The participation of the Armenian community in Ottoman public life in Eastern Anatolia and Syria, 1860-1908

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

By

Mesrob K Krikorian

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

November 1963
School of Oriental Studies
in the University of Durham
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<table>
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<tr>
<td>Arm</td>
<td>Armenian</td>
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<td>Arb.</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
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<tr>
<td>CTA</td>
<td>V Cuinet, <em>La Turquie d'Asie</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>EI¹</td>
<td><em>The Encyclopaedia of Islām</em>, 1st Edition</td>
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<tr>
<td>EI²</td>
<td><em>The Encyclopaedia of Islām</em>, 2nd Edition</td>
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<td>F.O.</td>
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<td>IA</td>
<td><em>İslâm ansiklopedisi</em></td>
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<td>Mod. Turk</td>
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<td>Ott Turk</td>
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I N T R O D U C T I O N

The Scope of This Work

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

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

In 1953, at Istanbul, an Armenian Catholic priest, Y Çark, published an illustrated book, Türk devleti hizmetinde Ermeniler, 1453-1953 [The Armenians in the service of the Turkish State, 1453-1953], in which he recorded those Armenians who held more or less important positions in the Turkish State from 1453 to 1953.
study covers a period of five centuries and, geographically, the whole Ottoman Empire to 1923 and the Turkish Republic thereafter.

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

My main sources in writing the present work, have been the provincial year-books (sâlnâme)\(^{(1)}\) of Eastern Anatolia and Syria. Although these are printed or lithographed books, the fact that they are scarce and not much explored, gives them the character of unedited materials.

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

\(^{(1)}\) Turkish equivalent terms are throughout given in the singular
Chronologically, this work covers the period between 1860 and 1908. The year 1860 is significant in Armenian-Ottoman history for several reasons. (a) On the 3rd November 1839, the Khatt-i Şerîf (noble rescript) of Gülkhâne, which was reaffirmed on the 18th February 1856 by the Khatt-i Hümayûn (Imperial rescript), proclaimed freedom of worship and civil equality to all Ottoman subjects. As a result of these imperial edicts non-Muslims were admitted in greater numbers than before to employment in the Ottoman public administration. (b) From 1857-8, the Armenians and other non-Muslim students were also allowed to attend the Turkish state high schools. Through this new arrangement Armenians enjoyed the opportunities of learning advanced Turkish and various professions and skills and were thus fitted to engage in public affairs. It must be mentioned here that, apart from Turkish schools, the Armenians had their own secondary schools, as well as others run by French Catholic and American Protestant Missions which did much to develop popular education.

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

\(^{(1)}\) These two universities are (a) The Syrian Protestant College founded in 1866 by the American Presbyterian Mission, became the American University of Beirut in 1920, and (b) the Jesuit College founded in 1881 (run by French Fathers), now the University of Saint-Joseph.
in order to continue education. Most of the students returned home and devoted themselves to public services and the private professions. In 1860 the Constitution of the Armenian community was first promulgated. This stimulated a renaissance of education and literature in the national life and awakened the national conscience of the younger generation. In 1860 occurred the massacres of the Maronites of Mount Lebanon by the Druzes, and consequently Jabal Lubnān became an autonomous territory guaranteed by international agreement. In October 1864 the Ottoman Empire was itself reorganized and divided into reconstituted provinces (vilâyet) under governors designated vâlî. This territorial reorganization created employment for many new officials in public life, for which the Armenians and Greeks were now available.

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

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

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

The Regulation of the Armenian Community

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

On the 11th Cemâdî'î akhir 1272 H (18th February 1856) the Khât-ı Hûmâyûn (Imperial rescript) of the Sublime Porte proclaimed personal safety and freedom of worship to all Ottoman subjects without any distinction and promised to non-Muslim communities restoration of all immunities and
privileges in a new legislative form (1) Reform in the state suggested reform in the religious communities. The Armenians with all the non-Muslim communities were pleased and enthusiastic. Some intellectuals such as Grigor Ötean (1834-87), Nahapet Rusinean (1819-76) and Dr Serovbē Vičēnean (1815-87) who were educated in the secular environment of Paris, urged the necessity of a new constitution for the Armenian community in order to restrict the arbitrary acts of the patriarchs, amīrs (high officials at the Court) and ārās (chiefs, notables) and to give the ordinary people a say in the ordering of their communal life.

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

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

(2) B Kēčean, Patmut1wn surb Prkōi hìwāndenoc1n Hayoc 1 Kostandnupolis [History of S Prkōi hospital of the Armenians in Constantinople], Istanbul, 1888, p 95.
to prepare a new constitution which was completed in 1860. These were its main lines -(1)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the 5th June 1860 representatives of all classes of the Armenian community met in general council in Istanbul in which the new Regulation was approved and signed and at the same time provisional councils were formed. A copy of the Constitution was submitted to the Sublime Porte for ratification, in three months new councils were elected and the community life suddenly began to be administered according to the new regulations until the 27th August 1861, when the execution of the Constitution was forbidden by the Ottoman Government. Again a special committee was appointed, this time by the Sublime Porte, under the chairmanship of Dr Serovbē Vičēnean (known as Dr Servičēn), which revised
the Constitution and re-submitted it to the Government in January 1862. On the suggestions of the Government once more certain changes were made and the people awaited anxiously the ratification of the Constitution (1).

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

1. Some terms such as the council of 'National administration' apparently were regarded as suspicious by the Government, were cut out or replaced by other words, e.g., in the 'Fundamental principles', instead of 'National Constitution' of the 17th and 19th articles, in the revised Constitutions the term is shortened to 'nation' (articles 11 and 111). Again, in article 5 of the 'Fundamental principles' it was suggested that the 'National Administration' should not spare any labour for the reformation and progress of the nation, in the revised form it is said that 'the nation should devotedly work for the national progress' (article 111) and thus the dangerous word 'reformation' was missed out.

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(1) The revised Constitution was drafted and published by the Armenian Patriarchate at Istanbul in 1863, which contains both the Armenian and Turkish (in Arm characters) texts in parallel lines, Azagayin Sahmanadrutun Hayoc [National Constitution of the Armenians]. The Turkish official version was published in the Ottoman Düstür [Code of Laws], Istanbul, 11, (1289 H /1872-3), pp 938-61. In this the 'Preface' and the 'Fundamental principles' are omitted (see the Armenian text, pp 9-12). An English translation of the Constitution was published by H F B. Lynch, in his Armenia travels and studies, 1901, 11, pp 445-67. There is an abridged French translation by G. Young, in his Corps de droit ottoman, 11, pp 79-92.
The 27th article also, 'The Political Council is composed of 20 political\(^{(1)}\) laymen', because of the word 'political', is altered to this 'The Political Council consists of 20 laymen well acquainted with the national affairs and with the laws of the Ottoman Empire' (article 36).

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

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

\(^{(1)}\) In the text the Armenian word is kağağak'ag', which means 'he who understands politics, a politician'

\(^{(2)}\) 'The Araratean Mother See' refers to the Holy See of Echmiadzin in Armenia.
must be 'affirmed by Imperial order', whereas previously only the election of the patriarch was to be presented to the Porte for approval

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

The Government did not immediately confirm even the revised Constitution. The people, thinking that the Patriarchate was delaying the matter, organized demonstrations. Eventually by a decree dated 9th Şevval 1279 H (30th March 1863) the Sultan 'Abd ul-'Aziz approved the Community Regulation which was handed over to the patriarchal locum tenens, Bishop Stepan Magakean, by the Grand Vizier Mehmed Emin 'Ali Pasha

It is worth noting that, although the Armenians have their new Regulation called 'National Constitution' (Arm Azgayın Sahmanadrutıwın), the Turkish text is entitled 'Regulation of the Armenian nation' (Nizāmnāme-ı millet-ı ermeniān), whereas in Dustür (1) it is named 'The regulation of the Armenian Patriarchate' (Ermeni baṭriklikı nizāmāti). These differences in the title of the Armenian Constitution help us to observe the differences between the Armenian and

(1) See Dustür [Code of laws], 11, (1289 H /1872-3), p 6 (the index) Curiously enough the text itself (p 938) has no title
Turkish attitudes to the national status While the Armenians thought that the new Constitution would bring secularism, internal freedom and safety to their lives, to the Turks the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire like the other non-Muslim peoples, in spite of promised or written reforms, were still treated as a religious community, a millet,\(^{1}\) and was recognized and treated only through its religious organization However, it is a fact that the Constitution basically organized the Armenian community, limited the power of the patriarch and of lay despots, stimulated learning among the people, and thus became one of the main factors which resulted in a renaissance of literature among the Armenians of Turkey

In the days of patriarch Mağakia Örmancı, the Constitution was suspended from 1898-1906, because the Sultan 'Abd-ul-Hamid demanded a new revision of it In 1923, in the creation of Turkish Republic it became invalid, since all the

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

Russo-Turkish War and the Treaty of S. Stefano

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

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

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(2) Teğekagırk gawarakän harstaharuteanc, [Report on the outrages which occurred in the provinces], Istanbul, 1876
Armenians of the Eastern provinces were brought to the attention of the public

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

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

Diarbakır, Elâzığ and Sivas' (1)

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

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

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

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(1) Saruxan, ibid, p 285

(2) K. Tumayean, Patmutiwn arwewleantz xndroy ew arajnord haykakan harç1 [History of the Eastern Problem and a guide to the Armenian Question], (2 volumes), London 1905, p 518, and Ormanean, Azgapatum [History of the Armenian nation], 111, p 4342
the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians and to guarantee their security against the Kurds and Circassians' (1)

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


(2) P R O , F 0 78/1521
Ottoman regions form its members, and that Erzurum is the most important centre from which the body could be defended—

"Ce qui le centre du théâtre de la guerre, le point auquel toutes les routes mentionnées se réunissent, la ville d'Erzeroum, soit fortifiée à grande échelle, comme pivot et dépôt général pour toutes nos forces. La dite capitale, est, pour ainsi dire, la clé de l'espace à défendre, puisqu'elle domine toutes les communications importantes qui y aboutissent comme au point de noyau naturel." (1)

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

The Congress of Berlin

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

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

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

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

continuation of footnote (2) on p. xvii

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

(1) Lord Beaconsfield in the House of Lords, 8th April 1878, Speeches, 11, p 170

(2) 'The Marquis of Salisbury to Her Majesty's Embassies', 1st April 1878, British and Foreign State Papers 1877-78, vol 69, 1885, pp 812-3
administrative reforms in Eastern Anatolia ('the provinces inhabited by the Armenians')

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

''Nous ne reclamons donc pas de liberté politique et nous ne voulons nullement nous séparer du Gouvernement Turc. Nous voulons seulement avoir dans une partie de l'Armenie Turque, c'est-à-dire dans les vilayet d'Erzeroum et de V... et dans la partie septentrionale du vilayet de Diyarbekir (v la carte ci-jointe) ou nous avons la majorité sur les Turcs, conformément aux documents statistique ci-inclus, nous voulons avoir, disons nous, un vali Armenien nommé par la S Porte avec l'assentiment des Puissances. Ce vali sera charge de l'administration locale pour un temps détermine, il devra disposer d'une police pour maintenir l'ordre et la securite, et d'une partie des revenus du pays, pour en assurer le developpement..."
moral et materiel' (1)

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

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

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

(1) Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien, Politisches Archiv III, Karton 115, Berliner Kongress, the letter, 'Schreiben der armenischen Delegierten an den Minister des Aeussern, Grafen Karolyi', dated 25th June 1878. It is signed only by the two clergymen. See Appendix V below.

(2) E. Pears (Sir), The Life of Abdul Hamid, 1917, pp 218-20.
It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application' (1)

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

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

(1) E Hertslet, The map of Europe by treaty, iv, p 2796
(2) See M Xrimean, Hşak ['Cultivator', a newspaper], 1878, No 159
(3) The harisa is an oriental dish, cooked with meat and wheat pounded together
(4) See Xrimean's Literary Collection (in Armenian), Tiflis, 1908, p 98, and H Əçemem, Hayoc Hayrik [Armenians' Father (M Xrimean)], 2 vols, Tavriz, 1929, 11, pp 511-14
(5) S Palasanean, Patmutiwn Hayoc [History of the Armenians], Tiflis, 1890, p 490
organized which sponsored many schools in Turkish Armenia and stimulated education and literature in the new generation (1)

The Massacres of 1894-1896 and the Administrative Reforms of 1896

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

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(2) A historical survey of the massacres of 1894-1896 is in Ormanean's Azgapatum [History of the Armenian nation], 111, pp 5020-47, 5063-6, 5074-92
The first echo in England of the Armenian massacres was a short report in The Times of 21st February 1894 on the trouble in Yozgat (1)

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

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

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

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

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

(2) The Times, 20th November 1894, p 11c
have stripped them of the greater part of their belongings, their trades and crafts are broken down, their markets disorganized, and in wide regions there is nothing left from which a man may earn his bread' (1)

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

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

(1) Ibid, 28th December 1897, p 2d
(2) Ibid, 12th Dec 1894, p 10f, 18th Dec 1894, p 10e, etc
(3) The Times, 21st Nov 1894, p 5, 25th Dec 1894, p 3c, 26th Dec 1894, p 3c, and 21st Jan 1895, p 5d
Tevfik Paşa, General of Brigade and Aide-de-camp
Şefik Bey, President of one of the chambers of the
Court of Cassation
Celâleddîn Bey, President of the Correctional
section of the Court
Necib Bey, Director of the Secretary-General's
Office at the Ministry of Interior
Omer Bey, Director of the Savings Bank
Mr H S Shipley, delegate of England
Mr Prejewalsky, delegate of Russia
Mr Vilbert, delegate of France
Dr Miles Jewett, delegate of America (1)

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

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

(2) The Times, 29th January 1895, pp 5-6
Porte the necessity of applying a programme for the reform of the administration of Turkish Armenia (1) The Porte received the demands of the European States, but the Sultan 'Abd 'Ul-Hamid was apparently not yet satisfied with the blood already shed. In the following months of 1895 the slaughter was continued in all the principal towns of Turkey. These anti-Armenian outbreaks were crowned, in June 1896, by the atrocities of Van, and in August 1896, by the massacre of Istanbul. Thus in 1894-96 more than 300,000 Armenians perished during the assaults organized by the Ottoman Porte (2).

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

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(1) K. Tumayean, Patmut'wun arewelean xndroy ew arajnord Haykakan harci [History of the Eastern Problem and a guide to the Armenian Question], ii, pp 654-68

(2) Ormane'an's Azgapatum [History of the Armenian nation], ibid., p.5030, but J. Bryce, The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire (1916, p 624), says 'In all more than 100,000 men, women and children had perished'

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

These were the main points of the reforms -

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

2. Likewise, the governors of sancâks and kazâs would be accompanied by non-Muslim assistants (art 2).

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

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

(1) Noradounghian, ibid, pp 519-20

(2) These ambassadors were Philip Curry for Great Britain, P Cambon for France, and Nelidov for Russia.
Permanent commission of control (art 5)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Offices and Officials in Ottoman Public Administration

During the XIXth century the population of Anatolia, especially the Christians, suffered much through anarchy and oppression and from irresponsible officials. After the proclamation of Khâtî-i Hümâyûn (18th February 1856) the
Great Powers proposed plans of reform to the Sublime Porte, including the participation of Christians in the administrative apparatus. In 1860 the Şadır ğazām (Grand Vizier) Kibrisli Mehmed Pasha visited the provinces and personally listened to the complaints of the people and in October 1864 the new Vilâyet nizämnamesi (provincial regulation) was promulgated in order to reform the administration of the Ottoman provinces.

By this enactment the Ottoman territories were divided into -
(a) the vilâyet (province),
(b) the sancak (subdivision of a vilâyet, county),
(c) the kazâ (administrative division next to sancak, district),
(d) nahiye (subdivision of a kazâ, commune) and
(e) kariye (quarter or village)

The vilâyet was to be governed by a vâli, the sancak by a mutasarrif, the kazâ by a kâymakam, the nahiye by a müdür, and the kariye by a mukhtar. The vâli, who was appointed by the Sultan, possessed the executive power in all branches, apart from the military. Under his immediate authority were all the heads of the various administrative departments, and he was also in charge of the police of the province.

Usually the vâli had an assistant (mu‘avin) who replaced him in case of absence or sickness. Where there was no mu‘avin available, the defterdar (general director of the financial department of a province) assisted the governor general.

(1) See E Z Karal, Osmanlı tarihi [Ottoman history], viith volume (1861-1876), Ankara, 1956, pp 152ff
The defterdär, although acting in cooperation with the vâli was immediately responsible to the Finance Minister at Istanbul. The mutaşarrif, also appointed by the Sulṭân, carried out his office under the authority of the vâli. Apart from being the general administrator of a sancak, he was the head of its administrative council (idâre meclisi), and of its boards of public works (nāfi‘a) and education (ma‘ārif). Other senior officials in a sancak, next below to the mutaşarrif, were the deputy judge (nâ‘ib), the head of the financial department (muhâsebeci), and the chief secretary (tahrîrât müdürü). The kâymakâm of a kazâ, like the mutaşarrif, was at the same time ex officio head of the administrative council and of the board of Public works. His assistants were the deputy judge, the head of the financial department (mâl müdürü), and the chief secretary (tahrîrât kâtibi). The administrator of a nâhive, the müdür, was appointed by the general governor of the province, but he took instructions from the kâymakâm of his kazâ. He gathered the taxes, executed the sentences of the judicial court, and sometimes personally tried to pacify quarrels and disputes. The mukhtar (head man) of a kariye was chosen by the inhabitants of his quarter or village and affirmed by the governor of his kazâ. He was assisted by a council whose members were mainly elders, for which reason it was called ikhtiyâr meclisi (council of elders).
The Armenian officials in Ottoman public administration appear mostly in the kazâs and at the headquarters of the sancâks. I shall therefore present here a general picture of the administrative apparatus in the (merkez-i sancâk) and, when there is a relevant department, outlying kazâs also.

1 Political administration

1 Administrative council

(a) Ex officio member (a‘zâ’ tabî‘iye)

- Governor General
- Deputy judge
- Head of financial department Müftü
- Armenian bishop
- Armenian Catholic bishop (or priest)
- Armenian Protestant pastor (sometimes)
- Greek metropolitan (if there was one)

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

(b) Elected members (a‘zâ’ müntekhab)

Usually two Christian and two Muslim members were elected

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

11 Municipality

(a) Municipal council (belediye meclisi)
Mayor (belediye re'isî)
Members (from 6 to 12)
In a normal kazâ the Municipal council had 5-10 members

(b) Municipal officials (belediye me'müru)
Clerk (kâtîb)
Cashier (şandîk emîni)
Engineer (mühendis)
Doctor (tablîb)
Vaccinator (âşî me'müru)
Midwife (kâbîle)
Inspector (müfettiş)
Inspector's assistant (müfettiş mu'âvini)

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

2 Secretariat

1 Chief secretariat (also for the Adm council)
Administrative council's clerk
Documents' (archives) official (evrâk me'müru)
Chief clerk for drafting letter (müsevvîd evvel)
Second clerk for drafting letters (müsevvîd sânil)
Chief copyist (mübevvîz evvel)
Second copyist
Third copyist
Assistants (mülâzîm), up to 8 in number
11 Chamber of archives (evrâk odası)
Documents official (evrâk me'mûru)
An assistant
Stationer (kırı̂asıye me'mûru) He was the official who provided stationery, printed official forms and other papers to different governmental departments
Assistants (1-3)

iii State land registry (defter khâkâni idaresi)
Chief official (me'mûr)
Chief clerk
Assistant clerk
Title-deeds' clerk (tâpû kâtibi)
Assistant to the clerk of title-deeds

iv Secretariat to the financial department
Chief official
Chief clerk
Assistant clerk
Accountant (defterci)
Assistants (about 4)
Cashier

v Secretariat to the Court of first instance (bidâyet kalemi)
Chief clerk
Civil department's clerk (2)
Criminal department's clerk (2)
3 Finance

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

Director (müdür)
Assistants (2)
Cashier
Lawyer for the treasury (khazīne da‘vā vekili)

ii Taxation department (vergī dā’iresi)

Chief official
Cashier
Chief clerk
Accountant

Assistants (about 4)

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

Tax assessors, 2 (vergī mukhammini)
Municipal tax assessors, 2 (belediye mukhammini)

iii Tax collection

(a) Tax collection board (taḥṣīlāt ḵūmīsūnu)

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

Four members -
One from the Adm council
One from the Municipality
Chief tax collector (ser taḥṣīldār)
Cashier
(b) Tax collection committee (hey‘et taḥṣīliyye)

Chief official
Chief tax-collector
Clerk

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

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

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

Director
Assistant
Members (about 6)
Clerk

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

iv Agricultural Bank branch (zirā‘at bāṅkasi şu‘besi) (1)

(a) Cash account (ḵāṣa idāresi)

Manager
Assistant
Clerk

(1) In 1868 the Ottoman Government established 'Credit offices' (menāfī‘ şandıkî) which in 1888 were replaced by the branches of the Agricultural Bank. Both the 'Credit offices' and the banks gave loans to the farmers and agriculturists in order to improve agriculture. In the present study under the heading 'Agricultural Banks branches' must be understood also the 'Credit offices' for the period 1868-88
In the cash account of the outlying kazā there were the account's clerk and two assisting officials.

(b) The council

Head (reşīs)

Members (about 4)

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

v Branch of the Ottoman Bank ('osmānli bānḵāsī şu'besi)

Manager

Accountant

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

vi Public Debt administration (diwān-i 'umūmiye idāresi)

Chief official

Clerk

Cashier

Weighing-official (ḵantārcī)

Tax-collector

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

vii Customs administration (rūsūmat neẓāreti)

Administrator (nāzīr)

Accounts chief clerk

Chief secretary

Clerk

Assistant clerk
Offices of Custom administration are very rarely to be found in outlying kazās.

vii Régie
Manager
Accountant
Store-keeper (anbārcī)
Clerk
Lawyer (daʿvā vekīli)
In a usual kazā the Régie had the same officials, except for a lawyer.

4 The court (1)

Court of First instance (bidāyet maḥkemesi)

(a) Civil department (hūkūk dāʾiresi)
   Head (the deputy judge)
   Members (2)
   Assistant functionary (müşlāzim)
   In an outlying kazā the Court had a head (the deputy judge), two members and two clerks

(b) Criminal department (cezā dāʾiresi)
   Head
   Members (2)

(1) In the central and outlying kazās there were only courts of First instance, whereas at the headquarters of the provinces Courts of appeal (istīnāf maḥkemesi) were also established. In case of difficulties, the disputes were transferred from an outlying kazā to the centre of the sancāk, and if necessary, from there to the Court of appeal of the vilāyet.
Assistant functionary

Public prosecutor (müde‘î ‘umûmi)

(c) Other court officials

Executive officer (icrā‘ me’mûru)

Juge d'instruction (mūstantîk)

Notary (mūkāvelāt muţarrīrī)

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

(d) Commercial court

Head

Members (4)

5 Technical departments

i Public works

(a) Public works' board (nāfi‘a kōmîsyŏnu)

Head (the governor)

Members Manager of the Agric Bank

Member from the Adm council

Member from the Municipality

Member from the Chamber of commerce

Registrar of births or census officer (nûfûs me’mûru)

Public works engineer

Clerk

In a normal kazā the Public works' board had a head (who was the kāymakām) and four members one from the
Adm council, the accounts' clerk of the Agricultural Bank branch, the registrar of births, and one from the Chief secretariat or any other member

(b) Technicians (me'mūrin fenniye)

Engineer

Two foremen (köndüktör)

11 Post and telegraph (pōsta ve telegraf idāresi)

Postmaster (pōsta müdürü)

Telegraphic superintendents, 2 (mukhābere me'mūru)

Linesman foreman (khaṭ ḍāvusu)

Clerk

Postmen, 2 (mūveẓzi'ī)

Postal messenger (pōsta şāgirdı)

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

6 Public Health service

1 Municipality's service (see under Municipality)

ii Public health board (heycet şihhiye)

Doctor

Chemist

Vaccinator

Midwife

Veterinary surgeon (bayṭār)
7 Education

i Educational board (ma‘arif komisyonu)

First director (re‘is evvel)
Second director (re‘is şafı)
Members (about 8)
Clerks (one or two)

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

ii School of handicrafts (şanâyi‘ mektebi)

Director
Teacher (of general subjects)
Teachers of joinery, blacksmiths' art, shoe-making etc

8 Forest administration (orman idaresi)

Superintendent of mounted foresters (orman stüvârî me’mûru)
Tithe officials, 3 (ondalîk me’mûru)
Forest-guards, 3 (körûcu)

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

Sources

In 1263 H /1846-7 the Ottoman Empire began to publish imperial year-books (Devlet-i ‘Aliye-i osmânîye sâlnâmesi), listing the officials of the central and provincial governments

(1) S.R. Iskit, Türkiyede neşriyat hareketleri tarihine bir bakış [A historical survey of publishing activities in Turkey], Istanbul, 1939, pp 34-36 and 356-61, and EI¹, iv, p.83
In 1284 H./1867-8 the chief secretary (mektübcu) of the province of Aleppo, Ibrahim Halet Bey(1) published a statistical annual of the province. Soon other vilâyets followed the example of Aleppo, and thus there were created the provincial year-books (vilâyet sâlnâmesi) (2) These sâlnâmes gave the geography, produce, population and all the officials and officers of their provinces. As S. Iskit has pointed out in an exaggerated way the vilâyet-sâlnâmes are 'for the most part wrong', (3) but in my research, misspellings of names, and also mistakes in geographical and historical surveys did not cause any special difficulty for me, because I was interested in differentiating between the names of the Muslim and Christian officials, while compiling statistics of personnel of all the departments of government affairs. In this the evidence of the sâlnâmes was essential.

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

(1) A biography of Ibrahim Halet Bey is in Türkiye âinklopedisi [Encyclopaedia of Turkey], Ankara, iii, (1956), p.133.
(2) Iskit, ibid., pp.96-97.
(3) Ibid., pp.360-61.
University of Beirut, in the State Library at Aleppo, and in the libraries of the University (İstanbul Universitesi Kütüphanesi) and of the Municipality (İstanbul Belediye Kütüphanesi) of Istanbul. The last has quite a large collection of year-books.

