are in complete agreement, but if it is a question of a separate administration for the Armenians - which could later be transformed into an independent Armenian kingdom - we are utterly opposed, having no wish to see a second Bulgaria on our borders." He goes on to point out that the borders drawn by the ambassadors were very extensive, covering about half of Anatolia, and asks what action would be taken if the Sultan refused to accept this. He declared that the Tsar had no intention of attempting to exert pressure on the Sultan, and that he very much disapproved of the government of one state taking such action as regards the government of another.

The following letter was written to the Foreign Secretary by the British ambassador after Prince Lobanoff had informed him of his attitude.¹⁹

Sir F. Lascelles to the Earl of Kimberley

(received April 1)
St. Petersburg,
March 28, 1895

My Lord,

I called upon Prince Lobanoff this afternoon, and read to him Sir Philip Currie's telegrams forwarded to me by your lordship.

Prince Lobanoff followed them with interest, and thanked me for communicating them to him. He was awaiting a report from the Russian ambassador at Constantinople, who had, as His Excellency had informed me on a previous occasion, reported that he was in consultation with his English and French colleagues as to the best method of introducing reforms into Armenia. His Excellency was anxious to learn the proposals which the Ambassadors would make to settle this very difficult question. He believed that he was right in stating that there were but three districts in Asia Minor where the Armenians formed the majority, viz. Bitlis, Angora and Alexandretta. But these places were far apart, and could scarcely be united in one province. Armenians were scattered throughout the country, indeed, throughout the world, and there was no one locality which could be described as Armenia.

In the case of the Lebanon, it had been found possible to delimitate a province and to appoint a Christian governor, but the analogy did not apply in the case of the Armenians, and he did not, at present, see how it would be possible to introduce reforms which would satisfy the Armenians, unless, indeed, we were prepared to undertake the reform of the administration of the whole of Turkey in Asia. The Hatt-i Humayun of 1856, and more especially the Treaty of Berlin, gave the Powers the right to insist on reforms, but the difficulty was to give practical shape to these reforms, and he was, therefore, very much interested to know the result of the consultation of the Ambassadors at Constantinople on the subject.

I have, etc.
(signed) Frank C. Lascelles

NOTES

1. Bishop Mushegh, *op. cit.*, p. 112-114
2. *ibid.*, p. 110; Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 92
3. S. Kaprielian, *op. cit.*
4. *The Revolutionary Ideology of the Armenians*, Paris, 1934, p. 84-85 (Armenian)

5. *Mishakl*, 1880, No. 160 (Armenian)
6. K. Mikaelian, *The Will of the People*, Istanbul, 1909, p. 45 (Armenian)
7. Minutes of the National Assembly; 4th and 5th sittings, 4 and 21 July
8. Those with the initial "V" hold the rank of *vartabet*.
9. Minas Cheraz, *What did we gain from the Congress of Berlin?*, Istanbul, 1878, p. 21-27 (Armenian)
10. *ibid.*, p. 23
11. *ibid.*, p. 25
12. Minutes of the National Assembly, 1879; Varantian, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 345.
13. *The Young Turks and the Armenians*, Tiflis, 1919, p. 283 (Armenian)
14. The national poet of the Caucasian Armenians. His poems have a revolutionary content.
15. Famous for his nationalist and historical novels.
16. This will be treated in the section on revolts and mutinies.
17. Max Choublier, *Eastern Affairs since the Congress of Berlin*, Paris, 1879
18. Blue Book, 1896
19. Varandian, *op. cit.*, vol. 2
20. Max Choublier, *op. cit.*

IX INITIATIVES AND CORRESPONDENCE ON THE REFORM QUESTION

After the signing of the Treaty of Berlin, Lord Salisbury reminded the Sublime Porte of the Cyprus agreement and the undertaking entered into by the Ottoman government. It was at this point that Gladstone, who had strong opinions on the Turkish and Armenian question, became Prime Minister.

From the very first day Gladstone undertook the duty of ensuring that the reforms approved by the Treaty of Berlin were actually put into effect.

The Sublime Porte made the first attempts at reform in the eastern provinces in 1879, and sent officials with wide powers to inspect the principles of the reform. The Armenians seized the opportunity of taking action in favour of a new form of administration.

The Armenians in Erzurum submitted the following project prepared by the Patriarchate:

Reform Project For The Province Of Erzurum

(Submitted to the officials sent to supervise reforms in the provinces of Van and Erzurum)

According to the present division of the province of Erzurum there are three *sandjaks*, Erzincan, Bayezit and Bayburt, in addition to the central *sandjak*. Kemah, Kuruçay, Kuzuçay, Ovacık are attached to the *sandjak* of Erzincan; Diyadin, Karakilise, Eleşkirt, Antep to the *sandjak* of Malazgirt; Ispir, Keskin, Şiran to the *sandjak* of Bayburt. Hence, apart from the *vali*, there are three *mutasarrıfs*, seventeen *kaymakams* and several *müdürs*.

ADMINISTRATION

1. His Imperial Majesty will effect the appointment and dismissal of the governors of the *vilayet* (province). If the people under the administration of a certain governor is made to feel confident of just administration, this creates a bond of affection between the people and the government. His Imperial Majesty, feeling pity and compassion for the miserable state of the inhabitants of Armenia, has made it his main objective to ensure their security and to bring about an improvement in their conditions. As, in accordance with the rules and regulations bestowed upon the Armenian millet by His Majesty the Sultan, the Armenian Patriarch is recognised as the representative of the millet and as the intermediary between the Armenian millet and the Ottoman government, and the voice of the Patriarch is recognised as the voice of the whole millet, it is essential that his views should be taken into account in the appointment and dismissal of the governors.

So far, the Muslim governors (*valis*), *mutassarifs* and *kaymakams* have done nothing for the prosperity and progress of the country, nor have they done anything to win the goodwill of the Armenian population. As experience has shown that they will be incapable of effectively introducing those principles of equality and reform that have aroused the interest of the whole world, we propose that the *mutassarifs* of Erzincan, and the *kaymakams* of districts such as Pasinler, Himis, Kigi, Tercan, Keskin, Kemah, Malazgirt, Karakilise and Eleşkirt, in which Armenians are in a majority, should themselves be Armenian.

It is also essential that the governor should be guaranteed a certain period in office.

2. The appointments and dismissals of the governors and *mutassarifs* should be effected in accordance with certain principles. The district *kaymakams* should be appointed by the provincial council and their appointment ratified by the governor. If there should be any proposal regarding the appointment or dismissal of *kaymakams* of districts under the administration of a *mutassarif*, this should be forwarded to the office of the governor together with a report from the administrative council of the *sandjak*. There a decision will be taken after legal consultation.

3. In the case of senior officials such as *defterdar* (director of finance), *mektupcu* (secretary), *tapu müdürü* (registrar) and *varidat müdürü* (revenue officer) in the central administrative office of the *vilayet*, which are normally appointed directly by the Sublime Porte, the opinion of the governor should first be sought concerning appointments and dismissals and the decision then put into effect. Assistants should be appointed to all these officials. If the official is a Moslem then his assistant should be an Armenian, if the official is an Armenian his assistant should be a Moslem.
4. In the case of junior officials such as accountant or secretary, etc. appointments and dismissals should be made by the provincial council and submitted to the governor for approval. But in the case of appointments and dismissals of such officials, the opinion of the head of the department in which the said official is to be employed must also be taken into account. The selection, appointment and dismissal of junior officials in the *kazas* should be effected by the joint decision and approval of the *sandjak mutassarifs* and the administrative council. At the same time the reasons for the appointment or dismissal should be submitted to the governor. After examining the case the governor and the provincial council will ratify the decision if in accordance with the law, or reject it if not.
5. A post will be created with wide powers and authority for the supervision of the development of agriculture, the expansion of industry, and general education and culture within the *vilayet*. The official to occupy this post will be chosen and appointed in the same way as the governor. The appointment of junior officials in his department will be proposed by himself, approved by the governor and ratified by the provincial council. Half of these officials will be Turkish Moslems and half Armenians.
6. The provincial council will consist of six members, half of them Turkish Moslems and half of them Armenians. The *Naiib* (substitute judge), *Müftü*, *Marhasa* (Armenian bishop) *Defterdar*, *Mektupcu* (secretary) and Director of pious foundations shall not be members of this council. As the duties of the *Naiib* are confined to *Shari'ah* (religious) law he has no place in such a council. The others should be present to offer their opinions on subjects which concern them.

7. The council in each *sandjak* will be of the same composition as the provincial council.
8. There will be a council of four members in each *kaza*, two of them Armenians and two of them Turkish Moslems.
9. Half of the seats in the councils in the provincial capital, the *sandjaks*, and the *kazas* will be renewed by election every two years.
10. In every *vilayet* there should be a general council with members chosen directly by the people. Half of these should be Armenian and half Turkish Moslems. The *Müftüs* and *marhasas* of the various religious groups are *ex officio* members of this council. This council will examine and approve the provincial budget, decide on the distribution of taxation, fix and control the amount of expenditure, and examine all accounts of all the administrative departments.

COURTS OF JUSTICE

11. An *Istinaf* (appeal) court should be established in the provincial capital, and the *Naib* should not be president of this court. The president will be appointed by the Sublime Porte in conformity with the methods employed in the selection of the governor, and will be directly responsible to the Ministry of Justice. This court will have six members, half of them Turkish Moslems and the other half Armenian.
12. In each provincial capital there will be a *Bidayet* court (court of the first instance) with six members, half of them Turkish Moslems and half of them Armenian.

If the president of the *Istinaf* court is a Turkish Moslem the president of the *Bidayet* court will be an Armenian, and if the president of the *Istinaf* court is an Armenian the president of the *Bidayet* court will be a Turkish Moslem.
13. In each of the *sandjaks* there should be lawcourts composed in accordance with article 11. The president of the court should be chosen by the governor and should not be a *Naib*.
14. For each court a *Müddei Umumi* will be chosen directly by the governor to work under the supervision of the *Istinaf* and

- Bidayet* courts. His duty will consist in pleading for ignorant and wronged parties.
15. In every *kaza* there will be established a *Bidayet* court composed of four members, two of them Armenian and two of them Turkish Muslims. The presidents of these courts will be chosen directly by the *Istinaf* court of the province. If the *kaymakam* of the *kaza* is a Turkish Moslem the president will be Armenian, and if the *kaymakam* is Armenian the president will be a Turkish Moslem.
 16. A commercial court will be established in the provincial capital, the president of the court being appointed by the Sublime Porte with the consent and approval of the governor. This court will be composed of four members, half of them Turkish Muslims and half of them Armenian. The members of the court will be chosen by secret ballot by the provincial administrative council from a list of three times the number required drawn up by a selection committee of 15-25 members composed of the most highly respected businessmen of the city. The present system, whereby officials investigate and pursue cases in return for a certain salary drawn from the court revenues will be immediately abolished.
 17. There will also be a commercial court in each of the *sandjaks*. The presidents of these courts will be chosen by the provincial administrative council and board of trade and approved by the governor.
 18. There should be a commercial court in each *kaza* where there are merchants or tradesmen. The members of these courts will be chosen in accordance with article 16 and the presidents in accordance with article 17.
 19. Seven of the seats on all judicial, commercial, higher and lower courts will be put up for re-election every two years.
 20. The *ser mustantik*s (chief prosecutors) in the central *Istinaf* and *Bidayet* courts and in the *Bidayet* courts in the *sandjaks* will be proposed by the governor and appointed by the Ministry of Justice. If the *mustantik* is a Turkish Moslem his assistant will be Armenian, and if the *mustantik* is Armenian his assistant will be a Turkish Moslem.

21. The judicial inspectors for the province will be appointed by the Ministry of Justice. These inspectors will be continually rotated and will inspect the work of the courts and submit reports to the governor.

PUBLIC ORDER

22. The immediate establishment is required in this province of a regular and efficient police organization similar to the European type gendarmerie, the numbers recruited depending on the needs of the region. These will be chosen from the educated section of the population, and will receive a regular and satisfying salary. Half the members will be Turkish Moslems and half Armenian. No members of savage *millet*s such as the Kurds or Circassians will be included in this police organization, nor will any members of the present gendarmerie or senior or junior officers in this force, these having shown themselves to be incompetent and inefficient and accustomed to all forms of corruption and quite unsuitable for membership of such an organization.
23. For the time being officers of the rank of *miralay* (colonel) and above should be Europeans, there being no personnel in his country capable of administering such an organization. The junior officers up to the ranks of captain will be chosen from the local population, half of them being Armenians and half of them Turkish Moslems.

TAXATION

24. Taxes will be levied in a fair and just fashion in accordance with each person's ability to pay.
25. No taxes will be arbitrarily imposed, and present taxes will be as far as possible combined in order to reduce the number of taxes levied.
26. As collection of taxes by tax-farmers has led to a number of abuses causing great distress in the country, the system of tax-collection through tax-farmers will be discontinued and replaced by the following system:

The total amount paid in taxes over the last 4-5 years will

be divided by the number of years in order to find the yearly average and from this an amount will be determined which the people will be able to pay with greater ease, and this amount will be combined with the property tax to form a single tax.

27. As the present system whereby taxes are collected by the *zaptiyes* (gendarmes) has proved detrimental to the interests both of the country and the Treasury this system will immediately be discontinued, and reliable and trustworthy revenue officers with a regular salary appointed to perform this duty.

MISCELLANEOUS

28. Turkish and Armenian are to be accepted as equal in all lawcourts and public correspondence and communication in the province.
29. Half of the clerks employed in the public offices of the province will be Armenian and half Turkish Moslems.
30. Each millet should be responsible for the choice of their own members of the general council and administrative and judicial committees as they are the best judges of the worth of the members of their own community.
31. No senior or junior official can be dismissed except in conformity with the law. Those who perform their duties honourably and efficiently should be rewarded without regard to race or religion, while those guilty of negligence and remissness should be justly punished.
32. The duties of all public servants from the governor downwards should be specified by a special law and rigorously performed.
33. A detailed map of the province should be prepared taking into account the present boundaries and geographical situation. The present division is highly irregular. For example, Ispir, Keskim and Tortum, which are really separate *kazas* and ought to remain so, are joined to form a single *kaza*. On the other hand, the extensive Erzurum plain could form two

regular *kazas*, etc. etc. Therefore, the present division of the province should be altered and the number of *kazas* increased.

34. There are no laws applying specifically to the lawcourts, and those in existence are inadequate. As the civil and religious codes are in Turkish translation they cannot be included in the civil law and applied in that form in the courts. Justice demands that the civil laws and laws pertaining to property and estate should be completely revised in accordance with the liberal principles accepted by the civilized world.
35. Civil, criminal and commercial cases, together with cases concerning property, inheritance or land involving Christians, whether between Christians or between Christians and Moslems, should not be sent to the *shari'ah* (religious) courts if the Christian involved should raise any objection. Such cases should be tried in civil, criminal or other courts in accordance with the nature of the case.
36. All public servants in the province, whatever their grade, together with all members of the councils, should be paid a fair monthly salary. The present, pernicious system of employing officials without payment or for a very small salary must be immediately discontinued.
37. Whatever surplus remains from the total revenue of the province after the transference to the government of the amount required for the payment of the salaries of the public servants, and after taking into account expenditure on public education and on roads and other public works necessary for the development of the country and the progress of the people, should be deposited in the state treasury. Under the present system, whereby one fourth of the total revenue is expended on the needs of the country, it is impossible to ensure prosperity or administrative reform.
38. It has been established that certain people in influential positions have in a number of places seized estates from the hands of people who have for generations owned and cultivated them and had them registered in their own names. It is therefore necessary to set up a commission, half the members of which will be Turkish Moslems and half Armenians, to investigate such questions and see that justice is done.

39. Fanatical Moslem public servants and officials should be kept under close supervision, and it should be impressed on all that religion is a moral system based on the principles of equality and brotherhood.
40. No applications for change of religion will be accepted from any person under twenty years of age, or from any woman or girl, of whatever age, who has been forcibly abducted; and those by whom the girl has been abducted will be severely punished.
41. All weapons carried by Kurds and Circassians without licence or warrant will be confiscated and, as in all civilized countries, weapons issued by the state will be surrendered. Weapons will be issued to the Armenians for the protection of their lives and property and the preservation of their honour.
42. The Kurdish tribes will be dispersed and each individual will be settled in a particular place and obliged to earn his own livelihood.
43. The government should take immediate action in cases brought by plaintiffs against those by whom they have suffered wrong. In general, no one is willing to bring a formal complaint as, up to now, either no importance has been given to the complaints made, or the person against whom the complaint has been made remains unpunished as a result of the protection of influential persons or is freed on having recourse to various expedients, and subsequently takes violent revenge on the complainant. Therefore, the government will expel from the country all tribal chiefs (Torun, El'agasi), and send all lawless *beys* and *aghas* residing in the villages into permanent exile in Arabia, accompanied by their families and kindred.
44. The government will expel from the towns the official or unofficial protectors of these lawless elements and settle them in areas beyond the boundaries of the province without any right of return.
45. Kurds, Circassians, Turcomans and Turks emigrating into the province from the *sandjaks* of Kars and Cildir will not be allowed to settle in *kazas* inhabited by Armenians, and such

immigrants will be transferred to places distant from regions of Armenian habitation.

46. In order to prevent various complaints arising from the presence of regular or irregular soldiers and Circassians in towns and villages, soldiers will be quartered only in barracks and guard-houses and not in private dwellings. If the quartering of troops should be necessary and there are no barracks available then barracks should be constructed. All the needs of the soldiers should be provided by the state, and the soldiers should under no circumstances request anything whatsoever, directly or indirectly, from the local inhabitants.

CONCLUSION

The government has decided that effective reforms must be carried out to ameliorate the present intolerable situation. The corruption and disregard for the law which has existed for so many years has resulted in great suffering and distress.

The continuance of this state of affairs would be, in effect, a sentence of death for a nation which is, in any case, in its death agonies both spiritually and materially, and finds itself surrounded by nations that are quietly and confidently making great strides in the field of civilization. The life or death of a nation depends upon the state and condition of its citizens. As long as it is possible for a nation to be restored to new life any lapse into hopelessness and despair is to be prevented at all costs.

It is because we are convinced that the strength and greatness of the state and the country can only be secured by the reform of the present wretched situation that we have submitted this project, preamble and 46 articles to the attention of Your Imperial Majesty.

Erzurum; 27 June 1879

At the same time the following instructions were sent by Izmirlian to Vahan Vartabet in Erzurum:

To the Esteemed Vahan Vartabet Der Minasian

My beloved brother,

As you have already learned from the official letter of 4 May addressed to the Marhasa and deposited with yourself, you have been entrusted by a decision of the reform commission and in conformity with the desire of the Holy Patriarch and Patriarchate with the task and duty of working in Erzurum, with the assistance of the Reverend Archbishop Harutiun, Marhasa of Erzurum, on the steps taken by the government officials. Details were given in the same official letter and the other two earlier communications. The reform commission entrusts you with the verbal communication to the Marhasa of all of these facts and details.

We trust that with your ability, foresight and character you will bring this task to a successful conclusion.

Istanbul, May 18, 1879

Your humble servant
Mateos Izmirlian
Deputy Patriarch
Armenian Patriarchate.

On 13 June 1880 the Ambassadors presented a note to the Sublime Porte on the question of reform in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians. The government had earlier sent Abidin Pasha to Kurdistan, Yusuf Pasha to Erzurum and Van, and Sait Pasha, formerly Marshal of the Sultan's household, to Aleppo, accompanied by three Armenians, Manas, Nurian and Sarkis, to act as commissars. These were to carry out reforms in the administration, justice and enforcement of public order in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians. They were later recalled, and an Englishman, General Baker, together with Sait Pasha, who was later to be appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent to Anatolia. Abidin Pasha, who had been Minister of Foreign Affairs under the Grand Vizier Kadri Pasha and had previously carried out inspections in the eastern provinces, replied as follows to the note submitted by the ambassadors reminding the Ottoman government of its undertaking on the question of reform:

"Note sent by Abidin Pasha to the Ambassadors of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria and Italy:¹

Istanbul, 5 July, 1880

Your Excellencies the Ambassadors,

I have the honour of replying to the last paragraph referring to the terms of article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin in the note dated 11 June submitted by the Embassy.

Our illustrious government, in spite of the great difficulties and adversities with which it was faced after the conclusion of the recent hostilities, has never at any time been forgetful of the implementation of the articles in question; on the other contrary, it has never hesitated to take the necessary measures, sending a large number of trustworthy officials to every part of Kurdistan to investigate the factors calling for the reform of the state of the Armenians and other loyal Ottoman subjects and the establishment of security, to decide what steps should be taken in this direction, and to take practical measures within their competence. Besides these investigating commissions, work has also been carried out in this short time by our illustrious government on reforms aimed at the separation of the lawcourts and the executive power in accordance with European custom. On the question of the establishment of a police force and gendarmerie in certain places, the government has never ceased to give due importance to this matter, and the help of several foreign and local officers with special knowledge of the subject has been sought in drawing up projects for the establishment of two companies of gendarmerie and police.

I should like here to offer some information concerning the rapid implementation of the reforms demanded by the character and needs of the inhabitants of the large cities in accordance with the results of the investigations carried out into recent events, together with the establishment of itinerant courts.

Every *kaza* will be divided into *nahiyes*, and each *nahiye* composed of a number of neighbouring *kariyes*. Each *nahiye* will be governed by a local *müdür* responsible to the *kaymakam* and elected by the local population from among the members of the *nahiye* council. This *müdür* will perform the functions of municipal government and will be endowed with certain executive powers.

The *müdür* will be selected from the religious denomination of the majority of the local inhabitants, while the deputy *müdür* will be chosen from the minority denomination. The *müdür* will be assisted by a mixed council of four or six members elected by the inhabitants. But in the first instance the *müdür* and the members of the *nahiye* council will be chosen and appointed from among the inhabitants of the *nahiye* by the *ilçe* council. Together with the *müdür* there will be four *nahiye* gendarmes, two of them from the central *ilçe* and four from the *nahiye*. The *müdür* and those under his orders will ensure the comfort and security of the inhabitants of the *nahiye*, arrest wrong-doers and vagabonds, and protect the local population from assault and aggression. The *zaptiye* (gendarmerie) of one *nahiye* will assist and collaborate with the *zaptiyes* of others in order to ensure the successful pursuit of criminals and wrong-doers.

Besides this local police force, there will also be a regular provincial gendarmerie composed of local soldiers and officers under the jurisdiction of the governor in accordance with the articles of the law, and this body will act under the orders of the *mutassarifs* and *kaymakams*. This provincial gendarmerie will be commanded by experienced officers and will assist the *nahiye* gendarmerie whenever necessary.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the advantages to accrue from the establishment of this type of organization, but there can be no doubt that under the guidance of the *müdür* and the *nahiye* council the number of local schools will be greatly increased, and improvements made in farming and agriculture and in the state of the local roads and fords. An experiment was made with this type of *nahiye* organization in an *sub-province* in the province of Salonica and the local population was very satisfied with the resulting good discipline.

The first of the advantages for the people is communal and personal security. In general, criminal cases involving public order will be heard by the itinerant courts sitting in each *sub-province* in turn, and dealing with crimes committed in that particular *sub-province*. There are great advantages in criminal cases being dealt with by the itinerant courts. In the case of courts sitting in one provincial centre, essential witnesses are often dissuaded from appearing at court because of the long distances and great travelling expenses involved, which forms an obstacle to the proper administration of justice.

Our illustrious government's principle of appointing the most capable and reliable of its subjects to posts in the public service, without regard to race or religion, will in the future be even more widely applied, and every effort will be made to implement this as soon as possible. Every effort will also be made in the development of education and public works, as these, together with the above-mentioned measures, form the basis of a country's happiness and prosperity. In view of this, it has been decided that, after allowing for the local expenses of the various departments, one tenth of the revenue accruing from provincial customs duties, excises on salt and tobacco, and all other revenues apart from those of pious foundations will, as from the coming year, be devoted to education and public works.

A comprehensive statute for the Anatolian provinces is now being drawn up on the basis of investigations and experiments carried out by the Sublime Porte, copies of which will be circulated in the very near future. At the same time the powers of the governors will be increased and their position made more secure. I shall, however, content myself with presenting to Your Excellency these the main items of the special statute about to be put into effect.

It is with great sorrow that I must add that a very simple crime, which in any other part of the world would be regarded as an everyday event, when committed in a region inhabited by the Armenians is exaggerated by the addition of purely imaginary features and brought to the attention of the foreign consuls in the most unfavourable light by persons of malevolence and ill-will who regard it as their duty to present such events in the most unfavourable light possible. Before concluding, I should like to inform Your Excellencies with absolute and complete frankness and sincerity that according to the latest census carried out by the Ottoman government in the provinces of Van, Diyarbakır, Bitlis, Erzurum and Sivas, all inhabited by Armenians, 17% of the population consisted of Armenians, 4% of other non-Moslems, and 79% of Moslems.

The measures taken by the Sublime Porte for the reform of the Anatolian provinces inhabited by Armenians will be regularly reported to those Powers that have signed the petition.

I remain, etc.
Abidin

The following note was submitted by the ambassadors of the six states to the Sublime Porte.

"Constantinople", September 7, 1880.

M.le Ministre,

The Undersigned have received the note dated the 5th July last, by which the Sublime Porte replied to the paragraph contained in the communication of the 11th June last respecting the improvements and administrative reforms which the Ottoman Government engaged themselves, under Article LXI of the Treaty of Berlin, to introduce into the provinces inhabited by the Armenians. A careful study of this document has proved to them that the proposals made by the Ottoman Government do not meet either the spirit or the letter of this Article. The Powers represented by the Undersigned are not unaware that the Ottoman Government have sent two Commissions into the provinces inhabited by the Armenians but they have reason to think that these Commissions have arrived at no result, nor has the Sublime Porte communicated them to the Powers as stipulated in Article LXI of the Berlin Treaty.

There is no evidence to prove that any amelioration has been effected in the administration of justice. On the contrary, numerous Consular Reports show that the present situation, as regards the independence of the Civil and Criminal Tribunals is as bad, if not worse, than it has ever been.

As regards the gendarmerie and the police, the note of the 5th July states that the Porte has charged several special officers to present projects of reform for both these services. The Powers have no knowledge of these projects, nor does the Sublime Porte allege that they have been presented to it.

The Undersigned cannot admit that the reply of your Excellency disposes in any way of the complaints made by them in their note of the 11th June. They consider themselves to be all the more justified in reducing to their true value the efforts made in this direction by the Ottoman Government inasmuch as the Porte to judge by its reply hardly realizes its position and its obligations under the Treaty of Berlin.

Even the language which the Sublime Porte uses in speaking of the crimes committed or alleged to have been committed in the

provinces inhabited by the Armenians shows that it refuses to recognize the degree of anarchy which exists in those provinces, or the gravity of a state of things which, if permitted to continue, would in all probability lead to the destruction of the Christian population of vast districts.

In the note of the 5th July, no serious proposal is made for putting a stop to excesses of the Cireassians and Kurds. Their excesses, it is to be feared, cannot be checked by the simple action of the ordinary laws. Exceptionally rigorous measures can alone put an end to outrages which in several parts of the provinces mentioned in Article LXI are a continual source of danger to the property, honour, and life of the Armenians.

Under Article LXI of the Treaty of Berlin, the Porte engaged itself 'to carry into effect without delay the improvements and reforms required by local wants in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians'. The Undersigned regret to observe that, in the general project of reform specified in the note of the 5th July, none of the "local wants" spoken of in Article LXI are taken into account. The Powers will doubtless see with pleasure the introduction of large reforms into all parts of the Turkish Empire; but they are specially concerned to see that full effect is given to the engagements of the Treaty of Berlin, and they cannot admit that the Porte should consider that the engagements it undertook under this head have been fulfilled by proposing a system of reorganization in which no mention is made of the special reforms that were stipulated for in favour of the provinces named in the Treaty.

The peculiar characteristic of these provinces is the predominance of the Christian population over large areas of the territory in question; if this predominance is not taken into account no real reform would be effected.

The Undersigned consider that it is necessary to take another peculiarity of these provinces into consideration. The Porte appears to wish to apply the same Reglement both to the Armenians and to the Kurds. It is indispensable, however, to distinguish between them in administration, as far as it is practicable, in view of the absolute impossibility to govern a settled population and semi-nomadic tribes in the same manner. The communes and administrative groups should consequently

be so divided as to unite as many homogeneous elements as possible, the Armenians, or, when necessary, the Armenians and the Osmanlis, being grouped together, to the exclusion of the Kurds. The nomadic Kurdish element, that lives in the mountains and descends into the plains inhabited by Christians only in order to create disturbances, should not be included in the census by which the majority of the inhabitants of each village will be determined.

It may be assumed that the Sublime Porte sees in the constitution of communes as proposed in the note of the 5th July the means of creating administrative units in which the great majority of the inhabitants will belong to the same religion. There is nothing, however, in this document to show that the Porte engages itself to follow this principle.

The Undersigned notice with satisfaction that in the proposed organization the Mayor of each commune is to belong to the religion of the majority; but the absence of a similar provision in the case of the higher functionaries proves conclusively that the "local wants" of the provinces mentioned in Article LXI have not been sufficiently taken into account in the proposed reforms. The Ottoman Government declares "that honest and capable persons have already been admitted to public offices without distinction of creed, and that henceforward this principle will receive a still wider application" This declaration is extremely vague, and the Undersigned think that it is the more necessary to lay stress on this point, as the Armenians contend that in the provinces where they exist in very large numbers there is scarcely a single Armenian functionary. Their complaints on this point seem to be well founded, as it might be possible for the Sublime Porte to appoint Christian Governors-General without giving additional security that the Armenians would meet with greater justice or equity of treatment.

Measures of a much broader character than those proposed in the note of the Ottoman Government are necessary for the Porte to carry out the engagements made at Berlin.

The general inadequacy of the proposed reforms is such that it seems useless to comment on the defects of the project presented by the Porte; but the following observations offer themselves:

By declaring in the first place that the administrators of communes are to be Government functionaries nominated by the central authority from among the elected members of the Communal Council instead of being elected by the Communal Council itself, the Sublime Porte retains the principle of centralization even in the smallest administrative unit.

Moreover, the Sublime Porte omits to state, as regards administrators and members of the Communal Councils, whether they will have a permanent or temporary tenure. Nor is it stated either with whom, in case of their unfitness, rests the right of dismissing them. Will this right belong to the Prefectoral Council who appoints them, or to some other authority?

Again, as regards the gendarmerie of the commune, it does not appear to be distinguished from the provincial gendarmerie either in its recruitment or in any other respect, except that it is under the orders of the commune and not of the provinces. It is not recruited locally among the inhabitants belonging to the majority in creed, and no guarantees are given that it will be what it ought specially to be namely, a local defensive force.

Nor does the organization of the provincial gendarmerie meet the local wants of the provinces specially mentioned in Article LXI, the clause, according to which both officers and men are to be recruited "from all classes of the Sultan's subjects" being of the vaguest character. Both the officers and men of the gendarmerie of the province should be recruited from the gendarmerie of the commune that is to say from among the rural constabulary chosen by the communes themselves. The rural constabulary, whose duty it would be to defend the villages against Kurdish incursions, would furnish to the gendarmerie of the province a contingent in proportion to the population of each commune. The principle of election would if substituted for the arbitrary provincial administration in itself constitute a strong guarantee for the effective organization of the forces intended to ensure public safety.

The value of the provisions as regards the creation of a Court of Assize will, in the first place depend on its constitution; with regard to which the note of the 5th July is silent. Looking to the predominance of the Armenian element in certain provinces, special provision appears to be necessary in order to give to that

element a proportionate share in the new judicial organization.

Here again certain questions present themselves, to the solution of which the Ottoman note gives no clue. Are the Judges to be irremovable, or to be nominated for a fixed term? Which Code of Laws are they to execute? Will it be the Cheri or some other Code? How are the Courts of Assize to make the Kurds, who are semi-independent or quite wild, obey their verdicts? This last question proves conclusively how necessary it is to exclude the Kurds from the reforms intended for the population of Armenia, and to give them a separate administration suitable to their warlike and primitive habits.

In treating this question of the relations between the sedentary and nomadic populations, the Undersigned must express their conviction that the burdens and forced labour imposed by the Kurds on the Armenians should be abolished; they do not exist by any right, but are an abuse of long standing.

They also consider that the benefit of the reforms agreed to in favour of the Armenians should, in common justice, be extended to the numerous Nestorians who inhabit the central and southern parts of Kurdistan (Caza of Joulamerik).

It is to be regretted that the paragraph in the note relating to a certain sum to be set aside for local purposes, such as the maintenance of schools and the execution of public works, is not more clearly expressed. It may be admitted, however, that it includes the germ of a financial principle of some value, and this principle, the Powers think, may be laid down in the following terms: the taxes will be divided into two branches; the one branch, including the customs and the salt tax, will be applied to Imperial purposes; the other, derived from the revenues of the vilayet, will be applied, in the first instance, to meet the administrative service of the province. Of the balance a portion would be retained for local purposes, and the remainder remitted to Constantinople. If this is the correct interpretation of the proposal contained in the note of the 5th July, it corresponds more or less with Article 19 of the draft Organic Statutes for the provinces of European Turkey presented by the Sublime Porte to the Eastern Roumelian Commission for examination. So far as it establishes the principle that the provincial expenditure is a first charge on a portion of the taxes the reform is certainly valuable,

but the principle would require to be surrounded by the same safeguards as those that have been elaborated by the Commission for Administrative Reforms.

The Undersigned must, moreover, remark that such revenues as have been already hypothecated cannot be applied to other purposes.

The principle of decentralization, which is especially necessary in provinces inhabited by a population of a different creed from that of the central authority, is not treated in a satisfactory manner in your Excellency's note.

No effectual reforms can be expected until the position of the Governors-General is thoroughly changed. It is true that the note admits that their duties will be extended and their functions guaranteed, but assurances of such a general character leave the question quite unsolved. Unless the increase of power and responsibility, which is absolutely indispensable to a proper discharge of the duties of a Governor-General, is clearly defined; unless formal guarantees are given to this important functionary as to the tenure of his term of office, no opinion can be formed of the value of the proposed reforms. It is clear that the Governors-General should have some definite understanding as to the period during which they will hold office, and they must be released from the constant interference with the minutest details of their administration which has hitherto paralyzed their action.

It is needless to add that if this increased independence of the Valis is desirable everywhere, it is absolutely necessary in the case of provinces inhabited by the Armenians.

The Powers are therefore of opinion that the proposals of the Ottoman Government are inadequate to their object, that greater attention must be paid to the local wants of these provinces, that a greater development must be given to the two great principles of equality and decentralization, that more effective arrangements must be made for the organization of the police and for the protection of the populations exposed to the molestations of the Circassians and Kurds and, lastly, that the tenure of office and extent of the functions of the Governors-General must be clearly defined. In this way, and in this way only, can full satisfaction be

given to the rights and expectations created by the LXIst Article of the Berlin Treaty.

The Sublime Porte seeks to modify the bearing of this Article by quoting the alleged percentage of the Armenians, and of the Christian population in general on the whole population. The percentage quoted by the note differs so widely from that given by other authorities that the Powers are quite unable to accept it as accurate.

The inclosed figures of the population, supplied by the Armenian Patriarch, will show the wide difference that exists between the various estimates. The note of the 5th July only gives the proportion of the Mussulman and Christian population. The Powers would wish to know the basis on which this calculation is made. They consider it essential that an approximative census of the respective numbers of the Mussulman and Christians inhabiting the provinces mentioned in Article LXI should be made with as little delay as possible by an impartial Commission, the composition of which will be hereafter determined.

It must be distinctly understood that the Porte will accept the result of a census made under circumstances that would guarantee its being thoroughly impartial and frame the organization of the provinces accordingly.

It will probably be found on adopting this plan that in order to meet all the local wants, the present geographical limits of the various vilayets will have to be recast.

The Porte cannot take advantage of the delay by the taking of the proposed census for putting off the execution of measures of an urgent character.

It is absolutely necessary to carry out without loss of time the reforms intended to secure the life and property of the Armenians, to take immediate measures against the incursions of the Kurds, to carry out at once the proposed system of finance, to place the gendarmerie provisionally on a more satisfactory footing, and above all, to give to the Governors-General greater security of office and a more extended responsibility.

In conclusion the Powers once more recall to the Sublime Porte the essential fact that the reforms to be introduced into the

provinces inhabited by the Armenians are, by Treaty engagements, to be adapted to local wants, and to be carried out under the supervision of the Powers.

The Undersigned, &c.
(Signed)

HATZFELDT. NOVIKOW.
TISSOT. G. J. GOSCHEN. CALICE. CORTI.

On October 3, 1880 (28 Shawwal, 1297 A.H) Asim Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs, presented the following document to the States concerning the reforms.

*REFORMS TO BE CARRIED OUT IN AREAS INHABITED BY THE ARMENIANS.*²

The Ottoman government, having, in compliance with article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin, undertaken the introduction, without delay, of the reforms required by local needs in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, the protection of the Armenians against the attacks of the Kurds and Circassians, and the submission from time to time of reports on the progress of these measures, have, following the signing of the peace treaty, despatched inspectors to these provinces. It was hitherto impossible to supply the Powers who had signed the agreement with the Ottoman government with information regarding the powers and duties of these inspectors, owing to the fact that in some places reforms to the police system and other urgent reforms had not yet been implemented or completed.

The inspections and investigations carried out by Baker Pasha and the other officials now being complete, the government has decided to put into effect the measures listed below:

1. In order to ensure the protection and security of the inhabitants of the provinces of Erzurum, Van, Bitlis and Diyarbakir, the provincial lawcourts will be reorganized and reformed, and the Marshal will be given the task of supervising these reforms.
2. Within the space of three months after the establishment of the

state of security demanded by the Powers, the Ottoman government will carry out a reorganization of the police and gendarmerie with a view to providing all the inhabitants of these regions with full confidence and security.

3. The gendarme *miralays* (colonels) will be appointed by the Ministry of War. The other officers will be chosen by the battalion councils and appointed by the Ministry on the recommendation of the governor. These may also change or substitute, divide or distribute the members of the police force according to local needs and conditions. The Ministry of War may dismiss gendarme commanders or officers who have shown themselves unable to perform their duties in a satisfactory manner.
 4. The *nahiye* organization referred to by the Sublime Porte in the note of 5 July will be completed within four months in accordance with the interests of the government.
 5. All revenues in the above-mentioned provinces apart from customs dues, direct taxes and post office revenues will be allocated first of all to the payment of the salaries of public servants and certain other employees. 10% of these revenues will be allocated to local needs such as education and public works, and the surplus sent to Istanbul.
 6. The choice of provincial officers of justice will be made according to the special law now in force, while administrative officials will be appointed by order of the Sultan upon the recommendation of the ministry concerned and a letter from the governor of the province. The governor has the authority of appointing or dismissing provincial administrative officials such as *mutassarifs*, *defterdars* and *mektupcus* in accordance with the laws pertaining.
- The selection of these officials will be based solely on ability and good character. In accordance with article 62 of the Treaty of Berlin and the conditions laid down by the Ottoman laws now in force, any subject of the state may be chosen for public service provided he is endowed with the above qualities.
7. The *nizamiye* (military) courts will be governed by the *mecelle* (civil code) and by the statutory laws now in force.

The work of reform thus proceeded on its normal course.

As seen above, Varjabedian was succeeded as Patriarch by H. Vahabedian, the *Marhasa* of Erzurum. In 1882 the first preparations were made for a revolt in Erzurum. Large quantities of arms and ammunition were collected, all of Russian manufacture. In 1883 the Ottoman government finally took action, and Ormanian, the new *marhasa* of Erzurum, was arrested and brought to Istanbul. The Patriarchate obtained a pardon for all the accused and Ormanian returned to his see.

The Patriarchate of Vahabedian saw the end of the disturbances in Erzurum. In 1888 he was succeeded by Ashikian, who remained Patriarch until 1894.

The first revolt involving bloodshed occurred in Erzurum on 20 June 1890. A demonstration was held at Kumkapi, and the rebels began to resort to acts of terrorism. In 1893 there were incidents at Merzifon and Kayseri.

In 1894 an attempt was made on the life of the Patriarch Ashikian, who was regarded as a government sympathiser. The Patriarch immediately resigned, and his place was taken by Izmirlian, who had played a leading role in the Armenian movement.

On 29 August 1894 a revolt broke out at Sasun. The Armenians exploited this incident to the full. The movement spread with alarming rapidity, and rumours were floated to the effect that innocent Armenians had been massacred by reactionary Moslems. Meetings were held in support of the Armenians in various European capitals. Izmirlian became known as the "iron Patriarch" on account of the extreme vehemence of his attitude.

Great Britain, Russia and France sent a note to the Ottoman government concerning the events at Sasun. Basing themselves on information provided by the Armenian Patriarchate⁷ the Ambassadors prepared a memorandum, accompanied by a project of reform in the six provinces (Erzurum, Bitlis, Van, Sivas, Diyarbakır and Harput)

Following the Sasun incident, an investigating committee composed of Abdullah Pasha, a military aide-de-camp to the Sultan, Tevfik Pasha, another military aide-de-camp to the Sultan, Ömer Bey, director of the Emniyet Sandığı, and Mecit Efendi, one of the heads of department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was sent to the spot (24 November 1894). A request was made to the government that an American consul should be included in the commission, but this request was rejected. As the brief of the commission sent by the Ottoman government was formulated as "an investigation into the crimes committed by Armenian bandits during the looting and

destruction of villages", Great Britain proposed the formation of a separate commission. As the other Powers had no consuls in Erzurum only the British, Russian and French consuls took part in this commission.

NOTES

1. Blue Book.
2. Leo, *op. cit.*

X**THE PROJECT AND MEMORANDUM ON THE QUESTION OF REFORM SUBMITTED BY THE AMBASSADORS OF RUSSIA, GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE.**

On 28 April 1895 the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the Earl of Kimberley, sent the following telegram to the British Ambassador, Sir Philip Currie:¹

"(Telegraphic)

Foreign Office, April 28, 1895

Her Majesty's government are considering the reform scheme drawn up by you and your French and Russian colleagues, and I hope to be able to announce their decision very soon.

The general conception of the scheme seems good, but it will be subjected to severe criticism on the grounds that, unless the appointment of Valis is made subject to the consent of the Powers, no reform can be effective.

Failing the appointment of a Governor-General, it might be stipulated that the appointment of the High Commissioner should be subject to the approval of the Powers, and should be for a fixed term of some duration. These amendments might go some way towards satisfying public opinion in this country."

Russia and France, however, wished to proceed with greater haste, fearing that delay would be caused by each amendment, and were in favour of presenting the project exactly as it stood. Thereupon the British Ambassador replied to the Earl of Kimberley in the following terms:

"Constantinople, April 29, 1895, 5.50 p.m.

The following is in reference to your Lordship's telegram of the 28th instant:

I did my utmost, in a long conversation which I had with my colleagues, to induce them to agree to the modifications which your lordship suggested.

Their objections in regard to the Valis are insurmountable. It was only after long debate that the wording of the second Article of the Memorandum was adopted, and they did not agree to its being strengthened."

The Foreign Secretary, the Earl of Kimberley, thereupon appealed to St Petersburg, informing them that he had dropped his insistence on the other items, but that he still insisted that the appointment of the High Commissioner should be subject to the approval of the Powers. Prince Lobanoff regarded this as merely a question of form and this item was finally added to the reform project. The completed memorandum and project were then submitted to the Sultan. The following day the head interpreters of the three Powers went to the Sublime Porte and presented them to the government. The Memorandum and the project referred to in all measures of reform, together with the answers and texts prepared by a special committee of ministers and accepted by the council of ministers and submitted for the Sultan's approval are given below.

MEMORANDUM

March-April 1895.

The scheme annexed to this paper enumerates the measures which it is necessary to introduce in connection with the administrative, financial, and judicial organization of the vilayets mentioned. It has seemed expedient to indicate in a separate Memorandum certain measures which are outside the scope of administrative Regulations, but which constitute the very basis of such Regulations, and the adoption of which by the Sublime Porte is of the first importance.

The different points are:

1. The eventual reduction of the number of the vilayets.
2. Guarantees in connection with the selection of the Valis.
3. An amnesty for Armenians condemned or under arrest for political offences.

4. The return of Armenians who have emigrated or who have been exiled.
5. Final settlement of pending proceedings for crimes and offences against the common law.
6. Inquiry into the state of the prisons and the condition of prisoners.
7. The appointment of a High Commissioner to superintend the execution of the reforms in the provinces.
8. The creation of a Permanent Commission of Control at Constantinople
9. Compensation for losses sustained by the Armenians who suffered in the occurrences at Sasun and Talori, etc.
10. Regulations concerning religious conversions.
11. The maintenance and strict enforcement of the rights and privileges granted to the Armenians.
12. The condition of the Armenians in the other vilayets of Turkey in Asia.

1. EVENTUAL REDUCTION OF THE NUMBER OF THE VILAYETS.

As the reforms are to be introduced in the six Vilayets of Erzeroum, Bitlis, Van, Sivas, Mamouret-ul-Aziz, and Diarbekir, it would be advisable to consider the question of the reduction of the number of these provinces. A new distribution, making it possible to effect certain economies in the general administrative expenses, would perhaps facilitate the selection of Valis by diminishing their number, and strengthen their authority by improving their material position.

The redistribution should be effected in such a way as to divide the populations into ethnographical groups of as homogeneous a character as possible in the different administrative divisions of each province.

2. GUARANTEES IN CONNECTION WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF VALIS.

The Powers, attaching the greatest importance to the selection of the Valis, on whom will depend essentially the efficacy of the reforms

provided for in the treaty of Berlin are determined to address representations to the Sublime Porte whenever choice is made of individuals whose appointment might be open to objections; for this reason they consider it necessary that the Imperial Ottoman Government, in order to avoid regrettable misunderstandings on this point, should acquaint the Representatives of the Powers unofficially with the names of the persons whom it may be proposed to appoint.

3. AMNESTY.

His Imperial Majesty the Sultan will grant a liberal amnesty to Armenians accused of, or condemned for, political offences, who are not convicted of direct participation in crimes under the common law.

4. RETURN OF EMIGRANTS.

All Armenians, to whatever religion they belong who have been exiled, without trial, either from the territory of the Ottoman Empire, or from their native province, or who have been forced to emigrate abroad through poverty, or through fear caused by recent events without having criminally participated in these, shall be free to return to Turkey, or to the provinces they had been forced to leave, without molestation on the part of the authorities. They shall re-enter into possession of the property which belonged to them before they left the country.

5. SETTLEMENT OF PENDING PROCEEDINGS.

All proceedings for crimes or offences against the common law, in which examination or trial is still pending, must be brought to a conclusion without delay.

Judicial Commissions, with special powers from Constantinople, shall be sent to each vilayet and shall promptly settle, in the chief town of each sandjak all the pending cases.

There shall be no appeal from their decisions.

These Commissions shall be composed of a President and two Assessors—one a Mussulman and the other a Christian. They will be accompanied by a Juge d'Instruction and a Procureur. One of these shall be a Christian.

6. STATE OF THE PRISONS.

High officials shall be delegated from Constantinople to inspect the prisons in each vilayet, ascertain their material condition, the state of

the prisoners, and their treatment. They shall inquire into the conduct of the Directors and keepers of the prisons, and shall be empowered to propose the immediate disposal and trial of such as have not acted in accordance with law in their treatment of persons under sentence or awaiting trial.

Each of these high officials shall be accompanied by an assistant who must be a Christian if the high official is a Mussulman, and *vice versa*.

They shall, within four months at most, draw up a Report containing all the observations they have to make on the result of their mission as well as on the changes and improvements which should be made in the service and management of the prisons.

7. A HIGH COMMISSIONER TO SUPERINTEND THE EXECUTION OF THE REFORMS.

As soon as the new Valis are appointed each shall proceed to the chief town of his vilayet for the purpose of organizing the administration of the province on the newly-adopted bases.

They shall proceed to install the Mutessarifs and Kaimakams appointed by the Government, and to fix the limits of the nahiés in each caza; they shall cause electoral lists to be prepared, and proceed to the election of the Councils of nahiés, and also of the Mudirs.

They shall see that the collectors of taxes are elected without delay, and that the budget of the province and the allocation of expenses amongst the various administrative sub-divisions are settled with as little delay as possible.

A High Commissioner, specially appointed by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, and whose selection shall be approved by the Powers, shall be intrusted with the duty of superintending the prompt and strict execution of these reforms. During the whole term of his mission he shall exercise full and entire authority over the Valis, who will keep him informed of all the measures they may take for the execution of the new Regulations.

The Imperial High Commissioner will receive the Petitions and expressions of the wishes of the inhabitants, and take the same into consideration as far as the new Regulations allow. He will bring his mission to a close by a general inspection of the vilayets, and will be authorized to amend any measures not in conformity with the law and the new Regulations.

The Imperial High Commissioner will be accompanied on his mission by an assistant, who must be a Christian if the High Commissioner is a Mussulman, and *vice versa*.

8. *PERMANENT COMMISSION OF CONTROL.*

A Permanent Commission of Control shall be appointed at the Sublime Porte, who shall superintend the strict application of the reforms.

This Commission shall have as its President a high official of the Empire, either civil or military. It shall be composed of six members, selected from among the high civil officials of the State, competent to deal with administrative, judicial, and financial matters; three of these shall be Mussulmans and the other three Christians.

The Commission shall meet at the Sublime Porte at least once a month.

Its duties will be to superintend the strict execution of the Laws and Regulations, to call the attention of the Sublime Porte to any irregularities it may find in the administration, and to any cases in which officials fail in their duties; to receive the Petitions and to inquire into the wishes and complaints of the people, and to examine all Reports made to it by the representatives of the communities.

The Embassies shall address to this Commission directly through their Dragomans, all information and communications they may consider necessary to lay before it.

The Commission shall be empowered to ask for Reports from the Valis on questions it may thus be called upon to examine. Twice a year it will be the duty of the Governor-General to furnish the Commission with a detailed Report on the state of the prisons and the condition of the prisoners.

The Commission shall be authorized when considered advisable to send one or more of its members to make tours of inspection in the vilayets.

It shall submit reports on all these questions to the Sublime Porte, and shall have the right of corresponding directly with the Valis and the Ministries concerned.

9. *COMPENSATION TO BE GRANTED TO THE ARMENIANS WHO SUFFERED IN THE EVENTS AT SASUN, TALORI, &c.*

Armenians who suffered injury to their persons or property in the events at Sasun, Talori, &c., shall receive adequate indemnity and compensation.

The Imperial High Commissioner of Supervision shall be charged with making the necessary investigations and taking the requisite steps for this purpose.

10. *RELIGIOUS CONVERSIONS.*

The Sublime Porte will take care that religious conversions are surrounded with all the safeguards which follow from the principles laid down by the Hatti-Houmayoun of 1856 (Articles 10, 11, and 12), which in practice have been too often evaded.

Persons desirous of changing their religion must be of age, and shall not be authorized to make their declaration of change of religion until after the lapse of a week, during which they shall be placed under the supervision of the Head of their faith.

11. *MAINTENANCE OF THE PRIVILEGES OF THE ARMENIANS.*

The Sublime Porte will issue strict instructions to the authorities with a view to prevent the recurrence of infractions of the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Armenian clergy and community under the Sahmanatroutioun of 1863 (Armenian Organic Statute) and the Berats granted by the Sultans.

12. *CONDITION OF THE ARMENIANS IN THE OTHER VILAYETS OF TURKEY IN ASIA.*

In the other vilayets of Turkey in Asia, where the Armenian population of certain sandjaks forms a considerable portion of the total population, a Christian official specially charged with the care of the interests of the Armenians shall be attached to the Vali.

This official shall receive the Petitions and complaints of the Armenian population, and bring them to the knowledge of the Vali, who, in consultation with him, shall give them proper attention.

This official shall besides, send Reports regularly to the Permanent Commission of Control at Constantinople.

If in these vilayets, there are places (such as Hadjin, in the Vilayet of Adana, and Zeitoun, in that of Aleppo, &c.) where the Armenians form the majority of the population, the existing administrative division shall be altered, and the provisions of the scheme of reforms for the consultation of the nahies shall be applied to these places, which will thus become separate administrative divisions

SCHEME OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS TO BE INTRODUCED IN THE EASTERN PROVINCES OF ASIA MINOR: THE EXISTING VILAYETS OF ERZURUM, BITLIS, VAN, SIVAS, MAMOURET-UL-AZIZ, DIARBEEKIR.

CHAPTER I - VALIS.

Article 1. The Valis shall be selected from those high dignitaries of the State, irrespective of their religion, who possess the highest qualifications of intelligence, capacity, and probity. Consequently, persons whose selection would notoriously be open to objections on public or political grounds shall not be appointed to discharge the functions of Vali.

The Sublime Porte, being convinced that the effective application of the measures and reforms hereinafter enumerated depends essentially on the high qualities of the persons to be placed at the head of the administration of the vilayets, will make it a duty to see that the officials whom the Government proposes to select possess the qualification required.

Art. 2. The Valis thus appointed cannot be dismissed or changed unless they are found guilty, after legal trial, of acts contrary to the laws. They shall be appointed for five years, and their appointment may be renewed.

Art. 3. The Valis shall be provided with assistants (Moavins), who shall be Christians when the Valis are Mussulmans, and Mussulmans when the Valis are Christians. The Moavins, like the Valis, shall be appointed by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

The Moavins shall be specially intrusted by the Vali with the duty of receiving Petitions from the inhabitants of the vilayet, of superintending the police and the prisons, and of controlling the collection of taxes. They shall take charge of the vilayet *ad interim* in the absence of the Vali. The Valis shall be assisted by a Provincial General Council, elected under conditions to be hereafter determined, whose duty it will be to discuss matters of public utility, such as the establishment of ways of communication, the organization of agricultural loans banks ("caisses de crédit agricole"), the development of agriculture, commerce, and industry, and the spread of education.

CHAPTER II - MUTESSARIFS.

Art. 4. The Mutessarifs placed at the head of the sandjaks shall be appointed by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan. In each vilayet a certain number of posts of Mutessarifs shall be held by Christians. The Christian Mutessarifs shall be appointed to the sandjaks in which there are most Christian. In vilayets where there is only one Mutessarif he must be a Christian if the Vali is a Mussulman.

The Mutessarif shall be assisted by a Moavin, who shall be a Christian if the Mutessarif is a Mussulman, and *vice versa*. The Moavin shall take charge of the sandjak *ad interim* in the absence of the Mutessarif.

CHAPTER III - KAIMAKAMS.

Art. 5. The Kaimakams shall be appointed by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan on the nomination of the Vali. They shall be selected by the latter from among persons possessing the confidence of the people, and fulfilling the conditions required by the Regulations in force. In each sandjak a certain number of these appointments shall be held by Christians.

The Christian Kaimakams shall be appointed to the cazas in which there are the greatest number of Christians.

Art. 6. In any case the number of Christian Mutessarifs and Kaimakams must not be less than a third of the total number of Mutessarifs and Kaimakams in the vilayet.

The Kaimakam, like the Mutessarif, shall be assisted by a Moavin, who must be a Christian if the Kaimakam is a Mussulman, and *vice versa*.

With the Mutessarifs and Kaimakams shall be associated Councils similar to the Provincial General Council.

The Council of the caza shall be elected by the Councils of the nahiés, the Council of the sandjak by those of the cazas.

The Provincial General Council shall be elected by the Councils of the sandjaks.

No official can be a member of these Councils.

These Councils shall be presided over respectively by the Vali, the Mutessarif, and the Kaimakam.

They shall be composed of four members, exclusive of the President, two of them Mussulmans, and two Christians.

CHAPTER IV - COMMUNAL DISTRICTS ("NAHIES").

Art. 7. Each caza shall be subdivided into a certain number of nahiés (communal districts).

The nahié is a territorial subdivision, which shall comprise several villages with their real estate, field, pasturages, and other lands, the most important of which shall be the chief village.

The boundaries of each nahié shall be fixed as far as possible in such a manner that villages of the same religion shall be grouped in one and the same nahié. Regard shall generally be paid to topographical and ethnographical conditions, as well as to the requirements of the population.

The nahié shall contain not less than 2,000 inhabitants, and not more than 10,000.

Any group of villages which forms part of a nahié, and the inhabitants of which number not less than 1,000, may request to be constituted a separate nahié, on condition of undertaking to defray the expenses of the new administrations.

Art. 8. Each nahié shall be administered by a Mudir, assisted by a Council elected by the people, and composed of not less than four, and not more than eight members.

This Council shall choose among its members the Mudir and an assistant. The Mudir shall belong to the class forming the majority of the inhabitants, and the assistant to the other class. The Council shall, further, have a Secretary.

Art. 9. If the inhabitants of a nahié are all of one class, the members of the Council shall be elected exclusively from the inhabitants belonging to that class; if the population of the communal district is mixed, the minority must be represented in proportion to its relative importance, provided that it comprises at least twenty-five houses.

Art. 10. The Mudirs shall receive a suitable allowance out of the revenue of the nahié; a fixed salary shall likewise be assigned to the Secretary of the Council.

Special premises shall be appropriated to the Council of the nahié, and to the Administration of the communal district.

Art. 11. The members of the Council of the nahié must be Ottoman subjects, possess interests in the nahié, and be over 30 years of age, and must be chosen among persons who contribute at least 100 piastres a year to the State, and who have never been convicted.

Art. 12. As soon as the members of the Council shall have chosen one of their number to be Mudir, his name shall be communicated to the Vali, who shall confirm the selection officially after satisfying himself that the legal conditions have been fulfilled.

Art. 13. Imams, priests, schoolmasters, and all persons in the service of the Government are not eligible for the post of Mudir.

Art. 14. Half the members of the Council shall retire each year; the Mudirs shall hold office for two years. Retiring Mudirs and members cannot be re-elected more than once without an interval intervening.

Art. 15. The function of the Mudir and of the members of the

Council, the method of their election, and the mode of choosing their successors, shall be as laid down in the "Règlement sur l'Administration des Communes." Articles 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26, and the "Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe" (Titre XII).

Art 16. The villages comprised in the nahié shall each have a Mukhtar; if a village contains several wards, and if the inhabitants are divided into different classes there shall be a Mukhtar for each ward and for each class of inhabitants.

Art 17. No village can belong partly to one communal district and partly to another, whatever may be its position and the number of its inhabitants.

CHAPTER V - POLICE.

Art. 18. The police agents shall be recruited, irrespective of religion, from the population of the nahié by the Council of the communal district, in sufficient numbers for local requirements and for participation in the gendarmerie service of the vilayet.

Art. 19. The police agents of the nahié shall be placed under the orders of the Mudir. They shall be commanded by Chief Officers, who shall discharge duties similar to those of Chaushs and On-Bashis. They will be armed and wear a uniform to be settled later. Their pay will be provided out of the revenue of the nahié; when not on service they can engage in their ordinary occupations.

They will be mounted or not mounted according to the requirements of the service.

Non-Mussulmans who have to pay the Bedel-i-Askerie and who join the police, will be exempted from payment of this tax during all the time of their service.

Art. 20. It shall be the primary duty of the police agents of the nahié to preserve order and security in the district and on the roads of the nahié. They shall, further, when required by the Mudir, contribute to furnish the escort of the post, and assist the Mudir in executing judicial sentences and carrying out the provisions of the law.

CHAPTER VI - GENDARMERIE.

Art. 21. In accordance with special Regulations a corps of provincial gendarmerie shall be organized in each province, the officers and men of which shall be chosen from all classes of subjects

of the Empire. The gendarmerie shall be recruited in the vilayet from all inhabitants qualified to serve without regard to race or religion. Two-thirds shall be recruited from the police agents of the nahié, half from Mussulman agents, and half from those belonging to non-Mussulman communities. The other third shall be composed of Chaushs and Bash-Chaushs, chosen from among the most capable of the regular army. As regards discipline and drill, the gendarmerie is under the Ministry for War. It is kept up and paid at the expense of the vilayet. The pay of the officers must not be less than that of officers of the same rank in the regular army.

CHAPTER VII - PRISONS.

Art. 22. In the prisons persons arrested and provisionally detained must not be imprisoned with persons under sentence.

Proper sanitary arrangements must exist in the prisons, and care must be taken that prisoners are not subjected to vexatious treatment.

The Valis shall appoint the Governors and the warders of the prisons, among whom there shall be a certain number of police agents and gendarmes.

CHAPTER VIII - COMMITTEE OF PRELIMINARY INQUIRY.

Art. 23. The Valis shall establish in the chief towns of the vilayets and sandjaks Committees of Preliminary Inquiry, consisting of a President and two members, one a Mussulman and the other a non-Mussulman.

The duty of these Committees shall be to investigate the reasons for the arrest of prisoners by the gendarmes, and to order their immediate examination and their imprisonment if the act of which they are accused is punishable by law; to set at liberty at once, under police supervision, those whose conduct does not entail punishment by law; to see that none are kept in prison unnecessarily or illegally. For this purpose they shall visit the prisons, and watch over the condition of the prisoners.

The Committees shall draw up Reports, which they shall submit to the Valis, stating which of the persons arrested have been set at liberty and which have been kept under arrest.

CHAPTER IX - CONTROL OF THE KURDS.

Art. 24. For the government of the nomad Kurds the Vali shall have under his orders, in each vilayet, an Ashiret-Memuri. This official shall have the power of arresting brigands and other malefactors, and requiring their appearance before the ordinary Tribunals.

He shall have under his orders a sufficient escort, and may, further, demand the assistance of the local police.

A certain number of officials, placed under his authority, shall accompany each tribe on its annual migrations. These officials shall exercise over it a power of police, order the arrest of all malefactors, and bring them before the ordinary Tribunals. The boundaries of the encampments and pasturages of the nomad Kurds shall be exactly defined. The migrations must not be allowed to cause injury to the inhabitants of the districts traversed or occupied temporarily by the nomad tribes. If the latter commit any encroachment or excess against the property or the persons of the villagers, their migration shall for the future be prohibited.

The existing Regulations with regard to carrying arms shall be strictly applied to all the Kurdish population, sedentary and nomad. Efforts shall be made to impress on the nomad populations the principles of a sedentary life by accustoming them to agricultural labour, and, with this object, land shall be allotted to them in localities where their installation cannot interfere with the tranquillity and welfare of the sedentary populations.

Persons belonging to non-sedentary populations, or who are not finally and permanently established in the territory of a nahié, shall not be qualified to take part in an election or to be elected.

CHAPTER X - HAMIDIÉ CAVALRY.

Art. 25. In the event of its being found necessary to make use of the regiments of Hamidié cavalry at times other than the training periods prescribed by the existing Regulations; these troops must only be employed and quartered in conjunction with the troops of the regular army, and must not in number exceed a third of the latter.

At ordinary times, and when not on service, the Hamidié cavalry shall not wear uniforms or carry arms. At those times they shall be amenable to the ordinary Tribunals, as already laid down in the Hamidié Regulations in accordance with the rules in force for the Redifs (Code Militaire Ottoman, Article 14).

CHAPTER XI - QUESTION OF TITLES TO PROPERTY.

Art. 26. Special Commissions composed of a President and four members, two Mussulmans and two Christians shall be charged with the revision of titles and right to property, and with the redress of cases of injustice and irregularity which may be proved.

A special Commission shall consider the best means of protecting rights to property in the future.

CHAPTER XII - COLLECTION OF TAXES.

Art. 27. All taxes, including the tithe, shall be collected directly under the authority of the Mudir by collectors elected by the Councils of the nahiés.

All the inhabitants of a nahié are conjointly responsible for the payment of the whole of the taxes assessed on it.

Art. 28. The farming of the tithes and the corvée remain abolished.

Each administrative centre, commencing with the nahié, shall appropriate from the taxes collected by it the amount necessary for the expenses of its administration according to a budget fixed and approved by the Government. In the same way, the financial administration of the vilayet shall appropriate from the total of the taxes of the province the amount necessary for the administration of the vilayet, inclusive of expenses for public works and public instruction.

The population shall in no case be liable to furnish gratuitously, either to the military or to officials on duty, lodging or provisions for their maintenance.

In cases of forced sale on account of non-payment of taxes, care shall be taken not to deprive the people of the most necessary articles, or of their implements of labour.

CHAPTER XIII - JUSTICE.

Art. 29. In each village of the nahié there shall be a Council of Elders presided over by the Mukhtar, the duties of which shall consist in settling amicably differences between the inhabitants of the village.

Art. 30. In each caza there shall be, proportionately to the number of the nahiés, a sufficient number of Magistrates appointed by the Minister of Justice on the recommendation of the Vali. One of them

must reside at the chief town of the caza. A third of the Magistrates of the caza must be Christians. The Christian Magistrates shall be placed in the centres where the Christian population is the most numerous.

Art. 31. The Magistrate shall deal:

1. In criminal cases, without appeal, with offences punishable by police penalties; and, subject to the right of appeal, with offences entailing a punishment of a fine of not more than 500 piastres, or three months imprisonment.

2. In civil cases, without appeal, with any personal action, civil or commercial, involving not more than 1,000 piastres; and, subject to the right of appeal, with similar actions involving not more than 5,000 piastres.

Art. 32. The Magistrate shall also sit as a Court of Conciliation. On the demand of the parties interested he may appoint Arbitrators to decide disputes where more than 5,000 piastres are in question. In cases of decision by arbitration there shall be no appeal.

Art. 33. As the Magistrates take the place of Tribunals of cazas, appeals from their decisions in civil matters shall be made to the Tribunal of the sandjak.

Art. 34. Sentences of imprisonment pronounced by Magistrates where there is no appeal shall be served in the prison of the caza. The Mudirs shall lend their assistance to the Magistrates in the execution of their decisions in both civil and criminal matters.

Art. 35. The Tribunals of the cazas being abolished, the Tribunals of the sandjaks shall deal with civil suits exceeding 5,000 piastres, and with appeals from decisions of Magistrates in civil matters. There shall only be a Civil Court, as the Criminal Court will be replaced by the movable Court of Assize. The Tribunals of the sandjak shall be composed of a President, who must be a Judge holding a diploma, appointed by the Minister of Justice, and two members chosen by the Vali from a list drawn up by the Councils of the sandjaks.

Art. 36. The criminal sections of the Tribunals of the sandjak are replaced by movable Courts of Assize. The Courts of Assize shall be composed of a Presiding Judge selected from the members of the High Court of the vilayet. Two members shall be added, selected by the Court of Appeal from the Magistrates of the sandjak, one a Mussulman and the other a Christian. The Magistrates shall receive a special salary during the circuit of the Court of Assize.

Art. 37. The Court of Assize shall sit in turn in all the cazas, including the chief town of the vilayet, and the chief towns of sandjaks where its presence is deemed necessary. It shall deal, on appeal, with sentences of the Magistrates delivered in cases of offences, and,

without right of appeal, with crimes and offences involving a fine of more than 500 piastres, and more than three months' imprisonment.

Appeal from sentences pronounced by the Court of Assize in criminal matters can only be made to the Court of Cassation.

Art. 38. On arrival at the caza the President of the Court of Assize shall call on the Juge d'Instruction for a statement of cases ready to be dealt with immediately by him, and a statement of cases still in course of preparation. If he discovers any irregularities or unreasonable delay with regard to the latter, he shall at once report on the subject to the Ministry of Justice.

On its arrival in the caza, and again before its departure, the Court of Assize shall visit the prisons, ascertain the condition of the prisoners, and verify the entries.

Art. 39. The High Court of the vilayet shall be composed of a President and a number of members sufficient to deal with the civil suits brought before it, and to furnish Presidents for the movable Courts of Assize.

In civil matters it shall act as a Court of Appeal and in criminal matters as a Court of Assize. It shall be regularly constituted when a quorum of two members and a President are present. It shall comprise, further, a Procureur-Général and a sufficient number of substitutes.

Art. 40. The decisions of the Magistrates, and the judgements of the Tribunals of every class, shall be drawn up in Turkish. The Turkish text shall be accompanied by a translation in Armenian where required in view of the locality and the parties concerned.

The Ottoman observations on the Scheme and memorandum of reforms submitted on June 4, 1895, are given below:

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MEMORANDUM

1. From the point of view of ethnography, it is recommended that the number of Asiatic vilayets should be reduced, in order that the different classes of inhabitants may be grouped ethnographically in a vilayet. Nevertheless, in order to facilitate the action of the Government as regards the choice of employés and the performance of its own duties, the present

arrangement of the eyalets was adopted. Now, the change proposed, far from facilitating the administration of the country, will, on the contrary, make it much more difficult and even impracticable from the point of view of ethnography, seeing that in each district the inhabitants are mixed.

2. The Memorandum states that in the matter of the choice and appointment of Governors notice is to be given to the Embassies unofficially. Nevertheless, as it has been determined that the Governors-General are to be chosen among persons who have distinguished themselves by their ability, and that those who are considered incapable of executing the reforms are to be changed, the Ambassadors will naturally admit that the unofficial communication asked for would be derogatory to the independence of the Imperial Government guaranteed by Treaties.

3. A portion of the Armenians who were imprisoned for political offences, and who have not been convicted of ordinary crimes by the Tribunals, have already obtained the Imperial pardon, and as it has already been decided to set at liberty shortly those Armenians whose pardon had also been asked for, satisfaction is given on this point.

4. It is recommended that Armenians who had been expelled by administrative order, or who had been removed from their native country, and those who have emigrated to foreign countries through fear should be recalled, and that the land and other real property which belonged to them should be restored. Now among these persons there are some who are not subjects of the Porte, and others who are considered mischievous. His Imperial Majesty the Sultan will permit the return of those who are stated to have been expelled from or made to leave their country, or who had already emigrated to foreign countries, after their identity, nationality, and conduct have been inquired into; they will in that case give security for future good behaviour. On the other hand, as the rights of property of every subject of the Imperial Government are secured by law, the reason for requesting the restoration of their real property to the above-mentioned persons is not apparent.

5. This Article has reference to the dispatch of a Commission to each vilayet to examine persons arrested and

undergoing trial, and to hasten the trial of ordinary crimes and offences.

It has always been the wish of His Majesty that trials and all judicial proceedings should be conducted without delays, and it is, of course, necessary that the measures to be taken should not interfere with the established procedure. Consequently, the jurisdiction which it is proposed to assign to the Commissions in question cannot be in accordance with the existing judicial procedure. Moreover, the Inspectors, one a Mussulman and other a non-Mussulman, who are to be appointed for each province, and whose duty it will be to expedite the trial of all cases, of course make the appointment of such Commissions necessary.

6. This Article relates to the appointment of officials for the inspection of prisons. Now, as this is one of the duties of the inspectors mentioned above, it is unnecessary to send other officials for the purpose.

7. This Article relates to the dispatch of a High Commissioner to the Asiatic provinces to superintend the execution of the reforms. Nevertheless, as it is the duty of the Governor, who is responsible for the execution of the reforms and who will be chosen from among the ablest men, to see that the reforms are carried out faithfully, and as the Commission which has been established at the Ministry of the Interior is also intrusted with holding such inquiries, and with the immediate dispatch of one or more Inspectors wherever they are wanted, either for the formation of a vilayet or for some question of administration, the Inspectors referred to being taken from the Department which has to deal with the question, the necessity for the dispatch of a High Commissioner is not apparent.

8. This Article relates to the appointment of a Permanent Commission, composed of six Mussulman and non-Mussulman members, with a President chosen among the high civil or military functionaries, which shall meet at least once a month at the Sublime Porte. It would be the duty of this Commission to see that the Regulations are strictly and faithfully carried out, to report to the proper authority any officials whose proceedings in the administration of the country are contrary to law, and any who do not perform their duties within the prescribed time, to hear the complaints of the inhabitants, to examine the Reports addressed

to them by the Heads of communities, to receive the communications which the Embassies would make to them in case of necessity through their respective Dragomans, to send one or more of their members to hold an inquiry in a province, and to give the right to correspond with the Government Departments and with the Governors-General. Now, the authority to which the Heads of communities should apply in religious matters is the Ministry of Public Worship.

As to ordinary internal business, its transaction between the Sublime Porte and the Dragomans could not but give rise to frequent controversies, and it is to be feared that the result would be to raise a political question and unpleasant difficulties between the Sublime Porte and the Embassies. Apart from these disadvantages, the Ambassadors are aware that the independence of the Imperial Government was secured by the Treaties of Paris and Berlin, that, in particular, it is clearly laid down in the Treaty of Paris that the Powers shall not interfere in the affairs of Turkey, either singly or together, and that this provision was confirmed and strengthened in the Treaty of Berlin.

Consequently, the Ambassador will admit that the Imperial Government cannot do otherwise than reject the obligation, proposed in the 8th Article, to receive communications through the Dragomans. Moreover, the functions of the Commission of Inquiry to be established at the Ministry of the Interior being calculated to produce the result desired, the appointment of another Commission is unnecessary.

9. It is suggested that an inquiry should be held to ascertain the losses suffered by the Armenians in the occurrences at Saşun and Talori, with a view to the payment of indemnities to them. His Imperial Majesty has so far granted them £ T. 15,000. Nevertheless, if the Governor of the district reports that there are persons who deserve the Imperial liberality, it will be extended to them.

10. This Article relates to the condition that persons wishing to change their religion must be 21 years of age, and that permission to change it shall not be granted to them until they have been placed for a week under the supervision of the community.

Religious freedom in the Empire is under the protection of the

law. And seeing that change of religion is question of conscience, and that no violence is exercised by any one in regard to this matter, the procedure hitherto followed is confirmed, and persons who wish to accept the religion of Islam must be of age according to law, and will be lodged in a safe place where for a week the Heads of the community will be allowed to visit them.

11. It is asked that the Regulations granted to the Armenians in 1863 and the provisions of all the Berats issued to them may be fully carried out. The action of the Government as regards the concessions made to the Armenians and to the other non-Mussulman communities is known to everybody, and the Imperial Government will always continue to carry out those concessions.

12. This Article relates to the appointment of a Christian as Moavin of the Vali to protect the interests of the Armenians in the other Asiatic provinces of the Empire, and to the assimilation of the administration of the districts of Hadjin and Zeitun to that of the six eyalets.

Seeing that there are lay and ecclesiastical members of the Armenian community in the Administrative Council and in the Nizame Tribunals, it would be contrary to the Imperial Firman establishing the equality of the subjects of His Majesty the Sultan to grant a special privilege to the Armenians; it would provoke hostility between the communities, and moreover, as the proposed reforms are based on the principle of their application to all the vilayets of the Empire in accordance with the Regulations concerning the administration of the vilayets, there is no reason to make special mention of Armenians, or to apply the reforms specially to one or two districts.

13. In accordance with the Regulations and special decisions concerning the periods of training of the Hamidié cavalry regiments, and the call to military service, His Majesty again confirms the Regulations drawn up by a Commission of the General Staff, of which Goltz Pasha was a member, under which they are bound to obey the orders they receive in regard to their training or their service, at stated periods or outside those periods.

14. The inhabitants of Mush and Erzeroum and the

surrounding country, in order to maintain their flocks, have from ancient times been in the habit of going during the fine season to places where there are pastures, returning in winter to their districts and villages; these cannot be called nomads, but as there are among them "Ashirets", who always live in tents, the Military Commander of the province will see that for the future the "Ashiret" is accompanied by an officer with a sufficient number of soldiers, and the Vali will send a Police Commissary with them.

It will be arranged beforehand what places they are to pass through, and all possible care will be taken to guard the inhabitants against plunder or damage from these "Ashirets". Care will also be taken that the general Regulations concerning the carrying of arms are observed by them. The Imperial Government has already decided that those of the "Ashirets" who live in tents shall, if possible, be induced to adopt fixed places of residence; if not, they will be directed as to where they shall pass the winter and the summer, and as to the route of their migrations.

Generally speaking, it is incorrect to say that these "Ashirets" are nothing but nomads.

15. The Department of the Defter-i Hakani will, in virtue of an Imperial Iradé, send to each province a permanent Inspector, who will be charged with examining matters relating to real property, protecting the rights of proprietors, preventing the delay of proceedings by which the inhabitants are injuriously affected, discovering and bringing to light dormant rights, and acting in accordance with the special Regulations.

The Governor of the province will associate with them Mussulman or Christian Notables who enjoy the confidence of the inhabitants and who are persons of experience; and the Vali or other civil authorities will see that the inquiry in question is properly conducted, and that the desired object is attained.

One June 28, 1895, the Ottoman Government communicated another note containing its views on the reforms to be introduced into the administration of the Eastern Provinces:

OBSERVATIONS

CHAPTER I.

Art. 1. The selection and appointment of capable functionaries to the posts of Governors-General and all other public offices, their dismissal, the substitution of others, and, if necessary, the trial of such as may be considered guilty of committing abuses, are already provided for by the existing Regulations.

It is the intention of the Imperial Government to take still greater care that the Governors-General appointed by Imperial Iradé are, in future also, selected in accordance with these established principles.

By the terms of the Imperial Firman of reforms granted in 1272, all subjects of the Empire, to whatsoever community they belong, are eligible, under the general rules laid down for the performance of public duties, in proportion to their capacity and fitness.

Now, every individual called to fill the most important civil posts as that of Vali, must have gained experience in all stages of the administrative hierarchy. Taking into consideration especially the diversity of caste and habits among the populations of the vilayets in question, and the fact that, according to the Returns of the census registers, the Mussulman element forms the majority in every case and under any régime, it is quite evident that any modification of the system now in force for the appointment of Valis, far from improving the administration would entail complications likely to disturb public tranquillity. In those circumstances, it is advisable to appoint, according to local requirements, Assistants to the Governor-General, selected from among the non-Mussulman functionaries belonging to be most numerous of the various non-Mussulman populations.

Art. 2. Valis and other functionaries are not dismissed unless found guilty of acts which legally entail their dismissal. This is proved by the fact that there are Valis and other functionaries who have held their posts eight or ten years. Admitting this rule, that no one can be dismissed without legal cause, there seems no necessity for a restriction the object of which is to limit to a term of five years the duration of appointments of Valis.

Art. 3. The appointment of Assistants to the Governors-General has been dealt with in the last part of Article I. Their duties are completely and clearly defined in Chapter II of the Regulations relative to the general administration of the vilayets inserted in the "Destur".

CHAPTER II

Art. 4. As in the chief towns of the vilayets, so in most of the sandjaks, the Mussulmans form the majority of the inhabitants. That being so, the appointment of capable and competent Mussulman functionaries as Governors seems clearly called for. But capable and upright non-Mussulmans may be appointed Moavins in any sandjak where the State considers necessary.

Art. 5. The posts of Kaimakam are reserved for graduates of the Civil School. Chosen by the Ministry of the Interior, pupils of this school, both Mussulman and non-Mussulman, are now appointed to these posts by Imperial Iradé. It is advisable to adhere to this mode of selecting these functionaries.

Art. 6. Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans, not from the school, who are now filling the post of Kaimakam, and who are of tried service and loyalty, may, on the recommendation of the Valis, supported by the Ministry of the Interior, be appointed by Imperial Iradé to the post of Kaimakam. The greatest care will be taken, by examining records of service, that these Kaimakams shall be of blameless character, and that the Government is satisfied that they are well conducted, honest, and loyal. Attached to the Kaimakams are coadjutors such as Receivers of Revenue ("Mal-Mudiri") and Chief Clerks ("Takrirat Kiatibi"). The creation in addition in all the cazas of special posts of Moavin would entail considerable expense. Moreover, there is no necessity for it. Instead, therefore, of establishing such posts everywhere, it would be better to limit them to certain Kaimakamats of importance. In such cases it would be advisable to give a Christian Moavin to the Kaimakam if the latter is a Mussulman and vice versa. In the cazas Administrative Councils exist, whose duties are defined in Chapter IV of the Regulations relative to the general administration of the vilayets, and whose members, Mussulman and non-Mussulman, are elected by the inhabitants. These Councils are in a position to discuss and settle local matters of all kinds in every detail. It is therefore unnecessary to form in each caza a special Council charged to discuss questions of public utility and other matters.

The mode of election of members of the Administrative Council is set forth in the Regulations concerning the vilayets, and in those concerning the communal administration.

Art. 7. The communal organization might be based on the provisions of Articles 94 to 106 of the Regulations for the general administration of the vilayets of the 9th January, 1286, drawn up under the Grand Vizierate of the late Ali Pasha, and of Articles 1 to 28

of the Regulations on the communal administration of the 25th March, 1292, drawn up under the Grand Vizierate of the late Mahmud Nedim Pasha. But the fact that in the small towns and villages of the Empire populations of different classes are often intermingled excludes the possibility of grouping the villages of the same religion in the same nahié, as suggested.

Art. 8. The administration of each nahié by a Mudir, and the institution of a Council charged with the administration of the commune, might also be effected under the above-mentioned Regulations.

Only these Regulations contain a paragraph according to which the Communal Council may consist of as many as eight members.

As half these members retire each year, it would be more convenient that the number of Mussulman and non-Mussulman members should only be four.

Art. 9. The mode of election of the Communal Councils is governed by the above-quoted Regulations.

If all the inhabitants of a nahié are of the same class, it is natural that the members of the Council should be elected from the inhabitants belonging to that class; if the population of a communal district is mixed, it is equally fitting that the minority should be represented in proportion to its importance, provided the minority comprises at least twenty-five houses.

Art. 10. The Mudirs and Secretaries of the communes already receive remuneration. When the measures for the organization of the nahié are carried out the salaries will naturally be fixed within the limits of the general scheme of payments.

But as the Regulations in force make no provision for the drawing up of a budget for the communal expenses, this task falls to the chief town of the vilayet.

Art. II. In the election of the members of the Communal Council the conditions specified in the Regulations for the general administration of the provinces and in the Regulations for the communes must be observed.

Candidates must not have been sentenced for crimes or political offences.

Art. 12. The Regulations for communal administration provide, it is true, that the Mudirs of the communes, like the members of the Council, shall be elected by the inhabitants. But it is not stated in these Regulations that the members elected shall choose one amongst their numbers for the post of Mudir and inform the Governor-General directly. On the contrary, it is laid down that when the inhabitants have elected the Mudir also, his name shall be

communicated through the Kaimakam of the district to which the commune belongs to the Mutessarif, and by the latter to the Vali, who shall confirm the appointment in writing and complete the necessary formalities.

The question whether Mudirs should be appointed by the State or by election is, however, a disputed point even in some European countries. Looking to the special conditions of the Ottoman Empire, the appointment of these Mudirs by the State would be more in accordance with the public interest. The Imperial Government prefers, therefore that the State should have the choice and appointment of the Mudirs for the communes to be formed in accordance with the two sets of Regulations above mentioned, as is the practice in the case of the Mudirs already existing.

Art. 13. By the terms of Article 12 of the Regulations for communal administration, persons in the Government service, schoolmasters, and priests cannot hold office as Mudir.

Art. 14. This point also is in conformity with Article 16 of the Regulations for communal administration. The last paragraph, however, does not agree with the Article, for in the concluding part of the said Regulations it is clearly laid down that the Mudir and the members may be re-elected. Considering the limited number of persons in the communes capable of fulfilling the duties of members, and the fact that the appointment of Mudirs by the Government is considered preferable, the paragraph in the Regulations respecting the members seems more in accordance with the requirements of the situation.

Art. 15. The duties of the Mudir and the members of the Communal Councils, as well as the mode of electing and replacing them, are laid down in Articles 20 to 27 of the Regulations for the administration of the communes.

Art. 16. This Article is in conformity with the special Articles of the Regulations for the organization and general administration of the vilayets, and of the Regulations for the administration of the communes.

Art. 17. This Article is in conformity with the Regulations for the administration of the vilayets and communes.

CHAPTER V Police.

Art. 18. The Regulations in force do not contain provisions for the recruiting of police agents from among the inhabitants of the

communes, or for their employment by the Communal Councils. If the police agents of a commune were chosen and recruited from among the inhabitants of that commune, they might have relatives or friends there or have feelings of personal animosity against certain inhabitants, which would exclude the possibility of their executing their duties conscientiously, or acting with impartiality.

The formation in the chief town of the vilayet of police and gendarmerie, recruited from honest and trustworthy Ottoman subjects, Mussulman and non-Mussulman, in proportion to the total number of Mussulman and non-Mussulman inhabitants in each vilayet, the increase, according to local requirements, of the contingents of gendarmerie and police allotted to the district, and the assignment to the chief towns of communes of an adequate number of men detached from these contingents, seem sufficient to secure the end desired from the point of view of public tranquillity.

Art. 19. The police agents of the chief town of the commune will naturally act, in police matters, under the orders of the Mudir, if these agents are numerous, and if there is among them, a Commissioner of Police, they must clearly be subject to the Regulations in force. Their arms and uniform will be of the pattern already adopted for the police. They will receive their pay from the district treasuries. These agents, being paid, must devote themselves exclusively to the discharge of their duties, and will not be permitted to occupy themselves with their private affairs.

Since soldiers of the regular army on active service pay taxes in their native places, no ground exists for exempting non-Mussulman police agents from payment of the tax of exemption from military service.

The police agents perform their duties within the limits of their districts. The employment of mounted police is therefore uncalled for, and there is no precedent for it.

After it has been ascertained on the spot what number of fresh police agents is required for employment in the vilayets, their recruitment will be proceeded with in accordance with the real and absolute requirements. To avoid unnecessary expense, no greater extension should be given to this measure than absolute necessity warrants. It must be clearly understood that the mode of employment of these agents, their action and duties, must remain within the limits now observed by the corps of police agents, and that they cannot claim any new character.

Art. 20. Police duties, such as the supervision of the roads, the maintenance of public tranquillity, the safe conveyance of the mails, devolve on the gendarmerie, foot and horse. It is the duty of the

central authorities of the sandjaks and cazas to send these gendarmes to any place where they are wanted.

CHAPTER VI

Art. 21. It is advisable to recruit the gendarmes from among the Mussulman and non-Mussulman inhabitants in accordance with local requirements, and to select the officers and non-commissioned officers of this corps from the Imperial army. The pay of the gendarmes is higher than that of the regular soldiers, and that of the officers is the same as that of officers of the Imperial army. It is clear that the pay and expenses of the gendarmerie must be paid by the treasuries of the vilayets according to the established rule.

CHAPTER VII Prisons.

Art. 22. The accused are detained in the houses of detention, and the convicted in the prisons. It is the duty of the Valis, Mutessarifs, and Kaimakams to see that the prisons are in a proper sanitary condition. The Procureurs-Généraux are also bound to hold inspections for this purpose. The prisons have a complete staff of officials and servants, such as a Governor, clerks, warders. Instructions might be sent with a view to still greater care being taken, by these means, in the supervision of the condition of the houses of detention and prisons, which are in charge of gendarmes and police agents. Torture and ill-treatment of accused persons and prisoners are forbidden by the law, which imposes the strictest penalties on those who transgress it.

CHAPTER VIII

Art. 23. Preliminary inquiries are now held at Constantinople and in the provinces by the Councils of Police. The method recommended appears in the instructions relative to the general administration of the vilayets.

CHAPTER IX

Art. 24. The presence in each vilayet of an Ashiret-Memuri charged with the administration of the nomad Kurds, and the arrest and delivery of brigands and criminals, offers no practical advantage, and does not appear to be a practicable arrangement, as it is improbable that the Chiefs of one tribe can exercise any influence over another tribe. Therefore the pursuit and arrest of brigands and criminals among the nomad tribes, and their delivery to the Tribunals, must be left to the gendarmerie, and depend on the orders given and the steps taken by the Vali. The majority of these tribes are not nomadic; their principal means of subsistence being the breeding of cattle; they go in summer to their pastures, and return in winter to their homes in the small towns and villages. The localities to be traversed by them in these migrations will be indicated beforehand, and to prevent their committing any encroachments or excesses on the property or persons of the residents in these localities, a sufficient armed force, commanded by an officer named by the Commander of the Army Corps, as well as a detachment of gendarmes and officers selected by the Vali, will be sent to the spot. Care will be taken that the provisions of the Regulations as to passes and the carrying of arms are strictly applied to them.

As a guarantee that these tribes will obey the orders given them, the Chiefs of the tribes sometimes send to the chief town of the nearest vilayet or sandjak one of their kinsmen or friends enjoying the esteem and confidence of the tribe to remain there as hostage until their return home. This custom will continue in force. If there are any tribes which are always wandering, the Government will take care to encourage them to remain stationary by grants of lands and pastures.

The above are the measures which may be regarded as necessary.

The Valis, Mutessarifs, and Kaimakams will take the greatest care that Chiefs of tribes are not exposed to insults or dangers through the intrigues or calumnies of worthless characters.

CHAPTER X

Art 25. The manner of employing the Hamidié regiments, if it is found necessary to call them under arms at other than the regular times, is indicated. As the Regulations concerning these regiments are being revised, the restrictions relative to carrying arms and wearing uniform outside the training times are points which come

under the provisions of the new Regulations to be drawn up. If the Hamidié troopers, outside the periods of training, that is, when not under arms, commit acts which render them liable to be prosecuted, they are amenable to the jurisdiction of the ordinary Tribunals.

CHAPTER XI

Art. 26. The Imperial Government, taking into consideration the question of the security of real property, had already laid down the principle that uniform title-deeds should be issued by the Administration of the Archives for land and real property of every description, and that the old system, according to which, both at Constantinople and in the provinces, various kinds of title-deeds were issued for those properties, should be abolished. Thus, by the issue, by the aforesaid Administration, of regular title-deeds, both for "émirié" and "vakouf" lands, and for real property which is "mulk", the right of property of the populations have been secured. Admitting that, for the examination of matters connected with real property, a special knowledge of the laws on the subject is necessary, such an examination cannot be carried out by mere local Commissions composed of Mussulman and non-Mussulman members. It is therefore advisable to appoint, for this purpose, Commissions composed of four members, two Mussulman and two non-Mussulman, to sit in the chief towns of the vilayets, under the presidency of the Delegate of the Administration of the Archives, and in the chief towns of the sandjaks under the presidency of the Superintendent of Real Property.

It will be the special duty of these Commissions to inquire into the validity of the titles of those who claim to have proprietary rights. But as it is possible that some people, through ignorance of the law, may not have applied for title-deeds of their lands and real property, and as, on the other hand, others may have obtained title-deeds on *ex parte* declarations, it is necessary to take this important point also into consideration in the process of revision; to inquire into the circumstances connected with the possession, by purchase, transfer, or inheritance, of real property and lands for which, for one reason or another, the owners have not obtained title-deeds; to deprive none of their ancient rights because title-deeds are not forthcoming; to make an investigation in the case of those who have by some means obtained title-deeds without their rights of ownership being thoroughly established, in order to discover how they came by those

title-deeds; to protect, by these means, the property of every one from all usurpation; and, finally, to leave no loop-hole for unfounded claims and fraud; and to take special care to preserve intact the Vakouf lands and other real property.

The above must be the principal task of the aforesaid Commissions.

Their decisions must be examined and approved by the Administrative Councils of Vilayets and Sandjaks. Matters which require to be decided in a Court of law should be referred to the Tribunals; and in order that this may be done in accordance with the principle of administrative centralization, four persons, most honourable and upright men with a blameless past, shall be sent every year from the capital to the vilayets with instructions to ascertain whether anything is being done that is contrary to law or equity, and to report the result to the Sublime Porte. By this means a control will be exercised.

CHAPTER XII *Collection of Tithes.*

Art. 27. The impossibility, in view of the condition of the populations, of collecting in money all the revenues drawn from the tithes generally, has been proved by experience at different times and places. The payment of the tithe in kind at harvest-time is clearly a convenience to the inhabitants. Moreover, as the letting of the tithes by villages, and the farming of them, if a request for such an arrangement is made by the inhabitants, is allowed under the terms of the Regulations governing the subject, the maintenance of this rule appears necessary. Collectors were formerly appointed to collect the other revenues of the Empire; but as this method did not insure the regular receipt of the taxes, or a normal system such as would meet the convenience of the populations in the matter of the administration of the public revenues, and as the Imperial Government were obliged to look for a system of collection that would not necessitate the employment of the public force, special corps were formed, charged with the business in connection with the levy of taxation. The principle has been laid down that no forage or food may be requisitioned by these corps in the localities they visit, under pain of severe punishment. As the Mukhtars and Receivers of the villages and wards, elected by the inhabitants, are responsible for the actual collection, and the delivery to, the local treasuries of the taxes owing by the inhabitants, it is likewise laid down that no money is to pass through the hands of persons belonging to the special staff above

mentioned. It therefore seems unnecessary to substitute the arrangement proposed for the system now obtaining, especially as the Collectors, who it is proposed should be chosen and appointed by the Communal Councils, must necessarily be, as has been shown, the Receivers and Mukhtars elected by the inhabitants.

Art. 28. The experiment made by the Imperial Government of collecting the tithes directly, instead of farming them out, far from introducing regularity into this branch of the service, led on the contrary to loss of revenue, and to complaints of all sorts on the part of the populations. For this reason the system of farming out was re-established. Only, in order to avoid any ground for complaint, various clauses and restrictions were inserted in the Regulations concerning the tithes. For instance, the farming out of the tithes on a large scale was abolished, and replaced, as stated under the preceding Article, by the system of farming them out by villages in the name of the inhabitants, for the encouragement and convenience of these latter. Moreover, just as when there is difficulty in obtaining payment of the money due from the tithe-farmers, the Government has recourse to the Tribunals, in the same way, in accordance with the rule in force the inhabitants have the power of applying freely to the Administrative Councils and the Tribunals in cases of complaints or claims against the farmers.

The corvée has for many years been absolutely prohibited. Offenders in this matter are liable to penalties. There is therefore no occasion to draw up fresh restrictive Regulations on the subject. The establishment of public treasuries in the communes was also tried formerly, but this experiment, far from tending to greater regularity of operations, occasioned gratuitous loss to the Treasury. There would therefore be no material advantage in a renewal of this experiment. It is advisable to maintain the system now in force, by which the fixed expenses of the communes inserted in the budgets of the vilayets are paid every month by the treasuries of the cazas. The expenses of the vilayets and sandjaks inserted in the budget are likewise paid by the public treasuries.

Expenditure on building and repairs, grants for bridges and roads, and the operations connected with contributions in kind and in money, concern the Department of Public Works which communicates with the vilayets in these matters for all necessary purposes. As regards the sums necessary to meet the expenses of public instruction they are inserted in the budget by the Department of Public Instruction, which arranges for the payments in communication with the authorities.

Taking into consideration the established Regulations, it is

advisable that the present system should remain in force.

The population has never had to provide gratuitously for the officials or Imperial troops lodgings or provisions for their maintenance, nor has it been harshly treated in connection with the levying of the taxes. The considerable arrears which are owed each year by the population to the Treasury on account of the tax exemption from military service and other taxes are a proof of this. Moreover, as Regulations are in existence forbidding the sale for debts to the Treasury or personal debts of the private residence of the taxpayer, of the land necessary for his subsistence, of his tools and agricultural implements of his beasts of labour, or of his seed, there is no occasion for making new Regulations and laws to this effect.

CHAPTER XIII

Art. 29. There are in the communes Councils of Elders, whose business it is to settle by friendly agreement disputes of little importance, and to reconcile the parties in accordance with the established Regulations.

Art. 30. There exist in the cazas Courts of First Instance constituted in accordance with the provisions of the Organic Law of the Tribunals. In the villages the duties of Magistrates are discharged by the Councils of Elders, and in the communes by the Communal Councils. Their duties and the extent of their competency in the settlement of cases are defined by the Law above mentioned. No legal provision exists for the appointment, as recommended, of Magistrates in the chief towns of the cazas and communes. Nor are there in the communes and villages persons conversant with legal questions. Consequently, it would not be advisable to appoint Magistrates invested with such extensive powers.

Art. 31. Under the preceding Article, it was shown that no grounds exist for creating Magisterial Courts.

There is, therefore, no need to discuss their functions.

Art. 32. In civil matters, the appointment of Arbitrators does not come within the duties of the Tribunals. Under the Commercial Code, the Commercial Tribunals appoint experts in suits pending between Companies. Moreover, as it has already been stated that there is no necessity for the creation of Magisterial Courts, there is no need to discuss further the assignment of such a function.

Art. 33. As it has been shown that it is useless and impossible to establish Magisterial Courts, and that it is necessary to maintain the

existing organization of the Magistrate's jurisdiction, it follows naturally that the Tribunals of First Instance of the districts must be preserved.

Art. 34. In view of the uselessness of Magisterial Courts, as shown above, the description of their functions in this Article ceases to have any application.

Art. 35. The necessity for maintaining the Tribunals of First Instance of the cazas has already been explained. As regards the Civil and Criminal Tribunals of the sandjaks, the judicial laws do not provide for the institution of movable Courts of Assize, intended to take the place of the Criminal Tribunals in dealing with criminal cases.

It is not apparent what would be the advantage of such an arrangement, or how it could be carried out, for the difficulties of communication would entail loss of time while a Court of this kind was on circuit. In winter the roads would be blocked in some places; so that criminal cases, especially those of persons caught *flagrante delicto*, which require a speedy trial and sentence, would be delayed by the non-appearance of the Court at the proper time; such delays would make it difficult to collect the evidence in support of the prosecution, and would prevent justice being done in criminal and civil actions.

Art. 36. As shown under the preceding Article, the organization of movable Courts is difficult and useless. There is no occasion, therefore, to settle the manner in which these Courts should be organized.

Art. 37. Since it is not considered advisable to organize movable Courts, there is no need to discuss to duties of such Courts.

Art. 38. As the creation of movable Courts has not been found admissible in principle, this Article need not be considered.

Art. 39. The creation in the chief towns of the vilayets of a High Court, composed of a President and two members, is foreign to the provisions of the judicial Laws. At the chief town of each vilayet there are now two Courts of Appeal, one Civil, the other Criminal, each composed of a President and four members, as well as Civil and Criminal Courts of First Instance, composed of a President and two members. The Courts of Appeal examine civil and criminal cases tried by the Courts of First Instances. As regards criminal cases arising in the chief towns of the vilayets, the Court of Appeal deals with them in the first place.

The Civil and Criminal Courts of First Instance, each composed of a President and the members who are in the cazas, deal in accordance with the Organic Laws of the Tribunals and the Codes of Civil and

Criminal Procedure, with civil and criminal cases in the chief towns of the sandjaks, and examine, on appeal, decisions of the Tribunals of cazas where appeal can be made.

Experience has proved the sufficiency and utility of the organization of the provincial Tribunals. There is therefore no occasion, from a legal or practical point of view, to modify this organization in order to create a High Court such as that mentioned above.

Art. 40. The decisions of the ordinary Tribunals in civil and criminal matters must absolutely be drawn in Turkish, the official language of the country.

The following note had been submitted by the chief Dragomans of the French, British and Russian Embassies to the Sultan's Head Secretary at the time of the presentation of the May project and memorandum.

"11 May 1895

The Chief Dragoman of the French Embassy has been instructed by the French government to submit to the Sultan the reform plan to be implemented by the Ottoman government in the Eastern provinces.

The plan consists of a project for judicial and administrative reform in the spirit of the laws at present in force, and of a memorandum listing the measures required for ensuring and facilitating the the most effective implementation of the said reforms.

These two documents put forward the measures regarded by the French government as essential for the preservation of law and order in the provinces affected by the recent disturbances, and the protection of the Armenian people against any recurrence of these disturbances.

As the French government is convinced of the value and necessity of these reforms, it recommends that investigations should be undertaken without delay with a view to their immediate implementation. The French Ambassador would wish to be informed as soon as possible of the answer given by the Sultan regarding the measures suggested in the memorandum and the project appended and the implementation of reforms."

The following *note verbale* was sent on June 3, 1895 by the Sublime Porte in answer to the Memorandum and project:

"The scheme of administrative reforms for the vilayets presented to His Imperial Majesty by their Excellencies the Ambassadors has been most carefully considered.

1. The principal wish and the intention of the Sultan being to increase and develop, in an equitable manner, the prosperity of his whole Empire and of his subjects, His Imperial Majesty deems it advisable not to limit the application of these administrative reforms to one portion of his Empire, but to bestow them on all the vilayets.

2. Most of the points contained in the scheme being in conformity with the provisions of the Regulations concerning the vilayets contained in the first volume of the "Destur", p. 680, and dated the 7th Jemazi-ul-Akhir, 1281, and with the provisions of the Regulations concerning the general administration of the vilayets dated the 29th Shawwal, 1287, contained in the same volume of the "Destur", p. 625, His Imperial Majesty, in order to uphold the principle of centralization, wishes to insure the execution of those provisions, with the exception of those relating to the General Council, and decides that those of the provisions which have not yet been executed shall be carried out. As, however, there is no mention in the existing Regulations of a five years tenure of office by the Valis, or of permanent Councils to be formed under the presidency of the Valis, Mutessarifs, and Kaimakams respectively, the functions which it is desired to assign to those officials already form part of the regular functions of the Administrative Councils. Hence these Councils are not materially necessary.

3. As regards the Articles concerning the establishment of Tribunals, of the gendarmerie, and the police, they are not in conformity with the provisions of the Laws and Regulations in force. But Judicial Inspectors will be appointed. The gendarmerie and police in the cazas will be increased, in order to control permanently the Tribunals and the prisons, and to insure the speedy trial of prisoners, and order in the nahiés and villages. A sufficient number of gendarmerie and police will be detached and posted in the chief village of each nahié. All the measures desired will be taken to subject the nomadic tribes to regular discipline, and in every place where there is a Tribunal of First Instance there

will also be established, if necessary, a Correctional Tribunal of First Instance.

4. It has been decided to appoint and to employ for administrative posts, and in the gendarmerie and police, independently of the Mussulmans, non-Mussulman Ottoman subjects, inhabitants of the Empire, in proportion to the total numbers of Mussulman and non-Mussulman inhabitants of each vilayet.

(This verbal communication was followed by another verbal note presented to the Ambassadors of Russia, Great Britain, and France on 17 June 1895)

NOTE VERBALE

"It appears from former and recent declarations of their Excellencies the Ambassadors of England, France, and Russia, that these three Powers, relying solely on Article LXI of the Treaty of Berlin, have made known their views on the subject of the reforms; that, apart from the performance of the engagements contained in the aforesaid Article, they do not ask from the Imperial Government any new right of supervision, and that they have no intention of making any proposal which would not be in conformity with the established Laws and Regulations.

The Imperial Government take note of these declarations and of the assurances given by the Ambassadors to the effect that their Governments, in proposing the reforms in question, never intended to encroach in the slightest degree on the sovereign rights of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan and they express their thanks to the Powers for these assurances.

The provisions and Articles of the Memorandum and scheme presented by the three Ambassadors on the 11th May, 1895, which are not contrary to the Laws and Regulations of the Empire, are, as already decided and confirmed, accepted in principle. Certain points and details of the Memorandum and scheme which require examination and discussion are, however, excepted. Nevertheless, if the above-mentioned Powers have any well-founded observations to make, within the limits of the power derived from Article LXI of the Treaty of Berlin, regarding to execution of the reforms, and if, just as they communicate at all times with the

Ministry for Foreign Affairs through the medium of their Dragomans, they will address their communications to the said Department in the manner established by custom in the Empire, their Excellencies the Ambassadors may rest assured that the cases to which they have thus called attention will be referred by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to the proper authorities, and will be attended to without delay. An official worthy of consideration in every respect will be appointed and sent to the spot by the Imperial Government, charged exclusively and specially with the mission of inspecting and superintending with the greatest care the execution of the reforms. While this scheme of reforms is being carried out, valid reasons for introducing modifications which may be rendered necessary by local requirements will be communicated to the Powers. The Imperial Government declare to their Excellencies the Ambassadors that, with a view to protect the sovereign rights of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan and those of his Empire, they are ready to proceed to the immediate execution of the reforms, in accordance with Article LXI of the Treaty of Berlin, and on the basis of Article LXIII of that Treaty.

In order to uphold in an equitable manner the principle of equality and justice, the Imperial Government, when they proceed to organize, will take into consideration the relative numbers of their different subjects.

It must be clearly understood that the Imperial Government does not confer on the Powers any prerogative beyond the power granted to them by the Treaty of Berlin.

Sublime Porte, June 17, 1895.

The minutes of the Ottoman Cabinet concerning the scheme of reforms and the memorandum dated August 23, 1311 are quoted below:

"Upon the receipt of the memorandum and scheme of reforms concerning the six Anatolian provinces presented to the Sublime Porte on May 1 by the Ambassadors of England, Russia and France, a reply was given to them in a verbal note on May 23/June 4 A.D. Being informed by the Ambassadors that the reply was insufficient, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs gave a second verbal note dated June 17, where it was stated that the Imperial

Government accepted in principle the terms and provisions of the proposed scheme and memorandum, provided that these were not contrary to the established laws and regulations. However, certain points and details which required further consideration and discussion were excepted. The three powers were also informed that if they had any observations to make, within the limits of their power, regarding the execution of the reforms, they could communicate these to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs through the medium of their Dragomans. It was, moreover, announced that an official worthy of consideration in every respect would be appointed and sent to the spot, charged exclusively and especially with the mission of inspecting and superintending with greatest care the execution of the reforms, and that, in order to uphold in an equitable manner the principle of equality and justice, the Imperial Government, when it proceeded to organize, would take into consideration the relative numbers of its different subjects. This verbal communication, a copy of which remains in our safe-keeping, was approved and signed by us.

In response to an inquiry made by the three Ambassadors as to what were the articles of the memorandum and scheme of reforms accepted in principle and what were the points and details which needed further investigation and discussion, the Imperial Government established a Commission composed of the Minister of the Interior, Justice, Public Instruction, and Foreign Affairs, and the undersecretary of the Grand Vizir. A copy of the counter-scheme prepared by the Commission together with the Minutes, approved and signed by us, were presented to His Imperial Majesty. A translation of the aforementioned counter-scheme, prepared by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, was communicated to the Ambassadors on August 13, and upon the request of the Ambassadors for the clarification of certain points, the Imperial government provided the three Embassies with the necessary information on August 17.

In view of the fact that certain observations were made in connection with the acceptance of our counter-scheme, especial efforts were made to influence the foreign Ambassadors and their governments, in order to induce the cabinets of the Three Powers to be well-disposed towards our proposal. In accordance with the instructions of His Imperial Majesty, the Sultan, and taking into consideration the good services rendered to the Empire by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the latter was empowered to

establish contacts with the Three Powers and to communicate the Ottoman view to them.

Lord Salisbury, who succeeded Lord Rosebery as Prime Minister with an overwhelming majority of seventy per cent, endorsed the reform scheme proposed by the Three Powers and claimed that Article 61 of the treaty of Berlin confirmed the right of surveillance of the Powers, in connection with the execution of the reforms in the six provinces. Moreover, he held that the terms of the scheme were reasonable and attempted to coerce the Imperial Government into establishing a mixed commission.

In the meantime, a telegram was dispatched by the Sublime Porte to the Turkish Embassy in St. Petersburg instructing the Ambassador to establish contacts with the Russian Cabinet. The reply received from St. Petersburg contained the statement of Prince Lobanoff that his proposal was not prejudicial to the sovereign rights of the Ottoman Empire. However, it was evident that the Prince supported the British proposal which gave rise to further difficulties. Nevertheless, the French Ambassador expressed the hope that if the Imperial Government would accept the six points, these difficulties could be surmounted.

On August 23, the French Foreign Minister, M. Hanotaux held a discussion with Ziya Pasha, the Ottoman Ambassador in Paris, and said that if the Ottoman Government clearly stated its objectives, he would communicate his views after studying them, but, that he could not intercede on our behalf to Lord Salisbury, in order to induce him to take a favourable attitude towards the Ottoman proposal, without fully comprehending the aims and commitments of the Sublime Porte. The attitude adopted by the Foreign Minister of France to some extent confirmed the hopes expressed above. Consequently, the Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs had another meeting with the three Ambassadors, last Sunday, and was told by the Russian Ambassador that although the latter had received instructions from his Government not to enter into negotiations with the Sublime Porte at the present time, he would undertake to convey the Ottoman proposal to his Government on condition that the Porte sent a telegram informing the Russian Cabinet of this situation.

Under the circumstances it was essential that full information should be provided concerning the aforementioned

six points. As a result of studying the statements submitted, it became clear that the six points about which clarification was sought concerned the following issues:

1. The reorganization of the prisons
2. The election of the *Müdir*s (administrative heads) of the *nahiyes* (communes) as opposed to their being appointed by the central government.
3. The appointment of Christian functionaries to posts other than those of the *Valis* (Governors-General) and the *Mutasarrıfs* (governors).
4. The provision of rural police in every *nahiye*.
5. The provision of information and observations by the Embassies to the Commission through the medium of their Dragomans.

After lengthy discussions, the following decisions were taken by the Cabinet in connection with the aforesaid six points:

1. The prisons will be reorganized and inspected in accordance with the terms of the Firman of reforms, recognized by the Paris Congress, with the purpose of reconciling the laws with the principle of human rights.
2. The appointment of the *Müdir*s of the *nahiyes* will be carried out in accordance with the Regulations issued under the vizirate of Âli Pasha and Mahmud Nedim Pasha. Since a clause already exists in the aforementioned Regulations providing for the election of the *Müdir*s, there are no impediments to the acceptance of this proposal.

Consequently the six points are reduced to four, which, upon close inspection, present no problems.

3. In accordance with the Firman of reforms, all Ottoman subjects to whatever nationality they may belong are to be admitted to the service of the State. Moreover, in accordance with Article 62 of the Treaty of Berlin, religious and sectarian differences cannot prevent anyone from attaining high and

honourable posts in the civil administration or the diplomatic service as well as in all manner of professions.

4. The *nahiyes* will be provided with rural police in accordance with Article 60 and 109 of the Regulations for the General Administration of the *vilayets*, and the relevant articles of the Code of Criminal Procedure, as has been declared in an official note proclaimed by Abidin Pasha. The duties of the rural police are limited to the protection of the villages engaged in agriculture and animal breeding. Although this is assumed as being self-evident, if a situation arises where the rural police become transformed into local militia engaged in activities against the government, the Sublime Porte reserves the right to disperse this force and abolish its function. Hence, it is appropriate for the Imperial Government to introduce certain qualifications and restrictions into this article.

The Imperial Government, convinced of the urgency and importance of communicating these points to the Three Ambassadors, have adopted the following proposals unanimously:

1. The notifications and communications, which the Dragomans may make to the Commission, must be limited to the reforms which the Imperial Government has decided to introduce in the six *vilayets*, and must not deal with any other subject.
2. Apart from the *Valis* and the *Mutasarrıfs*, who must be Mussulmans, Christian officials will be chosen and appointed in proportion to the numbers of the different populations.
3. There will be rural policemen in every *nahiye*. Their number will be fixed by the Governors-General, but must not exceed five for each *nahiye*. In *nahiyes* inhabited by different populations, they will of course be taken from both. These rural policeman will be chosen by the Council of the *nahiye*. Their uniform and arms will be settled by the Department of War.
4. The existing Regulations concerning prisoners will be strictly observed and applied.
5. There will be Christian officers in the police and the gendarmerie.

