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Armenian Communities of Asia Minor

Edited by

Richard G. Hovannisian

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ARA MELKONIAN is a resident of Great Britain, who has developed a keen interest in the paternal side of his family. Having learned the Armenian language, he has in recent years delved into the history and traditions of Bardizag, the town in western Asia Minor from which his grandparents originated. In 2014, he published an English translation of Grigor [Krikor] H. Mkhalian's, *Partizakn u Partizaktsin* (1938) as *Bardizag and Its People*, covering a period of three centuries, with additional materials and photographs that he has compiled.

BARBARA J. MERGUERIAN directs the Women's Information Center and Archives of the Armenian International Women's Association (AIWA) in Boston. She has been a visiting professor at Tufts University, Erevan State University, and California State University, Fresno. The former editor of the *Journal of Armenian Studies* and the *Armenian Mirror-Spectator* weekly newspaper, she is also the coeditor of *Exploring Gender Issues in the Caucasus*; *Voices of Armenian Women*; and *Armenian Women in a Changing World*. Her primary research interest is on the role of American missionaries in their work among the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She has participated in a number of conferences and contributed several articles and chapters on the subject.

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ARPI VARDUMYAN is a researcher in the Mashtots Manuscript Institute (Matenadaran) in Erevan. A musicologist and a member of Armenian Composers' and Musicologists' Union, she is preparing a thesis on the musical culture of Kutahia's Armenian community. For more than twenty years, she has been studying the local variants of the Armenian hymns (*sharakan*) of the late Middle Ages, especially the Venice school of Armenian Spiritual songs. She has a number of publications on the contribution of Komitas Vardapet to the study of Kurdish music, as well as on the New Armenian Notation system and on Music therapy.

PREFACE

The Armenian communities of western Asia Minor are frequently overlooked or given little attention, perhaps because of their distance from the historic Armenian highland far to the east. Yet in modern times, there were well over a hundred such communities, large and small, extending inland from the Sea of Marmara and the Aegean coastline. Here, they maintained their own dialects and ways of life and clustered around their churches and schools. The fact that most of these settlements or city quarters were located near the sea or the capital city, whether Byzantine or Ottoman, spurred their economic and cultural development. While most Armenians here were, as was true everywhere, farmers and craftsmen, others developed the silk and textile industries and became engaged in regional and international trade. Although the Armenian inhabitants of western Asia Minor constituted a very small percentage of the total population, starting in 1915 they were subjected to the same treatment that befell Armenians in their traditional homeland on the eastern highlands of the Ottoman Empire. This volume is intended to provide glimpses into the lives of these lesser-known Armenian communities and the real people who lived in them before the Great Calamity.

Armenian Communities of Asia Minor is based on papers delivered in the series of semiannual UCLA international conferences beginning in 1997 on *Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces*. Publication of the edited proceedings began with *Armenian Van/Vaspurakan* (2000), followed by *Armenian Baghesh/Bitlis and Taron/Mush* (2001), *Armenian Tsopk/Kharpert* (2002), *Armenian Karin/Erzerum* (2003), *Armenian Sebastia/Sivas and Lesser Armenia* (2004), *Armenian Tigranakert/Diarbekir and Edessa/Urfa* (2006), *Armenian Cilicia* (2008), *Armenian Pontus* (2009), *Armenian Constantinople* (2010), *Armenian Kars and Ani* (2011), *Armenian Smyrna/Izmir* (2012), and *Armenian Kesaria/*

Kayseri and Cappadocia (2013). Other conferences in the UCLA series have featured the Armenian communities of the Northeastern Mediterranean (Musa Dagh, Kessab, Dortyol), Jerusalem, New Julfa and other regions in Iran, and the Indian Ocean.

The challenge of bringing consistency in style and format to a variety of essays in different disciplines is formidable, often requiring substantial rewriting by the editor and careful attention to detail both in form and in content. The views expressed by the individual contributors, however, are their own. In this series, a simplified system of transliteration without diacritical marks has been devised to assist with phonetic pronunciation. A disadvantage of this adaptation is that it does not allow for a precise conversion back from the Latin alphabet to the original Armenian script, as, for example, the transliterated character "e" in this volume may stand for any one of three Armenian letters (ե, է, ը). In the notes, however, sources that use diacritical marks or variant spellings on their title pages appear in their original form. The transliteration of identical Armenian words may vary depending on the orthography used in the original. Hence, the word "history" or "story" may appear as *patmutiun* (պատմութիւն) when taken from works published in traditional Armenian orthography or as *patmutyun* (պատմությյուն) when transliterated from the reformed orthography that was adopted in Soviet Armenia and is still used widely in the Republic of Armenia.

In this modified transliteration system, Eastern Armenian phonetic values are generally employed, but exceptions have been made in the text in chapters using the more familiar Western Armenian forms of personal and place names, such as *Hagop Baronian* rather than *Hakob Paronian* or *Asdvadzadzin* rather than *Astvatsatsin*. The variance is greater in this volume than the preceding ones because of the desire of several authors to convey phonetic pronunciations as used by the people themselves. Hence, there will be many seeming inconsistencies, which, however, have been allowed knowingly and with intent. Turkish names are rendered in the style commonly used before the Turkish alphabet reform of 1928—thus, for example, *Eski-Shehir* rather than *Eskişehir* and *Jemal* rather than *Cemal*. Terms in foreign languages, such as *tanzimat* and *vilayet*, are italicized only the first time they appear in the given chapter. In certain instances, the editor has not required absolute consistency when there are discrepancies in the information given or data cited by the individual authors.

The volume has been enriched by numerous illustrations selected by the editor, with particular emphasis on the landscape, schools and churches, students and teachers, and scenes from before and after the deportations and massacres of the Armenian population beginning in 1915. The most important sources for the pictures are memorial volumes, such as those of Adabazar, Bardizag, Kutahia, and Sivri-Hisar, published under the auspices of compatriotic societies of the widely-dispersed survivors. Other sources include the Houshamadyan Project directed by Dr. Vahé Tachjian, illustrations provided by Dr. Dickran Kouymjian for his chapter, post cards from the O.C. Calumeno collection used by Mr. Osman Köker in his chapter, and contemporary photographs taken by Mr. Roupen Berberian, Ms. Ani Hovannisian Kevorkian, and Mr. Dick Osseman. The cover illustration of the fortress of Afion-Karahisar has been provided by Dick Osseman from his extensive collection of photographs, and the picture in the inset on the back cover is of the Adabazar Gayanian Girls' School graduates of 1912. Sources of the all pictures are given following the List of Maps and Illustrations.

The editor gratefully acknowledges the collegial assistance of Professor Simon Payaslian of Boston University in undertaking the arduous task of formatting the text and of Professor Hagop Gulludjian in formatting the index. Mr. Roupen Berberian skillfully drafted the five maps that appear in their final form after many revisions requested by the editor and Mr. Armen Aroyan supplied various geographic details. The Armenian Educational Foundation (Hovannisian) Chair in Modern Armenian History at UCLA, held by Dr. Sebouh D. Arslanian, generously helped to defray the cost of publication, and Dr. Kamron Ahmad Jabbari of Mazda Publishers patiently oversaw the production process.

As has been the case beginning with the first volume in this series, Dr. Vartiter Kotcholosian Hovannisian has collaborated closely with the editor at each stage leading to the publication of *Armenian Communities of Asia Minor.*

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ARMENIAN ASIA MINOR

Richard G. Hovannisian

The Armenian communities of Asia Minor were far removed from the historic Armenian territories on the great highland plateau far to the east and the fertile Cilician plain bordering the Mediterranean Sea to the south. These communities were relatively new, dating to the later centuries of the Byzantine Empire and the early centuries of the Ottoman Empire. Armenian movement into this area near the Sea of Marmara and Constantinople was prompted primarily by the turbulence in the traditional Armenian homelands by the Turkic and Mongol invasions in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, the fall of the Armenian Cilician kingdom to the Mamluks in the fourteenth century, and the ruin and devastation caused by the Ottoman-Persian wars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In time, scores of Armenian villages and small towns sprang up in a broad arc of about 100 miles around Constantinople.

The history of these communities has not been well documented, except for rare publications such as that relating to the Armenian Diocese of Nicomedia (Izmid/Ismid) and several memorial volumes such as those relating to Bardizag, Armash, Adabazar, Sivri-Hisar, and Kutahia. There are also a few foreign traveler accounts as well as Ottoman records pertaining to administration, population statistics, taxation, and commerce. The Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople had extensive relevant materials regarding the religious, social, and economic life of these communities, but they have been little utilized, as some of the documents have disappeared and others have been transferred to other locations, where access is extremely difficult.

Armenians lived on both shores of the Sea of Marmara in places such as Rodosto (Tekirdagh) in European Rumelia and in

Gallipoli, Chanakkale, and the Dardanelles on the Asiatic coast. Izmid, Bardizag, and Banderma had direct outlets to the sea, whereas other centers such as Adabazar, Bursa, and Balikesir were only a short distance away. This relatively secure location favored economic development. Armenians were engaged in all kinds of pursuits, from agriculture and handicrafts to textiles and silk production. In fact, sericulture was the most important source of income and employment in several Armenian communities, the raw silk and cloth being exported primarily to the Ottoman capital and to the commercial centers of Europe.

The proximity of the Armenian communities to the capital city and the seaways to Europe also proved beneficial to the process of cultural and spiritual enlightenment. By the end of the nineteenth century, even small villages managed to maintain a school and a church, and most boasted separate boys' and girls' or coeducational schools. In larger towns, the educational system was expanded to include secondary schools, the pictures of the students and teachers and especially of the graduating classes attesting to an effective order and serious demeanor. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions made Bardizag and Adabazar important posts in its Western Turkey Mission and fostered Armenian Evangelical congregations there and in other towns and villages, thereby spurring the dominant Apostolic community to productive intellectual and educational competition. Unlike Armenian communities in places such as Yozghat, Kutahia, and some cities in Cilicia, most Armenians in western Asia Minor maintained the dialectical forms of their native language. Several still spoke in the language of the distant Ararat plain from which their ancestors had originated generations earlier. In the early part of the twentieth century, Armenian newspapers and journals appeared in several of the larger communities, and the prospects were bright for further development, but all this was cut short by the outbreak of World War I.

Life for the Armenians of western Asia Minor became more difficult during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876-1908/09). In the aftermath of his defeat in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, thousands of Circassian and other Muslim refugees from the Caucasus were settled in the region, adding to the numbers of those who had fled previously during Russia's southward expansion into Chechnia and Daghestan. Increased interethnic tension was the result, as witnessed by the many

urgent appeals and complaints addressed to the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople by local clergymen and civic leaders.

Like most other Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, the communities in Asia Minor hailed the Young Turk revolution in 1908, which restored the long-suspended Ottoman Constitution and compelled Sultan Abdul Hamid to become merely a figurehead. But the enthusiasm was to be short lived. An attempted countercoup in 1909 claimed the lives of many thousands of Armenians in Cilicia, and then in the aftermath of the Ottoman fiasco in the Balkan wars of 1912-13, a new wave of vengeful Muslim refugees flooded into Asia Minor. Armenian life everywhere was disrupted by the general mobilization and Turkey's entrance into World War I in 1914. In one Armenian community after another, the last graduating class was to be that of the year 1914.

Although the Armenian inhabitants of Asia Minor constituted a very small percentage of the region's total population, they were not spared from the killings and death marches during the spring and summer of 1915. Even those in small villages of fewer than 100 persons were driven southward toward Konia and then, for those who still survived, farther on to Deir el-Zor and other death camps in the wastelands of Syria. Following the defeat of the Ottoman Empire and allied German Empire at the end of 1918, some of the surviving Armenians tried to return to their homes in areas close to Constantinople, such as Izmid, Bardizag, Adabazar, and Bursa, but they were met by the hostility and truculence of those who had occupied their homes and taken over their properties. The Armenians were soon driven out once again, and this time permanently, as the Turkish Nationalist armies approached their towns in 1921-22. Most of the exiles settled in nearby countries such as Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Syria-Lebanon, and Egypt, carrying with them idyllic memories of a world that was no more. The nine essays that follow provide glimpses into that vanished existence.

The Essays

Richard Hovannisian and Armen Manuk-Khaloyan present an introductory pictorial essay on the Armenian communities of Asia Minor, extending from the Sea of Marmara to Konia. The survey offers a wide range of information that includes historical

summaries of the primary districts and towns, as well as descriptions of the geography and topography, occupations and livelihood, socioeconomic structures, educational and cultural endeavors, religious and popular traditions, and intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic relations. War and revolution were abruptly to put an end to these communities. The text is followed by many pages of photographs of places, whether discussed or not, that had significant Armenian communities as demonstrated by the pictures of schools and churches, students and teachers, shops and businesses.

Peter Cowe traces the existence of the Armenian community of Konia during the period of ascendancy of the Seljuk Turks and the Sultanate of Iconium or Rum from the eleventh through the thirteenth century. He points to a significant Medieval Armenian presence in this key junction between Greater Armenia and Asia Minor, on the one hand, and Cilicia and the Mediterranean Sea, on the other. Although the Sultanate was wary of and sometimes hostile to its neighboring Cilician Armenian kingdom, the Seljuk rulers by and large allowed Armenians to practice their religion and encouraged them to take an active role in commerce, administrative positions, and cultural pursuits.

Dickran Kouymjian presents the Armenian potters of Kutahia, where an Armenian community existed from at least the thirteenth century. The tiles and ceramics of the skilled Armenian artisans adorned Ottoman palaces, baths, fountains, mosques, and Armenian churches and cathedrals. The apex of the production of Kutahia ceramics and tiles was in the eighteenth century, when thousands of pieces were ordered by members of the sultan's family and high Ottoman officials as well as by ordinary citizens, both Turkish and Armenian. A special command of more than ten thousand tiles, many of them pictorial with a cycle from the life of Christ and inscribed in Armenian, originally for the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, was eventually used to decorated the Cathedral of Saint James (Surb Hakob) and other churches in the Armenian Patriarchate of the city. The author examines the diverse written documentation regarding the tiles of Kutahia and their Armenian master craftsmen and adds a number of illustrations to allow for a visualization of the craft. As it happened, as the result of the Armenian exodus from Kutahia during and following World War I, Jerusalem became

the primary locus of the Armenian potters, a few of whom still continue the craft.

Ara Melkonian, a descendant of natives of Bardizag, reflects on the significance of this small Armenian town. Tracing its origins to Cappadocia and Sebastia (Sivas) and later reinforced by immigrants from Agn overlooking the Upper Euphrates River, Bardizag was officially recognized as a settlement by the Ottoman sultan in around 1625. It profited from its own little seaport, from which timber, charcoal, and other goods were exported to nearby Constantinople. The town, which grew to 10,000 inhabitants by the turn of the twentieth century was not only noted for its salubrious climate but also for its seminal role in Armenian enlightenment, benefiting from the American Bithynia High School, the Armenian Catholic Mekhitarist "Vank," and the several "National" schools affiliated with the Armenian Apostolic Church. The author sketches the rituals and traditions linked with the cycle of life in Bardizag.

Barbara Merguerian examines the American Board's schools in Bardizag and Adabazar and the extraordinary roles played by dedicated American missionary teachers. She traces the career of Miss Laura Farnham, who in 1871 began four decades in the field to educate and spread the Gospel. She was an active propagator of female education, as demonstrated in her supervision of the girls' boarding schools in Bardizag and Adabazar, just as Dr. Robert Chambers guided the young men of Bithynia High School. The fundamental purpose of the girls' schools was to provide a Christian education for future teachers, mothers, and community leaders. Farnham's views and principles sometimes placed her in conflict with the local Armenian Protestant traditionalists as well as disagreements with fellow missionary teachers, but she became a strong advocate of entrusting leadership roles to the native Armenian pastors and laymen.

Hasmik Khalapyan examines the pioneering role of Armenians in establishment and development of theater in the nineteenth century in the communities of Asia Minor as well as Rodosto (Tekirdagh) on the European shore. Theater became an agent of social-cultural and political change and a stage for competing currents. The author traces the evolution of Armenian theater in Constantinople and its expansion to Adabazar, Bardizag, Bursa, and Rodosto. Issues of repertoire, proprietorship, language, and gender are addressed, and the plays and

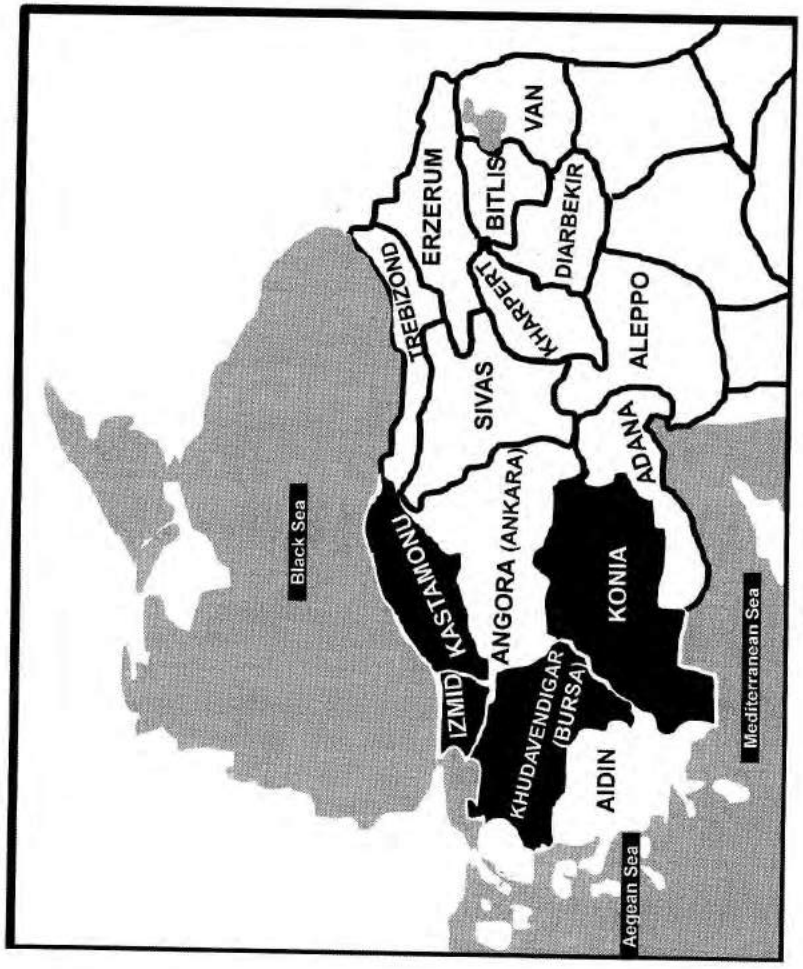
performances of several noted theatrical troupes are assessed. Together with theater, the organization of "fanfare" bands in nearly every sizable Armenian community served to create an encompassing patriotic effect.

Arpi Vardumyan lauds the genius of the famed Armenian musicologist, Komitas (Gomidas), who was born in Kutahia in the 1860s. She recounts his life, from a Turkish-speaking lad with a golden voice who enthralled the Catholicos-Patriarch of the Armenian Church to his transformation into an Armenian-speaking transcriber of musical folklore, a choir director, and a composer. He became and remains one of the most famed Armenian musicologists in modern times. His works entailed not only Armenian music but also that of neighboring peoples. He lectured widely in Europe on the subject of Oriental music and transcribed a number of pieces of the *sharki* and *turki* modes in the new Armenian system of notation, examples of which are shown at the end of the chapter. There is a particular pathos in the story of Komitas, in no small measure because of his maddening torment and trauma in his post-genocidal years.

Osman Köker (with Richard Hovannisian) uses the post card collection of O.C. Calumeno to give the most detailed description of the Armenian settlements, villages, towns, and city quarters in western Asia Minor. In an almost monotonous sequence, he lists village after village, church after church, school after school of familiar and unfamiliar Armenian places in the provinces (*vilayets*) of Khudavendigar or Hüdavendigar (Bursa), Konia, and Kastamonu, and the county (*sanjak*) of Izmid. The 150,000 to 200,000 Armenians in this area maintained 135 churches and nearly 150 schools, and numerous athletic, musical, and literary associations, while at the same time contributing in a large way to the region's economy. The rapid mention of so many places in a few pages may seem bewildering, but it also impresses with the sheer number of locations where Armenians had settled and struck roots. The chapter is enriched by black-and-white copies of many of the colorful post cards in the Calumeno collection.

Simon Payaslian portrays the demise of the numerous communities, large and small, in western Asia Minor. He outlines the familiar trail of events, from failed Armenian reforms and the Ottoman Empire entry into the World War to the arrest and murder of the Armenian intellectuals and the conscription of the

young men in pursuance of the Young Turk policies of deportation and death. He describes the unfolding of the genocidal scheme on the ground level during and after the war, with some details as to place and date, with unknown destinations and known fates of the victims, and the all-too-familiar consequences. It is a sad and distressing chapter not only to this volume but also more tragically in the history of the Armenian people. It is nonetheless a story that must be told.



Provinces of Asia Minor

❀ 2 ❀

THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITIES OF ASIA MINOR
A PICTORIAL ESSAY

Richard G. Hovannisian and Armen Manuk-Khaloyan

The numerous Armenian communities of Asia Minor are often overlooked or else treated very cursorily in most histories of the Armenian people. Yet they constituted a vibrant and often thriving component that contributed significantly to the local economy and to the Armenian intellectual and spiritual enlightenment. There were well over a hundred Armenian settlements, large and small, in areas from Izmid, Armash, Bardizag, and Adabazar to Bursa and Banderma on the Sea of Marmara and inland to Bolu, Eski-Shehir, Kutahia, Sivri-Hisar, and Afion-Karahisar. Nearly all had at least one church and school, some for both boys and girls, and many sponsored musical, choral, dramatic, and athletic associations. They were major developers of the silk and textile industries, which employed large numbers of Armenian women and girls, and they became an important station for American missionaries and American and Armenian educational endeavors in the nineteenth century. At the monastery of Armash near Izmid, young men studied for the priesthood in the ages-old Armenian Apostolic Church.

The Armenian presence in this region dates to the Byzantine period. It grew much larger as the result of the turmoil caused by the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman and Persian Safavid wars and the accompanying havoc wrought about by the plundering Jelali rebel bands. The newcomers arrived not only from Persia and the Eastern Armenian districts of Karabagh and the plain of Ararat but also from Sebastia (Sivas), far to the west in Lesser Armenia, and Agn with its Hay-Horom (Armenian

Chalcedonian-Orthodox) inhabitants near the Euphrates River. According to Armenian tradition, in 1461, Hovakim, bishop of Bursa, was taken to Constantinople by Sultan Mehmed less than a decade after his conquest of the capital city to become the first Armenian Patriarch responsible for the Armenian subjects of the Ottoman Empire's confessional Armenian (Ermeni) *millet*.

Taken together, the Armenian inhabitants of northwestern Asia Minor numbered somewhere between 100,000 and 150,000 individuals. Though constituting a small percentage of the total population, they often lived in their own city quarters and villages in a generally harmonious existence with the much larger Muslim population. They were, of course, conscious of their vulnerability and behaved with exemplary loyalty toward the sultan and his local authorities. In the end, this circumspection did not spare them from the genocidal policies and the calamity to which the Armenian population was subjected by the Young Turk regime under the cover of World War I. In 1915, the inhabitants of all the towns and villages of the region, large and small, were deported on short notice and most of the survivors of the murderous trek southward ended up in the deserts of Syria. Some of them returned to begin life anew after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire by the Allied Powers at the end of 1918, but their optimism was short lived, since they were driven out a second time, now by the Turkish Nationalist (*milli*) forces headed by General Mustafa Kemal. By 1922, these communities had been abandoned once more and this time for good. The data in the following overview have been drawn from memorial volumes of Armenian compatriotic societies and regional histories, encyclopedias and almanacs, travel accounts and diaries, ethnographic and demographic studies, compendiums of documents, and oral history interviews.[1]

Izmid/Ismid/Izmit, historical Nicomedia, now named Kocaeli, is located on a bay about 60 miles/100 kilometers east of Constantinople (Istanbul).[2] Founded in the third century B.C. as the

[1] Preliminary data for this chapter were gathered by Armen Manuk-Khaloyan in a history seminar conducted by Professor R.G. Hovannisian at UCLA.

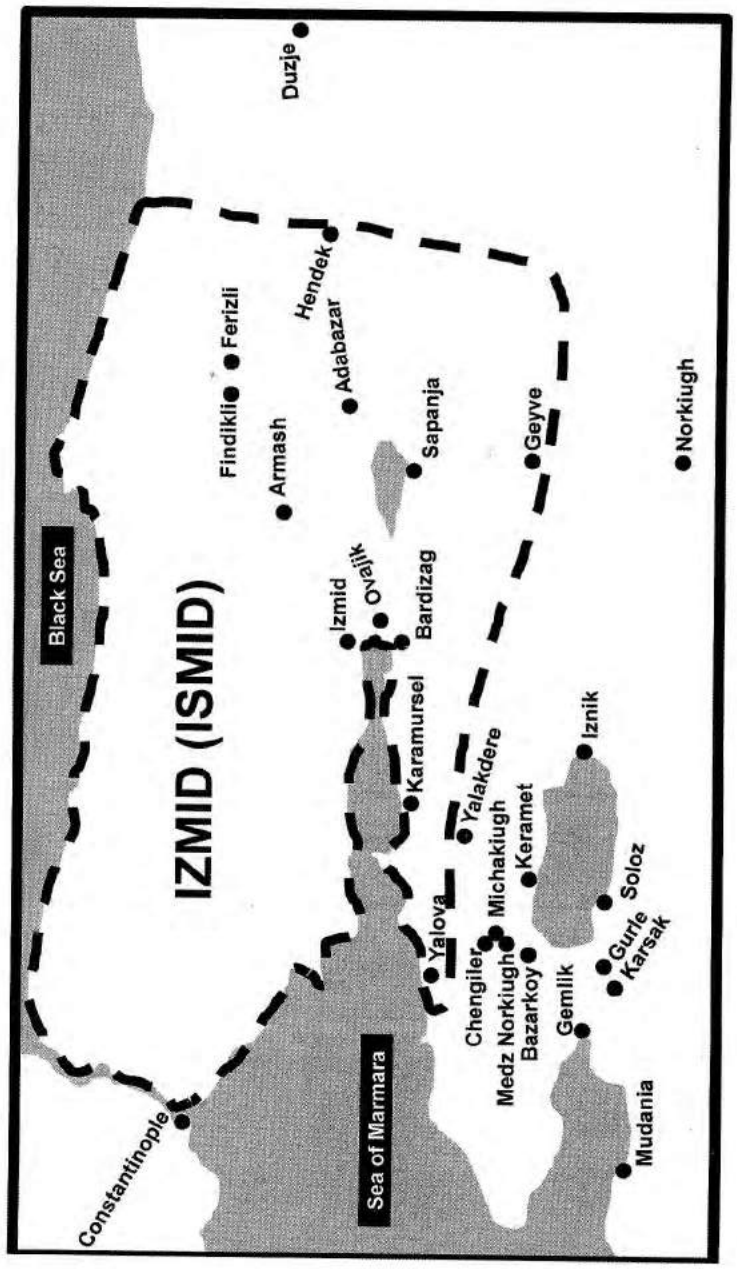
[2] For a Western source on the city and region of Izmid, see Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie: Géographie, administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie-mineure*, vol. 4 (Paris: E. Leroux, 1894), pp. 301-400.

capital of King Nicomedes I of Bithynia, Nicomedia served as the residence of the Emperor Diocletian and as an important center of learning after Constantinople was made the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire in the mid-fourth century A.D. Nicomedia remained in the heartland of the Byzantine Empire until the latter part of the eleventh century, when it fell to the Seljuk Turks. It was later besieged and captured in 1337-38 by Sultan Orhan, who began the rapid expansion of the Ottoman Empire. Following the disastrous defeat of Sultan Bayazid at the hands of Tamerlane in 1402, Nicomedia was pillaged by Tamerlane's hordes. When the Ottomans regained the city, it came to serve as an arsenal for the navy and, given the abundance of the trees surrounding the town, was also a center for the building of merchant vessels and ship masts. Its numerous mills helped to supply the Ottoman capital with flour and both Constantinople and Europe with silk and textiles.

Armenians moved to this area near Constantinople because of the upheavals in their homelands to the east and apparently in an attempt to protect their sons from the Ottoman *devshirme*—child levy, to which Christian children in the provinces were subjected by being taken from their families to be raised as devout Muslims in the service of the sultan.[3] With the Ottoman Empire at the height of its power, the sultans also carried out a policy of forcibly transplanting (*sürgün*) Armenians to western Asia Minor. According to the study of Minas Gasapian (Kasabian) on the Armenians of the Izmid region, this was done for a number of reasons, including the reputation of the Armenians for thriftiness and for being docile and obedient, and the administrative policies of the conquerors to create a check and balance system among their subject populations based on long-standing antagonisms between Greek and Armenian churches.[4]

[3] On these migrations, see Hayk M. Ghazaryan, "Kostandnupolsi ev Zmiurniayi gaghtochakhnere" [The Colonies of Constantinople and Smyrna], in *Hay zhoghovrdi patmutyun* [History of the Armenian People], eds. Tsatur Aghayan et al., vol. 4 (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1972), pp. 311-12. On the Jelali rebellions, see Manvel K. Zulalyan, *Jalalineri sharzhume ev hay zhoghovrdi vichake Osmanyan kaysrutyan mej (XVI-XVII darer)* [The Jelali Movements and the State of the Armenian People in the Ottoman Empire (Sixteenth to Seventeenth Centuries)] (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1966).

[4] Minas Gasapian [Kasanian; Minas Veradzin], *Hayere Nikomedio gavarin mej* [Armenians in the County of Nicomedia] (Bardizag: Azatamart, 1913), pp. 14-18.



Sanjak of Izmid (Ismid)

The town of Izmid in the eighteenth century had twenty-three city quarters, of which three were inhabited by Christians and one by Jews. The German traveler Andreas Mordtmann reported in the 1850s that there were 2,000 Turkish, 1,000 Armenian, and 200 Greek families residing in the area.[5] The town suffered several severe outbreaks of malaria, but with the construction of a railroad linking Izmid to Haidar Pasha, on the Asiatic side of the Straits, the town grew to become an important commercial port for the shipment of cereals, raw silk (exporting 200-300,000 kilograms/220-330 tons per annum), tobacco, and other products.[6] Gasapian estimates that 70 percent of the Armenian population of the Izmid region was occupied in agricultural pursuits, 20 percent in handicrafts, and 10 percent in trade and commerce.[7]

Official Ottoman statistics showed 55,403 Armenians living in the county (*sanjak*) of Izmid on the eve of World War I.[8] Gasapian gives the following breakdown: 120,000 Turks; 100,000 Muslim refugee *muhajirs* (60,000 Circassians and 40,000 Georgians, Lezgins, Bosniaks, and Chechens); 56,000 Armenian Apostolics; 7,000-8,000 Armenian Hay-Horom Chalcedonians; 25,000 Greeks; and 1,000 Jews.[9] The Hay-Horoms, originating in Agn and elsewhere, had settled in the Izmid region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Regarding the population for the city of Izmid itself, Gasapian shows 6,000 Turks; 4,500 Armenians (900 households); 1,250 Greeks; and 200 Jews.[10] The city also had a sizable Evangelical Armenian community. The first American missionaries arrived there in 1837, rented a house in the Greek quarter, and began their outreach activities. The first "brother" to be recruited was Momje Papa, and soon two Armenian Apostolic priests, Der Haratiun (Ter Harutiun) and

[5] Andreas D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien: Skizzen und Reisebriefe aus Kleinasien (1850-1859)*, ed. Franz Babinger (Hannover: Orientbuchhandlung H. Lafaire, 1925), pp. 282-83. For a statistical report on the Armenians of Nicomedia, see Poghos Natanian, *Teghagrutiun vichakin Nikomitio* [Statistical Report on Nicomedia] (Constantinople: Armenian Patriarchate, 1871).

[6] *Annuaire Oriental: Commerce, Industrie, Administration, Magistrature de l'Orient* (Constantinople: Imprimerie Autrichienne Ferd Walla, 1915), p. 1387.

[7] Gasapian, *Hayere Nikomedio gavarin mej*, p. 178.

[8] Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 184, Table I.17.A.

[9] Gasapian, *Hayere Nikomedio gavarin mej*, p. 23.

[10] Ibid., p. 24.

Der Hovhannes (Ter Hovhannes), also converted. The Armenian Evangelical community nonetheless remained relatively small, with fewer than 2,000 persons in the entire district in 1911.[11]

The implementation of the Young Turk genocidal policies against the Armenians began in Izmid in the summer of 1915. Though more than three dozen Armenian intellectuals had been arrested by the Turkish authorities in May, it was only in August that orders came to commence full-scale deportations.[12] The Armenians of Izmid were dispatched to Eski-Shehir and Konia, while their homes and stores were plundered and put to flames and the Armenian cemetery was demolished.[13] The Armenian Catholics were thought to have received a reprieve when the government permitted them to return to Izmid, but this proved to be illusory, as they were refused entry into the city by the governor and ordered to return to Eski-Shehir.[14]

Bardizag, current-day Bahçecik, is located 12 miles/19.3 kilometers south of Izmid. The town was established in the sixteenth century by seven Armenian families from Bardizag village in the province of Sivas. Fleeing from the Jelali raids, they settled in what became the western end of Bardizag and were later joined by several Muslim families also escaping from the Jelalis. A second wave of Armenians, consisting of nineteen families from Sivas and Agn arrived in Bardizag early in the seventeenth century. It is said that the Muslims of Bardizag had come with the expectation to work on a large estate of a prominent land-

[11] Ibid., pp. 129-36.

[12] By September 1915, the governor of the sanjak of Izmid informed the Ottoman government that there were no more Armenians gathering at the local train stations, implying that virtually all of the district's Armenian population had been expelled. See Turkish Republic, Prime Ministry General Directorate of Ottoman Archives, *Armenians in Ottoman Documents, 1915-1920* (Ankara: General Directorate of the State Archives, Directorate of Ottoman Archives, 1995), Document 107, pp. 101-02.

[13] Raymond Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), p. 554. For the Turkish narrative of events, see Bekir Günay, *Ermeni tehciri İzmit, 1914-1920* [The Deportation of the Armenians of Izmid, 1914-1920] (Ankara: TC Kocaeli Üniversitesi, 2002).

[14] Carl Ellis Wandel, Minister in Constantinople to Danish Foreign Minister Erik Scavenius, Constantinople, 4 September 1915, Rigarkivet-Udenrigs-ministeriet/ Gruppeordnede sager 1909-1945. 139. D. 1, "Tyrkiet - Indre Forhold". Pakke 1, til 31 Dec. 1916. See http://www.armenocide.de/armenocide/armgende.nsf/WebStart-En?OpenFrameset.

owner, Khalil Pasha. However, the pasha, who, as tradition had it, was himself of Armenian descent, grew dissatisfied with the way the Muslim immigrants worked and expelled the lot of them, instead showering his favor upon the Armenians.[15]

Bardizag was thus a town whose population was almost entirely Armenian and whose administration was in the hands of Armenians until 1912. According to Vital Cuinet, out of an approximate population of 10,000 at the end of the nineteenth century, 9,260 were Armenians who belonged to the Apostolic, 300 to the Evangelical, and 80 to the Catholic denominations.[16] The Apostolic community had four churches, while there was one each for the Evangelical and Catholic communities. Bardizag had many trees and springs, but its streets were narrow and the houses stood tightly next to each other. The inhabitants were engaged primarily in growing tobacco, cultivating silkworms (there were two factories for this), and producing horseshoes, lumber, and charcoal. The town had a health clinic, pharmacy, post office, and telegraph office (established in 1911). Because Bardizag's climate was temperate and solubrious, Armenian intellectuals and others from Constantinople frequently sojourned there during the summer months. Numerous cultural activities took place, and local intellectuals published several journals, including *Paros* (Beacon, 1910-12), *Paykar* (Struggle, 1912-14), and *Meghu* (Bee, 1912-14). Through personal means, as well as with some help from Armenians in Constantinople and the Caucasus, several theatrical troupes were formed.[17]

The Armenians operated eight schools, most of them being Apostolic National Schools (Azgayin varzharanner), the first being founded in 1830 and developing into a secondary school. On the western end of the town was the American Bithynia High School—the Bardzragoyn varzharan. The school's first director was Reverend J.E. Pierce, followed by the Canadian missionary doctor, Robert Chambers.[18] On the eastern end of town were the

[15] Gasapian, *Hayere Nikomedio gavarin mej*, pp. 31-33. See the entry "Partizak" in *Haykakan Sovetakan Hanragitaran*, vol. 9 (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1983), p. 213 and the valuable bibliography at the end of the article.

[16] Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. 4, p. 368.

[17] For details, see especially Grigor H. Mkhalian, *Partizakn u Partizaktsin* [Bardizag and the Bardizag Native] (Cairo: Sahak-Mesrob, 1938).

[18] Andranik A. Bedikian, *Grchankarner Partizak giughen* [Sketches from the Village of Bardizag] (Paris: A. Der Hagopian, 1950), pp. 114-15; Mkhalian,

most beautiful buildings, constructed by the Armenian Catholic Mekhitarian Fathers. These included a church, a school, and a "mayrapetanots" (nunnery). The people of Bardizag called this entire complex the "Vank" (Monastery). Almost all Armenians living on this east side of the town were Catholics, whereas most on the west side were Protestants. The contribution of the Catholics to Bardizag's culture and development is regarded as particularly important, as the Vank produced such noted figures as Father Arsen Ghazikian and cultural historian Vardan Hatsuni. The father superior in the years preceding World War I was the Very Reverend Edvard Sirunian, a popular man who delighted audiences by speaking in *grabar*, the classical Armenian language.[19]

In August 1915, the inhabitants of Bardizag were notified of the orders for deportation. This had been preceded by the arrest of forty-two notables, extensive searches for hidden arms, and beatings by the gendarmes.[20] Hundreds of Armenian women from Bardizag who worked in Constantinople as servants and laundrywomen streamed back to their hometown to be with their families once the deportations commenced. Pleas made by the Mekhitarist priests for the German government to intercede on behalf of the people of Bardizag were met with a blunt two-worded response: "completely hopeless" (*völlig aussichtslos*).[21] In 1918-19, about 3,500 survivors of the death marches returned to their native town, but during the Greco-Turkish conflict of 1920-22, they were compelled to leave again for the final time.

Armash was a village in the sanjak of Izmid, located some 18 miles/30 kilometers from Izmid city. Several studies assert that Armash was founded by 300 Armenian families from Iran in 1611, on the grounds near the Charkhapan Surb Astvatsatsin (Warder-off-of-Evil, Holy Mother of God) Monastery, which was

Partizak, pp. 147-48, 184-88.

[19] Bedikian, *Grchankarner Partizaki giughen*, pp. 185-86.

[20] Mekhitarists of Constantinople to the German Embassy (Private Correspondence), Pera, August 7, 1915, in *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern 1915/16: Dokumente aus dem Politischen Archiv des deutschen Auswärtigen Amts*, ed. Wolfgang Gust (Springe: Zu Klampen, 2005), pp. 235ff.

[21] Notes of Johann Mordtmann, Consul General, German Embassy in Constantinople, Pera, August 4, 1915 in *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern*, p. 223.

built atop a hill, surrounded by charming gardens.[22] Gasapian, however, contends that there was already an existing Armenian settlement, known as Grchla, located on what eventually formed the northern end of Armash. It had been founded by seven families who had escaped from the Jelali rebellions that were still being bemoaned in manuscripts and contemporary chronicles in the mid-seventeenth century.[23]

Armash was the site of the renowned Armash Theological Seminary and served as the Armenian spiritual center of western Asia Minor.[24] The first Armenian prelate of Izmid, Bishop Markos Paron-Ter (1687-98), established his headquarters at Armash.[25] In 1720, the prelate Nikoghayos Astvatsaban supervised renovations of the monastery, while his successor, Harutiun Kretatsi (1741), was instrumental in establishing a school and a church in the village. A series of learned prelates followed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the turn of the nineteenth century, Bishop Bartoghomeos Kaputikian undertook the construction of a number of educational institutions, including a superior school and a manuscript repository. Unfortunately, disturbances by the unruly Ottoman Janissary Corps and *derebey*s (valley lords) and the sultan's punitive expeditions led in 1804 to the burning of Armash's church and monastery.[26] Both of the structures remained in that ruined condition until Archbishop Poghos Ghabaghoch (1810-25), a native of Kesaria (Kayseri; Caesarea), began the process of rebuilding the Charkhapan Monastery, an endeavor to which Armenians from throughout the region contributed. Armash became a popular place of pilgrimage, drawing thousands of devout worshippers every year during the month of September, shortly after the Feast of the Nativity of the Holy Virgin Mary.[27]

[22] Sukias Eprikian, *Patkerazard bnashkharhik bararan* [Illustrated Geographic Dictionary], vol. 1 (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1902), p. 301; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. 4, p. 365. See also Nurdan İpek, *Kutsanmış topraklar: Armaş ve Ermeniler* [Hollowed Lands: Armash and Armenians] (Istanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2006).

[23] Gasapian, *Hayere Nikomedio gavarin mej*, p. 37.

[24] Ibid., pp. 111-28.

[25] Ibid., p. 111.

[26] Ibid., pp. 114-15.

[27] Raymond H. Kévorkian and Paul B. Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire Ottoman à la veille du génocide* (Paris: Editions d'art et d'histoire, 1992), p. 131.

In 1864, a printing press was set up and began to publish the journal *Hoys* (Hope). Then in 1872, the Ghevondiants boarding school was opened, but it lasted only until 1881. Under the patronage of the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, Khoren Ashekian, a seminary was founded at Armash in 1889 under the direction of Bishop Maghakia Ormanian.[28] Youths from the age of seventeen to twenty were admitted, with about 300 seminarians enrolled from its founding to 1914. The seven-year curriculum, aside from theology, included French, Armenian, Turkish, philosophy, natural sciences, and Armenian culture.[29] In 1895-96, the seminary published *Masis*, a journal devoted to theological issues. During Ormanian's tenure (1889-96), a college (secondary school), a guesthouse, and a nursery for silkworms were constructed and mulberry groves were planted. Cuinet described Armash as a town inhabited exclusively by Armenians, with their number reaching 1,500 at the turn of the twentieth century.[30] The inhabitants of Armash were primarily involved in agriculture, raising livestock, and silk cultivation, though a report published in 1915 on behalf of European chambers of commerce noted Armenians also working as architects, carpenters, and quite a few women as milliners.[31]

Armash, like the other towns in the sanjak of Izmid, was not spared from the deportations ordered by the Young Turk regime during World War I. In August 1915, a memorandum prepared by the German consul general in Constantinople on the progress of the deportations of the Armenians of the Izmid district, reported that Armash's 2,000 inhabitants had also been evacuated (*geräumt worden*) on the first of the month.[32] The seminary, with its priceless relics and manuscripts, was plundered, and since then the monastery has been demolished and replaced by a large new mosque.

Adabazar/Adapazarı is located 28 miles/45 kilometers east of Izmid, on the western shore of the Sakaria River. It is said that

[28] Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. 4, p. 365.

[29] Ibid., pp. 365-66.

[30] Ibid., p. 364.

[31] *Annuaire Oriental*, pp. 1256-57.

[32] Memorandum of Johannes Mordtmann, Consul General of the German Embassy in Constantinople, Pera, August 4, 1915, in Gust, *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern 1915/16*, p. 223.

Adabazar was founded by Armenians from Sivas (Sebastia) fleeing from the invasions of Tamerlane in the late fourteenth century.[33] Built in a dry lake, the town was originally named Donigashen (Tonikashen), in honor of a village elder. Armenians from Agn, Tokat, Iran, and later from Kesaria and Bardizag also settled there. Turks and Greeks began to move to Adabazar as it developed into a mid-sized town. Sometime after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, the settlement was renamed Ada (Island), as it lay between two sides of the Sakaria River. At one time, it was also known as Sarımsak Adasi (Garlic Island), presumably because of the large quantities of garlic grown there. The town owes its current name of Adabazar (Island Marketplace) by virtue of its having been a center for brisk trade and commercial activity. Every year, it sent 15,000 crates of eggs and 100,000 chickens to the capital.[34] By the early twentieth century, Adabazar was a town with a library, a publishing house, and a number of modest hotels and khans, pharmacies, grocery stores, tanneries, factories and foundries, the proprietors of many being Armenian.[35]

Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who visited Adabazar in 1631, wrote that the "chiefest part of the Inhabitants" were Armenians.[36] By Vital Cuinet's count, there were 900 Armenians, 880 Greeks, and approximately 5,000 Muslims living in Adabazar in the late nineteenth century.[37] Upheavals in the Caucasus region during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 and then the disastrous Balkan wars of 1912-13 created a large displacement of Muslims,

[33] See the entry "Adabazar" in *Haykakan Sovetakan Hanragitaran*, vol. 1 (Erevan: Armenian National Academy of Sciences, 1974), p. 62. A competing Turkish narrative, based on *vakıf* documents, ascribes Adabazar's founding to Sultan Orhan I (d. 1362), progenitor of the Ottoman dynasty. See M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV.-XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livâsı; vakıflar, mülkler, mukataalar* [Edirne and the County of Pasha in the Fifteenth to Sixteenth Centuries: Vakıfs, Properties, Rents] (Istanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952), p. 161n1. On Adabazar in general, see Artashes Piperian and Vardan Eghisheyan, eds., *Patmagirk Atapazar "Astvatsareal" kaghakin* [History of the "God-Created" City of Adabazar] (Paris: Ter Hakobian, 1960).

[34] Rifat Yüce, *Kocaeli tarih ve rehberi* [Kocaeli, History and Guidebook] (Izmit: Türk Yolu Matbaası, 1945), p. 33. Yüce does not specify the year that Adabazar became capable of such output.

[35] See *Annuaire Oriental*, pp. 1203-07.

[36] Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier*, trans. John Phillips (London: Robert Littlefield and Moses Pitt, 1678), p. 3.

[37] Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. 4, pp. 378-79.

many of whom were relocated to cities in western Asia Minor. Some 25,000 to 35,000 Circassians settled in the Adabazar district following the Turkish defeat in the 1877-78 war and consequent extensive territorial losses.[38]

The inhabitants were engaged in trade, crafts, agriculture, fruit-growing, and silkworm cultivation. According to Minas Gasapian's calculation, by 1913 the number of Armenian households had increased to 2,100.[39] They were concentrated primarily in four quarters bearing the names of their respective churches, Surb Hreshtakapet (Holy Archangel); Surb Karapet (John the Precursor); Surb Lusavorich (Illuminator); and Surb Stepanos (Steven). All the churches had paired elementary schools for boys and girls—the Aramian-Gayanian, Nersesian-Sandukhtian, Rubinian-Hripsimian, and Mesropian-Nunian—as well as kindergartens, one of which was named Manushag.[40] In 1909, a central secondary school for boys was opened, and in 1912, a supplementary educational program for girls was initiated. There was also an Evangelical girls' boarding school called Hayuhiyats.[41] All the quarters had a corresponding neighborhood council. Armenians had their own social organizations such as the educational Krtasirats Association and the literary Entertsasirats Union. They also had their own theatrical group, band, choir, athletic teams, and a women's benevolent organization. In 1910, the newspaper *Erkir* (Homeland) was published in Adabazar before being transferred to Constantinople the following year. There was also the weekly newspaper *Butania* (Bithynia), which was printed by the Atrushan publishing house.

Shortly before the Ottoman entry into World War I, the men of Adabazar were conscripted into the army and placed in labor battalions. The city, however, had a conscientious mayor and garrison commander, giving the population a general feeling of security. But conditions soon deteriorated, as several hundred prominent citizens were imprisoned in one of the Armenian

[38] Great Britain, Turkey, No. 23, *Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Turkey* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1880), pp. 146-48.

[39] Gasapian, *Hayere Nikomedio gavarin mej*, p. 45.

[40] Eprikian, *Patkerazard bnashkharhik bararan*, vol. 1, p. 258.

[41] For a brief outline of missionary and educational activities in Adabazar, see "Do Missions Pay? The Reply of Adabazar, Turkey," *Missionary Herald* 87 (1891): 513-17. See also Marion E. Sheldon, *The Armenian Girls' High School in Adabazar, Turkey* ([n.p.]: Women's Board of Schools, [n.d.]).

churches and widespread beatings took place, giving way to chaos and hysteria. A report by the German consul general in Constantinople noted that bombs had been uncovered by the police, although the Armenians protested their innocence and said these had been stored in cooperation with the Young Turks during the oppressive reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II.[42] These raids only served as the prelude to the full-scale deportation of the Adabazar Armenians. They were sent away in freight trains or trucks if they could afford to pay for their passage, while those forced to walk gradually died of dehydration, disease, and starvation. Some women committed suicide; others tried to give their children to the American missionaries, but to little avail.[43]

At the end of the war in 1918, a few thousand Armenians repatriated to Adabazar in an attempt to rebuild their lives. They found their homes occupied by Muslim refugees, their property and belongings expropriated, and the non-Muslim silk factories destroyed. In roughly a third of the cases, the Armenian homes were in such a state of disrepair as to render them uninhabitable. British officials reported that a mixed commission, established to assist in the restitution of or compensation for material losses, seems to have achieved a degree of success.[44] But whatever gains that were registered in the immediate postwar period were reversed during the Greek army's retreat from Anatolia in 1921-22 during the final phase of the Greco-Turkish conflict. The Armenians, now forced to flee before the entry of Mustafa Kemal's advancing Nationalist army, sought haven in Smyrna (Izmir), Greece, and farther abroad.

Bolu is a town and district lying some distance to the east of Izmid. It was captured by the Ottomans in around 1325. Until 1692, it functioned as the center of a *sanjak* (county) in the expansive province (*elayet*) of Anadolu. In 1864, the Bolu was

[42] Johann Mordtmann, Consul General of German Embassy in Constantinople, Pera, August 4, 1915, in Gust, *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern 1915/16*, p. 223.

[43] *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916: Documents Presented to Viscount Grey of Falloden by Viscount Bryce*, Uncensored ed. (Princeton, NJ: Gomidas Institute, 2000), Documents 102-103, pp. 416-22. On the deportations from Adabazar, see also Ryan Gingeras, *Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity, and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1912-1923* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 43-47; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, pp. 552-53.

[44] Gingeras, *Sorrowful Shores*, pp. 53, 205n117.

attached to the smaller new province (*vilayet*) of Kastamonu (Kastamuni).[45] The town itself was situated at the juncture of two mineral water springs, which were believed by the locals to possess special healing powers. Its economy revolved around the cultivation and production of cotton, wine, tobacco, beans, cereal grains, lentils, and other crops.[46]

The population of Bolu at the end of the nineteenth century, as given Vital Cuinet, reached 325,000, of whom only 111 were Armenian, along with 3,500 Greeks.[47] The statistics furnished by Izmid's Armenian prelate, however, recorded 167 Apostolic households in Bolu in 1902.[48] According to Gasapian, Armenians first began settling in Bolu and its environs in the early seventeenth century. They came primarily from the lands of Eastern Armenia—Nakhichevan and Erevan—during the Ottoman-Persian wars. What was particularly noteworthy about Bolu's community is that its Armenians preserved their native Eastern Armenian (Araratian) dialect into modern times. They had two churches, Surb Astvatsatsin in the Eski Mahalle (Old Quarter) and Surb Karapet in the Ermeni Mahalle (Armenian Quarter). Other churches in the district were found in Diuzje, Jedidi, and Hamidiyeh.[49]

Bolu's Armenians were subjected to the same harsh measures as the region's other Armenians during World War I. Municipal authorities carried out invasive raids and a "commission of inquiry" was formed to try the men of the community on trumped up charges of being in possession of firearms and bombs and belonging to a secret society. A survivor from Bolu has testified that one group was condemned to hard labor and the other was handed death sentences. The women were sent off to servitude in homes and harems, while the children were adopted into Muslim families.[50]

[45] See the entry "Bolu," *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Millî Eğıtım Basimevi, 1970), pp. 707-09.