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

(1) Türkiye'de mezkin yerler kılavuzu [Gazetteer of the inhabited places of Turkey], published by the Ministry of the Interior of Turkey, Ankara, 2 volumes, 1946-47
At the end of each chapter I have appended short biographies of selected Armenians who acted in Ottoman public life for a long period or held comparatively high positions in the government. I have drawn these biographies from local Armenian histories. The sālnāmes in this case were of little help, since the officials are very often referred to only by their Christian names. These biographies will serve to give the reader a more substantial idea of the participation of the Armenian community in Ottoman public life.
CHAPTER I
THE ARMENIANS OF DIYARBAKIR

Historical Survey

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

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

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

as vâli  The Persian control, however, did not last long
The Ottomans taking advantage of the insubordination of the
inhabitants, during 921-923H /1515-1517 under the leadership
of the vizier of the Sultan Selim I (1512-1250), Bıyıklı
Mehmed Paşa, finally brought Diyarbakır under the direct
government of the Sublime Porte (1)

Administrative Structure

The vilâyet of Diyarbakır was first created in 1867
It had four administrative subdivisions - Diyarbakır,
Erganı, Mardin, and Malatya In 1297H /1879-80 one part
of Diyarbakır was made the vilâyet of Elâzığ which included
Malatya The remaining three sancaks, were divided into
14 kazâs as follows -
The kazâs of the sancak of Diyarbakır (Diyärbakır) -
Diyarbakır
Silverrek
Derik
Lice
Beşiri
Silvan with its centre at Miyafarkin (now called
Silvan) Miyafarkin (previously named
Malipheracta, Npherkert and Martyropolis),
is the ancient Tigranocerta, which was built
by the Armenian King Tigran II about 80 B.C.
It was a notable centre for trade and trans-

(1) C Huart, 'Diyâr Bakr', EI', i, p 982, and M H Yınanç,
'Diyarbekir', IA, fascicle 28 (İstanbul, 1946), pp 605-626
port (1)

Sancak of Ergani (formerly called Arqana Ma'den, Arqana and sometimes Osmaniye), had three kazas -

Ergani
Palu
Çermik which included the nahiye of Cungüş

The kazas of the sancak of Mardin -

Mardin
Nûsaybin
Cizre
Midyat
Avine

Population

In the second-half of the nineteenth century the total population of the vilayet of Diyarbakîr, according to Guînet (2) was 471,462, Muslims, Christians and others. The non-Muslim population was as follows -

Armenians


(2) CTA, 11, p 412
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apostolic (1)</td>
<td>57,890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>10,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>11,069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greeks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>9,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaldeans</td>
<td>16,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrians (mostly Orthodox)</td>
<td>27,544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latins</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>1,269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>79,129</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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(1) The official name of the Armenian national Church is 'The Holy Apostolic and Orthodox Church of Armenia.' The majority of Armenians (85%) are members of this church, and they prefer to be called 'Apostolic' rather than 'Orthodox' or 'Gregorian.' Guinet, in his *La Turque d'Asie*, as well as some other European and Turkish authors refer to the members of the Apostolic Church as 'Gregorian,' after the name of the Illuminator of Armenia, St. Gregory, but I have used the term 'Apostolic,' suggested by Armenian scholars, because the church received the Christian faith before St. Gregory through the Apostles Thaddaeus and Bartholomew. See Archbishop M. Ormanian (Ormanian), *The Church of Armenia* (2nd English ed.), 1955, pp 138-9.
underestimated in order to minimize the importance of the Armenian Question and to divert the attention of Europeans. Cuinet, who has used mainly Turkish sources, gives the number of Armenians in Diyarbakir as 79,129 (1).

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

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

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(1) A Cevâd in his Mamâlîki ʻosmâniyênîn târîkh ve coğrâfyâ luşatî [Historical and geographical dictionary of the Ottoman Empire], 'Diyar Bakr', ii (1896-97), p 402, presents the total of the Armenian population of Diyarbakir as 57,196 which is even less than the figure given by Cuinet.

(2) M A Tîwrlkiyâl Hayern ew ırcën dıraçıner [The Armenians of Turkey and their neighbours], Marseilles, 1890, see the statistical table.

(3) Təodîk, Amênum tareçöyçe [The almanac for every one], 1922, p 261.
It is worthy of note that the statistical analysis of the racial elements in Eastern Anatolia, drawn up in 1912 by the Armenian Patriarchate at Istanbul, attests to the fact that the Armenians of Diyarbakır numbered 105,000, which confirms our estimate. The following are the figures taken from this statistical analysis concerning Diyarbakır:\(^{(1)}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armenians</td>
<td>105,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nestorians, Jacobites</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaldeans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turks</td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurds</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kızılbash (Shi'ites)</td>
<td>27,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yezidis</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>291,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

J. Lepsius\(^{(2)}\) also gives the same figure of 105,000 for the number of Armenians in the province Diyarbakır, but 63,000 for the Turks, thus:

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\(^{(1)}\) M. Leart (G. Zohrap), *La Question arménienne à la lumière des documents*, 1913, pp. 60-61, and Viscount J. Bryce, *The treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire*, 1916, p. 661

\(^{(2)}\) J. Lepsius, *Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes*, Potsdam, 1919, p. 74. The same author (ibid., pp. 306-307) records the number of the Armenians in the province of Diyarbakır as 81,700 (Apostolic 78,000, Catholic 1,500 and Protestant 2,200) probably quoting the figures of Örmanean, *The Church of Armenia*, p. 206
Armenians           105,000
Syrians (Nestorians and Chaldeans)     60,000
Greeks                        1,000
Kurds                         200,000
Turks                         63,000
Kızılbash (Shi'ites)         27,000
Circassians                  10,000
Yezidis                      4,000
Jews                         1,500

471,500

It appears from these statistics that the Armenians living in Diyarbakır were more numerous than the Turks.

Trades and Professions of Armenians

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

as skilled craftsmen, merchants and artisans (1) Martiros Attareas was a famous manufacturer of Turkish linen, (2) Čavrąşan was a well-known tailor, (3) while architecture was practised almost entirely by Armenians (4) We have an interesting eye-witness account of a traveller on the business of the Armenians of Diyarbakır as early as the XVIIth century (5) The scribe Simėon from Lwow who visited there in 1612 describes the situation of Armenians in the town of Diyarbakır itself as the following -

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

(1) T Mkund, Amıtayı arjagangneru verakoçum [Reminiscence of the echoes of Amida], 11 (New Jersey), 1953, pp 139-47 (Armenia, 20th January, 1907)

(2) Mkund, ibid , pp 139 and 381

(3) Ibid , p 140

(4) Ibid , p 144

(5) N Akinean, Simėon dpri Lehaçwoy uğegruțiwna [The travel diary of the scribe Simeon from Lwow], Vienna, 1936, p 205
The kazâ of Palu in the sancâk of Ergani which was densely populated by Armenians, was also a centre of commerce and crafts. Naṣanean having visited Palu in 1878/1879 attests the following concerning the activity of Armenians there:

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

Members of the Armenian community were also occupied in different professions, especially in law, medicine and pharmacy, of whom the names of Pögos Efendi Tër-Gabrieleean (lawyer, fl c 1890), Karapet Efendi Tapağeæan (lawyer, fl c 1890), Kirakos Efendi Enowkeean (lawyer, fl c 1890), Dr Çpkçean (municipal doctor, fl c 1892).

(1) P Natanean, Artër Hayastani [The tears of Armenia], Istanbul, 1879, p 58
(2) Mkund, ibid, p 169
(3) Ibid
(4) Ibid
(5) Ibid, p 166
Dr Artin Helvačean (army physician, fl c 1890), (1) Yakob Hekimean (municipal chemist, fl c 1892), (2) and Artın Ağağkekean (municipal chemist, fl c 1892) (3) can be mentioned.

**Centres of Armenian Participation**

Armenians, living all over the vilayet of Diyarbakır, participated in the public life of the whole province. Localities where they particularly contributed were the centres of the sancaks, and the kazas of Siverek, Lice and Derik in the sancak of Diyarbakır itself, Palu and Çermik at Ergani, and Midyat, Avine and Cizre in Mardin.

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

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(1) G Karoyean, Mec eğerni nahataq hay bţişknęra [The martyred Armenian doctors of the Great Massacre], Venice-Boston, 1957, pp 137-40, and T Mkrtiĉean, Tigranakerti nahangį jardere ew Kivrteru gazanuţiwnnero [The massacres of the province of Diyarbakır and the ferocities of the Kurds], Cairo, 1919, p 96

(2) Mkrtiĉean, ibid, and Mkund, ibid, p 166

(3) Mkrtiĉean, ibid

(4) CTA, 11, pp 453-4, cf C Huart 'Diyār Bakr', EI’, 1, p 982
education and public health

Main Fields of Armenian Participation

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

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

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

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

(2) The word 'member' is used throughout as a title to indicate a specific office and is different from the other posts in councils and committees, e.g. chairman, clerk or cashier.
cashiers and clerks were Armenian, as sometimes was the mayor. This department was the branch in which the Armenians were occasionally in the majority.

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

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

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

Other Fields of Armenian Participation

Facets of Armenian participation other than the above mentioned, were those of the departments of the secretariat, public health, education, agriculture and police.
Armenian officials worked as clerks to the administrative councils, judicial courts, investigation committees for title-deeds (tedkîk senedât kömîsyônu) and the board of records (evrâk kömîsyônu). They were also employed as clerks and translators in the postal and telegraphic service and were always included on the chief secretarial commissions (taḥrîrât kömîsyônu).

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

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

**Comparative Note: Greek and Syrian Participation**

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

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

A General View of the Armenian Participation in Diyarbakır

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

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(1) Having lived for many years at Aleppo, in Syria, I am familiar with Syrian names both Christian and Muslim. The Syrian officials are thus identified as being Christian.
rel~g~ous court (mahkeme'î şer'î şerîf) and Pious Foundation (vakîf) It is worthy of note that they were barred from the registry of births (nûfus dâ'îresî), and very few were accepted in the police department

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

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

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

Some Notable Armenians in Public Life of Diyarbakîr

AMAŞEAN Efendi About 1892 he was the head of telegraphic
service in Diyarbakır (1)

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

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

ČĔLEPHAN, Râzgallah (fl in the second-half of the XIXth
century)  He was a judge of the court of appeal in
Diyarbakır (4)

ČĔNAZEAN, Matteos Efendi  He was the cashier of public
finance administration at Diyarbakır (9-1898)  Before him
his brother Aġeksandr Efendi held the same post, who, in-
his turn had succeeded his father Arel (fl c 1860) (5)

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

(1) Mkund, Amîtayî arjagangneru verakoğum [Reminiscence of
the echoes of Amida], 11, p 157 (according to the testimony
of Samuel Y Zorean)

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

(3) Mkrtičean, Tigranakerti nahangi jarder ew Kiwrteru
gazanutîwnners [The massacres of the province of Diyarbakır
and the ferocities of the Kurds], p 96

(4) Mkrtičean, ibid , p 96

(5) Mkund, ibid , pp 235-6

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) Mkrtičean, ibid , pp 53-54 and 96
(2) Mkund, ibid , p 354, and Mkrtičean, ibid , pp 50, 54 and 96
(3) Mkund, ibid , pp 403 and 406-409
(4) Mkrtičean, ibid , p 96
(5) Ibid
(6) The annuals of the Armenian S. Prkā hospital, 1905-1908, and Çark, Türk devleti hizmetinde Ermeniler, 1453-1953 [The Armenians in the service of the Turkish State, 1453-1953], p 168
MARKOSEAN, Pargew Efendi  From 1903 to 1906 he was the engineer and inspector of forests and mining in the sancak of Ergani (1)

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

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

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

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

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

(1) The annuals of S Prkıç hospital, 1903-1906
(2) Mkrtičean, ibid
(3) The annuals of S Prkıç hospital, 1906-1908
(4) An almanac (in Armenian), Istanbul, 1914, published by the Trusteeship of the Armenian Students, p 95
(5) Mkrtičean, ibid , p 96
(6) The annuals of S Prkıç hospital, 1903-1908
ŞIRİKÇEAN, Mısık  He was a member of the municipal council of Diyarbakır about 1900 (1)

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

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

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

TIGRANEAN, Xaçatur (9-1915)  A banker who was a member of the administrative council of Diyarbakır (5)

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

(1) Mkrtičean, ibid, pp 54 and 96
(2) Mkund, ibid, p 118
(3) Mkrtičean, ibid, p 96
(5) Mkund, ibid, p 354, and Mkrtičean, ibid, pp 53 and 96
(6) Mkrtičean, ibid, p 96
ZÖREAN, Georg (fl c 1892) He was an official in the postal and telegraphic service in Diyarbakır, working in the section of foreign languages (1)

(1) Mkund, ibid., p 156
CHAPTER II

THE ARMENIANS OF BITLIS

Historical Survey

Bitlis (Arm Bağês, whence Arb Badlîs or Bidlîs, Ott Turk Bitlîs) included the larger part of the regions of Tarûn-Turuberan and Ağjnik of ancient Armenia.

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


Administrative Structure

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

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

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

The kazas of the sancak of Bitlis -

Bitlis
Ahlat
Hizan
Mutki

(1) CTA, ii, p 523 and Streck, ibid, p 715
(2) CTA, ibid
(3) Kramers, 'Se'erd', EI, iv, p 203
The kazas of the sancak of Muş -

Muş
Bulanik
Malazgirt
Varto
Sasun (Kabilcevaz)

The kazas of the sancak of Siirt -

Siirt
Ridvan
Şirvan
Eruh
Kurtalan (Garzan)
Pervari
Kozluk (Hazzo)

The kazas of the sancak of Bingöl - (1)

Genç
Bingöl (Çapakçur)
Kulp

Population

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

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

(2) CTA, ii, p 526
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armenians Apostolic</td>
<td>125,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>3,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>1,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Orthodox</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaldeans</td>
<td>2,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian Orthodox(2)</td>
<td>6,190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copts</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>254,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yezidis</td>
<td>3,863</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

131,390

These statistics are based mainly on Turkish sources. The Armenian authors give different figures for the population of the vilayet of Bitlis (Ormanean).

(1) The Greeks all lived in the sancak of Bitlis (CTA, ii, pp 527 and 558)

(2) The Syrians of Bitlis were Armenian-speaking, according to the eye-witness account of Lynch - "They [the Syrians] speak Armenian and are familiar with Turkish. The Bible is expounded to them in Armenian, which may be said to be their native tongue." Armenia: travels and studies, ii, p 152

(3) 51,500 of the Armenians lived in the sancak of Bitlis, 94,000 in the sancaks of Muş and Bingöl, 25,500 in Siirt, and 25,000 in the kaza of Hizan. Ormanean, The Church of Armenia, pp 206 and 208
followed by Lepsius, estimates the number of Armenians as 196,000, the Armenian Patriarchate at Istanbul as 180,000, the Teodik's almanac as 198,000, and M A as 308,000 I prefer to accept the figures of the Armenian Patriarchate as giving the most probable approximate total of the Armenians who lived in Bitlis, as this presents the mean of two extreme estimates.

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

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armenians</td>
<td>180,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nestorians, Syrians and Chaldeans</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turks</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurds</td>
<td>77,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circassians</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kızılbaş (Shi'ites)</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yezidis</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaza, Timbali and Çarıkli(5)</td>
<td>47,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>382,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Lepsius, Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, pp 306-307
(2) Léart, La Question armenienne a la lumiere des documents, pp 60-61, and J. Bryce, The treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, p 661
(3) Teodik, Amənun tareçoyçe [The almanac for every one], 1922, pp 261-62
(4) M A, Tiwrkiayı Hayern ew 1renc draçiner [The Armenians of Turkey and their neighbours], see the statistical table
(5) These nomadic tribes were mostly Kurds and therefore they could be added to the Kurdish total
According to this table it can be seen that from a racial point of view the Armenians were the largest community in Bitlis (1)

Traits and Professions of Armenians

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

The Armenians in some parts of the vilâyet were occupied in agriculture and cattle breeding, but their main employment was in trade and crafts. In the manufacture of carpets, cloth and domestic utensils the Armenians competed with Kurds and Turks, but the rest of commerce and handicrafts was largely in their hands. They were engaged in many trades, in the goldsmith's art, sewing, painting, building, blacksmith's craft, farriery, pottery, wood-work, shoe making and general trade.

A Dö, an Armenian writer who visited Bitlis in 1909 records the occupation of Armenians thus –

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

(1) There is a detailed account of the Armenian population in the province of Bitlis by M.K. Miraxorean in his Nkgragran ugeworutüwun i hayabnak gayawars arewelean Tačkastani [Descriptive travel in the provinces inhabited by Armenians in Eastern Turkey], Istanbul, 3 vols., 1884-1885 - Bitlis i, pp 56, 81, 85-87, 91, 93, 98, Muş iii, pp 39, 45, 47, 49, 59, 60-63, 69-85, 86-93, Siirt i, pp 65-67.
although disturbances and massacres have repeatedly come to disrupt the activities and production of this resilient people, (1)

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

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

In Siirt the Armenians were also engaged in trade and handicrafts

Centres of Armenian Participation

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

(1) A Dö, Vani, Bitlis, ev Erzrum vilayetler [The vilayets of Van, Bitlis and Erzurum], Erevan, 1912, p 83
Cf S Eprikean, Bnaşxarik bararan [Armenian geographical dictionary], Venice (1, 2nd impression, 1903 - 1905, 11, 1907), art 'Baghş' [Bitlis], 1, p 381, and Mirxorean, op cit , i, p 57
(2) A Dö, ibid , p 110
(3) Lynch, Armenia travels and studies, ii, p 172
Cf A Dö, ibid , pp 110-111
the towns. According to the statistics of Cuinet(1) nearly one-third of the whole Armenian population of the province lived in the towns of Bitlis, Muş, Siirt and Genç. This situation was the controlling factor in the participation of the Armenian community in public life. Although Armenians living all over the vilâyet of Bitlis served the government throughout the province, the special spheres of Armenian influence were the towns of Bitlis, Muş, Siirt and Genç, where the headquarters of the sancâks were situated. Other centres where there was a marked Armenian contribution to public life, were Ahlat in Bitlis, the kazâs of Bulanîk and Malazgirt in Muş, Eruh in Siirt, and Kulp in the sancak of Bingöl (Genç).

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

(1) CTA, ii, pp 526, and 562, 576, 600 and 622
and also possibly because the Turks felt safer about Cilicia than Muş, which was near to the Russian border.

**Main Fields of Armenian Participation**

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

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

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

In the councils of

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

(a) The provincial annuals of Diyarbakıır (Diyarbakıır vilâyeti sâlnamesi) of the following years -1286H / 1869-70, 1291H /1874-5, 1292H /1875, and 1294H /1877

(b) The provincial annuals of Bitlis (Bitlis vilâyeti sâlnamesi) of the following years -1310H /1892-3, 1316H /1898-9, 1317H /1899-1900, and 1318H /1900-901
kazās we find one or, more often, two Armenians who were at all times elected members. Two or three Armenians were also elected to the municipal councils at the central headquarters of the sancāks of Bitlis, Muş and Siirt. There were fewer in the municipalities of the other parts of the province, except in the kazās of Bulanık and Varto in the sancāk of Muş, where there was a permanent and quite strong Armenian influence.

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

In the financial spheres of Bitlis Armenians were much occupied in manufacture and commerce. Apart from that, from one to three of them were employed on the board of tax collection, one or two in the branches of the Ottoman and Agricultural Banks, one or two in the state tobacco industry, one in the public debt administration, and one
as controller in the revenue. This was the situation in the sancaks of Bitlis and Muş, but in Sırt and Bingöl the Armenian officials were included only on the committee of tax collection, in the control of revenue and in the administration of public debt.

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

Other Fields of Armenian Participation

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

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

Comparative Note Greek, Syrian and Kurdish Officials

As there were only 210 Greeks living in the entire vilayet, these being concentrated in the kaz of Ahlat in
the sancak of Bitlis, (1) very few of them were occupied in public affairs. Some however worked in the police, in political administration, in public health and in the post offices. It is significant that they were appointed as superintendents of police, while the far more numerous Armenians were never selected. The Ottomans pursued this policy of appearing to patronize Christians while at the same time ensuring that the large Armenian community could not use this organization to exert their own independence.

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

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

A General View of the Armenian Participation in Bitlis

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

(1) GTO, 11, pp 526, 527 and 564
judicature and finance While there were not sufficient Armenians in Bingöl (Genç) to have any great effect on that sancak, they had a large share in the public administration of the sancaks of Bitlis, Muş and Siirt.

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

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

Some Notable Armenians in Public Life of Bitlis

ALIKSANIAN, Nazaret Efendi He was the assistant to the governor of the sancak of Muş from 1903 to 1904.

ALIKSANIAN, Nşan Efendi He was the assistant to the governor of the sancak of Muş from 1905 to 1906.
BEKMEZIAN, Anton Efendi (fl. c. 1898) From about 1898 to 1901 he was the assistant to the valî of Bitlis, and at the same time he acted as an ex officio member of the local administrative council, and as the head of the tax revenue board.

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

SARGIS Efendi He was the assistant to the deputy-governor of the kazâ of Şırvan in the sancak of Sirt.

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

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

THE ARMENIANS OF VAN

Historical Survey

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

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

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

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

In August 1548 the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman I Kânûnî conquered Van and made the defterdâr (minister of finance) Çerkez Iskender Pâşâ governor. Between the XVIth and XIXth centuries, the Kurdish tribes, lead by the Hakkârîs, continued to govern Van and Hakkârî, under the Ottoman overlordship. In 1263 H /1847 the Ottomans alarmed by the Kurds' increasing power, brought Kurdistan under their direct control.

In April 1915 when the Young Turks began to massacre

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

Administrative Structure

Van once formed a part of the vilâyet of Erzurum, but in 1875 it was detached and constituted a separate province (2) In 1888 Hakkârî was added to it as a sancak (3) Consequently the province of Van had two sancaks and 19 kazâs -

The kazâs of the sancak of Van -

Van
Karçgan (4)
Şatak
Gevaş
Adilcevaz (Arçîge)
Erciş
Muradiye (Bargîrî)
Müküs

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

(2) CTA, 11, p 632

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

(4) 'Karçgan' is now erased from the map of Turkey It bordered Bitlis on the west, Gevaş on the east, the Lake Van on the north, and Müküs on the south Apparently it is absorbed now in the kazâs of Tatvan and Hizan in the vilâyet of Bitlis
The kazâs of the sancâk of Hakkârî -

Hakkârî (Çölemerîk)
Başkale (Elbak)
Yüksekovâ (Gevar)
Şemînlî (Şemînan)
Ozalp (Mahmûdî)
Norduz
Çal
Hoşap (Mamuret ʾul-Hamîd)
Beytüşşebap
Oramor
Amâdiye

The valî and the principal officials resided at the Gardens (Arm Aygestan), in the town of Van, and the sancâk-governor of Hakkârî at Çölemerîk. Each of the other kazâs of the province was administered by a sub-governor.

Population

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

(1) Amâdiye (al-ʾImâdiyyah) now belongs to the Republic of Iraq

(2) P R O, F O 78/1682, 'Tabular view of the population of the mutessariflik [sic] of Van'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sancak of Van - (1)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>90,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>95,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>185,200</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sancak of Hakkari -</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>119,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims (mostly Kurds)</td>
<td>114,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>233,500</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Total**             | **418,700** |

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armenians</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apostolic</td>
<td>79,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>79,998</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(2) CTA, 11, p 636, cf 'A Ceväd, Memâliki 'osmânîyenîn târtık ve coğrafya luğâtî [Historical and geographical dictionary of the Ottoman Empire], 'Vân', 111 (1896-7), p 830, and Ş. Fraşeri, Kâmuüs ül-âlâm [Dictionary of proper names], 'Vân', vi (Istanbul, 1898-9), p 4673
Syrians

- Nestorian: 40,000
- Orthodox: 52,000

Chaldeans: 6,000
Latins: 2
Kurds: 210,000
Turks: 30,500
Circassians: 500
Jews: 5,000
Yezidis: 5,400
Gypsies: 600

430,000

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

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

(2) P R O, F O 78/2439, 'Consul Taylor's report on Koordistan', (March 18, 1869)
Lynch(1), record the Armenian population of the kazâ of Van as 42,000 and the Muslim as 17,000, Cuinet's figures are 13,500 for the Armenians, and 21,500 for the Muslims (2) M A , (3) contemporary with Cuinet, estimated the number of Armenians in the province of Van as 194,000, and even as late as the early years of the XXth century Örmanean, (4) followed by Lepsius, (5) estimated it as 192,000, Têodik's almanac (6) as 197,000 and Eramean (7) as 180,000 - 200,000, while the Armenian Patriarchate at Istanbul (8) estimated the sancak of Van alone as 182,000. These statistics concordantly attest that the Armenian population of Van was about 190,000. I would therefore accept, as the most credible estimate, the mean of the two extremes 135,000.

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

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

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

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

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

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(1) A Đō, Vanı, Bitlisı ew Erzrumı vilayetnerd [The vilayets of Van, Bitlis and Erzurum], p 18
(2) Ibid
(3) Lynch, Armenia travels and studies, 11, p 83
(4) Ibid , p 89
At Bağkale in Hakkâri, where Armenians had concentrated, they were likewise engaged in different crafts and commerce

**Sources for the Armenian Participation**

In all the libraries of Britain, France, Austria, Syria, Lebanon and Turkey that I have investigated, there is only one sâlnâme of the vilâyet of Van. This is the yearbook of 1315 H /1897-8 at the University Library of Istanbul (1)

In presenting the participation of Armenians in the public life of Van I have used this sâlnâme together with the annuals of the vilâyet of Erzurum for 1288 H /1871-72, 1290 H /1873-4, 1291 H /1874-5 and 1292 H /1875 when Van was a sancak of that province.

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

**Centres of Armenian Participation**

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

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(1) Vân vilâyeti sâlnâmesi, 1315 H /1897-8, No 81042. There is another copy of the same annual in the Istanbul Belediye Kutûbhanesi[s] Istanbul Municipal Library], sâlnâmes, No 34/1
Lynch, has as we have seen, estimated the number of Armenians in the kazā of Van as 42,000, and Cuinet as 13,500. Other places in the sancak of Van where the Armenians were in the majority and contributed to the public administration were the kazās of Erciş and Adilcevaz.

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

The Armenian Participation in the sançak of Van

1. The City of Van

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 The kazas of Van

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

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

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

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

In the nahiyes of the kazâ of Van, namely at Ercek, Timar and Huvasur, where the Armenian population was in the majority, about two Armenians participated in the political
administration, as elected members to the local councils

The Sancak of Hakkârî

The sancak of Hakkârî was inhabited mostly by Kurds

The Armenians were concentrated in the kazâs of Hakkârî (Çölemerîk) and Bašlale In the central government of Hakkârî, Armenians had two elected members on the administrative council and one or two on the municipal council. There were Armenian officials in the judicature as well, one in the civil division of the court and another in the criminal. In the revenue control Armenians worked as clerks, and in the tobacco monopoly as assistants to the managers.

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

Comparative Note - Kurdish and Syrian Participation

In the sancak of Hakkârî, especially, lived many Kurds and Syrian Christians, and naturally they took part in the local government affairs. One would expect that the Syrian officials should be numerous and in many districts, but I could identify them only in the kazâ of Ozalp (Mahmudi), where they were included on the administrative and judicial councils, one in each department.
As to the Kurds, as far as I was able to differentiate them from the Turks, I found them in Çölemerik, Başkale, Özalp, and even in the kazās of Gevaş and Şatak of the sancāk of Van. They acted, though not steadily, in the administrative councils and on the judicial courts, being one in either office.