6. The *Müdir*s of the *nahiyes* will be elected from the members of the Councils of *nahiyes*, in accordance with the Regulations.

It is humbly submitted that the six points proclaimed in accordance with the Imperial *Irade* (Decree) should be communicated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassadors of the Three Powers, as well as the Ottoman Embassies in London, St. Petersburg and Paris. Since the English Ambassador has requested a reply in writing, the Cabinet agrees that a written declaration could be made without incurring any difficulties. It is further added that, as the matter at hand is of utmost urgency, the Ministry concerned has to be advised that there should be no delays in the communication of this note. The final decision, naturally, rests with the commands and firman of His Imperial Majesty, our Master."

The Imperial *Irade* (Decree) issued upon the receipt of the minutes quoted above, August 25, 1311:

"Upon studying the original and certified copy of the minutes of the Cabinet, dated Rebi-ul-evvel, 13 (no. 593), His Majesty the Sultan has commanded that due measures should be taken in connection with the request of the Grand Vizir dated Rebi-ul-evvel, 13 (no. 592), seeking approval for the proposals submitted. Nonetheless, His Imperial Majesty has declared that if there are among the Christian officers of the gendarmerie, police agents or rural policemen any persons of unreliable character who, being carried away by the manoeuvres and intrigues of the Armenian Committees, fail in their duty, and, abusing their powers in a spirit of inhumanity, insult or persecute Mussulmans, or who give material or moral assistance to agitators, the Imperial Government, without prejudice to its right to take public action, reserves the right, in case the offence is repeated, and if it considers necessary, to inform the three Powers, and to invite their Ambassadors to a discussion.

Because the ranks of the Christian officers to be employed in the gendarmerie have not been specified, special precautions ought to be taken to prevent the misuse of this article in the future. Moreover note is taken of the fact that assurances were given by the three Ambassadors in the names of their governments and by the latter to our Ambassadors accredited to them that they had never had any idea of making proposals which

might be prejudicial to the sovereign rights of His Majesty and the independence of the Empire. It is evident that the six *vilayets* in question cannot at any future time acquire a privileged character; and if, which is impossible, such an idea should ever arise, the Government will take advantage of the assurances quoted.

Although the English Ambassador has requested the aforementioned points to be communicated to him in writing, as the other two Ambassadors were issued with verbal notes, it would be unsuitable to have recourse to such an exceptional measure in connection with the aforesaid ambassador. Hence efforts should be made to persuade him to forgo this request, and if he insists, then the Russian and French Ambassadors should be asked to exert their influence on him in order to induce him to accept a verbal communication as they had done themselves. His Majesty, the Sultan, has decreed that this information should be conveyed to the Ambassadors of the three Powers.

The Armenians were greatly encouraged by the project of 11 May 1895, which they regarded as a first step towards Armenian independence. The Patriarch Izmirlian sent the good news to the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin. The following report was sent by Izmirlian to the British Ambassador during the discussions on the project and memorandum.

From the Patriarch Izmirlian to Sir Philip Currie

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to inform you that I have noted the contents of the reform project and the appended memorandum submitted to the Sublime Porte, which was forwarded to me with the approval of the French and Russian Ambassadors.

My infinite faith and trust in the sound measures taken by the government you represent, your own foresight, and in the work undertaken on this important subject by the representatives of the three great Powers make it very difficult for me to express my opinions on this subject.

Your Excellency, I must be so bold as to declare most vehemently that the project that has now been prepared will, in spite of your magnanimous intentions, bring no relief to the sufferings of the Armenian people, nor will it be in any true sense a realisation of the reforms desired and longed for ever since the Congress of Berlin.

The aim of the project is, in my opinion, the establishment of law and justice in the Armenian provinces, and the implementation of the reforms which form the essential spirit of the project.

Will the acceptance of a few basic rights of supervision, on a purely temporary basis and without the condition that this should be carried out by Europeans, the choice of governors appointed by the Sublime Porte, the powers of supervision exerted by a commission composed of Ottoman officials in Istanbul and subservient to the wishes of the Sublime Porte, a judicial and security organization which contains no guarantee that foreigners should play a part, as well as the general spirit of centralization, be sufficient to ensure the realization of these objectives and the creation of the conditions necessary for effective supervision?

One is immediately struck by the fact that no article has been included forbidding the migration of Moslems into areas in which the Armenians constitute the majority, nor is there any article relating to the army to prevent the recurrence of disturbances such as those that took place at Sasun.

I hope that you will permit me to express my conviction that a person of such foresight and sagacity as your Excellency must, during the preparation of this project have kept in mind the failure of all the interventions of the Powers during the various events that have occurred since 1878.

I shall make so bold as to declare that we are convinced that the establishment of a form of government that will function on its own without requiring meetings of the Ambassador, or frequent intervention on their part would be more in conformity with the aims and attitude of the government you represent and with the interests and aspirations of the Armenians.

Would Your Excellency not agree that it would be possible, without hurting or offending anyone, to set up a permanent European supervisory commission, and to allow the participation of European elements in the judicial and security organizations with the aim of ensuring greater security of life, honour and property in the Armenian provinces and, besides this, to place leadership and guidance in the hands of international bodies.

I feel sure that so humane and benevolent a person as Your Excellency will recognize the rights and duties of the church, the spiritual leader of the nation, in whose interests you have expended so much effort, and that you will make your voice heard in all matters arising from the application of the reform project. It is absolutely essential that an immediate and effective solution should be found for the present situation of ever-increasing threats and attacks against us in the various towns and villages, the violence of which is far beyond our powers to withstand. We trust that the measures we have respectfully brought to your attention are just and reasonable. It is the right to live that constitutes the just desires of all Armenians, both as individuals and as a nation. This should not be represented as a mere "claim".

These views in no way diminish the gratitude of the Armenian nation and their spiritual leaders for the efforts expended by the government you represent through your invaluable mediation in ensuring to our nation justice and the basic conditions of communal existence.

We pray for the blessings of God on Your Excellency and commit you to his protection. With our deepest respects,

Archbishop Mateos Izmirlian

Istanbul: 14-26 June, 1895 Patriarch of the Armenians in Turkey

The telegram sent by the British Ambassador, Sir Philip Currie, to the British Consul in Erzurum was interpreted as meaning that the Sultan had accepted the independence of Armenia. A British journalist sent a telegram from London to the *Marhasa* of Erzurum with the words "Victoire complète!" and the Armenians bestowed the title of "Saviour of Armenia" on a British journalist who had consistently supported them. He was also presented with a diamond pen by the Armenians of Erzurum and a number of gifts by the Armenians of Tiflis.²

There was a desire to interpret the project in favour of the Armenians by setting up an independent administration in the eastern provinces. The Ottoman government, on the other hand, endeavoured to promote as far as possible a logical and reasonable approach in conformity with the views put forward in the notes, and to make the necessary changes required to preserve government authority.

On July 23 1895, for purely political reasons, a general amnesty was declared for Armenian prisoners.

On August 17 1895 Lord Salisbury, on the basis of article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin concerning supervision by the powers, suggested the formation of a commission composed of four Turks and three representatives of the three Powers. This commission should sit either in Istanbul or Armenia, and all members should have the right to go any where they wished in order to carry out observation at first hand. Prince Lobanoff announced that he would prefer the commission to sit in Istanbul, though he was not opposed to its sitting in Armenia.

Meanwhile, Şakir Paşa, the former Ambassador in St Petersburg, was appointed general Inspector with full authority to implement the reforms, and immediately set out for Anatolia. The Ambassadors were informed of this by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Russia and, later, Great Britain welcomed the appointment.

Şakir Paşa was given the following instruction:

Instructions Given To His Excellency Şakir Paşa By His Majesty The Sultan Concerning His Duties As Inspector In The Anatolian Provinces.

Article 1 : The above-named will inspect the state of affairs in the Anatolian Provinces, and of the province of Erzurum in particular, taking great care to see that in the application to all classes of the population of His Imperial Majesty's all-embracing justice and reform, no class or individual should take advantage of the just laws to be applied to the whole population in order to abuse the rights of any other class or individual.

Article 2 : Attention should be paid to the hearing of criminal and civil cases within the required period of time and that there should be no delays in satisfying individual or general rights.

Article 3 : Officials in the civil, judicial and financial departments of government service should carry out their duties within the limits defined by laws and decrees, and care should be taken to prevent them from abusing their powers and position.

Article 4 : In the case of the dismissal of officials who are proved on a thorough investigation of the facts to be guilty of reprehensible behaviour, if the officials in question have been appointed by the Sultan the matter should be forwarded to the Sultan for his ratification and the appointment of officials to take their place; if the officials in question are officials whose appointment and dismissal come within the authority of the provincial government their removal or appointment to new posts will be left to the provincial governments, any legal questions concerning the said officials being forwarded to the local courts.

Article 5 : In areas within the field of application, justice will be carried out to the satisfaction of all in conformity with the principles laid down by the Sultan.

Article 6 : Should the implementation of the reforms listed above prove impossible or should difficulties arise or should the application prove incompatible with the interests of the Muslim population, a report on the situation should immediately be forwarded to the Sultan.

Article 7 : The proposal submitted by the Ambassadors of the three Powers and examined on the orders of the Sultan by a commission composed of the senior ministers is to be found appended to this memorandum, together with the proposal approved in conformity with the illustrious commands of His Majesty the Sultan.

It has been decided that the items in conformity with the laws and decrees of the Ottoman State should be put into effect in accordance with the commands of His Majesty the Sultan.

9 August 1311

A demonstration was arranged at the Sublime Porte on 30 September, 1895 by Armenians wishing to hasten the Powers implementation of the reforms.

The Grand Vizier Sait Pasha was replaced by Kamil Pasha, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Turhan Pasha, was replaced by the former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sait Pasha.

Sait Pasha invited the Ambassadors of Great Britain, France and Russia to a discussion of the reform question. On Sunday 13 October 1895 Sait Pasha, accompanied by his interpreter Munir bey, whom the Sultan had appointed as his assistant, arrived at the French Embassy at Tarabya to open the discussions, which lasted three days, from 13-15 October. The text of the reform project was sent to the Council of Ministers. After being accepted there it was submitted to

the Sultan. The Reform Decree of 20 October 1895 was sent to the Ambassadors together with the following *note verbale*.

Vizirial Order Addressed To The Valis Of Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Maamouret-Ul-Aziz, And Sivas, And To The Inspector, Shakir Pasha.

In accordance with the glorious provisions of the Khatt-i-Humayoun of Gulkhané, promulgated on the 26th Shaaban, 1255, by His late Imperial Majesty Abdul-Mejid Khan, the illustrious father of the Sovereign, as well as the terms of the Firman of Reforms issued in the beginning of Jemazir-el-Akhiri 1272, and in pursuance of the laws actually laid down and in force, as all men know, the selection and appointment of the officials and employés of the Imperial Government is effected by virtue of an Imperial Irade and in due compliance with the special regulations on the point, and all classes of Ottoman subjects, to whatsoever nationality they may belong, are to be admitted to the service of the State.

Accordingly, it has been decided that these shall be employed according to their merits and capacity, in accordance with regulations which shall be observed in respect to all classes alike, and also that all Ottoman subjects who comply in point of age and attainments with the existing regulations of the State schools shall be received into such schools without any distinction being made.

Moreover, just as from time to time a number of measures and regulations have been introduced of a nature to bring about the necessary reforms in proportion as these are requisite and possible in every part of the Ottoman dominions, and to improve the well-being of the subjects, and increase the prosperity of the country, so, since the auspicious accession of His Imperial Majesty, his thoughts have been directed towards the complete realization of these benevolent designs.

It is therefore intended by the Imperial Government to carry out gradually useful reforms throughout His Majesty's dominions corresponding with local requirements and the nature of the inhabitants, and accordingly it has been decided to effect reforms in the Asiatic Vilayets of Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Mamouret-el-Aziz, and Sivas, to comprise the application of the laws and regulations contained in the Destour, as well as the provisions of the aforesaid Khatt-i-Humayoun of Gulkhané and the Firman of Reforms.

This decision, being submitted by a special Council of Ministers to the Sultan, has been sanctioned by His Majesty in an Imperial Iradé,

and certified copies, obtained from the Imperial Divan, of the schedule containing the points of reform decided upon having been transmitted to each of the six vilayets mentioned, a copy is inclosed to your Excellency herewith.

Besides this, four other Articles, included in the decision, and sanctioned in the Imperial Iradé, are subjoined as follow:

1. An official in every respect worthy of regard shall be appointed by the Imperial Government, with the title of General Inspector, to attend to the carrying out of the reforms, and superintend their application, and shall proceed to his post. In the event of the absence of the Inspector, or of any impediment, another high Mussulman official will be temporarily appointed by His Majesty to replace him. The Inspector will be accompanied during the execution of his duties by a non-Mussulman Assistant.

2. As the Armenians accused or convicted of being implicated in political events were granted the Imperial pardon on the 11th (23rd) July, 1311 (1895), this measure will be applied to all Armenians who shall not be proved to be directly concerned in any offence at common law, and who, having been imprisoned before that date, still remain in confinement.

3. Armenians exiled from the country, or who have fled for refuge to foreign countries, shall, upon proving their Ottoman nationality and their good behaviour, be allowed to return freely to the Ottoman dominions.

4. In cazas such as Zeitoun and Hadjin measures similar to the aforesaid rules shall be applied.

It is unnecessary to explain or repeat that the most ardent desire of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, the bounteous benefactor, is the increase of the prosperity of the Ottoman dominions, and in general of all his subjects, and the insuring of their comfort and happiness, and these Articles and enactments will still further assure the realization of this aim.

His Excellency Shakir Pasha, one of His Imperial Majesty's Aides-de-camp, who has been appointed to the important post of General Inspector, has been named in accordance with an Imperial order to the six vilayets aforesaid; and the appointments of the Assistant who is to accompany him, as well as the Commission of Inspection to be named in accordance with the schedule already mentioned, are in course of progress, and I have to desire you to proceed to carry out the matters decided upon with extraordinary zeal, attention, and care in your district, and to report in due course upon the results thus attained.

30 Rebi-ul-Akhir, 1313 (October 8 (20), 1311 (1895).

The Official Declaration Of The Imperial Government Issued In Connection With The Firman Of Reforms, 8 (20) October, 1311 (1895):

In accordance with the glorious provisions of the Hatt-ı-Humayun of Gülhane, promulgated on the 26th Shaaban, 1253, by His late Imperial Majesty Sultan Abdul-Mejid Khan, as well as in terms of the Firman of Reforms issued in the beginning of Jemazir-el-Akhiri 1272, and in pursuance of the laws actually laid down and in force, as all men know, the selection and appointment of the officials and employes of the Imperial Government is effected by virtue of an Imperial *Irade*, and in due compliance with the special regulations on the point, and all classes of Ottoman subjects, to whatever nationality they may belong, are to be admitted to the service of the State.

Accordingly, it has been decided that these shall be employed according to their merits and capacity, in accordance with regulations which shall be observed in respect to all classes alike, and also that all Ottoman subjects who comply in point of age and attainments with the existing regulations of the State schools shall be received into such schools without distinction being made.

Moreover, just as from time to time a number of measures and regulations have been introduced of a nature to bring about the necessary reforms in proportion as these are requisite and possible in every part of the Ottoman dominions, and to improve the well-being of his subjects, and to increase the prosperity of the country, so, since the auspicious accession of His Imperial Majesty, his thoughts have been directed towards the complete realization of these benevolent designs to enable His subjects to enjoy the full benefits of modern civilization.

It is, therefore, intended by the Imperial Government to carry out gradually useful reforms throughout His Majesty's Dominions, corresponding with the local needs and the nature of the inhabitants, as has been shown by the construction of ports and quays in every part of the country, the establishment of schools, imparting science and learning at different levels, the reorganization of the police and the gendarmerie. It has, accordingly, been decided to effect reforms in the Asiatic provinces, in order to ensure the complete application and observance of the laws and regulations contained in the *Destour*,

as well as in the provisions of the aforesaid Hatt-ı-Humayun and the Firman.

This decision has been proclaimed by His Majesty in an Imperial *Irade*. The articles sanctioned by this *Irade* are as follows:

1. The terms of the Regulations of the General Administration of the *vilayets*, dated 29 Shavval, 1287 Shall be fully applied. The Council of Elders in the *nahiye* is charged with the duty of settling amicably all disputes between the inhabitants where these are foreseen by the laws.

2. Six judicial inspectors will be appointed whose duty will be to expedite the trial of all pending cases, and to watch over the condition of the prisons.

3. The police agents and the gendarmes will be recruited from all classes, in proportion to the numbers of the different populations of each province, as specified in the current Regulations.

4. The rural police mentioned in the *Destour* will be recruited according to need and their uniform and arms will be settled by the Department of War.

5. The existing Regulations for the management of prisons and houses of detention will be strictly carried out.

6. The Committee of Preliminary Inquiry provided for by Article 11 and 12 of the Instructions relative to the general administration of the *vilayets* will carry out its duties with the utmost regularity.

7. The *Ashirets* (tribes) and the Kurds will be accompanied by an armed force and gendarmes in their migrations between their summer and winter quarters, subject to the approval of the *vilayets*. These tribes have to conform to the Regulations regarding passes and the carrying of arms. Nomadic and wandering tribes will be encouraged to settle on lands which will be granted to them by the Government.

8. Members of the Hamidiye cavalry are forbidden to carry

arms or wear uniforms outside the periods of training. Military Regulations determining all the details of their service will be drawn up without delay.

9. Commissions for the revision and control of title to property will be established in the principal towns of the *vilayet* and the *sandjaks*. These Commissions will consist of four members and will be presided over by the Director of the Archives or the Superintendent of Real Property. Four delegates will be sent every year from Constantinople to the *vilayets* to inquire into any irregularities which may have occurred in matters relating to property.

10. The *Muhtars* and village and ward Receivers, elected by the inhabitants, will be charged with the collection of the taxes and their delivery to the State treasuries.

11. The tithe will be farmed out by the villages and in the name of the inhabitants. The corvée having been abolished, contributions in kind and in money will continue to be made for works of public utility. The sale, for debts to the Treasury or personal debts, of the taxpayer's house, the lands necessary for his support, his implements, his beasts of labour or his seeds, is forbidden as hitherto."

(From: The Sublime Porte, Department of Foreign Affairs, the Office of the Secretary, No.)

Copy of a Proposal for Reforms in the Anatolian Provinces of Erzurum, Bitlis, Van, Diyarbakir, Mamuretilaziz, and Sivas

Chapter I.- Vilayets and Mutessarifliks.

Art. 1. A non-Mussulman Moavin will be appointed to each vilayet (Governor-Generalship), in accordance with the provisions of Chapter I of the Regulations for the general administration of the vilayets of the 29th Shewal, 1286.

In accordance with those Regulations it will be his duty to assist in the general business of the vilayet, and to attend to its dispatch.

Art. 2. Non-Mussulman Moavins will also be attached to the Mussulman Mutessarifs and Kaimakams in sandjaks and cazas where this measure is justified by the importance of the Christian population.

Chapter II.- Kaimakams.

Art. 3. The Kaimakams will be chosen without distinction of religion by the Ministry of the Interior among persons holding diplomas of the Civil School, and will be appointed by Imperial Iradé.

Art. 4. Those already in office, and considered efficient, will be retained in the service, although not holding diplomas.

If there are not at the present time a sufficient number of non-Mussulmans holding diplomas of the Mulkié School to allow of the appointments which are considered necessary, the posts in question will be occupied by persons in the service of the Government who, although they do not hold diplomas, are considered fit to fill the post of Kaimakam.

Chapter III.- Proportion of Christians holding Public Offices.

Art. 5. The administrative posts will be assigned to Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans in proportion to the numbers of the Mussulman and non-Mussulman population of each vilayet.

The number of non-Mussulman officials in the administration of the police and of the gendarmerie will be fixed by the Permanent Commission of Control.

Chapter IV.- Councils of Sandjaks and Cazas.

Art. 6. The Administrative Councils of the sandjaks and cazas, composed of elected and *ex officio* members, are retained, and will act in conformity with Article 61 of the Regulations for the general administration of the vilayets of 1286, and Articles 77 and 78 of the Law of the Vilayets of 1867, in accordance with which they were constituted.

Their duties are fixed by Articles 90, 91, and 92 of the Regulations for the general administration of the vilayets, and by Articles 38, 39, and 40 of the Instructions relative to the general administration of the vilayets of the 25th Muharrem, 1293.

Chapter V.- Nahiés.

Art. 7. The nahiés will be organized in accordance with the provisions of articles 94 to 106 of the regulations for the general administration of the vilayets of 1286, and articles 1 to 19 of the Regulations for the administration of communes of the 25th March, 1292.

Art. 8. Each nahié will be administered by a Mudir and a Council composed of four members, elected from the inhabitants.

The Council will choose among its members a Mudir and an Assistant. The Mudir must belong to the class which form the majority of the inhabitants, and the Assistant to the other class. The Council will have, in addition, a Secretary.

Art. 9. If the inhabitants of a nahié are of one class, the members of the Council will be elected exclusively from the inhabitants belonging to that class; if the population of the communal district is mixed, the minority must be represented in proportion to its relative importance, so long as it comprises at least twenty-five houses.

Art. 10. The Mudirs and Secretaries of nahiés will receive salaries.

Art. 11. Candidates for membership of councils of nahiés must fulfil the conditions laid down in Article 10 of the Regulations for the administration of communes.

Art. 12. Immans, priests, schoolmasters, and persons in the service of the Government cannot be elected Mudirs.

Art. 13. Half the members of the Council retire annually. The members of the Council and the Mudir are eligible for re-election.

Art. 14. The duties of the Mudir and of the Councils of nahiés are defined by Articles 20 to 27 of the Regulations for the administration of communes.

Villages of Nahiés.

Art. 15. Each village of the nahié will have a Mukhtar. If there are several wards and several classes of inhabitants, there will be a Mukhtar for each ward and for each class.

Art. 16. A village cannot belong to two nahiés.

Chapter VI.- Justice.

Art. 17. There will be in each locality a Council of Elders, with the Mukhtar as President, the duty of which will be to settle amicably disputes between inhabitants in cases where the disputes are foreseen by the laws.

Art. 18. The duties of Magistrates are performed in the villages by the Councils of Elders, and in the communes by the Communal Councils. Their duties and the extent of their powers are determined by law.

Art. 19. In each vilayet it will be the duty of Judicial Inspectors, to the number of not less than six, half of whom must be Mussulmans

and half non-Mussulmans, to expedite the trial of all pending cases, and to watch over the condition of the prisons in accordance with the regulations of (The references in the Turkish text is to Chapter II of "La Loi sur la Formation des Tribunaux Civils").

The inspections must be held by two Inspectors at a time, one of whom must be a Mussulman and the other a non-Mussulman.

Chapter VII.- Police.

Art. 20. The police agents will be recruited from the Mussulman and the non-Mussulman subjects of the Empire in the proportion of the numbers of the Mussulman and the non-Mussulman population of the vilayet.

Art. 21. A sufficient force will be assigned to each administrative subdivision, including the nahié.

The police agents of the nahié are placed under the orders of the Mudir, and are commanded by Commissaries.

Their arms and uniforms will be of the pattern already adopted.

Chapter VIII.- Gendarmerie.

Art. 22. The officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the gendarmerie will be recruited from the Mussulman and the non-Mussulman inhabitants of the Empire in proportion to the numbers of the Mussulman and the non-Mussulman population of each vilayet.

The gendarmerie will be paid and maintained at the expense of the treasury of the vilayet.

The pay of the gendarmes is higher than that of the soldiers of the Imperial army, and the pay of the officers is the same as that of the officers of the Imperial army.

It is the duty of the gendarmerie to keep order and to escort the post.

Chapter IX.- Rural Police.

Art. 24. The Council of the nahié will choose rural police among the different classes of the population.

Their number will be fixed by the Permanent Commission of Control, according to the wants of each nahié, on the report of the Mudir and the nomination of the Vali.

Their uniform and arms will be settled by the War Department.

Chapter X.- *Prisons and Committee of Preliminary Inquiry.*

Art. 25. The existing Regulations for the management of prisons and houses of detention will be strictly carried out.

Art. 26. The Committee of Preliminary Inquiry, provided for by Articles 11 and 12 of the Instructions relative to the general administration of the vilayets, will carry out its duties with the utmost regularity.

Chapter XI.- *Control of the Kurds.*

Art. 27. The places of migration of the Kurds will be fixed beforehand, so as to prevent any loss being suffered by the inhabitants at the hands of the Ashirets. An officer with a sufficient armed force and gendarmes under his command will accompany each tribe in its migration. A Commissary of police will be attached to him.

The Kurds will give hostages to the authorities during their migrations.

The Regulations regarding passes and the carrying of arms will be applied to the Kurds.

Nomadic and wandering tribes will be called upon to settle on lands which will be granted to them by the Government.

Chapter XII.- *Hamidié Cavalry.*

Art. 28. Members of the Hamidié cavalry are forbidden to carry arms or wear uniforms outside the periods of training.

Outside these periods, members of the Hamidié cavalry are subject to the jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts.

Military Regulations determining all the details of their service will be drawn up without delay.

Chapter XIII.- *Titles to Property.*

Art. 29. Commissions for the revision of titles to property will be established in the principal towns of the vilayet and of the sandjaks. These Commissions will consist of four members (two Mussulmans and two non-Mussulmans) and will be presided over by the Director of Archives or the Superintendent of real Property.

Their decisions will be submitted to the Administrative Councils.

Further, four Delegates will be sent every year from Constantinople to the vilayets to inquire into any irregularities which may have occurred in matters relating to property.

Chapter XIV.- *Levy of Taxes.*

Art. 30. To avoid employing the public force, special agents, who will not be allowed to requisition any forage or provisions and through whose hands no money may pass, will furnish to the Mukhtars and village and ward Receivers elected by the inhabitants, papers stating the taxes payable by each inhabitant.

The above-mentioned Mukhtars and Receivers will alone be charged with the collection of the taxes and their delivery to the State treasuries.

Chapter XV.- *Tithes*

Art 31. The tithe will be farmed out. Farming out on a large scale remains abolished, and is replaced by farming out by vilages, and in the name of the inhabitants.

If a difficulty arises, the inhabitants can appeal to the Courts. If, in any village, no one offers to farm the tithe, or if the price offered is below the real value of the tithe, the latter will be administered by the Government in accordance with the regulations on the subject.

The corvée having been abolished, contributions in kind and in money will continue to be made for works of public utility.

The budget of Public Instruction in each vilayet is fixed by the Ministry of Public Instruction.

The sale, for debts to the Treasury or personal debts, of the taxpayer's house, the lands necessary for his support, his implements, his beasts of labour, or his seeds, is forbidden, as hitherto.

Chapter XVI.- *Permanent Commission of Control.*

Art. 32. A Permanent Commission of Control, half of the members of which will be Mussulmans and half non-Mussulmans, and which will be charged with superintending the strict execution of the reforms, will be established at the Sublime Porte.

The Embassies will address to this Commission, through their Dragomans, any notifications, communications, or information they think necessary, bearing upon the execution of the reforms and the measures prescribed by the present Act.

When the Sublime Porte and the Embassies agree that the Commission has completed its task, it will be dissolved.

OFFICIAL DECLARATION:

As it is known, a proclamation was made on the first day of Jamazir-ül-Ula, 1313 to the effect that the Imperial Government approved the gradual introduction of useful reforms into the Ottoman provinces corresponding with local requirements and the Hatt-ı Humayun of Gülhane, promulgated on the 26 Shaaban, 1255 by His Late Imperial Majesty Abdul-Mejid Khan as well as the beneficial terms of the glorious Firman of Reforms issued in the beginning of Jemazir-el-Akhiri, 1272.

Accordingly, the scheme of reforms resolved upon and submitted by a special Council of Ministers to the Sultan and sanctioned by His Majesty comprises the stipulations and useful articles contained in the Laws and Regulations of the Destour, the Hatt-ı Humayun of Gülhane and the glorious Firman of Reforms.

The aforementioned scheme includes the following main points:

1. Articles 1-27 of the Regulations for the Administration of the *Nahiyes* (Communes) will be revised and applied.

2. All pending cases be expedited; the condition of prisons will be improved; and, in keeping with the Regulations for the Organization of Civil Courts, a Judicial Inspector will be appointed for one, two or three provinces at a time, with Moavins (assistants) whenever necessary.

3. The gendarmes and police agents will be recruited from all classes of people in accordance with the special Regulations previously proclaimed and currently applied by the Imperial Office of Gendarmerie.

4. In accordance with the beneficial terms of the aforementioned glorious Firman, administrative posts will be assigned to persons considered fit to fill these posts, and, likewise, individuals worthy of regard will be appointed as Moavins to the *Valis*, *Mutasarrifs* and *Kaymakams*.

5. The Regulations, for the Administration of prisons and houses of detention, previously decided upon, will be fully applied.

6. The *Kaymakams* will be selected from among deserving persons holding diplomas of the Civil School.

7. Each village of the *Nahiye* will have a *Muhtar*. If there are several wards and classes of inhabitants, there will be a *Muhtar* for each ward and for each class.

8. It is the duty of the gendarmerie to keep order and to escort the post.

9. To avoid employing the public force, special agents who will not be allowed to requisition any forage or provisions, and through whose hands no money may pass, will furnish to the *Muhtars* and village papers stating the taxes payable by each inhabitant.

10. The former Regulations regarding the farming out of the tithe by each village will be retained. The inhabitants of the village will have priority over tax-collectors.

11. The practice of exacting contributions in kind and money will be continued for works of Public Utility.

12. The budget for the educational expenses of each village will be determined by the Ministry of Education.

We have resolved to bring to the notice of all the Imperial provinces the above mentioned articles so as to ensure their implementation."

In order to explain the situation the following announcement was made to the press:³

"For some time past, fabrications and falsehoods concerning a factitious problem known as the 'Armenian question' have been spread about by ill-intentioned sources as well as by the European press which have indulged their imagination in the creation and dissemination of unfounded news. We have discovered with sorrow that, particularly at the present time, the ungrateful attitude and acts of a few foolish and irresponsible members of the Armenian community are being publicized against the wishes of the majority. It is wrongly thought that such people enjoy the protection of the European Powers and that the Armenian community will be rewarded for this treachery by being granted independence and autonomy. However, neither the official policy nor the real situation accords with the allegations of the few Armenian agitators who cannot distinguish right from wrong, or

with the fabrications of some European newspapers. Moreover, although the majority of the Armenian community have, for centuries, been the loyal subjects of the Empire, confident in the knowledge that they enjoy its benefits, certain persons have been led by vain hopes into believing that they could attain their ends by disseminating false information. Since the possibility cannot be ruled out for some European papers through lack of knowledge or at the instigations of a few evil-intentioned seekers of self-interest, to circulate such fabrications, both the Muslim and the Christian populations are misled into believing that such unfounded allegations may be true.

Whereas, the truth of the matter is that our Imperial Majesty and Khalif – may God preserve forever his life – having previously aimed at securing the prosperity and happiness of all classes of his subjects, corresponding with the demands of the age, decided to implement the reforms in his Imperial domains according to the needs and capability of the inhabitants. Consequently His Imperial Majesty, in accordance with the Laws and Regulations valid since the promulgation of the Hatt-ı Humayun of Gülhane, has resolved to introduce reforms into all the Ottoman provinces, beginning with the provinces in Anatolia, corresponding with the disposition and nature of the inhabitants and the exigencies of the time. It is known that His Imperial Majesty has turned his attention to effecting reforms such as the increase in the number of police and gendarmerie, the improvement of the Administration and Justice, all of which would result in redoubling the countless favours which the Ottoman population already enjoy without distinction. Such praiseworthy decisions would have the effect of further augmenting the happiness of the Ottoman subjects and strengthening the unity and the efficiency of the Administration as well as ensuring the observance of the fundamental principles of public law.

In this way, the reforms undertaken, since they are completely at accord with the primary concerns of the Ottoman Government, namely to protect the principles of equality and justice, will urge the entire population to strive continuously for the good of the country. Hence, we have seen fit to herald in this column the new tokens of His Imperial Majesty's compassion and justice and to declare our gratitude."

The decree of reforms presented by the Sublime Porte was received with satisfaction by the Great Powers and a joint declaration was submitted by them to the Ottoman Government.

"The undersigned Ambassadors of Russia, France, and Great Britain, have received the *note verbale* addressed to them by the Porte on the 20th instant, and have the honour to acknowledge its receipt to his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs. They have perused the text of the Decree concerning the reforms which His Imperial Majesty has decided to introduce, and the scheme of reforms and they note with satisfaction that the Imperial Government has decided to put in fore the Rules formally promulgated in preceding Hatts of the Ottoman Sovereigns, and the measures which follow from the principles enunciated by the Sublime Porte in its communications of the 2nd June, 17th June, 1st August, 19th August, and 5th October the present year.

In taking note of these measures and of the intention of the Sublime Porte to apply them, not only to the vilayets mentioned in the Decree, but to all the cazas of Anatolia where the Armenians form a considerable part of the population, the Ambassadors of France, Great Britain, and Russia do not doubt that the officials charged with executing and applying the reforms will, by their intelligence, zeal, and disinterestedness, assure to all Ottoman subjects without distinction the benefits of an Administration solicitous for the well-being of all and the prosperity of the Empire.

The guarantees with which the Imperial Government declares in its above-mentioned communications that it desires to surround the selection and appointment of officials of all classes show how important the Sublime Porte considers it that its Agents in the provinces should perform their duties to the satisfaction of all the communities, and that, in particular, the Valis should promote in the administration of each vilayet the views to which His Imperial Majesty has now again given expression.

Confident that this is so, the Ambassadors of France, Great Britain, and Russia consider that they will best further the aims of the Sublime Porte by reserving the right to call its attention to any appointments of persons whose antecedents and character do not appear to fulfil the conditions indicated as necessary by the Ottoman Government itself.

They will also be happy, should occasion arise, to give all the assistance in their power to the Government of the Sultan in carrying out the reforms which His Imperial Majesty has just decreed.

The Undersigned request his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs to be so good as to acknowledge the receipt of this communication, and they avail, &c.

October 24, 1895

(Signed)
NELIDOW
P. CAMBON
PHILIP CURRIE."

The Armenian Committees, displeased at the changes made in the scheme of reform, increased their activities. Mutiny broke out in Diyarbakir, followed by unrest in various other districts.

The commission referred to in the scheme of reform, composed half of Moslems and half of Christians, was established on 19 November 1311 at the Sublime Porte, and consisted of the following:

Şefik Bey, President of the Supreme Court of Appeal, (later Minister of gendarmerie)

Cemal Bey, Director of the Ziraat Bank

Abdullah Bey, Member of the Council of State

Celal Bey, President of the Court of Appeal

Konstantin Karatodori Efendi (Greek Orthodox), Member of the Council of State.

Sakiz Ohannes Efendi (Armenian Catholic), Member of the Exchequer and Audit Department.

Dilber Efendi, Legal Advisor to the Ministry of Finance.

The following appointments were made as deputy governors in the six provinces:

To Diyarbakir, Vagleri Efendi, assistant in the Council of State and member of the Greek community.

To Van, Istepan Melik Efendi, former First Secretary in the Athens Embassy.

To Mamuretilaziz (Elazig), Istepan Efendi, member of the Armenian community.

To Sivas, Aristidi Efendi, former assistant public prosecutor in the province of Aydin and member of the Greek community.

To Erzurum, the Greek Ibrahim Susa Efendi, secretary for foreign

correspondence in the Post and Telegraph Office.

On 6 November 1895 Kamil Paşa was dismissed, to be replaced by Halil Rifat Paşa.

Incidents occurred in all parts of the country, particularly serious disturbances taking place at Zeitun, Trabzon, Erzurum, Diyarbakir and Sivas.

The revolt at Zeitun lasted for forty-five days. Peace was finally achieved in January 1896 after protracted discussions, mainly as a result of the mediation of the European Powers.

On 12 November 1895, upon the outbreak of disturbances in various parts of Anatolia, the Powers, on the initiative of the Russian Ambassador Nelidoff, announced to the Sublime Porte that each Representative intended to apply to his Government for a gun-boat or light-armed vessel to be dispatched to Istanbul to act as "stationnaire" to protect their nationals and, as the granting of permission to pass through the Straits of the Bosphorus was, by the Treaty of Paris of 30 March 1856, a prerogative of the government, to apply to the Sultan for the necessary permission. Sultan Hamid at first refused his consent, on the grounds that it would excite the local population, but he finally consented on condition that all the "stationnaires" were not brought at the same time.

One of the most serious revolts of the period broke out in Van in June 1896. The Patriarch Izmirlian resigned on 4 August 1896 and was sent to Jerusalem. He was succeeded by Partogimos, Bishop of Bursa.

On 26 August 1896, members of the Dashnak Revolutionary Party carried out an attack on the Ottoman Bank with the aim of instigating foreign intervention.

The scheme of reforms prepared by the government for implementation in the six provinces was published on 11 November 1896. The lack of any reference to the acceptance of Christians in government service, the replacement of the proposed two inspectors of justice, one Moslem and one Christian, by a single inspector, the lack of any reference to the control of the Kurds and the Hamidiye forces gave rise to complaints from the three Powers.

Meanwhile, on 20 October 1896, a Memorandum was sent by Great Britain to Russia, France and the other Powers referring to disturbances that had recently taken place in Anatolia and the massacre of Armenians in the streets of Istanbul as evidence of the maladministration of the Ottoman government. By article 7 of the Treaty of Paris the Powers had guaranteed the independence and integrity of the Ottoman State, but England reminded the Ottoman Government that it had undertaken by article 61 of the Treaty of

Berlin to introduce reforms in the regions inhabited by the Armenians and to report regularly on the progress of these reforms to the Powers. The Memorandum stressed that the future of the Ottoman Empire depended on the sincerity with which the government applied itself to the work of reform.

The undertakings made in article 61 of the Treaty of Ayastefanos formed the topic of discussion at a meeting in 1880 of the Sublime Porte with the representatives of the three Powers, but no result was achieved.

In April 1883 Lord Granville, Foreign Secretary at that time, ordered the Earl of Dufferin, then Ambassador in Istanbul, to present the problem to the Sultan. He pointed out that Her Majesty's Government was anxious for the stability and prosperity of the Ottoman Empire, and insisted on the introduction of reforms in both general administration and the justice system. The oppression under which the population of Anatolia now suffered could at any moment give rise to mutinies that could be the cause of foreign intervention. It was no longer a question of new losses of territory in Eastern Anatolia but of the very existence of the Ottoman State.

In 1886 the Earl of Rosebery sent a telegram to the Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, the text of which was forwarded in August of the same year to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs. This telegram drew the attention of the Sultan and his ministers to the problem of domestic reform, expressing the hope that the question of the Anatolian provinces would not be neglected.

Lord Rosebery stressed the need for more urgent measures to be taken by the Ottoman government in the collection of taxes and the reform of the judicial system, a stricter and more serious attitude to the choice and supervision of local government servants, the adoption of more stringent measures to ensure security of life and property, the preservation of a state of law, the support of craftsmen and artisans and the protection of the population in the eastern provinces against the marauding attacks of the Kurds. Such measures of reform, apart from its favourable effect on the population in general, would be of great benefit in increasing the revenue from taxes, while the progress resulting from an effective control of the tribes would remove the dangers and disturbances on the Iranian borders. The steps taken by Great Britain during the recent disturbances were aimed at the continuance of the good relations established by the Treaty of Berlin and at ensuring the peace and tranquillity of the Ottoman Empire.

Great Britain's policy towards Turkey was based on feelings of sincere friendship and respect for the articles of the agreement. It was

on this basis that Great Britain insisted on the implementation of the scheme of reforms laid down in article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin. Any deficiency in the application of these reforms would, in the opinion of the British government, be a source of great danger for the future integrity of the Ottoman territories and might well be the cause of a serious deterioration in the feelings of friendship of the Powers signatory to the agreement.

The Armenian massacres in Sasun in the summer of 1894 demonstrated once again the urgency of implementing the measures of reform stipulated in the agreement made seventeen years previously. After protracted discussions, the Sultan finally agreed to the implementation of the scheme of reforms in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians and the establishment of a just and equitable form of administration. Unfortunately, just a few days before the Sultan had approved this agreement, a demonstration took place in the streets of Istanbul leading, as a result of the negligence and misjudgment of the government, to the death or brutal mishandling of a number of Armenians guilty of no serious crime. A little after this event there were a number of attacks on the Armenians in various parts of the country resulting in the deaths of thousands of Armenians and considerable damage to property. Those who survived the massacres were condemned to poverty and destitution.

"It is possible that these events began with disturbances instigated by Armenian activists, but the civil and military administration of the Ottoman Government cannot be absolved of responsibility for the outcome. These events were followed by a massacre in Istanbul in which five or six thousand innocent victims were slaughtered, and which, according to some, was deliberately instigated by the government and could have been totally or in large part prevented by timely intervention by the Turkish armed forces.

Although the scheme of reforms received the Sultan's approval at around this time a year passed with no progress or development in the implementation of reforms in the Armenian provinces save for the appointment of a few Christian officials.

These events clearly demonstrate the dangers threatening the lives and property of the Christian subjects of the Sublime Porte and the sufferings of both the Muslim and the Christians resulting from the maladministration and incompetence of the government. The population of Anatolia is in a state of great

discontent and unrest. In most parts of the country soldiers and gendarmes complain that they have received no pay for several months. Officials are unable to perform their duties. The fanaticism of the Muslim population leads to the perpetration of brutal attacks on people of a different religion, while, at the same time, it is impossible to have any confidence in the goodwill or efficacy of those entrusted with the preservation of law and order.

These massacres, for which the maladministration or even connivance of the Turkish officials must be held responsible and which affect everyone quite indiscriminately, are justified by some sections of the Ottoman population as necessary for the preservation and continuance of the Sultan's rule. But one result of these events is a threat to the stability and the very existence of this same government greater than any previously experienced. They have also led to the extermination or forced emigration of a large part of the population engaged in trade and industry and a disastrous decline in the government's material resources.

Financial collapse threatens the military strength on which the Ottoman Empire is based. At the same time, the harsh and domineering behaviour of most government officials has stirred a reaction of unprecedented vehemence among the Christian millets. It seems more and more unlikely that the Christian subjects of the Empire will continue to tolerate acts of oppression they have hitherto accepted more or less passively. Threats to the forces that support it are disintegrating.

The basic concern of the European powers is the continued existence of the Ottoman Empire. Any arrangement by which it might be replaced would inevitably lead to serious and dangerous dissension in Europe. The European Powers have thus preferred the removal of some of the evils afflicting the Ottoman State by a process of reform, hoping in this way to preserve the Empire from complete collapse. They have been disappointed in this hope. It is obvious that as long as serious deficiencies remained, the benevolence and magnanimity of the European Powers could never preserve the existence of a state bent on destroying itself by its own deficiencies. It is extremely doubtful if any emendation could succeed in removing this danger. States capable of achieving true salvation are states which take it upon themselves to find and implement the most stringent and effective measures to this end. All such measures have been bitterly opposed by the

Ottoman administration. All the European Powers are united in their desire to preserve the *status quo* in the territories of the Ottoman Empire, and this desire is felt particularly by states bordering upon Ottoman territories. They are convinced that this state must be protected against all possible disturbances arising from foreign instigation. But they cannot preserve a poor administration from the effects of its own internal degeneration and collapse.

The unanimous agreement of the six Ambassadors in Istanbul brought about the end of the disturbances in Crete, and I think it would be a wise move on the part of the Ottoman government if it were to leave to them the solution of the problems arising in regions inhabited predominantly by Christian peoples.

I suggest that the representatives of the six Powers should be entrusted with the task of considering what changes should be made in Ottoman administration and government, and what measures should be taken to prevent the recurrence of the terrible atrocities that have occurred during the last two years. But Her Majesty's government is of the opinion that all decisions and any implementation should be by common consent.

For the sake of European unity, it is essential that should one or more of these Powers doubt the necessity of such recommendations no undertaking whatever should be entered upon. On the other hand, should the recommendations of the Ambassadors be accepted by all the Powers without exception, these recommendations should be implemented in spite of any opposition offered by the Ottoman government.

I am firmly convinced that definite decisions should be taken by the Powers, and that they should first of all reach a definite agreement as to the implementation of these decisions by all the forces at their disposal. Such an agreement would lend strength to the discussions of the Ambassadors, and would prevent delaying tactics on the part of the Ottoman government.

I should be grateful if you would forward a copy of the above telegram to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs for his perusal."

In 8 November 1896, statements on the Armenian question were made by Denys Cochin and Jaurès in the French Assembly. The French view was expressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs,⁴ and this aroused the interest of Sultan Hamid. Austria and Germany had intervened in the question of reform and the situation appeared dangerous. On 5 November 1896 the Ambassador, M. Cambon, announced that the following measures were to be taken without delay:

1. All detainees against whom there is no charge or any evidence of wrong-doing should be freed,
2. A reform *ferman* should be issued immediately,
3. The Armenian Community Assembly should immediately be summoned and a Patriarch elected,
4. The governor of the province of Diyarbakır should be relieved of his duties,
5. The government should immediately, issue orders to all governors to prevent further revolts and disturbances.

Discussions were held by the Powers concerning the Memorandum submitted by Great Britain. France and Russia lent their agreement to the following proposals:

1. That the integrity of Ottoman territory should be preserved,
2. That there should be no individual action or initiative,
3. That there should be no condominium.

France also referred to the necessity of applying the reforms to all subjects of the Empire without distinction of race or religion. As for the use of force, the French government believed that if all the governments were unanimous on the necessity for this, the French were willing to discuss the matter. The conditions stipulated by the French were, of course, quite contrary to British policy. Nevertheless, the British were obliged to join the others in accepting this. In the reply to France, they declared that they approved of the Ottoman Empire and that the friends of the Armenians in England had been mistaken in their desire that these reforms should apply only to the Armenians.

As for the adoption of stringent measures, France believed that any resort to force would be contrary to the conditions of the international agreement on this point.

In December 1896 the government declared a general amnesty for all Armenians imprisoned on political grounds.

On 7-19 December 1896 the Russian Ambassador, M. de Nelidoff, submitted a note to the Sublime Porte to the effect that if reforms were not introduced without delay the Empire would be faced with the possibility of foreign intervention and very great internal dangers.

On Şakir Pasha's arrival about this time in Van the following circular, addressed to all Armenians, was issued by the Dashnak Revolutionary Committee. This is of particular interest in revealing the attitude of the revolutionists to the question of reforms.

CIRCULAR ISSUED BY THE DASHNAK CENTRAL COMMITTEE (FEBRUARY 18, 1896)⁵

The Sultan's Commission entered Van with the fire of cannon to carry out reforms. We with our eyes have seen that these reforms are sham, and that the result will be rivers of blood. People do not believe or trust to wolves. The people of Erzurum and Trabzon slapped in the face the reformer Şakir Pasha, but for you, or Van, the hour of your great temptation has come. Come to the conflict with honour. In disgrace send back the Imperial Commission. Do not yield to it or to any of its demands. All Turkish Armenia is in mourning. The government has massacred the people and reduced them to dust. It has despised the Armenian people and caused them to be hungry, and starving, and wanderers. The author of all these troubles is that monster, the Sultan. That cruel tyrant, without a conscience, preaches to us to become reconciled to him. In the face of this, when our Fatherland has become a sea of blood, the European diplomatists laugh us to scorn. We were prepared that they should be unfeeling, but not so degraded. We have nothing to throw in the face of these unworthy diplomatists except our deepest disgust and disrespect. Armenians, we are at our last hour. The criminal Sultan, with his numberless massacres and all his government system, has fallen upon us like lead. Yes, we are decimated, we are sad, we are wounded, but we are not yet beaten – never!

There can be no reconciliation; we will not put down our arms. We have a holy war, and it will be continued with greater

savageness. Therefore let the Commission of the tyrant go to hell. Let there be no yielding to it. We are revolutionaries. This is our last word.

Death or liberty!

Long live the Armenian people!

Long live the revolution!"

On 18 November 1896 Maghakia Ormanian was chosen Patriarch. He held this office for twelve years until 29 July 1908.

On the outbreak of the war between Turkey and Greece political activity concerning the reform question lost a good deal of its momentum. The revolt in Crete overshadowed Armenian reform. Russia pursued privileges in the railways in the eastern provinces and the port of Trabzon. France aimed at settlement in Syria. Germany was interested in the Baghdad railway. Britain was occupied in Iraq. In answer to their requests, the Armenians were told that "British warship cannot climb the Masis heights". Until the proclamation of the Constitution in 1908 there were no substantial official attempts at the introduction of reforms. Sporadic mutinies continued. In 1905 the famous "diabolical machine" exploded in Yildiz.

In 1899 a note on the Armenian question and the implementation of article 61 was presented to the Peace Conference at The Hague by Minas Cherez, who claimed to be representing the Armenians.

The Patriarch Ormanian replied to this note in a telegram that was later, after the proclamation of the Constitution, to be used as evidence against him.

To the President of the International Peace Conference at The Hague

I have the honour of informing Your Excellency that the persons who, according to the newspapers, claim to represent the Armenian community at The Hague have received no official recognition on our part and we judge their initiative as ill-judged and ill-timed.

Patriarch of the Armenians in Turkey
Maghakia Ormanian

The general secretary of the Peace Conference sent the following reply to the note presented by Minas Cherez:

"The Hague: The Peace Conference

Sir,

I have been instructed by the President of the Peace Conference to inform Your Excellency that as discussions on political issues are not included in the conference agenda, no reply will be given to you concerning the duty with which you claim to be invested by the Armenians in Bulgaria, Egypt and other countries.

I remain, etc.
I. Von Eys

Secretary to the Peace Conference

Official attempts at reform now ended. In 1901 the reform question again emerged, but this time in an unofficial form. Mikael Hovannesian comments on this activity and the project then prepared in the following terms.⁶

"The May project is an out-moded, inadequate, inefficacious and altogether pitiful document. The editorial board of *Droshak*⁹ have decided on behalf of the *Dashnakutiun* to draw up and present to the government a project comprising our minimum demands."

A project was accordingly drawn up on the basis of the 1901 document but with extensive alterations, and presented to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs by the editor of *Pro Armenia*.¹⁰ This project contained the following articles:

1. The appointment for a five years' period of a Governor-General belonging to one of the European countries. This official will be endowed with full executive authority. The Governor-General will give attention to order and general security, he will arrange for the collection of taxes, he will appoint the officials responsible to him, he will choose the judges and enforce their judgments. He will pay particular importance to the preservation of peace and security, and to the development of industry and agriculture. This Governor-General can be removed from his post only with the consent of the Powers.

2. The Governor-General will be assisted by a council composed of the following members:

Each *kaza* will send two representatives – one Moslem and the other Christian. These will elect two members in the *sandjak*, one Moslem and one Christian. The council will meet once a year. They will be concerned with all aspects of public works, e.g. the provision of roads necessary for communications, study and research on topics such as the establishment of credit banks, the progress and profit of the population and the development of industry and agriculture.

The council will levy taxes, ensure an equitable distribution of taxation and supervise financial administration. At the conclusion of the meeting they will elect a permanent committee to assist the Governor-General for a certain term. The budgets of the six provinces will be determined by the Governor-General and this committee on the basis of the average revenue over the last five years. Revenue will be allocated first and foremost to meeting local needs. The remainder will be sent to the central government.

3. A permanent European commission will be appointed by the Powers to supervise the definition and implementation of the reform programme.

These are the main points in the scheme of reforms presented to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs Delcasse by the editor of *Pro Armenia* in the autumn of 1901. The project was warmly received by Delcasse, and the following day he released it to the French press. This was the first time that a member of a revolutionary committee was given official recognition. Delcasse thus accepted the project drawn up by the revolutionary organ *Droshak*.

Days of hope had dawned. France sent a fleet to Mytilene on the *Lorando* question. The Armenians expended great effort on the propagation of Armenian propaganda. But it all proved abortive. St Petersburg came out in opposition. The fleet was recalled. The demands of the French bankers in Mytilene were satisfied, and the matter was closed.

STATE OF THE ARMENIANS IN RUSSIA AT THAT TIME

The Armenians in Russia, who were doing all they could to help the Armenians in Turkey to achieve their independence, were actually in an incomparably more wretched state. The Armenians in Russia could in no way be compared with the Armenians in Turkey, who held lucrative posts at the head of powerful financial and commercial institutions, who were exempt from military service, whose Patriarchates worked as political institutions hostile to Turkey, and whose schools and press were subject to no controls.

Under Tsar Alexander II, the Armenians of the Caucasus had lent encouragement to the Turkish Armenians in their struggle for independence. After the Turco-Russian war and the assassination of Alexander I the Russian attitude towards the Armenians underwent a drastic change. Upon his son's accession to the throne, freedom of thought was replaced by violent restrictions, and the traditional policy of Russian patronage of the Eastern Christians gave way to a narrow Russian nationalism. On the other hand, Russia was anxious to establish good relations with the Turks in order to drive the British out of the Middle East and ensure their own defence, one of the essential conditions of which was the abandonment of the Armenian cause. And the same change of policy was to be seen in their own country. Galitzin began a policy of extermination and terror, accompanied by the seizure and confiscation of church property.⁷

According to Varandian⁸

“The Dashnaksutiun aimed at the liberation of Turkish Armenia, and massed its forces on the Turkish border. In Russia itself, however, particularly after the arrival of Prince Galitzin in Tiflis, the Russians set about the destruction of Armenian language, culture, schools and churches, with the result that the Armenians in Russia were also obliged to take up arms.”

In 1884 the *Mishak* newspaper in Tiflis was raided and closed down. Many Armenians were sent to Siberia. In the same year Russia refused to approve the appointment of the Istanbul Patriarch N. Varjabedian as Catholicos in Etchmiadzin, or to grant him permission to enter Russia.

In 1885 all Armenian schools were closed down, and in 1896 a number of Armenian intellectuals were arrested and sent to Siberia. Armenian charitable institutions were closed down, and the press subjected to censorship. In 1903 Tsar Nicholas I issued a decree for

the confiscation of church property.

A very important confidential report on the Armenians in the Caucasus was drawn up by the governor of the province. This report was submitted to the Tsar by Prince Galitzin in 1898 and revealed in the following year.

Aknuni, one of the Dashnaksutiun militants, makes the following comment on the report in his book *Wounds of the Caucasus*:⁹

"In the spring of 1898 Prince Galitzin left Tiflis for St Petersburg, where he had an audience with the Tsar and submitted a confidential report. The contents of this report came to light the following year. It was stolen by an official who was either poorly-paid or hostile to the government, and sold to an Armenian who in turn gave it to a reporter on an English newspaper. Its publication caused a sensation in St Petersburg, an official was sacked and a Caucasian living in the city imprisoned."

The report consists of two sections. The first section contains: 1) Armenian attitudes and aims, 2) The Catholicos and the Synod of Etchmiadzin, 3) Armenian primary schools, 4) the Caucasian Armenian press, 5) district administration, 6) Charitable institutions, 7) Municipal councils.

The second section dealt with laws of property, Russian migration, etc.

1) *Armenian aims*: The aim of the Armenian movement is the re-establishment of the independence of Armenia. This movement is led by the intellectuals and the clergy. The villages are much less affected.

The main instigators of the movement are the priests, the Armenian press and the Armenian revolutionary committees abroad. This makes it imperative that strict, regular measures should be taken by the government to protect the ordinary Armenian people from these dangerous militants.

The Armenian population in the Caucasus is so small compared with that of the other nations that it can never constitute a real danger for the peace and security of the region. Furthermore, the local governments have ample forces to stamp out any movement of insurrection.

2) *The Catholicos and the Etchmiadzin Synod*: Last September I visited the Catholicos in Etchmiadzin, who paid me a return visit in Tiflis in December of the same year. During these two interviews I

gained the impression that the Catholicos was too old to hold any strong views on the independence question and that he was wholly under the influence of his clerical advisers. Their ideal is a United Armenia. These are actively propagating separatist views, and I explained to the Catholicos that personal orders given to the Synod on this question would give rise to dangerous disturbances and would greatly endanger relations between the people and their spiritual leaders. In conclusion I insisted very strongly on strict conformance with the law.

A careful examination of the problem convinced me that the attempts being made to increase the powers and prestige of the Catholicos will lead the ignorant common people to believe that the Catholicos occupies a very exceptional position, and that not merely is he the head of the Armenian church but that he also represents the idea of the union of the Armenian provinces in the Caucasus and in Lesser Armenia.

I therefore believe that the Russian government should insist very firmly on the Catholicos and the Etchmiadzin Synod's acting in strict accordance with the law. (Definitely)¹⁰ As a warning and in order to prevent unruliness in the Synod, I ordered the punishment of two Archimandrites, Vahan Der Kirkorians Nahabed Nahabedian and the Catholicos' private secretary. I decided that they should be removed from the Caucasus, and His Excellency approved the measures taken.

3.) *Armenian Primary Schools*: The transfer of the Armenian primary schools to the Ministry of Education in accordance with the decree issued by His Majesty the Tsar on 14 June 1897 is of very great importance, being the only way of protecting the younger generation from the pernicious influence of the priests. The Armenian priests were unwilling to comply with this decree and, as a result, three hundred and twenty schools were closed down in 1897 by order of the Caucasian government. Only thirty-one schools remained open, and some of these were later closed down either because the teachers were not in possession of a Russian teaching diploma or because the clergy, in compliance with the orders of the Catholicos, had refused to supply the money required for the administration of the schools...

In actual fact, the decree of 12 June 1897 makes no mention of any changes to be carried out in the administration of the Armenian schools, but the fact that no money is being supplied for the school administration clearly demonstrates the futility of opening any new schools. I have therefore requested Your Majesty's approval of the transfer to the Ministry of Education of the property belonging to these schools and I await your orders on this question. (Approved)

4) *The Caucasian Armenian Press*: The periodicals published in Tiflis, instead of encouraging the assimilation of the Russians and Armenians, attempt to widen the gulf between them. *Ararat*, the official organ of the Etchmiadzin Patriarchate, should be subject to the same codes and conditions as the other Tiflis newspapers, i.e. to normal censorship. This organ opposes the system prepared for the schools and does nothing towards reconciling Russians and Armenians. The same fear of the Russians and the same dangerous tendencies are to be found in the Russian language newspapers. I therefore suggest that all newspapers and periodicals published by the Armenians should be made subject to certain special conditions and placed under my own personal supervision, and that the programme of the Armenian press should be made subject to certain restrictions prepared by the provincial administration.

5) *Charitable Institutions*: Armenian charitable institutions are more concerned with politics than with works of charity. These associations are, indeed, under government supervision, and there are special laws concerning their activities and accounts. Furthermore, local governments are empowered to abolish any of these associations in case of even the slightest infringement of the relevant statutes. These measures are not, however, sufficient. The *Charitable Institution* centred in Tiflis for the spread of education among the people and the giving of financial assistance to the Armenians, has branches in almost all the towns and cities in the Caucasus. But this association regards education as only one aspect of the nationalist cause. A few years ago this association joined the independence movements initiated by young intellectuals, during which the principal of the Erevan Gymnasium was insulted and assaulted by an Armenian. From further information received it has been proved that most of the instigators in this incident were members of the association in question. Moreover, this association expends a portion of its financial resources on the education of young Armenians abroad, which is quite contrary to Russian government policy.

Although genuine services to education are not to be discouraged, the work of these Armenian organizations is not, in view of these special conditions, of a reliable nature. Had the Armenians wished merely to work in accordance with Russian instruction and education they would have united with the Russian organizations, without any discrimination of race or religion. I suggest to Your Imperial Majesty that I should be authorized to close down these

Armenian charitable institutions. (This problem should be given serious study.)

6) *Rural administration*: Rural administration is in urgent need of reform. First of all the law courts could be re-organized. There is no government inspection or supervision in any of the Caucasian villages. Everything is left in the hands of mayors and magistrates who have insufficient time for their essential duties. In Batum, Kars and Artvin there is no rural administration whatever. Large numbers of disputes, controversies and cases based on local traditions still await solution. I propose that all these cases should be tried and settled before my own council in Tiflis. If they were all forwarded to the Senate in St Petersburg a great deal of time would be required for their solution. (No objection on my part.)

7) *Municipal Councils*: As the law of 1892 gives special rights to property owners the Armenians hold a privileged position in the municipal councils. Some remedy must be found for this. I therefore propose that the local mayors should be appointed and their salaries determined by the government, and that a new law should be introduced whereby the members of the municipal councils should be chosen under government supervision and that the governors should be authorized to remove any member of the municipal council who fails to carry out his duties in a proper manner. (In my opinion these measures are acceptable. But they require serious study and deliberation.)

After the submission of this report schools and church property were expropriated, and a start was made with the imposition of the Orthodox religion, a language ban and the posting of soldiers and civil servants to distant parts. In contrast with the freedom offered in Turkey a programme of rigid Russianization was introduced.

In 1903 church property was expropriated by a decree issued by Tsar Nicholas. Armenian schools run by the churches were closed down; thousands of Armenian children were thrown into the streets and forced to continue their education at Russian schools. In June of the same year the property and estates of the churches were expropriated and the coffers of Etchmiadzin opened. Clergy who offered resistance were dismissed.

The Dashnaksutiun Revolutionary Committee urged the resignation of the Catholicos as an act of protest, the closing of all churches and the enrollment of young Armenians in the national

struggle. On the other hand, the Tsar's announcement that the salaries of the clergy would be paid by the State prevented the priests' being greatly affected by the action taken with regard to the churches.

On the instigation of Dashaktsutiu, demonstrations were held in Alexanderopol, and the Catholicos Khrimian joined with Dashnaktsutiu in issuing an order for resistance to the government's action. There were conflicts in a number of places, but the government's plans were finally implemented.

The Prime Minister answered the appeals and petitions of the Armenians by saying that the Tsar's decisions were final.

The Russian policy of assimilation and extermination had tragic consequences for the Armenians.

According to Lynch,¹¹ in 1902, fifty or sixty thousand left the Russian eastern provinces for America and other places to escape from the extermination and assimilation policies applied by the Russians under Prince Galitzin.

During Prince Galitzin's period of office there were also problems concerning Armenian immigrants and refugees in the Caucasus. Incited by the revolutionaries, fifty thousand Turkish Armenians migrated to Russia, under the illusion that it was a centre of hope and freedom.

In 1901 the Russian government announced that these immigrants should accept Russian nationality or immediately leave the country. Declaring that they preferred death to the adoption of Russian nationality they asked permission to return to Turkey over the border at Kars. Though permission was granted, orders were given to open fire on any who attempted to cross the Russian frontier into Turkey, thus preventing their return. In this way they were compelled to accept Russian nationality. Although, in response to appeals from the Catholicos, permission was given for their return in small groups through Iran, they were actually prevented from returning by this route.

In 1903 Prince Galitzin was stabbed and seriously wounded by two or three Hunchak terrorists while driving with his wife in the vicinity of Tiflis. The attackers were immediately torn to pieces by the Cossacks on the orders of the Prince. After this assassination attempt Prince Galitzin was transferred to St Petersburg and replaced by Vorontsov-Dashkov.

NOTES

1. Sidney Whitman, *Turkish Memoirs*, 1914, p. 77
2. Blue Book, 1896, No. 8, p. 107
3. *Sabah* newspaper, 5 October 1311/17 October 1895
4. Sait Pasha, *Hatiralar*, p. 298.
5. *The Regeneration of Armenia: The Fight for Freedom*, Dashnaktsutiu Publications, Istanbul, 1920.
6. Mikayel Hovhannesian, *Gordium*, Tiflis, 1907, p. 11 (Armenian)
7. On the instigation of the *marhasas* the Erzerum Armenians did not meet Sakir Pasha.
8. M. Varandian, *History of the Dashnaktsutiu*, Paris, 1932, p. 336 (Armenian)
9. Aknuni, *The Wounds of the Caucasus*, Geneva, 1905, p. 56-62 (Armenian)
10. Blue Book, Turkey, No. 1, 1897, p. 42
11. Lynch, *op. cit.*, vol. 2. p. 412.

XI

THE REFORM QUESTION AFTER 1908

The proclamation of the Constitution in 1908 was followed by what appeared to be a period of tranquility in Armenian affairs. Open activity was replaced by the strengthening of the central organization, preparation for national defence and the building up of stores of weapons and ammunition. In April 1909 a mutiny broke out in Adana. Taking advantage of the situation caused by the Balkan War, which had begun after Italy's invasion of Tripoli and had come to a catastrophic end, the Armenian activists set their nationalist organizations into action. In 1912-1913 the Ottoman government found itself in a desperate situation. The whole of Turkey in Europe had been lost, and only Armenia, Cilicia, Algiers, Palestine, Syria, Arabia and the Yemen remained in Ottoman hands, while at home, the government was preoccupied with political and financial problems.

Meanwhile, at the suggestion of Vorontsov-Dashkov, the Governor-General of the Caucasus, a delegation was sent to St Petersburg by Keork V, Catholicos of All the Armenians, to ask the Russian government if it might not be advisable to take advantage of Turkey's weak position to re-introduce the Armenian question onto the international stage. He himself was in favour of such a move. At the same time, the Catholicos begged the old friend of the Eastern Christians to take Turkish Armenia and the Turkish Armenians under his protection.

Armenian hopes were now centred more firmly than ever on Russia. They looked forward to a Russian invasion that might give them independence under Russian control. The necessary measures were taken in collaboration with the Russians. Russia would join with the Powers to pursue the Armenian question behind a veil of "human rights". The Ottoman government would be obliged to implement

reforms, and the Istanbul Patriarchate and all its various subsidiary organizations would gather around Russia and make all the necessary arrangements.

The reasons behind this movement which, as the last attempt at reform in Armenian political history, is of particular importance, are extremely interesting and are described as follows by Leo: ¹

“After his appointment as Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, Keork Archbishop Surenian went to St Petersburg to present his respects to the Tsar, returning to Etchmiadzin on 1 June 1912. Here, after a religious ceremony, he was proclaimed Catholicos of all the Armenians as Keork V. Three months later, on 1 October, the new Catholicos submitted a petition to Tsar Nicholas concerning the Armenians in Turkey, asking the Tsar to take the Turkish Armenians under his protection and free them from the injustice and oppression to which they had been exposed for so many centuries.

This initiative was totally unexpected. Catholicos Surenian had never been regarded as one of the diplomats in clerical garb. He had hitherto been looked upon as a simple cleric with no interest in political or intellectual matters. Now, having acceded to the see of Etchmiadzin, he suddenly took up a political role of a greater and more formidable responsibility than any of his ecclesiastical predecessors had dared to assume. The whole matter appeared to be far above his own intellectual powers and political experience. He entered upon a political activity that soon attracted the attention of the whole Armenian community. In his old room in the monastery he drew up a number of projects and engaged in discussions and negotiations with the European Powers through his representatives. As a result of his success in these initiatives he finally came to be regarded as the Saviour of the Turkish Armenians.”

This was all, however, a dream and an illusion. The reality which Surenian saw when he opened his eyes was of the vast graveyard in which Turkish Armenia was buried and in which he himself remained utterly alone, with no power to do anything save pray for their souls of the dead.

All this was a puzzle, but not the sort of puzzle with which we amuse children. It was a bloody puzzle that was to lead to the extermination of a whole community, but at the same time one that had to be solved.

The strange thing was that this puzzle was as simple of solution as it was horrifying in nature. One only has to remember one historical fact: the importance of Etchmiadzin in Russian policy in the East.

For two centuries Russia had more or less successfully manipulated the religious office of Etchmiadzin. In this present case the manipulation reached a degree hitherto undreamed of. This is the gist of the whole affair. Surenian was a nobody, utterly incapable of pursuing any personal political aim. But he was peculiarly adept at obeying orders from above and acting as a purely passive instrument of another's will. In the course of his visits to Tiflis and St Petersburg he had undoubtedly received orders from the Governor-General's office in Tiflis and from the bureaucrats in the capital, and thus, without employing the slightest personal initiative towards the liberation of his community, he worked effectively for their political freedom, leaving them entirely in the hands of the sovereign he adored.

At any other time, and if Russian policy had been aimed at the extermination of the Armenians, his appeal of 2 October, far from remaining unanswered, would have been regarded as an act of mutiny on the part of a rebellious priest. But at that particular time Russia's Middle East policy and the general conditions pertaining were in favour of Russia's taking the Armenians under her protection.

The Berlin-Baghdad railway was cutting its way through the southern Toros. Realizing that this railway would end in the Persian Gulf, imperialist Russia had accepted for itself a new St. Petersburg-Iran route. Armenia occupied an important position on the point of intersection of these two rival railroads.

The well-known German writer Ruhrbach - famous as a friend of the Armenians - describes the situation of Armenia at that date as follows:

“From the point of view of its geographical position Armenia is the key to the domination of Anatolia. Thus Russia's possession of Armenia would mean the end of Turkey as an independent state. Russia would then dominate the whole of Asia Minor from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, and from this stronghold she could then proceed to seize all the fortified positions necessary for further advance. Nothing is so frightening as the idea of the Caucasus, Northern Iran and Armenia being united under Russia's control. If, therefore, we wish to preserve Turkey it is essential that Armenia should remain Turkish. We cannot close our eyes to Armenia's passing into Russian hands.”

This time Russia wished to take over both Armenia and the Armenian cause. As far as the existence of the northern crescent was concerned these terms were synonymous. The Armenian cause was extremely valuable in so far as it allowed them entrance into the Armenian highlands. The Armenians' desire for reform was not in itself of great importance. They had appealed for reforms on so many occasions. The really important thing was the Catholicos Surenian's appeal to Tsar Nicholas II to take Turkish Armenians under his protection. This appeal was regarded as a magnificent opportunity for the Tsar's government, and this was how it was presented to the outside world. Vorontsov-Dashkov differed in no way from Lobanov-Rostovskii, except that he was not as frank and sincere as the latter, which, as an old fox, he could never have been. At the same time, the ground had been prepared for Catholicos Surenian. Naturally, his appeal aroused an immediate reaction in Russian diplomatic circles, the first to react being Giers, the Russian Ambassador in Istanbul, who wrote to Sazanoff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, on 26 November in the following terms:

"The Catholicos' appeal regarding the intolerable situation of the Armenians in Turkey is confirmed by information received by the Russian Consulates in Anatolia, and the Armenian Patriarchate has forwarded these complaints to the Turkish government."²

The notes sent by the Armenian Patriarchate show that official Armenian circles in Istanbul were united on this point. This clearly suggests that the Catholicos Keork made the move of 2 October, not on his own initiative but with the knowledge and approval of the official representatives of Turkish Armenia. Thus, Russian inspiration was also effective within the communal administration in Istanbul.

Some light is cast on this situation by a document in our possession.³

At the end of December 1912 the Petersburg Armenian Committee sent two of its members to Istanbul to find out the reaction of the Armenian question. The delegation submitted the following report to the committee:

"On the Most Holy Catholicos' assuming the responsibility for an appeal to the Russian government regarding the Armenian question, the communal council found it prudent to refrain from making any official reference to this move in the mixed assembly

and to remain formally aloof from the whole question, while at the same time keeping in touch with the situation, working together, and exerting some influence on the states to which the Catholicos made his appeal. With this aim in view, the assembly has called upon all Armenians to collaborate on all points with the leader of the Church, and to supply the necessary materials, information and views."

It is thus clear that the Etchmiadzin Catholicos was merely a screen for the activity of the nationalists. These consisted of the Dashnaksutiun revolutionaries together with a number of Armenian bourgeois intellectuals with identical views. According to the above-mentioned document, the deputy Shahrikian, speaking in the assembly on behalf of the Dashnaksutiun Revolutionary Committee, declared that in view of the vital necessity of implementing reforms in the Armenian provinces and introducing a measure of well-being, all work on intellectual questions should be abandoned in favour of practical work towards the preservation of Armenian integrity. It would thus appear that all intellectual differences were laid aside and that everyone gathered under the skirts of the Catholicos' ample cassock. But this does not mean that Dashnaksutiun abandoned the leadership to another. It still remained the real instigator and organizer, and it was Dashnaksutiun that drew up the projects as to what reforms should be introduced in Armenia. In his personal correspondence with Sazanoff, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Giers informed the Minister of his political discussions with Zavarian, the representative of Dashnaksutiun authorized to issue political statements on behalf of that body. Thus the activity of the western wing of the Armenian revolutionary committee was established on the basis of article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin with powerful Russian support. But this did not constitute the real power. If the Catholicos of All the Armenians required arms to pull the strings these were to be found in the palace of the Governor-General in Tiflis and not in Istanbul. Thus Tiflis formed the eastern wing of the movement. This group was much more effective in binding Etchmiadzin to the Governor-General's palace, and in serving as spokesman for the Catholicos. Here there was no National Will or National Assembly, as in Istanbul. The Armenian intellectuals who frequented the Governor-General's palace formed an *Armenian Association*. This organization was not officially recognized by the government, but it was in very close touch. The reasons for its foundation were explained as follows at a meeting of the General National Assembly in 1914:

"In the autumn of 1912, after the outbreak of the Balkan War, the state of the Armenians in Turkey caused great concern among various classes of the Armenian people. Stirred by the fear of complete extermination on the one hand, and on the other by the hopes of an international conference to be summoned to consider the implementation of reforms in Turkey, Armenian intellectuals attempted to exploit this historic occasion to the full. It also appeared that the Russian government was assuming a sympathetic and supportive attitude towards the Armenian cause..."

A number of delegates arrived in Tiflis from the regions inhabited by the Caucasian Armenians. A temporary bureau of seven members was formed. The members were the following:

S. Khatissian
A. Hadisian
A. Kalanter
A. Bogosian
H. Tumanian
N. Agpalian

Here, the Dashnaktsutiun repeated the tactics they had employed in Istanbul and took the administration under their own control. The Catholicos sent Mesrop Bishop Der Movsesian, the most intelligent of the Etchmiadzin politicians and on intimate terms with Vrontsov-Dashkov and his family, to St Petersburg to learn the attitude of government circles to the Turkish Armenian question. The situation appeared favourable. Both the Prime Minister Gogovsev and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Sazanoff approved of government attention being given to the Armenian question, but were of the opinion that the Armenian Catholicos should appeal to the Powers and send delegates to Europe to prepare the ground for French and British collaboration with Russia on this topic. Thereupon, Catholicos Keork, by a Catholicate decree dated 10 November 1912, appointed Bogos Nubar Pasha, then in Egypt, as delegate invested with full powers. Bogos Nubar Pasha went immediately to Paris and began work. He was once again surrounded by Dashnaktsutiun agents as assistants. The most important of these was Mikayel Varandian.

In a letter dated 22 December 1912, Ref. No. 28/358, Vorontsov-Dashkov wrote to the Catholicos as follows:⁴

"Your Holiness,

You requested, on behalf of the Armenian people, that I should mediate in an attempt to ensure that the oppressed Armenian peoples of Asiatic Turkey should be taken under the protection of the Russian government. Your request has been submitted for His Majesty's approval, and His Majesty has expressed his desire for the amelioration of the condition of the Armenian community.

The Imperial government has now approached the Turkish government on this matter, pointing out the further deterioration in the situation of the Armenians in Asia Minor, the just complaints of the Armenians concerning the attacks and depredations of the Kurds, and the lack of all security of life and property arising from the inefficiency and incompetence of the administration. The government has also stressed the urgent necessity of giving serious attention to the reforms to be carried out in Armenia and to the introduction of some order in the administration. It was explained that it was the indifference and lack of seriousness with which Balkan affairs were regarded that led first to separatist movements and mutinies, and finally to the outbreak of the Balkan War.

The Imperial government, in the light of centuries' old relations and traditions of friendship, and of the sufferings of the Armenian people, will be guided by the most sincere sympathy for the unjustly treated Armenians in Turkish Armenia, and will do everything in their power to ensure that the necessary reforms are implemented.

Nevertheless, the Imperial Government feels that, from the point of view of Armenian interests, it would be inadvisable to bring up the Armenian question at a conference aimed at finding a solution to the crisis in the Balkans. The European Powers are fully justified in suspecting that they are not all in agreement on the question of a solution to a matter of such vital concern to the Armenians, and bitter experience has shown that the failure of the European Powers to reach agreement may only serve to make the situation regarding Armenian reforms and tranquillity even more hopeless, and may also work to the advantage of the local government.

While drawing your attention to the present situation, I

should strongly advise the Armenians not to address collective appeals at various odd times to the Imperial Government concerning the state of the Armenians in Turkey, and to act with greater caution and circumspection. Your Holiness, I fully believe that you have the authority to guide the Armenians in accordance with their own interests."

At the same time as the Governor-General was issuing this statement a committee consisting of Bishop Mesrop, Pakrad Vartabet, Samson Harutians and Alexander Khatissian was being formed to pursue this question. A detailed memorandum was prepared for submission to the Tsar. This memorandum, dated 22 December, ends with the following request from the Catholicos:

"... Until now, the Turkish Armenians have suffered the most terrible torments and calamities. This danger, which threatens their very existence, gives the Armenians the right to appeal to Russia, the historical defender and protector of the Eastern Christians, for help and assistance. The political situation arising from the wars now being waged against Turkey by the Balkan states has opened the way towards the amelioration and reform of the condition of the Turkish Armenians.

The requests and expectations of the community are as follows:

A state of security which would allow the implementation of the reforms required by Turkish Armenia under the exalted and powerful protection of Your Imperial Majesty, together with freedom of development in both the moral and cultural fields.

The Ambassadors of the Great Powers are now meeting in London, and it is expected that a conference or congress will be arranged for the solution of the problems arising from the state of war in the Balkans and the condition of the Eastern Christians.

The Armenian question was first presented to European diplomacy for solution thirty-four years ago, but it still remains unsolved. If nothing can now be achieved it will mean the abandonment of the Armenian community to utter extinction.

I and my community firmly believe that You and Your great Empire, always the source of justice and mercy, will increase even

further your grace and bounty towards a community that has been exposed to such intolerable sufferings and torments, and that your exalted government will give orders for serious measures to be taken for the salvation of the Turkish Armenians and the amelioration of their condition. Your voice raised for the welfare of the Turkish Armenians will be a voice heralding the end of our nation's sufferings.

After reading this memorandum, the Governor-General stated that nothing definite had been said concerning the measures to be taken. The representatives declared that the aim was the achievement of the complete social freedom of the Turkish Armenians together with preservation of honour and security of property, and that this was a matter better appreciated by the diplomats. The following points were discussed:

1. The hopes and expectations of the Armenians:

The hopes of all Armenians were concentrated on the Russian government's taking an interest in the intolerable condition of the Armenian people. The Governor-General of the Caucasus was reminded of the sympathetic attitude towards the Armenians displayed by the Prime Minister Gogoshev and Sazanoff, the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

2. Fears of the Turkish officials:

In the Turkish towns inhabited by Armenians, the Turkish officials have recently been seriously endeavouring to prevent the attacks and depredations of the Kurds against the Armenians, and display great fear and anxiety in this connection. The governors are very careful to give the Kurds and Turks no opportunity for attacks on the Armenians. This fear is, of course, purely temporary, and if the Russian government remains neutral and no steps are taken to ensure the honour, personal safety and property of the Armenians, this fear will soon vanish.

3. It was decided that a delegation to be sent to the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs would be of a certain utility.

In another meeting held on 27 December it was decided that:

1. As relations between the European Powers were not suitable for the solution of the Turkish Armenian question, the question should not be submitted to the London Conference.

2. That the Catholicos should not approach any other European states on this question:
3. That orders should be given to the Russian Ambassador in Istanbul and the consuls in Armenia for the protection of the Armenians against attacks by the Turks and Kurds:
4. That Bogos Nubar, who had been appointed representative by the Catholicos, should work for the amelioration of the conditions of the Armenians under Russian supervision at the Conference of European Powers, and that Bogos Nubar should be entrusted by the Catholicate with the duty of making official approaches, one approval had been received by telegram from the Russian government;
5. That Bogos Nubar, the Catholicos, the Patriarch and the National Assembly should work together with the European powers for the implementation, under Russian control, of article 61.

It is obvious that Russia's aim was the implementation of reforms in Armenia under Russian control. It therefore exploited the Catholicos and all the various Armenian organizations in order to achieve this aim. The reform question was brought up at the request and on the initiative of the Russian government.

According to Leo:⁵

"This amounted to a declaration of war on Turkey and the delivery of the whole of Asia Minor into German hands. The Catholicos accepted this. The Armenians thought this move of the Russians had been undertaken in their own interest. Actually, the whole of Armenia was now transformed into a blind instrument of Russian policy. Etchmiadzin foolishly imagined that this time Russian and Armenian interests coincided, and rejoiced at the fact. The Patriarchate was merely a puppet in Giers' hands."

The delegation appointed by the Catholicos to defend the Armenian cause in the European cabinets consisted of the following members:

1. Archibishop Utujian
2. Bogos Nubar Pasha
3. Yakup Artin Pasha
4. Minas Cheraz
5. Harutian Musdichian

The Catholicos entrusted the delegation with the implementation of a scheme of reforms under Russian control. The delegation approached the European cabinets and presented memoranda. They also attempted to have the Armenian question discussed at the Conference of Ambassadors then being held in London, and Bogos Nubar approached Sir Edward Grey, who was presiding over the Conference of Ambassadors. But as this would have meant the London Conference devoting its attention to matters which had already been discussed at the Paris Conference the Armenian move proved abortive. The London Conference sat for only a short time and was mainly occupied with questions relating to the Balkan War.

The Istanbul Patriarchate now began to systematically bombard the government with questions such as the forced religious conversion of Armenians and the raids, seizure of land, looting, depredations and atrocities committed by the Kurds.

The Russian government attempted to have the Armenian question, which it claimed to support from purely humanitarian motives, discussed in the various European cabinets. It declared that it was now time for the Powers to take concerted action against the Ottoman government. He also sent instructions to the Russian Ambassadors in London and Paris to sound the respective governments on their attitude to the implementation of the reforms promised by the Turks in article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin, and to seek these governments' assistance in the steps taken with regard to the Sublime Porte in order to prevent the transference to Armenia of emigrants from the territories lost in the Balkan War.

Britain and France accepted the Russian proposal, but Britain proposed that the discussions should take place in London. Russia, however, preferred that they should take place in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, and proposed that work on the principles of the 1895 scheme of reforms should be entrusted to the Ambassadors of the Powers in Istanbul. Thus the Armenian question once more became an international issue. On the other hand, Sazanoff, the Russian Ambassador, informed the Turkish Ambassador that it was an act of friendship to the Turks to draw the attention of the Sublime Porte to the fact that delay in implementing the reforms might well lead to European intervention and that further disturbances on the Russian frontier might adversely affect their own interests and give rise to serious difficulties.⁶

The Russian Ambassador Giers advised the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs that the state of anarchy in which Turkey found itself made peaceful implementation of the reforms quite impossible and that the Russian armies should be kept in readiness for entry into

these provinces.⁷

The Russian Ambassador Giers received the Armenian doctor Zavarian, a representative of the Dashnaktsutiun Revolutionary Committee, who gave the following very interesting information regarding the readiness of the Armenian Committees to act at the slightest sign from Russia.

"The Imperial government plays a very important role in the destiny of the Armenian people. Nevertheless, the Armenians should not lose sight of the exceptional nature of present conditions and avoid any rash initiative that might aggravate the situation. The Armenians should appear to Europe as the victims of the arbitrary administration of Turkish despotism, and should on no account allow themselves to appear as political revolutionaries anxious to take advantage of Turkey's military reverses. The Armenians should avoid any provocation of the Turks and should not undertake the slightest movement of rebellion. At the same time, they should inform public opinion through newspapers and statements of the injustices inflicted on the Armenians by the Kurds and the Turkish officials."⁸

The German government replied to the Russian proposal by pointing out that it was impossible to get reliable information on the real condition of the Armenians in the Armenian provinces, that the implementation of reforms was a very delicate question, that the Armenians had engaged in provocative actions, and that in any case they constituted only a very tiny minority of the population, and put forward the following as conditions that should be satisfied before they entered upon discussions:

1. The preservation of the Imperial Ottoman government and the integrity of Ottoman territory.
2. The participation in the discussions of a Turkish representative.

Russia pointed out that the admission of a Turkish representative would lead to a feeling of despair on the part of the Armenians. Germany did not, therefore, insist on this point and the Ambassador in Istanbul, Baron von Wangenheim, was chosen to chair the discussions.

Informed by the Germans of the Russian initiative, the Ottoman government pointed out that this initiative would arouse a feeling of

mistrust in the Turkish public, and that it would be much better to leave the implementation of the reforms to the Ottoman government.

Just then, the government issued the law governing the general administration of the provinces investing the governors with greater powers and authority.

The Armenian representatives wished a reform based on the following principles:

1. That a High Commissioner for the Armenian provinces should be appointed by the Powers with the approval of the Sublime Porte.
2. That a control commission should be formed under the chairmanship of the High Commissioner appointed to the provinces, consisting of three Muslims and three Christians, together with three civil agents appointed by the Powers, to supervise the implementation of reforms.
3. That provincial general assemblies composed of an equal number of Moslems and Christians should be set up invested with the powers specified in the 1880 Provincial Reform Act.
4. That there should be a police force and gendarmerie made up of equal numbers of Muslims and Christians.
5. The judicial system should be reorganized in accordance with the 1895 project, and European judges appointed.
6. The financial system should be reformed on the basis of that applied in Macedonia, and financial affairs should be under the control of the Ottoman Bank.
7. Administrative measures should be taken to prevent the seizure of land belonging to farmers and cultivators, and those who have suffered injustice should be awarded compensation.
8. Communal and ecclesiastical rights and privileges should be safeguarded.
9. The Kurds and other nomadic tribes should be brought under control.
10. Special measures in accordance with the principles laid down

in the 1895 reform project should be introduced regarding the Armenians in Cilicia and Zeitun.

While notes were being presented to the Powers by the Armenian delegation, the Russian Ambassador entrusted Mandelstam, the Head Dragoman, with the preparation of a project on the basis of the 1880 provincial laws for Rumelia and the 1895 project.⁹

Istanbul, 2 June 1913

PROJECT PREPARED BY A. MANDELSTAM, HEAD DRAGOMAN AT THE RUSSIAN EMBASSY, CONCERNING THE REFORMS TO BE IMPLEMENTED IN ARMENIA

The project was based on the following:

- *Memorandum dated March-April 1895 on reforms in Armenia prepared by the Ambassadors of France, Great Britain and Russia in Istanbul.
- *Project dated March-April 1895 concerning administrative reforms prepared by the Ambassadors of France, Great Britain and Russia.
- **Firman* dated 20 October 1895 on reforms in Armenia.
- *Law of 11-23 August 1880 concerning the European provinces prepared by a commission of the European Powers.
- *Provincial Law of 1913.
- *Laws and protocols relating to Lebanon

I

The following provinces will be combined to form one province:¹² Erzurum, Van, Bitlis, Diyarbakir, Harput and Sivas.

The province will be divided into three types of administrative district:

1. Sandjak
2. Kaza
3. Nahiye

These three administrative districts will be drawn up in accordance with the ethnographic distribution of the population and will be arranged as far as possible so that each district is inhabited by people of the same race.

(Memorandum of the three Ambassadors 1895, Project of the Ambassadors, 1895, article 7)

II

The Governor-General of the Armenian province will be a Christian subject of the Ottoman Empire or, preferably, a European appointed for a term of five years by the Sultan with the approval of the Powers.

(Treaty of Berlin, article 177; 1896 Crete Protocol, 1896, article 1; laws and protocols relating to Lebanon; Memorandum of the Three Ambassadors, articles 2, 7; *Firman* on Armenian reform, 1895)

III

1. The Governor-General will be the head of the executive. He will be responsible for the appointment or dismissal of all civil servants in the province without exception. He will appoint all the judges in the province.
2. The police and gendarmerie will be directly responsible to the Governor-General.
3. The Governor-General will be furnished with all the armed forces deemed necessary for the preservation of law and order in the province.

(Law of Lebanon, article 1, 1864; Project of the European Commission, 1880, articles 27, 32 and 44; Law of the General Administration of the Province, 1913, articles 20, 25 and 26)

IV

An administrative council will be formed to act as an advisory body to assist the Governor-General. This council will consist of:

- a) The various department heads of the provincial administrative bodies,
- b) The spiritual leaders of the various religious communities.

- c) The sandjak *müdürs* and the technical advisors in the service of the Ottoman government under the orders of the heads of the administrative departments,
- d) Six advisors, three Moslem and three Christian, to be chosen from among the members of the provincial council.

(1880 Project of the European Commission, article 49; Law of the Provinces, 1913, article 62; 1895 Law, article 6)

V

1. The provincial council will be composed of equal numbers of Moslems and Christians.
2. The members of the provincial council will be chosen by secret ballot by electoral colleges to be established for this purpose in the *kazas*.
3. The number of members allotted to the various Moslem and Christian communities will be determined separately for each *kaza*. This number will be in proportion to the population of the *kaza* and in accordance with the principle set forth in the first clause of this article.

(The Law and Protocol of 9 June 1861 relating to the mountainous regions of Lebanon, article 2; the Ambassadors' Project of 1895, articles 3 and 5; the 1880 project of the European Commission, article 69; the Law of the Provinces of 1913, article 103)

VI

1. The provincial council will be elected for a term of five years and will meet for any two months of the year. This term may be extended by the Governor-General.
2. An extraordinary meeting of the council may be called by the Governor-General or by a third of the members.
3. The council may be dissolved by the Governor-General. In this case, the new members will be summoned within two months and the new council will meet within four months of the dissolution.

4. Decrees summoning or dissolving the council will be announced and published in the name of the Sultan.

(1880 Project of the European Commission, articles 73-75; 1913 Law of the Provinces, articles 111, 115 and 125)

VII

1. The provincial council will introduce and enforce legislation relating to the province.
2. The executive powers of the provincial council and its authority in matters regarding the budget will be at least as wide as those set forth in articles 82-93 of the project prepared by the European Commission (1880).
3. Bills passed by the Council will be submitted to the Sultan for ratification. The decision regarding the ratification or non-ratification of the bill must be received within two months. If no reply is received from the government within this time the bill will be taken as ratified.

(Project of the European Commission, articles 82-93; Law of the Provinces, articles 123, 124, 128 and 135)

VIII

1. The *sandjak* administrative councils will be presided over by the *mutasarrifs*. The *sandjak* council will consist of the heads of the *sandjak* departments, the spiritual leaders of the communities and six members of the *kaza* administrative councils (three Moslems and two Christians).
2. The *kaza* administrative councils will be presided over by the *kaymakams*. These *kaza* councils will consist of the heads of the *kaza* departments, the spiritual leaders of the communities and four members to be chosen by the *nahiye* councils (two Muslim and two Christian).
3. The powers and prerogatives of these councils will be determined in accordance with articles 115, 116, 139 and 140 of the Project of the European Commission, 1880.

(Project of the European Commission 1880, articles 114, 115, 116, 138 and 139; 1913 Law of the Provinces, articles 62, 63, 64 and 65)

IX

1. The boundaries of each *nahiye* should be so drawn as to combine villages of the same race and religion.
2. Each *nahiye* will be governed by a *müdür* and council consisting of an average of four and at most eight members elected by the local inhabitants. This council will choose a *müdür* and assistant *müdür* from among its own members. The *müdür* will be chosen from the community forming the majority of the population, and his assistant from the community forming the minority.
3. In *nahiyes* composed of various groups, these groups will be represented in the council according to their importance provided they include a minimum of 25 households.
4. The powers of the *nahiye* councils will be determined in accordance with articles 162 and 168 of the 1880 project of the European Commission.

(1880 Project of the European Commission, articles 162 and 168; 1895 Project of the three Ambassadors, articles 7, 8 and 9; Law of 20 October 1895, articles 7, 8 and 9)

X

1. In each *kaza* there will be a magistrate appointed by the Governor-General and belonging to the same religion as the majority of the population. There will also be a magistrate in each *nahiye*.
2. The magistrate
 - a) Will judge cases with simple police sentences without right of appeal, and cases with fines of over 500 kurush or three months imprisonment with right of appeal.
 - b) He will also hear civil cases of up to 1000 kurush and legal and commercial cases without right of appeal, and cases of up to 5000 kurush with right of appeal.
3. The magistrate may employ the courts as instruments of reconciliation. He may give judgment with the agreement of each side in cases of over 5000 kurush. In such cases both sides will renounce their right of appeal.

4. In each of the *sandjaks* a court will be established by the Governor-General consisting of a president and two qualified members (one Moslem and one Christian). The *sandjak* courts will deal with civil and commercial cases of over 5000 kurush and will hear appeals against judgments of the magistrates in civil and commercial cases.
5. Itinerant courts will be set up to deal with criminal cases. These courts will be set up to deal with criminal cases. These courts will consist of a presiding judge chosen by the appeal court from among the members of that court, and of two members, the one Moslem and the other Christian, chosen from among the *sandjak* magistrates.
6. The criminal court will sit in *kazas* in which its presence is required.
7. Each *kaza* will have an examining magistrate. The presiding judge of the criminal court will, on his arrival in the *kaza*, receive from the examining magistrate the documents containing the accusations and a list of the matters investigated. If there should appear to be any irregularity or unnecessary delay this should immediately be reported to the president of the court of appeal.
8. The criminal court will examine the judgments made by the magistrates and will confirm these judgments in cases involving a fine of over 500 kurush or three months' imprisonment.
9. At least six courts of appeal will be established. Each court of appeal will consist of a qualified judge appointed by the Governor-General, and of departments of a sufficient number and variety to solve legal problems referred to them, and to provide presiding judges for the itinerant criminal courts. A court of appeal consisting of two members and a president will be regarded as duly established. There will also be a sufficient number of public prosecutors and assistant prosecutors.
10. Commercial courts will be established wherever a need is felt for such courts. If such a court is available the civil courts will not deal with commercial cases.
11. The powers of the *Shariah* courts will be specifically

determined, and the Governor-General will ensure that the powers of these courts do not exceed the powers of the others.

(Reform Project prepared by the three Ambassadors, 1895, articles 28 and 39; 1880 project of the European Commission, articles, articles 125 and 263)

XI

1. Each province will be furnished with a police force and gendarmerie. These forces will be composed of equal numbers of Moslems and Christians.
2. The formation of these forces and the high command will be entrusted to European officers in Turkish service.
3. An organization of rural police will be established in each *kaza*. These will be chosen by the *kaza* council and placed under the orders of the *müdürs*.

(Ambassadors' Project of 1895, articles 18 and 21; Law of 20 October 1895, article 24)

XII

1. Inhabitants of the province will perform their military service in that province.
2. The Kurdish Light Cavalry (the former *Hamidiye*) will be disbanded.

(Ambassadors' Project of 1895, article 25; Law of 20 October 1895, article 28)

XIII

1. Public servants and provincial judges will be composed of equal numbers of Moslems and Christians.
2. In the distribution of *sandjak mutasarrifs* and *kaza kaymakams* consideration should be paid to the various racial and religious groups and their economic interests.

(Law of 20 October 1895, article 5)

XIV

1. Only the local population should have the right to elect and be elected.

(Ambassadors' Project of 1895, articles 24 and 28; Law of 20 October 1895, article 27)

XV

1. All laws, decrees, orders and circulars issued by the Governor-General's office should be in the three languages spoken in the province, viz. Turkish, Armenian and Kurdish.
2. All appeals and petitions addressed to the provincial administration and all documents submitted to the courts should be in one of these three languages as chosen by the interested party.
3. The defence offered in court should be in the language of the interested parties in accordance with their own desires.
4. The decisions of the court will be written in Turkish and translated into the language of the parties.

(Ambassadors' Project, article 40; Project of the European Commission, article 22; Ministry of the Interior, circular of 6 April 1913)

XVI

1. Each *millet* in the province has the right to open and administer private schools at all levels.
2. Special taxes may be levied to meet the requirements of these schools.
3. In these special schools the language of the *millet* will be employed as the medium of instruction.
4. These schools will be attached to the relevant ministry and to the Governor-General in accordance with the laws laid down in the establishment law of the province.

5. The teaching of Turkish is compulsory in the private schools.

(Project of the Commission of 1880, principle 12)

XVII

A special commission will be set up under the direction of the Governor-General to investigate the conditions necessary for the remedy of injustices suffered by Armenians whose lands have been expropriated, either by returning the said lands or by receiving compensation to the value of these lands or by receiving other lands in lieu.

(Ambassadors' Project of 1880, article 21; Law of 20 October 1895, article 29)

XVIII

Official recognition will be given to the inviolability of the rights and privileges granted the Armenian *millet* by the Constitution of 1863 and of other advantages granted them by the Sultans.

(Memorandum, section 11)

XIX

No refugees will be allowed to settle in the province.

XX

Special measures will be taken for the reform and amelioration of the condition of the Armenians outside the boundaries of the province and in Cilicia in particular in accordance with the principles outlined above.

(Memorandum, article 12; 1895 Law, preamble and article 4)

XXI

A commission composed of representatives of the Ottoman government and the Powers will meet to prepare a law for the organization of the province and to decide on the necessary measures referred to in article 21, these proposals to be drawn up in accordance with the principles outlined in the project.

XXII

The Powers demand an assurance that all these measures will be taken.

The most important article in Mandelstam's report is, undoubtedly, article 1, relating to the union of the provinces of Erzurum, Van, Bitlis, Diyarbakir, Harput and Sivas to form a single Armenian province, with the obvious intention of establishing Armenian independence. Article 2, which envisages the appointment of a European Governor-General authorized to appoint or remove all the civil servants employed in the Armenian province thus established, would mean the establishment in Anatolia of a state with purely nominal connection to the Ottoman government, and which, in reality, would form an autonomous state with a council endowed with full executive powers. The other articles were extracted from the memoranda and projects drawn up by France, Great Britain and Russia on the subject of the European provinces.

The reform project was submitted by the Russian Ambassador to the conference of the Ambassadors of the six Powers, and a committee composed of representatives of the six Embassies was set up to examine the project.

In face of this move, the government proposed to add an article to the Law of the Provinces dividing the country into six regions of inspection. This proposal was rejected. The division of the six Eastern provinces into two regions of inspection was seen as an attempt to disperse the Armenian majority among the Moslem population. The government proposed to appoint two foreign inspectors to these two regions. The appointment would be made by the Council of Ministers and ratified by the Sultan. There was no question of ratification by the Powers.

The reform commission met on 20 June 1913 in the Austria-Hungarian Embassy at Yeniköy. The representatives of the three Powers insisted on discussing the government's reform plan before proceeding to the Russian proposal, but the Russian proposal was finally accepted as the basis of the discussions.¹⁰

On 20 June 1913 the Russian government presented the following note to the governments of Germany, Austria and Italy:¹¹

25 June 1913

The Imperial Minister for Foreign Affairs wishes to draw the attention of Germany, Austria and Italy to the following views elucidating the attitude of the Russian government to the reforms to be implemented in the Armenian province:

Russia joins with the other Powers in vigorous opposition to any dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The Imperial Ministry for Foreign Affairs believes that the preservation of the integrity of Turkish territory depends upon the restoration of peace and security in the regions in which incompetent administration has given rise to despotic rule and oppression. This restoration might well be effected by the Powers' taking in hand without delay the implementation of the necessary reforms.

The Russian government has repeatedly drawn the attention both of the Sublime Porte and the Great Powers to the relation and connection between the Armenian question and Russian administration in the Caucasus. Russia cannot tolerate continual disorders and anarchy in areas near the Turkish frontier which might have serious repercussions in the border province of Caucasia. The latest news corroborates the expectation of serious consequences arising from the deplorable wrongs and depredations inflicted by the Kurds.

It is to be feared that the incompetence of the local Turkish administrators may lead to events to which the Imperial government cannot remain indifferent. Under these circumstances, acute dangers and fearful disorders can be prevented only by the immediate adoption of a united collective stance by the Great Powers."

On 26 June 1913 Germany presented a note to the Russian government. In this are indicated the dangers of the project regarding reforms in Armenia:¹²

"The Russian proposal submitted to the Conference of Ambassadors refers to the combination of the six Armenian

provinces to form one single province and its administration by a Governor-General to be appointed by the Sultan. The Governor-General should be a Christian Turk or, preferably, a European. The six provinces will form a single province as regards civil and military administration, and will be more or less detached from the Ottoman Empire. The public servants and judges will be appointed by the Governor-General. Recruitment will take place only in Armenia and in time of peace Armenian soldiers will not be posted outside the province.

In the view of the German government, this project goes well beyond the 1895 programme and even the privileges granted to Lebanon. Were this projected to be realized, *half of Anatolia would become Armenia, and only a very weak connection would remain between this province on the one hand and Turkey and the Ottoman government on the other.* This would be the beginning of the dismemberment of Turkey, something which the German government is most anxious to avoid.

In view of these obvious dangers, the German Imperial government points out the necessity of taking Turkish wishes into consideration regarding this problem."

The discussions on the Russian project and scheme of reforms led to the acceptance of certain amendments on the insistence of the Austrian and German representatives. Agreement was finally reached between Wangenheim and the Russian Ambassador Giers on the following points:¹³

That Armenia should be divided into two sections; that Inspectors-General in these provinces should be appointed by the Sublime Porte on the recommendation of the European Powers; and that these Powers should have the right of ratification in the case of the dismissal or replacement by the Sultan of these Inspectors and all other public servants, as well as in the appointment of higher civil servants and judges.

That a council should be established in each region consisting of an equal number of Christians and Moslems.

That posts in the public services should be distributed equally between Muslims and Christians.

That the Powers should be invested with supervisory powers in the implementation of reforms, these to be effected by the Ambassadors and by the consuls in the provinces.

That a declaration should be made by the Sublime Porte to the effect that further reforms in Armenia should be carried out by agreement with the Powers.

The principles of the German-Russian agreement were approved by the other Powers. The Grand Vizier suggested that the Turkish Inspectors should be assisted by foreign advisors, hoping in this way to preserve the Sultan's prerogatives. He also proposed that these foreign advisors should be invested with full authority and powers. In response, the Russian Ambassador proposed that an addition should be made to the effect that no action could be taken by the Inspectors without the knowledge and approval of the advisors. After protracted discussions, the Sublime Porte succeeded in procuring the deletion of certain other articles in the Russian project, which had in any case been amended by the Germans. Finally the following agreement was signed by Goulkevitch, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, and the Grand Vizier, Sait Halim Pasha:¹⁴

"The Russian Chargé d'Affaires Constanine Goulkevitch and the Ottoman Grand Vizier and Minister for Foreign Affairs Sait Halim Pasha have decided on the appointment of Inspectors to the two regions of Eastern Anatolia and the submission of the following note by the Sublime Porte to the Great Powers:

Two European Inspectors-General will be appointed to the two regions of Eastern Anatolia.

Region A will comprise the provinces of Erzurum, Trabzon and Sivas.

Region B will comprise the provinces of Van, Bitlis, Harput and Diyarbakir.

The Inspector will supervise the civil and judicial administration of the province as well as the police and gendarmerie. Should the forces available for the preservation of law and order be inadequate, additional military forces will, at the request of the Inspector, be placed under the orders of the Inspector-General to facilitate the implementation of the measures drawn up within the bounds of his authority.

The Inspectors-General have the authority to dismiss any civil servants on grounds of incompetence or misconduct. Those accused of corruption in the performance of their duties should be delivered to the courts, and petty officials removed from their posts should be replaced by those possessing the qualities demanded by the laws and statutes. Senior civil servants have the right to submit an appeal to the government. The relevant ministry must be informed by telegram of their dismissal together with a summary of the reasons for this action, and full details concerning these officials must be forwarded for inclusion in their dossiers within eight days.

In exceptional circumstances in which urgent measures are required, the Inspector-General has the power to remove members of the judiciary from their posts provided he immediately informs the Ministry of Justice. In the case of offences committed by the governors concerning which urgent action is required, the Inspectors will inform the Ministry of the Interior of the situation, the Ministry will forward the matter to the Council of Ministers, which will come to a decision within four days of receiving the telegram from the Inspector-General. Cases concerning the ownership of land will be decided under the direct supervision of the Governor-General. More detailed regulations related to the powers and prerogatives of the Governors-General will be drawn with their own participation following their appointment.

Should the post of Governor-General become vacant within a space of ten years, the Sublime Porte hopes for the assistance of the Great Powers in the choice of a new Inspector.

All laws, decrees and official announcements will be published in the local language. As far as possible, each party in a legal dispute will have the right to employ his own language. Legal decisions will be published in Turkish, but as far as possible copies will be produced in the language of each of the parties. The share of each community in the education budget will be proportionate to their share in educational taxation.

No obstacles will be placed in the way of community schools being administered by members of the community.

In peace-time, every Ottoman subject will perform his

military service in the military area he inhabits. But until new orders issued by the government, infantry soldiers may be sent from the various Ottoman provinces to remote regions such as the Yemen, Asir, Nejd, etc. in proportion to the population of each province. For naval service, recruits will be chosen by lot from all the Ottoman provinces. The *Hamidiye* regiments will be converted into light cavalry. The weapons for these regiments will be stored in depots and issued only for use in manoeuvres or on active service. These regiments will be placed under the orders of the commander of the army corps region to which they are attached. In peace-time the regiment, company and platoon officers in the *Hamidiye* Cavalry will be chosen from among the Ottoman officers under arms. Soldiers serving in these regiments will be subject to one year's military service. For recruitment in these regiments, soldiers must provide their own horses and full equipment.

Anyone from the same region is admissible in these regiments without discrimination of race or religion. When on manoeuvres or active service these soldiers will be subject to the same rules and regulations as soldiers of the regular army.

The powers of the Provincial Councils were determined in accordance with the law of 13 March 1329-1913.

The exact proportion of the various sects, races and languages in the two provinces will be ascertained by means of a definitive census to be held under the supervision of the Inspectors-General as soon as possible within the space of a year. For the time being, the provincial councils in Van and Bitlis will be established on the basis of equal numbers of Muslims and Christians.

Should the definitive census in the province of Erzurum not be completed within a year, the general council will be established on the same basis of equal proportions as in the above provinces. The members of the general councils in the provinces of Sivas, Harput and Diyarbakir will be chosen in accordance with the general proportions now obtaining, the number of Moslems being determined by and restricted to the most recent electoral lists and the number of Christians being determined in accordance with the lists prepared by the communities. Should this provisional electoral system be rendered impossible by material

obstacles and difficulties, the Inspectors-General have the authority to propose a different proportion more in accordance with the peculiar conditions of the three provinces in question (Sivas, Harput and Diyarbakir).

The minority in each province will be represented on the commissions in accordance with the proportion in the General Councils.

As previously, of the members elected to the administrative councils, half will be Moslems and half Christians.

If the Inspectors-General should see no objection, vacancies arising in the police force and gendarmerie in the two regions should be filled in accordance with the principle of equality between Moslems and Christians. The same principle of equality should be applied as far as possible to selection for all public posts.

This agreement bears the seals of those above named in confirmation of the agreement.

Goulkevitch Sait Halim

Istanbul, 26 January - 8 February 1914

The Dutchman M. Westenenk and the Norwegian Colonel Nicholas Hoff arrived for duty in the Eastern Provinces. The regions and duties for which they were responsible were published as follows:

"A decree has been issued by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan allowing the appointment of the Norwegian Hoff to the post of Inspector-General of the provinces of Van, Bitlis, Mamuretilaziz and Diyarbakir, and the appointment of the Dutchman Westenenk to the post of Inspector-General of the provinces of Trabzon, Erzurum and Sivas. 1 July 1330."

On 3 August 1914 Germany and Austria declared war on Russia. The Ottoman government entered the First World War. There was now no longer any need for inspectors. This stage of the Armenian reform question was thus closed.

At the same time as the Russian government was taking steps against the Sublime Porte on the question of Armenian reform, the

Armenian representatives were sending notes to the various European cabinets. An examination of these notes offers some very useful information on the question:

*NOTES SUBMITTED BY THE ARMENIAN COMMITTEE OF REPRESENTATIVES*¹⁵

I. ARTICLE 61 OF THE TREATY OF BERLIN AND ARMENIAN CLAIMS

27 February 1913

A committee of Armenian representatives was formed by the spiritual leader of the Armenians, Keork V, to request the inclusion on the agenda of the discussions on the Eastern Question of the implementation of the undertakings entered into by article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin.

This article, which replaced 16 of the Treaty of Ayastefanos, ran as follows:

"The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Kurds.

It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application.

This article 61 differs in some respects from article 16 of the Treaty of Ayastefanos, and one particular point will suffice to reveal the essential difference between them. Both articles demand reforms. But while in article 16 it is stated that the Russian forces will not evacuate Armenian territory occupied by these forces until the implementation of the reform programme, article 61 introduces government supervision as an offset to this threat. No other course was possible, as evacuation of the territory was to begin immediately after the signing of the Treaty of Berlin. Article 61 had remained a dead letter for thirty or forty years. The Powers had carried out no supervision of the Armenian reforms because no such reforms had been carried out. After the first Sasun massacres of 11 May 1895, the British, French and Russian ambassadors in Istanbul drew up a

comprehensive scheme of reforms and submitted this project, which was also approved by Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, to the Sublime Porte. Although accepted by the Sublime Porte after a few alterations had been made and subsequently ratified by the Sultan, the 1895 project was never put into effect. There was no longer any question of reform and injustices continued. It should not be forgotten that up to the year 1896 these atrocities had claimed 300,000 victims. The Armenians saw the accession to power of the constitutional government in 1908 as a step towards the implementation of a liberal programme, and lent the new government their loyal support. In return, 30,000 Armenians were massacred in the province of Adana. The condition of the Armenians in Turkey is now quite intolerable. Even though they may have escaped complete extermination in the last few months, they are continually exposed to the depredations of the nomadic tribes and to all kinds of injustice and oppression. Their property has been seized, and themselves abducted. The Armenians live in continual fear of the loss of their property. This lamentable situation is aggravated by the lack of security of life and honour.

We do not wish to insist upon a situation that presents dangers to both the Turks and the Armenians. We should, however, like to remind the Powers that the outbreak of the Balkan War was due to the failure to implement the reforms in article 23 of the same treaty that includes the article 61 which the Armenians have stubbornly refused to renounce. The Armenian Committee of Representatives therefore hopes and trusts that the Reform Project of 11 May 1895 will, after the necessary alterations and additions have been made, be implemented as previously agreed. Some articles have become obsolete in the course of the intervening ten years, others require adaptation to new circumstances. The Committee of Representatives has drawn up a text in the spirit and, very often, even following the letter, of the 1895 Memorandum. Several new articles have also been added on the basis of the changes introduced between 1904 and 1908 in the reform project for Macedonia in accordance with directions issued by the Powers and the Sublime Porte.

At the same time, the Sublime Porte, realising the importance of the Armenian reform project in ensuring the preservation of Ottoman rule in Asia Minor and the integrity of Ottoman territory, has prepared a new reform project which, however, omits the superintendence of the Powers, thus removing any form of guarantee for the continuing application and the effectiveness of the reforms.