[46] Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. 4, pp. 430-32, 501.

[47] Ibid., p. 496.

[48] Gasapian, *Hayere Nikomedio gavarin mej*, pp. 64-65.

[49] Aram Safrastyan, "Kostandnupolsi Hayots Patriarkarani koghmits Turkiayi ardaradatutyan ev davanankneri ministrutyan nerkayatsvats Haykakan ekeghetsineri ev vankeri tsutsaknere ev takrirnere" [The Lists of Armenian Churches and *Takrir*s Submitted by the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople to Turkey's Ministry of Justice and Creeds], *Ejmiatsin* 9-10 (1966): 107.

[50] Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, pp. 530-31.

Bursa/Brusa was and still is one of the most important towns in western Asia Minor. It traces its origins to early antiquity. In 1326, the Ottomans captured Bursa and made it their first capital until it was lost temporarily in 1402 to Tamerlane, whose army plundered and burned the city. Even after the Ottomans transferred their capital to Adrianople (Edirne) and later to Constantinople (Istanbul), Bursa remained an important city and was used as a base of operations for launching military campaigns in the east. It was the capital of the *sanjak* and later of the *eyalet* and then *vilayet* of Khudavendigar (Hudavendigar).

The first Armenians to settle in the Bursa district are said to have been fugitives fleeing from the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, which fell to the Mamluks of Egypt in 1375.[51] Armenians continued to move to Bursa both before and after the Ottoman capture of Constantinople in 1453. It is believed that a medieval Armenian Bible copied during the reign of Cilician King Hetum was brought to the city by the first wave of Cilician Armenian immigrants and housed in the local Armenian church.[52] As has been noted, the Armenian bishop of Bursa is said to have been summoned to Constantinople to establish the Armenian Patriarchate in the Ottoman capital.[53]

Given its close proximity to the Sea of Marmara, Bursa developed into an international marketplace that offered a variety of goods arriving from both Western Europe and the Near East. The city's rise as an economic emporium can be traced to the mid-fourteenth century. Silk was Bursa's most prized commodity and its cultivation there dated to Byzantine times.[54] Iranian merchants from the province of Azarbaijan (Tabriz) made their way to Bursa to sell their silk in exchange for Italian goods. The

[51] Gasapian, *Hayere Nikomedio gavari mej*, pp. 12-13.

[52] Gasapian does not specify whether the manuscript was commissioned under the reign of King Hetum I (d. 1271) or Hetum II (d. 1307).

[53] For a differing view of the establishment of the patriarchate, see Kevork Bardakjian, "The Rise of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, eds. Bejamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, 2 vols. (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982), vol. 1, pp. 89-100.

[54] For the silk industry of Bursa, see especially Murat Çizakça, "Price History and the Bursa Silk Industry: A Study in Ottoman Industrial Decline, 1550-1650," and Donald Quataert, "The Silk Industry of Bursa, 1800-1914," both in *The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy*, ed. Huri İslamoğlu-İnan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 247-61 and 284-99.

frequent caravans passing over the Tabriz-Erzerum-Tokat route brought the silk from the cities of Gilan, Astarabad, and Sari. Iranian Muslim merchants dominated the silk trade from the fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries, but they were gradually supplanted by Armenians. The names of Armenians are more frequently encountered in Bursa court records in the seventeenth century, presumably because of the special economic and financial privileges that Shah Abbas I granted them after his forcible deportation of much of the Armenian population from the Araratian plain between 1603 and 1605.[55] Brocades and gold velvets were exported to Europe, Egypt, and Iran, but the Ottoman imperial court seems to have been the primary procurer of the silken goods.

In the eighteenth century, Bursa's silk industry declined in face of better quality silk produced in Europe and Izmir, but in 1837 steam power was introduced in the city and within two decades the number of filatures (reels used for drawing silk from the cocoons) had risen to thirty-five, capable by the eve of World War I of producing 1,000 tons annually.[56] In 1847, there were three mills in Bursa, one of which was constructed and operated by an Armenian.[57] Other factories were later established in the city's Greek and Armenian quarters. As industry developed in the mid-nineteenth century, a considerable number of young Armenian girls entered the workforce as reelers.[58] The Bursa Sericulture Institute, which was co-founded by an Armenian in 1888 and funded by the Ottoman Debt Administration, introduced formal instruction in silk cultivation. By the turn of the twentieth century, Armenians and Greeks made up more than 70 percent of the silk cultivators.[59] But the proliferation of mills

[55] Halil Inalcik, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, eds. Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 227.

[56] Halil Inalcik, "Bursa," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 2d ed., vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1960), p. 1335.

[57] Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 119.

[58] Ibid., p. 128.

[59] Quataert, "The Silk Industry of Bursa," pp. 290-92. For a socio-economic conspectus of Bursa's Armenians, see Ali Ihsan Karataş, "Şer'iye sicillerine göre Tanzimat'a kadar Bursa'nın Sosyo-ekonomik hayatında Ermeniler," [Armenians in the Socio-Economic Life of Bursa up until the Tanzimat Era, According to Court Records], in *Hoşgörü toplumunda Ermeniler: Osmanlı toplumunda birlikte yaşama sanatı: Türk Ermeni ilişkileri örneği* [Armenians in a Tolerant Society: The Art of Living Together in Ottoman Society: A Case Study of Armenian-Turkish Relations], eds. M. Metin Hülagü et al., 4 vols. (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 369-80.

also became a source of friction among Bursa's ethnic groups. It is believed that the erection of a building on the grounds of a Muslim cemetery in Bursa by an Armenian mill operator served as a catalyst in 1862 for the outbreak of Muslim rioting and violence directed against the town's Christian minorities.[60]

According to the official Ottoman yearbook (*salname*) for the year 1892, the town of Bursa boasted a population of 76,000 inhabitants, of whom 7,541 were Armenians (most of whom lived in the Setbashi, Kurtoghlu, and Emirsultan quarters), 5,158 Greeks, and 2,548 Jews.[61] Many Muslims from the Caucasus (mainly Circassians) who fled from Russian rule settled in Bursa, as did a number of Bulgarians following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78.[62] The *Annuaire Oriental* shows that there were more than 90,000 Armenians in the vilayet prior to World War I.[63] Given their prominence in Bursa's economic life, Armenians published the only newspaper in the province, *Khudavendigar*, which appeared in Armeno-Turkish, that is, Turkish written in the Armenian alphabet.

The general deportations of Armenians in the province of Bursa began in the late summer of 1915. In July of that year, local officials, assisted by the Young Turk "Special Organiza-

[60] Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing*, pp. 129-30. Quataert believes that the bloodletting was more a result of social issues, such as low wages and unemployment, than deep-seated Muslim resentment against the Armenians and Greeks.

[61] Inalcik, "Bursa," p. 1336; Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire Ottoman*, pp. 143-46.

[62] Donald Quataert. "The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914," in Inalcik and Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 795. A Bulgarian traveler and cultural historian, Nikola Nachov (1859-1940), recorded an interesting account of his visit to Bursa in 1879. Aside from displaying his amusement at the sight of seeing the town's Armenian women smoking, he expressed his appreciation to the Protestant Armenians for having taken into their boarding houses Bulgarian children orphaned during the war. The Armenian and Bulgarian youngsters, Nachov observed, under the supervision of the kind schoolmaster Krikor Effendi, interacted with one another in Turkish. See Hüseyin Mevsim, "Bulgar araştırmacı Nikola Naçov'un Bursa gezisi başlıklı yapıtında Bursa Ermeniler," [Bursa's Armenians in Bulgarian Researcher Nikola Nachov's Work titled *Trip to Bursa*], in *Hoşgörü toplumunda Ermeniler*, vol. 2, pp. 329-30.

[63] *Annuaire Oriental*, p. 1296.

tion," rounded up 400 Armenian men—professors, craftsmen, civil servants—and took them in groups of forty to the Karanalik Dere gorge, where they were summarily executed. Even though Bursa's spiritual leaders were sentenced to a prison term of five years, they, too, were removed to Syria, where they soon contracted typhus and died. In September, the government announced that Bursa's Armenian population as a whole would have to be evacuated and gave residents three days to prepare for the arduous trek.[64] Armenian homeowners were called up to the local magistrate and told to sign a document that they had lawfully sold their homes to others. Wealthy Armenians were able to buy some time, but they were eventually deported all the same. Muslims refugees from the Russo-Turkish and Balkan wars pillaged Armenian homes or purchased what they wanted at prices far below their market value. Two women at the American school, Annie T. Allen and Edith Parsons, attempted to aid and provide care for the exiles to the best of their ability. Protests lodged by the Americans against the mistreatment of the Armenians were met with indifference by the Turkish officials. The *vali* (governor) was reported to have said:

> We are determined to get rid, once and for all, of this cancer in our country. It has been our greatest political danger, only we never realized it as much as we do now. It is true that many innocents are suffering with the guilty, but *we have no time to make any distinctions* [original emphasis]. We know it means an economic loss to us, but it is nothing compared with the danger we are thereby escaping![65]

In a span of three days, 1,800 Armenian families from the Bursa vilayet were put on railroad cars and sent from Konia to Bozanti, on to Cilicia, and then onward into the vilayet of Aleppo (Halab; Haleb).[66] The prelate of Bursa from 1912-14, the Very Reverend Sahag Odabashian (Sahak Otapashian), was sent on assignment to the interior provinces by the Armenian Patriarchate but was murdered in a small town near Sivas by mounted *chete* brigands belonging to the Young Turk Special Organization. Then, the new prelate, Barkev Danielian, was arrested and handed over to a court-martial.[67] As in the other cases, most of Bursa's Armenian population perished on the death marches or in exile.

[64] Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, pp. 557-60.

[65] Quoted in *Treatment of Armenians*, Document 101, pp. 414-15.

[66] Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, p. 559. See pp. 577-83 on this deportation route.

Banderma/Pandirma is a port on the Sea of Marmara in the district of Balikesir. It was known from the period of late antiquity by the Greek name of Panoramos. Based on accounts of travelers who visited the town in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Banderma's population consisted primarily of Greeks and Armenians. Toward the end of nineteenth century, however, their numerical strength had diminished so that Muslims formed nearly three-fourths of its 10,000 inhabitants, with the remainder nearly evenly divided between Armenians and Greeks.[68] In 1874, a massive fire engulfed Banderma and consumed most of the town, but the people gradually recovered and benefited from the Ottoman Empire's rudimentary industrialization in the latter part of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. By 1914, Banderma had become a major center for commerce, shipping, and exports of commodities from the interior such as cereals, sesame, and livestock.[69] The Deutsche Bank and other foreign companies had branches and agencies in the town and there was a potpourri of insurance agents, bankers, watchmakers, opium producers, and tailors who plied their trade.[70]

Elise Hagopian Taft's *Rebirth* paints a vivid picture of Armenian life in Banderma in the years before the genocide.[71] Each group lived in its respective quarter, with the Greeks near the sea, the Turks high up on the hillside, and the Armenians nestled between the two. The Armenians maintained the Church of Surb Astvatsatsin, as well as Evangelical and Catholic churches. The Armenian school was coeducational up until the upper grades.[72]

[67] *Treatment of Armenians*, Document 6, p. 50.

[68] Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. 4, p. 286.

[69] Ibid.; Rudolf Fitzner, *Aus Kleinasien und Syrien* (Rostock: C.J.E. Volckmann, 1904), pp. 71-72.

[70] *Annuaire Oriental*, pp. 1469-72.

[71] Elise Hagopian Taft, *Rebirth: The Story of an Armenian Girl Who Survived the Genocide and Found Rebirth in America* (Plandome, NY: New Age Publishers, 1981).

[72] Children were only segregated once they had reached puberty "to avoid temptation," as the elders put it.

Armenians were relatively well off, many growing silkworms and almost every family having a small vineyard, an orchard, and olive trees. Taft reminisces that harvest season was a particularly joyous time, as she lists the various types of fruits and vegetables that the bountiful gardens yielded.

All that ended in August 1915 when the Armenians of the town woke up to the ominous sight of ten bodies of Armenian intellectuals hanging in the public square and news that they were to be resettled.[73] Some of the deportees managed to survive and returned to Banderma after the war only to find their homes occupied by Muslims and the Armenian church and boys' school destroyed. They soon had no choice but to leave once again as Mustafa Kemal's Nationalist forces advanced toward the sea.[74]

Eski-Shehir/Eskişehir, meaning "Old City" in Turkish, was known in ancient times as Dorylaion. During the Byzantine era, it served as a military mustering point in campaigns against the Arabs and the Seljuk Turks. The Seljuks conquered the town in the late twelfth century, followed thereafter by the Ottoman expansion into the area. The area of Eski-Shehir was made into a sanjak in the eyalet of Anadolu. In the nineteenth century, it was reorganized as a district (*kaza*) center in the sanjak of Kutahia.

One contemporary source estimates that there were 67,000 people living in the kaza of Eski-Shehir at the turn of the twentieth century. These included slightly more than 6,000 Armenians who had migrated from nearby Kutahia and Sivri-Hisar, as well as seasonal itinerant workers (*pandukhts*) who sought temporary work in the town.[75] The Christian—Armenian and Greek—quarters of Eski-Shehir were located at the foot of an imposing hillside. A well-stocked covered market was also found here, next to the town's famed thermal baths.[76] The Armenian community maintained the Holy Trinity (Surb Errordutiun) Church and the Surb Mesropian and Surb Sandukhtian coeducational school, with an enrollment of 221 pupils at the turn of the

[73] See Taft's *Rebirth* for an account on her and her family's trek from Konia and Ereghli over the Taurus Mountains to the Syrian desert.

[74] Ibid., pp. 75-80 and 81ff.

[75] Eprikian, *Patkerazard bnashkharhik bararan*, vol. 1, p. 794; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. 4, p. 208.

[76] Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. 4, p. 209.

twentieth century.[77] In addition, half of the forty students at the French school of the Pères français Saint Augustine de l'Assomption d'Eski-Chèhr were Armenian.[78] Ahmed Sherif, a Turkish journalist from the Constantinople-based newspaper *Tanin* (Echo) who traveled to Eski-Shehir in November 1909, took note of the cleanliness and orderliness of the Armenian school, and expressed surprise to see the graduating class even acting out a mock session of Parliament.[79] Like their Greek co-religionists, the Armenians of Eski-Shehir made their living from commerce and the crafts. Goat's hair (*tiftik*) and opium were particularly important products of export, as were cereals, apricot kernels, and lumber.[80] All the Armenians were deported in 1915,[81] and the town was completely destroyed in 1922 during the conflict between Greece and Mustafa Kemal's Nationalist forces.

Sivri-Hisar/Sivrihisar, meaning "sharp-edged fortress," was founded by Emperor Justinian I in the sixth century and known in Byzantine times as Justinianopolis Palia. Its current name was used after the Turkish conquest.[82] There was an Armenian presence in the city from Byzantine times.[83] Based on a 1471 manuscript by Bishop Toros (Aghkat), the community of "Sivrasar" worshipped in the Church of Surb Astvatsatsin.[84] There was one Armenian quarter, among twenty-four Muslim quarters according to the 1486 Ottoman *defter* (fiscal and population register).[85]

[77] Eprikian, *Patkerazard bnashkharhik bararan*, vol. 1, p. 794.

[78] Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. 4, p. 211.

[79] Ahmed Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin* [*Tanin* in Anatolia], ed. Çetin Börekçi (Istanbul: Kavram Yayınları, 1977), pp. 77-78.

[80] *Annuaire Oriental*, pp. 1361-64.

[81] *Armenians in Ottoman Documents 1915-1920*, Documents 108, 111, pp. 102, 104.

[82] Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate: Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of Timur* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), p. 153.

[83] On the Armenians of Sivri-Hisar, see Poghos Natanian, *Teghekagrutiun Sivrihisaru* [Report on Sivrihisar] (Constantinople: Armenian Patriarchate, 1872), and Grigor Ter Hovhannesian, *Patmagirk Sivri-Hisari Hayots: teghagrakan, patmakan ev azgagrakan* [Historical Volume of the Armenians of Sivri-Hisar: Topographic, Historical, and Ethnographic] (Beirut: Mshak Publishing, 1965).

[84] Ter Hovhannesian, *Patmagirk Sivri-Hisari Hayots*, p. 278.

[85] Halime Doğru, *XV. ve XVI. yüzyıllarda Sivrihisar Nahiyesi* [The Sub-District of Sivrihisar in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries] (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kuru-

The Armenians had first settled in the nearby village of Hayin (which the Turks called Khristian Koy/Christian Village) but moved from there because of greater security within the natural fortification in Sivri-Hisar. Sources from the seventeenth century show that Armenian merchants from Sivri-Hisar had established commercial ties with the Venetians as early as 1602. In 1616, the city was also on the itinerary of the Polish Armenian traveler Simeon Lehatsi, who has left an informative record of a number of Ottoman Armenian communities.[86]

In the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the Armenian population of Sivri-Hisar numbered around 4,000 in 850 households. The inhabitants were engaged in gardening and horticulture, the crafts, wool cloth production, glassmaking, manufacturing, and trade and commerce.[87] Their coeducational school, with the Sahak-Mesrobiants section for boys and the Hripsimiants section for girls, was opened in the 1850s, and the Targmanchats boarding school was established in 1863. Ahmed Sherif was so impressed by the level of intellect of the Armenian children upon his visit to Sivri-Hisar that he wrote, "if you asked any one of them a question they would give you every bit of information about it."[88] After a disastrous fire that engulfed the middle and central Armenian quarters of the town, Sivri-Hisar was rebuilt on a new layout. The Surb Errordutiun Church was consecrated in 1881, the new Nersesian School was erected, and a bathhouse was opened. The weekly paper, *Anahit,* began publication in 1911, by which time there were also an Armenian theatrical group and a compatriotic society in Sivri-Hisar.[89]

The Armenian population was deported in 1915, and many of the exiles died along the deportation routes. When the war ended, some 250 to 300 families returned, only to be harassed anew by the Turkish authorities, who succeeded in ridding themselves of the Armenian inhabitants once and for all.[90]

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mu Basımevi, 1997), p. 21.

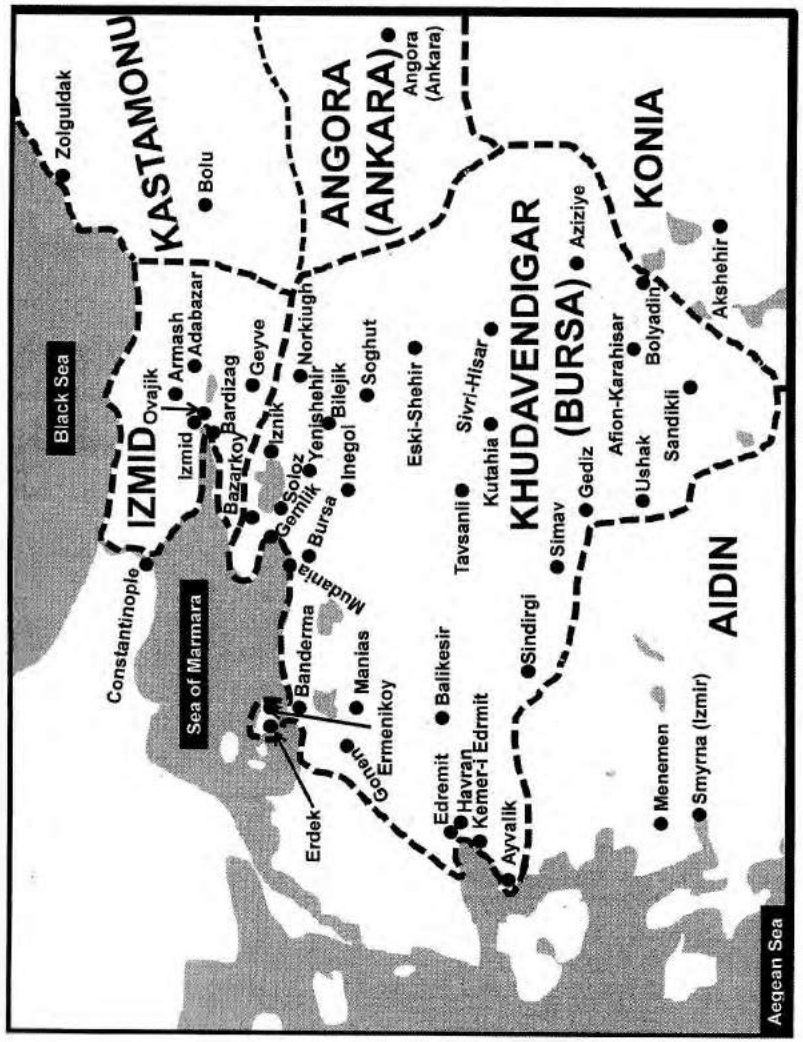
[86] Simon Lehatsi, *The Travel Accounts of Simeon of Poland*, trans. George Bournoutian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2007), p. 278.

[87] *Annuaire Oriental*, pp. 1503-04.

[88] Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, p. 145.

[89] Ter Hovhannesian, *Patmagirk Sivri-Hisari Hayots*, pp. 310-12.

[90] See the entry "Sivrihisar" in *Haykakan Sovetakan Hanragitaran*, vol. 10 (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1984), p. 404.



Vilayet of Hudavenigar (Bursa)

Kutahia/Kütahya is located about 225 miles from Constantinople in the interior of Asia Minor. Renowned for its exquisite tile and pottery and perhaps best known to Armenians as the birthplace of the incomparable musicologist Komitas (Gomidas), Kutahia was known in antiquity as Cotyaeum. Classical writers such as Strabo and Pliny described it as one of the most important settlements in Phrygia Salutaris. Justinian I is believed to have first ordered the construction of the old city's citadel and its double-lined walls. The city served as the seat of an archbishopric and a place of refuge and exile during the Byzantine period, falling to the Seljuk Turks in the late eleventh century.[91] Later in 1453, the Ottomans made Kutahia the seat of a *beylerbey* (governor-generalship).

The Armenian presence in Kutahia is believed to date to the Byzantine era.[92] Many more Armenians apparently settled there during the period of Seljuk domination.[93] Their numbers grew in the fifteenth century, when a new wave of Armenian immigrants arrived from Agulis, near old Julfa along the Arax River.[94] The influx continued in subsequent centuries. An Armenian manuscript dated to 1391 is the earliest documentary record attesting to the Armenian presence there. Its colophon states that the manuscript was donated to the Armenian church of the town (rendered in Armenian as "Kavti") by Ruzbak, son of Mkrtich of Ani, who appointed a bishop named Abraham to oversee the church. References to two other churches, Surb Astvatsatsin and Surb Sargis, are also made in a record book: the first was built in 1444-45 by the priest Constantine and twelve notables (*tanuter*s), and the second was constructed in 1490.[95] Another church, Surb Toros, was erected later in 1512.[96]

[91] C.E. Bosworth, "Kütahya," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 2d ed., vol. 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), p. 539; Clive Foss, "Kotyaion," *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 1154.

[92] See Arshak A. Alpoyachian [Arshag A. Alboyajian], ed., *Hushamatian Kutinahayeru* [Memorial Volume of the Kutahia Armenians] (Beirut: Tonikan Press, 1961), pp. 28-29. For the Armenians of Kutahia, see also *Kutinahay zhamanakagrutiun* [Chronology of the Armenians of Kutahia], ed. P. Zortian (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1960).

[93] Alpoyachian, *Hushamatian Kutinahayeru*, pp. 29-30.

[94] Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire Ottoman*, p. 151.

[95] The names of two other priests, Kirakos and Grigor, are also mentioned. Surb Sargis remained in use until 1840, when it was abandoned by the community.

[96] Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire Ottoman*, p. 151.

The record book is also the first source to make mention of Kutahia's celebrated pottery. The town at one time was a center of production of ceramic ware and glazed earthenware.[97] Its ceramic jugs, bowls, and plates were found in markets worldwide. They featured green, blue, yellow, and white patterns. In some cases, the names of the craftsmen have been preserved. A considerable number of Armenian and Greek craftsmen were employed in the industry. The decorative tiles produced here were used in the construction of not only Armenian and Greek churches, but also in Ottoman mosques and palaces. Notable Armenian churches which made use of these tiles include the Surb Harutiun (Holy Resurrection) Church (1719) of Jerusalem's Surb Hakobiants (Saint James) Monastery; Kesaria's Surb Karapet (John the Precursor) and its cemetery chapel (1757), along with a number of churches in Constantinople, Cilicia, and the villages of Kesaria and elsewhere. The most popular design was a blue and white geometrical pattern.

John Carswell has concluded that the pottery industry in Kutahia was begun by artisans fleeing from the east, possibly from Persia.[98] Inscriptions in Armenian from two pieces of pottery are dated from 1510 and 1529. Both vessels were used in church rituals.[99] References to Kutahia and especially its pottery industry are more frequently encountered in seventeenth-century sources. The frequently-cited traveler Evliya Chelebi, himself a native of Kutahia, took note of three Armenian and three Greek quarters when he visited there around 1670 and was fulsome in his praise for the quality of the tiles produced and used to decorate the town's houses.[100] Mosques in Constantinople, Kutahia, Angora, Konia, and Kesaria were richly adorned with Kutahia tiles. In the seventeenth century, there was an upturn in the construction of Armenian churches and, consequently the tile

[97] For Kutahia's ceramic artwork, see John Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery from the Armenian Cathedral of St. James, Jerusalem*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Garabed Belian, *Modern Kutahya Pottery from Jerusalem* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1983); and Dickran Kouymjian's chapter in this volume.

[98] Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery,* vol. 2: *A Historical Survey of the Kütahya Industry and Catalogue of the Decorative Tiles*, p. 3.

[99] Ibid., p. 5.

[100] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnamesi* [Book of Travels] (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1935), vol. 9, pp. 19-20, 25.

industry. Sources indicate that the pottery industry in Kutahia continued to develop, reaching its peak during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Carswell notes: "Large quantities of tiles were made for the church of St. Gregory the Illuminator in Constantinople (1733), the Armenian monastery at Efkere [Surb Karapet], near Kayseri, and churches in Kayseri, Nicosia, Sivas, Jaffa, and Kütahia itself."[101] Unfortunately, these churches were heavily vandalized during the twentieth century and subsequently deprived of their Armenian identities.[102]

In the late 1890s, the population of the kaza of Kutahia stood at 120,333, of whom 4,050 were Greeks, 2,553 Armenian Apostolics, and 754 Catholics. The spiritual needs of the Armenian community were tended to by the respective bishops of the Apostolic and Catholic denominations.[103] Each of these groups operated an elementary school and a secondary school. The town of Kutahia had two public libraries, four churches (including the Armenian Surb Astvatsatsin and Surb Toros), a hospital, pharmacies, public baths, and dozens of tanneries, workshops, stores, and retail shops.[104] Other Armenian churches in the district were Surb Stepanos in the village of Davshanlu; Surb Lusavorich at Alinja; Surb Harutiun at Arslanik-Yayla; and Surb Khach (Holy Cross) at Viranjik.[105]

During World War I, the *mutassarif* (district governor), Faik Ali Bey (Ozansoy), personally intervened on behalf of the Armenian population and was able to forestall the intended deportation.[106] The Armenian community was nevertheless deeply distressed by the anti-Armenian measures throughout the

[101] Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery*, p. 15.

[102] Ibid. Kutahia's church at the time of Carswell's writing had been converted into a warehouse for an electric company.

[103] Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. 4, p. 201.

[104] Ibid., pp. 203-04; Alpoyachian, *Hushamatian Kutinahayeru*, pp. 103-12.

[105] Safrastyan, "Haykakan ekeghetsineri ev vankeri tsutsaknere," p. 107.

[106] See Ömer Çakır, "Birlikte yaşamak: Faik Ali Bey ve Kütahya Ermeniler," [To Live Together: Faik Ali Bey and the Kütahya Armenians] in *Hoşgörü toplumunda Ermeniler*, vol. 3, pp. 475-87; Sarkis Seropyan, "Vicdanlı Türk valisi Fâik Ali Ozansoy," [The Conscientious Turk, Governor Faik Ali Ozansoy] *Toplumsal Tarih* 23 (1995): 46-50; Stepan Stepanian, "Gtasirt Turk kusakale," [The Kind-Hearted Turkish Governor], in Alpoyachian, *Hushamatian Kutinahayeru*, pp. 214-28. Alpoyachian, p. 94, states, however, that 120 Kutahia Armenians were deported to Deir el-Zor in 1916, at a time when Faik Ali Ozansoy was away and his duties were temporarily assumed by Mufit Bey, a former Ottoman deputy of Izmir.

country and, with the impending capture of the city by the Turkish Nationalist forces of Mustafa Kemal in 1922, was compelled to leave and settle in other countries.[107]

Afion-Karahisar/Afionkarahisar, a town so named because of its abundant poppy fields and its imposing black fortress, is located 250 kilometers/155 miles southwest of Ankara and about 465 kilometers/290 miles from Constantinople. Like the other towns of the region, its history dates back to the time of ancient antiquity, with tradition ascribing its foundation to Macedonian colonists after the Trojan War.[108] It was taken from the Byzantines by the Seljuk dynasty of Iconium (Konia) in the early thirteenth century, and later acquired the name of Karahisar-i Sahip, in honor of a prominent Seljuk court official. Karahisar became a part of the Ottoman eyalet of Anatolia after the emerging Ottoman state absorbed the region in the early fifteenth century.[109]

Armenians in Afion-Karahisar are first mentioned in sixteenth-century Ottoman fiscal registers.[110] The surnames of the Armenian families who settled there, as preserved in Ottoman court records, give some idea of the breadth and scope of the diverse regions from which they hailed: Bursaliyan, Izmirli, Tokatliyan, Misrloghlu.[111] The community, which was made up largely of Armenian Apostolics but later coming to include Evangelicals and Catholics as well, was situated in the center of the town.

The city and its population grew steadily over the following centuries. Tavernier wrote of his visit to Afion-Karahisar and claimed that he was unable to learn the ancient name of the town because of the fact that the "Greeks and Armenians are very ignorant." He also noted, "All the Armenian Christians, Subjects to the King of Persia, passing through *Aphiom-Carahissar* must

[107] Alpoyachian, *Hushamatian Kutinahayeru*, pp. 95-101.

[108] Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. 4, p. 241.

[109] "Afyon-Karahisar," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Millî Eğıtım Basimevi, 1955), vol. 6, pp. 277-78.

[110] Sadık Sarısaman, "Afyonkarahisar'da Ermeniler 1910-1914 (Şer'iye sicillerine göre)" [Armenians in Afyonkarahisar, 1910-1914 (According to Court Records)] in *Hoşgörü toplumunda Ermeniler*, vol. 4, pp. 95-97.

[111] For more on the names and surnames of the Armenians and a demographic profile based on court records of the Armenians of Afion-Karahisar, see Sarısaman, "Afyonkarahisar'da Ermeniler 1910-1914," pp. 97-108.

there pay *Carage* [kharaj] tax, from which they are not exempted. . . . The Caravan does not stop at *Aphiom-Carahissar*, as well for that there are no Inns but what are ruin'd."[112]

Afion-Karahisar had a population of 45,000 in 1914, 7,000 of whom were Turkish-speaking Armenians engaged primarily in handicrafts and commerce but with some serving as locksmiths, glassmakers, lawyers (representing foreign firms), chemists, and physicians.[113] The community had two Armenian Apostolic churches, Surb Astvatsatsin and Surb Toros, one Armenian Evangelical church, six schools and a kindergarten, and a number of cultural institutions, including two libraries.[114] Many Armenians were subjected to the persecutions of the Abdul Hamid era, and many more perished during the genocide when they were deported in August 1915.[115] Though the Church of Surb Astvatsatsin was vandalized during the genocide, a part of the structure still exists.[116]

Konia/Konya, according to tradition, was the first piece of dry land to appear after the Great Flood. A vast lake once covered much of the plain where it now stands. As the lake dried, a fertile plain was formed, watered by a river flowing down from the Taurus Mountains. In classical times, the city was named Pisidia. It was incorporated into the Byzantine Anatolikon *theme* (province) in the seventh century. The Seljuk Turks sacked the town in 1069, captured it in 1084, and then made it the capital of the Sultanate of Iconium. Striking palaces and mosques were erected, and the *türbes* (tombs) of noted Muslim figures such as the Sufi mystic Jelaleddin (Jalal ad-Din) Rumi made Konia a popular site for pilgrimage. In the fifteenth century, the city was

[112] Tavernier, *Six Voyages*, pp. 37-38.

[113] *Annuaire Oriental*, pp. 1214-17; Sarısaman, "Afyonkarahisar'da Ermeniler 1910-1914," pp. 108-09.

[114] Eprikian, *Patkerazard bnashkharhik bararan*, vol. 1, p. 460; Sarısaman, "Afyonkarahisar'da Ermeniler 1910-1914," pp. 109-13.

[115] See the entry Afion-Karahisar in *Haykakan Sovetakan Hanragitaran*, vol. 2 (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1976), p. 170; Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, p. 566. For cipher telegrams on the deportations see *Armenians in Ottoman Documents 1915-1920*, Document 110, pp. 103-04. It is interesting to note that from 1935-43 the province of Afyonkarahisar came to be represented by an Istanbul Armenian and prominent supporter of Mustafa Kemal, Berç Keresteciyan (Türker).

[116] Sarısaman, "Afyonkarahisar'da Ermeniler 1910-1914," p. 113.

incorporated into the Ottoman Empire and made the capital of the province of Konia. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, Konia was brought within the fold of the rudimentary industrialization of the Ottoman Empire. The construction of the Izmid-Angora Anatolian Railway in 1890-95 included a feeder line to Konia, and later the city became a stopover point for the Berlin-Baghdad Railway.

The date of the earliest Armenian presence in Konia is uncertain. Latin chroniclers accompanying the knights of the First Crusade refer to a small community of Armenians living in the vicinity of Iconium at the end of the eleventh century.[117] Ottoman fiscal registers show only twenty-two Christians living in the city in the sixteenth century.[118] The community must have grown rather rapidly thereafter, because a colophon of an Armenian illuminated manuscript executed in Konia in 1630 gives the name of not only its patron but also the names of the two local Armenian churches, Surb Astvatsatsin and Surb Toros.[119] Armenian churches named Surb Astvatsatsin also existed in the provincial towns of Boz, Burdur, and Nevshehir.[120]

Traveler accounts reveal useful details about the Armenian community of Konia. Simeon Lehatsi wrote that, while the Armenians living in the inner city (referred to as *nersetsik*) did not know Armenian, those living in the suburbs did.[121] A report published by the British and Foreign Bible Society by a visitor to Konia in 1824 noted that the Armenians wrote Turkish with Armenian characters and had a school where such instruction was given, as well as a church with three priests. According to his information, there were 100 Armenian households, alongside 60 Greek, among the 14,000 homes in the city.[122] The number of

[117] Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 189.

[118] Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire Ottoman aux XV[e] et XVI[e] siècles," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1 (1958): 35, Table 7.

[119] Avedis Sanjian, *Medieval Armenian Manuscripts at the University of California, Los Angeles* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), p. 206.

[120] Safrastyan, "Haykakan ekeghetsineri ev vankeri tsutsaknere," p. 108.

[121] Simeon Lehatsi, *The Travel Accounts of Simeon of Poland*, p. 278.

[122] "Extracts from a Journal of Mr. Barker's Tour into Asia Minor...," *Twentieth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with an Appendix*, (London: Augustus Applegath, 1824), p. 83.

Armenians living in and around Konia was estimated at 9,700 in the late 1890s.[123] By the beginning of World War I, there were, according to Ottoman census figures, 12,971 Armenians.[124] Most of Konia's Armenian population was concentrated in the Allahaddin quarter of the city.[125]

Vital Cuinet reported that the Konia community operated nine schools, all but one of which were for boys.[126] Popular pastimes included picnicking, spending the summer in the gardens and vineyards located on the outskirts of the town, and even watching the whirling dervishes, for which Konia was particularly renowned.[127] A genocide survivor born in Konia at the turn of the century recalls the Armenians having cordial relations with the town's relatively affluent Muslims, spending time with them and playing with their children.[128]

The Armenians of Konia became targets of government persecution even before the Ottoman Empire entered World War I in October 1914. In August of that year, the governor of Konia province, Azmi Bey, extorted large sums of money from the community, ostensibly to help pay for the upcoming war. The following year, Azmi Bey ordered raids into Armenian schools and homes and had more than a hundred Armenian intellectuals, teachers, and businessmen arrested and dispatched eastward to their doom in Sultaniye.

Konia also became a waypoint or final destination for Armenians being deported from both the western and eastern Ottoman provinces.[129] In June 1915, Azmi Bey was transferred to the Lebanon and replaced by Jelal Bey, a governor who was far more well-disposed to the Armenians. No Armenians were deported during his tenure as governor, but Ottoman officials sought to take advantage of his absence when he had to leave for the capital for medical reasons.

[123] Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1892), vol. 1, p. 804.

[124] Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914*, p. 180, Table I.17.A.

[125] Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire Ottoman*, p. 173.

[126] Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. 1, p. 811.

[127] Dirouhi Kouymjian Highgas, *Refugee Girl* (Watertown, MA: Baikar Publications, 1985), pp. 2, 31-35.

[128] Ibid., p. 6.

[129] Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, pp. 571-72. For a first-person account, see Highgas, *Refugee Girl*, pp. 43ff. For Ottoman telegrams on the process of the deportations in Konia, see *Armenians in Ottoman Documents 1915-1920*, Documents 123-25, 127, pp. 112-14.

In August 1915, the Young Turk officials organized the deportation of the remaining Armenians. In a memorandum dated August 6, 1915, the Greek vice consul of Konia gave a lengthy description of the deportees passing through the city:

One paragraph reads:

> Armenian inhabitants of the villages around Constantinople, Adabazar, and elsewhere arrive here daily by the trainload. They stop here for two days and are then despatched to the interior of the country, by train to a certain point and thence on foot to Aleppo and Baghdad. It may quite well be said that these unfortunate people are being sent to their death, for it is by now certain that not one of them will reach the end of this long journey alive. All will succumb, whether to hunger, to exhaustion, to sunstroke, or to other causes, for during their short stay here, in the open air on the land around the railway station, exposed to the sun's beating rays, they fall fainting or half dead, particularly the women and the girls. These unfortunate creatures arouse pity and horror. Many of them, in order to obtain their daily bread and the price of a train ticket, sell off all that they have with them at pitifully low prices. Many of them sell even their own children at the ludicrous price of 20-30 grosses (*kurush*), thereby relieving themselves of an extra burden on the long road they have to tread. Many daughters of undoubtedly good families have married laborers or railway porters in order to escape certain death, while others have converted to Islam. It is truly a satanic device to exterminate whole populations by the expedient of displacement, for it is certain that all the Armenians living in Turkey are going to suffer this fate.[130]

The local Armenian church was demolished and houses, properties, and other goods and belongings were put up for sale, as Konia was emptied of its Armenian population.[131] After the Turkish surrender to the Allies, the city was occupied by a small Italian military expeditionary force in April 1919, and those Konia Armenians who had survived the death marches slowly began to trickle back. But conditions worsened after the Italian troops withdrew in March 1920. The Turkish authorities, now

[130] Quoted in Ioannis K. Hassiotis, "The Armenian Genocide and the Greeks: Response and Records (1915-1923)," in *The Armenian Genocide: History, Politics, Ethics*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), pp. 145-46.

[131] Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, p. 573.

owing allegiance to the Nationalists headed by Mustafa Kemal renewed the persecution of the Armenians, confiscating their properties and applying pressure to have them renounce their citizenship and leave without any form of remuneration.[132]

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The data presented in this overview allow for several preliminary observations. Based on the sources, it appears that Armenians began to settle in western Asia Minor in large numbers during the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely that great numbers of Armenians lived in this area prior to the Ottoman-Persian wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These wars were one of the main reasons that the communities were founded and grew. The Armenians were fleeing from the disorder that reigned in their homelands, but as Minas Gasapian has shown, their reputation as craftsmen, merchants, and tradesmen proved equally alluring for the Ottomans to settle them in the region surrounding their capital city. By and large, the Armenians were able to preserve their culture and were allowed to practice their religion despite being second-class citizens in a Muslim empire. Episodes of persecution varied from region to region and city to city, but ultimately it was the xenophobic nationalism of the Young Turk regime that would under the cover of World War I spell the end of all these communities.

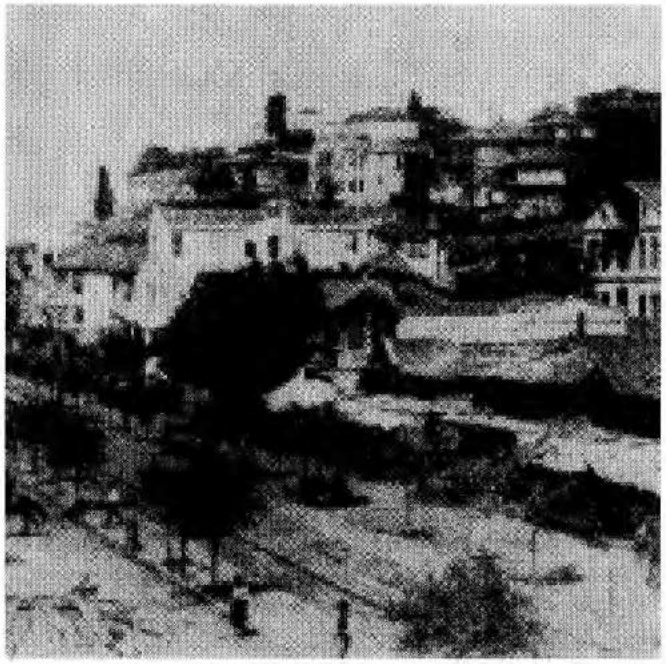
Even though most of the Armenian communities of western Asia Minor were far removed from the war zones, they were subjected to the same systematic pattern of deportation, exile, and massacre experienced in the eastern provinces. This applied to numerous cities, towns, and villages such as Izmid, Bardizag, Dongel, Ovajik, Armash, Arslanbeg, Adabazar, Sapanja, Ferikli, Geyve, Merdigoz, Kartsi, Klujkiugh, Manushag, Eshme, Kurdbelen, Yalakdere, Knjelar, Yalova, Hayots Kiugh, Shakshak, Bolu, Devreg, Iznik, Banderma, Bursa, Bilejik, Inegol, Medz Norkiugh, Keramit, Chengiler, Soloz, Gemlik, Bazarkoy, Michakiugh, Gurle, Manias, Balikesir, Ermenikoy, Aydinjik, Muradchai, Nor Kiugh, Arslanik, Edremit, Eski-Shehir, Sivri-Hisar, Ushak, Afion-Karahisar, Akshehir, Nighde, and Konia.[133]

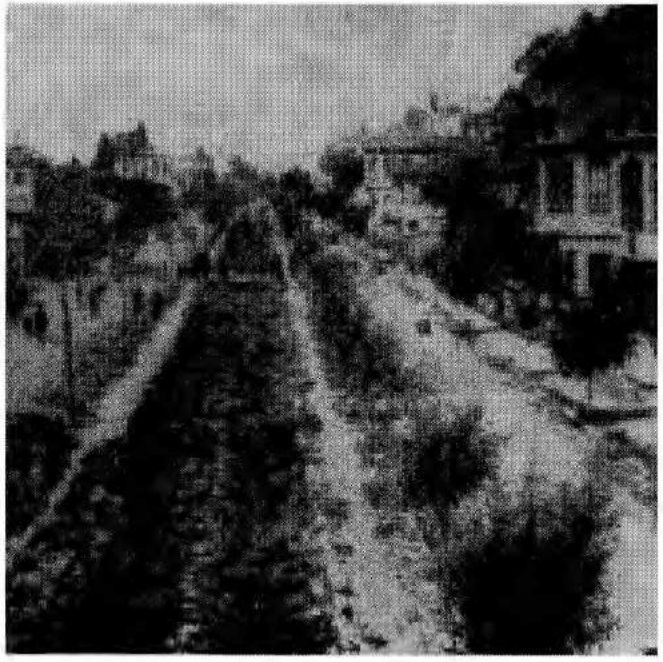
[132] See Highgas' vivid account of this period in *Refugee Girl*, pp. 109-26.

[133] A particularly important source of information on the Armenian survivors—mainly children and young women—from these towns are the intake forms of the Rescue Home in Aleppo, which was run under the aegis of the League of Nations by the Danish humanitarian worker Karen Jeppe in the early 1920s. For a sampling of the stories of these Armenian orphans, see Archives of the League of Nations, United Nations Organization, Geneva, Records of the Nansen International Refugee Office, 1920-1947, Registers of the Inmates of the Armenian Orphanage in Aleppo, 1922-1930, C1603/499/1125, C1603/499/1330, C1603/499/1371, C1603/499/1420 (Adabazar); C1601/497/240, C1601/497/317, C1601/497/561 (Bursa); C1601/497/9, C1602/498/849, C1602/498/931 (Eski-Shehir); C1603/499/1016, C1603/499/1138, C1603/499/1866 (Izmid); C1601/497/10 (Banderma); C1603/499/1121, C1603/499/1307 (Bardizag).

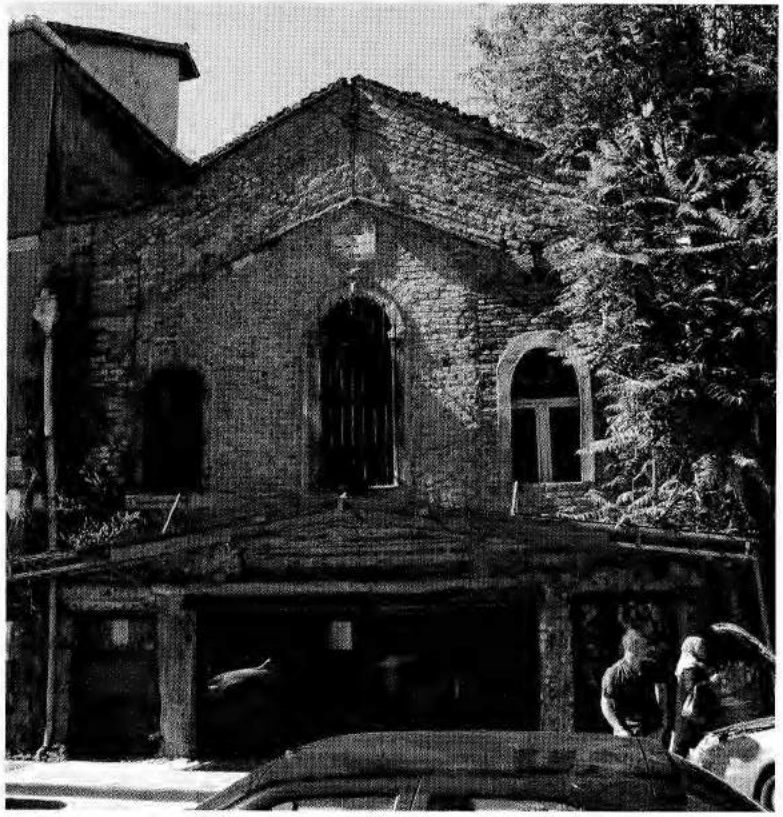
The region has developed and prospered in recent decades, but the story of its Armenian communities has been progressively obliterated, destroying in the process a fundamental layer of its own history.