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

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

It is interesting to note that after the Reforms of 1895-6, Armenian assistants were appointed to the vālīs of Van. But one can feel that the Turks were not happy with this situation, and were tolerating these appointments only under European scrutiny, because the office of two assistant-governors lasted only for a very short period, and after the resignation of the third (Ferit Yovhannēs Poyačean) no successors were appointed.
Some Armenian officials were also assigned to assist the deputy-governors of the kazās, especially of Şatak and Gevaş, where the Armenian inhabitants were in a majority from a racial point of view.

Some Notable Armenians in Public Life of Van

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

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

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

(1) Erämean, Yüsrjan Van-Vaspurakan [Memorial of Van Vaspurakan], 11, p 15, and the annual of the Armenian S. Prkiç hospital at Istanbul, 1906, p 313

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

(3) Erämean, ibid , 11, p 88
KARAPET Efendi  He was the assistant to the deputy-governor of the kazâ of Şatak in 1902 and 1903 (1)

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

POYĂČEAN, Armenak  In 1905 and 1906 he was the assistant to the deputy-governor of the kazâ of Gevış (4)

POYĂČEAN, Ferît Yovhannes (1854-1948)  A learned man (the brother of Armenak Efendi Poyačean), who for many years

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

(2) A short biography of Şemseddîn Pâşa is in Türk meşhûrlarî ansiklopedisî [An encyclopaedia of renowned Turks] by İ A Gövsa, p 367 (see the same in Türkiye ansiklopedisî [Encyclopaedia of Turkey], Ankara, v, 1957, p 228) This source informs us that Şemseddîn was the vâli of Van for about a year (1896), and then was sent to Teheran as ambassador.

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

(4) The annuals of the Armenian S Prkîç hospital, 1905, p 200, and 1906, p 317, and Y Çark, Türk devletî hizmetînde Ermenîler [The Armenians in the service of Turkish State], p 168
served the Ottoman Government. From the end of 1896 to 1907 he was the assistant to the vāli of Van (1) VARDAN Efendi. He was the assistant of the deputy-governor to the kazā of Gevaş in 1902 and 1903 (2)

(1) Eramean, ibid., 11, pp 15-16, the annuals of Ş. Prk⟩, 1900-1908, and 1949, p 429, and Çark, ibid., p 168

(2) The annuals of Ş. Prk⟩, 1902, p 488, and 1903, p 218
CHAPTER IV

THE ARMENIANS OF ERZURUM

Historical Survey

The vilâyet of Erzurûm corresponds approximately to the High Armenia or Karnoy aşxarh (country of Karın) of ancient Armenia. The city of Erzurûm was called in Armenian Karın Kağak (Karın city) which became Kâlkalâ in Arabic.

In the XIth century when the Salçûks captured the town of Arzan (15 kms north-west of Karın), the population moved to Karın = Kâlkalâ and gave it the name Arzân al-Rûm, 'Arzân of the Romans', which through a misinterpretation became Arz al-Rûm or Arz al-Rûm, 'the land of the Romans' (1)

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

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

Administrative Structure

The territorial content of the province of Erzurum in the second-half of the XIXth century has undergone a few changes. In 1865 it was made an eyalet (government-general) which included the whole of north-eastern part of Asia Minor. In 1292 H/1875 this eyalet was divided into six vilayets, viz Erzurum, Van, Hakkârî, Bitlis, Hozat (Dersîm) and Kars-Çıldîr. In 1888 by an Imperial order Hakkârî was joined to the province of Van, and Hozat to Elâzîg (Ma‘mûret ‘ul-‘Azîr),

(1) M. Urhayecî Zamanakagrutîvan [Chronicles], Echmiadzin (Armenia), 1898, pp 102-103

(2) The Pâşâlık was a province whose governor bore the title of pâşâ the highest Ottoman civil and military dignity in Turkey and Syria the title died with the Empire.
while the sancak of Bayburt, in Erzurum, was attached to that of Erzincan (1). Consequently the vilayet of Erzurum had three sancaks and 19 kazas as follows -

The kazas of the sancak of Erzurum -

Erzurum
Ovacik
Kügi
Tercan
Hinis
Tortum
Yusufeli (Kiskin)
Hasankale (Pasinler)

The kazas of the sancak of Erzincan -

Erzincan
Refahliye
Kuruçay
Kemah
Bayburt
Ispir

The kazas of the sancak of Doğubayazit (Bayezit) -

Doğubayazit
Diyadin
 Ağrı (Karakılise)

(1) CTA, 1, pp 131-32
Eleşkirt
Tutak (Entap)

Population

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apostolic</td>
<td>120,273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>12,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>2,672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>134,967</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) PRO, F0 78/1669, Report on the eyalet of Erzurum, No 9, (28th Feb 1862)
(2) PRO, F0 78/2439, 'Consul Taylor's report on Koordistan' (18th March 1869)
(3) Fraşeri, Kâmus il-âlâm [Dictionary of proper names], 'Erzurûm', 11, p 830
(4) CTA, 1, p 136 See the name in 'A Cevâd's Memâlik 'osmânîyenin tarih ve coğrafya luğâtî [Historical and geographical dictionary of the Ottoman Empire], 'Erzurûm,' 1 (1895-6), p 57 Cf Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, p 34, where Lepsius also gives a total for the general population of the province as 645,700
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greek Orthodox</td>
<td>3,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copts</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>500,782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigners (Ecnebi)</td>
<td>1,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strangers (Yabanci)</td>
<td>4,986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>645,702</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to this author\(^{(1)}\) Armenians in the various sancāks of the province were as follows –

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sancāk of Erzurum</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apostolic</td>
<td>77,476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>10,180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>2,288</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sancāk of Erzincan</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apostolic</td>
<td>34,145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sancāk of Doğubayazıt</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apostolic</td>
<td>8,652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>1,754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Armenian sources as late as the first decade of this century

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\(^{(1)}\) CTA, 1, p 137
give different figures for the Armenian population. The Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul (1) and the almanac of Tēodik (2) estimate the Armenian inhabitants of the province as 215,000 kbd; followed by Lepsius (4) presents these statistics totalling the Armenian population as 203,400 for about 1900 -

Erzurum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Erzurum</td>
<td>85,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasankale</td>
<td>10,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tercan</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kîgl</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>135,500</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Erzincan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Erzincan</td>
<td>25,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayburt</td>
<td>17,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kemah</td>
<td>10,200 52,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doğubayazıt</td>
<td>15,200 15,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>203,400</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can conclude that the mean of the figures given by

(1) Leart, La Question arménienne a la lumiere des documents, pp 60-61, and Bryce, The treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, p 661

(2) Tēodik, Amēnun tarecoyça [The almanac for every one], 1922, p 261

(3) kbd; The Church of Armenia, pp 205-206

(4) Lepsius, Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, pp 304-305
Frazer, Cuinet, Ormanean and Lepsius, for Armenians, and the total population of Erzurum, i.e. 150,000 and 624,385, is the most realistic approximation possible. This means that 25% of the total population were Armenian, which agrees with the figures given by Dalyell.

Trades and Crafts of Armenians

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

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

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

(1) RAO Dalyell, in PRO, FO 78/1669, report No 9 (1862)

(2) The Christians of Erzurum were mostly Armenian, since the Greek population, according to Cuinet, did not number more than 3,800 out of 646,000.
observed that it is by no means rare, in this part of Turkey for Christians to possess even considerable landed property' (1)

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

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

(1) Dalyell, ibid

(2) A Dö, Vanı, Bitlisı ew Erzrumı vilayetnera, [The vilayets of Van, Bitlis and Erzurum], pp 163, 206 and 220, cf GTA, i, p 138
advanced - masonry - supports many Armenian families not only in the towns, but also in the villages on the plain' (1)

Centres of Armenian Participation

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

In the other two sancaks, the Armenians contributed to public life especially in the town of Erzincan, and in the kazas of Kuruçay and Kemah in the sancak of Erzincan, and in the kazas of Doğubayazıt, Karakilise and Eleşkırt of the sancak of Doğubayazıt.

Main Fields of Armenian Participation

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

(1) A. Dö, ibid, p 163
(2) CTA, 1, p 137
(3) For this chapter I have used the provincial annuals (Erzurum vilâyeti sâlnâmesi) of the following years - 1289 H/1872-3, 1292 H/1875, 1299 H/1881-82, 1304 H/1886-7, 1305 H/1887-8, 1310 H/1892-3, 1312 H/1894-5, 1316 H/1898-9, and 1318 H/1900-901
In the town of Erzurum, where the government headquarters were situated, the Armenians contributed to the public life on a large scale. The bishops of the Apostolic and Catholic communities were ex officio members of the local administrative council, and there were two other Armenian members elected from the respected or educated people. Usually two Armenian members were elected to the municipal council, as against between four and six Turks. In the other parts of the vilayet, the spiritual heads of the Armenians were ex officio members of the administrative councils in the kazas of Ovacık, Kiği, Tercan and Hasankale in Erzurum, Bayburt and Ispir in Erzincan, and in Doğubayazıt, Ağrı (Karakılise) and Eleşkirt in Doğubayazıt. In each kazâ, apart from the ex officio members, two Armenians were generally elected also. On the municipal councils the Armenians had between one and three, but normally two members, elected, on the whole this was fewer than the Turks.

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

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

**Other Fields of Armenian Participation**

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

The Armenians served in the departments of engineering and public works as engineers and foremen, in the postal and telegraphic service as operators, and in the press, as compositors and machanists. In secretarial work it is notable that the vilayet translator was often Armenian. Armenian translators were employed in the postal and
telegraphic service Armenian clerks worked in the chief secretariat, the land registry and the registry of births.

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

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

Comparative Note: Greek Participation

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

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

(1) GTA, 1, p 136
telegraphic service. Their cooperation is noticeable in public health as well, particularly as chemists. As concerns their number, they were not usually more than one in each department.

A General View of the Armenian Participation in Erzurum

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

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

AYĞEAN, L  He was an assistant to the vâlî of Erzurum (1)

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

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

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

HËKIMEAN, Mîkayêl Efendi From about 1903 to 1906 he was a provincial translator (5)

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

(2) Ç Çarag, Karînapatum [A history of Karîn], Beirut, 1957, p 655

(3) A Alpöyaçean, Patmutıwn Ewdokloy Hayoc [History of the Armenians in Tokat], Cairo, 1952, p 1334

(4) Çark, ibid , p 113

(5) The year-books of the Armenian S. Prkîç hospital at Istanbul, 1903-1906, and Çark, ibid , p 168
MELIKEAN, Dr Karapet (1883-1915) Born at Arapkir, he studied in a local school and then in the Euphrates College of Harput. In 1902 he went to Beirut and studied medicine. In 1907 getting his degree of M D , he went to Kigι and was employed as a municipal doctor (1).

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

PALLAREAN (Ballarian), Hamazasp In 1876 he was elected deputy for Erzurum in the Ottoman Parliament at Istanbul (3).

His brother, M Pallarean (M Ballarian) was a banker in Erzurum (4).

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

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

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

(2) The year-books of St. Prkik hospital, 1903-1906.

(3) Çark, ibid, p. 113.

(4) P R O , F 0 78/2647, see the document dated 3rd January 1877.

(5) Çark, ibid, p. 229.

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

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

(1) Hândêş Âmsörey, 1890, p 255, and Çark, ibid., pp 171-73

(2) Têdogik, Amênun Tarecoyçe [The almanac for every one], 1912, pp 404-405, and Çark, ibid., p 174.
CHAPTER V
THE ARMENIANS OF TRÊBIZOND

Historical Survey

Trebizond (Gr Trapezous, Arm Trapizon, Arb Atrabazund and Tarabazunda, Ott Turk Tarabzûn or Tarabzån, and Mod Turk Trabzon) in the early centuries of the Christian era was a region of the Roman, and later of the Byzantine Empire.

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

In 1204, Alexis founded the Comnenî Empire and made Trebizond his capital. This tiny empire had a short life, for in 1214 when the Salmûr Sultân ʿAlâ’ al-Dîn Kaykobâdî captured Sinope, the Emperor of Trebizond was forced to recognize his suzerainty. And in 1240 when the Mongols subjugated the Salmûks, the Emperor Manuel admitted himself to be a vassal of the Mongol Empire. Until the middle of the XVth century, the country flourished again economically.

From the beginning of the XIVth century Trebizond was attacked by the Turkomans who came to possess the strongholds on the mountains in the hinterland. In 865 H/1460-61, the
Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II, marching through Kastamonu and Sinope, conquered Trebizond. Many of the inhabitants of the town, the majority most probably Greek with an Armenian minority, were transported to Istanbul, and only a remnant were allowed to live in the suburbs. This was the last Byzantine citadel to fall to the Ottomans. Under the Ottoman rule, Trebizond became a centre of an eyalet, and in the XIXth century of a vilayet, but it never recovered its former great commercial activity.

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

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

(2) A. Alpöyaçean, Patmutiwn hay gaštakanutean [History of the Armenian emigration], Cairo, 1945, 1, pp 275-6.
in Rize (the former sancak of Lazistan) (1) The leaders of this emigration were the prince Şapuh Amatuni and his son Hamam, after whose name the district where the Armenians settled was called Hamamşen, i.e. 'built by Hamam', and later Hamşen. After the fall of the Armenian kingdom of Bagratuni, many people were spread abroad, of whom some came to join their compatriots in Trebizond.

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

Administrative-Structure

The vilayet of Trebizond was divided into four sancaks and included 22 kazâs -

The kazâs of the sancak of Trebizond -

Trebizond

Sûrmene

Akçaabât (Polathane)


(2) M Bşşkean, Patmutiwn Pontosi [History of Pontus], Venice, 1819, p 97, Taşean, op cit , pp 31-32, S Eprîkean, Bnashxarhik bararan [Armenian geographical dictionary], II, 'Lazistan', pp 82-83, and H Aşaryan, Knnuţyun Hamşen barbari [Study of the dialect of Hamşen], Erevan, 1947
Vakfikebîr
Görele
Tirebolu
Giresun
Ordu

The kazâs of the sancak of Samsun (Canîk) -
Samsun
Fatsa
Unye
Terme
Çarşanba
Bafra

The kazâs of the sancak of Rize (Lazîstan) -
Rize
Of
Pazar
Hopa

The kazâs of the sancak of Gümüşane (Gümüşhane) -
Gümüşane
Torul
Şîran
Kelkît

The last two kazâs, viz Şîran and Kelkît, were formerly included in the vilâyet of Erzurum, but in March 1888 were
attached to Trebizond (1)

Population

The general population of Trebizond in the second-half of the XIXth century according to Cuanet (2) was as follows -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armenians</td>
<td>44,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostolic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>2,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthodox Greeks</td>
<td>193,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latins</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turk</td>
<td>691,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laz (4)</td>
<td>55,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circassian</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>806,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,047,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) CTA, 1, p 5
(2) CTA, 1, p 10, cf Cevād, Memālikı ʿosmānîyenin tārīkh ve coğrafyā lugātî [Historical and geographical dictionary of the Ottoman Empire], 'Tarabzōn', 11, (1896-7), p 522
(3) In the sancak of Trebizond 21,435, Samsun 18,465, Gümüşane 2,200 and Rize 5,100
(4) The Laz are of South Caucasian stock. Their native language is Mingrelian. They were Christians since the VIIth century, but after the Ottoman conquest of Trebizond, they were converted to Islam.
Fraşeri(1) in 1871 presents the total of the Armenians in the vilâyet as 52,349, and some years later the provincial sâlnâme of 1320 H /1902-903 gives the following estimate -(2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sancak of Trebizond</td>
<td>28,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sancak of Samsun</td>
<td>20,181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sancak of Gümüşane</td>
<td>1,767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sancak of Rize</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50,678</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- **Apostolic**: 50,000
- **Catholic**: 2,500
- **Protestant**: 1,000
- **Total**: 53,500

---

(1) Fraşeri, Kâmûs ül-âlâm [Dictionary of proper names], 'Tarabzôn', iv, p 3005

(2) Tarabzôn vilâyeti sâlnâmesi, 1320 H /1902-903, pp 338-9

(3) Tăodik, Amênum tareçoyça [The almanac for every one], 1922, p 262

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

(5) Lepsius, Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, pp 304-305
Trades and Professions of Armenians

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

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

Karapet Ėrakean
Karapet Surmalean
Stepan Surmalean
Pogos Zahigöy

Centres of Armenian Participation

The Armenians of Trebizond were more influential at the headquarters of the sancâks. Since about half of the Armenian population of the vilâyet lived in the sancâk of

(1) CTA, 1, pp 10 and 120, and Ėprikean, Bnaşxarhîk bararan [Armenian geographical dictionary], 'Gümüşane', pp 532-3
Trebizond itself, they played an important role in public administration.

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

Main Fields of Armenian Participation

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

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

(1) For this chapter of Trebizond I have consulted the provincial year-books (Tarabzön vilayeti sâlnâmesi) of the following years 1282 H /1865-6, 1287 H /1870-71, 1288 H /1871-72, 1292 H /1875, 1298 H /1880-81, 1305 H /1887-8, 1309 H /1891-92, 1316 H /1898-9, 1318 H /1900-901, and 1322 H /1904-905
its kazâs Ordu, Görele, Giresun, Akçaabat, and in the headquarters of Samsun, there was also an ex officio member who was the Apostolic bishop of that district. In the centre of Trebîzond and Samsun, only the Armenian Catholic vicars were also ex-officio members. In the nahiyes an Armenian was usually included on the administrative council.

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

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

In the financial affairs of the government, Armenians took a large part, and their activity was regular especially in the centre of the province. The Armenian officials were members (one to three in number) of the taxation department.
and revenue and expenditure control, the estimates' committee, the Ottoman and Agricultural banks, and chambers of commerce and agriculture. They also shared in a large proportion and in responsible positions, the work of the tobacco monopoly and public debt. For example, from 1900, the head of the Ottoman debt administration was usually an Armenian.

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

Other Fields of Armenian Participation

Other fields of public life in which the Armenians acted, were engineering, postal and telegraphic service, agriculture, public health, education and the police force.
Their participation in these spheres of public administration was not very influential since they were few in number.

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

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

Comparative Note – Greek Participation

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

In the central government of the vilayet, at Trebizond, the Greeks took part in the political administration, judicature, finance, agriculture and technical works. There were Greek members of the administrative council, one ex officio and one elected, and in the municipality there were usually two. In the courts of first instance, appeal and of commerce there was one Greek in each section. In financial spheres they worked in tax collection, estimates' committee, tobacco monopoly, Ottoman and Agricultural Bank-branches, and public debt administration. As for education,
they were sometimes employed on the education committee and in the secondary school. They made an important contribution to the engineering and public works as engineers, and in the postal and telegraphic service, as operators.

In the other kazâs of Trebizond, Samsun and Gümüşane, the Greeks likewise influenced the political administration, justice, finance, public health and mechanical affairs. There were two Greek members in the administrative councils, one ex officio and another elected, and in the municipal council, one or two. In the courts of first instance there was a Greek member, who was sometimes replaced by an Armenian. Greek officials were also members of the boards of agriculture and the branches of the Agricultural Bank and of tax collecting committees. The municipal doctors were often Greeks. They outnumbered others in the tobacco monopoly and one Greek would usually be found in the postal and telegraphic service, and one or two in the public works.

A General View of the Armenian Participation in Trebizond

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

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

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

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

THE ARMENIANS OF SIVAS

Historical Survey

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

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

(1) G Cedrenus, Annalès, (I Bekker's ed), Bonn, 1838-1839, 11, p 464, Aneqi, Hawakmunk i groq patmagrac [A collection from history books], pp 104-105, Vardan (Vardapet), Hawakum patmujean [A historical collection], Venice, 1862, p 92, and T Arcruni, Patmujean tann Arcruneac [History of the Arcruni dynasty], Tiflis, 1917 pp 499-500. This last historian records the number of Armenian immigrants to Sivas as '14,000 men, not including women and children'. M Çamçean (Patmutiwn Hayoç [History of the Armenians], Venice, 1784-1786, 11, p 903), gives the number as 400,000 people, while Minorsky ('Wan', EI', iv, p 1119), as 40,000 families.
(Develi) (1) After eight days the Selçuks withdrew, but at the battle of Malazgirt, on the 26th August 1071 Cappadocian Armenia fell into their hands. Subsequently Sivas was ruled for a period by Turkoman dynasties, and in 1398 was taken over by the Ottoman Sultan Yildirim Bâyezîd I In 1400 the Mongol Emperor Timûr attacked Sivas with huge armies, undermined the high walls of the town, captured the people and put many of them to death He was particularly cruel towards the Armenian regiment which had strongly resisted him on behalf of the Ottomans However the Mongols' domination in Asia Minor did not last long and on their withdrawal in 1403 the Ottomans again brought Sivas and its adjacent regions under their rule Hereafter Sivas became the centre of an eyalet, including the sancaks of Amasya, Çorum, Bozok, Samsun, Divriği, and Arapkîr In the XIXth century, when the new provincial constitution was proclaimed, Sivas formed a vilâyet covering the sancaks of Amasya, Tokat and Şebinkarahîsar (2) Administrative Structure

The vilâyet of Sivas was divided into four sancaks,

(1) Urhayeci, Žamanakagruţiwn [The chronicles], pp 133 - 5

(2) A general history of Sivas which particularly considers the Armenians, is edited by A Ağek-sandrean, Patmuţiwn akanawor kağıkin Sebastioy ew sahmanac nora [History of the famous town of Sivas and of its boundaries], Venice, 1911
Sivas, Tokat, Amasya and Şebinkarahisar, and had 26 kazas as the following -

The kazas of the sancak of Sivas -
- Sivas
- Zara (Koçkiri)
- Divriği
- Şarkışla (Tonus)
- Gürün
- Darende
- Hafik
- Yıldızeli
- Pınarbaşı (Aziziye)

The kazas of the sancak of Tokat -
- Tokat
- Erbaa
- Zile
- Niksar

The kazas of the sancak of Amasya -
- Amasya
- Merzifon
- Vezirköprü
- Osmancık
- Gümüşhacıköy
- Ladik
- Havza
- Mecidözü
The kazas of the sancak of Şebinkarahisar (Şarkı-karahısar):

Şebinkarahisar
Mesudiye (Hamidiye)
Koyulhisar
Suşehri
Alucra

Population

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armenians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostolic</td>
<td>129,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>30,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>10,477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>170,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthodox Greeks</td>
<td>76,068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turk, Turkoman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Circassian</td>
<td>559,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kızılbaş</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Shi'ites)</td>
<td>279,834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>839,514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,086,015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) CTA, 1, p 617
The same figures are given by Fraşeri(1) in 1893-4, but with addition of 400 Jews to the total. The provincial sənləmə of 1321H/1903-904 estimates the number of the Armenians at about 133,700 (2).

According to Cuinet(3) the Armenians of Sivas lived in different sancaks of the vilayet, as follows:

- Sancak of Sivas: 63,868
- Sancak of Tokat: 37,919
- Sancak of Amasya: 50,600
- Sancak of Şebinkarahisar: 18,046

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

(1) Fraşeri, Kəmüs ül-aflam [Dictionary of proper names], 'Sivas' iv, p 2797
(2) Sivas vilayeti sənləməsi, [Year-book of the province of Sivas], 1321H 1903-904, pp 160, 237 and 239
(3) CTA, 1, p 618
(4) K Gabikean, Eğernapatum Pokun Hayoç ew norin meci mayarakəgəkin Sebastioy [History of the massacres of Lesser Armenia and of its great capital Sivas], Boston, 1924, pp 597 and 598-604
Teodik gives 225,000 (1) According to Ormanean, (2) the Armenians of Sivas were concentrated in different districts of the province as follows -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Apostolic</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sivas</td>
<td>80,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divriği</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gürün</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darende</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokat</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

86,000
11,300
18,500
7,000
23,500

(1) Teodik, Amēnun tarecoycā [The almanac for every one], 1922, p 261

(2) Ormanean, The Church of Armenia, pp 205 and 207, cf Lepsius, Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, pp 304-307
Amasya
Apostolic 25,000
Protestant 3,000
Catholic 500

Şebinkarahisar Apostolic 25,000
Protestant 200

28,500
25,200

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

**Trades and Professions of Armenians**

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

'In Sivas there are about thirty handicrafts which appertain in the main to the Armenians.

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

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

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

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

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

(1) P. Natanean, Teğekagruţiwn endhanur vičakin Sebastioy [Report on the general diocese of Sivas], Istanbul, 1877, pp 148-9
(2) CTA, i, p 620
(3) A. Alpöyaçean, Patmuţiwn Ewdokioy Hayoc [History of the Armenians in Tokat], p 1298
(4) Ibid, pp 1305-306
It is noticeable that the Armenians also contributed, officially and unofficially, to the public hygiene of Sivas. There were many chemists and physicians serving different parts of the vilâyet, of whom Sargis Barseğean, (1) Hindlean, (2) Lewon Hiwsîsean, (3) Mîrîcan Karmirean, (4) Karapet Paşayean, (5) and Yarutîwn Vîznîyean, (6) can be named.

Centres of Armenian Participation

In Sivas the Armenians took part in the public administration of almost all the districts of the province. Their participation, however, was larger in the sancâk of Sivas where the government headquarters were situated. In the rest of the vilâyet particular centres of Armenian contribution were the kaza of Merzifon, Vezirköprü, Ladik, Mecidozu in the sancâk of Amasya, Zîle and Niksar in the sancâk of Tokat, and the kaza Susêhri in Şebînkarakahisar.

The Main Fields of Armenian Participation

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

(1) A Haykaz, Şapîn Garahîsar [History of the Armenians in Şebînkarakahisar], New York - Beirut, 1957, p. 91
(2) Ibid
(3) Ibid
(4) Ibid
(5) G Karoyean, Mec eğırne nahatak hay bĵîknerê [The martyred Armenian doctors of the Great Massacre], pp. 31-36
(6) Ibid, pp. 75-77
stronger in the centres than in the other kazās (1)
The main fields of Armenian participation were the departments
of political administration, finance, justice and secretariat.

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

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

(1) For this chapter of Sivas, I have consulted the
provincial annuals (Sīvās vilâyeti sālnāmesi) of the
following years - 1287H /1870-71, 1292H /1875,
1301H /1883-4, 1306H /1888-9, 1308H /1890-91,
1321H /1903-904, and 1325H /1907-908
In the judicature of the headquarters of the province the Armenians held offices in both sections, civil and criminal, of the courts of first instance and of appeal. They seem to have been influential in the courts of appeal, having two or three judges in each. In the departments of first instance there were only one or two Armenians, but in the commercial court they were given a large part and sometimes even the presidency. We find Armenian officials also employed in the trial commissions (‘adliye kömîsyonu) and as lawyers.