The Committee of Representatives, convinced that only more effective and more forceful diplomatic pressure than that exerted in

1895 can persuade the Sublime Porte, whose situation is becoming steadily more serious, of the necessity of the superintendence foreseen in article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin, have no alternative but to leave the matter in the hands of the Powers.

Bogos Nubar

President of the National Armenian Delegation

II. ARMENIAN REFORM AND THE INTEGRITY OF TURKEY IN ASIA

22 March 1913

As the future of Turkey in Europe is now being decided, the Eastern Question has been transferred to Turkey in Asia. The Powers appear to be united in their policy regarding the integrity of the territories belonging to the Ottoman Empire in Asia. In order to ensure the continuance of Ottoman rule it will be necessary to remove all disagreements and misunderstandings and to allow the country to develop under good administration. This can only be achieved by the implementation of reforms in accordance with local conditions.

The Ottoman government has now realized this. At the present time (March 1913) it is examining a project to be applied not merely in the Armenian provinces but throughout the whole of Turkey in Asia. This project appears to be too comprehensive for application in the near future, and it is obvious that in attempting to apply reforms on its own initiative, the Sublime Porte is seeking a means of removing the European control that forms the sole guarantee of an effective implementation of the reform programme. There is no agreement whatever regarding the manner in which a system of control of the reforms to be applied to the whole of the country could be presented to the Sublime Porte. Nevertheless, whatever these reforms may be, the Sublime Porte cannot render null and void article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin. It cannot prevent Europe, to whom it has given its word, from exercising control over a part of the country, nor can it prevent the reforms in the Armenian provinces being applied under European superintendence. It is of vital importance for European interests that Turkey should be asked to undertake the immediate implementation of these reforms. The Armenian provinces have long been in a state of complete anarchy, and they are today in so wretched

a condition that it would be extremely dangerous to abandon them to their fate. The implementation of the reforms would mean a restoration of order, the security of life and property, and the development of economic well-being. The Sublime Porte would be the first to reap the benefits of this, and would undoubtedly be encouraged to apply the same experiment to other provinces.

For Europe, the results would have been even more beneficial. The economic administration of Turkey in Asia and the financial interests of Europe, as a creditor of the Ottoman Empire, would be served by the restoration of order, the removal of discontent and disturbances and the preservation of the integrity of Ottoman territories – in other words, by the implementation both at home and abroad of the principles upon which the whole policy of the Great Powers is based.

As far as Europe is concerned, reforms must be of an economic and financial as much as of a political character. Since article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin gives the Powers the right to demand the implementation of reforms, it is essential that such reforms should be demanded for the Armenian provinces. Wrongs and injustices have reached such an intolerable level in this part of the country that it is much to be feared that further delay in implementing long-promised reforms may lead to a situation endangering the integrity of Turkish territory in Asia Minor. This constitutes a danger that suffices in itself to demand the implementation of reforms.

The Committee of Representatives would like to draw the attention of the Powers to the fact that every delay increases this danger, and that it is highly unlikely that a better opportunity could ever arise for Europe to force Turkey into undertaking the implementation of the Armenian reforms.

The Turkish-Balkan conflict is now at an end. The signing of the Peace Treaty to be drawn up with the assistance of the European Powers should immediately be followed by the implementation of the necessary political, economic and financial reforms concerning the future of Turkey in Asia.

In ensuring the conclusion of peace, the Sublime Porte cannot dispense with the assistance of the Great Powers. The Powers should therefore demand their undeniable right to the superintendence of the implementation of the necessary reforms, and, in particular, the reforms to be applied in the Armenian provinces.

Bogos Nubar

President of the Committee of Armenian Representatives

III. ARMENIAN REFORM, THE MOSLEM POPULATION, AND IMMIGRANTS IN THE ARMENIAN PROVINCES

5 May 1913

The Armenian Committee of Representatives, on the basis of article 61 of the treaty of Berlin and the 11 May 1885 Memorandum of the signatory Powers, request the implementation of the necessary reforms in the Armenian province, at the same time pointing out the vital connection between these reforms and the continuance of Turkish rule in Asia Minor, as well as the beneficial effects the implementation of these reforms would exert on the prestige and financial status of the Ottoman state.

As it is most important to prevent the dissemination of erroneous ideas concerning the spirit of these reforms, strict attention should be paid in their implementation to two important factors – the position of the Moslem population and immigration from Rumelia and Macedonia.

The reforms aimed at putting an end to the sufferings of the Armenians should not be regarded as being of benefit only to the Armenians themselves. It is, moreover, essential that the implementation of these reforms should not be looked upon as a hostile move against the Muslim population.

It is absolutely vital that all suspicions concerning the aim of these reforms should be completely removed. Such suspicions may well have arisen from the reforms being commonly referred to as "Armenian reforms", and from their having been requested by the Armenians themselves. In actual fact, the "Armenian" reforms should prove advantageous to both Moslems and Christians alike. The aim is to place the region under intelligent administration, and to free it from the depredations of marauding tribes, and from massacres and disorder. These reforms will ensure a higher standard of living and security to everyone on equal terms.

Any idea that the reforms are directed against the Moslem population reveals a complete misunderstanding of the situation. There is absolutely no reason why the Ottoman government should reject these reforms. It is, indeed, in its own interests to accept without objection a system of reforms that will preserve the integrity of Ottoman territory, restore order to a disturbed region and lay the foundations of economic development. It is also in the interest of the Sublime Porte to remove any obstacles to the full implementation of these reforms and to prevent immigration into the Armenian provinces. There is talk of sending to these provinces the refugees from Rumelia and Macedonia expelled from Europe as a result of the

Balkan War. The introduction of these Moslem refugees into a predominantly Christian community would give rise to a very dangerous situation. These refugees have been forced to flee from their native land, abandoning their homes to the victorious Christians who have occupied their country, and are now in a state of utter poverty and destitution that must inevitably inspire them with a longing for revenge. This state of mind, aggravated by the profound difference between the two races and the memory of past wrongs and injustices, will undoubtedly give rise to serious conflicts. Above all, it is essential that no refugees should be settled on the boundaries of the Armenian provinces. The Committee of Representatives hopes that the Powers will persuade the Sublime Porte that such dangers should be averted by ensuring the settlement of these refugees in Moslem areas, inhabited by peoples of the same traditions, character and moral outlook.

Past experience has inevitably shown that any attempt to settle refugees in a predominantly Christian community creates a tragic situation. When the Circassian refugees from the Caucasus in 1874-1875 were settled in the Danube provinces, the resulting confusion and disorder finally led to the Russo-Turkish War and the Ottoman Empire's loss of the Danube provinces.

On the Austrian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878, Bosnian refugees were settled in Macedonia. The space of only a few months was required for the outbreak of religious and internecine conflict leading to the present war in the Balkans and the loss of the whole of Turkey in Europe.

Should they regard the problem from this point of view the Powers will no doubt wish to avoid the creation by these same old causes of new dangers and disorders that could prove disastrous to European policy in Armenia.

President of the Armenian National Committee
Bogos Nubar

IV. ARMENIAN REFORM AND EUROPEAN SUPERVISION

14 June, 1913

In addition to the Ottoman government's undertaking to implement reforms in the Armenian provinces, article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin also includes the condition that the implementation

of these reforms should be supervised by the signatory Powers. This supervision constitutes the sole guarantee of the permanence of the reforms and their orderly and effective application.

Since 1861 there have been a number of reform projects that the Ottoman government has announced its intention of introducing. Most of these projects were proposed by the European Powers and, in the case of some of them, implementation was actually begun. But as there was no system of control to guarantee their permanence, they were all finally abandoned. The best example of this was the Reform Project of 1895, which the Sublime Porte accepted only after the condition necessitating the supervision of the Powers had been waived, and which it was never, therefore, obliged to implement. There is only one exception. This was in the field of finance, when the Commission of Public Debts reformed the government's financial system. But even this exception only serves to prove the rule. The reform brought about no political changes in the direct selection of European members by the shareholders, and so offers no basis of assurance on this point.

Experience has shown that without a system of control any promise of reform made by Turkey is doomed to remain a dead letter. This opinion is likely to surprise no one who knows that in Turkey administrative decisions are inevitably implemented in accordance with the wishes of the government, and that such orders are either never carried out or completely misunderstood. The local officials have always been renowned for laziness and incompetence, coupled with very extensive powers and authority. This has gone to such a length that the central government remains ignorant of the cause. The state of the Armenian provinces is an instructive example. The government is well aware of the danger but is incapable of remedying the situation. It is obvious that it is not doing anything to worsen the situation. But it lacks the strength to apply a remedy. The local government is powerless to force its officials to take effective measures against crime and corruption, with the result that both crime and corruption are gradually reaching dangerous levels. As a result, it is now apparent that not only is the control foreseen in article 61 absolutely essential, but it is also absolutely essential that it should be implemented locally. If the reforms are to be applied effectively and impartially, the local officials must be placed under strict control and supervision. This is the goal which must be attained. There are several ways of achieving this, but it is essential that the Powers should choose one which will not offend the powers and prerogatives of the Sultan.

In a previous note,¹⁶ we pointed out that the territorial integrity of

Turkey in Asia could only be preserved by the introduction of reforms. We also pointed out that unless the implementation of these reforms was strictly supervised the disintegration of Turkish rule was inevitable. That is the reason for our insistence on this point, and constitutes the only and most important feature distinguishing the Ottoman government's counter-project and that prepared by the Commission of Representatives. This need has also been stressed by the most distinguished European writers and statesmen.

Lord Granville, when Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared that "without the control of a European, any attempt to introduce reforms in Turkey is doomed to failure." Lord Salisbury was of the opinion that "not only is control itself necessary, but this control must be exercised locally and not from Istanbul".

In a recent editorial in *The Times* newspaper we find the following sentence: "Without European control no reforms in Turkey can be successfully applied."

"Ottoman reform, European control, effective reform, strict control." Declares M. Victor Beard. "Without these, there is no guarantee for either the future of the Armenian people or the continuance of Turkish rule in Asia Minor."

According to *The Times* newspaper, "It is futile to talk of reform without control. No one would believe it, and Turkey ought to realize this."

These ideas have found an echo in Turkey itself, and we are happy to see that Turkey also supports the idea of control. A section of the Turkish press accepts it, and several Turkish politicians who have learned the lesson of recent events now realise not only that the security of their country is dependent on the introduction of reforms, but that these reforms can be successfully applied only under strict control. We have evidence to show that several of those in power – and not the minority – think in the same way, and are restrained only by a purely formal question – a question that can easily be solved once their just indignation has been allayed.

That is why, in conceding the right of control, the Ottoman government is not granting a privilege, but merely remaining faithful to an undertaking drawn up by others and accepted by itself. We have no doubt that Turkish statesmen, realising that the recovery of the Ottoman powers requires stronger means than a few neglected *fermans*, and must be protected from the constant conflict of political factions. The Commission of Representatives hopes that the aims of the government and the successful implementation of reform will be facilitated by the establishment of a permanent control, and that in this way a barren land will be transformed into a rich and fertile

country ruled in the interests of both Moslem and Christian, where security and justice are assured for all.

President of the Armenian National Committee
Bogos Nubar

V. ARMENIAN REFORM, THE PROJECT OF THE SUBLIME PORTE, AND EUROPEAN ADVISORS

22 November 1913

We learn from Istanbul that the Sublime Porte, rejecting the scheme of reform drawn up by agreement between the Powers and submitted by the Ambassadors, has presented a counter-project containing no mention of any control or of Inspectors-General appointed on the recommendation of the Powers. The scheme mentions only Ottoman Inspectors assisted by European Advisors without any powers of implementation.

On the question of European Advisors appointed to assist the Inspectors-General, the Grand Vizier, in a subsequent interview, informed the Russian Ambassador that "these Advisors will have full powers, the Inspectors-General being unable to undertake any action without their knowledge and approval."

No such item can be found in the scheme prepared by the Sublime Porte. On the contrary, the functions of the Advisors have been reduced to merely assisting the Inspectors-General and presiding over commissions composed of the local officials. They possess no powers whatever of implementation.

It would appear that the Grand Vizier Sait Halim Pasha's idea of Advisors was suggested by its successful application in Egypt. Every ministry there possesses an Advisor enjoying extensive powers of implementation, and we believe that he was perfectly sincere in mentioning the wide powers to be enjoyed by Advisors in Armenia. But there is a basic difference between the two situations. In Egypt, all the Advisors are British and are attached to one single state, Great Britain. Backing these Advisors are men such as Lord Cromer and Lord Kitchener, to whom it would never occur to give an order that was impossible of implementation or was likely to give rise to confusion or misunderstanding. Whereas, in the Sublime Porte project, in which the authority of the Advisors is inadequately

specified and their responsibilities left undetermined, the Advisors are backed by six separate governments with little likelihood of constant unanimous agreement between them.

That the Inspectors-General should be replaced by European Advisors is, therefore, totally unacceptable. Unless, indeed, the system is employed as a sort of screen concealing the Inspectors-General who, in reality, would have full powers of implementation. If the Sublime Porte can ensure this by a simple change concealing the true aim, we should be the first to accept the system of Advisors, provided that the other articles of the ambassadors' project, for example, those concerning control and the equal number of Moslems and Armenians in the administrative councils and the public service, should be enforced. The only change required would be in the condition contained in the Turkish project that all disagreements between the Inspectors-General and the Advisors should be referred to the Council of Ministers. The policy normally pursued by the Ottoman diplomacy would obviously lead to any such dispute being settled in favour of the Inspector-General and would make it impossible for the advisor to function effectively.

Turkey, having partially accepted the views of the Powers, now returns, with these counter-projects, to its previous method of opposition. This will prove very dangerous for itself. At the same time, we must remember that the aim of the reforms is the preservation of Turkey in Asia from complete collapse. This aim can be achieved only by the effective implementation of a comprehensive scheme of reform. Half measures, with the promise of later completion, are of no avail. The ineffective and half-hearted application of partial reforms, later abrogated by the Constitutional government, was the reason for the failure of the reform movement in Macedonia and the cause of the terrible events that followed.

No results can be expected from reforms implemented under such unfavorable conditions, when all the dangers that might necessitate foreign intervention remain in existence. There is no reasonable alternative to the acceptance of the Ambassadors' project, in accordance with which the implementation of the reforms would be carried out by responsible European officials invested with full authority, under the protection and control of the Great Powers. Changes may be made to save appearances. But the essential principles must be retained. You may rest assured that if difficulties should arise regarding the introduction of reform, the Powers need only show themselves determined to refuse any further aid for the Sublime Porte, which cannot exist without such assistance, to ensure that no time be lost in coming to an agreement on this question.

Such action would in no way damage relations between the Powers and the Sublime Porte. Turkey must come to realise that opposition is in conflict with her own interest. In suggesting financial pressure we are not suggesting cutting off the financial aid necessary for the stability of the government. On the contrary, we wish only to persuade the government of the necessity of removing all obstacles to the preservation of the integrity of Ottoman territory, this territorial integrity being as much in the interest of the Armenians as of the government itself.

This pressure would be in no sense hostile in intent and could be exerted without straining friendly relations with Turkey. There is no need to go to the length of refusing aid. It would be quite sufficient to declare that agreement could more easily be reached should the Sublime Porte undertake to implement the reforms itself. Success would depend on avoidance on the part of the Sublime Porte of any conflicts that might endanger European peace and tranquillity.

President of the Armenian National Council

Bogos Nubar

On 26 January 1914, Goulkevitch wrote as follows to the Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs on the subject of the results of the Russian initiative on reform.¹⁷

"The 26 January 1914 agreement on reform is undoubtedly the beginning of a very happy period in the history of the Armenian people. From the point of view of domestic policy, this decision may be compared with the 1870 *ferman* that established the Exarchate of Bulgaria thus freeing the Bulgarian people from Greek domination. The Armenians cannot but see this as a first step towards their liberation from the Turkish yoke."

This political triumph on Russia's part also made a hero of the Catholicos Keork. The Istanbul Patriarch thanked the Catholicos in the following terms:¹⁸

"Our national cause has achieved its first step. I regard it as my first and most sacred duty to express the gratitude of our

councils towards Your Holiness for having spared no effort in bringing about an amelioration in the condition of our suffering children in Turkey.

I am happy to give you the good news that your efforts have not proved vain, and that a definite agreement has now been reached between the Sublime Porte and the Russian government on the basis of Armenian aspirations.

Bogos Nubar sent the following telegram:

"I send my respects and congratulations to Your Holiness on the agreement reached on Armenian reform thanks to the combined efforts of Your Holiness and the Russian Empire and to Your Excellency's wisdom and foresight.

Our brothers in Asiatic Turkey will now be able to live their lives under a just and efficient administration."

The Catholicos made the following reply to Bogos Nubar:

"I thank you for your efforts on behalf of the implementation of reform in Turkey. I am happy to see the advance achieved in the affairs of our brothers. I pray God to grant you and your distinguished family His grace and favour."

The Catholicos Keork thanked Sazanoff in the following terms:

"In these historic days, the Turkish Armenians, previously threatened with extinction because of their Christian beliefs, owe to the humane and effective policies pursued by Your Excellency the preservation of their lives and the opportunity of developing their national culture. Our Saviours the Tsars have expended great and auspicious efforts in ensuring the free development of a community that for centuries has suffered oppression and massacre as the oldest member of the Christian faith and on account of the sympathy and friendship it has always shown towards the great Russian Empire. Our community, representing as it does European ideas and culture in the heart of Asiatic Turkey, has now taken its place in history, thanks to the beloved Emperor Nicholas II. In these historic days, I regard it as a sacred obligation to present to Your Excellency my gratitude on behalf of the whole Armenian community."

In the following letter addressed to the Governor-General of the Caucasus, Vorontzov-Dashkov, the Catholicos Keork expresses the thoughts of Armenian diplomats on this question:

My heart filled with joy on receiving your letter of 16 March announcing the acceptance of a scheme of reforms for Turkish Armenia. I regard it as my prime duty to express the deepest gratitude for the favour you have shown the Armenian people ever since your arrival in our country.

Your Excellency has emerged as a defender and supporter of Armenian aspirations. You have introduced their names to the Imperial Government. It is to you we owe the effective policy and sound views that have set Armenian affairs on a firm basis and will make the Armenians future leaders in the Middle East. It is to your gracious measures that we owe the removal of all Russian obstacles to the advancement and development of the Armenian people.

Your thoughts and words have been of the greatest assistance in solving the Armenian problem. Without your help, the Armenians would have had no hope of any successful initiative. The effective intervention of Russia, to which we owe such felicitous results, would have been impossible without your help.

I send you the most heartfelt gratitude, both on my own behalf and on behalf of the Armenian community. I feel it would be excessive on my part to request further help from someone like yourself who has already given practical demonstration on innumerable occasions of your sincere friendship for a nation that has suffered so much in the past. But I shall feel it my duty to appeal to you if, in the future, the implementation of the reforms should be impeded by obstacles erected, as ever, by the Ottoman government. I cannot help viewing the Kurdish problem with some anxiety. In this country it has always been the Armenians who have had to suffer the effects of events produced by purely local conditions. I am sure that the Imperial government will not hesitate in giving the necessary help in ensuring the security of Armenian lives, honour and property in Turkish Armenia, and will do all it can to prevent the shedding of blood."

The Armenian question was not confined to the implementation of reforms. Other more important moves were in preparation.

A "National Bureau" composed of members of the Dashnaksutiun revolutionary committee met in Tiflis from 4-6 May 1912 and sent the following note to the Fourth Congress:

"Now that the reforms have been accepted and the Inspectors-General appointed, it is essential that we engage in further activity. In this we must join hands in collaboration with all classes of the people. Some months ago, the Armenian Patriarch in Istanbul sent a letter to the Bureau calling their attention to new problems. At the same time, high-ranking officials in the Russian government have secretly and confidentially suggested new types of activity in Turkish Armenia: the land question; cultural, financial and economic problems; in short, all the questions that we ourselves had intended to bring up. Let us spare no effort in finding a successful solution to these questions. The Bureau submits these great and important problems to the Congress. It is essential that the Congress make the investigations necessary for their solution, and draw up the required projects.

While discussions were proceeding on the reform question, the Dashnaksutiun Revolutionary Committee was attempting, with the help of the Russian government, to arm the Turkish Armenians.

On 24 May 1913, the Governor-General of the Caucasus wrote to the Catholicos Keork referring to this activity.

"On 27 April, a representative committee established by the Armenians in the Caucasus and composed of Bishop Mesrop, Harutunians, Kalantar and Babadjanian appealed to my military attaché General Shavilov, drawing his attention to the deplorable conditions of the Armenians of Turkish nationality and asking him to assist them in taking measures to protect themselves from attacks by hostile Muslim communities. The petition addressed to General Shavilov was forwarded to the Imperial government. I have now been informed by the Minister for the Interior that measures have been taken for the radical and effective amelioration in the condition of the Turkish Armenians."

Count Vorontsov-Dashkov gives the following account of the state of the reform problem.

"In view of the appeal made by the committee representing the Armenians in the Caucasus pointing out the violent sufferings

and deplorable condition of their compatriots in Turkey, I have found it advisable to inform Your Holiness by this letter of the stage reached regarding the question of the reforms to applied in Turkish Armenia. I recommend that the Armenian people should be informed of the true state of affairs and advised to allay their excitement and adopt a calmer and more patient attitude." ¹⁹

NOTES

1. *The Revolutionary Ideology of the Turkish Armenians*, vol. 2, p. 80, Paris, 1935 (Armenian)
2. Orange Book, *Armenian Reform*, 1915, No. 1
3. *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 83
4. The National Assembly of the Patriarchate
5. Leo, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 90
6. *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 96.
7. A. Mandelstam, *Le Sort de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris, 1917
8. *ibid.*
9. Orange Book, No. 7. Telegram sent to Sazanoff by the Ambassador Giers.
10. A. Mandelstam, *op. cit.*
11. *ibid.*
12. *ibid.*
13. *ibid.*
14. *ibid.*
15. *ibid.*
16. *ibid.*
17. From the Armenian
18. 27 March 1913.
19. Orange Book, vol. 173.

PART III
ASSOCIATIONS, POLITICAL COMMITTEES
AND REVOLTS

I ASSOCIATIONS

The year 1860 may be regarded as marking the beginning of a period during which Armenian nationalism currents, which had gained momentum during the 19th century, were at their strongest. This period also saw the establishment of a number of different political associations under a variety of different names but all aimed at achieving Armenian independence.

In 1860 the *Benevolent Union* was founded. The aim of this organization was the development of Cilicia.

Between 1870 and 1880, associations such as *Araratian*, the *Friends of the Schools*, the *East* and *Nationalist Women* appeared. The *East* and the *Friends of the Schools* chose Muş as the centre of their activities.

The *Araratian Association* was centred in Van and the surrounding region. This association was supported by a number of wealthy Armenians, particularly Armenians from the Caucasus region. In 1880, the *Araratians*, the *Friends of the Schools*, the *East* and the *Cilician Associations* joined to form *The United Association of Armenians*. Thus a link was formed between the Turkish and Russian Armenians for the furtherance of the national cause. A school was opened in Van, aimed at producing young graduates who would spread nationalist feeling and the desire for independence throughout the whole of Armenia. This association was actively supported by the Russian Armenians and the Russian consuls, the consulates acting as centres through which secret correspondence was carried on and books and financial aid forwarded.¹

A leading role in Armenian nationalist activities, particularly in the fomenting and organizing of revolts and rebellions, was

performed by the Armenian priests. As religious leaders, their ideas had a particularly great influence on the people. The sermons preached by Khrimian in Van and in the Surp Hatch church in Uskudar after he had resigned from the Patriarchate were particularly famous. He later collaborated with the leaders of the rebellions and acted as intermediary in their correspondence.

Izmirlian also gained renown for the activity he displayed during his Patriarchate, winning the title of "The Iron Patriarch."

Khoren Kalfaian (Narbey), whose activities during the Berlin Conference have already been referred to above, disseminated Armenian nationalist thought through his poems and his sermons. He was also a frequent visitor to the Palace, where he received generous gifts, at the same time collecting information which he immediately forwarded to Portakalian, the owner of the Marseilles newspaper *Pro-Armenia*, through Deroyan Vartabet of Beşiktaş. ² Religious leaders took part in revolts in Erzerum, Van, Muş, Zeitun, Adana, Sis, Hachin and many other places, and were very often themselves the organizers.

The following account is given by General Mayewsky, Russian Consul-general in Van and later in Erzurum. ³

"As for the Armenian religious leaders, they devoted very little of their time to their religious duties, expending almost all their time and effort on the dissemination of nationalist ideas. These ideas had taken root and developed over the centuries within the quiet precincts of mysterious monasteries, where, instead of the performance of Christian rites, Christian-Muslim rivalry and enmity were carefully nourished. In this the spiritual leaders received great help from the schools and the churches. In the course of time, religious fanaticism was replaced by feelings of bitter animosity."

The Treaty of Ayastefanos signed after the Russo-Ottoman war was a source of great hope for all those Armenians who were looking forward to the achievement of political independence. By this treaty, Ottoman Armenia was placed under Russian administration. The region would be occupied by Russian troops, which would withdraw only after the establishment of an independent Armenia. All these hopes were shattered by article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin. In consequence, Armenians felt that complaints should now be replaced by action, and that it was necessary to strengthen the various political committees and associations and organize revolts in various places. Those returning from Berlin, particularly Khrimian himself, openly

recommended such a course of action. The Ottoman Empire had just emerged from a disastrous war, and was in a state of collapse and exhaustion. It was necessary at this point to ensure foreign intervention. The creation of an independent Armenia on Turkish soil was a national and sacred ideal. All means were justified that could bring about such an end.

According to Tumaian: ⁴

"Action on the national soil; European intervention in political or any other form, backed by nationalist action and self-sacrifice. That is the whole story of the Eastern Question."

According to Krisdapor Mikayelian: ⁵

"In 1890 the Austrian Foreign Minister, Kalnoky, declared, 'Forget about Europe. The Armenians must realize that until the Armenian soil is soaked in blood the Armenians will achieve nothing.'"

And according to Varandian: ⁶

"The boundary between Russia and Turkish Armenia has been removed. The Armenian commanders in the Russian-Ottoman war, the migrations, the burning of Van, Khrimian's tours, the delegation to the Congress of Berlin, the new international dimension to the Armenian Question, have all obliterated centuries' old distinctions. The ideals of Raffi, Arzuni, of Turkish Armenians such as Khrimian and K. Odanian have developed and finally coalesced. Above all the idea of nationhood has developed. All Armenians, from Karabagh to Muş and Zeitun, now feel that they possess the same homeland, the same blood, the same language, the same culture, the same religion and the same history. Nationhood has united them in work and action."

Aknuni, one of the members of the Dashnaksutiun revolutionary committee, writes as follows: ⁷

"The propaganda campaign begun in Tiflis in favour of the Ottoman Armenians continued with full force. The Armenian newspapers in the Caucasus were filled with complaints concerning the repressive behaviour of the Ottoman government. Aid was given to Armenian deserters and refugees, and to the Armenian associations in Turkey.

Armenian volunteers and propagandists cross the border and incite the Armenians, living a life of servitude in Turkey, to revolt. Raffi in his novels describes in detail the plans and programmes of these revolts. Ardzrouni in his fiery articles gives an attractive portrayal of Armenian independence, while Kamar Katiba fans the flames in the hearts of the fighters.

Turkish Armenians take refuge in the Caucasus in order to take an active part in propaganda work. This is a period of union and collaboration in the preparation of programmes for ideal independence."

Before examining the foundation of the various associations, we should dwell briefly on one important point, namely: the choice of Turkish territory as the centre for their activities by Armenians scattered throughout Iran, Russia and Turkey. The following reasons may be given for this:

According to Mikayel Hovhannesian: ⁸

"The Russians were like a monster with fearsome talons against whom resistance was impossible. It was much easier to work in Turkey. There, the Armenians lived in great suffering. Moreover, in Turkey, the Armenian question had assumed an international dimension, and had thus achieved a sort of guarantee. It therefore formed a more suitable field for activity. But it would have been more expedient to have worked in Russia through the press and propaganda against Russian nationalism, education and instruction, and against Russian assimilation policies, and thus to have fought against these movements in Russia itself."

S. Kaprielian writes: ⁹

"We must remember that every since the birth of the Armenian Question, the demonstrations that have taken place in the provinces and in the Ottoman capital have without exception been organized by Armenians from the Caucasus. We owe our revolutionary ideas and ideals to the Russian Armenians.

The Russians defeated the Ottomans. The contemptuous attitude towards the Ottomans assumed by the Russians as a result has also been adopted by the Caucasian Armenians. The

Turkish Armenians, on the other hand, were fully aware of the overwhelming strength of the Ottoman government. But the Caucasian Armenians, as a result of the psychological factors we have already described, gradually embarked on revolutionary activity."

According to K. Mikayelian: ¹⁰

"The revolutionaries were well known in Istanbul and the whole of Turkey as a result of their demonstrations and operations. In Istanbul, the revolutionaries were not only in the heart of Turkey, but in a place that drew the attention of the whole world. The firing of a single revolver in a city in which European interests were so vitally involved was more effective than the firing of hundreds of cannon in a remote corner of the country.

As for ourselves, we were fighting, as it were, on the frontiers, not in distant places from which no sound could be heard. On the contrary, we were in a region of vital interest to two nations."

There had, however, always been a difference of opinion between the Caucasian and the Ottoman Armenians as to which country should be relied upon in order to further the cause of Armenian independence.

The Armenians in Istanbul were suspicious of Russian interference in Armenian affairs, whilst the Armenians in the provinces regarded Russia as their friend. The Armenians in the Caucasus, in spite of their having been deprived of their feelings of nationalism and national identity, and in spite of Alexander III's policy of assimilation, declared that they were in a much more comfortable situation than the Armenians in Turkey, thus making themselves an instrument of Russian propaganda.

In 1890, Lord Eversley received the following reply from a prominent Armenian:

"The Armenians have no desire to be Russian subjects. Provided that England holds a thick stick at the Sultan's head, they would much prefer Turkey. But if England should fail to do so they would prefer Russia, or even the Devil himself, to Turkey." ¹¹

NOTES

1. Aknuni, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
2. H. Djangulian, *Memories of the Armenian Crisis*, p. 125. (Armenian)
3. Statistics of the provinces of Van and Bitlis.
4. Tumaian, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 604.
5. K. Mikayelian, *The Logic of the Masses*, Dashnaksution Publications, 1909, p. 92 (Armenian).
6. Varandian, *History of the Dashnaksution*, p. 38-39 (Armenian).
7. Aknuni, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
8. M. Hovhannesian, *The Dashnaksution and its Opponents*, Tiflis, 1906 (Armenian).
9. S. Kaprielian, *The Armenian Crisis and Rebirth*, Boston, 1905, p. 75 (Armenian).
10. K. Mikayelian, *op. cit.*, p. 38-41.
11. Eversley, *The Turkish Empire, its Growth and Decay*, London, 1917, p. 341.

II THE FOUNDATION OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEES

It would be useful to begin by quoting some interesting remarks made on this subject by Sidney Whitman, a reporter on the New York Herald Tribune.¹

"I asked the British Consul, Mr. Graves:

- If no Armenian revolutionists had come to this country and the Armenians had not been incited to revolt, would these conflicts have arisen?

- Of course not. I don't think a single Armenian would have been killed.

Mr. Graves is a very serious and intelligent man, and if he had been in Turkey at the present time, I am quite sure he would not have disagreed with me."

In another part of the same work, Mr. S. Whitman writes: "A Jew in Trabzon made the following observation: 'If only one of these incidents had occurred in Russia not a single Armenian would have been left alive!'"

"In Russia," he continues, "the Armenians are called up for military service and are usually posted to distant parts. Their letters are censored. In Turkey, on the other hand, they have a very comfortable life, they amass wealth, and are exempt from military service. They are free to have their own schools. They teach their own national history, and instill their pupils with hatred of the Turks.

How would it ever be possible for a million people sparsely scattered over an area half the size of Europe, to come together to form a nation? Why are the Jews in Russia not given the same right? Why doesn't Europe intervene on their behalf? There are missionaries everywhere, who unwittingly deceive these people. All the interpreters and assistants in the consulates are Armenians. Whatever they say, the consuls and ambassadors write down. If these consuls had been in Russia or in Germany, would they have been able to write such things? The whole point of the matter is that they are Christian consuls in a Muslim country. The Armenian revolutionists incite peaceful Armenian farmers, artisans and labourers. They point to Turkish attacks on their religion. Yet from Trabzon to Erzurum, the roads are lined with churches and monasteries. The Armenian schools and churches are a thousand times freer than in Russia."

The Buxton brothers, who had worked for the independence first of the Bulgarians and then of the Armenians, make the following observations on the Russian Armenians in their book on Armenia: ²

"The wealth of the Armenian churches aroused the envy of the Russian government, who very much wanted to get their hands on it. They sent troops to Etchmiadzin. The Armenians began to stone the soldiers. The Catholicos was obliged to abandon the place. The Russian officers demanded the keys to the treasury. Meeting with refusal, they broke down the door of the church and removed all the money and valuables. The lands of the monasteries were confiscated.

Everywhere church property and revenues were seized. No services were held. The Russian government promised to double the salaries of the priests and teachers who joined the Orthodox church. But no one accepted this proposal."

The following passages from a letter sent to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Casimir Perier, on 20 February 1894 by the French Ambassador P. Cambon, who was well-known as a friend of the Armenians, gives some idea of the situation: ³

"It was in 1885 that Europe first heard of an action undertaken by the Armenians. In that year, Armenians scattered throughout France, England, Austria and America combined in a joint operation. National committees were set up, and

newspapers were published in French and English setting forth their national aspirations. These newspapers contained masterly accounts of Turkish failings and deficiencies. In these, they informed Europe that the Turks were violating article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin. The Armenian propagandists aimed first at persuading France of the justice of their cause. They appealed to French feelings of heroism and chivalry. Articles were published in various periodicals. Visits were arranged. Speeches were made. Demonstrations were held at the grave of Lusignan in the cemetery of St. Denis. France, it must be admitted, understood nothing of all this, and took no notice of talk of the Crusades, Noah, Mt. Ararat etc. The Armenians received a warmer welcome in London. The Gladstone cabinet gathered the Armenians together, assisted in their organization, and promised them aid. From that time onwards, the propaganda committees began to settle in London and take their inspiration from there. That was the situation of the Armenian Question at the beginning of 1894. What solution could be proposed for so confused a situation? An independent Armenia? Definitely out of the question! Armenia is not a definite country with a homogeneous population surrounded by natural boundaries, like Bulgaria or Greece. The Armenians are scattered throughout the whole of Turkey. Even in those parts known as Armenia, Armenians and Muslims live side by side. One should add the fact that Armenia is partitioned between Turkey, Iran and Russia. If Europe, as the result of an unexpected war, should decide on the establishment of an independent Armenia, it would be practically impossible to decide on the seat of the new government. The same difficulty would arise with regard to the creation of a semi-autonomous region. Where does Armenia begin, and where does it end? There remains the question of the reforms. But no one in Turkey knows what these reforms really imply. For one reform to be implemented everything must be reformed. Reforms and improvements that would have satisfied the Armenians twenty years ago might very well fail to satisfy them today. In short, there is no possible solution to the Armenian question."

The following passages from the reply given in the French Assembly on 3 November 1896 by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Hanotaux, to the statements made by Denys Cochin and Jaurès are of considerable importance:

"In 1878 and 1881, after the Treaty of Berlin and the Cyprus

Convention, England was occupied with the state of the Armenians.

Nevertheless, it was only in 1885 that general attention was attracted to the Armenian Question. The Armenians in France, England, Austria and America combined to form associations and to found political committees. Newspapers were published and intensive propaganda begun. A demonstration was held at the grave of Lusignan in the cemetery of St Denis. In France the movement was less obvious but more profound. In England, on the other hand, there were very marked developments. Bible societies took over the propaganda work, which extended to political circles, then the streets, and finally to Parliament. In the end the government itself was obliged to take an interest."

The aim was as follows:

"By publishing the injustice, repression and brutality of the Ottoman administration to gradually accustom European public opinion to the idea of intervention, and to arouse the desire to engage in a holy Crusade in the East."

General Mayewsky⁴ made the following remarks on the condition of the Armenians:

"The description of the condition of the Turkish Armenians as "unbearable" does not apply to the country towns. There they are completely free, and able to pursue and preserve their own interests. As for those in the villages, due to their skill in farming and irrigation, the Turkish Armenians are in a much better situation than those in Russia. They should not be regarded as continually under the threat of Kurdish attacks. If such allegations had been true not a single Armenian would have survived in the region. On the contrary, the Armenian villages are always much richer and more productive than the Kurdish villages.... Western diplomats have ruthlessly exploited these inter-community conflicts, and by arousing Armenian nationalist feelings have produced the so-called Armenian Question.... In those places where the revolutionists have not yet penetrated, the Armenians are perfectly happy and contented. If these members of the political committees again become active, the Armenians will fall back into their old wretched condition.... Until 1895, the

trials and sufferings of the Armenians were nothing but fantastic fairy-tales. The Armenians in Turkey were in no worse a situation than the Armenians elsewhere.... As for the massacres and looting referred to by the Armenian militants, these occurred more particularly in the Caucasus. The raids on cattle and property are no different from the robberies and pillages taking place in various parts of Russia. As for security of life and property, in places where the Ottoman government is able to enforce its power and authority, it is better here than in the province of Elisavetpol."

Before the foundation of large, well-organized revolutionary groups with definite political programmes, such as the Hunchak, New Hunchak and Dashnaksutiun, a number of smaller committees were already active.

In 1872 the Union and Independence committee was founded in Van, and assumed considerable political importance in this region. This group looked towards Russia for protection and intervention.

In 1882, the Black Cross party was founded, again in Van, with the aim of winning Armenian rights, instigating mutinies and rebellions, and arming Armenian youth. It was known as the "Black Cross" because members who failed to keep their oath of secrecy of who in any way betrayed the organization had their names inscribed on a black cross and were themselves condemned to death. Those who joined this society undertook very heavy responsibilities.

Before the Hunchak committee there was, as has been pointed out above, an association in Istanbul known as the Union of Armenian Patriots. The aim of this association might be summarized as follows:⁵

"To strive for administrative reform in Turkish Armenia in conformity with the needs of the Turkish Armenians, and to achieve Armenian self-government and freedom of administration. In order to achieve its goals, the Union of Armenian Patriots will endeavour to create a force capable of achieving freedom by having recourse to all means consistent with its strength and the prevailing conditions. It will publish newspapers and periodicals, engage in propaganda, and give all moral and material encouragement to those working for the liberation of their country."

In 1881 an association was founded in Erzurum under the title *Higher Council*, but the name was later changed to *Defenders of the Motherland*. According to its programme, this association was to be

based in Erzurum and was to organize all operations from this centre. The organization expanded, guerilla bands were formed, and it was decided that operations should be carried out by small groups, as in Bosnia-Herzegovina. First of all, a guerilla band of 400 was formed, commanded by sergeants, captains and colonels. Stocks of weapons and ammunitions were built up. The members of the bands were given military training.

It was the Russian Armenians who played a leading part in this secret association, which was, in fact, organized by Dr. Pakrat Navarsatian⁶ who had come from the Caucasus for this purpose. The activities of the Committee were run from Tiflis, and the funds for obtaining guns and ammunition were also provided from the same centre. As a result of the incitements of these societies, local disturbances accompanied by guerrilla activities started to appear in places such as Van, Erzurum and Muş, and a number of pro-Ottoman Armenians were assassinated. After some time, the Hunchak and other associations active in the Caucasus united to establish the Dashnaksutiun Society.⁷

The Hunchak Committee

The Hunchak committee⁸ was founded in 1887 in Switzerland by two Caucasian Armenians, Avedis Nazarbeg and Maro, who later became his wife, together with a number of Armenian students, also from the Caucasus. The society was based on Marxist principles and a number of Russian Armenians were to be found both as leaders and as members of the society. Turkish Armenia was chosen as the scene for its first activities.

The centre of the organization was later transferred to London, where Nazarbeg, his wife and their associates worked for a some considerable time in the Turkish Armenian cause.

The real goal of the Hunchak committee was the liberation of Turkish Armenia, and the union of all the Armenians in Russia, Iran and Turkey in one free, independent Armenia. The political programme of the Hunchak committee was Marxist-Socialist and centralist.

THE POLITICAL PROGRAMME OF THE HUNCHAK COMMITTEE⁹

Part I

The workers and peasants constituting the great majority of mankind can be freed from their servitude and destitution, and from exploitation by a small, wealthy, ruling capitalist class by seizing possession of all means of production, such as land, factories and mines, as well as transport and communications.

The freedom of the working class means the liberation and economic freedom of all mankind.

In the field of development of the conditions of organization known as social capitalism, present-day civilization has produced and developed totally new forms of property relationships on the basis of new intellectual and material factors. In these new forms, all produce and means of production are collective, common and general. Thus they are all the common and general property of the working class.

In order to attain this historic goal, the productive class in all civilized countries must organize in a politically conscious party and engage under its leadership in very possible form of political activity, joining with the workers in all other countries to bring about a communist revolution. To achieve this revolution, the working class must seize political power from the present ruling class, put an end to the existence of different classes and establish a socialist order in which legislative power rests in the hands of the people.

The whole people, and every member of society, must decide on all matters affecting them, and every individual must contribute to the whole in conformity with his own individual, economic and productive strength and ability. This would ensure the full and effective use of all talent and proficiency, and would give definite form to general and economic relations. This is the historical aim and goal of all members of the working class in which capitalist production now prevails. It is also the aim and goal of all social democrats in these countries. This organization, namely the Hunchak Revolutionary committee, sees this as the ideal, long-term goal for the Armenian people, now groaning under a triple yoke.

Part II

Armenians now find themselves in the power of a political dictatorship, under whose administrative, financial and economic sway they are crushed and oppressed. They live in regions in which, on the one hand, capitalist forms of production are emerging, while on the other the old economic and administrative forms are disintegrating and collapsing. Because of this, Armenian social democrats regard the realization of a general and comprehensive socialist organization as a long-term goal for the Armenian people, and one which must shape the more immediate aims and projects.

These immediate aims and projects of the Armenian Hunchak revolutionary organization take the form of a social democracy. The aims are as follows:

To bring about a revolution, to destroy the ruling class, to free the Armenian people from their slavery, to encourage them to engage in political activities, to remove all obstacles to economic and cultural progress, to create political conditions under which the working class can voice its own desires and aspirations, to ameliorate working conditions, to endow the working class with the class-consciousness essential for their political organization, to facilitate their work under the general conditions prevailing and to assist them in their progress towards long-term goals.

Basing themselves on the above points, the essential conditions for the achievement of their short-term aims, namely, the destruction of the ruling class and the whole class system, and its replacement by a democratic regime based on observance of the law, are as follows:

- 1.- The establishment of a Legislative Popular Assembly to be chosen as the result of free elections by general and direct vote. This assembly would have the authority to examine all laws relating to political, economic and other matters and to take the necessary decisions concerning them.
- 2.- Extensive provincial autonomy.
- 3.- Complete freedom for all.

- 4.- All those employed in government or public service, and all members of the teaching and judicial professions to have the right to vote.
- 5.- Equal right for all citizens, without regard for race or class, to elect and be elected representatives in the provinces and independent administrations.
- 6.- Equality before the law for all citizens without regard to race or religion.
- 7.- Full freedom of the press, speech, conscience, association and election propaganda.
- 8.- Every citizen to be protected from assault on his person or his home.
- 9.- The church will be separated from the administration, and all religious institutions will be supported by their members.
- 10.- General military service in peacetime on a voluntary basis.
- 11.- Education will be secular and compulsory, government aid being given to the needy.

With the improvement in the economic condition of the people, the following conditions should be realized following the achievement of the political rights listed above:

- 1.- The present taxation system will be abandoned and a new system of taxation introduced to be applied above a certain ability to pay.
- 2.- All indirect taxes will be abolished.
- 3.- All debts owed by the peasants will be cancelled.
- 4.- Agricultural machinery will be manufactured with public or government assistance, and the machines supplied to the people.
- 5.- Agricultural co-operatives will be established for the sale of agricultural produce and the purchase and distribution of seeds, grain etc.

6.-The provision of every variety of transport and communication.

7.-Protective legislation to prevent the exploitation of labour.

Part III

The Turkish Armenians forming the greater part of the Armenian nation and the regions inhabited by the Turkish Armenians being the most extensive areas of our country;

In view of the Armenian majority having been invested with international right recognized by the great European Powers on the strength of article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin and other international agreements;

In view of the intolerable economic repression of the Armenian community by the Ottoman government, preventing all possibility of any progress or advancement of the Armenian people in any field and its employment as a weapon levelled against their human and national existence;

And in view of the inevitable disintegration of the Turkish administration as a result of the political, economic and financial collapse, bankruptcy, anarchy, internal disorder and turbulence to which the Ottoman Empire has fallen victim, together with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey in Europe and its systematic partition among the various Great Powers;

The realization of the following points has assumed a character of urgent necessity:

1.-The Armenian revolution must be regarded as an immediate end for the defence and realization of the Armenian cause.

2.-The scene of this revolutionary activity will be Turkish Armenia.

3.-As it is absolutely essential that the fate of Armenia and the Armenian people must be isolated from the fate of the Ottoman Empire, Armenian national independence is the first and most urgent of our short-term aims.

Part IV

The only way of achieving this short-term objective is by a revolutionary movement completely overthrowing the present form

of administration in Turkish Armenia and encouraging the people to rebel against the Turkish government.

The following means are to be employed:

1.-*Propaganda*: To disseminate Hunchak revolutionary ideas, particularly among the working classes, by means of books, newspapers, talks and lectures, and to set up revolutionary organizations and action squads.

2.-*Terror*: To employ punitive terrorist tactics against Turkish administrators, agents, informers and traitors. Terror is to be used as a weapon defending the revolutionary organization and protecting the people against oppressors and corrupt administrators.

3.-*Organization of vigilante groups*: To hold in readiness a military force to protect the people from government troops and the attacks of savage tribes. In the case of a general revolt these bands would play a leading role.

4.-*General Revolutionary Organization*: To form a large number of revolutionary groups acting in close collaboration, with the same goals and objectives, employing the same tactics and organized from the same centre. The strength and powers of all the various sections of the organization in Turkish Armenia are set forth in the special statute listing the organization and activities of the Hunchak revolutionary party.

5.-*The organization of revolutionary squads*

6.-The outbreak of war between Turkey and any other country is the most opportune moment for the beginning of a general revolution.

Part V

The other peoples in Armenia, such as the Assyrians and Kurds, who share the same fate and destiny as the Armenians and who are crushed under the same brutal oppression, should be persuaded to join the Armenians in their fight for freedom. Common cause should also be made with the other Christians groaning under the Turkish yoke, and, if the situation and circumstances should be suitable, all

these various communities should work together against their common enemy, the Turkish government. The ultimate aim of the Hunchak committee is, once all the small nations of the East have been freed from the Turkish yoke, to create a general federation resembling the federation established in Switzerland.

RULES AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE ORGANIZATION OF THE HUNCHAK COMMITTEE ¹⁰

Art. 1- All adults of sound character who willingly and knowingly accept the general principles of the Hunchak Committee and who undertake to perform the duties demanded of them by the Rules and Regulations will be admitted as members of the Committee irrespective of race or religion.

Art. 2- In places where there are Hunchak sub-committees or groups, anyone who expresses, either orally or in writing his wish to join can be accepted on condition that two members of the sub-committee act as his guarantors and provided that he secures a majority of votes.

Art. 3- The new member has to sign and submit to the sub-committee a document of absolute loyalty.

Duties and Rights of Members

Art. 4- All comrades are required to conduct themselves in such a manner so as to uphold the flag of the Committee and preserve intact its principles.

Art. 5- Each member must endeavour to recruit others and in this way to secure the growth of the Party.

Art. 6- Each member is obliged to propagate the principles of the Party and to distribute its publications.

Art. 7- Each member is required to propagate the views of the Party both orally and in writing.

Art. 8- Each member has to communicate any information concerning the Party, immediately, either to his local office or to the Party Centre.

Art. 9- Members are under an obligation to extend whatever help needed, whether moral or material, to their comrades who share the same ideals and aspirations with them.

Art. 10- Members have to attend the meetings of the sub-committee or group. If anyone fails to do so, he has to present his excuses to the Assembly.

Art. 11- In matters concerning the internal administration of the Party, members are obliged to observe discipline strictly and without any reservations.

Art. 12- If a member has to be away from his district for a long period, a recommendation letter will be sent by his sub-committee or group to the Party organization of the area where he will be staying, in order to ensure his participation in it as a member.

Art. 13- Members can complain to the Executive Committee, the Central Committee or to the Assembly of Representatives of any abuses they may witness in the Party.

Art. 14- Each member must have a certain amount of training in the use of fire-arms.

Art. 15- Each new member has to make a contribution as admission fee to the Party commensurate with his financial capacity.

Art. 16- Each member is required to pay a fixed sum as a monthly membership fee, commensurate with his financial capacity.

Art. 17- Any person who wishes to join the Hunchak Party in an area where there are no Hunchak sub-committees or groups will apply to the organization of the nearest district. After a thorough investigation and the study of his credentials, the candidate may be elected as member of that organization by a majority of votes.

Art. 18- If a member of the Hunchak Party resides in a region where there are no sub-committees or groups, he will endeavour to form a sub-committee or group by recruiting suitable

comrades to the Party. If he remains alone, he will establish contact with the organization of the nearest district and will remain in touch with it.

Art. 19—No member is entitled to engage in any action, to apply to the authorities, to make commitments or to take decisions or judgements independently on behalf the Party.

Art. 20—Only those members who have fulfilled their obligations without fail and have never been accused of misdemeanour by the Party can be appointed to leading positions.

The other articles of the Rules and Regulations may be summarized as follows:

1. Six to fifteen Hunchaks can join together to form a group.
2. They will elect a chairman from themselves by secret ballot, and hold meetings at least once every fortnight.
3. Approximately twenty Hunchaks who reside in the same district will constitute a sub-committee.
4. Once a sub-committee has been established, it is entitled to ask the Central Committee for an official seal.
5. As soon as a group is formed, it will elect an executive council of three, five or seven persons from their own members by secret ballot. Membership of the executive council is for one year.
6. The executive council will elect a chairman a treasurer, an accountant (if there are more than five members), and a keeper of the seal.
7. Each sub-committee will hold meetings of group chairman once a week or every two weeks. At other times, meetings will be held whenever necessary.
8. The General Assembly of the sub-committee consists of the representatives of the groups or of all their members. This Assembly administers the general affairs of the sub-committees, elects their chairmen and other officers.
9. Itinerant officers are elected from the members of the executive council of the sub-committee and are proposed by the Executive Committee to the Central Committee, which issues them with their papers of authorization. They may be appointed directly by the Central Committee. The itinerant officers are divided into two

groups: 1) itinerant activists, 2) itinerant propagandists.

The itinerant activists tour all the groups and gather information on their activities, and help the organization in every way. Whenever needed they establish new groups or sub-committees, and secure their coordination. They take measures to ensure the regular distribution of newspapers and pamphlets. They provide the Centre with information concerning the activities of the organization in the areas they tour.

The itinerant propagandists engage in propagandist activities in the groups and sub-committees and among every class of people. They organize meetings, contribute to the Party newspapers, create new groups and sub-committees, and keep the Executive Committee informed. They help to establish new libraries, coffee-houses, reading rooms, various village clubs and activist organizations, and plan festivals and shows.

10. The itinerant activists and propagandists have no right to collect money for any party expenses without obtaining the permission of the executive council of the local organization. The food and travel expenses of these officers are met by the Executive Committee.

11. The Assembly of Representatives inspects the activities and the accounts of the Legislative Assembly and of the sub-committees and groups. Its members are elected from the sub-committees in Turkey. It meets once a year.

12. The executive council is elected by the Assembly of Representatives of the Hunchak sub-committees in a particular region. It administers the general affairs of the region.

13. The executive council represents the sub-committees in its region to other organizations. There are Hunchak executive councils in the following regions and districts of Turkey: Istanbul, Trabzon, Erzurum, Van, the region of Adana, Harput, Diyarbakır, Izmir. The executive councils in Turkey hold a joint meeting at least once a year to discuss the general situation. This meeting is attended by one delegate and one observer from each group.

As has been shown above, the Hunchak revolutionary committee set up its organization in Turkey and began activities in 1890. Istanbul was chosen as the centre, and branches were formed in the provinces.

The committee engaged in Marxist propaganda, which appealed particularly to the members of the working class. All those who

wished to work for rebellion and revolution, including young people and religious leaders, became enthusiastic members of the organization. The Hunchaks, as has already been pointed out above, adopted the name "social-democrat" in conformity with their political principles. But they first of all wanted to arouse class consciousness and create an Armenian proletariat. This activity never, in view of the actual conditions in Turkey, went beyond theoretical socialist propaganda.

In the mutinies and rebellions they organized, the Hunchaks were joined by sympathisers from Russia eager to participate in such activities, and who indulged in a number of pernicious and bloody acts of terrorism in the name of the Hunchak committee.

Leo gives the following account of the Hunchak revolutionary committee:¹¹

"It is not for nothing that we reckon the years 1887-1888 as a new beginning, a sort of New Year in the calendar of Armenian history. These were famous but very difficult years to which not only the Hunchaks but *Droshak* also contributed to a very great extent.

It was in these years that a revolutionary spirit awoke in the Armenian people. It was in those years that the Armenian people were transformed into a nation fighting without a break under the most difficult conditions; a nation thirty years of whose history was to be spent in storms and bloodshed. These thirty years formed an enormous book inscribed in blood.

The Hunchaks described themselves as revolutionary socialists. Twenty years had passed since the death of Mikayel Nalbandian, but he still remained the leader of Armenian youth. The Hunchaks were also influenced by Herzen, Bakunin, Lovrov and Chernehevski. There is ample evidence for this. For example, the word Hunchak (Bell) inevitably reminds one of Herzen's *kolokol*, which has the same meaning, and which exerted such an immense influence on the Russian people."¹²

In the first political programme produced by the Hunchak committee their objectives are outlined as follows:

"We bear the following profound conviction with regard to the people of Turkish Armenia: It is imperative that the chains that impede their progress should be broken, and that they should attain full political independence. In order to achieve this we must engage in propaganda, provocation and terrorism, and organize guerilla bands."¹³

In the political programme printed in London in 1891 the aim of the committee is set forth as follows:

"The Turkish Armenians are today afflicted by a more grievous sickness than any other members of the world Armenian community. It is therefore the urgent duty of all Armenians firstly, to cure that sickness by helping the Armenians in Turkey to achieve national independence and political freedom; secondly, to mobilize all Armenians for the liberation of the Armenians in Russia and Iran from the yoke of repression; and, thirdly, to set up a great federal government. This government will serve to lead Armenians to their ultimate goal, to realize our ideal, and to create a socialist society that all mankind will strive to imitate."

According to this programme, the Hunchaks will first of all free the Turkish Armenians from the Turks, then the Iranian Armenians from Iran and the Russian Armenians from Russia, and, finally, the whole of mankind from capitalist oppression.

Shimavon of Tiflis came from Geneva, the Russian subject Rupen Hanazadian from Trabzon, H. Magvorian from Batum and S. Danielian from Iran to found the Hunchak revolutionary committee in Istanbul. After protracted discussions lasting two months it was decided that the organization should be based in Istanbul, and it was joined by a revolutionary group that had been founded there some time previously.

The fate of the Turkish Armenians thus fell into the hands of few Armenians from Russia. The Istanbul centre immediately embarked on political activity. Attempts were made on the lives of those who refused to enter the association or to contribute to their funds. The organization expanded rapidly in the provinces, with armed mutinies in a number of different places.

A report sent by the British Consul in Trabzon to the British Ambassador, Sir Philip Currie, on 28 October 1895, gives the following account of Hunchak activities:

"The Hunchaks are organized from abroad, and although they themselves are in complete security they make the lives of their compatriots in Turkey quite intolerable. Their aims are to incite the Muslims against the Christians and so provoke massacres that will cause horror and dismay throughout the country. The whole world should know that this organization is of an anarchist tendency. It aims at producing disorders that will lead, not to reform, but to the complete independence of Armenia."

THE DASHNAKTSUTIUN COMMITTEE

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation

The Dashnaktsutiun¹⁴ committee was founded in Caucasia in 1890, and began its activities by organizing revolutionary bands in imitation of those operating in the Balkans. At that time there were a number of secret Armenian groups in Tiflis. Some of these were fighting for Armenian culture, while others were engaged in nationalist-revolutionary activities, but all of them united around the ideal of Armenian independence, believing that independence was indispensable for the material existence of the Armenian people. All these various organizations finally combined, mainly at the instigation of Krisdapor Mikayelian and his friends, to form the Armenian Revolutionary Federation.

The first aim of the Dashnaktsutiun was to combine the Young Armenia group in Tiflis, the Armenakan group in Van and the Hunchaks and offer assistance to the revolutionary bands crossing into Turkey. For three years after its foundation the Dashnaktsutiun had no definite political programme of its own. It preferred action. Declaring that "A band bringing a dozen weapons is more important than a dozen programmes".¹⁵ or, as Karl Marx had declared, "Genuine action is more important than a dozen programmes," they preferred deeds to words.

The declared aim of the Dashnaktsutiun was to obtain the political and economic freedom of Turkish Armenia by means of revolutionary activity. The real aim, however, was independence. The idea of Armenian independence was unwelcome to the Russian

Armenians, as well as to the Armenians referred to by the committee as "friends of Russia", as the independence of Turkish Armenia would block Russia's advance towards the Mediterranean. That is why they avoided any open reference to Armenian independence, preferring to state Armenian freedom as their aim, though by this was obviously meant Armenian independence.

The first activities of the Dashnaktsutiun was the infiltration of revolutionary bands into Turkey, to arm the Turkish Armenians, to train the peasants in the use of arms, to train guerilla leaders, to form defence organizations and, once all these preparations had been completed, to win the Kurds over to their side and start a general revolution.

The slogan of the committee ran: "Kill Turks and Kurds wherever you find them and in whatever circumstances you find them. Kill all backsliders, traitors and informers. Take revenge!"¹⁶

The first aim of the Dashnaktsutiun was the instigation of internal revolt. It was hoped that this would lead to the same results as had been achieved in Bulgaria and the Lebanon.¹⁷

According to Varandian:¹⁸

"The foundation of the new Dashnaktsutiun coincided with the birth of the Armenian national ideal. This organization was supported mainly by the young intellectuals and disseminated ideas of freedom and independence, while at the same time attempting to inculcate ideas of democracy. Wealthy Armenians always distanced themselves from the Dashnaktsutiun. It appealed solely to the intelligentsia and the common people.

From the very start, the organization had worked with the democrats, and for forty years the democrats remained within the Dashnaktsutiun ranks. Although it attracted one or two members of the upper bourgeoisie, it drew its membership mainly from among the poor and the destitute.

The organization was mainly composed of peasants, workers, priests, small tradesmen, teachers, graduates of the Nersesian school in Istanbul, the Keorkian school, and the various religious and other schools in the region, office clerks, university graduates, minor government officials, artisans and doctors. The Armenians movement could be nothing if not democratic, being founded and administered by Alishan on the one hand, and by Armenian revolutionary thinkers and men of the people like Nalbandian on the other.

The new organization gave political orientation to the Armenian people. The committee also founded a newspaper, but under the Tsarist government they had to be content for the time being with manifestos."

The Dashnaktsutiun wished to unite with the Hunchaks, who were following the social-democrat programme drawn up by young Russian intellectuals. In Turkey they wanted to work within the same framework in the name of the Armenian working class, basing themselves on Marxist thought. But in Turkey there were no classes, no factories, no capitalists, no large industry and no bourgeoisie. Under these circumstances a social-democrat programme could produce very little result. The Dashnaktsutiun, on the other hand, were to follow a national-socialist programme.

The Hunchaks made socialism one of the conditions of a union, but after prolonged discussions with the Hunchak representatives, and with Hanazadian in particular, the Dashnaktsutiun committee agreed to accept socialism only in its broadest, humanitarian sense, insisting that the Turkish Armenians were not yet ready for a scientific concept which might well give rise to misunderstandings that could destroy Armenian unity. The discussions ended with the acceptance of the principle of the "economic and political freedom of the people".

Tiflis was chosen as the centre for the new organization. The leaders hoped that in this way they would be able to rid themselves of Nazarbekian and his wife, whom they accused of lacking proper regard and esteem for Caucasia.¹⁹ A centre was set up, but in spite of these negotiations the Hunchaks were still unwilling to unite. The two groups continued their collaboration only until 1896.

In 1890, shortly after its foundation, the Dashnaktsutiun committee issued this very interesting manifesto:²⁰

"The whole of Europe sees a people and a nation taking up the defence of human rights. The problem that faces every citizen during such a historical crisis is the problem of uniting all the different revolutionary forces.

Thus, the *Revolutionary Armenian Federation* calls upon all Armenians to gather around a single banner. The Federation aims at political and economic freedom, it takes part in the war being waged by the people against the government, and each member regards it as his sacred duty to fight for the freedom of the motherland to the last drop of his blood.

Comrades! Let us then unite in this sacred cause against our common enemy!

You, the youth of the nation, everywhere the defenders of high ideals, join forces with the people!

You, the wealthy, you too must take up arms against the enemies of the people and the Kurdish beys!

You, the women of Armenia, lend your inspiration to the sacred task!

Religious leaders, bless the soldiers in the fight for freedom.

There is no time to lose ... Let us all unite in the heroic struggle for the liberation of our nation."

A second manifesto was published in 1891:

"The terrible struggle is throwing the weaker spirits into despair. 'What can the Armenians do?' they are saying. 'They have neither cannon, nor troops, nor protectors.' This all arises from lack of faith. If Armenians with the same feelings and the same spirit unite together and prepare for the struggle, nothing can be of any avail against them. Neither the enemy armies, nor cannon, nor foreign aid."

The third manifesto ran as follows:

"The same thrilling and inspiring news arrives from wherever Armenians are to be found. Members of the Dashnaktsutiun ask us how they should respond to the enthusiasm of the people, how they can satisfy their moral and spiritual aspirations.

The Armenian-people are making enormous sacrifices. That cannot be denied. But for this great and sacred work self-sacrifice is not enough. We must also display caution and foresight. Victory can only be achieved by uniting under a single banner and imposing upon our armies the necessary discipline. We ask every patriotic Armenian to inscribe this on his heart. All Armenians, wherever they may be, must be constantly on the alert, but they must await the summons for the general assault. The Dashnaktsutiun will launch a general rebellion in Turkish Armenia and will issue a call to duty.

Armenian comrades! You must wait in readiness night and day, with hope, with faith, and with undying love and aspiration. Wait every second in readiness, so that we can give the signal of general revolt to our brothers in Turkish Armenia, now suffering every possible kind of repression and injustice."

The first Dashnaksutiun programmes of 1892 were taken from the Russian *Narodnaya Volya*. Krisdapor Mikayelian, generally regarded as the founder of the Dashnaksutiun organization, had had a certain amount of experience in the Russian party.

The Russian programme was based on socialism and the concept of the class struggle. It was directed more particularly towards the Russian peasant and was based on democratic principles.

In the programme published after the 5th General Conference of the Dashnaksutiun their political programme was published under the heading *General View*.

This programme consists almost entirely of a repetition of socialist and, more particularly, Marxist principles, laying emphasis upon such concepts as labour, capital, the distribution of wealth and the class war, and there would seem to be little point in reproducing it here.

The Rules and Regulations passed in the meeting of 1907 contain details about the organization and administration of the Party. The articles which concern the activities of the Party in Turkey are given below.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

The Eastern Bureau

77- The Eastern Bureau comprises the following regions: a) the part of Turkey which remains east of a line drawn through Giresun, Harput and Diyarbakır, b) Russia, Persia and the Caucasus.

78- The Eastern Bureau consists of at least seven members, five of whom are elected by the General Assembly, one by the Regional Assembly of the Caucasus, and one by the responsible organizations in the country.

N.B.- If there are nine members, the Regional Assembly and the responsible organizations will elect two members each. These

elections will be held every year by the Caucasian Regional Assembly and the responsible councils.

79- The city where the Eastern Bureau is to be located is determined by the Regional Assembly of the Caucasus.

80- At least three members of the Eastern Bureau will concern themselves solely and exclusively with revolutionary activities. Their living expenses will be provided by the organization.

81- The Eastern Bureau will convoke the Regional Assembly for the discussion of important problems.

82- The Eastern Bureau will give priority to issues such as finance, propaganda and military action, and ensure the implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly in the area.

83- The Bureau has two executive departments, one for the affairs of the Turkish Armenians, and the other for the Caucasus.

84- The Turkish department endeavours to implement the decisions of the responsible councils of Turkish Armenia, in accordance with the decisions of the General Assembly and in keeping with the Rules and Regulations of the Party. The Caucasian department administers the implementation of the political and financial policies of the Central Bureau in these regions.

N.B.- Both these departments are empowered to act on behalf of the Eastern Bureau without having recourse to official paper or seal.

The Western Bureau

85- The Western Bureau comprises the following regions: a) Asia Minor west of a line drawn through Giresun, Harput, Diyarbakır, b) the Balkan peninsula and all foreign countries except the United States, Egypt, Russia and Persia.

86- The Western Bureau consists of five members, three of whom are elected from the General Assembly and two by the responsible councils of the Western Bureau.

87- If for any reason there is a vacancy in the Bureau, a new member is elected by the Convention or by the Regional Assembly.

N.B.- A set of rules and regulations are prepared for the administration of the internal affairs of the Regional Assembly.

88- Apart from general administrative functions, the Western Bureau engages in the following activities:

a) It publishes the *Droshak* newspaper in accordance with the guidelines established by the General Assembly, as well as other Dashnaksutiun publications in Armenian and other languages.

b) It publishes ... and other papers in foreign languages to propagate the Armenian cause.

c) It organizes propagandist activities in foreign countries.

89- The Western Bureau itself has been given the right to invite any Dashnak comrades a) to work on the editorial board of the newspaper, b) to organize propaganda, and c) to conduct various local activities. These comrades have equal votes with the members of the Bureau only in matters which fall within their sphere of activity.

90- Whenever necessary, the Bureau is obliged to appoint one or two of its members to work as itinerant activists in the region over which it has jurisdiction.

Regional Assembly

91- There are three regional assemblies of the Dashnaksutiun: a) Armenia Major, b) the Caucasus, and c) the Western Region.

92- Regional assemblies meet when the necessity arises, however in the Caucasus they must meet at least once a year. The participants are invited from:

* Probably *Pro-Armenia*, published in Paris.

- a) the Bureau,
- b) responsible councils,
- c) regional assemblies of the central committees,
- d) central committees,
- e) the editorial board of the official paper of the region,
- f) representatives of the inhabitants of the region,
- g) active comrades who may be invited.

N.B.- The meeting will take place provided that two thirds of the delegates are present. The Assembly is summoned by the Bureau.

98- The Regional Assembly has the right to prepare and approve new rules and regulations for its own region, provided they are compatible with the decisions of the General Assembly.

N.B.- The Regional Assembly will prepare the rules and regulations for the organization of its Bureau, in accordance with the decisions of the General Assembly and the Party programme

Terror

155- Terror may be of two kinds: a) against political targets, and b) within the organization itself.

156- Only central committees and responsible councils may take these decisions, which must be unanimous.

157- Terrorism may be applied as a punishment for serious corruption involving the Party (e.g. appropriation of funds and weapons), and for murder, treachery, and espionage, only after the consent of the organization is secured.

N.B.- The central committee would have to obtain the consent of the responsible council. If there is no responsible council in the region, the central committee would have to secure the approval of the central committee of the nearest district.

Revolutionary Publications

158- Dashnak publications are obliged to follow strictly the Party programme, and to propagate the ideas which constitute the fundamental principles of the programme.

159- The newspaper *Droshak*, which is the official organ of the Dashnaksutiun, will be administered in accordance with the instructions issued by the General Assembly.

160- The regional assemblies are entitled to found newspapers that will spread their ideas, to give them directives and, if necessary, to provide them with financial help, provided they do not exceed the limits prescribed by the budget of the General Assembly.

161- The central committees may set up local Dashnak journals, on condition that they are not lend an official or semi-official character.

162- The Dashnaksutiun Convention or the regional assemblies can dissociate themselves from any newspaper whose views are inconsistent with the Party programme.

N.B.- The Bureaus can issue special instructions concerning the circulation of newspapers or any other propagandist writings.

Dashnaksutiun described itself variously as social-democrat, revolutionary-socialist, nationalist and independent. Actually, there was no unity in the party, which contained workers, priests, merchants and members of the middle class, while at the same time the committee described religious leaders and prominent members of the community as parasites.

When the party was first founded, the committee had hoped to receive a great deal of help from the wealthy, but these hopes were soon shattered.

According to M. Ohannesian:²²

"In the case of other nations when it was a question of national liberation and independence, the wealthy contributed millions. We were deceived. There are wealthy Armenians living in Baku, Istanbul, Trabzon, Egypt, Paris and Manchester. None of them offered the slightest help. That was one of the reasons for our failure, lack of funds."

The Dashnaksutiun first organized in Turkey, setting up centres in Trabzon, Istanbul and Van. Particular importance was given to Van

as the gateway to Iran. Important members of the committee, almost all of them Caucasian Armenians, were sent to these important regions to establish centres in suitable place. Those who were caught red-handed were handed over to the Russian government upon the intervention of the Russian consuls and, of course, immediately released.

The Dashnaksutiun held its first conference in Tiflis in the autumn of 1892. This was attended by a number of Turkish Armenians from Erzurum, Dersim, Muş, etc. Among the matters discussed were the organization of general revolts, assassination attempts against heads of government and enemies of the Armenians, and the surrender, after the event, of those responsible for the assassination in order to protect the others. After protracted discussions it was decided that assassination attempts should be made only against traitors, spies and enemy agents, and that the greatest importance should be given to the import of arms into Turkey, the arming of the Turkish Armenians, their own training in the use of arms, and the preparation of the Turkish Armenians, particularly the youth.

Having accepted these principles, the Dashnaksutiun committee followed Macedonian tactics-except in the case of the Ottoman Bank incident and the Yıldız assassination attempt-in organizing bands to carry out acts of terrorism in Anatolia.

Varandian lists some of these actions:²³

- 1.- The band of horsemen under Gayzak's command are famous for their acts of heroism in Zivin. (This band opposed several thousand soldiers with the loss of only 25 heroes.)
- 2.- Ashot Yergat's attack on Erciyas.
- 3.- The attacks on Zor and Musun, the capture of the barracks by 102 Dashnaks and the massacre of the soldiers and the Kurds. (The raiders lost only 27 men.)
- 4.- The skirmishes on the border of Ortu under the command of Vorsort and Torkom.
- 5.- The Pasin and Velibaba operations with 150 men. (500 Turks were massacred.)

Aparts from these, the Dashnaksutiun for years directed its attacks against the 3rd Army Corps region, penetrating

into the most hidden recesses. At Kars, towards the end of August 1893, hundreds of heroes armed by the Dashnaktsutjun prepared to cross the frontier. Among them were to be found some of our most famous guerilla leaders:- Serop, Antranik, Tatol, Ashod, Arziv, Avak and, lastly, Hrair, who died in a skirmish at Shenik in 1894.

As has already been pointed out above, the Hunchak committee was strictly centralist, whereas the Dashnaktsutjun preferred a decentralized system on the principle of independent operations.

The general principles were decided upon by the Dashnaktsutjun central committee, but these were applied by local committees chosen in each region.

The Dashnaktsutjun also set up Eastern and Western bureaus in accordance with the areas in which they operated.

The Western bureau concentrated more particularly on propaganda, bringing the Armenian question to the notice of political circles, reminding European diplomats of their moral duty, keeping the question alive in diplomatic circles, bringing it up for discussion in the various parliaments, attempting to win over heads of government and prominent statesmen, and arranging meetings, lectures and literary activities.

Propaganda work was first of all conducted from Paris, where Pierre Geillard published the *Pro-Armenia* newspaper around which all the Armenian supporters gathered. Attempts were also made to influence European public opinion through committee newspapers such as the *Trushak*, *Haratch*, *Alik*, *Hayrenik* and *Razmik*.

A favourable climate of opinion was established in Paris, London, Brussels, Berlin, Leipzig, Geneva, Zurich, Rome and Milan. An international congress of the "Friends of Armenia" was held in Brussels, attended by a number of French deputies such as Jaurès and Elisée Reclus. Statements on the Armenian question were made in the French, British, Italian, Belgian and Dutch parliaments. Apart from this there were statements, lectures and books by distinguished European personalities such as Jaurès, Victor Bérard and Pierre Geillard in France, Lord Bryce in England, Gamarovski in Russia, Rolin-Jacquemyns in Belgium and Lepsius in Germany. A number of European writers also produced books and articles supporting the Armenian cause on the basis of the information and propaganda material to be found in the publications of A. Chobanian, Portakalian and Minas Cheraz. These foreign humanists supported the Armenian cause as long as it was compatible with the political and economic

interests of their respective governments, abandoning it as soon as it ceased to be of service.

According to Varandian:²⁴

"Unfortunately, all these efforts were to prove abortive. The only positive result was that the Armenian Question was now placed under the control of European public opinion and the Armenian revolutionary leaders brought to the notice of the European public."

We have already seen that terrorism occupied an important place in the statutes of the Dashnaktsutjun organization. For many years, acts of terrorism were directed against Armenians who opposed the actions taken by the committee, refused to contribute money, left the organization or refused to take up arms.

Sempat Kaprielian gives the following very interesting account of the revolutionists and terrorist activity:²⁵

"A wealthy Armenian living in Europe gave the following extremely cutting reply to some revolutionary Armenians who asked him for money: 'I have no desire to see my money make me the executioner of my own country!' Djamharian, a wealthy Armenian killed by the Dashnaktsutjun terrorists in Moscow was no doubt of the same opinion. Djamharian met the expenses of an Armenian orphanage from his own pocket, and he probably had no wish to see an increase in the number of orphans. Balyozian was murdered in Izmir for the same reason. And we have an even more recent example in Bahalian, a Russian Armenian who refused to give the money demanded in threatening notes sent by the revolutionary committee and was strangled in the street in the city of Novrosisk on 10 November. A long history could be written full of such crimes and atrocities carried out in the name of the Dashnaktsutjun.

Anyone who protested against such acts would be denounced by his own friends and sometimes even sentenced to death. Such cruelty and ferocity became a characteristic feature of the Armenian revolutionaries. When, after the Kumkapı incident, the Caucasian Armenians rebelled, the Dashnaktsutjun took advantage of this to obtain large sums of money. Settling down in the border area between Tabriz and Turkey, they drank to freedom in copious draughts of wine and champagne and

indulged in riotous behaviour that made them a burden to the Armenian villages in which they had taken up residence. One of the revolutionaries, who had set out to Tiflis to report on their disgraceful behaviour, was joined by two of his companions who, after nightfall, suddenly attacked and killed him. Tohmalaian Vartabet, a man with the courage of his convictions and who had the heroism of spirit to protest against such atrocities, met with a similar fate. He was enticed out into the outskirts of a small Armenian country town and there cut to pieces. Gergesian, a member of Dashnaktsutun and the first to bathe the Armenian revolutionary flag in his sacred blood, was murdered in Erzurum. But such thoughtless acts of violence aroused a wave of protests. The Armenians themselves deplored these crimes and atrocities, of which they were deeply ashamed. The revolutionaries, however, had the effrontery to declare that they themselves were the only true sons of the Armenian nation, and that it was in them alone that the national spirit was enshrined.

Let us carry this criticism further: Though the Dashnaktsutun engaged in ever more outrageous and insensate acts of violence than the Hunchaks, both committees were foolish enough to insist on a revolution for which they themselves ought to have seen that the conditions were far from ripe. It was this irrational obstinacy that was to lead to the following catastrophic results:

1. They beat the drum of revolution to attract into the coffers of the revolutionary parties the money the Armenian workers have earned by the sweat of their brow, but with every beat of the drum they intensify the careful scrutiny of Armenian affairs by the Turkish government.
2. The egoism of the revolutionaries leads them to believe that they are the most devoted to the cause, the most self-sacrificing of all Armenia's sons.
3. Rivalry between the committees gives rise to mutual hatred and jealousy, leading to brothers taking up arms against brothers.
4. The forcible measures adopted by the Armenian revolutionaries towards the people, their extortion of money from the rich to give to the poor have reduced the nation to a state of moral and material ruin and despair.

5. The clandestine killing of rivals that forms such a characteristic feature of the Machiavellian policy pursued by the Armenian revolutionaries has branded all Armenians as murderers and brought dishonour on the Armenian name.

6. By attracting the attention of Armenian youth in foreign countries to fictive and fanciful goals they have reduced them to utter misery and ruin.

They prevent the use of the revolutionary forces in important work such as national revival, turning them away from such ends and making it impossible for them to perform any useful purpose.

These men extort financial contributions from the poor peasants, selling to the Armenians of Sasun and Muş the arms with which they themselves were provided, and even forcing these wretched souls to sell their household goods, their herds and their flocks in order to purchase these weapons. If only they had eyes to see, they would realize the futility and noxiousness of their behaviour towards a people who have grown weary and disgusted under the blows of a cruel and tyrannical power, not of war and conflict but of life itself. But, if I am to remain impartial, I must confess that it is not only you who are to blame. All of us are to blame. We were all foolish enough to believe that Europe was to be the saviour of Armenia and that the crown of the independence we had lost was to be restored to us from the West.

This fallacy lies at the foundation of our whole national policy. We came to regard Europe as our Messiah, and we waited day after day for the Saviours to arrive for the salvation of Armenia.

Bishop Mushegh, a fanatical terrorist in the guise of a priest and one of the organizers of the Adana incident of 1909, regarded the actions of the revolutionary committees as fully justified. He writes as follows: ²⁶

"First of all I should like to make it clear than in my revolutionary days I was always opposed to extorting money by threats. Agents and traitors deserve the bullets fired at them by the revolutionaries, but committee members should think very carefully as to who must accept the responsibility for the bullet fired at a wealthy Armenian who refuses to pay.

Think of a handful of Armenians: The blood is still dripping from the wound torn open in their hearts by a repressive administration; they have sacrificed their whole livelihood in the service of an ideal; and for a whole lifetime, sustained by faith and idealism, for without ideals and vision nothing can be achieved in this world, they await the materialization of the ideal brought forth and cherished in the depths of their souls. Hoping to prevent the destruction of all their hopes, they knock at the door of a wealthy Armenian, as one would knock at a brother's door, and find themselves turned away with insults and contempt. Tell me, I beg you, are the murderous feelings, the fratricidal feelings, aroused in the soul of the militant, the Armenian revolutionary, who has drunk to the dregs the cup of suffering and despair, to be blamed on the indifference shown by the wealthy Armenian or on the passion felt by the revolutionary?

Do not look for thought or reflect in such a situation. There is only one feeling, one passion. and it is this:

"In the matter of feeling, the wealthy Armenian is an utter stranger to the pain and suffering of the Armenian. There is scarcely a step between the stranger and the enemy. The wealthy Armenian is an enemy to the Armenian cause.

The heart of the Armenian revolutionary is dominated by this thought and this feeling alone. What do you expect from such an abnormal emotion? Is the responsibility for this evil thought to be sought in the alienation of the wealthy or in the heart of the revolutionary?"

The Rev. Dr. Hamlin, who was the founder and first president of Robert College, Istanbul, wrote the following letter to the "Congregationalist" of Boston, USA. ²⁷

"An Armenian 'revolutionary party' is causing great evil and suffering to the missionary work and to the whole Christian population of certain parts of the Turkish Christian population of certain parts of the Turkish Empire. It is a secret organization, and is managed with a skill in deceit which is known only in the East.

In a widely distributed pamphlet the following announcement is made at the close:- 'Hunchak Revolutionary Party: This is the

only Armenian party which is leading the revolutionary movement in Armenia. Its centre is in Athens, and it has branches in every village and city in Armenia, also in the Colonies. Nishan Garabedian, one of the founders of the party, is in America, and those desiring to get further information may communicate with him, addressing Nishan Garabedian, No. 15, Fountain Street, Worcester, Massachusetts, or with the centre, M. Beniard, Poste restante, Athens, Greece.'

A very intelligent Armenian gentleman, who speaks fluently and correctly English as well as Armenian, and is an eloquent defender of the revolution, assured me that they have the strongest hopes of preparing the way for Russia's entrance to Asia Minor to take possession. In answer to the question how, he replied: These Hunchak bands, organized all over the Empire, will watch their opportunities to kill Turks and Kurds, set fire to their villages, and then make their escape into the mountains. The enraged Moslems will then rise and fall upon the defenceless Armenians, and slaughter them with such barbarities that Russia will enter in the name of humanity and Christian civilization and take possession.' When I denounced the scheme as atrocious and infernal beyond anything ever known, he calmly replied: 'It appears so to you no doubt, but we Armenians are determined to be free. Europe listened to the Bulgarian horrors and made Bulgaria free. She will listen to our cry when it goes up in the shrieks and blood of millions of women and children.' I urged in vain that this scheme will make the very name of Armenia hateful among all civilized people. He replied: 'We are desperate; we shall do it.' 'But your people do not want Russian protection. They prefer Turkey, bad as she is. There are hundreds of miles of coterminous territory into which emigration is easy at all times. It has been so for all the centuries of the Moslem rule. If your people preferred the Russian government, there would not be now an Armenian family in Turkey.' 'Yes,' he replied, 'and for such stupidity they will have to suffer.' I have had conversations with others who avow the same things, but no one acknowledges that he is a member of the party. Falsehood is, of course, justifiable where murder and arson are.

In Turkey the party aims to incite the Turks against Protestant missionaries and Protestant Armenians. All the troubles at Marsovan originated in their movements. They are cunning, unprincipled and cruel. They terrorize their own people

by demanding contributions of money under threats of assassination – a threat which has often been put into execution.

I have made the mildest possible disclosure of only a few of the abominations of this Hunchak Revolutionary Party. It is of Russian origin. Russian gold and craft govern it. Let all missionaries, home and foreign, denounce it. It is trying to enter every Sunday-school and deceive and pervert the innocent and ignorant into supporters of this party. We must therefore be careful that in befriending Armenians we do nothing that can be construed into an approval of this movement, which all should abhor. While yet we recognize the probability that some Armenians in this country, ignorant of the real object and cruel designs of the Hunchaks, are led by their patriotism to join with them, and while we sympathise with the sufferings of the Armenians at home, we must stand aloof from any such desperate attempts which contemplate the destruction of Protestant Missions, churches, schools, and Bible work, involving all in a common ruin that is diligently and craftily sought. Let all home and foreign missionaries beware of any alliance with or countenance of the Hunchaks.

(Signed) Cyrus Hamlin.

Lexington, December 23rd

The Massachusetts Missionary Society published the following declaration in connection with the activities of the Hunchak Revolutionary Party.²⁸

Massachusetts Home Missionary Society
Boston, Massachusetts

In view of the revolutionary and incendiary designs of the Hunchak Revolutionary Party among the Armenians, the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society enjoins upon all those it befriends to give no countenance or support to that party.

(Signed) Charles B. Rice
Chairman of the Executive Committee
(Signed) Joshua Cott, secretary

(Boston, Congregationalist)

NOTES

1. S. Whitman, *op. cit.*, p. 74, 93-94.
2. Lynch, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
3. Yellow Book.
4. Statistics of the Provinces of Van and Bitlis.
5. Bishop Mushegh, *The Armenian Nightmare*, Boston, 1916 (Armenian).
6. *The Revolutionary Ideology of the Turkish Armenians*, Paris, 1934; Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
7. Dashnaksutiun is used as the equivalent of "The Federation of Armenian Revolutionary Committees".
8. The word "hunchak" is the Armenian for "bell"
9. Printed by the Hunchak Press, London, 1897 (Armenian)
10. Hunchak Press, London, 1897 (Armenian)
11. *The Revolutionary Ideology of the Turkish Armenians*. Paris, 1934, p. 146-149 (Armenian).
12. Leo states that he was unable to find the first number of the Hunchak newspaper, but that a well-known writer had compared this with the first number of the *Kolokon* and found very great resemblances between the two. p. 149, n. 1
13. *Hunchak*, 1887, p. 11.
14. The *Droshak* newspaper being the organ of the Dashnaksutiun, thi. committee was often referred to as the Droshak Committee.
15. Varandian, *History of the Dashnaksutiun*, p. 85
16. *ibid.*, p. 85.
17. *ibid.*, p. 85
18. *ibid.*, p. 78-80.
19. *ibid.*,
20. *ibid.*, p. 80
21. *ibid.*, p. 81-82
22. *Currents*, Dashnaksutiun Publications, Geneva, 1910 (Armenian)
23. M. Varandian, *History of the Dashnaksutiun*, p. 20
24. M. Varandian, *The Newborn Land and our Role*, Geneva, 1910, p. 113-115 (Armenian)
25. S. Kaprielian, *Armenian Crisis and Rebirth*, Boston, p. 94-157 (Armenian)
26. Bishop Mushegh, *The Armenian Nightmare*, Boston, 1916, p. 150-151 (Armenian)
27. Blue Book, Turkey, No. 6, 1896, p. 38
28. *ibid.*, p. 39.

III MUTINIES AND REBELLIONS

The following are the most important of the mutinies instigated by the revolutionary committees:

The Erzurum Incident

The Erzurum mutiny took place on June 20 1890. The governor, Samih Pasha, and several other responsible persons had received information that the Armenians had imported weapons and ammunition from Russia and that these had been stored in the Sanasarian School and in several of the churches. In July orders were given for a search of the school and the churches to be carried out by the *zaptiye* and the police, but the Armenians, who had received word of this, took the necessary precautions and prepared to resist. At the first order, the rebel Armenians opened fire on the approaching soldiers, killing one officer and two men. A policeman was also killed. A search was carried out in the church. The following account was given by an Armenian who was an eye-witness of the event. ¹

The founder of the Sanasarian School died in 1890. Prayers were said for his soul, and a period of mourning declared. Meanwhile, the government received information that arms had been stored in the school. The informers are thought to have been Catholic Armenian priests. Before the search took place, a member of the "Citizen's Defence League" known as "Bogos the Dog" sent word that the school was to be searched within two hours. Everything that was likely to attract attention, such as national history books and notebooks were immediately

removed. The search revealed nothing. The Armenians shouted, "The entry of the Turks into the church is an abomination and a desecration." Later, the followers of Gergesian, one of the founders of the "Citizen's Defence League" who had been killed by order of the Erzurum centre of the Dashnaksitiun Revolutionary Committee, began to incite the people to mutiny. Shops were closed, church services were forbidden, and no bells were rung. The Armenians were in complete control of the situation. Taking advantage of this, the mutineers began shouting, "The Armenians have been free for three days, we shall defend that freedom with our arms." At the same time they demanded the lowering of taxes, the abolition of the military service exemption payment, the burning and reconstruction of churches that had been desecrated and the implementation of article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin. For three or four days they remained within the limits of the cemetery, the church and the school. The Armenian leaders who tried to persuade them to disperse were beaten up. A government order that everyone should go about their daily business was completely ignored. The members of the revolutionary committee went around inciting the people. Meanwhile, Gergesian's brother shot and killed two soldiers. A two-hour battle broke out between the two sides. The following day the consuls toured the city. On both sides there were over a hundred killed and two to three hundred wounded. Dr. Arslanian, who had submitted a report to the consuls on behalf of the Armenians, was wanted by the government and fled from the city."

The most important passage in these memoirs is the following:

"During these events a cold foreign wind could be felt blowing from the north. On the occasion of the Armenian demonstrations the Russian Consul, Tevet, visited the *Vali* and said that if these events had taken place in Russia the rebellious mob would have been utterly crushed. At the same time, he told the Armenian *marhasa* that life was not worth living under a barbarous administration like that of Turkey."

Hanazadian writes the following in his memoirs: ²

"The most remarkable aspect of the affair was the situation of our own people in Trabzon and the other cities. We had believed that the consuls of the European governments would immediately send horrifying accounts of the events to their respective governments and

that a solution would at once be found. When this failed to happen we were all left utterly bewildered.

We discussed the matter in our executive committee and reached the following conclusion: To awaken the great European Powers from their stony indifference it would be necessary to stage a demonstration in the Sultan's capital, under the Ambassadors' very noses.

Great hopes had been placed on the Erzurum mutiny, but it had produced none of the results hoped for. Nevertheless, it was a first step. ³

The Musa Bey Incident

The Kumkapı demonstration staged in Istanbul by the Hunchak Revolutionary Committee was preceded by the Musa Bey incident, which was exploited in various ways by the revolutionary committee in the form of propaganda directed towards a European audience. The incident was used as a basis for bitter complaints concerning the question of the security of Armenian life and property in Turkey.

Musa Bey, a native of Mutki, was the subject of the following complaints:

Complaints and appeals concerning him had been completely ignored in the region. He had been involved in cases of rape and robbery. He had carried off a girl by the name of Gulizar, the niece of a priest from Muş, taken her to his house, raped her and then given her as wife to his brother, who, however, insisted that she become a Moslem. On the girl's refusal to renounce her faith she was so brutally beaten by Musa that she lost the sight of one eye. Having managed to escape from the house, she went to Istanbul with a group of citizens from Muş with the intention of lodging a complaint.

Fifty-eight citizens of Muş, including the priest and the girl herself, presented a petition to the Grand Vizier and the Ministry of Justice. They received no reply. The revolutionary committee arranged for them to have accommodation in a *han*. On the instigation of the revolutionary committee they cried for mercy during the Friday procession of the Sultan to the mosque, and were thereupon taken into the palace and interrogated.

Musa Bey was brought to Istanbul and tried before a large audience including foreign political representatives and members of the press. Some sixty plaintiffs and witnesses were heard. No grounds were found for an accusation and Musa Bey was acquitted. The whole

incident, to which the revolutionary committee had given such importance, produced no result whatever. Nevertheless, it remained a powerful propaganda topic. Photographs were taken of Gulizar, her mother and her uncle, the priest, and hundreds of copies sent out, particularly to foreign countries. It was hoped in this way to arouse Christian zeal.

The newspapers of 13 November 1305 contained a detailed account of the trial, which the Patriarchate and the Revolutionary Committees regarded as partial and unjust, although in actual fact all the plaintiffs and witnesses had been heard in the presence of foreign observers.

The Kumkapı Demonstration

An account of this demonstration, claimed by the Hunchaks to be the first peaceful demonstration in Istanbul to be held purely to demand justice, was given by one of the organizers, H. Djangulian: ⁴

- 1.- It was felt that a protest demonstration should be held in response to the Musa Bey and Erzurum incidents, otherwise the Armenians would feel that they had been forgotten.
- 2.- Crimes committed in Anatolia hold little interest for Europe It was essential, therefore, to attract European attention by holding a protest demonstration in the actual presence of the foreign ambassadors.
- 3.- If Armenian protests had been solely confined to Armenia itself this would have attracted the attention of Russia, who might have grown suspicious and annexed the territory. If, however, demonstrations were held in other provinces, and particularly in the capital, this would attract the attention of other countries. As we found England much more sympathetic to our cause than Russia, the Armenian issue could thus be presented in a way much more in conformity with our own interests.
- 4.- As the Armenian people were to be found in their own homeland dispersed among people of different races and religions, action taken in the Armenian homeland was doomed to failure. It was thus essential that Armenian operations should be held outside Armenian boundaries. Istanbul was obviously the most suitable centre for such an operation.

Istanbul contained more than 200,000 Armenians, mostly single men who had come as workers from other provinces.

- 5.- The seat of all evil was in Istanbul. Therefore it would be more effective to hold a demonstration there, right in front of the Palace.
- 6.- Once the spirit of mutiny and rebellion had been awakened in a people who had remained in servitude for five or six hundred years, it was essential that the revolutionaries should take advantage of this and invest it with qualities of a sounder, more basic and widespread character. One of the aims of revolutionary activity was to spread the spirit of rebellion among the people and to render it more effective and productive.
- 7.- The Turkish government and the Turkish people would then realise that in the present context of Armenian national unity, any blow aimed at Armenia would spark off a reaction in other areas, particularly in Istanbul, a centre of international interest, and in that case they would follow a more cautious policy and would not dare arrange a new massacre.

The leaders of the revolutionary committee met in the presence of an individual of Russian nationality by the name of Megavorian who lived in a house belonging to a foreigner in one of the back streets in Beyoğlu. At this meeting they decided:

- 1.- To inform Sultan Abdul Hamid on the first day of *Kurban Bayramı* through Patriarch Ashikian of their intention to hold a peaceful demonstration on 15 July at the patriarchate and cathedral at Kumkapı.
- 2.- That the members of the committee Hanazad, Megavorian, Simeon and Rapael, being of Russian nationality, should not take part in the demonstration.
- 3.- That one member should read out the manifesto from the pulpit during the service, and that two members should be chosen to accompany Patriarch Ashikian to the palace to submit their requests to the Sultan. Another two colleagues were to be chosen by secret ballot to direct the demonstration. Djangulian undertook to escort the Patriarch to the palace, while Murad ⁴ undertook to read the manifesto.

All telephone communication was cut on the Anatolian side. The Hunchaks gathered in the church. Copies were made of the manifesto and distributed to the people. During the service Djangulian ascended the pulpit and read the manifesto. The Patriarch Ashikian, who was conducting the service, fled from the church and took refuge in the Patriarchate. He refused to go to the palace with the members of the revolutionary committee. The Hunchaks occupied the Patriarchate, broke all the windows and wreaked considerable damage on the building.

Finally, the Patriarch was forcibly persuaded to accompany them to the palace and was placed in a carriage. A crowd that had gathered there shouted, "Long live the Hunchak Committee! Long live the Armenian people! Long live Armenia! Long live Freedom!" But as the government had already been informed of the situation by the *Vartabets* Dadjad and Mampre, the carriage was turned back by a troop of soldiers arriving on the spot. The revolutionaries opened fire on the soldiers. Djangulian writes that, "Our people savagely fired round upon round at the soldiers, while the soldiers attempted to arrest those who were firing. Six or seven soldiers were seriously wounded, about ten slightly wounded. Two of our own people were killed." Thus ended the "peaceful" demonstration.

The Armenian manifesto distributed by the organizers of the Kumkapı demonstration may be translated as follows: ⁵

"Armenians,

By your demonstration today you wish to publish your demands to the whole world. You know full well that the realization of these demands will be no easy task. You endanger your lives with every just and legal step you take. But there is no alternative. No matter how terrified you may be, you must take the most extreme action in order to make your voice heard in the world at large and to attain your just objectives. That is the aim of our action today. It is our duty to further our cause, to defend our rights even at the heaviest cost.

What are your demands?

The cause of all poverty and destitution is the economic situation. That situation must be changed. The soil of your native land is not your own. You plough it. You sow it. You graze your flocks, and you work under the gravest difficulties. But the produce is not your own. You want the land to belong to the

farmer, you want everyone to work honourably for his own livelihood. Once your economic demands are met, you will have a responsible assembly, and you yourselves will introduce freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, freedom of assembly, freedom of association and free elections.

Our demands:

Our deeply respected father, Your Beatitude, the Patriarch:

For many years, Armenia has witnessed arbitrary arrests, unjust decrees, pitiless banishments, and the patience and resignation of the people in the face of such injustices has only resulted in the steady increase in the number of such incidents, and particularly in the wilful damage done in recent years to our schools, our monasteries, our churches and our private dwellings. The same things were witnessed in Erzurum, and as a result of the just complaints of the local inhabitants, this innocent and defenceless people were herded like sheep by rabid troops and mercilessly slaughtered. No importance was given to the Armenian dead, the hundreds, the thousands of wounded, the screams of pregnant women, and such atrocities are perpetrated every day in Van, Muş and other Armenian towns and cities. Although even the very bread-knives were collected from Armenian homes, fire-arms were distributed to the Turks and Kurds. In the end our native land was placed in a state of siege and every action of every Armenian viewed with suspicion. We declare, on behalf of the Armenian people, that so long as this situation persists, there can be no security of life, property or honour. At the same time, Your Beatitude, the National Council remains indifferent. You are, in fact, powerless to find a remedy or provide a cure. That is why we want to take you with us to the Palace to submit the just complaints and requests of the Armenian people.

The Merzifon, Kayseri and Yozgat Incidents

In the years 1892-1893 the Hunchak Revolutionary Committee began to engage in more open activity in Kayseri, Develi, Yozgat, Çorum, Merzifon, Tenus, Aziziye and various other districts. In all these places, notices were hung on the mosque doors and manifestos bearing the Hunchak emblem distributed.

Hunchak activity was organized from the Merzifon centre, which

bore the name of *The Revolutionary Committee of Lesser Armenia*. The leader of the committee was Karabet Tumaian, ⁶ a teacher in the Merzifon American College, while its secretary was Ohannes Kayaian, a teacher in the same school. Both of them were Protestant Armenians. Tumaian and Kayaian corresponded under the aliases of Baron Meleh and Vahram.

These two men, accompanied by the Protestant preacher Mardiros, first of all visited Çorum, Yozgat, Kayseri, Burhaniye, Tenus, Sivas, Tokat and Amasya, stirring up the Armenians, giving political speeches in the guise of sermons, opening new branches choosing executive committees, calling upon the Armenians to unite after the divisions caused by the '93 Turco-Russian War, declaring the necessity of activities that would attract the attention of foreign powers and engaging in revolutionary propaganda. One of their main activities consisted in uniting the Protestant and Catholic Armenian communities in the national cause.

In 1892 a great revolutionary assembly met in Merzifon. Here it was decided that:

- 1.- that conventional arms should be supplied,
- 2.- that the rebels should wear Georgian costume and head-gear,
- 3.- that the members of the revolutionary committees should buy their own weapons and ammunition,
- 4.- that the revolutionaries should be divided into groups,
- 5.- that the entrance money and monthly donations should be allotted to purchasing arms for the destitute,
- 6.- that subscriptions should be canvassed for the Hunchak newspaper.

Tumaian sent his Swiss wife to France and England to collect money, ostensibly to be used for the building of a hospital in Merzifon, but actually for the revolutionary committee. She spent four and a half years in these countries and collected 3000 pounds sterling for the Hunchaks. At the same time, Jirair of Hachin, the brother of Hamparsum Boyadjian and a member of the revolutionary organization, spread word among the people that Armenians should arm in order to protect their lives in the event of hostilities.

While the Merzifon centre was engaging in this type of activity in

the neighbouring region, Andon Rishtoni, one of the representatives of the Hunchak Committee, arrived in Kayseri.

Andon Rishtoni was a native of Istanbul who, after teaching in Armenian schools in Galata, Beyoğlu and Çorlu and spending some time as an actor, had gone to Iskenderun, where he published one or two numbers of an Armenian newspaper. He finally returned to Istanbul in a state of complete destitution. As his association with the organizers of the Kumkapı incident had brought him to the attention of the authorities he fled from Istanbul to Athens where, on the instructions of the Hunchak Committee, he and the Russian Leon Parseh were entrusted with instigating rebellion among the Armenians in Adana. These two activists went first of all to Cyprus, where they managed to procure British passports, and thence to Mersin. Leon was expelled by the government, while Rishtoni went on to Adana. From there he proceeded to Everek in the province of Kayseri, where he spoke in the churches. From there he went to Talas, finally settling down with the priest Daniel in the Divonik monastery, which he had selected as the centre for his activities. While there, he engaged, with Daniel's help, in various acts of incitement and provocation. He then joined Jirayir in distributing the notices and manifestos prepared by the Merzifon centre to the people in the various towns and villages.

The guerilla bands operating under the instructions of the Derevenk and Merzifon revolutionary centres acted in accordance with a carefully thought out plan:

The Osmançık mailcoach was intercepted and the drivers and *zaptiyes* attacked.

Guerillas by the name of Zaropian of Gürün, Toros, Gülbenk, Kasbar and Serop killed the guard, Ibrahim and the driver, and seized the horses, weapons and money. They then attacked the Derbend *karakol* (guard house) between Çorum and Merzifon and murdered the Derbend *zaptiyes*.

Activists by the name of Panos and Misak robbed the mail-coach belonging to the salt mines. They also seized the horse belonging to Izzet, a guard in the service of the Commission for Public Debt, and brought it to Deverenk. There the priest Daniel, who had previously altered the color of the horse, killed it.

Ismail, the driver of the Maden mail-coach, and the *zaptiye* Necip were both murdered.

Three activists by the name of Gülbenk, Panos and Mihirdjan, while passing through Ankara on their way back from Istanbul, seized a coach, strangled the driver, Kaltakçioğlu Köse Hasan, on the Yozgat road, and buried him in a ditch. They then seized his horses

his watch and his money, later selling the horses in Tokat.

Rishtoni was arrested in the Deverenk monastery where he was staying. A letter of commission from the Hunchak Committee dated 29 July 1892 was found on his person, together with the official seal. A search carried out in the monastery yielded a number of other documents, and Tumaian and Kayaian, both teachers in the American College, were revealed as the organizers of the incidents.⁷

For years these two men had been printing the committee manifestos in the college printing press and attempting to win over to the Armenian cause all the young Armenians attending the college. Their arrest sparked off an Armenian mutiny in Merzifon. A number of the demonstrators were arrested and tried in the Court of Appeal in Ankara. Tumaian, Kayaian and a few others were sentenced to death, while others were given various punishments.

Protestant newspapers and religious circles in England appealed to the Sultan and the Ottoman government only on behalf of the Protestants Tumaian and Kayaian. They were both pardoned. Tumaian went to London, where he became one of the most influential members of the revolutionary committee. At meetings held there he was always introduced as an innocent, much-wronged Armenian.

The letter written by Sir Clare Ford to Lord Rosebery contains some interesting information regarding Armenian activity in Merzifon and the situation of the Armenians there.⁸

Sir Clare Ford to the Earl of Rosebery - (Received May 31.)

My Lord

Constantinople, May 27, 1893.

I have the honour to forward to your Lordship herewith copy of a Memorandum which I have received from Sir A. Nicolson respecting an interview which he had yesterday with certain American gentlemen who had just arrived from Marsovan and district.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

Francis Clare Ford.

**MEMORANDUM
(CONFIDENTIAL)**

The Rev. Dr. Smith, Dr. Farnsworth, and Surgeon Dodd came to see me this morning, being introduced by the Rev. Joseph Greene. The first of these gentlemen lives at Marsovan, while Dr. Farnsworth and Mr. Dodd reside at Caesarea. All these gentlemen have no doubts but that numerous Secret Societies existed among the Armenians; that the members of these Societies were determined and desperate; that they were procuring arms and collecting money; that their aims were distinctly revolutionary; that they blindly obeyed the orders of the head-quarters of these Societies; that they did not flinch from assassination when instructed, and that they were commencing to exercise a terrorism over their more peaceably disposed compatriots. Dr. Farnsworth and Mr. Dodd were more explicit, and appeared to have fuller information on the subject than the other two gentlemen. They informed me that the seditious movement was not confined to the Gregorian Armenians, but was also extending among the Protestants; that the members of the Societies were becoming more outspoken in their views and intentions, stating that they would in the summer take to the mountains, exercise brigandage, and make the life of a zaptieh a burden to him; and that they would compel the attention of the Powers to the Armenian question, The Mussulman population was becoming alarmed, and a serious tension of feeling was arising between Moslem and Christian. Dr. Smith told me that to his knowledge some Russian agents at Marsovan, Amasia, and another place whose name I have forgotten, were instigating and encouraging the movement. The revolutionary party no doubt, the gentleman added, received indirect encouragement from the sympathy and interest which the Armenian grievances evoked in England and other countries, and of late their attitude had become bolder and more aggressive. The terrorism they exercised over their more tranquil compatriots was increasing, and some murders which had recently occurred of supposed informers or lukewarm supporters had deepened the fear of the peaceable. The latter felt, in many instances, compelled to contribute to the secret funds; if they refused they were liable to serious consequences; if they agreed they ran the risk of being discovered by the Government and impeached for conspiracy - an awkward dilemma. Dr. Farnsworth was of opinion that the majority of the Armenians were in sympathy with the objects of the movement, though not with the methods. Both he and Mr. Dodd considered that the Armenians have no special grievances as Armenians; in any case, they were not worse off than the Greek rayah,

and in many respects they suffered equally with the Moslem subject. The evil results of a corrupt and unjust administration fell equally on the Moslem and the Christian, while the former had no foreign Power to take his interests to heart. Equality before the law perhaps did not exist, the evidence of a Christian was scarcely considered of the same value as that of a Moslem, but this would necessarily always be the case. Still, during the last ten years there had been an improvement in the lot of the Christians, and both Dr. Farnsworth and Mr. Dodd considered evidently that, on the whole, there was no justification for the sedition among the Armenians, which they considered very prevalent and possibly very dangerous in the near future. Both these gentlemen had seen M. Tumaian recently at Angora, and found him in good health and well cared for.

The general impression I received from a conversation with these gentlemen, all men of experience and of good knowledge of the country, and especially of the Armenians, was that the seditious movement is more widely spread and more active than we had imagined, and the vanguard of the revolutionary party are more desperate than was believed, and desirous of bringing about a state of things which may, in a different field and in a different degree perhaps, be similar to the situation in Bulgaria before the war.

May 26, 1893.

After the Kumkapı incident the suspicions of the Hunchak Committee were aroused and attacks began to be made on Armenians thought to be government supporters.

Hatchik, a lawyer, was murdered by a fifteen year old Armenian boy by the name of Armenak.

Dadjad Vartabet, a preacher in the Gedik Pasha church, was torn to pieces.

Mampré Vartabet, who had been chosen member of the clerical assembly, was wounded in an assassination attempt.

The Patriarch Ashikian was suspected of having revealed the committee's plans to the Ottoman government, and was wounded in an assassination attempt carried out in the church of the Patriarchate on 25 March 1894 by Agop of Diyarbakir, a young Armenian who had been chosen by lot by the committee. The Montenegrin revolver used by the assassin failed to fire and the young Armenian was arrested.

On 10 May 1894 an attempt was made by two militants under the

orders of the Hunchak committee on the life of Simon Maksut, believed to be a friend of the Patriarch, in front of Havyar Han in Galata.

Information on these two assassination attempts was sent to the French Foreign Ministry by M. Cambon, the French Ambassador in Istanbul:

From M. Cambon to Casimir Perier ⁹

Beyoğlu: 3 June 1894

Last Sunday, just as the Patriarch Ashikian was leaving the Kumkapı church after the service to return to the patriarchate, an eighteen year old Armenian youth aimed a revolver at him and fired several times. The revolver was faulty and none of the bullets hit the Patriarch, who fainted and was taken home and given treatment. The young Armenian was taken to the police station and, when interrogated as to the reason for his attempt at assassination declared that Ashikian was an enemy of the Armenians, that he had frequently given information to the government and that the Armenians had sworn an oath to get rid of him. At the same he declared that both he and his co-religionists were loyal subjects of the Sultan.

Cambon.

From Cambon to the Minister of the Interior, Hanotaux ¹⁰

Beyoğlu: 3 June 1894

An attempt was made a few days ago in Istanbul on the life of a member of the Armenian community. This person, who is now out of danger, is Simon Maksud Bey, a rich banker and one of the contractors employed by the Ministry of War. Maksud Bey, who was also head dragoman to the Patriarchate and a member of the Patriarchate popular assembly, had long been regarded by his co-religionists as a traitor in the pay of the Turks. Last year, when the Sultan forbade any celebrations to be held on the occasion of his granting the Armenian National Constitution,¹¹ Maksud Bey had refused to work for the lifting of the ban. Since then he has been regarded by the Armenians activists and militants with the most vehement detestation.

The Armenian labourers who attempted his assassination had suffered a great deal at the hands of the Kurds and the Turkish officials.

There can be no doubt that we are here confronted with a political crime. The assassins were carrying documents and letters written by the Armenian Revolutionary Committee and they confessed that they had been hired for the purpose by a person by the name of Levon. They said they had been given arms by the militants, who told them that they wished in this way to issue a warning to the various members of the upper classes of the Armenian community who, since the attempt on the life of the Patriarch, had become friends of the Turks and traitors to the national cause. By these various operations the revolutionaries hoped to strike at the government in the capital rather than merely in the provinces, thus making their activities more highly effective over a much wider area.

The fact that the Sultan was greatly shocked by the assassination attempt is proved by the large number of arrests made by the Istanbul police.

Cambon.

After the Kumkapı incident Murad Hamparsum Boyadjian became leader of the Istanbul branch of the Hunchak Revolutionary Committee.

About this time Vart Badrikian arrived from the Caucasus as a representative of the Hunchaks. He was arrested a couple of months later but, being a Russian subject, he was handed over to the Russian Embassy. Ardavazt Ohandjanian was sent from the Caucasus to take his place. The assassination attempts were made during his period of office.

The First Sasun Mutiny

Sasun, famous for its mutinies, was at that time a *kaza* connected to the administrative centre in Siirt containing over a hundred villages and situated about fourteen hours from Muş. Nearby were the *kazas* of Mutki and Garzan. The mountainous and inaccessible nature of the terrain made it difficult for the government to exert any great influence. The people, including the Armenians, spoke a mixed language of Zaza and Kurdish.

According to V. Cuinet the distribution of the population of Sasun was as follows:

Muslim	10,370
Armenian	8,389
Yezidi	970
Others	372
	<hr/>
	20,101

Although no census was carried out, Armenians probably made up one fifth of the population, the rest being Kurds.

In the 1890's the district was toured for three years by an Armenian by the name of Mihran Damadian, who disseminated Hunchak propaganda and incited the people to revolt. On information given by the Armenians this man was arrested in 1893, taken to Istanbul for trial and later freed.

The Sasun mutiny, which place some time after the Kumkapı incident, was organized by the Hunchak Revolutionary Committee with the sole purpose of inviting foreign intervention, and was carried out according to a plan prepared by Murad (Hamparsum Boyadjian).

On his way to Sasun, Murad passed through Caucasia, where he received help and support from the Dashnaksutiun Committee. On arriving in Sasun he collected a number of Armenians around him and began to prepare his plans.

Before the actual incident, a letter in the name of the Hunchak Committee appeared in the third number of the Hunchak newspaper, dated 1894, which clearly heralded the storm that was about to break. This letter was written by Armenak from the village of Kızılağaç in the province of Muş, who went by the alias of Hrair Tjokh and continued working in that region until the second Sasun mutiny of 1904. The letter was as follows: ¹²

"Brother Armenians,

At last the day we have been awaiting for centuries has arrived. The bells ring out from the hills of Sasun, red flags wave from the mountains, carried by a people whose humanity and Armenian soul have been trampled underfoot. The hour of vengeance has struck. The time has come for a decision to be made on the life or death of the oppressor

Today the Armenian cause is entering its latest and most glorious phase. The resignation and submission of the destitute,

the sighs and silence of the humiliated, the stifled complaints of the oppressed, will soon be replaced by the roaring of a lion."