Izmid: The Gulf



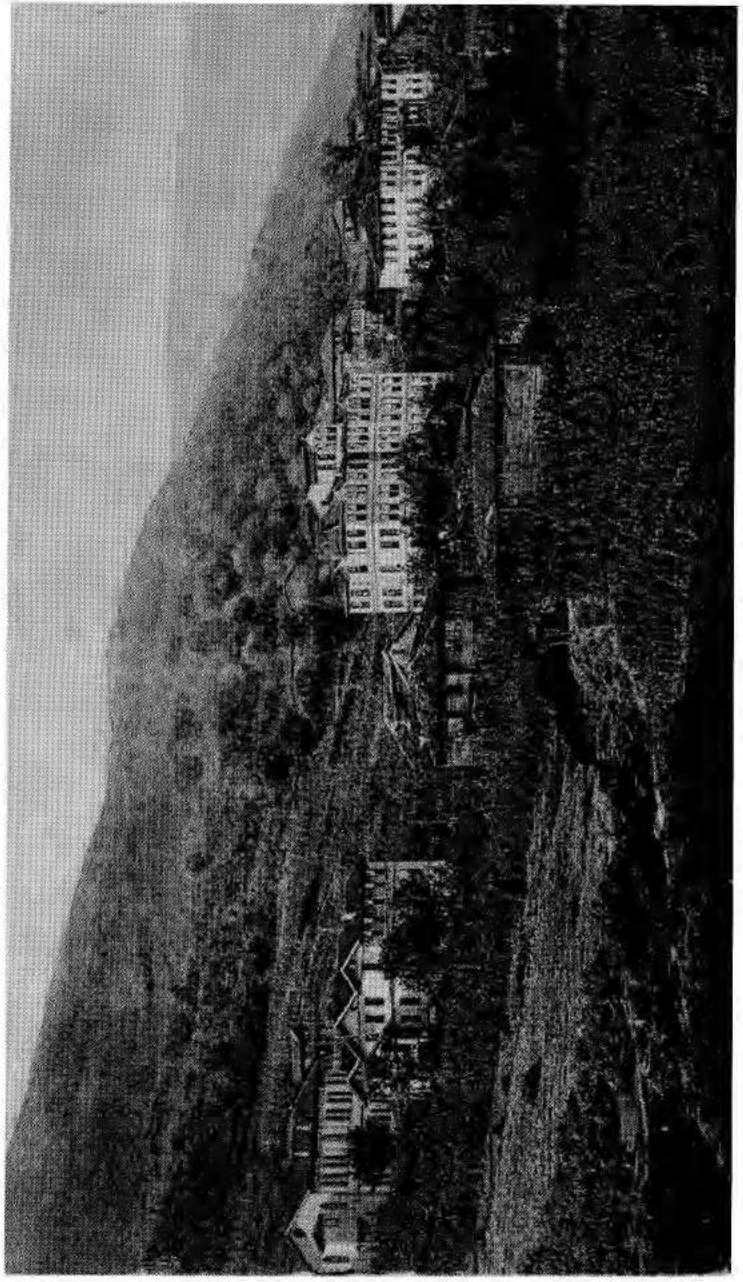


Izmid: Street Scenes

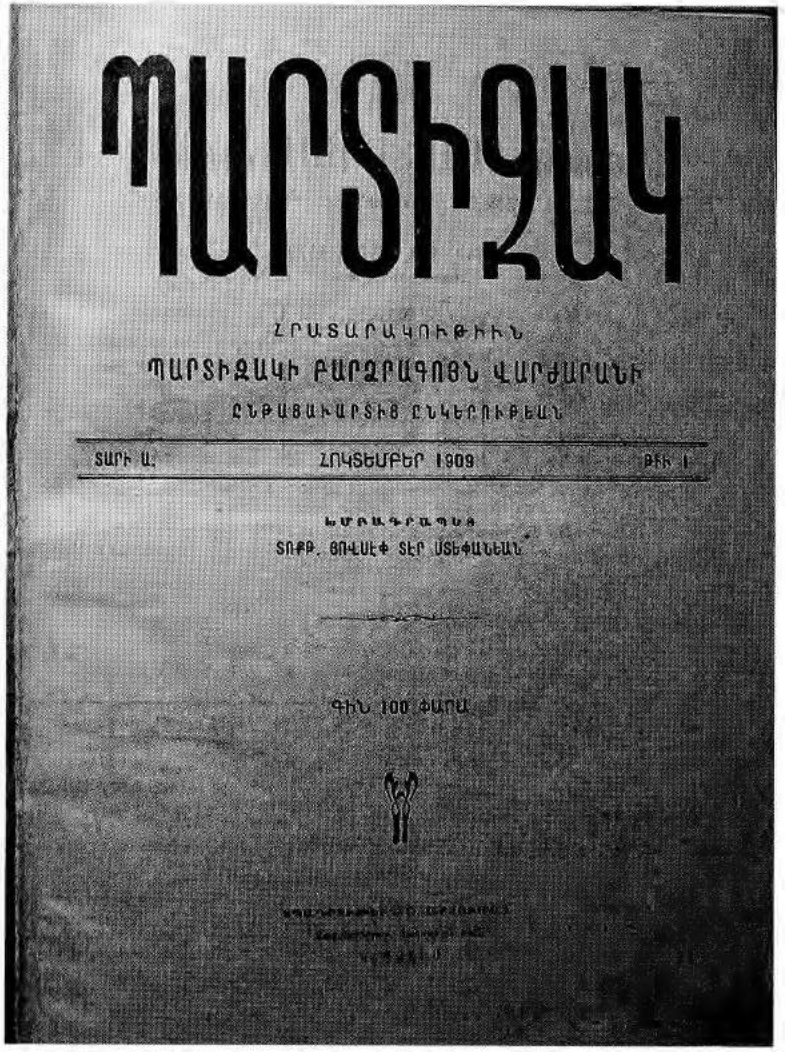


Izmid: Armenian Building, 1892

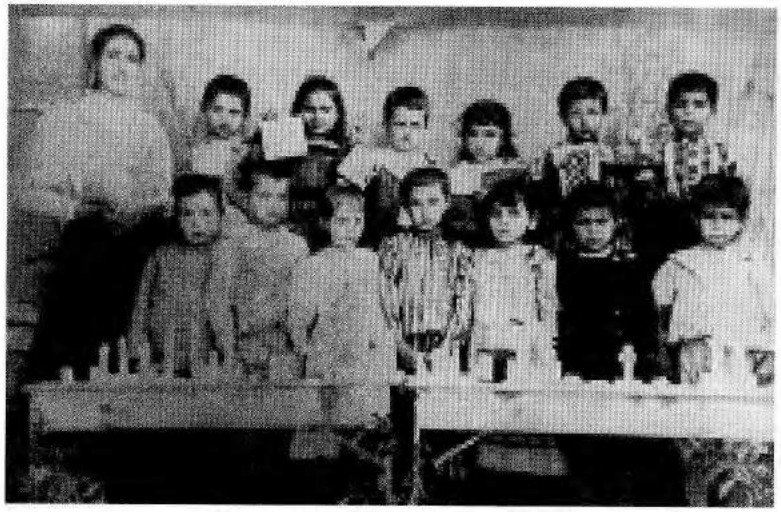
Izmid: Armenian Home, 1901



Bardizag: Bithynia High School



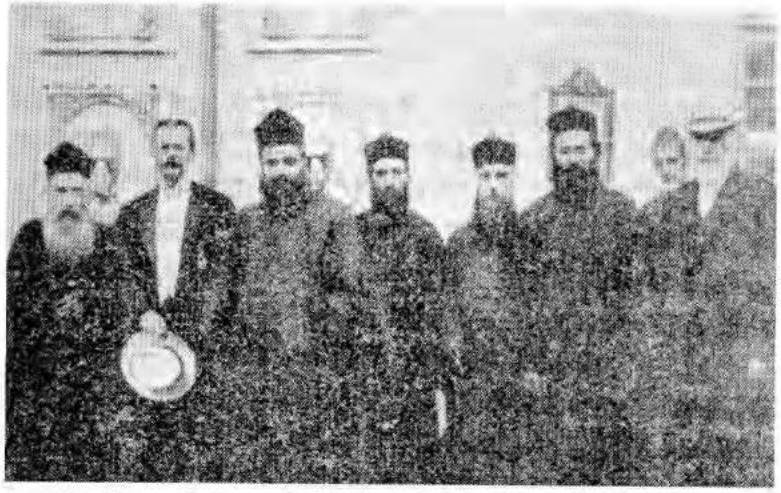
Bardizag: Publication of Bithynia Alumni Association, 1909-11



Bardizag: Kindergarten, 1895

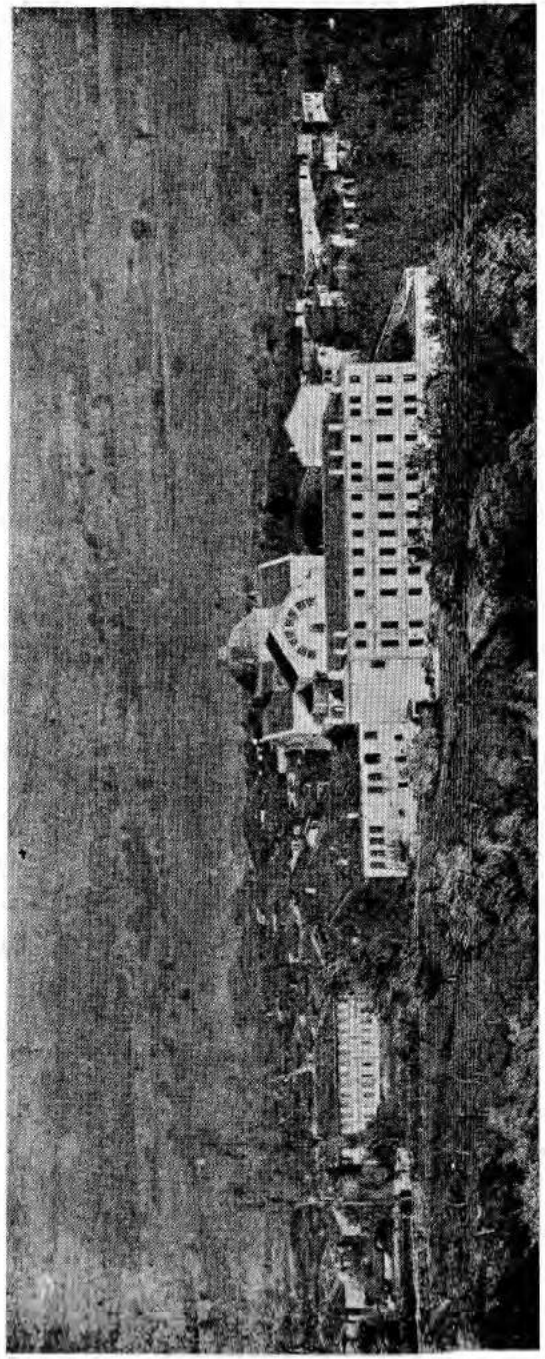
Bardizag: National Boys' School
(Azgayin Varzharan)

Bardizag: National Secondary School Graduates



Bardizag: Reverends Orson Allen and Robert Chambers
with Armenian Priests

Bardizag: Plundered Armenian Homes after 1915

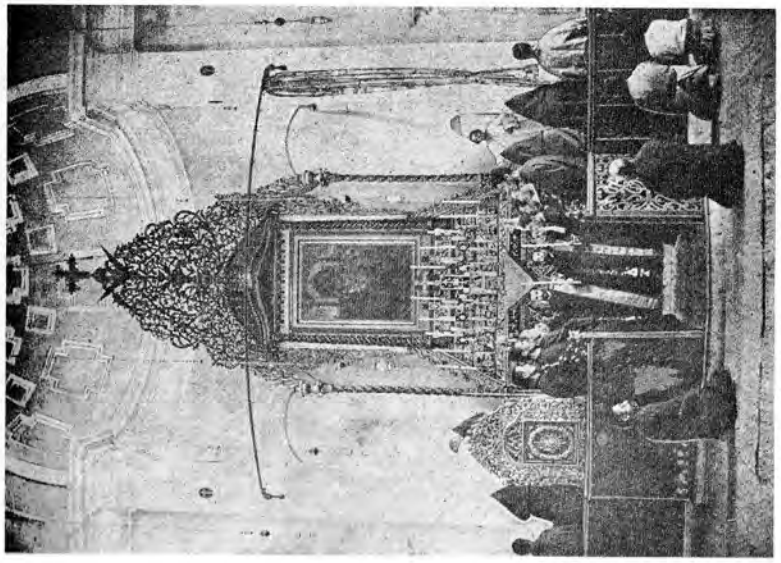


Armash: Charkhapan Surb Astvatsatsin Monastery

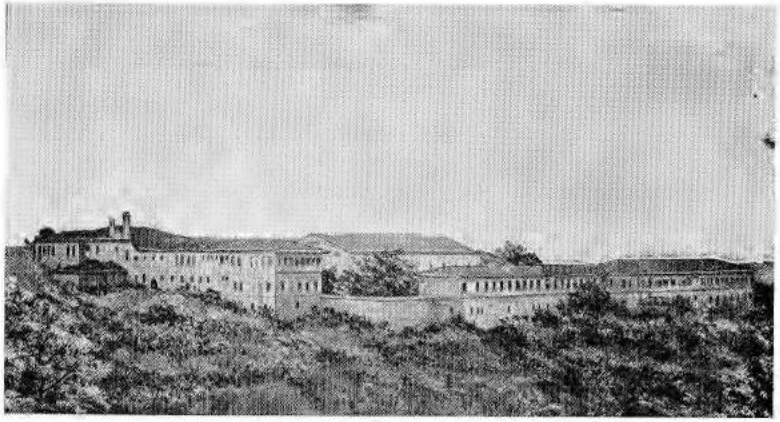
Armash: Surb Astvatsatsin

Armash: *Hoys* (Hope), 1864

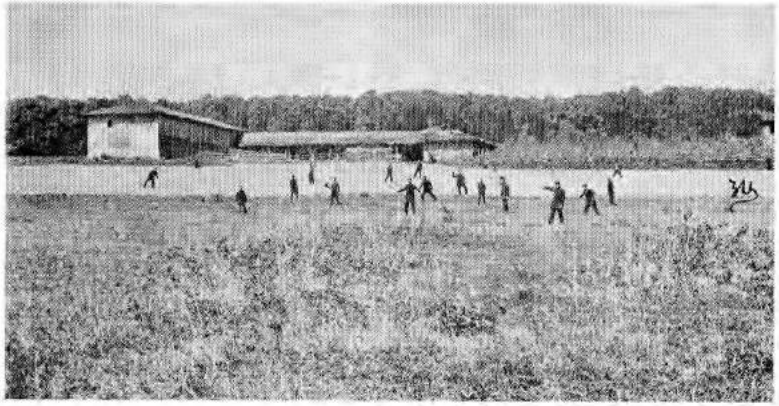
Armash: Abbot (Later Patriarch) Khoren Asheghian



Armash: Surb Astvatsatsin Altar



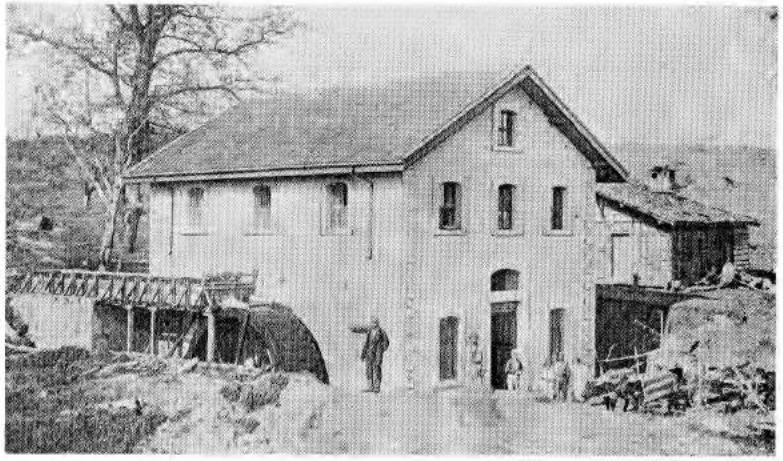
Armash: The Seminary



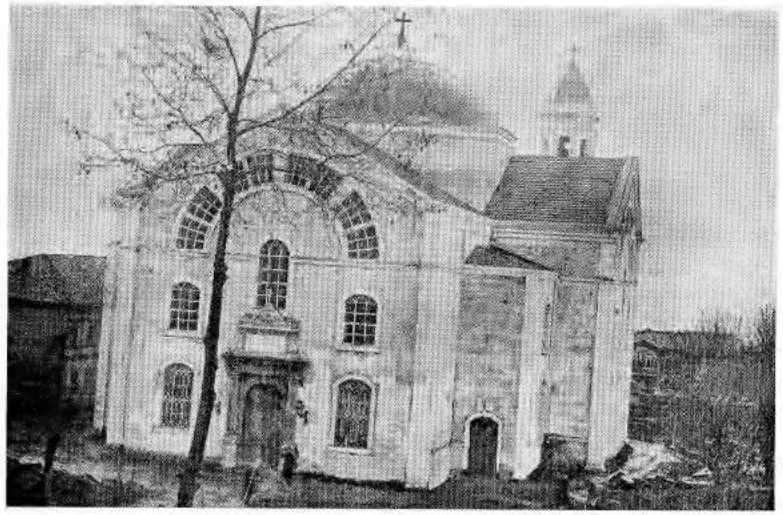
Armash: Physical Education

Armash: Dean Eghishe Turian, Students, and Deacons

Armash: Archbishop Maghakia Ormanian, Eghishe Vardapet Turian, and Deacons

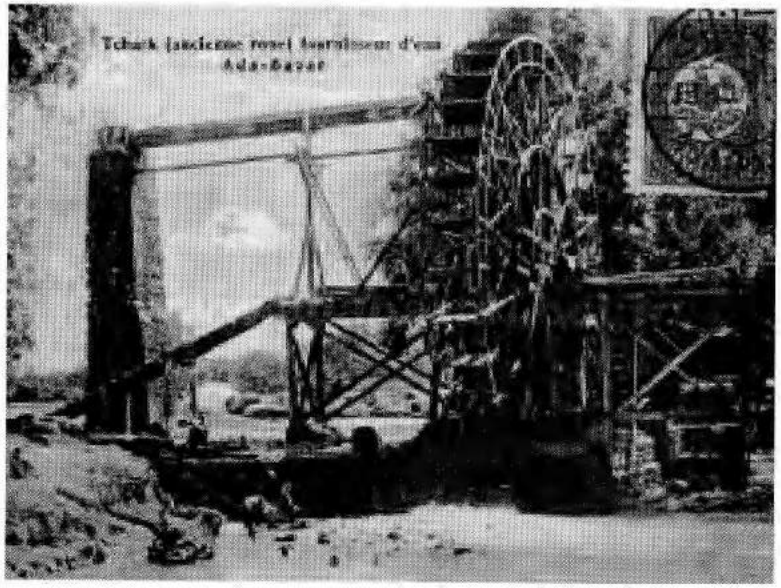


Armash: The Mill, Then and Now



Armash: The Church Replaced by the Mosque

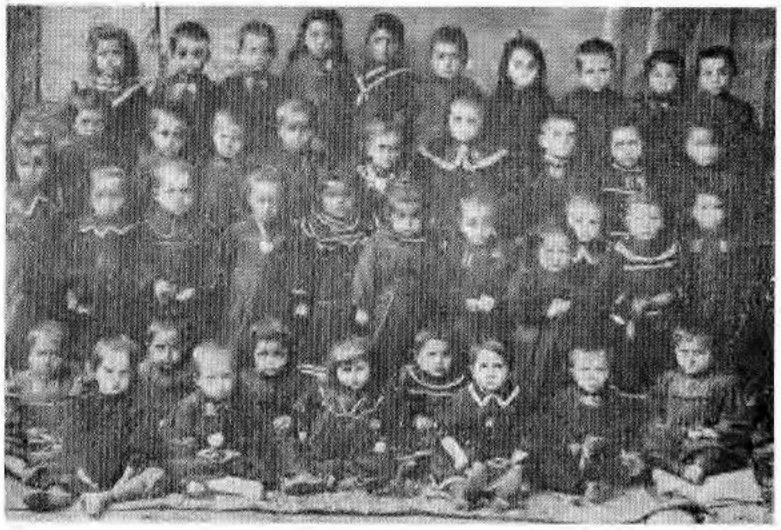
Adabazar: Street Scene

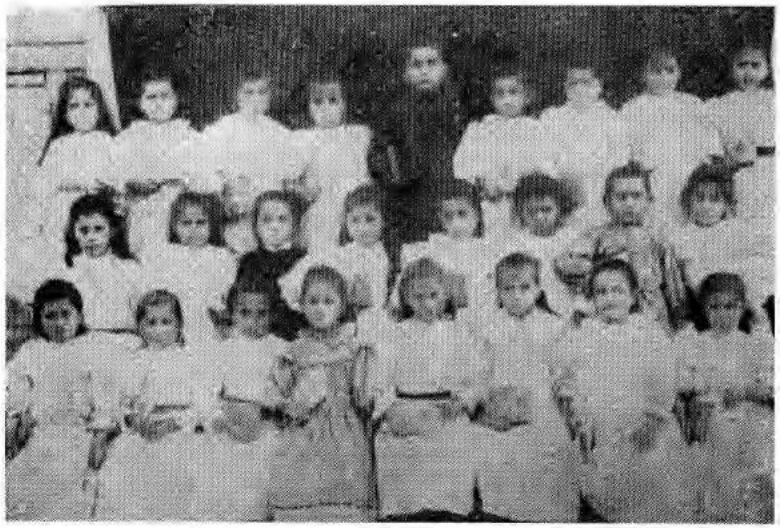


Adabazar: Chark Waterwheel on the Sakaria River

Adabazar: Surb Hreshtakapet (Archangel) Quarter

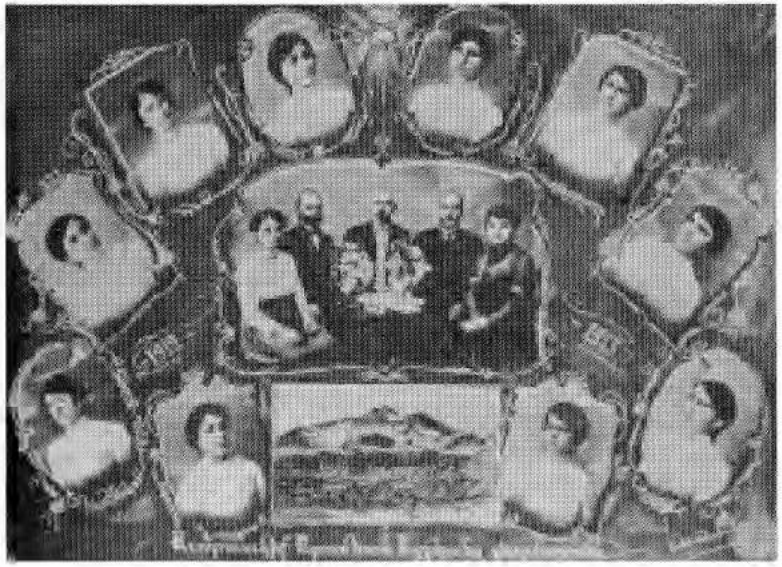
Adabazar: Surb Karapet (John the Precursor) Quarter





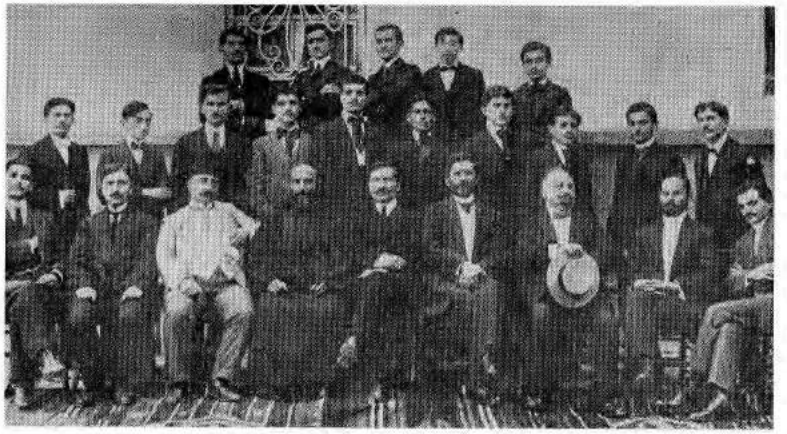
Adabazar: Hreshtakapet Kindergarten, Early 1900s and 1912

Adabazar: Aramian Boys' School Graduates, 1900



Adabazar: Aramian Girls' School Graduates, 1913

Adabazar: Gayanian Girls' School Graduates, 1912



Adabazar: National Secondary School Graduates, 1913 and 1914

ԵՐԿԻՐ

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Journal ERKIR
Ada-Bazar (Turquie)

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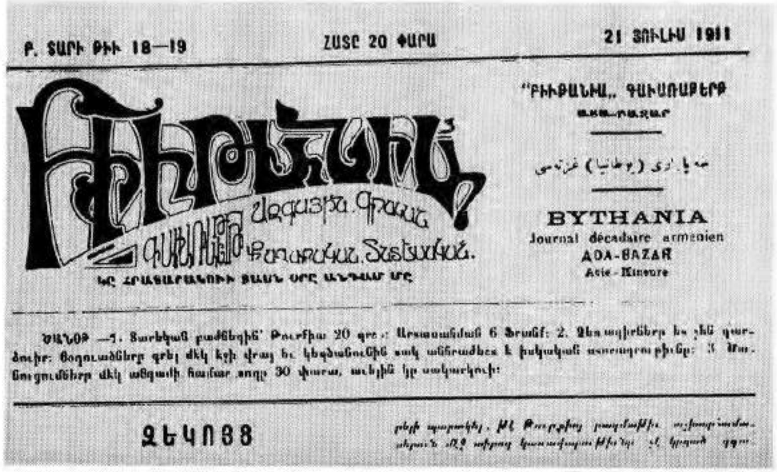

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"ԲԻԹԱՆԻԱ" ԳԱՒԱՌԱԹԵՐԹ
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BYTHANIA
Journal décadaire arménien
ADA-BAZAR
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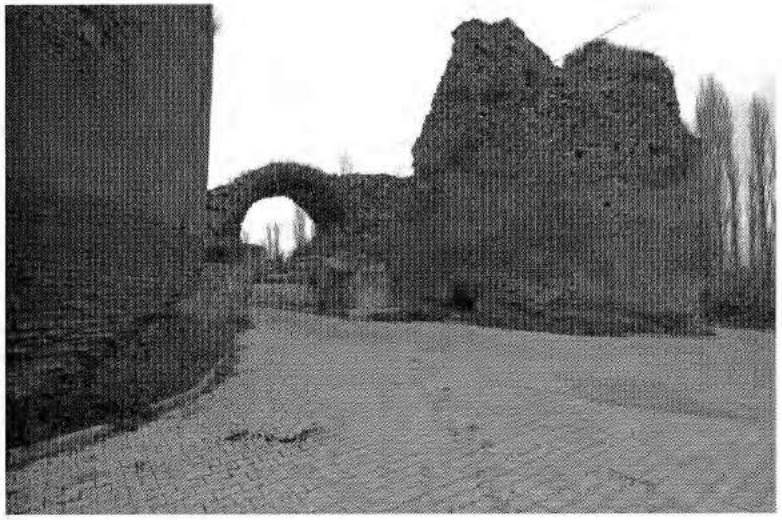
ԶԵԿՈՅՑ

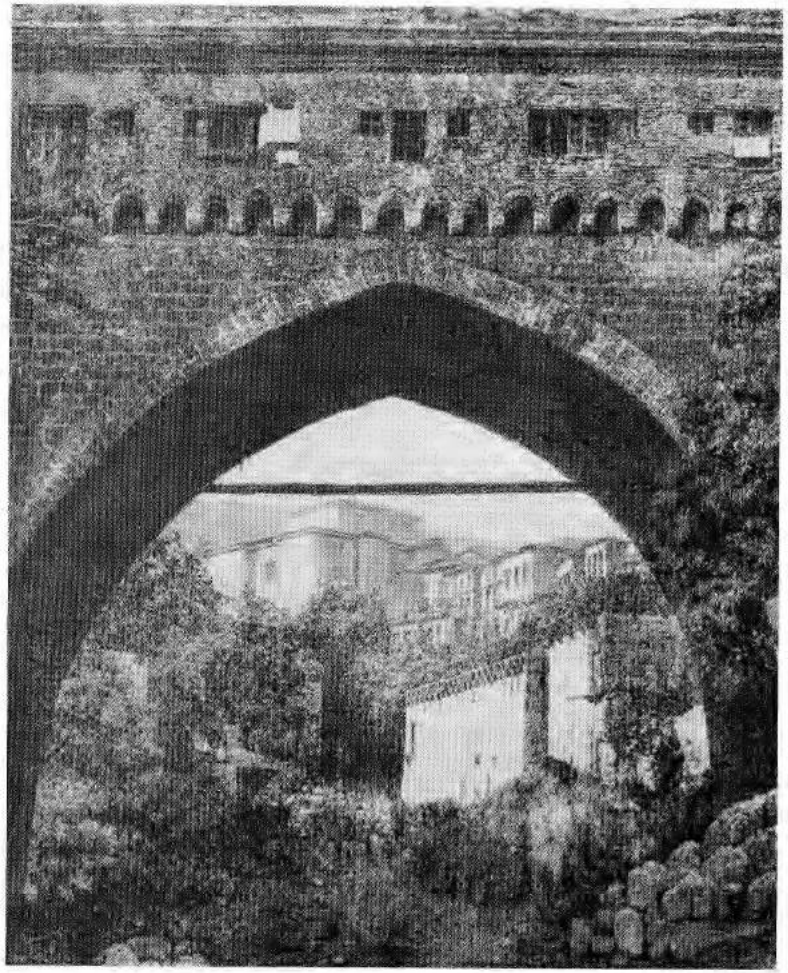
Adabazar: *Erkir* (Homeland) and *Biutania* (Bithynia)
Newspapers

Adabazar: Return from Exile, 1919

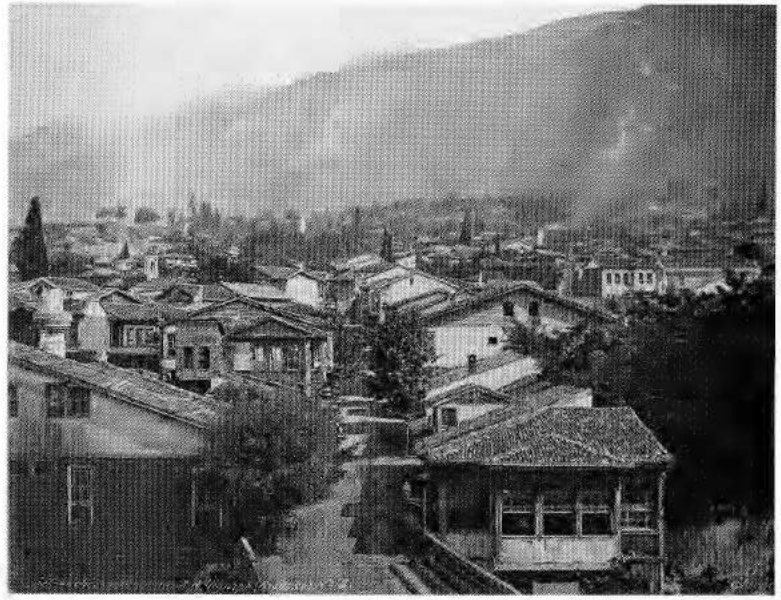
Bolu



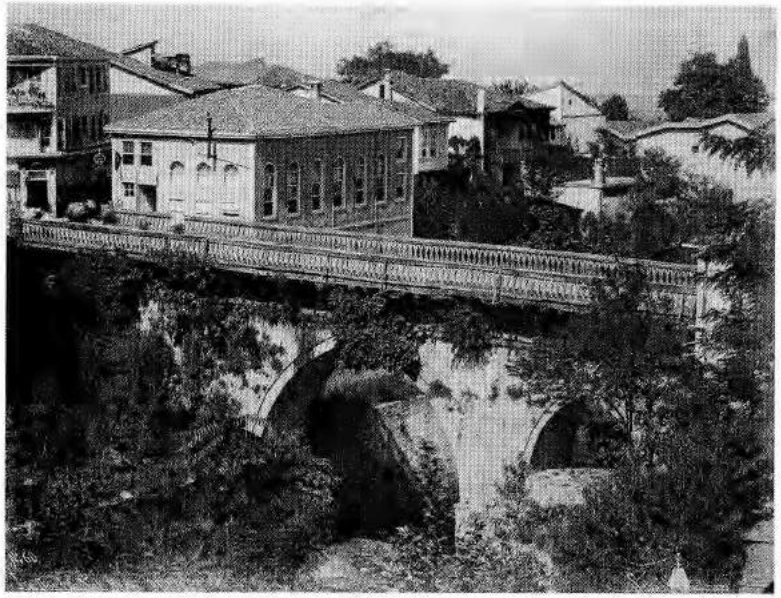
Iznik (Nicaea)

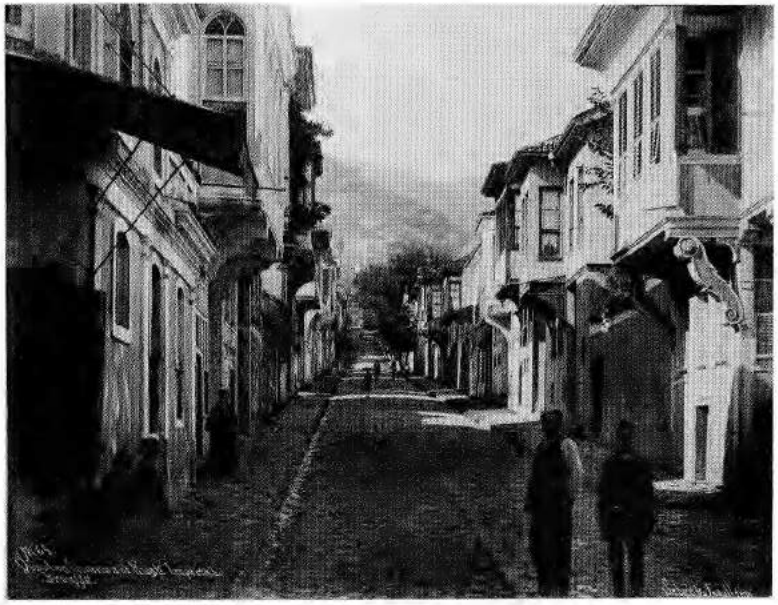


Bursa/Brusa



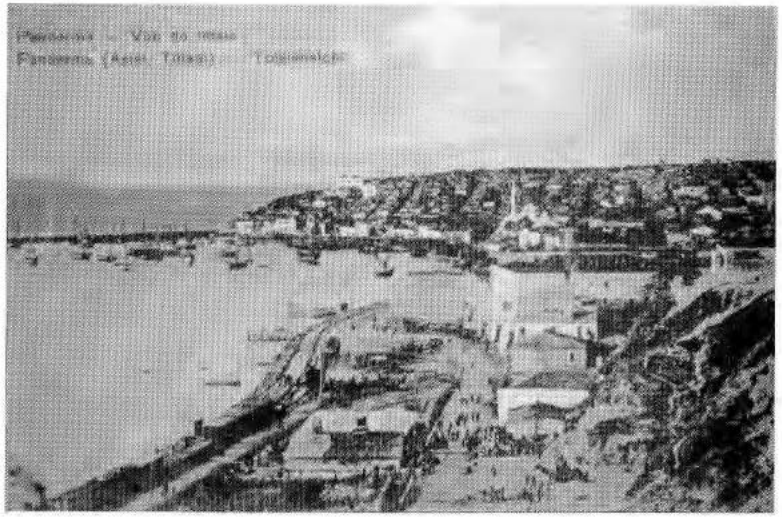
Bursa: Setbashi Quarter



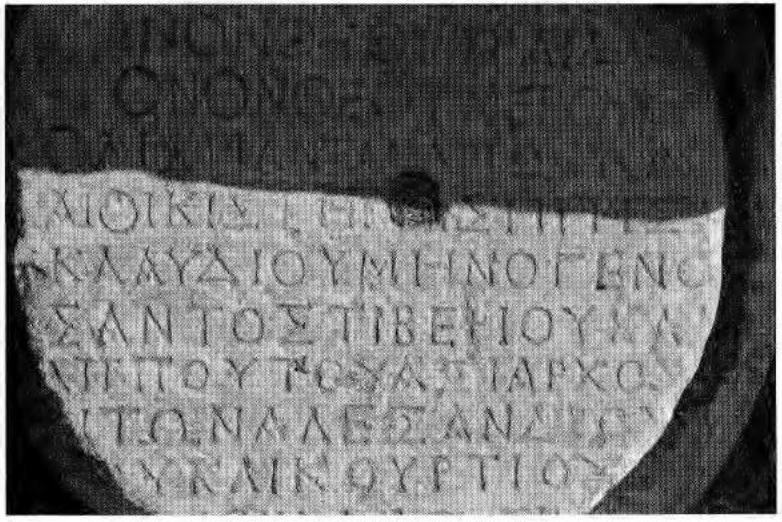


Bursa: Setbashi Bridge and Armenian Homes

Bursa: Silk Cocoon Producers and Silk Spinners

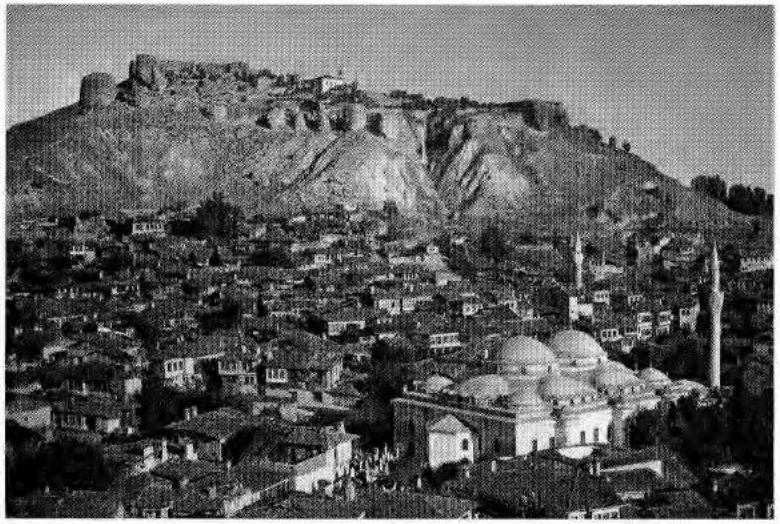


Banderma



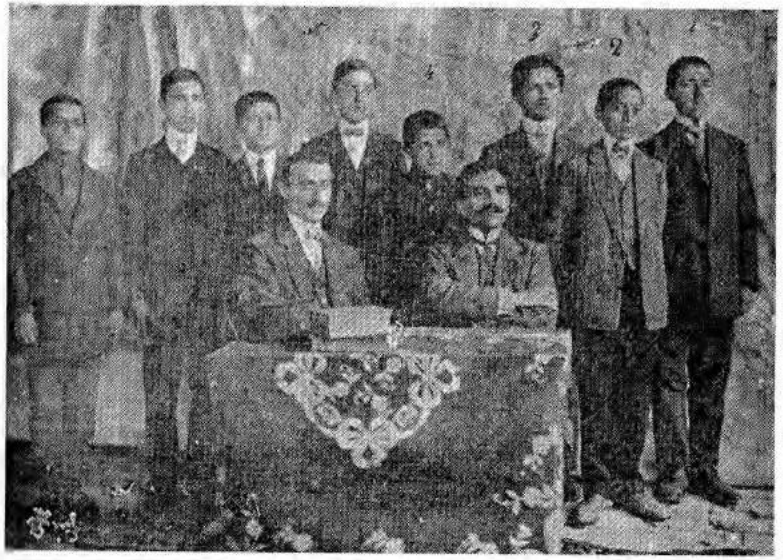
Balikesir

Eski-Shehir: Panorama and Former Armenian Quarter



Kutahia: Fortress and Surb Astvatsatsin Quarter

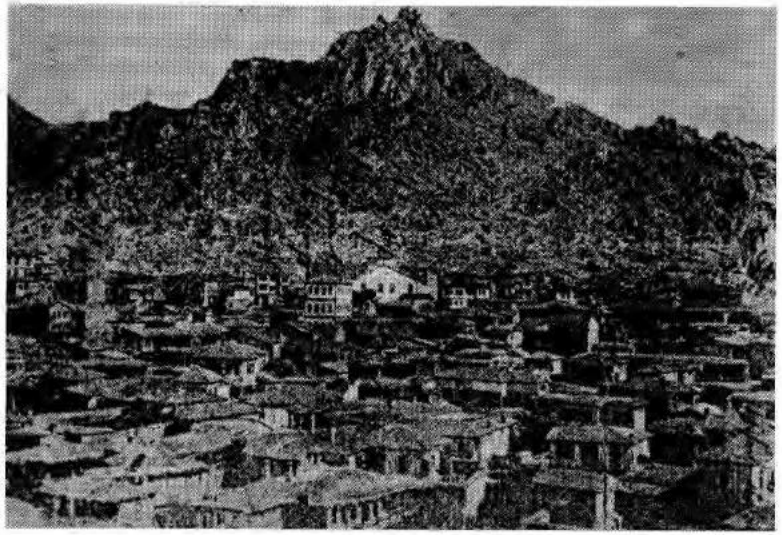
Kutahia: Street Scenes



Kutahia: Surb Echmiadzin School, Principal and Graduates

Kutahia: Surb Echmiadzin School, Physical Education

Kutahia: Armenian Young Men's Association

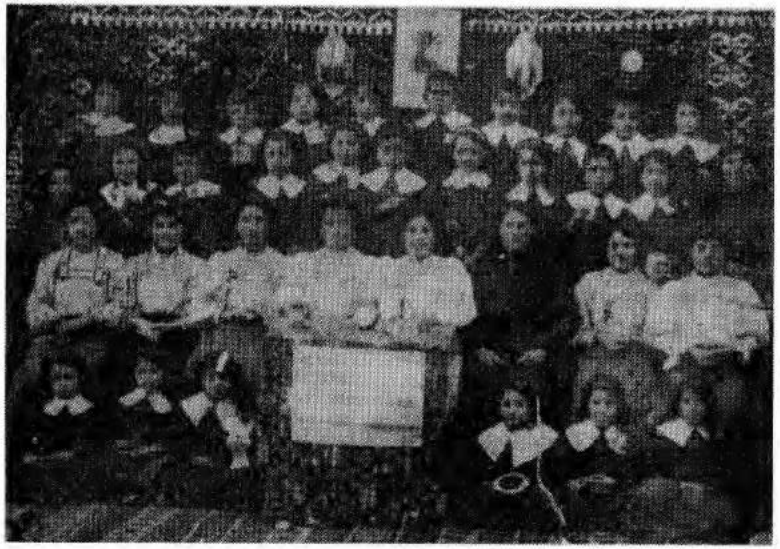


Sivri-Hisar: Fortress and Armenian Quarter

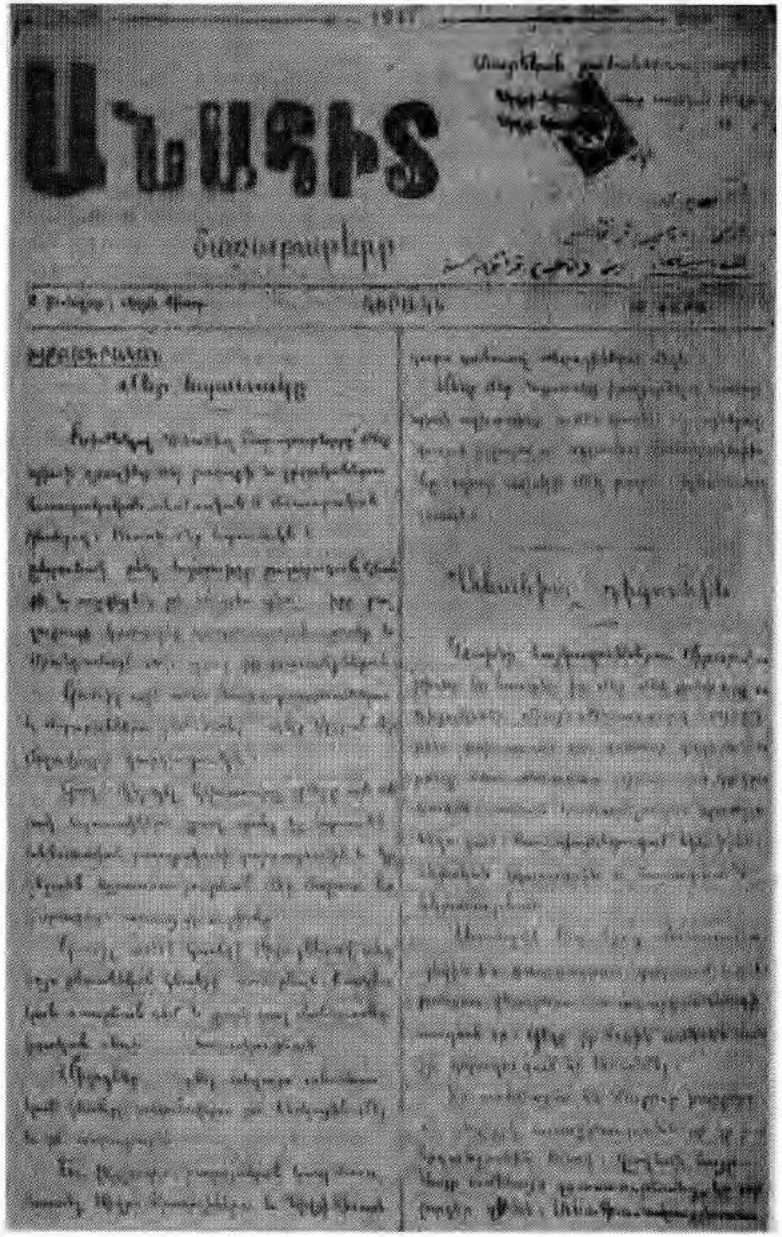
Sivri-Hisar: Armenian Merchants

Sivri-Hisar: Nersesian Boys' School, 1895

Sivri-Hisar: Hripsimiants Girls' School, 1895



Sivri-Hisar: Kindergarten, 1912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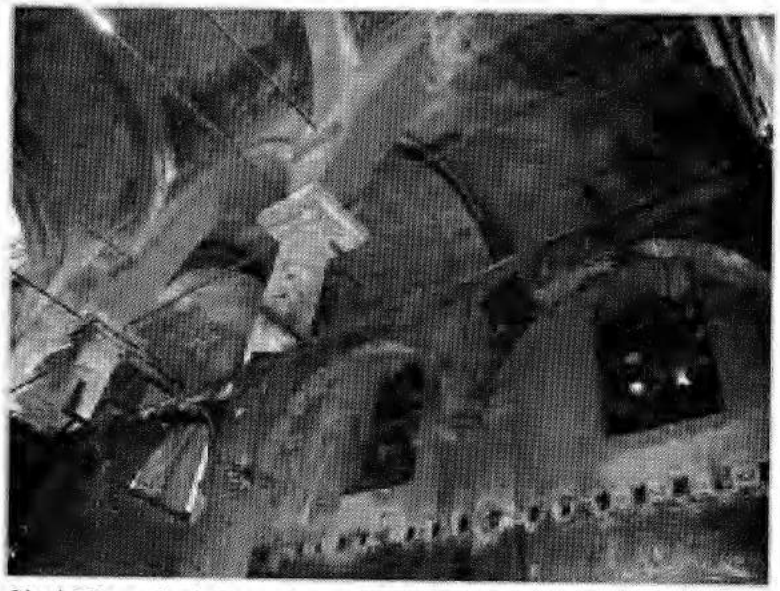
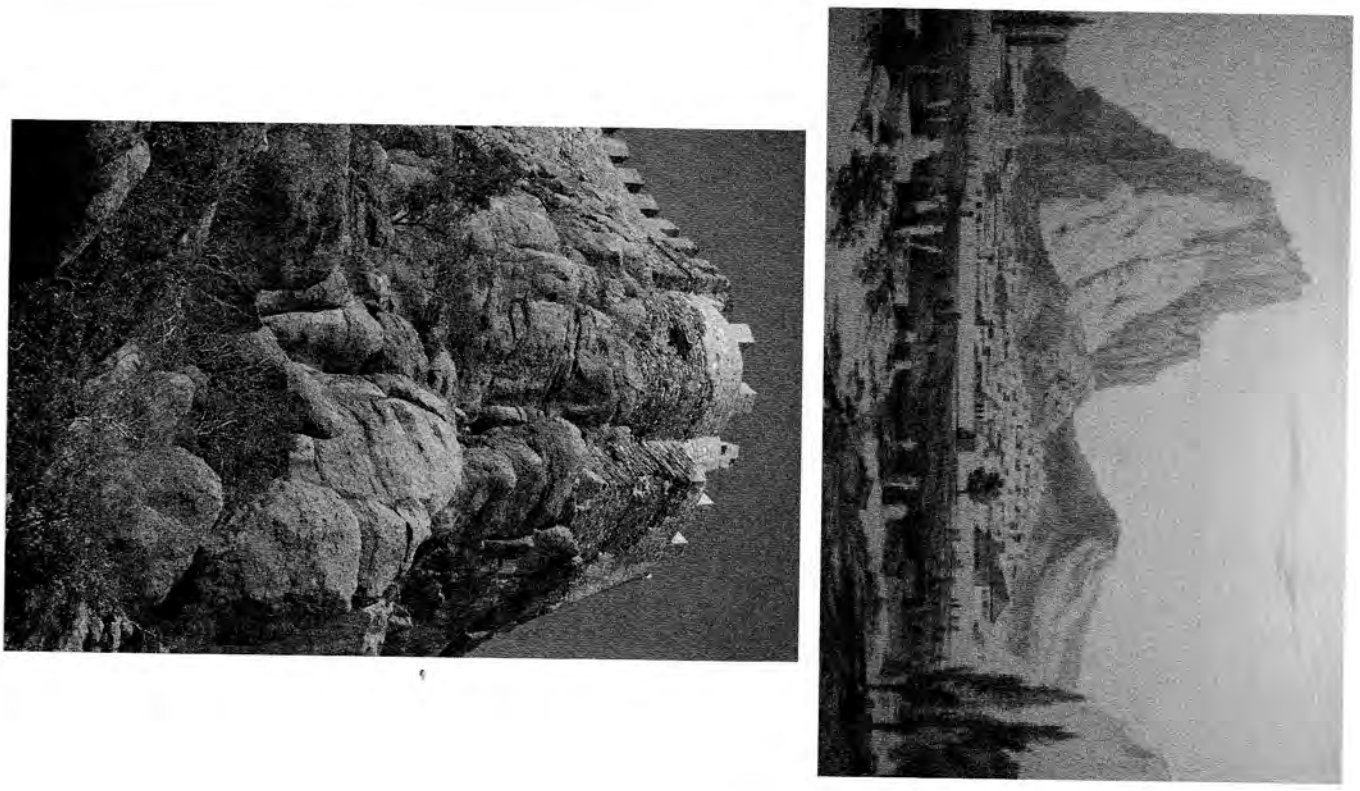
Sivri-Hisar: *Anahid* Weekly, 1911

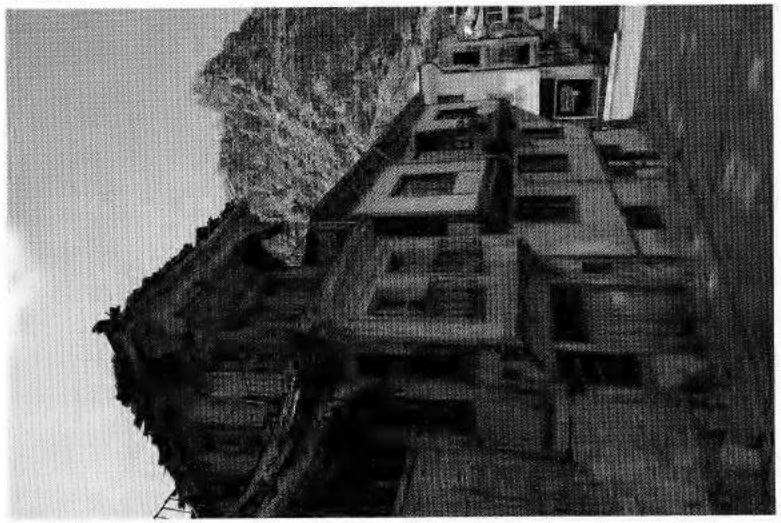


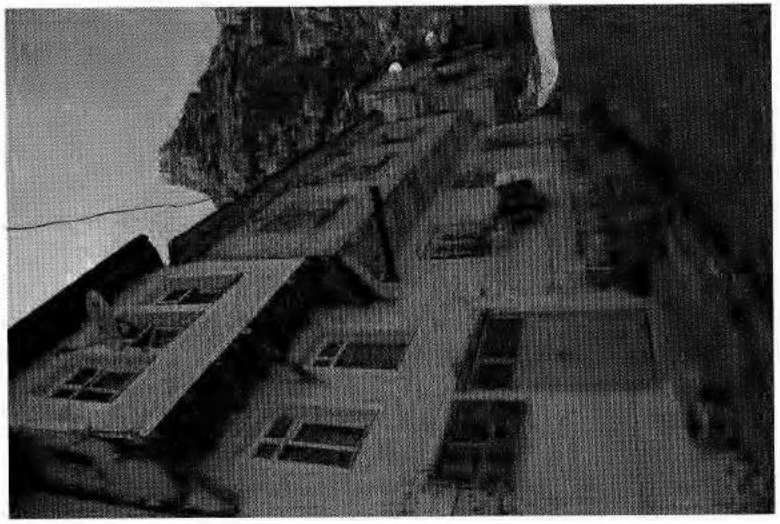
Sivri-Hisar: Surb Errordutiun (Holy Trinity) Church and Interior (Current)

Sivri-Hisar: Surb Errordutiun Entry and Window (Current)

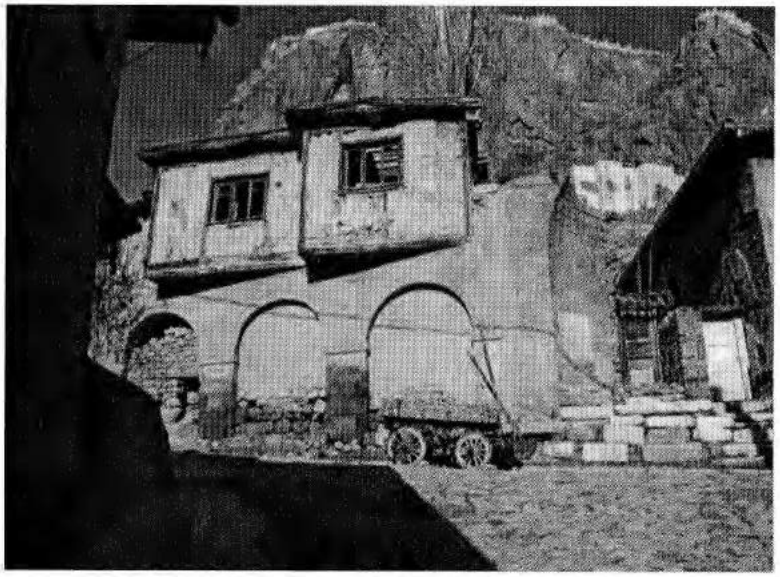


Afion-Karahisar: The Fortress

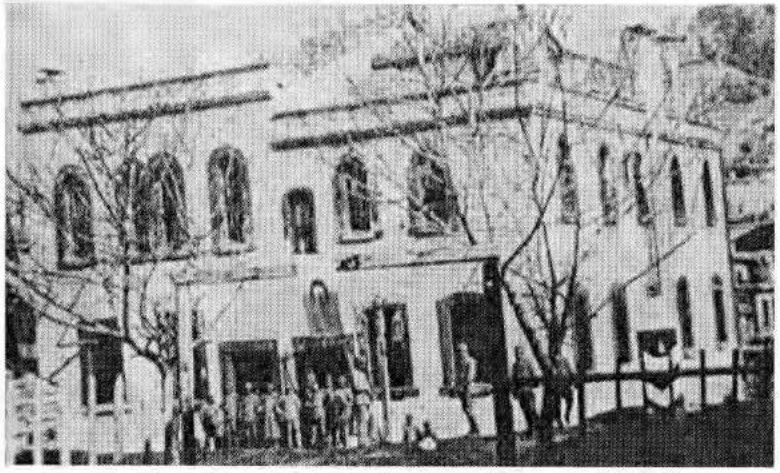




Afion-Karahisar: Former Armenian Quarter



Afion-Karahisar: Miriam Ana (Astvatsatsin) Church



Afion-Karahisar: Former Armenian Protestant School

Konia: Sahakian School Graduates, 1910

Konia: Tutunjian String Orchestra

❀ 3 ❀

The Armenian Community of the Konia Region in the Seljuk Period

S. Peter Cowe

The focus of this essay is the contribution of the Armenian communities of central Asia Minor to the development of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum, highlighting their importance in the interconnected spheres of state formation, international trade, construction and entrepreneurship, as well as their involvement in various Seljuk religious initiatives. Where appropriate, the discussion will also extend to include relations between the sultanate and its southern neighbor, Armenian Cilicia.[1] Inevitably, a series of parallels is observable between the two states that came into existence as a result of Seljuk incursions into the region over the eleventh century in response to pressure from Central Asia and the collapse of the Byzantine eastern defenses. These resulted in the creation first of the Great Seljuk Empire,[2] from which the sultanate emerged as an offshoot,[3] while the

[1] Although relations between the states were often marked by rivalry and hostility, cultural interchange also occurred. In this connection, it is likely that the spread of public hospitals throughout the main cities of the Sultanate over the thirteenth century had some impact on the establishment of one in the Cilician capital Sis by Queen Zabel in 1241, on which, see S. Peter Cowe, "'On Nature' by Išōx/Išō': Study of a 13th Century Cosmographical Treatise in its Linguistic and Cultural Milieu," in *Calliope, Mélanges offerts à Francine Mawet*, ed. Sylvie Vanséveren (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), p. 105. For Kaykaus I's hospital in Kayseri, see Henry Crane, "Notes on Saldjūq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 36 (1993): 12, and, more generally, Osman Turan, "Les souverains seldjoukides et leur sujets non-musulmans," *Studia Islamica*, 1 (1953): 88.