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

In the outer kazâs of the province, the Armenian officials were not so numerous as in the centres, as the number of government offices and of their personnel was by comparison limited. One or two were however, elected members to the administrative councils, and two or three to the municipalities. The spiritual heads of the Apostolic communities were sometimes included on the administrative councils as ex officio members.
government of nāhiyes, there were Armenian administrators, assistants to the administrators, and members to the local councils, but they did not hold a predominant position compared with the Turks.

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

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

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

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

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

'A winding path through some willows leads from the upper part to Sivas, at the western entrance of which on the right side can be seen a one-storeyed barracks built in stone of medium size. On the left there is a marble
fountain of sweet water. The government house, a large building, is erected a little beyond where the vâli of the province resides and has a newly established printing office under the management of Andranik Efendi Vardanean, who also edits the local Turkish newspaper Sivas' (1)

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

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

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

(1) Našanean, Teğekagrutıwn sanhanur vičakin Sebastioy [Report on the general diocese of Sivas], pp 67-68

(2) Tèdìk, Tıp u tar [Type and letters], Istanbul, 1912, p 143
the education committees. At Sivas Armenians taught in the preparatory and the girls' schools. In the latter, Iskuhi Khanım (1) and Elbiz Khanım (2) taught carpet-making. Armenians were rarely employed in the police force and even then only one or two in number. In the kazâs and nahiyes they were used as policemen, but in the merkez-sancâks as assistant superintendents and police sergeants also.

Comparative Note: Greek Participation

The Greeks in Sivas did not take a large part in the public administration. Their participation was considerable only at the centres of the sancâks, in Merzifon, in the kazâs Ladik and Havza in Amasya, at Nişar in the sancâk of Tokat, and in the kazâs of Hamidiye and Alucra in Şebinkarahisar.

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

(1) Sivas vilâyeti sâlnamesi [The annual of the province of Sivas], 1321H /1903-904

(2) Sivas vilâyeti sâlnamesi [The annual of the province of Sivas], 1325H /1907-908
notice that the municipal doctors of merkez-sancak, Şebinkarahisar were often Greek. The Greeks in these offices did not usually number more than one to each, and they were not in permanent employment.

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

A General View of the Armenian Participation in Sivas

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

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

Members of the Armenian community cooperated with the government of Sivas also in the spheres of agriculture, public health and education. In the police force their
part was kept to the least, but in technical affairs they were treated well. From 1875/1876 the manager of the newly established press was an Armenian, namely Andranik Efendi Vardanean.

Some Notable Armenians in Public Life of Sivas

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

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

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

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

FRÎNKIWLEAN, Yovhannês  He was a municipal architect in Sivas, in the second-half of the XIXth century (5).

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

(2) Ibid., p. 579

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

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

(5) Gabikean, ibid., p. 586
GABRIELEAN, Martiros Efendi (fl in the second-half of the XIXth century) Originally from Muş, he became a provincial translator in Sivas He was succeeded by Senekerim Kiwrkčean who embraced Islam, probably to retain his office permanently, but during the massacres of World War I, in spite of this, the Turks did not spare his life (1)

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

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

(1) Gabikean, ibid , pp 579 and 567
(2) E Tölpagean, Libananahay patkerazard oraçoyc [Illustrated almanac of the Armenians of Lebanon], Beirut, 1936, March 30-31
a member to the local administrative council (1)  

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

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

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

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

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

NAZARET Efendi  From 1900 to 1906 he assisted the governor  

(1) A Haykaz, op cit, pp 401-403  
(2) Alpoyachen, Patmutiwn Ewdokeoy Hayoc [History of the Armenians in Tokat], pp 1337-8  
(3) Ibid, p 1337  
(4) Ibid, p 1210  
(5) The year-books of S Prkiç hospital, 1903-1908
of the sancak of Amasya (1)

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

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

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

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

SËFEREAN, Yakob  Before 1890 he officiated in the

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

(2) Gabikean, ibid , p 579

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

(4) Alpöyaçean, ibid , pp 964 and 1337

(5) Gabikean, ibid , p 41
administration of justice in Tokat as juge d'instruction \(^{(1)}\)

ŞAHINEAN, Yakob In 1876 he was elected a deputy for Sivas in the Parliament of Istanbul \(^{(2)}\)

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

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

\(^{(1)}\) Alpųyačean, ibid, p 1668

\(^{(2)}\) Çark, ibid, p 113

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

\(^{(4)}\) A Mezpürean, Hay ew cagumov hay bțiškner, 1688-1940 [Armenian doctors and doctors of Armenian birth, 1688-1940], i, p 170

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

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

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

(1) Çark, ibid, pp 175-9, and the year-books of S Prkîç hospital, 1903-1908
(2) The year-books of S Prkîç hospital, 1900-1903, Handês amsoreay, 1951, p 484, and Alpîyaçaean, ibid, p 1210
(3) Karoyean, ibid, pp 75-77
CHAPTER VII

THE ARMENIANS OF SEYHAN

Historical Survey

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

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

Armenians are mentioned in Adana as early as the IVth century A.D., but by the beginning of the XIth century they had much increased in number, because Armenia had lost its independence and was suffering from the harshness of the Salcûks. After the battle of Malazgirt (26th August 1071) Philaretos, an Armenian commander in the Byzantine army, withdrew to Cilicia and settled there, choosing Maraş\(^{(1)}\)

\(^{(1)}\) J Garstang and O R Gurney, The geography of the Hittite Empire, 1959, pp 60-61
as his seat (1) In 1080 when Dânişmand oppressed Cappadocia the Armenian vassal princes moved to Maraş and there they received districts and strongholds from Philaretos as fiefs Rubên, one of these princes, gathered around him many supporters and established a principality from 1080 to 1095. He was succeeded by his son Kostandin, who extended the boundaries of his dominion with new regions and castles. At that time when the Crusaders appeared, the Armenians achieved good friendship and collaborated with them. Adana at first in 1132 temporarily, but finally in 1172-3 was incorporated in the Armenian kingdom. In 1198, Lewon, one of the successors of Kostandin, was recognized as the vassal king of Cilicia by the Emperor of Germany, Henry VI, by Alexis III of Byzantium, and the Pope Celestine III of Rome. He organized his court and army in a European form, and stimulated the arts and trades. Lewon's daughter Zapēl married Hetum, the son of her tutelar. They ruled together over Armenian Cilicia, Zapēl until 1252, and her husband alone until 1270 when Hetum went to Karakorum in

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

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

On the fall of the Armenian kingdom Adana with the surrounding country passed to the Mamlûks. In 1378 its governor was the Turkoman Yureğir-oğlu Ramazan under the

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(2) An accurate history of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia is by G G Mişayelyan, Istoria Kilikiyşkovo Armianskovo gosudarstva [History of the Armenian state of Cilicia], Erevan, 1952.
suzerainty of Egypt. The Ramazan-oğlu dominated there for more than two centuries. In 1608 it became a directly governed Ottoman eyalet. From 1833 to 1840 Adana, together with Syria, was occupied by the Egyptians but was subsequently ceded again to the Ottomans (1).

Administrative Structure

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

The kazâs of the sancak of Seyhan -

Adana

Karaîsalî

Ceyhan (Hamidiye) (3)

The sancak of Mersin, had the kazâ of Tarsus

The kazâs of the sancak of Içel -

Silifke

Ermenâk

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(1) C Huart, 'Adana', EI¹, i, p 129, R Anhegger, 'Adana', EI 2, i, pp 182-4, and B Dargot, 'Adana', IA, i, pp 127-9

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

(3) The kazâ of Ceyhan was added to Seyhan after the detachment of Mersin and Tarsus
Mut
Gülnar
Anamur

The kazas of the sancak of Kozan -
Kozan (Sis)
Kadirli (Kars)
Saimbeyli (Haçin)
Feke

The kazas of the sancak of Cebel-i Bereket (1)
Yarpuz
Osmaniye
Islahiye
Hassa
Bahçe (Bulanik)
Payas

Population

The general population of this province in the second-half of the XIXth century was, according to Cuinet, (2)
about 403,500 -

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

(2) CTA, ii, p 5, cf Cevâd, Memâliki 'osmâniyênin târîkhe ve coğrafyâ lugâtî [Historical and geographical dictionary of the Ottoman Empire], 'Atana', i, (1895-6) p 15
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apostolic Armenians</td>
<td>69,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Armenians</td>
<td>11,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant Armenians</td>
<td>16,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian Orthodox</td>
<td>20,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Orthodox</td>
<td>46,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latins and Maronites</td>
<td>4,539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turk</td>
<td>93,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurd and Turkoman</td>
<td>39,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circassian</td>
<td>13,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian and Arab</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persians, Afghans and others</td>
<td>4,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gipsies</td>
<td>16,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fellahs, Ansarsis and Nusayris</td>
<td>56,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>403,539</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(1) Fellah (Arab_Turk) means 'agriculturalist', but it also denotes 'Egyptian peasant'
them), Turks, Kurds, and Arabs. However, it is interesting to mention that the number given by Cuinet for the Armenian inhabitants, viz. 97,450, is exceptionally more than the figures recorded by the Armenian sources Ormanean, followed by Lepsius and the almanac of Têodik presents the Armenian population as the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Apostolic</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adana (including Mersin and Içel)</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>37,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sancâk of Kozan</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The kazâ of Salm beyli</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Fraşeri, Kamûs 'ul-a'lam, 'Atana', i, p 219
(2) Ormanean, The Church of Armenia, p 207
(3) Lepsius, Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, pp 304-305
(4) Têodik, Amênun tareçoypçe [The almanac for everyone], 1922, p 262
Payas and the surrounding kazas of Cebel-i Bereket

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

The Trades and Professions of Armenians

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

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

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

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

Centres of Armenian Participation

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

Main Fields of Armenian Participation

The participation of the Armenian community in the

(1) Եփրիկեան, Ենագեղարվեստական բարձունք, [Armenian geographical dictionary], 'Ատանա', 1, p 272 Concerning the occupation of Armenians in trades and crafts in Sis, see M Kâlesean, Sis-matean [Book of Sis], Beirut, 1949, pp 423-32, and for Saimbeyli, Y P Pogosean, Haçin andhanur patmutiwn [The general history of Haçin (Saimbeyli)], Los Angeles, 1942, pp 165-76
public life of Seyhan(1) was largest in the centre of the province. At the headquarters there were two or three Armenians on the administrative council representing the Apostolic, Catholic and Protestant communities. In the rest of the vilayet one or two Armenians were elected to the administrative councils. In the kazas of Yarpuz and of Kozan (Sis), which once was the seat of the Armenian kingdom, and until World War I was the See of the Armenian Patriarchate, there were generally two Armenian members. From three to six Armenians were elected to the municipality of Adana, while the other municipal councils had only one or two Armenian members. It is remarkable that the municipality of Saimeyli was almost entirely left in the hands of the Armenians.

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

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(1) For this chapter of Seyhan I have consulted the provincial year-book of Aleppo of 1284H /1867-8, and the salnames of the province of Adana (Ağana vilayet; salnâmesi) of the following years - 1289H /1872-3, 1294H /1877, 1297H /1879-80, 1308H /1890-91, 1309H /1891-92, 1312H /1894-5, and 1319H /1901-902.
Their service was considerable also in the tobacco monopoly where we find two or three of them. The tobacco departments were sometimes entirely run by Armenian officials.

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

In the technical field, Armenians filled the posts of chief and second engineers in the engineering department at Adana, and two or three of them were foremen as well. In the public works there were usually two, and in the post office at the section of foreign languages the directors and operators of the telegraphic service were frequently Armenian. There were Armenian technicians in printing. A compositor...
for Armenian is mentioned which implies that the press also had a section for Armenian printing. At the railway stations of Adana, Mersin and Tarsus about twenty Armenians worked as station masters, mechanics and locomotive drivers. Outside the centre of the vilâyet, the technical activity of the Armenians was limited to the sphere of the postal and telegraphic service, and the public works.

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

Other Fields of Armenian Participation

Other fields of Armenian participation were agriculture, public health, education and the police force. At Adana, Armenian officials filled posts on the forestry board, agricultural inspectorate, and the board of trade, and in crafts and agriculture there being about two or three in each. They were also employed in the other merkez-sancaks.
but in the outer kazas we scarcely ever find an Armenian since there were often no special departments of agriculture.

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

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

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

To summarize, the Armenian participation in public life of Seyhan was extended over political and financial
administration, judicature and mechanical crafts. In these fields the part of Armenians was strong and steady. In the spheres of agriculture, public health service and education, their contribution was limited, while in the police force very few Armenians were included.

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

Some Notable Armenians in Public Life of Seyhan

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

(1) M. Kuleşyan, Sis-matean [Book of Sis], p. 302
BATATEAN, Karapet Ağâ (1865-1934)  He was a member of the administrative council and of the court of first instance in Kozan (1)

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

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

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

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

(1) Ibid , p 301
(2) Y P Pogosean, Haçani əndhanur patmutiwsə [The general history of Haçin], p 649, and Y Tırzéan, Kilikloy ağətsə [The calamity of Cilicia], 11, p 241
(3) See also Kəloğsean, ibid , p 298
(4) Ibid , p 295
GASPAREAN, Aristakēs Efendi (1861- ?)  Born in Adana, between 1880-1882 he was an official in the foreign languages section of the local telegraphic service. From 1883 to 1886 he was elected a member to the court of first instance in Adana. From 1889 to 1891 he worked in the public debt administration as first clerk and consultant in legal matters. In 1908 he was elected a deputy for Adana in the Ottoman Parliament of Istanbul (1).

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

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

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

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

(2) Këlēşean, ibid , pp 344-5

(3) Poğosean, ibid , p 435 and S Tërzean, Haçini uţamseay diwcaznamart [The eight months heroic resistance of Haçin], 2nd impression, Buenos Aires, 1956, p 539
He worked in the administration of tobacco monopoly in Kozan as assistant-manager and accountant (1)

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

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

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

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

(1) Kēleșean, ibid , p 303
(2) The year-book of S Prkic hospital, 1900, p 320
(3) Kēleșean, p 344
(4) Album of the graduated Armenian students of the American University of Beirut (in Armenian), 1935
(5) Kēleșean, ibid , pp 304-305
NALPANTEAN, Mattēos Efendi (1876-1942) Originally from Kozan, in 1906 he became the deputy-governor of the kaza of Saimbeyli, and by his wise conduct satisfied both the government and the Armenian community therein. In 1914 he was elected a deputy for Kozan in the Ottoman Parliament at Istanbul (1)

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

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

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

(1) Ibid, pp 305-306
(2) Ibid, p 298, and the private letter of Archbishop Xad Ajapahean (5th March 1959, Damascus)
(3) Pūgosean, ibid, 145-6
(4) Tōlpagean, Libanahay patkerazard oracıoc [Illustrated almanac of the Armenians of Lebanon], Beirut, 1936, Dec 28-31
REČEPEAN, Hambarjum (1845-1918) Born in Saimbeyli, he was a merchant first, but then served the Ottoman Government. According to our source, 'for ten years' (starting in 1896?) he was a consultant to the local deputy-governor, and for three years the mayor. For his services he was given decoration from the Sublime Porte (1).

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

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

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

(1) Pōgosean, ibid, p 161, and S Tērzean, ibid, p 76
(2) Pōgosean, ibid, p 479
(3) Ibid, pp 538-9
(4) The year-books of S Prkîç hospital, 1903-1908 and Čark, ibid, p 168
SOĞANALEAN, Awetik (1869-1920) Born in Saimbeyli, he became a cloth merchant. He served the local government as cashier, and as a member of the court of first instance and of the municipal council. He was 'twice elected deputy' for Saimbeyli in the Ottoman Parliament at Istanbul (1)

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

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

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

(1) Pöğosean, ibid. pp 436 and 643, and S Tërzean, ibid. p 240

(2) Pöğosean, ibid. pp 159-60, and S Tërzean, p 72

(3) Y Tërzean, op cit., 1, p 100
decorations from the Sublime Porte (Ottoman policy') (1)

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

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

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

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

(1) Păgosean, ibid , pp 162-3, and S Tărzean, ibid , p 74
(2) Kălĕșean, ibid , p 334
(3) Păgosean, ibid , p 478
(4) Y Tărzean, ibid , 1, pp 30-31
(5) Ibid , p 152
CHAPTER VIII

THE ARMENIANS OF ELAZIĞ

Historical Survey

The province of Elazığ (shortened form of Ma‘mūret ʿul-ʿAzīz) covered the districts of Harput (Kharput), Mezre, Malatya (Malātiya) and Hozat (Khozāt). In the days of Sultān ʿAbd ʿul-ʿAzīz (1861-1876) Mezre became an important governmental and military centre, and was called Ma‘mūret ʿul-ʿAzīz ('the town rendered prosperous by ʿAzīz') by the vāli Ismā‘īl Pāşā in honour of the Sultān. After the proclamation of the Vilāyet nizāmnāmesi, together with Harput it formed a mutaṣārīflik, first attached to Diyarbakır and then independent (1875), until 1296H/1878-9 when it was re-organized as a separate province (1).

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

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

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

The Mongol Emperor Timūr on his return from the campaign of Anatolia, subjugated Harput also to his dominion. After Timūr the tribe of Dhu'l-Kādir ruled there again, and in the days of Melik Arslān the Ak-Koyūnlu Üzūn Hasan occupied it. In 913H /1507-508 it came under the rule of the Safawī Șāh Ismā'īl, but the vizier of the Sultān Selīm I, Biyikli Mehmed Pāṣā, after
the conquest of Diyarbakir (921-923H /1515-1517) brought Harput also under the immediate government of the Sublime Porte (1)

**Administrative Structure**

The vilayet of Elazığ contained three sancaks and 18 kazas as follows -

**The kazas of the sancak of Elazığ** -

Elazığ (Harput-Mezre)
Arapkir
Kemaliye (Eğin)
Keban (Keban Ma'den)

**The kazas of the sancak of Malatya** -

Malatya
Besni (Behisni)
Adiyaman (Hisnı Mansur)
Kâhta
Akçadağ

**The kazas of the sancak of Hozat (Dersim)** -

Hozat
Çemşigezek
Pülümür (Küziçan)
Peri (Çarsancak)
Mazgirt

(1) B Darkot 'Harput', IA, fascicle 42 (Istanbul, 1949), p 297
Ovacık
Pertek
Pah
Nazimiye (Kizilkilise)

Population

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

| Sancak of Elazığ | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| Apostolic        | 39,343           |
| Catholic         | 905              |
| Protestant       | 5,100            |
| **Total**        | **45,348**       |

| Sancak of Malatya | | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| Apostolic         | 15,080           |
| Catholic          | 770              |
| Protestant        | 350              |
| **Total**         | **16,200**       |

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

(2) CTA, 11, p 322

(3) Ibid
Sancak of Hozat

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Apostolic</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7,560</td>
<td>610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>8,170</td>
<td><strong>69,718</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noticed that once again Cuinet has been more conservative than the Turks. The numbers given by the Armenian sources for the Armenians of Elazig are quite different from the above quoted estimations. Téodik's almanac presents the approximate total of the Armenians as 204,000,\(^{(1)}\) while Ormanean,\(^{(2)}\) followed by Lepsius,\(^{(3)}\) estimates it at about 131,200, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harput</td>
<td>51,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kemaliye</td>
<td>10,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arapkir</td>
<td>19,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Çemişgezek</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peri</td>
<td>18,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malatya</td>
<td>23,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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(1) Téodik, Amēnum tareçoyce [The almanac for every one], 1922, p 261

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

(3) Lepsius, Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, pp. 306-307
Trades and Professions of Armenians

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

'Many Armenians in Kharpert [Harput] were land owners. At the beginning of the last quarter of the last century, three fourths of the land belonged to Turkish Aghas, but by 1908, more and more Armenians became property owners. No doubt the money sent to their families by those who had emigrated to the United States, helped to bring about this change. In spite of government restrictions and blind hatred of Islam, the Armenians took advantage of any opportunity and it can be said without reservations that in the field of economics the Armenians became the more superior and the management of real estate passed into the hands of the Armenians, as also business, industry, arts and crafts due to the higher mentality of the Armenian and his
ambition and vision (1)

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

The Armenians cooperated with the Ottoman Government in mining and iron work also. At Maden (Ergani Maden1) the Ignatīosean family were engaged in copper mining, (6), and at Keban (Kebān Ma'den) the Arpiarean family worked the silver.

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(1) V Hayk (Haig), Xarberd ew anor oskerğen daşta [Harput and her golden plain], New York, 1959, p. 53
(2) Ibid., pp. 641-43, and M G Čizmēčean, Xarberd ew ir zawaknera [Harput and her sons], Fresno-Venice, 1955, p. 92
(3) V Hayk, ibid., pp. 649-52, Čizmēčean, ibid., pp. 89-90, and EYRIKKEAN, Naxxarhik bararan [Armenian geographical dictionary], 'Xarberd', 11, p. 161
(4) V Hayk, ibid., pp. 639-40
(5) EYRIKKEAN, ibid.
(6) V Hayk, ibid., pp. 656-9
mines by Imperial (1) The iron factory of the Barikean Brothers in Harput was well-known and even carried out work for the government (2) Natanean giving his eye-witness account states that the Armenians made various 'European' arms, cartridges, and 'other machines' (3)

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

In the sancak of Malatya the Armenians were engaged in the preparation of dried fruits, in cotton textiles and various crafts and professions Alpöyaçeân gives the following evidence - '95% of the artisans were Armenian These by virtue of their crafts stayed economically secure So the most vital and essential and as well lucrative arts were in the hands of the Armenians Among the Turks

(1) Ibid, pp 659-60
(2) Ibid, pp 644-8, and Çizmâçeân, p 90
(3) P Natanean, Artosr Hayastani [The tears of Armenia], p 136
(4) S Bartikean, Arabkir ew şîrjâkayî giwğera [Arapkir and the surrounding villages], Beirut, 1934, p 39.
also there were people more or less skilled in crafts, but their number was limited, as was the number of Armenian agriculturists.

In the sancak of Hozat (Dersim) both agriculture and industry were backward, possibly because the majority of the population was Kurdish. Only in the kazas of Çemisgezek and Peri were the Armenians occupied in the cultivation of cereals.

In the province of Elazig the popular professions of the Armenians were medicine and pharmacy.

Centres of Armenian Participation

The participation of the Armenian community in public life was steady in the sancaks of Elazig and Malatya. In all kazas of these districts, except Akçadağ (in Malatya), the Armenians had a striking participation in different fields of the government affairs.

In Hozat (Dersim) the Armenians' service in public administration was noteworthy only in the kazas of Çemisgezek and Peri. In the other parts of the sancak also the Armenians worked for the government, but their contribution was limited to a few departments and was not strong, possibly because comparatively they were not so many.

(1) A Alpoyaçean, Patmut CDN Malatyo Hayoq [History of the Armenians in Malatya], Beirut, 1961, p. 1004

(2) CTA, ii, p. 389
in number

Main Fields of Armenian Participation

At the headquarters of the province, (1) in the administrative council of Elâziğ the Armenians had regularly four representatives two elected and two ex officio members, the latter being the spiritual heads of the Apostolic and Catholic communities In the kazâ of Arapkir in addition to the two elected Armenians, there were two or three ex officio members, the third of whom was the controller of revenue and expenditure (c 1887-1891) In 1880-81 even the parson of the Armenian Protestant community took part there in the administrative council in virtue of his office At Kemaliy (Eğin) the head of the Apostolic community was alone an ex officio member, having beside him one or two elected Armenian participants In the kazâ of Keban the Armenian representatives, one or two, were usually elected, but from about 1890 to 1895, the Armenian clerk of the tax collecting board was an ex officio member At the centre of the sancâk of Malatya the Armenians had two elected members on the administrative council, and after 1890 the prelates of the Apostolic and Catholic communities were continuously

(1) For this chapter of Elâziğ I have consulted the provincial year-books (Ma’mûret ül-‘Azîz vilâyeti sâlnâmesî) of the following years - 1298H /1880-81, 1300H /1882-3, 1302H /1884-5, 1305H /1887-8, 1307H /1889-90, 1308H /1890-91, 1310H /1892-3, 1312H /1894-5, 1321H /1903-904, and 1325H /1907-908
appointed as ex officio members. In the kazas of Besni and and Adiyaman, two, and at Kähta and Akçadag one or two, Armenians were usually elected to the council. At the centre of the sancak of Hozat and in the kazas of Çemişgezek and Peri there were normally two Armenian elected members, but in Mazgirt, Ovacık and Nazımiye only one member would be found, as elected or ex officio, the latter being the controller of revenue.

At Eläziğ from four to nine Armenians (in 1887–8 nine) were included on the municipal council of the provincial headquarters. In the kazas of the central sancak there were usually two Armenians elected to the council, but in Kemalıye they were sometimes three in number. At Malatya two or three Armenians sat on the municipal council, in Adiyaman and Besni after 1890 two members were given posts, while in Kähta and Akçadag there were no Armenians at all. In the sancak of Hozat, Armenian members were elected occasionally to the municipal councils about 1880 and after 1900, but only in the districts of Peri (Çarasancak), Çemişgezek and Mazgirt.

Out of the administrative and municipal councils, the Armenians in the political administration of Eläziğ served on the imputation committee (hey'et ithammiye) of the central headquarters and on the governing bodies of some nahiyes. After 1890, at Eläziğ there were one or two Armenians on the
imputation committee which was formed within the super-
intendence of the administrative council. In 1298H/1880-81
in the central sancak of the province eight Armenians were
assistants to the administrators of different nahiyes, and two
others were administrators. At the nahiyeh of Argavan in
Keban, from about 1887 to 1895, the taxation department and
title-deed's clerks were Armenian. In 1907-8 Armenians
assisted the governing officials of the nahiyehs of Agin,
Iliç and Abuçeh in Kemaliye. One would expect that after
the Reforms of 1896 there would be Armenian assistants to the
mutasarrifs and to the kaymakams, but this is not so. Only
in between c. 1900 and 1908 an Armenian assisted the vali,
and for the kazas of Arapkır and Peri Armenian assistant-
governors were appointed.