According to Varandian: ¹³

"The Hunchak organization was in a weak position. They were anxious to do something as quickly as possible and to produce a stir.

The inhabitants of Sasun fought heroically, even with their fairly primitive weapons, against the Kurds, but they were unable to withstand the attack by regular troops. In August 1894 the Armenians annihilated the Kurds after a successful onslaught and were about to carry off their flocks when they were suddenly surrounded on all sides by troops. No one has ever been able to give even an approximate number of the Armenians killed. Some say six or seven thousand, others say around one thousand. Probably the latter is nearer the truth."

This mutiny, which had been carried out with the sole aim of attracting the attention of foreign countries, was reported abroad by the Patriarchate and the revolutionary committees in the bloodiest and most sensational manner. Meetings were held in support of the Armenians in various European capitals and statements made in the various parliaments. Everywhere, references were made to the responsibility Britain had assumed in signing the Cyprus Convention.

Hallward, the British consul in Van, wished to go to Sasun to examine the situation but the Ottoman government, who regarded him as one of the instigators of the rebellion, refused to grant him the necessary permission.

The government set up a commission to carry out investigations on the spot and applied to the American government for a consul that would participate in the work. This appeal, however, was turned down by the American government.

The British Embassy at first wished to send Colonel Chermiside, the Military Attaché, to the spot, but later abandoned the idea. Mr. Shipley, Dragoman to the Embassy, was appointed assistant to the Consul in Erzurum, and was ordered to visit the site of the incident.

After a great deal of correspondence, the principle was finally accepted that the states with Consuls in Erzurum, namely, France, Great Britain and Russia, should participate in the work of the Ottoman investigation commission. These were to be present at the meetings as observers, and could, if necessary, ask questions.

The commission appointed by the government was to be presided over by Şefik Bey, head of the petition department of the Supreme Court of Appeal, Ömer bey, the Director of the Emniyet Sandığı, Celalettin Bey, President of the Criminal Court of Appeal and Mecit Efendi, from the Ministry of the Interior. The consuls taking part as observers were Vilbert, the French Consul, the Russian Consul-General Jevalsky, and the British Consul, Shipley.

The commission carried out investigations for six months, from 4 January to 21 July 1895. It held 108 meetings and heard more than 190 witnesses. Ömer Bey had to resign from the commission on 29 January on his appointment as deputy Governor in Bitlis. Murad was arrested on 23 August.

A certain amount of light is shed on the situation by the following rather more accurate passages of the reports of the Consuls, which tend on the whole, as is only to be expected, to be biased in favour of the Armenians:

"After those events, Hamparsum Boyadjian, a native of Adana who had studied medicine in Istanbul and Geneva and who employed the alias "Murad" to avoid recognition, arrived in the Talori region accompanied by an armed band, one of the members of which was Damadian, an old friend of his whom he had recently met.

He toured the villages in the Kavar region under the pretext of carrying out medical practice, inciting the Armenians to free themselves from Kurdish domination. But neither he nor the five companions whom he had supplied with arms and ammunition for their defence, could offer a convincing explanation of their presence in the mountains. One of them gave as a reason the wrongs he and his family had suffered at the hands of the Kurds. Practically all the Armenian witnesses said that they had never heard the name "Murad". On the other hand, the Kurds and the government witnesses said that they had heard the name. It was impossible, under these circumstances, for the Commission of Investigation to collect the information necessary for a true understanding of the event. It would appear from the evidence collected that he and his colleagues roamed around the Talori regions and the neighbouring villages and sometimes even the mountains giving, as he himself confirmed, advice on relations between the Armenians and the Kurds, persuading the former to engage in revolutionary struggle and the second to withhold government taxes in order to attract attention.

Furthermore, the notebook filled with patriotic poems that was discovered on his person and employed in his attempts at provocation, as well as notes forming the beginning of a letter written in pencil, which he admitted to be his own, describing the events of 1894, clearly prove that Murad, like Damadian, had arrived in the country on a secret mission with the aim of sowing discord between the Armenians and the Kurds."

Another passage from the reports runs as follows:

"It is impossible to deny the propaganda work, or the fact that Murad and his friends took part in the first armed conflicts."

The Armenians had set great hopes on the Sasun mutiny. They had hoped that the mutiny would lead to European intervention and the realization of Armenian aspirations. A great deal of money for the prosecution of the mutiny was collected by the Hunchaks in Istanbul and other provinces by the sale of tickets bearing the Hunchak emblem.

During the Sasun incidents the Russian Armenians appealed to the Catholicos Khrimian in Etchmiadzin to intervene in favour of the Armenians in Turkey. The Catholicos, in spite of his advanced age and the inclemency of the winter weather, immediately set out for St Petersburg, where he told the Emperor¹⁴ that the Armenians in Turkey looked upon him as their sole protector and were awaiting his help and protection. Khrimian's appeal produced an intense political reaction. The British Ambassador Sir Philip Currie told the Patriarch Izmirlian that he was amazed that the Catholicos should make such an appeal at a time when the Armenian Question was being discussed on the international forum.

Vte. des Coursons gives the following account of the Sasun mutiny:¹⁵

"Murad (Hamparsum Boyadjian) deceived the Armenians by hinting at British support for the Sasun mutiny. In March 1895 the text of a circular sent from London was published in the French newspapers. This circular had been sent to Vahabedian, the *Marhasa* of Adana, and the spiritual leaders of the Armenian church."

As for the incident itself, the best thing would be to quote the article in the New York Herald Tribune, a newspaper that could never be accused of partiality for the Turks.

"European observers are of the opinion that the Armenian revolt was instigated by Armenians from abroad. The rebels were armed with the most up-to-date weapons from England. After committing crimes of arson, murder and looting they resisted an attack carried out by regular troops and withdrew to the mountains. The investigating committee concluded that the Ottoman government was fully justified in dispatching troops against the rebels. These troops were able to defeat the rebels only after a bloody conflict. It takes more than persuasive words or newspaper articles to overcome a body of nearly three thousand well-armed rebels who have taken refuge in inaccessible mountains.

The Armenians ringleaders appeared in the Talori Mts. to the south of Sasun and Muş, between Bitlis and Genç. Here they were joined by a person by the name of Hamparsum who had already instigated disorders in the region under the alias of Murat, and placed their forces under his command. This Hamparsum had been born in Hachin and had studied medicine in Istanbul for eight years. After taking part in the Kumkapı demonstration he had fled first to Athens and then to Geneva, after which he returned to Bitlis via Iskenderun and Diyarbakır in disguise and under a false name. He there joined with five others in subversive activities. Hamparsum tricked the simple people into believing that he had been sent by the European Powers to overthrow Turkish domination, and thus succeeded in realizing his murderous plans.

They first of all occupied the Talori region, which included the villages of Siner, Simai, Gülli-Güzet, Ahi, Hedenk, Sinank, Çekind, Effard, Musson, Etek, Akcesser. In 1894, leaving their wives, children and property in these inaccessible spots, the Armenians joined forces with other armed bands coming from the Silvan districts in the plain of Muş, after which the whole body of 3000 men gathered in the Andok Mt. Five or six hundred wished to surround Muş, and started off by attacking the Delican tribe to the south of the city. They slaughtered a number of the tribe and seized their goods. The religious beliefs of the Muslims who fell into their hands were derided and disparaged, and the Muslims themselves murdered in the most frightful manner. The rebels also attacked the regular troops in the vicinity of Muş, but the large numbers of the regular forces prevented them from occupying the city.

The rebels joined the bandits in the Andok Mts., carrying out the most frightful massacres and looting among the tribes of the neighbourhood. They burned Ömer Agha's nephew alive. They raped a number of Turkish women at a spot three or four hours' distance from Gülli-Güzet and then strangled them.

At the beginning of August the rebels attacked the Faninar, Bekiran and Badikan tribes, perpetrating equally horrible atrocities. The rebels in the villages of Yermut and Ealigernuk in the *nahiye* of Cinan in the *kaza* of Cal attacked the Kurds in the neighbourhood, as well as the villages of Kaisser and Çatçat.

Towards the end of August, the Armenians attacked the Kurds in the vicinity of Muş and burned down three or four villages, including Gülli-Güzet. As for the 3000 rebels in Talori, they continued to spread death and destruction among the Muslims and other Christian communities, refusing to lay down their arms. Regular troops were finally sent to force them to submit.

Hamparsum fled to the mountains with eleven other rebels. He was finally captured alive, but only after he had killed two soldiers and wounded six. By the end of August all the rebels had been crushed.

The women, the children, the aged and the lame were treated by the Turks in accordance with the charity and humanity characteristic of Islam. The rebels who died were those who refused to surrender and preferred to continue fighting against the legitimate government of the country."

This, then, is an objective and impartial account of an event that caused such a sensation in the European press.

For more information on these punitive expeditions one may turn to the account given by M. Ximenes, who remained in Bitlis throughout these incidents until November 1894.

"On the request of the governor of Bitlis, Zeki Pasha was given orders to send in troops for the restoration of order. Four battalions were mustered to disperse the rebels. The soldiers encountered a force of 3000 Armenian rebels on the slope of a mountain. They first of all hurled stones and insults at the troops. Then they opened fire, and the soldiers fired back. Later the rebels collected in a narrow valley. The soldiers marched on their

position. The Turkish commanding officer tried to persuade the rebels to come to terms and disperse. Some of them accepted his advice, but most of them stood their ground patiently and stubbornly. The soldiers twice opened fire. Altogether three hundred rebels were killed.

This was the only real confrontation in the whole series of incidents. It is true that several prisoners were taken, but these were later freed."¹⁶

While investigations were continuing in Muş, another appeal for the implementation of reforms in the six provinces was made by Great Britain, Russia and France, who joined together to submit the well-known May reform project. It was while this project was being discussed that the Hunchaks arranged a demonstration at the Sublime Porte.

The Sublime Porte Demonstration (18 September 1895)

This demonstration was arranged by the Hunchaks. Mateos Izmirlian was Patriarch at the time and worked very closely with his colleagues both in the capital and in the provinces.

In an interview with George Coulis, a European journalist, the Patriarch put forward his own point of view: "We are a desperate nation. We will fight with all the means at our disposal. If some innocent people get hurt in the process that is of no importance."¹⁷

The demonstration was the result of prolonged preparatory work. Simple, ignorant people from Muş, Van, etc. were gathered together and the blessing of God called down upon both them and their weapons. Kirkor Aleatchian, (later Catholicos of Cilicia) who had been brought to Istanbul for having insulted the *Mutasarrif* of Muş and was one of Izmirlian's closest friends, preached a sermon in the Surp Hatch Church in Uskudar, just before the demonstration, on the theme "The Cross will conquer the world", thus stirring up the congregation in the church, who left shouting "Long live the Rebellion! Long live Armenia!"

As will be seen in the various incidents that followed, Izmirlian, while taking charge of the political strategy at home, lost no opportunity of disseminating European propaganda abroad.

According to S. Kaprielian:¹⁸

"On the other hand, the Istanbul Patriarch Izmirlian displayed the most indefatigable and courageous activity. The

Patriarch enjoyed unprecedented public support, and this was by no means confined to the Armenian community itself. He sent a manifesto to the Sublime Porte describing the situation and the feelings of the Armenians, urging that immediate action should be taken in implementing the reforms, otherwise the Armenians could not be held responsible for the consequences. This manifesto astounded the Sublime Porte and infuriated the Sultan."

The demonstration took place on Monday, 18 September 1895. Two days previously the Armenians had handed a statement to the Ambassadors of six foreign powers to the effect that the Armenians intended to hold a peaceful demonstration demanding the implementation of the reforms, and that, if the government should attempt to prevent this demonstration by using troops, gendarmerie or police, very serious consequences might ensue, for which the government alone would be responsible.

The statement handed to the Ambassadors of the Great Powers on the occasion of the demonstration at the Sublime Porte arranged by the Hunchak Revolutionary Committee ran as follows:

"We Armenians living in Istanbul and from all the towns and cities of Anatolia have arranged this demonstration as a collective protest against our situation and condition in our own country, and to inform both the Sublime Porte and the European nations of the just demands of the Armenian people.

We protest against the measures taken in recent years by the Sublime Porte aimed at the systematic extermination of the Armenian people in their native land, the wrongs and injustices inflicted, the innumerable political arrests, the torture of prisoners, the atrocities of the Kurds, the oppression of the tax collectors;

The pitiless slaughter by Ottoman troops of the thousands of our brothers and sisters who rebelled in Sasun in an attempt to preserve their lives, property and honour;

The barbaric attacks made every day by Kurds and Turkish soldiers;

And, finally, the failure to implement the promises made after the Sasun incidents that steps would be taken to prevent the recurrence of such abuses.

We demand the following legal rights:

The security of our lives and property and the preservation of our honour and virtue;

Freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly; equality before the law;

The prevention of arbitrary arrest and imprisonment;

As it would appear to be impossible to collect the arms of the Kurds, permission for Armenians to bear arms;

The re-division of the provinces in accordance with national boundaries;

The appointment of a European Governor-General for the six Armenian provinces, together with an elected assembly to work with the Governor-General;

The implementation of reforms in the provinces of Adana and Aleppo, which have a large Armenian population;

Reforms of the police forces and a reduction in their number;

Reduction in compulsory services, the abolition of forced labour, the ending of forcible occupations, the equal and just collection of taxes, the abolition of tithes and similar reforms;

The prohibition of nomadic wanderings on the part of the Kurds, the adoption of measures directing them towards honourable work, the abolition of the institution of tribal chiefs, the disbanding of the Hamidiye cavalry, etc;

The allocation of local revenue to local needs;

An amnesty for all Armenian political prisoners, exiles and deserters.

We believe that the realization of the above-mentioned items is as necessary for the well-being of the whole of the Ottoman Empire as it is for the peace and tranquillity of the Armenians themselves."

To the government's request that he should summon the leaders of the revolutionary committees and warn them not to proceed with the demonstration, Izmirlian replied that he knew neither the leaders nor the ordinary members. "I have said all I can to these wretched people. I can do no more."

On Monday 18 September, three or four thousand Armenians gathered in the church of the Patriarchate at Kumkapı, men, women and girls from Bitlis, Van and Muş forming the majority.

As Izmirlian was leaving the church in procession after the service, Mari Beglerian, one of the students in the Art School in Beyoğlu and the later Mme Nakkashian, came up and spoke with the Patriarch. After describing the lamentable state of the Armenians, she went on to say that the Armenians recommended that appeals should be made to the six Great Powers for help in freeing them from despotic rule, and that if the Powers remained silent in the face of their appeal the Armenians would show them that they knew how to die.¹⁹

Izmirlian replied by saying that he was not neglectful of his duty and would make an appeal to the Powers. Another Armenian girl shouted out that the Armenians demanded liberty or death. After this scene, which was obviously rehearsed, the demonstrators, who had collected during Izmirlian's return to the Patriarchate, started to make their way from Kumkapı to the Sublime Porte singing the march, "A voice rings out from the Armenian mountains of Erzurum!" which had been composed on the occasion of the Erzurum incident. On the way there was a good deal of firing, attacks were made with knives and revolvers, shouts were heard of "Long live Armenia!" The gendarmerie colonel Servet Bey was attacked and shot near the Tomb of Sultan Mahmud II. The demonstrators were joined by hundreds of Armenians from Galata, Üsküdar and other parts of Istanbul. A group of five hundred Armenians opened fire on the police and the gendarmerie from Çatal Han. By the time they reached the Sublime Porte the demonstrators numbered over a thousand. They were successfully prevented from attacking the Sublime Porte and their attempts to incite the Muslims also proved abortive.

A large proportion of the Armenians took refuge in the churches in Beyoğlu, Galata and Kumkapı and refused to allow those inside to leave. Once order had been restored they were all allowed to return freely to their homes. According to Armenian sources this constituted the main outline of events.

The official communications issued on the occasion clearly reveal the negligence and unpreparedness of those at the head of the government. At the time of the demonstration there were 60-70

soldiers in the guard-post at the Sublime Porte but they had not been supplied with ammunition.²⁰ The Patriarch Izmirlian was first of all invited by the Prime Minister to the Sublime Porte, but declined on grounds of ill health. He also refused to accept the Minister of Gendarmerie who was sent to the Patriarchate to see him. The Minister talked to some members of the Patriarchate, who told him that they were trying to make the people disperse and suggested that they should not be fired upon. They also showed the Minister the following manifesto they proposed to read to the people:

"The Armenian Patriarch, leaders of the Armenian people,

I order you to disperse the assembled crowd. Let His Beatitude the Patriarch take one member of the spiritual council and one member of the lay and immediately proceed to the Sublime Porte to announce what your wishes may be. Once again I order the dispersal of the people.

The above announcement is in accordance with the decisions taken by the Grand Vizier Sait Pasha and the Minister of Justice and Religious Sects.

18 September 1311

Signature
Minister of the Interior
Rifat"

The Patriarch was sent the following manifesto:

To the members of the Armenian Patriarchate and of the religious and lay councils:

The Minister of the Gendarmerie was sent to the Patriarchate on behalf of the government to ensure the dispersal of the assembled crowds.

The Patriarch avoided seeing the Minister. Later Major Halil Bey, one of the aides-de-camp to the Grand Vizier was sent on the same mission. The crowd was not dispersed. The Major returned with a reply from one of the members of the Patriarchate. This reply was to the effect that they were attempting to disperse the crowd but asked for permission to submit a request to the Sublime Porte through the Minister of Gendarmerie. According to information

given by the Minister of Gendarmerie this request consisted of a plea that fire should not be opened on the assembled people. It would be regarded as an act of goodwill on the part of the Ottoman government if the crowds that had gathered in violation of the laws prohibiting public assembly were to be dealt with leniently and if force were to be avoided in bringing about their dispersal. The aims of those who had assembled in this way were compatible neither with the interests of the government nor with the just and legal interests of the Armenian community. It is well known that this action was undertaken at the instigation of a very few. It has therefore been unanimously decided that the assembled crowds should disperse within one hour of the reception of this communication.

10 Rebi-ul-Akhiri, 1313

	Sait	
	Prime Minister	
Rıza		Rifat
Minister of Justice		Minister of the
and of Religious Seats	Turhan	Interior
	Minister of Foreign	
	Affairs	

The Grand Vizier gave orders that a battalion of infantry should be sent to the Sublime Porte and two battalions of cavalry held in readiness. According to the account given by Sait Pasha, the Ministry of Defence and the *Mabeyn* believed that the situation could be handled by means of the regular police.

The Patriarch Izmirlian gave the cause of the gatherings as "the feelings of desperation aroused in the Armenians by the acts of injustice and repression taking place in the provinces".

The following day (19 October 1311 - 1 October 1895) the government sent the following notice to the press:

OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Observing some Armenian tramps and hooligans engaged in theft and looting, police officers and gendarmes intervened to restore order; notice having been given to the Patriarchate, the crowd was dispersed and peace and tranquillity re-established thanks to the action taken by His Majesty the Sultan.

This announcement was followed by a second circular to the press to be distributed along with the newspapers:

NOTICE

An account is given in today's newspapers of the manner in which the demonstration held yesterday by a few Armenians was dispersed. Naturally, any who offered armed resistance to the police and gendarmes were seized and arrested, tried, and given sentences in accordance with the law.

All Ottoman subjects, whether Muslim or Christian, must act in accordance with their duties and responsibilities as citizens, and anyone acting in violation of the law will be held responsible for these actions and punished according the terms of the law.

Rebi-ul-Akhiri 1313, Tuesday

The following note concerning the demonstration at the Sublime Porte was sent by the Minister of the Interior to the ambassadors of the foreign powers.

30 September 1895

I must inform Your Excellencies that a number of Armenians, on the instigation of a few Armenian agitators, demonstrated in front and in the vicinity of the Armenian Patriarchate. The measures taken have ensured the preservation of peace and order in the city.

Turhan

Learning that the police were not allowing food to be taken in to the activists who had taken refuge in the churches, the ambassadors of the six Powers sent an appeal to the Sublime Porte, and, at the request of the Patriarch, asked for those who had taken refuge in the churches to be allowed to go free. The Sublime Porte agreed to this.

The Patriarch Izmirlian thanked the ambassadors for their intervention, and wrote as follows to the French Ambassador M. Cambon:²¹

Istanbul, 12 October 1895

Your Excellency,

Thanks to the mediation and felicitous efforts of the ambassadors of the six great European Powers, the unfortunate people who took refuge in the churches after yesterday's terrible events were able to leave their places of refuge and disperse to their homes in peace and tranquillity.

I regard it as the most sacred of duties to express our most profound gratitude to Your Excellencies both for the noble action you took in averting a very great danger and for the friendship you showed us in taking upon yourself so unpleasant a duty. We should also like to express our most sincere gratitude to the dragomans in your service who succeeded in pacifying in the most exemplary fashion a crowd of people beside themselves with fear and despair.

May I be so bold as to request Your Excellency to ensure that effective measures be taken to bring this threatening situation to an end, to prevent the killing of innocent men and women, to stop the abuses now being perpetrated in the prisons and to prevent the dreadful events enacted before our eyes from finding an echo in the provinces?

Your Excellency, confiding you to the protection of God, I pray you will accept my humble respects,

Patriarch of the Armenians in Turkey
Mateos

The British Ambassador, Sir Philip Currie, sent the following report to his government:

"As I telegraphed to your Lordship on the 30th ultimo, a communication bearing the seal of the 'Hunchak', the Armenian Revolutionary Committee, was addressed to the Embassies on the 28th ultimo, stating that a perfectly peaceful demonstration was about to be held by the Armenians in order to express their desire for reforms... The demonstration took place on the 30th ultimo, but unhappily it had not the peaceful character attributed

to it. The demonstrators were armed with pistols and knives of a uniform pattern which had no doubt been issued to them by the organizers of the movement.

There is good reason to suppose that the object of the 'Hunchak' was to cause disorder and bloodshed with a view to inducing the Powers of Europe to intervene on behalf of the Armenians."

The letter containing the threats of the Hunchak Committee addressed to the European Embassies in Istanbul: ²²

Your Excellency,

As a sequel to a demonstration intended to remind the Powers of reforms in Armenia, and make them cause such reforms to be carried out, thousands of Armenians have, in the course of forty-eight hours, been slaughtered and plundered. Not content with these bloody reprisals, the Palace is continuing, up to the present moment, its system of extermination under the form of exile and imprisonment. In the capital and suburbs, every house is searched and every street watched by officers of the police. On the sole charge of their being fathers of families, Armenians of all ages, even women, are placed under arrest, taken to prison, robbed of their purses, and shipped all to unknown destinations. Once more the Embassies are abetting the Palace and under pretext of rescuing the Armenians from death, they are helping it to drive them from Constantinople. They tell us openly, or give us to understand, that their Governments are resolved to sacrifice our claims to the cause of European peace.

It is clear, however, that the Powers, when they act together, and with energy, can obtain anything from the Palace. Divided by conflicting interests, to which they have no right to subordinate the question of our life and death, they become the playthings of a clique of brigands and murderers in Yildiz, who are plotting from thence the extermination of the Armenian races.

Agriculturalists, merchants, manufacturers, physicians, lawyers, men of thought, and men of action, in a word, as a whole nation, we lift our voice (and beware, lest our voice find an echo in the toiling classes of your own countries), and in the unequal contest which we are waging with our oppressors, we invite you to take the side of the elements of civilization against those whom you have seen in the *vilayets*, and even in the capital.

Soldiers, agents of the Palace, priests, vagabonds, banded together to offer to their God an offering of Christian blood, and to destroy in a single night the work of capital amassed at the cost of centuries of labour.

In the success of the Armenian cause is involved not only the honour, but the security and progress of Europe. It is by us that there will be opened to your commerce, your industry, and your enterprise, the roads, plains, and valleys which the barbarians have turned into desolate solitudes.

This is not a prayer to you on our part; in representing to you the persecution of Armenians we wish to remind you, for the last time, of your duties as protectors of the Christians.

The representatives of the Powers ought, with the utmost promptitude, to stop the wholesale exile and imprisonment of the Armenians, and to put into immediate execution the reforms formulated and demanded by our brothers "Tachnagtzagan."

A fresh movement is in preparation by which our nation will display its vitality. If the present notice is followed by no effective step on your part, you will see that we will once again make death a feature of the struggle.

Convinced of the justice of our cause, the moderation of our demands, and the positive results of the evil, we will overwhelm in a common ruin ourselves and all those about us, and arraign you before the bar of public opinion to answer for the horrors which will follow this third, but not last, deed of violence from which your weakness makes it impossible for us to spare the capital of the East.

In the name of the Armenian people,
The Hunchakist Committee. (L.S.)

The Armenians were greatly upset at the failure of the Sublime Porte demonstration, and the Dashnaktsutiu Revolutionary Committee ordered that all Armenian newspapers should cease publication as a protest against the government.

Hairenik (Motherland) was published in Istanbul under the direction of Ohannes Shahnazarian as the official newspaper of the Hunchak Revolutionary Committee. Contributors included Arshak Chobanian, Leon Pashalian, Arpiyar Arpiyarian and Minas Cheraz. Arpiyar Arpiyarian acted as Hunchak representative in Istanbul.

A Hunchak centre was established in London by Nazarbeg, his wife Maro and Hanazad.

The Sublime Porte demonstration had repercussions in the provinces. Another rebellion occurred in Zeitun.

The State of Affairs in Zeitun up to 1895

Zeitun, whose whole history had been filled with revolts and rebellions, was the scene of the last acts committed by the Hunchaks. With this revolt, Hunchak activity comes to an end, apart from a few sporadic uprisings in various parts of Anatolia, and splits begin to appear within the Hunchak party itself.

According to Armenian writers, Zeitun was originally founded by seven families from Urfa, refugees who dispersed to various parts of Anatolia after the annexation of Ani by the Byzantines, Armenians from Van and other regions, and the Pakradunis who came here with Rupen, the founder of the Rupinian dynasty.

As can be seen from the above account, the Armenians in Zeitun and Cilicia were Armenians who had fled before the victorious advance of the Seljuks or had been driven out of the regions conquered by the Byzantines. These Armenians had taken refuge in Hatchin, Zeitun and other places beyond the Toros Mts., where they collaborated with the Crusaders. After the defeat of the Crusaders they finally settled here.

According to Semerdjian:²³

"Zarmanuhi, a woman of the Rupinian family, came to Zeitun after the collapse of the Rupinian kingdom and ruled there for sixty-five years. After her death the inhabitants of Zeitun came under the rule either of the Zulkadiroglu family of Maraş or the Tecerli Turkmens of Çukurova.

The priest Hetom, one of the descendants of Zarmanuhi, came to Istanbul to complain of the heavy burden of taxation born by the people, and returned with the following *firman* from Murat IV:

"The town of Zeitun being situated in stony terrain of small extent where it is difficult to find subsistence and where it is necessary for wheat, barley and all kinds of grain to be imported from elsewhere, I have made a distinction between the citizens of Zeitun and my subjects in all the other great cities and granted them exemption from taxation. They will be obliged to pay a tax of only 15000 kurush a year, to be given to the Mosque of Ayasofya for the purchase of oil for the lamps used for the illumination of the mosque. Let them also give 15000 kurush to their own churches. Let all places of worship be illuminated by oil-lamps.

Let this be regarded as a donation both to the Mosque of Ayasofya and to their own churches. No Ottoman officials will reside in the town of Zeitun, and if any Ottoman official should pass through the town on a journey, let him not sleep there, let him spend the night outside the town. Let no one repeal or retract the privileges and independence I have granted. Let them know this, and give obedience to the Imperial seal.

Istanbul
Sene sitte ve selasin ve
elf fi sehri Sevval 29"

Murat

This supposed *firman* was burned in the conflagration of 1884. The ban on Ottoman officials entering the town, the exemption from taxation and the item forbidding revocation by any later Ottoman Sultan of the town's independence clearly show the document to be a pure figment of the imagination.

This *firman* was used as the pretext for all the Zeitun mutinies and as the basis for the various claims for privilege and independence.

The following summary may be given of the various Zeitun insurrections and the action taken to suppress them.

The Governor of Maraş, Ömer Pasha, ordered that the taxes be paid directly to Maraş during the 1774 Russo-Ottoman war; as a result, a rebellion occurred in 1780, during which Ömer Pasha was killed and Zeitun besieged for seven months.

In 1782 Ömer Pasha was succeeded by Ali Pasha, who went into action against Zeitun but was defeated in the region of Göredin.

In 1808 Kalender Pasha, the *Mutasarrıf* of Maraş, besieged Zeitun for nine months, and forced the inhabitants to accept a tax of six purses of gold.

In 1819 Çapanoğlu Celal Pasha, while returning from having punished Hülbül Oğlu in Aleppo, marched against Zeitun at the request of the citizens of Maraş, with no result.

In 1829 the governor of Kayseri, Köse Mehmet Pasha, was sent here but was able to achieve nothing substantial.

In 1832 Bayezitoğlu Süleyman Pasha marched against Zeitun and sought to sow dissension among them.

In 1835 Tosun Pasha, who had succeeded Süleyman Pasha, imprisoned a number of citizens of Zeitun for the 7-year accumulated tax debt. The citizens of Zeitun retorted by abducting some prominent citizens of Maraş. Agreement was finally reached by the liberation of the prisoners on both sides.

1836 was marked by the murder of Topolian in Maraş and the Deli

Keşiş incident.

In 1840 the Akçadağ expedition was organized.

1842 saw an armed confrontation with the inhabitants of Tecer.

In 1852 the *Mutasarrıf* Mustafa Pasha of Scutari marched against Zeitun to demand their tax debt of 150,000 kurush.

In 1853 a person by the name of Hovakim arrived in Zeitun and converted the old caravanserai into a palace. He himself became the governor. He appointed four Zeitun notables members of the council and made a priest the judge. He began the restoration of Zeitun castle but was arrested at Erzurum on his way to Russia to ask for aid and hanged by the Turkish authorities.

In 1860 Hurşit Pasha, the governor of Maraş, marched on Zeitun to demand payment of accumulated tax debts but with no result.

In 1861 an individual by the name of Leon arrived in Zeitun from Hachin and made the citizens of Zeitun write a general petition to the Emperor Napoleon III. The petition ran as follows:

"We Armenians living the Toros Mts have 70,000 men capable of bearing arms. We demand the right of self-government. We appeal to the Emperor to intercede on our behalf with the Sultan for the granting of our independence and the appointment of an Armenian governor."

Leon went to Paris and submitted the petition to the Emperor Napoleon, and was then sent to the French Embassy in Istanbul.

In 1861 Aziz Pasha, the *Mutassarrıf* of Maraş led an expedition against the citizens of Zeitun. At about the same time the Istanbul Armenians sent Kirkor Vartabet Apartian to Paris with a complaint on the subject of Zeitun which he and Karabet Shahnazar presented to the Emperor. Upon orders received by the French Embassy in Istanbul, an appeal on behalf of the citizens of Zeitun was presented to the Sublime Porte. In response to this appeal the army marching on Zeitun was turned back and Aziz Pasha recalled. A commission was sent to investigate the state of affairs in Zeitun, one of the members of the committee being the Hasköy preacher Nerses Varjabedian²⁴ from the Patriarchate. On arriving in Adana he spent the 100 liras he had received for expenses in purchasing an archbishopric from Giragos II, the Catholicos of Sis, and became Archbishop through the good offices of Manuk Samurkashian of Adana.²⁵ He then joined a delegation on its way to Istanbul to appeal for the rights of the citizens of Zeitun and returned to Istanbul in their company. A commission of investigation set up by Ali Pasha and composed of Şahin Bey as representative of the Sublime Porte, Serkis Agabekian from the

Patriarchate and Davut Efendi representing the Catholic Armenians, was sent to Zeitun. Investigations were carried out, but no grounds for complaint were discovered.

In 1865 a person by the name of Salih Bey was appointed the first *kaymakam* in Zeitun, and an official local government was now set up there. The *Ishans*²⁶ of Zeitun were sent to Istanbul by the governor, Cevdet Pasha. The Patriarch first proposed that they should be settled in Edirne, but as the result of the intercession of a few Armenian notables and an appeal made by the Patriarch to Ignatieff, the Armenians bearing the title *Ishan* were sent back to Zeitun.

In 1878, during the Turco-Russian War, Veysi Pasha, the governor of Aleppo, marched on Zeitun demanding that the citizens of Zeitun should demonstrate their loyalty. The *Marhasa* and twelve other people were arrested. Thereupon the famous Zeitun bandit, Babik Pasha, descended from the mountains and seized the *kaymakam* and twenty-two others and imprisoned them in the church. At the request of the *kaymakam* the Zeitun citizens imprisoned in Maraş were set free. Babik Pasha continued with his raids.

In 1879 the Sultan ordered Mazhar Pasha and Nurian Efendi to carry out an investigation. These were later joined by the British Consul in Aleppo and the Catholicos of Cilicia. The Zeitun rebels were pardoned.

Babik Pasha was appointed Mayor of Zeitun and those under his command were set free.

A ceremony was held for the laying of the foundation stone of a military barracks in Zeitun. While the Catholicos of Sis was laying the foundation stone he declared, "This barracks is for your own soldiers, make no mistake about it!"²⁷

The Zeitun Revolt

The most important revolt in Zeitun was that organized by the Hunchaks in July 1895

The authorities were informed that some foreign Armenians were engaging in subversive activities in the village of Arekin in the vicinity of Zeitun, and an enquiry was begun. They turned out to be Hunchak propagandists by the name of Agasi, Hrachia, Abah, Nishan, Melek and Garabet, who had been sent out by Nazarbeg, the leader of the Hunchak revolutionary committee in London, to incite a revolt. They informed the inhabitants of Zeitun that the requisite money and arms were being sent to equip them for an attack on the Turks, and on military establishments and important centres in the neighbourhood, and that as soon as the uprising began the British and French fleets

would arrive at Mersin and Iskenderun.

On 16 September 1895, a hundred Armenians, made up of the Zeitun rebels, Partogomios Vartabet and representatives of the villages, met at Karanlık Dere to decide on strategy.

The insurrection began with the cutting of all telephone wires. Attacks were carried out by four thousand armed and two thousand unarmed inhabitants of Zeitun. The barracks and the local government building were surrounded. The *kaymakam*, fifty officers and six hundred men and their commanders were taken prisoner. The prisoners were later murdered by the women of Zeitun. The commander, Remzi Pasha, asked for reinforcements to carry out a counter-attack. Ethem Pasha arrived on the spot and also stressed the need for reinforcements.

The rebels were equipped with modern weapons, but an attack carried out by the troops stationed at Göksün forced them to take refuge in Zeitun. Siege was laid to the city but just as the rebellion was about to be finally crushed the foreign ambassadors in Istanbul offered the government their services as mediators. The Palace decided to accept the offer and the military operation was suspended. The ambassadors entrusted their consuls in Aleppo with the negotiations and the consuls of the six Powers entered Zeitun on 1 January 1896 and peace was concluded with the Zeitun rebels on the 28th of the same month.

The peace conditions were as follows:

- 1.- The inhabitants of Zeitun refuse to surrender the Hunchak leaders to the Ottoman government.
- 2.- These rebels will leave Ottoman territory. The Sublime Porte promises the representatives of the six governments in Istanbul that they will show due respect to these members of the revolutionary committees and guarantee their arrival safe and sound in Europe, all travel expenses to Europe being borne by the Sublime Porte.
- 3.- The Ambassadors will verify, through their consuls, that the second article concerning the six Hunchak revolutionaries is properly implemented in accordance with the procedure normally applied by the consuls in the case of European nationals.
- 4.- A general amnesty will be proclaimed extending to all

Armenian bands, villagers and travellers who took refuge in the town as well as to the inhabitants of Zeitun.

- 5.- A governor will be appointed for Zeitun to be approved by the European governments.
- 6.- All security forces, soldiers and local government officials will be inhabitants of Zeitun.
- 7.- The inhabitants of Zeitun will not be liable for the payment of tax arrears and will be exempt from all taxation for a period of five years.
- 8.- Taxes will be levied in accordance with each individual's ability to pay.
- 9.- Security of life and property, the preservation of honour and freedom of religion will be guaranteed by the European Powers.
- 10.- The return safe and sound to their own homes of all Armenian villagers and of the bands who arrived from other parts of Turkey will be supervised by the consuls.
- 11.- The weapons taken from the barracks by the inhabitants of Zeitun will be surrendered to the authorities only on the following conditions: similar weapons in the hands of the Turks and Circassians in the surrounding villages will be collected by the local authorities and the inhabitants of Zeitun will be permitted to keep their own personal weapons.
- 12.- The inhabitants of Zeitun will not be responsible for the rebuilding of the burnt-out barracks. This work will be carried out by the government.
- 13.- Only one battalion of Ottoman troops will be left in the city. This battalion will not intervene in any way in local affairs and will not be responsible for the preservation of law and order.
- 14.- The consuls who have taken part in the negotiations will not leave Zeitun until these conditions have been implemented.
- 15.- The European governments will set up consulates in Zeitun to superintend the work of the new Zeitun administration.

Sir Philip Currie wrote to Lord Salisbury informing him that a telegram had been received from the consuls in Zeitun to say that the conditions had been accepted by the Zeitun leaders. He went on to say that the following conditions had been accepted by the Ottoman government:

- 1.- The inhabitants of Zeitun and the Ottomans in the mountains should surrender their weapons. All weapons used for hunting or sport, as well as daggers and revolvers, may be retained.
- 2.- Proclamation of a general amnesty. The foreign members of the Hunchak Revolutionary Committee should be expelled from Ottoman territory. Individual law cases could be pursued against those granted amnesty. The government insisted that these should be surrendered to the authorities but the inhabitants of Zeitun insisted on a guarantee of their safety.
- 3.- The question of tax arrears should be considered and there should be no insistence on the immediate restoration of the barracks. These items were to be put in a request to the Sultan.
- 4.- The appointment of a Christian governor should be carried out in accordance with the reform project.
- 5.- The minority request for the evacuation of the troops was rejected by the government. The ambassadors found the request reasonable and are to send a note to the Sublime Porte on this question.

The consuls were entrusted with the supervision of the security of those who had sought refuge in the town.

The following correspondence took place between M. Cambon, the French Ambassador in Istanbul, and the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs: ²⁸

No. 169

Beyoğlu : 25 December 1895

The Armenian rebels in Zeitun are still resisting. The towns have become a place of refuge for Christians fleeing from massacres in the provinces of Maraş and Iskenderun.

As soon as shortages of food and ammunition force the rebels to surrender, the thirty or forty thousand inhabitants who have produced an army of some four thousand rebels, will be exposed to the attacks of the soldiers. Although it has been officially announced that their surrender will meet with a reasonable and just response, the inhabitants of Zeitun find it impossible to put any faith in promises made by Turkish officials and have announced their rejection of the offer.

The Gregorian and Catholic Patriarchs have asked us to intervene to prevent a bloody massacre.

At today's meeting, the ambassadors decided to offer their assistance to the Sublime Porte and to inform their governments that permission had been given for the friendly acceptance of these proposals aiming at the restoration of peace and tranquillity.

This semi-official intervention will be useful to the Sublime Porte, which regards further resistance as very doubtful, and was warmly welcomed by the Christian population.

Our consuls in Aleppo, or their delegates, may proceed to Zeitun to attempt to find an acceptable solution to the problem and superintend its application. I should be grateful if you would grant me permission to join my other colleagues in taking this course of action.

P. Cambon

No. 170

Paris: 24 December 1895

To the Ambassador M. Cambon

I join with you in hoping that the Sublime Porte will view the semi-official intervention of the ambassadors in the Zeitun

question in order to prevent the catastrophe that may result from new and even more serious disturbances as being in full conformity with its own interests.

I therefore grant full permission for you to proceed with your colleagues in approaching the Sublime Porte in the manner you have described.

Berthelot

No. 173

Beyoğlu: 2 January 1896

On the orders of the Sultan, the *Mutassarif* and prominent citizens of Maraş have arrived in Zeitun to consider conditions of surrender. In case of failure an appeal for help will be made to the Sultan.

P. Cambon

No. 174

Beyoğlu: 3 January 1896

The Sublime Porte has asked the ambassadors for assistance in ending the resistance offered by the inhabitants of Zeitun and has ordered a cease-fire to allow us to enter into negotiations with them.

This appeal to the Powers was no doubt inspired by rumours concerning the failure of the Ottoman troops to obtain results. We have asked our consuls in Aleppo to discuss the basis for an immediate agreement and to establish contact with the rebels.

P. Cambon

No. 175

Beyoğlu: 10 January 1896

Our mediation has been warmly welcomed by the inhabitants of Zeitun. The Sultan has asked the ambassadors that their representatives should take immediate steps to prevent further suffering on the part of the Ottoman soldiers as a result of the severe winter weather. The six ambassadors today agreed on the

instructions to be given to our consuls in Aleppo. The consuls will proceed directly to Maraş, or even to Zeitun itself.

P. Cambon

No. 184

Beyoğlu: 11 February 1895

After the days of discussions and correspondence between the ambassadors, the Sublime Porte and the Zeitun rebels, the intervention of the Powers has reached a successful conclusion. Our representatives inform us that the Zeitun rebels have accepted and signed the conditions negotiated with the Sublime Porte and have expressed their gratitude towards ourselves. The conditions may be summarized as follows:

Surrender of arms by those involved in hostilities,

A general amnesty.

The expulsion from Ottoman territory of the five members of the revolutionary committee who arrived from abroad,

The remission by the Sublime Porte of tax arrears,

Reduction in the land tax,

The implementation of reforms with the framework of the general laws.

P. Cambon

No. 189

Beyoğlu: 14 March 1896

To the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The Hunchak leaders in Zeitun, together with their two servants, were placed on board the *Sindh* due to sail from Mersin to Marseilles. The Mersin *Mutasarrıf* wished these Armenians to be surrendered to the Turkish Consulate in Marseilles. M. Summaripa quite justifiably rejected this demand and declared that the information to be given to the Turkish authorities would

be confined to their arrival in Marseilles and their having left Ottoman territory.

P. Cambon

The six consuls entered Zeitun on 11 January 1896 and concluded their discussions and their work of mediation on 28 January.

A large amount of money for the Zeitun rebels was collected in Istanbul by the Hunchaks and sent to Nazarbeg and his wife in London to be forwarded to the rebels in Zeitun. It was later discovered, however, that only a small part of this money ever reached Zeitun, the remainder being retained by Nazarbeg for his own purposes.

The Zeitun insurrection, which had been instigated by the Hunchak revolutionaries and caused a great deal of bloodshed during the fifteen days of its duration, ended with the humiliation of the Ottoman government.

Leo gives this very interesting information on the causes of the Zeitun revolt and the principles underlying it:²⁹

"The Zeitun revolt of 1862 against the Ottoman government was the first concrete, conscious manifestation of the Turkish Armenian revolutionary movement. Zeitun, a small country town in a mountainous region, was an ideal setting for rebellion. Zeitun had already rebelled several times in the nineteenth century in a demand for independence.

The 1862 insurrection was very different from anything that had preceded it. For the first time a revolt took the form of a well-organized armed uprising with a political and propaganda basis and a project for the establishment of a Turkish Armenia. In other words, it was a carefully calculated political undertaking with all the essential features of revolutionary psychology."

Leo reveals that the Zeitun revolt was organized by a secret committee set up by Mikayel Nalbandian, a Russian Armenian in Istanbul:

"A legal file pertaining to the Russian Narodniks who were active at the beginning of the 1860's which was later revealed as a result of the greater freedom obtained by the first Russian

revolution some twenty or thirty years ago, shows that Mikayel Nalbandian formed one of this group.³⁰ Through this document Armenian intellectuals learned that Mikayel Nalbandian, who belonged to the same intellectual and political circle as the famous Russian exiles Herzen, Bakunin and Okrev, and had been imprisoned with them in the Petro-Palvlosk prison in Petrograd, had contracted tuberculosis and would leave prison only for the grave.

One of the documents found on Nalbandian was a letter written by the famous Istanbul orator Harutiun Aladjian. This letter, which has survived only in a Russian and very incomplete translation, is a very valuable document for our recent history in so far as it proves that the Zeitun revolt was organized by a secret revolutionary committee founded in Istanbul by Nalbandian.

Narodni is the Russian for people, the "people" referred to by the Narodniks being the Russian peasant.

Nalbandian disseminated Bakunin's propaganda not only in Russia proper but also among the Armenians; and after 1860, assisted by Harutiun Aladjian, the editor of *Megu*, a weekly magazine, he began to plan revolutionary activities in Istanbul. After 1861 their organization merged with the Istanbul Armenian Benevolent Union, Nalbandian himself being one of the members.³¹

In 1862 Aladjian wrote a letter to Mikayel Nalbandian to say that a certain person had arrived from Tavros (Zeitun) and that he had been supplied by the committee with money and arms, undoubtedly for the revolt. In that case, it would appear that the Russian Narodnik revolutionary committee used the Armenian intellectuals as a means of instigating and directing the revolutionary activities of the Turkish Armenians.

Leo comments on Armenian revolutionary activity as follows:

"In Russia, Bakunin was able to incite the peasants against the Russian government. But as far as the Turkish Armenians are concerned, a rebellion would mean a confrontation with the very powerful forces of the Ottoman government. The Turkish Armenians are almost entirely peasants, and, especially in the region between Van and the Mediterranean, they are very scattered and are nowhere in sufficient numbers to constitute an

effective force. Moreover, the fact that they are mostly peasants and economically in a weak position means that any uprising against a government which differs from them in race and religion would inevitably result in death and destruction."³²

In 1896 the activity of the Hunchaks in Turkey became much more restricted. The reason for this was the emergence of dissension and differences of opinion within the organization.

In 1897 the Hunchaks split into two factions: 1) the extreme Hunchaks, the followers of Nazarbeg, and 2) the moderate Hunchaks, or those belonging to the Arpiar Arpiarian group.

These disagreements were concerned more with leaders and personalities than with differences in ideology. The rivalry between the two factions finally led to open attempts at assassination. They hurled violent accusations at one another. They were also accused by the people of being Marxists. Conflict reached a peak of violence in 1902, when several members of the old committee were killed in the streets of London, Egypt, Bulgaria, the Caucasus and Iran by men who had once been their colleagues.

After the Van uprising, although sporadic action was taken by various groups who had assumed the name, the Hunchaks ceased to be a revolutionary organization of any real strength or influence.

The Van Revolt

The revolutionary committees in Van were more powerful than those in other parts of the country. Large quantities of arms and ammunition were imported through Iran and the Caucasus, and a well-disciplined organization set up among the Armenians. In Van we find the Hunchaks, the Armenagans (followers of Portakalian who had joined the Dashnaksutiun 1895), and the Dashnaks.

Preparations for the rebellion had been going on for almost a year. Stores of arms and ammunition had been built up by means of an "arms tax" levied on the Armenian population, and the organization of the mutiny had been taken over by leaders from Russia and Iran.

The following account of the Van revolt is given by General Mayevski:³³

"In 1895, the revolutionaries of Van were attempting once again to draw the attention of Europe to the Armenian question. Letters were sent to wealthy Armenians for money and threatening them with death if they refused to contribute. At the

same time a number of political murders were committed by order of the Van Revolutionary Committee. The most important of these crimes was perpetrated on January 6th, the most important Armenian holiday, on the person of the priest Bogos, as he was on his way to church to celebrate the holy service. The poor old man had been condemned to death for having strongly opposed the ignominious deeds of certain revolutionaries.

During the winter of 195-96, young Armenians gathered in a spacious room on one of the houses near the Russian consulate where they engaged in patrol and even detachment drills, and sometimes, transported by their zeal, would practise shooting. The missionaries in Van were very active, one of their activities being the receipt of the money which been collected secretly or had been sent from London through the British Consulate, and its delivery to those to whom it had been sent in the form of contributions to benevolent funds. At the end of 1895 a group of Armenians gathered in Van on the same pretext. While the British were aiding the Armenians in this way, the Armenians openly declared that the British were buying Armenian blood for the price of hay. Although some of the Armenians who came to Van for aid were in real need of bread, the authorities, noticing some who were obviously wearing their oldest clothes and refused to reveal their identity, sensed that something was afoot.

In February and March these gatherings began to grow in number and importance. The danger steadily increased. With the coming of spring it was deemed advisable to send the Armenians who had come from other parts back to their homes. At the same time, the American missionaries were advised that the aid would be distributed in areas that were in greater need than Van. Only the revolutionary leaders remained in Van, together with those who were willing to join in the rebellion in return for three or four kurush.

With spring, the preparation of the revolutionary movement began to gain importance. One even heard of certain attempts, such as the murder of some Kurds in the proximity of the city, whose bodies had been cut to pieces. The revolutionaries, seeing that no investigation was carried out with regard to these murders, increasingly plucked up courage. However, the patience of the Moslems was being exhausted in proportion to the Armenians' audacity."

The following is an important passage from the Blue Book with an account of the mutiny given by Major Williams, the British Consul in Van:³⁴

"On the night of the 2-3 June, a military patrol was attacked at midnight in the streets of Van. An officer and a soldier were severely wounded. The patience and tolerance of the Moslems was exhausted. The cause of this lay with the stupid Armenians. I had told them repeatedly that nothing could be achieved by childish action of this sort and begged them to abandon such attacks. I think the situation is now hopeless."

Major Williams goes on to comment on the inaccuracy of the newspaper reports on the Armenian questions and, after declaring that these reports are all lies and fabrications, he goes on as follows:

"On 6 June, accompanied by the American missionary Dr Regnault, I saw two places defended by the rebels. I was greatly astonished at their methods of defence. They themselves said that they could hold out for ten days until reinforcements arrived from Iran. They included a number of American, Russian and Bulgarian nationals. There were altogether twelve to fifteen foreigners. The rebels totalled some six hundred.

The Armenians are armed with Russian rifles. The rebels say that these weapons were brought in through Iran and that they obtained them with the help of the local Armenians. The members of the various revolutionary committees wear distinctive uniforms. I mention all this in order to demonstrate that the rebels have armed themselves with these weapons not in order to "protect their children" but to prepare for an insurrection. I have documents to prove that a number of innocent Moslems have been killed for approaching, quite unwittingly, the rebel positions.

The Turks are the finest of all the peoples of Anatolia, and not only the finest of the Moslems but the finest of all races and religions. They do not in any way deserve the treatment they are given in the Russian and European newspapers.

Unfortunately, the most unashamedly affected by the instigations of the rebels are the young people of the town. Those who have been placed in my protection have received no harassment from the government."

It is plain from the above account that it was the Armenians who took the offensive. In Van, as hitherto in Sassun and Zeitun, the revolutionaries aimed at provoking incidents that would attract the attention of foreign powers. While the government was preventing the entry of any Moslems into the Van area because of the disorders there, the Armenians were bringing in reinforcements.

Here too, the government appealed to foreigners for arbitration, and sent the following note to the consuls: ³⁵

If the Armenians agree to surrender their arms, these will be collected by the guards in Van castle and by the representatives of the Ottoman government in the city of Van. Until a decision has been taken concerning the future of these Armenians, permission will be granted to the foreign representatives to exercise supervision and control. We suggest that you should act as intermediaries in obtaining pardon for these Armenians. Van: 19.7.1311

Governor of Van
Nazim

Aide-de-Camp
to the Sultan
Sadettin

Regional Commander
Şemsettin

Deputy Governor
C. Melik

The consuls in Van sent the following letter to the revolutionaries:

- 1.- On the intercession of the most honourable ambassador of France, the Sultan guarantees the lives of all the insurgents.
- 2.- As you have surrendered directly to the consuls, the Great Powers accept no responsibility.
- 3.- The Sultan wishes all arms to be surrendered by two o'clock tomorrow.
- 4.- A military cordon will be established with the approval of the consuls for the protection of the Christian and Moslem inhabitants of the villages and the outlying districts of the cities against attacks by the Kurds.
- 5.- All who surrender will be sent to the castle.

- 6.- The consuls will visit you during your terms of imprisonment. We shall ensure your proper treatment by the government.

We see no other possible measures that can be taken as a solution to this conflict. We ask you to accept these terms for the sake of humanity. If you do so, we shall spare no effort to help you and to obtain your pardon.

Van: 8-21 June 1896

Williams

Defrace

Mirza Rıza Han

In spite of all these efforts, some of the revolutionaries fled to the mountains by night. A large number changed their clothes and remained in Van. That so many revolutionaries should have been able to escape without punishment shook public faith in the government.

Varandian gives the following account of the escaping rebels:

"The rebels who left Van made their way to Iran by a number of different routes. The Armenegans, who formed a group of 200 armed men under the leadership of Avadisian, took the Agpak route. The 125 young armed Dashnaks divided into two groups. One of these remained in the country while the other group of 85 made towards the Iranian border under the leadership of Bedo. These latter were joined by a group of 28 Hunchaks led by Mardik. They came into conflict with Kurds and Assyrians near the Karahisar Mts. and were almost entirely exterminated in a battle that lasted the whole day. The Armenagan group met the same fate. Only the Vartan band managed to avoid such a calamity."

The roads through Iran and the Caucasus lay permanently open to the rebels. Any large rebel group could enter Turkish territory whenever they so desired, take any action they wished and then return in perfect freedom by the way they had come. Major Williams stresses this point in the following report: ³⁶

Van, November 4, 1896

Major Williams to P. Currie

Sir,

I have the honour to report the murder of an Armenian priest named "Dar Comidar" on Sunday afternoon, about 3.30 pm. He was decoyed into a lonely street, on the pretence of being required

to see a sick person. There he was stabbed, and his head nearly cut off. There is no doubt that his murder was committed by affiliated members of the Huntchak society, acting on orders from outside. The victim had incurred the enmity of the revolutionists during the recent events here; and it is thought that his murder is merely the prelude to that of several other prominent Armenians of the town, who have declared themselves openly hostile to the extreme revolutionary societies.

The real gravity of this act rests, however, on the fact that, by it, the terrorism of the revolution has again been established, and that, in future, it is quite hopeless to expect Armenians to do anything towards getting rid of, or handing over, any of the revolutionists who may come in here from Persia; though they clearly understand that if the revolutionists ever again attain to the prominent position they occupied here for a long period prior to June last, nothing less than a miracle can save them and their families from annihilation. There is, however, ample time to take the necessary precautions. If suitable men can be obtained, there is no doubt that the Armenian police should be of considerable service. The real danger, however, lies on the Persian frontier. I hear privately from Urmi that the revolutionists are talking "very big" about what they are going to do. Whatever they may say, there is no doubt that they are not strong enough to make a serious attack on the Turkish government. Indeed, their object appears to be to force the hands of Europe by exciting the Kurds to fresh massacres. And few, if any of them, having even the smallest stake in the country, they are prepared to sacrifice any number of their countrymen and women, to attain their ends.

It may further be remarked that the continuance of this menace on the frontier, magnified tenfold as it is by Oriental rumour, and by the extreme Islam party, weakens the hands of the well-disposed officials, and thereby enormously increases the difficulty of restoring law and order to this unhappy country.

I have etc..
(signed) W. H. Williams

After the Van mutiny, the Dashnaktsution Revolutionary Committee sent the following manifesto to the International Socialist Congress in London:

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation

Comrades,

We need not mention the repression and brutality of which Turkish Armenia has been the scene, especially during the last two or three years. You have all followed these events in detail and from day to day, events of which only a pale shadow is reflected in the pages of the European newspapers.

The sufferings of our people did not begin yesterday. For centuries the Turkish invaders have held our country under a deadly yoke, stopping at each stage of their advance to consolidate the merciless exploitation of all the working people of the region, without distinction of race or religion, by stirring up feelings of hatred and revenge and inciting racial conflict and animosity. Now the Ottoman government is oppressing this innocent people with the full weight of its insatiable brutality. It is the Turkish Government, faithful to the principle of divide and rule, a principle that lies at the basis of its repression, that has led us into these dark days. The houses of quiet, peaceful Armenians are attacked on the initiative of those in power and with the help of the military. Men, women, children and the aged are mercilessly slaughtered. What is happening here far surpasses the Bulgarian atrocities.

Must we bow to a state of affairs that has been continuing for centuries, for present events are only a more flagrant version of the events that have been taking place for many years, and which will inevitably lead in the end to the complete extermination of the Armenian people? But a passive, apathetic people, in a state of complete collapse, can do nothing but wait for death. The Armenian people are possessed of sufficient vitality and courage. Their sense of self-preservation is not entirely extinguished. We, too, can present a challenge. We have begun a revolutionary movement against oppression and injustice that will inflict defeat upon the Ottoman government with all its half-starved soldiers in their tattered uniforms, their European weapons which, though excellent in quality, they can scarcely use, their hunting dogs of police and gendarmerie, their dungeons, their atrocities and their cowardly gallows, on which they hang the revolutionary heroes.

Our fraternity, the Armenian Revolutionary Union, was established after the many wrongs inflicted on the Armenian people.

Our aim is to bring about the political and economic liberation of Turkish Armenia by means of a great uprising and revolution. We do not dream of the resurrection of the old political Armenia. We want all the people in our county to possess the same rights and privileges in a federation based on liberty and equality. We believe that only the best political administration and a culture aimed at protecting and preserving the government can do away with racial and religious hatred and hostility.

We want the economic well-being and prosperity of our country. To achieve this, we must fight the increasing number of money-lenders and extortioners in Turkey. To ensure the productivity of the producer we must have the means of production that will bring about advances in productivity. But while waiting for this to be achieved we shall foster and encourage the communistic trends that already exist in our country. We shall try to give land to the farmer. Our scientific socialist attitudes towards the evolution of humanity are revealed in how we have approached you. The provinces of Turkish Armenia possess neither factories nor workshops. They obviously lack the capitalist production, the bourgeoisie, the proletariat and the class war that are the distinguishing features of modern Europe. Consequently, we also lack a social democratic party. But as we agree with you in the conviction that the future of humanity depends on socialist principles, we wish to open our country to all of these. The action taken by our organization against a brutal and barbaric power must necessarily be of a revolutionary character. As the duties and responsibility of a revolutionary organization can be achieved only on the moral plane, we have accepted the principle that our organization should be as far removed as possible from any form of centralization. In other words, we accept the independence of various groups formed around certain organizations' representatives.

We are faced with the military organization of the Ottoman government, regular armed companies and irregular gangs that have inflicted considerable losses on groups of civilian volunteers such as the Kukunian, Harutun Agha, Shamil, Arabo, Peto, Nikol, Ashot, Serhat, Agop, Keri and Durbah bands.

These resisted with great courage in the recent massacres at Sürmeli, Bayburt, Oya, Pasin, Hizan, Ahlat and Vashpuragan. We reply to the spying of the secret police with red terror. The Halils,

Manpres and others have received as their reward with the daggers and bullets of the revolution. We oppose a stupid and exasperating censorship on thought and expression with effective propaganda, both written and oral. We disseminate the ideas of scientific socialism. We awaken the people to a conscious realization of their rights and honour. We teach them that our present work and activities constitute only one stage in the advance towards socialist well-being and satisfaction.

Socialist comrades, these are the aims that the Armenian Revolutionary Union has been pursuing unceasingly for six years. relying only on our own powers and our own strength we shall continue with our struggle until we achieve final victory. We hope that we can realize our aims by begging for the intervention of European diplomacy. But even if the European governments make no intervention of their own free will, public opinion may well force them to do so, thus greatly facilitating our task.

You have seen that not a shadow of Russian or British intrigue lies at the roots of the Armenian revolutionary movement. Raise your voices in our rightful cause, ignoring the baseless rumours spread by our enemies and appearing even in the socialist press regarding Russian instigation and provocation. Declare loudly and clearly in your parliaments and in the assemblies of the people, in your newspapers and periodicals, who we are, what we want and where we are going.

July 25, 1896

The Droshak Editorial Board,
The official journal of the
Armenian Revolutionary Federation

The Raid on the Ottoman Bank

After the Kumkapı demonstrations assassination attempts continued to be made by the revolutionists against wealthy Armenians who refused to contribute money to the cause.

The lawyer Hatchik Efendi, Dadjat Vartabet and Der Sukias, a priest in the Kumkapı cathedral were all murdered. Hatchnik was killed by a fifteen year old Armenian boy by the name of Armenak. Mampre Vartabet and Migirditch Tutundjief, who were both suspected of giving information to the Ministry of Gendarmerie, the police officer Markar, Hadji Dikran, the candle-maker Omnik, the wealthy citizen Karagozian and Undjuian Apik were all murdered in

the open street. Vart Badrikian arrived in Istanbul from Russia as Hunchak representative and was arrested on arrival on suspicion of having carried out various assassination attempts but, being a Russian subject, he was handed over to the Embassy. Ohandjanian, another Russian Armenian, came to Turkey as representative in his place.

The Dashnaksutiun representative in Istanbul was a Caucasian by the name of Melik Yusufian.

In 1896 *Shant* (Thunderbolt), another secret revolutionary society, was founded in Istanbul, as was a second revolutionary committee called *Kurban* (Sacrifice).³⁷

The Hunchak and Dashnaksutiun committees got together with the *Shant* and *Kurban* committees and, after long discussions decided to carry out a raid on the Ottoman Bank and to stir up trouble in the districts of the city inhabited by Armenians.

The following plan was drawn up by the revolutionary committees:

- 1.- Rooms were to be rented in various parts of Beyoğlu, beginning from Ağacami, on both sides of the bridge, in the Armenian Central School in Galata, Tepebaşı, Galatasaray and around Tünel.
- 2.- Groups of eight to ten revolutionaries would lie in wait in these rooms. At the appointed time they would rain down bombs on the people below and occupy important points.
- 3.- Six revolutionaries carrying bombs would attack Nasim Pasha, the Minister of Gendarmerie.
- 4.- Trenches would be dug in the main streets in Beyoğlu. Ox-carts would be brought in laden with stones and sacks of sand made to resemble household goods being transported by migrant families. The oxen would then be removed and the carts used as barricades.
- 5.- The most important part of the plan was the seizure and dynamiting of the Ottoman Bank.

Apart from all this, the necessary keys were to be obtained to allow them access to certain important places. It was also decided that a hundred rifles should be brought from the revolutionary

committee's centre in Bulgaria.

Preparations were carried out in Üsküdar, Samatya and Hasköy. Bombs were ordered from two brothers by the name of Serkis and Mikayel in Üsküdar at 15 kurush for large bombs and 10 kurush for small ones.

Tests were carried out on the bombs at Kağıthane. They were transported from Üsküdar to Kabataş, and thence by ox-cart to Beyoğlu. There were 753 bombs in all, twelve of them weighing as much as 25 kg, all bearing the initials of the Dashnaksutiun Revolutionary Committee. There were also 800 of the best quality American revolvers.

The revolutionists gathered at the end of July 1896 in the house of an Armenian woman, Mlle. Uskuk, in Karnavola St. in Beyoğlu. This meeting was attended by the leaders of the *Shant*, Samatya (*Kurban*) and Dashnaksutiun groups. The operation was organized by three Russian Armenians, Varto, Mar and Boris, who had been given full powers and authority. The operation to be carried out in Samatya was entrusted to the *Kurban* Revolutionary Committee, and they were given 200 bombs. The Üsküdar region was entrusted to the Üsküdar Dashnaksutiun leader Avo, while Hasköy was left to Hrach. A few days after the discussions Armen Garo arrived from Athens.³⁸ The bombs were taken by Ohannes to the British school at Galata.

The raid on the Ottoman Bank was regarded as of great importance by the revolutionists, who hoped that it would bring great advantages to the Armenians.

The following account of the incident is given by Hrach (Haik Tiryakian), who himself took part in it:³⁹

"The comrades gathered at five past six on the morning of August 14. Six people were enough to begin the raid. We embraced them and bade them farewell. Khosrev and Papken led the six heroes away. We ourselves left the house with sacks of bombs on our shoulders and revolvers in our hands. On approaching the bank we heard the bombs thrown by the comrades who had preceded us, together with the sound of rifle fire. We began to run in great excitement. The streets were already in a state of turmoil. People were running here and there in terror and panic. We reached the Ottoman Bank and rushed inside. Three of our colleagues were on duty in front of the lower door. We found that one of our party had been wounded.

While our comrades were busy firing outside, those within the building were holding up the bank personnel, all of them pale

and trembling. I shouted to them that they had nothing to fear as long as they took no action. They thought we were bank robbers. They felt relieved, but on hearing the bombs they again lost their composure. After the bombing had continued for several hours they realized that we were carrying out an operation against the government. In the heat of the fray I began to make my way up to the upper floor together with five comrades. My aim was to go up on to the roof and signal the success of our operation to a colleague who was waiting at some distance. This colleague, on learning of our success, was to present letters putting forward demands to the representatives of the six Powers. My first task was to take out my handkerchief and wave it. After waving it for a little I bound it to the chimney as a sign of our success. A few minutes later I saw Margo, one of our comrades, at his appointed place at the top of a high house. On seeing me he rushed out in joy. I looked down on to the road from the side of the building. There were lots of civilian and military vehicles. I threw a medium-sized bomb. Screams were heard. People rushed here and there. They began to pick up the dead and the wounded, and bring fresh soldiers to take their place. Another bomb, and more screams and panic. The bombs had quite incredible results. They did not kill instantly but tore the victim's flesh and made them writhe in pain and agony. The large bombs made a sound like a cannon and produced panic and consternation. I could hear the continual explosion of bombs and the firing of revolvers.

A number of people were watching us from the windows and balconies of buildings far and near. I had enough dynamite with me to blow up the whole bank. I remembered my comrades, and tried to hear what was going on. There was no sound from below. Were they dead? I was terribly worried. I wept. Only a few hours before they had all been alive. I went up to a window. Suddenly I heard them calling me. They were our comrades. They had been looking for me. I went down. Garo and I went into the manager's office. The Head Secretary of the government was there. I wrote down our conditions.

- 1.- Guarantee of peace and security throughout the whole country.
- 2.- An undertaking on the part of the government that our demands will be satisfied.

- 3.- That all those who had participated in the operation should be allowed to go free and not be subject to prosecution.
- 4.- That if our conditions were not satisfied we will blow up the bank and ourselves with it.

There were seventeen of us left fighting. Three had died and six were wounded. There were a few bombs left. Some of us started filling these. Others took up positions at the sides of the windows and fired on anyone approaching the doors. The comrades were in good spirits. They said they were ready to fight to the death. Someone from our side hung out a white flag as a sign that we wanted to parley. I told the comrades not to throw bombs. Two of the bank personnel were sent out for discussions.

After five o'clock, I began to write down the names of those who were still alive. I shall never forget that tragic moment. Darkness had fallen and lights were being lit. We had continued the attack for four hours, and for nine hours now we had been on the defensive. We had had very great losses. We had also inflicted considerable losses on the enemy. The wounded lay howling on the ground. The pain and agony they felt must have been frightful. The soldiers gradually withdrew from in front of the bank and took up stations rather further away. All their weapons were trained on the windows of the building we were occupying. The cretins were waiting for us to be foolish enough to put our heads out of the windows. We stayed in the bank for thirteen hours. About a hundred and fifty of the personnel - most of them European - were trembling like mice in front of us. They dared not take a step without permission. They were terrified out of their wits by the revolvers and bombs we were carrying around. Some of them told us that they had stayed for four or five hours in dark holes. Thirty or forty people in this situation were too terrified to come out. Twenty or thirty clerks had stayed shut up for six or seven hours in a dirty little room. The sound of our whistles made their blood run cold."

At the very beginning of the operation the Dashnaktsution Revolutionary Committee had sent the following manifesto to the Powers: ⁴⁰

"We have complained about Turkish repression, but all our just complaints have been systematically rejected.

Sultan Hamid responded by taking a bloody revenge.

Europe saw this frightful massacre, and remained silent.

Europe not only held the hand of the hangman, she basely forced us to bow our head.

By attempting to drown the voice of our complaints in our blood, our national honour has been dealt a deadly blow. We have been deeply humiliated by the refusal to grant us our most basic human rights.

The aspirations that have been consecrated with our blood now combine with the thought of sacred revenge that rises like a dark phantom before our eyes.

Europe, with the indifference that has dealt us our death blow, declares that "Might is Right!", thus forcing us, the weak and powerless, to seek every means of shattering the now utterly intolerable yoke of the Sultan.

The time for games of diplomacy has passed.

The blood shed by our hundreds of thousands of victims justifies our demand for liberation and freedom. Contrary to the fabrications spread by our enemies, we demand, as we have always demanded, only what is essential! In other words:

- 1.- The appointment of a European as Chief Superintendent of police, chosen by the six Powers;
- 2.- The appointment of the governors of the provinces and *sandjaks*, and the head officials of districts by the Chief Superintendent of police, with the Sultan's approval;
- 3.- The militia, the gendarmerie and the police to be recruited from the local inhabitants, and to be under the command of a European officer;
- 4.- A judiciary reform compatible with the European system;
- 5.- Absolute freedom of religion, education and the press;

- 6.- The allocation of three-quarters of the country's income to local needs;
- 7.- The remission of tax debts;
- 8.- A tax exemption for five years, and the next five-year tax to be assigned for the damage done in the recent disorders;
- 9.- The immediate return of embezzled properties;
- 10.- The emigrants to be allowed to return freely;
- 11.- An amnesty for Armenians sentenced for political reasons;
- 12.- A temporary commission to be formed with representatives of the European countries, which would supervise the implementation of the above demands.

We repeat! We shall avoid no sacrifice in order to achieve our aims. We accept no responsibility whatever for the consequences.

We deeply regret the losses that both foreigners and the local people may suffer in these disorders. We deeply deprecate this calamity. But for the desperate, mourning has no meaning.

We shall die. We know that. But until we gain our rights as human beings, the spirit of revolt that has worked into the marrow of our bones will continue to threaten the throne of the sultans as long as a single Armenian remains alive."

The bank was occupied on the morning of 14 August and hostilities continued the whole day. Auboyneau, the manager of the bank, and his interpreter entered into negotiations with the rebels and received permission to present the Armenian demands to the Palace. Having asked permission from the officer in command by lowering a letter on a string from the window, Auboyneau and his secretary climbed out of one of the lower storey windows. The General-Director of the Bank, Sir Edgar Vincent, went to the Palace accompanied by Maximoff, the head Dragoman in the Russian Embassy. Sultan Hamid asked Maximoff to find a solution that would prevent a catastrophe. They returned to the bank at night. The discussions proceeded as follows: ⁴¹

"Maximoff: I remained in the embassy until evening. The manifesto sent by your central committee had not yet arrived. Of the conditions you put forward most have been put into effect.

1. Measures have been taken to ensure law and order in the country.
2. The attack against yourself and your colleagues has in effect ceased.
3. Your colleagues have been guaranteed safe conduct out of the country.

As for the third condition put forward by your Istanbul Centre, I am not in a position to make any statement on this matter. I cannot discuss diplomatic matters here. We are doing everything we can to persuade the Sultan to allow himself to perceive the needs of the country. We were doing this before in any case. We shall continue in our efforts. You took action, and you have displayed great heroism. This is sufficient to draw attention once again to your demands. But if you persist, you will lose your case. Instead of friendship and respect, you will be confronted with hatred and hostility. You say you that otherwise you will blow up the bank. What will you gain by this? The death of 157 innocent people will bring the hostility, enmity and detestation of the whole of Europe on your heads."

The discussion lasted fifteen minutes. We opposed the idea of surrender. It was necessary to wait. We could wait, we had taken up defensive positions. Garo entered the discussion.

Armen Garo (Karakin Pastirmadjian) - We have made clear our demands. We shall wait till tomorrow evening. By that time your five colleagues will have received our documents and will have given their reply.

Maximoff - We beg you to leave the building. We can discuss the matter in greater detail on the yacht. Time is precious. If you wait until tomorrow you may bring about a massacre tonight. I managed only with the greatest difficulty to get this consent from the Sultan. Tomorrow everything may change. You will then be faced with a very heavy responsibility. Do not be the cause of

further massacres. There is no need for written promises and undertakings. We ourselves can give you such a document. But this can never be a reliable guarantee. A promise extracted with a knife at the throat has no legal validity. Although giving you our promise we insist that the weapon you are using is not a reliable one. I understand your situation. But you will arouse the hostility of all Europe. You have begun well. See that you also end well. Give a little more thought to the matter and consider the fate of your whole nation.

Garo was opposed to the idea of surrender. But he was worried that we might be the cause of a massacre."

After protracted discussions the revolutionists finally agreed to leave the building. They had said that if they met with attack they would kill Maximoff. They walked down to the shore together with Maximoff between two lines of soldiers with bayonets. There they embarked on Sir Edgar Vincent's yacht. They were then taken to the Gironde, a ship belonging to the Messagerie Maritime, and sent off to Marseilles.

Thus, as in the case of the Zeitun revolt, the rebels were able to leave the country freely under foreign protection.

The Armenians and their supporters in Europe of course added this affair to the list of "massacres perpetrated against the Armenians." The official memorandum published by the government concerning this incident ran as follows:

OFFICIAL MEMORANDUM

While, thanks to His Majesty's generosity and benevolence, the whole Ottoman people live in comfort and well-being under a just administration and are everywhere busy with their own affairs, a few depraved members of the Armenian community have embarked on unseemly actions for personal gain and to the detriment of their own nation. Worthy and law-abiding members of the Armenian community, wearied and disgusted by these attempts to stir up disorder and confusion, have appealed to me to ensure that the most severe punishment should be meted out to these blackguards. But although these thugs and hooligans, who have made a habit of evil, have been repeatedly punished, this has brought about no improvement, and, last Wednesday, some

members of the Armenian gangs entered the Galata branch of the Ottoman Bank in twos and threes on the pretext of having business there and then launched an attack. The government having received previous warning of the enterprise, detachments of soldiers, police and gendarmerie were stationed nearby and were immediately despatched to the scene of the disorder. The villains were driven out of the bank and, as they were prevented from engaging in criminal activities elsewhere, order was restored.

13 August 1331 (1896)

The following report on the incident was sent by the French Embassy in Istanbul to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs: ⁴²

From M. de la Boulinière, Chargé d'Affaires at the French Embassy in Istanbul, to M. Hanotaux, Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Tarabya, 21 August 1896

At one o'clock yesterday, Armenian revolutionaries surrounded the Ottoman Bank and, after killing one of the guards, took possession of the building.

An armed conflict broke out between the Armenians on the one hand and the police and the military on the other. The Turkish mob began killing the Armenians in Galata and Beyoğlu with clubs and knives. The Armenian revolutionaries who had seized the bank sent a note to the ambassadors criticizing the Sultan and Europe for having been unable to defend them and put forward certain conditions under threat of blowing up the bank together with themselves, government documents and all the money.

The gunboat the *Flèche* was brought alongside the shore and the necessary measures were taken in the Embassy in Beyoğlu for the protection of any who might take refuge there.

The situation is dangerous. The military has not so far taken any reprehensible action. I feel it essential that the second warship now in Crete should be sent here immediately."

"M. de la Boulinière to M. Hanotaux

Tarabya, 27 August 1896

The ambassadors of the Great Powers are meeting. The Sultan has spared the lives of the Armenian revolutionists in return for a guarantee given by Sir Edgar Vincent and Maximoff, Dragoman at the Russian Embassy. It was unanimously agreed that they should return on the *Messagerie Maritimee*.

I have been entrusted with the implementation of this decision. The Armenians will surrender their arms before boarding the vessel."

"M. de la Boulinière to M. Hanotaux

28 August 1896

The seventeen Armenian revolutionists who left the Ottoman Bank have been received by M. Ronet, the captain of the *Gironde*. They will be taken to Marseilles."

"M. de la Boulinière to M. Hanotaux

30 August 1896

About six o'clock yesterday evening, some Armenians threw a bomb from a house in Beyoğlu killing an officer and several soldiers. The house was stormed and 61 Armenians brought out."

After the Ottoman Bank incident, the Patriarch sent the following note to the Grand Vizier.

"The thugs and murderers belonging to criminal Armenian revolutionary committees who for a long time now have been committing crimes in various parts of the country, particularly in the Ottoman capital, have now aroused the hatred and detestation of all by the heinous crimes committed last Wednesday when they carried out a raid on the Ottoman Bank, killing officers and men who had been sent in its defence together with a number of completely innocent citizens. Measures were immediately taken to preserve law and order in the rest of the city.

The crimes committed by these villainous ruffians constitute a flagrant violation of the sacred order of the Sultanate and should be punished with the utmost severity. At the same time we regard it as our sacred duty as loyal subjects of the Ottoman Government to make vehement protest on behalf of our religion, our nation, our honour and our conscience against the claims made by these criminals that their actions, which have called forth the anathema of the whole civilized world, were made on behalf of the Armenian community. It is obvious that these crimes may give rise to deplorable reactions on the part of the public. We sincerely hope that all those murderous criminals whose guilt has been determined and who have already been seized or who will be seized in the future, should be punished without delay in exemplary fashion, so that the name of the Armenian people be vindicated before the whole Moslem and Christian world, and our 600 years' friendship and amicable relations with our Moslem brothers, as well as our loyalty and obedience to the Sultan and the Ottoman state, be clearly manifested. It is with great sorrow that we feel we must insist that in order that all countries in the Ottoman Empire should be made aware of this truth, you should issue orders that this note should be officially published and distributed by telegraph to all provincial governors. I should like to inform you both on my own behalf and on behalf of the Armenian Patriarchate, that it has been decided by your loyal servants that the necessary religious measures regarding these vile murderers should be taken in the name of Jesus Christ in all churches throughout the Ottoman Empire."

Izmirlian, who had been engaged in subversive activity ever since his appointment to the Patriarchate, was now obliged to resign and he left for Jerusalem in September 1896.

At the same time, a number of European newspapers belonging to circles favouring the Armenians, published reports of Armenians being clubbed to death by Turks during these disorders. Clearly, stones and clubs were the only weapons available by which the Moslems could defend themselves against revolutionists armed with bombs and the latest weapons.

In a report submitted to the British ambassador, F. A. Barker revealed that he had been in contact with the revolutionaries involved in the raid on the bank. We give here a summarized version of this report:⁴³

"The events of the 20th were schemed and planned some three

months ago by the foreign committees, and the chiefs of the various bands only came to Constantinople some three months back. The attack on the bank was one part of their programme, as they told me that the following points and places had been singled out for their demonstrations: the Sublime Porte, the Armenian Patriarchate, that part of Stamboul sloping down towards Makri-keui (now Bakırköy), the Ottoman Bank (occupation), the Vaivoda police station (bomb attacks), the Galata Serai police station, and the Aia Triada Greek church (bomb attack).

The bombs were made by them here, and they had obtained their dynamite here. The Bank was attacked at one o'clock, and at the same time a raid was made on the Vaivoda police station in order to prevent assistance being sent to the bank by the latter.

They gave me the following reasons for having singled out the Imperial Ottoman Bank and the Credit Lyonnais for occupation. As these establishments contain people of so many nationalities, all the Powers would be ready to assist in obtaining their demands from the Turks in order to save the lives of their subjects; that the bank was the easiest building to resist a siege and to defend; and that, being the most prominent building in the town, more attention would be attracted to their attempts to bring the Armenian cause before the lower classes, and thus instill more ardour in their weaker brethren.

They used bombs because, they said, they were more destructive, and caused more consternation, owing to the novelty of the thing.

The assailants were all Turkish subjects, and, with the exception of three, of the "hamal" (porter) class.

One of the chiefs was killed. Two of the chiefs were not Armenians from Constantinople, but from Van, and of superior education, knowing Russian, French, Turkish and Greek.

The third had evidently lived a long time here, and knew the place well. They were all most determined men, and repeatedly told me that they would not give themselves up, but were most anxious as to how far their ultimatum to the Turks would be successful. For free pardon they did not care, except inasmuch as if not obtaining the reforms they asked for they would be alive for

a new attempt, which they declared would be more terrible than anything known yet.

Their hatred of the Turks was beyond all description. They declared that they would return here, through Macedonia, and were confident of success in their next demonstration. They were anxious to know whether their fellow men had done much damage with their bombs, and whether the soldiers had been firing on the Armenians. They also told me it had been their intention to kill all the Turks in the employ of the bank before blowing the latter up, but that they had not had time to do so, as things finished sooner than they expected."

The Second Sasun Uprising

After the Ottoman Bank incident, the Dashnaksution Committee increased its activities in the country, stocked weapons and ammunition everywhere, and whenever an opportunity arose had its bands attack local government forces. The Persian frontier, which was not closely controlled, was the safest and most appropriate route for smuggling weapons into the country. The sole hindrance was the presence of the powerful Kurdish tribe of Mazrik settled in the Hanasor region on the Perso-Ottoman border.⁴⁴

The Dashnaksutium Central Bureau had to choose between the alternatives of either eliminating this tribe or giving up the transportation of ammunition through this route. For this reason, preparations were made for a raid on Hanasor in the July of 1894. A band was formed by the Committee composed of four hundred fighters. Volunteers from everywhere came to join them as well as another band armed and equipped by the Armenians of Karabagh. They were reinforced by a cavalry unit which protected their rear. Two priests, Krikor who came from Caucasia and Vartan, a native of Van, encouraged the fighters, holding the cross in one hand and brandishing a sword in the other. During the raid, which lasted for two days, a great part of the tribe of Mazrik, men, women and children were exterminated. They were stopped only by the coming of the regular troops, upon which the bands withdrew to Persian soil.

In the spring of 1895, a number of bands crossed to Turkey from the Caucasus and Persia under the command of well-known leaders such as Antranik, Hrair, Serop etc. Among them were Caucasian Armenians trained in the Russian army and teachers.

In 1897 some organizers authorized by the committee settled in the Sasun and Muş region and started to plan the uprising. In the

Dashnaksutiun Congress which took place in 1898 Sasun was chosen as the centre of activities and it was decided to stock arms and ammunition there. A sum of 300,000 roubles was set aside for the expenses; and significant amounts of weapons and ammunition, including 1500 rifles, were transported to the area. The action was to be conducted by the notorious Serop Pasha from the village of Sohart in Ahlat. His main area of activity was the regions of Bitlis, Ahlat, Sasun and Muş. He later settled in Sasun and was poisoned by his rivals. Serop, who left his native land Ahlat after having killed someone, had escaped first to Istanbul and then to Romania in 1892. After a year, he had gone to Batum, entered the Dashnaksutiun Committee and started his activities in Turkey with his powerful, well-disciplined, well armed and equipped band named Friends of Avengers.

Antranik, who succeeded Serop, commanded the band activities after his death. In 1901 the Ottoman Government attempted to reorganize the administration of Sasun, and proposed to build barracks on the hills of Taluri and Senik. However this attempt failed as Armenian women attacked and dispersed the workers.⁴⁵ In November 1901 Antranik, accompanied by his band, took refuge in a monastery in the vicinity of Muş. The Istanbul Government ordered Commander Bahri Pasha to destroy Antranik's band, but permission was withheld to storm the monastery. Most of Bahri Pasha's soldiers died from the severe cold, and taking advantage of the snowstorm. Antranik and his band escaped.

While under siege in the monastery, Antranik asked the Government to fulfill the following conditions:⁴⁶

1. That the May project be put in to practice at once.
2. That the political prisoners be released.
3. That those who had caused damage to some villages be punished.

While four members of the band were killed during the struggle, the Turkish forces lost 14 soldiers, 2 of whom were officers, and in addition to this, there were 20-30 deaths a day from typhoid.

It was toward the end of 1903 that the second Sasun uprising reached its last stage. At this time Russia embarked upon a policy of pressure on the Armenians. At the same time the Russian consul in Turkey assured the Armenians that they would be protected if they accepted Orthodoxy.

As Commander-General Antranik started his activities on the Sasun mountains, infantry and cavalry units from Transcaucasia also came to his help. Murat of Sivas's band was particularly known for its brutality.

As the revolts were spreading all over Sasun and bloody clashes with the soldiers took place, the Government sent Vartan, the Bishop of Muş, and the Bishop of Bitlis to the rebels to persuade them to put an end to these acts. By April 13, 1914 the military operation started and the bands withdrew to Taluri. After Taluri the clashes continued on the plain of Muş. The bands were helped by Armenian villagers. The Government attempted to have the rebels who proceeded to the plain of Muş settle there in order to prevent them from returning to their headquarters. However, this project could not be put into effect because of the resistance shown by the foreign consuls. Consequently, 6000 Sasunites were sent back to their villages. This was how the uprising came to end but as usual the allegations of brutality went on. The Sasun uprising is related as follows in the book "The Battles of Antranik":⁴⁷

"In April 1904 the Armenian revolts spread from the Sasun Hills and the plain of Muş to Van. The consuls who were acting as intermediaries suggested Antranik should come to terms with the Turkish Government. Among the revolutionary leaders were the well-known Dashnaktustian activists of Muş and Sasun, Murat of Sivas, Sebuş, Keork Chavush, Mko, Gorun and Sempad of Muş, who was a new rebel leader.

Members of the Caucasian and Persian Dashnaksutiun committees kept sending persons to help in the fighting and the supply of ammunition. The famous band leader Tuman of Karabagh managed to join the others in Sasun along with his cavalry units. Together with the representatives of the Dashnaksutiun Bureau and Muş Central Committee, the commanders elected Antranik, who was already a popular hero, celebrated in marches and poems, as Commander-in-Chief.

Sebuş was severely wounded and Keork of Akça was killed. Hrair, who was unwilling to abandon the wounded Sebuş to the enemy and tried to take him along, was shot dead. Hrair was buried next to Serop. Altogether 800-1000 people on the enemy's side were killed. The volunteers seized 53 rifles and 500 bullets. The battle lasted twelve hours.

On 14 April the battle extended to Merker Village, situated at two hours' distance from Keliygozan. Murat with a few fighters took part in the battle, which was planned and directed by Antranik. They fought against 600-700 Kurds and 300-400 Turkish soldiers.

On 16 April the Government soldiers cut the road to Işanzor, Sempad, who was at that time in Dalorik, managed to join Antranik's forces when the battle began. That day, five enemy soldiers were killed.

The Government had concentrated its forces in Sasun and gathered 10,000 soldiers in the vicinity of Sasun on 18 April. The Government had decided to completely destroy Sasun.

Antranik made his future plans. The battle continued until 22 April with eleven Armenians wounded.

The Kon Skirmish - In this battle 17 Turks were killed and 14 wounded. On the Armenian side there was one killed and one severely wounded, who died a few days later. Two men froze to death.

The Zovozar Skirmish - Our heroes remained on the hills from April 22 to May 1. On May 2 the fighting became intense and continued with sniping at the enemy.

The Apagana and Komer Skirmishes - Vahan and a friend of his fell in this battle. Many people on the enemy side were killed or wounded.

The Government had invaded Komer with regular soldiers and Kurdish bands. An Armenian woman who was carrying arms for Antranik was killed. Sergeant Keork came to Antranik's help. When darkness fell the warriors escaped to the mountains unscathed. A great number of the enemy were killed.

The Gurava Skirmish - Antranik and Keork Chavush came to Pertak Village from Sasun where 80 soldiers also joined them on 17 July. So many government soldiers were killed in the fight against Sempad, Isu, Bogos and Asdur that their corpses covered a vast field near the cemetery. The regiment commander came to the village with 60-70 soldiers to subjugate the rebels. The shots fired by the rebels mingled with the tolling of the church bells. 40 enemy soldiers were killed. Only one person was killed on the Armenian side.

The Şamiram Skirmish - On 17 July a new battle started in the village of Sheikh Yusuf. The village was defended by the heroic Armenians of Ahçan and the battle raged fiercely until noon. The enemy burst into the church and killed twelve of the defenders, who had run out of ammunition. Sebuş, Antranik, Keork Chavush, Murat and Sempad remained at their posts. The enemy met with fierce opposition. Two of Sempad's friends were killed. Towards night the enemy retreated from the battlefield with 70 dead.

At night Antranik went to Tatvan with his band and from there he managed to sail to Ahtamar in two boats belonging to the Kurds.

The Lake Van voyage lasted for two days. They managed to get hold of one more boat and came to Ahtamar where they stayed for seven days. There, they set up a council of war and appointed one amongst them to represent the administration. Keork Chavush was chosen to perform this duty. On August 16 he returned to Ahlat.

Having been informed upon, Antranik was encircled and a battle

of unequalled ferocity took place. Antranik escaped secretly to Van where he was spotted twice by the soldiers and a fight ensued. Finally, he escaped to Caucasia with a few friends and never returned to his home country."

The Yıldız Incident (July 21, 1905)

As clashes between the Turks and Armenians were taking place in the Russian borderlands, the Dashnaksutiun Committee, which met in January 1904, took some important decisions according to which operations were to be undertaken in Istanbul and Izmir.

The second article of this document aimed at strengthening the unity between the Dashnaksutiun Party and the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee and at taking the necessary steps to maintain an atmosphere of mutual cooperation. The third article aimed at starting activities in Vishop (Dragon), the name assigned to Istanbul by the party, and if the opportunity arose, of engaging in a significant enterprise.

The congress was attended by Krisdapor Mikayelian, Sapho Torkom and Ashot as the representatives of the Istanbul delegation.

According to the decision taken at the Sofia Congress, Zavarian and the ringleader Vartan went to Cilicia where Hrach (Haik Tiryakian) was also present.

This idea of extending activities to Istanbul and Izmir was put forth by Krisdapor Mikayelian. He himself proposed it at the Sofia Congress where it was accepted. According to Krisdapor's plan, action was to be started first in Istanbul and then in Izmir on the same day if possible or at a short interval. Krisdapor Mikayelian went with Hovnan, who was assisting him, to Greece, where he got in touch with a woman named Zaruhi who had previously been sent there. After a few days Sapho also came to Greece accompanied by a 35 year old widow from Tiflis named Marie Anchkova who had been married to a Russian doctor. The group was joined by two Armenian women. One of them, named Robina, was 65 years old and knew Armenian. Raw materials and dynamite were bought from Bulgaria and Greece for the manufacture of explosives. After the completion of these preparations, Krisdapor Mikayelian and Robina concealed their identity with forged passports in which the former appeared as a Russian Jew named Samuel Fein and the latter his daughter, Rubina Fein. They went together to Izmir where Mikayelian inspected the organization.

In the meantime, the Dashnaksutiun Committee had considerably expanded in Izmir. The Committee also had branches in

Manisa and Ödemiş. Actually Hajak and Hrach had established the organization here in 1897 and greatly expanded it. The committee had intimidated the people in Izmir and extorted money from tradesmen and many others. It was decided that Kristapor Mikayelian should arrange for all foreign institutions, banks, the customs building, stations and buildings in Izmir to be blown up and all preparations were duly made.

In Istanbul preparations were started for the assassination. The major conspirators in Istanbul apart from Krisdapor Mikayelian were:

Vramshabuk Kendirian of Arnavutköy, Joris from Belgium employed in the Singer company, and his wife, The half-Greek Silvio Ricci (who also used the names "Köse Aristidi," "Karlo", "Alfons", "Vugan"), Lipa Rips, born in Germany, Torkom (Ardash Hachik Kaptanian), Sapho (Konstantin Kabulian), Mari Zein, Garo (Hamparsum Aghadjanian), Kris Fenerdjian, and Ashot (Karlo Yavanovitch).

The conspirators were also joined by a number of adventurers from various parts of the Caucasus and Europe and by others living in central Istanbul.

First of all, they went to Polonezköy with 12 bombs and tried them out in the Woods of Ibrahim Pasha. Krisdapor was able to go to the Sultan's public procession (to mosque on Fridays) several times with the help of his faked passport, posing as a Jewish merchant, recommended by the Russian consul, and was able to carry out inspections with ease. It seemed an easy task to throw a bomb at the Sultan as he passed by in the procession, however, the fact that on such occasions, the roads were strewn with sand constituted a drawback since in that case the bomb might not explode. Therefore, an Armenian specialist was asked to manufacture a bomb which could work on sand. However, the person disappeared with the fifty liras he had been paid without doing the job.

It was planned that two men should attack the Sultan with a gun during the procession on the 15th day of the month of Ramadan. Joris proposed to rent a house on the road from Yıldız to Dolmabahçe. The armed men appointed for this act waited on the road for the Sultan to pass. However, they failed to achieve their objective because the Sultan as opposed to their expectation, happened to go to Çırağan Palace through Yıldız Garden. Another plot considered was to plant a bomb in a place reserved for foreign visitors and yet another was to explode a bomb hidden in a carriage. Mediculous research and calculations were made concerning these proposals. As a result they decided that:

1. The bombs should be manufactured and tested in foreign countries.
2. The assassination should be executed by means of a time-bomb hidden in a private carriage.

Consequently Krisdapor went to Yıldız every week to watch the Sultan enter the mosque and leave. He measured the distance from the carriage to the mosque by counting his steps and calculated the time it could take one to reach the mosque as being 1 minute and 42 seconds. Since the crowd would be dispersed after coming out of the mosque and the sultan would not be as closely guarded, it was decided to implement their plans at that time. Thus, a large and handsome carriage that would not arouse any suspicion, was to be placed among the carriages of the foreign guests as near the Sultan's carriage as possible. It was decided that the Sultan was to be assassinated together with those accompanying him.

Migirdich Garibian received special training to drive the carriage.

Krisdapor Mikayelian (Samuel Fein) lived in Radovitch Apartment on Cezayir Street in Yeni Çarşı with Rubina Fein. Sapho had rooms with Mari Zein in number 33, Yemenici Street. Torkam worked in a barbershop behind the German Hospital. Marie Anchkova settled in a private guest house. A house with five rooms in Ağahamamı near the Municipal hospital was rented upon Krisdapor's suggestion and 250-300 kg of explosives were brought to this house.

In November of 1904, Krisdapor Mikayelian went to Bulgaria, and on March 17, 1905 he and Vramshabuh tested the explosives to be used in Yıldız in the vicinity of Mount Vitosh. It was Vramshabuh who exploded the bombs. Although everyone else moved to a distance, Krisdapor remained beside him and when the bomb exploded in Vramshabuh's hand, both were killed. The group assigned to direct the task in Istanbul after Krisdapor's death consisted of Sapho, Ashot, Kris, Torkom, Zare, Aram and Marie Zein. Robina Fein who went to Geneva after Krisdapor's death returned to Istanbul. Sapho had a carriage built in Vienna in which the driver's seat was 40-45 cm in diameter. Further experiments with explosives were made. The carriage was shipped to Istanbul on a ship named Dalmatia, registered with the Lloyds company. The bill of lading was arranged under the name of Silvio Ricci; however, since he was known to the Customs, the carriage was cleared through by Mateo, in Franco's service. An Armenian from Hasköy named Erouant Frangulian was given the role of the groom. A cast-iron trunk to be placed at the driver's seat was designed to hold 120 kg of explosives. The clock was set to one minute and 42 seconds

to fire the explosives. It was decided that a 45 year old Armenian activist named Z. Hachkian who had committed other murders in the past was to drive the carriage.

Trials with blank cartridges were made in Kağthane which turned out to be successful. It appeared that after the clock started working, the people in the carriage could get 100 metres away from the place of explosion. An electrical circuit was installed in the carriage. At Rubina Fein's insistent requests, it was decided that she be present in the carriage as well. Lipa Rips and Marie Zein were to remain in Istanbul to direct communications with the western bureau and Torkom, Kris and the others were to remain out of the city until the day of the assassination.

In the morning July 18 the explosives were crammed into a trunk under the driver's seat. After the completion of all the preparation, on Friday 21 July 1905, as Abdul Hamid was returning to his Palace after the procession, the bomb exploded in front of the mosque. The fact that the Sultan's conversation with the Sheikhuislam had delayed him for a few minutes had saved his life.

Several reasons were offered explain why the bomb had failed to achieve the desired effect: the trunk had not been well prepared; there were miscalculations; the amount of explosives was inadequate, and so on. Sapho and some others conspirators were expelled from the Dashnaksutium Committee on charges of inefficiency, for abandoning their associates in Istanbul, and for being concerning with their own safety alone.

During the investigation carried out in connection with the affair, a document was discovered showing that seven-hundred liras had been dispatched to Dikran Nalbandian in Izmir by Lipa Rips. Upon this Nalbandian was arrested and sent to Istanbul. Dynamite, bombs, fuses and empty cartridges were found in Izmir. Thus the activities in Izmir also met with failure.

A spectacular funeral ceremony was made for Krisdapor Mikayelian and Vramshabuh Kendirian who had died while testing the bomb in Bulgaria. The Dashnak leader Aknuni gave the following speech in the ceremony:

"Macedonian friends, we now submit one of the oldest of the Armenian revolutionaries, accompanied by his young friend, to your protection and preservation. Let these graves be the warrant of the alliance between Armenia and Macedonia and a monument for our calamities, our struggles and our future. Preserve these graves with care until that glorious day when our friends, who will doubtless be happier than us, will come to this hospitable country, not bowing their heads like us, but holding them up with pride, and carry the bones of

these unfortunate heroes back to a free Armenia, which is now in bondage and cannot even afford them a grave.

In these coffins lie the heart of the Armenian revolution and the symbol of the warring Armenian youth. Our comrade was neither a man of letters nor a rousing orator. Neither was he the leader of heroes wading through blood. One must coin a new word to describe his power and fame. He was a mighty man of ideals. He would appeal to the mind and hearts of all and encourage them to struggle for the revolution."

The official declaration published in the newspapers upon the bombing incident was as follows:

"Yesterday during the return of the Sultan from the Friday procession, there was an explosion between the courtyard of the mosque and the place where the Imperial cavalry unit stood, 100 metres away from where the guests' carriages had been parked. During the incident His Majesty, The Sultan, displayed great strength and courage and mounted his royal carriage as usual, without manifesting any sign of panic. He greeted the soldiers, the Austrian Ambassador and the other foreign observers who had come to watch the ceremony. He then returned to the Palace amidst cheering and applause. Attempts are being made to find the abject criminal responsible for this act of treachery, and all due measures have been taken."

(July 22 1905)

The summary of the report in French prepared by the Investigation Commission under the leadership of Nedjib Melhame contains the following information about the major plotters: ⁴⁸

1. Krisdapor Mikayelian (dead), of Baku, exiled by the Russian Government; the founder of the *Droshak* in Geneva; alias Samuel Fein.

2. Constantine Kabulian or Torosian (his committee name was Sapho), escaped from prison, he confessed to having attempted to use an explosive device hidden in a carriage placed in a location reserved for foreign dignitaries. He had been sent to Vienna for the construction of the carriage.

3. Robina Fein also known as Nadejda Datalian, daughter of Wolf, an Armenian girl from the Caucasus, her real name is unknown. She participated in the plans and activities of the Committee in Istanbul and played an active role in the explosion of the bomb in the carriage.

4. Marie Zein, Sophi Arecho (fugitive), born of a German father in the Caucasus, wife of the murderer Rips, participated in the activities of the Committee and the assassination attempt of July 21, under the name of Sophi Rips. She selected Robina Fein for the above purpose and brought her to Istanbul.

5. Vramshabuh Kendirian (dead), of Istanbul; employed by the Singer Company; known in the Committee as Vagarshak. One of the plotters of the assassination.

6. Vahan (fugitive), of Plovdiv; aliases Silvio Ricci, Aristidi, Karl, Rathler Alfons, Vaughan, Kocho and Kris, joined the assassination attempt and participated in the Committee meeting. He took the explosives sent from France out of the Customs and transported them to Istanbul by way of Piraeus and Varna under the name of Rathner. Hired a mail-box in the French post-office. Supplied the batteries necessary for the bomb. He had Joris, Manuk the porter of the Jons Building, Arakel the porter of the Austrian Hospital, and some others carry the explosives to his fiancée's house.

7. Edouard Joris (under arrest) of Austrian citizenship, born in Anvers, employed in Singer Company, participated in the assassination attempt and arranged for the conspirators to meet in his house. He sheltered Robina Fein and Kristapor Mikayelian in his house and gave them his own mail-box, he wrote the telegrams concerning the carriage and dealt with the correspondence. He suggested that the explosives should be placed in an iron trunk in order to create a great explosion; he further proposed that a potassium chloride cartridge be inserted into the iron trunk. He gave his own passport to Vramshabuh Kendirian to enable him to go to Sofia. Ten days before the assassination he had his wife leave the country with her valuables and he helped others to escape as well.

8. Anna Nellens (fugitive), wife of Joris. Collaborated with the members of the Committee in preparing the assassination.

9. Karabet Ohannes, (fugitive), son of Ashot, aliases Karl Jovanovich of Istanbul and Ashkow. An accomplice of the activists.

10. Ardash Hachik Kapudanian, (fugitive). He played a part in the attempts made by the Istanbul Committee and the planning of the assassination.

11. Migirdich Garipian, of Sivas. He drove the carriage.

12. Krikor Varsham (fugitive), his partners were George and Peter Varshamov. Worked as an iron-smith. He placed the trunk in the carriage and drove it.

13. Erouant Frankulian (fugitive), groom.

14. Marie Anshanev or Terez Askova, of Tiflis, her real name is unknown. Helped the Committee and assisted in the assassination attempt.

Other people of secondary importance who participated in the assassination attempt were:

15. Amudja Andon (Andon Koch), lived in Plovdiv. Joined the Committee and maintained communication with Istanbul.

16. Erouant Aladjadjian, lived in Sofia.

17. Takvor Agopian, lived in Sofia.

Both Aladjadjian and Agopian endeavoured to procure money for the Committee.

18. Manuk Umidian (arrested), porter from Sivas.

19. Nishan Ohannes of Sivas (arrested), waiter at the Karadeniz Hotel.

20. Sarkis Nahabedian (arrested), alias Arakel, porter at the Austrian Hospital.

21. Hadji Nishan Minasian, (committed suicide) of Sivas, belonged to the Hunchak Committee, he conspired with Ardashes Kapudian to blow up the Karaköy Tunnel. He helped in propaganda work and collected money.

22. Ohannes Garipian of Sivas (arrested), porter at the Gravier building in Beyoğlu.

23. Osep Topalian of Sivas (arrested), hid the explosives.

24. Bogos Kechian of Bitlis (arrested).

25. Hachik Poleian of Bitlis (arrested).

26. Manuk Kechian of Bitlis (arrested). Worked in the Cercle d'Orient, helped Manuk to hide the explosives.

27. Fron Bughdaian, of Bitlis, former waiter at the Karadeniz Hotel. He assisted in the assassination attempt.

28. Egiya Kahvedjian, of Muş (arrested): Hid the explosives that he took over from Manuk, the bookseller.

29. Adele Berchier, in Switzerland.

30. Artaki Artakian, in Varna, owner of the Papkimos Bookshop.

31. Haik Melikian, in Rustchuk.

32. Erouant Honetian, (arrested), handicraftsman in Istanbul.

33. Arshak (fugitive), shoemaker in Gedikpasha.

34. Hovakim (fugitive), enrolled as a student at the Veterinary School at Kumkapı.

35. Karakin (fugitive), enrolled at the above school, lived in Gedikpasha.

36. Manume (dead), student at the school of Medicine.

37. Mikayel (arrested), Customs commissioner, from Istanbul.

38. Mateo (arrested), Customs commissioner, from Istanbul.

39. Mito (arrested), iron-smith.

40. Manol (arrested), iron-smith.

Joris, among the above, was at first condemned to capital punishment. However, he was later pardoned by the Sultan, given five hundred liras, and sent to Europe as a secret agent against the Armenians.

NOTES

1. *Hairenik*, 1927. (From an article published on the anniversary of the Armenian incident. The *Hairenik* was a newspaper published in the United States.)
2. *ibid.*
3. Patriotic songs and marches were written on this occasion, one of the most famous being written by Katiba, the nationalist Caucasian Armenian poet.
4. Hamparsum Boyadjian was deputy for Kozan under the Second Constitution. He used the alias "Murat" as member of the revolutionary committee.
5. K. Ozanian, *ibid.*, p. 137
6. These passages are quoted from Tumaian.
7. The decision of the Supreme Court of Appeal (Yargıtay) dated 309.
8. Blue Book, Turkey, No. 3, 1896, p. 115
9. Yellow Book
10. Yellow Book, No. 8, 13-13
11. This is a reference to the Armenian National Constitution.
12. M. Varandian, *History of the Dashnaksution*, Paris, 1932, p. 146.
13. *ibid.*, p. 146.
14. This is the exact equivalent of the term used by Varandian.
15. Aknuni, *op. cit.*, p. 222.
16. R. des Coursons, *La Rebellion Armenienne, Son Origine, Son But*, p. 71-78.
17. M. Ximenes, p. 76.
18. M. Varandian, *History of the Dashnaksution*, p. 156.
19. S. Kaprielian, *op. cit.*, p. 135
20. M. Varandian, *op. cit.*,
21. Sait Pasha, *Hatiralar*, p. 298.
22. Yellow Book
23. Blue Book, Turkey, No. 1, 1897, p. 42
24. M. Semerdjian, *op. cit.*,
25. This is the Nerses Varjabedian who later became Patriarch.
26. M. Semerdjian, *op. cit.*, p., 145
27. The Ishans were members of the old Zeitun dynasty.
28. Semerdjian, *op. cit.*, p. 188
29. Yellow Book, "The Armenian Question", 1893-1897
30. *Revolutionary Ideology of the Turkish Armenians*, Paris, 1934, vol. 1.(Armenian)
31. *ibid.*, p. 10
32. Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 27
33. *ibid.*, p. 29.
34. Statistics of the provinces of Van and Bitlis
35. Blue Book, 1896, p. 41, 67, 207
36. Statistics of the provinces of Van and Bitlis
37. Blue Book. 1897, Turkey, No. 7, C, 8395
38. S. Purat, *On the Path of Blood*, Istanbul, 1911 (Armenian)
39. This is the Karakin Pastirmadjian who was deputy in the Assembly of Representatives of 1324 and who was responsible for terrible atrocities on the Caucasian borders during the First World War. He was arrested by the Russians during a visit to Batum but was freed on the insistence of the Ottoman government.
40. M. Varandian, *History of the Dashnaksution*, p. 160-163
41. From the Armenian
42. M. Varandian, *op. cit.*, p. 168-169
43. Yellow Book, 1893-1896
44. Blue Book, Turkey, No. 1 1896-1897, p. 15 ("Disturbance at Constantinople in August)

45. *The Regeneration of Armenia: The Fight for Freedom*, Dashnaksution Publications, Istanbul, 1920.
46. Varandian, *The History of the Dashnaksution*, p. 268.
47. Antranik was born in Shabin Karahisar in 1866. He joined the Dashnak Party as a young man and distinguished himself as an activist and ringleader. After escaping from prison in his native province where he was serving an sentence for having killed a Turk, he arrived in Istanbul and from there went to Batum. He became a popular hero among the Armenian rebels, and his exploits were celebrated in marches and poems.
48. Kudulian, *The Battles of Antranik*, Beirut, 1929 (in Armenian)
49. "Enquête sur l'attentat commis dans la journée de 21 Juillet 1905 à l'issue la cérémonie de Selamlık". Travail de la Commission Speciale.

IV THE TURKISH-ARMENIAN CLASHES IN TRANSCAUCASIA

In 1905, the Dashnaktsutiun started activities in the Caucasus against the Turks. According to the Caucasian Armenians, the reasons for engaging in these activities were as follows:

"1. The Armenians took over a number of oil wells from the Turks in Baku which excited the envy of the Turks.

2. The Caucasian Turks disapproved of the hostile forces that the Armenians maintained on the Turkish border and the efforts they made to establish the independence of Armenia by means of European intervention.

3. The Caucasian Turks disapproved of the activities of the Armenians and their Committees, and of their forming a national unity.

4. There was the possibility that the Armenians, who were powerless before the Russians, Iranians and Turks, could grow in power from day to day and ultimately become independent by taking advantage of the weakness of the Russian Government. For these reasons during the Armenian struggle against the Russians, the Turks sided with the Tsar and helped the repression of the Armenians and the revolutionary committees."¹

According to Aknuni: ²

"Near the end of 1904, higher ranking Caucasian officials were summoned to Petersburg, where after long discussions, some secret

decisions were taken and a programme was prepared. The summary of this programme is as follows:

To weaken the Armenians by using force; to strike at their economic power, to decrease the Armenian population, especially in the region of Ararat, and to teach a lesson to the other nations in Transcaucasia by thus subjugating the unbowed Armenians, and then do away with the Turks who would no longer be necessary, thus to extirpating Pan-Islamism.

Furthermore, it was decided jointly with the Russians that after the Japanese war, the Armenians were to be attacked by the Turkish Pan-Islamists in order to weaken the Christian population in the Caucasus."

Moreover, according to Aknuni: ³

"There was a committee based in Istanbul, the members of which had been active in the Caucasus for ten years. Weapons, ammunition and money had come from Istanbul and this committee had accumulated a large store of weapons and ammunition in Elisavetpol, Baku and Shushi. Baku had been specially supplied, since it was chosen to be the centre of action. The aim of this committee was to enter the Caucasus from Bayezit, move on to Erevan, Nakhichevan and Karabagh, capture Baku, settle in Daghistan, exterminate all the Christians, and have the Moslems settle there instead, thus putting an end to Russian rule."

Actually, information concerning this was sent to the Russian government by the Armenians. According to Varandian, Turkey wished to have control over the 5-6 millions of Moslems in the Caucasus, to take advantage of the feeble state of the Russians and exterminate the Armenians.

However, all these groundless accusations, completely lacking any factual or logical basis, must be rejected. The real reasons behind the Caucasian clashes are the following:

In Transcaucasia, especially in Baku, the Turks were culturally and economically dominant, and, at the same time, and they constituted the majority of the population. The Armenians on the other hand, were mostly labourers. Naturally, the Armenians were dissatisfied with this state of affairs. The Armenians and the political committees wished to attack the Turks and reverse this situation. Thus the Dashnaksutiun started its activities in Baku and armed the Armenians and the Armenian workers, setting up arms depots in Baku and other important Turkish provinces and thereby strengthening their organization. The Dashnaksutiun wanted to

achieve by force what the Armenians could not achieve by economic means, and therefore they planned uprisings and revolts.

According to Varandian. ⁴

"It made no difference for the Armenians whether they were fighting in Transcaucasia or Turkey. They had to take a stand against Pan-Turanism in both places. Both in Sasun or in Transcaucasia the Armenians were striving for the same goal."

In a work describing the conflicts in the Caucasus, the main reasons for the clashes, from the Armenian point of view, are summarized as follows:⁵

1. The difference in religion.
2. The Dashnaksutiun wished to break the authority of the Turkish officials.
3. In many places the Turks had positions in the police force and as judges.
4. The Turks were mostly rich and owned land.

The author of this work concludes:

"Actually, the Armenians could never achieve superiority over the other nations in Transcaucasia, because of their narrow nationalism and aggressiveness. They always took up a provocative attitude against the Turks, and they were always very much disliked by the Turks and Georgians."

The incident prepared by the Dashnaksutiun needed only a little spark to burst into flame in Baku. At the beginning of February 1905, while a Turk named Ashurbekov was being taken to prison from court by a group of soldiers belonging to the Russian Salyanski Regiment, he was shot dead by an Armenian soldier in the Regiment. In return on February 6, a Turk named Babayev wounded the Armenian soldier who had killed Ashurbekov in a place known as Parabet. However, a few Armenian youths followed Babayev and killed him in front of other Moslems. Thus began the Baku uprising and the Armenians immediately launched attacks on all sides.