[2] For a treatment of this background, see Aziz Başan, *The Great Seljuqs: A History* (London & New York: Routledge, 2010), and Andrew C.S. Peacock, *Early Seljūq History: A New Interpretation* (London, New York: Routledge, 2010).

[3] For the precise circumstances behind this development, see Ahmet Y. Ocak,

breakdown in the Byzantine command structure led to the creation of a constellation of Armenian-governed statelets in the Levant and Euphrates sector, out of which the Rubenian fiefdom of Vahka evolved as the nucleus of a Cilician kingdom.[4] Although Suleyman ibn Kutalmish promulgated the sultanate's independence at Nicaea in 1077, a variety of setbacks led to the state's realignment around the core of Konia (now Konya) in about 1092.[5] Consequently, both Rum and Cilicia began life in the central hill country before gradually expanding toward the seacoast and contact with the Italian maritime states. In the course of this expansion, which brought the two polities into direct conflict, especially in the period from the 1180s to 1220s, they interacted with the same forces of Byzantium, the Crusaders, the smaller Turkmen entities of the east, the dynasties governing Syria, and, by the 1220s, the Mongol campaigns. The latter significantly marked a transition to Mongol domination of the region, an important watershed that completely transformed the Rum-Cilician interface, marking the former's decline while granting the latter around a century of stability and prosperity.[6]

Inevitably, both states were demographically very diverse.[7] Indeed, the Sultanate of Rum embraced a panoply of different ethnicities, religions, and cultures, as the state extended its borders over the second half of the twelfth century, containing Byzantium along the Aegean littoral after the decisive battle of Myriocephalon (1176), while prioritizing a policy of eastward advance that was to characterize the state until the 1240s.[8]

"Social, Cultural and Intellectual Life," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, ed. Kate Fleet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 357-58.

[4] For the disposition of the various Armenian statelets in the region in this period, see Robert H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2001), p. 136, map 117.

[5] Gary Leiser, trans., *A History of the Seljuks: Ibrahim Kefesoğlu's Interpretation and the Resulting Controversy* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988), pp. 68-69.

[6] On the period of Rum under Mongol suzerainty, see Sara Nur Yildiz, *Mongol Rule in Seljuk Anatolia: The Politics of Conquest and History-Writing, 1243-1282* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

[7] For the demography of Armenian Cilicia, which included Greeks, Seljuk Turks, Franks, Arabs, and Jews, see Friedrich Hild and Hansgerd Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien,* pt. 1 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 1990), pp. 99-103. For the Rum sultanate, see Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (New York: Taplinger, 1968), pp. 202-15.

[8] Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 117-18.

Though the Greek community still constituted the single largest body, the reception of the Malatia area from the Danishmends by Sultan Kilij Arslan II in 1177 after the death of their protector Nur al-Din added an important West Syrian (Asori) component,[9] while the incorporation of Sivas (Sebasteia/Sebastia) and Kayseri (Kesaria/Caesarea) in the same decade and Erzinjan (Erznka) and Erzerum (Karin) in the 1230s increased the Armenian contingent.[10] Though the main Armenian population still lay to the east, those districts had witnessed an important influx first to reoccupy the area in the wake of Byzantine expansion from the ninth century,[11] followed by the resettling of the Artsruni and Bagratuni dynasties in the course of the eleventh.[12] Despite a certain exodus to Cilicia, there remained a tangible Armenian presence in the area that made a diverse contribution to the development of the Seljuk state. This was further enhanced by the peripatetic nature of Seljuk court life, which meant that Sivas and Kayseri periodically functioned as capitals alongside Konia and other centers.[13] This presence is also documented by the existence of bishoprics in the central towns of Malatia, Niksar, Goksun, and Cocosus.[14] The Christian stratum associated with the cities and sedentary agricultural life shared the space with the Islamicized Turkmens of the hinterlands and,

[9] S. Peter Cowe, "'On Nature' by Išōx/Išō'," pp. 105-08.

[10] Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 126-30. For the Armenian community in Sivas, see S. Peter Cowe, "Armenian Immigration Patterns to Sebastia, Tenth-Eleventh Centuries," *Armenian Sebastia/Sivas and Lesser Armenia,* ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Press, 2004), pp. 111-36.

[11] See Ashot G. Abrahamian, *Hamarot urvagits hay gaghtavayreri patmutyan* [Concise Overview of the History of Armenian Colonies], vol. 1 (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1964), pp. 50-53.

[12] Ibid., pp. 71-75.

[13] See Shemsu-'d Din Ahmed el Eflaki, *Legends of the Sufis*, trans. James W. Redhouse (London: Theosophical Publishing House, 1976), p. 3. This polycentric structure became more accentuated under Mongol rule when it was not uncommon for power to be shared among the brothers of the ruling dynasty with resulting territorial division. See Charles Melville, "Anatolia under the Mongols," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, ed. Kate Fleet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 59, 99-100.

[14] Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 212. The Armenian sees throughout the Seljuk lands in late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries include Caesarea, Erznka, Amasia or Tokat, Marash, Basean, Kamakh, Kghi, Chmshkatsak, Sebastia, and Raban. See Claude Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljukid Sultanate of Rum, Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*, trans. P.M. Holt (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 2001), p. 130.

especially from the 1220s onwards, with the more sophisticated Persianate urban elite that relocated from Iran to escape Khwarezmian (1217) and Mongol devastation.[15] The variety of data on their interaction in diverse languages and media is still relatively little studied or interpreted from a broader synthetic perspective. Indeed, valuable information regarding Armenian activities in the sultanate is to be gleaned from Persian, Arabic, Syriac, Turkish, and Latin evidence.[16]

The existence of an Armenian community in the city of Konia, which developed as a major administrative and cultural center from the time of Sultan Mas'ud (1118-55) is substantiated by various sources. It is known that they had an inn that the men folk (mainly artisans and merchants) would frequent, but whether they possessed a distinct quarter like the Jews is not certain.[17] The community did not achieve episcopal status until 1342,[18] but nonetheless clearly maintained one or two churches at this time, as indicated in a colophon of 1244 by Prince Grigor Dopian of Khachen, nephew of Zakare and Ivane Zakarian, who were then the suzerains of Greater Armenia under Georgian aegis.[19] The prince and his men had gone to Konia from Greater Armenia in the Mongol army in fulfillment of their duties as vassals, and he records the destruction wrought in the Seljuk capital in the aftermath of their victory over Sultan Kaykhusraw II at Kose Dagh the previous year. The mayhem had not spared Armenian shrines, from which he was able to rescue a number of liturgical

[15] Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 126-30.

[16] For a German translation of an abbreviation of the main Persian source of the period Ibn Bibi, see Herbert W. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1959). The most important Arabic source is arguably Ibn al-Athir. For his treatment of the years 589-629 A.H./1193-1231 A.D., see D.S. Richards, trans., *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fi'l-ta'rikh.* pt. 3 (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2008). See also Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Jean Richard (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1965).

[17] Ibid., p. 214.

[18] Robert H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2001), p. 140, map 124.

[19] Artashes S. Matevosyan, ed. *Hayeren dzeragreri hishatakaranner XIII dar* [Colophons of Thirteenth-Century Armenian Manuscripts] (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1984), pp. 228-29. Grigor continues that one of his subordinates participated in the Mongol attack on Caesarea the following year and was able to rescue an Armenian gospel book from there and deposit in the same monastery.

books, vessels, and crosses that he subsequently bestowed on the Monastery of Khadavank in the region of Martakert, whose patron he was, that was itself rebuilt after an earlier Seljuk attack. In more modern times, the Armenians became the largest Christian minority in Konia and were represented by several churches as late as the census of 1895.[20]

As mentioned, access to the sea was an important facet of Seljuk trade strategy which shaped much of their domestic and foreign policy.[21] Their first outlet to the Black Sea was achieved when Turkmen forces occupied Samsun in about 1194, but they were compelled to relinquish it to the Empire of Trebizond, a new power that emerged out of the dismemberment of the Byzantine Empire in consequence of the Fourth Crusade.[22] Although Sultan Kaykhusraw I sought in vain to regain a Pontic foothold, his brother Kaykaus I succeeded in 1214, once more on a Turkmen initiative. Having fortuitously caught Alexios Grand Komnenos (Alexius Comnenus) of Trebizond on a hunting expedition outside Sinope, a more advantageous port with a double harbor and situated at the narrowest point on the southern coast for ease of communications with the Crimea,[23] they turned their captive over to Kaykaus, who agreed to release him on condition of ceding the city and placing the rest of his domain under Seljuk suzerainty.[24] The step had strategic implications in placing a wedge between the two Greek states of Trebizond and the Empire of Nicaea.

The sultan then placed the city with its mixed Greek and Turkmen population under the Armenian *rais* (governor) Hetum (possibly a representative of the Hetumian house of Cilicia),[25] presumably as a neutral, impartial force who would maintain

[20] The census shows 1,566 Armenians and 899 Greeks in the population, served by five churches.

[21] See Claude Cahen, "Le commerce anatolien au début du XIII[e] siècle," *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1974), pp. 91-101.

[22] Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 117.

[23] For a map of the area, see Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas*, p. 162, map 143.

[24] In a detailed description of the territories of each state in the region at the opening of his colophon to a Gospel copied in Hromkla in that year, the scribe Hohannes duly notes the accession of Sinope to the lands of Rum. See Matevosyan, *Hayeren dzeragreri hishatakaranner*, p. 85.

[25] Hrachia Acharian makes no reference to this figure in his Armenian prosopographical dictionary.

peace and good order. Under his oversight, trade with Byzantium and the Italian states resumed after the initial interruption.[26] Claude Cahen suggests Hetum may have been a convert to Islam;[27] however, one should also note a number of cases where Christian officials in Seljuk service like Manuel Maurozomes were not required to apostatize.[28] In either case, role of Hetum seems to be a continuation of the longstanding tradition of Armenian aristocrats serving in the Byzantine military and administrative hierarchy.[29] Thus reference to an emir Tornik of Tokat in the thirteenth century may relate to a scion of the Byzantine house of Tornices, which itself was of Armenian provenance.[30] Similarly, the *Danishmendname*, an epic romance based on Turkish oral tradition regarding the exploits of the eleventh century figure Danishmend Gazi, cites several Armenian names among the aristocrats lending him support.[31] There are also several allusions to Armenians fighting in the Seljuk army, both Christian and Islamic converts.[32]

Although the sources present two conflicting accounts of

[26] Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 123. Andrew C.S. Peacock is uncertain how to interpret the figure; see his "The Saljuq Campaign against the Crimea and the Expansionist Policy of the Early Reign of Ala al-Din Kayqubad," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 16 (2006): 146.

[27] Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey*, p. 54.

[28] Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 123. Manuel was the son of Theodore Maurozomes and an illegitimate daughter of Emperor Manuel 1 Komnenos, as a result of which he is sometimes referred to as "Emir Komnenos" in Seljuk sources. He had been a Byzantine provincial administrator who had gained local independence in the aftermath of the sack of Constantinople in 1204. As a result, he was in a position to offer refuge to Kaykhusraw in an alliance subsequently sealed with the latter's marriage to Manuel's daughter, who was to bear the future Sultan Kaykubad I. See Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 115-16, 210 on his remaining Christian.

[29] On this subject, see especially Peter Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1963).

[30] On Tornik, see Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 232-33, and, on the Tornices family, see Peter Charanis, *Armenians in the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 46-47, and Alexander P. Kazhdan, "Tornikios," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan et al., vol. 3 (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 2096-97.

[31] See Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, p. 230n512, and Irène Melikoff, *La geste de Melik Dānişmend, etude critique du Dānişmendnāme*, vol.1 (Paris: Libraire Adrien Maissoneuve, 1960), pp. 126-29.

[32] Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, pp. 226, 234n548.

events, it seems that Rais Hetum of Sinope was subsequently involved in plundering a vessel from Cherson in the 1220s bound for Trebizond, to which the colony was subject since the Fourth Crusade, and was thereafter motivated to launch an expedition against Cherson. That in turn provoked a raising of the stakes with retaliation by Trebizond against Sinope.[33] These events underscore the peninsula's economic importance, since apart from salt fish and furs from Russia, the main commodity the Seljuks imported via the Crimea was slaves for service in the army, the need for which was now more pressing after the establishment of a modus vivendi with the Empire of Nicaea.[34]

The disruption to Byzantine administration caused by the Fourth Crusade also facilitated Seljuk advances on the Mediterranean coast. In 1207, they captured the key port of Antalia (Attalia) from a Tuscan adventurer Aldobrandini, formerly in Byzantine service, and placed it under the governance of Kay Khusrau's freedman Mubariz al-Din Ertokush b. Abdallah, under whom the city established important trade relations with Venice.[35] Meanwhile, the Armenian state of Cilicia had benefited from the relative Byzantine weakness after the death of Emperor Manuel I in 1180. A number of Armenian nobles who had served as Byzantine provincial administrators along the Isaurian littoral took the opportunity to defect and realign themselves with the expanding Cilician principality. This appears to be the background of the powerful dynast Sir Atan, who is described as being in possession of several fortresses and districts on the coastline from Seleucia to Kalonoros, which were referred to communally as "the land of Sir Atan."[36] His sons[37] KerVard and KerSak (that

[33] See Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 125-26 and, Peacock, "The Saljuq Campaign against the Crimea," 145-48.

[34] See Peacock, "The Saljuq Campaign against the Crimea," 142. On enslavement, see Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, pp. 174-75. For a description of the enslavement of large numbers of Armenian youths and girls in the course of eight days of plundering during the punitive campaign against King Levon in 1218 in the northwest hill country of Cilicia, which created a temporary glut in the market at Kayseri that led the sale price to plummet to 50 dirhems, see Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī*," p. 74.

[35] Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 120.

[36] See Ghevond Alishan, *Sisvan* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1885), p. 440.

[37] Some sources state Kervard was Sir Atan's grandson. See, for example, W. H. Rüdt-Collenberg, *The Rupenides Hethumides and Lusignans: The Structure of the Armeno-Cilician Dynasties* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1963), p. 60.

is, Kir Sahak)[38] are cited as holding the fiefs of Kalonoros and Sig respectively in the list of vassals present at the coronation of Levon I at Tarsus in 1198, where Sir Atan appears as the lord of Baghras.[39] The latter's fortress of Gaston, significant for controlling the Beilan pass into the southeast marches of Cilicia had been seized from the Templars by Saladin in 1188 and subsequently appropriated by Prince Levon in 1191. It appears that as Sir Atan was the first lord of the realm, held the position of *seneschal*[40] and already commanded the state's western flank; this newly acquired territory was entrusted to his oversight.[41] Although A.C.S. Peacock refers to his Frankish heritage and Cahen states he was Greek,[42] these possibilities are excluded by information provided by the historian Kirakos Gandzaketsi to the effect that he was of Byzantine rite (*horom davanutiamb*), clearly indicating his Armenian ethnicity.[43] In this, he was not untypical of Armenian aristocrats in Byzantine service, several of whom adopted the Chalcedonian confession in order to facilitate their acceptance.[44] Ghevond Alishan argues rather for his descent from the royal line of the Artsrunis of Vaspurakan, some of whom first moved to Byzantine territory near Sebastia before relocating to fiefdoms near the Mediterranean coast.[45] At the same time, there were other vassals of King Levon of Greek

[38] The title Kir is an abbreviated form of the Greek Kyrios ("lord"). The feminine counterpart was borne by King Levon II's wife Keran (Kyria Anna). Indeed, several Armenian women were named directly Kira(y) or Kira khatun. See Hrachia Acharian, *Hayots andznanunneri bararan*, [Armenian Prosopographical Dictionary]. vol. 2 (Beirut: Sevan Publishing, 1972), pp. 619-20.

[39] Smbat Sparapet, *Smbatay Sparapeti Taregirk* [Chronicle of Smbat the Chief Commander] (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1956), pp. 209-10.

[40] Ibid., p. 222.

[41] Levon was later constrained by papal pressure to cede back Baghras to the Templars in 1212. See Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, p. 77.

[42] See Peacock, "The Saljuq Campaign against the Crimea," p. 144, and Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 124 in the context of Kir Farid.

[43] *Kirakos Gandzaketsi: Patmutiun Hayots* [Armenian History], ed. K.A. Melik-Ohanjanyan (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1961), p. 187. It is interesting that Ibn Bibi describes KerVard as a scion of the Armenian Rubenid dynasty of Cilicia. The reproduction of his name as Farid is understandable in terms of the phonetics of the Arabic script, which represents the initial fricative as 'f' with loss of voicing and adds a vowel to separate the two contiguous consonants for ease of enunciation.

[44] One might cite, among others, Philaretos Brachamios of Germaniceia and Gabriel of Melitene of the second half of the eleventh century.

[45] Alishan, *Sisvan*, pp. 314, 547.

and Frankish origin, one of the latter being Sebastos Heri, lord of Norberd, who, as his title suggests, had similarly been a Byzantine official before becoming integrated into the Cilician state, marrying the sister of the then Catholicos Hovhannes, who bore him three sons: Constans, Jocelyn, and Baldwin.[46]

This territory was important for shipping to Alexandria via Cyprus[47] and the inland routes north to the Black Sea by which the Seljuks were able to circumvent Byzantine control of the Bosphorus.[48] Moreover, it is expressly stated in King Levon's concession to the Genoese of 1215 that Sir Atan was one of four lords of the marchlands who still exacted tariff on transit trade semi-autonomously of the tax-free status the monarch was conferring.[49] Hence, the desire to protect trade routes from neighbors and rivals was clearly an important ground for the Seljuk invasion of Cilicia in 1219-20. Nevertheless, these moves must also be considered from the perspective of broader regional politics, which over this period featured two counterpoised alliances, the first of Rum, Aleppo, and the Crusader Principality of Antioch against the second composed of Cilicia and Cyprus.[50] On King Levon's temporary occupation of Antioch in 1216, the Sultanate of Rum was bound by its obligations to intervene in Cilicia. The timing of the offensive on Kalonoros by the recently installed Sultan Kaykubad I was particularly auspicious in the aftermath of the Armenian monarch's death in 1219 and the ensuing interval of instability which dragged on until the marriage and inauguration of the joint reign of Levon's daughter Zabel and Hetum I, son of the regent Kostantin of Lambron in 1226. The interim featured a claim to the throne by Levon's grandson Raymond-Ruben of Antioch advanced by one section of the aristocracy, a revolt by some of the Greek nobility of Tarsus, and the tempestuous union of Zabel with another prince of Antioch, Philip, which ended in the latter's imprisonment and

[46] Ibid., pp. 285, 287, 447, 471, 506-07. For their possible actions against Seljuk ships, see Peacock, "The Saljuq Campaign against the Crimea," pp. 134-35.

[47] Cahen, "Le commerce anatolien," p. 92.

[48] Ibid., p. 91.

[49] Alishan, *Sisvan*, p. 62, and Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, rev. ed. (Danbury, CT: P.Z. Bedoukian, 1979), p. 28.

[50] See Vahan Ter-Ghevondyan, *Kilikyan Hayastan ev Merdzavor Arevelki arabakan petutyunnere* (1145-1226) [Cilician Armenia and the Arab States of the Near East (1145-1226)] (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1994).

poisoning in 1225. This in turn provoked a further Antiochian appeal to the sultan and the second major Seljuk incursion into Armenian territory.[51] In the midst of this turmoil Sir Atan, whom Levon had appointed as regent of his daughter along with Kostantin Bayl in 1219, was assassinated in the capital Sis the following year, leaving the defenses of his coastal lands more vulnerable.

The unsettled atmosphere was probably a factor in determining his son KerVard's reaction to the encirclement of his castle of Kalonoros in the same year. As the siege became protracted, Kaykubad's vassal, Emir Mubāriz al-Dīn Ertokush, who as lord of Antalia was apparently familiar with KerVard, ultimately persuaded him to surrender the fortress in exchange for the fief of Akshehir (Philomelion) on the route from Ephesus to Konia, sealing the agreement with the gift of KerVard's daughter in marriage to the sultan. Her name is recorded as Mahperi Khatun, and, according to some sources, she later became the mother of the next sultan, Kaykhusraw II.[52] Once in Seljuk possession, the city name was changed to 'Ala'iyya in the sultan's honor, a rare occurrence in the Seljuk period, which subsequently metamorphosed into Alania. It became a major port and functioned as the winter capital of the realm. Meanwhile, KerVard's brother is reported as controlling the adjacent castle of Alara, which was likewise incorporated into Seljuk territory together with the remainder of the region of Pamphylia.[53] In the vassal list of 1198, the fiefdom is registered in the possession of Prince Mikhayl, but presumably at some later point it passed under the administration of KerSak.[54] Thus, Armenians played pivotal roles in facilitating Seljuk coastal expansion and the intensification of trade links.

While the Venetians and Genoese were the prime engine of

[51] On these events, see Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien,* pp. 76-78.

[52] See Turan, "Les souverains seldjoukides et leur sujets non-musulmans," p. 82. Significantly, one Armenian source records an alternative narrative that Kalonoros was taken by force and that after the sultan took KerVard's daughter against her will, she did not remain with him in order to preserve her religion. See Alishan, *Sisvan*, p. 313.

[53] Seton Lloyd and D. Storm Price, *Alanya ('Alā'iyya)* (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1958), p. 4.

[54] See Smbat Sparapet, *Taregirk*, p. 210.

maritime commerce with the sultanate,[55] as in the case of its neighbors Antioch and Cilicia,[56] Armenians were heavily involved in overland transit commerce from the coastal plain via centers like Caesarea, Sebastia, Erzinjan, and Erzerum on to Black Sea destinations like Sinope and Trebizond,[57] as well as Tabriz, which became especially important after the Mongol capture of Baghdad in 1258.[58] Moreover, a twelfth-century Slavic vita attests to an Armenian community in Sudak (Soldaia), a Byzantine colony on the Crimea, which continued to expand over the next century and hence would have been impacted by the Seljuk naval expedition there to create a protectorate defending merchants from Russian incursions (1225-39).[59] Seljuk commitment to fostering trade also expressed itself in control of the highways, both north-south and east-west, in a vast construction program of fortifications, bridges, and harbors, as well as a series of some thirty fortified caravanserais over the first four decades of the thirteenth century alone, equipped with portal, court, and hall and affording safe lodging at regular intervals across the main thoroughfares.[60] Most of these were constructed at the sultan's behest and financed by various emirs,[61] but one example, the Hekim Khan, on the road from Malatia to Sivas, is unique both in being erected by a private individual and in sporting inscriptions in three languages, Arabic, Syriac, and Arme-

[55] On Italian trade with the Seljuks, see Cahen, "Le commerce anatolien," pp. 96-99.

[56] The Genoese were the first to negotiate concessions from the Cilician crown (1200) and maintained active trade relations until the mid-fourteenth century. See Victor Langlois, *Mémoire sur les relations de la République de Gênes avec le royaume chrétien de la Petite-Arménie pendant les XIII et XIV siècles* (Turin: Imprimérie Royale, 1861). For contacts with Venice, see Ghevond Alishan, *L'Armeno-Veneto: Compendio storico e documenti delle relazioni degli Armeni coi Veneziani: primo periodo, secoli XIII-XIV* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1893).

[57] On the importance of these trade routes, see Cahen, "Le commerce anatolien," pp. 92-93.

[58] Wilhelm von Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1936), p. 77.

[59] Abrahamian, *Hamarot urvagits*, p. 161.

[60] Aflaki frequently comments on the presence of merchants in Konia from far off places. See Shemsu-'d Din Ahmed el Eflaki, *Legends of the Sufis*, p. 22 (India), p. 28 (Tabriz) and p. 73 (unspecified). He also highlights the role of caravanserais in this trade (p. 21). On inscriptions in Konia left by merchants from Tabriz, see Cahen, "Le commerce anatolien," pp. 92, 99.

[61] Crane, "Saldjūq Architectural Patronage," pp. 19-20.

nian.[62] It was built in 1218-19 by a doctor originating from Malatia whom Claude Cahen identifies as Armenian[63] while other sources argue was a Muslim convert. It is, however the Armenian inscription ironically that reveals his identity as a Syrian Christian (asori),[64] as one might expect from his provenance.[65] The inscriptions are also intriguing socio-linguistically in that each contains a different message and seems to be addressing different communities and concerns. While the Arabic is basically a paean to the sultan, and the Syriac highlights the donor's lineage and piety as an archdeacon, son of an archdeacon, the Armenian accentuates the donor's status as a great chief-physician (*bzhshkapet mets*) and the reader's identity (who enters here and rests: *vor ast mte ev hangchi*).[66] These distinct elements suggest that at least some of the masons engaged on the construction were Syrian and Armenian. Granted the number of structures Armenian builders erected in central Asia Minor under the patronage of indigenous monarchs and princes in the eleventh century, it is highly plausible that their heirs continued the process in this period under Seljuk aegis. Moreover, the inscription's explicit invocation of the khan's clientele implies that Armenians were similarly to be found among the merchants plying this road.

Inscriptions and historical accounts confirm the wide diversity of architects employed in Seljuk construction. A Greek named Sebastos, for example, designed the new fortifications in Sinope, and an Arab from Aleppo worked on those at Analya. Among these, the names of at least five Armenian architects are recorded: Galust at the Great Mosque in Divrig in 1229; Tagvor, son of Stepan, at one of the main madrasas in Malatia; Kaloyan of Konia[67] at the Gok and Mavi madrasas in Sivas; Ashot at a

[62] Ibid., pp. 6, 26.

[63] Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 212.

[64] Kurt Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, pt. 1 (Berlin: Begr. Mann, 1961), pp. 63-67.

[65] Cowe, "'On Nature' by Išōx/Išō'," pp. 105-08.

[66] Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, pp. 63-67.

[67] Presumably on the basis of his name this figure is identified as Greek in Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, pp. 235-36. For the view that despite the Greek form of the name this bearer of it was Armenian on architectural stylistic grounds, see Maxime Yevadian, "Les Seldjouks et les architectes arméniens," in *Des serviteurs fidèles: Les enfants de l'Arménie au service de l'état turc* (Lyon: Sources d'Arménie, 2010), p. 34.

caravanserai at Zor, on the road south of Igdir; and Kalous (Galust) responsible for one of the madrasas and several other buildings in Konia itself.[68] These objective data may afford a basis for the discussion of questions of form, style, and ornamentation and the degree of artistic interchange, which occurred on those levels in the Seljuk realm.[69]

Since the production and sale of alcohol was formally prohibited by Islam, it follows that where this practice was tolerated in the Near East, it became the monopoly of Christians or Jews.[70] Although the topic has not been systematically explored, Armenian involvement in this endeavor is both long and diverse. For example, recent excavations in Siunik have uncovered wine-making equipment dating to the fifth millennium B.C.[71] Wine jars in storage are also among the elements of material culture attested in the Urartian fortresses of Karmir Blur and Erebuni in the environs of Erevan. References to viticulture are also found in the writings of a series of classical authors such as Herodotus, Xenophon, and Strabo, while the Hripsimiank virgins in the late third century, fleeing the emperor Diocletian's unwanted attentions, took refuge at the winepress in the outskirts of the Armenian capital Vagharshapat, from which they began to spread their Christian faith.[72] During the period being discussed, wine production in Cilicia was appreciated for its quality.[73] There is also information about a fourteenth-century Franco-Armenian inn that functioned in Cairo, where there was also a sizeable Armenian population. Despite repeated calls for its closure by pious Muslims on charges of all sorts of nefarious con-

[68] Yevadian, "Les Seldjouks et les architectes arméniens," pp. 27-37. On Galust, see also Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, p. 236n562, where it is argued the appendage to his name ibn Abdallah implies he was a convert to Islam.

[69] For a discussion of the parallels between Seljuk türbe (künbet) structures and Armenian ecclesiastical domes (gmbet), and between grave steles and Armenian cross-stones (khachkars), see Yevadian, "Les Seldjouks et les architectes arméniens," pp. 23-37. See also Ulkü U. Bates, "An Introduction to the Study of the Anatolian Türbe and Its Inscriptions as Historical Documents," *Sanat Tarihi Yilliği* 4 (1970-71): 72-84.

[70] See Peter Heine, *Weinstudien Untersuchungen zu Anbau, Produktion und Konsum des Weins im arabisch-islamischen Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1982), p. 53.

[71] For a report, see (http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2011/01/110111).

[72] Agathangelos, *History of the Armenians*, trans. and intro. R.W. Thomson (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1976), pp. 160-61.

[73] Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, p. 239n579.

duct associated with it, for a long time the authorities preferred to turn a blind eye to its existence.[74] Similarly, regarding the Crimea in the same century there are reports of Armenians engaging in viticulture in the center of the peninsula beyond Surkhat and Kazarat as well as in the business of wine exporting.[75] Likewise in the Armenian majority city of Erznka much disapproval of wine and pork consumption is voiced by Muslim commentators around the same timeframe.[76]

Consequently, it is hardly surprising that Aflaki, the biographer of the sufi poet and mystic Jelal al-Din Rumi, relates the existence of an inn in Konia, which was presumably Armenian owned, catering to an all-Armenian clientele. What is more striking, though completely in character, is the poet's response to the sounds of a stringed instrument emanating from the inn during the night, which inspired him to greater spiritual ecstasy.[77] The modern association of wine, women, and song actually has a long pedigree. Indeed, the male camaraderie of the inn is probably the prime locus for the appreciation of medieval Armenian secular lyric poetry articulating male fantasies about beauty and love and facilitating male bonding around the praise of wine and good company.[78] The moral of Aflaki's tale, however, is that the group of Armenian wine topers visited Rumi's madrasa the next day and intimated their desire to become his pupils.[79] In his description of the poet's funeral several years later, the author also foregrounds the presence of such Christian pupils who maintained that they understood the master's teaching better than

[74] Paulina B. Lewicka, "Restaurants, Inns and Taverns that Never Were: Some Reflections on Public Consumption in Medieval Cairo, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 48:2 (2005): 40-91.

[75] Abrahamian, *Hamarot urvagits*, vol. 1, p. 174.

[76] Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 204.

[77] Shams al-Dīn Ahmad-E Aflākī, *The Feats of the Knowers of God*, trans. John O'Kane (Islamic History and Civilization Texts and Studies 43) (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 337, §465.

[78] S. Peter Cowe, "Models for the Interpretation of Medieval Armenian Poetry," *New Approaches to Medieval Armenian Language and Literature*, ed. Jos J.S. Weitenberg (Leiden: Rhodopi, 1995), pp. 43-44.

[79] Aflaki mentions several encounters between Rumi and Armenians, including a community of forty monks in Sis as the mystic traveled from Konia to Damascus. See Shemsu-'d Din Ahmed el Eflaki, *Legends of the Sufis*, p. 19. On other occasions he refers to an Armenian slave (p. 37) and a butcher (p. 51) with whom he would not have done business because of the difference in regulations regarding the slaughter of animals.

their Muslim counterparts.[80] Propaganda to disseminate Sufism was devised by Rumi's son, Sultan Veled, who composed verses in Greek for wider audiences.[81] In an Armenian context, there is impact of sufic theo-eroticism, imagery, tone and symbolism on the oeuvre of Armenian poets like Kostandin Erznkatsi of the thirteenth to fourteenth century.[82] In general, sufi mysticism seems to have been a more effective means of eliciting conversion to Islam than mainstream legal piety.[83]

In this connection, widespread reference is made to the relatively enlightened approach of Rum to matters of religion.[84] Nevertheless, a few instances of Armenian martyrdom are recorded during this era. The first details the case of a poor young man Teodoros of Kayseri in 1204, who falls a victim to circumstances.[85] Unable to repay his debts, he is arraigned to court, where his opponent threatens to beat him. Seeking to extricate himself from the situation, he professes Islam, only to be struck by remorse upon deeper reflection. He then decides to start a new life incognito in Kirshehir near the Byzantine border but is recognized there by a Muslim from Kayseri, who charges him with apostasy from Islam, for which he is brought before the

[80] Ibid., p. 86.

[81] Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, pp. 381-96.

[82] See S. Peter Cowe, "The Politics of Poetics: Islamic Influence on Armenian Verse," *Redefining Christian Identity: Cultural Interaction in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam*, ed. Jan J. Van Ginkel et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), pp. 390-93 and, more generally, Theo Van Lint, "Kostandin Erznkac'i: An Armenian Religious Poet," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Leiden University, 1996).

[83] For an overview of the diverse stands of Sufism active in the Seljuk state, see Ahmet Y. Ocak, "Social, Cultural and Intellectual Life," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 390-402. For the impact of the spread of the reformed futuwwa movement in the Seljuk realm and the reflection of that milieu in Hovhannes Erznkatsi's canons for the Armenian confraternity of Erznka/Erzinjan in 1280, see Rachel Goshgarian, "Beyond the Social and Spiritual: Redefining the Urban Confraternities of Late Medieval Anatolia," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Harvard University, 2007), especially pp. 233-84.

[84] Granted the degree of Western trade contacts, the state also welcomed Latin missionaries. According to Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p.135, this occurred during the reign of Kaykubad I. In contrast, Ocak, "Social, Cultural and Intellectual Life," p. 359, seems to suggest the initiative was taken only after Rum accepted Mongol suzerainty.

[85] See Hakob Manandian and Hrachia Acharian, eds. *Hayots nor vkanere (1155-1843)* [Armenian Neomartyrs (1155-1843)] (Vagharshapat: Mother See, 1903), pp. 73-93.

Sultan Rukn al-Din, then residing in Kayseri. One of the most salient elements which the narrative underscores is not the cruelty of the treatment meted out, but the calibrated process of interrogation, blandishments, and punishment designed to wear down the youth's resistance and constrain him to accept Islam, which would obviously have been a signal ideological victory.[86]

Teodoros' martyrology sheds valuable light on another Seljuk religious initiative of the turn of the twelfth century: the creation of a third anti-catholicate within the Armenian Church, in addition to that of Aghtamar and the one established by Barsegh of Ani over Eastern Armenia in 1194.[87] Medieval historians interpret this episode as inspired by Anania bishop of Sebastia's umbrage at rejection in the regular catholicosal election of 1203 on the death of Grigor VI Apirat, yet Haïg Berbérian adduces evidence to the effect that the rift began earlier, continued until at least 1227, and was primarily motivated by the Rum Sultanate's policy of severing all ties between its Armenian inhabitants and the Cilician state.[88] In this connection, it is noteworthy that though Anania was present at the synod of Tarsus in 1197,[89] which paved the way for Prince Levon's coronation, no representative of the bishops of Rum actually attended the ceremony the following year.[90] Conversely, in the martyrology, it is significant that both the Sultan Rukn al-Din and Anania are found in the same city of Kayseri at the time and are in fairly regular communication.[91]

However, while Berbérian aligns the move rather narrowly with the coronation and Cilicia's concomitant elevation in status, I would argue we must view it against the wider backdrop of regional politics in which from the 1180s onward the attempt is made to contain Cilician ambitions in the west and northwest

[86] Ibid., pp. 79-92.

[87] See Krikor Maksoudian, *Chosen of God: The Election of the Catholicos of All Armenians from the Fourth Century to the Present* (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1995), pp. 44-45, 47-50.

[88] See Haïg Berbérian, "Le patriarcat arménien du sultanat de Roum: L'anti-catholicos Anania," *Revue des études arméniennes* 3 (1966): 233-43, especially 238-39.

[89] Ibid., p. 235.

[90] Smbat Sparapet, *Taregirk*, pp. 208-10.

[91] See Manandian and Acharian, *Hayots nor vkanere*, pp. 82-83, 92. Anania's center was initially in Kayseri, after which he moved his seat to Sebastia. See Berbérian, "Le patriarcat arménien du sultanat de Roum," p. 237.

against Rum and in the east against Antioch by a coalition of Rum, Antioch, and the Ayyubid state of Aleppo until the 1220s. Cilicia's acceptance of Seljuk suzerainty in this decade finds material confirmation in a bilingual series of undated coins with Armenian on the obverse and Arabic on the reverse, which were probably issued in Sis between the years 1228 and 1236. Meanwhile, those produced during the reign of Kaykhusraw II (1237-45) bear the explicit inscription "struck to commemorate and comply with certain agreements."[92] Significantly, Ibn Bibi indicates that this status relates to the final period of Levon's reign, and this record finds confirmation in one version of the Armenian translation of Michael the Syrian's *Chronicle* executed in 1248, where the capitulation is dated circa 1218.[93] Simon of St. Quentin spells out the duties the Armenian king was required to fulfill in terms of military support.[94] Thus, in 1243 Armenian forces were summoned to a Seljuk muster at Sivas, along with other vassals and allies to defend the state from imminent Mongol attack. However, the Armenians decided to stage a tactical delay and so did not participate in the battle. Moreover, in the aftermath, they turned over Kaykhusraw's mother to the victors as a gesture of their readiness to exchange Seljuk suzerainty for that of the Mongols,[95] as was ratified later in the decade by Smbat Sparapet's famous journey to the Great Khan's capital at Karakorum.

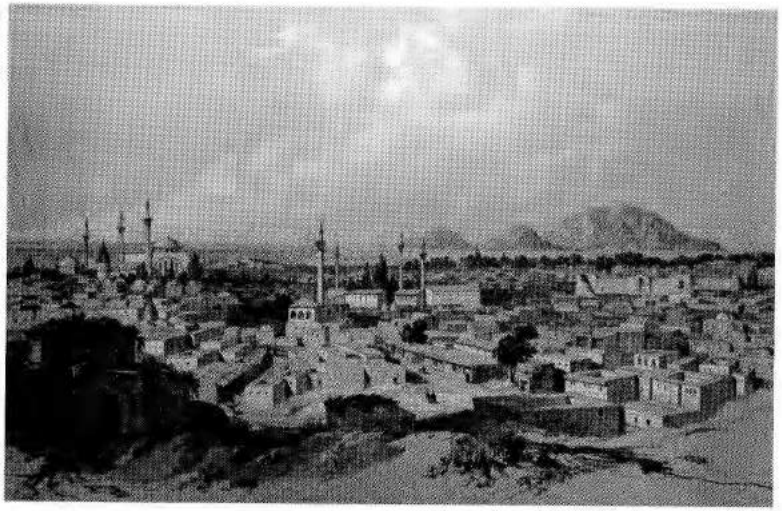
Even a brief survey like the present demonstrates the continuing vitality of the Armenian communities of Asia Minor under Seljuk rule and their active involvement in some of the most important spheres of politics, culture, commerce, and religion. Much more research, particularly in non-Armenian sources, is required to restore this valuable legacy more fully and reappraise it within its original multi-ethnic environment. Unquestionably, such a study will amply reward the efforts expended.

[92] Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, pp. 11, 84-85, 115, 226-35.

[93] See *Zhamanakagrutiun tiarn Mikhayeli asorvoy patriarki* [Chronicle of the Lord Mikhayel, Patriarch of the Syrians] (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1871), p. 513.

[94] Cahen, *Pre-Modern Turkey*, p. 135.

[95] Ibid., pp. 137-38.



Konia: Léon de Lagarde Lithographs, 1830s

❀ 4 ❀

The Role of Armenian Potters of Kutahia in the Ottoman Ceramic Industry

Dickran Kouymjian

Armenian potters almost exclusively crafted the ceramics produced in the western Anatolian city of Kutahia (Kütahya), about 225 miles (360 kilometers) southeast of Constantinople/ Istanbul, from the sixteenth to the early twentieth century.[1] Armenians may have been active even earlier in this locality where various kinds of ceramics were manufactured from prehistoric times, as has been verified from twentieth-century excavations,[2] because an Armenian colony existed there from the thirteenth century and an Armenian church from at least the year 1391.[3]

Until the 1960s, Western and later Turkish experts and collectors gave little attention to these ceramics, dismissing them as later provincial offshoots of the more refined and elegant production of Iznik. Even when there were Armenian inscriptions

[1] After four decades, the fundamental study on Kutahia ceramics remains, John Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery from the Armenian Cathedral of St. James, Jerusalem*, vol. 1: *The Pictorial Tiles and Other Vessels*, with an edition of the Armenian texts by C.J.F. Dowsett, and vol. 2: *A Historical Survey of the Kütahya Industry and A Catalogue of the Decorative Tiles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); both reissued in one volume (Antelias: Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2005). A French variant of the present article appeared in *Des serviteur fidèles. Les enfants de l'Arménie au service de l'État turc*, ed. Maxime Yevadian (Montélimar: Sources d'Arménie, 2010), pp. 64-85.

[2] Faruk Şahin, "Kütahya çini-keramik sanatı ve tarihinin yeni buluntular açısından değerlendirilmesi" [A Reappraisal of Ceramic-Tile Art and History in Kutahia in the Light of New Finds], *Sanat tarihi yıllığı*, vols. 9-10 (1979-80): 259-86. Photographs of shards can be found in Garo Kürkman, *Magic of Clay and Fire: A History of Kütahya Pottery and Potters* (Istanbul: Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation, 2006), pp. 34-42.

[3] Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery*, vol. 2, p. 1.

on some early pieces, lacking on Iznik ware in any language, there was a tendency to deny their origin by saying that Armenians may have commissioned them from Muslim potters, just as some eminent specialist of Islamic art claimed that oriental rugs with Armenian inscriptions were produced by Turkish-Muslim artisans for rich Armenian clients. Thanks perhaps more than anything else to the massive study of John Carswell, not only are these ceramics, manufactured within the Ottoman Empire, accepted as the work of Armenians and not Turks, but today major collectors of Kutahia ware are themselves Turks.[4]

Already in the second millennium B.C. high quality burnished "red ware" was manufactured in Armenia; some believe this type, known throughout the Near East, may have originated there. Later in the first millennium, Urartian wares were distinguished by their quality and diversity. Potters cleverly imitated metal vessels such as the famous shoe-shaped rhyton or drinking cup from Erebuni. Excavations at Dvin and Ani, Armenian capitals for long periods from the fifth to the eleventh centuries and inhabited even later, revealed very interesting local pottery, some of which followed fashions prevalent in the region: the yellow and green splash ware or the turquoise blue faience which also was produced in great quantity in neighboring Islamic countries.

Ceramics with figures of birds painted in light green on a white or light yellow ground copy a common Byzantine type found throughout the Near East. Some dishes, however, have painted human, animal, and hybrid motifs typically Armenian in style, and some even bear Armenian inscriptions. From the tenth to the thirteenth century, the ceramics industry in Armenia, especially at Ani, was important and of high quality.[5]

[4] Many of these collections are listed in Kürkman, *Magic of Clay and Fire,* p. 13. The major ones are the Suna and İnan Kıraç Collection and the Sadberk Hanım Museum, major objects from which were exhibited at the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris, April-July 2000, and accompanied by a beautiful catalogue: Laure Soustiel, *Splendeurs de la céramique ottoman du XVI^e au XIX^e siècle* (Istanbul: Vehbi Koç Foundation, 2000).

[5] For a brief illustrated overview of Armenian ceramics, see Dickran Kouymjian, *The Arts of Armenia* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1992), "Ceramics," pp. 46-48, slides 166-80; also on the Internet: http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/arts_of_armenia/frescoes_mosaics_ceramics.htm.

Kutahia Ceramics—Early History

In the post-medieval period, the Armenian ceramics industry flourished at one major center: Kutahia, though there are also a large number of dishes and bowls inscribed with Armenian monographs from seventeenth-century Safavid Iran, probably Isfahan/New Julfa. Recent scholarship suggests the possibility of Armenian potters active in workshops near Isfahan.[6] Kutahia's Armenian population increased rapidly; a second church was built in 1490, and a third in 1512.[7] Modern Turkish excavations have revealed that the city had been a ceramic center from pre-Christian times with large finds of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century vessels of a red clay, sometimes decorated with blue and white glaze in the style of early Iznik.[8] Whether Armenians were involved in their production remains unclear, but already in the fifteenth-century colophons of manuscripts speak of Armenian potters.[9]

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were two major ceramic centers in the Ottoman Empire, Iznik (the ancient Nicaea) and Kutahia with much evidence to suggest that they were rivals. Both used the same kind of siliceous clay with vivid polychrome under painting and a beautifully transparent glaze, no doubt trying to imitate the much-prized porcelain imported from China.[10] Both centers seem to have their modern genesis in the fifteenth century, probably producing a popular Chinese imitation blue and white ware. The second half of the sixteenth century was the glorious moment of exquisite Iznik tiles and pottery directly patronized by the Ottoman sultans, but in the next century there was a decline in patronage. By the end of the seventeenth century, Iznik collapsed as a major pottery center and Kutahia became the dominant producer of not just cups,

[6] Yolanda Crowe, *Persia and China. Safavid Blue and White Ceramics in the Victoria & Albert Museum 1501-1738* (Geneva: La Borie, 2002), pp. 226, 240, figs. 354-56, 423.

[7] Raymond H. Kévorkian and Paul B. Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire ottoman à la veille du génocide* (Paris: ARHIS, 1992), p. 151.

[8] Laure Soustiel, "Kütahya-Jérusalem: Pérégrinations de trois carreaux arméniens," *Sèvres: Revue de la Société des amis du Musée national de céramique,* no. 18 (2009): 65, quoting Şahin, "Kütahya'da çini-keramik sanati."

[9] Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery*, vol. 2, p. 2.

[10] Ibid., Appendix F, "Spectrographic Analysis of Kütahya, Isnik, and Other Near Eastern Pottery," pp. 81-87. See also Colomban et al., note 32 below.

saucers, bottles, jugs, but also of tiles. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, there was an explosion in quantity of Kutahia wares, probably peaking with thousands of vessels, hundred of which bore Armenian inscriptions, and unknown thousands of wall tiles. For instance, in 1709 some 9,500 tiles were produced to decorate the Constantinople palace of Fatma, the daughter of Sultan Ahmed III.[11] Further, an order of 10,000 tiles was executed for the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem to decorate the Holy Sepulcher. These tiles and objects began to employ a distinctive bright yellow, which was already used in Iran and in Italy. They also portrayed fanciful figures from everyday middle and lower middle class life with gay and colorful costumes. Shortly after 1800, however, when there were still some 100 Armenian pottery establishments in Kutahia, the industry witnessed a sharp decline, as the result of inexpensive European imports, and, though there was a revival of Armenian ceramics at the end of the century, by 1914 there were only three or four Armenian potters remaining.[12]

Scholars confronted with the abundance of multicolored tiles, pitchers, plates, and bowls inscribed in Armenian from the period 1716 onward (Figs. 1A-B) concluded that Kutahia production was an eighteenth-century phenomenon (with imprecise origins in the seventeenth century), which took hold after the decline of Iznik. The work was characterized (and still is by some) as popular middleclass ware and specialty production for the Armenian and Christian minorities of the Ottoman Empire.

The notion that there was a much earlier ceramic production at Kutahia and that it was somehow associated with Armenian potters began to settle in with a small blue and white ceramic pitcher (Figs. 2A-B), used most certainly for washing the officiating priest's hands after mass in the Armenian church, bearing a dated inscription in Armenian on the bottom and mentioning its patron Abraham: "This vessel [*bazhak amans*] is in commemoration of God's servant Abraham of Kütahya [*Kotayetsi*]. In this year 959 [A.D. 1510], March 11th."[13] The ewer formerly be-

[11] Kürkman, *Magic of Clay and Fire*, pp. 79-82, citing the Turkish text of a decree from Ahmet Refik, *Fatma Sultan* (Istanbul: L & M Yalıncılık, 2004).

[12] Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire ottoman,* p. 151, quoting Arshak Alboyadjian [Alpoyachian], *Hushamatian Kutinahayeru* [Commemorative Volume of Kutahia Armenians] (Beirut, 1961).

[13] Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery*, vol. 1, p. 78, transcription and translation of Charles Dowsett (slightly modified) originally sent to Arthur Lane in the 1950s and used by the latter in his article "The Ottoman Pottery of Isnik," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 2 (1957): 247-81.

longed to Frederick DuCane Godman and was published in a catalog as early as 1901.[14] But in the decades that followed, it was argued that the piece was Iznik ware made for Abraham. Among those who aggressively argued for a Kutahia provenance was Armenag Sarkisian, in an article in the *Journal asiatique* and later reprinted in a volume of collected essays.[15]

Even after the publication of a second piece from the same Godman collection, a blue and white water bottle (Figs. 3A-B), the long stem broken at the top, some would not admit a Kutahia origin despite the explicit assertion on the object that it was manufactured there. The first inscription is on the ring just above the round belly of the vessel, under glaze: "Bishop Ter Martiros sent word here to K'ot'ayĕs: 'May the Holy Mother of God intercede for you: send one water-bottle (*surahi*) here.' May Ter Martiros receive it in peace. In the year 978 [A.D. 1529] on the 18th of March this water-bottle was inscribed."