In the economic field of Elaziğ many Armenians cooperated
with the Turks in various capacities. In the finance
department the cashier was normally Armenian, and apart from
that there were always about two clerks in the secretariat.
In 1884-5 six and in 1907-8 three Armenian officials worked
at the chamber of commerce, one or two in the customs, and
in the tax collecting board four Armenians would be found.
From 1880 to 1885 there were Armenian clerks and cashiers
in the tithe administration too. The Armenian participation
was particularly large and steady in the regie where the
cashier and the store-keeper were usually Armenian. Apart
from them two or three others also, acted as advocate, clerk and accountant. It is interesting to note that in 1887-8 the head of the tobacco monopoly was Armenian, and in 1894-5 nine Armenian officials were employed there. In public debt administration two or three Armenians were included as clerks or inspectors. In 1907-8 the chief secretary and the memoranda clerk, as well as the silk inspector agent and the guard of this department were Armenian. In the kazas of the sancak of Elazig one or two Armenians worked in the office of controller of revenue, and in the regie, the Agricultural Bank, and in the administration of public debt and of tithes (1880-1885). At Keivan between 1884 and 1891 and at Arapkhir from 1884 to 1908 the sole administrators of tobacco monopoly were Armenian, and in Kemaliye there was always an Armenian. In the latter kazaz in between 1880-1885 the managers of public debt administration were Armenian, and at Arapkhir in 1907-8 a certain Mansurean Efendi was the accountant and at the same time the clerk of that office. At the centre of the sancak of Malatya the public finance cashier was always Armenian, in regie the chief agent or the clerk was Armenian, and in public debt administration from 1884 to 1888 the one and only official was Armenian. Tax-collectors and members of the chamber of agriculture and crafts were occasionally Armenian. In the kazas of Malatya the Armenians worked
mostly in the control of revenue, often as cashier. They were sometimes employed also in the branch of the Agricultural Bank and in the administration of tithes. In the sancak of Hozat, at Hozat, Peri and Çemşagezek the Armenians cooperated with the government serving as tax-collectors, as cashiers in public finance, and as agents or clerks in tobacco monopoly, but their participation was not regular.

In judicature of the provincial headquarters at Elâziğ there were always two Armenian judges in the court of first instance, one in the civil-and another in the criminal-section. After 1890 two Armenians sat also in the court of appeal. In between 1880 and 1890 two or three Armenian members were included on the commercial court. In 1884-5 the executive officer was Armenian. Sometimes Armenian clerks were employed in the court of first instance. In the kazas of Elâziğ an Armenian member was regularly elected to the court of first instance, and from time to time other officials were employed as well. At Arapkir in 1887-8 the notary was Armenian, and in between 1887 and 1895 the process servers were usually Armenian. In Kemaliye in 1887-8 the assistant of the juge d'instruction and in 1890-91 the process server were Armenian. At the centres of Malatya and Hozat two Armenian judges participated in the court of first instance, one in the civil and the other
in the criminal division. In the kazas of these sancaks where the court was not separated into civil and criminal departments, an Armenian would always be found in the court of first instance, but in Hozat this was true only for Peri, Çemigcezek and Mazgirt.

Other Fields of Armenian Participation

In the spheres of technical affairs, of secretariat, education, agriculture and public health the Armenian participation was noteworthy, but not so strong as in the other departments. At Elazig, at the government headquarters, the technical contribution of Armenians was limited to the engineering department. The Armenians worked there as first or second engineers and as foremen.

It is interesting to mention that in 1894-5 the municipal engineer, and two other engineers as well in the engineering department, were Armenian. The foremen normally were Armenian.

In the rest of the province the Armenian participation in technical fields fluctuated. However, at Arapkir in 1890-91 two Armenians were acting in the road building board (tarik komisyonu), and at Hozat in 1889-90 the chief engineer was Armenian.

The Armenians apart from being in charge of records and accounts in different government offices, were employed as well in purely secretarial departments. At Elazig in the chief secretariat there was usually an Armenian clerk.
1880-81 and 1884-5 three Armenians worked on the land registry, and in the postal and telegraphic service an Armenian clerk would be found. In the kazâs of Elâziğ there were occasionally from one to three Armenians in the land registry, and curiously enough at Arapkir an Armenian clerk was acting in the birth registry (census office), although not frequently. In Malatya only at the centre, and at Besni and in Hozat only in the kazâ of Perî, Armenian officials worked from time to time in the land registry.

In the field of education, the Armenians cooperated with the local government as teachers and as members of the education committees. At the centre of the vilâyet usually two or three Armenians participated in the education council, while in the kazâs of Arapkir, Kemaliye and Keban one or two Armenians would sometimes be found in the education committees as against two Turkish members. At Elâziğ itself in the government secondary school Armenian teachers were occasionally employed. For instance, Petros Efendi 1887-1890 taught French and geography there. It is worthy of note that in the same school from about 1890 to 1908 the Armenian language was taught as in some other provinces. In the rest of the province there was no Armenian participation in educational affairs.

At Elâziğ in 1880-81 there were four Armenians in the agricultural inspectorate, and in 1889-90 two members served on
the trade and agricultural board. At Arapkir in 1890-91 three Armenians were included on the trade and agricultural board. At the centre of the province in 1890-91 the chemist and the vaccinator, and in 1894-5 the chemist and the doctor of second municipality, were Armenian. In the kazā of Arapkir only in 1907-8 was the municipal physician Armenian.

As to the police force, in the year 1907 only at Elâziğ there were two assistant superintendents of police and one policeman, but in each station of Arapkir, Malatya, Adiyaman and Besni, one Armenian policeman was included. At Keban in the same year two policemen were employed.

**Comparative Note Greek Participation**

The Greek participation in public life of the province of Elâziğ was very irregular. However we find Greek officials in the departments of political administration, finance, justice, technical affairs, secretariat and public health. Their activity was limited to the central sancāk of Elâziğ, but in Malatya in 1889-90 and 1894-5 the municipal doctors were Greek. As to their number, they were not more than one in each department.

In political administration, at Keban in 1907-8 there was a Greek member in the local council, and in Kemaliye in 1890-91 a Greek member served on the administrative council. At the centre of the province, in 1907-908 the judicial inspector was Greek, as was the officer of the commercial
court in Kemaliye (1907-8) Again at Elâziğ in the tobacco monopoly in 1890-91 and 1894-5 there were Greek officials. A Greek worked in the Agricultural Bank in 1890-91 and in 1894-5 the assistant manager was Greek. At Arapkir in 1890-91 a certain Idris Efendi was the public finance agent, and at Kemaliye, in 1907-8, in tobacco monopoly, and in 1890-91 in the Agricultural Bank one Greek would be found.

In the secretariat, at the centre of the vilâyet in 1880-81 there was a Greek registrar, as was another Greek in the chief secretariat in 1884-5. In 1887-8 and 1889-90 Greek officials were employed in the chamber of archives, but in 1894-5 and 1907-8 the managers of the same chamber were Greek. In the field of technical affairs, in 1889-90, the chief engineer of Elâziğ was Greek, and in 1890-91 the assistant administrator of the provincial press was Greek as well.

A General View of the Armenian Participation in Elâziğ

The Armenian participation in public life of the vilâyet of Elâziğ was largest in the central sanâbek, i.e., in the provincial headquarters and in the kazâs of Arapkir, Kemaliye and Keban. The spheres of strong Armenian influence were the political administration, finance and justice. In technical affairs, secretariat, education, agriculture, and public health service also, the Armenians took part, but their activity was not consistent.
in these fields. As in the other provinces, in Elâzığ too the Armenians were intentionally kept out of the police force, so that they could not exercise this power in any way.

It is of special interest that the Armenian language was taught in the government secondary school at Elâzığ, the teachers were Yovhannes Efendi Eazâean and Edowar'd Efendi.

Some Notable Armenians in Public Life of Elâzığ

ARCRUNI, Nşan (1849 - 1895) Born in the village of Abuçeh (Kemaliye), he studied in the Medical Military School at Istanbul. In 1871 having graduated, he entered the service of the Ottoman army as a chemist and surgeon. From 1881 to 1889 he was employed as municipal doctor in the kazâs of Kemaliye and Çemişgezek (1).

ARSLAN, Dr Edoward Studied medicine at the University of Padua and graduated in 1889. About 1890 he was appointed as municipal doctor in Elâzığ (2).

ASASMAN, Yovhannes Efendi He was the assistant to the vâlî of Elâzığ from about 1900 to 1908 (3).

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(1) M Parsamean, Akn ew Akneçik [Eğin and its Armenian population], p 264

(2) V Hayk, Xarberd ew anor oskeğen daşta [Harput and her golden plain], p 728

(3) The year-books of the Armenian S Prkiç hospital at Istanbul, 1900-1908, and Y Çark, Turk devleti hizmetinde Ermeniler [The Armenians in the service of Turkish State], p 168
CERÖN, Manuk (1862 - 1938) Born in the village of Perçenç (Elâziğ) and educated in the Euphrates College of Harput, he studied civil engineering at the University of Istanbul. On his return home, in 1886, he was employed as assistant to the provincial engineer. For about four years he cooperated in the road building works. Intolerant of the oppression of the rulers, in 1890 he emigrated to the United States (1).

ČLİCLEAN, Yarutiwn (1870 - 1915) Born and educated at Malatya, he taught French in the local government secondary school. At the same time he also taught French and Turkish in the Latin school of Malatya (2).

ČUGAŞEZIAN, Minas Efendi He was the assistant to the deputy-governor of the kazâ of Perî from about 1903 to 1908 (3).

(1) Hayk, op cit, pp 897 and 1252

(2) According to X Pınabardean (Pap uxti, 11, No 4, p 19), see Alpöyaçean, Patmutiwn Malatiyoy Hayoc [History of the Armenians in Malatya], p 753

(3) The year-books of S Frkiç hospital, 1903 - 1908, Çark, ibid, p 168, and G Erewanean, Patmutiwn Çarsancak Hayoc [History of the Armenians of Çarsancak (Perî)], Beirut, 1956, p 408. According to the latter source Minas Efendi succeeded Pögos Töt'vayean (dead in 1895). Can one conclude that he began to assist the deputy-governor of Perî from 1895 onwards?
ÇUGASAZEAN, Sarım He was the assistant to the deputy-governor of the kazā of Arapkır from about 1905 to 1908 (1)

EAĞČEAN, Öhan (c 1800 - c 1890) He lived in Kesırlık (Elazığ) and was a merchant During the Russo-Turkish War he supplied the Ottoman army with food, working under difficult conditions For his services he was offered decorations and an honorary dress with a sword (2)

EAZƏCEAN, Yovhannēs Efendi (fl in the second-half of the of the XIXth century) He was a provincial dragoman, and a teacher of Armenian in the government secondary school at Elazığ (3)

ENŞEREAN, E (1846 - 1910) Originally from Diyarbakır he studied medicine in New York and graduated in 1877 Returning home, he worked as municipal doctor first in Elazığ for about ten years, and then in Trebizond for seven years After the troubles of 1895, he settled in America (4)

ERMOYERAN, Yarutiwn Efendi He was a tax collector in the kazā of Peri (5)

(1) The year-books of S Prkiğ, 1905 - 1908, and Çark, ibid , p 168
(2) Hayk, ibid , pp 885-6
(3) Hayk, ibid , p 727
(4) Tēodik, Amēnun tareçooyça [The Almanac for every one], 1911, p 374, and G Karoyean, Mec eķerni nahatak hay bţişkner [The martyred Armenian doctors of the Great Massacre], p 267
(5) Erewanean, op cit , pp 241, 443, and 447
GALANEAN (Terzean), Xoren   In 1899 he graduated from the Euphrates College of Harput and taught for one year in the Protestant School of Malatya  Then he went to study medicine in the American University of Beirut, and soon after finishing his course he became municipal doctor of Mezre for three years  According to our source, later 'for ten years' he served in the army medical corps and afterwards went to Egypt and settled in Alexandria (1)

HELVAEGAN, Artin (c 1850 - 1915) He studied medicine at the Medical Military School of Istanbul, and for 'fourty long years served the Turkish government' at Elazig  For his conscientious services he was offered decorations by the Sublime Porte (2)

HOLOBIKEAN, Grigor A leader of the Armenian Protestant community at Peri, he was educated in the Euphrates College of Harput  He served the local government of Peri as mayor (3)

IGNATIOSEAN, Pogos (1837 - 1905) Born in the village of Huseynik (Elazig), he was engaged in sericulture  He supplied the Turkish army in Elazig with clothes  In 1876 he settled in Ergani Madeni and was employed in the mining

(1) Alpoyaçean, ibid , p 740 (according to Yisatakaran Eprat Golacı [Memorial of the Euphrates College], p 199)
(2) N Piranean, Xarberdi eçerna[The massacre of Harput], Boston, 1937, pp 84-86, 101-102 and 234-8
(3) Erewanean, ibid , pp 241, 443, and 449-50.
At the same time he imported sewing machines from Europe. In 1893 he returned to Harput (1)

KEŞİŞEAN, Arakel (1885-?) Born in Kemaliye, he studied at the Aramean School of the village of Gemirdaş. After finishing his course he served in the finance administration of Kemaliye as accountant, until 1908. Then he settled in Istanbul where he continued to work as government official (2)

KEŞİŞEAN, Mikayel (1874-1943) Studying medicine, he graduated in 1898 from the American University of Beirut and the next year received a diploma from the Medical Military School of Istanbul. After 1902 he officiated as a municipal and court doctor in Malatya (3)

KIWNİTWPECİAN, Serob Efendi (c. 1868-1915) In 1893 he became the manager of land registry (emlak müdürü) and also an agent in public finance administration at Malatya. In 1904 he was superintendent of police in the kazâ of Adiyaman (Hisni Mansur) (4)

KIWNİTWPECİAN, Yovhannēs (Mkrtiç) (c. 1865-1915) From 1890 to 1903 he was an agent for the taxation department

(1) Hayk, ibid., p. 658
(2) Parsamean, op. cit., p. 674
(3) Alpōyačeăn, ibid., p. 1248
(4) Ibid., pp. 1241-2
and a member of the judicial court in Malatya (1)

MAKAREAN, Makar (? - 1915) A learned man who served his community and the government He was the administrator of the village of Kuyulu (Elâziğ) where he was born He founded the local Armenian Lusavorçakan school (2)

MISAKEAN, Marka Efendî (fl in the second-half of the XIXth century) For 'many years' he was a municipal engineer at Elâziğ and Erzurum (3)

PEKEAN, Gëorg (1848 - 1894) He studied medicine at the Medical Military School of Istanbul, and returning home, served the government He was employed as municipal doctor in Harput, Arapkîr, Kemaliye, Bitlis and Erzurum (4)

PULUTEAN, Abgar (fl in the second-half of the XIXth century) He was a member of the administrative council of Peri (5)

TÉR-DAWITEAN, Sargis (c 1860 - 1935) A learned man and a merchant, he served the court of Malatya (c 1890) as a member of the public prosecution board From 1895 to 1897 he lived in Elâziğ and in 1907 he went to settle in America

(1) Ibid, p 1242
(2) Hayk, ibid, p 824
(3) Hayk, ibid, p 727
(4) Parsamean, ibid, p 685
(5) Erewanean, ibid, pp 241, 443 and 447
with his family (1)

TÊRJANEAN, Mîkayêl Efendî (1865 - 1915) From about 1880 to 1909 he served the government of Malatya in various offices. First he was employed as an agent in the tax collection, but then was assigned cashier to the kâzâ of Adiyaman. In 1889 returning to Malatya he continued to work in finance administration as cashier (until 1909). According to our source, he was also a member of the administrative and municipal councils, and of the court of justice (2)

TÎWÎTÎLEAN, Yovhannês (1855 - 1895) Educated at Malatya and Istanbul he served the government of Malatya. From 1873 to 1888 he was the first clerk in the chief secretariat and in between 1888 and 1895 he officiated as the cashier of the public finance administration (3)

TÔTVAYEAN, Pûgos In 1895 he was appointed assistant to the deputy-governor of the kâzâ of Perî (Çarsancak), but he was killed by the brigands of Arslan Bey (4)

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(1) Alpôyaçean, ibid, pp 1240-41
(2) (Alpôyaçean,) ibid, pp 1242-3
(3) Ibid, pp 1239-40 (Pap uxtî, 1952, No 59)
(4) Erewançean, ibid, p 408
CHAPTER IX

THE ARMENIANS OF SYRIA
(The Province of Aleppo)

Historical Survey

Aleppo is an old Assyrian city which is mentioned in the historical records of Boğazköy under the name Hallap (Hallaw, or Halvan), as early as the second millennium BC. The Hittite king Mursilis I (1620-1590 BC) destroyed Aleppo and took its treasures and slaves to his capital Hattusa. It was then dominated by the Medes but in about 1430 BC it passed again to the Hittites.

In 312 BC Seleucus Nikator, a commander of Alexander the Great, founded the Seleucid dynasty in Syria. He renamed Aleppo Beroia and established a Macedonian colony there. In 64 BC it became part of the Roman province of Syria and during the Byzantine period it was devastated, together with Antioch, by the Persians in 540. The Emperor Justinian rebuilt the town and erected a beautiful cathedral there.

In 16H /637 Aleppo was conquered by the Arab Muslims under the command of Khālid b al-Walid. Although the Salcūk Turks had remained there since the days of Mirdasīs (XIth c), it came under direct Ottoman
government in the XVIth century (1)

The association of Armenians with Aleppo goes back as far as the first century B.C. (84-83 B.C.) when Tigran the Great annexed Syria and Lebanon to his empire and for fourteen years Syria was governed by the Armenian armies (2) During the III-VIth centuries the Roman emperors established military colonies in Syria and on the mountains of Lebanon of the Armenian warrior satrapies. About 632-640 there were Armenian soldiers serving the Byzantine and Sassanid armies in Syria against the Arabs (3) After 1065, on the fall of Ani, the capital of Armenia, many Armenians were pushed towards Cilicia and Syria (4) There were apparently several organized Armenian communities in Syria in the XII century, because when the Catholicos Grigor IV assembled a church-council in Rumkale (Halfeti) in 1179, six Armenian bishops took part in it who came from Mesopotamia and Syria.

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(1) Historical survey of Aleppo M Sobernheim, 'Halab', EI, pp 229-33, and J Sauvaget, 'Haleb', IA, fascicle 40, pp 117-22 Sauvaget has also a monograph on Aleppo-Alep Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du xixe siècle, 1914

(2) R Grousset, Histoire de l'Armenie, pp 86-92, and Y Manandyan, Tigran yerkrods yev Hroma [Tigran II and the Rome], pp 49-55

(3) E Kasuni in S Varžapetean's Hayre Ľibanani měj [The Armenians in Lebanon], Beirut, 1951, p 12

(4) S Taröneçi, Patmutıwn tiezerakan [General history], p 258
These were, Bishop Georg of Miyafarkin (Silvan), Archbishop Stepanos of Urfa, Archbishop Grigorios of Antioch, Bishop Kostandin of Apamea, Bishop Sargis of Ladhikiiyyah, and Archbishop Sahak of Jerusalem (2)

In the XI-XIVth centuries, at the time of the Armenian kingship of Cilicia, there were Armenian communities flourishing in the main towns of Syria – Aleppo, Hamah, Ladhikiiyyah, Antioch, and Damascus. After the fall of Cilicia, the Armenians moved more and more into Syria for safety. In the XIVth century Aleppo especially became a centre for Armenians, where they had their church, school and community leaders, both clerical and lay. A Gospel written in 1355 by Yovhannēs, son of the priest Gazar, was acquired in 1379 by an Armenian Amīr in Aleppo (3). In 1400 the head of the Armenian community was a certain Tawakal, son of Karapet (4).

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(1) Apamea was built by Seleucus Nikator and dedicated to the name of his wife. Now it is in ruins at the site of Kalat al-Muzik, on the west of Khan Šaykhun, in Northern Syria.


In 1499-1500 the church of Forty Martyrs in the quarter of Salibah was enlarged at the expense of Reis Isa (1). After this renovation Aleppo became next to Sis (Kozan), the second seat of the Catholicate of Cilicia, where the patriarchs resided from time to time. From the beginning of the XVIth century the Armenian community of Aleppo had its regular episcopal prelacy, archbishop Xačatur (c 1525-1545) being the first prelate of this new period (2).

About the bishops of Aleppo before Xačatur we know very little. Only two bishops are mentioned in history books - 1 Bishop Yovhannēs who in 1307 took part in the church-council of Sis (3) 2 Bishop Yovakim who in 1438 participated in the council of Florence (4).

During the XVI-XVIIth centuries many new Armenians came from Julfa (Old Julfa in Armenia) to settle in

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(1) A Siwrmēan, Cucak hayerēn jeragrac Halēpi surf Karasun Mankunk ekeğecwoy [Catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts of the church of Forty Martyrs in Aleppo], 1, Jerusalem, 1935, pp 151 and 340-41, idem, History of the Armenians of Aleppo, iii, pp 30-34

(2) A Siwrmēan, History of the Armenians of Aleppo, iii, pp 39-45, idem, the Catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts of Aleppo, 1, p 8b, and the Catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts of Jerusalem, 1, p 348b

(3) M Ėamēan, Patmutiwn Hayoc [History of the Armenians], iii, p 309, and Ėrmānean, Azgapatum [History of the Armenian nation], ii, pp 1784-6

(4) Ėamēan, ibid , p 475, Ėrmānean, ibid , pp 2079-81, and Siwrmēan, History of the Armenians of Aleppo, iii, p 21
Aleppo(1) These people were clever merchants and contributed much to the community life and trade of the city. Until 1915-1920, however, the Armenians of Aleppo were not numerous. After the massacres of World War I, thousands of Armenians fled from Anatolia into Syria and sought refuge in the different towns of Syria and especially in Aleppo. There are now about 135,000 Armenians in the Syrian Arab Republic.

Administrative Structure

In the XIXth century, under the Ottoman dominion, Syria(2) was divided into three parts:

(a) Vilayet of Aleppo
(b) Vilayet of al-Şam (or Sūriyyā), and
(c) Mutasarriflik of Dayr al-Zor

The mutasarriflik (an independent sancak) of Dayr al-Zor was a separate administrative unit, the province of Şam included parts of Lebanon, whereas the vilayet of Beirut had the sancak of Lādhiḳiyyah in it. It is quite evident that until September 1, 1920, when General Henri-Joseph-Eugene Gouraud, the High Commissioner of France, proclaimed the

(1) Siwrmēan, History of the Armenians of Aleppo, pp 47-64, 66 and 86-87

(2) I have written 'Syria' and other well-known place-names of Syria as spelt in English, e.g. Aleppo and Damascus, but the rest I have transliterated according to a map of Syria 'al-Iklim al-Sūrī' (scale - 1 700,000) which was printed in 1959 at Groningen and published in Aleppo under the supervision of the Ministry of Education.
creation of the Lebanese State ('État du Grand Liban')

Lebanon was included in the title 'Syria'. This is why it has been taken in the present work.

The province of Aleppo contained three sancaks, Aleppo, Maraş and Urfa, which were divided into 23 kazas as follows -

**The kazas of the sancak of Aleppo** -

- Aleppo (Halab)
- Gaziantep (Antep)
- Kilis
- Iskenderun
- Antakya (Antioch)
- Belen (Beylan)
- Jabal Sam'an
- Harem
- Idleb
- Jisr al-Şuğur
- Mafrurat ul-Nu'man
- al-Bāb - Jabbūl
- Manbij
- al-Raqqah

**The kazas of the sancak of Maraş** -

- Maraş
- Süleymanlı (Zeytun)
- Elbistan
- Pazarcık
- Andirin
The kazâs of the sancâk of Urfa -

Urfa
Birecik
Halfeti (Rumkale)
Suruç

The mutaşârriflik of Dayr al-Zûr had four kazâs as follows -

Dayr al-Zûr
al-Asârah
Ra's ul-'Ayn
Abû Kamâl

Population

Owing to the lack of an official census there are no complete and reliable statistics for the Armenian population of the province of Aleppo. The figures of Cuinet are so spread over the general statistics of the different towns and sancâks of the vilâyet, (1) that it is impossible to collect them and present his total for the Armenians of Aleppo. The provincial year-book of 1908 gives the following (2) for the general population of the province -

Armenians
Apostolic 65,033
Catholic 10,016

(1) See CTA, 11, pp 178, 189, 192, 201, 209, 227, 246, 249, 280, 296, and 297

(2) Haleb vilâyeti sâlnâmesi, 1326H /1908, p 504
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>6,071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greeks</td>
<td>81,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>11,632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>8,291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syr1ans</td>
<td>19,923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>1,852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>3,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td>4,982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Greek and Syrian)</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latins</td>
<td>2,283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maronites</td>
<td>1,647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaldeans</td>
<td>582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>759,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>11,748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strangers (Yabanci)</td>
<td>11,759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigners (Ecnebi)</td>
<td>4,185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>903,269</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) The year-book records for all the Protestants of the vilayet of Aleppo '12,071'. I have reduced this total to the half in order to give the approximate number of Armenian Protestants in this province. Ormanean (The Church of Armenia, pp 206-207), estimates the Armenian Protestants of Aleppo as 12,300.
To the 81,120 Armenians we have to add the Armenians of the mutaṣarriflik of Dayr al-Zūr who, according to Guinnet,¹ numbered 400, of whom most were Catholic.

Armenian sources estimate the total Armenian population of the vilayet of Aleppo as twice that of the provincial sālānāme Örmanean,² followed by Lepsius,³ records 163,800, whereas Tēodīk's almanac⁴ gives 186,000. Here are the detailed statistics of Örmanean:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kazas of Aleppo, Iskenderun and Belen</th>
<th>Apostolic</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sancaks of Urfa and Dayr al-Zūr</th>
<th>Apostolic</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25,800</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kazas of Maraş, Elbistan and Pazarcık</th>
<th>Apostolic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) CTA, 11, pp 280, 296 and 297

(2) Örmanean, ibid

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

(4) Tēodīk, Amēnum tareçoyçe [The almanac for every one], 1922, pp 262-3
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The kazas of Suleymanli and Andirin and the nahiyeh of Firnis</td>
<td>27,000</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>37,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The kazas of Gaziantep and Kilis</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The kazas of Antioch, Jisr al-Şuğur and Şahiün</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>15,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To find the most probable estimate for the Armenian population of the vilayet of Aleppo, I have taken as I did for the other provinces, the mean of the two extreme figures, which is 133,560
Trades and Professions of Armenians

In the XIXth century Aleppo was the centre of trading for Northern Mesopotamia and Northern Syria especially about 1880 when she had a commercial revival in both imports and exports (1)

In 1860 the British Consul T H Skene reporting about the traders and craftsmen of the vilâyet of Aleppo wrote the following -

'All the proprietors in the country are Mussulmans Almost all the traders in the towns are Christians Almost all the cultivators are Mussulmans, and the pastoral tribes of Arabs, Kurds, and Turcomans, are nominally Mussulmans Almost all the manufacturing population is Christian (2)

Armenians in the towns were practising different trades and professions, and in the villages they were engaged in agriculture (3) Their popular handicrafts were sewing and

(1) EI 1, pp 228-9
(2) PRO, F 0 78/1538, T H Skene, British Consul at Aleppo, to Home Office (to Sir Henry L Bulwer), No 27, Aleppo, August 4, 1860
(3) CTA, 11, p 129
shoe-making, the fur and silk trade, painting and tanning, the goldsmith's art and watch making. Siwrmeean, speaking of the traders of Aleppo, attests -

'Since the XVIIIth century the main business of the Armenians who immigrated from Asia Minor to Aleppo has been sewing, and skilled sewers not only reached respected positions as the private tailors of the vālīs succeeding one the other, and other government officials, but they also provided the clothing of the army. Together with sewing we can remember also the preparation of furs.