The Dashnaksutiun, which was fully armed and prepared for action, took control of operations. Nikol Tuman Balahana, the well-known guerilla leader, came to Baku from his oil wells and assumed the leadership of the assault. The secret weapon depots of the Committee were far out, near the area where the Turks were settled. The Armenian soldiers in the Russian Army also brought

weapons and ammunition from the military depots. The activists were actually men with considerable experience in fighting. The Committee brought out its bombs to be used against the Turks and the soldiers.

The disturbances lasted for four days. The Turkish Governor Nakashidze was condemned to death by the Dashnaksutiun. Dro, one of the leaders in the committee, assassinated Nakashidze by throwing a bomb at him as he passed through the city centre in a carriage on May 11. Another Turk, Nakashidze's driver, was also killed. Several other Turks, Russians and Georgians were also assassinated. Mehmet Begov was wounded and Mikelatze and Shahdandinski were killed.

In August 1905 further incidents took place. This time the Dashnaksutiun was better prepared. Nikol-Tuman was appointed as the commander-in-chief of the committee forces in the Ararat region. Vartan assumed responsibility for the Karabagh region. Nikol-Tuman directed the action from Erevan. It was decided that each Armenian village was to arm itself and get ready by preparing its own bands and choosing its own commanders. The Armenians paid a tax to the Committee. Apart from the Dashnaksutiun bands, others consisting of volunteers and mercenaries were also set up and equipped with weapons, ammunition and bombs.

The attack, which was second in severity only to the one in Baku, took place in Karabagh and Shushi. It was Vartan who directed the operations. A number of Turkish houses were burned down, 40 people were killed and 68 were wounded on the Armenian side, and 500 were killed on the Turkish side, many of them by bombs.⁶

Murad of Sivas, Hamazasp, Keri, Arslan became notorious for the killings for which they were responsible in Zengezur, Askeran, Sisian, Nakhichevan, respectively. In order to make the assassinations and the attacks more effective, the Caucasian Central Committee of Dashnaksutiun published the following declaration in Russian:⁷

"The Federation of the Armenian Revolutionary Committees warn and inform the police force, and the gendarmerie that if any attempt is made to disarm the Armenians or to harm them in any way, ruthless action will be taken in return. Let anyone with such intentions remember those killed by the decision of the Dashnaksutiun Committee, namely: Nakashidze, the Governor of Baku, Andriev, deputy Governor-General of Kazakh and many others such as Slavski, Bohlov, Sahardov."

The ringleader Abraham Goulhandanian and Seko committed outrageous murders in Gendje. Volunteers from Baku, Batum and Tiflis united under the leadership of Melik Beglerian, and armed bands commended by Halazasp pillaged and destroyed Moslem villages.

Finally, in November 1905, one last massacre took place in Tiflis. Dashnakist bands headed by Durbah, Armen Garo, Keri, Baghdasarian, Stepanian, backed by cavalry units and volunteers flocking from everywhere, attacked the Turkish inhabitants, but, in spite of their strength and numbers, they were unable to defeat the Turks. After long discussions, in which the Governor also participated, peace was restored.

The conditions that the Turks demanded were as follows:⁸

1. The Catholicos of the Armenians was to apologize in person to the SheikhuIslam of the Caucasus for the murders that had been committed.

2. The Armenian priests were to condemn in churches and on the street the murders committed and call upon the public to maintain peace and order.

3. The murderers of the Turks who had been killed were to be surrendered to the government.

However, the Armenians declared that they could not fulfill the first two of the above conditions and proposed to alter them in the following way:

1. Bishop Satunian would call on the SheikhuIslam on behalf of the Catholicos who was ill, and would express his sorrow concerning the incidents.

2. The murderers could not be surrendered to the Russian Government but would be punished by the Armenians themselves.

This was the end of the incidents instigated by the Armenian activists in Transcaucasia. The Governor-General of Transcaucasia Vorontsov-Dashkov said openly to Turkish representatives in Tiflis and Petersburg that he appreciated the moral values of the Moslems and expressed his certainty as to their innocence in the Baku disaster.⁹

NOTES

1. Varandian, *The History of the Dashnaksutiun*, p. 358.

2. Aknuni, *op. cit.*

3. *ibid.*, p. 340.

4. Varandian, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

5. M. Hovhannisian, *The Caucasian Vendée*.

6. Varandian, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-66 and 384-389.

7. From the Armenian version as quoted by Varandian, in *The History of the Dashnaksutiun*.

8. *ibid.*

9. M. Hovhannisian, *op. cit.*

V NEGOTIATION ATTEMPTS WITH THE COMMITTEES

Towards the middle of 1896, in order to put an end to the Armenian uprisings, Abdul Hamid attempted to negotiate with the Armenian committees. For this reason, he thought it would be appropriate to contact the Patriarchate, which gave active support to the Armenian revolts, and to get in touch with the committees. The under-secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Artin Dadian Pasha, was entrusted with the task of getting in touch with the revolutionary organizations outside of the country.

On October 28, 1896, Artin Pasha's son Dertad Dadian was sent to inform the Dashnaksutiun Committee in Geneva that the government would implement the reforms, and, consequently, the Committee was asked to put an end to their revolutionary activities in Turkey. In the February 1896, Vaginak Adjemian and the son of Artin Pasha's brother, Dertad were also sent to Geneva for the same purpose.

The Dashnaksutiun Committee replied that the revolutionary movement belonged not to a few people but to the whole nation, and when asked for a reasonable reform project, the Committee proposed the implementation the Dashnaksutiun Declaration of 1896. The Committee refused to sid down to any discussion with Abdul Hamid and proposed discussions with the government through the mediation of Artin Pasha. After the situation had been examined by the General Assembly of the Committee, the following decision was taken:

"The Dashnaksutiun General Assembly rejects the proposal to start negotiations with the Turkish Government, because it is not convinced of the sincerity of such proposals. However, in order to

prevent incidents which might follow the absolute rejection of the Sultan's proposal, the General assembly allows the Turkish delegation a period of three months in which official discussions between the Dashnaktsutium and the Turkish Government may begin, without making any commitments in advance. The Dashnaktsutium proposes that the Turkish government should fulfil the following points as evidence of its sincerity:

1. All the emigrant Armenians should be allowed to return to Turkey and live safely.
2. The property of the Armenians confiscated by the Turks and Kurds during the massacres and migrations should be returned.
3. A General amnesty should be declared for all political prisoners."

As a result of the conflict which broke out simultaneously in Ahlat and Bitlis, the following point was also demanded:

4. "Those responsible for the Ahlat and Bitlis incidents should be severely punished and all peasants should receive compensation for any damage suffered." ¹

The discussions lasted for a considerable time and Dertad Dadian stayed in Geneva for eight months. Abdul Hamid wanted these demands to be phrased as requested and to be more precise. He informed the Dashnaktsutium through Artin Pasha that they could superintend the implementation of the reforms by way of their organizations in the provinces.

After some time the Dashnaktsutium announced that the discussions had been officially broken off. Leo says: ²

"The Armenians were in such a desperate situation that if the committee that acted on their behalf had been in the least sensitive to their plight, if they had made any attempts to relieve the burden under which the Turkish Armenians were crushed and if they had shown some sincerity, such difficulties would not have arisen. Indeed, they could have resorted to stronger measures when it became evident that Turkey would not fulfil its promise."

Leo added:

"The proposals of the Dashnaktsutium had the nature of an ultimatum which could only be issued by the victor to the defeated. It

was evident that Abdul Hamid would not accept this Waterloo. Nevertheless, it was not he but the *Droshak* Editorial Board that ended the discussions. Artin Pasha who still had hopes, wrote privately to the Board in order to find an opportunity to continue the negotiations, but his letters were returned."

Consequently, as will be seen below, the fate of the Turkish Armenians was left in the hands of a few Russian Armenians, and these relying on their supporters within the country, led the Turkish Armenians in the directions they saw fit.

Mushegh, the Archbishop of Adana and the person principally responsible for the organization of the incidents of Adana, says: ³

"In 1890, during a discussion on the future of Turkish Armenia, in the society of Ardzrouni in Tiflis, the Turkish Armenian activist Chakirian of Zeitun proposed that the Russian Armenians should not take an active part in the liberation movement of the Turkish Armenians, since they were not at all familiar with their psychology and their actual conditions of life. To this, Krisdapor Mikayelian replied by saying: 'It is not for us to decide the issue. Fate has ordained the salvation of the Turkish Armenians to be by the hands of the Russian Armenians. Whatever the cost we will never give up this honour'".

Kachaznuni also relates the following anecdote: ⁴

"I remember a conversation I had with Rostom (Stepan Zorian) years ago. It was at the beginning of the Persian Revolution. I insisted that there was nothing that the Dashnaktsutium could do in Persia and that our intervention there would be pure adventurism. Rostom protested: 'The revolution in Russia has been crushed, in Turkey we have come to an agreement with the Ittihadists and now you say we should stay out of Persia. In that case what is there left for us to do?' Although these words were uttered as joke accompanied by his characteristic smile, I understood that they represented his considered opinion."

NOTES

1. *Droshak*, 1899, no. 4.
2. B.A. Leo, *The Ideology of the Armenian Revolution in Turkey*.
3. *The Armenian Nightmare: Criticism and Analysis*, Boston, 1916, p. 129 (in Armenian).
4. H. Kachaznuni, *Dashnaktsutun Has Nothing To Do Any More*, Vienna, 1923 (in Armenian).

VI THE ATTEMPTS OF THE ARMENIAN COMMITTEES TO COOPERATE WITH OTHER GROUPS

A) The Attempt to Cooperate with the Kurds

The Dashnaktsutun Committee, even in its early days, exerted a great deal of effort in attempts to approach the Kurds and to win them over to its side. In Geneva, declarations in Kurdish written in the Arabic alphabet were published in the *Droshak* Newspaper, which was an organ of the Committee. Proclamations were circulated among the Kurds by the propagandists of the Armenian committees appealing to the Kurds not to fall into the traps set by the Ottoman Government by participating in the Armenian massacres, and urging them to be more friendly with the Armenians and unite with them in the activities against the Ottoman administration.¹ The revolutionary leader, Keri of Erzincan had been living in Dersim since 1896 as a Dashnaktsutun propagandist and for some years he had been spreading subversive ideas among the Kurds. The committees were aiming at winning the tribal leaders to their side so that they could enlist their support during an uprising or at least be assured of their neutrality. They had concentrated their activities in the regions of Van and Muş, mainly under the leadership of Vartan Vartabet, a religious dignitary, Hrair and, above all, Sergeant Keork.

The Dashnaktsutun also wanted to cooperate with Ibrahim Pasha in Diyarbakır, the leaders of the tribes of Penjanaran and Alikan and with those of the powerful Kurdish tribes of Siverek who exerted a significant influence on the people of the Armenian plateau, and gave them gifts.² It also initiated discussions with Kasım Bey

(the brother of Musa Bey), and established contacts with the Kurds of Dersim and the tribe of Kimlik. The chief of the latter, Zeynel was killed in action. Aram, Ishan Vramian and some others, who held leading positions in the Committee in Van, made efforts to come to an agreement with the Hasenanli, Djibranlı and Hayderanlı tribes.

After the congress held by the Committee in Vienna, a number of Armenians from Turkey went to Van and other places to study the principles of socialism and concentrated their activities directly on the Kurdish people, leaving aside the tribal leaders. However, since the efforts made turned out to be unsuccessful in connection with individual tribal members, they decided to shift their attention back once again to the tribal chiefs. However, all these attempts, discussions, proclamations of brotherhood and unity, the long-winded efforts of the propagandists around the region of Muş and Van were all futile; no for a lasting cooperation could be secured.

B) The Agreement Concluded Between the Dashnaksutian and the Political Committees of Macedonia

The Dashnaksutian Committee also approached the Revolutionary Macedonian Committees in order to cooperate with them. The Committee regarded itself as being on an equal footing with the Bulgarian activists who were striving for the liberation of Macedonia, indeed it maintained that it was even superior to them, on the strength of the Ottoman Bank incident and other activities in Istanbul.

Contacts had been established between the Armenian activists and the Bulgarian committees after the 1896 revolts. In 1896 the Armenian-Macedonian alliance was established by the Director of the Plovdiv Armenian School, Rostom, who was the representative of the Dashnaksutian in the Balkans. The bombs which were to be used in Turkey were prepared by specialists in Bulgaria, and it was through Bulgarian activists that the Dashnaksutian procured necessary materials. A significant number of Armenian youths received military training in Bulgaria and some of them participated in the activities of the Dashnaksutian. With the help of Boris Sarafov in Tupnisa on the Turkish-Bulgarian border, a secret military school was founded. Although the school, which was sponsored by the Dashnaksutian Committee and directed by Bogosian, a lieutenant in the Bulgarian army, was later closed down, nearly 80 Armenian young men were trained there annually.

Geneva was another centre of the Union of the Bulgarian-Armenian

-Macedonian Committees. At meetings held in Paris, London and Milan by the organization named Pro-Armenia, Bulgarians and Macedonians were also present. One of the most significant of those meetings was the one held in Paris on February 15, 1903. According to the minutes published by the *Şura-yı Ümmet*, the press organ of the Ittihat ve Terraki Party the meeting proceeded as follows:³

The committee formed with the aim of winning the rights of the Armenian and Macedonian peoples met on 15 February in Paris at a theatre under the leadership of M. Destournel. Deputies present at the meeting were F. Pressensé, J. Jaurés, Destournel, de Constant, Denis Cochin, the professor and writer Leroiy-Beaulieu. The following decision was taken after prolonged discussions;

"Four thousand Frenchmen who today (February 15) have gathered here believe that the present situation of the Macedonians and Armenians and the political incidents caused by it constitute an assault on the freedom of the public and a threat to peace. In order to put an end to this situation they request France to use its influence on other European countries to ensure that the Treaty of Berlin is put into effect in both Macedonia and Armenia and that Articles 23 and 61 of the Treaty of Berlin are implemented in accordance with the demands of the Memorandum of May 11, 1895 so that the injustice and brutality directed against the whole of the human race without distinction of race and creed in Turkey may be prevented."

Six Dashnaksutian activists as well as some members of the Macedonian Committee were involved in a clash between the Macedonian Committee and the Turks in the summer of 1901 near Edirne. The aims of the Armenian and Macedonian Committees were almost identical: one of them wanted the implementation of Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin while the other wanted the implementation of Article 23.

C) The Young Turks - Armenian Committees

In February 1902 the Congress of the Society of the Ottoman Lovers of Liberty gathered in Paris. The Macedonians kept away from this Congress in which Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Arabs participated. The representatives of the Dashnaksutian and the Reformed Hunchaks were present. The following points were put forth by the Armenian representatives at the Congress:⁴

1) That Armenian organizations were ready to participate in any

activities aimed at changing the present regime.

2) That Armenian organizations would also continue their independent, private activities. Nevertheless, it must be realized that these activities would be directed against the present administration but not Turkey itself.

3) Indeed it was said that the *raison d'être* of their organization, was the immediate implementation of the reforms in the form proposed by Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin and in the Memorandum (and its appendix) of May 11 1895. These reforms were already mentioned in the memorandum submitted to the French government by the Armenian political organizations.

This congress failed to come to an agreement on many issues. The Young Turks wanted the 1876 Ottoman Constitution to be reinstated without taking the Armenian problem into special consideration and they were against any European intervention or control.

The most significant point to come under discussion at the congress was the implementation of the articles of the Treaty of Berlin concerning reforms in all the Ottoman provinces. However, the Armenians regarded this issue as a cancellation of the rights which had been granted them by Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin.

The congress was divided into two groups: Interventionists and Non-Interventionists. Whereas the Greeks and Armenians were for intervention, the Young Turks were against it. The Armenian representatives found the 1876 Constitution to be inadequate and they wanted the recognition of the rights granted them by Article 61 and were in favour of European intervention. While, on the one hand, the Armenian committees were holding discussions with the Young Turks and deciding to act together, on the other hand, they were actively continued spreading propaganda on their own account. Here are some of the activities which the Armenians carried out independently:

1. Through M. Pierre Gaillard, who was an Armenophile, the Armenians presented to the eleventh Peace Congress their demands that the countries who had signed the Treaty of Berlin implement the reform proposal of 1895 and convene an official conference in the Hague in order to settle the Armenian problem.⁵

2. The Fifth Armenian Congress was held by Armenian students studying at European universities on 31 March, 1902 in Geneva. The Congress convened in the Alp Hotel, and the conference hall was decorated with flags. Malumian (Aknuni), on one of the Dashnaktsutium leaders, presided over the congress. During the congress, which lasted a full week, the following decisions were taken:⁶

- a) Conferences should be arranged in the various centres of Italy and Germany.
- b) A pro-Armenian newspaper should be published in Germany which had so far remained indifferent to the Armenian question.
- c) Well-known European authors should be invited to write a comprehensive work entitled "Armenia and the Armenian Problem" (Elisée Reclus, Lombroso, F. Passy, Karl Lamprecht, Karl Kautsky, and many others, Lorya had already promised to help.)
- d) A climate of opinion should be created in favour of the Armenians through the press and a series of conferences.

As a result of the efforts of a number of Russian Armenians and Armenian committees, on July 17, 1902 a congress was convened attended by Armenophile Europeans. At the meeting, over which the Belgian Hozdelche presided, long speeches were delivered by Madame Severine, Jaurès, and Fr. de Pressensé. The last part of the speech made by Pierre Gaillard, the editor of the *Pro-Armenia* newspaper, was as follows:

"What should we do to prevent the Armenian nation from being massacred or exterminated? To become part of Russia is against Armenian interests, since the Armenians in Russia have not been free from injustice. Therefore, the only way to save Armenia is to reform its administration. The reforms which I shall propose to the Congress comprise the following:

1. Appointing someone from a neutral European country as Governor-General to Armenia.
2. Having this Governor-General work under the control of a commission composed of Europeans and based in Istanbul.
3. Having a national militia instead of Turkish soldiers operate in Armenia."

According to Pierre Gaillard the Turkish Government used various means to annihilate the Armenians such as:

1. "Forbidding Armenians to travel to other places in order to starve them to death.

2. Protecting the Turkish side when a court case arose between an Armenian and a Turk.

3. Causing deliberate harm to the Armenians particularly in matters of taxation."

Furthermore, he claimed that the most effective means that the Turkish Government used for annihilating the Armenian nation was by the forced conversion of Armenians to Islam and the murder of those who reconverted to Christianity. He said that a number of murders had been committed for this reason.

After stating that neither the reforms that the Armenians wished for nor the means to realize these reforms would constitute a danger to the unity of Turkey or to Turkish interests, the congress announced the following decisions:

1. "That the terms of Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin be implemented.

2. That the memorandum of 1895 be put into effect through the joint action of the Great Powers, and that the Armenians should make continuous efforts in this direction."

Furthermore, upon the proposal of Pressensé and Madam Severine, it was decided that the members of the congress should attempt to persuade their respective governments to send ambassadors to certain parts of Armenia after the fashion of France and Russia. Also, the editors of European newspapers were to be requested to publish news concerning Armenia, supplied by the Armenian committees.

D) The 1907 Congress

In 1907 a second congress was convened in order to secure the cooperation of certain organizations against the government of Sultan Hamid. The Greeks, Macedonians and the members of the Hunchak Committee did not participate. Malumian (Aknuni), who had been appointed by the Dashnaktsutiun, declared that no real success could be expected uncoordinated and he therefore proposed to unite forces in order to overturn the regime. After protracted preliminary discussions the congress gathered in November 1907 at Baron de Lormais's house, where Malumian, Kalifaian, Sislian and Basmadjian were the major representatives of the Armenians.

Archbishop Moushegh said:⁷

"In 1907 the Ittihad Society in Paris once again attempted to convene a congress composed of the representatives of the committees against the Ottoman government. Simultaneously, on the eve of May 19 the leader of the Moscow Society, General Spiridovitch, gave a speech in Lyric Hall, New York, attacking the Macedonians, Albanians and Arabs. In this speech he said that the salvation of the Turkish Christians depended on the activities of all the Christian revolutionary organizations. In the atmosphere of enthusiasm created, Spiridovitch managed to have all the organization centres come to an agreement on taking necessary coordinated action when the need arose, and he also managed to draft a report. Delegates of the Dashnaktsutiun were not included among those who signed the report that evening. However, it is known that although those who signed the report refused the call made by the Young Turks a few months later, only the Dashnaktsutiun accepted it."

The Minutes of the 1907 Congress, published in the *Şura-yı Ümmet*, the press organ of the Ittihat ve Terakki Party, contain the following account:⁸

THE MINUTES OF THE CONGRESS

"The Congress assigned the inauguration to our respected friend Sezai Bey. The Congress members duly elected Prince Sabahattin, Malumian Efendi and Ahmet Rıza Bey to preside in turn over three sessions. At the first meeting, Prince Sabahattin asked Doctor Azmi to read the report prepared by the Constituent Assembly.

SUMMARY OF THE REPORT

The society for Private Enterprise, Autonomy and Constitutional Monarchy, and the Union of the Armenian Revolutionary Committees, together with Society of Ittihad ve Terakki have set up a Constituent Assembly to prepare the procedures for the Congress which has met to determine the agreement between the aforementioned societies, in order that they may oppose the enemy in unity and put an end to the tragic incidents and conflicts in some Anatolian provinces.

Each of the three groups elected two representatives for the Constituent Assembly. Starting from the first day, there was an agreement among these representatives on the significant points of

the programme. However, an agreement could not be realized on all the details, since each society zealously defended its own political programme; therefore, in order to eliminate problems it was decided to take steps of general nature.

In order to give due significance to this union and cooperation, each party was asked by the Constituent Assembly, without discrimination as to religion or creed, to send representatives to the Congress.

The following decisions were made:

1. To give up the present procedure.
2. To establish constitutional procedures, that is, to set up a national congress and senate.
3. To attain this end by peaceful or revolutionary means.

The First Article: Abdul Hamid should be forced to abdicate. The members of the Constituent Assembly decided not to disarm, if this objective were not realized.

The Second Article: A constitutional monarchy should be established to ensure liberty, equality and the rule of law. In order to prevent conflicts might have worked to the detriment of the agreement among the members, the term 'constitutional monarchy' on condition that the unity and the independence of the Ottoman state be maintained, was accepted without dwelling too much on the details.

The Third Article: The members of the Constituent Assembly decided to establish a permanent and mixed committee which would implement the decisions of the Congress. The members of this mixed committee would be selected from among the members of the societies represented on the Assembly. This committee would have its own regulations. The Constituent Assembly proposed the following aims to the congress:

1. General uprising,
2. Both armed and unarmed activity such as obstruction and passive resistance,
3. Refusal to pay taxes,
4. Disseminating anti-government propaganda in the army in order to win it over to our side, and persuading the army not to use arms against the rebels.

Since, in order to prevent failure, the Permanent Assembly has to keep all its decisions secret, especially those on revolutionary operations, no further details can be given. Measures will be taken against any sort of treachery, and all traitors will receive due punishment.

In order to help in the dissemination of our ideas the Constituent Assembly has decided to have the decisions of the Congress published in the newspaper."

The report was concluded with the following statement:

"This is the end of our report. We should like to express our feeling of satisfaction in having been able to unite you in working towards a single goal which we consider sacred. We hope our unfortunate country will benefit from these attempts. We believe we should start congratulating each other without any misgivings.

The undersigned:

The press organs of the Ottoman Ittihat ve Terakki Party:

Şura-yı Ümmet and *Meşveret*

The press organ of the Dashnaktsution Society: *Droshak*

The press organ of the Society of Private Enterprise, Autonomy and Constitutional Monarchy: *Terakki*

The press organ of the Egyptian Israiliye (Israeli) Society: *Lavara*

The Turkish and Arabic press organ of the Caliphate in London.

The editorial board of the *Armenia* newspaper in Marseilles.

The editorial board of the *Razmik* newspaper in the Balkans.

The editorial board of the revolutionist newspaper *Hairenik* in the United State of America

The society of *Ahd-i Osmani* (The Ottoman Covenant) in Egypt."

To this document was appended a speech given by Malumian Efendi, described in the Minutes quoted by the *Şura-yı Ümmet*, as a person "Who abides by the rule, 'humanity is my nation and the earth my country'". Malumian started his speech with the statement by Proudhon, "A creative idea is more forceful than a storm." He then went on to say:

"This idea has been sown in our country and it will flourish there. Our power and honour will support it and it will bring forth our social happiness. Although we are separated from you by differences in religion, language, and, as Prince Sabahattin says, a cemetery which

has become part of history, we have come together to work in unity and cooperation under the influence and power of that idea. The influence of this idea of extending the scope of nationality so that it embraces a vision of humanity finds an echo even in a country as unfortunate as Anatolia. It is this idea that unites us, not only the grief we share on account of the calamities we have suffered. Such an idea obliterates all religious and national conflicts, together with the enmities and animosities of the past, and places us at a level of maturity which Nietzsche describes as being 'above humanity'. By this idea we transcend all political and national ambitions.

Friends, always, and especially at moments of weakness, turn to the ideals of nationality and of an all embracing humanity. These will give you strength and courage. Let us forget the petty conflicts that arose at our previous meetings but let us advance in unity towards our common goal. Let us now bid each other farewell to meet again in the near future in our beautiful country, which is now awaiting the arrival of the revolutionaries who will overthrow the despotism by which its honour has been stained."

After the Proclamation of the 1908 Constitution

The Adana Incident (27 March 1909)⁹

The Armenians regarded as a sacred duty and a national ideal the resuscitation of the Rupenian kingdom of Cilicia and the creation there of the state of Lesser Armenia. From the very earliest times Cilicia had formed the subject of poems expressing Armenian nostalgia for this ancient land.

The Armenians were encouraged in this by the Russians, who had always wanted access to the Mediterranean, and the Armenians fell an easy prey to Russian political manipulation. Russia had long attempted to increase Armenian influence in the province of Adana and in regions such as Maraş, Haçin and Sis. The advice given in a letter written by Loris Melikoff to the bishop Khoren Narbey during the Congress of Berlin to the effect that the Armenians could expect nothing in the Caucasus region and that they should concentrate their efforts further south, is an example of these Russian efforts to increase the population and influence of the Armenians in Cilicia.

Once the Armenians had been thus concentrated in Cilicia, it appeared no difficult matter to attain Russian national objectives by organizing a rebellion like that at Zeitun in an area made particularly vulnerable to foreign intervention by its proximity to the sea, its

situation on the Baghdad railway and its vital interest for various foreign powers.

As we shall see later, certain powers won over the Armenians by offering them such hopes, and many Armenians volunteered for service in the armies advancing on this region. In the political discussions that took place after the war, the Armenian representatives continually insisted on their historical rights to Cilicia and laid claim to the region as their own. The foundation of an Armenian homeland in this region was one of the topics of discussion.

Following the proclamation of the Second Constitution in 1908, there was a considerable increase in revolutionary activity in Adana. The proclamation of the constitution was at first followed by a lull, but the revolutionaries were quick to seize the opportunities offered by the movements in Austria, Bulgaria, Serbia and Crete, and the various local uprisings. The people had also taken advantage of the greater liberty they now enjoyed to arm themselves more efficiently. The internal revolts in the provinces had failed to attract the hoped for European intervention, and the revolutionaries thought it best to exploit the state of confusion that was reigning in Turkey at that time. The Armenians were to rebel, there would be incidents, the Armenians would persist, the European powers would finally be forced to intervene, foreign warships would arrive in Mersin, troops would be disembarked, and Cilicia would be seized from the Turks and handed over to the Armenians. The most active instigator of revolt in Adana was the Armenian *marhasa*, Bishop Mushegh, a fanatical revolutionary in the guise of a man of religion. He was responsible for organizing all the operations, and was head of the revolutionary committee as far as its political activities were concerned. Taking advantage of Sultan Hamid's administration, he worked out a very careful plan while at the same time keeping in close touch with the governors of the provinces and exerting very great influence on the members of the bureaucracy.

Adana had remained perfectly calm during the Armenian revolts of 1895-1896. To incite rebellion here, it was necessary to wait for a more opportune moment.

The first important operation undertaken by Mushegh and his colleagues was to attempt to increase the Armenian population in Adana and, if possible, to ensure a strong Armenian majority. With this aim in view a number of Armenians were brought into the area from the eastern provinces, and from Maraş, Zeitun, Van, Harput, Diyarbakır and Bitlis, and settled on empty lots squeezed between the Armenian houses in the country towns. All this is freely admitted by the Bishop himself in his book on the Adana massacres.¹⁰

According to official government statistics, there were often five or six families living in a single house, and, as a result of the operation referred to above, the Armenian population of the region increased by some 40% in the period between 1902 and 1909.

One of the most important tasks of the revolutionary committees was that of arming the people. This process had begun under Sultan Abdul Hamid and by the time of the Adana incident had reached the smallest villages in the most remote districts. For years, weapons and ammunition had been landed on the shores of the province and secretly distributed to the Armenians.

The import of arms reached even higher levels after the proclamation of the constitution. Bishop Mushegh toured the province, speaking in the villages and preaching in the churches, urging the Armenians to sell all they possessed and buy arms. Only by the use of arms could they ever hope to achieve their independence. In his book, Mushegh relates how for a month and a half he toured the Jebelibereket area and other parts of the province, urging the people to purchase as many weapons as they could afford adding that these were to be used in self-defence and the defence of the constitution.¹¹

On 23 October 1909 there appeared in the Armenian newspaper *Goshnak* an Armenian translation of an article by the American missionary Krilman in the *New York Times* which contains some interesting information on the subject of arms.

"It is true that in Adana and Mersin a number of crazed and emotional Armenians were singing old Armenian war songs. It is also true that during a performance of Julius Caesar an Armenian stood up and shouted out: "Caesar may refuse the crown that is offered him, but the future king of Armenia will not refuse the crown offered him by patriotic Armenians!" It is also true that at the same time a boisterous, inexperienced young bishop¹² went wandering around the Adana plains urging the people to eat less, and sell their clothes to buy arms, and had himself photographed with a king's crown on his head. And it is also true that he made a profit on every weapon he sold. It is also true that about two hundred sworn Armenian warriors will kill Moslems to protect the Armenian quarter."

Apart from the weapons that were secretly brought in from Cyprus and Beirut, there were, according to official government records, over 12,840 rifles imported through the Mersin and Iskenderun customs in the period following the proclamation of the constitution.

By the time of the Adana incident the Armenian population was fully armed. Training in the use of weapons was carried out in fields and orchards, and even quite openly under the eyes of the authorities. In the country towns, disciplined bodies of soldiers were formed, with sergeants, corporals and privates, and there was a guerilla band of some two hundred men.

Taking advantage of the inefficiency of the local government administration, Mushegh began to hold meetings in Adana cathedral, to interfere in government affairs, to urge the people to refuse to pay government taxes and the military exemption money, to bombard the government with petitions on the most trivial subjects on behalf of the Armenians, to incite the people and to stir up feelings of hatred and hostility.

A club was opened in Adana for the first time by members of the Dashnaksutiun Revolutionary Committee. Later, a similar club was opened by the Hunchaks. By threatening each party with excommunication, Mushegh succeeded in having the activities of both clubs combined, thus establishing a very powerful centre of propaganda and sedition.

The lectures given on Armenian independence, the old Armenian kings, heroic Armenian rebels and bandits exerted a pernicious influence on the ignorant young Armenians to whom they were addressed.¹³

The old hatred and hostility were revived and intensified. The insolent, insulting and contemptuous behaviour towards the Moslems increased still more. One began to hear of the bleeding of old wounds, the impossibility of living side by side with the Turks, the fact that the authority of the Turks ended with the coming of liberty, and that their turbans would be twisted around their necks.

While this provocation continued in Adana, equally provocative articles were appearing in the Armenian press in Istanbul.

The newspaper *İkdam* gives the following summary of an article that appeared in the *Arevelk* newspaper on 28 February 1324:

General Action

İkdam - 28 February 1324

"Two days ago a long article appeared in the *Arevelk* newspaper under the heading "General Action" declaring that the same corruption and repression that existed under the despotism continue to exist under the constitution; that crimes and atrocities continue to be perpetrated; that there is still no

security of life, property and honour; that nowhere have the confiscated lands been returned to their real owners; that murderers of Armenians are neither sentenced to death nor banished; that poverty and destitution reign throughout the whole of Anatolia; that in future it will be regarded as a crime to tolerate these conditions and that the time has come to rise in a general movement of revolt. 'Let there be no mistake,' the writer continues, 'By "general action" we do not mean a national or communal revolt. We mean common action taken by the whole nation together. It should be conducted as follows:

- 1.- All work and meetings in the Patriarchate should be suspended, and the Patriarchate itself closed.
- 2.- All items on the agenda of the General Council should be set aside and all attention directed to the grievous condition of the Armenians in Anatolia.
- 3.- The deputies and members of the council should, either collectively or individually, appeal to the Sublime Porte to put an end to the intolerable condition into which the Armenians in Anatolia have fallen, and keep repeating this procedure until some result is obtained.
- 4.- The priests should also make such appeals and persist until something is done.
- 5.- Large meetings should be held in various parts of the capital, appealing to the government to put an end to the policy pursued during the period of despotism and which is still being pursued under the Constitution. These meetings should be continued uninterruptedly for several days, or even for several weeks.
- 6.- While these peaceful demonstrations are continuing, all churches should be closed and the bells rung night and day as a symbol of the despair and mourning of the Armenian people.
- 7.- These demonstrations should also be held in the provinces in which the Armenians are in the majority, and authorities should be bombarded with complaints, appeals, requests and demands, until they are obliged to ensure the well-being and contentment of the Armenian people. If everything is to stay as

it was, what is the point of the Proclamation of the Constitution?"

Moreover, the programme of the The Party of Ahrar (Freedom Party), which had just been founded in Istanbul, proved of great advantage to the revolutionaries, who immediately exploited the anarchy existing in the government to make a *fait accompli* in Adana. On 4 March, Bishop Mushegh, having arranged things to his satisfaction in Adana, left for Egypt on the pretext of collecting money for a boarding agricultural school to be opened in Adana. Thus we finally come to the Adana incident. Omitting various details, the event may be summarized as follows:

On Friday 27 March 1325, two Moslem youths were murdered by an Armenian. The murderer refused to surrender to the authorities and the Moslems appealed to the government to remove him from Armenian protection. The Armenians then demanded the surrender of a Moslem who had some time previously murdered an Armenian. Otherwise they would refuse to surrender the Armenian assailant. As it was Easter, the Armenians were firing their weapons from their houses and taking part in processions and demonstrations, in the course of which an old gentleman greatly respected by the Moslem population was killed. The Armenian priests toured the Armenian districts of the city giving orders that all Armenian shops should be closed. Two Armenians riding through the streets in a cart opened fire in all directions, while near the bridge in the Armenian quarter an Armenian warrior riding past at full gallop hurled insults at the Moslems. A Moslem was killed by bullets fired from the house belonging to a person by the name of Asadur in Kuyumcular Street. This led to a street battle between the Armenians and the Moslems in which both sides fired from holes in the walls of their houses. Fires broke out, and any Moslems who happened to have remained in the Armenian quarter were seized and immediately put to death.

The government called the Karaisali reserve battalion to arms, but many soldiers belonging to this battalion were sent to their homes to protect their own villages and families. The street battles continued from 1 to 3 April but were finally suppressed.

On 11 April three battalions of soldiers brought from Dedeğaç were fired upon by the Armenians. A second conflict broke out, accompanied by a number of fires, but after some bloody street battles the rebellion was crushed and peace restored.

A military tribunal was set up in Adana and, after prolonged investigations and hearings, fifteen people were executed, nine of them Moslem and six Armenian. Another six prisoners were

sentenced to hard labour.

The Armenian revolutionaries informed European circles that 30,000 people had died in these disturbances. A delegation sent from the Patriarchate put the figure at 21,330. The official report issued by the governor's office put the number of dead at less than 10,000

According to the *La Turquie* newspaper the total number of the dead was 1,000. Of these, two hundred and fifty were Moslems.

The Edirne representative, Babikian Efendi, prepared a report to be submitted to the Assembly putting the number of those killed in these disturbances at 21,001. He also drew up the following table:

	No. of Dead	
Adana and the neighbouring farms	9780	
Tanriverdi	1280	
Sarı Geçit	850	
Ese Sacili	1558	
Osmaniye	1111	
Bostan Çiftlik	1277	
Korular	3623	
	<hr/> 19,479	19,479
Greeks	250	
Syriac Christians	850	
Chaldaeian Christians	422	
	<hr/> 1,522	1,522
		<hr/> 21,001

As the total population in the province amounted only to 48,000 a death toll of 21,000 or 30,000 Armenians would have meant that there were practically no Armenians left alive. But it is known that 25,000 fled to places unaffected by the disturbances, to return to their homes after order had been restored.

Let us now return to the causes of the Adana incident. The Armenians claimed that this incident was connected with the 31 March rebellion in Istanbul, and claimed that they were everywhere the victims of Moslem animosity.

According to one view, there is a connection between the Adana incident, which began on the 27 March and the 31 March uprising. This view would show the Moslems as reactionary and despotic and

the Armenians as supporters of the Constitution. It was because of their bigotry and fanaticism that the hard-working Turks of Adana destroyed their own country, burned down their own city, and killed the Armenians, the defenders of the Constitution.

The Armenian revolutionaries based all their propaganda on this claim, and although the *Ittihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Committee of Union and Progress) sent a representative to Adana, who, in speeches given in the Adana *Ittihat ve Terakki* Club and in front of the local government building, appealed to the people to live together in peace, the Armenians continued to insist on the alleged connection between the 31 March rebellion and the Adana incident. The Armenians used this to conceal their real aims, and constantly based their propaganda on this point.

The Agop Babikian report is a good example of this attitude: ¹⁴

"On the same day as the 31 March rebellion broke out in Istanbul, telegrams were sent to Adana concerning the events in the capital, and it was upon this that the Adana incident took place. The following Wednesday, the disturbances were transformed into a massacre which lasted for three days, coming to an end on 3 April. The disturbances recommenced on the evening the troops arrived from Rumelia (12 April) and continued until Tuesday. In order to understand the reason for these disorders it is necessary to go back in time to just after the proclamation of the Constitution.

The re-establishment of a constitutional regime dealt a severe blow to the interests of a number of people who had obtained positions of power and influence under the old administration. These people cherished a bitter hatred and hostility towards the new constitution and the Armenians who were ready to die in its defence. They therefore regarded it as essential that in order to succeed in their attack on the constitutional government they should first of all exterminate the Armenian population. Taking advantage of the ignorance of the people, they disseminated calumny and slander against the Armenians that would arouse the wrath and indignation of the Moslem populations"

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* gives the following account of the causes of the Adana incident. ¹⁵

TERROR IN ADANA
(from *M. N. Vendiand*)

Who can forget how, to the amazement of the whole world, on 28 July 1908, the constitution that Turkey had longed for so long was finally achieved without the shedding of a single drop of blood? The powers of the Caliph were reduced without any difficulty being encountered. The Committee of Union and Progress believed that the various races could now be united under a powerful state to form an organic whole.

This delightful dream was soon shattered. Signs of discord appeared with the first meeting of the new parliament on 17 December. The reason for this lay with the Christians, and the Armenians in particular. With a population of about one and a half million, the Armenians had 13 deputies; the Greeks, with a population of three million, had 27 deputies, while the Moslems had 200. The Christians thus felt that they were under-represented. While on the one hand the deputy Zohrab, one of the finest orators in the assembly, was giving very clear expression to their dissatisfaction, on the other hand the cunning Abdul Hamid was engaged in organizing a government coup that was to astound the whole world.

A few weeks after the first meeting of the Assembly, Sultan Hamid began to incite the conservative deputies, who held a considerable number of seats in the house, against the liberals. The Armenians saw this as a threat to their own community, and the Armenians in Anatolia began to provide themselves with arms. This rather intemperate recourse to self-defence was viewed by the Turkish and Moslem population as an act of provocation, and articles began to appear in the *Istanbul*, the newspaper of the Young Turks, referring to preparations for a confrontation on the part of the Armenians. At the same time, Abdul Hamid had his own supporters carry out extremely skillful religious propaganda among the Moslems in Anatolia.

We should add that the Armenians had spent a great deal of money in helping to achieve the Constitution in the belief that the proclamation of the Constitution would lead to a considerable increase in their political standing and influence. When this failed to materialize they resorted to intemperate attacks against the Moslems. But the instigators of these actions were very largely

Armenians from abroad whose excesses had not been curbed during the period of the Young Turk committee and who had thus been the cause of the deaths of a number of innocent Armenians in Anatolia. In January a committee was set up in Adana, which began by encouraging the performance in the large Armenian school of historical plays dealing with the old period of Armenian independence. The great Armenians of the old days were applauded as heroes. This chauvinist revival was reported to the authorities by government spies. At that time the total population of Adana amounted to 45,000. Of this total 27,000 were Moslems and of the remainder, three quarters were Armenian and one quarter Greek. The Armenians were more advanced from the economic point of view, the Armenians in Asia Minor having grown rich on the labour of the Turks and Arabs, who knew nothing of trade or commerce. Thus there can be no question of religious fanaticism.

This was the situation in Asia Minor on 18 February, the first day of the Moslem religious festival of sacrifice. It was on that day that the Armenians embarked on serious disturbances in Adana itself and in other parts of the Adana province, thinking, quite rightly, that it was only during a religious festival that they had any real hope of achieving success. A report in the *Adana Itidal* newspaper openly calling upon the Governor Cevat Bey to summon military forces from Damascus to deal with a possible Armenian uprising or revolt shows how uneasy the Turks felt at that time. At the same time, the Armenians sent a delegation to the Governor declaring that if he was unable or unwilling to protect them they would be obliged to protect themselves. In order to placate the Armenian representatives, the Governor suggested that law and order should be preserved in the city by mixed patrols of Moslems and Armenians. A peaceful solution appeared to be in sight."

Further articles in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* describe the details of the disturbances from the point of view of a foreigner who has obviously little knowledge of the country and whose account bears little relevance to the true state of affairs.

In a book published on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Dashnaksutiun, M. Varandian gives the following account:¹⁶

"The Adana incident is a measure of our self-knowledge and our self-understanding. The gaping, bleeding wound was further

deepened before our very eyes. We realized more clearly than ever before the weakness of our aspirations, our endeavours, our cries and complaints. In the eight months after the July coup, the committee appealed to us to organize, to arm and to hold ourselves in readiness for possible incidents. These appeals echoed in vain like shouts in the desert. Adana was undoubtedly defended to a certain degree. Çokmarvan showed great heroism in its defence. But there was great difference between the situation then and now. The arming of the Armenian people was as pitiful as its appearance was lamentable and wretched. When the Armenians were gathered together they still remained as isolated individuals, or in small groups and bands. The number who could resist with weapons was very small.

As soon as the disturbances began, the handful of heroes, most of them young, who had gathered in the wide and scattered territory of the Armenian nation, were forced by lack of weapons and proper preparation to abandon their country like a pack of cowards, to resort to shameful flight towards the coast, to escape to Egypt, and to scatter their tears and their woes to the four corners of the globe.

It was all the same old story.

The same ingenuousness, the same ignorance. On the arrival in Adana of the troops from Macedonia, they surrendered their weapons before the eyes of the consuls, thus allowing the normal barbarity to turn into a terrible catastrophe.

But this was not the real problem. Thanks to its geographical situation, Cilicia had always enjoyed particularly favourable conditions. Even the great massacre of 1895 had caused little injury to the Armenian population. At the moment, there were ample supplies of weapons for defence. More important, there were the horrifying memories of the past. There was also their real homeland, Armenia. The thought that the wave of massacres had reached Upper Armenia made us feel that a moment was approaching that would make the blood freeze in our veins. It seemed possible that it might break out in Adana and that there would be no help from any side. From Europe? Our simple, innocent people, without means of either attack or defence, would once again be slaughtered like sheep. It is very sad that in spite of our majority, things should still remain the same..."

And in another part of the same work:

"Adana has opened another wound in the body of the Armenian people. A writer in the *Berliner Tageblatt* writes as follows of Cilicia, now soaked in blood: 'The Armenians are opposed to the Armenian youth in their pursuit of an independent Armenia. They find excuses for the officials, soldiers and people responsible for the massacres.' The *Berliner Tageblatt* blamed them for their irresponsible behaviour, claiming that it was their provocative speeches, their plays, their national flags and their nationalist resuscitation of the past that had inflamed the Turks. European newspaper correspondents favourably disposed towards the Armenians said the same thing.

In its reports on the incidents, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, for thirty years a warm supporter of the Armenians, declares that the Armenians had aroused the fears and suspicions of the Moslems by their irresponsible behaviour, their performances of historical plays in their clubs and their shouts of "Long Live Armenia!"

This is a very serious accusation. In this can be seen one of the dangerous activities in which some of the Armenians indulged. It was essential that the Armenians should have been prepared for the consequences.

If our people, the whole population of Turkish Armenia, had remained indifferent to the necessity of the defence of its national integrity, and if our youth, the heart and soul of our nation, had remained apathetic and inactive, this would have indicated a clear deficiency in their culture and education.

There can be no doubt that the seed of the poisonous flower of racism and narrow nationalism was sown and carefully cultivated in the minds of the youth of Turkish Armenia. This is to a certain extent justifiable. What nation in the world has been so trodden under foot, what nation has been so cynically scorned and insulted? It is a natural law that the stronger the action the stronger the reaction. There is nothing surprising in the fact that a certain section of Armenian youth should react against the intolerable injustices of the past, and that, when they finally dawned after sixty years of darkness filled with crimes and atrocities, hot-blooded Armenian youth should unfurl the flag of national patriotism and recreate in their plays and performances

the glorious victories of the past. Pride and honour has been reborn in Cilicia, and memories of history shine more brightly and spectacularly than ever before.

It is also true that the Armenians of Cilicia are freer, more secure and less oppressed than ever before. As a result, national pride and honour are more carefully cherished. Unfortunately, this has also given rise to a rabid and delirious form of nationalism.

Armenian nationalism is in general a typically bourgeois form of nationalism. It appears in the form of inordinate pride and arrogance. This could be observed every day in the recent past. This pride was sometimes so extreme as to become positively ridiculous. Take, for example, the Istanbul orator who placed Armenian and French geniuses on the same plane! The Istanbul correspondent of a newspaper that acts as the mouthpiece of the Tiflis nationalists and is noted for its scandalous excesses, obviously found the most intense pleasure in indulging in the most irreconcilable scorn and hatred of the Turks. "The Turk is a cretin!" "The Turk is a mongre!" "Wherever the Turk rules there is ruin and decay!" Egyptian newspapers are also full of such provocative animosity.¹⁷

We can see the resentment aroused by this irreconcilable animosity both at home and abroad. Take the boasting and swaggering directed at their neighbours. Take their scornful and contemptuous behaviour. Some of the Istanbul newspapers are filled with this childish bragging and insolence. There is nothing surprising in this. A whole generation has been brought up in this way. A feeling of infinite superiority born in infinite shame and wretchedness and combined with intellectual barrenness, empty pretension and arrogance. Only Europe can provide the necessary diagnosis and treatment. But look at the attitude of the Turkish Armenians in Europe! During all their travels in the West all they have learned of democratic currents in Europe is confined to a knowledge, and that a very superficial one, of the thought and psychology of the Trumons and Millevoyses. That is all they have learned. They decide the fate of Armenia and the Turkish Armenians on the basis of a meagre culture and fatuous thought gleaned from a study of the literature of nationalism.

Their faithful followers are the children, the aged, the common people, the religious men, the hedge-priests and bishops

of Cilicia. Once given a taste of freedom, these men begin ostentatiously flaunting their childish, provocative patriotism right and left. They shout of Haik, Aram and Dertad. They openly attack their cruel and repressive neighbours like so many Don Quixotes.

And they talk not only of the old heroes, but also of the old kings, from Dikran to Leo, who, very probably, were as worthless executioners of their own people as all the other kings in history.

The patriotism of the priests exalts these kings to the skies, and is always ready to rekindle and revive the idea of kingship, which, amongst the ordinary people, has long been utterly extinguished.

This is one of our oldest delusions, one of our oldest diseases. It is because of this that the Caucasus has never been liberated. All activity is aborted by the vain beliefs, the swaggering and the empty nationalism of this worthless section of Armenian youth. And they themselves suffer as a consequence of all this."

The *Droshak*, the organ of the Dashnaktsutiun Revolutionary Committee, writes as follows:¹⁸

"Armenian youth is accused of ignorance and irresponsibility, of boasting, swaggering and provocative behaviour. It is true that, in giving expression to their feelings towards the constitution, their feelings of ardour and longing, young Armenians have perhaps gone to excessive lengths and acted in a somewhat undisciplined and irresponsible manner. Their impassioned plays, their flags and national symbols are all symptoms of an unbounded nationalist enthusiasm. All this intensified the hatred towards the Armenians that already existed among the more ignorant strata of Moslem society, and confirmed Moslem belief that for hundreds of years the Armenians had nursed feelings of animosity towards them. It also convinced them that the constitutional movements had been instigated by the Armenians themselves in order to obtain greater freedom of action, and that the power and influence they had thus acquired would be employed to root out and exterminate the Moslems.

We are continually coming across similar ideas in the

columns of Western newspapers and in the conversation of Armenophile Europeans.

The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, whose every article is read with respectful interest by the whole intellectual world, has some very interesting comments to make on this topic. The three long articles on the Adana incidents present a very detailed and very horrifying picture of the events. These articles combine the sound interpretation of a careful and highly skilled writer with the feelings of genuine emotion and sympathy.

Referring in detail to the historical tragedies performed in the Armenian clubs, the ostentatious parades and the childish and ridiculous shouts of 'Long live Armenia', the writer goes on to say: 'The Armenians indulged in irresponsible behaviour that would obviously provoke a strong Moslem reaction. The government soon became only too well aware of this chauvinist revival. While the Armenians were engaged in rampantly nationalistic demonstrations and in giving free vent to their feelings, government spies were carefully watching them from the shadows.'

The Dashnaktsutiun has the following to add to the report by the German writer:

"Apart from these there were a number of boastful swaggerers who loved to exaggerate the nation's glorious past, its greatness and its superiority, while at the same time pouring contempt and scorn on people of other races. This chauvinist racism serves only to poison the atmosphere in even the most advanced countries in the world.

An end must be put to this stupid and dangerous mode of thought. Ever since the proclamation of the constitution and even before the Cilician tragedy foreign publications were already referring to examples of this pitiful psychological attitude. Now, however, the Armenians have thrown all restraint aside. Every conceivable insult is hurled at the Turkish people. "Dog" is the least offensive of the terms employed. And any deficiencies in this respect are made up for by their manifestos. Comfortably ensconced in comfortable armchairs in foreign countries, and representing no group or organization, they regard it as their right and duty to raise their voices on the subject of the

'calamities'; boasting and swaggering at their neighbours, issuing challenges and uttering the wildest complaints and outcries. A futile flurry of hatred and revenge. Unfortunately, our young Armenians have long learned how to fill the fatuity of their thought and action with blustering sound and fury. They think they are achieving something worth while by their senseless ravings. But they should remember that it will be the ordinary people who will pay the price for their excesses.

The time has come for us to renounce this chauvinistic nationalism. We ought to lay aside these symbols of an excessive and fatuous national pride. These are things to be regarded with an amused pity in the modern world. This should all be replaced by a feeling of true patriotism that combines love of one's own community with respect and friendship for one's neighbours.

There is no point in exaggerating the greatness and excellence of our nation. There are many good reasons for our assuming a more modest attitude. Our nation is great in our own eyes, and in comparison with other communities in the region. But that is no matter for excessive pride.

Removed from this context, what are we? What does our nation, perched on the summits of the Vaspuragan and Daron mountains, represent? Nothing but ignorance and stupidity shrouded in medieval darkness."

From the above comments we can deduce the following:

1. The Armenians were responsible for the Adana incidents.
2. They exploited the slackness of the administration and trusted in the strength of their organization and their weapons.
3. They provoked and tormented the Moslem population.
4. The incidents are in no way connected with the 31 March insurrection.

Major Doughty, the British consul in Mersin, in a report sent to his government, criticizes the local authorities for not using the troops to crush the rioters. He himself went around in the streets during the disturbances and was himself wounded by a shot fired by

an Armenian, while a Turkish soldier accompanying him was killed.

Further light is shed on the incidents by a report in the *Nor Husank* (New Trends) newspaper published in Istanbul.¹⁹

"If it had been possible, with the help of the new situation that arose after 11 July and the new constitutional principles and organization, to restrain or even entirely extirpate Armenian separatism, if there had been an indisputably constitutional government that could have responded to the political activities of the Turkish-Armenian revolutionary groups with intelligence and foresight, and if the revolutionary groups themselves had pursued a course of action designed to appeal to the logic and good sense of the people and had called upon them to throw aside their dangerous and perverted ideas and to unite in common progress and advancement, the city of Adana would not now be a mass of ruins."

The following statement on the incident was issued to the press by the Ottoman Embassy in Paris:²⁰

"Certain accounts of the incidents in the province of Adana appearing in the newspapers and disseminated by the Armenian revolutionaries contain severe criticism of the actions of the Ottoman government. Although the official telegram sent by the governor and read out in the Assembly of Deputies announced that the number of deaths did not exceed four thousand, figures of twenty or even thirty thousand have appeared in the press. At the same time, attempts are being made to place all the blame for the incident on the Ottoman government. Yet the investigations carried out in Mersin and Adana by the leaders of the Christian communities show that the blame must be borne equally by both Christian and Moslem. One of the main reasons for the tragic turn of events was the fact that there were not sufficient troops available and that they had to be summoned from the neighbouring provinces, thus arriving too late to prevent the disturbances. Nevertheless, no fault can be imputed to the local government or the Ministry of the Interior regarding the performance of their duty. Furthermore, in addition to the sum of thirty thousand liras requested for payment of compensation, without distinction of race or creed, for all those who had suffered loss in these events, an extra ten thousand has been sent to the governor for the care of the wounded and the provision of food and supplies.

A military tribunal composed of officers from Rumelia and thus quite unaffected by local prejudices, has been set up to investigate the causes of the incidents and to punish those responsible in an exemplary fashion.

The National Armenian Assembly has welcomed the measures taken and given its full approval. We are convinced that, following these measures, all those who have been led by false information to condemn the actions of the Ottoman government will accept the truth of the situation.

24 May, 1909

The following statements in reply to the above appeared in *Le Temps* and in *Droshak*, the organ of the Dashnaksutiun Revolutionary Committee.

"We are greatly grieved to find ourselves obliged to protest the statement sent to *Le Temps* newspaper on 24 May by the Ottoman Embassy in Paris on the subject of the various rumours concerning the causes of the Adana incidents. After declaring that the blame for the Adana incidents is to be borne equally by the Armenian and Moslem communities, the statement goes on to accuse our committee of staining the honour of the constitutional government.

It is quite incredible that, in spite of the fact that the newly appointed local officials quite frankly admit that the calamity was engineered before 12 April by Abdul Hamid and his functionaries, the government should still be seeking to place the blame on others and to point to Armenian instigation. Armenians attempting to defend their rights are met with violence. The Armenians are placed on the same level as those that have made evil their profession and hundreds are thrown into prison while the arms of the others are removed so as to render them defenceless. These events have aroused pain and bewilderment in Armenian circles. If, after so many calamities and after the burning and destruction of so many towns and villages by soldiers and mob directed by feeble-brained officials, blame is still to be placed on the wretched and defenceless, we should be failing in our duty to our people if we were to remain silent. The only thing that can restore life and health to our country and prevent the recurrence of such tragic incidents is the rigorous punishment of

those responsible for these crimes, after a fair, just and impartial investigation and trial.

NOTES

1. M. Varandian, *History of the Dashnaksution*, vol. 1, p. 254-258.
2. *ibid.*
3. *Şura-yı Ümmet*, Paris, 14 March 1903, No. 4.
4. Bishop Mushegh, *op.cit.*, p. 77-79.
5. *Şura-yı Ümmet*, Paris 9 May 1902, No. 3.
6. *ibid.* Assembly, Paris, 23 May 1902, No. 4.
7. Bishop Mushegh, *op.cit.*
8. *Şura-yı Ümmet*, Paris, 1 February 1908, No. 128-129.
9. This incident is treated separately at the end of this section because of its importance and also because it took place after the Proclamation of the Constitution.
10. Bishop Mushegh, *The Adana Massacres and their Instigators*, Cairo, 1909 (Armenian).
11. *ibid.*, p. 31.
12. Bishop Mushegh.
13. The *İtidal* newspaper contains the following account of a play performed by the Armenians in the Ziya Pasha Gazino in Mersin on 29 April 1352 (12 May 1909). "A play entitled *Tamberlane and the Destruction of Sivas* was performed by the Armenians in the Ziya Pasha Gazino in Mersin on Sunday, 29 March. Although the *Mutasarrif* and all the other Turkish officials were invited, none of them attended the performance. That evening saw the first step in the Armenian rebellion. The Ziya Pasha Gazino was crammed with Armenians, together with one or two Muslims and a few Greeks. The curtain rose. Tamberlane proudly proclaimed that he would not leave a single Armenian alive and gave orders for the complete extermination of the Armenian nation. There followed a fierce struggle with the Armenian King. Finally, the king, together with his servant and his daughter, fell into Tamberlane's hands. The king is seen sitting disconsolate and forlorn with his servant and his daughter, his hands fettered and a crown of thorns on his head. Just then, an angel arrives with a trumpet in his hand accompanied by two spirits risen from the dead and followed by several Armenian soldiers. The following dialogue takes place:
Spirits: It was for you we gave our lives. We died to protect you and Armenia.
Angel: Your Majesty, your imprisonment is the result of your failure to unite. I have come to call you to work together in unity.
King: All the Armenians are massacred. Who is left to unite?
Angel: Is there not a single Armenian left alive?
King: Not a single Armenian has survived save my servant and my daughter.
Angels: They are Armenians!
King: True.
Angel (smiling): That is enough. Fear not. Unity will restore the monarchy. You will regain your independence. Be of good cheer. Hold fast to the idea of unity. You will regain your crown.
King: Unfortunately....

Angel: Soon a star will arise, and flood all the mountains and plains of Sivas in its radiance. It is then that you will once again become king of the land of Armenia. As the end of this childish dialogue on kingship and independence, a bright star suddenly appears over the stage and slowly rises. On the appearance of the star all the Armenians begin applauding and shouting, "Long live Armenia! Long live the Armenian kingdom! Long live the Armenians!"

14. Agop Babikian, *The Adana Massacre*, Istanbul, 1919 (Armenian)
15. 13 June 1909 (German). Although in his first article the writer adopts a humane and impartial viewpoint, his later articles are strongly biased in favour of the Armenians.
16. M. Varandian, *The Rebirth of a Nation and our Mission*, Geneva, 1910 (Published on the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Dashnaksution) (Armenian)
17. *ibid.* p. 144.
18. *Droshak*, No. 7, 1909; Leo, *op.cit.*, p. 59-61.
19. *Nor Husank*, Vol. 1, No. 4.
20. *Tanin* 1325.

PART IV
FROM 1908 UNTIL THE END OF
THE FIRST WORLD WAR

I POLITICAL COMMITTEES

A period of seeming calm followed the proclamation of the Constitution on July 23, 1908. Committee leaders gave speeches and issued statements announcing their intention to defend the Constitution, thus justifying and legitimizing their activities. In a speech given at the Beyoğlu Armenian Church, Sabahgulian, one of the leading members of the Hunchak Party, made the following commitment: "Since the Ottoman Constitution has been restored, we, the Hunchaks, have resolved to renounce our revolutionary aspirations and ideas and dedicate our efforts to the progress of this country." The Dashnaksutiun also pledged themselves to join forces with the Young Turks to protect the Constitution and to secure the cooperation of all the communities. Activists who had formerly been forced to live in the countries of Europe and America were able to return to Turkey freely and were greeted everywhere with tolerance and respect. The same conciliatory mood marked the ceremony held in the Armenian Cemetery in Istanbul where Turks as well as Armenians commemorated those who had been killed during the incidents of 1896 and gave frank expression to their grief over the graves of the dead. Similarly, the former Patriarch Izmirlian, who had returned from Jerusalem, was welcomed by an imposing ceremony in which Turks also participated. To reflect the new mood, changes were made in the programme of the Armenian political societies.

The programme of the Dashnaksutiun Society revised in 1908 embodied the following aims with respect to its Turkish policy:¹

1. Turkish Armenians, within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, will be granted full local autonomy with political and economic liberties based on federative principles.

2. Democratically elected representatives will participate in the central administration, which will be in charge of general affairs such as foreign policy, defence, finance, customs and communications. Other public services will be performed by the local authorities.
3. Turkish Armenia, as part of the federated Ottoman State, will have autonomy in its internal affairs. People resident in its provinces will likewise have self-government in their private and communal dealings.
4. The administrative and legislative organizations of Turkish Armenia will be formed through elections carried out in accordance within the principle of proportional representation. Voting will be direct and by means of secret ballot and no discrimination will be made on the basis of race, creed or sex.

Once the excitement of the first few weeks subsided, the political organizations which had thus made a show of solidarity began to exploit the laxity of the authorities and drifted back to their former disruptive activities. The primary objective of the political societies (Hunchaks, Dashnaktsutian, and the Reformed Hunchaks) was to arm their supporters and prepare fortifications. At the same time, they made attempts to infiltrate public institutions, the Patriarchate and the Church. They took pains to have their own members elected as members of Parliament or as delegates to be sent to the provinces, or, indeed, as Patriarch. In order to spread their influence among the people both in the capital and the provinces they established clubs and local centres under their own names all over the country. Churches were transformed into reading rooms and lecture halls. Although, upon the Declaration of the Constitution, the party newspapers had proclaimed the abolition of article 61 of the Berlin Treaty, they once again started to renew the former Armenian demands. Memories of past incidents were revived. Armenian flags and pictures of Armenian kings were circulated. Revolutionary and subversive writings, plays and poetry inspiring nationalist fervour were written, and national marches were composed. The government which seemed incapable of understanding the real intentions of these parties allowed them to prosper and even aided their growth. Activists who had escaped from Russia on account of the extreme pressure exerted on political organizations took refuge in Turkey where they were treated with tolerance. Garegin Pastirmadjian, ²

member of parliament for Erzurum, who was arrested in Batum by the Russians on his trip to Transcaucasia, was released after the Ottomans interceded strongly on his behalf. Indeed, while the Armenians in Turkey were able to pursue their activities freely, the Russian Armenians suffered repression and constraint. The situation is best described by the following declaration issued by the central bureau of the Dashnaktsutian Party in charge of the eastern regions:

"Compatriots, Transcaucasia, which has for years provided a forum for the Armenian revolution, is now crushed under the weight of despotism. For two years the flower of Armenian youth has been withering in the hideous dungeons of the Tsar. After striking at the heart of the Russian revolutionary movement, the reactionaries, made confident by their recent sanguinary victory, now feel free to crush and intimidate the flower of the Armenian people. Teachers, poets, merchants and artisans, functionaries and labourers, revolutionaries or ordinary citizens, are all alike suffering in the dark vaults of the Tsar's prisons.

Compatriots, the Caucasian Armenians who are now oppressed by the tsarist regime are the children of this country where today we are proud to have been blessed with freedom. In the dark days of Abdul Hamid's reign they had crossed over those red lines which in maps indicate the borders that separate Turkey from Russia. They are our very brothers who were with us in our days of suffering and who shared our sorrows and distress. They are volunteers who shed their blood for our just cause in our revolutionary struggle. This struggle, waged for the birthright and freedom of our people, ended with victory on Ottoman soil. But on the other side of the border, the sway of a demented ruler remains intact. The revolutionary ideal is still alive there with all its vigour. It is a life and death struggle against a despotic power that savagely persecutes and intimidates the people who demand their most basic human rights.

Borders did not, in the past, hinder the growth of revolutionary ideas. The people of Transcaucasia have done their best in the past twenty years to help the liberation of their brothers across the border. These borders cannot today halt the persuasion of the sacred Armenian cause, particularly at present when our comrades in arms are being tried as political criminals in the Russian courts.

The Turkish Armenians, who are enjoying freedom and liberty, cannot remain indifferent to the condition of their brothers who are being daily persecuted by the tsarist police. It is for this reason that the Eastern Rayon Board of the Dashnaktsutun Party calls upon its members to give financial help to the political prisoners and their destitute families and dependants. It is urged that this aid should be speedily provided since these historic trials will take place soon and will require great self-sacrifices.

The Rayon Board has appointed a central inspection committee responsible to the Dashnaktsutun revolutionary committee and has instructed the regional branches to cooperate with it. Donations may be sent through the Haraç Office in Erzurum and the Azatamart Office in Istanbul. Compatriots, in making this appeal to you, the Eastern Rayon Board of the Dashnaktsutun Party has no doubt that the Turkish Armenians will immediately respond to it by contributing large sums to help their afflicted brothers, and will in this way once again prove that although borders can physically separate the members of a nation, they cannot destroy the strong bond of brotherhood that exists between them."

The period following the declaration of the Constitution was one of steady decline for the Ottoman Empire. The revolts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bulgarian uprisings were followed by reactionary movements which culminated in the 31st March incident. Even before this date, Armenian activists who had made preparations for revolts in the region in Adana, the Ittihad ve Terakki and Dashnaktsutun Parties held joint meetings and drew up a protocol:

The Regional Council of the Armenian
Dashnaktsutun Committee of the East.

THE UNION OF COMMITTEES

"In order to ensure the independence of our country, to preserve for ever her political and territorial integrity, to eliminate the misapprehensions that have become rife in some circles, to create friendly relations amongst Ottoman communities, the Society of Ittihad ve Terakki and the Committee of the Dashnaktsutun have reached full agreement on the following points:

1. The aforementioned two societies will join forces and spare no efforts in order to strengthen the Constitutional Government and to provide a sound foundation for the cultural education of the people.

2. They will take firm and clear measures within the limits prescribed by the laws to forestall and prevent reactionary movements.

3. Since both societies have as their common goal the preservation of the sacred Ottoman Motherland from partition and division, they will take all measures to dispel the false rumours spread among the public in the period of despotism that the Armenians are nourishing aspirations for independence.

4. Both societies agree on the necessity of increasing the authority of the provinces in order that the progress and development of the whole country may be ensured.

5. The Society of Ittihat ve Terakki and the Dashnaktsutun Committee, taking the event of March 31 and the tragic incidents in Adana as warnings, have determined to join forces to implement the above mentioned fundamental points.

The Central Office
of the Society of
Ittihad ve Terakki

The Responsible Council of
the Istanbul Committee
of the Dashnaktsutun"

As may be seen from this document the signatories of the protocol were the Society of Ittihad ve Terakki and the Dashnak Council responsible for Istanbul. According to the constitutional regulations of the Dashnaktsutun Society, the responsible councils could undertake obligations of this sort only for their own regions. There was no indication that the protocol was ratified by the Central Bureau, for this reason it had no binding force. Article 3 of the protocol is highly interesting for its political implications. The Committee was in fact implicating the Society of Union and Progress in its propagandist aims through the inclusion of the phrase "measures to disperse false rumours... that the Armenians are nourishing aspirations for independence."

All of these initial steps, the attempts at establishing agreements and at effecting changes in the political programs of the two parties

were to be short-lived. An outcome was the creation of a new party, Hürriyet ve Itilâf (Freedom and Union), which embraced the principles of local autonomy and free enterprise, and gave rise to new political currents.

Despite this protocol with the Society of Ittihad ve Terakki the Dashnaksutiun Society continued to act independently. The newspaper *Droshak* the organ of the Dashnak Party, described its view of the Ottoman Constitution in the following words:

"We are not pleased with the new regime. This displeasure against 'Young Turkey' has shown itself also in western circles where soon after the proclamation of the Constitution the initiators of the Ottoman reforms received excessive praise. However, appreciation and encouragement are now fast declining, giving way to disillusionment. European papers direct critical remarks and angry looks towards the Bosphorus.

One must not be mistaken. In fact, it would not be possible to be mistaken, for the reforms of July and April were not the products of a liberal intellectual movement in the European sense of the term.

They did not reflect the views of a social class nor were they based on the ideals of the bourgeoisie, which provide a source for political reforms in western countries. In fact, the Ottoman reform movement was no other than a powerful military coup. There is no bourgeoisie in Turkey or in any other Muslim country. A few intellectuals and higher ranking officers in Turkey alone constitute the bourgeois class - if so it may be called - which is the sole repository of western ideals. This situation unfortunately has adverse effects on the destiny of Ottoman constitutionalism.

Viewed as a whole, this state of affairs is very unfortunate for Turkey, and particularly for the smaller millets. There is only a very small revolutionary minority capable of exerting real influence, which thus remains in constant apprehension and fear of counter-revolutions, surrounded by the poisonous atmosphere of imperial authority. This is the source of the national opposition. In these stormy days the smaller nations within the Empire are in constant fear of counter revolutionary coups. As a matter of fact, the non-Turkish communities of Turkey are in quite an exceptional situation now that Abdul Hamid's dying regime, has been replaced by the aggressive ideal of Turkish chauvinism.

The constitutional system of government, whose introduction was accompanied by promises of great political freedom, had actually produced something only strange and inconsistent with its other highly commendable resolutions: Article No. 4 which crudely negated constitutional principles and provoked separatist tendencies, further conflicts, and divisions between the various millets of the Empire."⁴

The Dashnak Society had infiltrated all Armenian institutions, churches and organizations. It had its representatives in the Ottoman Parliament. Religious dignitaries, civil and lay councillors of the Patriarchate, and teachers in the provinces were all to be found among the members of the Dashnaksutiun. It had in its service regular armed bands as well as guerilla groups in the provinces. The Party was, in fact, everywhere in readiness.

The memorandum submitted to the Copenhagen Socialist Congress, by the Dashnaksutiun gives the following account:⁵

"Until 1908 the activities of our Committee were held secretly at night. Our members could not go out during the day. Training and the issue of arms also took place at night. Our activities always had a political and revolutionary character. Today the same activities continue in all centres in the Ottoman Empire, with this difference, that they take place openly and in full daylight. In the Turkish provinces inhabited by the Armenians, our Committees have large revolutionary bands at their disposal which are well organized and fully equipped."

While events were developing in this way, the Balkan War broke out. Turkey lost her provinces in Rumelia and found herself in a disastrous situation. The political societies immediately exploited this situation to their advantage, in Leo's words:

"Relations between the Dashnaksutiun and the Party of Ittihad ve Terakki lasted for about a year. The Balkan War placed the Turks in a difficult position and also interrupted the 'negotiations' of the Dashnaks with the Ittihadists. The Dashnaks had indeed no power to support their demands, neither military force, nor arms, nor adequate representation in Parliament. There were, in fact, barely ten Armenian members in Parliament, and most of these had been elected through the good offices of the Young Turks. So what was there left to do? The Dashnaks had an old, inauspicious and blood-stained weapon: Article 61. They

brought this out and created quite a sensation, forgetting that they had publicly renounced the demands made in this article after the reforms of 1908. At the same time, they turned to Tsarist Russia for her support for their claims. The good relations with the Party of Ittihad ve Terakki came to an end, and the Dashnak Committee was thrown into the arms of Russia."

The invasion of Tripoli and the Balkan War had disastrous effects on the Ottoman state. For the Armenians this situation presented an opportunity that could not be missed. Under the leadership of the Catholicos and the Patriarchate, Armenian politicians once again revived the dispute over the reforms in the Eastern provinces. As explained above in the chapter on Reforms, these attempts resulted in the appointment of two inspectors to these provinces. At the seventh Congress of the Hunchak Party held in 1913 in Constantza, the decision was made to start open hostilities against Turkey. Ever since 1908, the Committees had taken great pains to make preparations in the provinces, to arm and increase the numbers of their adherents, to stock ammunition and to be ready to attack. Already, before the outbreak of the World War, they had the means and the power to engage in such action under all circumstances.

NOTES

1. *The Political Programme of the Dashnaktsution Party*, Istanbul, 1908, Droshak Publications, p. 18 (in Armenian).
2. This person, who was known as Armen Garo later went to Transcaucasia and during the World War ravaged the Turkish villages with his bands causing many deaths.
3. *Tanin*, Istanbul, 3 September 1909.
4. *Droshak*, Geneva, 1910, no. 1.
5. *The Dashnaktsution Memorandum*, 1910.

II THE WORLD WAR

On the eve of the Ottoman government's entry into the war, the Armenian political committees and primarily the Patriarchate were holding meetings to determine the course of action to be adopted if the country declared war against Russia.

At the United National Armenian Congress held at the Armenian Central Higher School in Galata presided over by Gabriel Djovahirdjian, who was appointed by the Patriarchate, and attended by the representatives of the Dashnaktsutium, Hunchak, Veragazmiyal Hunchak, and Ramgavar Parties, it was decided that the Armenians would remain loyal to the Ottoman Empire, perform military service and avoid being swayed by foreign influence. The leaders of the Dashnaktsutium, who hoped to gain the confidence of the Ottoman Government through such propagandist measures while waiting to see how the situation would develop, lost no time in preparing themselves.

In June 1914, the Dashnaktsutium Party held a congress in Erzurum, where the political situation was discussed and important decisions were taken. The congress lasted for two weeks and was attended by about 30 members from eastern and western Armenia. There were delegates from Istanbul, Trabzon, Muş, Erzurum, Sivas, Harput, Samsun, Adana, Beyrut, Izmir, Kayseri and Konya together with the members of the organizations in Etchmiadzin, Moscow, Tiflis, Tahran, Tebriz, America, and Egypt, as well as correspondents from the newspapers Droshak and Azatamart. A number of students from Europe, Russia and Turkey also took part. At the end of the convention, the following resolution was adopted in relation to the party's policy towards the Ottoman state:

"After considering the contradictory policies pursued from the start by the Ittihad and Terakki government towards the non-Moslem communities, and the Armenians in particular, in social, political and administrative matters, and taking into account the pressure exerted and the prevarications resorted to over the implementation of the reforms, the Dashnaktsutiun Congress has resolved to remain in opposition to the Ittihad and Terakki government in order to be able to criticize its political program and to conduct a determined struggle against the Party and its organization."

The Dashnaks claimed that the Ittihad and Terakki Party had sent delegates to the congress with authority to make concessions in order to come to an understanding with the Armenians and win over their support.

But there are no records or documents to prove these claims. The proposals alleged to have been made by the Ittihadists were quoted in a work published by the Dashnaks in Istanbul in 1920:¹

"At the time when Turkey was preparing to enter the War, the Dashnak Committee was holding its annual congress in Erzurum to which the Turkish government sent its own representatives. Towards the end of the Congress, the Turkish delegates made the following proposal: if the Dashnak Committee could help the Ottoman army to conquer Transcaucasia by provoking a rebellion in Russia, the Ottoman government would grant Armenia autonomy.

The Armenians, however, did not trust the promise made by the Ittihad and Terakki government, for the memory of the past six years was still fresh in their minds. Consequently, they replied that although the Turkish Armenians disapproved of Turkey's entry into the War, and that their sympathies lay with the Allied states, they would do their duty in the Ottoman army; nevertheless, they were unable to prevent the Armenians in Russia from fulfilling their obligations towards that country.

The reason the Turks made such an offer was clear. They could use the Armenians to occupy Transcaucasia and then destroy them. In fact, who could be so naive as to believe that after establishing Turanian Unity by the invasion of Transcaucasia, the Turks would, of their own accord, set up an independent Armenia? Furthermore, there was another obvious and logical reason for the Dashnaktsutiun to reject the offer. They could not be a party to such an agreement. If they had complied they would have lost all credibility in public opinion."

At the time the Ottomans declared mobilization, correspondence was being carried on between the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin and the Governor-General of Transcaucasia, Vorontsov-Dachkov. The two came to an agreement that the Russians would undertake to have the reforms implemented on condition that the Armenians would coordinate their activities so as to be in complete harmony with Russian policy.

Below is the letter sent by the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin to Vorontsov-Dashkov.²

(Etchmiadzin, August 5, 1914)

To the Right Honourable Count Illarion Ivanovich.

On October 2, 1913, a letter of petition on behalf of all the Armenians was submitted through your mediation to his Imperial Majesty, the Tsar, requesting his support for the amelioration of the condition of the Turkish Armenians.

In reply to this letter, the Russian government informed us that His Majesty would exert special efforts to improve the situation of the Armenians in Turkey and gave assurances that he would concern himself seriously with this people's destiny. In fact, Russia offered the Ottoman government an official reform project which promised permanent and profitable change for the Armenian people in the Ottoman Empire.

However, because of the opposition of Germany and its allies and also because of Russia's concern to preserve unity of aim and action among the Great Powers so as to ensure their joint future success, it was necessary to make changes that reduced the effectiveness of this reform scheme.

The instructions given by the Sublime Porte to the Inspectors-General and the agreements made with them, as well as the preventive measures taken by the government in the Armenian provinces, have increased the doubts of the people and of the Istanbul Armenian Patriarch as to the possibility of the introduction and implementation of these reforms in the provinces.

Today, with the outbreak of the war, the Turkish Armenians are left face to face with new difficulties and trials, whilst the fate of the reforms is seriously endangered.

I, therefore, take the liberty of informing you with deep concern and anxiety that if Russia, as the protector of our nation, were to turn her attention away from the Armenian issue, even for a short time, the Turkish Armenians would be threatened by very bleak futures.

I am sure that the imperial government has also realised that no

possible results could be obtained from warnings given in good faith to Turkey.

The Sublime Porte, secretly supported by the Germans, has postponed the January 16 meeting of this year. It is for this reason that the reforms carried out have pleased no one.

On the basis of information received from the Patriarchate in Istanbul and the Armenian Council, I have come to believe that unless supported by firm and reliable guarantees, any reforms for the improvement of the situation of the Armenians proposed by the present Turkish government, will prove to be short-lived.

My own views, and the views of the Armenian community on the subject of a definite solution to problems that are of vital concern to the whole Armenian *millet* as long as Armenia remains within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, may be summed up as follows :

- a) A united and a compact region should be formed by joining together all the Armenian provinces in Anatolia.
- b) Russia should appoint a high-ranking Christian to administer the region, in addition to the appointment made by the Sublime Porte.
- c) An autonomous administration should be set up whose members will be chosen through the votes of Christian and Moslem electors on fair and equal terms.
- d) Russia should be entrusted with the inspection of the planning and implementation of the reforms in order that the Armenian people would have confidence in the stability of the newly-established government and its organization.

Although it would be possible to establish this form of government only after the conclusion of the war, yet, in order to dispel the anxiety and fear felt by the Armenian community as a result of the proclamation of mobilization, it would be desirable to have the Imperial government issue the following instructions to the Turkish government.

- a) Necessary measures should be taken to protect the lives and property of the Armenian population.
- b) Arrangements should be made for the Inspectors - General to resume their responsibilities in order that the reforms decided upon on January 26 can be implemented.

On behalf of my people in Russia and on my own behalf, I would like to express in great humility the deep loyalty of the Russian Armenians as well as the sincere devotion of the Armenians in Turkey to your lordship and to His Majesty; and I implore you at the same time to draw His Majesty's attention to their plight, so that their hopes may be sustained through his protection.

While praying God to grant you a long and happy life, I am honoured to let you know that I remain a loyal servant of God."

In reply to this petition, a letter dated September 2, 1914 (no. 1569) was received from Count Vorontsov-Dachkov which reads as follows:

"Your Grace, the Most Reverend Catholicos,

I have great pleasure and honour to inform you that I have handed your letter of August 5, 1914 regarding the protection and fulfillment of the wishes of the Turkish Armenians to the Prime Minister.

Goremkin informed me that the Russian government would not accept any changes in the introduction and implementation of the reform scheme which had originally been proposed by the Russians, and which stipulated that the implementation of the reforms should be supervised by Russian inspectors. I find that the guarantee given by the Prime Minister will provide a suitable solution to a problem which causes anxiety to the Armenian Community in Turkey. However, I deem it necessary that the Armenians on both sides of the border should comply with my instructions implicitly. This is imperative on account of the strained relations between Turkey and Russia. According to a policy decision taken jointly with our allies, if there has to be a war between us and Turkey, it should not start by an action on our part. Therefore, I consider an Armenian rebellion in Turkey undesirable and highly dangerous. At the same time, for reasons expressed above, I should like to request you, through the exertion of your influence on your congregation, in case of a Russo-Turkish war, to ensure that our own Armenians, together with the Armenians inhabiting the border regions, perform the duties that will be given to them, both under the present circumstances prevalent in Turkey and also in the future.

Imploring you for your prayers, I remain your humble servant.

(Signed : Count Vorontsov - Dachkov)"

In 1914, when the Russian emperor arrived in Tiflis, Catholicos Keork seized this opportunity to state his demands in a speech delivered before him:³

“Your Majesty,

The other day I had the good fortune to voice the feelings of loyalty cherished by my congregation and myself on the steps of the holy altar in the ancient Armenian church. Today I am presuming to convey to your majesty the sincere devotion and loyalty of all Armenians, particularly those who for centuries have been suffering under Turkish yoke. In fact, ever since Peter the Great, all the Russian Emperors have constantly shown the Armenians their high favour and kindness. The Armenians are particularly honoured to have the protection and favour of your Imperial Majesty.

The Imperial government, which has undertaken to effect the establishment and implementation of the necessary reforms in Turkish Armenia, has secured the preparation and acceptance of a reform scheme approved by the Sultan on January 26, through the intensive efforts of the representatives of our government. While expressing the deep gratitude of my congregation and myself, I should like to inform your majesty that these reforms have met with the same fate as the former ones and have been reduced to nothing by the Turkish government. The state of the Armenians is no different than what it used to be, unhappy, helpless and unfortunate. This sad and deplorable state forces me to petition your majesty once again. Only your majesty can end the sufferings of my congregation.

The history of the endeavours to induce the Turkish government to bring about reforms that would improve the condition of the Armenians has shown us that they have always ended in suffering and disillusionment. The salvation of the Turkish Armenians can only be achieved with the establishment of an independent Armenia under Russia's strong protection. The idea of independence for the Armenians is so deep-rooted that it alone sustains the whole nation and keeps it alive.

The realization of this independence, on the other hand, depends on the Imperial will of your Majesty. If your Majesty were to declare your wishes concerning the future constitution of Turkish Armenia, the whole Armenian nation would have unlimited joy, and the hearts of all the Turkish Armenians would be filled with deep gratitude towards Your Majesty and Russia.”

The Tsar replied “Reverend Father, tell your congregation that an exceedingly bright future awaits the Armenians.”

Arutiunov, the head of the Dashnak bureau in Tiflis, also addressed the Tsar and gave the following speech on behalf of his people.⁴

“The news of the war has excited and roused the Armenians. They come from everywhere to join the Russian army and to shed their blood for the success of Russian troops.

We are praying almighty God that the enemy may be defeated in the East and the West. We pray from the depths of our hearts that the situation in which our nation finds itself will end with the honourable victory of the Russians and that it will be followed by the resolution of the historical problems of the East by Russia.

May the Christians under Turkish yoke finally attain their freedom by your will and command, O mighty Emperor, and may the Armenian nation, which has been suffering for centuries for their faith in Christ, be reborn in freedom and liberty under the protection of Russia.”

In reply to this, the Tsar said, “Tell the Armenian people I am assured of the loyalty of the Armenian nation and derive great pleasure from it; and also tell them that I feel delighted to be among them.”

The Caucasian Armenians, led by the Catholicos and the Dashnaksutun Committee, while giving expression to their willingness to serve the Russians and making feverish preparations for the war, did not neglect to secure pardons for the militants who had been previously exiled to Siberia for their political activities. The petition sent by the Catholicos to Vorontsov-Dachkov quoted below is of utmost importance as a document that reveals the activities of the Committee through the words of an authorized spiritual leader.⁵

“My Lord,

Seeing me as the spiritual father of all the Armenians, many among my congregation appeal to me to intercede on their behalf and to implore our mighty Emperor, out of his unlimited bounty, to pardon their relatives who had in the past been arrested on account of their connections with the Dashnaksutun and sentenced to exile and hard labor.

It has now become clear that these persons who had changed the course of their lives in order to fulfill the demands imposed by the

activities of the Dashnak Committee, were not engaged in subversive activities against the public order or the government. The aims of the Dashnak Committee, founded in the 1890's, was to bring about an amelioration in the living conditions of the Armenians in Turkey.

This aim coincided with Russia's traditional mission in the East. At the same time, by placing themselves under the protection of the two-headed eagle, the Armenians had thus secured the support of a great Christian state. After having suffered for centuries under the Turkish yoke they were called to wage battle under the Russian flag against Turkey. Together with their generals and soldiers, the Armenians learned to fight their oppressors, the eternal enemies of Christendom. The great Armenian authors wrote their most patriotic works in defence of Russia, their beloved country, as well as in order to rouse the Armenians to join a war that would free them from the Turkish yoke. It is the Dashnak Committee that was responsible for the training of the young generation which upholds those ideals.

For many years the Armenians lived in prosperity and happiness under the protection of the Tsar. This period was followed by a dark phase which ended with the excellent administration of your lordship. The severe damage inflicted on the Church during this time is best known to your lordship. The Armenians, the oldest Christian nation of the world, rose up in order to defend the ancient laws of our Church. It was to secure our prosperity and happiness that your lordship was appointed to Transcaucasia. And all the measures which had been introduced to oppress the Armenian nation and her national committee were annulled. This was immediately followed by Armeno-Turkish clashes and the revolts of the Armenians. During these conflicts, the Dashnak Committee was performing its national duty. It is well known to your lordship that the responsibility for the defence of the nation has been placed upon the shoulders of this Committee. During the critical years no one would have thought that the defensive operation of the Dashnaks would be construed as being against the government. It was evident to all the residents of Caucasia that the help given by the Committee to defend the Armenians was not against the law nor was it conducted under cover.

In the special court held in 1911 in St. Petersburg by Governor Senad during the trial of the Dashnak Committee, the Armenians were given very heavy sentences, although it was clearly observed that the public prosecutor had ignored the laws and shown bias. At the end of the trial, many innocent people suffered material and spiritual losses.

If the case had been examined with greater clemency, and if the history and role of the Dashnaksutium in the Armeno-Turkish

conflicts had been taken into consideration, hundreds of Armenians would not have been accused of having broken the fundamental laws of the government.

The country in which the Dashnaksutium Committee had its rise was given to the Armenians by Article 16 of the Treaty of San Stefanos and Article 61 of the Berlin Treaty, but later once again abandoned to the Turks. Ever since then, committees have been formed among the Russian Armenians in order to improve the condition of their fellow Armenians across the border.

The Armeno-Turkish conflicts happened to coincide with internal troubles in Russia. The Armenians were deeply and genuinely concerned about the fate of Russia and felt strongly involved in its problems. Consequently, it was inevitable that a number of young men who had joined the Dashnak Party should be interested in Russian revolutionary ideas. However, these were in a minority. In this way, the Party began to be infiltrated by ideas foreign to its basic doctrines and aims, which were fundamentally nationalistic, and the ground was laid for subversive activity against the administration. Nonetheless, the Armenians were, above all, fighting to defend their very lives and beliefs. It was this defence that would ultimately unite them all.

These who were intent on presenting the Armenian struggle for survival as an uprising against the state, had recourse to faked documents and false evidence. Innocent people in the villages were slandered by those who wished to seize their lands or default on the payment of loans. Huge sums of money were extorted under threat of informing the government. Among these there were honourable persons who had led the defensive struggle of 1905-1906. Even they were intimidated for having committed the "crime" of being members of an supposedly anti-government organization. There is no doubt, that such happenings were not only harmful to the interests of the Russian state, but also detrimental to the peaceful and loving obedience of the people who trusted the just laws of your Majesty.

Although it is understandable that the government should pursue all those who endanger the peace with every severity of the law, yet it is necessary that the innocent who have not been involved in anti-government activities but have only participated in the defensive struggle of their nation should be distinguished from them.

Nine years have elapsed since 1905. Those who have broken the law have repented during this time; as for the innocent, they are begging for mercy and justice to end their misery. They have gained hope from the fact that, through the efforts of your government, the reforms in Turkey for which the Dashnaksutium itself was striving,

have finally reached the stage of implementation.

The families of prisoners, detainees and fugitives are now constantly begging that I should, by your mediation, implore the merciful Tsar for forgiveness so that they may return to their families. They have long ago repented for the sins they knowingly or unknowingly committed, and all are now the faithful subjects of the Tsar.

Your lordship must have perceived, during your office in Transcaucasia, the strong feelings of gratitude and loyalty that bind my people to the Tsar.

Therefore on my own behalf and on behalf of the Armenian people, I appeal to the kindness and mercy of his Majesty and request the mediation of your lordship to present the wishes of his loyal subjects to his illustrious Majesty; begging his forgiveness for those Armenians who were sentenced to exile in the years 1905-1907 on account of their membership of the Dashnaktsutiun and also petition his Majesty to grant permission for the formalities regarding their release to be expedited."

The Dashnaktsutiun is clearly behind this petition, written and signed by the Catholicos and aimed at securing the pardon of 180 of its members whose names are appended to the document. They were all forgiven with the intention of making use of their services in the war against Turkey.

At the same time the Catholicos issued the following decree to all the Armenians.

"Keork V, the Catholicos of all the Armenians, Third Year of Office, From the Pulpit of the Spiritual Centre of Etchmiadzin (No: 1150)

Keork, the servant of Jesus and by the will of God, Archbishop, the Patriarch of the Holy See of Ararat, the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin.

May the greetings of Jesus and the blessings of the Catholicos light upon the most respected bishops (*marhasa*) in their orders and their deputies, upon church dignitaries, priests, illustrious laymen, merchants and craftsmen, farmers earning their living with the sweat of their brow and the trustees of charitable organizations, upon teachers and all public servants and upon the children of our nation.

You already know that external enemies have attacked our great country of Russia. It is saddening that despite all the well-meaning efforts of government and its wish to maintain peace, a war has

broken out among the European nations. Nonetheless, we find comfort in the fact that, at this moment in history when the world is filled with horror and suffering, the Russian people have united as the members of one family, closely knit together, to defend the rights of all nations and to fight for the cause of freedom and civilization against oppression and injustice.

Spiritual unity, which is the source of all virtuous and heroic deeds, ensures the victory and prosperity of a country. We find great comfort in the fact that our children are striving everywhere with all their will and might to perform their duties towards the government and our nation in order to defend the honour of their Motherland.

Now is the time when the Armenian nation can show their historic loyalty towards the Russian Empire (a fact that has been known and spoken of for centuries) with determination and enthusiasm. Having no doubt that my children will follow the example of their ancestors in performing their duties heroically and without shrinking from sacrifices, I enjoin all of you to give both material and moral help to this great and righteous cause, and to support the families of those who are ready to fight for the honour of Russia. Do not forget that many will be wounded during the course of this fierce war. It is the duty of all of us as Christians to soothe the sufferings and grief of our injured and afflicted children (who have performed their duties to the country).

I pray for the victory of the heroic Russian soldiers and extend my blessing over you all. I implore almighty God to protect the Russian state from danger and the harm that may be caused by our enemies, to lead her to a great victory and to grant her loyal subjects happiness and joy. Amen...

(Signature)⁶

Even before the war between the Ottoman empire and Russia started, military preparations were already being made in Transcaucasia. Armenian volunteers flocked from everywhere to Transcaucasia, and Tiflis in particular, in order to enlist in the Russian army or to join the bands and revenge squads organized for the fight against Turkey. Antranik was brought over to Tiflis; Garegin Pastirmadjian, formerly the Erzurum deputy in the Ottoman Parliament, was sent by the Committee to Transcaucasia in order to supervise the preparations. The Dashnaktsutiun itself became fully active. Tchalkouchian gives the following account of the activities during this period:⁷

"Armenian field hospitals were formed at great speed and at great expense. The following instructions were sent from Tiflis, bearing the signatures of Papadjanov, a member of the Duma, Bishop Mesrop, Khatisov, the mayor of Tiflis and Arutiunov, the chairman of Caucasian Charitable Society :

"The time has come for the Armenians to prove their unwavering loyalty to the Russian nation. The Armenians must not shrink from sacrifices to save their brothers across the border."

Lists of volunteers were circulated with the names of the Armenians who had come from America, England, France, Bulgaria, Rumania and even as far afield as Bukhara, as well as from various parts of Russia.

These people sold their property, left their trades and occupations, acquired arms and equipment and flocked to Tiflis, their rallying place. I accompanied these thousands of young, healthy, high-spirited and confident volunteers. They were singing the anthem of our Motherland and were making haste to go to the front as eagerly as if they were going to a wedding.

Apart from these volunteers, there were hundreds of thousands of Armenians who as Russian subjects had enlisted in the Russian army to fight for their country. But the volunteers were completely different from any other group. They were rushing to the help of their Motherland, which had been trampled for centuries under the heels of fanatics, to free their mothers from bondage and break the shackles of their brothers and sisters who were dying in the border provinces. A new dawn was breaking. There was a great human capacity in Russia. England was strong and France was full of vitality and resilience. The situation of the Armenians had become clear. There was no room for doubt. Volunteers were constantly pouring in. At that time there was a strong sense of solidarity between the Russians and the Armenians.

According to the orders of Vorontsov-Dachkov, the Armenians were to enter the battle within three weeks after the declaration of hostilities. The Armenian bureau started work under these difficult circumstances. There was no money. They could not find experienced guides. It was extremely difficult to organize a nation which had for centuries been crushed under oppression. But the enthusiasm and zeal of the Armenians were so strong that almost everyone volunteered. In this manner, just as they had done in former conflicts, the Armenians were able to contribute a volunteer force in support of Russia.

The names of the following leaders of the Armenian militia are recorded in history: Shabash Orbelian, Lieutenant Melikh, Avan Khan from Karabagh (he became a general on account of his

heroism), the Tarahanov and the Ovannesov Brothers, Atabekov, Manushak (a woman), and Archbishop Manucharian.

This time the survival of the Armenians was at stake. Even the old and the sick enlisted as volunteers. The Armenians were familiar with the area, and the Russians needed their guidance. Poorly armed young men in shabby clothes rushed to the front."

In October 1914, the Tsar declared war on the Ottoman Empire and ordered the Russian army to cross the Turkish border. On the same date, the Dashnaksutiun also declared war on Turkey. The Committee published the following report in the newspaper, *Horizon* :

Today, the time has come to put an end to the bloody history of the martyrdom of the Turkish Armenians. In the changing circumstances of our own day the Armenians will have authority over their own administration and will fight with their own forces against their enemies on their own soil.

It is evident that the Armenians had to determine their policy and join one or the other side. In effect, they chose to support the Allied Powers and to place all their forces under the command of Russia. The reason for this is not only that the Armenians believed their problems could be resolved by the Allied Powers, particularly by Russia, but also that they believed that these powers stood for justice and righteousness in the World War. The Armenians are strongly aware of the causes which led them to take this stand and are, therefore, organizing and preparing themselves accordingly.

Throughout history the Armenians have been extremely cautious and this caution has been frequently interpreted as cowardice or servility. Today is not a time for caution. The Armenians stand up with a clear conscience. Apart from the Armenians in the Russian armies, they form volunteer bands which also participate in the war on the battle field. These will fight in the same ranks as the Russian soldiers and by helping them with their modest forces, they will secure victory for the Allied States."

In a speech addressed to the Armenian Congress in Petersburg on May 24, Tchalkouchian also emphasized the commitment of the Armenians to the Allied cause:⁸

"A great disaster is descending upon us. And this is because of our sympathy for the Allied Powers and because of the present stand taken by the Armenian nation. The French charmingly call us "our little allies". It may be that we have made a small contribution to the

World War. There is no doubt that our status is that of a "great ally". The whole of the Armenian nation was involved in the war. At the beginning, there seemed to be no hope for us. The Russian government was doing its best to avoid entering the war for fear that it might lead to a revolution. At first we supported this policy for we were afraid that a state of disorder could lead to massacres. However, right from the start, our sympathy was completely for the Allied Powers. Among these, Russia, to whom Armenians had been loyal throughout history, came first and foremost.

The Armenians greeted the Russians with ringing bells and with their priests dressed in their ceremonial robes. In this war, too, the Armenian people took their place beside the Russians. Although before the war, special discussions were being held between the Armenian and Turkish leaders, when the Turks tried to win the Armenians over to their side, this proposal was furiously rejected by the Armenians. The war broke out volunteers came from everywhere, from Armenia in Eastern Anatolia, from Egypt under Turkish rule, from the non-Russian areas of Rumania; all these people who were Ottoman subjects, familiar with Anatolia, gathered together and put themselves at the service of the Russian Empire. At the end of all this, our nation was subjected to a massacre the like of which was never seen before and all that was left to us was, as the Spanish say, to let our wounds weep with their dumb mouths."⁹

NOTES

1. *The Regeneration of Armenia*, p. 45.
2. Tchalkhouchian, *Le Livre Rouge*, Paris, 1919.
3. *ibid.*
4. *ibid.*
5. Lëo, *The Ideology of the Armenian Revolution in Turkey*, vol. II (in Armenian).
6. *Massis* (Ararat), 1914.
7. Tchalkhouchian, *op.cit.*, p. 25.
8. *The Times*, 28 July 1916.
9. *ibid.*, 29 July 1916.

III REVOLTS AND RELOCATION

Political societies greatly increased their activities after the proclamation of general mobilization by the Ottoman Empire, and with the start of the war, they organized systematic and carefully planned revolts in various parts of the country. The instructions given by the Armenian Patriarch for prayers to be uttered in the churches for the victory of the Ottoman armies were strongly attacked by the Catholicos, who issued a declaration to the effect that an order given under pressure carried no religious weight. The political groups and committees active in Istanbul, such as the Dashnaksutiun, the Hunchak, Veragazmial Hunchak and the Ramgavar organizations, assured the government of their loyalty and political non-involvement.

Although it has later been alleged that the Armenians took action only after being forced to leave their homelands and strictly for self-defence, this allegation is belied by the testimony of the Armenian authors themselves. The following excerpt taken from an article published in *Vem* entitled "World War and the Muş Region: The Russo-Turkish War, 1914-1915", by V. Papazian, the member of Parliament for Van and also one of the leading members of the Dashnaksutiun, clearly reveals the planning and preparations in the early days of the war.

"... at first, it was impossible to grasp the extent, duration and the consequences of this disaster. Furthermore, in view of the calamities suffered during the past six years - the Greco-Turkish, Tripoli and Balkan Wars - it seemed unlikely that the Union and Progress

government would undertake entry into the war. Indeed, neither the circumstances nor the time were right for taking such a step. The Parliament was on vacation and the Central Office of the Party had become the seat of government. Anxiety and restlessness prevailed everywhere.

It was, naturally, of vital importance for us to keep daily track of events and to know the plans and intentions of those in power. The members of the boards of the Patriarchate were not able to establish the contacts which would allow them to see what was happening behind the scenes. The members of the Ottoman Parliament, however, were in a position to have closer contacts with the circles attended by the leading Turkish politicians and administrators. The secret organizations of the Dashnaks also possessed the means of infiltrating the clubs attended by Turkish notables. The political situation and the prospects for the future were generally discussed in the Cercle d'Orient, a club which was the meeting place not only of prominent Turkish statesmen and officials but also of foreign diplomats. Zohrab and probably Halladjian were frequently present as members of the club. Garegin Pastirmadjian (Garo) and Vartkes were also able to continue their contacts there with the ministers and the influential members of the Union and Progress Party. All the information thus obtained was collected in the Dashnak Centre on the top floor of the office of the *Azatomart* newspaper. Here the information was recorded and processed for use when required, and plans were made about the steps to be taken in the future. Important news and reports arriving from the provinces were also collected and evaluated here.

It gradually became clear that the Turks would be actively involved in the War. They were driven, on the one hand, by the hope of regaining the province of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the other regions lost during the Balkan War, and, on the other, by the desire to possess Transcaucasia and to free the East from the pressure of Russia. In fact, the government was engaged in semi-official discussions and negotiations to guarantee these demands.

Furthermore, it was evident that the Union and Progress government had been informed of the decisions taken by the Dashnaks with regard to Turkey's entrance into the War in their Eighth Congress. In fact, right from the start both our associates in Erzurum, as well as those of us in Istanbul, were all doing our best to dissuade the Turkish government from going into the War. They gave us assurances that all would be well. But the proposal they sent to the Erzurum Congress left no room for doubt that they would be fighting against the Russians.

The Armenians of Istanbul were plunged into despair. News of disturbing occurrences came from the provinces, and our people felt they were on the brink of a great disaster. We were searching for a way out. The emotional tension mounted with the recall of the general inspector Hof from Anatolia and the dismissal of the other chief inspector, Vestenek, stationed in Istanbul, two events which marked the end of the implementation of the reforms. Fearing that once the roads were closed, communications with Transcaucasia would be cut off, the Istanbul Centre of the Dashnaksutun responsible for the Armenian provinces proposed that I should immediately travel to my constituency, Van, via Transcaucasia, without waiting for the delegates to return or for the resolutions to be taken in Van to reach us. Since the Congress had dispersed without deciding on a definite course of action, the Istanbul Centre called its members to a general meeting where the political situation would be analyzed and evaluated in order that decisions could be reached about the measures to be adopted by the Turkish and the Caucasian Armenians.

In the sessions that were held, in addition to Zohrab, leading figures such as Shahrikian, Hajak, Hrach, Armen Garo (that is, Garegin Pastirmadjian, the deputy for Erzurum), Vartkes Pashaian, Sarkis Minasian, Sarkis Parsehian were also present. Unfortunately, after so many years, it is impossible for me to remember the ideas and proposals of each one of the members present. To the best of my memory, there were mainly two views:

- A. In the case of a Russo-Turkish confrontation, the Russians would descend upon the Turks like lightning and inflict severe losses on them. Hence, the Armenians would have to have bands of volunteers ready in waiting in Transcaucasia. These would move forwards as the advance forces of the Russians and, in order to prevent the Turkish and Kurdish elements from harassing the Armenian population, would invade strategically significant locations in Turkish Armenia. At the same time, our political demands would be submitted to the Russian government by the mediation of the Catholicos, and secret directions would be issued by the Armenian Centre of Istanbul to the regional offices for the organization of self-defence, particularly to ensure the immediate joining of local bands with the advancing Armenian forces, in case of an emergency.

This view was defended partly by Hajak and also partly by Armen Garo, Sarkis and Dr. Pashaian.

B. The second view was more conservative.

Those who defended it did not believe that the Russians could advance so rapidly in Anatolia, since their main forces would be stationed on the Western Front and the Caucasian army would not be capable of handling the situation. According to them, the Armenian population was in imminent danger, and orders and instructions would have to be given for defence preparations to be made. In addition to these measures, Armenian forces would have to be stationed at several points on the Caucasian front. These would be in waiting and would cross the border if conditions got out of hand (that is, in case of massacres, defeat of the Turks, etc).

The Armenian bands would have to serve under the command of the Russian army. This formal link would have certain advantages: It would ensure the safety of the Turkish Armenians, since it would deprive the Turks of an excuse for assaulting them; secondly, the presence of the bands would deter the Turks from taking the offensive since, in case of an emergency, they could easily infiltrate the country, attack the regular troops from all sides, harassing them and creating havoc, and intimidate the Kurdish community.

Those who defended the second view argued that the Turkish government would have to be informed in advance that the guerilla bands on the other side of the border would take no action unless the Armenians in the country were assaulted. These who upheld this view included S. Minasian, Hrach, Vartkes, Shahrikian and, at a later date, Zohrab.

It was decided that the two proposals should be studied by the central committees and, at the same time, conveyed by me to the Eastern Office of Transcaucasia. The proposals would also be presented to the returning congress members for consideration.

Tiflis was in turmoil. The Turco-Russian confrontation was seen as inevitable. Mass meetings were held and speeches were given to sway the thoughts and enflame the emotions of the people. It was as if preparations were being made for a crusade. The Armenian youth on both sides of the border put pressure on the Dashnaktsutium to occupy the leading position and direct the guerilla bands.

Among these young militants, Hamazasp, who had returned from the General Congress, was one of the most active. His ambition was to be appointed head of the guerilla forces and to command them.

For the Caucasian Armenians, fighting on the side of the Russians with volunteer bands was seen as an opportunity to take revenge on the Turks and to liberate their homeland. The situation in general looked grim, and it was becoming daily worse. It was being debated whether a delegation should be sent to Petersburg in order to convey our political demands; and, I believe, in Petersburg, Papadjanian, who was a member of the Duma, was engaged in pursuing the issue."

Papazian tells us that he personally took these views to the Caucasian Centre and, at the end of discussions held in Tiflis, the first view won. It was as a result of these discussions that the Dashnaktsutium undertook activities both in Transcaucasia and in Turkey. Consequently, Papazian's article reveals that revolts, enlistment in the Russian army, the formation of volunteer bands, and attacks on the Ottoman troops did not come about as a reaction to forced relocation ('deportations'), but that relocation took place because of them. This situation is made clear by the account given in a book written in Russian by Borian on the political activities of the Armenians in Russia and in Turkey:¹

"With the start of the War, Armenian intellectuals joined the ranks of the imperialist bourgeoisie of Tsarist Russia. Tsarist doctrines were accepted as the programme of the Dashnaktsutium which assimilated the former's chauvinistic and emotional characteristics. The leaders acting on behalf of the Party projected themselves as the idealistic Saviours of the Turkish Armenians. They were in fact being used as instruments by imperialist Russia. In the eyes of Russia, the activities of the Dashnaktsutium served the purpose of preparing world opinion for the Russian invasion of Turkish Armenia. Indeed there was no intension on the part of Tsarist Russia to set up an autonomous Armerian state, nor was the international situation suitable for such a development. It was impossible not to see that the Party which was ostensibly striving for the independence of the Armenians was, in fact, only serving Russia's aim of occupying Armenia."

In the passage quoted below, Leo relates the contacts with the Russians of Dr. Zavriev, member of the Dashnak Party, in charge of foreign relations since the beginning of World War I.

"This person (Dr. Zavriev) negotiated with Vorontsov-Dashkov, the Governor-General of Transcaucasia, and promised him on behalf of the Dashnak Party and the Turkish Armenians that the Armenian people on both sides of the border would provide the Russians with support and help when they entered into war with Turkey. He further assured the governor-general that the resources of the Dashnaksution Party would be at his service, for he believed that 'this war was being fought with the aim of freeing the oppressed nations of the world from the domination of invaders'."

It was this line of argument which caused the Dashnak leaders to be used as a weapon in the hands of the Tsarist government during World War I. The Dashnaks had misinterpreted the war waged by the imperialist states as a struggle for the liberation and independence of the oppressed nations. Hence, it seemed essential that they should join the ranks of the Tsarist Armies in order to free the Armenian nation from Turkish yoke. The statements made by the Tsar as well as by the English and French imperialist leaders became the slogans of the Dashnak Party.

In his declaration issued in August 1914, Nicholas II said,

"Russia has entered the War in order to defend her dignity and honour and to protect her territorial integrity. During this difficult period when we shall be tested as a nation, all internal divisions will be forgotten."

The Tsar kept his promise and the divisions that existed between the Russian government and the Dashnak Party were brushed aside. Members of the Party who were serving sentences imposed by the Senate returned home to Transcaucasia in order to perform their duties to crown and country. In return, the Party fulfilled its commitments by forming four volunteer units.

"God knows", the Tsar protested, "we have not lifted the sword to wage war, but by the help of God we are fighting for a good cause and for self-defence". While taking pains to spread the Tsar's declaration among the Armenian population, the Dashnaks were at the same time promoting active participation in the War and encouraging the formation of volunteer forces. The statement issued by the

Dashnaksution Party makes their stand clear: "We are fighting for a great cause, for our emancipation. We are not alone in this War, for the civilized nations of Europe are also fighting with us against the German vandals and the Turkish bashi-bazouks. The hour has come for the liberation of Armenia. Armenians arm yourselves against the Turks."

These words became the slogans which were brandished about by the Tsar's servile followers among whom the Dashnaks had found their place.² On October 14, 1914, Nicholas II gave the following declaration on Turkey: "The Turks have attacked us. They are marching on Russia. They are up in arms against Christianity and have as their target all of the Orthodox Christian peoples. This rash step on the part of Turkey will, in effect, seal her fate by changing the course of events and will clear the path for Russia to perform her historic mission on the shores of the Black Sea."

It is a fact that the Dashnaksution failed to understand the real intention that lay behind this declaration which was not to emancipate the oppressed Christian nations, but to realize a plan first designed by Peter the Great. It was according to this plan that Russia had captured Azov and Derbent and after establishing Odessa as a base, had expanded into Transcaucasia, invading and occupying lands which she annexed through the treaties of Turkmen-chai and Edirne. Their aim was to extend their borders eastwards in order to open new trade routes, thus securing the free development of the Russian economy. Consequently, Asia Minor was seen primarily as a trade route needed for Russian interests.

Using the Catholicos as a mediator, the Dashnaks were able to convey their views to Vorontsov-Dashkov, who in his turn made them known to Nicholas II. In the expectation that someday they would be rewarded for their services, the Dashnaks took pains to phrase their wishes in a such a way that they seemed to overlap with the interests of Russia herself. Upon receiving their petitions, the Tsarist administration asked the Armenians to state their demands; but, since there was no single and united Armenian community, they could not produce a single and coherent national document embodying these demands. However, several claims and demands such as the plea for an independent Armenia were formulated and made known through various official and unofficial publications. The Dashnaks also prepared a list of demands and handed them to the Catholicos for submission to Nicholas II by Vorontsov-Dashkov. In this document the Dashnaks repeated the reform principles which had been proposed in 1913 by the Tsarist government to Turkey. According to the protocol then signed, the implementation of the

reforms was to be supervised by the Great Powers. However, in this new document, at the wish of the Catholicos, the responsibility for supervision was placed solely on Russia. As Vorontsov-Dashkov himself relates, Goremkin had agreed to grant these requests on condition that the Armenians pledged themselves to help the Tsarist armies to seize Turkish Armenia when the offensive was launched.

"Can it ever be assumed that the consequences of organizing such a rebellion in the rear of an army engaged in action were not properly weighed? The consequences were in fact evident. The Armenian rebellion could not be expected to result in victory. The opinion was wide-spread that the attempt could end in death and destruction for all. In effect, the insurrectionists were sacrificing themselves at the command of the Dashnaks to serve the imperialistic ambitions of the Russians. However, it was as if they had been deprived of sense and reason for they failed to realize the great danger that was waiting them.