A second inscription is on the bottom: "Ter Martiros sent word from Angora: 'May this water-bottle [be] an object [of] (K'ot'ays) for this Monastery of the Holy Mother of God'."[16] Though Arthur Lane was the first to publish this inscription (1957), he refused to accept its Kutahia origin, as Carswell so gently but pointedly, put it: "Although the references to Kütahya in the inscriptions are hardly ambiguous, Lane was convinced that neither of the vessels was made in Kütahya. While granting that both were the work of Armenian craftsmen, he maintained that they were made in Iznik."[17]

[14] *Catalogue of the Godman Collection of Oriental and Spanish Pottery and Glass* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1901), pp. vii, 52, item no. 7, illustrated on plate LV, no. 35.

[15] Armenag Sarkisian, "Les questions de Kötahya et de Damas dans la céramique de Turquie," *Journal Asiatique* (April-June 1936): 257-79, reprinted as "La question des faiences de Keutahia," *Pages d'art arménien* (Paris: UGAB Fonds Melkonian, 1940), pp. 103-13.

[16] Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery,* vol. 1, p. 80. Dowsett also comments on the various forms of Kutahia found in Armenian manuscripts and on objects and tiles.

[17] Ibid., p. 5. This simply raises the still unresolved question of whether Armenian potters worked at Iznik and if so, when and how many of them and in what capacity.

Textual Evidence on Armenians in the Ceramic Industry of Kutahia

Two fifteenth-century colophons from Armenian manuscripts make specific reference to Armenian ceramic craftsmen; the first of 1444-45 mentions the potter (*brut*) Murad and the second of 1489-90, Abraham Sarkavag, son of a potter (*chinidji*, from the Turkish *chini*, pottery or tiles, derived from China porcelain in great vogue from the fourteenth century).[18] With only twenty years separating this latter reference to the Abraham Vardapet of the Godman ewer of 1510, there is a tempting inclination to think that it is the same person. In that same fifteenth century at least three Muslim monuments in Kutahia were adorned with ceramics probably of local manufacture: the tombs of Yakub II (1428-29) and Ishak Fakih (1433), and the *mihrab* of the mosque of Hisar Bey (1487-89).[19]

Sixteenth-century references include an archival record for a pious foundation stating that Mevlana Sinan Halife established a kiln for firing bowls in Kutahia in 1537.[20] It seems that Kutahia also supplied titles for the great Suleymaniye mosque built under the supervision of Rustem Pasha between 1550 and 1557 and that the same Rustem established a tile factory in Kutahia in 1561 for the decorating of his own Rustem Pasha mosque in Constantinople.[21] A *firman* of 1579 speaks in bold terms of the Kutahia

[18] Ibid., p. 2, quoting from two inventories of the Church of Surb Sargis in Kutahia made by a certain Astvatsatur of Kafa in the 1480s and published by Mkrtich Aghavuni, "Keotahio hin dzeragrere" [The Ancient Manuscripts of Kutahia], *Byzantion*, nos. 19-20 (Dec. 31, 1897, Jan. 1, 1898). Neither of these colophons was published by Levon Khachikyan in his XVth century colophons, but he does include one by the same Astvatsatur who copied a Hymnal (*Gantsaran*) in 1486 in Kutahia. See Levon Khachikyan, *XV daru hayeren dzeragreri hishatakaranner* [Colophons of XVth Century Armenian Manuscripts], vol. 3: 1481-1500 (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1967), no. 642, pp. 467-68.

[19] Oktay Aslanapa, *Osmanlılar devrinde Kütahya çinileri* [Kutahia Tiles in the Ottoman Period] (Istanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1949), pp. 46-51, with illustrations and color drawings of various tiles; cf. Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery*, vol. 2, p. 3.

[20] Kürkman, *A History of Kütahya Pottery and Potters*, pp. 51-52, with a reproduction of the page from the Ottoman Archives, *Tahrir Defterleri*, no. 438, p. 71.

[21] Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery*, vol. 2, p. 6, quoting Tahsin Öz, *Turkish Ceramics* (Ankara: Turkish Press and Broadcasting Company, 1954), p. 29, referring to *Süleymanne Inşaat Defteri*, D. 44 in the Topkapı Sarayı archives, and Carswell, p. 8, for the Rustem Pasha mosque, quoting Aslanapa, *Osmanlılar devrinde Kütahya çinileri*, p. 45, note 3, but the reference should be to p. 79 in the book.

tile-makers.[22] Finally, a defter of 1600 refers to various trades in the city, including tile-makers and lists seventeen types of pottery and their prices.[23]

A firman of 1608 refers to a demand from the capital to Kutahia cup-makers to supply borax to the tile-makers of Iznik working on an imperial commission.[24] There are several references to Kutahia and its potters in the massive account of the seventeenth-century traveler Evliya Chelebi. While watching a day of parades in Constantinople in 1633, he comments on the ceramic workers from Iznik and Kutahia and their wares.[25] During his visit of 1669-70, he says that of the thirty-four quarters in the city, three are Armenian and three Greek, as well as three Armenian and two Greek churches. Most interesting he speaks pointedly about one of the "infidel" quarters as that of the china-makers (*chinidji*).[26] A firman of 1640 further underlines the active industry in Kutahia (and also Iznik), speaking of dishes (*tabak*), bowls/basins (*kâse*) saucers (*süküre*), jars (*kavanos*), and cups of various sizes.[27]

As would be expected by the large quantity of dated eighteenth-century Kutahia ceramics, including the tiles of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, textual references underlie not just the flourishing of the industry in the city but also the dominant role

[22] Kürkman, *A History of Kütahya Pottery and Potters*, p. 52, with reproduction of the original and transcription in modern Turkish, Ottoman Archives, *Mühimme*, no. 41, p. 85.

[23] Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery*, vol. 2, p. 3, quoting Öz, *Turkish Ceramics*, pp. 25-26.

[24] Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery*, vol. 2, p. 7 note 3, provides the important parts of this text.

[25] The date 1638-39 (1048 A.H.) is given for the parade of *esnaf* in Istanbul by Michael Rogers in Kürkman, *A History of Kütahya Pottery and Potters*, p. 282, quoting Orhan Gökyay's 1996 edition and translation of Chelebi's travel account.

[26] Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery*, vol. 2, pp. 7-8; Kürkman, *A History of Kütahya Pottery and Potters*, pp. 66-78, provides long excerpts in Turkish followed by English translation, sometimes repeated from Chelebi's *Seyahatnamesi* [Travelogue], but where the reference to potters in one of the infidel quarters is lacking, nevertheless, the details on Kutahia wares are interesting.

[27] Rogers in Kürkman, *A History of Kütahya Pottery and Potters*, p. 282, quoting Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narlı müessesesi ve 1640 tarihli Narlı defteri* [The Ottoman Narlı Institution and the Narlı (Book-Keeping) Records of 1640] (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983).

of the Armenians among the craftsmen. Two French travelers of the first half of the eighteenth century reveal very detailed information about Kutahia ware. The merchant Paul Lucas provides an inventory of the Kutahia pottery he sent back to France in 1715: "une douzaine de tasses à café avec leurs soucoupes, un tasse, deux bouteilles pour mettre de l'eau de rose, deux salières et deux escritoires, le tout de porcelain [sic] de Cutajé."[28] The French consul in Smyrna, Charles de Peyssonnel, gives details on the trade in the Crimea in 1753-55 when he was sent on a mission to the Tartar Khan: "Le debit de la porcelain est bien modique en Crimée, et se borne, année commune, à huit ou dix panniers de tasses à café, de vases pour le sorbet, et d'autres plus grands pour divers usages; mais il vient environ deux cent panniers de fayence de Cutahié de toute espece, comme pots, vases de toutes grandeurs, tasses à sorbet et à café, etc. Tout cela se vend bien en detail, on y trouve au moin cent pour cent de profit."[29]

Two court agreements drawn up in Kutahia in 1764 and 1766 between the Ottoman judges Sherif Abdullah (1764, Fig. 4) and Ahmed Effendi (1766) and the potters of the city, published recently by Garo Kürkman, establish the undeniable control of the Kutahia ceramic industry by the Armenians in the eighteenth century. Each of the documents, published in facsimile with a translation, includes the names and father's names of each potter. In the earlier agreement there were thirty-four masters and sixty-nine journeymen, while in that of 1766, thirty-seven masters but only twenty journeymen, leading Kürkman to conclude there was a sharp decline in production. What is the most striking, really rather remarkable, is that all the names in both lists are Armenian.[30]

[28] Arthur Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery* (London: Faber & Faber, 1957}, p. 63; cf. Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery,* vol. 2, p. 16. The original source is Henri Omont, *Missions archéologiques française en Orient aux XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), vol. 1, pp. 358-59; cf. Aslanapa, *Osmanlılar devrinde Kütahya çinileri*, p. 109.

[29] Claude Charles de Peyssonnel, *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer Noire* (Paris: Chez Cuchet, 1787), vol. 1, pp. 109-10, quotation in part from Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery,* vol. 2, p. 16; Aslanapa, *Osmanlılar devrinde Kütahya çinileri*, pp. 109-10, quoting the *Traité*, p. 109. A paperback edition of the first volume of the *Traité* was issued in 2001.

[30] Kürkman, *A History of Kütahya Pottery and Potters*, pp. 108-15. In both cases, the sources were the Kütahya Canon Court Records in Ankara, National Library, the first from vol. 3, ruling 229, that of 1766 from the Cup-Makers Guild Agreement, page 57 of an unspecified volume of the Canon Court Records.

Early skepticism about ceramic workshops in Kutahia before the eighteenth century has virtually disappeared and the two Godman pieces (Figs. 2-3), now in the British Museum, are universally recognized as the earliest dated ceramic objects from anywhere in Anatolia or other parts of the Ottoman Empire. This is due both to the study of archival sources and to the intensive scholarship carried out by John Carswell nearly forty years ago in bringing it altogether while at the same time providing a solid artistic and scientific analysis of Kutahia ceramics. The two-volume study of the 10,000 Kutahia tiles (Fig. 5) manufactured in 1718-19 that cover the walls of most of the Cathedral of Saint James of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem and other buildings of the monastery, as well as related objects fashioned by the Armenian potters. The material served as a vehicle to discuss every aspect of the history of ceramic production of Kutahia, and also incidentally of Iznik, to decipher and present with the help of Charles Dowsett all Armenian inscriptions,[31] to analyze and reconstruct the sequence of these tiles, to carry out spectrographic analysis of the composition of the tiles,[32] but also items like the Godman pieces as well as Iznik items, to identify the potters marks, to minutely draw the placement of each of the thousands of the tiles, and to profile the scores of types. All of this research was directed to rehabilitate Kutahia and its Armenian potters not just in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but to show clearly that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were also great moments for wares produced in that city. These volumes not only surveyed the scholarly literature devoted to ceramics produced in the Ottoman Empire but also reviewed and

[31] Charles F.J. Dowsett (1924-1998) was the first Calouste Gulbenkian Professor of Armenian at Oxford University who had already been working on the inscriptions on Kutahia ware and other objects since the 1950s as noted above in the reference to Arthur Lane.

[32] More scientific examinations of Kutahia tiles have recently been conducted: Philippe Colomban, Raphaël de Laveaucoupet, Véronique Milande, "On-Site Raman Spectroscopic Analysis of Kütahya Fritwares," *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy* 36, no. 9 (2005): 857-63. Colomban also examined Iznik tiles by Raman spectroscopy: "L'exemple ici-bas montre la différentiation dans un même corpus de céramiques ottomanes entre les productions d'Iznik et de Kütahya, voire dans celles d'Iznik de différentes périodes." See "Nouveaux outils et concepts dans l'analyse Raman des verres," paper read at a conference in Nancy in November 2006 titled "Verre, matériau fonctionnel du future," p. 3 of the pdf. on the Internet.

digested historical sources in Armenian[33] and Turkish[34] that shed light directly on the potters and population of this western Anatolian city.[35]

Kutahia Tiles of the Armenian Cathedral of Saint James in Jerusalem

Kutahia kilns are of course most famous for the tiles (and several liturgical objects) fashioned between 1716 and 1721. At least forty-five of these, which arrived in 1719, were specially commissioned by Abraham Vardapet from Armenians in Kutahia for the renovation and decoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, but because of a dispute between the various religious authorities—Greek, Latin, Armenian—that enjoyed custody over the holy shrine, the work was never carried out. Subsequently, Eghishe Vardapet used these Kutahia tiles in the restoration and decoration of the Cathedral of Saint James (Surb Hakob) and its various chapels and adjoining buildings between 1727 and 1737.[36] The pictorial tiles were placed haphazardly (Fig. 5) throughout the cathedral and adjoining buildings. Three other tiles from the series are known, two acquired in the nineteenth century by the Musée national de Céramique at Sèvres, and

[33] The most important are: Mkrtich Aghavuni, "Keotahio hin dzeragrere" [The Ancient Manuscripts of Kutahia], *Byzantion*, nos. 19-20 (Dec. 31, 1897, Jan 1, 1898); Haroutiun Kurdian, "Kutinahay hakhchapakinere" [The Armenian Pottery of Kutahia Armenians], originally published in *Geghuni* (1947): 25-30, special number dedicated to *Bazmavep*. I. Akian, *Katolike hayere Kutinayi* [The Catholic Armenians of Kutahia] (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1960); Hamabartsum Zortian [Arnak], ed., *Kutinahay zhamanakagrutiun* [Chronicle of the Kutina Armenians] (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1960); Alboyadjian, *Hushamadian Kutinahayeru*. One can add to this list an earlier article by Zortian, "Hakhchapaki" [Ceramics], in Teodik, *Amenun taretsoytse* [Everyone's Almanac], vol. 17 (1923): 198-228.

[34] See primarily Ahmet Refik, *Istanbul hayatı (901-1000 A.H.)* [Life in Istanbul (901-1000 A.H.)] (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1933), for official documents, now supplemented by various articles of Mübahat Kütükoğlu on imperial decrees and Ottoman registers as cited in Kürkman, *A History of Kütahya by Pottery and Potters*, pp. 285, 395.

[35] Carswell, who has continued his studies of ceramics of Kutahia and Iznik, brings new information and analysis to the subject. Among the most important of these are "C'est la gare!" in *Islamic Art in the Ashmolean Museum*, ed. J. W. Allan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), vol. 1, pp. 99-109, and *Iznik Pottery* (London: British Museum, 1998).

[36] Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery*, vol. 2, pp. 12-13.

another in a private collection in France showing Saint Gregory flanked by Saint Basil of Caesarea and Saint John Chrysostom with King Trdat metamorphosed as a bore, and his sister Khosrovidukht (Fig. 6).[37] Carswell with Dowsett's help reorganized the tiles into three categories and in their proper sequence thanks to the running inscriptions at the top and the bottom of series A and B, respectively of eight Old Testament and twenty-seven New Testament scenes, while series C has twenty tiles of mixed symbolic and Old and New Testament subjects with long inscriptions at the bottom.[38]

Kutahia Ware

One of the most popular forms originating from the kilns at Kutahia were egg-shaped ornaments hung on the chains from which oil lamps were suspended in churches and mosques (Fig. 7). A few are inscribed suggesting that Armenian pilgrims coming to Jerusalem, where the great majority is found, used some as votive offerings. They may have been more than just ornaments; some say they are barriers against mice which, attracted by the animal fat once used in the lamps, would slide off the slick surface of the egg as they made their way down the chain to the oil. Kutahia eggs are variously decorated, but the most common type displays seraphim, the famous six-winged guardian angels of the Old Testament often found on Armenian liturgical objects and paintings. Other popular shapes of these ceramics are the demitasse cups without handles, saucers, plates, rosewater flasks, lemon squeezers, even chalices, incense burners, and miscellaneous objects. Armenian inscriptions abound on Kutahia vessels, whether eggs, plates, water jugs, flasks, incense burners, or tile plaques.[39]

Most major museums have collections of Kutahia pottery of varying size and quality: the Louvre, Musée des arts décoratives, Musée national de Céramique at Sèvres, British Museum, Vic-

[37] The three tiles have been carefully studied in the context of the whole series by Soustiel, "Kütahya-Jérusalem," and Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery*.

[38] Carefully arranged and illustrated in color, Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery*, ch. 2: "The Pictorial Tiles," and ch. 3, "The Inscriptions," pp. 12-67. Kürkman, *A History of Kütahya Pottery and Potters*, pp. 85-107, presents virtually all of them in fresh color photographs.

[39] Carswell presents all types and has section drawings of them.

toria and Albert Museum, Ashmolean in Oxford, Musée royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels, Metropolitan Museum in New York, Cincinnati Art Museum, Armenian Library and Museum of America (ALMA) in Watertown (much of it from the former Paul and Victoria Bedoukian and the Haroutune and Tina Hazarian collections), Benaki Museum in Athens, museums of the Mekhitarist Brotherhood in Venice and Vienna, Hebrew Museum in Jerusalem, as well as the various museums in Turkey, especially the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul and in Kutahya. In addition to the newly formed private collections in Istanbul, there are others now seemingly everywhere including the Pamboukdjian collection in Paris and the Kalfayan Collection in London and Thessaloniki. Most of the carefully formed older collections have either been sold at auction, given to public institutions, or otherwise dispersed. These include those of H. Kurdian (to Venice Mekhitarists), H. and T. Hazarian (ALMA and auction sales), P. and V. Bedoukian (ALMA), Dikran Kelekian (sold to a Paris dealer, then auctioned in 1970), Jacques Matossian of Cairo (sold), Godman (British Museum), M. Savadjian (sold in Paris in 1927), J.R.A. Brocklebank (the Ashmolean, Oxford).

Kutahia Pottery in the Twentieth Century

The extraordinary beauty of the polychrome Kutahia vessels of the first half of the eighteenth century with their yellows, greens, and reds, the finesse of their blue and white tiles, the expressive provincial nature of their pictorial scenes, and the fine, elegant quality of certain bowls, cups, and saucers using a very thin white clay so much like Chinese porcelain that foreigners often referred to it by that name, eventually gave way to a thicker, more summary painting and execution at the end of the century. For most of nineteenth century, the pottery business seemed to go into hibernation. Carswell remarks: "There is no glazed pottery from Kutahia which can with certainty be attributed to this period."[40] An official tax register of Kutahia from 1844 reports about a hundred individuals liable to tax, just three are potters and three journeyman potters as well as three pipe bowl makers, all of whose names are Armenian; clearly the industry

[40] Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery*, vol. 2, p. 39.

was in decline.[41] In 1795, there were a hundred potteries in the city; by the 1880s only two remained according to a report submitted by Mehmed Ziya in the 1890s.[42]

The renaissance that took place in the last decade of the nineteenth century was spearheaded by three workshops: the brothers Artin and Haji Garabed (Karapet) Minassian, Mehmed Emin Effendi (who sometimes teamed up with the Minassians), and David Ohannessian, who once worked as a secretary in Garabed Minassian's major establishment but opened his own pottery in 1904.[43] Their efforts brought new life to Kutahia's ceramic production, creating vessels with the older designs of the Iznik style rather than that of early eighteenth-century Kutahia ware. Tiles and pots were once again sold locally and internationally, and the potters and artists exhibited their works at trade fairs, in Bursa (Brusa) especially as well as outside the Ottoman Empire.

During the Armenian Genocide, the Armenians of Kutahia were spared thanks to the Ottoman governor, Ali Faik Bey, who refused to carry out orders of the central government; however, most Armenians left, and in 1922 the Kemalists drove out those who still remained.[44] Nevertheless, by 1919 the Armenian Kutahia pottery industry was already established in Jerusalem. Among the master potters of the turn of the century, it was only

[41] Kürkman, *A History of Kütahya Pottery and Potters*, pp. 117-18, quoting from Devrim Topal Durukan, *Kütahya kazası Börekçiler, Maruf, Hisaraltı, Paşam, Şehre Küstü, mahallelerinin temettuatına dayanılarak idarı, iktisadi ve sosyal yapı* [Administrative, Economic and Social Structure Based On the Incomes of the Börekçiler, Maruf, Hisaraltı, Paşam and Şehre Küstü Districts of the Kutahia Kaza] (Istanbul: Marmara University, 2001), p. 36. Though Kürkman speaks of one potter and three journeymen, the list he gives has three potters.

[42] Mehmed Ziya, *Bursadan Konyaya seyahat* [Travels from Bursa to Konya] (Istanbul, 1910), as quoted by Kürkman, *A History of Kütahya Pottery and Potters*, pp. 118-27, who gives the entire report prepared by Mehmed Ziya in English translation; cf. Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire ottoman*, p. 151, apparently referring to Alboyadjian, *Hushamadian Kutinahayeru*, no page given, who considers the early one hundred potters and the later three, rather than two, to be Armenian establishments.

[43] Detailed biographies of each of these can be found in Kürkman, *A History of Kütahya Pottery and Potters*, pp. 183-200, with a number of photographs of the various establishments and their patrons. See also Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery*, vol. 2, pp. 39-41.

[44] Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire ottoman*, p. 151, where the name is given as Fayik Ali Bey; Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery*, vol. 2, p. 39.

David Ohannessian who was able to start a new life after a time in Aleppo and the surrounding desert areas. He was called to Jerusalem by Sir Mark Sykes, who just before the start of the war was the assistant to Sir Ronald Storrs, the governor of the Holy City under British mandate. Storrs had established the Pro-Jerusalem Society, intended among other things to restore the important monuments of the city. Ohannessian was assigned the task of making tiles for the repair of the Dome of the Rock. He in turn brought from Kutahia some ten Armenian pottery craftsmen led by master potters Nishan Balian and Megerditch Karakashian to try to put into working order the newly discovered sixteenth century kilns used for the tiles which cover the outside Dome; the venture was a failure and the project abandoned.[45] But with the encouragement of Storrs, Ohannessian opened a pottery works, "Dome of the Rock Tiles," in the Old City, which was active until the Palestine-Israeli war of 1948 when the owner left for Beirut.

In 1922, Balian and Karakashian opened their own establishment "Palestine Pottery" on Nablus Road, though in time the name was changed to "Jerusalem Pottery." In 1960 after the death of their father, Stepan and Berge Karakashian moved to their own premises on the Via Dolorosa in the Old City; Hagop Karakashian now runs the shop.[46] The tiles and especially the dishes, bowls, and other objects began to take on designs appropriate to a new clientele. Marie Balian, the wife of Nishan's son Setrak and a native of France, is a master artist who painted large tiles and panels of tiles which exquisitely render designs from Arab, Armenian, and Jewish mosaics found in and around the city (Figs. 8A-B). After Setrak's death, the Balian works are run by his son Nishan. In the 1980s, Jerusalem

[45] The best narrative is in the introduction to the exhibition catalogue by Yael Olenik, *The Armenian Pottery of Jerusalem* (Tel Aviv: Haaretz Museum, 1986), pp. 6-19; other details in Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery*, vol. 2, pp. 39-42 (Karakashian is referred to as Kashan). Carswell interviewed the sons of Balian and Karakashian in the 1960s while researching his book. See also the biography of Ohannessian in Kürkman as cited in note 43 above. Ironically, the restoration was finally carried out in 1966 with Kutahia tiles produced by Turkish masters in that city.

[46] Garo Sandrouni of Jerusalem reported in an e-mail of January 9, 2010, that the Balians and the Karakashians remained associates until 1962-63, but that they had left their association with Ohannessian in 1935.

natives who studied ceramic making in the Republic of Armenia opened three new workshops.[47]

Ceramics made by descendents of the Armenian potters of Kutahia are found everywhere in Jerusalem. They are a great favorite among tourists and local residents. How long this tradition will continue, one for which Arabs and Israelis have great respect, is not easy to say. Methods of production have been modernized with machinery imported from the West and a certain uniformity has been the result, but the painting and glazing is still quite remarkable. Though the famous high quality white clay that was gathered and processed very close to the town of Kutahia and the borax used for flux from Shabin-Karahisar was for a while imported into the Holy Land by Ohannessian at the beginning of the Jerusalem adventure, for many decades it has been replaced with a poor local reddish material.

The future study of early Kutahia wares should probably be centered around three domains: 1) furthering Raman spectroscopy to analyze the composition of older tiles and objects, especially from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to help distinguish items produced in Kutahia from those in Iznik and other localities; 2) tracing the origins of some intricate design elements on Kutahia vessels from these same centuries, research which has already started;[48] 3) studying the origins of the iconography used by Toros and other artists responsible for pictorial tiles decorating the Saint James Cathedral, thus far unsatisfactorily researched.

There still remains the larger question of terminology. Even though scholars and collectors recognize Kutahia ceramics as the product of Armenian craftsmen, they are still often referred to as Ottoman or Turkish and are classified in most museum collection under this label along with Iznik and other wares. The logic

[47] Sandrouni, in the message noted above, offered a variation, for which see Olenik, *The Armenian Pottery of Jerusalem*, p. 15 and note 6. Olenik gives their names as Hagop Antreassian and Harout Halebian in the Old City and Haig Lepejian in Ramallah. I am unfamiliar with their work and have not been able to verify this information or to determine if there have been even newer potteries.

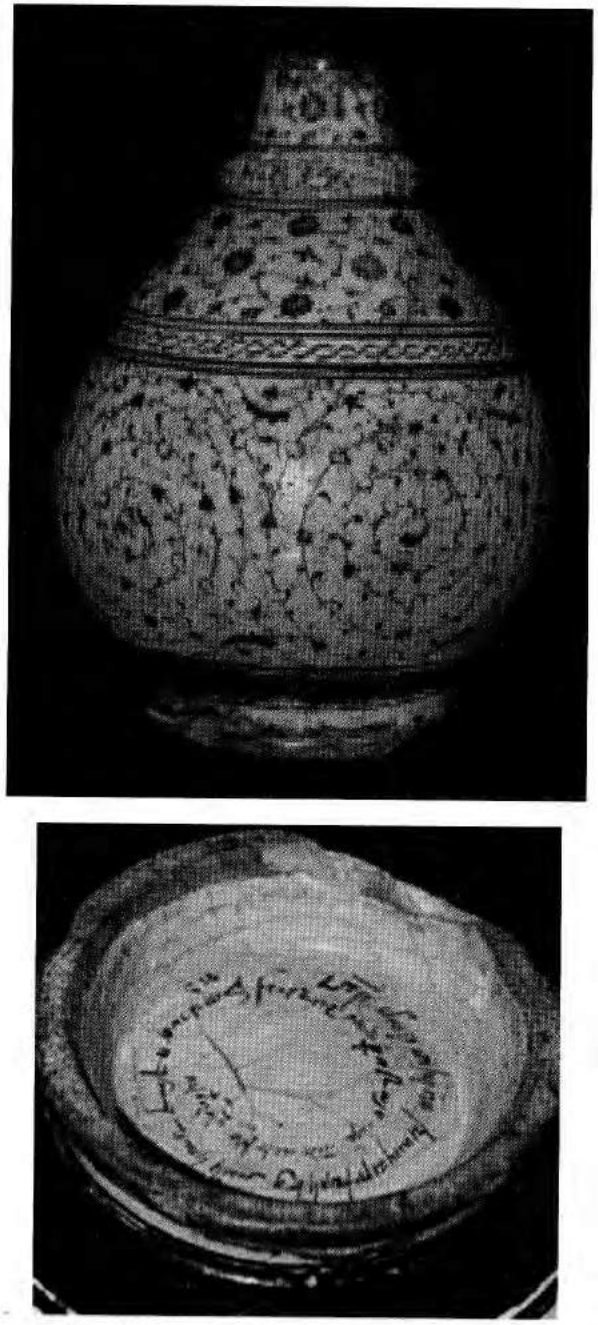
[48] Yolande Crowe, "A Kütahya Bowl with Lid in the Walters Art Museum," *Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 64-65 (2006-07): 199-206; *idem*, "Kütahya Ceramics and International Armenian Trade Networks," *V & A Online Journal*, 3 (Spring 2011). The article may be found on the Internet at http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/journals/research-journal/issue-03/kutahya-ceramics-and-international armenian-trade networks.

is that of course Ottoman citizens produced them within the Ottoman Empire. The question of national identity of art works is a very complicated one. After all, the Greek Velasquez's art is considered Spanish and Picasso's work is regarded as French. The problem is to some degree rhetorical, one that may never be solved, only discussed.[49]

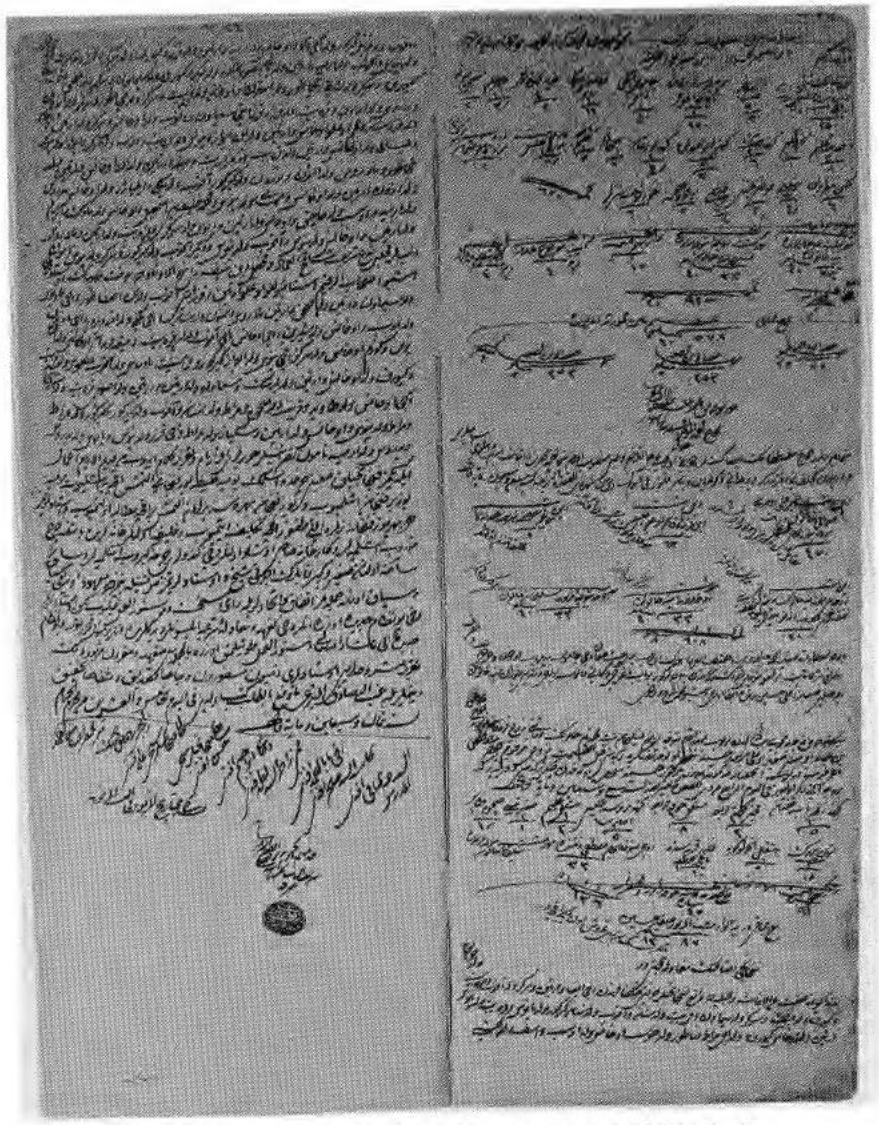
[49] I have on occasion tried to confront this dilemma. See Dickran Kouymjian, "Reflections on Armenian Painting on the Occasion of an Exhibit," *Five West Coast Artists of Armenian Ancestry* (Fresno: Fresno Arts Center, 1983), pp. 6-10.

Kutahia: Polychrome Plate with Beheading of John the Baptist and Monogram of Abraham Vardapet on Underside, 1719

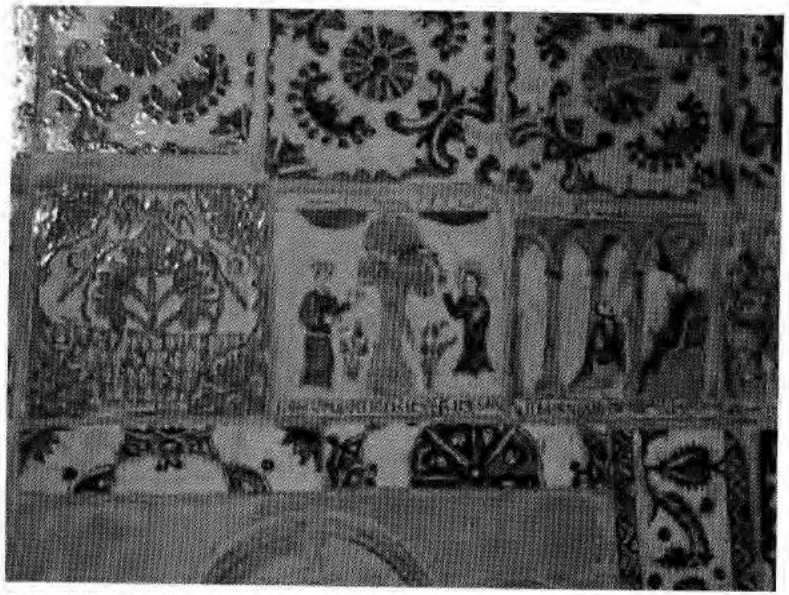
Kutahia: Blue and White Liturgical Pitcher with Inscription on Base, 1510



Kutahia: Blue and White Bottle with Inscription on Base, 1529



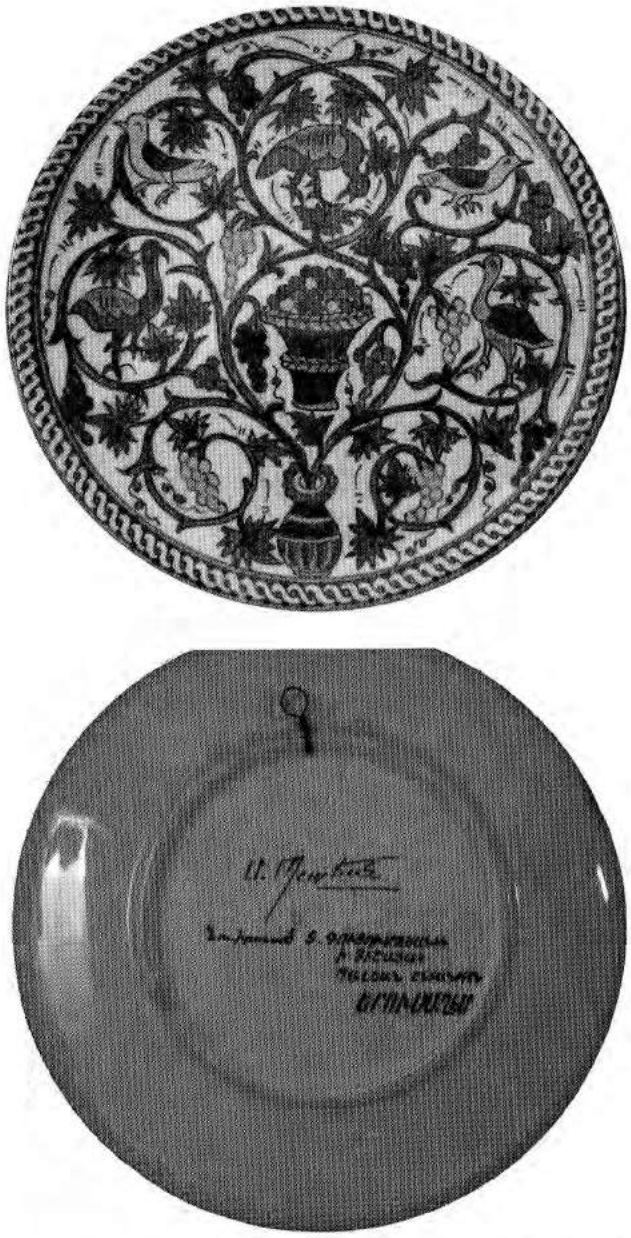
Kutahia: Ottoman Judicial Accord Dated 1764 Listing Names of Kutahia Armenian Potters



Kutahia: Wall Tiles Depicting Adam and Eve and King David in Prayer, 1718-19, Jerusalem, Saint James Armenian Cathedral

Kutahia: Wall Tile with Saints Basil of Caesarea, Gregory the Illuminator, John Chrysostom. Lower Register, King Trdat with a Bore's Head, and His Sister Khosrovidukht, 1718-19

Kutahia: Ceramic Egg-Shaped Hanging Ornament with Seraphim, Eighteenth Century



Kutahia: Polychrome Plate Painted by Marie Balian with Signature, Jerusalem, 1976

❦ 5 ❦

ARMENIAN BARDIZAG

Ara Stepan Melkonian

Bardizag was a large village situated about 1,000 feet (300 meters) above sea level on the side of a long hill, running roughly west to east, facing the southern shore of the Gulf of Izmid, and about 3 miles (5 kilometers) from it.[1] It is backed by rolling hills, has a good, healthy climate, and is well supplied with water. Prior to 1915, Bardizag had a cobbled main street running through the commercial part of the village, past the Armenian Apostolic Church of Mtsbina Surp Hagop/Hakob (Saint James of Nisibis) as far as the American High School and the Favre Boys Home, and continued on towards the villages of Dongel and Arslanbeg (Aslanbeg).[2] A narrow road, built by the villagers as a communal enterprise (it no longer exists but is famous in village lore), linked it to Bardizag's own small seaport known as Seymen or Iskele, now a Turkish naval establishment.[3]

Seymen was founded before the eighteenth century and was the despatch point for goods going to Constantinople—charcoal, timber, and firewood. It was an important port on the Gulf of Izmid right up to the deportations and massacres of 1915 and was used

[1] Although to Armenians the village was Bardizag, the Turks knew it as Baghchedjuk or Baghchedjik. According to an official document written in Armenian, that of a land sale in the village dated April 10, 1874 (old style Julian calendar), the village was known as Baghchedjik. See Grigor [Krikor] Mkhalian, *Partizakn u partizaktsin* [Bardizag and the Bardizag Native] (Cairo: Sahak-Mesrob Press, 1938), p. 974. For consistency in this volume, the transliteration of authors and titles in Armenian in the notes is based on a modified Library of Congress system, corresponding more closely to Eastern Armenian than Western Armenian pronunciations. Western Armenian forms are maintained in the text, however.

[2] Hakob Ter Hakobian, *Partizake Khatutik* [Dappled Bardizag] (Paris: Agopian Press, 1960), map between pp. 328-29.

[3] Mkhalian, *Partizak*, pp. 194-97, 407-10.

for the shipment of local products—raisins, dried figs, wine, *oghi* (distilled spirits), olive oil, olives, soap, and ceramics, all of which were traded as far as the islands in the Sea of Marmara.[4] Finally, it was the first stage of the journey into oblivion in 1915—the people crossed the gulf from Seymen to Izmid to take the railway route to their obliteration in Deir el-Zor.

Where did the original settlers of Bardizag come from? The simple answer seems to be from a village of the same name in the region of Sebastia (Sepastia; now Sivas), but like so many aspects of Armenian history, it is somewhat more complicated than that.[5] Armenian historians tell of King Senekerim Artsruni, who in about the year 1020 was forced to exchange his kingdom of Vaspurakan for the districts of Sebastia and Larissa in the Byzantine Empire. This was the result of the incursions of the Turkic tribes from the east and the Byzantine army of Basil II Bulgaroctonus from the west.[6] Senekerim, his subject nobility, their retainers, and about 80,000 commoners settled in Sebastia and Cappadocia. One of the many villages that they founded in the area during the subsequent decades was called Bardizag (or Baghchedjukh).[7]

According to Krikor Mkhalian, Eghishe Turian, and others, as well as by tradition, the new village was established by a small number of families who fled from their native Bardizag in Sebastia[8] during the ruinous Jelali rebellions of the 1590s.[9] It seems that they first settled near Constantinople, but with a decree ordering all Armenians who had reached the Ottoman capital as refugees to return to their homes, the migrants eventually

[4] Ibid., pp. 93-95.

[5] Tatevos Kh. Hakobyan, *Patmakan Hayastani kaghaknere* [Cities of Historic Armenia] (Erevan: Hayastan, 1987), p. 220; Mkhalian, *Partizak*, p. 25ff.

[6] Karen N. Yuzbashyan, *Patmutiun Aristakesi Lastiverttsvo* [History of Aristakes of Lastivert] (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1963), p. 34.

[7] *Hay zhoghovrdi patmutyun* [History of the Armenian People], vol. 3 (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1970), pp. 144-48.

[8] *Haykakan Sovetakan Hanragitaran* [Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia], vol. 9 (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1983), p. 213. The original village, with its church of Surb Gevorg (Kevork), was still in existence in 1914.

[9] Mkhalian, *Partizak*, pp.18-19, 25; Patriarch Torgom Gushakian [Torkom Koushagian], *Eghishe Patriark Durian* [Patriarch Eghishe Turian] (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1932), p. 25. Mkhalian states that the Jelali rebellions began with the accession of Sultan Mohammed III in 1595 and were crushed by Murad Pasha in 1609 during the reign of Sultan Ahmed.

stopped in a clearing in what was then forest near the Gulf of Izmid, where the present town stands.[10] These fugitives were some of the very first Armenians to settle in the area. To protect themselves, the men split into two groups: the *zobi*s or guards and the *khashman*s or farmers. No one knows how the arrangement worked, but as Armenians took "ian" surnames, the Zobian and Khashmanian families emerged.

The village that was founded and named for the original one in Sebastia gained official recognition through a *firman* issued by Sultan Murad IV in 1625.[11] Bardizag was ruled by members of the leading families known as the *ishkhan*s (princes), who made decisions concerning village life by agreement among themselves, without formalities or keeping written records. This ishkhan form of governance lasted until the Armenian National Constitution or Regulations (Hay Azgayin Sahmanadrutiun) were promulgated in the 1860s, at which time the village was divided into six parishes, each governed by a council.[12] Bardizag also had a joint governing council for all the parish councils and the small settlements that came under its jurisdiction.

Over the course of the first hundred years after its foundation, the village grew, with not only a high birthrate but also with the influx of Armenian refugees from the eastern provinces. It is said that a considerable number of these refugees were from Agn, but in any event, their individual peculiarities disappeared, being replaced by those of the Bardizag community generally, and they became indistinguishable from the original settlers, adopting their dialect, customs, and manners. Perhaps some of their characteristics were passed on to later generations of villagers, because the people of Agn were renowned for their musicality, and the people of Bardizag also enjoyed music, singing, and dancing with gusto.

The Armenian dialect spoken in Bardizag was different from that spoken in the neighboring villages. It was much less guttural and retained much of its original lilt and accent. In fact, it was

[10] The *firman* or decree was issued in the second half of the sixteenth century as a result of the massive influx of Armenians to the capital.

[11] The *firman* also determined the village boundaries, according to Mkhalian, *Partizak*, pp. 17, 29, 50-55.

[12] Ter Hakobian, *Partizake*, p. 32. The parishes were Kilise mahlesi (Church Quarter), Dere (Valley), Kumluk (Sandy), Yeni (New; Upper Threshing Floor), Protestan (Protestant), and Katolik (Catholic).

very similar to that spoken in Sebastia, so much so that a priest from Bardizag thought that a group of refugees from Sebastia were actually from the village![13] Hagop Der Hagopian (Ter Hakobian), the journalist who was appointed mayor and who had time to appreciate its spoken language, wrote: "The best Armenian spoken in the Bithynia region was that of Bardizag, with its clarity of diction and lilt. The grammar used was simple and the spoken language was devoid of foreign or sharp accents, such as those heard in Adabazar, Arslanbeg, or other nearby villages."[14] Although all Armenians of the village understood Turkish and used it in their contacts with the outside world, it was often necessary to use interpreters so that the inhabitants could really understand finer points of what officials were asking of them.[15]

Bardizag and its outlying villages, together with the nearby towns of Adabazar and Bursa, were under the religious jurisdiction of the Armenian Apostolic Diocese of Izmid (now Kochaeli). It was known as the Bishopric of Nicomedia, which had jurisdiction over approximately 90,000 Armenians in the region. The only Armenian mayor (*mudir*) of Bardizag was the journalist and author Hagop Der Hagopian, from late 1908 to 1914.[16] The village was always under the jurisdiction of the local Turkish *bey* or *agha* who relied on it as a major source of income.

The small town had local administrative jurisdiction over 5 Armenian, 1 Greek, and 2 Muslim (Gurdji; Georgian) villages:

Dongel, 75 houses of Laz Armenians.
Dongeli Surpe, 28 houses of Laz Armenians.
Ovadjek, 500 houses of Armenians.
Zhamavayr, 40 houses of Laz Armenians, also known as Kilise Duzu.
Zakar Kiugh, 65 houses of Laz Armenians, also known in as Sakar-Bechke.
Yenikoy, 500 Greek Orthodox houses, called Hrom Kiugh by the Bardizag people.
Hasar Koy and Tatar Koy, the Georgian Muslim villages.[17]

[13] Mkhalian, *Partizak*, p. 25, and, for a comprehensive exposition of the dialect, see pp. 823-944.
[14] Ter Hakobian, *Partizake*, p. 21.
[15] Mkhalian, *Partizak*, p. 379.
[16] Ter Hakobian, *Partizake*, pp. 9-10.
[17] Ibid., p. 33.

The Laz Armenians, originally from the eastern Black Sea region, were those who had adopted Laz dress, language, and customs but still retained their Armenian Apostolic faith and identified themselves as Armenian. The government, with its policy of diluting the Armenian population by importing Muslim refugees, brought Muslim Georgians—Gurdjis and Lazes—from the Trebizond region and settled them in a few nearby villages. Their presence was always a problem for the Armenians.

Bardizag by 1914 had some 10,000 Armenian inhabitants, made up of about 2,000 families living in 1,400 wooden houses. Several hundred individuals had left, either permanently to go into trades or professions or temporarily (mainly women and girls) to enter into service of wealthy families in Constantinople.[18] Although, under Ottoman law, the Armenians were liable for military service since the Young Turk revolution in 1908, the young men of the village, so as to avoid it, paid the military service exemption tax, the *bedel*, generally levied on the entire village, at least until World War I when conscription was enforced.

Life was, in the main, reasonably peaceful. Yet village life was quite harsh: constant toil to provide food for the family; continual concern about Muslim attitudes and actions; bandits in the hills; epidemics, as sanitation was rudimentary at best; numerous taxes; calamities such as fires, which could engulf the entire village; the constant feuding between the well-to-do families which affected the whole village—all had an impact on the community's welfare. Another burden was the need to billet and provide for Turkish army detachments at a moment's notice—the larger the village, the bigger the detachment and the more provisions required. This happened several times in Bardizag with disastrous results.[19] The effect of Ottoman politics that did not directly involve the Armenian village community (such as the Greek war of independence in the 1820s) often created tensions for Bardizag vis-à-vis the Turkish authorities; for example the holding in long abeyance or refusing altogether a permit for rebuilding or repairing a church.

Despite everything, the large village grew in importance and developed various trades, some at the behest of local influential

[18] Ibid., pp. 208-10.
[19] Mkhalian, *Partizak*, p. 117.

Turks and of the Armenian elite *amira* class in Constantinople and still others thanks to the villagers' own determination and drive. One form of production that started very early on was the preparation of charcoal. This was begun at the initiative of the Haladar Turkish aghas of the village in order to provide charcoal for the Imperial Ottoman Mint, from 1810 to 1835. The charcoal was exported from the village through its port, two or three times a week.[20] Linked to this was the supplying of lumber by those known as *barmakji*s. These businesses ended when the whole area was eventually denuded of trees.

A further important occupation was the manufacture of horseshoes, with the forges producing no fewer than 800 pairs a day at one time. Another major activity was the large-scale production of baskets, with vast quantities being ordered from Constantinople and elsewhere. There were 120 basket makers in Bardizag in 1905, according to Vahram Muradian.[21] In addition, tobacco was grown extensively in the area, especially by the people of Bardizag itself. Another "trade" connected with this crop, carried on by young village men called *effe*s (who dressed in a style all their own) was tobacco smuggling or *ayinga*. This was carried on very successfully at night, under the noses of the local and regional *régie* (government tobacco regulating authority) inspectors and police. There were many famous effes, some of whose names are still remembered and often engaged in glorified battles against the Muslim Georgian settlers in the hills around the village.[22]

Sericulture—silk production—the most important trade which began in fits and starts in the nineteenth century because of the lack of hygienic conditions necessary for success, was revitalized and especially toward the end of the village's existence was undoubtedly the mainstay of the community. The Helvadjian, Avedian, Mgerian, and Sarukhanian families had large silkworm gardens and provided employment for many village women.[23]

In the nineteenth century, Bardizag became popular with intellectuals, travelers, and well-to-do Armenians from Constantinople, who would go up to the village for vacations. This, of course, brought in revenue and also increased the contact with the city Armenians, leading to the villagers' desire to emulate in some ways their urban compatriots. A significant result of these visits was that Bardizag began to be written about by Armenian journalists and authors from as early as the 1840s. Many articles about the village appeared in the press of the capital, such as in *Biuzantion* (Byzantium) and a related occasional book was published, so that Bardizag became well known. Authors such as Minas Veradzin, Antranig Bedigian, Arshag Chobanian, Hagop Der Hagopian, and especially the teacher and author Krikor Mkhalian all wrote about the village and its life.

As a cultural venue, Armenian theater troupes from Constantinople also visited, giving performances in the high school auditorium. The actor Yenovk Shahen Yepranosian, a native of the village, was one of the initiators and participants of this movement.[24] Choirs would also visit, including that of Gomidas (Komitas) Vardapet. He even transcribed one famous village song, "Dan Dan," and thus saved it for posterity. Prominent intellectuals—agronomists, teachers, writers—gave talks in the church, with the curtains to the three altars drawn.

An important aspect of the developing cultural and social links with Constantinople was the gradual influence of political and religious thought in the village. Bardizag was always pro-Hnchakian (Social Democrat/Marxist), and a small group of older men were actually members of that party. From 1890 onward, however, young men who had been in Constantinople brought back the ideology and formed a branch of the Dashnaktsutiun (Armenian Revolutionary Federation; ARF). These groups survived right up until World War I.[25] Apart from this political movement, there were various organizations in Bardizag: the People's Bank, the Durgers (carpenters) Association, the Armenian General Benevolent Union, the Steamship Association, the Dashnaktsutiun's sponsored Cooperative Union, and the Village Agrarian Defense Union.[26]

Until the missionary movement gained pace, Bardizag was entirely Armenian Apostolic. The people were devout and ob-

[20] Ibid., pp. 60-61, 192-94; Ter Hakobian, *Partizake*, p. 232.

[21] Vahram Muratian, *Manzume* (Constantinople), № 1175, April 27/May 10, 1905.

[22] Mkrtich Martik, *Partizaki efenere* [The *Effe*s of Bardizag], *Hairenik Amsagir* (Dec. 1948), quoted in Ter Hakobian, *Partizake*, pp. 191-94.