Aleppo from old times was renowned for every sort of textile, especially silk, and we know that in the XVI-XVIIth centuries Aleppo had been a large market for silk and that the textile trade was in the hands of the Armenians, with wide connections extending from China to Holland (1).

What is said concerning the city of Aleppo, goes also for the other parts of the province. For instance Farley,

(1) A Siwrmeean, Patmutiwn Halēpi Hayoc [History of the Armenians of Aleppo], iii, p 973, cf ibid., pp 974-8, and K Gabikean, Eğernapatum Pókun Hayoğ ew norin mecı mayrağağakın Sebastıoy [History of the massacres of Lesser Armenia and of its great capital Sivas], pp 542-3
in his study of the resources of Turkey, testifies the following about the important role of the Armenians in the industry and trade of Maraş -

'They [the Armenians] are the most industrious portion of the inhabitants of Marash, a large proportion being engaged in carrying on a commerce with Aleppo and Aintab, each merchant keeps his own shop, where he sells his merchandise, either wholesale or retail, but five or six only aspire to the title of wholesale merchants.' (1)

From the witnesses quoted above one can conclude how useful the Armenians of the vilâyet of Aleppo were also in the trades and professions of the Ottoman Empire.

Centres of Armenian Participation

Under the Ottoman dominion the province of Aleppo included parts of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia (Little Armenia), namely the kazâs of Gaziantep and Belen in the sancak of Aleppo, the whole sancak of Maraş, and the kazâs of Urfa and Halfeti (Rumkale) in the sancak of Urfa. These territories had been populated by Armenians since the X1th century, and in the XIXth century they were real Armenian

(1) J L Farley, The resources of Turkey, 1862, p 249
See also G H Galustean, Maraş kam Germanik ew heros Zeytun [Maraş or Germanicia and the heroic Zeytun], New York, 1934, p276-306
centres  Probably this fact has influenced the amount of Armenian participation in local public life, because there were many Armenian officials engaged in government duties.

It is noticeable that a comparatively large proportion of the Armenians of the kazas of Süleymanlı (Zeytun) were in public office. The reason for this could have been the freedom-loving spirit of the Armenians of Zeytun with which in 1860, 1862 and 1895-6 they faced the oppressing activity of the Ottoman Government, or perhaps it was the intervention of the European Powers that assured more privileges for them.

During the period 1860-1908 there were not many Armenian inhabitants in the southern and eastern regions of Aleppo. Because of this we do not find many Armenian public officials in the kazas of Jabal Sam‘an, Harem, Idleb, Jisr al-Şuğur, Ma‘arrat ul-Nu‘mān, Bāb - Jabbūl, Manbij, and Rakka. The same was true in the mutaşarriflik of Day al-Zūr, since there were only 400 Armenians living there and very few of them worked in the government.

Main Fields of Armenian Participation

We noticed in the preceding chapters that the participation of Armenians in Ottoman public life was especially marked in the provincial centres. In the
vilāyet of Aleppo the situation was different (1) At the headquarters of the province and in the centre of the sancak of Urfa the Armenian officials were not more numerous than in the other outlying kazas Only in the merkez-sancak of Maraş the Armenians were predominant comparing with the related kazas, but even in this case, the kaz of Süleymanlı (Zeytun) shows a preeminent position.

In the centre of the province, at Aleppo, one could usually find in the administrative council an Armenian elected member beside other Christian and Muslim officials. There were only a few ex officio members. In 1882-3 an Armenian Catholic was an ex officio member of the local council. In the other parts of the vilayet, normally one or two but sometimes three Armenian members were elected to the administrative councils. In Gaziantep and Maraş, apart from the elected members there were sometimes also some ex officio members. As for the municipal councils there were one or two Armenian members, but again in Gaziantep, Belen, Birecik and Maraş there were often three. As usual, they were always ordinary officials, and only occasionally

(1) For this chapter of Aleppo, I have used the provincial year-books (Haleb vilayeti salnâmesi) of the following years 1284 H /1867-8, 1286 H /1869-70, 1290 H /1873-4, 1300 H /1882-3, 1304 H /1886-7, 1307 H /1889-90, 1310 H /1892-3, 1314 H /1896-7, 1316 H /1898-9, 1320 H /1902-903, 1324 H /1906-907 and 1326 H /1908
was an Armenian appointed as mayor

In financial spheres most of the Armenians were in the taxation department, in the tax collecting board, régie, and public debt administration. With regard to taxation there was one Armenian official in the department of each kazâ and he was usually the cashier. Scarcely ever was an Armenian the head of a department, although one was in 1873-4 in the kazâ of Belen, or assistant to the head, as in 1889-90 in the kazâ of Iskenderun. In régie the Armenian officials were comparatively more numerous, there being from one to three. In these departments the clerk and the store-keeper were very often Armenians, and sometimes so was the manager, as in 1889-90 and 1898-9 in Iskenderun, in 1902-3 in Birecik, and in 1908 in Andırın. Normally one or two Armenians could be found in the branches of Agricultural Bank, employed as cashier or account's clerk. The kazâ of Gaziantep had an Armenian manager in 1896-7, 1898-9 and 1908. In public debt administration also the Armenians numbered one or two and usually held the offices of clerk, cashier and accountant. In 1908 at the kazâ of Kilis, and in 1896-7 at Antioch the chief officials of the public debt administration were Armenian. Apart from these departments Armenians were from time to time employed as tax-collectors and as officials of the branches of the Ottoman Bank, but these were only in Aleppo and Urfa. In the centres of the three sancâks
they were also included in the chambers of commerce

In judicature the Armenians took part in different offices, but the main departments where they worked regularly were the courts of first instance and of commerce. In the court of first instance of every kazā there was normally an Armenian as well as the Turkish member. In the commercial courts there were up to three Armenians who acted as members or clerks. At Aleppo there were usually two Armenian judges in the court of appeal, one in the civil and one in the criminal department. Other judicial duties which the Armenians carried out were the offices of juge d'instruction, lawyer, judicial inspector, notary and clerk. In Aleppo, in 1878-9, the judicial inspector and, in 1902-903, the lawyers were Armenian. At Gaziantep in 1896-7, 1898-9 and in 1902-903, the lawyers were Armenian. At Gaziantep in 1896-7, 1898-9 and in 1902-903 the notaries were also Armenian.

As for the public health at Aleppo, the Armenians rendered notable service in the infirmary and military hospital, especially during the years 1896-7, 1902-903 and 1908. They held positions of doctors and chemists. In 1908 the surgeon of the infirmary was a certain Sargis Efendi and the chemist Petros Efendi Mazlumean. In the kazās of Gaziantep and Antioch, and at the centre of the sancāk of Maraş, the municipal doctors were often Armenian, as were
sometimes the chemists. At Maraş Doctor Georg Efendî was employed by the municipality from about 1873 until 1889-90. In the other kazâs also there were Armenian doctors, chemists and vaccinators who worked in the public health departments. But there were not many and their service does not appear to have been long-lasting.

**Other Fields of Armenian Participation**

Other fields of Armenian participation in the province of Syria were in technical affairs, the secretariat, education and agriculture.

At Aleppo in the postal and telegraphic service there were almost always from two to five Armenians who served as mechanists or telegraph superintendents. For instance, in 1908 Grigor and Nerses Efendîs were working at the section of foreign languages and were assisted by Çakr and Asaturean Efendîs. Armenians were also employed in the provincial printing house as mechanists, compositors and editors. In 1284 H/1867-8 Ahmed Cevdet Paşa,¹ the vâlî of Aleppo and an historian, established the weekly newspaper Ğâdîr al-Furâṭ (The rivulet of Ephrates) in which the news, orders and declarations of the government were published in Arabic and Turkish. In 1286 H/1869-70 it was called just al-Furâṭ (The Ephrates) and a new section in

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¹ A biography of Ahmed Cevdet Paşa (1822-1895) can be found in IA, 'Cevdet Paşa', by A. Ölmëzoğlu, iii, (22na fascicle), pp 114-23. See also H. Bowen, 'Ahmad Djewdet Pasha', EI², 1, pp 284-6.
Armenian was added. This newspaper continued until 1918 but the Armenian part, for reasons unknown to me, lasted only one and a half years (1).

At Gaziantep in 1882-3 and 1902-903 the municipal engineers were Armenian, and in 1898-9 two members were included on the public works' board. In 1889-90 at the kazâs of Belen and Iskenderun the postmen were Armenian, and in Maraş and Urfa one or two members sometimes sat on the board of public works. In connection with the secretariat it must be said that the Armenian officials in the different departments of public affairs were often given the duty of clerk or accountant. Likewise in Aleppo, Iskenderun and Belen some Armenians were engaged in the purely secretarial departments, e.g., chief secretariat, land registry and customs administration. In 1873-4 the assistant translator of the province was an Armenian.

With regard to agriculture at Aleppo, in 1896-7 and 1908 the model-farm managers (nûmûne çiftlik müdürû) were Armenian. In the kazâs of Gaziantep, Belen, Iskenderun, and at the centres of the sancâks of Maraş and Urfa, one or two Armenian members sometimes sat on the forestry board and on the boards of trade and agriculture. In the sphere of education

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(1) Ph dî Tarrâzî (Count), Târîkh as-Sahâfî'î arbîyya [History of the Arabic press], Beirut, 1913, i, p 68 and ii, pp 222-3, A Mrûeh, Assâhâfî'î arbîyya [The Arabic press], Beirut, 1961, p 207
Armenians were included on the education council, in the secondary school and in school of handicrafts at the centres of the sancaks. At Aleppo, as in the centres of some other provinces the Armenian language was taught in the government's secondary school from about 1898-9 until 1908. In 1908 the teacher of carpet weaving in the handicrafts school of Aleppo was Akob āğā, and in the preparatory school (mekteb rûşdiye) for girls Aznowuhi was the lady-teacher of hüner (art). Again in the same year at Urfa a certain Akob āğā taught the blacksmith's art and shoe-making, while Karapet İmirzean was on the school board.

**Armenian Participation in Zeytun**

In the second-half of the XIXth century the Armenians of Zeytun (now Suleymanlı) enjoyed a comparatively advantageous position in the public life of the district. This is why I have described here the part of Armenians in the governmental affairs of Zeytun. In the administrative council of the kaza the Armenians were represented by two or three elected members. In addition to these there were sometimes two Armenian ex officio members, one Apostolic and one Catholic. After 1896 the governors (kãymakãm) were Christian, most of them being Greek. The municipal administration was almost entirely in the hands of the Armenian officials. There were between three and six members and from 1896 the mayor was also Armenian. In the
years 1898-9 and 1908 there were no Turks at all, and in 1902-3 only the clerk was Turkish. Armenians were influential in the administration of the nahiye of Fırnis also, having usually two members on the council. After 1896 the müdür (administrator) of this commune was sometimes Armenian as well.

There was always an Armenian member beside the Turkish on the trial council or on the court of first instance. From time to time the notary was also Armenian, and in 1896-7 an Armenian held the position of assistant juge d'instruction.

Armenians had a large participation in matters of finance. In the administration of public finance the cashier was normally Armenian, as was sometimes the assistant to the head. In regie the administrator was often Armenian, being the sole official of the chamber. At the branch of the Agricultural Bank, there were two or three Armenian members and after 1896 the chief manager was often Armenian, as in 1896-7, 1902-3 and in 1908.

The Armenians of Zeytun also participated in other fields of public life, such as in agriculture and technical works, but since such affairs in an outlying kazâ were not extensive their part was not great.

Comparative Note: Greek Participation

Greek participation in the public life of this province
was neither large nor constant but we do find some Greek officials in different governmental departments. Their contribution to public affairs was notable mainly in the sancak of Aleppo, and particularly in the town of Aleppo itself. Here at the provincial headquarters one or two Greeks occasionally worked in the administrative council, in the courts of appeal and trade, in the administration of finance and the branch of the Agricultural Bank, at the public works' department and the postal and telegraphic service, in the military hospital and in the state secondary school.

Outside of Aleppo, in the kazas of Iskenderun, Idleb, and Antioch, Greeks were sometimes included on the administrative councils as elected members, in the municipalities as doctors, in the courts of first instance as judges, in the Agricultural Bank's branches as cashiers or clerks, and in the postal and telegraphic service as telegraph superintendents in the section for foreign languages.

In the sancak of Urfa, Greek participation in public life would be found mainly at the centre of the county and in the kazas of Birecik, as members of commercial court and as cashiers or clerks in the finance administration. There was only one of them in each department. In the sancak of Maraş, at the centre of the county and in Elbistan.
occasionally Greek officials were employed as municipal doctors or chemists, and after 1896 the governor of the kazâ of Sûleymanli was usually Greek.

A General View of the Armenian Participation in the Province of Aleppo

In the province of Aleppo, the Armenian participation in Ottoman public life was especially notable and constant in the city of Aleppo itself and in that part of the vilayet called the sancak of Maraş which in the middle ages once belonged to the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. From a chronological point of view the Armenians were given a larger part and higher positions in the different governmental units of the province after 1896. The main fields of public life in which the Armenians took part were the political administration, finance, judicial courts and the public health service. In these departments of the vilayet were to be found usually one or two, but sometimes three or four, Armenian officials.

Some Notable Armenians in Public Life of the Province of Aleppo

ABRAHAMEAN, Yarutïwn ( ? - 1895) An Armenian Protestant chemist who worked in the municipality of Urfa (1)

(1) A Sahakean, Diwçaznkan Urfan ew ir hayordiner tên [The heroic Urfa and her Armenian sons], Beirut, 1955, p 373
ARGOGEAN, Yarutiwn (1815 - 1890) - Born in Maraş, he was a merchant and on very friendly terms with the Turks. For 38 years he acted as a member of the administrative council. He was honoured by the Sublime Porte with the Mecidiye and Osmanliye orders, third class (1).

ATTAREAN, Abraham (? - 1915) - A Protestant Armenian of renown in Urfa. 'For many years' he was the chemist of the German Hospital and at the same time he served on the local municipal council (2).

AYVAZNEAN, Grigor (? - 1900) - Born in Urfa, he learned Armenian and Turkish, and became a shop-keeper. One of his customers, a binbâşi (battalion commander) recognized his cleverness and invited him to go with him to Dayr al-Zor and become a purveyor of food for the army. Ayvazean thus went to serve the Ottoman army (c 1885) in which he was accorded the rank of Köl ağası (adjutant major). In 1895-6, at the time of the massacres, he returned home with the same binbâşi and saved his parents and about 1000 other people. After the atrocities he returned with his brothers to Dayr al-Zor and continued his work (3).

ČANSÜZNEAN, Martiros, - Originally from Maraş, he came to

(1) G. Galustean, Maraş kam Germanik [Maraş or Germanicia], p 916
(2) A. Sahakean, op cit, p 795
(3) Ibid, pp. 429-31
Kilis in 1905 and was appointed manager of the public debt administration. He carried out this office until 1912 (1).

GATEHOCAN, Sargis (c. 1830 - 1907) A self-trained architect in Gaziantep who built several caravanserais and churches, like for example the large and beautiful church of S Astowacacin (Mother of God) 'For many years' he was a governmental chief-architect (mi'mar basi) (2).

HEKIMEAN, Sargis Son of Georg, he was a municipal and military doctor in Gaziantep. Being a well-known figure he was appointed to this office by a special Imperial order. He lived in the XIXth century but no dates for his life are recorded (3).

IMIRZEAN, Karapet (? - 1915) Born and educated in Urfa, he was a merchant and possessed villages which were cultivated by Armenian as well as Kurdish and Arab peasants. From 1895 he was a member of the local administrative council and in 1903 was appointed to the court of justice. At the same time he directed the financial administration of the Turkish Hospital and the government secondary school at

(1) According to the witness of A Tër-Sahakean, S Enikomşuyan and Y Enikomşuyan, elders from Kilis, now in Beirut.

(2) G. Sarafian, Patmutiwn Antep Hayoç [History of the Armenians of Antep], 2 volumes, Los Angeles, 1953, i, pp 443-4.

(3) Ibid., ii, pp 663-4.
Urfa (1)

İŞXANEAN, İskender  Born in Gaziantep in 1893, he settled in Aleppo where he was appointed municipal doctor. He carried out this office 'until his death' (?) His son Nuri was also a military doctor from 1919 to 1923 (2)

KEYIKEAN, Grigor (1855-1916)  He was born and educated in Maraş where he became a tradesman. For about 25 years he was a member of the local administrative council. He also acted as an agent for the American and German Missionaries in their dealings with the government (3)

KARKOTOREAN, Sargis (1854 - ? )  Born in Maraş he learned masonry from his father and developing his craft became an architect. He built the barracks at Maraş and Suleymanlı as well as some Armenian churches. After the great fire of 1884 in Maraş he restored the Eski and built the Yeni covered markets, the Municipal market, and the khâns of Tuz and Hişir. He also repaired three bridges on the river Aksu and two on the Ceyhan. During World War I he fled to Lebanon and settled in Beirut (4)

(1) Sahakean, ibid, pp 735, 736, 798, 1050, 1051-53, and Surhandak [Courier, a newspaper], Istanbul, 3rd May, 1903
(2) Sarafean, ibid, 11, p 686
(3) Galustean, ibid, p 920
(4) Galustean, ibid, p 927
KIRAKOSEAN, Martiros (? - 1909) Until 1909 he was a member of the administrative council of Antioch (1)

KIREMITCEAN, Pogos (fl c 1900) He was a veterinary surgeon in the army at Aleppo and was a censor at the same time (2)

KIWLIWZEAN, Georg (c 1840 - 1895) Was born and educated in Maraş where he practised medicine for some years as medical officer of health to the municipality. During the cholera epidemic of 1890 he saved many lives by using the Hamlyn mixture (3)

MAGSUT Efendi - From about 1900 to 1908 he was a provincial forest inspector of the vilâyet of Aleppo (4)

MAHIKEAN, Toros (1862-1916) Born in Maraş and educated in local Armenian schools, he learned Turkish and worked in government departments as a clerk and as an official of the judicial court of first instance. From 1880 onwards in addition to these functions he taught Turkish in Armenian schools (5)

(1) Y Tırzian, Kılıkıyoy aşeta [The calamity of Cilicia], Istanbul, 1912, ii, p 255

(2) K Gabikean, Eğernapatum Pokun Hayoç ew norin meci mayrakağakin Sebastiyo [History of the massacres of Lesser Armenia and of its great capital Sivas], p 507

(3) Galustean, ibid , p 911

(4) See the provincial year-books of Aleppo, 1900-1908

(5) Galustean, ibid , pp 557-8
MANUSAKLAN, Nazaret (1874-1933) Born in Gaziantep, he studied in the Armenian Vardanean School. After finishing his studies he was engaged in trade, mainly importing paints. He was a member of the commercial court. In 1921 he settled in Aleppo (1).

MELITOSEAN, Lewon From about 1895 until 1915 he was a municipal doctor in Suleymanli (2).

MOMCEN, Sargis About 1895 (until 1915 ?) he was a manager of the regie in Suleymanli (3).

MURATEAN, Georg (1831-1894) Born in Maraş, he worked as a weaver while studying Turkish literature and the legal code. For about 30 years he was a member of the civil court, and a government lawyer as well. He owned land and was influential in government circles, but (according to our source) because he publicly accused the officials of bribery and staunchly defended the rights of his compatriots, he was deposed from his judicial post in 1892 (4).

NALCAEAN, Karapet (1862-1916) He was born in Maraş and educated in the local schools of the Armenians and of the Franciscan Fathers. He also studied the Turkish legal code.

(1) Sarafian, ibid, 11, pp 767-8

(2) M. Oskenian, Zeytun album (in Armenian), 2nd ed, Beirut, 1961, p 147

(3) Ibid

(4) Galustian, ibid, pp 722-3
on his own and was afterwards appointed chief clerk in the criminal court. For two years he was the juge d'instruction of the kazā of Andirin in Maraş, and later worked as a lawyer in Maraş for twelve years (1).

NORAŞXARHEAN, Gëorg The son of Şil-Panos, from 1869 to 1883 he was the chief of police in Sûleymani (2).

NORAŞXARHEAN, Papik (? -1886) A notable man of the Armenian community of Sûleymani. From 1879 he was the mayor of the district (3).

PARSUMEAN, Pağtasar Born in Gaziantep, he studied medicine in the American University of Beirut. In 1897, after graduating, he settled in Kilis where he was appointed municipal doctor. He left Kilis in 1903 (4).

PASMAÇEAN, Armenak Born and brought up in Kilis, from 1906 to 1910 he was a finance administration agent there (5).

PASMAÇEAN, Ğazar He was a member of the administrative council at the kazā of Kilis from 1885 to 1914 (6).

PAYRAMEAN, Gëorg From 1885 to 1905 he was a member of the

(1) Galustean, ibid, p.914
(2) Oskeričean, op. cit., p.146
(3) M. Sêmërčean, Zêytûnân ançealên ew nerkeyen [From the past and present of Zeytun], i, Vienna, 1900, pp 133-48
(4) According to the witness of A. Têr-Sahakean, S. Enikömşuyan and Y. Enikömşuyan
(5) As the above
(6) As the above
administrative council (1)

ŞATAREWEAN, Toros (1854 - 1924) An Armenian Catholic born and educated in the Armenian schools at Maraş, he took private lessons in Turkish from the Çıtılçì Hocas. In 1870 he was employed as chief clerk in the town courts of justice and commerce. In 1881 he went to Aleppo and, having passed the legal examinations, became a lawyer. Thereafter he practised his profession in Aleppo and was appointed president of its trial board. He was honoured by the Sublime Porte with the Mecidiye Order, second class (2)

TAŞCAN, Yakob (? - 1915) The son of the architect Xaçer in Urfa, he was influential in the Armenian community as well as in the government. 'For many years' he participated in the court of justice as a member. He also presided over a conciliation committee whose function was to settle differences between the Kurdish and Arab tribes around Urfa (3)

TER-PETROSEAN, Ağacıan An educated and clever merchant of Urfa who was in the import and export business with his brother Nşan. He was elected member to the criminal and commercial courts. About the beginning of the XXth century

(1) According to the witness of A Têr-Sahakean, S Enikomşuyan and Y Enikomşuyan
(2) Galustean, ibid, p 914
(3) Sahakean, ibid, pp 1049 and 1055-6
he acted as assistant mayor and also supplied provisions for the army (1)

TÜPALEAN, Yovhannēs  Originally from Maraş where he was a member of the administrative council. In 1895 he moved to Gaziantep and worked there first as the manager of the régie and then as a lawyer (2)

XĚRLAGEAN, Yakob (1856 - 1920)  An Armenian Catholic merchant who was army contractor in Maraş. He received honours both from the Sublime Porte and Pope Leo XIIIth (3)

(1) Ibid, pp 729, 1050, and 1054-5
(2) Sarafian, ibid, 11, p 774
(3) Galustian, ibid, p 920
CHAPTER X

THE ARMENIANS OF SYRIA

(ii Damascus, Beirut and Jabal Lubnān)

Historical Survey

In this chapter is described the Armenian participation in Ottoman public life of littoral Syria and the region of Damascus (Dimşık), as well as of the province of Beirut (Bayrūt) and the mutasarrıflık of Jabal Lubnān (Ott. Turk. Cebel-ı Lūbnān)

Beirut, (1) a Phoenician town, mentioned in history as early as the Tell ul-‘Amārīnāh tablets, has been and is the centre of learning and commerce. It passed from the Greeks and Romans to the Arabs and then to the Crusaders. During the Turkish period it was possessed by the amīrs of the house of Ma‘n of whom was the famous Druse (Durzi) prince Fakhr al-Dīn (1595-1634). It was brought under the direct Turkish rule in 1763. Until 1888 it formed a part of the province of Syria, then it was made a separate vilayet including the sancaks of Beirut, Tripoli, Lādhiqīyyah, ʿAkkā and Nāblos.

Jabal Lubnān, sometimes referred to as Lebanon, was at the beginning of our period, 1840-1860, a theatre of fighting between

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(1) For a historical survey of Lebanon see 'Bayrūt' by J. Hell, EI', 1, pp 595-6 (the same is in 'AI', fascicle 18, pp. 587-8, N Eliseeff, 'Bayrūt', EI', 1, pp 1137-8, H. Lammens, 'Lubnān', EI', iii, pp. 32-33, and Ph K Hitti's Lebanon in history, London-New York, 1957 (concerning the period 1860-1908 see pp. 436-82)
the Maronites (Mārunī) and Druses (1) The disturbance ended in 1860 in the massacre of Maronites whereupon the French forces intervened to re-establish peace. Fūād Pāṣā (1814-1868) was sent from the Porte as a plenipotent representative. Among the attendants of the Pāṣā were the following Armenians: Isahak Abro Efendi (2) and Stepan Arzumanean (3) as secretaries, Rizkallah Hassūn al-Halabī (4) as translator, Dr. Serovbē Vičēnean, (5) Dr. Nahapet Rusinean, (6) and Dr. Gabriēl Sewean (7).

In order to prevent any further turmoil, an international


(3) E Pōgosean, ibid., pp.17-18.


(5) Örmane an, Azgapatum [History of the Armenian nation], iii, p.4006, G. Karoyean, Mec eğerni nahatak hay bžışknera [The martyred Armenian doctors of the Great Massacre], pp.162-5, and Dr. V. Y. Torgomean, Bžışk Doct Servičën Efendi [Dr. Servičën Efendi], Vienna, 1893.

(5) Karoyean, ibid, pp.170-74.

commission was assigned to achieve a 'Reglement organique'(1) to offer the Mount Lebanon a semi-independence under the control of the Powers. As a result of the European intervention Jabal Lubnān was made a separate mutaşarrîflik attached directly to the Porte. The mutaşarrîf would be a Christian and act for three years on the approval of the Powers. Thus the first governor came to be Dāvūd Pāşā, an Armenian from Istanbul, whose office was prolonged for another five years until 1868. From this new regulation emerged the modern Lebanon which traditionally has a Christian president as the head of the Republic.

As to the Armenians, they were related with Lebanon about 84-70 B.C., when the armies of the King Tigran the Great conquered the larger parts of Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine. The Armenians came in close contact with Lebanon especially after the creation of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. But until the XVIIIth century the Armenian inhabitants there were few. In 1721, under the leadership of

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(1) See this Regulation in French, Noradounghian, Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire ottoman, iii, pp.144-50 (dated 9th June 1861), pp.149-50 is the additional article (19th June 1861), and the revised version (6th Sept 1864), ibid., pp.223-8, V Cuinet, Syrie, Liban et Palestine, pp.283-9 and 289-95 (the revised version). The Turkish text is in Dîstîr [Code of law], iv, pp.695-701.
Abraham Muratean (1663-1738), an Armenian Catholic brotherhood of St. Anton was established on Mount Lebanon, at Kureym (near the village of Gösta), which in 1750 got another monastery in Bayt Khasbo, near Çazîr. At the same time (1) the patriarchate of the Armenian Catholics of Syria, created in 1772, was founded in Bzommâr (2). This monastery apart from being a religious centre became a shelter for the Armenians who left Turkey for political reasons. This encouraged the settlement of Armenians in Lebanon.