Yet the Tsar, who promised the Armenians to grant their wishes in order to incite them to rebellion, appears to have been aware of the significance of the step taken by the Armenians. This awareness may explain his attitude when he responded to the claims of the Armenians over Cilicia in the words, "All the demands of the Armenians will be fully met." The Tsar, perhaps, saw no harm in making promises that could not be kept, since he may have thought that at the end there would be no Armenians left in Armenia."³

In 1916, when the Russians invaded Erzurum, the commander-general issued a circular to the effect that the Armenians did "not possess the right to settle in Erzurum."⁴ Indeed, it is apparent that Russia never envisaged granting autonomy to Armenia. Despite this, the Dashnak Party has openly pursued a policy of supporting Russia and the Tsar. Djivelekov gave expression to this policy when he remarked, "The independent Armenia of the future will have to be under the protection of Russia."

The importance of Armenia for Russia is evident. As had repeatedly been announced by Russian statesmen, the interests of imperialist Russia lay not in establishing an independent Armenia but in colonizing the area with the aim of setting up a Russian-Kazak settlement in Asia Minor. The Armenian revolutionists failed to or did not want to understand this. It was unthinkable that Russia would help to set up an autonomous Armenia in a region that formed a bridge between her and Iran and the Mesopotamian valley, and enabled her to exert a control over Asia Minor. The cities of Trabzon

and Erzurum, situated as they are on important trade routes, constituted centres which were of greater value to the Russian bourgeoisie than were the rights and needs of the Armenians.⁵

These aims find expression in a speech made by Krivoshein in February 1915, "The speedy victories achieved by our forces on the Turkish front lead us to assume that in a short time we shall have the opportunity to reorganize our Caucasian borders and to expand into Asia Minor. It will become possible for us to gain the provinces of Erzurum, Van and parts of the province of Bitlis, commonly known as Armenia, as well as the province of Trabzon where Russian immigrants have settled in large numbers."

In the Armenian National Congress held in February 1915 in Tiflis, the Dashnak representative gave the following report:

"As is well known, the Russian government contributed 242,900 roubles at the beginning of the War for the provision of arms and training to the Turkish Armenians as well as for organizing revolts in Turkish Armenia. It is expected that our volunteer bands will penetrate the Turkish lines, joining up with the insurrectionists and, if possible, by creating panic in the rear of the Turkish army, help the advance of the Russian troops and facilitate their invasion of Turkish Armenia."

The Russian government had given Armenian politicians and activists free rein to pursue their policies and to express their thoughts on one condition alone: that they fulfilled their obligations to the Russians by organizing a rebellion in Turkish Armenia within the specified time.

In accordance with the strategic plans and the orders of the Russian military command, the Dashnaks took the following decision:⁶

"As soon as the Armenian volunteer units commanded by Antranik approach Van, the Dashnak fighters in the area will take to the mountains and unfurl the flag of revolt. The plans for the rebellion will be implemented in April 1915. The Catholicos has informed us that 10,000 armed fighters are ready to join the action."

In this way, the Dashnaks would be able to show that they had fulfilled their obligations to the Tsar and to imperialist Russia. It is self-evident that when tens of thousands of people take up arms in revolt against the state immediately behind its lines of battle, that country's very existence is at stake and the suppression of the

rebellion becomes a matter of life and death. The state is then obliged to use force, and its leaders have to take the necessary measures to put down the uprising and to protect the country and its people from destruction. The measures taken are those dictated by the circumstances. It should not be forgotten that when the survival of a nation and of a state is threatened, the principle of "ends justify means" comes into effect.

The Dashnaks knew that the Armenians in Russia would have to participate in the war; they, therefore, had to take the necessary steps to prepare the Armenian public in Turkey so that the Turkish Armenians too would join in the action. The committees, and primarily the Catholicos himself, had fully exploited the recall of the foreign inspectors and had spent great efforts not to let the exceptional opportunity provided by the war slip by. Nevertheless, the Dashnak Party was, at the same time, careful to save appearances and maintain a show of friendly relations with Turkey. In order to encourage this false impression the following argument was included in the Party programme:

"The Armenians, with a population of 2,000,000 in Turkey and three quarters of a million in Russia, cannot hope for a future either in Turkey or in Russia. Hence, in order to preserve its national identity, which would disappear in case of its annexation to Russia, Armenia has to use the balance of power between the two states to its advantage. No other country in the world could be more committed to the survival of Turkey; for, it is only by being in alliance with a great state that Armenia can achieve the economic strength and cultural development that would guarantee the conditions for its survival. Indeed, Armenians, in order to check the expansion of Russia, would have had to create a Turkey even if it had not already existed."

The Istanbul bureau of Dashnaksutiun sent the following carefully worded instructions to the other two offices numbered and dated October, 10/23.

"Comrades, the Eighth General Congress of our Committee has completed its business within the time scheduled. Since the Congress already entrusted the regional organizations with the implementation of our decisions, today we want only to draw your attention to the seriousness of the situation in which our country finds itself on account of the World War. More than at any other time, it is necessary that we should devote all our energy and

strength to protect our nation from harm, to do our share in preserving general peace and order, to refrain from engaging in activities that would give rise to inter-communal strife and misconceptions. At a time of exceptional gravity, we wish you success in your exceptional efforts and send you our friendly greetings."

Outside Turkey, the Armenian press and Armenian organizations were spending all their efforts to encourage the activists and to collect donations and volunteers. In Tiflis, the national bureau headed by Bishop Mesrop, in Petersburg the delegation of the National Committee, and many other organizations, some of which were led by distinguished figures such as Bogos Nubar, were all engaged in these activities. Within the country, in particular, the Armenian public was presented with the image of France and England as the protectors of the smaller nations and Russia as the patron of the eastern Christians. As has been explained above, the Catholicosate of Etchmiadzin was then the leading centre for the dissemination of Russian propaganda.

The activities planned by the committees may be summarized as follows:

1. To desert from the Turkish army in groups together with arms and ammunition.
2. To create disorder and panic in order to induce the Turkish soldiers to desert and return home to protect their families and villages.
3. To seize military transportation and to attack convoys of soldiers, provisions and equipment.
4. To take up arms as soon as the Russians crossed the border and encircle the Turkish army from behind.
5. To desert together with arms and ammunition and join the Russian army as volunteers.
6. To burn farm produce as well as churches and houses before leaving the villages.
7. To engage in spying on behalf of the Allied states.
8. To demoralize the Turks and spread propaganda to make them desert the army.

Subversive activities for which preparations had been made since the declaration of the mobilization were carried out in accordance with the plan outlined above. The first rebellion broke out in Zeitun. Upon being called up for military service on August 30, 1914, the Armenians of Zeitun asked to be allowed to form an independent unit whose commander and officers would be appointed by them. This proposal was rejected. Upon this, the Zeitunites held a meeting where they decided not to obey the call for mobilization and took to the mountains with their weapons. Conscripted Armenian soldiers stationed in the military barracks in Maraş also deserted with their weapons and formed guerilla bands. They carried out attacks in the region, assaulting soldiers and the gendarmerie. About a hundred soldiers who were returning home after having been discharged from the army were attacked, stripped naked and killed.

As the rebellion was raging with all its violence, the ringleaders of the committees instructed the Armenian population that as the English were going to land in Iskenderun, they should delay conscription through organized revolt and give all their support to the English when they arrived.

Telegraphic communication with Maraş was cut off. Attacks were launched against the military barracks and government house (*hükümet konağı*). The commander of the gendarmerie and twenty-five privates were killed in the Monastery of Takye. Moslem villages were burnt down and many of the inhabitants were murdered.

The Hunchakists had turned the town of Kayseri into an explosives factory and a depot of ammunitions. Long before the war, the political committees had attached great importance to Kayseri on account of its strategic significance, and a strong organization had been set up here by Sabahgolian and Hamparsum Boyadjian. After the Balkan War, the Dashnaktsutiun had also increased its activity in the area. In addition to these, the Bishop (*Marhasa*) of Kayseri, Khosrov, did his best to contribute to the preparations. As a result of several accidental explosions, the search made among the rubble revealed explosives manufactured in Kayseri by activists who had been trained in the United States for this purpose. Young Armenians resident in Kayseri refused to obey the call to arms, preferring to desert and go into hiding until they could join the rebels.

Soon after the proclamation of mobilization, the Armenians of Erzurum and Bayezid fled into Russia and joined volunteer bands and units; they were followed by Armenian conscripts who had deserted from their units and escaped with their weapons and ammunitions to the other side of the border.

The provinces of Van and Bitlis were for a long time ready for

action. Papazian, the deputy for Van and the notorious Ruben from Muş immediately became the leaders of the revolutionary movement.

Measures had already been taken in accordance with the decisions of the political committees to make preparations in the region with the purpose of helping the expected Russian invasion.

A report dated December 24, 1912, No. 63, addressed to the Russian ambassador in Istanbul and prepared by the Bitlis Russian Consul, gives the following description of the activities of the Dashnaktsutiun Party:

"The Dashnaks have had a considerable part to play in forming Armenian public opinion in the manner described above. This committee is taking great pains to instigate clashes between the Armenian and Moslem population, so as to give rise to a critical situation which would attract Russian intervention and prepare the ground for the invasion of the country by Russian troops."

Both in this province and in Van, the Armenians complied as soon as they were called up to the army, but as soon as they were conscripted and given weapons, they deserted and, forming bands, joined with the enemy to fight against the Ottoman troops and the gendarmerie.

After the evacuation of Van, there were about 10,000 Armenian deserters who had assembled there. When a revolt broke out in Van its repercussions were felt in Bitlis. In the clashes between the rebels and the regular forces a large number of soldiers, gendarmerie and militiamen were killed. There is no doubt whatsoever that the Armenians of Van rebelled as soon as the Russians crossed the border. Sivas, on the other hand, had been selected as the most convenient place from which an assault could be launched on the rear of the Ottoman army. There also the militants were waiting for the Russian army to draw near before starting the insurrection. However, the revolt broke out sooner than planned. Indeed, there was almost no province where the committees did not conduct subversive activities whether under cover or openly.

The Ottoman government confined itself to taking only local and limited measures to quell revolts until April 24, 1915, that is for a period of nine months after the proclamation of mobilization. Particularly during the fall of Van and the march of the Russians on the eastern provinces, the Moslem population was ruthlessly slaughtered by Armenian volunteer revenge units. Upon this, the government issued warnings to the Armenian Patriarchate, to

members of Parliament and the Committee leaders that strict measures would have to be taken if revolts, assaults and depredations were perpetrated whilst the army was engaged in the defence of the country.

Despite these warnings, subversive activities continued unabated. Finally, as a result of the revolts and assaults which took place in the areas of Bitlis, Muş, Erzurum, and the role played by the Armenians in the fall of Kars, the government was forced to take action in order to protect the army. On April 11, the committee centres which had until then been permitted to operate freely were shut down, and the ringleaders and agitators were arrested. At the request of the Supreme Military Command and Cabinet, the following law was enacted:

1. If in wartime the commanders of the Army, the Army Corps, or the divisions should face any opposition, armed aggression, or resistance to operations and arrangements related to the decrees of the government, the defence of the country, and the maintenance of public order, they are authorized and compelled to immediately take punitive measures through the Armed Forces, and to suppress any aggression and resistance.
2. The commanders of the Army, the Army Corps and the Army Divisions may transfer and settle in other quarters any inhabitants of villages and towns engaging in spying or treason, or in view of military exigencies.
3. This law will come into effect on the date of its publication.

(May 14, 1915)

René Pinon, Morgenthau, the German journalist Dr. H. Stürmer, James Bryce, the German missionary Lepsius and several Armenophiles such as the Caucasian correspondents of *Le Journal*, have denied that the Armenians revolted, and claimed that they took up arms on the commencement of the deportations. There is no correspondence between the real situation and these statements, which were made solely to present the Armenians as an oppressed and persecuted people. The truth is that, while the number of the Armenians killed were exaggerated to reach 600,000 or 800,000, or even a million, even greater numbers of the Moslem population perished at the hands of Armenian volunteer bands and guerilla fighters during the Russian invasion, and almost as great a number

died during emigrations and as a result of revolts. Indeed, it is known that a great proportion of the Moslem population of the eastern provinces lost their lives during these events.

Upon the decision to relocate the Armenian population, the following note was submitted to the Ottoman government through the Havas Agency.

"The governments of France, England and Russia have agreed on the publication of the following declaration: For nearly a month, the Turkish and Kurdish population, jointly with Ottoman officials and frequently with support, have massacred Armenians. Such massacres have been taking place from mid-April throughout the whole of Erzurum, Tercan, Eğin, Bitlis, Muş, Sasun, Zeitun and Cilicia. The inhabitants of approximately a hundred villages in the vicinity of Van have all been killed and the Armenian quarter of Van besieged by the Kurds. At the same time, the Ottoman Government has taken ruthless action against the defenceless Armenian population of Constantinople. In view of this latest crime perpetrated by Turkey against humanity and civilization, the Allied Governments make it known publicly to the Sublime Porte that they will hold all members of the Turkish government, as well as those officials who have participated in these massacres, personally responsible."

(May 24, 1915)

The Ottoman government denied these charges:

"The Ottoman government absolutely rejects the allegations and claims made in the declaration mentioned above. It is absolutely untrue that a massacre of the Armenian population has taken place within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. In order to reveal the real nature of the events the following explanations are given:

Since the Armenians of Erzurum, Tercan, Eğin, Sasun, Bitlis, Muş and the whole of Cilicia had never previously engaged in actions that endangered public peace and order, the Ottoman administration had not seen fit to impose any measures regarding them until the present time. This fact is also known to the consuls of the neutral states. The allegations made by the governments of the Triple Entente are no more than blatant lies. It would be plain to anyone who is familiar with Eastern affairs that those who exploited every opportunity to provoke the Armenian population

to revolt against the Ottoman state were the officials of the Triple Entente, particularly those of Russia and England. These constant provocations came into the open soon after the outbreak of hostilities between the aforementioned countries and the Ottoman state. Similarly, the consuls and other representatives of the Great Powers in Bulgaria and Roumania were instrumental in sending young Armenians as volunteers to Transcaucasia by way of Varna, Sulina, Constantza and other ports.

The Russian government has had no qualms in accepting them in the army and also in securing their infiltration into Ottoman territory after arming them with guns and explosives and supplying them with revolutionary programs and declarations. Their duties were to establish secret revolutionary organizations and particularly to incite the Armenians in Van, Şatak, Havasor, Gevaş and Timar to rise in armed rebellion against the Ottoman government. The militants were also given the task of inciting the Armenians to massacre the Turks and the Kurds.

We believe it would be useful to quote the following example:

After the outbreak of hostilities between the Ottoman government and Russia, Garagin Pastirmadjian, a former Ottoman deputy, known under the nickname of "Armen Garo," joined a band of volunteers that had been formed by two activist leaders, Dro and Hecho, and, provided with arms by the Russians, attacked the Turkish troops. During the capture of Bayezid by the Russians, Pastirmadjian destroyed all the Moslem villages on the route and massacred their inhabitants. When the Russians were driven out of the area, he was wounded in the fighting, whilst another member of the Erzurum Dashnak organization, Suren, was killed.

Pastirmadjian is at present active on the Caucasian border. The newspaper *Asbares* published in America as the press organ of the Dashnaksutiun, has printed a photograph of Pastirmadjian accompanied by Dro and Hecho taking communion before going to the front.

These subversive activities came into the open on account of the operations of a number of Armenians who were brought over from Cyprus by British officials and landed in the vicinity of Iskenderun. In particular, the document found on Hagop, son of Toros, has confirmed, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the pernicious plot that

was afoot. These machinations, besides other harmful consequences, were also instrumental in the derailment of a train. Moreover, the French and English naval commanders communicated with the Armenians in the regions of Adana, Dörtyol, Yumurtalık, Iskenderun and other parts of the country and incited them to rebellion.

As for the Armenians of Zeitun, as a result of the propaganda campaigns conducted in France and England, the Armenian revolutionary organizations have been directing activities among them since last February. The Armenians of Zeitun took up arms and besieged the government offices. In view of these developments, it was the duty of the Ottoman state to crush the uprising and restore public order.

Since the right to take every measure to suppress revolutionary and separatist activities emanates from the state's legal rights of sovereignty, no one can criticize the state for exercising this right. Moreover, as was the case in the instance referred to, the imposition of measures acquires greater significance and urgency in times of war. While suppressing the rebellion through deploying military force, the Ottoman government at the same time arrested the insurrectionists who had been in touch with revolutionary committees outside the country as well as with the representatives of the Allied Powers. Despite allegations made by the aforementioned states, different communities were not in any way involved in the suppression of the uprising by the Ottoman state. During the searches carried out in the homes of Armenian insurrectionists, important documents connected with the revolts and separatist activities were confiscated along with revolutionary flags. The documents confirmed, furthermore, that the revolutionary committees based in Paris, London, and Tiflis enjoyed the active protection of the British, French and Russian governments. Similarly, in searches conducted in the provinces, thousands of explosives and Russian made rifles and other arms and equipment were found in the possession of the Armenian activists. These activists were arrested and handed over to the Courts of Justice, together with those who had deserted at the instigation of English, French and Russian officials and had attacked the gendarmerie. The Ottoman government is in possession of documents which confirm that the activities under discussion were perpetrated under the protection of the governments of Russia, Britain and France. These documents also

reveal that the Armenian revolutionary committee, which, in its last meeting in Constantza, publicly announced its decision to put an end to its revolutionary activities, has, in fact, secretly resolved to take action as soon as the circumstances are suitable. The Sublime Porte intends to enlighten public opinion by publishing these documents at a convenient time.

By implementing measures taken by the Ottoman state on the strength of its incontestable legal rights and duty to preserve law and order, the Armenian rebellion has been crushed without the occurrence of any massacres. Indeed, if it is remembered that in Istanbul out of an Armenian population of 77,735 only 2,345 soldiers who were accused of having participated in the rebellion were arrested, and that the rest continue to live and work in peace and comfort, it must be admitted that the measures were in no way directed against the Armenian people as a whole but were implemented in order to meet a specific need dictated by the circumstances. Although certain Armenian communities were transferred to other locations, the reason for this was either that they were inhabiting battle zones or that, for the reasons given above, their existence at a certain place gave the government occasion for justifiable concern. On the other hand, the Sublime Porte reserves the right to take all manner of precautions to protect its security on land and sea, and is under no obligation to account for its action to any foreign state. At a time when British and French commanders are bombarding hospitals, whether permanent or temporary, in Çanakkale, when the Russians are slaughtering thousands of Moslem civilians in the region of Kars through the instrumentality of the Armenians, when they use the Armenians to murder Ottoman war prisoners taken on the Caucasian front or to kill them mercilessly, subjecting them to hunger or thirst, is it not strange that the governments of Britain, France and Russia should appeal to humanitarian feelings? Again, it is Russia and not Turkey which treats consuls of states at war in the most reprehensible manner. The rulers of Britain, France and Russia, not content with inciting the Armenians to rebel, have also attempted to rouse the Moslem population against the Sultanate. In order to realize their aims, they have not shrunk even from encouraging and organizing crime and corruption. Documents revealing this have come into the hands of the Sublime Porte. Such reprehensible actions have scarcely been witnessed even in primitive times noted for their cruelty. It is inconceivable that the British, French and Russian governments, which suppressed

uprisings and rebellions with such violence and inhumanity in Transcaucasia, Morocco, Egypt, India and other places, should blame the Ottomans for having applied, with great moderation and justice, the corrective measures which they deemed essential. Since the Ottoman government has done no more than exercise its basic rights of sovereignty, publications which allege that officials who have implemented the aforementioned measures together with members of the government will be held responsible, do not even merit a reply. In fact, all the responsibility for the events about which they feel obliged to complain lies mainly on the shoulders of the Allied Powers, for they have themselves organized and directed the Armenian revolutionary movement. Their declaration itself constitutes yet another source of encouragement and hope for the Armenian activists."

A telegram was sent by the Dashnaktsutiun Central Office to the Ottoman government expressing their reactions to the events that were taking place:

"Overcome by a profound sense of grief, we are sending you this telegram in order to protest with all our will, strength and determination the atrocities and suffering inflicted on the Armenian people by the Turks and Kurds under the protection and with the help of the regular Ottoman army.

Who has organized these murders? Who is responsible for this disaster, which far transcends the notorious cruelty of Abdul Hamid II's reign? Who has spread this shroud of mourning over the whole of Armenia from Cilicia to the Ararat mountains? Who has destroyed the Armenian nation? Who is it that has massacred a whole population without distinction of age, raped the women and left only the aged or the crippled to weep over the ruins? The numbers of the dead reach not hundreds but thousands. All the Armenian villages have been severely damaged. Most are utterly ruined and laid waste. It was not enough for the aggressors to rob the population and confiscate their possessions on the pretext of exacting war taxes. Nor was it enough for them to take the young men they had recruited to a deserted valley and have them slaughtered there. It was not even enough to force the Armenians serving in the army to disobey orders, to accuse them of treachery and spying, to murder them in the vilest fashion, to insult their national dignity and religious faith.

It was not enough to arrest and imprison the well-known and respected members of the Armenian community or to exile them to remote areas; to create fear and terror among the whole nation. No, it was not enough, for the whole of Cilicia and Armenia had to be turned into one vast graveyard.

Who is guilty? The whole universe and primarily the unhappy victims, are crying out, and throwing your crimes in your face. Those who were recently your close friends, eating out of the same plate with you, are now cursing you. And what is the reason for committing these unprecedented crimes? Is it because this oppressed nation has struggled against Abdul Hamidian despotism and helped you to introduce the Ottoman reforms? Is it because you have come to recognize the Armenians as your mentors in conducting the revolution? Or, is it because the enthusiasm and energy of the Armenian youth were at your service to defend liberty and the newly established constitutional regime? Or, could it be because when many of your friends deserted you at the time of the Abdul Hamidian reaction, only they remained loyal to the Constitution and did not hesitate to give you their whole-hearted support. Your government has arrested many of our members. Among them there are many whom you respected and regarded as your friends and advisers. As soon as you had ensured your own safety by making your position safe and secure, you abjured the promises that you had made to your allies of yesterday and pursued an openly anti-Armenian policy, whereas they had only acted in good faith and honesty to try to make you understand the political mistakes you were committing against the nation and the Ottoman state. Even when we despaired of making our argument understood and broke off official relations, yet we never opposed you as an enemy.

We wished to convince you of the consequences of the ill-fated policy you wished to pursue. We begged you not to bring about your downfall by starting hostilities with Russia. We implored you not to be swayed by German influence and not to take up arms against the Triple Entente, two of whose members, England and France, have always been loyal allies who have repeatedly saved the state from danger.

What did you do when these two countries, who had been your allies for centuries, promised to guarantee the territorial integrity and security of Turkey against aggression from Russia, your

ancient enemy? You behaved with ingratitude and turning your back upon your former allies you threw yourself into the arms of Germany whose power turned your head. And, by abandoning the policy of neutrality which you had so far been pursuing you dragged the Ottoman state to destruction.

The country, already poor, was totally ruined. You prepared the ground for the serious disorders and the bloody defeats that violated the borders of Armenia. You destroyed and annihilated innumerable young lives. Today, incapable of saving your country, you are desperately fighting your last battle and are treacherously assaulting the unfortunate, unarmed and helpless Armenian nation. It is your own policy that has forced the Armenians to take up weapons and form bands in order to protect their communities from systematic extermination. You are reaping what you have sown. The press organ of the Armenian Revolutionary Committee, independent of the Party, on its own responsibility, accuses you - those members of the government and of the Society of Union and Progress involved in these incidents - of having inflicted atrocities and murders on the Armenian nation and, likewise, of having committed crimes against the Ottoman state, and declares that it holds you morally and legally responsible."

(Signed: Dashnaksutiun Press Organ,
Droshak, Geneva, June 2, 1915)

Leo makes the following interesting comment on this telegram:

"The fury of the Dashnaksutiun, of course, enables us to catch a glimpse of what was going on behind the scenes. Evidently there were interesting developments taking place. We notice that the Dashnaksutiun had acquired almost the status of a state within a state, and had even attempted to determine the state's main policies. It had taken upon itself to act as an apologist defending Russian interests and had adopted a stand opposed to German aggression and imperialism. Greed for power, position and influence lay behind the attempts at creating political conflicts and crises. Were not the Germans the same as the French, English and Russians for the Armenian people? But, for those who ruled, the instigation of political conflicts and crises mattered more than anything else, with the consequence that those who had joined forces in the past now appeared as enemies. On one hand the Dashnaksutiun held sway over, according to their expression, "the

unarmed Armenian nation" – regardless of the fact that they were involved in a rebellion- on the other hand the Ittihad ve Terakki Party wielded a deadly Turanian scimitar. In the end, in order to satisfy the ambitions of the committees, nearly a million people died."

In June 1915, a major uprising took place in Şebinkarahisar under the leadership of the famous activist Murad. The Moslem districts were burnt down. Hundreds of soldiers and gendarmerie were killed and hundreds of civilians also perished, but Murad managed to escape. Upon this incident, the Ottoman government sent the following telegram on July 12, 1915 to special political divisions in order to give an account of what had happened and also to explain the reasons for the relocation:

"It is known that the decision has been taken to expel those Armenians who constitute a danger to the defence of the country and public order from the parts they formerly inhabited. Our enemies, in order to inflame public opinion against us, are using this as an excuse to distort the facts both in their own newspapers and also in the newspapers of neutral countries that they have been able to win over to their side. They are also trying to present all occurrences connected with these precautionary measures, no matter how insignificant or slight these incidents might be, as an assault against the basic, natural and sacred rights of the Armenian community, who are described as having never wavered in their loyalty.

There is no doubt that the measures taken by the Ottoman government against the insurrectionist Armenians were urgent and fully justified. Events have shown that the Armenian activists were following a plan that had been prepared and systematically put into effect against the armed forces; it is, at the same time, evident that the actions of the Armenians who joined the Russians in fighting against us constitute part of this plan. While those subversive and separatist activities were only being pursued on the front or its vicinity, they have recently been observed in the rear of the army and in the inner regions. For example, on June 2, five-hundred armed Armenians, together with many deserters attacked the Moslem districts of Eastern Karahisar, burnt down the houses and responded with shots to the conciliatory and well-meaning advice given to them by the local authorities. As a result they caused the deaths of about one hundred and fifty

soldiers and civilians. Seeing that the rebels refused to heed advice and that they continued to occupy the districts until about June 20, the local government had to use cannon and other artillery to evict them. Since the emergence of such rebellions in various parts of the country necessitated the sending of contingents from the main body of the army and at the same time caused great injury to the local inhabitants, the government has seen fit to take certain measures with regard to the Armenian revolutionists. During the implementation of these measures, the said activists have been expelled from the areas near the border and also from the security zones. In this way the militants have been isolated from Russian influence and have been relocated in a region where they would not be able to endanger national defence and public order."

Leo argues that the revolts had started before relocation:

"On the one hand, we are given so many assurances, on the other, we are faced with an inundation of documents on the activities of the Armenian militants compiled and published by the Turks, half of which deal with the details of the Armenian revolts. Where can we find the truth? Although we have to admit that the documents contain accounts that are as shocking as they are true, let us leave aside all the Turkish reports and evidence. Let us for the moment ignore them. In that case the most reliable way of finding out the truth is to ask the Armenians themselves, particularly the Dashnaktsutun, to give an account of what happened and call upon them to describe their activities.

In the valley of Muş there were about 7,000 armed Armenians, who were dispersed over several villages. Many refused to obey the call to the Turkish army. Sasun contributed neither soldiers nor any other help. Moreover, the inhabitants killed the Kurdish officials who had been sent to recruit young men from the area. Trained Armenian youth were in fact waiting for the Russian troops to advance in order to raise the standard of revolt."

Towards the end of June, the Ottoman army corps, fighting in the area north of Muş under Cevat Pasha, suffered defeat and had to withdraw to the Euphrates valley. The communiqué issued in connection with this event described the situation in Muş in the following words: "The Armenian rebellion is raging with all its violence and fury in Muş, or rather in the villages around. In the region of Bitlis, the rebellion also continues with all its fury."

The revolt in Muş and Sasun was directed by Rupen, a famous Dashnak ringleader known as Rupen Pasha with the aim of showing off his activity to the commander of the Caucasian army operating in the valley of Muş. When Rupen managed to escape safe and sound from the deserted and ruined valley of Muş, the newspaper *Horizon* published in block letters the following telegram sent by Vrasian from Erivan: "Rupen and Vahan arrived here with thirty of their comrades. They have told us that there are 30,000 rebels still fighting in Sasun and that it would be possible to save them since they could last out for another month." Afterwards Rupen went to Moscow and delivered a speech in which he stated that the incidents of Muş and Sasun were, in fact, revolts.

Leo has this comment to make on these incidents:

"It is possible to understand the uprisings in Vaspuragan, Muş and Bitlis since these provinces had become battlefields. But how can we explain the revolts in such distant places as Şebinkarahisar or Zeitun? What cause for hope could these Armenians, who were very few in number in these regions, have had in taking up arms against the state? It must, however, be remembered that those who led the rebellion here were the Hunchakists. In that case the situation becomes clear. The reason that lies behind the revolts was the rivalry between the Hunchaks and the Dashnaks. We have seen this happen so often. Both these revolts were ruthlessly suppressed; Zeitun, where revolts had become a customary affair, was shown on this occasion no mercy and was razed to the ground. The experiences of Şebinkarahisar, however, sufficed for those who had a stake in applauding these activities. The bravery of the insurrectionists were praised in books and newspaper articles dedicated to the subject."

Leo continues:

"The situation is clear. On one side, we have peace-loving Turks and on the other side, peace-loving Armenians, both sides minding their own affairs. Then all was submerged in blood and fire. Indeed, the war was actually being waged between the Committee of Dashanktsutiu and the Society of Ittihad ve Terakki - a cruel and savage war in defence of party political interests. The Dashnaks incited revolts which relied on Russian bayonets for their success. The Society of Ittihad ve Terakki, on its part, exploited the fact that the revolts took place in battle zones and that the state therefore

had the right to take measures to preserve its existence, a right which even the most civilized state in the world could not forgo."⁷

The newspaper *Horizon* in its *Annual Review*, while assessing the activities of the year 1916 found two sources of comfort:

1. That revolts by the Armenians had at least taken place in Zeitun, Vaspuragan, Muş, Sasun, and Karahisar.
2. That pro-Armenian movements had started in Europe, particularly in England, among thinkers, writers and parliamentarians.

In this way this pro-Dashnak newspaper was also clearly admitting the fact that rebellions had taken place. At a banquet given by the Armenians in honour of General Nikolaev, the Commander of the Caucasian army, after the capture of Van by the Russians, the general made the following statement:

"Ever since 1626 the Russians have been trying to save the Armenians. But political conditions have stood in their way. However, today, because of the radical changes that have taken place in the conditions and the composition of nations, it may be hoped that the Armenians also will attain their independence."

In reply to this, Aram Manukian, alias Aram Pasha, the ringleader and commander of the Van rebellion and the recently appointed acting governor of Van, said: "For a month we started our rebellion, we were fighting in the expectation that the Russians would come. We were in a dangerous situation, and we had to choose between surrender or death. We chose death. However, at a time when we had given up expecting you, you came and saved us."⁸

The decision to relocate the Armenians was implemented by the government under the pressure of critical conditions and for the defence of the country. The Moslem inhabitants who had been forced to emigrate from their provinces, in flight from Russian invasion and the cruelty of the Armenian volunteer revenge gangs, were, in fact, worse off than the Armenians who were relocated.

Nevertheless, hunger, epidemics, anarchy, robbery, lack of transportation, desertions, enemy occupation, all took their toll of the lives of the relocated and the emigrants. Moreover, the conditions of the country - the helplessness of the government, the disastrous consequences of the war - would not have permitted the

operation to be carried out more satisfactorily. The groups and circles who had formerly exploited the Armenian issue as a means of provoking revolts, now took up the theme of Armenian "deportations and atrocities". Many books were published to spread adverse propaganda. It was claimed that about a million Armenians had been killed; there was a huge outcry. But if the numbers of those who settled in Syria and Iraq, together with those who escaped into Russia are added to the Armenian population in Turkey, and the total is compared with the Turkish population, it will become evident that a far greater proportion of Turks perished during the war and the revolts in Asia Minor.

As for the allegations of cruelty, investigations carried out on the spot have revealed that the Armenian political committees did not shrink from perpetrating the most unspeakable horrors and acts of savagery. These crimes, committed by the Armenian soldiers and volunteers in the Russian army, assumed frightening dimensions in the eastern provinces after the collapse of the Russian front. The reports of lieutenant-colonel Twerdo Khlebov, the commander of the Second Artillery Regiment of the Caucasion Army in charge of the Erzurum fortifications, of Abgral, deputy commander of Erzurum, of Adichelidze, of Linsky, commander of Sarıkamış, Riabov, artillery officer in Erzurum, and the reports found in the Russian military journals, all bear testimony to the way in which the Turks were massacred without distinction as to men, women or children, and also to the horrendous cruelty with which they were treated by the Armenians.⁹

The following extract taken from an article entitled "A Witness for Talat Pasha" by Bronsart Schellendorf and formerly Chief of the General Staff of the Turkish Supreme Command during the war and afterwards Commander of the Fifth Infantry Division in Prussia, written after the murder of Talat Pasha by the Armenian assassin, Taylerian, is of special interest:¹⁰

The witnesses heard in the Taylerian case were either people unable to report on the case or those who knew of the incidents referred to only by hearsay. Those who had actually witnessed what had gone on were not invited to court. Why were the German officers not heard who had been on duty at the time of the Armenian massacres in the areas where these incidents were taking place? I have, therefore, decided to perform my duty as a witness, which, due to no fault of mine, I failed to fulfil, in order that the truth may be known.

When the Armenians embarked upon the dangerous course of rebellion near the eastern borders of Turkey, old animosities found a new soil in which to grow. There was no particular reason for this. For the reforms that Turkey had been asked by the Great Powers to introduce had started to take effect only recently. The Armenians had votes and places in the Parliament. They even served on occasions as ministers for foreign affairs. They possessed the same social and political rights as the other subjects of the Empire. Order was secured in their country by gendarmerie trained by the French General Baumann.

Yet, as revealed by the countless printed declarations, subversive pamphlets, ammunition, guns and explosives found in the possession of the Armenians all over the country, the Armenians had, for a long time, been preparing for a rebellion. Moreover, it was evident that Russia was involved in the organization and financing of the movement. An Armenian plot directed against high ranking government officials and army officers had been uncovered just in time in Istanbul.

Since all of the young male Moslem population was in the army, it was easy for the Armenians to massacre helpless civilians. In fact, the Armenians were not content with attacking the flanks and rear of the Ottoman army but also made a clean sweep of the Moslem population. The atrocities committed by the Armenians, which I witnessed, were far worse than the crimes later attributed to the Turks. It was at first the Eastern Army which intervened to reestablish the contacts of the rear. But, since all its resources were committed to resisting the Russians and the revolts had begun to spread into even the most remote corners of the country, recourse had to be made to the gendarmerie to suppress the uprising. The situation was very critical, for the army's vital supply lines in the rear were threatened with being cut off. Thousands of Moslems were fleeing in terror from the cruelty of the Armenians. Upon this the cabinet announced that the Armenians had become a danger to the state and decided to move them away from the border regions.

However, the government refrained from exercising any form of severity, since it knew that the Allied Press would use the subject of Armenian deportations as an occasion for propaganda by presenting the incidents as the persecution of the Christians by the Moslems. The government had been right, for propaganda

campaigns started to be waged, and the people of foreign countries actually believed these baseless allegations. ”

In another unsigned article entitled “The Court Case Concerning the Assassination of Talat Pasha” published in the same newspaper, we read the following account:¹¹

“We have received the following letter from a German officer who had worked for a number of years in Eastern Anatolia in charge of planning and strategy during a very critical period. Since his comments on the court case connected with Talat Pasha clarify a number of complex questions, the letter merits special attention:

The delivery of the report on the case connected with Talat Pasha's assassination has once again brought to the fore a strange phenomenon - that the Europeans who have not lived in the East fail to understand its conditions. In this court case, of those who were familiar with the East, only those who were Talat's opponents seem to have given testimony. In this way, it was possible to present the Armenians as oppressed victims. This impression needs correction. I fought together with the Turks on the Caucasian front for three and a half years. I will try to analyze the situation. Above all, it is surprising to talk only of the Turks and Armenians, since there are a variety of nations who live in the border areas of Caucasia. The numerically dominant races are the Turks, Kurds and Armenians, and the lesser ones are the Greeks and the various Caucasian races. The Armenians live scattered all over Anatolia as far as Istanbul and Izmir, and in large numbers in Iran and the provinces on the Russian border.

It is possible in the East to speak of peoples who live side by side but nevertheless who do not like one another. This becomes particularly evident in the relations of the Armenians with the Turks and the Kurds. The Kurds breed animals, whereas the Armenians are merchants. These are two contradictory occupations hard to reconcile. As Moltke relates, these two communities have always been hostile towards one another. On the surface, the Kurd plays the part of a warrior, whereas the Armenian seems to be the saintly figure who never hurts anyone. But as soon as he is convinced that he has numerical superiority, the Armenian casts aside his former role and starts to indulge in cruelty and injustice.

Formerly, in contrast to their present state, the relations of the

Armenians and the Turks were exceedingly good. The Armenians are not only shrewd businessmen, but they are also skilful craftsmen and able farmers. Through their skill in these last two occupations the Armenians have left a good impression on European travellers as craftsmen and farmers but an unfavourable one as businessmen. This phenomenon is an indication of how notions about the Armenians have changed in accordance with the changes in their occupations or professions.

The Armenians, in former times, were Turkey's most peace-loving and beloved subjects. To attribute the animosity between the two communities to religious differences, though a wide-spread practice, is completely wrong. As long as they are not molested, the Turks are the most tolerant people on earth to those professing other religions. The enmity between the two communities, in fact, is the outcome of political causes. The Armenians were constantly incited by the English and the Russians, who were continually seeking for an excuse to meddle in Turkey's internal affairs.

In the San Stefano Treaty of 1878, the Turks agreed to implement the reforms in the areas inhabited by the Armenians. The mistakes made during the implementation of the reforms later gave rise to unfortunate consequences and led the Armenians to take an anti-Turkish stand.

The discontent of the Armenians was systematically encouraged by the Russians and the British. The Turks did not deny the inefficiency of Abdul Hamid's administration. But the provocation of the English and the French also obstructed the application of the reforms by different Turkish governments. Although Armenian officials were appointed to the Armenian districts, it was argued that the worst people had been chosen and sent there. The Armenians had deputies in the Parliament, but this was intentionally ignored. Mutual hatred led to the massacres of 1890, during Abdul Hamid's reign. It is noteworthy, that while this massacre was constantly mentioned there was scarcely any reference to the Armenians in Russia, who were in no better a situation. After the revolution of 1905, the Russian system underwent a change. Prince Vorontsov-Dashkov promised the leader of the Armenian community that if they agreed to forget the past and give up subversive activities, the goods and property which had been confiscated by the government would be returned

and all the charges that had been brought against them would be dropped. Upon this the Armenians changed their attitude and drew closer to Russia.

At the outbreak of the War, there was very great tension between the Armenians and the Turks. During mobilization, Soviet-made guns were discovered in the possession of many Armenians, and a protocol made between the Russian military command and the Turkish Armenians was seized by the Turkish army. According to the terms of the protocol, the Armenians were to disconnect the telegraph lines and attack the Turks from behind when the Russians approached the frontier.

For some time after the start of the war, fortune seemed on the side of the Russians, who gained one victory after another. However, a change came about with their defeat in a counter-offensive undertaken by the Turks, who began to advance into Russian territory. The Turkish advance was halted before April, 1915, after which the Turks were driven back and suffered great losses. During the spring, the situation of the Turks reached alarming dimensions, as the Russians once more took the offensive, and, it was only as the result of very great efforts that the Turkish troops finally halted the Russian advance.

The Turkish army in the Caucasus had no hope of any reinforcements, since at this time the battle of the Dardanelles, which was to prove so crucial for the fate of Turkey, had already started. It was under these circumstances that the Armenian rebellion broke out in April 1915. The rebellion, which lasted until August, seemed to follow a course parallel to the one outlined in the protocol mentioned above. One was continually coming across Armenians cutting off telegraph lines, and when asked why they were doing this, they would invariably reply they had been ordered to do this by the Russians. When the Russians launched an offensive on the front, the Armenians would revolt in the rear. Indeed, there were also revolts far inside the country, in places as remote as Şebinkarahisar. There were in fact very few Ottoman forces in the rear of the army. In Istanbul, too, an Armenian revolutionary movement was discovered.

The Turks had given the Armenians no real cause for rebellion. It might, therefore, not be unjustifiable to put the blame for what happened in the end on the Armenians themselves. The Ottoman

army was facing grave dangers and was on the defensive. The attitude of the Armenians, on the other hand, far from being brave and heroic, as one might expect from people who fought for their liberty, was treacherous and vindictive.

The Ottoman state had to take firm measures in order to eliminate the danger to the army from the rear. It was with this aim that the government decided to relocate the Armenians, who immediately reacted against the severity of this decision. It has, however, to be born in mind that *Oriental*s are more accustomed to such severity than people living in Europe.

Despite the concern over the losses of the Armenians, no one has mentioned the great number of Turks who died in the winter of 1916 after the fall of Erzurum. And again no one has referred to the cruelty and injustice inflicted on the Turks by the Armenians. For instance, it has been reported that many a time the eyes of the Moslem population of a village had been gouged out. But we can also give one example of similar Russian behaviour. In the winter of 1915, wagons were used to convey Turkish prisoners of war. In one instance these wagons were moved from place to place for several weeks, and when the doors finally opened they were seen to be full of corpses. The Turks could not be expected to behave as innocent lambs against such enemies.

The conduct of the Turks has to be evaluated in the light of what has been described above. Hatreds and enmities which had lasted for centuries had become unleashed. It would be wrong to use a European yardstick to judge the situation. If seemingly pious but cruel Armenians cry out afterwards against the Turks, they could be answered "You have done the same yourselves". *Oriental*s will never understand the judge who has acquitted the murderer. No one will believe that *Taylorian* is mentally deranged, and murder remains murder. The Turks will be shocked that Armenians have been acquitted on the force of evidence given by Germans whose knowledge rested only on hearsay, and those who could have properly evaluated the wealth of material that would have led to the acquittal of the Turks were not permitted to speak."

NOTES

1. B.A. Borian, *Armenia, International Diplomacy and the USSR*, 1928, p. 32.
2. p. 348.
3. *ibid.*, p. 352.
4. Leo, *op.cit.*, p. 356.
5. Borian, *op.cit.*, p. 358.
6. Leo, *op.cit.*, p. 363.
7. *ibid.*, pp. 143, 154-157-59.
8. *Haiasdan*, 6 July 1915, no. 25.
9. Documents relatifs aux événements Turco-Armenians (Témoignages Russes et Anglais), Paris.
10. *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 24 July, 1921, no. 342.
11. *ibid.*, July 1921, no. 297/B 74. This article is unsigned and could have been written by a high ranking officer who had served in the Ottoman army.

IV ARMENIAN EMIGRATIONS AND RELOCATIONS

Situated at the crossroads of large waves of emigrations and invasion, Armenia witnessed throughout its history not only movements of exodus but also the settlement of many other nations in its midst.

Before being converted to Christianity, the Armenians had for a time shared a belief in Mazdaism together with the Persians, which gave rise to cultural and educational ties between them. However, the conversion of the Armenians to Christianity drew them closer to the Byzantines. Upon this, the Sassanid Emperors tried to reconvert the Armenians to Mazdaism or Zoroastrianism. Ardashir and Chosroes (Husrev) banished thousands of Armenians to distant parts of Persia. Shapur II is known to have destroyed many of their cities and resettled 70,000 Armenians in Parthia. In the 5th century A.D. during the religious war waged between Armenia and Persia, it is said that those who survived the massacres were sent to places such as Parthia, Bactria, Hyrcania, Khurasan, Nishapour, and Khuzistan. Thomas of Artsruni relates that approximately 500,000 Armenians were taken as captives to Iran from Van and Ardashad. Yezdegerd also resorted to the same policy of exiling thousands of Armenians to different parts of Persia.

The religious wars between Persia and Iran ended with the defeat inflicted on the Persians by the Arabs, who then attacked Armenia. During the Arab invasions the same events were repeated, and thousands of Armenians were removed to various plaes in Arabia and Syria: 35,000 were deported from Tevin.¹

After the partition of Armenia between the Eastern Roman Empire and Persia (A.D. 387), the Byzantine Emperors did their best in the fourth century to have the Armenians represented by the Anatolian Greeks. The Armenians were forbidden to use their native language and their religious leaders were deprived of their authority. Particularly after the meeting of the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451, the Byzantines increased their pressure to eradicate the differences of creed that existed between them and the Armenians, to suppress the influence of the Armenian Church and destroy their sense of national identity. And, in order to achieve this, they removed the Armenians from the areas where they were heavily concentrated, as a measure to reduce the population of Armenia. It was in realization of this plan that Emperor Justinian II relocated the Armenians of Malatya mainly in the villages and towns of Thrace and in Constantinople itself. Later those people were conscripted into regiments and units to fight against the Avars. In the 8th Century, Constantine V, known as Copronymus, dispersed the Armenians to various parts of the Empire after capturing and looting Erzurum.

Emperor Basil II moved groups of Armenians to Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly and Bulgaria with the purpose of using them in agriculture and as soldiers in his wars against the Bulgarians and Hungarians.

It is evident that the Byzantine took measures to relocate Armenians that were as drastic as those of their neighbors. The Byzantines, in fact, never seem to have become friendly with the Armenians, on account of sectarian differences and also because they claimed that on several occasions they had been betrayed by the Armenians. Hence, the Byzantine attitude towards the Armenians was hostile and overbearing. The humiliation and oppression suffered by the Armenians at the hands of the Byzantines lasted until the invasion of Anatolia by the Seljuqs. It was, indeed, due to the great religious tolerance of the Seljuqs that the Armenians were able to retain their national and religious identity and preserve their language.

The Armenians who left their homes after the invasion of the Seljuqs were also scattered into different parts of Anatolia. About 30,000 Armenians fleeing from the Crusaders immigrated from Cilicia to Cyprus, Crete and Italy. During the Mongol invasions, the Mongols relocated many Armenians in the regions of Kazan and Astrakhan. It is known that at various times, Armenians went to settle as far afield as Hungary, Romania, Transylvania, Poland and India.

In the wars between the Ottoman Sultan, Ahmet I, and Shah

Abbas, Shah Abbas is known to have deported 24,000 Armenians to Persia, in order to clear the path before his advancing army. Some of these died on the way or were drowned in the river Aras. The remainder settled in Isfahan. Armenian emigrations continued during the war of 1746, particularly to Crimea, Poland and to the areas north of the Caspian Sea.

The Treaty of Turkmen-chai (Türkmençayı) recognized the right of the people inhabiting Turkish or Russian soil to emigrate where they wished. In accordance with this, Armenians who had been taken to Persia, as well as some who had settled there, decided to emigrate to Russia. Abbas Mirza, in order to prevent the Armenians from leaving Persia, spread the rumour that the Russians would enlist them in the army and treat them as slaves. To this, Armenians responded by saying that they would prefer to eat dried grass in a Christian country than bread in Persia. The Russians reserved areas in Nakhichevan, Erevan and Karabagh for these Armenian immigrants and granted them a 20-year immunity from taxation. As a result, about 70,000 Armenians crossed over the border to Russia.

The Russians deported all the Armenian and Greek families from the Crimea to Russia in 1778 and settled Russian families in their places. This operation was conducted without the consent of the Armenian community. 75,000 people were forced to leave their homes and were sent to the steppes of Russia, which had been vacated by the Nogays and where these people were left to perish from the cold.²

During the 1828 Russo-Ottoman war, the Armenian inhabitants of the East of Turkey gave great help to the Russians. At the end of the war, Karabet, the bishop of Erzurum, fearing Turkish reprisals, crossed the border to Russia at the head of about 90,000 Armenians from Erzurum, Kars and Bayezid. These people were settled in Alexandropol and parts of Georgia.³

NOTES

1. Ghevont gives an account of these deportations in his *History of the Conquests of the Arabs in Armenia*, Paris, 1856.
2. H.H. Howarth, *History of the Mongols*, vol. II, p. 600.
3. S. Balasarian, *Armenian History*, 1911.

V CHANGES IN RUSSIAN POLICY TOWARDS ARMENIA

The year 1915 marked the beginning of a catastrophic period for Armenia. With the Russian invasion of the area to the north of Van and the capture of Van and Erzurum, the Tsarist administration, which had so far pursued a policy of leniency towards the Armenians, changed its attitude. Instead of abandoning the conquered areas to the Armenians, as had been planned, it was decided that they should be annexed directly to Russia.

Immediately after this decision's announcement in Tiflis, Tsar Nicholas gave orders for its implementation. Even earlier, in a meeting on November 21, 1914, he told the French ambassador Paleologue:¹

"This is how I see the expectations of Russia from the War. Unless they are fulfilled, my people will not under stand or accept the sacrifices I am asking them to make. Germany must agree to a correction of its frontier in Eastern Prussia. My General Staff demands that the border in this area should be extended as far as the mouth of the Vistula. This proposal sounds a little exaggerated to me and I will study it in detail. We shall need some land from Posnan and Silesia to re-establish Poland. Russia will allow northern Galicia and Bukovina to extend as far as Russia's natural borders. In Anatolia, I shall of course deal with the situation of the Armenians. I cannot abandon them to the Turkish yoke once again. Should I annex Armenia? I can do this only at their request. Otherwise, I am going to propose them an autonomous administration. No matter what happens I have to prevail upon the Empire to allow Russian ships the right of free transit through the straits."

The Tsar was to decide on the first alternative, that is, annexation. As one of the stages of the carefully designed plan proposed by General Iudenich to set up a Cossack state in the occupied Euphrates area, he sent the following report to Vorontsov-Dashkov: It is significant that the original document bears a note in Vorontsov-Dashkov's handwriting that reads "I agree".

Headquarters of the Caucasian Army
April 5, / Number I. 482
On active service

"The Caucasian army is suffering from lack of fodder as a result of the drying up of the local water supplies and the difficulties of transportation. The soldiers stationed in the Alashkert plain are at a grave disadvantage. The provision of fodder for their horses is very expensive and requires the use of a great number of carts. However, the time is approaching when grass will appear on the plain and the foothills of the mountains. Once this grass is reaped, it will provide us with the much-needed fodder. It is impossible for the soldiers to do this job. Therefore, I deem it convenient for groups of civilians to be formed who can cut the grass in the areas deserted by the Kurds and Turks in return for a small fee. The Armenians have proposed to have the deserters work on the soil. I do not think this would be a right decision, since after the war, it would become difficult for us to reclaim these lands from the Armenians who will, in this manner, have gained possession of them. The same situation, in fact, had arisen in connection with the land occupied by the Armenians in the Russo-Turkish war.

It seems preferable to settle these border regions with Russian elements. I therefore propose another plan which will be more in tune with Russian interests:

Your Excellency had already approved of my report, proposing that a Cossack community be set up along the border by bringing people from the Kuban and Don areas, and settling them in land formerly under Turkish occupation in Kurdish regions such as Alashkert, Diadin and Bayezid. This plan could be realized at the end of the war when Alashkert and Bayezid are annexed to Russia and after the necessary investigations and studies are carried out on the value and natural resources of these areas.

For this reason, it is essential that labour units be brought from the Don and Kuban areas to reap the grass. These people, who will thus become familiar with the area, will be serving the interests of the Cossacks and the inhabitants of the Don area. And they will have

prepared the ground for their own immigration as well as providing fodder for the soldiers.

If your Excellency should deem this project worthy of implementation, I should like to request that these men should be sent together with their livestock and horses so as not to cause us any additional burden, lacking as we do adequate means of transportation, and that they should be armed.

(Infantry Commander, Iudenich)

The savage atrocities committed by the Armenian volunteers had not escaped the notice of the Russian command. Upon continuous and widespread complaints, it became imperative that their activities should be stopped and their units demobilized.

Despite the strict commands issued by the Governor-General of Transcaucasia that the volunteer organizations should be dissolved, neither the leaders nor the Armenians who held influential positions in the Committees were able to take the responsibility of implementing these orders. Finally, these units were officially disbanded and replaced by seven Armenian regiments composed of Turkish and Russian Armenians and commanded by Armenians serving in the Russian army. These regiments were joined by many volunteers.

In a report to Vorontsov-Dachkov, Bolkovitinov gives the following account of the activities of the volunteers:

Your Lordship,

July 9, 1915

You entrusted me with the duty of organizing the Armenian militia before the outbreak of the war.

During the following eleven months we did our best to perform this duty. Our own efforts, as well as the activities of the militia, proceeded satisfactorily in accordance with your orders, and there were no complaints.

However, after the capture of Van, at the time when our militia was most intensely active, A.I.Hadisov, a delegate with the military administration, received the following communiqué:

The Military Commander to the Commander General:

'General Nikolayév informs us from Van that our soldiers have fired on Armenian volunteers carrying off booty, as well as other volunteers also engaged in pillaging and robbery. In order to put an end to such crimes a court martial has been set up in Van.

For this reason the Commander General has forbidden the formation of new militia units before order can be established among the existing men. I communicate this to you on the orders of his lordship."

(The Commander General Bolkovitinov)

The Catholicos was not pleased with the decision to curb the activities of the Armenian volunteers and wrote the following letter to the Governor-General that he might withdraw his orders.²

"When our army entered Turkish Armenia, my nation rushed with great joy and with bread and salt and the Old and New Testaments in their hands to welcome the victorious Russian troops. The volunteers who were familiar with the area and its conditions rendered great services to the Russian generals and performed great feats of heroism on the battle-field.

The heroic Russian soldiers, on the other hand, led the Armenians and gave them protection and fraternal support. It was as if the conditions of the 1877-78 war were being experienced again.

I, therefore, consider it my duty to bear testimony to the fact that in the areas of Turkish Armenia and Persia occupied by the Russian troops, no occasion has been given for the Turkish Armenians to feel discontented in any way.

Conversely, while I have pleasure in describing this satisfactory state of affairs to your lordship, I feel obliged to inform you with grief of the exceptionally harsh treatment and discrimination to which the Turkish Armenians are exposed in some of the areas under occupation. According to the reports received from my deputies in the areas, not only is no support given to the Armenian community against oppression and injustice but the petitions of the Christian population for protection are answered with insults. As a result the people continue to be subjected to the uncurbed violence of the Kurdish tribal chiefs and Circassians.

Although Armenians are not allowed to enter the precincts of the Malazgirt military encampment, the Circassians, armed from head to toe, and other Moslams, who were only yesterday attacking the Russian soldiers, raid the Armenian villages with complete impunity and without fear of punishment.

On the other hand, Armenians who had really been fighting the enemy are pursued like criminals and deprived of their arms, and those very Armenians who had fought as volunteers in the same ranks as the Russians are treated as enemies and their national dignity is

wounded. These factors have caused terror and anxiety among the Armenian population in the areas mentioned. In revealing this situation, I implore your lordship to extend your protection over my suffering congregation in order to relieve them of the grave afflictions they are undergoing at this very moment."

When Nicholas Nicholaevich succeeded Vorontsov-Dachkov as Governor-General, he called the Catholicos to Tiflis and warned him "There is no Armenian question in Russia, just as there is no Yakutsk question."

The Catholicos answered with the words "But in Turkey, there is an Armenian question." Nonetheless, Russia did not relax her policy. Deserters were not allowed to resettle in the occupied areas or to till or reap their fields. Great pressure was put on the remaining population to make them leave their lands. In this way, Russia continued her policy of creating an Armenia without Armenians, and the Armenians who had been expecting Russian support for the establishment of an independent state, realized that they had once again become a tool in the hands of the Russians and that they could not even return to the lands which they had left in order to fight.

Kachaznuni describes the situation as follows:³

"The second half of 1915 and whole of 1916 were a period of despair for us. Those who had escaped from Turkey were wandering about hungry and naked in the Caucasus. The Russians deceived and betrayed us. They were intentionally slow and they seemed deliberately undecided. After they had advanced and occupied a certain region they withdrew so that the Turks could return and destroy the local Armenian population. Their aim was to desolate Armenia so as to resettle it with the Cossacks in realization of Prince Lubanov's well-known plan. It was not only our people who thought like this but many of our fellow activists in the Committees also shared these views.

It is in fact unnecessary to assume that the Russians were acting in accordance with a plan to destroy us. But, no matter what may have been their aims or intentions, it is clear that they had no intention of saving the Turkish Armenians. It was, indeed, futile to expect this. We had served them of our own free will, we had been carried along without thinking, and had allowed ourselves to be used for their purposes.

The Armenian volunteers were impatient to save the Turkish Armenians. This, in fact, was the purpose of their organization. But the Russian army had other aims. We were only a political committee

and we had such little value for the Russians that, if necessary, they would not hesitate to walk over our corpses. When they marched, we thought it was for our benefit and when they withdrew, we thought it was to prevent us from being killed. In fact, we totally failed to understand their real motives."

While the committees were being betrayed by the Russians, Bogos Nubar Pasha was falling victim to the wiles of the French government. In 1916, the French Foreign Minister demanded Syrian and Armenian volunteers for the eastern Foreign Legion and in return for this he promised to grant Cilicia, which would fall to the share of France after the war, to the Armenians. Bogos Nubar mentioned this in a letter:

"The fate of Armenia is in the hands of her allies. I am accepting, with great joy and eagerness, the offer made to me, for I have assurances that after the victory, our national demands will be fully and absolutely realized.

There is a division of opinion among the Allied States regarding Asiatic Turkey. No doubt, you are well-aware of the way in which the country has been partitioned and the region that would fall to the share of each. Although the exact conditions of partition have not been announced, we know that Cilicia and a part of the six provinces bordering on Cilicia will be given to France. Consequently, in accordance with the guarantees made to me previously, we can hope that an independent state can be established over a vast area under French protection.

As a country which respects the principles of freedom and the preservation of cultural traditions, France will liberate the Armenian nation and will help them to develop and to take their place in the civilized world on the strength of their history, ability and national achievements."

While the Armenians were deceived by these false hopes and duped by everyone, the Allies were holding secret meetings where plots were made and projects were formulated to determine the fate of Turkey.

The publication of the plan made jointly by Great Britain, France and Russia in 1916, indicating their division of Anatolia into separate parts and defining their areas of influence, caused a great shock among the Armenians.

The principles of partition were set down by Sir Mark Sykes, the British delegate and Georges Picot, the French delegate. The

correspondence concerning this issue is as follows:

"From Sir Bykenen, the Ambassador of Great Britain at Petrograd to the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sazanov (March 11, 1916):⁴

...In accordance with your warning of today, I send the map given to me by Sir Mark Sykes. The area marked in blue, inhabited by the Nestorians today has been taken out of the French zone and included in the Russian zone. In return, the northern part of Armenia Minor has been joined with the French zone. By effecting a significant change, Sir Mark Sykes has aimed at satisfying your Excellency.

A) The Nestorian area and the passages of Bitlis remain in the Russian zone.

B) While Russia continues to hold Erzurum and the adjoining territory for reasons of strategy, the rest of Armenia is also annexed to Russia.

Sir Mark Sykes hopes that these changes will be accepted by France on the basis of the previous negotiations with Georges Picot...

(Signed: J.V. Bykenen.)"

On March 12, 1916, Sir Mark Sykes wrote a letter to Sir J. Bykenen where he summarized the main proposals made by the British party. Having reached the conclusion, in the light of the recent massacres, that the Armenians could no longer be placed under direct Ottoman rule, he considered the following alternatives.

A. To establish an independent Armenia under Ottoman sovereignty. This would have the disadvantage of creating a second Bulgaria and would give rise to tensions between the Armenians and the Kurds as well as providing an opportunity for fomenting trouble in Caucasia.

B. To place Armenia under international control. This would also cause problems and would enable Germany, sooner or later, to exploit the situation to further her own interests.

C. To abandon Armenia to the Russians. This would result in uniting all the radical elements, already in cooperation with the revolutionary committees of Caucasia and Persia, under Russian protection, thus increasing their power and making it impossible for Russia to maintain order over them.

D. To place the former Roman province of Armenia Minor under French rule and to have Russia annex the area marked in yellow.

Sir Mark believed this to be the best alternative, since, in this way, the Russians would rule over the area where the Armenians were a minority (i.e. Erzurum was mainly Nestorian and Kurdish, Bitlis Kurdish and Van Laz). Moreover, he thought that the Armenians who inhabited Armenia Minor were people who were totally different from their compatriots who had settled in Eastern Anatolia and Caucasia. The former were a peace-loving and pious people deeply attached to their traditions, the latter tended on the whole to support the socialists and anarchists. Hence, if Erzurum were to be taken as the spiritual centre of the Armenian people, the socialists and anarchists might take control of the administration and use this advantage to increase their strength; whereas, by making Armenia Minor the centre of Armenian national identity, the Armenians would develop in peace, under French protection.

He also noted that the French protectorate included historical cities such as Zeitun, Haçin, Diyarbakir, Miyafarkin, and Sivas, which had been governed by the last Armenian king Lusinian, and the Crusader kingdom of Edessa. The area with its historical significance would serve as a rallying point for the nationalist Armenians.

Sir Mark proposed only one change in the map under discussion and this was to include the valley of Muş also in the French zone. In this way, Russia would be rid of a centre of mischief which could be used as a base for the Armenian revolutionaries who operated in Caucasia. However, he was careful to state that this last suggestion was simply made out of strategic considerations and that it was a minor detail, which, if adopted, would be to Russia's benefit.

Sazanov presented the results of the joint meeting in a brief report to the Emperor:

"The French and English governments, taking into consideration the fact that the war will soon be ending with our victory and faced with the necessity of deciding the fate of the Asian possessions of Turkey, submitted a plan on the partition of Asia Minor prepared by M. Picot and Sir M. Sykes, who are known for their extensive knowledge of the region. The main points of this project are as follows:

The area to the north and east of a line starting from the Black Sea and the lake of Urmiye in the north, continuing south by Van, Bitlis, Muş and Harput, crossing over the Toros and Anti-Toros Mountains and finally ending in the region of Anamur, will be granted to Russia,

and the line itself will constitute the border between Russia and the Turkish Sultanate."

In the meantime Sazanov was conducting a correspondence with the Vice-regent in Transcaucasia, Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholaevich:

"27 June, 1916 / No. 540

... The prospect of the occupation of the whole of Armenia Major by our troops and the annexation of this area to the Russian Empire raises the problem of its administration. Although it would be difficult to determine precisely the principles of our internal policy concerning this area, whose fate will be clearly determined before the end of the war, yet it might be of some use to consider some general measures that could be immediately implemented. These measures would form part of a temporary plan regarding "The Administration of the occupied area in Turkey in accordance with the regulations applicable in a state of war" which has in fact been compiled and is soon to be implemented.⁵

The most difficult aspects of our future duties have to do with the treatment and resolution of the Armenian question. As some of the Armenians (those living in Armenia Minor) have been placed under the rule of other states, the issue of Armenian reform, the supervision of which was assigned to Russia, now remains outside its sphere of authority. I take the liberty of drawing the attention of your Highness to some problems which have to be considered in deciding upon the future administration of the Armenian provinces:

It is well-known that there are two dominant views regarding the solution of the Armenian question.⁶

a. to give full autonomy to the Armenians under Russian protection.

b. to reduce the political importance of the Armenians and to recognize the Moslem population as the dominant element.

I believe that neither point of view is conducive to Russia's higher interests either within or without the country. If we take the first alternative of granting full autonomy to the Armenians, it should not be forgotten that they were never a majority in Armenia Major, which has recently been acquired by Russia. Moreover, as the Armenians themselves testify, after the severe measures taken by the Turks, the Armenian population has dwindled even further. Even if their previous ratio is taken as a starting point, this amounted to no more than a quarter of the total. Under these circumstances, the

establishment of an autonomous Armenia in the region would be tantamount to entrusting the rule to a minority and this would be considered unjust.

On the other hand, it would be unacceptable to sacrifice the Armenian population to the Moslems or take their side in conflicts that might emerge among them. Such an approach would make the situation of the Armenians worse than before and would cause them to look with envy on the inhabitants of the countries outside their borders. Moreover, such a solution would present Russia in an unfavourable light and cast doubt on her efficiency, for it was primarily Russia, among all the states of the world, that had insisted on the introduction of reform into Turkish Armenia.

In view of these considerations I think that in reorganizing the administration of the lands annexed from Turkey, the most profitable way for us would be to be equitable in our treatment of the different racial groups, to avoid provoking communal strife, and to refrain from supporting one side against the other. Accordingly, the Armenians would, within certain bounds, have the rights of educational and religious freedom, of using their language and of being represented in the government of villages and small towns to a ratio of 5% of the inhabitants.

It would be necessary to apply the same rules to the non-Christian communities, in a form best suited to their learning and understanding and subject to the variations imposed by local conditions. The temporary plan of instructions mentioned above, in fact, confirms the need for such a policy, by granting the village councils and village administrations a certain amount of authority.

Similar rules and regulations ought to be enacted regarding national property, estate ownership and colonization. Serious and thorough studies have to be carried out in order to secure the return of land and property, which were confiscated by the Moslems from Armenians recently killed or exiled, to their rightful owners or their inheritors.

It is my conviction that the realization of the principles mentioned above will increase the respect felt towards the local administration, it will remove the seeds of internal or external provocation, and will create such good conditions of living for the local population that they will never look back upon their former existence under Turkish rule with envy."

In return Sazanov received the following reply from the Vice-Regent.

"16 July, 1916 / No. 21083

Serghiev Dimitrievich,

In reply to your communiqué of June 14, No 540, I should like to let you know that I agree with you on the need to determine now, that is before the end of the war, the principles according to which the Turkish territories, occupied by our troops in accordance with the law of war, will be governed after their annexation to the Russian Empire. I also realize the difficulties that we will face in solving the Armenian problem. In my opinion, an Armenian question does not exist within the borders of present day Russia and therefore is not worth considering at all. For the Armenians have the same rights as the Muslims, Georgians and the Russians themselves; they are all Russian subjects.

The government of Transcaucasia, entrusted to me, enforces the principles of equality before the law for all its nations. However, I will not hide the fact that the conduct of government officials who have, without realizing it, pursued a policy of partiality, have given rise to national demands and conflicts. I have no doubt that, as soon as the local government makes clear to everyone that the nations inhabiting Transcaucasia are entitled to the same rights as the Russians themselves and are as close to the heart of Tsar as they are, conflicts and divisions that have been smouldering for centuries will be extinguished.

Consequently, if an Armenian question is sought it will be found in areas which remained outside the Russian Empire until the World War, that is, in the Turkish regions that we have recently seized from the Turks.

I am pleased to see that there is an exact correspondence between our views and ideas.

It is natural that Russia, which had insisted, more than any other country, on the implementation of reforms in Turkish Armenia is not to remain indifferent to the afflictions suffered by the Armenians at the hands of the Moslems. There is no doubt that it is necessary to take very carefully considered legal measures regarding the reorganization of the newly occupied lands and to pursue a policy of absolute impartiality towards all the nations that inhabit those areas. Of course, it would not be permissible to propose the idea of establishing an independent Armenia under Russian protection. For in my opinion, this issue would make it difficult to arrive at a peaceful solution of the problems created by the World War. And I also agree with you that the Armenians should have religious and educational freedom and should be at liberty to use their own language and

administer church property; but that the Russian language should have precedence in all official communication. Furthermore, I believe that they should have the right to be elected to the governing bodies of municipalities, towns and villages in proportion to the population of the inhabitants. The same rules should be applicable - within the limits prescribed by national tradition and cultural advancement - to the non-Christian communities.

I approve of your proposal to pursue an impartial and just policy regarding the organization of national territories and colonization. As evidence of the agreement in our views, I forward to you a copy of my instructions dated March 19, number 121 protecting unlawful occupation and seizure of land or unauthorized settlement.

Finally, I have to mention that in order to avoid the danger posed by the serious threat of food shortage, both in the army and in Transcaucasia at large, I am obliged to send the deserters and refugees back to their own country. In this way, not only will the refugees become productive by being resettled in their own lands, but at the same time Caucasia will be relieved of the burden of feeding them.

*Respectfully yours,
Nicholay"*

The press organ of the Russian Constitutionalist-Democrats, the newspaper *Rech*, gave further information concerning this subject in an article published on 28 July, 1916.

"Preparations are being made for the implementation of the project recently discussed in the Duma about the resettlement of Russian immigrants in the occupied areas of Turkish Armenia. Despite some friction between the immigration authorities and higher ranking army officers, local surveys are being carried out not only in the border areas but also in the plains farther inland, particularly in the plain of Muş. Agricultural units formed during the last war have now a total of 5,000 recruits. It is known that this number will soon be increased. The units, which do not include Armenians and Gregorians, have the duty of sowing the fields under the supervision of experts as part of a scheme designed to grow food for the army. The question of settling the families of the agricultural labourers is also being discussed.

At the same time, another project previously applied with success in Northern Caucasia is under discussion. This concerns the establishment of a Cossack settlement in Turkish Armenia which

would form a vast zone separating the Turkish Armenians from the Armenians in Russia.

The Armenian refugees are gradually returning home to till their fields. Since their own villages have been totally destroyed, they generally settle in less-damaged areas. However, in order to prevent disorder, Grand Duke Nicholas has issued a decree warning them that they must evacuate these places as soon as the Russian civil administration takes over. The same decree contains a statement that the Commander General of the Caucasian army will permit the refugees to rent unused land in Alashkert, Diadin and Bayezid until the return of their real owners. General Iudenich has also issued commands forbidding anyone but Russians and Cossacks to settle in these areas. Exception is to be made for the Armenians who can prove their ownership by showing legal documents. This decision, in practice, bars the local Armenians from returning home, for it would be ridiculous to expect people to possess title deeds in Turkey. As for other documents proving their ownership, these were, in all likelihood, lost during their flight. In this way, the return of the local population of the Valley of Muş and part of Pasin, is to all intents and purposes, forbidden."

NOTES

1. M. Paleologue, *La Russie des Tsars Pendant La Grande Guerre*.
2. Leo, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 162.
3. Kachaznuni, *Dashnaktsution Has Nothing to Do Any More*.
4. These documents are taken from the book on The Partitioning of Anatolia by the European states during the World War, publications of the USSR. Trans. by Hüseyin Rahmi.
5. The Russian government had passed a temporary regulation concerning the administration of the Turkish provinces, in accordance with the decree of the Commander - General ratified by the Emperor.
6. See above for the discussion concerning the reforms.

VI THE SITUATION OF THE ARMENIANS AFTER THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

On February 28, 1917 the Russian Revolution broke out. A special Transcaucasian Committee was set up by the provisional Kerensky government. The committee chaired by the Russian Kharlamov was composed of three members, the Armenian M. Papadjanian, the Georgian Chengeli and the Turkish Jafarov. At the same time, the peoples of Transcaucasia were beginning to form national organizations of their own with the intention of achieving autonomy.

In October September 1917 the Armenian National Congress met in Tiflis and replaced the Council for a National Homeland, which had organized and directed Armenian political life and the Armenian volunteer movement throughout the war, by a National Assembly composed of the members of the Dashnaktsutiun. The first act of the National Assembly was to create an Armenian military force under the command of General Nazarbekian. During this period, the Bolsheviks had begun to infiltrate the army and had made several attempts to overthrow the government. The motto of the Bolsheviks, "peace without occupation or compensation", had begun to spread in Transcaucasia.¹ The Armenian National Congress had appealed to Kerensky to allow all the Armenian soldiers on the western front to return to Transcaucasia. These would be used to form an Armenian army to protect the Caucasian front.

In November 1917, the Kerensky government was overthrown by the Bolshevik Revolution, and the Russian army disintegrated. The Russian soldiers on the Caucasian front began to desert and return home. For a time, the special committee, placed in charge of

Transcaucasia by the temporary government, remained in office, to be succeeded by another provisional body, the Transcaucasian Commissariat. Finally, the Transcaucasian Seim (or Assembly) came into existence, composed of 36 Mensheviks, 30 Musavatists (members of the Equality Party) and 27 Dashnaks.

The Seim decided to end the war and make peace with the Ottomans. It established a provisional government composed of 11 ministers 5 of whom were Georgian, 3 Armenian and 3 Turkish.

The Complete Cabinet (Commissariat) comprised:

President and Commissar for Foreign

Affairs	: Gegechkori (Georgian)
Commissar for the Interior	: Chkhenkeli (Georgian)
Commissar for the Army and the Navy	: D.Dongsoy (Russian Jew)
Commissar for Finance	: H.Ghardjikian (Armenian)
Commissar for Justice	: Aleksiev-Meshiev (Georgian)
Commissar for Commerce	: Jafarov (Azerbaijani)
Commissar for Transportation	: Melik Aslanov (Azerbaijani)
Commissar for Agriculture	: Neruchev (Russian)
Commissar for Supplies and Ammunition	: Der Ghazarian (Armenian)
Commissar for the Economy	: Dr. Hovhannessian (Armenian)
Government Inspector	: Khas Mamedov (Azerbaijani)

The Commissariat set as its priorities the election of a constituent assembly, the solution of the national problem and the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Turkey. At the same time, the Dashnaks were trying to secure Lenin's support over the issue of giving the Turkish Armenians the right of deciding their own fate in order to maintain control over Turkish Armenia.

The Russian withdrawal from the Caucasian front had left the Turkish population at the mercy of the Armenians, whose cruelty increased as they attempted to defend their possessions. The six provinces were left in the hands of the Armenian volunteer bands and the small number of Russian soldiers. On December 1918, Colonel Torkom, a Bulgarian Armenian, became commander of Erzurum. Torkom held a special military parade in order to intimidate the Moslem population and after twenty-one gun salutes, he gave a speech in Armenian addressed to General Odishelidze. In his speech, he announced that Armenia had declared its independence. When Odishelidze discovered the meaning of the speech, he immediately expelled him from the city.

In all the occupied territory from which the Russians were withdrawing, the Turks were exposed to attacks by the Armenians, who were attempting to take over the administration. The Turkish population was forced to leave their homes and flee. There were large number of unwarranted arrests and many were killed. Antranik arrived in Erzurum as a general in Russian uniform to take over the defence of the city, and he was joined there by Doctor Zavriev, who had previously been appointed Deputy Governor-General of the occupied provinces.

The atrocities and massacres committed by the Armenians continued in their fury. Antranik was unable to establish discipline nor was he able to find Armenians to send to the front to fight against the advancing Turkish forces. On one occasion Antranik is reported to have cried out in exasperation, "The Armenian leaders sent ten or fifteen thousand men to defend Erzurum but they themselves remained behind. In this way, they condemned Armenia and the Armenians to defeat. Of the remaining few thousands of Armenians none are willing to go to the front. Cursed be the leaders and all!"²

Khlebov, the Commander of the second Artillery division in the Russian army, reported:

"Neither in the towns nor in the trenches, not a single Armenian was to be seen, dead or wounded. This shows their valour as to fighting or defending themselves! The Latin writer, Petronius wrote "Here the Armenians are human, but in their own country they walk on all fours". Similarly, the Russian poet Lermontov invented the saying "Are you a coward? Are you a slave? Then you are Armenian."³

In December, 1917 a truce was declared in Erzurum. But since the massacres did not stop, the Ottoman army was forced, after several warnings to the Caucasian Command, to advance in order to protect the inhabitants. This resulted in a second wave of desertions and disorder. The Armenian forces, which had been formed by banding together a number of the 300,000 refugees from Turkey and recruits from Erevan and Zangezor, dispersed as the first shots were fired on the front, the soldiers leaving their weapons behind them as they fled.

On January 13, 1918, a decree was issued by the Soviet Assembly recognizing the independence and self-government of Armenia:

"The Sovnarkom declares that it recognizes the right of self government for the Armenian people, including those living in Turkish Armenia under Russian occupation, and considers them free to establish their own system of administration.

The Sovnarkom realizes that this right may only be exercised by

the provision of basic guarantees and through a referendum. The Sovnarkom proposes the following measures as guarantees:

1. The withdrawal of the troops from the boundaries of Turkish Armenia and the immediate formation of an Armenian militia to ensure the security of the lives and property of the inhabitants of "Turkish Armenia".
2. Unhindered return to "Turkish Armenia" of refugee Armenians, as well as expatriate Armenians scattered in various countries.
3. Unhindered return to the territory of "Turkish Armenia" of Armenians forcibly exiled into the interior of Turkey during the war by the Turkish authorities, on which the Sovnarkom will insist at the peace negotiations with Turkish officials.
4. Creation of a "Temporary People's Administration of Turkish Armenia" in the form of a Soviet of Deputies of the Armenian people, elected by democratic procedures.

Extraordinary temporary Commissar for Caucasian Affairs, Stepan Shahumian is entrusted to cooperate in every way with the population of "Turkish Armenia" in the implementation of points 2 and 3, as well as to embark upon the creation of a mixed commission for the establishment of a deadline and the method of withdrawal of troops from the bounds of "Turkish Armenia."

According to this decree, the geographical boundaries of Turkish Armenia would be determined by Commissar Shahumian jointly with the delegates elected democratically by the Turkish and Armenian population of the frontier provinces. This decision also failed to be realized.

On January 3, 1918, Transcaucasia was asked to send its representatives to the Brest-Litovsk Conference, but the Dashnakists resisted such a move. This is significant in view of the fact that although the members of the Seim were the most influential group in Transcaucasia apart from the government itself, the Seim itself was dominated by the central assemblies of the political committees.

In the meantime, the Ottomans had regained all the territories that had been occupied by the Russians after 1914. While the Armenians were anxious not to lose Russian Armenia, they were at the same time exerting all their strength to recapture Turkish Armenia. On March 3, 1918, the Brest-Litovsk Treaty was signed. Article 4 had the following clauses concerning the Ottoman State.

"Russia shall do everything in her power to ensure the immediate evacuation of the provinces of Eastern Anatolia and their lawful return to Turkey.

The districts of Ardahan, Kars and Batum will likewise and without delay be cleared of Russian troops. Russia will not interfere in the reorganization of the national and international relations of these districts, but leave it to the population of these districts to carry out this reorganization in agreement with the neighbouring states, especially Turkey."

The president of the Transcaucasion Seim Chkheidze and the head of the government Gegechkori declared that they did not recognize the treaty. However, the Ottomans, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, asked the Russians to withdraw from Kars, Ardahan and Batum as soon as possible. It was decided that a meeting should be held in Trabzon to discuss the details. These discussions lasted from March, 13 to April 14, 1918. On the day the conference convened, news was received of two significant developments: ⁴ 1) the recapture of Erzurum by the Turks, and 2) the ratification of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

The aim of the Turkish delegation was to ensure the implementation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and the return of Kars, Batum and Ardahan to Turkey at all costs, as well as the establishment of the Transcaucasian republic as a buffer state between Turkey and Russia. This state would be independent both *de iure* and *de facto*. However, the Georgians refused to relinquish Batum and the Armenians insisted on retaining Kars. Chkhenkeli, who acted as the leader of the Transcaucasian Delegation, realizing that discussions had reached an impasse, sent a commission to Tiflis to inform the government. This commission obtained permission from the Seim to cede to the Ottomans part of the territory they demanded. Kachaznuni gives the following account of the Trabzon Conference: ⁵

"The Dashnaks proposed to the Ottoman Delegation that the Turkish Armenians should be given the right of determining their own political future within the Ottoman Empire. To this the Ottomans replied curtly that this was an internal affair of the Ottoman State and if the proposal were repeated, the Delegation would leave the Conference.

The most important issue at the Conference was the question of securing an agreement with the Republic of Transcaucasia about the borders which had already been decided upon in principle in the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. The Republic refused to accept the borders set

by the Treaty and argued that the decisions of the Petrograd government were not binding for them. The Georgians wanted Batum and Ajaria and, to realize this aim, were willing to leave Kars and Ardahan to the Turks. The Armenians, on the other hand, insisted on Kars and Ardahan in return for Ajaria. As for the Azerbaijanis, they were in favour of the establishment of a Moslem administration in Ajaria. So, what could be the fate of a Soviet federation which together with Daghestan was comprised of five nations? The Azerbaijanis, indeed, claimed that all the lands under discussion were in reality Turkish and should therefore be annexed to Turkey."

Despite this, a few days later, the Caucasian delegation officially informed the Ottoman delegation that they recognized the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. Evidently the Dashnak members of the Seim, under the changed the circumstances, had found it opportune to accept the conditions of the treaty. The Ottoman delegation also informed the Military Command in Batum on April 13 that unless the city surrendered with all its fortifications it would be forcibly taken on April 14 and this action would naturally cause bloodshed and destruction and also result in the treatment of the surviving soldiers as prisoners of war.

The Transcaucasian Delegation, thinking that Batum could be defended, asked the cabinet in Tiflis to be recalled and proposed that the Seim should be convened and that a commission of three members should be set up charged with the defence of the country. The Seim adopted the proposal backed by the leader of the Georgian Social Democrat Party, Zhordania, to the effect that "Since no agreement had been reached between the Turkish and the Transcaucasian delegations concerning the borders, the Transcaucasian delegation had to be called back to Tiflis immediately. In this manner, the existence of a state of war was acknowledged. A collegium was formed composed of Gegechkori, the President and War Commissar, Ramishvili, Interior Commissar and Ghardjikian, Finance Commissar, and charged with the conduct of the war."

Immediately afterwards Chkhenkeli, the head of the delegation in Trabzon informed the Ottoman leader that the Transcaucasian delegation was returning to Tiflis, but that the talks were interrupted, not terminated. On the same day the delegation left Trabzon.

The Batum Peace Conference (April-May, 1918)

The Ottoman government demanded for the immediate surrender of Batum on April 14 and, on April 15, the fortress of Batum was stormed. In this manner Batum was annexed to the Ottoman Empire. At the same time the Ottoman forces continued to advance towards Kars and Alexandropol (Gümrü). Despite the hopelessness of the situation, the Armenians at a meeting held in Alexandropol, took the decision to reinforce the front. In the meantime, on April 26, the Seim appointed a new government presided over by Chkhenkeli, who thus replaced Gegechkori. Prior to this, on April 22, Transcaucasia had declared her independence from Russia, and Kars was relinquished to the Ottoman Empire. Upon the recognition of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty by the Seim, and on Chkhenkeli's initiative, the negotiations with the Ottomans were resumed on April 23. On April 25 the Armenians evacuated Kars after burning down its best quarters.⁶ On April 28, General Nazarbekian surrendered Kars and the Armenians withdrew to Alexandropol.

The opening session of the Batum conference was held on May 11, 1918. The Transcaucasian delegation headed by Chkhenkeli was composed of the following:

Armenian	: Kachaznuni Chkhenkeli Khatisian S. Vratzian (Adviser)
Azerbaijan	: Msurbekof Khan Khoiskii Hajinskii Rasul-zade (Adviser)
Georgian	: Analov Nikoladze Rhilaze

Apart from these, there were delegates from the north Caucasus and Daghestan. The Ottoman government was represented by Halil Bey, the Minister of Justice and the Chief Councillor of State, Vehib Pasha, the Commander in Chief of the Caucasian Front and General Von Lossow, the German military attaché to Turkey.

The Transcaucasian Delegation announced that 1) Transcaucasia had been declared an independent state and that 2) the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk had been accepted as the basis for the negotiations. However, the Ottomans replied that since "blood was shed after the Conference of Trebizond, the Brest-Litovsk Treaty could not be

recognized as the exclusive basis for the negotiations." In addition to Kars, Ardahan and Batum, according to the new proposal the Ottomans now demanded Alexandropol and Surmalu (Sürmeli) from the Armenians and a great part of Akhaltsikh (Ahıska) from the Georgians.⁷

The Armenians, for their part, were trying not to let the Ottomans encroach beyond the limits set by the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and in order to secure this goal, they appealed to the German delegates and other neutral participants.

On May 15, Alexandropol was occupied by the Ottoman forces who continued to advance in the direction of Karakilisa (Karakilise). On May 19, the Ottomans asked the Transcaucasian delegation to give a precise and official reply as to whether or not their demands would be met. The Azerbaijanis and the Georgians responded to this note by accepting the Turkish terms in principle, whilst the Armenians desisted and enlisted the help of Dr. Hamo Ohandjanian in order to establish contact with the German representative and gain his support. By this time, the Armenians had become a burden to the Georgians, who tended to disregard them and to pursue the interests of their own community.

On May 26 Georgia declared its independence under the protection of Germany. German flags were hung in Tiflis to celebrate the occasion, while the Armenians were fighting in Sardarabad and Karakilisa and both Andranik and Zangezur were exterminating the Moslems. The situation of the Armenians, the chaotic circumstances created by the refugees who fled from Turkey to Transcaucasia, the Ottoman onslaughts, the fall of Erevan, Shemakh and Baku, the massacres, all could be explained by a lack of solidarity and unity within the state.

On May 27, the Seim made the following declaration:

"Because, on the questions of war and peace, there arose basic differences among the peoples who had created the Transcaucasian Republic, and because it became impossible to establish one authority speaking in the name of all Transcaucasia, the Seim certifies the dissolution of Transcaucasia and relinquishes its powers."

In this manner, the Transcaucasian Federation was dissolved. On May 26, 1918 Georgia and two days later Azerbaijan declared their independence. On May 29, the party's Bureau and Tiflis Central Committee and the Dashnakist members of the Seim and National

Council met in an emergency session and decided to proclaim Armenia a republic, ruled at the start by a coalition government. The declaration prepared by Alexander Khatisian, Nikol Aghbalian, Hovhannes Kachaznuni and Avetis Aharonian was published by the National Council on the following day:

"In view of the dissolution of the political unity of Transcaucasia and the new situation created by the proclamation of the independence of Georgia and Azerbaijan, the Armenian National Council declares itself the supreme and only administration for the Armenian provinces. Due to certain grave circumstances, the National Council, deferring until the near future the formation of an Armenian national government, temporarily assumes all governmental functions, in order to guide the political and administrative helm of the Armenian provinces."

However, even before the declaration was issued, The National Council had appointed Khatisian, Kachaznuni, and Papadjanian, on May 28, to return to Batum with unlimited powers for negotiating a peace on behalf of the Armenian people or, depending on the circumstances, in the name of the independent "Republic of Armenia".

The Ottoman government had allocated to itself an area, approximately 9,000 km² in size and had left it to the Caucasian nations to share the frontiers. The Georgians demanded from the Armenians an area extending as far as Karakilisa, and the Azerbaijanis set their borders at the province of Erevan. The Armenian Delegation protested that 1) the territories left to the Armenians were too limited, 2) the Armenian issue, being an international problem, could not be solved in this manner and 3) the suggested boundaries would be a cause of enmity between the Turkish and the Armenian peoples.

However, the Turkish Delegation replied that Turkey would invite all Moslems in the republic to emigrate in order to give the Armenians more space, and also mentioned that the Armenian question was international and it was for that reason that the Ottoman government had decided to sanction the independence of the new state.

In this manner, the whole of the Kars region, Akhalkalak, Alexandropol, Hamamlu, the road leading to Erevan, Surmalu, half of the province of Erevan and the Karakilisa-Ulukhanlu railroad were annexed by the Ottomans. Some minor alternations were made later by abandoning the Hamamlu-Erevan road to the Armenians and by

withdrawing the frontier to the summit of Mount Aragads (Alagiaz). In its final form the frontier ran from the Djatjur Station over the top of Mount Aragads, and extending as far as the outlying areas of the province of Etchmiadzin. Consequently Armenia was left with a territory of approximately 10,000 km² in extent.

The Treaty of Batum was signed on June 3, 1918. After Khatisian's delegation returned to Tiflis, the National Council formed a cabinet for the Republic of Armenia with Kachaznuni as Premier, Khatisian as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Karjikian as Minister of Finance. Although the Batum Treaty had been signed, the Armenians were still pressing for resettlement in accordance with the terms of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. With the aim of enlisting German support for their demands, they sent a delegation composed of Dr. Ohandjanian and A. Zohrabian to Berlin.

On June 25, a general conference was called in Istanbul with the participation of delegates representing the Ottoman state, Bulgaria, Austria-Hungary, Germany and also the Republic of Transcaucasia.

Upon this, an Armenian delegation composed of the Dashnakist leaders Aharonian, Papadjanian and Khatisian as representatives and of General Gurganian as adviser, was sent to Istanbul. The delegation remained in the Turkish capital until November 1 and made more territorial demands for the Republic of Armenia. During their stay, the Armenian delegation was received by Mehmed V, whom Aharonian thanked for having granted them the honour of being received in audience and he extended the gratitude of the Armenian nation to the Ottoman state as the first country in the world to recognize the Republic.⁸

NOTES

1. A. Khatisian, *The Origin and Development of the Armenian Republic*.
2. Khlebov, *The Records of the Second Artillery Division in Erzurum*, 12 March, 1918.
3. *ibid*.
4. Khatisian, *The Origin and Development of the Armenian Republic*.
5. Kachaznuni, *Dashnaktsution Has Nothing to Do Any More*.
6. Khatisian, *op.cit.*, p. 43.
7. *ibid*.
8. Leo, *op.cit.*, vol. II.

PART V PEACE, SEVRES AND LAUSANNE TREATIES

I PEACE - WILSON'S PRINCIPLES - THE TREATY OF SEVRES

The Ottoman State proposed a truce to the Entente Powers subject to the terms embodied in President's principles for peace, and upon this, on October 30, 1918, the Mudros Armistice was signed. Of these principles, commonly known as the Fourteen Points, Point Twelve was of specific interest for Turkey:

"XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees."

The situation of Armenia and the Armenians was directly affected by the following articles of the Mudros Armistice:

"IV. All Allied prisoners of war and Armenian interned persons and prisoners to be collected in Constantinople and handed over unconditionally to the Allies.

XI. Immediate withdrawal of the Turkish troops from northwest Persia to behind the pre-war frontier has already been ordered and will be carried out.

Part of Transcaucasia has already been ordered to be evacuated by Turkish troops; the remainder to be evacuated if required by the Allies after they have studied the situation there.

XXIV. In case of disorder in the six Armenian vilayets, the Allies reserve to themselves the right to occupy any part of them."

Two days after the signing of the Armistice, the Armenian delegation left Istanbul to return home. Aharonian was later dispatched to Paris to take part in the peace conference to be held there.

In the Ottoman capital, and particularly in the provinces, the assaults and insults of the Armenian political activists, who reemerged from their hiding places or returned from abroad, had not only become intolerable but also made wounds in our sense of national pride and dignity. In official circles, unfounded statements were made by some treacherous and foolish persons that eight hundred thousand Armenians had been massacred, as part of an ill-advised design to incriminate the former administration and government. These were later to be used as forceful evidence against the Ottoman Empire. Ahmet Rıza, who had been appointed President of the Senate by Vahdeddin (Sultan Mehmet VI), said in his inaugural address:

"I know the desires of our Sultan very well. He would wish to be known not as the Ghazi but as Sultan Mehmed Vahdeddin Khan the just. As Sultan and Caliph, he will succeed in regaining our lost territories not through war and conquest but through the exercise of justice. Under his illustrious reign, all Ottoman subjects, without any distinctions of race or creed, will enjoy equally the benefit of justice and liberty. His merciful Majesty will not abandon the children and widows of these cruelly slaughtered Armenians and those of the exiled or hanged Arabs to destitution and misery. There will be no one left suffering and groaning in exile. (Minutes of the Senate, Year V, Session 2, October 19, 1334)."

Damat Ferit Pasha spoke in a similar vein:

"... It is said in the Parliament that no misconceptions should be created concerning the former administration. The members of that government themselves prepared and published a large volume, which they even distributed to the senators and deputies. They say in that book, 'If we have driven a million Armenians out of

their homes and villages and if they fell victim to savage beasts and vultures on the roads to Baghdad, it must be remembered that they would have cut the lines of supply for the army, would have attacked the troops in the rear and would have endangered the very existence of the state.' These vain words are in fact the most convincing arguments they put forth to excuse the tragedies and atrocities that were enacted. Such arguments are acceptable neither to humanity, civilization or Islam itself." (Minutes of the Senate, Session XI, November 21, 1334)

In January, 1919, the Peace Conference convened in Paris. The Ottoman delegates were also invited. Damat Ferit Pasha, who at the time headed the government, supported the motion for granting unlimited autonomy to Armenia and, for no reason at all and backed by no historical or geographical evidence, he put forward the claim that the Toros mountains were the natural boundaries of Turkey. Moreover, by putting the blame for the crimes and massacres committed during the war on the Ittihad ve Terakki government and presenting the people and the state as innocent victims misled by that party, he may have believed that he absolved Turkey from blame by diplomatic sleight of hand.

By an agreement reached in the Paris Conference, Izmir was occupied by the Greeks on May 14, 1919, while Istanbul was occupied by the Allies on March 16, 1920. On April 19, 1920, in the meeting held at San Remo under the chairmanship of the Italian Prime Minister Nitti, the final details of the peace to be concluded with the Ottoman Empire were decided upon. The note submitted by the Istanbul Government was studied at the San Remo Conference on July 16, 1920. Milerand's answer to this note contains an interesting passage on the Armenian issue:

"The Allied Powers see clearly that the time has now come to put an end to the domination of the Ottomans over other nations. The history of the relations of the Sublime Porte and the Great Powers is no more than the account of endless and futile attempts at putting an end to the oppression of countries such as Bulgaria, Macedonia, Armenia and others, oppression that enrages and inflames the human soul. During the last twenty years, the Armenians have been exterminated as a result of unheard of brutalities. The achievements of the Ottoman Empire in the war, which were confined to punishing, exiling and ill-treating its subject populations, have indeed overshot the targets it had set for itself in the past. Ever since 1914, the Ottoman government, with

quite incredible excuses about the dangers posed by a fictitious revolution, has destroyed more than eight hundred thousand Armenian men, women and children, and has deported and exiled a further two hundred thousand Armenians and Greeks from their homes.

There are numerous documents proving that the Ottoman Empire has organized the most savage operations against a people whom it should not only have refrained from attacking and slaughtering but whom it is obliged to protect from danger. For these reasons, the Allied Powers have decided to free from Turkish oppression those lands where there is no Turkish majority. The Allied Powers cannot consent to any proposals for change in the articles relating to the liberation of Thrace and Izmir from Ottoman domination, for in these places the Turks constitute a minority. The same arguments apply to the borders drawn between Syria and Turkey. Similarly, the Great Powers cannot consent to changes in the articles providing establishment of an independent Armenia within boundaries to be determined by the American President in a just and compassionate manner."

The Allied Powers had, in fact, asked the United States to accept the mandate over Armenia and had also proposed that the President should set the borders between Turkey and Armenia.

The Senate rejected the proposal for mandate; nonetheless the President accepted the role of arbitrator and set the boundaries of Armenia.

On August 10, 1920, the Treaty of Sevres was signed by the representatives of the Ottoman government of Istanbul, and, as a result, Armenia emerged as a state extending over a vast area. Aharonian had been present during the discussions and had signed the Treaty on behalf of the Republic of Armenia.

The articles of the Treaty concerning Armenia were as follows:
"Section VI. Armenia

Article 88. Turkey, in accordance with the action already taken by the Allied Powers, hereby recognises Armenia as a free and independent State.

Article 89. Turkey and Armenia as well as the other High Contracting Parties agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the

frontier to be fixed between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzurum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulations they may prescribe as to access for Armenia to the sea, and as to the demilitarisation of any portion of Turkish territory adjacent to the said frontier.

Article 90. In the event of the determination of the frontier under Article 89 involving the transfer of the whole or any part of the territory of the said Vilayets to Armenia, Turkey hereby renounces as from the date of such decision all rights and title over the territory transferred. The provisions of the present Treaty applicable to territory detached from Turkey shall thereupon become applicable to the said territory.

The proportion and nature of the financial obligation of Turkey which Armenia will have to assume, or of the rights which will pass to her, on account of the transfer of the said territory will be determined in accordance with Articles 211 to 214 Part VIII (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Subsequent agreements will, if necessary, decide all questions which are not decided by the present Treaty and which may arise in consequence of the transfer of the said territory.

Article 91. In the event of any portion of the territory referred to in Article 89 being transferred to Armenia, a Boundary Commission, whose composition will be determined subsequently, will be constituted within three months from the delivery of the decision referred to in the said Article to trace on the spot the frontier between Armenia and Turkey as established by such decision.

Article 92. The frontiers between Armenia and Azerbaidjan and Georgia respectively will be determined by direct agreement between the States concerned.

If in either case the States concerned have failed to determine the frontier by agreement at the date of the decision referred to in Article 89/B the frontier line in question will be determined by the principal Allied Powers, who will also provide for its being traced on the spot.

Article 93. Armenia accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty

with the principal Allied Powers such provisions as will be deemed necessary to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

Armenia further accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied Powers such provisions as these Powers may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations."

Such were the terms for the establishment of an independent Armenia in a treaty which was, in effect, the death sentence of Turkey.

II THE PHASES OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION PRIOR TO THE TREATY OF LAUSANNE AS REPORTED IN ARMENIAN SOURCES

Bogos Nubar, who had been appointed by the Catholicos to enlist the help of the Great Powers in the Armenian cause as far back as 1912 during the attempts to introduce reforms in the Eastern provinces, had submitted a petition to the Entente countries and their allies in November 1918 as head of the Armenian National Delegation. The petition claimed the right of Armenia to independence and asked that this independence be placed under the joint protection of the Powers, America and the League of Nations. ¹

Nubar pointed out that the Armenians had actually been 'belligerents' since the beginning of the war, and despite the sufferings to which they had been subjected on account of their unwavering devotion to the Entente, they had fought with great sacrifices on all fronts on the side of the Allies.

With their volunteers who had joined the French Foreign Legion, they had won victories fighting under the French flag. Volunteers recruited in Tiflis and Syria for the French Army by the decision of the Armenian National Congress had constituted a substantial part of the French forces in Palestine and, as testified by the reports of their French commanders, had played a significant role in the victory won by General Allenby.

In addition to the 150,000 Armenians enlisted in the Russian Army stationed in Transcaucasia, 40,000 volunteers had participated in the liberation of the Armenian provinces under the command of Antranik and Nazarbekov. These forces continued to fight against Turkish troops until the declaration of Bolshevism.

The victory won by America and the Entente States, which had been fighting for the cause of truth and justice and for the liberation of the oppressed nations, had freed the six provinces and Cilicia, together with the Sandjak of Maraş, from the Turkish yoke. The Armenian nation, Nubar maintained, had preserved its national identity, language and religion intact, despite the invasions and conquests that it had been subjected to. Furthermore, it had given proof of the vitality of its race and the strength of its national spirit by fighting for centuries in order to gain its national identity and independence.

Therefore, Nubar argued that the Armenians, as members of a race who merit an honourable place in the world with their culture and civilization, have the right to demand the application to their situation of one of the principles recognized by the United States as the objectives of the war. For this reason, Nubar concluded, the Armenian National Delegation, in accordance with the wishes of all the Armenians, proclaimed that Armenia, one part of which had already achieved the status of an independent republic, declared its independence and asked to be placed under the protection of either the Entente Powers, or the United States or the League of Nations.

On February 24, 1919 the United Armenian Conference met in Paris. The discussions, which lasted until April 22, were held with the participation of not only the Russian and Turkish Armenians but also of the representatives of the Armenians living in Persia, Egypt, Syria as well as in European countries and in the United States.

After agreeing on the claims of the Armenians, the Conference chose a new representative delegation of six members with Bogos Nubar as president. The 'All-Armenia Delegation' which was formed in this way was to represent both the National Delegation, headed by Nubar, and the Delegation of the Transcaucasian Republic, headed by Aharonian. At the end of the United Armenian Conference a memorandum was prepared jointly by Bogos Nubar and Aharonian, the presidents of the two delegations. In this memorandum, which was later submitted to the Peace Conference, the following Armenian demands were put forward:

- 1) Recognition of an independent Armenian state formed by a union of the seven *vilayets* (the six plus Trebizond), Cilicia, and the Armenian Republic of the Caucasus, its precise boundaries to be settled by a commission of the Great Powers;
- 2) The state thus created to be guaranteed by the Powers and the League of Nations, of which it claimed membership;

- 3) A mandate not to exceed twenty years duration, with the Armenian National Conference, which had been sitting in Paris since before the war, to be consulted on the choice of a mandatory;
- 4) Compensation for massacres, spoliations, and devastation to be fixed by the Peace Conference and paid by Turkey, in return for which Armenia would assume a share in the Ottoman debt;
- 5) The mandatory to be responsible for the following;
 - a) expulsion of all Turkish and Azerbaidjani authorities,
 - b) disarmament of the population,
 - c) expulsion and punishment of those guilty of massacre, violence and pillage or profiting therefrom,
 - d) expulsion of disruptive elements and nomad tribes which cannot be brought under the control of the government,
 - e) repatriation of the muhadjir, i.e., Moslem colonists settled during the Hamidean and Young Turkish periods,
 - f) repatriation of Christian women forcibly placed in harems, with the Turks paying damages in such cases, as well as compensation for the destruction of schools, churches, and monasteries.
- 6) The return of all confiscated movable and immovable property belonging to Turkish Armenians together with an indemnity to be guaranteed by Turkey. Armenian religious authorities will be allowed to dispose of any Armenian community property remaining in Turkey after the boundaries have been fixed, with the proceeds of such sales going to their congregations.
- 7) Any person of Armenian origin resident in any other country is to be allowed five years in which to choose new Armenian nationality for himself and his children."

It is known that the Armenian population before the war had been estimated by the Patriarchate at 1,018,000 in the six provinces, with only 660,000 Turks out of a total population of 1,178,000. The

Armenian memorandum included a section on the population entitled 'The Voice of All the Armenians, living or dead, must be heard':

"The ethnographic issues of Turkey cannot be studied and resolved with the same methods applicable in a European country. It would, indeed, be totally unreasonable to take the ethnographic profile of a certain area as a basis for constructing political and national units in accordance with the principles of national sovereignty. Political issues alone are of significance in Turkey, and, the ethnographic profile of any area in the Empire is the outcome of a political decision. Hence, in wishing to eliminate the root causes of certain events, one should not be misled by the consequences.

Until the Treaty of Berlin, Armenia, despite the fact that it had been under oppression for five centuries, still had a compact and concentrated Armenian population. However, after the signing of this treaty, which should have guaranteed security for the lives and property of the Armenians, the ethnographic structure of Armenia altered drastically as a result of violence and massacres.

In 1882 the total Armenian population is shown in the records of the Patriarchate to have been 2,600,000, with 1,680,000 in the six provinces. This fell to 2,100,000 in the year 1912, with 1,018,000 in the six provinces.

Thus the total Armenian population in Turkey decreased by 500,000 during this period. In actual fact the decrease in population in the six provinces was 662,000, which indicates an increase of 62,000 in the areas outside.

This in turn supports our argument that the ethnographic problems in Turkey are caused by political factors. If, during the thirty years that lapsed between 1882-1912, the Armenian population of the six provinces decreased by 662,000 and the number of the Armenians living in other parts of Turkey increased by 162,000, this only proves that the rest of the country was under less severe oppression than the six provinces.

Can we possibly believe that the decrease in the Armenian population was only 500,000? No, for if the birth rate is taken into account, this number, more likely, rises to a million, approximately 100,000 of whom were people forced to emigrate as a result of

violence and coercion. To this number we should add another million or more who died during the War. Hence, it is evident that ever since the Berlin Treaty, in which the Powers so ostentatiously guaranteed the security of the Armenians, more than 2 million Armenians were massacred by the Turks. In conclusion, the Great Powers cannot deny the purely Armenian character of the Armenian lands on the basis of the ethnographic profile resulting from a policy of violence and oppression."

The best answer that could be given to these unfounded claims would be to quote the official statistics prepared by the General Registration Office concerning the Moslem and Christian populations of the villages of the provinces and sandjaks claimed by the Armenians:

Provinces or Sandjaks	Moslems (only)	Armenians (only)	Greeks (only)	Mixed	Total
Erzurum	2379	72	3	241	2695
Adana	1090	10	8	83	1191
Bitlis	1559	249	0	259	2167
Mamuret-ul-Aziz	1155	21	0	115	1691
Van	1232	115	0	408	1755
Sivas	2931	73	232	153	3389
Diyarbakır	3544	77	1	268	2890
Maraş	436	32	0	23	491
İçel	329	0	4	5	338
Total	14055	649	248	1655	16607

A memorandum presented to the Allied Powers by the Ottoman government under the premiership of Tevfik Pasha on February 12 contains the following official information on this subject:

"MEMORANDUM

(Submitted to the Representatives of the United States, England, France and Italy, on February 12).

The Ottoman government sees it as its duty to declare its views on certain important issues concerning Turkey at this time when the Peace Conference is being held to decide the destinies of all nations in accordance with the principles of justice and the free development of nations and in order to secure peace and a better future for all humanity.

The Sublime Porte believes that while performing this duty and

deciding on the future organization of States the government of the Great Powers, namely England, the United States of America, France and Italy, will observe the principles which were declared by President Wilson and unanimously approved and accepted by all nations.

One of these principles, the products of a pure and noble mind, concerns the Ottoman Empire:

'The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.'

The Ottoman government, while taking all the necessary precautions to protect its capital, supports the proposal that free passage should be secured for international trade through the straits of Istanbul and the Dardanelles in times of peace as well as of war.

The details concerning this issue will be easily prepared and proposed to the conference by the Ottoman government with the proviso that demands which are justifiable from a legal standpoint have to be taken into consideration.

As for the first clause of the article which deals with the details of certain questions related to the Ottoman Empire, the Sublime Porte has the honour to present its views to the delegation of representatives for their consideration. These views will naturally be subject to alteration or reinterpretation during the course of the discussions held.

In accordance with the principles of President Wilson, the Ottoman Empire can be divided into two large parts:

1. The Turkish provinces in Europe and Asia, and
2. The Arab provinces.

However, a third division becomes necessary on account of the fact that among the first group of Turkish provinces are included the "Armenian provinces in the east of Turkey. It would be appropriate to discuss these provinces as a separate unit.

The Turkish provinces in the first part are the following:

In Europe: The Ottoman Capital situated in the province of Dersaadet (the Felicitous City or Istanbul) with its subdivisions in Europe and Asia Minor, and the province of Edirne extending over western Thrace, a part of which was added to Bulgaria in 1914 after

the Balkan War.

In Asia: The provinces of Hüdavendigâr, Aydın, Kastamonu, Konya, Ankara, Adana, Halep, Musul and Trabzon. The sandjaks attached directly to the Ministry of the Interior: Eskişehir, Antalya, Kayseri, Kütahya, İçel, Niğde, İzmit, Menteşe, Bolu, Canik, Çatalca, Karahisar, Karesi, Kale-i Sultaniye, Urfa, Maraş; islands within the territorial waters of the Ottoman Empire: Bozcaada, İmroz, Meis, Midilli and other islands off the shores of the Ottoman Empire.

As has been demonstrated by the official statistics and supplementary documents prepared before the war as well as the statistical surveys carried out by foreign observers in peace time, the population of all the aforementioned provinces, with the exception of some of the islands, is one dominantly Turkish.

In the Yellow Book published in Paris in 1897 on the Armenian question, the facts are clearly recorded: "As a result of thorough studies it becomes evident that in no province of Turkey do the Armenians have a majority". According to official statistics, the Ottoman population is distributed in the following manner:

9,291,346	85%	Moslem
1,014,612	9%	Greek
542,572	5%	Armenian
93,364	0.8%	Jewish, foreign and others.

The Yellow Book gives a similar distribution. Thus, the information does not depart in its essentials from the estimates given by Cuinet in his work on "Ottoman Asia" (1892).

7,204,824	81.65%	Moslem
912,458	10.3%	Greek
442,713	5.3%	Armenian
161,331	2.8%	Jewish, foreign and others.

These figures are based on the information provided by the Patriarchate, and the results concerning the population of the Christian communities are not only very modest, they are also explicit enough not to require any further explanation. It is also noteworthy that in some of the provinces such as Edirne, including West Thrace, İzmir, Aydın and Hüdavendigâr (Bursa), as well as in Istanbul, where the Greeks had the audacity to claim that they were in a majority, the distribution of the Turkish and Greek populations is as follows:

Official Statistics:

Provinces of	%Moslems	%Greeks
Istanbul (The sandjak of Çatalca)	(59.7) 580,482	(25) 242,559
Edirne (including West Thrace)	(62.6) 722,862	(26.7) 310,392
Aydın	(79) 1,427,982	(17) 319,026
Hüdavendigâr	(84.8) 1,555,503	(9.9) 183,424

The statistics given in the Yellow Book: (The provinces of Istanbul and Edirne are not included).

Provinces of	%Moslems	%Greeks
Aydın	(78.2) 1,093,334	(19.9) 208,283
Hüdavendigâr	(79.7) 1,296,595	(14.1) 230,711

Since there can be no doubt for persons who approach the matter from a non-biased viewpoint that these provinces have a Turkish majority, measures must be taken to establish Ottoman sovereignty in these territories, provided that the minorities have the right to develop freely in accordance with President Wilson's principles.

The Ottoman government, which is always prepared to prove that it has never prevented the cultural development of the Christian elements, is ready to recognize and conform to the decisions taken by the Peace Conference in connection with the minorities in the various provinces.

Having declared this, we can now pass on to the more difficult issue of the Eastern provinces, namely Diyarbakır, Mamuret-ul-Aziz, Van, Bitlis, Erzurum and Sivas.

According to the statistics given above, in these provinces too, the great majority is composed of a homogenous and integrated Moslem community consisting of a combination of Turks and Kurds.

The population of the Eastern provinces:

	Population	Percentage
Various	162,352	4.5%
Moslem	3,040,391	79%
Armenian	636,306	16.5%

Statistics given in the Yellow Book:

	Population	Percentage
Moslem	2,669,386	73.5%
Armenian	666,435	18.5%
Other elements	272,581	7.5%

Because claims are made by the Armenians to parts of the provinces of Trabzon and Adana (Cilicia) with the intention of exploiting the opportunity offered by the special circumstances, regardless of the fact that such claims totally lack credibility, we have thought fit to give statistical information concerning these provinces as well.

*Official statistics:**For the Province of Trabzon*

	Population	Percentage
Moslem	1,187,073	78%
Armenian	68,813	4.5%

For the Province of Adana

	Population	Percentage
Moslem	234,450	58%
Armenian	97,450	24%

English statistics:

The eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica published in 1910 (II.564), using the most reliable sources and statistical surveys available, concludes that the Armenians formed a majority only in 9 sub-province two of which were in Muş and seven in the region of Van. From the same work we learn that in the nine Turkish provinces of Erzurum, Van, Bitlis, Harput, Mamuret-ul-Aziz, Diyarbakır, Sivas, Adana and Trabzon, the population of which amounted to 6 million, the distribution of the various ethnic groups was as follows:

913,875	15% Armenian
663,875	11% Various Christian Communities
4,453,250	74% Moslem

The first five provinces, in which the Armenians are mainly settled, have a total population of 264,200, which breaks down to give us following table:

663,250	24 % Armenian
179,875	7 % Other Christian Communities
1,828,870	69 % Moslem

These figures prove beyond doubt that the Moslems constituted a majority in these provinces and that the Armenians were everywhere a small minority. Before presenting the Great Powers with a proposal concerning the form of administration deemed most suitable for these provinces, the Ottoman government sees it as its duty to draw the attention of the delegation to their present state.