[23] Mkhalian, *Partizak*, pp. 71-73, 414-17, 472-76.

[24] Ibid., pp. 599-603.

[25] Ibid., p. 481.

[26] Ibid., pp. 581-98.

servant. But in the middle of the nineteenth century, Protestant and Catholic missionaries began to make their presence felt, initiating many social changes. The educational movement began earlier in Bardizag than in many other villages. Before schools were founded, a boy would be apprenticed to a tradesman, learning the rudiments of reading and writing in the course of his work. There were also a few teachers of the old school—perhaps of the "Ter Totig" type immortalized in Armenian literature as the strict disciplinarians who used the rod to aid memory. Schools grew rapidly in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In 1860, for example, the newspaper *Meghu* reported that there was a boys' school in Bardizag already with 450 pupils and seven teachers and a girls' school with 220 pupils.[27] Later, the famous Bithynia High School (Amerikian Bardzragoyn Varzharan) founded by the Protestant missionaries, the national community school (Azgayin Varzharan), the Armenian Catholic Mekhitarist School, and various kindergartens were opened. The new generation of children began to receive regular, high quality education.[28] The future patriarch of Jerusalem, Eghishe Turian, then a vardapet and himself from Bardizag, had a great influence on education in the village in the 1880s, when he was the general overseer of the community school as well as the priest of the church.

The American Bithynia High School was renowned throughout the Ottoman Empire, attracting students from all regions and even from abroad. The school was directed by Reverend Robert Chambers, a Canadian missionary who spoke, read, and wrote Armenian fluently, and his wife Elizabeth Lawson.[29] Many graduates went on to Robert College in Constantinople and other institutions of higher learning and became intellectuals, churchmen, journalists, as well as successful businessmen, doctors, and other professionals. Two of the high school buildings are still standing: Chambers' own house (still continuing to serve as a home) and Chambers Hall (presently often identified as "an American church" because of its architectural style but which in fact was built by donations made by the High School Alumni

[27] *Meghu* [Bee] (Constantinople), № 97, 1860.

[28] Mkhalian, *Partizak*, pp. 781-802.

[29] Karo Gevorgian [Garo Kevorkian], *Amenun taregirke* [Everybody's Yearbook] (Beirut: K. Gevorgian, 1956), pp. 183-248.

Society before World War I. The structures are pointed out to visitors as "buildings of another time."[30]

There were some noteworthy places in and around Bardizag: Lusaghpiur was where picnics (with the whole village taking part) were held, as well as Manushag (a considerable distance from Bardizag) and Surp Minas,[31] both places of pilgrimage, as was the chapel of Surp Takavor/Tagavor (Holy Christ the King), earmarked to be the center of a future monastery. Another site known as "vardapetin khutse" (the priest's cell) had historic significance. Bishop Hovhannes Gudjukian (Gudjukents) built and lived in it as a hermit in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He returned to Bardizag after ordination at Gduts monestery near Van and soon became famous as a "doctor" and healer. He was soon arrested, at the urgings of the abbot of the Armash monastery, as pilgrims were visiting him in large numbers, bypassing the monastery. The patriarch of the time had him exiled in the depths of winter, to Kesaria (Kayseri), where he died and was buried in 1839.[32] His humble abode was always held to be sacred.

Bardizag had one Armenian Apostolic church, dedicated to Saint James of Nisibis. The last ediface (destroyed after 1922) was the fourth or fifth of that name on the same spot. It had three altars and was as large as some of the noted Armenian churches in Constantinople. The structure was rebuilt in stone in 1830 and was reconsecrated on March 31, 1831 (old style).[33]

In the village itself, the *konak* (government building) was located in the commercial part of the main road, next to the church. The agha collected the one-tenth of the produce grown, as he was also the *multezim* (tax collector). For example, when silkworm cocoons were harvested and spun into thread, the agha's portion would be taken on a particular day. At the time, when there were no courts of law in the provinces, the agha had the right to try and punish criminals. When guilt was established, one of two punishments was imposed according to the severity of the crime: the first was beating and/or imprisonment, and the second was the levying of fines. He also had the

[30] The former Chambers Hall, although painted a garish pink and having its porch enclosed, has an official government preservation order on it.

[31] Mkhalian, *Partizak*, pp. 73-76.

[32] Ibid., pp. 126-32.

[33] Ibid., pp. 166-68.

right to intervene in the disposition of bequeathed property.

Although the villagers were hardworking and eager to please on an individual level, they sometimes became rowdy and violent as a group, especially when it came to issues such as community elections or the construction of certain buildings, this trait even finding its way into village lore.[34] Still, the people were very devout and held their parish priests in high esteem. They would often be called on to mediate disputes between families. If someone from Bardizag went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, on his return he would be met at the edge of the village by the parish priest and the church choir and led to the sanctuary, where celebratory prayers would be offered. Quite often, the person who had made this pilgrimage would add the title of "haji" to his name or, if the whole family had gone, to their surname.

Work in the fields and the village would stop when the church bell was sounded in the evening. People would return home, and it was then that the village came alive in a bustling air until time for each family to sit down to its evening meal.[35] The community was very keen on singing and dancing, and annual get-togethers in Lusaghpiur, at Surp Minas, in the Veri Galer (Upper Threshing Fields), and on feast days at places such as Manushag or Surp Takavor were major events. They were also the times when young people could meet, under strict supervision, and where many future spouses saw each other socially for the first time.[36]

The cycle of life was duly observed in Bardizag. The birth of a child was a joyous event and considered to be the greatest blessing. A healthy baby would be baptized during the mass on the Sunday after it was born. If the newborn child seemed to be frail and unable to survive, it was immediately rushed to be baptized, so as not to die without being received into the Church.

Engagements followed traditional Armenian customs. When a girl was selected (having either been seen at one of the picnics or in normal village life) and deemed suitable by the young man's family, a senior female member of the prospective

[34] For example, the building of the bath house, the construction of the road to the port, and the election of priests—*kahanas*.

[35] Ter Hakobian, *Partizake*, pp. 67-68, quoting Patriarch Torkom Koushagian.

[36] Ibid., pp. 221-22.

groom's family would approach her parents. A gift would be given as a sign of interest, and a few days later the girl's family would agree or not to an engagement. If they consented, the full engagement ritual would begin, with mutual family visits, exchanges of gifts, and so on. The family priest would bless the engagement. The girl's mother, sisters, and other female members of the family would help prepare her dowry chest which she would take with her upon marriage, the contents of which had been built up over the years with lacework, jewelry, clothing, bedding, and so forth.

A most important stage in the wedding preparations was the group visit by representatives of both families and their priest to the village council, where the relationship between the prospective bride and groom would be examined in very great detail, to verify that they were not related so closely as to preclude the marriage, since the Armenian Church is very strict in the matter of consanguinity. If the relationship was deemed to be too close, the marriage would be forbidden.

By custom, weddings were performed in Bardizag on the feast days of Surp Sarkis (Surb Sargis) in February and Surp Hagop (Surb Hakob) in December. On both occasions, the entire village would be a scene of celebration as all the couples would be married en masse during the church services on the same day. Reportedly, as many as fifty couples would be married in the joint ceremony. At the end of the service, each couple would be escorted by the priest and choir, singing hymns (*sharakans*), to their respective homes, one after another. It is said that some years there were so many newly-married couples that it took at least half a day to complete this procession. There were many rituals connected with marriage, including exchange visits, the giving of gifts, preparation of the bride's dowry (*ozhid*), dressing of the bride and groom, and much feasting. There were also many traditional songs, principally for the bride and for the good fortune of the couple. Weddings lasted a week, starting on the Wednesday or Thursday before the actual Sunday church service and ending on the following Wednesday. It was the custom not to allow the newly married couple to be alone together until the Wednesday evening after they were married. The celebrations would continue for weeks within the family circle of the bride and groom, in accordance with established village tradition.

Death, on the other hand, was primarily a matter for the family and the parish priest, who came to hear the dying person's confession, give Communion, and hear final wishes. The coffin would be surrounded with fresh flowers, and the songs of praise and lament for the deceased would begin. It was the custom to keep the deceased at home overnight. The priest and choir would arrive on the following morning, and the bier would be carried to the church, where the funeral rites took place. Then the pallbearers took the bier, followed by its attendant procession, to the New Cemetery outside the village, where the final prayers would be said under the "Requiem Tree" near the entrance. Women never attended funerals. After this, those present were given a small repast at the cemetery and then, with the parish priest at their head, the mourners would return to the home of the deceased. There, the priest would say a prayer for the soul of the departed, after which a meal was served to all. The mourners would then disperse, leaving the family to its grief.

When the relatively peaceful days from 1908 to 1914 ended and clouds of war gathered on the horizon, the Ottoman government ordered compulsory general conscription in August 1914. Within three days, approximately 1,000 village men aged between 18 and 45 were marched off to be enlisted in the army.[37] Thus, Bardizag lost nearly all of its able-bodied men in one fell swoop, leaving the village virtually leaderless and without manpower to do the heavy work in the fields, at the port, or in the various trades, all of which therefore declined rapidly. A few managed to escape the draft by paying bribes not just once but several times. The men who were conscripted as regular soldiers, were then placed in unarmed labor battalions to build roads under extremely brutal conditions. Very few managed to survive.

From the spring of 1915, the steps leading to deportation and massacre of the Armenian population were put into motion. People were arrested and banished, torture was applied to try to find non-existent bombs and arms, coercion was used to extort sums of money, and so forth.[38] Then, on August 4, 1915, the first group of deportees left via Izmid along the Anatolian Railway.[39] Bardizag, with more than 9,000 inhabitants, was cleared in a

[37] Mkhalian, *Partizak*, pp. 624-25.
[38] Ibid., pp. 625-30.
[39] Ibid., p. 635.

week's time. The distraught and confused people were sent via Eski-Shehir, Konia, Bozanti, Osmaniye, Katma, and on to Deir el-Zor. Most perished in the deportation marches and massacres, although some did survive and reached Aleppo, Damascus, Homs, Beirut, Mosul, and other places in Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq. About 250 villagers under the leadership of Zalem Garabed were able to escape deportation by taking to the hills, but they could endure only for a few months, as they were subjected to attacks by local Muslims, inclement weather, lack of nourishment, and disease.[40]

During the war, Bardizag did not remain empty. Some Armenian families converted to Islam and were allowed to remain. And very soon, about a hundred Muslim families, refugees from Macedonia, were brought in and took over the best houses. With their arrival, the wholesale looting of the village began, with many houses eventually being demolished. The church was desecrated and the bell was removed from the tower; all community buildings were damaged or destroyed.[41]

When in 1916 Jemal Pasha, a member of the ruling Young Turk triumvirate who was in command in Syria, ordered the rounding-up of Armenian orphans in the Aleppo area and sent many toward Constantinople, some of them were placed in the orphanage that was set up in the American High School. The Turkish staff and teachers apparently treated them well.[42] After the Turkish surrender to the Allied Powers, management of the orphanage was transferred to the Armenian relief organization in Constantinople.[43]

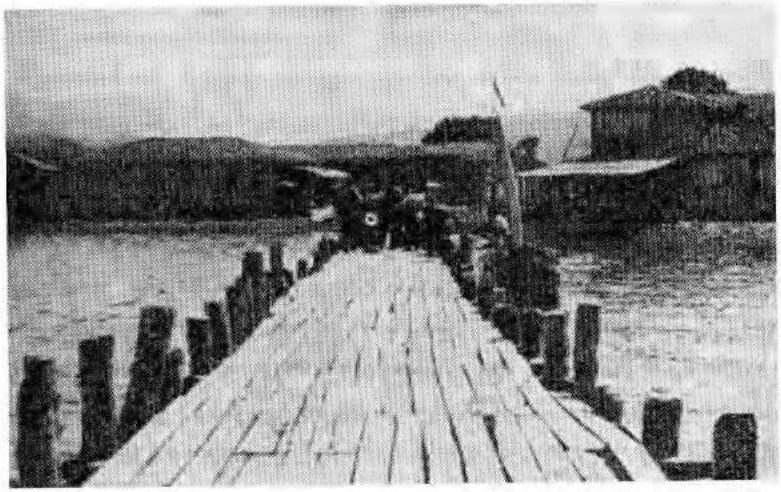
With the end of the war, some 2,000 survivors managed to return to Bardizag. They reoccupied their homes (if they were still standing), reconsecrated the church, repaired some of the other houses, and began to rebuild their lives. The village limped on in this manner until 1923, 340 years after its foundation, when it was finally abandoned under pressure from the victorious Turkish Nationalist forces. Armenian life there ceased forever.[44]

[40] Ter Hakobian, *Partizake*, pp. 53-55.
[41] Mkhalian, *Partizak*, pp. 640-45.
[42] Mgrdich Hairabedian, quoted in Ter Hakobian, *Partizake*, pp. 272-76.
[43] Matteos Eblighatian, *Azgayin khnamatarutiun* [National Welfare], General Report, 2d ed. (Antelias: Catholicosate of Cilicia, 1985), pp. 385-86.
[44] Mkhalian, *Partizak*, pp. 645-57.

Today, Bardizag—now called Bahcecik, a version of its former Turkish name—is like any other Turkish town: a polyglot collection of people—Turks, Laz, Cherkez, Kurds, and others.[45] No trace of its Armenian past remains and, with the passing of the years, only Chambers Hall, the Chambers family residence, and a few cross stones in a museum bear mute testimony to a once vibrant Armenian presence.

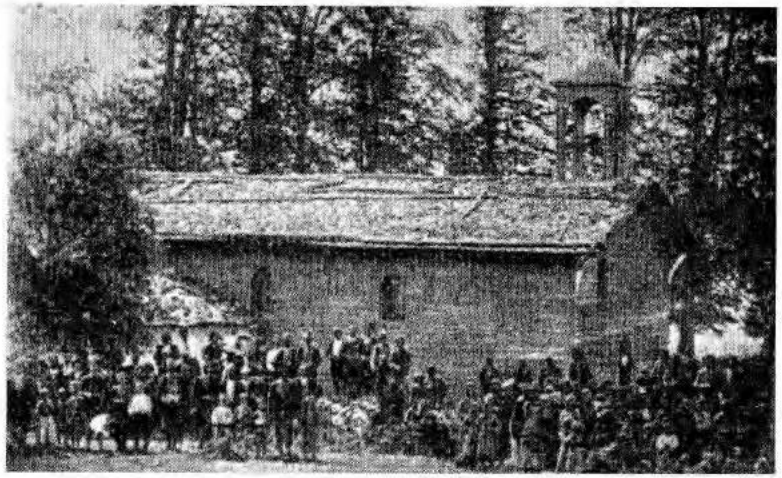
[45] There are several Turkish websites dedicated to "Bahcecik."

Bardizag: Panorama

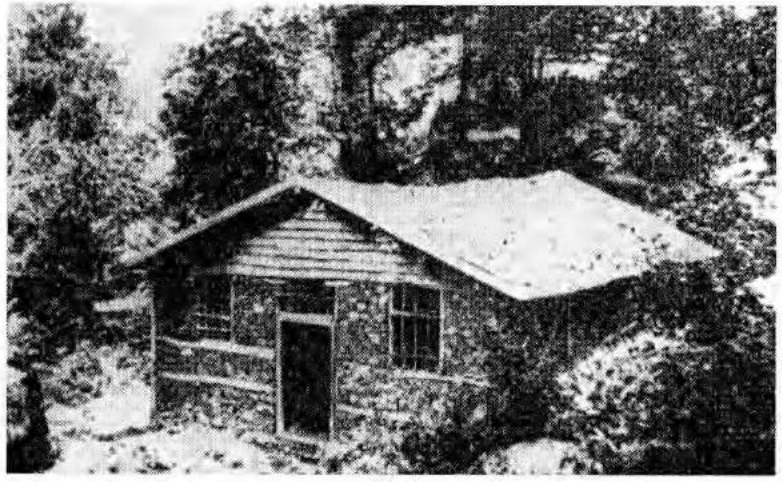


Bardizag: Seyman/Iskale Landing

Bardizag: Marketplace



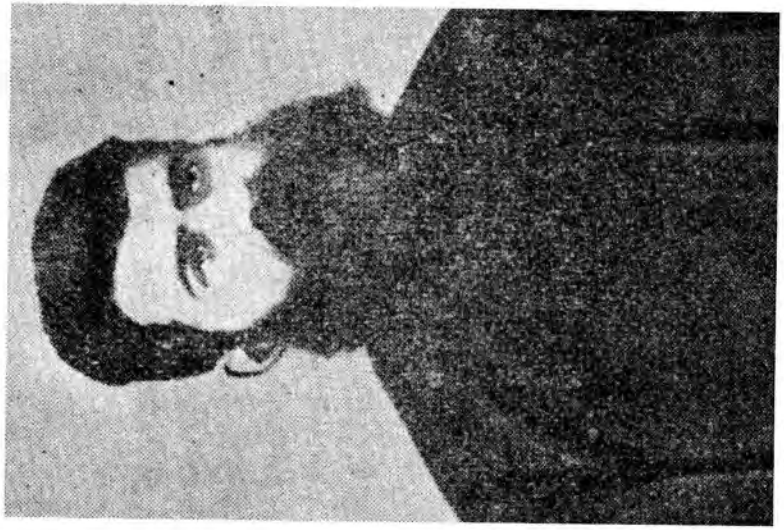
Bardizag: Manushag Pilgrimage Site



Bardizag: Surb Minas Chapel

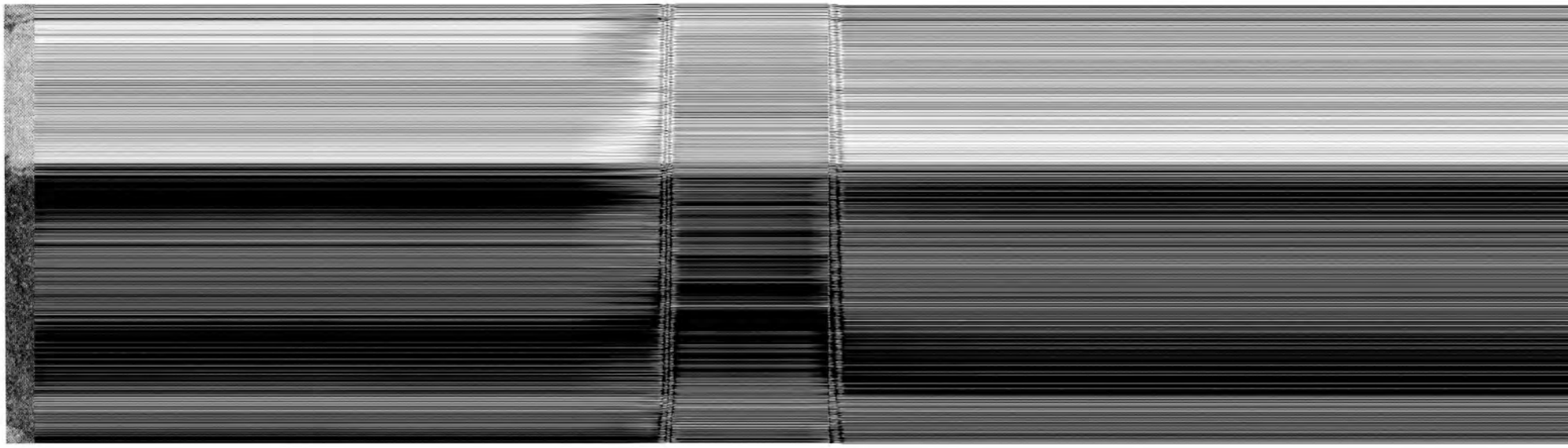
Bardizag: Kindergarten

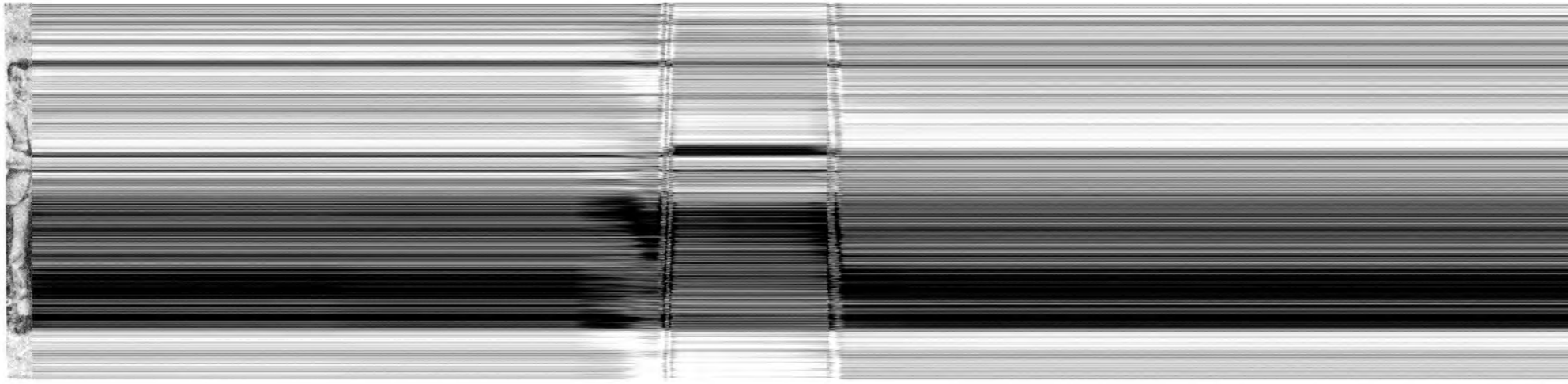
Bardizag: Boys' School



Bardizag: Eghishe Vardapet Turian

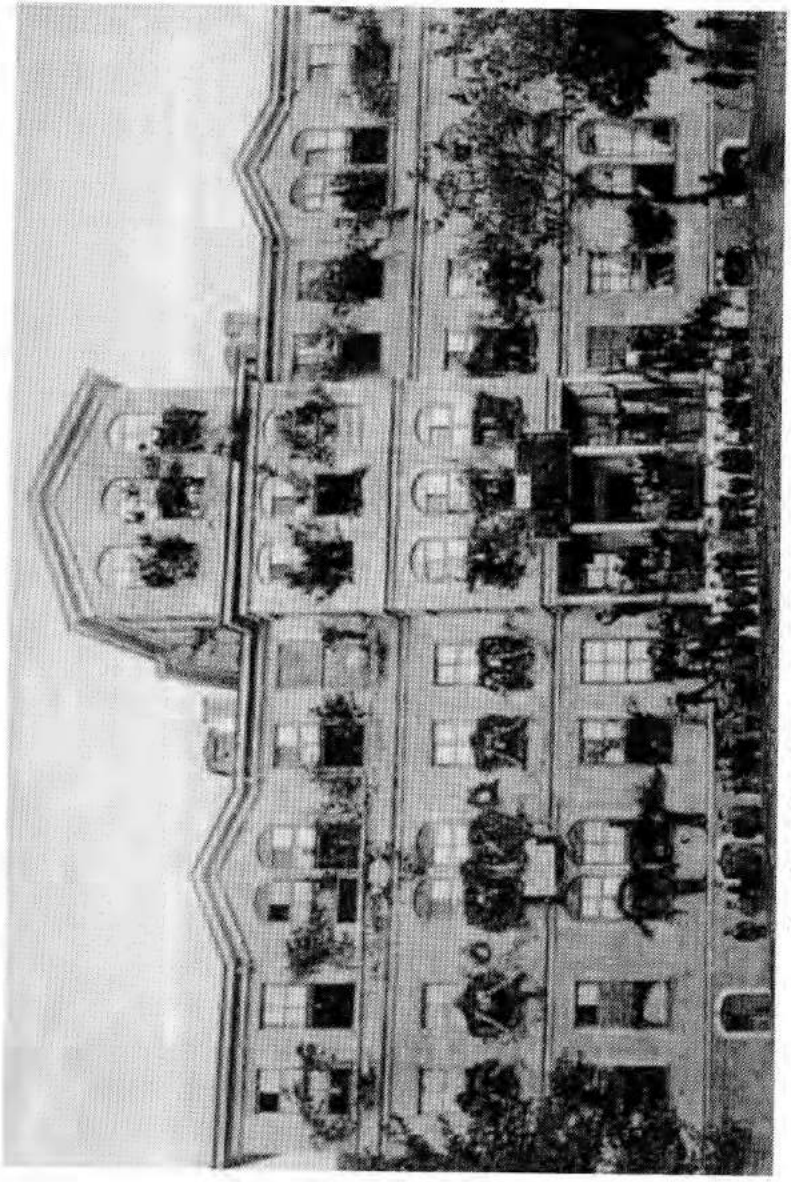
Bardizag: Dr. Robert Chambers



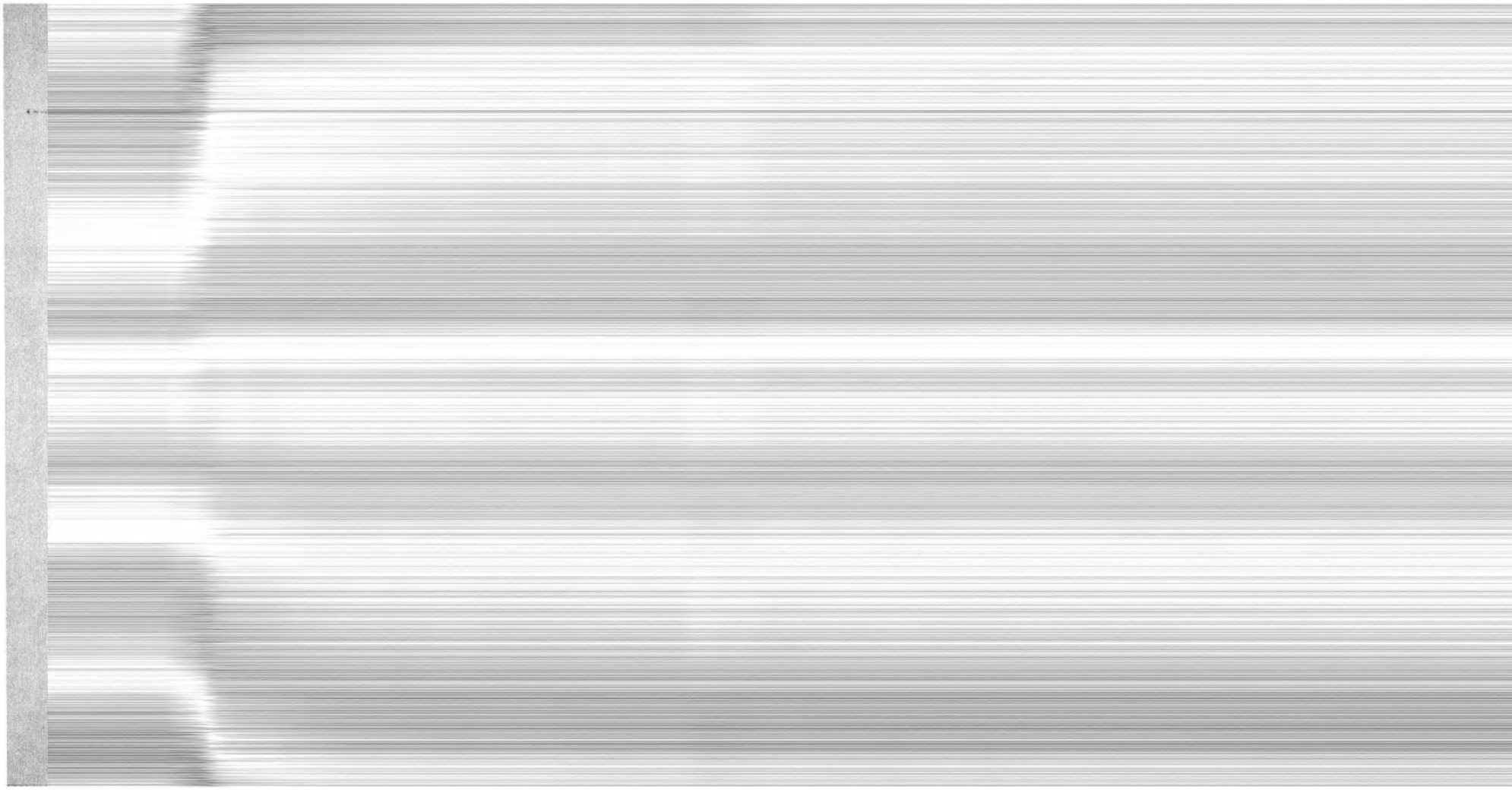


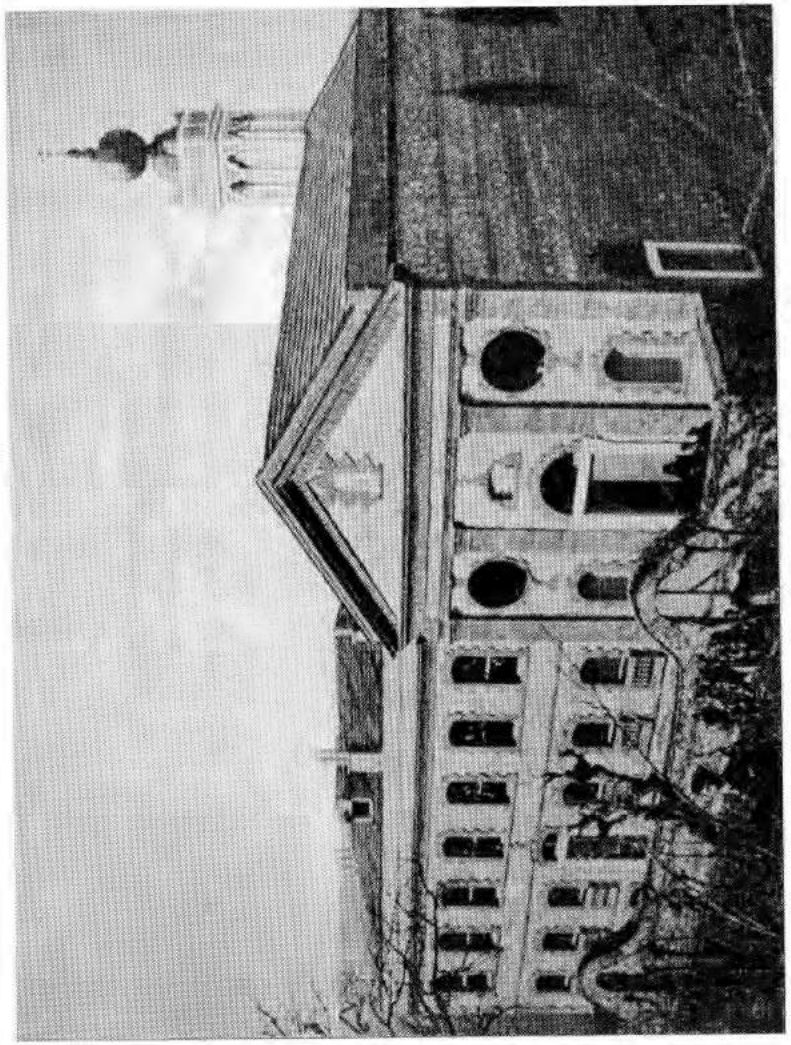
Bardizag: Armenian National School Teachers

Bardizag: Dr. Chambers with High School Teachers

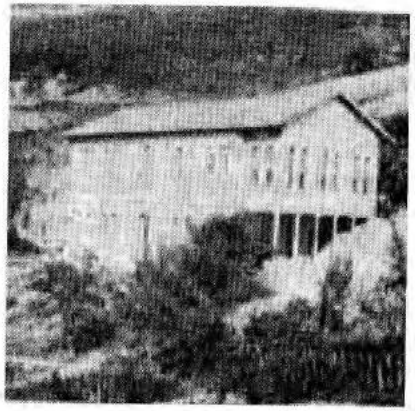


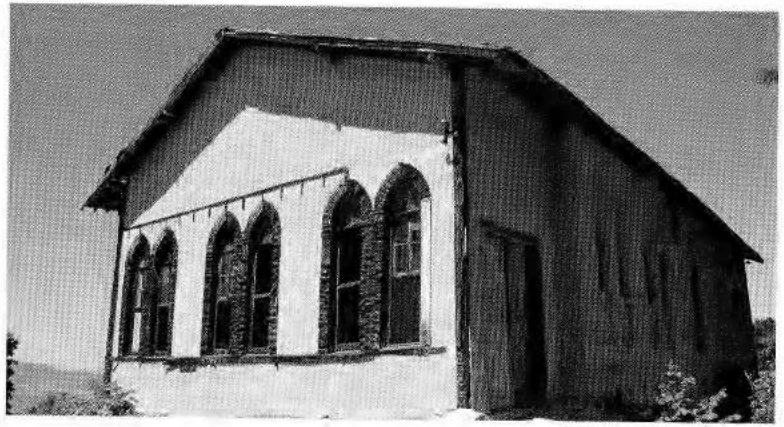
Bardizag: The Bardzragoyn Varzharan (Superior School)



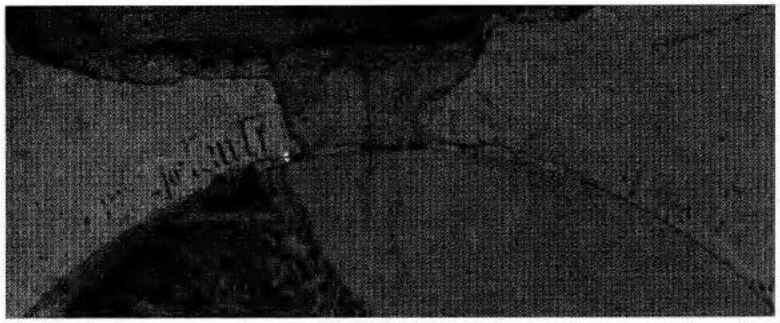


Bardizag: The Armenian Catholic "Vank"

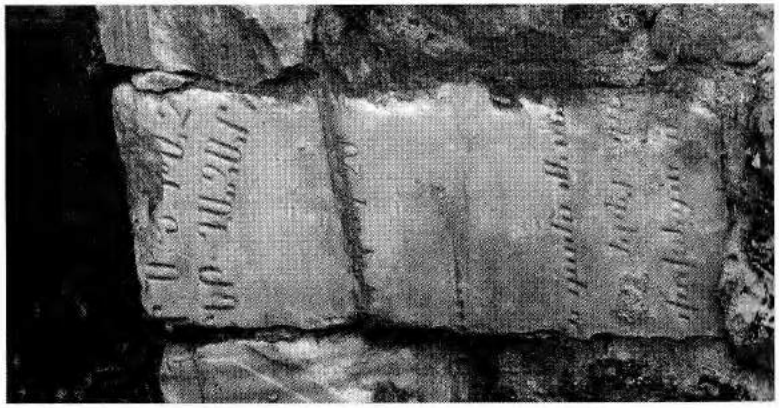




Bardizag: Chambers Hall, Then and Now



Bardizag: Chambers Hall Faded Inscription



Bardizag: Gravestone Used in a Wall

❀ 6 ❀

Laura Farnham and Schools for Armenian Girls in Bardizag and Adabazar

Barbara J. Merguerian

In 1871, Laura Farnham journeyed from her home in New Castle, Maine, to Nicomedia (Izmid/Ismid), Turkey in order to establish a boarding high school for Armenian girls under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), then the largest and most successful organization of its kind in the United States. She was part of a post-Civil War movement by American women to become more actively involved in foreign missionary endeavors. Women had been strong advocates of missions from the beginning, but now they moved from passive support to active participation. The newly formed women's boards proved adept not only in raising money but also in enlisting female recruits to volunteer for service abroad. In the face of such support, the earlier reluctance of the governing boards to engage single women for overseas assignments gave way to enthusiastic acceptance of the assistance women could provide in missionary programs. Women were especially valued as educators, and nowhere were they more successful than in the Ottoman Empire. There the Armenians, much more so than the other nationalities, gradually but steadily recognized the advantages of educating their females and enrolled their daughters in the missionary schools.[1]

[1] Works about women in the American missionary movement include R. Pierce Beaver, *American Protestant Women in World Mission: History of the First Feminist Movement in North America* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdman's, 1980); Patricia R. Hill, *The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985); and Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood, Shirley Ardener, eds., *Women and Missions, Past and Present: Anthropological*

After spending her first months learning the Armenian language and opening a small school in Nicomedia, Farnham was transferred to the nearby town of Bardizag, where for the next twelve years she successfully ran a girls' high school that quickly earned a favorable reputation despite considerable initial skepticism locally regarding the value of educating women. She then, in 1885, accepted an invitation to move her school to nearby Adabazar, where she continued to educate Armenian girls until her return home to the United States in 1910. In all, she had spent thirty-eight years of service in Turkey.

Farnham's school in Adabazar became part of a network of higher educational institutions for girls in the Ottoman Empire headed by American missionary women and serving largely Armenians. The other schools were in Marsovan, Aintab, Bitlis, Kharpert, Mardin, Sivas, and Talas, and the so-called "Home" in Constantinople, which became the Constantinople College for Women. Farnham began her high school with day pupils as well as boarders, and later added a preparatory department and still later, a kindergarten. The fundamental purpose of all of these schools was to provide a Christian education for future teachers, mothers, and community leaders. Boarding schools were especially favored, as in this way the missionaries could influence every aspect of a student's life.[2] A study of Farnham's work in Turkey provides insight into the impact of American missionaries on Armenian communities as well as information about the local Armenian communities.

The area to which Laura Farnham was assigned, the triangle of Nicomedia/Bardizag/Adabazar, had been the site of early preaching by the Americans. The Reverend William Goodell, founder of the American mission to the Armenians, had passed through Nicomedia/Izmid in 1832 and distributed tracts, some of which fell into the hands of the local Armenian Apostolic priests Der Vertanes (Ter Vrtanes) and Der Haratiun (Ter Harutiun), who figured among the earliest converts to Protestant views. The warm welcome initially extended by the Armenian Church hierarchy to fellow Christians from America quickly changed to hostility as

and Historical Perceptions (Providence/Oxford: Berg, 1993).

[2] Many of these higher educational institutions are described in Frank Andrews Stone, *Academies for Anatolia: A Study of the Rationale, Program and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey, 1830-1980* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984).

the reforms advocated by the Americans were seen as a threat to the traditional Armenian faith, and Armenian converts to Protestant views were often excommunicated. With the official establishment of the Armenian Protestant Church in 1846, tense relations between Protestant and Apostolic communities intensified, as Protestant Armenians were denied the protection of the Armenian *millet* or collective community. This not only prevented converts from burying their dead in Armenian cemeteries, but it deprived them of many civil rights, such as belonging to the guilds necessary to carry on various trades. Soon after the establishment of the first Armenian Protestant church in Constantinople in 1846, Der Haratiun, who by then had completed a course of study at Cyrus Hamlin's Bebek Seminary in Constantinople, was ordained pastor of newly formed Protestant churches in Nicomedia and Adabazar.[3]

Farnham's arrival in Turkey came at a critical time in the American mission to the Armenians. The Armenians had retained their identity in a Muslim society for centuries largely through loyalty to their ancient Christian religion, and they did not welcome strangers from the West telling them how to educate their children, let alone insisting on the need for reform in the beliefs and traditions of their national church. However, mainly by providing low-cost education to a largely illiterate population, the American missionaries attracted a following, which led to the establishment of the Protestant Church. Just as this Protestant community was struggling to get on its feet, however, the American mission undermined its own effort by embarking in the 1860s on a new policy that sharply curtailed educational programs except for the elementary teaching of literacy. Popular higher educational institutions that had been established in the capital, such as Cyrus Hamlin's Bebek Seminary for Boys and its sister establishment, the Seminary for Girls, were closed accordingly. Over the vigorous objections from missionaries in the field, the American Board headquarters in Boston ruled that these institutions provided a higher level of education than that needed for religious work; it also demanded that the seminaries be moved from the capital, which in its

[3] William E. Strong, *Story of the American Board* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1910), p. 222.

opinion offered too many distractions to students and graduates, in order to be reestablished in the provinces.[4]

At the same time, efforts of the Armenian Protestant Church leaders to assert some independence and direction over their institutions met with strong resistance from the American missionaries, who controlled the purse strings. By the time of Farnham's arrival, Armenian Protestant churches in western Turkey had formed an association called the Bithynia Union, and the three Protestant churches in the triangle area had formed a closer association, called a "presbytery" or "synod," whose relations with the Americans were uneasy and sometimes even hostile. Armenians argued, to no avail, that they knew their own needs better than did the foreigners and should have a voice in determining the allocation of resources.[5] Some of these tensions between the Armenians and the Americans in the region have been described by one of the early American woman educators, Maria A. West, a teacher at the first Protestant higher education establishment for girls in Constantinople in the 1850s. West devoted the first three chapters of her widely read book, *Romance of Missions,* to her visits to Bardizag, Adabazar, and Nicomedia. She provides a revealing account of a conversation with Brother Kevork, her host at Adabazar. "Of one thing I am certain," the young convert told her, "the missionaries should have done *less* for us, or *more.*" He explained that the early missionaries showered the Armenians with attention and encouraged them to leave their native church, but once the Armenians had done so and

[4] For a brief discussion of this controversy, see Barbara Merguerian, "Cyrus Hamlin and American Education for Armenians in Constantinople," in *Armenian Constantinople*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian and Simon Payaslian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2010), pp. 210-12.

[5] A major complaint was that the evangelical churches were not invited and were not consulted in mission meetings. An 1874 editorial in the Armenian paper *Tidag (Ditak*; Observer) regarding the mission's Annual Meeting in Constantinople stated: "It is understood that the native churches and pastors are entirely ignorant of what has been done. They have had no part in its meetings and whatever they know of them has come from afar and by report. A native pastor, however good, however experienced, however faithful he may have been, has never been invited to have a part in this. . . We heartily wish a remedy could be found." Translation by Justin W. Parsons. Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), Houghton Library, Harvard University (also available on microfilm). ABC 16.9.3, The Near East, 1817-1919, Western Turkey Mission, 1871-1880, vol. 7, Letters, № 339, Aug. 6, 1874 (Microfim № 593).

suffered much persecution for their efforts, they were left to fend for themselves, with little financial assistance from the Americans. Brushing aside West's assertions that Americans were facing financial difficulties at home that had reduced available funds, the Armenian argued that the Americans had not kept their early promises of support and pointed out that American missionaries were supported in ways Armenian Protestants were not. West responded by praising the virtues of independence and self-help of the Armenians and called for love and understanding on both sides. Later, Maria West wrote, she "was left to query whether, indeed, there had been a radical evil from the first, in the distance between the missionaries and the people whom they were seeking to evangelize" and concluded that, if the missionaries had possessed an intimate knowledge of the people from the beginning, "how many mistakes might be avoided in laying foundations."[6]

It was into this atmosphere that Laura Farnham arrived in Turkey. She must have had a strong personality to run her own school successfully for so many years. Her school was popular from the beginning and always had more applicants than could be admitted. According to her associates, she had high academic standards and always looked for ways to improve instruction. Yet, she never showed an interest in developing the school into a higher institution, or college, as did many of her associates during this period. From her correspondence, she emerges as hard-working, modest, and retiring; she was not prone to write articles in missionary publications as did many others. One of her close co-workers confessed to some hesitation in describing her because "Miss Farnham herself is so opposed to publicity of any kind that it seems somewhat like a betrayal of friendship to write about her."[7]

Farnham stands out in two respects. First, after her move to Adabazar in 1885, she was the only missionary in the community—indeed she claimed to be the only foreigner (that is, non-Ottoman subject) living in Adabazar at the time. The touring

[6] Maria A. West, *The Romance of Missions: Or Inside Views of Life and Labor, in the Land of Ararat* (New York: Anson D.F. Randolph, 1875), chapters 1-3, esp. pp. 56-71.

[7] ABCFM, Series ABC 77.1, Collective and Individual Biography, Box 24, Laura Farnham, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

of Maria West in the region indicates that the sight of a single American woman missionary was not a novelty. But it was unusual, if not unique, for a single missionary woman to live alone in a community where there were no other Americans. The American Board was reluctant for many years to send unmarried women out to the mission stations; and later, when unmarried women became more prominent in the field, they were always assigned to live with, or near, a missionary family. All of the negotiations with the local communities over the running of the schools were typically carried out by the male missionaries. It is true that Farnham was living fairly close to the missionary station in Bardizag, and not too far from Constantinople, though in her early days it required a long and arduous trip to reach either destination.

The second unique feature of Farnham's work was that her school in Adabazar was supported entirely by the local Armenian community. She herself, and her missionary associate teachers, were assigned by the American Board, and their salaries (as well as some limited scholarships) were paid by the Women's Board, but the school itself was run and supported by a local Board of Trustees, the Armenian teachers were paid by the local community, and the school was financially independent of the American Board.

Farnham's ability to get along with the Armenian Board of Trustees is all the more remarkable when one considers her early difficulties with local leaders, who tended to be conservative in those days. She began her career in Bardizag with what appears to have been a minor issue that grew into a serious dispute. When her school opened in Bardizag, she took her boarding students to the Protestant church for Sunday services only to find that women were not allowed in the chapel but were instead herded onto a tiny balcony which was hot, stifling, and almost entirely cut off from the church. She refused to attend services or to allow her students to do so under these circumstances, and the church trustees refused to allow her students to sit in the chapel. What was to be done? The Reverend Justin S. Parsons or another American from Constantinople might occasionally conduct a special service for the students, but this could be arranged only irregularly. For several months, Farnham and her pupils were absent from church, a situation that could not be allowed to continue for long. Finally, a compromise was reached whereby

the balcony was enlarged and extended, providing a comfortable space for the girls and women while keeping them from sitting in the chapel itself. Perhaps this was a useful lesson for Farnham in learning the value of compromise in dealing with local trustees.[8] From this inauspicious beginning, she ultimately became recognized for her unmatched ability to get along with native trustees, particularly after her move from Bardizag to Adabazar.

Biography

Laura Farnham was born in 1844 in New Castle, Maine, and educated in local schools and then the Lincoln Academy. She taught grammar school in Damascotta, Maine, for several years before volunteering and being accepted for missionary service. She sailed from Boston in November 1871 along with a missionary couple assigned to the same area, Mr. and Mrs. William Spaulding, and in January 1872 arrived in Nicomedia, where she spent her first months. She immediately took to missionary work; after three months she had made enough progress in the language that it was deemed possible to open a small school.

If Farnham was mentally and emotionally up to the work, she encountered serious physical obstacles, as did many of the missionaries. After five or six months she came down with a severe respiratory condition that obliged her to go to Constantinople for medical attention and to leave the school in the hands of a native Armenian associate. The doctor strongly urged her to go to Europe or back home to recover, but she stubbornly refused. Returning to Nicomedia in the fall, she resumed school with five pupils, who rapidly increased in number to twenty-four, eight of them from "old Armenian families" (meaning Apostolic, not Protestant), all bright and smart. "If they make as much progress in the future as they have in the past, I shall be perfectly satisfied," she wrote home in November 1872. During this period, her associates, the Spauldings, had to go to Constantinople for health reasons, leaving her entirely alone in

[8] ABCFM Papers, ABC 16.9.3, Western Turkey Mission, vol. 5, Documents, Reports, Minutes, 1871-1880, № 116, Constantinople Station Report, 1875; vol. 6, Letters, № 701, Bardizag, Oct. 14, 1874, Laura Farnham to Rev. Clark, Boston (M589, 591).

Nicomedia for three months, living with a native Armenian woman who knew no English. "I did feel very lonely," she later confessed, "as there were days and even weeks when I did not hear or speak a word of English." [9] Although she lamented the absence of an English-speaking Armenian teacher, this emersion method seems to have helped her to acquire a fluency in the language quickly. It was later said that "her use of the Armenian language was peculiar, but she made herself perfectly well understood."[10]

Farnham arrived in Turkey at a time when the American mission was taking steps to standardize its school system, with special recognition of the important role that could be played by women. The 1872 Annual Meeting of the Western Turkey mission, recognizing the Boston Prudential Committee's call for enlargement of woman's work and the necessity for higher schools for girls at the interior stations, appointed a committee to study the issue. Accordingly, a plan was presented at the 1873 Annual Meeting supporting the long-term goal of encouraging local communities to establish schools for girls. But "inasmuch as in most of our station fields the people are still backward in the matter of the education of girls," the report called upon the mission to support fully or partially pupils in community schools or, where no schools existed, to establish their own schools. The schools should be modest, with no large outlay of funds for accommodations. For those pupils supported wholly or partially by the mission, the policy called for training in domestic labor and requiring from such pupils a certain amount of domestic labor, a rule that "must be rigidly adhered to." The primary goals of the elementary schools were to prepare pupils for the mission higher schools or boarding schools for women, which in turn were to educate girls from rural stations to be teachers in their villages, and to be a nucleus and a stimulant to the people in the better education of their daughters.[11]

For high schools supported in any way by the missions, candidates were to be at least twelve years of age and were to

[9] Ibid., ABC 16.9.4, Western Turkey Mission, Women's Board 1870-1892, vol. 8, Western Turkey Mission, 1870-1882, Letters from Missionaries, № 96, Farnham, Nicomedia, Nov. 13, 1872, and № 94, Jan. 18, 1872.

[10] ABC 77.1, Box 24, Laura Farnham.

[11] ABC 16.9.3, Western Turkey Mission, vol. 5, Documents, Annual Meetings, № 1, Constantinople, May 31, 1872, and № 2, May 1873 (M588).

have a testimonial as to character and intellectual promise from some responsible person. Unless she came from an area with no schools, she also had to be able to read, write, and spell in Armenian or Armeno-Turkish (Turkish language written in the Armenian alphabet), must have completed Jones Catechism and committed to memory the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments, and must have a satisfactory examination in arithmetic as far as fractions. The course of study was to be two years and include Bible lessons, arithmetic, geography, Armenian grammar, reading and spelling in Armenian or Armeno-Turkish, needlework, and singing. Optional subjects were Turkish grammar, astronomy, physiology, and English. Those entering the boarding schools required additional preparation. Five years later, reflecting the success of Laura Farnham's school, the 1878 Annual Meeting approved a proposal to enlarge the course of study at her Bardizag school and to give it the primary responsibility to supply female teachers for the Armenian-speaking communities in the region of Nicomedia, Constantinople, and Brusa (Bursa).[12]

Bardizag

By June 1873, Farnham considered herself settled in Nicomedia. "If home is where the heart is, then my home is here," she wrote in a letter. However the decision had been made at the annual missionary meeting in Constantinople that the Spauldings should be stationed in Bardizag, leaving Farnham alone in Nicomedia, "something not approved of, so I had to yield," she explained. "I feel very sad to leave my work here," she continued.[13]

The resident missionary in Bardizag, who with his wife and daughter was to have a long and close association with Laura Farnham, was the Reverend Justin Parsons. In the fall of 1872, Parsons had purchased for the mission a piece of land with several buildings, including a "cocoonery" that was to be remodeled into a girls' school. As Reverend Parsons described the site, the ground sloped to the north, and nothing obstructed the

[12] Ibid., № 6, Constantinople, Annual Meeting, May 1878.