The Armenians increased in number during the troubles in Anatolia in 1894-96, but above all during World War I when many refugees came and settled in and around Beirut. Lebanon has now the most vigorous and active community of the Armenian Dispersion.

Administrative Structure

The provinces of Damascus and Beirut, and the independent mutaşarrîfîlik of Jabal Lubnân are considered here together, as the rest of Syria, because in the second-half of the XIXth century not so many Armenians lived in these regions.

(1) The monastery of Bzommâr was founded in 1749 and completed in 1771, but the friars started to inhabit there in 1750.

(2) In 1923/24, the last few friars of the order of St. Anton joined the monastery of Bzommâr.
The province of Syria or of Damascus\(^{(1)}\) had four sancaks, Damascus, Hamah, Hauran, al-Salt, and 22 kazas as the following -

The kazas of the sancak of Damascus -

Damascus
Duma
Nabak
Ba\'labakka
Rasayya
Hashbayya
Al-Bika ul-\'azizi
Wadi\'l ajam

The kazas of the sancak of Hamah -

Hamah
Hamq
al-Salamayyah
Hamidiiyah

The kazas of the sancak of Hauran -

Hauran
Knayfrah

\(^{(1)}\) I have written 'Damascus', 'Beirut' and 'Tripoli' as spelt in English, but the rest of place-names I have transliterated according to these maps - (a) A map of Syria, 'al-Iklim al-Suri', (scale 1 700,000), printed in 1959 at Groningen (Netherland) and published in Aleppo under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, (b) A map of Lebanon, 'Lubnun', (scale 1 160,000), printed in 1956 at Paris and published in Beirut under the supervision of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts.
Baṣra'īl Ḥarīr
Darʿā
Jabal al-Drūz
ʿAjlūn

The ǧazās of the sancāk of al-Salt (now in Jordan) –
al-Salt
al-Karak
al-Ṭufaylah
Maʿān

The province of Beirut had five sancāks, Lādhikīyyah, Beirut, Tripoli, ʿAkkā, Nāblos, and 21 ǧazās as the following –

The ǧazās of the sancāk of al-Lādhikīyyah –
al-Lādhikīyyah
Jablah
Marṣab
Ṣahīūn

The ǧazās of Beirut –
Beirut
Ṣūr
Ṣaydā
Merj ʿayūn
The kazās of the sancak' of Tripoli -

Tripoli
'Ākkār
Ṣāfītā
Ḥuṣn al-akrād (Kal'at ul-Ḥuṣn)

The kazās of the sancak of 'Ākkā -

'Ākkā
Ḥayfā
Ṭabarīyyā
al-Nāṣirah
Ṣafad

The kazās of the sancak of Nāblos -

Nāblos
Jabīn Salṭī
Bani Sa'ab
Jamā'īn

The mutaṣarriflik of Jabal Lubnān included these kazās -
al-Ṣuf
al-Metn
al-Batrūn
Jezzīn
Zahlah
Kisrūān
al-Kūrah
Dayr al-Kamar (a mūdūriyet)
Population

In the XIXth century the Armenian population of the littoral Syria, the district of Damascus and of Lebanon was not numerous. They increased after World War I when many of them were transported into the Syrian deserts. Some of them fled or moved from Syria to Lebanon where there are now about 100,000 Armenians.

The year-book of the province of Syria (or Damascus) for 1900-901 records the following concerning the Armenian population -(1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Apostolic</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Damascus</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wādī‘l ‘acam</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṣayyā</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥamāh</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Örmanean, (2) followed by Lepsius, (3) gives the number of

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(1) Suṟiye vilāyeti sālnāmesi, 1318 H /1900-901, pp 364-5
(2) Örmanean, The Church of Armenia, p.207
(3) Lepsius, Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes, pp.308-09
the Armenians of the vilayet of Syria as 2,000 which is much higher than the figures of the sâlnâme of 1900-901. Cuinet also records the Armenian population as 2,025, a number which is in close agreement with Örmanean's figures (1).

As to Lebanon, the sources account the Armenian population of the province of Beirut as about 1200-1300. Örmanean (2) estimates the number of the Armenians as 1300 (1000 Apostolic and 300 Catholic), while the provincial sâlnâme of 1908 gives 1218 (3). These are the detailed statistics of the year-book:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apostolic</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

569


(2) Örmanean, *ibid*, cf Lepsius, *ibid*.

(3) *Beyrút vilāyeti sâlnâmesi*, 1326 H /1908, straight after p.424. According to Cuinet (*ibid*, pp. 14, 52, 53, 82, 89, 149, 160 and 162) 2,931 Armenians lived in the province of Beirut about 1895, 2,001 Apostolics (200 in Beirut, 201 in Merjâyûn and 1,600 in Lâdhikiyyah), and 930 Catholics (400 in Beirut and 530 in Sûr). These figures are higher than the numbers given both by the Turkish and Armenian sources.
In Jabal Lubnān it would appear that there were very few Armenians. The year-books\(^1\) of this mutaṣarriflik record the number of the Armenians as about 5 together with the Syrians (Christian) in the ١٨٦ of Kisrūn. Possibly there were also Armenians accounted among Protestants, who are estimated to be 167. It is interesting and a little astonishing that Īrmānean,\(^2\) followed by Lepsius,\(^3\) presents the approximate number of the Armenians of Jabal Lubnān and of Jerusalem as 3,200 (3,000 Apostolic, 200 Catholic). If about 2,000 of those lived in Jerusalem, as it is said in Tūdik's almanac,\(^4\) then one would conclude that there were 1,000 or 1,200 Armenians in Jabal Lubnān, but unfortunately we do not have any other source to ascertain this information.

\(^{1}\) Cebel-1 Lūbnān sālnāmesi, 1306 H /1888-9, p 92, and 1307 H./1889-90, p.100

\(^{2}\) Īrmānean, ibid

\(^{3}\) Lepsius, ibid

\(^{4}\) Tūdik, Amēnun tareqoyç [The almanac for every one], 1922, p.263
To sum up, again we would take the mean of the two antipodal numbers. The Armenians of littoral Syria, Damascus, Beirut and Jabal Lubnān, according to the Turkish sălnāmes were about 1,800, and according to Ormanean as 4,500. The mean of these figures, 3,150, possibly gives the best estimate of the Armenian population.

Trades and Professions of Armenians

In the second-half of the XIXth century, the Armenians of Syria were occupied in agriculture, crafts and trade. The main produce of this province were wheat, barley, maize, rice, cotton, sugar-cane, tobacco, vegetables and fruits, timber, limestone, slate, coal, iron and copper. The leather work of Damascus was (and still is) popular, while wood and metal inlaid work was exported to other countries.

The Armenians of the vilāyet of Syria were more industrious and prosperous before 1860, when the Christians were tortured and massacred in Damascus and Jabal Lubnān. At that time, apparently, some Armenians were troubled but others escaped. Ėprikean, speaking especially of the Armenians of Damascus, attests the following -

'In Damascus before the massacres of 1860, there were about 30 naturalized Armenian families and quite a few alien merchants. But from those at this time [i.e. 1897/8], have remained only five families, and none is engaged in trade. Now the
Armenians are about 40 houses, approximately 300 persons, immigrated from different towns, who hardly earn their daily living' (1)

The Armenians of Lebanon were engaged in different professions and trades. This is the conclusion of Varşapetean who has studied the history of the Armenians there -

'Before 1895, the Armenian community of Lebanon was composed of 30-40 houses, that means, approximately there were about 200 Apostolic Armenians in the whole of the province. There were about the same number of Catholic Armenians. The Armenians were generally state officials of high ranks and renowned merchants, who enjoyed an exceptional position here, being respected both by the Turkish government and by the natives (2)

Among the numerous Armenian merchants of Beirut we can mention the following as very active and well-known tradesmen who flourished about 1890: Petros Ağạçaneean, Sargis Eğiayan, Gabriël Gabrielean, Tigran Gălęmkērean, Tigran Gasarčean, Mkrtič Hazarapetean, Yovhannes Kiwlpēnkean, Yakob Muxṭarean, Nazarēt Pağtasarean, Parsum Petrosean, Stepan

(1) Ẽprikean, Bnaşkarhik bararan [Armenian geographical dictionary], 1, p.574

(2) S. Varşapetean, Hayera Libanani mēj [The Armenians in Lebanon], p.285
Töpuzxanean, and the Xrlagean family

Centres of Armenian Participation

In the province of Syria the centres of Armenian participation were Damascus, Ba‘labakkā, and Rāşayyā in the sancāk of Damascus, Hamāh and Himṣ in the sancāk of Hamāh, and the kaza of ‘Ajlūn (sancāk Haurān). There were no Armenian officials in the sancāk of Salt.

In the vilāyet of Beirut, the Armenians worked in the departments of the central government, in the kaza of Tripoli (sancāk Tripoli), in ‘Akkā and Ṣafad of the sancāk of ‘Akkā, and at the centres of the sancāks of Lādhikiyyah and Nablos.

As to the mutaṣarrīflik of Jabal Lubnān, Armenian officials in public life would be found, apart from in the centre, only at the kazās of Šūr and Zaḥlah.

The Armenian Participation in Public Life of the Province of Damascus

In the province of Damascus (or Syria) the Armenians took part mainly in the departments of finance, engineering and the public health service (1).

At the headquarters of the vilāyet, in 1888–9 the Agricultural Bank agent was an Armenian, as was the accountant of the Ottoman Bank in 1900–901. In the technical field, in

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(1) For the vilāyet of Damascus (Syria) I have used the provincial year-books (Süriye vilâyeti sâlnâmesi) of the following years – 1286 H./1869–70, 1296 H./1878–9, 1298 H./1880–81, 1301 H./1883–4, 1306 H./1888–9, 1309 H./1891–92, 1312 H./1894–5, 1315 H./1897–8, and 1318 H./1900–901.
1888-9 there were an Armenian engineer and a foreman in the department of public works, in 1895-6 the assistant engineer was a certain Tigran Efendi, in 1900-901 Şahin Efendi was the assistant engineer, while Melkon Sukiasian who between 1892-1903 was the agricultural inspector, became an engineer of mining from 1904 to 1908. In 1883-4 the forestry agent was an Armenian, Pogos Efendi.

In the spheres of public health, at the military hospital, in 1878-9 the surgeon was Yovhannes Efendi, in 1888-9 the chemist and adjutant-major doctor were Armenian, in 1895-6 Arţin Efendi was a major doctor and Martiros Efendi was a hospital warder, but in 1900-901 the chemist of the municipality was Ohannes (Yovhannes) Efendi. As to education, in 1900-901 the vice-director of the government secondary school was Hambarjum Efendi Nizamean who at the same time taught arithmetic, cosmology, chemistry and engineering.

At the kazā of Ba‘labakka the controller of revenue and expenditure was Armenian in 1888-9. In 1900-901 in the department of rėgle there was an Armenian official, and at the branch of the Agricultural Bank in 1895-6 and 1900-901 the accountant was Armenian.

In Dūmā, in 1883-4 the controller of revenue and expenditure was Iskender Gėorgean Efendi, who in the capacity of his office was also ex officio member to the administrative council.
At Nabak in 1888-9 the title-deeds' clerk was Armenian, and from about 1878 to 1895-6 there was an Armenian member in the administrative council of the Ḷaṣā of Raṣaynā.

In the centre of the ṣanṭāk of Ḥamāh an Armenian was elected to the administrative council in 1869-70, and in 1900-901 the municipal chemist was Petros Efendi.

At the Ḷaṣā of Hīmā from about 1869-1884 there was an Armenian member in the municipal council and in 1900-901 a member was in the administrative council.

In ʿĀjlūn in the sancāk of Haurān, in 1900-901 the municipal doctor was Mihran Efendi Petrosēan.

The Armenian Participation in Public Life of the Province of Beirut

The participation of Armenians in public life of Beirut was most evident at the centre of the province. They worked in the departments of technical affairs, public finance, public health service, judicature, education and of agriculture. In the engineering department the engineers in 1900-901 and 1908 were Armenian, Yovhannēs and Vičēn Efendis, and from 1892 to 1901 the foremen were also Armenian. In 1908 there was an agent in the postal and telegraphic service, while in 1893–4 the postmaster was Hambarjum Efendi. At the state press in

(1) For the vilāyet of Beirut I have consulted the year-books of Syria (Sūriyē vilāyeti sālnāmesi) and the year-books of Beirut (Beyrut vilāyeti sālnāmesi) of the following years: 1310 H./1892-3, 1318 H./1900-901, 1319 H./1901-902, and 1326 H./1908.
1893-4 the chief compositor was Armenian

In 1908 in the public debt administration the first account's clerk was Armenian and in the customs-house the chief clerk was Armenian. In 1900-901 the agent for the forest and mine inspectorship was Oskan Efendi and from 1905 to 1908 Yakob Efendi Aslanean was the agricultural inspector.

In judicature, from 1900 to 1902 a certain Grigor Efendi was included on the commercial court and during 1905-906 Artur Efendi Magakean was the judicial inspector. In the spheres of education the accounts keeper of the education council was Armenian in 1893-4, as were the first and second assistants of the director in the state secondary-school. From about 1900 to 1908 Erowand Efendi Garagašean lectured in the same school in French, general history, law, book-keeping and astronomy, and in 1901-902 Erowand Efendi Tamgašean taught geography, book-keeping and chemistry.

In connection with the health service the Armenians contributed much particularly after 1890. In the military hospital from about 1888 to 1894 an Armenian, Mihran Efendi, was surgeon, and from 1900 to 1908 Tigran Efendi was the chemist. In 1893-4 there were three Armenian doctors in the army medical corps. In 1900-901, Arşak Efendi was health inspector for animals, and in the same year Aristakēs Efendi was clerk of French in the quarantine department. Among the practising doctors of Beirut, the provincial year-book of
1908 records the name of Ŷuḥannā Wortabed, (1) and among the graduated chemists Edwar Ṭokatlı (Edward Ṭogaţlean).

At 'Akkā, an Armenian was quarantine agent from about 1893-4 to 1908. In the kazās of Tabariyyā and Naṣīrah in 1900-902 the postmasters were Armenian, being Barṣeq Efendi and Erowand Efendi, respectively. Likewise at Ṣafad in 1893-4 the postmaster was an Armenian while in the same district Naṣan Efendi was the municipal doctor in 1901.

In Tripoli in 1893-4 Margar Efendi was the quarantine doctor and Yovhannēs Efendi was the engineer of public works from 1900 to 1902. In 1893-4 at the postal and telegraphic

(1) Ŷuḥannā (or John) Wortabed (M.D.), son of Yakob Wortabed, was born at Ṣaydā (Lebanon) in 1826. He learned first in a local missionary school, and then received higher education in Scotland. 1851-55 he was the parson of the Protestant Church at Ḩaṣbayya, (being ordained in May, 1853). He went back to Scotland and in 1860 published his important book Researches into the religions of Syria (drawn from original sources). Afterwards he was sent to Aleppo as a missionary of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland where he acted until 1896 when he was called to a professorship in the Medical College of Beirut (later American University of Beirut). From October 1867 to 1882 he lectured in anatomy and physiology. He was also on the committee which organised the 'Aṣfūrīyyah hospital for the insane 1882-1908 (until his death) he served the people as a doctor having his clinic at Bāb Idris. He was granted decorations by the Ottoman Government. See H.H Jessup, Fifty-three years in Syria, New York-London, 1910, i, pp.48-49, 303-304, 344-5, ii, p 781, D Bliss, The reminiscences (of Daniel Bliss), New York-London, 1920, p.189, Dr. V.Y Torgomean, Hay bţaḵakan arjanagrabanuţiwn [Armenian medical inscriptions], Venice, 1931, pp 186-8, Varţapetan op. cit, pp 72-91, and Jurji Zaydān, Mašāhīr al-Sark [The renowns of the East], 2nd imp, Cairo, ii, p.262.
service of the quay the chief agent was an Armenian, Petros Efendi.

At the centre of the sancak of Nablus in 1893-4 there was an Armenian in the administrative council, from 1900-901 the municipal doctors were Armenian, viz. Arṭin and Neşan Efendis and from about 1893-4 to 1900-901 an agent of the Agricultural Bank branch was Mêriçan Efendi (Armenian?)

In Lâdhiğiyyah (now in Syria) some Armenians worked in the postal and telegraphic service during the period of 1878-9-1901-902, and from 1869-70 to 1878-9 an Armenian was included on the judicial council. At the kazâ of Jablah, in 1901-902 Mattios Efendi was the municipal doctor.

The Armenian Participation in the Public Life of Jabal Lubnân

The part of Armenians in the public life of Jabal Lubnân was very limited, possibly because there were very few of them living in this mutaşarriflik.

In the chief secretariat of the central government, Grigor Efendi Kiwpšlean was the head of clerks from 1888 to 1892. At the same time there was an Armenian copyist in that office. Again, during 1888-1892 the postmaster was Armenian.

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(1) For this section of Jabal Lubnân I have used the yearbooks (Cebel-i Lubnân sâlnâmesi) of the following years - 1304 H /1886-7, 1305 H /1887-8, 1306 H /1888-9, 1307 H /1889-90, 1308 H /1890-91, and 1309 H /1891-92.
At Zahlah in 1878-9 the chief official of the postal and telegraphic service was Yovhannēs Efendi. In the municipal council of the nāhiye of ‘Akbā, in 1888-9 there was an Armenian member.

A General View of the Armenian Participation

The Armenian participation in the public affairs of the provinces of Damascus and Beirut was not very large or constant, and especially in Jabal Lubnān Armenians had very little part in the public administrative apparatus. The reason, I think, was that the Armenians of these districts were few in number, viz. 3,150. Comparing the number of Armenian participants in Ottoman public life with the total number of Armenian inhabitants one can rightly conclude that they were well treated. But why was this? Possibly because the Armenians were an industrious element, or it could also be that the Turks, from a political point of view, trusted them in Syria and Lebanon.

It is interesting to note that while in other provinces Armenians were mainly included on the administrative and municipal councils and in the courts of justice, in the vilâyets of Damascus and Beirut and in the mutasarriflik of Jabal Lubnān they acted mostly in technical departments, the health service, in public finance and agricultural affairs. I think the reason for this phenomenon was that for political administration and justice the officials would be elected.
among the communities according to their number, whereas the other offices were acquired through appointment.

In the spheres of education the Armenians, due to their knowledge of Turkish and Arabic languages, were employed in the government secondary schools as vice-directors and teachers.

The Armenians in the Lebanon increased after the troubles of 1915-1920. Today there are four Armenian deputies in the Parliament and many Armenians are employed in different fields of public life.

**Some notable Armenians in the Public Life of Damascus, Beirut and Jabal Lubnān**

ČATARČEAN, Mkrtich (1870-1937) Born in Diyarbakır he learned, apart from his mother tongue, Turkish, Arabic and Persian. In 1895/6 he settled down in Beirut and for 'long years' worked there in the public debt administration (1).

DĀVŪD Pāšā, Karapet (1816-1873) Born at Istanbul he was the son of an Armenian Catholic named Arțin Dāvūd (Davudean) or Dāvūd oğlu. He received his higher education in Germany at the university of Berlin, and on his return to Istanbul he was employed in the ministry of foreign affairs. Later he became the attache at the Turkish Embassy in Berlin, where he wrote a remarkable study on old German law, *Histoire*.

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(1) Varžapetean, Hayera Libanani mēj [The Armenians in Lebanon], pp 376-7
de la législation des anciens Germaëns (Berlin, 1845), for which in August 1858 he was granted an honorary doctorate by the faculty of law in Jena. On the 7th April 1856 (first day of Sa'ban 1272) he was appointed by an Imperial writ as the Ottoman general consul at Vienna. In 1858 he became the state printing director of the vilayet of Aleppo, in 1859 the head of the department of censure at Istanbul, and in 1860 the minister of telegraphic service.

In the middle of June 1861, at the critical situation of Lebanon, he was assigned as the first governor general of the mutaṣarriflik of Jabal Lūbnān (1861–1863). For having shown wisdom there, his office was prolonged for five more years (1863–1868). In 1868 he became minister of public works at Istanbul where he was successful in managing the construction of the Rumelian railway. In 1871 he retired, already ill, and died at Biarritz on the 4th November 1873 (1).

ISHAK, ‘Awni (1860-1935) Born at Damascus, he became a lawyer and served the courts of justice in Beirut and Jerusalem. He translated the Ottoman criminal code into Arabic. For his service he was given the order of Osmanîye by the government (1).

HALEPLEAN, Daniël Born in Arapkir and educated in the local Armenian Catholic school, he was employed in the telegraphic service at Alacahan, Tokat and Istanbul. Later he moved to Beirut and worked there in the postal and telegraphic service for 'twenty years', 1905-1915 (?) (2).

MANUKEAN, Manuk-Bşara (1841-1925) He learned engineering and in 1860 was employed to work on the causeway from Beirut to Damascus. On that occasion he made the acquaintance of Fü'ād Pāşâ (1814-1868) who sent him to Trebizond to cooperate in the construction of the road leading to Erzurum. In 1870 he returned to Beirut and continued to work there. According to our source for 'a long time' he was chief engineer in the vilâyets of Damascus and Beirut. In 1890 he directed some excavations at Şaydā. For his public services he was honoured with 'five decorations' by the Ottoman Government (3).

(1) Varžapetean, op cit, pp 181-82
(2) Ibid, pp.342-3
(3) Ibid, pp.183-90
MINASEAN, Petros (1881-1935) Born in Bursa, he was educated in Jerusalem in the Armenian monastery of St. James and at the local French school. In 1900 he settled in Beirut where he was employed in the post as 'an official of high rank'. He carried out his office until 1914 (1)

NAFILEAN, Gaspar (1875-1938) Born at Istanbul in the family of Dr. Anton, he studied architecture in Paris and finished his course in 1895. In 1902 he went to Beirut on the invitation of Muzaffar Pasha to design the plan of a government building. He remained in Lebanon and served the country in his capacity as an architect (2)

SUKIASEAN, Melkon (1860-1915) Born in a village of Çemisgezek (in Elazig), he studied agronomy at Istanbul and Paris. In 1883-4 he was employed in the ministry of agriculture at Istanbul and two years later he was sent to Aleppo as the provincial administrator of agriculture. In 1892 he was transferred to Damascus where he worked first as the agricultural inspector until 1903 and then, from 1904 to 1908, as a mining engineer (3)

XAŞO, Emil The son of Joseph and the grandson of Antun, he came from Tiflis, but by 1820 had settled in Damascus Emil

(1) Ibid., pp 352-3
(2) Ibid., pp 371-72
(3) Ibid., pp 408-410, and the year-books of the province of Damascus
studied constructional engineering at St Joseph University of Beirut and the University of Louvain. From 1897 to 1902 he worked in Belgium and then returned to Beirut. In 1904 he was appointed chief engineer, but he only carried out his office for three years. He constructed several buildings in Beirut of which the hospital 'Autel Dieu de France' is famous.

XAYAT, Yovsep (Joseph). He was born in Beirut, but his ancestors were from Tiflis. In 1870 he was employed as a government engineer at Damascus and later worked in the municipality of Beirut for 18 years.

XNTAMEAN, Arakel (1856-1914). Born at Üsküdar, he was sent by the Ottoman Government to Russia among a group of students to learn engineering there. After obtaining his degree he was employed in Jerusalem as a government official from 1895 to 1903. In 1904 he moved into Beirut and in 1907 into Aleppo, always being a government engineer.

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(1) Varžapetean, ibid., pp.238-9
(2) Ibid., p.248
(3) Ibid., pp.333-4
CONCLUSIONS

The Armenian Participation in Administrative and Municipal Councils

In the public life of the Ottoman Empire the administrative councils (meclis-i idāre) were the main governing bodies which acted under the presidency of the vâlis (provincial governor), mutaşarrîfs (governors of sancâk), kâymakâms (governors of kazâ) and müdîrs (governors of nahiye). The members of these councils came into office by election, being representatives of Muslim and Christian communities. Each community would have officials in the councils according to its number. In the administrative councils the Armenians normally had two or three representatives. At the provincial headquarters and in the centres of the sancâks, there were also one or two ex officio Armenian members who were the spiritual heads of the Apostolic and Catholic communities. If there was a substantial Protestant community, they too were entitled to representation. This number was increased to three if the head of the government department of finance happened to be an Armenian. The elected Turkish and Armenian members of the councils were usually equal in number, but the ex officio Turkish members were always more numerous, since in addition to the governors and müftüs, the deputy judges and often the heads of financial departments were Turks.
Consequently the Turkish members of the administrative councils were in the majority, and the controlling power was in their hands. This is the reason why the Armenians, in spite of their participation in political administration, were not able to defend their lives and rights.

It might be thought that the Armenians were exaggerating their discontent about the Ottoman administration in Anatolia as, for instance, in their published report on outrages, and when they demanded reforms at the Congresses of San Stefano and Berlin. But there are eye-witness accounts by foreigners which attest to the abnormal situation.

Here is what the British Consul of Aleppo, T H Skene, wrote to the Home Office:

'There are two Christian members of the Medjlis, but their presence at the sittings is a mere matter of form, as they take no part in deliberations and are treated with utter disregard, never venturing to express dissent in any decision, even though it be calculated to injure their brother Christians.'

Here is also what 'a Prussian gentleman' from Erzurum wrote:

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

(2) P R O, F 0 78/1538, T H Skene British Consul at Aleppo, to the Home Office, No 27, Aleppo, August 4, 1860
affirmed concerning the administrative councils -

'Dans chaque conseil les communautés arméniennes doivent être représentées là ou elles le sont, les membres chrétiens des conseils ne sont que des personnages muets sans aucune influence (1)

It is evident that in a despotic regime like that of the Ottoman Empire the chief governors had final authority in every matter. Until 1896 the Armenians were not given high positions in political administration. In the Congress of Berlin 'Reforms' were promised for 'the provinces inhabited by Armenians' according to which the governors in Eastern Anatolia would be accompanied by Christian assistants. The Sublime Porte did not in fact keep her promises, and the advantages conferred upon Christians were not respected fully and consistently - on the whole they remained paper promises.

In the municipal councils the Armenians were treated better, comparatively speaking. There were usually two or three of them as elected members and, in addition, the doctor or the chemist or the engineer was Armenian. Sometimes even the mayor was Armenian. It is worthy of note that the municipality was the only department of public activity where the Armenians, before and after 1896, were from time to time.