One million Moslems killed: The Sublime Porte, with this memorandum, wishes neither to enter into the distressing details of the events which came about in the provinces under discussion, nor to lessen the guilt of any Moslems who committed murder. However, the Ottoman government informs the Great Powers of the fact that it has requested the governments of Spain, Switzerland, Denmark, Belgium and Sweden to appoint delegates for a mixed international commission, including Armenian and Turkish representatives, in order to determine the responsibilities of both Moslem and Armenian activists in the tragic events that have taken place.

Notwithstanding this, the Ottoman government, whatever may be the degree and nature of the crimes of the accused Moslems being tried at the authorized courts of law, attests on the force of objective testimonies that before the decision to relocate the Armenians and immediately after the invasion of the Eastern villages by Russian troops, Armenian bands had killed more than a million Moslems.

In order to save their lives, a large proportion of the Moslem population took refuge in the mountains or in other nearby provinces, where they are still to be found. The entire country was so thoroughly devastated and ruined by Russian troops and especially by Armenian bands that today there is not one town, not even a single village left unaffected by these raids and pillages. At present, the Armenian bands continue to perpetrate the same atrocities in the Caucasian cities they occupy. (Appendix, B).

How can the Armenian question be solved? It is naturally to be expected that the above mentioned international committee will carry out surveys and investigations on the spot, and that after determining what happened and upon reaching a conclusion about

the proportion of the Moslem and Christian communities according to available statistical information, they will consider the various proposals laid before them in order to establish a suitable and just administration in the aforementioned provinces.

There is no doubt that the proposal advanced by various Armenian circles regarding the establishment of an Armenian state stretching from Transcaucasia to Cilicia cannot be taken into consideration as an Armenia formed in this way would be quite incompatible with Wilson's principles.²

Apart from the fact that it would be unacceptable to place a Moslem population of over 5 million under the rule of a few hundred thousand Armenians, this solution would inevitably result in constant troubles and bloody clashes. Hence the Allied Powers, being motivated by humanitarian ideals, will refrain from giving rise to a solution detrimental to the interests the Armenian minority as well as of the entire population of these provinces.

Two solutions: Since the solution described above is incompatible with the principles of justice and is not therefore feasible, there are two solutions that remain to be considered:

1) To secure the continuation of Ottoman sovereignty in the provinces the majority of whose population is Turkish and Moslem, while at the same time guaranteeing the free development of the right of the minorities. If this solution is accepted, all the Moslem and Armenian inhabitants of these provinces who had left their homes will be allowed to return.

2) To extend the borders of the Armenian Republic of Transcaucasia so as to enable all the Armenians who have taken refuge in this area as well as those who have been relocated in the Sandjak (Sub-province) of Zor to settle there. If this is secured, the Moslems inhabiting both the former and the newly annexed territories of the Armenian Republic will be resettled on the lands remaining under Ottoman rule. A special mixed commission composed of an equal number of Turkish and Armenian representatives headed by a Swiss representative will determine the extent of the land to be ceded to Armenia by determining, through investigations carried out on the spot, the number of the Armenians to be resettled and the extent of their immovable property in Turkey.

The most appropriate solution: During the course of the War, all places under Tsarist occupation, be it village or town, were destroyed both by the Russian troops and the Armenian rebel bands; as both the

Armenian and the Moslem population are faced with the necessity of resettlement, the second solution proposed above is obviously more easily applicable. Under all circumstances, the second alternative will be helpful in providing a final solution to the question and in securing peace and order in the area. The Ottoman government hopes that the Great Powers will accept and approve this solution."

Leo makes the following comments concerning the borders for Armenia demanded in the memorandum of Nubar and Aharonian:

"In the memorandum dated February 1919 and signed by Bogos Nubar and Aharonian, the claim was made for an independent Armenia which extended from Cilicia on the Mediterranean coast to the Mugan valley in the Caspian region. Besides the six Armenian provinces, Trabzon was also included. Formerly, during the discussions held in Trabzon, the Armenians had demanded autonomy only for the region around Lake Van. The size of the territory demanded had now increased. Would it, in fact, be feasible to settle these territories with the Armenian population which remained behind after others fled to different parts of the world?

This ill-advised document proves that the Armeno-Turkish hostility, a totally fierce and unrelenting hostility, had not lost its former intensity and that it had not yet uttered its last threat. Under the Nubar-Aharonian project, the Great Powers were to give the Armenians all the land stretching from Adana to Kars. In Cilicia, there was to be an Armenian state under the protection of the French, where about two thousand Armenian deportees would return to settle. In Adana three Armenian newspapers began to be published and members of the Hunchak and Veragazmial Hunchak parties arrived from America and engaged in subversive activity.

On May 28, 1919, the first anniversary of the Armenian Republic was celebrated in Erevan. A vast Armenia that stretched from sea to sea had supposedly come into existence, the entire Turkish Armenia together with Cilicia having been annexed by Erevan, but only on paper. Indeed, at the suggestion and with the approval of the Dashnaktsutium twelve Turkish Armenians were elected to the Parliament of the Republic."³

Khatisian also criticized the memorandum and said, "We overestimated our strength and made great mistakes during the

Sèvres negotiations. We demanded land as far as Cilicia. Some of the proposals were moderate but the general idea of a united Armenia was exaggerated."⁴

The editorial entitled "The Armenian Empire" and published in the February 28, 1919 edition of the newspaper, *Le Temps*, after referring to the biased statements of Bryce and Lepsius about relocation, made the following comments on the memorandum delivered by Nubar and Aharonian."⁵

"How many Armenians remain in Turkey? According to Bryce's report the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire before the 1915 forced relocation was between 1,600,000 and 2,000,000. Of these about 1,000,000 to 1,200,000 were relocated, and of this number nearly half perished. As a result the Turkish Armenians may be divided into equal groups: 600,000 Armenians who avoided forced relocation, another 600,000 who escaped death and arrived safely in the places they were sent to, and the remainder who perished or died from sheer exhaustion during relocation. Dr. Lepsius, who believes that the Turkish statistics which indicate that there were 300,000 dead were wrong, supports Bryce's estimate. The Armenian Committee of Aid for Armenia also found the number of the dead in 1916 to be somewhere between 600,000 and 800,000.

Yesterday at the Quai d'Orsay the Armenian delegation claimed in a report attached to the memorandum that the population of Turkish Armenia was a little over 2 million before the War, and that during the course of the War more than a million Armenians perished. In that case, the present number of the Armenians is probably not more than 1,200,000, as mentioned in Bryce's report. The Armenian delegation adds 1,800,000 Armenians to this, 1,300,000 of whom live in Russian Armenia and 823,000 in various other countries. Thus the entire Armenian population throughout the world is estimated at being close on four million. This means that of this number less than three million are in Anatolia or Turkish Armenia.

In its memorandum, the Armenian delegation justified their demands that Armenian claims should not be measured by the number of those left alive. "It would not be acceptable to allow those who are guilty of murders to profit from their crimes: the voices of all Armenians, dead or alive, must be heard." It is, indeed, absolutely necessary to listen to these voices with attention, since they belong to a people who have shed their blood in fighting for the Allied cause. Of these, 150,000 served in the Russian army. Others lost their lives fighting heroically in our Foreign Legion. Our Eastern Legion was almost wholly composed of Armenians. All these facts must be kept in

mind when studying the memorandum presented by the Armenian delegation.

How can a state be established on Russian and Turkish soil? Russian Armenia, which at present constitutes the Armenian Republic of Transcaucasia, comprises the whole province of Erevan, the southern region of Tiflis, the area south-west of Elisavetpol and finally the province of Kars, the area north of Ardahan.

If their demands are accepted, the Armenian Republic will expand to within 30 km. of Batum, and, following the Kura valley from Baku to Tiflis, it will reach to within a distance of 150 km. from the Caspian Sea; the province of Nakhchivan, which had been formerly captured from the Persians by the Russians, will also be annexed. From Turkey, the Armenian delegation demands the provinces of Van, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Harput, Sivas, Erzurum, and Trabzon. Only the Kurdish areas in the south of the Euphrates and the Turkish areas west of a line to be drawn from Ordu to Sivas are omitted. Besides this, the delegation also claims Cilicia, an area extending to the Mediterranean and including Maraş and the port of Iskenderun. As a result, the Armenian state will occupy the whole of the eastern portion of the Anatolian peninsula, including the eastern parts of the Toros and Sivas plains, and will have access to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. As for its demands concerning the Black Sea, the Armenian delegation states that an agreement has been reached with Greece, who is willing to renounce her claims over Trabzon. As for Iskenderun and Cilicia, the delegation declares that it has not yet come to an agreement with the French government about these places where France insists on asserting her historical role through recognition of her sovereignty. This special situation should not deter us from helping the Armenians in gaining their rights. France must be just and benevolent.

However, out of genuine concern for our friends, we are compelled to draw the delegation's attention to a weak point in the Armenian programme: Let us take up the proposal of the delegation, and let us consider the situation that would have existed if the massacres of 1915 had never taken place and no one had died. Let us look at the statistics prepared by the Armenian Patriarchate in 1912. These statistics were quoted in 1913 by Léart who began his work with the statement, "The study has been written to support the Armenian cause". What do we see? We see that the Armenians were in a minority in five Ottoman provinces: Erzurum, Bitlis, Harput, Diyarbakır, and Sivas. Only in Van did they have a slight majority; out of a population of 350,000, 185,000 were Armenian. Taking into account the total population of the six provinces, they constituted

38.9 % of the people. In Cilicia there were 407,000 Armenians, but the population of Adana alone was 420,000. As for Trabzon, it should not even have been considered by the Armenians. The map submitted by the delegation includes information about the various nationalities in the province. According to the document, there were only 20,000 Armenians in the centre, and only 5,000 in the eastern part of the province.

The dispersion of the Armenian people is the result of ancient conquests and the oppression to which they have been subjected, beginning with the Arab invasions of the eighth century. No doubt, this situation is one of the reasons for their decline. Now that the day of freedom, liberation and security has arrived should a remedy be proposed to cure the disease of dispersion, or should it be allowed to continue unchecked? Would it be better to have the Armenians settle in a smaller area where they could form a compact unit, or should they be scattered over the vast lands of an empire, remaining everywhere a minority. It appears that some among them are obsessed with the dream of a large empire. Yesterday, the delegates also gave expression to this idea. However, it should be noted that the best interest of their own people demands another solution, that contained in the alternative proposal put forward by Lostoye."

Kachaznuni expressed his opinion of the memorandum of Nubar and Aharonian thus: ⁶

"The representatives of the Armenian Republic and the delegates of the National Assembly submitted a joint memorandum to the peace conference held by the Allied Powers in Paris in the spring of 1919. In this document the boundaries of the Armenian state were shown as follows:

a- The Armenian Republic of Transcaucasia would be expanded to include within its boundaries the provinces of Erevan, the Kars region, the Ardahan region excluding its northern part, half of the southern part of the province of Tiflis, and the south-western part of the province of Gence.

b- In Turkish Armenia, the new state would extend over the seven provinces of Van, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Harput, Sivas, Erzurum, Trabzon, excluding the southern part of Diyarbakır and the eastern part of Sivas.

c- In Cilicia, it would include the four Sandjaks of Maraş, Sis, Cebelibereket and Iskenderun, together with the province of Adana.

This scheme envisaged a vast Armenia extending from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean and from the Karabagh mountains to the Arabian deserts. Where did this amazing idea of world conquest originate? Such an absurd and childish scheme never even crossed the minds of the members of the Armenian government, nor was it ever harboured by the leaders of the Dashnaktsutiun party, which furnishes the government with its policy aims. On the contrary, our representatives (i.e. the representatives of the Armenian Republic) had been instructed to remain within modest bounds and to make demands compatible with our strength.

How, then, was the claim for an empire "stretching from sea to sea" signed and handed to the peace conference? How was such a strange and incredible attempt even made? This, however, is what happened. The Armenian delegation took the decision and our representatives were either too intimidated or too overwhelmed by the views of the deportees and refugees to refuse. This is all we know.

The National Delegation, representing the Turkish Armenians and led by Bogos Nubar, had made our delegation to understand that if they did not agree to their demands and approve of the borders they proposed, they would separate the question of Turkish Armenia from that of the Armenian Republic and would make independent applications to the Great Powers. They also argued that it would be more likely for the United States to accept the mandate of a vast Armenia stretching from sea to sea rather than that of a small country. Our delegation, in order to prevent a situation where our cause would be defended by two conflicting and contradictory national organizations, and also to secure favourable conditions for an Armenian mandate, signed and presented the memorandum. The Armenian government, in whose name the document was submitted, received news of this only two or three weeks later. We say this, not to criticize our delegation, nor even to say that if we had made reasonable demands they might have been granted, but only to expose the fact that we were prevailed upon, that we allowed all this to happen and that we acted against our better judgement. There was mention neither of Cilicia, nor Harput and not even Sivas in the Sèvres Treaty. Upon this, we complained that the Great Powers had not rewarded us as we deserved. The boundaries drawn by Wilson were not large enough for us. Once again, we complained. We argued that Wilson could draw other borders, he could expand the territory allotted to Armenia by the Treaty of Sèvres. In the meantime, the Turks recognized neither Wilson's decision, nor our complaints, nor, for that matter, the Treaty of Sèvres. They were gathering strength by setting up fortifications in the very territory that we claimed as our

own, and the Great Powers did not engage in armed intervention."

Kachaznumi describes the event leading to the ratification of the proposal for a united and independent Armenia by the Armenian parliament thus:

"Germany had surrendered in November. This was followed by their evacuation of Georgia and the occupation of Batum by our English allies. We had new dreams of hope. These were our friends. Had we not fought in the same ranks with them against our joint enemy, the Turks? There was no doubt, then, that we would benefit from the victory that had been won. However, once again, we were deceived. The English did not seem to know we had been their allies or else they had completely forgotten. They gave greater attention to the Georgians and the Azerbaijanis. We accused the English of ingratitude.

On May 28, 1919, the first anniversary of our declaration of independence, the Armenian parliament proclaimed the establishment of a united and independent Armenia. In other words, the existing republic was to include within its borders a Turkish Armenia freed from Turkish domination. There was great uproar and criticisms were levelled at the Dashnaktsutiun Committee by some who believed this to be a dangerous initiative on the part of the Committee. In August 1919, when the new Armenian Parliament met, 72 of its 80 members, that is 90% of the total number of deputies, were Dashnaks. Of the other political parties, only the Socialist Revolutionary Party was represented with four seats. In this way the Parliament had been converted into a Dashnak organization. The members themselves found the situation ridiculous."⁷

The text of the declaration of United Armenia is quoted below:⁸

"The Armenian government, in order to restore the integrity of Armenia and to ensure the complete freedom of its people and their development, proclaims, as the spokesman for the common wishes and desires of the whole Armenian nation, that from this day forth, a united state has been established which will join together the divided Armenian territories."

The Armenian National Council formed by the Armenian National Congress had declared a year ago the establishment of the Republic of Armenia. The government elected by the National Assembly, after officially notifying the Great Powers of this political 'act', has, since then, extended its rule over all the Armenian towns of Transcaucasia.

The Turkish Armenian Congress, held in February, 1919 in

Erevan, publicly and ceremoniously declared Turkish Armenia to be part of a united and independent Armenia.

The Armenian countries, descended from ancient Armenia but at present separated by the borders that divide Transcaucasia from the Ottoman Empire, now proclaim the 'act of a United Armenia'. United Armenia is a democratic republic and is represented by the government of the Republic of United Armenia.

Hence, the Armenian people declare themselves to be the true and sole owners of their unified country. The Armenian parliament, which administers Armenia, possesses, together with the government, legal and executive authority in the name of the people of United Armenia.

The Armenian government issues this proclamation on the basis of the authority vested in it by the parliamentary decision of April 27, 1919."

The proclamation published in Erevan and dated May 28, 1919, bore the names of the following ministers as signatories:

Interior	: Alexander Khatisian
War	: S. Manasian
Justice	: General Araradian
Education	: Gashakian
Economy	: Melik Karagözian
	: S. Torosian
Finance	: Vermishian
Labour	: Chaghetian

Premier and Foreign Affairs: K. Khatisian

We have seen above that an application had been made to President Wilson to secure an American mandate for Armenia. The report of the American commission to Armenia under Major-General J.G. Harbord to carry out an enquiry had been submitted to the Senate by President Wilson at the beginning of April 1920, but was rejected. The Harbord report did not in fact make any definite proposal either for or against the mandate. It did, however, suggest that America should not accept the mandate unless it first enacted an agreement with France and Great Britain and obtained official approval from both Germany and Russia. Apart from this, the report contained a thorough analysis of the arguments for and against the mandate.

The views and assessment of the Commission were summarized in

an article entitled "The American Military Commission sent to Armenia", published in the October 18, 1919 issue of the New York Times. A summary of this article is given below:

"The Commission never lost sight of the moral implications of its investigations, particularly since terrible reports concerning the assaults of Turkish troops along the Russian border had reached it before its departure from France. The itinerary of the Commission in Turkey had been organized with the aim of finding out how far these reports reflected the truth, and, if they were found to be true, of taking steps to prevent the recurrence of such incidents.

However, in the course of its travels along the frontier from the Black Sea to Iran, the Commission saw no evidence to substantiate these reports. There were no Turkish armies stationed along the border and the Turkish armed reserve in the border areas had been reduced to "skeleton organizations", and the whole country seemed deserted by both the military and its civilian population.

In some cities the head of the Commission held discussions with the Turkish officials and carried out investigations in the Christian communities. The benefits that America would gain from the mandate were constantly emphasized by both the members of the local Christian communities as well as the resident American missionaries. The question of the Armenian deportations and massacres and the return of the survivors, together with a number of other problems were discussed with Turkish officials who were warned that their country was being judged by world opinion for their actions. In this way, the visit of the Commission helped to ensure the protection of the lives and goods of the Christian population by means of the moral pressure it exerted.

In its report, the Commission drew attention to the fact that if America were to agree to accept the mandate, it would do so out of an "international duty to the peace of the world" and "at the unanimous wish of other parties to the Covenant of the League of Nations". To accept such a difficult task without first securing the necessary conditions would doom the enterprise to failure. The United States had, in the first place, to set her own special conditions, and this should be done before and not after taking on the mandate. There were many vested interests that had to be taken into consideration if Americans were to be responsible for the administration of the country. All necessary measures had to be taken to prevent international disputes. A guarantee had to be obtained from France and England concerning the principles of agreement, and the approvals of Germany and Russia secured in connection with the

administration of Turkish and Caucasian territories.

The points quoted below were cited by the Commission as being of special importance:

1. The foreign relations of the Turkish Empire would have to be placed under strict control, and all exchange of ambassadors, representatives, consuls or other members of diplomatic missions between Turkey and other countries would have to be prohibited.

2. Foreign concessions which could have harmful effects on the State's interests would have to be reconsidered.

3. Concessions that had not yet come into effect and were undesirable to the mandatory power would have to be cancelled. Where appropriate, permission would be given to pay compensation to those who had been granted such concessions.

4. The practice of allocating state funds to private business or for other such purposes would cease. All revenues would be controlled by the Treasury, and the creditors would be able to apply solely to the Treasury for the repayment of official debts.

5. Foreign control over Turkish finances would be lifted, that is the Council for the Public Debts of the Ottoman Empire would be dissolved, and only some members of this Council would be retained as advisers. All the foreign shares in the Empire would be collected and exchanged for new shares.

6. Nations receiving territory at the expense of the Ottoman Empire, such as Syria and Mesopotamia, would assume their share of responsibility for paper currency, foreign obligations, and, if necessary, reparations.

7. All trade agreements made with Turkey would be cancelled.

8. On the date appointed by the mandatory country, all foreign troops would be withdrawn from the mandated territories.

Since a large number of countries have economic control over the Ottoman Empire, it would not be easy to secure these conditions without giving rise to complaints. On the other hand, it is evident that the USA would not permit foreign investors to control its financial policy. Exchanging debts for share certificates, by way of lowering the

investment, would bring about a flood of protests and complaints. However, this is a measure that would have to be insisted upon, otherwise the American administration would be faced with the danger of losing prestige." ⁸

As may be seen, General Harbord recommended that the mandatory country should have absolute control over Istanbul, Roumelia and the whole of Anatolia as well as over the foreign relations and finances of the Ottoman state. The General also emphasized his belief that if Americans would assume the mandate, they would do so because they were devoted to "humanitarianism and idealism", and to world peace, and because they were responding to the call of the nations of the Near East for help. Moreover, he pointed out that if America were to refuse, Britain would accept the mandate. He estimated that the expenses would amount to \$275,000,000 in the first year, and to \$756,140,000 in the first five years. In time, this would be paid back from local reserves collected by the mandatory powers. In this way, the initial payments would be a profitable form of investment for American capital; furthermore, the spread of international competition in Turkey would constitute yet another reason for persuading the Americans to accept the mandate.

While the United Armenian Delegation was defending the Armenian demands, Zaven, the Patriarch of Istanbul was entrusted by the Council of the Istanbul Armenian Patriarchate with the pursuit of the same aims in Europe. On his return, Zaven gave the following account of his activities to the National Assembly and described the various phases in the handling of the Armenian question at the Peace Conference:

"Leaving Istanbul on February 12, I arrived in Paris by way of Marseilles. Since the Allied Conference met in London, Bogos Nubar Pasha and Avetis Aharonian, the leaders of the Delegation, had gone there with some other delegates. A short time after receiving Bogos Pasha's telegram of invitation, I left for London and arrived there on February 23.

We decided to combine our forces in order to achieve our aims. There were meetings almost every day where problems that had not previously been taken in hand were discussed. The representatives of the Great Powers had not previously directed their attention to these problems because of their lack of information on the situation in Turkey during the years 1915-18. They were enlightened by our reports, which thus formed the basis of the proposals that were later incorporated into the treaty. I had

the honour of speaking twice before the Commission appointed by the London Conference to determine the borders, and, as someone familiar with the situation of the country, I had the opportunity to explain some of our problems.

The Armenian National Assembly should know that apart from what may have been achieved as a result of my own activities, the very presence of our leaders in Europe made a favourable impression on public opinion and exerted a beneficial influence on the representatives and statesmen of the Great Powers. It would be unnecessary to mention here all the results of our presence in Europe: meetings organized in support of the Armenians, the respect and love shown to me by foreign dignitaries, no doubt more on account of the people I represented and in recognition of the injustice and cruelty we have been suffering for centuries, than for myself personally, and, finally, the articles published in the newspapers of the Allied States, informing the public about the Armenians and the Armenian Church. All of these left a favourable impression at a time when the future of the Armenian people was to be decided by the Conference.

I concentrated my efforts on promoting the Armenian cause and winning public support. In order to achieve this end, I missed no opportunity of visiting anyone interested in Armenia, whether friend or foe. I was able to talk to Lord Cecil, Lord Curzon and his aide Lord Harding, the Greek Prime Minister Venizelos, and the French representative Cambon. The leaders of the Anglican and the Non-Conformist Churches took a special interest in my efforts as the head of an oppressed Eastern Christian Church, and they used their influence in having our demands considered. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the head of the Anglican Church, not only gave us great assistance during our stay in England, but, at the same time, he was kind enough to accompany us on our visit to Buckingham Palace on March 9 to pay our respect and express our gratitude on behalf of the Armenian people to George V, King of Great Britain and Emperor of India.

Other evidence of the extraordinary interest shown by churchmen was the invitation I received to the annual meeting of the Non-Conformist Churches attended by thousands of clergymen and theologians from every part of England. I was also present at a service, conducted by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Church of our Saviour in remembrance of the Eastern Christians who had

died in the War, at which the Armenian dead were commemorated. Beside this, we were invited to the meetings of various associations and everywhere we went we explained our cause and endeavoured to arouse interest in our work.

Even before the London Conference was convened a consensus had been reached by the Great Powers on the issue of the establishment of an independent Armenia, and Lord Curzon had given a speech making plain his favourable attitude. The Armenian delegation strove to convince the representatives of the Great Powers of the necessity for Armenia to have access to the sea and it also defended the borders previously drawn creating a vast country. These efforts were partly successful, and the Conference agreed to the annexation of the following provinces from Turkey: the provinces of Van, Bitlis, Diyarbakir and Erzurum, excluding Hakkari, Siirt and Erzincan, and the whole of the Lazistan area of Trabzon to provide access to the sea.

The Armenian delegation did not insist upon the annexation of Trabzon, because this province had a very mixed population, and, moreover, such a demand might have antagonized the Greeks. Hence, the delegation confined its claim to the port of Rize in Lazistan. It was argued that the latter would, in a short time, become an important centre for Armenia's maritime commerce. Nevertheless, the delegation demanded the right to use the port of Trabzon and was successful in having this included in the Peace Treaty.

We also strove to have a similar clause included for the port of Batum, claiming that since the construction of the railway line connecting the interior with Trabzon and the shores of Lazistan would take considerable time and entail great expense, the use of that port would be essential in the meantime. We told the representatives that regardless of whether Batum remained under international control or was given to the Georgians, the Armenians would insist on their right to use the port. We also added that plans had been made to connect the port of Batum directly with Kars by a railway line starting in the north and winding along the left bank of the river Çoruh, and we drew their attention to the economic and military significance of this line.

These were our main achievements in London. We came away thinking that all had been decided and that our problems had been

resolved. We believed that at the San Remo Conference, which was due to take place on April 19, the decisions that had been taken in London would be given their final shape, written down and incorporated into the treaty. But, unfortunately, this is not how it happened. The Armenian question became the subject of new discussions; the London decisions, especially the one concerning Erzurum were reviewed. Some of the Great Powers wished to exclude Erzurum from the lands assigned to Armenia. Consequently, a dispute broke out and the problem was referred to the arbitration of President Wilson, who had stood out as a supporter of the Armenian cause at the San Remo meeting. The President has accepted this duty, and we are certain that he will decide in our favour.

The members of the Armenian delegation, including myself, have appealed to him on behalf of the Armenian community to exert his influence in order to secure the annexation to Armenia of *Erzincan* and *Harput* in addition to the provinces listed at the London Conference, and, at the same time to provide for the establishment of a special and autonomous administration in Cilicia. Our representative committee in the United States is also closely pursuing the matter, and we have great hopes that our request will not remain unanswered and that the borders of Armenia will be extended. In fact, if the articles of the Treaty concerning Turkey are examined carefully, it becomes evident that its terms are far from meeting our demands and that they leave us confined within a narrow domain. There are, however, a number of advantageous points: the Treaty not only recognizes the independence of Armenia, but also stands as a testimony for its existence as a sovereign entity. In it, Armenia is mentioned as one of the Allies and as a signatory state. According to the provisions of Article 36, if Turkey fails to comply with the terms of the peace treaty, Armenia also has a say in the decision concerning the future of Istanbul along with the other signatory states. Similarly, Article 39 provides a strong guarantee for Armenia by stipulating that in case of a disagreement between the republics of *Trancaucasia* and Armenia concerning their borders, the issue will be settled by the arbitration of the Allied States. Article 105 recognizes the right of the Armenian residents in Egypt to apply for Armenian citizenship, and Article 137 and 138 extend the same right to the Armenians living on Turkish soil. Article 139 protects the Armenians who were formerly Ottoman subjects from being tried for their activities against the Ottoman Empire during the War.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the Treaty grants Turkey no authority or control over the Moslems living in Armenia, whereas Articles 104 and 105 extend special privileges to the Christian communities in Turkey, including the Armenians, in order to ensure the protection of the rights of minorities. Another interesting point is that as an Allied Country, Armenia possesses the right to demand the extradition for trial of criminals from Turkey (Articles 226 - 228).

As you are well aware, the Treaty is a very long document containing numerous clauses requiring close study. Thus in order to detect any points that might be damaging to Armenian interests, the National Delegation has asked both its own members and foreign jurists and statesmen to examine the Treaty very carefully.

On my return from London, I stayed for some time in Paris where I had the honour of meeting his Excellency President Paul Deschanel and the Prime Minister Millerand and I requested their help.

I must repeat that although the Armenian people have not achieved all their objectives they have to count themselves fortunate in that the foundations have been laid for the future progress and development of their country. The Great Powers have shown their favour towards Armenia. Not a single obstacle remains in our path. The friendship of the Great Powers constitutes a very great source of strength for the Armenians, guaranteeing them the help and support of these countries in their endeavour for the progress and development of their country.

The fact that the United States has refused to take up the mandate over Armenia does not prove that Americans lack sympathy for the Armenians. In fact the refusal is a result of the traditional American policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the Old World. Despite this, we believe that they have a good opinion of our nation and that they will not hesitate to give us financial and economic aid. The Delegation took full advantage of this sympathy and expended every effort to secure financial support for Armenia.

Honourable Members of the Assembly, you may be assured that the National Delegation in Paris is pursuing the Armenian cause with great self-sacrifice, and is not leaving any opportunity slip by in defending the best interests of the nation in a manner compatible

with her honour. The Delegation of the Armenian Republic, headed by Avetis Aharonian, is striving for the same purpose with a similar dedication. If the activities and efforts of these two delegations have not been as successful as we would have wished, the reason for this has to be sought elsewhere, namely, in the fact that the funds of the Great Powers are limited on account of the great financial burdens placed upon them as a result of the War. It has therefore become necessary for our demands to be reduced.

We also regret that we were unable to have Cilicia included within our boundaries, although it is a place of great historical significance for Armenia. Yet, we, who in the past used to be contented with even the hope of reforms, are today able to rejoice in having an independent and free country. We do not see this as a small victory. We are particularly convinced that the Armenians as a race of hardy and capable people, by increasing their population and by expanding the use of their natural resources, will succeed in establishing a prosperous country that will stand as an example to all the world.

Therefore, Honourable Sirs, as the representatives of a nation blessed with the good fortune of having been granted independence, let us take an oath together that we will forever appreciate the value and meaning of this independence, which we have attained as the result of such great sacrifices. We, as the leaders of the people, must teach them the love and care of our Motherland. Everyone of us should be ready to place all our resources at the disposal of our country: the wealthy his wealth, the artist his art and the merchant his trade. No matter what class, or sect, or creed one may belong to, let there be one wish and one goal for all: to hold the Armenian flag aloft.

Our native land is devastated. If we do not join hands and unite our energy, it will not be possible to restore our country, which needs hands that will work and minds that will think for her. Let us discard all hatred and enmity: there is much to be done and plenty of opportunity to do it. Let us go forward with initiative and dedication. In this way, the newly born Armenian Republic and its progenitor, the Armenian people, will be blessed with prosperity and happiness. I congratulate you and through you, the Armenian people, who are beginning to see the dawn of new hope for the realization of a golden dream that has filled their imagination for centuries."

Despite the claims made by Patriarch Zaven that there was complete agreement between the delegation of the Armenian Republic of Transcaucasia headed by Aharonian and the National Delegation led by Bogos Nubar, there were, in fact, serious differences in their attitudes. Bogas Nubar did not wish to recognize the authority of Erevan and insisted that he was the authorized delegate appointed by the Catholicos.

NOTES

1. This petition was addressed to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pichon and to the Foreign Ministers of the other countries.
2. Wilson's famous principles and terms of peace are as follows: "1) The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence. 2) The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery. 3) The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct towards each other by the same principles of honor and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern states in their relations with one another; to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracies hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and a mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right. 4) The establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned.
3. Leo, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 207.
4. Khatisian, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 207.
5. *Le Temps*, 28 February 1919.
6. Kachaznuni, *op.cit.*, pp. 50-1.
7. *ibid.*
8. Khatisian, *The Origin and Development of the Armenian Republic*.

III THE ARMENIAN QUESTION FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT UNTIL THE CONFERENCE OF LAUSANNE

As has been explained above, Turkey was gradually disintegrating after the Mudros Armistice as a result of the treacherous acts committed by the last Ottoman Sultan Vahdettin and the men to whom he had entrusted the administration of the country. Damat Ferit Pasha, who occupied the post of Prime Minister, endorsed the establishment of a vast Armenian state by affirming that the Toros Mountains constituted the natural borders of Turkey and by recognizing the right of the Armenians to a large part of the eastern provinces. Moreover, he placed all the blame for the tragedies suffered by the Armenians as a result of the deportations solely on the shoulders of the former Ottoman government, regardless of the part played in these events by the Armenian revolutionary committees which had been responsible for planned and organized rebellions and massacres.

Although there was no justification for applying Wilson's Points to the eastern provinces, since neither the distribution of their population nor their ethnographic and cultural composition fitted the conditions prescribed by him, yet the Ottoman government seemed in complete agreement with the Armenians in their claims over these territories and made this attitude plain by submitting a second declaration to the Paris Peace Conference, in which it was stated that "the Ottoman State would be willing to participate in a meeting for the determination of the borders, as soon as the newly established

Republic of Armenia" was "officially recognized by the Entente Powers". It was, further, added that the Ottoman government undertook to give every help to the Armenians who wished to emigrate to the new republic.

While everything conceivable was being done to destroy Turkey by both her internal and external enemies, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the great Turkish leader, set foot in Anatolia on May 19, 1919. In his speech, where he later gave an account of the historic events of the era, Mustafa Kemal, after evaluating the proposals that had been made in connection with placing Turkey under English or American mandate, said "In these circumstances, one resolution alone was possible, namely, to create a new Turkish State, the sovereignty and independence of which would be unreservedly recognized."¹

Indeed it was by embracing this resolution and by striving to fulfil it that a new healthy and honourable state was established in the end.

In his speech at the Erzurum Congress (July 23, 1919), Atatürk gave the following account of the incident connected with the Armenians:²

"It is impossible to imagine one patriot in the country who is not aware of the dark and tragic dangers into which we have been cast, driven by the pressure of events that have changed the course of history, and who is not deeply stirred by these.

Towards the end of the First World War the Ottoman Government, in the hope and belief that it would be granted just terms of peace in accordance with the Principles of Nations, applied to the Entente Powers for a truce. With the signing of the Armistice on October 30, 1918, our nation, which had fought bravely and honourably for her independence, laid down her arms.

However, disregarding the terms of the Armistice, which had been guaranteed by the Great Powers as sovereign entities, and by the delegates who signed the document as honourable individuals, the troops of the Entente states occupied Istanbul, the capital of the empire and the seat of the caliphate. The authority of the sultanate and the caliphate, the honour of the state and the dignity and self-respect of the nation were exposed to increasing assaults and violations. Encouraged by the support they received from the foreign powers, the Armenian and Greek communities, who were Ottoman subjects, engaged in aggressive acts against the Moslem population, which ranged from insults aimed at wounding the national pride to physical violence. But it is with great sorrow that I

have to add that such insolent and violent acts were possible only because of the increasing weakness and inefficiency of the cabinets that have succeeded each other during the last eight months, outside the control of the nation, because of the ambitious schemes and intrigues revealed in some newspapers, and because of the rejection of the national conscience and the neglect of the national forces.

Taking all this into consideration, and wrongly believing that a national will cannot any longer exist in a country whose capital is occupied and completely subjugated, the Entente Powers determined to engage freely in acts that could only be directed against a country with no hope for survival and a nation deprived of signs of life.

Having decided to partition the country, they took steps to establish an Armenian state extending over the eastern provinces and Cilicia, i.e. the regions of Adana and Kozan in the south, to place Izmir and the region of Aydın in Western Anatolia under Greek rule, to set up the Kingdom of Pontus on the Black Sea coast, and themselves to occupy the rest of the country. It may be seen that such acts were aimed at enslaving a nation that had reigned independently for six hundred and fifty years, that had made its courage and justice felt as far afield as the borders of India, central Africa and western Hungary and at bringing the historic role of the Ottoman state to an end and burying it forever in the annals of the past. Indeed, these acts reflect aims and wishes which are incompatible not only with the Principles of Nations but also with the dictates of humanity and civilization. ...

As for the Armenians, they are attacking and persecuting the Moslem inhabitants of the area stretching from Nakhichevan to Oltu, and in some places committing massacres and looting. Their objective is either to destroy the Moslem population or to force them to emigrate, in order to prepare the ground for the annexation of the eastern provinces. At the same time, they intend to force upon us 400,000 Armenian refugees whom they claim to be Ottoman Armenians, in order to establish a base for their demands on our soil.

...I should like to expose yet another regrettable situation. The country has become the scene of propagandist activities which are financed by large foreign funds and which aim at paralyzing the

national movement and undermining the national will in order to facilitate the occupation of key locations and help the realization of Greek and Armenian aspirations. As is the case in all countries and ages, besides the weak and foolish, there are also among us those who treacherously and selfishly, pursue their personal interests and well being at the cost of the nation and the country. Our enemies, who are adepts at oriental diplomacy and who detect our weak points immediately, have cultivated this astuteness into deliberate policy. Nonetheless, the nation will, without doubt, overcome all the obstacles that stand in her way in this great struggle."

In his speech given at the Sivas Congress, Mustafa Kemal once again drew a picture of the country under occupation: ³

"In the East, the Armenians are making preparations for advancing to the River Halys (Kızılırmak), and have already started a policy of massacring the Moslem population. On the shores of the Black Sea, measures are taken to realize to dream of restoring the Kingdom of Pontus. Adana, Ayıntap, Maraş and Antalya have been occupied as far as the region of Konya. Thrace also has been included among the areas to be occupied."¹

The national organization which was at first called the "Union for the Defence of the Rights of the Eastern Provinces" took the name of the "Union for the Defence of the Rights of Eastern Anatolia", and after the Sivas Congress, the "Union for the Defence of the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia".

The declaration issued by the Sivas General Congress contained the following resolutions: ⁴

1. The section of the Ottoman Empire which remained within our borders according to the terms of the Armistice signed by the Ottoman Government and the Entente States in October 30, 1334 (1918), and which contain an overwhelming majority of Moslems, constitute a whole that cannot be divided or partitioned on any account. The Moslem inhabitants of these lands cherish natural respect and consideration for one another, respect one another's racial and social rights and are, indeed, like members of one and the same family.

2. It is necessary that National Independence be made effective, and the will of the nation be made sovereign in order to ensure the integrity of the Ottoman community, the independence of our nation,

the protection of the sublime office, and the inviolability of the Sultanate.

3. The principle of united defence and resistance to any interference and especially to the invasion of any part of the Ottoman Empire, and to any movement directed especially to the establishment of an autonomous Greece or Armenia within our country, as in the national struggle along the fronts of Aydin, Manisa, and Balikesir, has been accepted as legitimate.

4. Because all rights of the non-Moslem elements with whom we have been living for a long time in the same country are entirely protected, these elements will not be given privileges which infringe upon our political sovereignty and internal order.

5. It is resolved that all measures should be taken to protect the inviolability of the Sultan and the office of the Caliphate, as well as the integrity of the nation and the country, if and when we may be forced under the pressure of foreign powers to abandon any part of the country.

6. We demand the cancellation of the scheme for partitioning the lands which remained within the national borders in accordance with the Armistice concluded with the Entente powers on October 30, 1334 (1918), and which are inhabited by a Moslem majority and possess a dominantly Moslem culture; and we also insist that our historical, racial, religious and territorial rights should be recognized over these lands and that all attempts to the contrary should be immediately abandoned, in order that a just and fair decision may be taken with respect to these demands.

7. Our nation is dedicated to the advancement of humanity and civilization, and appreciates the need for industrial, technological and economic development. Hence, provided that the independence and integrity of the nation is protected from internal and external dangers, in accordance with the terms stipulated in Article 6 of this Declaration, we welcome the industrial and economic aid given by any country. It is our sincere desire to see the realization of a peace that will fulfil these conditions as a means of ensuring the peace and prosperity of all humanity.

8. At this time in history when nations are deciding their own futures, it is absolutely essential that our own government should be

subject to the will of the people. Experience has shown that arbitrary decisions of any government which are not based on the will of the people are not only not observed by the people but also carry no weight outside the country. Therefore, before it becomes necessary for the nation to resort to its own measures for ridding itself of the difficult and intolerable situation it finds itself in, our government must convene the National Assembly immediately and submit to its control all the decisions to be taken concerning the future of the nation and the state.

9. The union created by the National conscience as a result of the suffering and grief undergone by our country represent the unification of all former national societies and is called Union for the Defence of the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia. This Union is removed from all party rivalries and personal interests; and, Moslem subjects constitute its natural members.

10. A Representative Delegation was chosen by the above mentioned Union at its General Congress held in Sivas on September 4, 1335 (1919) with the purpose of pursuing its sacred aim and also administering the general organization, which has been reinforced by bringing under its jurisdiction all the organizations existing in the country from the villages to the provincial centres.

(Signed: The Members of the General Congress)

When asked by the editor of the newspaper *Tasvir-i Efkar*, "How would you define the borders of Armenia?", Atatürk replied, "This nation is absolutely unwilling to yield to the Armenian state even an inch of the land that has remained within our borders since November 30, 1918." This uncompromising and brave statement will be remembered by the Turkish nation as an indication of the strong attachment felt by Atatürk to his country.⁵

The last Ottoman Parliament approved the text of the National Covenant on January 28, 1920, which reads as follows:

THE DECLARATION OF THE NATIONAL COVENANT

"The Members of the Ottoman Parliament declare that the only way of securing the independence of the State and of enabling the nation to attain a just and permanent peace is through the observation of the principles given below, which demand of the

nation the utmost sacrifices. The Assembly also expresses its belief that unless these principles are followed, it would be impossible to ensure the continuity of a stable Ottoman Sultanate and society.

Article 1.

Excluding the areas which were occupied by enemy troops on October 30, 1918, when the Armistice was proclaimed, and which have a dominant Arab majority who will determine their future by their free votes, the territories of the Ottoman State, inhabited by an Islamic Ottoman population of the same race, sharing the same ideals and aspirations, cherishing mutual respect and goodwill, a totally integrated community, conforming to the same racial and social norms, constitute a whole that can never be divided whether *de jure* or *de facto*.

Article 2.

We accept that a referendum could be held to determine the future of the three livas (Elviye-i Selase: Kars, Ardahan, Artvin), the inhabitants of which had previously and by their own free votes decided to be united with the Motherland.

Article 3.

The legal status of Western Thrace, which occupies a significant place in the peace settlement concerning Turkey, should also be determined by the free votes of its people.

Article 4.

The security of Istanbul, the capital of the Sultanate, the seat of the Caliphate and the centre of the Ottoman Government, as well as that of the Sea of Marmara, must be completely assured. Provided this condition is met, the Straits of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea will be kept open for purposes of trade and transportation, in accordance with the terms to be agreed upon jointly by us and the states concerned.

Article 5.

According to the terms agreed upon by the representative of the Entente Powers and their allies, the rights of the Armenian

community will be observed and protected in the hope that the Islamic inhabitants in the neighbouring countries will likewise enjoy the same rights.

Article 6.

In order to ensure our national and economic development, and to establish a more modern form of administration, we should be free, like other states, to make use of all the means necessary for our progress; these are the conditions that are essential to maintain our independence in the future.

For this reason, the conditions which are stipulated for the payment of our debts, which include measures which could hinder our progress in political, judicial and financial affairs, should not violate the principles cited above in this Covenant.

(28 January, 1336/1920)"

There was strong sympathy for the Armenians in the West, particularly in the United States, as a result of the propaganda campaigns conducted by the Armenian political committees over the years and the exploitation of Christian sentiments. The committees had projected an image of the Armenians as a people mown down by Turkish scimitars only because they were Christians. In a telegram sent to Balfour on February 12, 1921, by Gerard, the former American ambassador to Berlin, after reminding Balfour of the promises made to the Armenians during his office as Foreign Secretary, it was demanded that Great Britain should take American public opinion into consideration in its treatment of the Armenian question, and that the Turkish issue should be taken up after the ratification of the treaty by the American Senate. This petition was signed by two thousand churchmen including thirty-five archbishops, two hundred and fifty presidents of universities and colleges, and forty mayors. The petition protested the destruction of Armenia and the unwillingness of the Great Powers to establish a larger Armenian State. In his reply, Balfour expressed his amazement that those who had signed the petition could hold England responsible for the failure to establish a vast Armenia stretching from Russian Armenia in the North to the shores of the Mediterranean in the South. He further added the following points:

"1. Great Britain had no other interest in Armenia other than

those dictated by humanitarian principles. From this point of view, its standpoint is identical with that of the United States.

2. Wherever occasion arose he had always asked the United States, even before the War, to accept responsibility for the improvement of the situation in some of the areas under Turkish rule, in particular, to take up a mandate over Armenia, but that reasons beyond the control of Great Britain had prevented him from pursuing this idea and, by postponing the conclusion of peace with Turkey, had given rise to unfortunate consequences."

Balfour claimed that the petition contained grave misconceptions concerning Armenia. In the first sentence an appeal was made to the principle of self determination. But, he pointed out, if this sentence were understood in its usual sense, that is, if it were to imply action according to the wishes of the majority inhabiting a certain area, it would have to be remembered that the population of the territories to be included in a vast Armenia, was to an overwhelming extent Moslem. Were they allowed to vote, they would naturally cast their votes against the Armenians.

Balfour also pointed out that the state which would take on the protection of Armenia during the early years of its establishment and organization might have to deploy military force. Since Great Britain was faced with serious difficulties in fulfilling its present obligations, it could not take on the additional responsibility of Armenia. The United States, which had a larger population and richer resources, and which had not undertaken new responsibilities on account of the War, could perform this duty better than Great Britain. Balfour concluded on a warning note by commenting that although the members of oppressed nations were impressed with American liberalism, particular caution should be taken in its transference to such different environments, for liberalism, unless supported by political and military power, would be insufficient to resolve the unfortunate and tragic consequences of the former incompetent and oppressive Turkish administration.⁶

The Treaty of Alexandropol (Gümrü)

The Armenian delegation in Paris had been officially notified that the Peace Conference recognized Armenia as a sovereign state. For the Republic of Armenia, the winter of 1919 was a period devoted to the reformation and organization its internal affairs. At the beginning

of 1920, it was believed that all the major obstacles to Armenia's progress had been removed. However, in the first few days of May 1920, Bolshevik demonstrations and agitations started to shake the framework of the new Republic of Armenia, and resulted in the overthrow of the parliamentary government by a dictatorship.

Alexander Khatisian resigned; his place was taken by Dr. Ohandjanian, and a new cabinet was immediately established consisting almost entirely of Dashnak activists.

In June, the new cabinet, acting at the behest of the Entente Powers and wishing to facilitate the Greek advances in Anatolia by diverting the attention of the Turkish National government to the Eastern Front, engaged in an offensive against the local Turkish administration in Oltu and killed hundreds of Turkish inhabitants. In order to put an end to these atrocities Turkish forces became obliged to take action. In his *Speech*, Mustafa Kemal gave the following account of these events:

"Ever since the signing of the Mudros Armistice, the Armenians, both within the borders of Armenia and along the frontier, did not refrain for a moment from massacring the Turks in large numbers. In the Autumn of 1336, Armenian atrocities reached unbearable dimensions, and we were forced to undertake a campaign against them. On June 9, 1336, we declared temporary mobilization in the East and appointed Kâzum Karabekir commander of the 15th Army Corps on the Eastern Front. In June 1336, the Armenians attacked the local Turkish administration in Oltu and invaded the area. On July 7, 1336, an ultimatum was issued by the Foreign Ministry. Notwithstanding this, the Armenians persisted in their actions. Finally, three and a half months after the Armistice had been announced, war broke out with an attack launched by the Armenians on our forces, which had gathered in the Köték and Bardiz areas."⁷

The Turkish troops started to advance on September 28. Sarıkamış was occupied on September 29 and Merdenek on September 30. The circumstances forced the Turkish troops to remain stationed on the Sarıkamış - Laloğlu line until October 28. On that date the Turkish army started to advance in the direction of Kars. Two days later, Kars was taken and by November 6 all of the area as far as Arpachai (Arpaçayı), including Alexandropol (Gümrü) was invaded. On November 6, the Armenians sued for a cease-fire and on November 8 the terms of the truce were communicated to the

Armenians. The peace talks, which started on November 26 and lasted until December 2, concluded in the early hours of December 3 with the signing of the Treaty of Alexandropol. The attempts of the Armenians to make the Great Powers intervene in this issue proved unsuccessful, and the efforts of the Armenian delegation also failed. On the Turkish side, the war had the effect of enabling Turkey to establish communication and links with Russia. Alexander Khatisian describes the conditions under which the Alexandropol Treaty had been agreed upon:⁸

"The Dashnaktsutiun was responsible for many of the disasters that occurred towards the end of 1920. Turkey benefited from the withdrawal of the Allied Powers from Armenia, and on October 31, a delegation was sent to Alexandropol to propose a truce to the Ottomans within 7 days. The delegation was composed of the following members:

President	: A. Khatisian
Minister of Finance	: A. Giulkhandanian
Governor-General of Kars	: I. Gourdanian

Consultants

V. Minahorian	(Deputy)
D. Ohannesian	(Member of High Court)
D. Ataian	(Colonei)
Hinzorian	(Lieutenant)

The Armenians had asked for help from the Russian delegates Lekrani, Mdivani and had obtained a favourable response. Lekrani had proposed to the Armenians that two regiments of the Red Army stationed in Azerbaidjan should be sent to Armenia to place the Armenians in a stronger position in the peace talks. The Armenians could not accept this proposal since such a measure would mean the virtual invasion of Armenia by the Bolsheviks. It was finally decided to send Mdivani to Alexandropol.

In fact, in mid-November, preparations had been made in Baku for the invasion of Armenia by the revolutionary committee with

the participation of Gasian and Nurijanian. On November 29 Bolshevik troops from Kazakhstan crossed the border at Kervansaray - Dilican and entered Armenia. They claimed that the Armenian peasants and workers had asked for their help against the Dashnaksutiun government. In the wake of the Armenian Bolsheviks came the Russian Red Army. This meant that besides Turkish troops there were also Russian Bolshevik forces in Armenia.

Negotiations started in Alexandropol on November 25. According to the instructions they received from their own government, the Armenian delegation announced that the former Armenian borders would be retained, that is, that they were willing to relinquish Trabzon and Erzurum whilst keeping Van, Muş, the whole of Lake Van and the the Port of Rize." ⁹

At the same time, Wilson, with the authority vested in him as arbitrator, had determined the borders, including within them Muş, Erzurum and Trabzon. In this way, he had assigned an area of approximately 180 thousand square kilometres.

In the meantime the League of Nations had taken a number of resolutions concerning the Armenians. In September 1920 the League of Nations adopted the following proposal made by Lord Cecil:

"The Assembly invites the Council to take into immediate consideration the situation in Armenia, and to submit to the examination of the Assembly proposals to meet the danger which actually threatens the the life of the Armenian race, and to establish a stable and permanent state of things in that country."

On November 1920, the Assembly passed the following resolution:

"The Assembly, desirous of collaborating with the Council to put an end, within the shortest possible time, to the horrible Armenian tragedy, invites the Council to effect an understanding with the Governments to the end that one Power be charged with the task of taking necessary measures to bring to a termination the hostilities between Armenia and the Kemalists, and, further, charge a commission of six members to examine the measures, if any, to be taken to put an end to the hostilities between Armenia and the Kemalists, and report to the present Assembly."

In the *Speech*, the treaty is described as follows

"The Treaty of Gümrü is the first made by the National Government. By this treaty, Armenia, which, in the imagination of our enemies, had already been given the Turkish districts as far as the valley of Horşit, was completely obliterated through the fact that it had to cede to us, the National Government, the districts which the "Ottoman Government" had lost in the campaign of 1876-77. As a result of the important changes that had occurred in the Eastern situation, this treaty was superseded by the subsequent treaty of Kars on 13 October 1921.

Kachaznuni gives the following interesting account of the Armeno-Turkish war and treaty of Alexandropol: ¹⁰

"The Turkish-Armenian war began at the beginning of autumn and ruined us totally. Probably it was impossible for us to avoid this war. In 1918 Turkey was left alone for a period of two years. Measures which would take into consideration the fact of its defeat, and which would introduce new systems, were not taken. During these two years the Turks had revived. Their wounds had healed; young, patriotic, enterprising officers appeared, and they began to reorganize the Army in Anatolia.

It cannot be denied that we made no effort to avoid the war. There was a simple but inexcusable reason for this. We had no idea of the strength of the Turks, and we were too sure of our own strength. This was the main error. We were not afraid of the war because we were sure that we would win. Just as, with the insensitivity peculiar to ignorant and inexperienced people, we had no idea of the strength of the Turks, no defensive measures were taken at the border. On the contrary, we invaded Oltu, as if we were engaging in a duel. It was as if we actually wanted war. When confrontations at the border began, the Turks offered peace negotiations. We haughtily refused. This proved to be a great error. Not only were we sure of victory, but we believed that reconciliation was impossible, whereas, though it might not have been realized, it was certainly not impossible. In spite of everything, we had an opportunity to come to an agreement with the Turks... We did nothing to avoid the war, on the contrary we gave a reason for the war. The fact that we had been unable to estimate Turkish strength and that we did not have a clear idea of our own strength were inexcusable errors. Our army, which was well clad, well fed and well armed, did not fight, it retreated constantly, it left its

fortifications, it abandoned its arms, and scattered to its villages...

When Karabekir Pasha arrived at Alexandropol in the second half of November, the Bureau-Government submitted its resignation to Parliament. It had been defeated and humiliated, it could no longer stay in power. The peace negotiations would begin, and it was preferable that these negotiations be made by new individuals. After a short period of indecision, it was decided that a government should be formed with the social revolutionaries and the Dashnaks, under the leadership of U.Vrassian... The Turks had occupied Alexandropol. At the same time the Armenian Bolsheviks entered Ichevan and Telijan in the direction of Aghistaf led by the Red Army. Was there an agreement between the Turks and the Bolsheviks? At the beginning we believed such a possibility. But now I think that we were wrong, because no evidence to this effect has been found. It was probably that the Bolsheviks wanted to destroy our army from within, and an agreement with the Turks was not necessary for this... On December 1st or on November 30th our representatives signed an agreement with the Turks in Alexandropol. The articles of this agreement were as harsh as in Batum. Again on December 1st, the Vrassian Government resigned and transferred power to the Bolsheviks."

The Dashnaksutjun had engaged in a large-scale provocation in the war with Armenia which began with the massacre of the Turks in Oltu. Declarations such as the following, issued by the Committee, were published each day in the newspapers under the headline "The Country is in Danger":

"To the fore! Our age-old enemy has risen again. He is knocking at our doors brandishing red flags, he wants to march over Armenia and unite with the Bolsheviks.

Armenians, be prepared! The Turkish threat is drawing near. Armenian workers, unite against the enemy! Those who are not for us are against us. Those who do not join us are traitors. Death to the traitors amongst us, our country's age-old enemy is drawing near once again! Let us unite our ranks and fortify our borders! We overcome the Bolsheviks. Now, we will defeat the cruel Turk." ¹¹

On February 21, a conference was convened in London, where on February 26 the Armenian representatives Bogos Nubar and Aharonian were heard. The representatives of both the delegations unanimously insisted on the observance of the Treaty of Sèvres in its

entirety and gave many reasons for maintaining this stand. They argued that:

1- The Turks had attacked Armenia in order to invalidate the Treaty of Sèvres.

2- About 300,000 Armenian refugees from Turkish Armenia are expecting to be repatriated.

3- Armenia demands a united and independent state.

In addition, the Armenian delegation demanded independence for Cilicia. To this, the French delegate replied, in the name of France, that since a special form of administration had not been stipulated for Cilicia by the Treaty of Sèvres, it would be difficult to bestow sovereignty on this country; nevertheless, the French government would do its best to protect the Armenian minority. Upon this, Bogos Nubar indicated that the Armenians in Cilicia were not a minority but a majority. At the same time, Aharonian argued that the Treaty of Alexandropol had been signed under threat and had not yet been ratified.

Article 9 of the London Agreement made the following change in the terms of the Sèvres Treaty with regard to Armenian independence:

"The present terms of agreement guaranteed to the Armenians may be amended by recognizing the right of the Armenians to a national home near the eastern borders of Asiatic Turkey in accordance with the resolution of the League of Nations for securing the resettlement of the Armenians in a suitable and acceptable place." ¹²

As may be seen, the terms of the Article 88 of the Sèvres Treaty for a "free and independent state" were replaced by a vague and indefinite commitment for a 'national home'. This change had, in fact, been suggested mainly by the American missionaries as a compromise solution enabling the Armenians to establish their autonomy.

On September 21, the League of Nations resolved that the national home had to be separate and independent from Turkey. At the Lausanne Conference, Montana, Chairman of the Committee dealing with the Armenian question, took the same stand and, in his speech given on January 6, 1923, said that the Armenian homeland was a section of Turkish soil where the Armenians could form a

united community and freely develop their language, traditions and culture. While the delegation of the Armenian Republic opposed the January resolutions and continued to defend the notion of an independent and united Armenia, the National Delegation approved the idea of a national home.¹³

The March 1921 resolution of the London Conference concerning the establishment of a national home for the Armenians in the eastern provinces of Turkey was, once again, taken up at a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of England, France and Italy held in Paris in 1922, and it was later reaffirmed by the League of Nations.

In the meantime, soon after the signing of the Treaty of Alexandropol, the Republic of Transcaucasia was annexed by Soviet Russia. On March 16, 1921, the Treaty of Moscow was signed; and on October 13, 1921 the Treaty of Kars was concluded between Turkey and the Soviet Socialist Republics of Transcaucasia. With this treaty, Kars and Sürmeli were taken by the Turks, Nakhichevan and Batum were ceded to the Transcaucasians, and, in this way, Soviet Armenia - deprived of Kars, Ardahan, Sürmeli and Nakhichvan - was confined to an area of 29,000 square kilometres. On October 20, 1921 after the victory of Sakarya, the National Government had signed an agreement in Ankara with the French Government represented by Franklin-Bouillon. With the Ankara agreement, Adana was annexed to Turkey. In this way, the liberation of Adana from foreign occupation, on which no agreement had been reached in the previous discussions held with the English and the French governments, was finally achieved.

The situation of the southern provinces of Turkey after the signing of the Mudros Armistice is described by Atatürk in his *Speech*:

"The Armenians in the south, armed by foreign troops and encouraged by the protection they enjoyed, molested the Mohammedans of their district. Animated with the spirit of revenge, they pursued a relentless policy of murder and extinction everywhere. This was responsible for the tragic incident at Maraş, making common cause with the foreign troops, the Armenians had completely destroyed an old Mohammedan town like Maraş by their artillery and machine-gun fire.

They killed thousands of innocent and defenceless women and children. The Armenians were the instigators of the atrocities, which were unique in history. The Mohammedans had merely offered resistance and had defended themselves with the object of saving their lives and their honour. The telegram which the

Americans, who had remained in the town with the Mohammedans during the five days that the massacres continued, sent to their representative in Constantinople, clearly indicates in an indisputable manner who were the originators of this tragedy.

Threatened by the bayonets of the Armenians, who were armed to the teeth, the Mohammedans in the Vilayet of Adana were at that time in danger of being annihilated. While this policy of oppression and annihilation was carried on against the Mohammedans, who were only trying to save their existence and independence, acquired such dimensions that it became a matter of concern and commiseration for the civilized nations, how could the denials or the proposal made to us to abandon the attitude attributed to us be taken seriously?"¹⁴

In fact, the Armenians of Adana and of the neighbouring regions had started to appeal to the Entente Powers even before the Ankara Agreement to prevent the annexation of Cilicia by Turkey. Leo gives the following account of these attempts and endeavours:

"Already in April, Lord Curzon had declared to the House of Lords that Cilicia could be left to the Turks since the majority of its population was Moslem. Upon this the following memorandum was submitted to the Paris Peace Conference in order to protest against Curzon's statement:

"The Armenians of Cilicia have been awaiting the resolution of the Peace Conference concerning the future of their country with great patience and hope. This attitude was shared by the other Christian communities such as the Greeks, the Nestorians, the Assyrians, the Chaldeans and also by the Jews. We the Christians of Cilicia have read, with great sorrow, the declaration of Lord Curzon expressing his intention to force the Armenians to abandon these lands which in reality belong to them and to reestablish there the evil and destructive rule of the Ottomans, setting at naught the massacre of 20,000 Christian in the south of Maraş and the suffering of the Cilician Armenians for centuries under the sword of the enemy."¹⁵

The authors of the memorandum then went on to say that it was the Turks who constituted an ineffective minority in Cilicia, that despite the official policy of destruction pursued against the Armenians, the people who, with their culture and learning, had made

a significant contribution to the development of the country were the Armenians, and that the Moslems were nomads in a semi-savage state. After adding that Cilicia was known as Armenia Minor, the petitioners concluded with the statement:

"In the name of the 275,000 Christians still alive in Cilicia, in the name of our dead, in the name also of those heroic fighters who are even now resisting the Turks in Zeitun, Hadjin, Karabey and Hortye and finally in the name of our warriors who fought shoulder to shoulder with the French at Sis and Ekebe and on the plains of Cilicia against the Kemalists, we ask and implore France, in whose justice we have faith, to save a nation long subjected to cruelty and outrage by reason of her quest for independence, from extermination and from the oppressive rule of the Turks, which would only serve to perpetrate the disasters of the past."

This appeal also failed to make an impact. The situation in Cilicia deteriorated. In a telegram sent by the church leaders to Patriarch Zaven in Paris the condition of the Armenians was described thus:

"Despite the measures taken by France, the situation has not at all changed in Cilicia. Hadjin and Zeitun are still under siege, but they are holding out. However, it is impossible to provide them with reinforcements or ammunition. Each day we are waiting anxiously to receive news of their tragic ends. Sis is also besieged, but is capable of defending itself for a long time. There is no means of providing help for Maraş, whose inhabitants are dying one by one. Preparations have been made to deport the Armenians of Albustan (Elbistan).

Kessab has been occupied and is now deprived of all means of survival. Since the inhabitants are unarmed, they are completely at the mercy of the irregular Kemalist bands. These bands have captured Bilezik, Hackert and Kuzuluk. The Christian population of these villages have been murdered or enslaved. Because security cannot be maintained within the country, the Armenian deputies are intercepted and harassed on the roads.

Harvest time is approaching, but we are afraid that it will not be possible to reap our fields. This will lead to shortages and, in the long run, to an economic crisis. We need additional forces to emancipate the cities that have been occupied and to destroy the bands. If we lose any time the Christian inhabitants who are

already under threat will lose their lives. Moreover, the plight of the deserters is deplorable."

Upon this Patriarch Zaven tried to draw the interest of the French Prime Minister Millerand to the situation of the Cilician Armenians. The Prime Minister replied that at least a hundred thousand soldiers would be necessary to defend Cilicia, and since France could not maintain such a force there, she had to withdraw. However, he assured the Patriarch that the French Government would take all the necessary measures to secure the safety of the Armenian people in Cilicia.

While negotiations were being conducted in Ankara between the French representative Franklin-Bouillon and the Turkish government prior to the Ankara Agreement, the Armenian delegations in Paris formed a committee of three composed of Babadjanian, Arshak Chobanian and Khatisian to prevent the annexation of Cilicia by the Turks. This committee conveyed its views to the French parliamentary sub-committee in charge of foreign affairs, and at the same time established contacts with Deschanel, V. Berard and also with the leading members of the Socialist Party, such as Blum, Renodel and Paul Ferin. Finally, an official application was made to the French government. However, all these efforts came to nought. During the evacuation of Cilicia more than 120,000 Armenians emigrated to Syria following the withdrawal of the French; while another 30,000 settled in Egypt, Cyprus and the Greek islands, and in Istanbul.

We have seen above that in their meeting held on March 26, 1922 in Paris the English, French and Italian foreign ministers had officially declared that the Armenians would be granted a 'national home' where they would be able to settle. In this way the right recognized to the Armenians by the Treaty of Sèvres to establish an independent state was replaced by a project for a national home. According to the British, this homeland was to be situated in Cilicia, whereas the French wanted to see it established in the eastern provinces. The decision taken by the Paris ministerial conference was as follows:

"The situation of the Armenians deserves special care on account of the terrible disasters they have undergone and also because of their support for the Allied Powers during the War. Consequently, we request the League of Nations that, in addition to the measures considered for the protection of minorities, every effort should be made to help the Armenians to establish a national homeland, thus putting an end to their suffering."¹⁶

It is significant that the solutions proposed for the Armenian question passed through various stages, from the dictates of the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920, through the resolution of the Conference of London in 1921 to the decision of the Paris meeting of 1922. The issue was finally referred to the League of Nations.

NOTES

1. *A Speech Delivered by Ghazi Mustapha Kemal (Atatürk) in October, 1927.*
2. *ibid.*, Documents, no. 38.
3. *ibid.*, Documents, no. 54.
4. *ibid.*, Documents, no. 130.
5. *ibid.*, Documents, no. 144.
6. G. Gaillard, *Les Turcs at l'Europe*, Paris, 1920.
7. *A. Speech.*
8. Khatisian, *op.cit.*
9. *ibid.*, p. 263.
10. Kachazununi, *op.cit.*, p. 40.
11. Leo, *op.cit.*
12. Khatisian, *op.cit.*
13. *ibid.*
14. *A. Speech.*
15. Leo, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 223.
16. Khatisian, *op.cit.*

IV THE CONFERENCE OF LAUSANNE

After the major Turkish offensive which terminated by driving the enemy in to the sea in Izmir, the Mudanya Armistice was signed on October 11, 1922, and the National Turkish Government was invited to participate in the Conference to be held in Lausanne on October 28, 1922. During this Conference, questions concerning the minorities, as well as the Armenians, were also to be resolved. It would be appropriate to summarize the preparations made by the Armenians for the Conference before describing the special sessions connected with them.

Khatisian, who was a member of the delegation charged with pursuing Armenian interests, gives the following account of their activities on the eve of the Conference:¹

“When news was received that a conference would be convened in Lausanne to resolve the problems between Turkey and the Allied Powers, the Delegation of the Armenian Republic and the Armenian National Delegation both took steps to participate and to have their views heard. In order to secure unity of action between them and to achieve their aims, they took the following measures:

1. Absolute unity of purpose and action was established between the two organizations mentioned above, concerning the Armenian claims and demands.

2. A final appeal was made to the Allied Powers, i.e. England, France, Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece.

3. The cooperation was obtained of nations who were sympathetic to the Armenian cause. Through them, a climate of opinion favourable to the Armenian cause was created in the countries they lived in, particularly in the United States, India and Europe.

4. Ways were sought through intermediaries and other means to establish contacts with the Turkish Delegation and to hold discussions with them.

5. New attempts were made by the United Delegation to communicate their views to the League of Nations.

6. All organizations sympathetic to the Armenian cause were prevailed upon to send their representatives to the Conference.

7. Several petitions were made to the organizers in order to secure the admission of the Armenian Delegation to the Conference as a legitimate party. For this purpose, Aharonian and Alexander Khatisian from the Delegation of the Armenian Republic and Noradunghian and Leon Pashalian from the National Delegation were sent together to London.

The meetings of the United Armenian Delegation were attended by B. Yeram, Gumushgherdan (Gümüşgherdan) from the National Delegation, Garo (Pasturmadjian) from the Delegation of the Armenian Republic and the Russian authority on international law, A. Mandelstam. In the meetings held before the departure of the Delegation for Lausanne it was decided to establish contacts with the Foreign Ministers of France and England. On November 30, the Delegation spoke to Lord Curzon's deputy, who was in charge of the Eastern division of the Foreign Office, particularly for Turco-Armenian affairs, defending the rights of the Armenians, describing the part played by the Armenians in the war and drawing a general picture of the situation created by the Treaty of Sèvres. The Delegation was told that the stand taken by the Turks was not seen as being conducive to the success of the Conference, that it would not be possible for the Allies to exert an influence on Turkish policy through force and drastic measures, that no country would wish to start another war and that the Turks having realized this, would not hesitate to fight until the bitter end, and moreover that there was no consensus among the Allies on the issue, as was shown by the fact that some of them were helping the Turks by

providing them with financial support and ammunition. The deputy further added that the claims of the Armenians were not considered to be a vital issue for the Allies as they were mainly interested in the question of the Straits and that therefore they would be unwilling to sever their relations with Turkey on account of the Armenian question. It was also added that England would be taking a firm and uncompromising attitude towards the Turks, although she did not expect to receive much help in this respect from her allies. The Delegation also brought the plight of the Greeks and Armenians in Turkey to the attention of the deputy who affirmed that this was a scandal and that if they were recorded, the English Delegation would use this as strong evidence in the Lausanne Conference. When reminded of the promises made by England to Armenia, they received the answer that the Greeks had also been promised Izmir and Thrace but these promises likewise had not been fulfilled.

The contacts of the Delegation in France, headed by Noradunghian, achieved similar results. Franklin - Bouillon advised the Delegation to wait until the conclusion of the treaty with Turkey and make their demands after having established friendly relations.

The United Armenian Delegation had three main objectives:

- 1- To establish a united and independent Armenia,
- 2- Failing this and as a temporary measure, to establish an Armenian "national home",
- 3- To secure the participation of the Delegation in the Lausanne Conference.

Before leaving for Lausanne, the Delegation appealed to distinguished statesmen such as Poincaré and Venizelos, and also to the General Secretary of the League of Nations, with the aim of drawing their attention to the Armenian question. At the same time, in order to secure the inclusion of the Armenian Delegation in the Conference, Khatisian submitted the following petition on behalf of the United Armenian Delegation to France, England and Italy."²

This document, dated November 18, 1922, refers to the rejection of the petition submitted by the Delegation on August 18, 1922 to join

the Congress of Venice as participants. Nevertheless, Khatisian claims that the situation had drastically changed in the Near East since that time. The Entente Powers had applied to the Ankara government and asked for a delegation to be sent to a conference which would be convened in a suitable location and in which France, England, Italy, Japan, Yugoslavia, Romania and Bulgaria would participate. The Ankara government accepted this invitation on October 4 and sent its authorized representative to attend this conference, the aim of which was to analyze and determine the condition of the peace treaty that would be signed between Greece, Turkey and the other countries concerned. Khatisian notes that the Armenian issue will undoubtedly occupy a significant place on the agenda of the Conference as a crucial issue for the Near East.

Khatisian goes on to describe the sufferings of the Armenian people as a result of the non-implementation of the Sèvres Treaty. He reminds the conference that this problem was taken up by the London Conference in 1921 and also by the Paris Ministerial Conference of 1922. The conclusions reached in this last conference were published in an official report on March 1922 where it was said "The situation of the Armenians deserves special care on account of the terrible sufferings they have undergone and also because of their support for the Allied Powers during the War. Consequently, we request the League of Nations that, in addition to the measures considered for the protection of minorities, every effort should be made to help the Armenians to establish a national home, thus putting an end to their sufferings." Khatisian gives expression to his anxiety that any delays in handling the Armenian question might result in the annihilation of the whole nation. He adds that since the Armenian nation has no doubt that the Conference would resolve the Armenian question in accordance with the principles of humanity and justice, and, taking into consideration the promises that had been repeatedly made to her by her Allies, he requests permission for her delegation to participate in the Conference.

Furthermore, Khatisian notes that despite the non-implementation of Article 88 of the Treaty of Sèvres, which recognizes Armenia as a free and independent state, the legal status of Armenia is, as one of the signatories to the Treaty, that of an independent state. Therefore, the political changes that Armenia has been undergoing for the last two years have not altered her international status as an independent state.

In November, 1922 the United Armenian Delegation submitted a memorandum to the Lausanne Conference incorporating the following points:

A- The Armenian Delegation requests the Allies to take the following demands into consideration.

1- During the World War, the Armenians duly performed their military duty to their Allies and were recognized by them as allies and praised for their fighting qualities.

2- This war has taken a very heavy toll of the Armenians. Of the 2,250,000 Armenians of Turkish Armenia, 1,250,000 have been killed, and 700,000 have emigrated to the Caucasus, to Iran, to Syria, to Greece, to the Balkan states, and to other places. At the present time, there are only 130,000 in the villages of Turkish Armenia and 150,000 in Istanbul, and these are constantly ready to emigrate.

3- The Armenian Question, which has a very long past, going back to the Berlin Congress of 1878, is an issue of international significance. A clear and conclusive solution to this problem will have beneficial effects on the establishment of peace in the Middle East.

4- The Great Powers have proclaimed the independence of Turkish Armenia, and this act of recognition has been reiterated in the Covenant of the League of Nations, Article 22, and included in the peace treaties.

5- The main terms of this independence have been discussed in the first and second sessions of the League of Nations, have been put to the vote, and the establishment of a national homeland has been unanimously approved.

B- Three alternatives may be proposed for the establishment of a national home:

1- The setting apart of an area of land for the Armenians, subject to the arbitration of the President of the United States,

2- To extend the borders of the Republic of Armenia (Erevan) by the annexation of parts of the eastern provinces and the provision of access to the sea,

3- To include within this homeland a part of Cilicia which had been given to Syria by the Treaty of Sèvres and relinquished to Turkey by the Treaty of Ankara.

C- The claims made by Turkey that the Armenian national home could be established in Russian Armenia are not justifiable. The Turks occupy one third of the Republic of Armenia (Kars, Sürmeli, Ardahan). An area of only 26,000 square kilometers are suitable for agricultural cultivation. This country can barely feed its own population of 1,250,000 and even some of these can only survive thanks to the help of the Near-East Charity Organization and other charitable societies. The country is under constant threat of famine. Hence, it is impossible for it to accept any refugees from outside. On the other hand, the Asiatic lands of Turkey, which are thinly populated, would make it possible to establish an Armenian homeland there. All of the 360,000 Armenian refugees in Caucasian Armenia and in Iran were the inhabitants of those provinces. They are waiting for the chance to return to their own lands. In these provinces the Turks are a minority, the majority consisting of Armenians and Kurds. Indeed, the Kurds, who belong to the Arian race, would have lived in complete harmony with the Armenians if the Turks had not fomented trouble."

These demands were accompanied by a longer and more detailed petition where the sufferings and afflictions of the Armenians, their support for the Allies during the War and the promises made by the Great Powers to them are described in full.³ The petition insists on the right of the Armenians to a national home, where the 700,000 homeless and destitute Armenians, who had fled or been deported from Turkey, can be resettled, and concludes that this problem cannot be solved unless Turkey consents to a part of her soil being given to the Armenians as their homeland.

After the submission of this memorandum, Aharonian, Khatisian and Noradunghian left for Lausanne where an Armenian bureau was set up with the purpose of establishing and maintaining contacts with the representatives and winning their support for the Armenian cause. Khatisian relates that the Delegation was able to win over the sympathy of many distinguished persons who endeavoured to influence their own countries to take a favourable attitude towards the Armenians at the discussions. In addition to these efforts, the Conference delegates were approached by pro-Armenian associations and societies.

The persons contacted by the Armenian Delegation included Ismet Pasha, the head of the Turkish Delegation. Khatisian relates how, when Sinopian told him that the Armenians had been evacuated from their lands and left homeless, Ismet Pasha replied by saying that

many had left their native lands to settle in Istanbul. Again, when asked about the Armenian Question, his answer was that he did not know anything about it, and that he believed the troubles of the Armenians had been created by outside intervention. In short, Ismet Pasha refused to make any statements concerning the Armenians, and claimed not to understand the import of the allegations made.

The Armenian Question was taken up in a special session of the Conference on the protection of the minorities. The following proposals were made:

- 1- The right of the minorities to use their own language and to practise their own religion will be recognized. This right is to be under the guarantee of the League of Nations.
- 2- The Christians in Turkey will be exempt from military service in return for which they will pay a tax.
- 3- Differences of sect and creed will be respected.
- 4- General amnesty will be proclaimed.
- 5- Freedom of movement will be assured.
- 6- The Armenian refugees will be allowed to return.
- 7- The Armenians will be granted a national home in the Eastern provinces and Cilicia.

In the meeting of the Commission held on Tuesday, December 13, 1922 Lord Curzon read the following speech:⁴

"I pass to the Armenians. Their case is deserving of special consideration, not merely because of the cruel sufferings which they have endured for generations, and which have excited the sympathy and horror of the civilised world, but because of the special pledges which have been made with regard to their future. In the old Russian province of Erevan, now a Soviet Republic, exists a so-called Armenian State numbering, I am told, about 1,250,000 persons, but already so-crowded with refugees of every description that it cannot admit a larger population.

For the rest, the Armenian population of Kars and Ardahan, of Van, Bitlis and Erzurum, has pretty well disappeared. When the

French evacuated Cilicia, the Armenian population of that province followed panic-stricken in their wake, and is now strewn in the towns of Alexandretta, Aleppo, Beirut and the Syrian border. There only remain, I believe, about 130,000 Armenians in Turkish Asiatic territory out of a population which one numbered over 3 millions. Hundreds of thousands of them are scattered about as refugees in the Caucasus, Russia, Persia and adjacent countries.

I have been informed since coming to Lausanne that the Ankara government, persuaded that they will be the sufferers if they lose the services of this capable and intelligent race, are disposed to encourage the Armenians to return and settle again in Anatolia. I think it will be greatly to their advantage to do so, and I shall be glad to hear from the Turkish delegation some assurances on this point. In any case, there will remain in Asia Minor as well as in Europe a very considerable Armenian population in the future Turkish state for whose security and protection minority provisions in the treaty will be called for.

At this stage I must allude to the well-known demand which has been put forward both by the Armenians and their friends in all parts of the world for the creation of an Armenian national home. It is quite natural that a people with so strong an individuality, so remarkable, if tragic, a history, and so pronounced a national spirit, should aspire to a habitation of their own. If it be replied that they already possess it in the Erevan Republic, the answer must be returned that that area is already poverty-stricken and over-populated, and that the form of government there set up is distasteful to many Armenians.

Thus it arises that the petition is made and has frequently been reiterated, that Turkey should find for the Armenians in some portion of her Asiatic territory, whether in her north-eastern provinces or on the south-eastern borders of Cilicia and Syria, the place of retreat and concentration which they desire.

Circumstances may have rendered the fulfilment of this hope more difficult than it once was. But we shall be glad to hear the views of the Turkish delegation on the subject."

Curzon concluded his speech by suggesting the formation of a subcommission that would make a thorough study of these questions and would put forth formal proposals. The French delegate Barrere

and the Italian representative Garroni spoke along the same lines. The speech made by Ismet Pasha contained detailed information about the activities of the Bulgarians, Greeks and Armenians and emphasized the following points:

"The responsibility for all the calamities to which the Armenian element was exposed in the Ottoman Empire falls, therefore, upon their own deeds; the Turkish Government and people, in every case and without exception, having had recourse to repressive measures or reprisals and after they had exhausted all their patience.

The occurrences in Adana in 1909, the successive insurrections in the majority of the Turkish provinces at the beginning of the World War form the sad continuation of the same tragedy.

It follows from the facts and the preceding evidence that the Turks have never failed to acknowledge the rights of the non-Moslem elements so long as the latter did not abuse the generosity of the country in where they had lived in comfort for centuries. The example of the Jewish community, which has not up to the present had to complain of any inhumane act on the part of the Turkish Government or people, would suffice to show that the blame for the distressing events in the case of the Greeks and the Armenians falls entirely upon themselves...

History teaches us then not to lose sight of two principal factors in the question of minorities:

1- The external political factor consisting of the desire nourished by certain Powers to interfere in the internal affairs of the country under the pretext of protecting minorities, the intervention thus aimed at being realised, especially by preliminary provocations and the incitement of disorders.

2- The internal political factor, that is to say, the desire of the minorities thus encouraged to liberate themselves in order to constitute independent States.

The sufferings of the minorities in Turkey being caused by these two elements, it is obvious that the amelioration of their lot, in so far as this is really desired by the Allied Powers, depends entirely upon the neutralisation of the action of those very factors.

As regards the first point, it must of necessity be admitted that the minorities ought in the first place to be deprived of any political protection whatever other than that which is guaranteed to them by the laws of the country. As M. Clemenceau justly remarked with reference to guarantees of the Powers on behalf of the rights of minorities: "Experience has shown that this was in practice ineffective, and it was also open to the criticism that it might give to the Great Powers either individually or in combination a right to interfere in the internal constitution of the states affected, which could be used for political purposes. (Letter from M. Clemenceau, president of the conference at Versailles, addressed to M. Paderewsky the 24th June, 1919, forwarding the final draft of the treaty of peace.)..."

Furthermore, the elimination of an official intervention would still be ineffective in rendering certain minorities inaccessible to provocations from outside. The last campaign of devastation and carnage intermingled with all kinds of abominable crimes has demonstrated the aggressive designs of Greece on Turkish Asia Minor.

Could the enlightened conscience of civilised peoples agree to a solution which would be the source of innumerable difficulties?

Should they allow, to the great detriment of the peace of the world, Moslem or Christian populations to tear themselves to pieces for nothing but the advantage of political interests?

The exclusion of this element of provocation would only be possible by first of all rendering the non-Moslems in Turkey inaccessible to agitations from outside...

As regards the internal political factor, that is to say, the natural desire of minorities to free themselves, there is occasion to observe that the Ottoman Empire, reduced to essentially Turkish provinces, no longer contains any minority which can form within it an independent state. Until the principle of nationalities receives an equal application everywhere, separatist movements, designed to liberate parts of the Ottoman Empire containing a considerable number of non-Turkish inhabitants, could perhaps be justified. The situation is entirely different to-day. Just as the Greeks established at Marseilles could not reasonably think of creating there an independent Greek state or of annexing it to their

mother-country, in the same way the Greeks or Armenians in Turkey could not legitimately desire the same thing in Turkey.

The Turkish State, conscious of its right of self-preservation, would not hesitate to act, like any independent State, when faced with attacks directed at its existence...

As regards the Armenians, the friendly relations and neighbourly feeling consolidated by the treaties between Turkey and Armenia exclude the possibility of any provocation whatever on the part of the Armenian State. Besides, those Armenians who decide to remain in Turkey must already have recognised the unavoidable necessity of living as good citizens.

To sum up, the delegation of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey are of the opinion:

- 1- That the amelioration of the lot of the minorities in Turkey depends above all on the exclusion of every kind of foreign intervention and of the possibility of provocation coming from outside.
- 2- That this purpose can only be effected by first of all proceeding to an exchange of the Turkish and Greek populations.
- 3- That the best guarantees for the security and development of the minorities remaining after the application of the measures for reciprocal exchange would be those supplied both by the laws of the country and by the liberal policy of Turkey with regard to all communities whose members have not deviated from their duty as Turkish citizens."

This speech was followed by the comments of Lord Curzon, Venizelos, Child and Spalaikovitch. Ismet İnönü gave the following reply to Venizelos's remarks in favour of the Armenian cause.

"The surprise of the Turkish delegation was still greater when M. Venizelos took the liberty to speak of the Armenians. He had doubtless lost sight of the fact that the Greek occupation of Asia Minor had been a new cause of suffering and misfortune for the poor Armenians. That unhappy people had been forcibly conscripted and incorporated in the ranks of the Greek army. The leading Armenians in Europe had eagerly besought the Greek

Government not to compromise their compatriots in this way. No attention was paid to these warnings. The Armenians were sent to the front and forced to fire on the Turks. After the rout, endless devastation was done, and the Greek authorities started a propaganda of falsehood with a view to putting the blame for these crimes on the Armenians. Finally, the Greeks dragged the Armenians away with them when they left Asia. It was therefore obvious that the last government in the world which should dare to express in public its pity for the fate of the Armenians was the very government which had been the direct cause of their misfortunes...

The minorities still remaining in Turkey could live there on the same footing as the Turks. But it was inadmissible and inconceivable that each minority should claim to dismember Turkey in order to have separate territory granted to itself."

In the session of December 31, 1922 Ismet Pasha once again spoke on the Armenian question:

"As regards the Armenians now living in Turkey, there was no obstacle in the way of their continuing to lead an industrious and prosperous existence in perfect harmony with their Turkish compatriots, as had been seen before the long years of the war.

The Turkish delegation were firmly convinced that peace would bring about the disappearance of such causes of suffering as were of a political character, and would remove all possible pretext for the activities of those committees formed abroad which regarded the Armenian question as a means of livelihood or a political weapon: Turks and Armenians would then be enabled to co-operate wholeheartedly in healing the wounds inflicted on them by the war."

Ismet Pasha had frequently stated to all the interested parties since his arrival at Lausanne, and now wished to state before the conference, that the Armenians who desired to remain in Turkey would be able to live in brotherhood with their Turkish compatriots, who would be full of solicitude for them and would willingly forget the events of the past. On the other hand, he could not help regarding the cession of an integral part of Turkish territory with a view to the formation of an Armenian national home as a fresh attempt to dismember Turkey. Abundant proof had been given that all such schemes were illegitimate and impossible. Turkey had not an inch of territory with a non-Turkish majority

either in her eastern provinces or in Cilicia, which could be detached in any way whatever from the mother country.

At the same session Lord Curzon gave the following reply to Ismet Pasha:

"Ismet Pasha then referred to the Armenians, whom he depicted as a people who were quite happy and contented under Turkish rule, for whom the Turkish Government had the most fraternal feelings, whose sufferings had only been brought on them either by their own folly or by the machinations of their neighbours. Did this picture agree with the facts? If such happy relations had always existed between these two peoples, how was it that the 3,000,000 Armenians formerly in Asia Minor had been reduced to 130,000? Had they killed themselves or had they voluntarily run away? By what pressure had this reduction been accomplished? When the French troops recently left Cilicia, why had 60,000 to 80,000 of these happy, contented people fled after them to live in misery elsewhere, leaving their homes and families behind? Why were hundreds of thousands of Armenians now fugitives in every country in the world, when all they had to do was to return to the cordial embraces of the Turkish Government. Why was this Armenian question one of the great scandals of the world?"

Lord Curzon, when answering Ismet Pasha's statements regarding the affection shown by the Turkish Government towards the loyal Armenians, had enquired how it came about that out of 3,000,000 Armenians formerly resident in Turkey only 130,000 remained, and why 60,000 of the latter had emigrated into Cilicia. The Turkish delegation thought that there must be some error in the figure of 3,000,000 Armenians in Turkey, for they had never seen such a figure in any statistics. The work of M. Vital Cuinet, from which most of the statistics published in Europe were derived, spoke of about 1,400,000 Armenians living in Turkey, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* of 1,500,000 and the official Turkish statistics of 1,290,000. The Armenians inhabiting parts of the Ottoman Empire which had been detached from Turkey must be deducted from all these figures. This proved that there had never been 3,000,000 Armenians in Turkey; in fact it was notorious that there was no such number of Armenians in the whole world. The Armenians were known to have left Cilicia before the departure of the French, and, consequently, before the arrival of the Turkish troops, and they acted thus despite the persistent endeavour of the

French authorities to persuade them to remain in their homes. This population had been compelled to go, against its own will, by agents of revolutionary committees, whose objects were political. The people who expatriated themselves in this way confessed to the Moslems before their departure with tears that they had no desire to leave, but were afraid of the revolutionary committees. Moreover, these facts were known to everybody. What, then, had become of those who were now missing according to the statistics just given? The answer must be sought in the wars which had taken place and had been forced upon Turkey. These wars had also resulted in the transformation of the happiest, richest and most famous regions of Anatolia into a field of ruins. The Moslem population in the eastern provinces of Turkey had dropped from 4,000,000 to less than 3,000,000, and in the western provinces which had been invaded, from 3,500,000 to about 2,000,000. Those missing-i.e., nearly 2,500,000 people, were victims of the disastrous years of war. However, Ismet Pasha, in accordance with the desire expressed and the example set by Lord Curzon, also desired to leave the past aside...

Lord Curzon had asked whether it was impossible to find a corner for the Armenians in a country as large as Turkey. Ismet Pasha ventured to observe in this connection that there were other Powers whose possessions covered an area incomparably greater than that of Turkey. Moreover, the regions quite recently detached from Turkey were enormous, and the territory left to Turkey was inhabited by a Turkish majority and each part of it formed an indivisible whole.

The Turkish population of the eastern provinces such as Cilicia had made countless sacrifices in order to defend their homes against invasion or foreign occupation, and could not possibly abandon their dwellings to others."

The representatives of both Turkish Armenia and of the Armenian Republic of Transcaucasia made attempts to have themselves heard in the Conference of Lausanne as members of legitimate and authorized delegations representing the Armenian nation. The Conference agreed to allow them to declare their views in the sub-commission. The Turkish Delegation refused to attend the meeting and walked out. Nevertheless, because the discussions are of utmost importance for an understanding of the Armenian point of view and also because it represents their final attempt at defending

their cause, we have thought it fit to quote the minutes of the whole meeting:

"Resumé of the minutes of the Sub-commission, December 26, 1922.

Present : K Noradunghian, A. Aharonian A. Khatisian, L. Pashalian Noradunghian and Aharonian communicated the demands of the Armenians, Noradunghian reading and Aharonian giving explanations.

Sir Horace Rumbold- Where would you locate the Armenian homeland and how would you foresee its relations with Turkey?

A. Aharonian- The homeland we are hoping to be granted will have to be independent from Turkey. However, in order to help the Allies, we have thought of introducing forms of administration that would protect the interests of Turkey, for example; the administration of the British dominions. I think Noradunghian would agree with me on this point.

K. Noradunghian- This was mentioned in my report which you have just heard.

Sir Horace Rumbold- What do you think about the proposal to extend the borders of the Republic of Erevan (Transcaucasia) and of establishing an Armenia homeland there? In this case, would there not be two Armenians?

A. Aharonian- It would be difficult to extend the borders of the Republic of Erevan since it is under Soviet rule. In that case establishing a new Armenian homeland in Soviet Armenia, part of which has been occupied by Turkey, would not achieve any concrete results. We do not ask for the frontiers drawn by the President of the United States. We are content with only a part of this area. To go back to the old question of the administration of Armenia, the cases of

Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia can serve as examples.

Sir Horace Rumbold- What is the most suitable area according to you? Can you indicate it on the map?

Aharonian pointing at the map drew boundaries that passed through Rize and Hasankale, excluding Erzurum, continuing as far as Muş and including Lake Van.

Sir H. Rumbold- Can 700,000 refugees be resettled in this area? Would they be all Turkish Armenians?

A. Aharonian- Yes, they are Turkish Armenians and they will be resettled in this area.

Sir H. Rumbold- Does that mean that there will be no Armenians left in the Turkish part of Armenia?

A. Aharonian- Once the Armenian homeland is established, a stable peace based on friendly relations will develop between the Armenians and the Turks. The Armenians who wish to remain in Turkey will be good citizens.

Sir H. Rumbold- Who are the present inhabitants of this area?

A. Aharonian- The majority is Kurdish and this was the case even before the War, whereas the Turks are a minority. The Kurds, who are Arians, were converted to Islam under pressure. It may be said that they and the Armenians together formed the majority.

Delacroix- The faith you have in the Kurds seems misplaced, since the whole of the Kurdish population does not seem to be on your side. Many of them have taken part in the massacres of the Armenians and the role of the Kurdish Hamidieh is well known to everyone.

A. Aharonian- The Kurds engage in looting rather than in committing massacres. There are quite a number of Kurdish activists who are on our side. We have two Kurdish regiments in Armenia and they have fought against the Turks until the very end.

Delacroix- I would like to hear what Noradunghian has to say about this.

K. Noradunghian- When talking about the Kurds, it must be born in mind that they consisted of more than 200 tribes. Of these the Yezidi and the Kızılbaş are friendly with the Armenians. It should not be forgotten that these people saved 20,000 Armenians by hiding them. On the other hand, the Jalali, for example, are opposed to the Armenians and therefore the Hamidieh regiments had been manned by them. The members of this tribe perpetrated robberies in Turkish guise, when they had shown a desire to be transferred to another locality, Zeki Pasha, the Commander of the Second Army had objected by remarking that wherever they went, they would continue to behave in the manner they were used to.

Delacroix - Are all of the 350,000 Armenians that you are talking about Turkish Armenians? Or are there any Russian Armenians included among them?

A. Aharonian- They are all Turkish Armenians who are waiting for a signal to be given to go back.

Delacroix- What information do you have about the 130,000 Armenians who are at present living in the villages and towns of Turkish Armenia? Are they being deported from there or are they leaving by their own free will?

A. Aharonian- The truth is that notices have been put up in the streets and on the boats asking the

Armenians to leave within a specified time. Moreover, the Turkish people themselves have warned the Armenians as to what might befall them if they remained in their part of the country. Hence, regardless of snow, and severe winter conditions, the Armenians have scattered in various directions in order to go to the shores of the Black Sea or to Syria. The Armenian population in Syria exceeds 140,000 and it is known that the Arab people are not pleased to have destitute refugees on their thresholds.

Laport - This is an economic problem. With the coming of the Armenians labour has become cheaper and naturally the Arabs disapprove of this.

K. Noradunghian- The situation of the Armenians is better in the Iskenderun area inhabited by the Alavit.

Laport - I agree.

Sir. H. Rumbold- What is the present population of the Republic of Erevan and what are the communities of which it is composed?

A. Aharonian- My colleague Khatisian knows our country very well. He was Prime Minister for two years. He can provide you with the necessary information.

A. Khatisian- The population of the Republic is at present 1,400,000 out of which 1,200,000 are Armenian and 60,000 Moslem. These people live within an area of 26,000 square kilometers, only 9,000 square kilometers of which are arable, Soviet Armenia, in fact, refuses to admit any more immigrants. There were great difficulties in resettling the 10,000 Armenian refugees from Elcezire. On the other hand, the fertile lands around Kars, Sürmeli and Nakhichevan, which could feed not only Armenia but also the whole of

Transcaucasia, have been occupied by the Turks.

Sir. H. Rumbold- Where are the Moslem inhabitants of Armenia?

A. Aharonian- Some have migrated to Turkey, some to the region of Kars and the rest to Azerbaidjan.

Sir. H. Rumbold- Please show us in what part of Cilicia you would like to set up your national home.

K. Noradunghian- The Armenian homeland would extend from the river Ceyhan to the Euphrates as far as Syrian border, including Sis and Maraş.

Sir H. Rumbold- How many people could you settle in this area?

K. Noradunghian- Approximately five or six hundred thousand.

Chairman - Gentlemen, your answers have been recorded. We will evaluate them and if we need any more information, you will be invited again.

K. Noradunghian- I am glad that the rights of the minorities were not included on today's agenda. However, with your permission, I should like to mention two points, which are of particular significance: 1) the freedom to buy and sell, 2) the autonomy of the Patriarchate and the immunity of the Armenians from military service.

Chairman - The Greek delegation has already asked for the same rights, but the Turkish party is opposed to them. In any case, we shall take your statement into consideration.

Noradunghian submitted the following request to the sub-commission:⁵

"Gentlemen you are well aware that our demands are very reasonable. You also know that the Armenians urgently need

peace and that they will be very happy if this Conference attains its high objectives. But we realize that there are some issues that require clarification. The incidents of 1915 have created a great rift between the Turks and the Armenians. The government of the Young Turks behaved irresponsibly not only in their treatment of the Armenians, who were the loyal subjects of the Empire, but also in their management of the affairs of the country. The Armenians were called up to the army, and performed their military duties. Nevertheless, they were persecuted and deported or killed, and consequently suffered many losses...

Ismet Pasha does not accept our demand for a national home. The Turkish delegation holds claims that it would be sufficient to re-admit the Armenian refugees for peace to be secured. But unfortunately, we do not find this condition sufficient, particularly when we take into account the present situation and the incidents of the past. The Armenians of Balikesir, Bursa and Biga, misled by the promises of their Turkish compatriots, remained in their lands and were killed during the recent incidents. On the other hand, the Armenians who were brave enough to go back to Anatolia after the Armistice of Mudros were either killed or had to emigrate. Women, children and the aged were driven onto the roads in order to reach the shores of the Black Sea or Syria, in winter and under severe weather conditions, while the strong and healthy members of the community were confined in prisons.

Today, around seven hundred thousand Armenians have scattered to various parts of the world: 140,000 to Syria, 120,000 to Greece and to the Greek islands, 40,000 to Bulgaria, 50,000 to Persia, and the rest to other places. These refugees have undergone great suffering and afflictions, they have endured many losses and are awaiting the day when an end will be put to their piteous state. These people are at present kept alive by charity organizations but it is obvious that such a situation cannot last long.

Unfortunately, these are all facts. You will admit that it would be impossible to send these families back to the places from where they fled with such terrible memories, to embark once more upon interminable struggles. No permissions, no commands and no promises would make them feel secure. Only the creation of the National Home can make them forget the evils of the past and by removing enmities can establish peace and security.

A decision concerning the National Home had been taken up in the previous meetings of the Entente Powers and confirmed in the London and Paris Conferences in 1921 and 1922. We fail to comprehend why the Turks, who have recognized the independence of the Islamic communities that were once a part of the Empire, do not accept such a modest proposal made by another community who were formerly also subjects of the Empire...

We believe that there could be no constitutional barriers that could hinder the government of Ankara from approving the establishment of an Armenian national home enjoying a status similar to that of the British dominions.

As for determining the location of the national home, our delegation has already had the honour of proposing this to the Conference. The homeland could be situated in the northern provinces or in Cilicia, the area that has belonged to the Armenians for thousands of years and where, due to the wars, the Islamic population is drastically reduced.

Permit me to remind you also that all the nations of the world realize that our cause is just and that a national home must be set up. As I am writing this, my table is covered by letters of sympathy and outrage from thousands of American and European citizens, members of the Christian Churches and from well-known persons. Moreover, I should also like to point out, that it is not only the Christians who think this way. There are thousands of Moslems from India, Iran, Azerbaidjan, including Turkey itself, that find the idea of setting up an Armenian homeland both right and useful. Finally, after evaluating the humanitarian aspects of the problem please permit me to add a few words on its moral import: Our Allies, who fought for the cause of justice, have made promises guaranteeing freedom to the nations under Turkish rule. After the deportations of 1915, the Armenians living in the United States and elsewhere joined in the Eastern Legion (*Legion d'Orient*) of the French Army. After having enlisted, with the hope of contributing to the defence and liberation of their country of origin, these men fought bravely and successfully under the command of General Allenby on the borders of Palestine and Syria.

The good intentions of the Allied Powers towards the Armenian nation are proved by two important resolutions: 1) The decision to refer the determination of the boundaries of Armenia to the

arbitration of the President of the United States as stipulated in the Treaty of Sèvres and 2) Article 22 guaranteed by the League of Nations.

Under the present circumstances when it becomes necessary to prepare a new treaty in order to determine the future of the East and to ensure continuous peace, we have no doubt that the Conference will not give priority to the Turkish demands over and above the principles of justice and truth in dealing with the Armenian question.

At a time when our Allies were not as strong as they are today, the Armenians were on their side. During the Sèvres Conference, you allowed us to take our place beside you. However, we have not lost hope that you will keep your promises and observe your principles. In concluding my speech, I would like to give expression to my belief, that if the proposal is properly worded, the Turks will change their attitude concerning the establishment of an Armenian homeland, for this solution will not only increase the prestige and honour of Turkey but will at the same time serve as a step in the right direction by guaranteeing them the contributions of an industrious, loyal and active population.

We are convinced that peace will be secured in the Near East on firm foundations provided these conditions are fulfilled."

After referring to the report submitted by Noradunghian affirming that he was in complete agreement with him, Aharonian also read a speech in which he emphasized the injustice and oppression inflicted on the Armenians by the Turks, and pointed out that the Turks had not only seized Turkish Armenia but that they had also invaded a great part of the Armenian Republic of Transcaucasia, including Kars, Ardahan, Sürmeli and Nakhichevan.

Aharonian commented on the fact that as a result of this invasion, 180,000 Armenians had taken refuge in the remaining lands of the Republic where 350,000 Armenians who had fled from the Eastern provinces had also emigrated. This situation had given rise to the spread of infectious disease and famine. It was only by American and European help that some of the worst effects of this situation had been alleviated. He remarked that the Turks had shown as an excuse for their aggression the terms of the treaties of Brest-Litovsk (1918), Batum (1918), Alexandropol (1920), and Kars (1921). However, the Mudros Armistice had rendered the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Batum null and void. The latter was also declared null and void by the

London Conference in 1921. As for the treaty of Kars it had never been recognized by the Great Powers. Aharonian noted that although the Turks claimed that these cities had belonged to them before the 1877 Russo-Turkish war, by that argument they could also claim Bulgaria as belonging to them, since, at that time, it, too, was within the Ottoman Empire.

Aharonian reminded the Conference that the Turks claimed a right over Kars, Ardahan and Batum in accordance with the terms of Turkish National Covenant. On the other hand, although Nakhichevan and Sürmeli had never belonged to the Turks but had been captured from the Persians by the Russians, the Turks had succeed in establishing their domination over both.

Aharonian proceeded to discuss the issue of an Armenian national home, saying that what the Armenians asked for was not simply a place to emigrate to, but the right to have a national home in the lands that had originally belonged to them. After going briefly over the history of the Armenian question and of the reform schemes, Aharonian explained to the Conference that the Turks had tried to exterminate the Armenians during the World War, and emphasized the support given by the Armenians to the Allied Powers in spite of the suffering and afflictions they endured. In return for all this, Aharonian said it would not be too much to expect the Allied Powers to provide the Armenians with a national home, no matter how inadequate, with access to the sea.

Aharonian also made an attempt to reply to Ismet Pasha's claim that the refugees could be settled in countries such as Canada and Australia. He pointed out that the Armenians had been living in their own country for 25 centuries. Moreover the Armenian people had participated in the World War and endured great losses and suffering in order to remain in their own country and not to be severed from their roots. In fact, it was precisely because of their unwillingness to go to places such as Australia and Canada that the Armenian nation had staked not only its present and future, but also its past on the outcome of the war.

Aharonian also tried to answer the allegations made by some persons that the Armenian movement of liberation had started at the instigation of Tsarist Russia and Great Britain, by stressing the fact that the Tsar and the Sultan had always been in agreement over crushing movements of liberation directed against despotic regimes, and that the revolutionary bands organized in Transcaucasia had been systematically destroyed by the Russian Army on the frontier. Indeed, Tsarist Russia feared to have another "Bulgaria" on her doorstep. Aharonian called the idea of British encouragement for the

Armenian revolutionists, "just another myth". He went on to explain that the Armenian liberation movements had the same origins as the Balkan nationalist movements. A simple comparison of these nations with the Turks would immediately reveal the extent to which these movements could be historically justified.

Aharonion declared that the Armenians were willing to respect the decision of the Allies for setting up a national home in Cilicia although they would always cherish the ideal of establishing a United Armenia. He concluded by saying that he had faith in the promises made by the Entente Powers and voiced his belief that the Allies would not allow the Conference to come to an end without securing Armenia her rights. Thus the Armenian claims for independence had gradually been reduced to a demand for a national home under the rule of a Turkish Governor-General, where they would be free to preserve their cultural traditions, language and religion.

This project was also rejected by Ismet Pasha, who claimed that no part of Turkish territory could be detached from Turkey in order to form an Armenian homeland and the Turkish government had concluded treaties with an officially recognized and independent Armenian Republic. Hence, Turkey could not contemplate the existence of another Armenia. In this way all the attempts and efforts of the Armenians ended in failure and the Armenian issue was, for a time, forgotten.

Despite this, the Armenian delegations did not give up their activities. They continued to pursue the Armenian cause, both by appealing to those who had once made them promises in order to further their own interests, and by exerting influence on the Turkish government. The Dashnaktsutiun Committee issued directives to all its offices to apply to the Great Powers and to strive for the attainment of the Armenian claims through new means and through the projection of a new image. The United Armenian Delegation submitted the following petition to the French Government.⁶

"The Conference of Lausanne decided to exclude the issue of an Armenian national home from the treaty of peace. It must be remembered that the 700,000 Armenians who have fled from Turkey and are now wandering about in destitution, are eagerly awaiting the result of the Conference. As the responsible delegation which has conveyed the promises made to the Armenian nation, we can on no account condone the abandonment of the Armenian issue. We beg you, in the name of a million and half Armenian dead, fallen in defence of the allies, and also hundreds of thousands of suffering Armenian refugees: instruct your representatives not to sign a treaty that will

rise to grave injustice towards a nation that has suffered great losses because of its loyalty to the Entente Powers, and will create a situation that would forever prevent the solution of the Armenian question and the establishment of peace in the East.

Presidents of the United Armenian Delegation
K. Noradunghian
A. Aharonian"

The following telegram sent by the United Armenian Delegation on February 19, 1923 to Mussolini in order to persuade him to defend the project of the Armenian national home at the League of Nations, included the following proposals:⁷

"In connection with our discussion this morning we are conveying to you the following proposals that would secure the establishment of an Armenian National Home. If the Entente Powers refrain from taking any steps, even despite their lavish public promises, in order to establish an Armenian homeland, they could at least take the following measures:

1. The inclusion in the Lausanne Treaty of an article that accepts in principle the establishment of an Armenian national home to be implemented by the League of Nations.

or,

2. Once the need for establishing the Armenian national home is accepted in principle, its implementation could be entrusted to a special commission to be set up for this purpose."

Chicherin was sent a letter by the Union of Armenian Friends where it was said that the Lausanne Treaty should not be signed unless a definite decision was reached concerning the Armenian issue. The letter went on to say:

"The Union of Armenian Friends and their representatives in Lausanne know that the Armenian Republic of Transcaucasia owes its safety to the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, the territory of this country is too small to allow the resettlement of approximately 800,000 Armenian refugees.

The Russians may sign a special pact with the Turks in order to

extend the borders of the Armenian Republic towards Van and Bitlis. In this way, the Russians will have reached an agreement on the Armenian issue with the Turks as well as with the Allied Powers, who are in a difficult position on account of the opposition of the Turks to the establishment of an independent state within their borders."

On January 25, Chicherin replied that he had been informed that Russia, Ukraine and Georgia had not been included in the sessions in which the Armenian question was discussed.⁸ He added that the Russian and the Ukrainian governments had accepted within their borders Armenian refugees whose number would be correctly determined.

Only two courses were left for the Armenian delegation after the defeat of the Armenian cause in Lausanne:

1. To leave Lausanne immediately after lodging a strong protest.
2. To continue political activities in order to revive the discussion of the issue at a convenient time in the future.

It was the second alternative that was adopted. While preparations were being made for resuming activities, the United Armenian Delegation submitted the following declaration to the great Powers on February 2, 1923 before leaving Lausanne:⁹

"Our delegation has understood from the declaration issued by the conference from the draft of the treaty published in the press that the Armenian cause has been abandoned by the Entente Powers.

Under these conditions the representative delegation has no wish either to question this neglect or to search for the reasons of a situation which is regrettable not only for the Allies but for the Turks as well. Nevertheless, the Armenian delegations feel obliged to draw attention to the fact that the issue remains unsolved and that the situation of an unfortunate nation has been made even more deplorable.

The Great Powers will doubtless fulfil the commitments they made to the Armenians concerning the liberation of Turkish Armenia not only for humanitarian and political reasons, but also

in return for the countless services rendered by the Armenians during the War. It was the call of the Allies that the Armenians flocked in huge numbers to their banners. These volunteers signed documents that guaranteed the freedom of their country and created the nucleus of the Eastern region that became renowned in Palestine and Cilicia.

It was the Armenian forces fighting single-handed on Caucasian frontiers that prevented the Turkish army from defeating the British army and advancing into Iraq, and finally, it was the Armenians who, by their heroic defence of Baku, obstructed the transport of petrol to the German army on the Western front. According to the reports of the German commanders it was the shortage of petrol that hastened the end of the War.

This heroism and self-sacrifice have cost the Armenians a great deal. If we cast a glance at their losses, we notice that nearly 1,500,000 Armenians were destroyed during the massacres and deportations, approximately 700,000 were left homeless and destitute, and, finally, more than 100,000 orphans were left in the care of charity societies. In addition to this, the Armenians have incurred material losses amounting to 10 million francs. In this way the Armenian nation has lost a great number of her children and has been deprived of her churches, her schools and her own country.

Leaving aside the Berlin Congress of 1878 and its aftermath, I should like to remind you of the declaration made by the Great Powers, that one of the main aims of the World War was to establish justice and truth on earth.

Article 22 of the treaty signed at Versailles in 1919 aimed at liberating the communities under Ottoman rule among which the Armenians came first. With the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920, the Entente Powers determined the boundaries of Armenia and at the London Conference of 1921 they decided to set up an Armenian national home. Finally, at their Paris meeting in 1922, they felt the need to declare that "special care should be taken concerning the situation of the Armenians, to whom the allies were grateful for their contribution during the War!" Consequently, it was decided that an Armenian national home should be set up with the help of the League of Nations. It is regrettable that no provisions have been made in the Lausanne Treaty 1923 in order to realize the

traditional aims of the Armenians.

Under these circumstances, the delegation, in the name of a victimized, long suffering nation, requests the Great Powers once again to decide upon the future of the Armenian nation, which has undergone great afflictions which cannot be overlooked by the civilized world. We do not have to add that unless they do this there can be no stable conditions for peace in the East."

On August 9, the president of the delegation of the Armenian Republic sent a letter to the League of the Nations protesting over the Treaty of Lausanne. He remarked that this treaty not only ignored the rights of the Armenians recognized by the Treaty of Sèvres, but also deliberately refused to recognize their existence. He added that under the circumstances all the issues related to the Armenian question were left unresolved, and requested the League of Nations to secure the inclusion of the Armenian question on the agenda of the assembly.

On the same day another protest signed by Aharonian was conveyed to the representatives of the Allied Powers objecting that not a single word had been included in the treaty on the Armenian problem.¹⁰ Aharonian said that the Armenian nation who had joined the war because of her faith in the principles upheld by the Entente Powers and who in this action had lost two thirds of her population had been cast aside and doomed to oblivion. The Treaty of Sèvres had included articles that ensured the existence of Armenia in return for her great losses during the war. Aharonian argued that if it were claimed that the war had resolved all the problems that had given rise to it, it would be true to say that the only nation that had been reduced to an intolerable situation were the Armenians. Aharonian reminded the Great Powers that apart from the two million Armenians that were living in destitution under Turkish or Bolshevik rule, there were more than one million Armenians scattered all over the world and subjected to poverty and disease. Only one tenth of the latter would survive through their own efforts and were in a fairly reasonable state. The rest were immigrants deprived of the protection of law. Aharonian further added that Turkish Armenians were not allowed to go back or to dispose of their property. This included more than 10,000 orphans who had been deprived of their inheritance rights. Aharonian explained that all the property belonging to the Armenian community, including churches and libraries, had all been burned down or destroyed or else confiscated. Aharonian noted that the Treaty of Lausanne had turned into a treaty of betrayal for the Armenians, and would be of no service either to the cause of peace or

to that of justice and truth. He concluded by saying that the Armenian nation insisted on her rights guaranteed by the Treaty of Sèvres and objected to the Lausanne Treaty with all her strength.