[13] ABC 16.9.4, Women's Board, Letters, vol. 8, № 97, Nicomedia, June 10, 1873 (Houghton); ABC 16.9.3, Western Turkey Mission, vol. 6, № 697, 1873 [no month and day] (M 591).

view of the gulf, Nicomedia, and beyond. The grounds of the school went from street to street and the school was surrounded by mulberry trees. The town was principally to the west and southwest of the site. On the ground floor were dormitories for the girls as well as space for a future primary department. The school flourished from the beginning, and Parsons was authorized three years later, in 1875, to purchase a mulberry orchard adjoining the school premises, to be used as playground, woodshed, oven, and also to preserve the land from being built upon, as the city was expanding rapidly during this time.[14] The building, which at first was both a missionary dwelling and a school, was about 76 feet in length and 33 feet in breadth, with four rooms on the first floor and five on the second. The room in which the girls were to study during the day was described as quite large, 33 feet in length by 29 feet in width, well lighted and ventilated. There was also a recitation room, and four large rooms intended for the use of boarding scholars. An organ, as well as a bell, both of them donated from friends in the United States, gave a special aspect to the school.[15] The bell in particular was considered a "great blessing to a community where there is hardly one timekeeper to a thousand people."[16]

The dedication service attracted a large crowd. The attendees were packed in platoons about fifty deep on the floor. Ceremonies of this kind (especially graduation exercises) were carefully planned by the Americans and they attracted large audiences of Armenians, most of them not Protestants, throughout Turkey. One can speculate that they offered entertainment of a sort generally lacking in the villages in those days; for the Americans they provided a welcome opportunity to spread information about their work. At the Bardizag dedication service, one American observer noted: "Considering the multitude gathered, the length of the service, and the fact that besides the seven hundred adults and children, there were at least a hundred babies to enliven the scene, the attention to the speakers was very good." American missionaries from Constantinople were present, as well as pastors from neighboring Protestant churches.[17]

[14]ABC 16.9.3, Western Turkey Mission, vol. 7, Letters, № 357, Parsons, Bardizag, Dec. 25, 1875 (M593).

[15] Ibid., vol. 8, № 90, William A. Spaulding, Bardizag, July 29, 1873 (M594).

[16] Ibid., vol. 7, № 332, Parsons, Bardizag, Oct. 25, 1873 (M593).

[17] Ibid., vol. 8, № 90, Spaulding, July 29, 1873 (M594).

The school opened the first of September 1873 with twenty-seven students, three of them boarding pupils from neighboring villages. About one-third of the day pupils were from Armenian Apostolic households, and throughout the decades Farnham's school attracted large numbers of Apostolic students. The tuition of one piaster a week was collected on Mondays. In common with the other American schools in Turkey, most of the students came from middle or lower middle class families who had difficulty in paying even a modest tuition. Yet it was missionary policy that parents generally should pay at least part of the tuition cost. Many families could not afford to make these payments, and Farnham's letters are full of descriptions of her difficulties in collecting the sums. But she was persistent and unwavering. The school rooms from the beginning were open on Sundays for public worship and Bible instruction and "filled with females of every age," most of them from the Apostolic Church.[18]

In preparation for the school in Bardizag, Farnham touched upon a controversial issue when she wrote to her mission superiors in Boston with a request for desks for her students. Again, this was a minor issue, but an indication of the kinds of dilemmas faced by the missionaries. With the praiseworthy purpose of retaining native customs, missionary policy at the time did not encourage desks in their schoolrooms, insisting instead that pupils sit on the floor, as had been the tradition in Armenian schools. Farnham was told that providing desks would establish an undesirable precedent. Though not a demanding person, Farnham had a practical bent of mind and could not see the wisdom in a policy that required her to bend over constantly to work with her pupils. She wrote in the fall of 1873 that the lack of desks was a problem:

> It has been stressed that we should not ask for anything that is not absolutely necessary. But I do think that the mission makes a mistake when they refuse us things that the want of makes us sick. I think if they would get down on the floor as many times as I have for the past two weeks they would say no more about "establishing a precedent."[19]

[18] Ibid., vol. 6, Letters, № 699, Farnham, Bardizag, Jan. 29, 1874; Documents, vol. 5, № 155, Nicomedia Station Report for 1873 (M591, 589).

[19] ABC 16.9.4, Western Turkey Mission, Women's Board, Letters, vol.8, №

Her persistence was rewarded, as the Boston office supplied her with the desks.

The following twelve years were spent in developing the Bardizag school, which always had a larger number of applicants than could be accommodated. In early 1876, Parsons reported that almost eighty pupils were packed into the sixty desks available at the school and that "the number of very promising applications turned away would go far toward stocking another institution of the same kind."[20] The missionary girls' schools were based on the model established by Mary Lyon at Mt. Holyoke College in Massachusetts as simple establishments providing a basic education. Housekeeping was organized so that the boarding students themselves did all of the cooking, cleaning, ironing, and other chores on a rotating basis. There were no servants. Dress was to be simple and neat, but not elaborate.[21] Clothes had been a problem at first. The students' wardrobes did not meet missionary standards, and parents were too poor to supply proper dress. There was no alternative but to teach sewing. At first, squares of material were acquired from Constantinople or the United States, and students made a quilt that was presented to a poor woman for Christmas. Then a sewing circle was formed to teach the making of clothes from purchased patterns and material. To cover the cost of patterns and cloth, extra garments were made and sold. Thus, a new skill was acquired by the girls at the same time as they were able to meet their wardrobe needs: "I wish you could see some of the articles made by the girls," Farnham wrote home in 1876. "They would be a credit to anyone." By the time the first sewing machine arrived in 1883, the students were expert in sewing.[22]

Farnham had high educational standards, too much so according to Reverend Parsons: "I fear sometimes that the standard and aims of Miss Farnham's school are too high," he wrote. "She does not appear to realize the difference, as it regards the demands of the public, between Newcastle in New England and

97, Farnham, Nicomedia, June 10, 1873.

[20] ABC 16.93, Letters, vol. 7, № 359, Parsons, Bardizag, March 22, 1876 (M593).

[21] On the influence in Turkey of the Mt. Holyoke model, see Stone, *Academies*, pp. 18-20,

[22] Women's Board, Letters, vol. 8, № 99, Farnham, Bardizag, Dec. 18, 1873, and № 104, Jan. 19, 1876; vol. 10, № 193, 1883.

Bardizag in Turkey."[23] This touches upon a serious difference of opinion regarding policy among the Americans between those (mostly missionaries in the field) who found it natural that, as the students were becoming educated, they would be ready for an increasing level of instruction, and others (administrators in Boston) who argued that a minimal level of literacy and a sprinkling of math and science were sufficient education for the new converts. It was an argument won by the conservative administrators in Boston in the mid-century, and it led to the resignation of talented educators such as Cyrus Hamlin, who went on to establish the independent Robert College in Constantinople. The policy was reversed in the last two decades of the century but not before serious damage had been done to relations with the Armenians, who felt that earlier promises made to them by the missionaries had been broken.

Parsons also asserted that Farnham worked too hard, citing the schedule in 1879 as evidence: the morning rising bell is at 5 a.m.; the girls prepare their breakfast; morning devotions follow at 6 a.m., then breakfast at 6:30. The study hall bell rings at 8 a.m. and the day pupils are promptly in their places at 9 a.m. (if they are late they are not allowed in). Four days (Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday) are devoted to academic work. Wednesday is given to music, Turkish compositions, and domestic sewing. Baking, housecleaning, and other domestic duties are attended to on Saturdays. Religious devotions take place every evening. By this time, Parsons reported, the experiment of girls teaching in the villages is no longer a doubtful one. The demand for teachers, even for those who have not yet finished the school, is greater than the supply. Several of the students who are married are helping in their villages. "The influence of the school in various ways is permeating every community within the bounds of the station and even beyond," Parsons added.[24]

Sunday was devoted to church services, Sunday School, and women's meetings. In addition to her school work, Farnham was responsible for the Sunday School of 100 to 200 children, and she also played an important role in the women's meetings, which attracted large numbers of Apostolic women as well as

[23] ABC 16.9.3, Letters, vol. 7, № 361, Parsons, Bardizag, May 22, 1876 (M593).

[24] Ibid., № 384, Feb. 18, 1879.

Protestants. According to Farnham's description, Bardizag at that time had a population of 8,000, all Armenian. The Protestant Church had about 100 members, with Sunday congregations numbering about 300 persons.[25] Farnham continued to suffer from ill health during this period, as she did throughout her service in Turkey, but she insisted on keeping up her rigorous schedule.

Assisting Laura Farnham in the teaching were Mrs. Parsons and the Parsons' daughter, Lella (Electa). Additional assistance was provided by an Armenian male student who taught Armenian. A native teacher, a graduate of the Seminary for Girls in Marsovan, was employed, the first of a number who were to follow. By February 1874, Farnham wrote of her fifty pupils that, though they were "very imperfect," yet their improvement over the past four months "encourages us to hope that much will be done for the elevation of women here by establishing schools." In April 1877, she wrote of her students: "They are much like pupils at home—some are quick and bright, others are dull and require a great deal of patience." The graduation exercises continued to attract large audiences, with some attendees who were seriously interested in education and others who "only came to see or hear some new thing." Farnham took great pride in her students; in 1873, she noted that (thanks to the Armenian-language teacher, Baron/Mister Nishan, a young man from Constantinople) the students' compositions were excellent: "The tendency among Armenians is to have so much ancient Armenian that no one can understand," she reported to the Board. "The girls' compositions were just the best Armenian and yet so simple that everyone could understand."[26]

From the beginning, a great demand was felt for graduates of the school to teach in the villages. Of the first senior class, four members were graduated early, in January 1877, after three and a half years, because of the "urgent need of their labors in the villages." They were assigned one each in Armash, Ortakoy, Chinguler (Chengilar), and Shakshik. In the spring term of 1877, there were sixty school students, including twenty who were boarders and only half of whom were Protestants.[27] There was

[25] ABC 16.9.4, Women's Board, Letters, vol. 8, № 123, June 18, 1882.

[26] ABC 16.9.3, vol. 6, Letters, № 709, Bardizag, July 30, 1880 (M591).

[27] Ibid., vol. 5, Documents, № 119, Report of the Constantinople Station, April 1877 (M589).

another competing demand for the students. As described by Reverend Parsons:

> Miss Farnham has been greatly tried by applications for brides; one has come to look for a bride for her brother, another is looking for a wife for her son, another asks for a companion for his friend in Armash. The *chorbaji* of Ovajuk wants an educated girl for his heir apparent. The preacher in Bilijik sent for a young girl to be his wife and as his application was approved by the parents and Mr. Richardson [the local missionary] it was successful, though right in the middle of the term. Then came a young man from Keremet and claimed his betrothed and when refused appealed to the local authorities by whom his claim was supported. This case was settled by my taking the girl to her native village and marrying them there—*to be married* being the chief need of life. The ordinary and subordinate affairs of the school have been greatly disturbed by these occurrences.[28]

Distressed by criticism that some of her graduates teaching in the villages were lacking in experience, Farnham immediately instituted a training class. A small group of young children was taken in to be instructed by the girls, and after five months of schooling, the youngsters recited proficiently in geography, arithmetic, writing, and spelling. The parents were delighted and so were the girls. Farnham wrote that children in the village did not know their letters at age six or seven, "so that our babies seemed to be prodigies of learning." Her purpose at the time, however, was not to educate the children but rather to instruct their teachers in effective methods: "I wanted to show the people that these girls can teach."[29] The success of this effort no doubt encouraged the subsequent establishment of a kindergarten, and later a teacher training course.

Over the years, the numbers of boarders increased, despite the difficult local conditions before and during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. In 1878, the school enrolled about seventy-five girls, half of whom were boarders, and twenty-two had graduated, most of whom had become teachers. There was a

[28] Ibid., vol. 7, Letters, № 360, Parsons, Bardizag, May 9, 1876 (M593).

[29] ABC 16.9.4, Women's Board, Letters, vol. 8, № 111, Farnham, Bardizag, Jan. 23, 1878.

rule that all scholarship students should teach for a minimum of two years. By this time, Lella Parsons had officially become Farnham's first American assistant.

During the years in Bardizag, Farnham was closely associated with the Reverend Justin Parsons and his family. Though stationed in Bardizag, Parsons spent much of his time traveling throughout the small Greek and Armenian towns and villages in the region. In general, he shared the prevailing missionary attitude that the local churches should remain modest in scope and that the pastor's salaries should be accordingly moderate. When the pastor of the Adabazar church, the Reverend Alexander Djidjizian, went to Scotland to raise funds for a new church edifice and was promised the donation of a structure made of iron, Parsons was critical of what he considered an extravagance.[30] He and his wife provided strong support for Farnham and her school, and Farnham was devastated when Parsons and his Armenian companion were robbed and murdered while returning home from a missionary tour in 1880.[31]

The American missionary women are often described as the first feminists. This is a matter of definition. But there is no doubt that the "elevation of women" in foreign lands was often cited as a major benefit of missionary activity and that the Woman's Boards made every effort to make certain that women's programs received a fair share of attention and resources. In the Ottoman Empire, where access to women was not always easy or possible for males, it was mainly the women—the missionary wives and single women—who worked with the women. With her dedication to women's education, Laura Farnham could not help but become concerned with many aspects of the women's lives. Particularly in the early years, she had been appalled at the emphasis on arranging marriage for girls, and at such a young

[30]ABC 16.9.3, Letters, vol. 7, № 352, July 12, 1875. Maria West thought that Parsons should spend more time building up the Protestant community in Bardizag rather than touring so extensively. "We believed that, in the end, it would prove infinitely better to cultivate thoroughly one portion [of the field]," she wrote, "than to merely scratch the surface of half-a-dozen." *Romance,* p.116.

[31] Parsons and his companion were apparently robbed and murdered by two young men belonging to a nomadic tribe called "Yourooks," who were quickly apprehended. They claimed to know nothing about the identity of their victims but were motivated by robbery, from which they gained less than $5 and Parsons' wristwatch. The incident is described by fellow missionary J.E. Pierce, ABC 16.9.3, vol. 7, Letters, № 543, Izmid, Aug. 13, 1880 (M593).

age. And if the right husband could not be immediately found, the young girls were married to whoever was available and then destined to come under the influence of their mothers-in-law, described by Farnham as "tyrants in this land."[32] In a case particularly disturbing, a Protestant graduate who had been a good student and a successful teacher was married to a man sympathetic to her religious beliefs, but when she had a baby, her mother-in-law insisted that the child be baptized in the Armenian Church. Although upset by this circumstance, the bride did not wish to create a constant source of disunity in the family and therefore went along with her mother-in-law's wishes. In another case, a graduate had been engaged by her parents to a man she could hardly be expected to speak to, let alone marry. Yet, since her father paid for all of her education, Farnham reluctantly concluded that there was nothing to be done about the situation.[33]

The cultivation of silkworms was the overriding occupation in Bardizag, and Farnham could not help but note that the women performed almost all of the physical work in this labor-intensive endeavor. During the season of the silkworms, she saw the women walking down the streets bending under their heavy loads, for the leaves were brought from gardens two and three miles away on the backs of the women: "If you knew about the culture of the silkworm you know the amount of labor required. And yet our sisters come every Thursday afternoon for a season of prayer. They go from the prayer meeting to the gardens to bring the leaves home." Women also played a key role in the "factories" where the cocoons were spun into yarn, often working twelve to fifteen hours a day. The weaving of fabric was done in the homes, again by the women.[34]

Adabazar

The decision to move the school from Bardizag to Adabazar was not taken lightly. But the Adabazar community made an offer that Farnham could not refuse. In January 1885, she reported to

[32] ABC 16.9.4, Women's Board, Letters, vol. 10, № 201. Farnham, Bardizag, May 14, 1884.

[33] Ibid., № 199, March 8, 1884.

[34] Ibid., vol. 8, № 123, June 18, 1882.

the Women's Board that the Adabazar community had offered to cover all costs of her school if only the Board would agree to provide two teachers for five years: "The moving and starting a new school seems to me like a mountain to lift, but I feel as if we ought to try and do all we can to make these people independent of foreign aid." She was sorry to leave the missionary family in Bardizag, she wrote, as in Adabazar there would be no resident American family, "only native friends."[35] In April, accompanied by Mrs. Parsons, Farnham spent a few days in Adabazar to survey the situation and to meet with the twelve men who were trustees of the school. She admitted that she had dreaded the meeting (perhaps recalling the bitter dispute with local trustees over the seating of women in the Bardizag church), but it had gone well. She wrote:

> You know the people here don't like to be ruled or even advised by women. So it is no easy task to talk with them. However the meeting passed off very pleasantly, much more so than I anticipated. I told them what must be done to the school building, to which they made no objections. There were two or three points on which we differed, and I agreed to write to Dr. Clark [the ABCFM Foreign Secretary in Boston] and leave the decision to him. These men were very polite.[36]

This meeting set the tone for her future relations with the Trustees. Though disputes must have arisen, Farnham's correspondence reveals no major disagreements. One stabilizing factor may have been the leader of the Adabazar Armenian community, Dr. S.K. Kanalgian, who had been educated in the United States and who remained in this position for much of this time. She was strongly supported by the local Protestant clergy, at first the Reverend Alexander Djidjizian, who, as stated, had incurred the wrath of Reverend Parsons by appealing to friends in Scotland to fund the local church edifice. Upon his death, Djidjizian was succeeded by his well-educated son, Hovsep, who had graduated from Robert College in Constantinople as well as from the Theological Seminary in Scotland.

After a difficult summer of moving furniture and supplies, and fitting up the new building, the school in Adabazar opened

[35] Ibid., vol. 10, № 202, 1885.
[36] Ibid., № 203, April 10, 1885.

in the fall of 1885 as Adabazari Hayuhiats Varzharan. The spacious three-story building provided enough room to accommodate a preparatory primary department that was also under Farnham's direction, but her decision to admit young boys along with the girls was not readily accepted. As she explained:

> I had a rather hard time in bringing our brethren to terms on this question. Their idea of a graded school is: "Send all the boys to a *man* teacher, and all the girls to a woman." But they were talked into it, if not persuaded, and Monday all the small boys and girls will be sent to us. I predict that the next generation of men will be considerably more enlightened than their fathers are.[37]

Farnham had found the complete segregation of the sexes in Bardizag restrictive. The boys' high school had been built at the opposite end of the town, about a mile away from the girls' high school. Soon, as the girls' school was moved to Adabazar, the distance became much greater. All the same, she kept a close eye on relations between the sexes. Occasionally young male instructors were engaged to teach in the high school. Many years later one of them, Hovhannes Alexanian, recalled his first experience in 1887 when, just out of high school, he was asked to teach astronomy to Farnham's students:

> At the appointed hour I made my appearance at the school, nicely groomed and dressed, but a little excited. Miss Farnham introduced me to the class, but after the introduction, instead of leaving me alone with the students, as I expected, she went to the back of the room and stood there as a guard. She was a very strict lady especially in matters concerning boys and girls. Apparently she did not trust this young man to be alone with so many young girls, so she wanted to chaperon them. But evidently, after seeing this shy boy, she thought he was a harmless sort of creature, so she left him alone in the future.[38]

Farnham's watchful care for her students continued. In a difficult episode later, she discovered that one of her girls was receiving letters from a young man. The letters were delivered

[37] Ibid., № 204, Sept. 25, 1885.
[38] Quoted in Fay Linder, *The History of Üsküdar American Academy, 1876-1996* (Istanbul: SEV Printing, 2000), p. 12.

by an assistant in the school who did not board in the building: "I had to be the *dragon* and guard the 'Golden Fleece'," Farnham reported. Even though the young man wrote "the most *touching* letter," begging Farnham to forgive the girl, both the student and the assistant who delivered the letters were dismissed: "The parties thought they were doing as the Europeans or the English do. I said I was doing as Americans did when the culprit was found out . . . these love affairs are very demoralizing.[39]

Farnham could not help but note the significance of her role as principal of the school in such a paternalistic society. The sources make it clear that she ran the school and that the Armenian trustees acceded to her judgment on most matters. Writing in 1888, she asserted: "Our trustees are fully persuaded that when there is business to be attended to, the ladies are the ones to entrust it to." She also realized that she was able to hold this position because she was an American. But it made no sense to her logically; why shouldn't Ottoman women take similar responsibility? "This is a very important point to get through the heads of *Orientals*," she continued in this letter. "They can't see why all the smart women were born on the other side of the Atlantic. I tell them this is not so, but the men are not bright enough to see our possibilities and take advantage of them."[40]

Living in Adabazar posed many difficulties. No foreigner of any kind or description had ever lived in this city, Farnham wrote home, and therefore the locals had little idea of European customs. She felt under constant surveillance. "So we must either eat Turkish food and have our work done in Turkish style, or do it ourselves," she explained. She never developed a taste for Middle Eastern food and kept her own kitchen. This was a source of fascination locally: "The neighbors are very curious to see us eat," she wrote. One day she created a sensation by frying donuts and felt she had to satisfy the local curiosity by explaining what went into them and how they were cooked.[41] She had installed a curtain she could pull down, so that on occasion she might enjoy a bit of privacy. With such a large school building, it was not practical for the students to perform all of

[39] ABC 16.9.4, Letters, vol. 16, № 199, Adabazar, Jan. 31, 1902.
[40] Ibid., vol. 10, № 212, Feb. 5, 1888.
[41] Ibid., № 205, Oct. 24, 1885.

the housekeeping, and with a limited budget the solution was to ask the local Protestant Armenians to help keep up the premises. This they did gladly and lovingly, but not always up to Laura Farnham's standards: "One of our great trials is that they cannot do things quickly, and it is so hard for me to wait and lose time," she complained. "Time here is not of the least consequence, and it is really hard to make the people understand. They are constantly asking us why we do not sit down and rest." Farnham found it very difficult to have any time to herself: "The brethren and sisters are very kind—*too* kind in fact—and think they must not leave us alone at all. If only I could have a day, or even a half day, to myself, what a treat it would be. We eat, drink, and *almost* sleep in a crowd."[42]

That first semester the school enrolled fifty-one girls in the high school, sixteen of whom were boarders, and thirty-five pupils in the preparatory department. The numbers were respectable, given the fact that the local Apostolic community made every effort to prevent their people from sending their children to the school and that all students paid some tuition. Her only American assistant was Lella Parsons, who was to be married soon and leave. There was an Armenian assistant for the high school, an inexperienced eighteen-year-old girl. Fortunately, a very able Armenian teacher, one of Farnham's graduates, managed the preparatory department, where the young students proved unruly. "The children have never been accustomed to the slightest restraint," Farnham wrote, but the teacher managed them well. Because of budget imitations, the hiring of additional staff was out of the question, so local volunteers filled in. Dr. Kanalgian came two days a week to teach Turkish, and Pastor Alexander's son spent an hour each day teaching religion. Throughout this period, Dr. Kanalgian provided free medical care.[43]

Tense relations with the Armenian Apostolic community were an undercurrent throughout this period. Relations between the communities were not as overtly hostile as they had been in the mid-century, but the clergy of the Armenian Church discouraged members of their flock from enrolling their children in Protestant schools or participating in Protestant meetings. One of the

[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid., № 204, Sept. 25, 1885, and № 205, Oct. 24, 1885.

practices of the American schools was to hold public examinations at the end of the school year, so that the students could exhibit their skills. These events were immensely popular and attracted large audiences, including critics as well as supporters of the schools. At Adabazar, members of the audience could apparently question the students. Farnham gives the following description of the exercises in 1888:

> We did not expect many at the closing exercises as there has been so much opposition to the school this year, but before the opening exercises were over they began to come and we had a crowd. Wednesday the room was so crowded we could not get through the aisles. Some came out of curiosity, and some to find fault. They asked all sorts of questions. I had an Ancient History class, and they asked everything they could think of, but the girls did nicely. There was a graduate of Robert College who had been in the employ of the English Consul, so he was well posted in English. My class is not a very brilliant one—there is only one girl in the class in whom I can feel sure, and it was lucky for me that he got hold of that one. He asked her to conjugate all the verbs and decline the nouns, but she did nicely. Oh, how thankful I was! I was so anxious because there has been so much opposition to the school.[44]

New Challenges in the Nineties

In 1890, Farnham's agreement to run the school for five years expired, and she debated her future course. A firm believer in local control, she nonetheless could not envision an Armenian at the head of the school. As she explained:

> When I came here the people hoped to take over the school in five years. Well, the five years are up. Now they are saying they can take over after 50 years! I do not see that the principal of the school can be an Armenian. The men of this community do not have any confidence in women. I am sure if an Armenian girl were at the head of this school, the trustees would make her life a burden by their constant meddling, while the most they can do to me is to make suggestions. Of course there are matters about which we always ask their opinion.[45]

[44] Ibid., № 216, June 29, 1889.
[45] Ibid., № 218, May 26, 1890.

The second obstacle was marriage, Farnham pointed out. No girl can decide to live unmarried. And she must do this to become a teacher, for no girl under twenty could fill the place, and after that her case is hopeless—she is too old! The third difficulty was that one teacher could not, or would not, be subordinate to another teacher, and two teachers cannot be heads at the same time.[46] Given these circumstances, she was unable to prepare another to take her place. Yet she provided a valuable role model of what could be accomplished by women.

Soon the school was full, and a room in a neighboring building was rented to obtain more space. The new railroad brought more people and attention to the area, and the demand for education was growing. At the same time, increasing efforts were made to broaden the student body beyond the Armenian Protestant community. In 1890, there were three Muslim girls (one each Turkish, Circassian, and Gypsy), two Jewish, four Greek, and ten Gregorian (Apostolic). The Americans recognized the opportunity to expand their influence and realized that, if they could not meet the demand, potential pupils would attend the Gregorian schools or support the Catholics who, Farnham cautioned, were anxious to open a school. Simultaneously, the growing restlessness of the Armenian population, especially after the demonstrations in Kum Kapu in the capital that year, led the Turkish government to pay increasing attention to what was going on. Visits to the school by Turks associated with the government became more frequent, leading Farnham to question their motives. After a delegation came in June 1890, including the wife of a judge of the supreme court, the wife of the governor, and a member of the Senate in Constantinople, Farnham wrote:

> I am rather suspicious when these high officials come lest they are spies, for at this time the Turks are very jealous of their Christian subjects. You probably heard of the riot in the Armenian Church a few weeks ago. And indeed the Turks have reason to be afraid, for their subjects are getting very restless under Turkish rule and oppression. I think there cannot but be great changes in Turkey before long. I cannot believe that the Turkish government will stand long.[47]

[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid., № 220, Oct. 4, 1890.

The conviction that Turkey stood at a crossroads, that it could not long continue on its present path, that major change was inevitable appears constantly in Farnam's writing in the 1890s. Mixed with it was anxiety about what direction the change would take. Typical is the following observation, made in 1893:

> . . . we have come to the place here in Turkey where the people are seeking things too high for them. The young people of both sexes are restless under the restraints which tradition and custom impose upon them. There never was a time when missionaries need the wisdom of serpents as much as now. We must stand between the "old" and the "new." The next few years will decide the fate of Turkey.[48]

In 1891, when Farnham came to the United States on furlough, she managed to procure funds for building an addition to the school. Upon her return to Adabazar in 1892, it was decided to introduce a kindergarten class. Plans were drawn up for an addition, but repeated petitions to the government for a building permit went unanswered. Though the governor was outwardly friendly and always promised positive action, nothing was done. This, along with her observations of the difficult conditions under which the people lived, led Farnham to despair about the Turkish government. Space restrictions made it impossible to institute the kindergarten, all because of the lack of a building permit from the authorities: "How long, Oh God, how long shall this government be allowed to go on?" she wondered.[49] Her criticism extended to the United States government for its failure to press energetically for action by the Ottoman authorities. In an 1893 letter, she wrote: "I do wish our government would do more to make the Turkish government feel that they meant business. I should not be a good member of a 'Peace Society'. There is nothing I dread so much in this land as peace. It simply means indifference."[50]

Despite all difficulties the school was prosperous, with larger enrollments than ever before. In the fall of 1895, frustrated by the crowded conditions in the school and with no prospect of a

[48] Ibid., vol. 13, № 223, Feb. 4, 1893.
[49] Ibid., № 228, July 29, 1893.
[50] Ibid., № 223, Feb. 4, 1893.

building permit, the trustees decided finally to rent a neighboring building in which to house the kindergarten on the first floor and provide additional dormitory space on the second floor. Funds raised by Farnham during her 1891 visit to the United States helped with the financing. From the beginning the Kindergarten program was very popular, and was always described by Farnham as "a joy." In 1896, a neighboring building was placed on the market, and Farnham began a campaign for its purchase. Unfortunately, the United States was experiencing difficult financial conditions at the time, and the Board turned down her appeal for a purchase. Indeed, the strained economic conditions in the United States compelled the Board to close schools in nearby Nicomedia, Bardizag, and Brusa, increasing the number of applicants for the Adabazar School. It was not until 1900 that Farnham was able to report the purchase of the building, which was occupied in the fall of that year. The larger premises allowed the enrollment to increase to over two hundred pupils in all departments: kindergarten, preparatory, and high school. There were sixty-six boarding students, and space for one hundred when the renovations were completed. In its fifteen years of operation, the high school had graduated ninety-nine girls, of whom twenty-five were teaching and the others were making "happy Christian homes." Farnham now had two American assistants in addition to her Armenian teachers: Mary Kenney, who supervised the kindergarten and taught music, botany, and senior English, and Susan Hyde, who assisted in the teaching.[51]

The school continued to prosper despite the challenges arising from the poverty of the people and unsettled political conditions. Another cause for concern was the tide of Armenians anxious to go to the United States to further their education. Farnham had observed this phenomenon earlier, in Bardizag, and it was continuing. "What is to be done about the American epidemic that is sweeping over the land?" she wrote in a letter to the American Board Foreign Secretary that year. All the preachers, teachers, students, and even some of the common people were showing symptoms. Students from the Marsovan Seminary who had been visiting in Bardizag "all have the same idea when nothing short of America will do," she wrote. "Of course they

[51] Ibid., № 265, March 1, 1900, № 267, Scutari, July 17, 1900, and № 268, Adabazar, Nov. 3, 1900.

(as they now think) are all coming back here to be *very* useful," she continued. "I asked them *where* they would be useful, for after being in America a man cannot live in a Turkish village."[52] The "America fever" among the Armenians posed a serious dilemma for the Americans. In general, missionary policy dictated that Armenians should be discouraged from going to the United States, based on the early experience that most who made the trip to the New World did not return home. The American Board was educating Armenians so that they might serve their own people, in their homeland. Still, in individual cases it was difficult for the missionaries to refuse to assist their Armenian students in finding an institution to further their studies or a place to live in the United States. This presented a no-win situation for the Americans. The policy of strongly opposing Armenian students going abroad to further their education was not only resented by many Armenians but also criticized by fellow Christians, who asserted that the motive of the American Board in taking this position was "to keep the Armenian youth in a state of perpetual minority in order to be able better to hold them in subjection."[53]

Natural disasters, such as the earthquake of 1894, brought additional problems. At the time, Farnham was on vacation in Bardizag, where no damage was reported. But numerous homes were destroyed or made uninhabitable in Adabazar, and there were many deaths. The school suffered only minor damage, but surrounding buildings collapsed. The disaster came on top of depressed economic conditions, including failure of the tobacco crop, and a good production season for silk that brought little benefit because of low prices. The cholera epidemic caused a delay of the school opening that year. The poor economic conditions inevitably affected adversely the school budget, which continued to be paid largely by the local community: "How can we insist that the people support their institutions when they can barely support their families?" Farnham asked.[54] The school would be a perfect joy, she wrote in 1896, if she did not have to

[52] ABC 16.9.3, Western Turkey Mission, 1870-80, Letters, № 709, Farnham, Bardizag, July 30, 1880 (M591).

[53] Ibid., 1880-1889, Documents, № 182, article from the *Christian Standard* reviewing the work of the American Board in Turkey.(M596).

[54] ABC 16.9.4, Women's Board, vol. 13, № 232, July 19, 1894, №234, Aug. 10, 1894, and № 235, Aug. 18, 1894.

turn away all those who could not pay tuition. "The times are so hard that the people just beg and beseech us to take a little less, but we are obliged to harden our hearts and say *no*." The school had to be self-supporting.[55]

News of the widespread bloodshed accompanying the Armenian massacres of 1894-96 spread rapidly. The violence had not touched Adabazar directly, but every household had been affected in some way. And the violence had come dangerously close. Writing in the fall of 1896, Farnham reported:

> We have not suffered here from massacre, and yet not one week passes but some home is made desolate. I returned here [from summer vacation] on August 26 . . . Saturday and Sunday were anxious days. The city was surrounded by Circassians and Georgians, and an attack was expected every minute. It was only averted by the ability, energy, and tact of the Kaimakam (Governor). He was almost without troops and after telegram after telegram was sent, the soldiers did not reach here until late Sunday night. On Monday the Circassians and Georgians were sent off to their villages. All the Armenians went to express their gratitude to the governor and were greeted with the greatest courtesy, and assured that he would do all in his power to protect them. The governor also expressed the wish that his American ladies would make "honorable mention" of his efforts, which I did in a note to Mr. Terrell. [Alexander Terrell, U.S. Minister to the Ottoman Empire].[56]

Farnham marveled at the fact that the more downtrodden and impoverished the people became, the more determined they were to educate their children. It was as if education constituted their only hope for a better future. "The present condition of the country seems to have this effect, to make the people feel they must educate their children. Our schoolwork is very hopeful but outside the outlook is dark indeed. The people are almost in despair and the situation disheartening to the last degree."[57]

The events of the 1890s seem to have brought the two Armenian communities, Apostolic and Protestant, closer together. A heightened sense of anxiety filled the air, as everyone wondered "if the storm has passed or is only gaining force," Farnham

[55] Ibid., № 250, Oct. 24, 1896.

[56] Ibid., № 251, Nov. 26, 1896.

[57] Ibid., № 250, Oct. 24, 1896.

wrote. She added that "the poverty and distress of the people is increasing," and that "all religious animosity seems for the time to be done away with." The Protestant preacher had been invited twice to preach in the Armenian Apostolic church, and the church was filled on these occasions. Later in return, one of the Armenian priests (*vardapet*) preached in the Protestant chapel: "It was such an unheard-of occurrence that the chapel was filled," Farnham wrote. "Of course it was not a very spiritual discourse, but it shows that the spirit of opposition is entirely dying out." The Apostolic Armenians were now responding by opening and modernizing their own schools, and Farnham said that she welcomed the competition.[58]

Instead of rigidly demanding that their students accept all the tenets and practices of the Protestant religion, as they had in the past, the American educators now concentrated on conveying the essence of the religion, largely through the study of the Bible. They had the confidence that their students would carry this spirit in life no matter what church they attended. There was even the hope that these students would foster reform in the Armenian Church, as the missionaries had advocated in their earliest days in the Near East. In 1900, Farnham proudly reported that one of her graduates had accepted a position in a Gregorian school. Protestants in the villages were often too impoverished to be able to support a teacher. The Gregorians had so much larger communities that they could afford to pay a teacher, Farnham explained. The new teacher "made the condition that she should be required to do nothing against her conscience, so we are glad to have her there."[59]

Yet old grievances had not entirely disappeared. Farnham described the chain of events that occurred following an unusually heavy snowstorm in November 1897, when the roof of the Protestant church collapsed—fortunately with no harm to the sixty or seventy pupils in attendance in the boys' school located in the basement. The Protestant Armenians requested permission to use the Apostolic Church for services until a new building could be built; the matter was referred to the bishop, who suggested that the Protestants rent a room, and the Apostolics would pay the rent. This was regarded as an insult; a roof was

[58] Ibid., № 245, Feb. 16, 1896.
[59] Ibid., № 266, April 28, 1900.

placed over the boys' school, and church services were held temporarily in the girls' school.[60]

With the dawn of the new century, the outlook for the school appeared rosier. The new building had not only eased the overcrowding of the past decades, but also allowed the addition of an upper preparatory department, designed to meet the needs of students from areas outside of Adabazar who did not have access to the existing preparatory school (which was a day school, not a boarding facility) and therefore were not ready for the increasingly high standards of the high school. According to a description of the school by a former teacher, in the first decade of the twentieth century:

> Gradually the grading of the school has been improved, the course of study has been extended, and written examinations instead of oral ones have been introduced, so that at the present time the curriculum does not differ much from that of an ordinary high school in the United States, except that the study of ancient Armenian and Turkish takes the place of Greek and Latin, and much attention is given to sewing of all kinds.[61]

A friend of one of the teachers at the school, visiting from the United States in the early 1900s, provides a striking glimpse of Laura Farnham, seated around a dining table:

> More than once we forgot the clock, listening to Miss Laura Farnham tell of her twenty-five years in Asia Minor; we scarcely allowed her to eat at all, so constantly did we ply her with questions. It is one of the miracles of which missionary annals are so full, that this frail woman, who has carried heaviest responsibilities and lived through such trials of patience and such real dangers as appalled us in the mere recital, should yet keep her cheery laugh and her sunny spirit as fresh as at the beginning, though her hair is snow white and she seems too delicate to be far from an invalid's sofa. . . . She rules like an empress the whole Christian community of Adabazar, and even the natives and officials stand in wholesome awe of her sturdy maintenance of her rights as principal of the mission school.[62]

[60] *Missionary Herald*, April 1898, p. 147.
[61] Marion E. Sheldon, *The Armenian Girls' High School in Adabazar, Turkey* (Boston: Woman's Board of Missions, circa 1910), p. 6.
[62] Alice Goddard West, "A Missionary Collection," *Light and Life*, vol. 33

The rise of a democratic spirit among the Armenians, while certainly fostered by the teachings of the Americans, nonetheless threw "shadows" over the relative calm of life in Adabazar. The school trustees had been a self-perpetuating body, in that they themselves filled any vacancies. Now, with two vacancies, a new group circulated a petition calling for the election of trustees by the local Protestants. A compromise solution whereby the existing trustees would nominate four candidates and the people would vote to elect two of the four was rejected on the ground that the two men elected would be a minority. More meetings and more anxiety followed: "I am sure this is a stage that people must go through," Farnham wrote philosophically:

> The new is trying to get adjusted to the old. It is the new piece on the old garment. The whole life here is in a transition state. The conservatives are slow to acknowledge that the young people must have a part in the management of affairs. The young people *know* too much and think the old ones are *old fogies* and they are going to reform the world. I am sure in the end things will get adjusted but the process is messy.[63]

As usual, commencement was a major event. Describing the event in 1902, Farnham observed that "every inch of space in the chapel was filled. . . . The Armenian bishop and all the Turkish officials were present and made fine speeches which they do not mean—at least I do not believe they are sincere. If they did, and acted up to their belief, we would not be needed here."[64] An alumnae association had been formed, and it supported one needy student every year and met various needs, for example by providing funds to purchase a higher quality piano for the music room.[65] An especially generous benefactor was a graduate who had married and moved to New York City. In 1906, it was reported that Mrs. Sarkis Telfeyan and her husband had been present at the graduation exercises and had donated 400 Turkish pounds (valued at $1,320 at the time) for the establishment of a Teacher Training department. The school trustees certified that

(July 1903), pp. 292-93.

[63] ABC 16.9.4, vol. 16, № 199, Jan. 31, 1902.

[64] Ibid., № 200, July 9, 1902.

[65] Sheldon, *The Armenian Girls' High School in Adabazar*, pp. 10, 15.

they would again be responsible for all of the expenses if the Woman's Board would support a teacher from America. The 400 Turkish pounds, it was believed, was sufficient to purchase a building adjacent to the school garden for this purpose.[66]

The offer was accepted by the Woman's Board, and Madeline Gile was appointed to this teaching position. A graduate of the Boston Training School, she had several years of teaching experience, most recently in the Proctor Academy in Provo, Utah. She sailed to Turkey in late 1907, in the company of Mary Kenney, who was returning to Adabazar after a one-year furlough in the United States. Gile went on to begin a Teachers Training class in September 1909, and the first graduates received their diplomas in June 1910, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the school. Unfortunately ill health forced Miss Gile to return to the United States that year, and the Teacher Training Class was closed until a new teacher could be found.[67]

The desire of the local Armenian Protestant community to expand the school with a Teacher Training department is telling evidence of their pride in the school and their satisfaction with the cooperative arrangement established for its operation. This kind of partnership between Americans and Armenians was all too rare; on the contrary, the literature of the period is full of complaints by the Armenians that they were not allowed to participate in the decision-making process in the operation of institutions established ostensibly for their benefit; on the other hand, the opinion of missionaries was that the Armenians were making unreasonable demands. Laura Farnham focused her attention on her school; her name is not found prominently in missionary meetings or articles, and there is no evidence that she participated in the current debates. But she obviously had a strategy for working with the local Armenian community, and in a rare letter to Foreign Secretary James Barton in Boston in 1908, she made her philosophy clear. The issue, at the time, was control over the Protestant newspaper published by the American Board in Constantinople, the *Avedaper* (*Avetaber*; Messen-

[66] ABC 16.9.3, vol. 28, Documents, 1900-1909, vol. 1, № 148, Joseph K. Greene, Istanbul, Jan. 2, 1907; vol. II, Chambers, № 156-157, Adabazar, Aug. 21 and Dec. 27, 1906 (M617).

[67] Linder, *Üsküdar*, pp. 16-17, 23.

ger): "From our standpoint, the time has long passed for their work to be given over to the people," she wrote and then continued:

> No foreigner can publish a paper that will meet the needs of a people as one of themselves can. Our people object in Constantinople that they do not know anyone able to take charge of the paper. Let *them* [i.e. the Armenians] find the man. I have confidence in them that their best man will be chosen. Throw the *responsibility on them*. . . . Let us meet them half way—grant their petition *graciously*. In Maine logging camps the man who complained of the food was made cook. It is a good rule and works well. The people will make mistakes. The present editor has made serious mistakes. *Our experiences* here working with our native friends have taught *us* and *them* many lessons.[68]

The constitutional revolution in 1908 offered prospects for a better future in Turkey, a hope that was shattered by the Adana massacres the following year in April of 1909. Yet Laura Farnham and her colleagues moved ahead with plans for further advances, specifically to develop the Teacher Training class associated with the school. In 1910, she went home to Maine to care for an invalid brother. It was only her second trip home in her thirty-eight years of service, and she had every intention to return. But her own poor health led her to postpone her trip. Perhaps it was best that she was in America, and not in Adabazar, during the terrible days of war and Genocide that followed. She passed away in 1919.

Postscript

With the outbreak of World War I, the Turkish military took over the Adabazar school buildings for use as a military hospital, and classes were suspended for four years. Subsequently Mary Kinney, who had succeeded Laura Farnham as principal of the school, returned to Adabazar from Egypt, where she had been

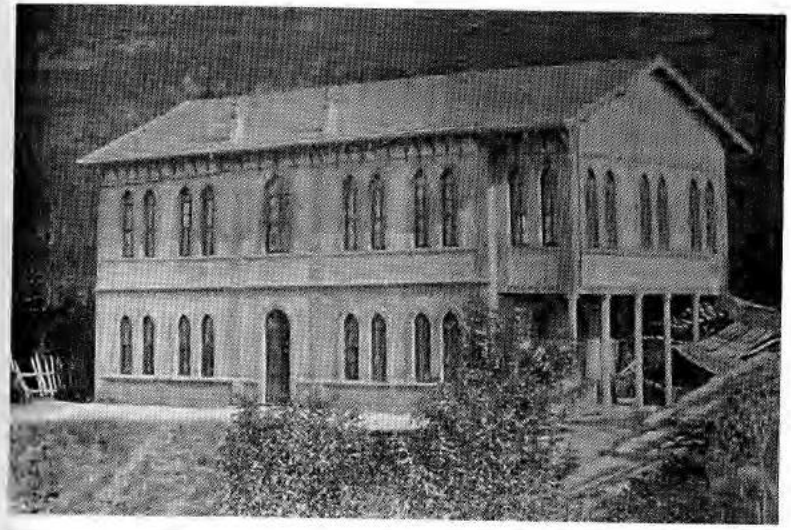
[68] ABC 16.9.3, vol. 28, Documents, 1900-1909, vol. II, № 226, Farnham to Barton, Adabazar, Oct. 14, 1908. The controversy over *Avedaper* is discussed in Jonathan Conant Page, *Ringing the Gotchnag: Two American Missionary Families in Turkey, 1855-1922* (Boston: New England Genealogical Society, 2009), pp. 220-37.

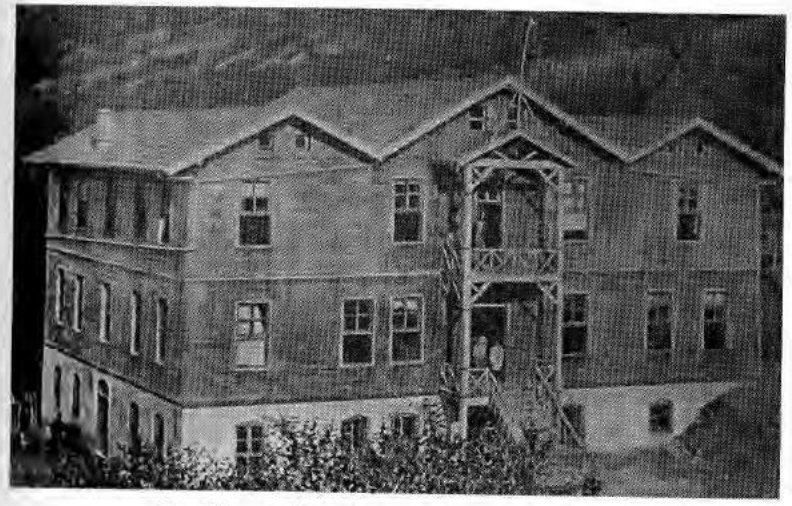
working with refugees during the war. With the help of a former teacher, Sophie S. Holt, she supervised the transfer of the school to the Uskudar section of Constantinople, to occupy the former premises of the Constantinople College for Women, which had meanwhile moved to its new campus in Arnavutkoy. In Uskudar the school has continued to the present time; it is now known Uskudar American Academy and is operated by the Health and Education Foundation (SEV), a Turkish non-profit trust. Offering a kindergarten through grade twelve education, it specializes in a college preparatory curriculum with an emphasis on the sciences. In 1990, it became a coeducational institution.[69]

This is the legacy of Laura Farnham, who doubtless would find the loss of school's Christian character extremely painful, but who would certainly be pleased that the Uskudar American Academy is regarded today as one of the most academically rigorous institutions in Turkey.

[69] Sophie S. Holt, "War Experiences in Turkey," *Duluth Herald*, Oct. 3, 1915; Linder, *Üsküdar*, pp. 27-37.