(1) P R 0, F 0 78/1588, a descriptive memorandum prepared by 'a Prussian gentleman' residing in Erzurum and sent by Consul R A O Dalyell to the F 0, 13th June 1861
in the majority, probably because the municipality did not possess any political power

The Armenian Participation in Justice

The judicature was one of those fields of public life in which the Armenians were regularly represented. In the centres of the sancaiks, especially at the provincial headquarters, there were from one to three (usually two) Armenian judges in the courts of appeal, one acting in the civil and the other in the criminal sections. In the courts of first instance, in the outlying kazas one, and at the centres, two Armenian members were elected. In the courts of commerce there were two or three, and in the central districts up to five, Armenians. Scarcely ever were they given the post of president, normally being mere members. If we take into account the Greek participants also, it can be noticed that sometimes in the commercial courts the Christians were in the majority. Turks were not concerned much about these courts, because the trade was mostly in the hands of Greeks and Armenians, and therefore the disputes would usually involve only these two peoples. For the Turkish ruling class at that period there was a social aversion against profiting by trade.

Apart from being judges, the Armenians were admitted into the administration of justice as judicial inspectors or assistants, as juges d'instruction or assistants, as
executive officers, members of public prosecution committees, lawyers, notaries, clerks and process-servers

It is interesting that, during the Tanzimat period, many Armenians were employed continuously in different departments of justice. Members of the courts were elected by the people, but others were selected by the government. The motive for this behaviour was perhaps that the Turks wished to appear to patronize their Christian subjects, or more probably because they really needed the cooperation of qualified Armenians. We have a notable testimony of a Turk (1) which shows the deep interest of Armenians in law:

'As I pointed out in the last chapter, (2) among forty-five students of the faculty of law [at Istanbul], thirteen were Armenian. Thirteen out of forty-five is proportionately a large number, considering the small number of Armenians relatively to other nationalities of the Ottoman Empire. The Armenians are admittedly very incaustic people. They won good marks in the entrance examination, and the authorities at the Ministry of Public Instruction would not affix a limit of number, but admitted as many as successfully passed the examination.'

(1) H Halid, The diary of a Turk, 1903, p 126

(2) Ibid, p 103 where it is said - 'In our first year's class at the law college, in which there were about forty-five students, the number of Armenians alone reached thirteen'
Not only at Istanbul, but in the universities of Syria, Europe and the United States, Armenians studied law and, on their return home, served the Ottoman Government. In any case the Armenian officials in the judicature as a rule, were less in number than the Turks, since the chairman of the judicial councils was always a Turk and there were one or two Turkish members more than the Christians. This is one of the reasons why the Armenians, in spite of the fact that many of them were included in the courts of justice, were themselves generally denied justice.

The Armenian Participation in Finance

The financial departments in the provinces of Eastern Anatolia present the field where the Armenians had the largest participation. They cooperated with the government in all offices of economic affairs. The following were the special departments where they were constantly included:

- Taxation department
- Tax collection board or Tax collection committee
- Chamber of commerce (and agriculture)
- Ottoman Bank
- Agricultural Bank
- Public debt administration
- Customs administration
- Tobacco monopoly

about three Armenians
2 - 5 Armenians
2 - 5 Armenians
about two Armenians
about two Armenians
2 - 5 Armenians
about two Armenians
2 - 5 Armenians
The tobacco monopoly in the provinces was sometimes almost entirely run by Armenian officials. Here even the administrators were from time to time Armenian. In the taxation departments very often the cashiers were from the Armenian community, and in the branches of the Agricultural Bank the sole agents sometimes were Armenian.

In public finance the posts which Armenians filled were those of board committee member, tax collector, clerk, accountant, store-keeper, and particularly that of cashier. Evidently the Turks trusted the Armenians in fiscal matters and employed Armenian officials in large numbers. It would appear that while in connection with political administration the Turks were very cautious, concerning financial affairs they felt quite safe towards Christian participation. The political considerations, therefore, were one of the main factors which governed the acts of Ottomans in proportioning the offices among Muslims and Christians.

**The Armenian Participation in Technical Affairs and Agriculture**

The technical and agricultural departments were secondary fields in which Armenian participation was not very influential or continuous. In public works Armenians were included as chief and second engineers, and as foremen, being two or three in number. They were also employed.
in road-making as engineers and foremen. From three to five of them worked in the provincial presses as mechanists and compositors. It is interesting to recall that in the vilâyets of Sivas, Seyhan and Aleppo, the government presses had sections for Armenian printing. In the postal and telegraphic services Armenians acted as directors, operators and translators, especially in the divisions of foreign languages. At the centres of the sancaks or provinces Armenian participation in technical affairs was quite remarkable, but in the kazâs it was limited.

As for agriculture, Armenians were employed in the agricultural and forestry boards, and in the inspectorates of agriculture and forests. In each of these departments the Armenian officials were two or three, and sometimes as many as six. It was particularly common to see forestry or agricultural Armenian inspectors in various provinces of Anatolia.

**The Armenian Participation in Secretariat and Education**

In government departments of Eastern Anatolia Armenians were mostly to be found in secretarial positions. They were employed as clerks, copyists or accountants in administrative and municipal councils, in different financial chambers, in the courts, and in technical affairs. In each office there would be two or three of them. Armenian clerks were employed in a larger number in purely
secretarial work, i.e. the chief secretariat, chamber of archives, state land registry, and the investigation committee for title-deeds. Naturally there were more Armenians acting in the centres of the provinces than in the outer kazas.

Armenian translators were employed in the provincial headquarters as chief translators, especially in the vilayets of Van, Erzurum and Seyhan, and in the postal and telegraphic services in the foreign languages sections.

The translators, clerks or accountants were called to office not by election but by appointment. Why is it that relatively so many Armenians were admitted to secretarial duties? I suggest that the reason was that they were generally honest and methodical in their work, no other explanation is satisfactory.

In the field of education, two or three Armenians were included on each of the education councils and committees. The councils were established in the sancak centres, and the committees in the kazas. It is interesting that Tigran Amirchanean was the head of the education council in Van, from 1893 to 1897, in Damascus Hambarjum Efendi Nizamean was the vice-director and a teacher in the government secondary school, about 1900, and in Beirut the first and second assistants to the director of state secondary school were Armenian in 1893-4.
teachers were employed in preparatory and secondary schools and in the schools of arts and crafts. They usually taught French, mathematics, science, and among various crafts, particularly carpenter's work and carpet-weaving. It is important to note that from about 1890 the Armenian language was introduced in the syllabus of the government secondary schools in the centres of the provinces of Diyarbakır, Erzurum, Seyhan, Elâziğ and Aleppo. Possibly it was taught also in the vilâyets of Van, Bitlis and Sivas, but no evidence on this matter was available.

It is worthy of mention that in respect of editing official newspapers Armenians rendered a noticeable assistance to the local governments. In Sivas Andranik Efendi Vardanean was the editor of Sivâs from 1875/1876, in Diyarbakır Sahak Efendi Şişmaneanean was the editor of Diyarbakır about 1880, while in Aleppo the weekly al-Furat (The Euphrates) was published in Turkish and Arabic as well as in Armenian, one and a half years during 1286-1287 H /1869-1871.

The Armenian Participation in Public Health Service and the Police Force

The participation of Armenians in the department of public health of Eastern Anatolia, in this work has been described generally as minor in comparison with their contribution to the political administration, justice and
finances. Although their share was larger and more constant, in some provinces and in particular periods, nevertheless it was the Armenians who in the main carried on the medical service together with the Turks. The Greeks were more employed in the army medical corps and were in a predominant position only in the province of Trebizond.

The Armenian participation in public health was remarkable in the vilayets of Diyarbakır, Sivas, Seyhan, Elazığ and particularly in Aleppo, Damascus and Beirut. Whereas in other places the medical contribution of Armenians, compared with the other aspects of their activities, was small, in the latter three provinces it was of the first rank. Armenians, who even went so far as New York to study medicine, nostalgically preferred their native Anatolia to the expanding New World and the prospect of lucrative practice. Armenian medical men were employed chiefly in the local municipalities of different districts, and also in the government hospitals at Sivas, Seyhan, Aleppo, Damascus and Beirut. They held various posts, but usually were doctors, surgeons and chemists, and their activity was larger and more firmly established at the centres of the provinces than in the kazās.

In connection with the police force, Armenians were included only in the police stations at the centres of the provinces inhabited by Armenians, and scarcely ever in
outer districts They were employed as assistant superintendents of police, police sergeants, and policemen, but were few in number

The Participation of Greeks, Syrians and Kurds in Ottoman Public Life of Eastern Anatolia and Syria

It is advisable for comparative study to notice the parallel participation of the other principal non-Turkish elements of the population. Summing up the participation of the communities other than Armenian, it is clear that none of them had such a large and permanent cooperation with the Ottoman Government in the public affairs of Eastern Anatolia and Syria as the Armenian millet. The Greeks worked in the governments of all provinces, but only in the vilayet of Trebizond, the ancient capital of the Pontine Empire and a historic centre of Hellenism, were they more influential than the Armenians. Generally speaking they took part in most aspects of Ottoman public life, their contribution however, was particularly noticeable in the public health service and political administration. In judicature and finance also their participation was of value, but in technical affairs, and especially in education, secretariat, agriculture and the police force, their influence was almost negligible.

Syrian officials in Ottoman government work were found in the vilayets of Diyarbakır, Bitlis and Van. Possibly
there were some in other provinces as well, but I was not able to identify them. They served the departments of political administration, justice and finance.

As to the Kurds, I succeeded in finding personal names which are exclusively Kurdish only in the vilayets of Bitlis and Van. They were included in political administration, judicature and the police force, and as far as I was able to recognize them, were very few. We must always remember in this connection that the Kurdish community was in essence nomadic and rustic. Civilized culture was alien to them, and all governments were obnoxious, whether Ottoman or Persian. However, individual Kurds, once removed from their native pastures, have achieved distinction in the Ottoman forces.

In all the local Armenian histories of Anatolia I have not come across any evidence that there was a rivalry between the Armenian and other minorities in respect of their participation in public affairs. Apparently the Christian communities lived together in harmonious and peaceful relations.

How the 'Loyal Community' became the hated Community of the Ottoman Empire

The Armenians in the very early days of the conquest of Constantinople were treated by the Ottomans in a friendly manner and were granted all the privileges proper to a religious community within the Ottoman and Islamic framework.
Especially in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries, until in fact about 1875, when many Armenian notables served the Ottoman Court as bankers, mint-masters, superintendents of powder-mills and architects, the Armenian community was regarded and called by the Turks as 'millet-i şâdîka' ('the loyal community'). It is instructive to note how Ubicînî about 1850, speaking of the Christians of the Ottoman Empire, said that 'the Greek and Slavonic population are instinctively hostile', while he described the Armenians as 'peaceable, industrious, and contented, connected by interest with the Turks'. But in the second-half of the XIXth century, as the Tanzîmât and the new provincial organization gave to the Armenians opportunity of participating in Ottoman public affairs on a large scale, the Turkish-Armenian concord instead of becoming more fraternal and tactful, descended to suspicion and antagonism. How did this change come about?

The bonds of peace and harmony between the Turks and Armenians did not decay suddenly, but decreased in the course of time and through unfortunate events -

(a) The first troubles, in my opinion, started with


(2) Ubicini, ibid , 11, pp 244-5

(3) Ibid , pp 252-3
the Armenian 'National Constitution' In 1856 when the Khatt-i Humâyûn (Imperial rescript) of the Ottoman Government promised to non-Muslim communities re-instatement of all immunities and rights in an advanced form, the Armenians were hopeful that their civil life, particularly in Anatolia, would be reformed and secured They immediately compiled a community-regulation and presented it to the Sublime Porte. It was rejected on the ground that 'no state can be within another state' (1) In this formula we see a new subtle influence - Young European-orientated Turkish rulers began to be disillusioned with the Islamic-Ottoman state structure. Certainly, the old Ottoman state structure, which could readily absorb a state such as the Republic of Ragusa and a 'nation' such as the Armenian, could legitimately be described as 'states within a state'. Before the days of the impingement of European ideas, it could never have occurred to an official in the Sublime Porte to have used such an expression. Subsequently the Armenians prepared a new constitution (1860) which, on the suggestions of the Ottoman Government, was revised and altered in some places. The people being very anxious to have the new regulation, organized demonstrations, whereupon the police intervened.

(1) B Keşean, Patmutıwn surb Prkği hiwandanoçın Hayoç ı Konstandnopolis [History of S Prkıc hospital of the Armenians in Constantinople], p 95
to establish peace, and finally on the 30th March 1863 Sultan 'Abd ül-‘Azîz by a special Imperial rescript, ratified the new 'Regulation of the Armenian Patriarchate' (b) In 1878 the Armenians were involved in the negotiations of the Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin and with the assistance of Russia and Great Britain drew the attention of Europe to the Armenian Question and succeeded in obtaining 'improvements and reforms' from the Ottoman Government for the 'provinces inhabited by Armenians' Sultan 'Abd ül-Hamîd II and the Sublime Porte were angry with this conduct of the Armenians and they did not fulfil their promises of 'Reforms' In desperation the Armenians protested and demonstrated against the Government. Massive massacres were carried out during the years 1894-1896 in Anatolia and Istanbul, until under the pressure from the Great Powers the Sublime Porte began reluctantly to execute the 'Reforms' At that time the Armenians, since they enjoyed the protection of some European States, were suspected of duplicity and of being agents of Great Britain and especially of Russia (1)

(c) After the Congress of Berlin Armenian political parties were founded to defend the life of the Armenians in Anatolia and with the help of Europe, to hasten the

(1) M Fuat (Köprülü), Les minorites en Turquie, Strasbourg, 1936, pp 118-21, and H Halîd, The diary of a Turk, pp 115-16
effectuation of the 'Reforms'. These were the Hünəkean Socialist Party, formed in Geneva in 1887, and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, founded in Tiflis in 1890. The members of these parties in Anatolia were mostly Turkish Armenians, but the founders and leaders were from Russian Armenia, influenced by the guerilla tactics of the Russian revolutionists. In Europe they achieved favourable relations with English and French diplomats and in Istanbul they organized demonstrations demanding the execution of the 'Reforms'. The climaxes of their audacious and imprudent activities were the siege of the Ottoman Bank at Galata (26th August 1896) and the attempt with aid of a time-bomb on the life of the Sultan `Abd-ul-Hamid (1905) which failed and caused a new massacre.

In 1908 the Young Turks came into power and in 1909 Sultan was deposed, but the Armenians, for the reasons mentioned above, were no longer regarded as 'millet-i şâdîka'. The leaders of the Young Turks and of those of the Armenian political parties were at first of one mind and banded together, but generally speaking the Turks were so full of suspicion and intolerance that the way was already prepared for 'the final solution' of the Armenian Question in the First World War.

Principal Findings

The present work enables us to give here some general
conclusions on Ottoman-Armenian relations, and particularly concerning the participation of the Armenian people in Ottoman public life in Eastern Anatolia and Syria from 1860 to 1908.

(a) In Eastern Anatolia and Syria there lived a large Armenian community which, according to my estimate, numbered at least 1,200,000 in the second-half of the XIXth century. They were a civilized and hard-working people, and as such contributed much to the economy as well as to the affairs of government there.

(b) After the new geographical-administrative division and organization of the Ottoman Empire in 1864, a demand for many more officials arose. The Armenians filled the necessity acting almost in all departments. In some fields of public life their participation was steady, as in finance, municipal councils, law courts, secretariat, but fluctuated in others, as in the technical field, public health and agriculture.

(c) It would appear that the political questions were an important factor in the method of the Ottoman Government in employing Christian officials. For instance, in municipalities and in finance departments the Armenians were included, comparatively speaking, in considerable number and continuously, whereas in administrative and judicial councils they were kept to a minority, and as to the police
force Armenians appear to have been barred from participation. Although in the 'Reforms' of 1896 it was said that the Christians would have policemen and *gendarmes* in the governments according to their number, even then this promise was not honoured. To my view, the 'Reforms' for which the Armenian ecclesiastical and civil leaders strove so hard, instead of being any help in reforming the life of the Armenian community in Anatolia, were transformed into a calamity exciting the anger of Sultan *'Abd ül-Hamîd* and of the Turkish nationalists of the new school who had no toleration for these autonomous 'nations' of the Ottoman past.

(d) In spite of the unfortunate events, we notice that Armenians continued to serve the Ottoman Government. In retaining the Armenian officials the Turks were in part respecting public feeling among the Christian peoples, and at the same time satisfying the European States, particularly Great Britain, France and Russia, who showed an interest in the Armenian Question. From this it follows that the Armenians performed great services for the Ottoman Government, but received little in return.
APPENDICES

I General Table of the Armenian Participation in Ottoman Public Affairs of Eastern Anatolia and Syria by Avocation

II General Table of the Armenian Participation in Ottoman Public Affairs of Eastern Anatolia and Syria by Provinces

III General Table showing Greek, Syrian Christian and Kurdish Officials in Ottoman Public Affairs of Eastern Anatolia and Syria by Avocation

IV General Table showing Greek, Syrian Christian and Kurdish Officials in Ottoman Public Affairs of Eastern Anatolia and Syria by Provinces

V The Letter of the Armenian Delegates submitted to the Congress of Berlin

VI A Modern Turk on the Armenian Past
APPENDICES
Explanatory Notes for the Tables (Appendices I – IV)

I  The first appendix is a general table which shows the extent to which Armenians participated in the main fields of Ottoman public life of Eastern Anatolia and Syria, 1860 – 1908, by avocation. It is marked by 'C', if their participation was considerable, or by 'M' when it was minor.

II  The second table is similar to the first, but it draws the attention of the reader to the provinces. I also wished to present by tables the Armenian participation in public affairs of a particular province, but I noticed that it will enlarge the work too much. In order to fill the gap, I have described in full the share of the Armenian community in public life of the last three provinces, viz. Elazığ, Aleppo and Beirut–Jabal Lubnān (chapters VIII, IX and X). In these chapters the numbers of the Armenian officials in each department of various districts, dates in which the Armenian participation was especially remarkable, and even some names of renowned officials have been sufficiently indicated.

III  The third general table shows the participation of the Greek, Syrian Christian and Kurdish communities in Ottoman public life by avocation.

IV  The fourth table is similar to the former, but it
presents the Greek, Syrian and Kurdish officials in
Ottoman public affairs by provinces
APPENDIX I

General Table of the Armenian Participation in Ottoman Public Affairs of Eastern Anatolia and Syria by Avocation

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C = Considerable participation
M = Minor participation
## APPENDIX II

General Table of the Armenian Participation in Ottoman Public Affairs of Eastern Anatolia and Syria by Provinces

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APPENDIX III

General Table showing Greek, Syrian Christian and Kurdish Officials in Ottoman Public Affairs of Eastern Anatolia and Syria by Avocation

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G = Greek    S = Syrian    K = Kurdish
APPENDIX IV

General Table showing Greek, Syrian Christian and Kurdish Officials in Ottoman Public Affairs of Eastern Anatolia and Syria by Provinces

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<tr>
<th></th>
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APPENDIX V

The Letter of the Armenian Delegates submitted to the Congress of Berlin

Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien,
Politisches Archiv III, Karton 115,
Berliner Kongress

Schreiben der armenischen Delegierten
an den Minister des Aeussern, Grafen Karolyé

Excellence'

Charges, par S.S le Patriarche Arménien de
Constantinople et l'Assemblée nationale des Arméniens de
Turquie de la mission de plaider la cause de notre peuple
auprès des Puissances réunies en Congres, nous nous
adressons à Votre Excellence pour La prier de vouloir bien
prendre en consideration nos demandes

Les Armeniens, dont la cause sera soumise au Congrès
par le fait même de l'Article 16 du Traité de St Stefano,
désirent avoir les améliorations administratives, qui seront
données aux populations chrétiennes de la Turquie d'Europe,
car le regime sous lequel ils ont vecu jusqu'a présent en
Arménie est bien plus oppressif que celui subi par les races
chrétiennes de la Turquie d'Europe

Nous ne réclamons donc pas de liberté politique et nous
ne voulons nullement nous separer du Gouvernement Turc
Nous voulons seulement avoir dans une partie de l'Arménie
Turque, c'est-à-dire dans les vilayets d'Erzeroum et de Van
et dans la partie septentrionale du vilayet de Diarbekir
(v la carte ci-jointe) ou nous avons la majorité sur les Turcs, conformément aux documents statistiques ci-inclus, nous voulons avoir, disons nous, un vali Arménien nommé par la S. Porte avec l'assentiment des Puissances. Ce vali sera charge de l'administration locale pour un temps détermine, il devra disposer d'une police pour maintenir l'ordre et la sécurité, et d'une partie des revenus du pays, pour en assurer le développement moral et matériel.

Le Projet de Règlement organique que nous avons l'honneur de soumettre à l'appréciation de Votre Excellence aussi bien qu'à celle de tous les Plénipotentiaires, pourra donner à Votre Excellence une idée sur le caractère et les détails du régime administratif, que nous sollicitons aujourd'hui pour la paix et le bien être des populations de l'Arménie Turque.

Notre expérience personnelle des hommes et des choses de l'Orient nous porte à prendre la liberté de déclarer qu'un Gouverneur Turc et une administration musulmane ne peuvent pas faire les reformes necessaires à notre pays. Si le Gouvernement Turc est laissé libre dans le choix du vali Arménien, les caprices de Constantinople perpétueraient fatalement les abus mêmes que l'Europe cherche à faire disparaître. S'il conserve le drict de changer le vali arbitrairement, il ne lui laissera ni le temps de consolider son autorité, ni celui d'entreprendre des réformes.
necessaires et sérieuses. Si c'est au Gouvernement Turc
a éli re les fonctionnaires du vilayet, il tombera dans les
mêmes erreurs que par le passé. Si le vali n'a pas une
gendarmerie sous ses ordres, son autorité sera tout-a-fait
impuissante. Si on laisse au Gouvernement central la faculté
de régler lui-même le budget de la Province, il s'emparerait
de tous les revenus, ne laissant au pays qu'une somme si
minime, que tout progrès et toute bonne administration
deviendraient impossibles. Si enfin tous ces arrangements
n'êtaient pas sauvegardés par la garantie d'une surveillance
européenne, les tristes traditions du régime musulman
feraient nécessairement renaître ces convulsions périodiquex
que les efforts de l'Europe réunie cherchent à prévenir.

Après ces explications succinctes, nous avons l'honneur
de soumettre notre cause à la sagesse et à l'équité de Votre
Excellence en La priant de vouloir bien lui accorder son
bien veillant appui au sein du Congrès.

Veuillez agréer, Excellence, l'hommage de notre plus
haute considération.

Délégués des Arméniens de Turquie

Berlin, ce 25 juin 1878

Khorène de Nar Bey,
Archevêque de Beschiktasch

(Signé Meguerditch Kherimian, Archevêque de Daron et ex-
Patriarch des Arméniens du Turquie)
APPENDIX VI


There is a famine in Eastern Turkey. Last winter all the newspapers reported that animals were dying of hunger. Bulanık is a kazâ which is also suffering from lack of animal food in the East. The local Bank offered to give food to the peasants' animals. In looking through the documents I noticed the following letters -

'We do not approve of manufactured food which the Bank is offering to give us. Instead of food we want to be given money.'

Why did they refuse the offer of the Bank? Is it because they did not know what factory food was, or because they did not need any? The first suggestion is much more likely. In the beginning of 1962 in Saimbeyli (Haçin) the villagers said -

'In the days of the Armenians more people lived here, the grapes and their wine were very well-known. At that time there was also a college, which disappeared with the Armenians. "The making of wine is sinful", we said, and destroyed the vineyards. In course of time Saimbeyli was
deserted by most of its inhabitants. In the old houses of the Armenians the wine cellars still remain.

'In the days of the Armenians here' I had heard these words long ago, and I heard them very often recently. In July 1961 we were listening to the radio in the one-roomed house of Dr. Enver Dağışan. At night there was a knock on the door and we saw a gendarme.

'Doctor Bey', he said, 'the villages of Hunu and Lorşun have quarrelled and fired on each other. It is necessary to intervene.'

The kâymakâm, the superintendent of police, the doctor and the gendarmerie commandant sat in a car and went to Hunu. The next day I found out the reason for the dispute between the two villages. Through Hunu flows a stream called Hunu Çayı. A tributary of this stream flows into Lorşun. The people of Hunu, claiming that their water was not enough, damned the branch of Lorşun. The kâymakâm went and ordered that Lorşun must have water two days a week putting a gendarme on the border. The people of Hunu again stopped the water, whereupon an armed fight, like an open battle, took place.

This stream has been a point of dispute between Afşin and Elbistan as well. When I was there, two committees from the two kazâs were discussing an agreement in the presence of the kâymakâm. I do not know the result, because
meanwhile I went somewhere else. At that time some people said -

'When the Armenians were here there was a dam on the river by virtue of which we had no shortage of water. Parts of this barrage still remain in the water, and three or four hundred sacks of cement would be more than enough to repair the dam. If the two villages come together and accomplish this work, then both kazas of Afjin and Elbistan may have sufficient water.'

In Hakkari also I heard Armenians mentioned. The valley of Zap runs from Hakkari to Çukurca through rocky mountains. The officer of the Bank, who was from Hakkari itself and named Coşkun, said -

'The Armenians, by planting terrace-vineyards on the steep mountain-side, produced grapes, and it was very successful.'

- 'But it does not exist now', I said
- 'Our people neglected the land', he added

In the Gürpinar kazas of Van there is a spring of the same name. Two streams come out of this spring, one flows towards Van and into the lake near Edremit, and the other flows in the opposite direction through the plains. The length of the first stream is said to be more than 70 Kms,
but I do not know about the second, probably it is longer
These were also set in order by Armenians, and now both of
them are abandoned. The water is being exploited, but
not as efficiently as by the Armenians.

In the Çatak kazâ of Van there are thousands of
pistachio nut trees, but they are not fertilized. Last
year some trees were fertilized, but this year the new shoots
were not cleaned off, due to the lack of skilled gardeners.
On the road to Hakkâri and on the boundaries of the Zap
valley there are infertillized pistachio nut trees. As yet
nobody has looked after them, in spite of the fact that the
value of pistachio nut is well-known.

I knew Eastern Turkey as much as what had remained in
my memory from the geography books which we had learned at
the schools. Mountainous, stony, rockey, the winters long-
lasting and the summers are so short that one may say they
hardly come. Whereas I saw uncultivated land there. In
between Adilçavaz and Van, Van and Hakkâri there are many
such places. You would say that 'They breed cattle and
produce grass there.' There was no grass to reap, and as
far as my eye could reach I did not see any animal. In my
opinion this means that our peasants, beside their ignorance,
also do not like to work, though the making profitable these
people would be very easy.
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