Kachaznuni said in connection with the Lausanne Treaty:¹¹

"In 1922 the Armenian cause was in its death-throes. The term 'national home' was officially pronounced for the first time at the Conference of Lausanne. The Sèvres Agreement had been entirely forgotten. The issue of an Armenian independence or autonomy was no longer valid. Instead, the project had been proposed of a national home or of a homeland of dubious character within another country. This was described as a final concession in order to save the peace. Such was the situation in March. By the end of the year it had changed slightly. The idea of the homeland was presented to the Turks in the form of a modest and friendly proposal, and an operatic duet began. The Turks expressed their sorrow in a civilized and polite manner. The Allied Powers made gestures manifesting their grief and despair and said they had resorted to every means to save the helpless Armenians but had not been able to do anything more... At this point Chicherin, speaking on behalf of the Soviet Union, offered areas in the Crimea, on the shores of the Volga and in Siberia for the Armenians to settle. Indeed, the idea of independent state had been replaced by a National Home, and, finally the National Home was replaced by recommendations to emigrate to Siberia."

NOTES

1. Khatisian, *op.cit.*
2. *ibid.*
3. *ibid.*
4. Minutes of the Conference of Lausanne.
5. Khatisian, *op.cit.*, p. 335.
6. *ibid.*
7. *ibid.*
8. *ibid.*
9. *ibid.*
10. *ibid.*
11. Kachaznuni, *op.cit.*

V
**THE SITUATION OF THE ARMENIANS AFTER THE
CONFERENCE OF LAUSANNE**

The states which had for years acted as the protectors of the Armenians, declaring that they were motivated purely by humanitarian causes and making various vague promises, cast the Armenians aside when they had ceased to be of any use to them any longer.

The Armenians, who had been hoping that their problems would be solved by European intervention, now, having lost all they had possessed in Turkey, turned their eyes towards Russia. The Armenians expected the Russians to support them since they too were eternal enemies of the Turks.¹

After the Conference of Lausanne, this idea was incorporated into Armenian policy. It was decided to pursue these four basic aims:

1. To reinforce the cultural and economic principles of the Soviet Armenian Republic.
2. To preserve the national integrity, language, culture and ideals of the Armenian people dispersed all over the world.
3. To keep alive the claims of the Armenians in the League of Nations, in political societies and in the assemblies of the European states, and to prepare the ground for their realization.
4. To secure financial support for the inhabitants of Armenia as well as for the refugees, to protect and educate the orphans, to help the needy and to tend the sick.

The idea of setting up an organization which would defend the rights of the Armenians in Europe had been opposed by the conservative elements on the grounds that in this way the Dashnaksutiun would completely dominate the community. Nonetheless, this nation was followed up, and in this way Dashnaksutiun once again became the leader of the movement for a united and independent Armenia.

Kachaznuni has the following to say on the role of Dashnaksutiun in the Armenian movement:²

"For us, political organization and leadership have always been matters beyond our capacity. We have always miscalculated and lacked foresight. We were not well-informed.

What is the situation of Armenia at present? A tiny community confined between the Araks and Sevan. Independent in name but in actual fact one of the three autonomous provinces of the Russian Empire. Turkish Armenia does not exist any more. Neither as a government nor as a homeland nor even as an international issue. The cause was killed and buried in Lausanne. What is more, there are no Armenians in Turkish Armenia any longer. There never will be any more. The Turks have shut their doors on us, and we have no strength to force them open.

Nearly a million Armenians live within the Armenian Republic while more than a million are scattered abroad: in Georgia, Azerbaidjan, Northern Transcaucasia, Iran, Syria, the Balkans and many other parts of the world. Only a very few of those outside can find refuge in the Armenian Republic. Its territory is too limited for the settlement of the refugees from the provinces. Some of those who live abroad cannot return because of their trades, since they could not make a living in a poor and rural country such as Armenia. In general the Armenians outside cannot be considered an integral part of the population of Armenia. As long as the situation remains the same they must remain Armenia's stepchildren.

The Dashnaks have appealed to the revolutionary-socialist Bolsheviks asking to be allowed to cooperate with them, but they have been rejected. They live in voluntary exile and are not admitted within the country. They have no alternative to pursuing illegal revolutionary activities.

Have we not formerly been persecuted by the Tsars and the Ottoman Sultans? Could we not do the same in the Armenian Republic as we had done for years in Turkish Armenia?

Of course, we can. We can establish a national home in the Karadağ area of Iran (just as we had done in Selmas) and from there we could smuggle fighters and ammunition across the Araks, we could establish secret contacts and we could form armed bands. We would be able to incite to rebellion the villages in inaccessible spots on the Sunik or Tarlakyazi mountains, on the Sasun mountains and the hills of Shataks, and we could overcome the communists and crush them. We would also be able to hold noisy demonstrations and even occupy for a few hours an office at Erevan, just as we had once occupied the Ottoman bank. We could blow up buildings, establish organizations and perpetrate terrorism and personal murder. We could of course kill a few Bolsheviks just as we had killed the functionaries of the Sultan and the Tsar. Indeed we could explode bombs in front of Miyasnukian or Lukashin just as we had done before Sultan Hamid, We could do all these things, but there is one question left; What would we hope to gain?

When we were committing these acts in Turkey we had hoped to attract the sympathy and attention of the Great Powers and to induce them to intervene on our behalf. This intervention has now no value, and because of this it is unnecessary to engage in such activities.

If Europe, for all its good will could not help us in Turkey, it is difficult to see what else she could do. And the same applies to Russia."

NOTES

1. Khatisian, *op.cit.*, p. 359.
2. Kachaznuni, *op.cit.*, p. 52.

VI ACTIVITIES FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF ARMENIA

There have been many attempts in the past for reforming Armenia and for providing her with independence or autonomy. But all of these efforts have resulted in defeat and frustration. Those who strive for these goals, who, deceived by seductive promises, dragged the people behind them into danger, were always sacrificed to the interests of others. Nonetheless, these attempts were constantly repeated, and ended by bringing disasters on the people, causing the innocent to be destroyed and cities and villages to be devastated and burnt down. It is significant that the leaders of these movements, which took Turkey as their target, were instigated by Russians, who were almost always religious dignitaries, patriarchs or Catholicoi. These persons, who consciously or unconsciously, dragged the people entrusted to their care to destruction in the pursuit of a vain dream, had an important part to play in the tragic incidents that resulted. This responsibility was shared by poets and writers who incited the common people and inflamed their imagination. At the same time, one should not forget the part played by the members of the political committees who took the lead simply to further their own interests.

The various phases of the Armenian Question and the activities related to it from the time of the Berlin Conference up to the end of the first world war have been surveyed above. We should now take a look at some of the attempts made before that period:

1. The activities of Israel Ori¹

The most important activities for the restoration of Armenia were conducted by a person from Karabagh named Israel Ori, who

attempted to organize a crusading army in the seventeenth century for the liberation of Armenia. He pursued the cause from 1698 to 1711, when he died without realizing his aims.

In 1678, Catholicos Hagop Tjughahetsi called a meeting in Etchmiadzin of six clerics and six lay leaders to make plans for the liberation of the Armenians of Persia, and they decided to send a mission to the Pope, asking for his assistance. There had been two other Catholicos beforehand who had thought of applying to the Pope for the same purpose. Israel Ori was one of the delegation sent by Tjughahetsi.

The Catholicos who headed the delegation died when they reached Istanbul. Ori decided to continue the journey to Italy and then to France. He became a soldier in the French army for twelve years, and continued to establish contacts with European dignitaries in pursuance of the liberation of his country. He offered the crown of Armenia to Prince Johann-Wilhelm of the Palatinate and afterwards Ori returned to his homeland and attempted to carry out a reform of his country. In his native Karabagh, he tried to contact clerics and lay leaders.

In 1698, Ori returned to Europe once again and first visited the Austrian Court in Vienna, but the Emperor Leopold refused to see him or to give him any help because he had only recently signed the Treaty of Karlowitz. With the aim of fulfilling his mission he went to Russia via Poland, where he was received by Peter the Great. The Tsar endorsed his plans and promised to help the Armenians. He then went to Iran and in 1699 returned to Erevan.

Ori aimed at enlisting the help of the armed Armenians of Karabagh and Sunik. His objective was to realize the unification of the Western Church and the Catholicosate of Etchmiadzin. He found that the new Catholicos Nahabed Yegesasi not only refused to accept Roman Catholicism but also rejected the whole liberation movement. In Karabagh, Ori assembled all the leaders of the people, and together they decided to unite with the papacy. Since he received no support from the Catholicos, he tried to win the assistance of other church dignitaries, but of these only Minas Vartabet decided to accompany Ori to Europe, and remained with him until the end.

Ori carried with him several documents of importance:

1. a petition addressed to Pope Innocent XII from the Armenian leaders declaring that they were willing to accept Catholicism and requesting help from the papacy;

2. a document of authorization issued in the names of Ori and Minas Vartabet;

3. a letter addressed to Prince Wilhelm expressing their determination to avoid no sacrifices for to liberating of their country;

4. a petition addressed to Peter the Great to enable Ori to engage in negotiations.

In Europe, Ori and Minas Vartabet first visited Johann Wilhelm in Germany who endorsed their proposals, but sent them to Vienna to obtain the approval.

Ori's Proposal:

The aim of Ori's proposal was to secure the liberation of Armenia with the assistance of Europe. In the spring of 1700, a crusading army was to be formed consisting of common soldiers and also princes and rulers. The local people, too, would be armed and would be waiting to join them as soon as the European forces entered Armenia. Since the European forces could not come through Turkey, although this was the shortest route, they would be obliged to reach the shores of the Caspian by way of Austria and Russia. Hence, the army had to be composed of light cavalry. Prince Wilhelm would himself provide 5-6,000 cavalymen for this purpose or arrange for his allies to provide them. The army would receive supplies from the Armenian merchants of Poland and Russia. The cavalry would descend to the Caspian by sailing down the Volga, and then would capture Baku and Shemahi, which would be the signal for the Armenians to unite with them. Ori claimed that the Armenians had made great preparations and that they had accumulated weapons, funds and manpower. All they needed was a commander and cannon. He guaranteed that they would provide 10,000 Armenian cavalry and more than 200,000 fighters from Armenia. This united army would proceed through Nakhichevan and Erevan to Tebriz and would bring the whole of Armenia under the rule of the Prince of Armenia. Ori did not expect the Persians to show resistance. As for Turkish Armenia, this remained outside the scope of Ori's scheme. Emperor Leopold received Ori very warmly and wrote encouraging replies to the Armenian leaders. However, he refused to be involved, saying that he could not take action due to the situation in Europe and the conflict over the Spanish throne. At the same time, warning that it would not

be possible to send soldiers to the Caspian without the permission of the Tsar, he advises them to obtain the approval of Peter the Great.

In June 1700, Ori arrived in Moscow carrying a letter from the Prince of Armenia and addressed to the leaders of Karabagh, in which it was stated that Ori had been entrusted by God with the task of liberating Persian Armenia with the assistance of European forces. Being well aware that Peter the Great would not permit German soldiers to go through his territory, he told him that they needed the help of Russian soldiers. In case of Turkish attacks against the Armenians, the Prince the once he had obtained the permission of the European rulers, would send forces to defend the Armenians. On their passage through Russia the people would suffer no injury; on the contrary, they would benefit from the presence of the troops. All measures would be taken to ensure peace and order. Ori added that any conquests made by this army would be in the name of the Russian Emperor, and the territories occupied would be placed under his rule. Finally, after the campaign had achieved its objectives, Russian troops would remain stationed in Armenia. Ori explained that Armenia was a rich and populous country and that it could feed large armies. He added that within ten years the Armenians would be able to contribute more than a hundred thousand soldiers to the Russian army. Ori tried to convince Peter the Great that the success of all these attempts was dependent on his approval and assured him that the Armenians had placed all their hopes in the help provided by Russia. Upon this, Peter the Great replied that he would deal with the Armenian cause as soon as the war with Sweden was concluded.

When Ori informed the leaders and the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin of the promise made by Peter the Great, the Catholicos once again refused to become involved. In the meantime, Simon, the Catholicos of Avgan, had died and had been replaced by Catholicos Yessai. The new Catholicos appealed to the Tsar in an official bull and offered 20,000 pieces of gold to the Tsar's representative and another 4,000 to Ori's interpreter. In addition to this, Yessai informed Ori that he was free to borrow as much as he needed. Next, Ori received a special authorization from Peter the Great to establish contacts in Persia. However, before embarking on their mission, he visited Dusseldorf again to meet the Prince, and by his mediation a letter was obtained from the Pope addressed to the Shah asking the latter to show compassion to the Christians under his rule. Ori was given another letter from Peter the Great also addressed to the Shah.

In 1707, Ori arrived in Persia, where he was greeted with suspicion. After a long period of waiting, he was received by the Shah, who replied to the letter of Peter the Great by saying that there were some

ignorant persons among his Christians subjects who deserved to be punished on account of their misdeeds. At the Tsar's request he forgave them, provided they never again committed the same offences. This reply completely defeated the purpose of the delegation. The Shah did his best to force Ori to leave the country, and in 1709 Ori set off for Moscow accompanied by a group of Armenian artisans and their families and carrying back rich gifts. But he fell ill and died on the way, thus leaving all his schemes and projects unrealized. After Ori's death Minas Vartabed continued his contacts with Russia. The Germans had completely forgotten the Armenian cause, and the whole responsibility now lay with Peter the Great, who was intensely interested in the affairs of Transcaucasia, and of Armenia in particular. Consequently, he sent Volanski as an envoy to Persia in 1715 and asked him to make a thorough study of the conditions of the Armenians in Persia. In 1721, after the war with Sweden, he turned his attention to the East, and sent an army of 30,000 regular soldiers reinforced by 70,000 armed civilians to Transcaucasia. Derbent and Baku surrendered, and plans were made to march on Shamahi. The Russian army was joined by Georgian Armenian fighters. Exhilaration reigned among the Armenians, who believed that their day of liberation had come, but this hope was short-lived. Their disillusionment was to prove as great as their joy when Peter the Great commanded a large part of his forces to return to Astrahan, and he himself left for Moscow. The reasons for this reversal of policy were never fully understood. However, the apparent reasons were the difficulty of supplying an army at such distance and for a long period of time, the excessive heat on the shores of the Caspian, the Ottoman preparations for defending Persia, Peter the Great's reluctance to engage in battles with two Islamic countries at the same time and finally, his preference for finding a political solution to the problem rather than a military one.

The withdrawal of the Russians had very damaging effects on the morale of the Armenians and the Georgians. The Georgian King fled to Russia, and the Ottomans invaded Georgia. However, the measures taken by Peter the Great did not imply changes in his Eastern policy nor did the Armenians lose their hopes of independence. They continued to pursue their cause and to appeal to Russia through the mediation of Minas Vartabet. When Peter the Great saw that the Turks would not except any of his offers, he decided to prepare for war and tried to enlist the support of the Armenians by means of promises to support their demands for independence.

However, the Armenians were once again betrayed, for Peter the

Great found it more expedient to come to an agreement with the Persians in order to avoid a conflict with the Ottomans. With the signing of the Russo-Persian treaty in Moscow on September 12, 1723, Russia annexed Derbend, Baku, Gelan, Mazenderan and Asterabad. In return, the Tsar promised to protect the sovereignty of the Shah and defend Iran against foreign aggression.

The terms of this treaty made no provision for the independence of either Armenia or Georgia. Indeed, the Russians openly reversed their policy towards the Armenians and ordered them to emigrate to and develop the newly conquered cities. Nevertheless, the Armenians did not give up. Minas Vartabet regularly conveyed the problems of his nation to the Tsar. In the meantime, the Ottomans had also advanced beyond Tiflis to Karabagh and Kapan. Under these circumstances, the Armenians sent a committee of three persons in order to inform the Russian Emperor of the Turkish advance and to ask for help. The committee, which was intentionally delayed on the way by the Russians, arrived in Petersburg, after a lapse of six months, to discover that a treaty had been signed between the Russian and the Ottomans (June 24, 1724) according to which the Western Coast of the Caspian Sea remained under Russian rule, and the remaining area, including Karabagh and Kapan, was given to the Ottomans. Peter the great advised the Committee to instruct the Armenian inhabitants of the occupied areas to emigrate to other regions still under Russian domination. The reaction of the Armenians was one of shock and despair when they saw that the promises that had been made to them had been replaced by such recommendations.

2. The Attempts by Catholicos Hovsep Arghuthian (1743-1801)

H. Aknuni says that "Russia was the great protector of the Eastern Christians. The Ottoman Empire had blocked the route leading to the Balkans, just as Iran had blocked the southern route. The intention of Russia was to put an end to this situation.

In 1769, the Russian armies had embarked upon a campaign to capture Byzantium and turn it into the centre of the Christian world. The Armenians immediately took steps to make their own views heard to the Tsar. The Catholicos Hovsep Arghuthian submitted a petition, by which it was proposed to set Armenia up as a buffer state (the Kingdom of Ararat) between the Russian Empire and her Islamic neighbours. In 1799, discussions which were of significance for the future of Armenia began to be held in Petersburg. The Armenians were represented by Arghuthian, and Hovhannes

Lazarian, the benefactor and founder of the Armenian Lazarian School, and the Russian government was represented by General Svarov, commonly known as Potemkin.²

The proposal made by the Armenians concerning the independence and organization of their country was as follows:³

"Armenia has been deprived of an independent administration for centuries. Many parts of it are government by the Turks or the Persians, and only a small area, i.e. Karabagh, is independent. If a good leader could be found, he could restore Armenia to her former glory, he could encourage the Armenians to come and resettle in their country and he could fortify it against enemy attacks. The climate and soil of Armenia are suitable for the production of corn and other foodstuffs. The country possesses mineral ores such as iron and it manufactures gunpowder.

The independence of the *meliks* (chiefs) of Karabagh and the consequent lack of unity constitutes one of the main reasons for the weakness of the realm. On the other hand, the Armenians living under Persian rule are subjected to such cruel and unjust treatment that a great number have fled to Turkey. If by the choice of the Armenian nation or the decision of her Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, an Armenian overlord or king is appointed to guide the people, he would first have to make Derbent his base and also have his authority recognized in Shamahi and Gendje. In that case Karabagh and Sagnat will also provide soldiers and will unite under his rule. In this way, Erevan and the other cities will be gradually brought under control. In fact, at the beginning a force of two or three thousand men would be sufficient for the overlord to realize his initial objectives. After the capture of Erevan which could be effected within two years it would be possible to maintain a standing army with the income of the Armenian cities. However, the Armenian ruler would need cavalry and artillery units in order to protect his throne. There is no doubt that the unity of Karabagh can be achieved at the wish and command of the Empress and in the shortest possible time. Such an enterprise would, in a short time, not only enhance and increase Russia's honour and reputation but at the same time would enable her to overcome Turkey and Iran. The reasons for this are obvious: If Armenia is united under one government and her borders are extended, then her produce will increase on account of the fact that she will have more arable land, and she will thus be able to afford a standing army of 12,000 to 20,000 soldiers. In case of a war with Turkey or Iran, this number

would be increased to more than 60,000. Moreover, she would also be able to contribute soldiers to fight under the Russians, and would remain loyal to Russia as a sign of her gratitude for having restored her unity and identity."

Leo gives the following explanation:

"Catherine II approved this project and decided to appoint her favourite, Prince Potemkin, as overlord of Armenia. While the Russians were making plans for the reorganization of Armenia, they were at the same time reinforcing Georgia, with the intention of using these two Christian kingdoms of the Caucasus as buffer states against the Moslems."

In order to establish the relations of Armenia and Russia on a sound basis and to define the rights and responsibilities of the two countries towards each other, a treaty consisting of two main parts, one containing the commitments of the Armenians and the other those of the Russians, was prepared by Hovsep Arghuthian. This treaty was never ratified since it was claimed by Russia that Armenia was not a sovereign state and that therefore a treaty could not be concluded officially with her.

THE TREATY PROPOSED BY HOVSEP ARGHUTHIAN

Part I

1. The mutual love and respect of the Russian and the Armenian people will be encouraged and increased, in keeping with the teaching of the Bible, that commands us to love all our brothers.
2. The friendly relations that exist between the two nations will be protected and developed.
3. Moslems who are converted to Christianity will be baptized.
4. A peace pact will be made to seal and confirm the unity of the two kingdoms.
5. A Russian contingency will be kept in Armenia, for the defence of the realm and against the Ottoman Empire and Iran.
6. Armenia will accept to be a tributary state of Russia, and will pay taxes and a set amount of gold and silver, as well as provide soldiers during a war.
7. The king of Armenia will be appointed by the Empress herself.
8. The king will be crowned and anointed in Etchmiadzin, in

accordance with the traditional customs of the Armenians.

9. The capital of Armenia should be Vagarshabad its former capital but if this is not possible, then Ani, or another city within the region of Ararat.

10. The Armenian flag will be red, green and blue, the colours of the rainbow which is the token of the covenant God made with Noah after the flood, and will have on it a representation of Noah's ark.

11. The flag will also bear the picture of Grigor Lusarovitch (St. Gregory the Illuminator).

12. The apostles who were sent by Jesus to Apkar will be symbolically presented.

13. The eagle which was the heraldic sign of the Armenian Kingdom, before its conversion to Christianity, the lamb which represents the Christian religion and the two lions that symbolize Cilicia will embellish the gowns and insignia of our kings and they will also be carved onto our coins.

14. The descendants of the persons who have performed outstanding services to the state will occupy positions of power.

15. Measures should be introduced to stop the sale of serfs by the princes. If the king bestows land and title on a person, he should be able to dispose of the village in its entirety, if he so wishes, but he should not be allowed to sell either the serfs individually, nor the soil or water of the village without the inhabitants. Our nation was subjected to a similar treatment in the past during the reign of Arshakunis, when the Greeks had aimed at turning us into servants and slaves. Even then, our people refused to comply and entered the service of the Caliph of Baghdad in order to escape.

16. A protocol must be prepared concerning customs regulations and commercial laws. The Armenians must have access to the Caspian Sea.

17. Agreement must be reached with respect to the rules governing the treatment of deserters from the army and the extradition of criminals.

18. The head of our Church must be appointed by the king (This person is now selected by the people.)

Part II

1. The governors and administrators of Armenia will be selected from Armenian families, by royal decree and in accordance with the customary procedure followed in Armenia.

2. The Armenian ministers of state will be selected from

Armenians belonging to the Armenian Church and descended from Armenian parents.

3. Russian forces consisting of 2,000 cavalry, 2,000 infantry and 2,000 artillery will remain stationed in Armenia for a period of twenty years with their cannon, ammunition and provisions, in order to defend and protect the Armenian people.

4. Until the withdrawal of the Russian forces, all castles and military fortifications will be under Russian command.

5. To meet the expenses of these 6,000 soldiers, the Armenians will contribute 60,000 tomans, thirty thousand of which will be in gold and silver and the rest to provide bread, meat and wine.

6. The withdrawal of these soldiers will be realized according to the following plan: 2,000 will leave in the tenth year, 2,000 in the fifteenth and the remaining 2,000 in the twentieth year. There will be a decrease in the amount of the funds contributed corresponding to the reduction in the number of the soldiers.

7. If at the end of this period Armenians fail to pay any part of this amount, this will be accepted as being their debt and the Imperial Treasury will expect to have it paid back at no interest within sixteen years.

8. As a token of their allegiance, the Armenians will send to the Russian Emperor, once a year, twenty *miskals* of pure gold, three horses and six rams.

9. Because the Armenians view the Tsar of Russia as their saviour and protector, they will accept his friends as their own friends and his enemies as their own enemies.

10. If the Tsar orders the Armenians to provide military help, they will send up to 6,000 soldiers. The Armenians will be reimbursed for their expenses.

11. Persons occupying high positions in the civil administration or the military will enjoy the same status in both Armenia and Russia, subject to the approval of the Tsar.

12. The Armenians will respect the religious observances of the Russians and the Russians likewise will show respect to the traditional rites of the Armenian Church.

13. Artisans and merchants will be able to import their products and goods into Armenia on condition that they pay the customs fixed by the government; and the Armenians on their part, without any bans or limitations, will also be able to export their goods into Russia.

14. Armenians and Russians guilty of murder in their respective countries and fugitives will be extradited. However, Armenians who have committed petty offences, or those who have defaulted on payment of gold and silver will be tried in the local courts. If the

offender is a cleric, he will be handed over to the bishoprics of which he is a member.

15. Armenia will be governed in accordance with her traditional laws and all her affairs will be administered in keeping with the terms of these laws.

16. The Russian Empire will recognize the Kingdom of Armenia and there will be an Armenian Ambassador at Petersburg.

17. Since Akhvankh and Georgia traditionally belonged to the Armenians and since the inhabitants of these areas are of the same race as the Armenians, cherishing friendly feelings for one another, the Armenians will provide a thousand soldiers who will fight with the Russians to liberate these two countries.

18. The Tsar will receive four tenths of the national income of Armenia as surety for the payment for the expenses made to provide for the six thousand soldiers stationed in Armenia. Another four tenths will be spent to meet the expenses of religious establishments and will be distributed as alms to the poor. The remainder will be left to the State Treasury.

19. The yearly payments will be distributed as follows: The first installment will be paid on March 29, the second on June 20, the third on September 20, and the fourth on December 20.

20. In case of disagreements between the Russian and Armenian governments, uprisings and revolts will on no account be permitted. Under such circumstances both sides will submit their complaints to the Holy Roman Emperor. The judgement passed by him will be conclusive for both sides."

200,000 copies of the text of this treaty were printed in 1779, to be distributed to religious dignitaries, princes and the Armenian aristocracy. However, the project proposed was never realized. In 1791, the Empress died and as a result of the events that ensued, all the hopes of the Armenians were crushed. Nonetheless, the Armenians did not give up striving for their independence. Indeed the nineteenth century witnessed an intensification in the liberationist activities of the Armenians.

3. The Attempts of Catholicos Nerses Ashtaraketsi

On October 12, 1813 Fath Ali, Shah of Persia, unable to withstand the Russians had, been forced to conclude the Treaty of Gulistan with them. According to the terms of this treaty, the frontier passed along the southern bank of the Araks and continued through Nakhichevan and Erevan. This gave rise to disputes and led to a new war.

On account of the help given by the Armenians to the Russians during the previous war, the Emperor Alexander I issued a declaration to the Armenians in September 1813. In this document he expressed his joy at the fact that his Armenian subjects had once again proved their loyalty. They had shown exemplary courage and self-sacrifice at a time when efforts were being made to break the peace in Georgia and to incite rebellion and uprising. The Tsar concluded his declaration by thanking the Armenians, before the whole world, for their great contributions.

In 1826 Abbas Mirza, Shah of Persia, broke the Treaty of Gulistan and entered Russian territory invading Shushi and advanced as far as Tiflis. He incited the Moslem population in Transcaucasia and Daghestan against the Russians. The Armenians, who were left in a difficult situation joined the Russians. Tsar Nicolas I ordered his army under the command of the Armenian General Matatov to march on Persia.

During this war, Catholicos Nerses Ashtaraketsi, who hoped to gain independence for Armenia by Russian help, strove to encourage the Armenians to fight together with the Russians. He formed bands of volunteers and had reinforcements brought from every part of the country. He organized military processions and ceremonies, gave speeches and inflamed the spirits of all Armenians. In a service held in the Armenian church of Tiflis, the volunteers were blessed. Indeed, the Armenians were convinced that this time the Russians would definitely liberate them. Nerses Ashtaraketsi issued the following decree to the Armenian soldiers.⁴

"Armenians, remember the amazing heroic deeds of your ancestors. You are their sons and their blood flows through your veins. Like them you believe in God and profess Christianity. Do not spare any effort in the service of the holy Russian Emperor, our benefactor. You already know the intentions of the Russian Empire. This great country has extended her powerful hand not only to further her own interests, but also to effect our liberation.

Do not be afraid of going into action. The time has come for you to show yourselves worthy of your ancestors. You will willingly die but not betray your country. You will fight heroically. You will overcome the cunning and the treachery of the enemy. Whether you fight together with the Russians or alone, do not hesitate to shed your blood to its last drop. The highest honour you will receive will be the grace of God and the favour of His Majesty, the Russian Emperor."

After the capture of Kanzak by the Russian forces, Matatov was replaced by the Russian General Pancradiev.

In the winter of 1827, Catholicos Ashtaraketsi continued to encourage the volunteers with inflammatory speeches. The war ended with the victory of the Russians and on February 22, 1828 the Treaty of Turkmen-chai (Türkmençayı) was signed. With this treaty Persia lost all its territory between the Kur and Araks rivers including the khanates of Erevan, Nakhichevan and Talish.

Tsar Nicolas I gave the name Armyanskaya Oblast to this region. The expectations of the Armenians for the Russians and their dreams of independence were once again crushed. Within a short time after this, Prince Paskievich, the commander-in-chief in the Caucasus, accused Nerses of betraying Russia and brought the following charges against him:

1. Although Nerses had promised to provide help for General Beghendorv's army before it arrived at the frontier, this promise was not kept.

2. He had informed the authorities that the Russian soldiers who had become acclimatized to Georgia would easily adapt themselves to the climate of Erevan. This information also proved false.

3. The battle of Oshagan led by Krasovskiy with the advice of Nerses resulted in a disastrous defeat.

4. Nerses was not contented with the spiritual authority bestowed on him by the Church, but wished to exert political influence over the Armenian people. Moreover, he had established contacts and close relations with the Turks and Georgians.

5. He attempted to increase the revenues of the Churches of Etchmiadzin by diverting the funds from the state.

6. He refused to provide the two thousand Armenian soldiers which had been demanded for defending the newly conquered areas against Persian attacks.

Upon these accusations, the Tsar asked Paskievich to give further explanation and in reply to this Paskievich said that Nerses had interfered in the administration of the areas inhabited by Armenians and that he had opposed the Turkmen-chai Treaty according to which the Russo-Persian border proceeded along the Araks River and had proposed instead that this frontier should go over the mountains of Maku and extend as far as the Turkish border.

In 1828 the Russians, in order to be rid of his incessant demands, banished Nerses to a distant corner of Bessarabia where he lived for 15 years until his death in 1850. For many years, it was rumoured

among the Armenian people that the Russian government had had Nerses poisoned in order that his dream of independence could be buried with him. And the Armenians remained the loyal subjects of Russia.

NOTES

1. G. Tumaian, *A History of the Eastern Question and an Introduction to the Armenian Question*.
2. F. Aknuni, *Les Plaies du Caucase*.
3. A. B. Leo, *Documents on the Armenian Question*. C. Aghanian, *Archives of Armenian History*, Tiflis, 1893-1917.
4. M. Varandian, *Introductory History of the Armenian Movement*, Geneva, 1904.

VII RUSSIAN VIEWS ON THE ARMENIANS

It is seen that the Armenians continuously strove for their independence and always expected the Russians to support them. It would be interesting to see what the Russian policy was towards them, while they were engaged in pursuing this dream of independence and fighting to further the interests of Russia.

I am quoting below a passage on the Armenians from the book entitled *Europe Without Turkey* written by A. Tsherep - Spiridovitch, a member of the Pan-Slavonic Society and published in 1913:¹

“The time is approaching when the Armenians have to choose one of the following alternatives. 1) The independence of Armenia; 2) Turkish reforms under European supervision; 3) Autonomy; 4) Annexation to Russia.

1. The Independence of Armenia:

The questions to be asked are 1) Would the Armenians who live in Russia, Turkey and Persia, want independence? 2) Would an independent Armenia be strong enough to defend itself? 3) Would there be any advantages for the European countries if they were to risk the danger of fighting these three states in order to secure Armenian independence? 4) Is Armenia organized to liberate herself from the domination of these states? 5) Have they chosen a leader endowed with high qualities capable of taking a step that requires such daring and courage? Even the Armenians themselves would answer these questions in the negative. Consequently, the issue of Armenian independence could only be

the subject of future discussions. No one who calls himself a friend of Armenia can recommend such measures. Such a desire for independence could result in massacres worse than the ones of 1896 and 1906. Therefore this alternative has to be discarded.

2. The reforms to be carried out by Turkey

The author gives an account of the reform movements that had been attempted up to that date and argues that the Turks could not be trusted to carry them out.

3. Autonomy for Turkish Armenia

Although this project is highly commendable, would it be possible to find one or two states which would guarantee its realization? Russia cannot do this because the Armenians of Transcaucasia would also demand autonomy and ask for the whole of the Caucasus including the province of Stavropol. Hence, this responsibility can only be taken over by the Entente States. In that case the Armenians could be asked what contributions they have made that entitles them to expect such help.

4. Annexation to Russia

This alternative is actually the most beneficial one for the Armenians, for there are Armenians living in Russia who occupy high positions, and some who are renowned for their wealth. Moreover they enjoy absolute liberty and rights of citizenship. As examples we can mention L. Melikov who was made a count and rose very high in the state hierarchy and Mantashev who amassed a huge fortune. Under the constitutional regime introduced in 1905 there are many Armenian deputies in the Duma.

Furthermore, in the case of such an annexation the Armenians of Persia will also wish to be annexed to Russia. When the Armenians who now live separately in three different countries unite, they will constitute a population of three million settled in one country. Who knows, perhaps after one or two generations they would increase, gain strength, become rich and win independence. And in this way, the Armenians who established a state for themselves under the shadow of the bayonets of twenty million Slavs will dominate the trade the whole of the Black Sea, the Caspian and the Persian Gulf.

We must add that the Turkish Armenians will be in constant danger once they are deprived of Russian protection. If Russia is attacked by her enemies, there is no doubt that the Turks will

avenge their losses in Rumelia by attacking the Armenians. It is for this reason that they should ask to be annexed to Russia where, under a constitutional regime, they would lead free and comfortable lives enjoying all the rights of citizenship."

General Spiridovitch concluded his observations with the statement:

"Annexation to Russia is the only way in which the happiness and prosperity of the Armenians can be secured and their future guaranteed."

NOTE

1. Archbishop Mushegh, *Armenian Nightmare*.

APPENDIX

Firman and Hatt-ı Humayun of Gülhane*

Let it be done as herein set forth.

To you, my Grand Vizier, Mehemed Emin Ali Pasha, decorated with my Imperial Order of the Medjidiyé of the first class, and with the Order of Personal Mérit; may God grant to you greatness, and increase your power!

It has always been my most earnest desire to insure the happiness of all classes of the subjects whom Divine Providence has placed under my Imperial sceptre, and since my accession to the Throne I have not ceased to direct all my efforts to the attainment of that end.

Thanks to the Almighty, these unceasing efforts have already been productive of numerous useful results. From day to day the happiness of the nation and the wealth of my dominions go on augmenting.

It being now my desire to renew and enlarge still more the new institutions ordained with the view of establishing a state of things conformable with the dignity of my Empire and the position which it occupies among civilized nations, and the rights of my Empire having, by the fidelity and praiseworthy efforts of all my subjects, and by the kind and friendly assistance of the great Powers, my noble allies, received from abroad a confirmation which will be the commencement of a new era, it is my desire to aughment its

*The English translation is from *Parliamentary Papers* (Blue Book), LXI, 1856, No 246: "Firman and Hatti - Sherif by the Sultan, relative to Privileges and Reforms in Turkey.

well-being and prosperity, to effect the happiness of all my subjects, who in my sight are all equal, and equally dear to me, and who are united to each other by the cordial ties of patriotism, and to insure the means of daily increasing the prosperity of my Empire.

I have therefore resolved upon and I order the execution of the following measures.

The guarantees promised on our part by the Hatt-i humaïoun of Gulhané, and in conformity with the Tanzimat, to all the subjects of my Empire, without distinction of classes or of religion, for the security of their persons and property and the preservation of their honour, are to-day confirmed and consolidated, and efficacious measures shall be taken in order that they may have their full and entire effect.

All the privileges and spiritual immunities granted by my ancestors *ab antiquo*, and at subsequent dates, to all Christian communities or other non-Mussulman persuasions established in my Empire under my protection, shall be confirmed and maintained.

Every Christian or other non-Mussulman community shall be bound, within a fixed period, and with the concurrence of a Commission composed *ad hoc* of members of its own body, to proceed, with my high approbation and under the inspection of my Sublime Porte, to examine into its actual immunities and privileges, and to discuss and submit to my Sublime Porte the reforms required by the progress of civilization and of the age. The powers conceded to the Christian Patriarchs and Bishops by the Sultan Mahomet II and his successors, shall be made to harmonize with the new position which my generous and beneficent intentions insure to these communities.

The principle of nominating the Patriarchs for life, after the revision of the rules of election now in force, shall be exactly carried out, conformably to the tenour of their firmans of investiture.

The Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Archbishops, Bishops, and Rabbins shall take an oath on their entrance into office according to a form agreed upon in common by my Sublime Porte and the spiritual heads of the different religious communities. The ecclesiastical dues, of whatever sort or nature they be, shall be abolished and replaced by fixed revenues for the Patriarchs and heads of communities, and by the allocation of allowances and salaries equitably proportioned to the importance of the rank and the dignity of the different members of the clergy.

The property, real or personal, of the different Christian ecclesiastics shall remain intact; the temporal administration of the Christian or other non-Mussulman communities shall, however, be placed under the safeguard of an Assembly to be chosen from among

the members, both ecclesiastics and laymen, of the said communities.

In the towns, small boroughs, and villages, where the whole population is of the same religion, no obstacle shall be offered to the repair, according to their original plan, of buildings set apart for religious worship, for schools, for hospitals, and for cemeteries.

The plans of these different buildings, in case of their new erection, must, after having been approved by the Patriarchs or heads of communities, be submitted to my Sublime Porte, which will approve of them by my Imperial order, or make known its observations upon them within a certain time.

Each sect, in localities where there are no other religious denominations, shall be free from every species of restraint as regards the public exercise of its religion.

In the towns, small boroughs, and villages where different sects are mingled together, each community, inhabiting a distinct quarter, shall, by conforming to the above-mentioned ordinances, have equal power to repair and improve its churches, its hospitals, its schools, and its cemeteries. When there is question of the erection of new buildings, the necessary authority must be asked for through the medium of the Patriarchs and heads of communities from my Sublime Porte, which will pronounce a sovereign decision according that authority, except in the case of administrative obstacles. The intervention of the administrative authority in all measures of this nature will be entirely gratuitous. My Sublime Porte will take energetic measures to insure to each sect, whatever be the number of its adherents, entire freedom in the exercise of its religion.

Every distinction or designation tending to make any class whatever of the subjects of my Empire inferior to another class, on account of their religion, language, or race, shall be for ever effaced from the Administrative Protocol. The laws shall be put in force against the use of any injurious or offensive term, either among private individuals or on the part of the authorities.

As all forms of religion are and shall be freely professed in my dominions, no subject of my Empire shall be hindered in the exercise of the religion that he professes, nor shall be in any way annoyed on this account. No one shall be compelled to change their religion.

The nomination and choice of all functionaries and other *employés* of my Empire being wholly dependent upon my sovereign will, all the subjects of my Empire, without distinction of nationality, shall be admissible to public employments, and qualified to fill them according to their capacity and merit, and conformably with rules to be generally applied.

All the subjects of my Empire, without distinction, shall be

received into the Civil and Military Schools of the Government, if they otherwise satisfy the conditions as to age and examination which are specified in the Organic Regulations of the said Schools. Moreover, every community is authorised to establish Public Schools of Science, Art, and Industry. Only the method of instruction and the choice of professors in schools of this class shall be under the control of a Mixed Council of Public Instruction, the members of which shall be named by my sovereign command.

All commercial, correctional, and criminal suits between Mussulmans and Christian or other non-Mussulman subjects, or between Christians or other non-Mussulmans of different sects, shall be referred to Mixed Tribunals.

The proceedings of these tribunals shall be public; the parties shall be confronted, and shall produce their witnesses, whose testimony shall be received, without distinction, upon an oath taken according to the religious law of each sect.

Suits relating to civil affairs shall continue to be publicly tried, according to the laws and regulations, before the Mixed Provincial Councils, in the presence of the Governor and Judge of the place. Special civil proceedings, such as those relating to successions or others of that kind, between subjects of the same Christian or other non-Mussulman faith, may, at the request of the parties, be sent before the Councils of the Patriarchs or of the communities.

Penal, correctional, and commercial laws, and rules of procedure for the Mixed-Tribunals, shall be drawn up as soon as possible, and formed into a code. Translations of them shall be published in all the languages current in the Empire.

Proceedings shall be taken, with as little delay as possible, for the reform of the penitentiary system as applied to houses of detention, punishment or correction, and other establishments of like nature, so as to reconcile the rights of humanity with those of justice. Corporal punishment shall not be administered, even in the prisons, except in conformity with the disciplinary regulations established by my Sublime Porte, and everything that resembles torture shall be entirely abolished.

Infractions of the law in this particular shall be severely repressed, and shall besides entail, as of right, the punishment, in conformity with the Civil Code, of the authorities who may order and the agents who may commit them.

The organization of the police in the capital, in the provincial towns, and in the rural districts, shall be revised in such a manner as to give to all the peaceable subjects of my empire the strongest guarantees for the safety both of their persons and property.

The equality of taxes entailing equality of burdens, as equality of duties entails that of rights, Christian subjects, and those of other non-Mussulman sects, as it has been already decided, shall, as well as Mussulmans, be subject to the obligations of the Law of Recruitment. The principle of obtaining substitutes, or of purchasing exemption, shall be admitted. A complete law shall be published, with as little delay as possible, respecting the admission into and service in the army of Christian and other non-Mussulman subjects.

Proceedings shall be taken for a reform in the constitution of the Provincial and Communal Councils, in order to ensure fairness in the choice of the Deputies of the Mussulman, Christian, and other communities, and freedom of voting in the Councils. My Sublime Porte will take into consideration the option of the most effectual means for ascertaining exactly and for controlling the result of the deliberations and of the decisions arrived at.

As the laws regulations the purchase, sale, and disposal of real property are common to all the subjects of my Empire, it shall be lawful for foreigners to possess landed property in my dominions, conforming themselves to the laws and police regulations, and bearing the same charges as the native inhabitants, and after arrangements have been come to with foreign Powers.

The taxes are to be levied under the same denomination from all the subjects of my Empire, without distinction of class or of religion. The most prompt and energetic means for remedying the abuses in collecting the taxes, and especially the tithes, shall be considered. The system of direct collection shall gradually, and as soon as possible, be substituted for the plan of farming, in all the branches of the revenues of the State. As long as the present system remain in force, all agents of the Government and all members of the Mecilis shall be forbidden under the severest penalties, to become lessees of any farming contracts which are announced for public competition, or to have any beneficial interest in carrying them out. The local taxes shall, as far as possible, be so imposed as not to affect the sources of production, or to hinder the progress of internal commerce.

Works of public utility shall receive a suitable endowment, part of which shall be raised from private and special taxes levied in the Provinces which shall have the benefit of the advantage arising from the establishment of ways of communication by land and sea.

A special law having been already passed, which declares that the Budget of the revenue and expenditure of the State shall be drawn up and made known every year, the said law shall be most scrupulously observed. Proceedings shall be taken for revising the emoluments attached to each office.

The heads of each community and a delegate, designated by my Sublime Porte, shall be summoned to take part in the deliberations of the Supreme Council of Justice on all occasions which might interest the generality of the subjects of my Empire. They shall be summoned specially for this purpose by my Grand Vizier. The delegates shall hold office for one year; they shall be sworn on entering upon their duties. All the members of the Council, at the ordinary and extraordinary meetings, shall freely give their opinions and their votes, and no one shall ever annoy them on this account.

The laws against corruption, extortion, or malversation shall apply, according to the legal forms, to all the subjects of my Empire, whatever my be their class and the nature of their duties.

Steps shall be taken for the formation of banks and other similar institutions, so as to effect a reform in the monetary and financial system, as well as to create funds to be employed in augmenting the sources of the material wealth of my Empire.

Steps shall also be taken for the formation of roads and canals to increase the facilities of communication and increase the sources of the wealth of the country. Everything that can impede commerce or agriculture shall be abolished. To accomplish these objects, means shall be sought to profit by the science, the art, and the funds of Europe, and thus gradually to execute them.

Such being my wishes and my commands, you, who are my Grand Vizier, will, according to custom, cause this Imperial firman to be published in my capital, and in all parts of my Empire; and you will watch attentively and take all the necessary measures that all the orders which it contains be henceforth carried out with the most rigorous punctuality.

INDEX

- ABAGA KHAN** — 301
ABAHUNI, V. YEZNIK — 498
ABBAS MIRZA (Shah of Persia) — 889, 1016
ABDUL AZIZ (Sultan) — 423
ABDUL HAMID (Sultan) — 416, 517, 783, 797, 798, 799, 812, 883
ABDUL HAMID II — 424, 437, 450, 818, 827, 835, 838, 873, 883
ABDUL MECID (Sultan) — 371, 419
ABDUL MELIK (Pasha) — 290, 291, 296
ABGAR, AVAGHIR — 272, 315, 316
ABIDIN PASHA — 529, 530, 532, 585
ABRAHAM (Prophet) — 254, 264, 349
ABRAHAM I — 346
ACARA (Town) — 243
ADANA — 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 373, 551, 625, 655, 672, 691, 707, 721, 735, 745, 799, 927, 929, 979, 810, 811, 812, 813, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 824, 825, 826, 827, 836, 837, 841
AFRICA — 363, 953
AGABEKIAN, SERKIS — 745
AGATANGELOS (Angel Of Good Tidings) — 226, 228, 309, 312, 325
AGATON KRİKOR — 421
AGVAN — 243, 346
AGZEN OR AGZNIK (Province of Armenia) — 241, 242
AHARONIAN, A. — 334, 914, 918, 924, 934, 937, 943, 948, 964, 972, 976, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 992, 993, 994, 995, 998
AHISKA — 296, 912
AHLAT — 242, 289, 294, 762, 777, 798
AHMET RIZA BEY — 807
AJEMIAN, KEVORK — 498
AKHTAMAR — 416
AKNUNI (Militan) — 618, 673, 783, 792, 804, 806, 1010
ALBUSTAN (Elbistan) — 244, 968
ALEPPO — 301, 360, 362, 363, 529, 551, 735, 744, 746, 747, 750, 751, 752, 978
ALEXANDER (Ruler Of Armenia) — 268, 269, 316, 443, 460, 913
ALEXANDER THE GREAT — 225, 235, 246, 259, 263, 264, 305, 322, 617, 1016
ALEXANDER II — 440, 459, 617
ALEXANDER PASHA — 489
ALEXANDRIA — 233, 269, 332, 344, 345
ALEXANDROPOL — 622, 889, 911, 912, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 992
ALGHIERS (Algiers) — 357, 358, 359, 362, 625
ALI PASHA — 445, 567, 584, 744
ALISHAN, GEVORK — 230, 322, 323, 324, 330, 334, 695
ALISOR HALYS (Kızılırmak) — 240, 320
ALLENBY (General) — 923
AMASIA (Amasya) — 251, 260, 261, 315, 520, 723
AMERICA — 353, 355, 357, 358, 360, 363, 680, 842, 852, 941
AMPAK (King or Prince of Haik) — 260
AMPAK I — 259, 262
AMPAK II — 262
ANAG (Man of Pahlav Family) — 277, 278, 312, 342
ANANIA OF SHIRAK — 228
ANATOLIA — 319, 321, 357, 359
ANGORA (City) — 360, 361, 362, 363, 373, 517, 721, 722, 724, 928, 929, 966, 969, 974, 975, 991
ANI (City) — 226, 229, 243, 255, 292, 293, 294, 296, 338, 1013

ANOUSH (Castle) — 281, 283, 284
 ANTALYA (City) — 363, 929, 954
 ANTAKYA (City) — 297
 ANTEP (City) — 360
 ANTIOCH (Prince) — 298, 301, 344, 345
 ANTIOCHIUS — 263, 265
 ANTRANIK (Guerilla Leader) — 704, 775, 777, 778, 779, 780, 907, 923
 ANUS HAVAN — 254, 259, 260, 262
 APKAR — 226, 269, 271, 273, 1013
 APKAR V. — 341
 APOLLO — 266
 ARA (Arai) — 252, 253, 254, 259, 260, 310, 315
 ARAB — 289, 425, 527
 ARABIAN PENINSULA — 359, 625
 ARAKS (City) — 292, 319, 1002, 1003
 ARAM — 251, 252, 253, 259, 260, 261, 297, 314, 823
 ARAMA (Khaldæan King) — 314
 ARAPKIR — 244
 ARARAT (Masis) — 240, 241, 242, 243, 245, 247, 248, 253, 268, 276, 279, 282, 287, 288, 296, 319, 322, 342, 439, 792, 850, 1010
 ARAS (River) — 269, 273
 ARAXES — 235, 240, 241, 290, 293, 312, 321, 327
 ARCADJUS — 283
 ARCHAR — 322
 ARCHISH — 322
 ARDAHAN — 243, 294, 296, 491, 515, 909, 910, 912, 936, 937, 957, 966, 976, 977, 992, 993
 ARDANUS (City) — 243
 ARDASHAD (City) — 274, 286, 342, 887
 ARDASHES OR ANAHIT — 266, 273, 274, 277, 279, 284, 315, 338, 341
 ARDASHES I — 267, 272, 273
 ARDASHES II — 274
 ARDASHIR (City) — 277, 278, 283, 284, 287, 313
 ARDASHIR I — 313
 ARDASHIR, SASAN — 306, 312, 887
 ARDAVAZT (City) — 263, 269, 276, 315, 316
 ARDAVAZT II — 269, 270
 ARDAVAZT III — 270
 ARDAS (Mountain) — 240, 278
 ARDZROUNI, KRIKOR — 443, 497
 ARDZROUNI, TOMAS — 229
 ARDZROUNI — 265, 291, 333, 674
 ARDZROUNI, TOMAS — 229
 AREVELK (Newspaper) — 813
 ARGE (Erciyas) — 252, 703
 ARGHUTHIAN, HOVSEP — 1010, 1012
 ARHAVAN — 258, 261, 263
 ARHNAGT (Prince) — 259, 260
 ARIARATH IV (King) — 264
 ARIOBARZANES — 267
 ARISTAKES (Son of Gregory) — 342, 343
 ARKADZ (Mountain) — 251
 ARMAVIR (City) — 251, 252, 254, 265, 266, 267, 273, 274, 278
 ARMAYS (Prince) — 260
 ARMEN, GARO — 857, 870
 ARMENAK — 248, 249, 250, 251, 260, 261, 315, 763
 ARMENIAN BIBLE SOCIETY — 372
 ARMENIAN QUESTION — 603, 674, 679, 680, 705
 ARMENIAN NATIONAL CONFERENCE — 905, 925
 ARMENIAN NATIONAL DELEGATION — 923
 ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE — 807, 851, 951
 ARMOK (Zareh's son) — 258, 261, 263
 ARPACHI (Arpaçayı) — 240, 273, 960
 ARPUN — 259, 261, 262
 ARSAS — 264, 265, 311
 ARSASID — 267, 292
 ARSHAGAN (Part hian King) — 266
 ARSHAK — 225, 235, 245, 246, 264, 266, 281, 282, 283, 284, 300, 311, 312
 ARSHAK II — 281
 ARSHAK IV — 282
 ARSHAKUNIS — 1013
 ARSHAM — 269, 271, 272
 ARSTRUNI, KIRKOR — 292
 ARTABAN — 270, 277
 ARTABAN III — 270
 ARTABAZ — 269, 271
 ARTAN — 267, 271
 ARTAXATA — 270, 271
 ARTAXES II — 269
 ARTAXIAS II — 263, 264, 269, 271
 ARTIN PASHA — 634, 798, 799
 ARTSAH (Province) — 241, 243
 ARTVIN — 243, 296, 621, 957
 ASHIKIAN — 514, 542, 724, 725
 ASHOT — 267, 287, 291, 292, 293, 704
 ASHOT I — 292
 ASHOT III — 293
 ASHTRAKETSI (Nerses) — 1015
 ASIA MINOR — 363, 461, 517, 627, 631, 655, 657, 658, 661, 819, 862, 863, 880, 898, 928, 978, 980, 981, 983

ASLANIAN STEPAN PASHA — 452, 454, 455, 498, 499
 ASSYRIA — 252, 476
 ASTERABAD — 311, 1010
 ATHENS — 233, 606, 709
 ASTIAG — 256, 257, 258, 276, 338, 339
 ASTRAKHAN — 355, 1009
 ATAIA D. — 961
 AUGUSTUS — 269, 271, 272
 AUSTRIA (Hungary) — 353, 355, 419, 423, 457, 467, 487, 510, 530, 612, 647, 648, 653, 655, 680, 914, 1006, 1007
 AUSTRALIA — 357, 358, 363, 510, 993
 AYASOFYA — 743, 744
 AYASTEFANOS — 447, 448, 450, 455, 456, 457, 459, 460, 462, 467, 472, 482, 488, 504, 510, 511, 512, 515, 516, 608, 654, 672
 AYDIN — 360, 363, 606, 929, 930, 955
 AYINTAP — 954
 AYVAZOVSKI GABRIEL — 372
 AZERBAIJAN — 243, 246, 268, 285, 291, 292, 296, 351, 357, 358, 911, 912, 913, 921, 925, 939, 961, 989, 991, 1002
 AZMIK — 288
 AZOV — 861
 BAB (Arshak's son) — 281, 282
 BABADJANIAN — 667, 969
 BABAKHANIAN, LEO ARAKEL — 497, 626, 634, 691
 BABIKIAN, AGOP — 816, 817
 BABYLON — 249, 265, 312
 BADGANIAN, RAFAEL — 333
 BADJOJDJ — 255, 260, 261, 263
 BAGHDAD — 291, 301, 306, 360, 362, 614, 627, 811, 919, 1013
 BAGRATUNI, SEMPAT — 287
 BAGRATUNI — 267, 296, 297, 350
 BAHRI PASHA — 777
 BAKER (Pasha) — 529, 540
 BAKUNIN — 692, 754
 BAKŪ — 243, 702, 784, 791, 792, 961, 1007, 1009, 1010
 BALFOUR — 958, 959
 BALIKESIR — 955, 990
 BALKAN — 420, 975, 994, 1002
 BALKAN WAR — 630, 659, 839, 840, 856, 866, 929
 BANSE, EVALD — 309
 BARDAZAN (Historian) — 226
 BARED — 254, 259, 260, 262
 BARGIRI (City) — 294
 BAROUIR — 254, 255, 259, 261
 BARTHOLOMEW — 226, 341, 351
 BASHIAN, DEMIRCI — 334
 BASIL II — 294, 888
 BASMADJIAN — 235, 353, 806
 BASRA — 360, 362, 515
 BATUM — 469, 484, 490, 491, 515, 621, 693, 777, 835, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 939, 945, 964, 992, 993
 BAYBARS — 301
 BAYBURT — 356, 372, 472, 519, 762
 BAYEZIT — 243, 294, 296, 519, 792, 866, 870, 889, 892, 903
 BEACONSFIELD (Lord) — 457
 BEDROS — 294, 445
 BELGIUM — 357, 360, 781, 932
 BELOCHUS — 254
 BENOIT II — 304
 BENOIT XII — 351
 BERARD, VICTOR — 704
 BERDJ I (King) — 259, 262
 BERDJ II (King) — 262
 BERLİN — 455, 459, 466, 467, 468, 481, 482, 483, 488, 492, 496, 497, 499, 506, 507, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 519, 530, 533, 534, 535, 539, 540, 541, 548, 563, 580, 581, 583, 584, 588, 590, 608, 609, 627, 629, 635, 639, 654, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 672, 673, 679, 686, 704, 803, 834, 849, 914
 BEROZ (Firuz) — 276, 286
 BESSARABRA — 355, 356, 358, 1017
 BEŞIKTAŞ — 672
 BETHLEHEM — 272
 BEYOĞLU — 725, 736, 749, 751, 752, 764, 765, 772, 773, 786, 833
 BEYRUT (Beirut) — 268, 360, 363, 812, 841, 978
 BEYTÜŞŞEBAP — 242
 BIGA — 362, 990
 BILARGU KHAN — 303
 BIRECIK — 242
 BISHOP OF SEBEOS — 228
 BISMARCK — 481, 491
 BITLIS — 242, 289, 294, 356, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 472, 484, 517, 532, 540, 542, 547, 551, 592, 596, 638, 647, 650, 652, 653, 731, 732, 736, 777, 778, 786, 787, 798, 811, 863, 867, 868, 869, 877, 878, 897, 898, 921, 927, 930, 931, 936, 937, 945, 977, 996
 BLACK SEA (Region) — 239, 354, 861, 898, 936, 938, 941, 953, 954, 957, 988, 990, 1020

BOGOS NUBAR PASHA — 452, 461, 466, 481, 630, 634, 635, 656, 657, 659, 663, 664, 665, 756, 865, 896, 924, 934, 935, 938, 943, 949, 964, 965
BOĞAZKÖY — 326
BOLSHEVIK — 905, 960, 962, 964, 998, 1002
BOLU — 364, 929
BOSPHORUS — 319, 321, 457
BORE, EUGENE — 231
BOSNIA, HERZE GOVINA — 416, 420, 429, 437, 500, 501, 504, 682, 856, 836
BOYADJIAN, HAMPARSUM (Murat) — 726, 727, 730, 777, 778, 779, 876
BOZCAADA — 929
BREST, LITOVSK — 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 914, 992
BRITAIN — 614, 635, 728, 871, 872, 943
BRITISH CONSUL — 729, 872, 997
BROSSET — 231
BRYCE, LORD — 704
BULGARIA — 353, 355, 357, 358, 360, 416, 420, 429, 439, 440, 452, 474, 475, 500, 501, 504, 515, 516, 615, 664, 679, 695, 709, 755, 757, 765, 780, 782, 811, 836, 852, 888, 897, 907, 914, 919, 928, 974, 979, 986, 990, 993
BURSA (Hüdavendigâr) — 360, 361, 362, 363, 369, 929, 930, 990
BYZANTINE — 285, 289, 345, 350, 888
BYZANTIUM — 233, 280, 281, 282, 295, 349, 350, 425

CAESAREAL (Kayseri) — 227, 252, 278, 281, 282, 294, 295, 312, 341, 342, 364, 542, 719, 720, 721, 744, 841, 866, 929
CAMBON M. — 725, 726
CANADA — 357, 993
CANIK — 364, 929
CAPPADOCIA — 244, 252, 258, 264, 267, 271, 294, 295, 322, 341, 342, 351, 352
CARRIER, AUGUSTE — 231
CASPIAN SEAS — 239, 311, 889, 936, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1013, 1020
CAUCASIA — 246, 266, 355, 358, 360, 408, 444, 461, 727, 764, 775, 778, 780, 791, 857, 858, 859, 870, 879, 880, 882, 897, 898, 902, 905, 906, 907, 908, 910, 913, 932, 942, 963, 976, 997
CAUCASUS — 281, 327, 354, 437, 514, 516, 617, 618, 619, 620, 622, 627, 633, 648, 659, 666, 671, 673, 674, 681, 682, 698, 699, 700, 726, 755, 759, 781, 785,

791, 792, 795, 810, 823, 884, 911, 924, 975, 978, 1012, 1017, 1020
CEBELIBEREKET — 937
CECIL (Lord) — 944, 962
CEVDET PASHA — 746
CEYHUN — 311, 989
CHALCEDON — 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 372
CHERAZ, MINAS — 334, 482, 497, 510, 512, 513, 514, 614, 615, 634, 704, 742
CHICHERIN — 995, 996, 999
CHILDİR (Çıldır) — 240, 243, 527
CHINA — 278, 313, 344
CHOSROES (Husrev) — 887
CHRIST — 272, 288, 315, 341, 343
CILICIA (Adana) — 230, 239, 244, 267, 297, 298, 299, 301, 302, 303, 304, 309, 321, 333, 352, 359, 360, 421, 422, 450, 475, 479, 625, 638, 646, 746, 780, 810, 811, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 862, 871, 873, 874, 896, 924, 931, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 946, 948, 953, 954, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 975, 977, 978, 983, 984, 989, 991, 994, 997, 1013
CHOBANIAN, ARSHAK — 704, 969
CHUBUKJIAN, MATEOS — 373
CLEMENCEAU, M. — 980
COCHIN, DENIS — 365, 612, 679
CONGRESS OF BERLIN — 334, 448, 457, 458, 469, 481, 491, 810, 975, 997, 1005
CONGRESS OF PARIS — 457, 459
CONSTANTINE — 288, 298, 300, 302, 343, 349
CONSTANTINE V — 888
CONSTANTINOPLE — 288, 294, 343, 344, 349, 350, 378, 380, 382, 384, 386, 387, 388, 389, 391, 392, 394, 396, 397, 398, 401, 403, 404, 428, 437, 517, 548, 551, 571, 573, 722, 741, 774, 917, 967, 869
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY — 807, 808, 809
COPENHAGEN — 839
CRETE — 253, 475, 513, 611, 614, 639, 811
CRIMEA — 358, 889, 999
CUBA — 358
CUINET — 356, 361, 727, 929
CURRIE, PHILIP (Sir) — 517, 545, 606, 694, 730, 740, 759
CURZON (Lord) — 944, 945, 967, 977, 978, 981, 983, 984
CYPRUS — 255, 256, 353, 357, 358, 360, 491, 492, 512, 519, 679, 728, 812, 870, 888

ÇANAKKALE — 872
ÇATALCA — 359, 364, 929
ÇORUH, CHOROCH (River) — 240, 241, 945

DADIAN, ARAKEL — 370, 447, 456
DADIAN, DERTAD — 797, 798
DAGHAVARIAN — 310, 337
DAGHISTAN — 354, 910, 911
DAMAT FERIT PASHA — 918, 919, 951
DAMASCUS — 290, 421, 819
DANUBE — 505, 659
DARA, VISHDASB — 311, 321, 322
DARDANELLES — 884, 917, 928
DARENDE — 244
DARIUS — 259, 263, 319
DARON (Musch Region) — 227, 241
DASHKOV, VORONTSOV (Count) — 666, 667, 795
DASHNAK ORGANIZATION — 613, 700, 701, 703, 777, 839, 841, 870, 878, 879, 906, 908, 909, 910
DASHNAK REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE — 613, 827, 840, 842, 848
DASHNAK REVOLUTIONARY PARTY — 607, 849, 860, 861, 862, 864, 867
DASHNAKSUTION (Committee) — 615, 617, 618, 622, 629, 630, 667, 681, 682, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 700, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 755, 760, 764, 775, 777, 778, 780, 791, 792, 793, 794, 797, 798, 800, 802, 803, 804, 806, 807, 809, 824, 833, 834, 839, 841, 842, 847, 851, 853, 855, 857, 858, 859, 864, 866, 873, 878, 905, 934, 938, 939, 961, 964, 1002
DASHNAKSUTION REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE — 621, 636, 673, 742, 767, 813, 823, 994
DEDEAĞAÇ — 815
DEGUÏGNE — 314, 315
DELA-CROIX — 986, 987
DELAURIER, EDOUARD — 231, 331
DELEGARD, P. — 232
DENIS, ST. — 680
DENMARK — 932
DENBEND — 1010, 1011
DEREBEYS — 432, 449
DERSAADET — 928
DERSIM — 361, 703, 800, 802
DIKRAN — 255, 256, 257, 258, 266, 267, 268, 269, 271, 276, 280, 281, 297, 338
DIKRAN I — 255, 260, 261, 263
DIKRAN II (Dikran the Great) — 264, 266, 269, 271, 311, 315, 316

DIKRAN III — 269, 276
DIKRAN VI — 270, 271
DIKRANAKERT (Diyarbakir) — 242, 267, 271, 287, 324, 361, 362, 363, 364, 436, 456, 467, 469, 472, 532, 540, 542, 547, 551, 592, 596, 606, 607, 612, 638, 647, 650, 652, 653, 691, 698, 699, 724, 732, 810, 898, 927, 930, 931, 936, 937, 945
DIKRANUHI — 257, 258
DIOCLETIAN (Emperor) — 278, 342
DIRAN I — 276
DIRAN II — 280
DİVRİK — 244
DİYADİN — 243, 519
DJANGULIAN — 716, 717, 718
DJAMHARIAN — 705
DJEVAHIRDJIAN — 841
DURUPERAN — 241, 242, 243, 296

EARL OF DUFFERIN — 608
EARL OF KIMBERLEY — 546
EARL OF ROSEBURY — 608
EASTERN QUESTION — 477, 480, 503, 504, 511
EDESSA (Urfa) — 226, 229, 233, 242, 272, 273, 297, 299, 315, 341, 344, 360, 364, 743, 929
EDİRNE — 359, 360, 363, 440, 451, 456, 475, 501, 503, 746, 816, 928, 929, 930
EDOUARD DELAURIER — 231
EGYPT — 233, 254, 275, 277, 297, 298, 301, 305, 309, 353, 354, 357, 358, 360, 461, 474, 615, 622, 662, 699, 702, 755, 820, 841, 854, 873, 946
EĞİN — 869
EL'AGASI (Elazığ) — 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 527, 606
EL CEZİRE — 988
ELIOT, HENRY (Sir) — 424
ELISAVETPOL — 354, 681, 936
ELISEE, RECLUS — 411, 805
ENDZAG (Princes) — 260, 262
ENGLAND — 305, 334, 357, 360, 417, 420, 423, 445, 451, 457, 459, 467, 485, 486, 489, 495, 496, 497, 505, 506, 509, 512, 513, 580, 581, 675, 680, 720, 723, 852, 869, 870, 871, 874, 879, 927, 941, 944, 966, 971, 972, 973, 974
EPHESUS — 343
EREVAN — 327, 354, 620, 878, 889, 889, 907, 912, 913, 934, 936, 937, 940, 949, 975, 978, 985, 988, 1003, 1006, 1007;

1011, 1013, 1017
EROUANT — 255, 271, 274, 316
EROUANT I — 260, 261, 263
EROUANT II — 273
EROUANTAGUERT — 273, 274
EROUAZ (Eruaz) — 269, 273, 274
ERZINCAN — 946
ERZURUM (Garin) — 241, 282, 287, 288, 289, 324, 349, 351, 356, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 413, 432, 434, 436, 452, 456, 467, 469, 472, 475, 484, 510, 519, 525, 529, 532, 540, 542, 543, 547, 551, 564, 589, 590, 592, 596, 606, 607, 613, 638, 647, 650, 652, 653, 672, 678, 681, 682, 691, 703, 706, 713, 715, 716, 719, 728, 736, 841, 842, 851, 857, 863, 866, 868, 869, 870, 880, 885, 888, 889, 891, 898, 906, 907, 909, 921, 927, 930, 931, 936, 937, 945, 946, 952, 962, 977, 986
ESHKANIAN — 270
ESKİŞEHİR — 929
ETCHMIADZIN — 228, 231, 243, 343, 348, 375, 380, 389, 407, 408, 439, 442, 443, 444, 449, 450, 587, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 626, 627, 629, 630, 634, 678, 730, 841, 843, 850, 865, 914, 1006, 1008, 1012, 1017
ETHEM PASHA — 747
ETHIOPIA — 357, 358, 360
EUGENE BORE — 263
EUPHRATES (YEPRUT) — 235, 239, 240, 241, 267, 272, 294, 321, 342, 439, 469, 472, 475, 505, 515
EUROPE — 357, 358, 363, 741, 781, 822, 885, 928, 944, 972, 978, 981, 991, 992, 1002, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1028
EUSABIUS — 235, 310, 316
EUTYCHES — 344, 345
EVERESLY (Lord) — 675
EZNIK KOKPATSI (Eznik of Gogh) — 227

FRANCE — 305, 334, 357, 358, 360, 419,
FRANCIS DE PRESSENSÉ — 364
FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG (News Paper) — 817, 819, 821, 824, 421, 423, 451, 486, 491, 506, 510, 530, 542, 545, 580, 581, 583, 591, 605, 607, 612, 614, 616, 635, 638, 647, 679, 680, 720, 728, 733, 806, 852, 869, 871, 874, 896, 927, 928, 936, 940, 941, 965, 966, 968, 969, 971, 972, 973, 1006
FRANKLIN (Bouillon) — 966, 969, 973

FREDERICK — 300

GABRIEL — 297, 841
GAGIK — 292, 293, 294, 295, 297
GAGIK II — 297
GAIBAG — 259, 261, 262
GAILLARD, M. PIERRE — 804, 805
GALATIA — 271, 372, 721, 725, 736, 764, 765, 772, 841
GALATA SARAY LYCÉE — 372
GALICIA — 355, 360, 891
GALITZIN — 617, 618, 622
GAMARAGAN — 272, 277
GAMARAGAN, ARSHAVIR — 280
GARRONI — 979
GARTOS — 253, 259, 260, 262, 315
GATMOS — 248, 249, 250, 252
GATTEYRIAS, J. — 231
GAZAN KHAN — 302
GAZAR, PARBESI — 235
GENDJE (Kanzak) — 230, 243, 297
GENEVA — 704, 731, 782, 797, 800, 802, 804, 875, 876
GEORGIA — 228, 239, 292, 293, 294, 346, 357, 358, 408, 921, 996, 1009, 1010, 1012, 1015, 1016, 1017
GEORGIAN — 889, 910, 912, 913, 1009
GERMANY — 357, 423, 467, 510, 530, 612, 614, 636, 648, 655, 678, 805, 891, 897, 911, 912, 914, 1007
GHARDJIKIAN — 910
GIERS, M.N. (Russian Ambassador) — 628, 629, 634, 635, 636
GIROV, M. — 451, 452, 453
GIULKHANDANIAN, A. — 961
GLADSTONE — 519, 679
GODEFROY DE BOULLON — 299
GOGOVSEV — 630, 633
GOLTZ PASHA — 564
GORCHAKOV (Prince) — 421, 440, 441, 459, 460, 482
GORDIAN — 268
GORHNAG — 255, 260, 261, 263
GOSCHEN, G.J. — 272, 540
GOULKEVITCH, CONSTANTINE — 650, 653, 664
GOURDANIAN, I. — 961
GRANVILLE (Lord) — 608, 661
GREAT BRITAIN — 488, 491, 510, 530, 542, 543, 545, 580, 590, 591, 605, 607, 608, 612, 638, 647, 662, 728, 733, 896, 897, 944, 958, 959, 993

GREECE — 228, 233, 332, 353, 357, 358, 360, 614, 679, 709, 780, 781, 971, 974, 975, 980, 990
GREEK — 889, 954, 960, 977, 981, 982, 989, 1013
GREY, EDWARD (Sir) — 635
GUGARIK — 241, 243
GUMUSHGERBAN (Gümüş Gerdan) — 972
GURGEN — 292, 293
GÜLHANE (Hath-Humayun) — 371, 419, 462, 594, 602, 604, 1023, 1024
GÜMRÜCÜ — 963

HABIB BIN MUSLEME — 289
HACHADUR — 297
HACHARDRIAN A. — 316, 324
HACHIN — 422, 564, 672, 731, 810, 898
HADJIN — 593, 968
HAGUE — 324, 614, 615
HAIASTAN — 250, 316, 320, 322, 325
HAİK — 225, 234, 242, 245, 247, 248, 249, 252, 254, 256, 257, 258, 260, 263, 310, 321, 323, 325, 823
HAİKAK — 254, 259, 260
HAİKAK I — 262
HAİKAK II — 260, 261, 263
HALİL RIFAT (Pasha) — 607
HAMİDİEH — 986, 987
HAMİLİN CYRUS — 708, 710
HANAZADIAN RUPEN — 693, 696
HANOTAUX M. — 365, 679, 725, 773
HARMA (Kegam's Son) — 251, 260, 261, 315
HARPUT — 242, 297, 360, 361, 472, 475, 484, 542, 638, 647, 650, 651, 652, 691, 698, 699, 811, 841, 898, 946
HARRAN — 242, 291
HARUN RASHID — 291
HASANKALE — 986
HAVANAG (Honag) — 259, 260, 262
HAVAS (Agency) — 869
HAVASOR — 870
HERACLIUS — 228, 288, 289, 306, 314, 349
HEREDOTUS — 236, 319, 320
HERZEGOVINA — 416, 420, 429, 437, 504, 659, 682, 836
HETOM (Historian) — 230, 300, 301, 302
HOI — 259, 261, 262
HOROİ — 259, 260, 262
HORIZON — 853, 878, 879
HOSROV — 226, 278, 279, 280, 287, 288, 306, 312

HOSROV I — 277, 288
HOSROV II — 279, 287, 288, 312
HOSROV III — 283, 284
HOVHANES CATHOLICOS (Hovhan VI) — 229, 408, 675
HOVANNESIAN MIKAEL — 615
HRANT — 260
HRANT I — 259, 262
HRATCHIA — 255, 259, 261, 262
HUNCHAK — 514, 622, 681, 682, 684, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 696, 706, 708, 709, 715, 716, 718, 719, 727, 728, 730, 733, 740, 742, 743, 746, 747, 752, 753, 755, 764, 813, 833, 834, 841, 855
HUNCHAK COMMITTEE — 718, 722, 724, 725, 727, 741, 786, 806.
HUNCHAK PARTY — 840
HUNCHAK REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE — 727, 734, 742, 749
HUNGARY — 357, 360, 510, 888, 914
HURSIT PASHA — 745
HUSAG — 259, 261, 262, 287
HYRCANIA — 287, 311

IBERIA — 271, 311
IBRAHAM PASHA — 781
IGNATIEV (Count) — 443, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 460
IKDAM (Newspaper) — 813
IMADETTİN-I ZENGI — 299
INDIA — 288, 338, 344, 353, 355, 357, 358, 360, 509, 515, 873, 972, 991
INDJIDJIAN — 227, 230
INNOCENT, XII POPE — 1006
IRAN — 266, 268, 272, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 283, 284, 285, 288, 294, 311, 312, 313, 319, 338, 344, 346, 353, 354, 357, 358, 360, 510, 516, 622, 623, 627, 674, 682, 693, 703, 755, 757, 759, 882, 887, 975, 991, 1002, 1003, 1006, 1010
ISFAHAN — 360, 889
ISKENDERUN — 812, 866, 871, 988
ISMET (İnönü) PASHA — 976, 977, 979, 981, 982, 983, 984, 990, 993, 994
ISPIR — 519, 525
ISRAEL — 1005, 1006
ISTANBUL — 227, 228, 229, 299, 302, 334, 343, 356, 357, 359, 360, 361, 363, 369, 370, 372, 373, 412, 417, 421, 422, 423, 426, 431, 434, 441, 443, 444, 445,

449, 451, 452, 453, 455, 468, 481, 482, 484, 487, 492, 500, 501, 506, 515, 541, 588, 590, 607, 608, 609, 611, 626, 628, 629, 634, 635, 636, 638, 654, 661, 662, 664, 667, 675, 681, 691, 693, 695, 715, 716, 717, 725, 727, 730, 734, 736, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 749, 753, 754, 764, 770, 772, 777, 780, 781, 782, 784, 785, 786, 787, 804, 816, 817, 818, 822, 826, 833, 836, 837, 841, 842, 843, 844, 855, 856, 857, 868, 872, 881, 882, 914, 918, 920, 977, 1006

ISTANBUL PROTESTANT CONGREGATION — 373

ITALY — 334, 357, 360, 510, 530, 648, 805, 973, 974, 1006

İTTİHAD VE TERAKKİ — 807, 809, 817, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 876, 878, 920

IUDENICH (General) — 893, 903

İZMİR — 360, 361, 362, 373, 375, 691, 705, 780, 781, 841, 882, 920

İZMİRLİAN MATEOS — 415, 424, 433, 439, 443, 444, 445, 449, 451, 529, 542, 587, 589, 607

İZMİRLİAN (Patriarch) — 833

İZMIT — 362, 364

JACQUEMYS ROLIN — 704

JACQUES DE MORGAN — 234, 338

JAFERILMANSUR — 291

JAPHETH — 245, 247, 261, 310

JAURES — 365, 612, 679

JEBELI BEREKET — 812

JERUSALEM — 228, 272, 288, 297, 300, 301, 303, 305, 364, 387, 388, 397, 514, 607

JUSTINIAN — 290, 305, 320

JUSTINIAN II — 287, 888

KACHAZNUNI — 799, 895, 909, 911, 913, 914, 937, 939, 963, 999, 1002

KADRI PASHA — 529

KAĞITHANE — 765, 783

KALANTER A. — 630, 667

KALE—İ SULTANIYE — 364, 929

KAMIL PASHA — 591, 607

KAPAN — 243, 1010

KAPRIELIAN S. (Sempat) — 496, 674, 705, 733

KARA TODORİ PASHA — 496

KARABAGH (Karabag) — 243, 327, 673, 775, 778, 852, 889, 938, 1003, 1006,

1008, 1010, 1011

KARADAGH (Amanus) — 298, 1003

KARAGOZIAN — 763

KARAHISAR — 364, 759, 876, 879, 929

KARAIŞALI — 815

KARAKASH GARABET — 482

KARAKASHYAN (Karakashian) — 234, 236, 325

KARAKİLİSE — 243, 519, 520, 912

KARAKIN PAPAŞIAN — 485, 496, 787

KARANLIK DERE — 747

KARASI — 364, 929

KARNİK — 251

KARUTS (Kars) — 243, 292, 293, 296, 354, 372, 452, 491, 515, 527, 621, 622, 704, 868, 872, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 937, 945, 957, 963, 966, 976, 977, 988, 989, 992, 993

KASTAMONU — 360, 361, 362, 363, 929

KATİBA KAMAR — 514, 674

KAYKELAN OĞLU AZİZ — 433

KAYMAKAM — 746, 747

KAZAZ ARTIN — 370

KÂZİM KARABEKİR (Pasha) — 960, 964

KEGAM (Lake) — 274, 283

KEGAM (Sevan) — 251, 260, 261

KEGHAG — 259, 260, 262

KEMAH — 241, 338, 519, 520

KEMALİSTS — 962, 968

KENDİRİAN VRAMŞHABUK — 283, 284, 331, 781, 782, 783, 785

KEORK — 445, 628, 630, 664, 665, 666, 667

KEORK IV — 443, 444

KEORK, SERGEANT — 801

KEVORK V (Keork V) — 451, 625, 626, 653, 850

KERENSKY — 905

KERVANSARAY — 926

KEVORK ASLAN (Keork Aslan) — 235, 359

KHATISSIAN ALEXANDER — 632, 913, 961, 972, 985, 988

KHATISSIAN — 357, 914, 969, 971, 973, 974, 976

KHATISSIAN S. — 630

KHLEBOV WERDO — 880, 907

KHORASAN — 265, 311

KHOREN KALIFAIN (Narbey) — 672, 806

KHOREN NARBĒY — 416, 443, 449, 450, 459, 486, 497, 505, 514, 810

KHRİMİAN — 334, 415, 416, 417, 424, 443, 444, 451, 459, 468, 481, 482, 483,

485, 486, 487, 497, 505, 514, 622, 572, 673

KHRİMİAN MİGHİRDİCH — 488

KHUZİSTAN — 281, 887

KİGİ — 241, 520

KİUD, CATHOLİCOS — 228

KİZANLIK — 501

KİZİLAĞAÇ — 727

KİLİS — 360

KİNG GUIDON — 305

KİPERT — 310

KİRKOR (Gregory) — 312

KİRKORİANS VAHAN DER — 619

KİTCHENER (Lord) — 662

KOGHTEN — 233, 275

KOKSUN — 297

KONYA — 309, 360, 361, 362, 363, 841, 929, 954

KORHAG — 259, 260, 262

KOZAN — 363, 953

KÖŞE MEHMET PAŞA — 744

KRASOVSKY — 1017

KUBAD — 287

KUBAN — 891

KUMKAPI — 369, 372, 542, 705, 715, 718,

721, 724, 725, 726, 727, 731, 736, 763

KUR (River) — 274, 277, 322

KURA — 239, 240, 241

KURDISTAN — 242, 529, 530, 537

KURUÇAY — 519

KUSHAN — 252, 277

KUZGUNCUK — 451

KUZUÇAY — 519

KÛTAHYA — 364, 929

LAMPRECH KARL — 805

LANGLOIS VICTOR — 226, 232, 234, 310, 314, 320, 422

LAPORT — 988

LORI — 243, 293

LARUPNA OR LERUPNA — 226, 316

LASCELLES FRANK C. (Sir) — 516, 517

LASDİVERTSİ, ARİSDAKE — 229

LAUSANNE — 923, 950, 972, 976, 978, 982, 996, 1002

LAUSANNE CONFERENCE — 965, 971,

973, 974, 984, 994, 999, 1001

LAUSANNE TREATY — 997, 998, 999

LAYARD (Ambassador) — 496

LAZAR PARBESİ (Lazar of Parbe) — 228

LAZARİAN HOVHANES — 1011

LAZİSTAN — 945

LEBANON — 373, 411, 421, 422, 456, 463, 481, 517, 638, 639, 640, 649, 695

LEİPZİG — 704

LEKRANI — 961

LEON — 301, 342, 345

LEON I — 298, 299, 300

LEON II — 299

LEON III — 301

LEON IV — 303

LEON V — 303, 304

LEPSIUS (Johannes Dr.) — 704, 868, 935

LEXINGTON — 710

LIUTENANT — General Solenoy — 354

LOBANOFF PRINCE — 516, 517, 546, 583, 590, 628

LOBANOV ROSTOVSKII — 628

LONDON — 355, 466, 486, 487, 515, 586, 589, 632, 633, 635, 679, 682, 693, 704,

722, 755, 756, 847, 871, 945, 946, 964, 965, 966, 970, 974, 991, 993

LONDON CONFERENCE — 997

LORMAIS (Baron de) — 806

LUCULLUS — 267, 306, 317

LUSSAVORİTCH, GREGORY — 227, 272, 278, 312, 329, 331, 341, 342, 343, 1013

LUSİGNAN — 679, 680

LUSİGNAN VI — 304

LUSİNIAN LEON — 421, 422

LYCUS — 241

LYNCH — 310, 355, 356, 622

MABEYN — 738

MACEDONIAN — 263, 343, 360, 637, 655, 658, 659, 663, 775, 780, 802, 806, 807,

820, 888, 919

MAGVORIAN, H. — 693

MAHMUT II — 370, 373, 419

MAHMUT NEDİM PAŞA — 568, 584

MAKEI KEUI (Bakırköy) — 775

MAKİSDROS KİRKOR — 229

MAKSUD SEBUH — 424

MAKSUD, SIMON — 424, 725

MALATYA — 297, 361

MALAZGİRT — 294, 356, 519, 520, 894

MALTA — 457

MALUMİAN EFENDİ — 807, 809

MAMELUKES — 300, 301, 306

MAMİKONIAN (Family) — 278

MAMİKONIAN (Mushegh) — 349

MAMİKONIAN, OHANNES BISHOP — 227, 476

MAMİKONIAN, VAHAN — 258, 286

MAMİKONIAN, VARTAN — 228, 286, 312

MAMKUN — 278, 313

MAMURET-UL-AZİZ — 547, 551, 592, 596, 606, 653, 927, 930

MANAS — 529
 MANAVAZ — 248, 250, 314
 MANCHESTER — 355, 481, 702
 MANDELSTAM — 638, 647
 MANGANI VAHRAM — 444, 445
 MANISA — 955
 MANUEL (Byzantine Emperor) — 299, 350
 MANUELIAN, L. — 334
 MANUKIAN, Aram — 879
 MANTAGUNI, Hovhan — 228
 MANVAZYAN — 250
 MAR IPAS, KADINA — 225, 234, 235, 236, 246, 265
 MARAGA — 351
 MARAŞ — 297, 359, 360, 363, 364, 743, 744, 746, 749, 751, 752, 810, 811, 866, 924, 929, 936, 954, 966, 967, 968, 989
 MARCIAN (Emperor) — 345, 346
 MARCUS, CRASUS — 268
 MARDIN — 242
 MARGA — 344
 MARHASA — 811, 850
 MARIHAP — 272
 MARK, ANTHONY — 268, 271, 295
 MARK, SYKES (Sir) — 326, 896, 897, 898
 MARKARIAN, HOHANNES — 499
 MARO (Or Avedis Nazarbeg) — 682
 MARSEILLES — 355, 672, 752, 753, 980
 MARSOVAN (Merzifon) — 709
 MARTIN, St. — 231, 240, 241, 243, 322
 MARWAN II — 292
 MARX, KARL — 694
 MASSACHUSETTS — 709, 710
 MATTHEW OF EDESSA — 229, 298
 MAURICE — 287, 306
 MAXIMOFF — 769, 770, 771, 773
 MAYEWSKY GENERAL — 672, 680, 755
 MAZACA (Mayac) — 252, 267
 MAZEN DERAN — 1010
 MAZGIRT (City) — 242
 MAZHAR PASHA — 746
 MECIT EFENDI — 542
 MEDIA — 264, 312
 MEDITERRANEAN — 239, 359, 362, 627, 695, 754, 934, 936, 938, 957, 958
 MEHEMED EMIN ALI PASHA — 1023
 MEHMET (Sultan) — 369, 426
 MEHMED V — 914
 MELLETT, Prof. A. — 232, 329
 MEKHITANIAN KHOREN — 424
 MEKHITAR, GOCH — 230, 333, 371
 MELIK, EŞREF SELAHADDIN — 302
 MELIK, NASIR — 301, 302, 303, 304
 MELIKOV, LORIS — 450, 516, 810, 1020
 MELITE OF MANAZGUERD — 346
 MENAZGIRT — 242
 MENGUS TIMUR — 301
 MENGÜ KHAN — 301
 MENSHEVICS — 906
 MENTEŞE — 364, 929
 MENUAS — 314
 MERCINGERT — 243
 MERSIN — 721, 747, 752, 812, 825, 826
 MERUJAN — 281, 282
 MERZIFON — 542, 719, 720, 721, 722
 MESHA (Karadağ) — 240
 MESOPOTAMIA — 269, 271, 273, 277, 282, 289, 291, 292, 303, 942
 MESROP — 227, 228, 236, 283, 332, 632
 MESROP BISHOP DER MOVSESIAN — 630, 667
 MEŞVERET — 809
 MEZAMAR — 240
 MEZPIN (Nusaybin) — 225, 246, 265, 268, 269, 285, 316
 MIDVANI (Delegate) — 961
 MIGHIRIAN — 481, 499
 MIKAYELIAN, KRISDAPOR — 673, 675, 694, 698, 780, 781, 782, 784, 785, 799
 MILAN — 421, 422, 704
 MINAHORIAN V. — 961
 MINASIAN, S. — 529, 858
 MIRZA, RIZA KHAN — 759
 MISHAGH (City) — 252
 MISHAK (Commander) — 252
 MITHRIDATES — 266, 267, 270, 311, 312
 MITHRINES — 263
 MITROBARZAN — 264
 MIYAFARKIN (City) — 898
 MOLDAVIA — 474
 MONAMACHUS, CONSTANTINE — 229
 MONGOLS — 300
 MONTENEGRO — 424
 MORGENTHAU — 868
 MOROCCO — 873
 MORTMAN — 325
 MOSCOW — 333, 705, 841, 878, 966, 1008, 1009, 1010
 MOSES OF KHOREN — 225, 228, 230, 234, 236, 241, 245, 250, 265, 310, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 323, 325, 331, 332, 337, 338, 339, 341
 MOSTAR — 475
 MOUNT LEBANON — 373
 MOUNTAINS — 297
 MT. ARAKOZ — 274, 337
 MT. ARARAT — 327, 337
 MT. SEBUH — 337, 342

MU'AWIYA — 289, 290
 MUDROS ARMISTICE — 917, 951, 960, 966, 992
 MUGAN — 243
 MUHAMMED BIN UKBA — 291
 MUKTEDIR BILLAH — 293
 MUNIR BEY — 591
 MUNZUR — 240
 MURAD (Sultan) — 423, 717, 729, 743, 744
 MURSHILIS (Hittite King) — 324
 MUSA BEY — 715, 716
 MUSDICHIAN, HARUTIAN — 634
 MUSEG (King of Vanant) — 293
 MUSHEGH (Bishop) — 707
 MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK — 952, 954, 956, 960
 MUSUL — 344, 360, 362, 929
 MUŞ — 227, 233, 242, 279, 282, 292, 294, 296, 339, 343, 356, 413, 456, 564, 672, 673, 719, 727, 731, 733, 736, 775, 777, 778, 787, 801, 841, 855, 868, 869, 877, 878, 879, 898, 902, 903, 931, 962, 986
 MUTASARRIF MUSTAFA PASHA — 733
 MÜTASIM (Caliph) — 291
 744, 745, 751, 752
 MÜTEMEDBILLAH (Caliph) — 292
 MUTEVEKKILBILLAH (Caliph) — 292,
 MUTKI — 715, 726
 MÜKÜS (Mountain) — 228, 242
 MÜLLER, FRIEDRICH — 232
 MYTILENE — 616

NAHABEDIAN, SARKIS — 786
 NAKHICHEVAN — 291, 292, 293, 354, 792, 888, 936, 953, 988, 992, 993, 1007, 1015, 1017
 NALBANDIAN, MIKAYEL — 333, 692, 695, 753, 754
 NAPOLEON III — 421, 422, 423, 745
 NARBAY — 334, 444, 460
 NARBAY KHOREN — 467, 468, 482, 483
 NAVARSATION, DR. PAKRAT — 682
 NAZAR BEG — 742, 746, 753, 755
 NAZARBEG, AVEDIS — 682
 NAZARBEEKIAN (Gen) — 696, 905, 911
 NAZARBEOV — 923
 NELIDOFF (Count) — 447, 453, 607, 613
 NEMRUD (Mountain) — 337
 NERSEH (King) — 258, 261, 263
 NERSES — 280, 281, 282, 342, 371, 439, 441, 443, 444, 448, 454, 481, 483, 486, 499, 515, 1018

NERSES (The Great) — 281, 283
 NERSES III — 227, 290
 NERSES ASHTARAKETSI — 346, 1015, 1016, 1017
 NERSES LAMPRONATSI — 229
 NERSES SHINOG — 349
 NERSES SHNORHALI — 229, 299, 350
 NESTORIUS — 344, 345
 NEVE, FELIX — 232
 NICAEA — 343, 345
 NICHOLAIEVICH, NICHOLAS — 443, 895
 NICHOLAS (Grand Duke) — 447, 450, 451, 453, 515
 NICHOLAS I — 617, 621, 626, 1016, 1017
 NICHOLAS II — 628, 665
 NICOLSON, A. (Sir) — 722
 NINEVEH — 225
 NINUS — 251, 252
 NISHAPOUR — 887
 NORADUNGHIAN, K. — 976, 985, 987, 988, 989, 992, 995
 NORAIR (King) — 259, 260, 262
 NOVIKOW — 540
 NOVROSISK (City) — 705
 NURIAN HOHANNES EFENDI — 452, 454, 455, 529, 746

ODESSA — 358, 444
 ODIAN, HACHIK — 334, 481, 482
 ODIAN, KIRKOR — 459, 481, 673
 OHANNES, BAGHDATLIAN — 407, 482
 OHANNES, CATHOLICOS — 272
 OHANNES, SEMPAD — 293, 294
 OHANNESIAN, M. — 702
 OLTU (River) — 243
 OMER (Caliph) — 289, 290
 ORI — 1008
 ORMANIAN (Patriarch) — 360, 542, 614
 ORODES (Parthian King) — 271
 ORPELLIAN, STEPHANOS — 230
 OSMAN (Caliph) — 289, 290
 OSTHIN — 297
 OTTOMAN BANK — 607, 637, 703, 763, 764, 765, 772, 773, 774, 775, 802, 1004
 OTTOMAN EMPIRE — 353, 386, 419, 548, 610, 611, 635, 639, 649, 656, 657, 659, 686, 869, 911, 917, 918, 919, 920, 929, 940, 942, 946, 954, 979, 980, 983, 993, 1010, 1012
 OVACIK — 519

ÖDEMiŞ — 781
 ÖMER BEY — 542, 729

- P.E. LE VAILLANT DE FLORIVAL** — 231
PADEREWSKY, M. — 980
PAHLAVS — 277, 278
PAIGAM OR PAKAM (King) — 258, 261, 263
PAKRAD (Jew) — 265, 632
PAKRADUNI, SAHAK — 233, 236
PAKRADUNIS (Historian) — 229, 743
PAKREVANT (Eleskert) — 227
PALA (City) — 472
PALESTINE — 246, 267, 272, 275, 302, 303, 357, 358, 625, 923, 991, 997
PAPAZIAN STEPAN — 459, 481, 482
PAPAZIAN V. — 855, 867, 914
PARIS — 334, 355, 563, 583, 584, 586, 607, 630, 635, 700, 704, 745, 750, 803, 807, 826, 827, 872, 919, 925, 947, 959, 970, 974, 991, 997
PARNU AS (King) — 260, 261
PARSHAM — 252, 267
PARTHIA — 265, 269
PARTOGOMYOS (Apostle) — 273, 316, 607
PASHALIAN, LEON — 972, 985
PASIN (City) — 276, 520, 703, 762, 903
PASKEVITCH (General) — 408
PASTIRMADYIAN, GAREGIN — 770, 834, 851, 857, 870, 972
PAVOS (King) — 260, 263
PERIER CASIMIR — 678, 725
PERSEPOLIS — 277
PERSIA — 289, 698, 699, 760, 799, 887, 888, 889, 894, 897, 917, 978, 990, 1006, 1008, 1009, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1020
PERSIAN — 284, 285, 289, 305, 306, 627, 775, 778, 799, 993, 1010
PETER THE GREAT — 846, 861, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010
PETERMANN (Writer) — 232, 330
PETERSBURG — 443, 467, 482, 486, 505, 516, 546, 583, 586, 590, 616, 617, 618, 621, 622, 625, 626, 627, 630, 730, 791, 848, 853, 859, 865, 1010, 1015
PETROGRAD — 754, 910
PHARHNAG II (King) — 262
PHARHNAVAZ I (King) — 262
PHARNAG (King) — 259, 260
PHOENICIA — 272, 297
PHRAAT — 267, 268
PHRAAT IV — 269, 270, 272
PHRYGIA — 265, 278
PILATOS (Prince) — 297
POLAND — 888, 891, 1006, 1007
POLEMON — 270, 271
POMPEI — 267, 268, 271, 306, 317, 465
PONTUS — 252, 264, 266, 271, 953, 954
POPE GELAS III — 341
PORTAKALIAN — 672, 704
PORTE — 534, 561
POTEMKIN — 1011, 1012
POTI (City) — 444
PRUSSIA — 880, 891

RAFFI (Hogap Melik Hagopian) — 333, 514, 533, 673, 674
RAMGAVAR — 161, 855
REGNAULT, DR. — 757
REMZI PASHA — 747
REVOLUTIONARY ARMENIAN FEDERATION — 696
RHODES — 320
RIZE (City) — 469, 484, 986
ROLIN, JACQUEMYS — 355, 704
ROME — 282, 303, 306, 344, 345, 347, 350, 459, 466, 483, 704
ROSEBERY, LORD — 583, 608, 722
ROUMANIA — 353, 355, 357, 358, 360, 474, 515, 777, 852, 854, 870
RUMBOLD, HORACE (Sir) — 985, 986, 988, 989
RUMELIA — 479, 827, 839, 943, 954, 956, 986, 1021
RUPEN — 296, 297
RUPEN II — 299
RUPENIAN (Family) — 303, 304, 334, 352, 810
RUSCHUK — 475
RUSSIA — 327, 353, 354, 357, 360, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 419, 420, 423, 433, 434, 436, 437, 444, 447, 448, 449, 456, 457, 459, 462, 467, 472, 480, 483, 486, 491, 495, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 530, 542, 545, 580, 581, 590, 591, 605, 607, 612, 614, 617, 625, 627, 632, 634, 635, 638, 647, 648, 653, 664, 673, 674, 670, 673, 674, 675, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 693, 695, 698, 699, 709, 713, 714, 723, 726, 728, 733, 745, 754, 755, 757, 764, 777, 799, 805, 806, 810, 834, 835, 840, 842, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 856, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 869, 870, 871, 874, 883, 884, 888, 889, 891, 892, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 903, 909, 941, 961, 978, 1001, 1003, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1014, 1017, 1019, 1020, 1021
RUSSINIAN (Dr.) — 416, 993

RUSTEM (Azerbaijan Prince) — 288

SABAHATTIN (Prince) — 807, 809
SADULLAH BEY — 455, 482
SAFFET PASHA — 452, 453, 454, 455
SAHAK — 227, 228, 236, 283, 284, 286, 290, 342, 343
SAINT-MARDIN — 231
SAIT PASHA — 529, 591, 650, 653, 662, 737, 738
SALISBURY (Lord) — 417, 489, 519, 583, 590, 661, 749
SALONICA — 423, 531
SAMATYA — 369, 372, 765
SAMSUN (City) — 841
SAN REMO CONFERENCE — 919, 946
SAN STEFANO — 456, 447, 888
SANADROUG — 273, 279, 311, 316
SANDJAK — 469, 768
SANHERIB — 255
SARDARABAD — 912
SARIKAMIS (City) — 880, 960
SARUHAN — 371, 411, 422, 424, 481
SARKIS — 529, 857, 858
SASUN — 240, 542, 547, 550, 563, 588, 609, 654, 707, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 734, 758, 777, 778, 779, 793, 869, 877, 878, 879, 1003
SATENIK — 274, 275, 228, 229
SAZANOFF — 218, 219, 628, 629, 630, 633, 635, 665, 897, 898, 900
SCHRODER, J. — 231
SEA OF MARMARA — 957
SEBEOS (Bishop) — 228, 314
SEBUH, MAKSUD — 424, 778
SEHUN (River) — 240
SELAHADDIN-I EYYUBI — 299
SELUCIDS — 263, 264
SELIM I — 370
SELIM III — 370
SELJUKS — 296, 306, 743, 888
SEMERDJIAN — 743
SEMRAMIS — 253, 254, 259, 310
SEMPAT — 255, 273, 274, 275, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 301, 302, 778, 779
SENNACHERIB (King of Vaspuraken) — 293, 294, 295
SERBIA — 424, 474, 811
SERKISIAN, SAHAK — 291, 498
SEROP PASHA — 408, 704, 777
SERVER PASHA — 452, 454
SERVICHEN, DR. — 445, 447

SEVAN (Lake or Lake Kegam) — 283, 287, 293, 1002
SEVENHE MADAM — 806
SEVRES — 920, 935, 965, 972
SHABAH (Shapur) — 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284
SHAHAG (of Manazguert) — 282, 332
SHAHAZARIAN, KARABET — 231, 296, 742, 745
SHAHRILIAN (Deputy) — 629, 857, 858
SHAKIR PASHA — 592, 593
SHAMRAMAKERT (The city of Shamram) — 338
SHAMPSICERAMUS (Officer) — 272
SHAMRAN — 235, 252, 337
SHAPUR I — 305
SHAPUR II — 887
SHAPUR III — 282
SHAVARSH I, II — 259, 260, 262
SHAVILOV (General) — 667
SHEIKHULISLAM — 783, 795
SHIPLEY (British Council) — 728
SHIRAKAVAN — 296, 350
SIBERIA — 358, 617, 999
SIDNEY WHITMAN — 677
SIGAJORTI (Son of a giant) — 254, 259, 261, 262
SILESIA — 891
SIMON MAKSUD — 416, 424
SIPAN (Suphan) — 240, 337
SIS — 301, 304, 352, 359, 672, 745, 810, 989
SISAGAN — 243, 251, 292
SISSAK — 251
SIVAS — 293, 295, 333, 360, 361, 362, 363, 365, 371, 456, 475, 520, 533, 542, 547, 551, 592, 595, 606, 607, 638, 647, 650, 652, 653, 778, 841, 867, 898, 927, 936, 938, 956
SIVAS CONGRESS — 954
SHIRT — 469, 472, 475, 726, 945
SIVEREK — 242, 801
SIYUNIK (On the River Araxes) — 241, 242, 243, 251
SOFIA CONGRESS — 780, 786
SOPHENE — 267, 268
SOVAROV (General) — 1011
SOVIET UNION — 358, 985, 988, 995, 999
SPAIN — 304, 932
SPER (Ispir) — 296
SPIRIDOVITCH (General) — 807, 1021
SREN (Pahlav family) — 272, 277, 312
STAVROPOL — 1020
SUBLIME PORTE — 376, 377, 378, 381,

384, 388, 412, 433, 434, 447, 448, 449, 451, 452, 460, 461, 467, 478, 479, 480, 481, 488, 490, 495, 500, 503, 510, 513, 519, 521, 523, 533, 535, 536, 539, 541, 546, 550, 551, 552, 562, 563, 579, 583, 585, 587, 588, 591, 601, 605, 635, 637, 648, 649, 650, 651, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 662, 663, 664, 665, 733, 734, 736, 737, 738, 739, 742, 745, 747, 749, 750, 751, 752, 774, 814, 843, 844, 869, 872, 919, 927, 928, 932, 1024, 1025, 1026, 1027, 1028
SUDAN — 357, 360
SUEZ — 515
SUGAV (Mount Köse) — 240
SULTAN HAMİD — 129, 768, 769, 1003
SULTANIYE — 364
SUR — 254, 259, 260, 262
SURENIAN KEORK (Archbishop) — 626, 627, 628
SUSA İBRAHİM — 606
SÜLEYMAN PASHA — 744
SÜRMELİ — 762, 912, 976, 988, 993
SWITZERLAND — 360, 682, 688, 787, 932
SYRIA — 233, 267, 271, 273, 288, 289, 301, 302, 303, 321, 342, 344, 357, 358, 360, 363, 515, 614, 625, 880, 887, 920, 923, 942, 975, 978, 988, 991, 1002

ŞAHİN BEY — 745
ŞATAK — 242, 870
ŞAŞAT — 243
ŞEBİNKARAHİSAR — 878, 884
ŞEFİK BEY — 606, 729
ŞURA-YI ÜMMET (Newspaper) — 803, 807, 809

TACITUS — 315
TALAS — 721
TALAT (Pasha) — 880, 882
TALORI (Valage) — 547, 550, 563, 729, 731, 732, 777, 778
TANZİMAT — 1024
TARABYA — 591, 772, 773
TASVİRİ EFKAR (Newspaper) — 956
TATIYOS — 272
TATVAN — 779
TAYLERIAN — 880
TCHALKOUCHIAN — 853
TEBRİZ — 360, 370, 705, 841, 1007
TECER — 745
TECERLİ TURKMENS — 743

TEHERAN — 360, 841
TENUS — 519, 520
TEODOSOPOLIS — 241
TEPEBAŞI — 764
TERCAN — 241 372, 869
TERZIAN, THOMAS — 334
TEVFIK PASHA — 927
THATEOS — 278, 315, 316, 341
THEODOSIUS — 281, 282, 283
THEODOSIUS II — 305
THRACE — 266, 319, 354, 416, 431, 442, 467, 888, 920, 928, 929, 957
THULE (Island) — 282
TIFLİS — 314, 354, 408, 433, 437, 497, 589, 617, 618, 620, 621, 622, 627, 629, 630, 667, 673, 682, 694, 696, 703, 780, 786, 799, 841, 851, 852, 865, 872, 891, 895, 909, 910, 912, 923, 936, 1017
TIGRIS (Dikris) — 240, 311, 321, 324
TİMUR — 300
TİMURTAŞ KHAN — 303
TİRİDAD — 226, 227, 230, 278, 279, 281, 311, 316, 341, 342,
TIRYAKIAN HAİK — 765, 780
TİTUS — 273
TOĞARMAH (Torgama) — 234, 310
TOHMA LAIAN VARTABET — 706
TOKAT — 244, 722
TOPCHIAN (Y.) — 355, 413, 514
TORGOM — 234, 247, 248, 261, 780, 783, 906
TOROS — 240, 296, 298, 301, 302, 422, 627, 721, 870, 898, 919
TOROS I — 298
TOROS II — 299
TORTUM — 243, 525
TORUM — 527
TOSUN PASHA — 744
TOURNBIZE (F.) — 315, 341, 354
TOVIN — 229, 279, 287, 289, 290, 343, 346, 349
TRAJAN — 271, 275
TRANSCAUCASIA — 793, 795, 835, 843, 848, 851, 856, 857, 858, 860, 861, 870, 873, 902, 905, 906, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 917, 923, 924, 933, 936, 939, 940, 945, 946, 949, 984, 985, 988, 989, 992, 993, 995, 1002, 1009
TRANSYLVANIA — 357, 360, 888
TREATY OF BERLIN — 804, 806, 834, 926, 927
TREATY OF SÈVRES — 938, 942, 964, 965, 970, 974, 997, 998, 999
TREBİZOND (Trabzon) — 241, 293, 360,

361, 362, 363, 372, 469, 607, 613, 614, 650, 653, 677, 678, 693, 702, 841, 862, 863, 909, 910, 911, 921, 924, 930, 931, 934, 936, 937, 938, 945, 962
TRİPOLİ — 625, 855
TRODDER (Military Consul) — 354, 355
TUGHRUL — 350
TUMANIAN — 235, 298, 447, 630, 673, 722, 724
TUNUSIA — 474
TURHAN PASHA — 591, 739
TURKESTAN — 287, 358
TURKEY — 859, 860, 861, 864, 874, 880, 881, 895, 896, 900, 903, 906, 912, 917, 919, 920, 921, 922, 925, 926, 928, 935, 936, 942, 945, 946, 947, 951, 959, 966, 967, 973, 974, 976, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 991, 992, 1001, 1003, 1005, 1006, 1011, 1020

UBICINI — 411, 473, 474
UDI — 241, 243
UNDJULAN APIK — 763
UNITED STATES — 699, 866, 920, 927, 928, 938, 946, 958, 959, 972, 975, 985, 991
URARTU — 321
URINIAN, A.V. — 498
URMIA (Lake) — 240, 898
UTUDJIAN ABRAHAM — 373
UTUJIAN (Archibishop) — 634

ÜSKUDAR — 371, 672, 733, 736, 765

VAGARSH — 276, 277, 286
VAGARSHABAD — 243, 267, 312, 346, 1013
VAGARSHAK — 225, 236, 245, 246, 265, 266, 296
VAGARSHAK II — 282
VAHABEDIAN, HARUTION — 514, 542, 730
VAHAKAN — 258, 261, 262, 266, 338
VAHE (King) — 225, 261, 263
VAHRAM, BEHRAM — 283, 284, 287
VALENS (Emperor) — 282
VALERIAN (Emperor) — 278
VAMBERI (Prof.) — 335, 356, 357
VAN — 242, 253, 258, 261, 263, 287, 291, 292, 294, 296, 324, 339, 356, 360, 361,

362, 363, 364, 365, 456, 467, 469, 475, 484, 533, 540, 542, 547, 551, 592, 596, 606, 607, 613, 638, 647, 650, 652, 653, 671, 672, 673, 682, 694, 702, 728, 733, 734, 754, 755, 756, 758, 759, 760, 774, 775, 780, 801, 802, 811, 855, 856, 857, 863, 867, 869, 870, 879, 886, 892, 893, 898, 921, 927, 930, 934, 936, 938, 962, 977, 996
VAN (Lake) — 240, 324, 329, 456, 472, 986
VANANT (Province of Kars) — 292, 293
VARANDIAN, MİKAYEL — 370, 371, 617, 630, 673, 695, 703, 705, 759, 793
VARASDIROTS — 288, 289
VARJABEDIAN, NERSES — 356, 415, 416, 417, 437, 441, 443, 450, 451, 459, 486, 487, 492, 495, 496, 498, 513, 514, 515, 542, 617, 745
VARNA — 870
VARSHAM KRİKOR — 786
VARTABET — 632, 724, 1006, 1007
VARTABET DADJAT — 763
VARTABET, ELİSEE — 228
VARTABET KIRKOR — 745
VARTABET MAMPRE — 763
VARTABET MINES — 1009
VARTABET, VAHAN — 528, 529
VARTABET, VARTAN — 775
VARTAN (Band) — 287, 759, 780, 801
VARTAN, BADMICH (Historian) — 230
VARTO — 765
VASHDAK — 259, 260, 262
VASHPURAGAN (City) — 241, 242, 292, 293, 825, 878, 879
VATICAN — 345
VEH-MİHR-ŞABUH (or Mihr Shabur) — 285
VEHİB PASHA — 911
VELİ BABA — 703
VENICE — 334, 371, 372
VENİZELOS — 944, 981
VERSAILLES — 997
VESDAM — 260, 262
VEYSİ PASHA — 746
VICTOR BERARD — 704
VIENNA — 515, 782, 784, 802, 1006
VİNCENT, EDGARD (Sir) — 769, 771
VİRTANES — 280, 342
VOLGA — 999
VOLOGES — 270, 271, 273
VORONTSOV-DACHKOV — 622, 628, 630, 666, 667, 795, 843, 845, 847, 852, 861, 862, 892, 893, 895
VORSORT — 703

- WALLACHIA — 474
 WANGENHEIM — 649
 WHISTON BROTHERS — 231
 WILEFROID — 231
 WILLIAMS, W.H. (Major) — 759, 760
 WILSON (President) — 916, 928, 930, 940, 946, 950
 WORLD WAR — 840, 854, 855, 860, 864, 901, 952, 975, 979, 993, 997
- XENOPHON — 319
- YEGIYA — 290, 334
 YEMEN — 625, 652
 YENIKAPI — 369
 YENIKÖY — 647
 YENKALAVAN — 324
 YERES, GHEVORD (Historian) — 229
 YEŞİLIRMAK — 240
 YEZ (Catholicos) — 349
 YEZDEGERD — 283, 286, 288, 312, 887
 YEZDEGERD II — 228, 285, 346
 YEZID — 291
 YEZNIK V. ABAHUNI — 498
 YILDIZ — 614, 703, 742, 781, 782
 YOUNG TURKS — 804, 807, 819, 833, 839, 990
 YOZGAT — 519, 520, 721
 YUSUF PASHA — 291, 292, 529
- ZABEL — 300, 304
 ZADRIADES — 264, 267, 271
 ZAMASSIAS — 253, 254
 ZANGEZOR — 240, 243, 907
 ZAREH — 258, 261, 263
 ZAREHAVAN — 258
 ZAREVANT (Selmas) — 292
 ZARMAIR — 259, 260, 262
 ZARMANUHI — 743
 ZAROPYAN — 721
 ZAVARIAN — 629, 636
 ZAVEN — 259, 260, 262, 943, 949, 968
 ZAVRIEV (Dr.) — 860, 907
 ZEITUN (Zeitoun) — 421, 422, 423, 498, 551, 564, 607, 638, 672, 673, 744, 745, 746, 748, 750, 751, 753, 754, 758, 799, 810, 811, 819, 824, 866, 869, 871, 878, 879, 898, 968
 ZEKI PASHA — 987
 ZENON — 270, 344
 ZENOB OF GLAG (Historian) — 227
 ZEUS — 266, 339
 ZILE — 244
 ZIMMAR MONASTERY — 373
 ZIYA PASHA — 583
 ZOHRABIAN — 914
 ZOR — 364, 703, 933
 ZOROASTER — 253, 254
 ZURICH — 704