Laura Farnham

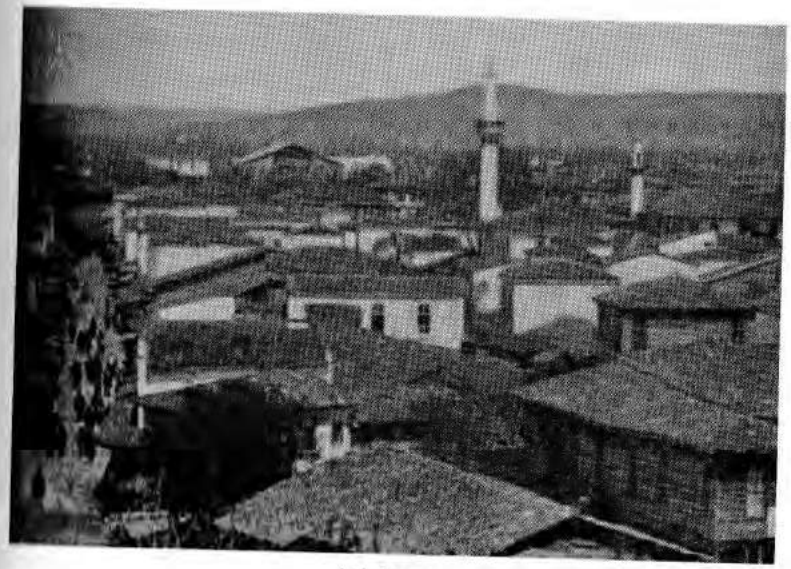




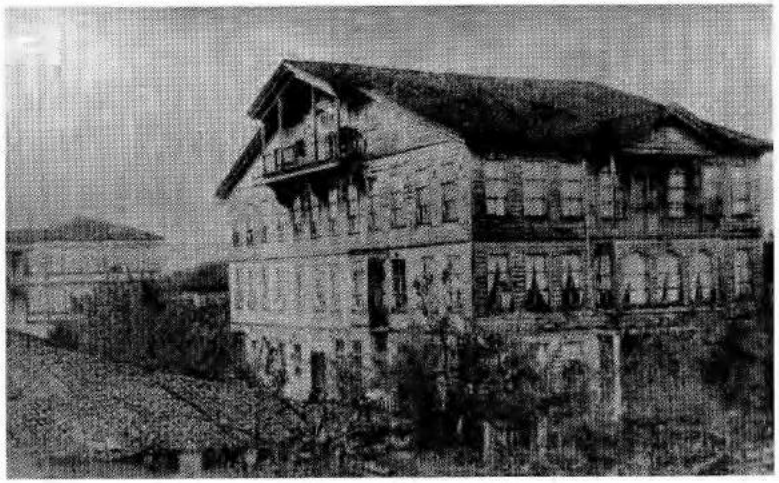
Bardizag: Chambers and Newman Halls

Bardizag: Chambers Family with Bithynia High School Students and Alumni

Bardizag: Armenian Protestant School

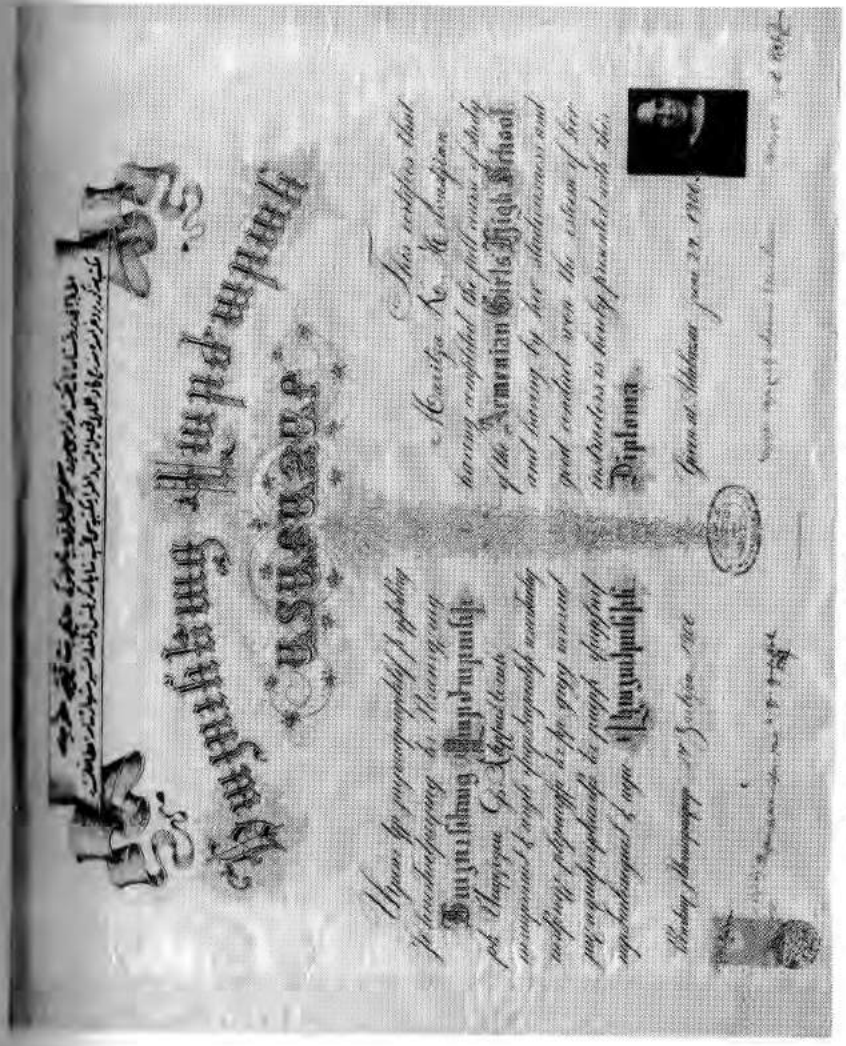


Adabazar

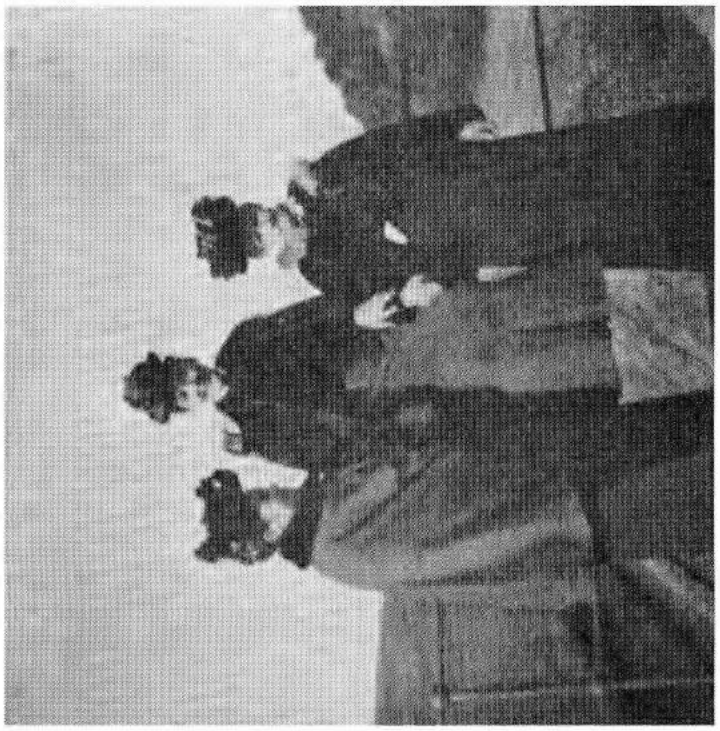


Adabazar: American Board School, 1890

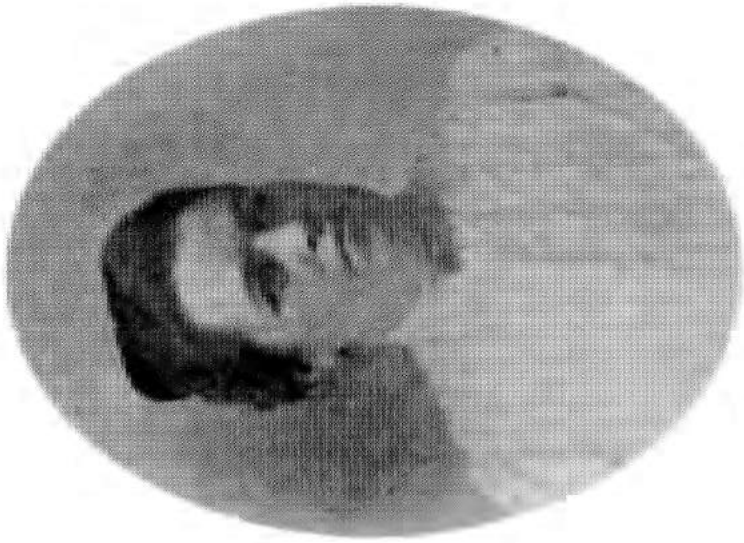
Adabazar: Armenian Girls' High School, Early 1900s



Adabazar: Armenian Girls' High School Diploma, 1906



Adabazar: Mary Kinney, Mary Riggs, Laura Farnham



Adabazar: Mary Kinney

❀ 7 ❀

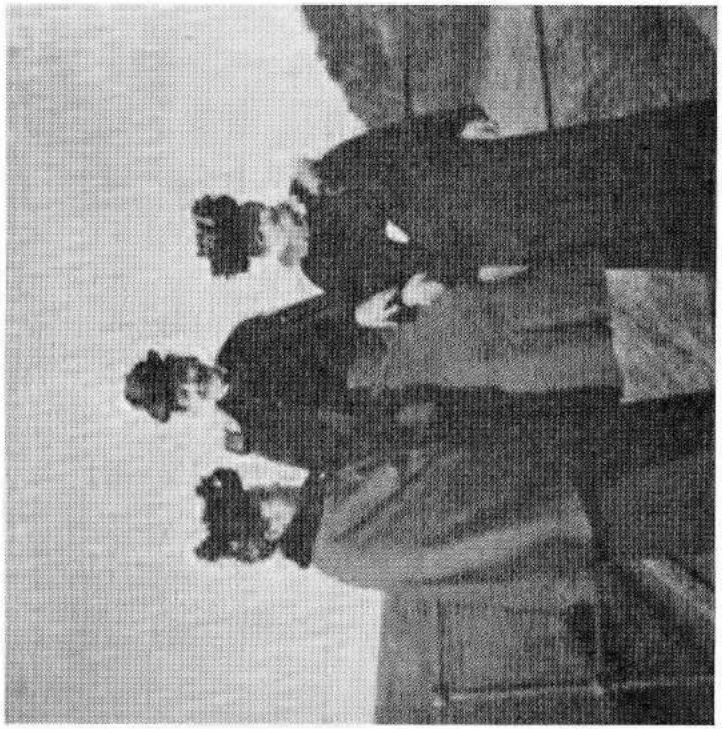
KOMITAS VARDAPET AND THE ARMENIAN MUSICAL CULTURE OF KUTAHIA

Arpi Vardumyan

The town Kutahia (or Kutina) in Asia Minor is known as the birthplace of the brilliant Armenian composer Komitas Vardapet (archimandrite; born as Soghomon Soghomonian).[1] This small artisan town was noted for its unique Armenian ceramics and was a significant artisan and cultural center. By the nineteenth century, Kutahia had thirty-four artisan districts, where most of the craftsmen were Armenian and Greek. For generations, they made exquisite glazed ceramic tiles, which decorated numerous churches in Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Kesaria, as well as the inner walls of many mosques. Beautiful articles of everyday life had long found their way into the world market, bringing fame and glory to Kutahia as a foremost center of ceramic art.

It is said that man cannot work silently and cannot exist without song. Even the most difficult work accompanied by a song makes the routine efforts of a craftsman much easier. The Armenians in Kutahia were great lovers of music, and it was no mere chance that this very town gave birth to the founder of the Armenian composer school—the exceptionally talented archimandrite/vardapet musician Komitas. It is now possible to form a concept of the music of Kutahia's Armenian community thanks to the

[1] "Komitas Vardapet Kutinatsi: Inknakensagrutiun, hunis 24, 1908, Surb Ejmiatsin" [Komitas Vardapet Kutinatsi: Autobriography, June 24, 1908, Holy Echmiadzin], in *Hairenik* (Boston), May 7, 1924; also in *Anahit* (Paris), 3:1-2 (May-Aug.1931): 2-6. A concise version appears in Teodik's yearbook *Amenun Taretsoytse* [Everyone's Almanac] (Constantinople), 4 (1910): 214, and Ghevond Tayian, "Komitas Vardapet (usumnasirakan tesutiun)" (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1936), pp. 12-20. See also *Komitas: Essays and Articles: The Musicological Treatises of Komitas Vardapet*, English trans.Vatsche Barsoumian (Pasadena, CA: Drazark Press, 2001), p. 3.



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collection of songs recorded by young Soghomon Soghomonian while he was still a deacon.

Soghomon was born in Kutahia in 1869. His autobiography states that his father's ancestors had emigrated from the village of Tsghna in Goghtn province near old Julfa on the Arax River.[2] Goghtn was famous for its minstrels, gifted musicians, and rich musical traditions. His mother's side came from Bursa (Brusa), which had served as the first Ottoman capital and was much larger than Kutahia. Soghomon's parents were great lovers of music and arts, but unfortunately he lost both of them at an early age. His mother was a very talented but unhealthy and melancholic woman, who died when her son was still an infant. Soghomon's relatives later told him that she not only had a wonderful voice and sang beautifully but also had the talent to compose both music and lyrics.

The same can be said about the musical abilities of his father, who was a shoemaker and an acclaimed chorister *(dpir)* in that artisan town. For many years, he and his brother served in Kutahia's Surb Toros (Saint Theodore) Church. Naturally, they would take little Soghomon with them on Sundays and feast days, during which he would demonstrate his own musical talent by grasping the intricacies of Armenian ecclesiastical music. This was very important as he lived in a Turkish environment, where under strong pressure all Armenians had become Turkish speaking. It is widely accepted that the first indicator of a person's identity is language and, if not for the factor of the Armenian Church with its traditional music, it would have been impossible for Western Armenians to preserve their national identity for centuries.

The greatest paradox in Komitas' biography was that up to the age of twelve, he did not speak Armenian and could only sing in the ancestral tongue. In 1880, his father sent him to Bursa to continue his primary education, but very shortly thereafter his father died and he had to return to Kutahia. He was selected in 1881 as a talented orphan to continue his education in the seminary of Holy Echmiadzin under the aegis of Catholicos Gevorg IV. The

[2] In 1908, at the request of a music journal in St. Petersburg, the "Autobiography" was translated into Russian. The original Armenian in the same document in Komitas' handwriting was later given by Liparit Nazarian to Arshak Chopanian (Arshag Chobanian), who published it in *Anahit* in 1931.

supreme patriarch was deeply moved hearing the boy sing the hymn *Loys Zvart* so perfectly even though he did not know Armenian.[3] Those who were present attested that the Catholicos was touched with sadness when he saw that the boy could sing but not speak in Armenian and therefore gave instructions to rectify the situation immediately. Soghomon learned Armenian quickly and soon had an excellent knowledge not only of his mother tongue but also of the written classical language—*grabar*.

In the seminary, under the supervision of Sahak Vardapet Amatuni,[4] Soghomon studied Armenian church music and mastered the New Armenian Notation system created by Hambardzum Limonjian in Constantinople at the beginning of nineteenth century.[5] This was very important because later Komitas recorded Armenian spiritual melodies, folk songs, as well as the folk music of neighboring peoples, primarily in the New Armenian Notation system. On summer vacations, when his seminary friends went to their native towns and villages, Soghomon would give each of them packs of equally-cut pieces of paper and ask them to write down all the songs and dance melodies they heard and identify the names of the performers.

In the 1892-93 academic year, before graduating from the seminary, young Soghomon left for his birthplace Kutahia to regain his health and began to transcribe the local musical folklore (now kept in the Charents Museum of Literature and Art in Erevan).[6] The manuscript collection contains a significant part of the Turkish songs recorded and preserved by Komitas, who wrote in his autobiography: "My father's and mother's family were loud-voiced by nature. . . . Until now, the old people in our town sing with great admiration the songs composed by my parents in Turkish, some of which I have already recorded in my homeland."[7] This means that the composers of some songs

[3] Tayian, "Komitas Vardapet," p. 16.

[4] Sahak Amatuni was Soghomon's first teacher, under whose guidance he mastered the theory and practice of Armenian liturgical singing.

[5] Arpi Vardumyan, "Hambardzum Limonjian (kianke ev gortse), 1768-1839" [Hambardzum Limonjian: His Life and Work, 1768-1839], *Bazmavep* (Venice), 167 (2009): 448-65.

[6] Charentsi anvan Graganutian ev Arvesti Tangaran [Charents Museum of Literature and Art], Komitas Collection, № 352, "Arevelian-trkakan eghanakner, havakets Soghomon A. Srk. Soghomonian, Miaban Mayr Atoroy S. Echmiatsin, 1892, 15/XI."

[7] Komitas, "Autobiography" (*Hairenik*).

recorded by Komitas were his own parents.

Over the years, the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia has published in a series of volumes the complete collection of Komitas' works. At the end of "Other Peoples' Songs" are placed Armenian-lettered Turkish and Armenian-lettered Kurdish songs and dance melodies, more than forty in number.[8] Of these, eighteen are Turkish, with thirteen of these from the aforementioned Kutahia manuscript collection, the rest being songs in Kurdish and dance melodies. These thirteen are only a part of the sixty-six songs in Komitas' handwritten collection. In fact, fifty-three songs remain unpublished. The editors have explained: "A full scientific publication of the collection of Turkish songs recorded by Komitas is a complex task in many respects and its realization is left for the future."[9]

On the title-page of the collection compiled by Komitas is written: "Oriental-Turkish Melodies, Collected by the Deacon Soghomon A. Soghomonian, Congregant of The Holy See of St. Echmiatsin, 1892, 15/XI."[10] This shows that despite the Armenian-lettered Turkish songs included in the collection, Komitas did not consider them to be Turkish, because they were composed by Armenians. The editors have suggested interpreting this title as "Turkish-language songs with oriental melodies." I think the word "melody" here must be understood as "mode." Almost all the songs have the names of oriental melody-mode in the title, as, for example, *Sharki rast*, with "sharki" being the type of the oriental song and "rast" being one of the melody-modes.

At first glance, it may seem the mere fact that the songs are titled with oriental melody-mode names predetermines their foreign origin, but the oriental names of melody systems were so widespread in Constantinople and especially Western Armenia that even church hymns, instead of Armenian traditional eight modes, were often marked by oriental melodies. Even though the language characteristics of a song have a certain influence on the

[8] Komitas, *Erkeri zhoghovatsu* [Collection of Songs], vol. 14, bk. 6: *Erazhshta-azgagrakan zhoghovatsu* [Musical Ethnographic Collection: Armenian Folk and Ashugh Songs and Instrumental Melodies, Turkish Songs, Kurdish Songs, and Instrumental Melodies], ed. Robert A. Atayan, and Gevorg Sh. Geodakyan (Erevan: Gitutyun, 2006).

[9] Ibid., p. 33.

[10] Charents Museum, Komitas Collection, № 352, "Arevelian-trkakan eghanakner."

intonation of the song, nevertheless in the last volume of the academic edition, for example, two Turkish-language songs—*Bingeol* and *Keoroghli*—are placed in the Armenian part of the collection, because their mode is closer to the Armenian minstrel *ashugh* tradition.[11]

There are two basic types of Turkish urban everyday-life songs in the collection—*sharki* and *turki*. Forty-four of them have the mark sharki on the title and twenty of them have the mark turki, while only two of them are without any mark. Generally, sharki are compositions by master songwriters.[12] These are comparatively long songs, close to Turkish-Arabic vocal-instrumental *makam*s in style. In their turn, turki are simple works by non-professional authors or just anonymous urban folk songs, more or less akin to Persian *tesnif*s.

In *turki*s recorded by Komitas, each of these songs is a simple musical phrase with dance rhythm, whereas the *sharki*s are classical two-part forms with freer rhythms and toward their end sudden passages of high registers. In all probability, in this case the nationality and the manner of the performer are of great importance in the interpretation, especially the melismatic (embellishing) intonations. The songs recorded by Komitas in Kutahia are of particular value, as on the margin of each song the performer's name and surname are marked, with nearly all of them being Armenian.

The Kutahia manuscript collection may be considered as a peculiar "reader" of oriental modes by means of the use of typical melodic phrases. Melodies of the sixty-six songs contain twelve makams marked by Komitas—*Ushak, Huseyni, Hijaz, Shehnaz, Sapahi, Pestenikyar, Rast, Huzzam, Suzĭnak, Nehavend, Sikeah, Evech*—as well as two elements in the composition as, for example, *Nehavend* and *Sapahi*; *Hijaz* and *Arak*; *Huzzam* and *Sapahi*; *Evech* and *Arak*; *Hisar* and *Puselik*; *Hijaz* and *Sapahi*; *Huzzam* and *Sekeah*; *Huseyni* and *Ashran*; *Ushak* and *Hijaz*. By this very fact, Komitas' collection becomes a valuable source for the study of oriental modes and songs.

The collection has yet another interesting feature: among those singing for Komitas were close relatives—his paternal uncle

[11] Ibid., p. 22.

[12] Two examples of *sharki* and *turki* from the Komitas Kutahia Collection are given at the end of this article.

Harutiun agha Soghomonian, his aunts Guleneh and Zmrukht Soghomonian (one might discern the songs of Komitas' parents in these pieces), as well as Takuhi and Mariam Khtrian and Takuhi Boyajian (probably from his mother's side, as her name was Takuhi, too), and finally, Harutiun Effendi Hekimian, whom Komitas called "brother" and who sang twelve of the songs.[13] It is clear that this was a musically-gifted family.

Komitas was an expert not only of Armenian but also of Turkish and Kurdish folk music. As early as his first lectures in Berlin in 1899 and also later at the Paris Forum of the International Musical Society in 1914, in explaining the distinctive features of Armenian music, he made comparisons with the songs of these neighboring peoples and gave examples of these with his own vocal renditions. In his Berlin lecture, the comparisons included three Turkish songs, numbers 16, 33, and 38 in the collection. The first of these is a *turki*, sung by Takuhi Khtrian, while the other two are *sharki*, performed by Harutiun Hekimian with the melody mode of the song number 33 not being marked. These entirely different songs indicate that Komitas intended to show the marked differences among them. It is noteworthy that Komitas not only presented several Kurdish melodies but also wrote his dissertation on this subject at the Berlin conservatory (unfortunately, his Berlin diploma has been lost.)[14]

On the whole, the musical structure of the songs in the collection is quite rich and diverse. As the existing social and economic conditions had compelled the Armenians of Kutahia and many other places to speak Turkish, the Turkish-language melodies had a certain place in people's everyday life. The collection recorded by Komitas in New Armenian Notation, represents the musical way of life of Kutahia. While the Armenians could not avoid the Oriental influence on the melodies of

[13] Komitas, *Ergeri zhoghovatsu,* vol. 14, bk. 6, p. 20n10.

[14] About his dissertation titled "Kurdish Music" and the songs presented, see Arpi Vardumyan, "The Contribution of Komitas Vardapet to the Study of Kurdish Music," *Yad-e dust: Sbornik pamiati A.L. Khromova* [*Yad-e dust*: Collection Dedicated to the Memory of A.L. Khromov] (Erevan: Caucasian Centre for Iranian Studies, 1999), pp. 17-22. See also *Eminian azgagrakan zhoghovatsu* [Eminian Ethnographical Collection], vol. 5, Appendix (Moscow-Vagharshapat, 1904), and "Mélodies kurdes, recueillies par Archimandrite Comitas," *Kamar* 4 (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1892).

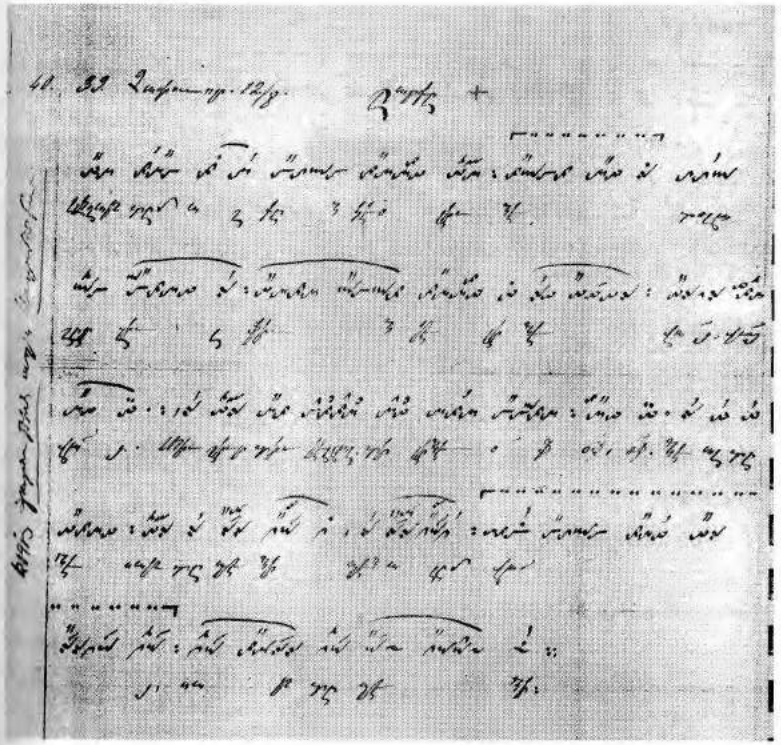
most songs, there are also elements of Armenian *ashugh* music as well as urban and rural folk melodies and even European melodies. Song 45, for example, contains typical Armenian *ashugh* intonations, whereas number 23 has a pattern of rural folklore. Another of the songs, number 19, is a "roaming" melody, sung in different languages of Oriental peoples, the Armenian using the verse of Rafayel Patkanian "Vard toshnial" (Wilted Rose). Song number 60 is a free translation of Karapet Rusinian's "Cilicia," combined with the melody of Baghdasar Dpir's *dagh* (a type of Armenian medieval spiritual song) "I nnjmand arkayakan" (Your Royal Sleep). Another melody, the mode of which is not marked, is so clearly Armenian that while Komitas was studying in Germany he arranged it for piano. Melody number 11 is almost in the same form as Tigran Chukhajian's musical-comedy "Leblebiji." And Komitas intended to use numbers 37 and 48 in his opera "Vardan," writing atop the first of these, "As a prayer for opera, *A Dur,*" and on the second one the words "For opera (Vardan goes through the battle field)." It is remarkable that the inclusion in some songs of "tra-la-la-la" is undoubtedly a phenomenon of urban musical life permeated by European musical traditions.

Thus, an interesting and valuable witness of the musical culture of Kutahia's Armenian community is the collection of songs recorded by the eminent composer-folklorist Komitas Vardapet, giving an exceptional opportunity to gain an understanding of the musical traditions at the end of the nineteenth century. Judging from Komitas' approach, it is apparent that he was already conversant with the techniques of ethnography during his student years. He meticulously dated his transcriptions and indicated the names of his informants. Of the twenty-two singers included in his collection, twenty-one were Armenian, many of them being members of his own extended family. As such, it is important to bear in mind that although the language of the collection is Turkish, one can observe significant affinities with Armenian musical traditions, especially the minstrel ashugh and bardic *gusan* genre of urban music, as well as elements of popular and village songs.

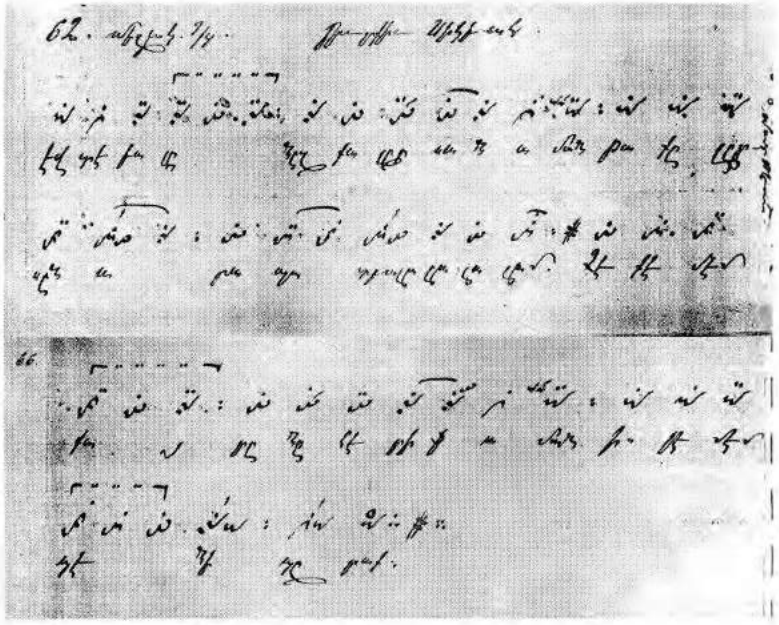
At the same time, Komitas' collection contains several pieces, representative of typical Turkish and oriental genres, identified by their specific mughams or makams. This early example of Komitas' ethno-musicological interest and procedure define him

as the great internationalist that he was, frequently pursuing the study of the music of surrounding peoples. In this connection, it is noteworthy that in his subsequent dissertation Komitas was to highlight the characteristics of another neighboring culture, that of the Kurds.[15] This investigation of the songs preserved in the archives and the publication of the complete works of Komitas demonstrate not only the unique heritage of Kutahia's Armenian community but also the musical orientation of its people, including the parents of the Great Komitas.

[15] Komitas, *Ergeri zhoghovatsu,* vol. 14, pp. 21-22.

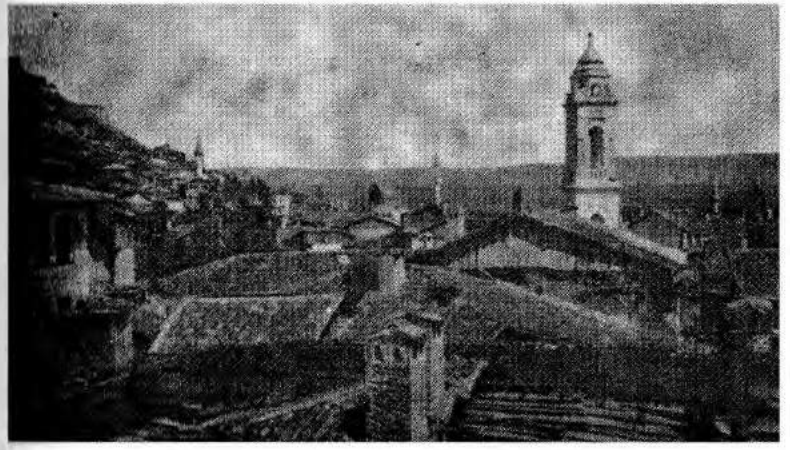


New Armenian Sustem of Notation
Komitas' Handwritten Kutahia Collection
Example of *Sharki* (Number 39)



New Armenian Sustem of Notation
Komitas' Handwritten Kutahia Collection
Example of *Turki* (Number 62)

Kutahia

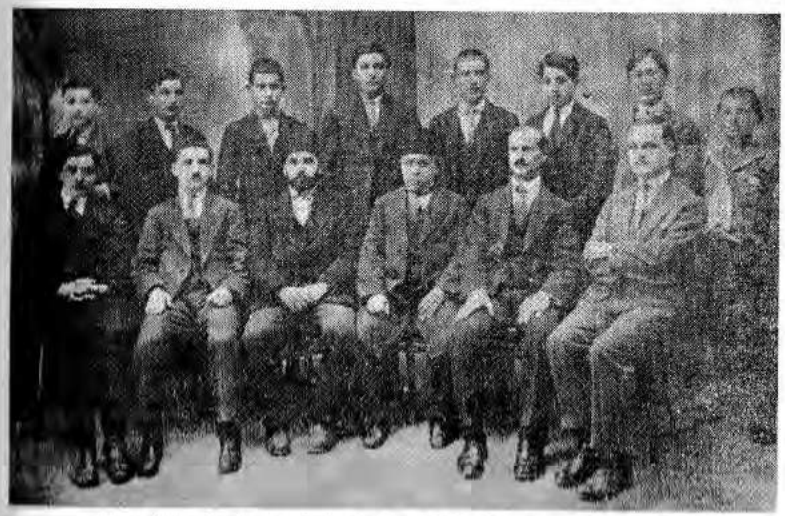


Kutahia: Surb Astvatsatsin Church

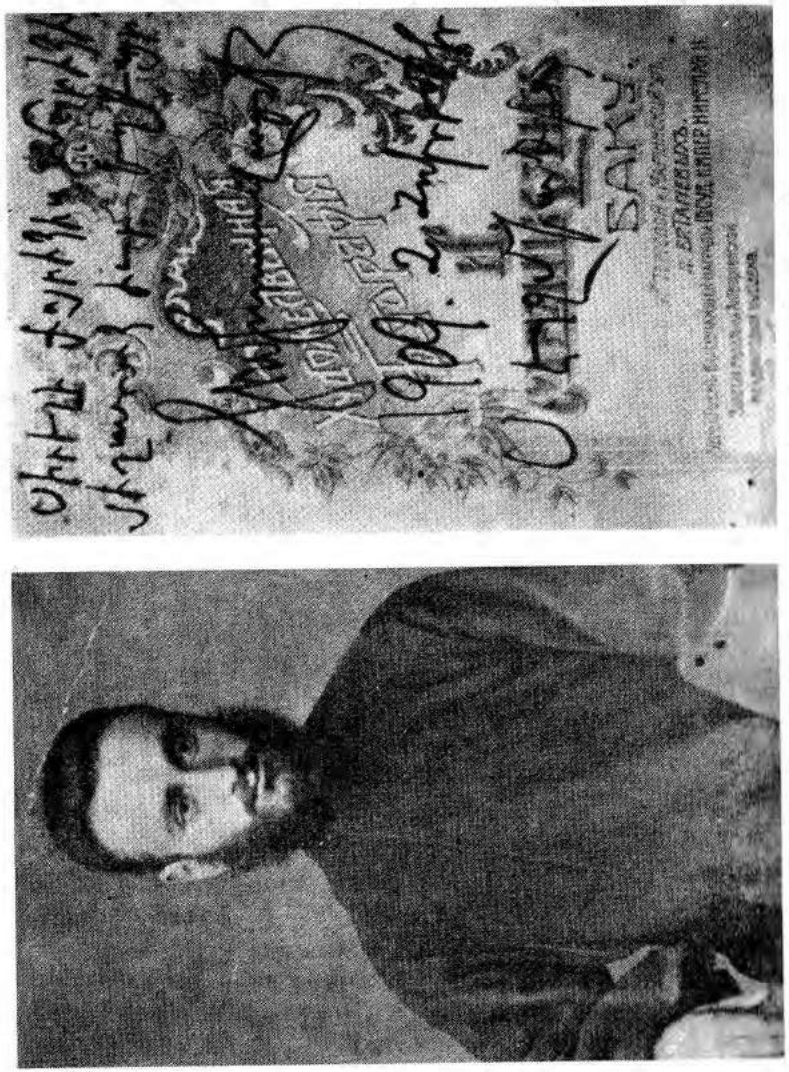
Kutahia: Church Altar

Kutahia: Deacons and Priests

Kutahia: Echmiadzin School (pointing "Toward Light")



Kutahia: Echmiadzin School Students and Faculty



Kevorkian Postcard Sent Holy Echmiadzin to His Sister, 1909

❀ 8 ❀

The Armenian Theater in Asia Minor, 1860 to 1912

Hasmik Khalapyan

The history of theater in the course of the nineteenth century is the history of urban modernity and popular culture. Theater played the dual role of both reflecting and of serving as an agent of social-cultural and political shifts. It was the vehicle through which the new public space was imagined where people could "civilize" themselves by consuming didactic cultural products. It was also the battleground on which conflicts were waged for control of the public mind.[1]

In the Ottoman Empire, the beginning of the nineteenth-century *Tanzimat* reform era was marked by the entry of European-style theater into Ottoman cultural and social life and had an important place in the history of modernization of the empire. The first playhouses were built shortly after the *Hatti Sherif* imperial edict of 1839. Side by side with playhouses operated by European theatrical companies, local troupes were organized. The cosmopolitan topology of the Ottoman capital created not only a favorable ground for the emergence and growth of European theatrical companies but also boosted the entrance of minorities into this modern cultural medium between the public and the state. Among the Ottoman peoples, Armenians played a pioneering role in the establishment of new theaters and in

[1] On this subject, see E. Anthony Swift, *Popular Theater and Society in Tsarist Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Kathryn Hansen, "Parsi Theater and the City: Locations, Patrons, Audiences," *Sarai Reader 2002: The Cities of Everyday Life*, pp. 40-49; David T. Gies, *The Theater in Nineteenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Tracy C. Davis, *The Economics of the British Stage, 1800-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

bringing new theatrical forms to the Ottoman public.[2] Theater, therefore, occupies a special place in Armenian cultural and social history.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, theater became a popular form of entertainment in the provinces, too. This discussion will focus on the emergence of theater in Adabazar, Bardizag, Rodosto, and Bursa from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century. The development of theater in these towns is placed within the general context of cultural awakening among the Ottoman Armenians and the overall history of Ottoman Armenian theater. By drawing parallels between the Constantinople and provincial theaters, it may be seen that, although taking inspiration from the theaters of the capital city, the provincial theater was shaped largely by local socioeconomic and political conditions and reflected regional cultural perceptions and norms.

Development of Theater among the Ottoman Armenians

The development of theater among the Ottoman Armenians should be comprehended in the general context of the empire's constitutional processes, modernization, and national awakening among the Ottoman peoples. The most significant development in the course of the nineteenth century was the emergence of a new vision of a society informed by Western ideas of "civilization." In the historical conjunction of capitalism, democracy, and industrialization, the new emergent social groups from within the Ottoman peoples started to reevaluate and negotiate the new meanings of culture.[3] This process was known as *Zartonk*

[2] For the role of Armenians in the foundation of Ottoman theater, see Garnik Stepanyan, *Urvagits Arevmtahay tatroni patmutyan* [History of Western Armenian Theater] (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1978), 3 vols.; idem, *Turkakan aghbyurnere turk tatroni zargatsman gortsum hayeri deri masin* [Turkish Sources on the Role of Armenians in the Development of the Turkish Theater] (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1983); Metin And, *A History of Theatre and Popular Entertainment in Turkey* (Ankara: Forum Yayınları, 1963-1964), pp. 66-71; Ali Budak, "The Contributions of the Armenians over the Constitution of a New Social Life and Literature in the Nineteenth Century," *Ozean Journal of Social Sciences* 1 (2008): 65-74.

[3] For the impact of Westernization on social change in the Ottoman Empire and Ottoman intellectuals, see Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), ch. 4, pp. 117-37.

(Awakening) among the Armenians and was marked by a significant rupture between the clergy and laymen, resulting in partial secularization of national institutions. The Tanzimat reforms and the efforts of a group of Armenian literati who had been exposed to Western ideas and/or received education in Europe all created a favorable climate for the flourishing of Armenian schools and the development of literature and the periodical press.[4] All of this allowed for the emergence of a new milieu of social interaction beyond the control of the authorities of the recognized Armenian hierarchy of the Ottoman-Armenian community (*millet*) and of the sultan, as it aimed at the negotiation of a new culture.

Theater is recorded to have been a popular form of entertainment in the homes of the wealthy and at schools even before 1839. The school theater (*dprotsakan tatron*) in the early 1800s, although largely religious, did introduce plays with historical themes into their repertoires.[5] However, these earlier forms of theater were soon replaced by playhouses with a new meaning. Theater was no longer simply an educational enterprise. It now had to serve as the medium for contemplating and debating important social and cultural issues and bringing "high" culture to the public. This modern endeavor was regarded to be the new expression of progress, and great national importance was ascribed to it.[6]

The Aramian Theater, founded in 1846 in the Pera quarter of Constantinople, was the first large theatrical group with an obvious influence of European performances.[7] By the 1850s, theat-

[4] See Vahé Oshagan, "Cultural and Literary Awakening of Western Armenians, 1789-1915," *Armenian Review* 36:3 (Autumn 1983): 57-70.

[5] Stepanyan, *Urvagits*, vol. 1, p. 105. The Mekhitarists played an important role in the development of theater in this period. See Levon Zekiyan, *Hay tatroni skzbnakaylere ev hay veratsnundi sharzhume: Hamadrakan hayatsk* [The Initial Steps of Armenian Theater and the Armenian Renaissance Movement: A Summary Overview] (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1975).

[6] Significant are the words of prominent actress Azniv Hrachia (1853-1920) describing theater premises in Ortakoy: "It was very symbolic—the schoolyard was used for the theater and across it was the church. That trinity [school, theater, and church] had driven ignorance out of Ortakoy. And truly Ortakoy was the most enlightened district as far as the Armenians of Constantinople was concerned." See her "Im hishoghutiunners" [My Recollections], *Anahit* 1-2 (April-May 1909): 25.

[7] The theater lasted through 1866. For the Aramian Theater, see Garegin Levonyan, "Aramyan enkerutyan tatrone kam arajin hayeren nerkayatsume Erevanum, 1850 tvin" [The Theater of Aramian Company or the First Armenian Performance in Erevan, 1850], *Verclk* 4 (1933); Stepanyan, *Urvagits*, vol. 1, pp.

rical troupes were formed in various quarters of the capital city. For the first time, these theaters began to attract Armenian audiences accustomed to Italian and French repertoires to Armenian-language theaters. The reform edict *Hatt-i Humayun* of 1856 further contributed to the favorable milieu for the expansion of education and cultural activity of Ottoman subjects. Theaters, known as neighborhood theaters (*taghayin tatron*) were founded in Pera, Khaskoy (Khaskiugh), and Ortakoy (Ortakiugh), the districts of Constantinople having a large Armenian presence. Although run by Armenians and largely with performances in Armenian, these theaters were attended by Turks as well. In the words of Arshag Chobanian (Arshak Chopanian, 1872-1954), a prominent literati of the time, "although the Turks did not understand much from the plays, they still applauded like the rest of the audience seeing the enthusiasm of the Armenians and themselves excited to see this new form of performance."[8]

In 1861, the Arevelian Tatron (Eastern Theater) was established and came to be cherished by the contemporary progressive thinkers as the most evident manifestation of national progress and awakening.[9] In addition, in 1869 the Ottoman government granted a ten-year monopoly to the Osmanli Tiyatrosu (Ottoman Theater), founded by a prominent theater figure of Armenian origin, Hakob (Hagop) Vardovian (1840-1898).

All these theatrical activities sought to contribute to what was perceived as "national progress" and "national awakening." Dramatic performances were frequently organized as fundraisers for relief of the poor and for educational associations. Performances were intentionally held in the vernacular language (*ashkharhabar*) to promote it against the established elitist Classical Armenian (*grabar*). The most prominent political and intellectual figures of the time used theatrical performances as mediators between themselves and the public.[10] Theater turned into the tool through which "high culture" was to be brought to the people and to help in expanding the public sphere. Given these possibilities, national significance was attached to theater, and actors became heroes who promoted the national culture.

65-88.

[8] Arshak Chopanian, *Mkrtich Peshiktashliani kiankn u gortse* [The Life and Work of Mkrtich Peshiktashlian] (Paris: Toghramchian, 1907), p. 92.

[9] See, for example, the article of Mikayel Nalbandyan (1829-1866) on his impresssion of the Eastern Theater: "Long live the youth. The chronologer of Armenian progress must write in gold letters the names of founders of the theater for future generation to see." Mikayel Nalbandyan, *Erkeri liakatar zhoghovatsu* [Complete Collection of Works], vol. 2 (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1979), p. 308.

Increasingly, Turks made their way into the Armenian theaters. Prominent Ottoman statesmen such as Namik Kemal, Ali Suavi, and Ziya Pasha attended the rehearsals of Vardovian's theater and greatly influenced its repertoire.[11] The first Turkish-language performances were held in Armenian theaters and pursued the same goal of providing a public space for the discussion of the emerging new national (this time Turkish) identity.

The coincidence of an end of the ten-year monopoly of the Ottoman Theater with the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, the increasing engagement of Turks with theater, and the Armenian disappointment with the outcome of Congress of Berlin in 1878 regarding effective reforms, all created unfavorable grounds for further progress and patronage of Armenian theater. Many Armenian actors and prominent figures of theater ended up in Turkish companies, while others looked toward the Russian Empire as a more promising place for their profession.

Theatrical activity, albeit more dynamic in Constantinople, was not limited to the capital city. Parallel with the establishment of the Eastern Theater in Constantinople in 1861, the Vaspurakan Society in Smyrna founded an Armenian-language theater. By the 1870s, theater was a popular form of entertainment in the provinces as well. As a contemporary source formulates it, "in 1870 theater was taken from Constantinople to the provinces along with *alafranka*[12] . . . shirts and necktie."[13] In the 1860s and

[10] Hrachia, "Im hishoghutiunners," *Anahit* 1-2 (April-May 1909): 25-26.

[11] Azniv Hrachia has noted: "The influence and enjoyment of the Turkish committee was gradually increasing on the premises [of the theater]. These men were present at every rehearsal, and the rehearsals were no longer held as regularly as before." See Hrachia, "Im hishoghutiunners," *Anahit*, 1-2: 22-23. According to Hakob Siruni, although Hakob Vardovian remained in charge of artistic and administrative management of the theater, by 1870 Turkish intellectuals had become the decision-makers on repertoire issues. See Hakob Siruni, *Polise ev ir dere* [Constantinople and Its Role], vol. 3 (Antelias: Catholicosate of Cilicia, 1988), p. 235.

[12] The phrase "alafranka" was used by contemporaries to distinguish various aspects of local cultural features and everyday life from their Western prototypes.

[13] Smbat Kesejian, "Husher Arevmtahay tatroni patmutiunits" [Memoirs of

1870s, the theaters in Constantinople had to compete with their European counterparts to attract Armenian audiences. As a result of this competition, the repertoires of Armenian theaters in Constantinople increasingly became European. Theater in the provinces did not have to face the same issue. As a result, this new form of imported entertainment was adapted and remained limited to the local cultural perceptions and public opinion. Theater in these cities, therefore, should be understood as a dramatic performance of any kind that was organized according to local needs and means that aimed at entertaining and educating the broadly-defined public.

Early Theatrical Attempts in Adabazar, Bardizag, and Rodosto

Chronologically and by type, the active years of theater in Adabazar, Bardizag, and Rodosto (Tekirdagh, on the European side of the Straits) can be divided into two periods, namely, the post-1876 Ottoman Constitution period and post-1908 Young Turk revolution period. In the pre-1908 period, no playhouses existed outside of Constantinople; school auditoriums were used for the purpose. In Adabazar, it was a common occurrence to turn kindergarten and school graduation ceremonies into public events with gymnastic performances, music, choir, one-man shows, and educational speeches. Often the performers were school teachers and inspectors.[14] These performances, frequently attended by local Turkish officials and authorities, were widely reported on by the Armenian periodical press in Constantinople.[15] Apart from these ceremonies, Sunday gatherings known as *tangaran* were held in Adabazar. Tangarans were popular both among men and women. Songs of a religious nature were performed at these gatherings. During the intense years of censorship in the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, local national authorities considered it wiser to shut down the tangarans. Following the closure, women formed Aghotaser Kanants Khumber (Women's Prayer Groups)

History of Western Armenian Theater], pt. 1. Smbat Kesejian Fund, Eghishe Charents Museum of Literature and Art, Erevan, Armenia, p. 159.

[14] Artashes Piperian [Biberian] and Vardan Eghisheyan, *Patmagirk Adapazar "Astvatsareal" kaghakin* [History of the "God-Created" City of Adabazar] (Paris: Ter Hakobian, 1960).

[15] Ibid., pp. 223-29.

and organized gatherings in private homes with the same program as the tangarans.[16] In 1887, they also created the *Isaran* (auditorium) during which religious songs were performed and women were taught basic literacy skills. The organizers of the tangarans and Isarans were the most publicly active women of the time who were also involved in charity through fundraising for various causes.[17] More than forty cultural societies, both female and male, functioned in Adabazar during this period. Among them were organizations, especially after 1908, which in one way or another regarded theater as an important medium for educating the public.[18]

In Bardizag, the local Sunday School was used as the venue for the first theatrical efforts. Women of all ages, and occasionally men as well, would gather in the school after the Sunday services, where national and religious songs were performed by the students.[19] The chronologer of the history of Bardizag, describing family life, states that oftentimes gatherings in someone's family would turn into a "serious event," during which a novel, a fairytale, or real life story was performed.[20] The Sunday School also organized outdoor public events during which the schoolchildren performed national songs and recited poems for their family members. This was the initiative of Abraham Tagvorian, a prominent local leader in the field of education administration. According to Grigor Mkhalian, the students participated in these events "not out of love for performance but rather out of fear of punishment."[21] In addition to these Sunday events, special gatherings were organized for women in Bardizag, during which they would come together to sing religious and

[16] Ibid., pp. 254-55.

[17] Ibid., pp. 338-39.

[18] Among these organizations were Entertsaser Kanants Enkerutiun (Ladies Literary Society) founded in 1909, which organized daytime theater performances in the Sandukht kindergarten; Taterakan Miutiun (Theatrical Union) established in 1915 which owned a playhouse and organized performances with local talent and also hosted visiting theatrical troupes; Taterasirats Miutiun (Theater-Lovers Union) formed in 1915, which owned a portable stage in the Nersisian School. See Piperian and Eghisheyan, *Patmagirk*, pp. 238-49.

[19] Grigor H. Mkhalian, *Partizakn u partizaktsin* [Bardizag and the Bardizag Native] (Cairo: Sahak-Mesrob, 1938), p. 365.

[20] Ibid., p. 753.

[21] Ibid., p. 366.

national songs and stage passages from the Bible.[22]

Public performances gained a new meaning in Bardizag in the 1880s with the arrival of the Very Reverend Eghishe Turian (Durian, 1860-1930) as a preacher and supervisor of the local national schools. He put more theatrical content into the gatherings. Religious holidays were marked by dramatic productions, and poetic recitations were replaced by performances of episodes from Armenian history and the Bible.[23] Soon added to these were plays by local writers about everyday life. These plays were performed in the local vernacular and in costumes that represented local common fashions.[24] Turian also founded the Nerses Varzhapetian School for boys and the Shushanian School for girls. In an effort to contribute to the "intellectual development" of the locals, he organized the Sunday Isarans on the school premises with the help of his students. His students gave talks on historical topics, news about the "machine age," and moral themes. He forbade the students to read from a text and had them perform without prompts or paper. Gradually, pieces from the Bible and Italian plays also of a religious character were added to the repertoire.[25]

In Rodosto during the 1860s and 1870s, similar to Adabazar, Sunday reading halls known as tangaran became a common public space. Normally located on the premises of the church or in neighborhood cafes, these gatherings targeted the illiterate elderly for whom newspapers or books were read.[26] In the 1890s, the local artisans in Rodosto became more involved in educational endeavors. Several societies were formed, among them also women's groups, with the aim of supporting educational endeavors.[27] The Arants Miutiunner (Men's Unions) founded in the 1880s, sponsored lotteries, the profits of which were used to purchase musical instruments from Constantinople. The first fanfare orchestra, a musical ensemble consisting of brass and percussion instruments and used for ceremonial and social events, was organized with forty performers in the city and survived until

[22] Ibid., p. 438.
[23] Ibid., pp. 438-39.
[24] Ibid., p. 442.
[25] Ibid., pp. 436-38.
[26] Sargis G. Pachajian, *Hushamatian Rodostoyi Hayerun, 1606-1922* [Memorial Volume of the Rodosto Armenians] (Beirut: Tonikian Press, 1971), p. 212.
[27] Ibid., pp. 220-24.

1922.[28] In 1889, another orchestra was organized in Rodosto's Surb Khach (Holy Cross) quarter, and a conductor was invited from Constantinople to lead it. This orchestra flourished until the Armenian massacres in the Ottoman Empire in 1895-96.[29]

Thanks to its convenient location, Rodosto was fortunate to be frequented by professional theatrical companies of Constantinople as early as the 1870s.[30] This early contact with the professional theater had its impact on Rodosto. Already in 1869, the first performances were staged on the premises of Surb Hovhan (Saint John) Church.[31] Inspired by this, a young educated resident of Rodosto, Garabed Tertzagian (Karapet Derdzakian) organized the second performance in 1870. Tertzagian invited Karekin (Garegin) Rshtuni from the nearby village of Chorlu to collaborate. Together, they founded an amateur theatrical group.[32] In 1878, a young and wealthy activist of the city, Mgrdich (Mkrtich) Bekarian, turned one of the mansions of his family into a theater for an audience of 500. Both groups lasted only two years, however.[33]

The theater in the aforementioned cities was largely the result of local efforts, and at times initiated by a single individual. Parallel with the mushrooming of various societies in Constantinople for public improvements, similar voluntary associations also emerged in the provinces. These societies, and occasionally politically or financially powerful individuals, provided the organizational basis for the theater. The case of Bursa was somewhat of an exception.

The Theater in Bursa

Bursa (Brusa) presents somewhat of an unusual case in the history of theater in Asia Minor and needs to be treated separately. The foundation, character, and fate of the theater in Bursa resembled more the theaters in Constantinople. As noted, in the 1870s, the Armenian theaters in Constantinople attracted the

[28] Ibid., p. 223.
[29] Ibid.
[30] *Arevelk*, № 6702 (Feb. 4, 1908) and № 6703 (Feb. 5, 1908).
[31] *Arevelk*, № 6702. Unfortunately, the source does not provide information on the plays performed.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.

attention of Turkish statesmen who started using them as a tool for establishing an abstract notion of a civil society. Turkish reformers were increasingly imposing their cultural and nationalist tastes on the Armenian directors and actors. When in 1879, Tovmas Fasulajian (1843-1901), a well-known director and performer of the time, arrived in Bursa to establish a playhouse, his theater faced the same situation. Prominent Turkish statesman Ahmed Vefik Pasha (1827-1891) was assigned to Bursa at the time as a state official. According to Smbat Davtian, a contemporary chronologer of the history of theater, thanks to Vefik Pasha, "Fasulajian had at his disposal everything that a theater director could dream of having."[34] Ahmed Vefik, who along with other Turkish intellectuals had been involved in Hakob Vardovian's theater, provided a building free of charge to Fasulajian to be used as a theater. The director's only financial responsibility to his patron was holding two performances a year for the benefit of the city treasury.[35]

Despite the fact that the actors were all Armenian, Tovmas Fasulajian's theater soon turned into a Turkish-language theater. Vefik Pasha personally funded Fasulajian's theater to keep the repertoire Turkish. Vefik himself translated Molière's plays, and being discontent with the Armenian accents, spent time on teaching the actors correct Turkish pronunciation similar to what Namik Kemal was doing in Constantinople. Ahmed Vefik used his authority literally to force people to buy tickets in order to have full theater halls.[36] According to Davtian, "this theater season was a real artistic period for Bursa. On every single corner, among every single circle, theater was the subject of discussion."[37]

The theater prospered in the ensuing years, and in 1881 Fasulajian traveled to Constantinople to recruit new Armenian actors for his theater in Bursa. The group remained predominantly Armenian with a few Turkish actors among them. Davtian states that the years of Ahmed Vefik Pasha's presence in Bursa were the "fortunate years" for Fasulajian as a theater director because

[34] Smbat Davtian, "Patmutiun hay tatroni" [History of the Armenian Theater], vol. 1, Smbat Davtian Fund 1, folder 17, Eghishe Charents Museum of Literature and Art, Erevan, Armenia.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Kesejian, "Husher Arevmtahay tatroni patmutiunits," p. 167.

[37] Davtian, "Patmutiun hay tatroni," Fund 1/17.

it was unusual for theaters in those days to be financially secure. The theater lasted until 1882 when Vefik Pasha was called back to Constantinople, after which Fasulajian and his actors returned to the capital city as well.[38]

Theater in the Post-1908 Period

The excitement and celebrations of the 1908 Young Turk revolution among the Armenians of Constantinople spread to the provinces as well. The general mood of "liberation" and progress had its impact on the theater and the new trends in its evolvement. The pre-1908 limited theatrical endeavors grew into dynamic initiatives. Several factors were important in this development: the renewed sense of progress, the promise of liberty, and the increased contact between theater supporters and actors of Constantinople and the provinces.

The general mood of change and progress was apparent in the cities following the Young Turk revolution. Mkhalian asserts that in Bardizag "every person became a revolutionary, more or less,"[39] while Artashes Piperian and Vardan Eghisheyan conclude that the revolution "brought about progressive trends of thought among the people of Adabazar."[40] The changes were reflected in the way the residents of Adabazar looked: "People wearing the *shalvar*[41] . . . were replaced by those wearing European trousers, jackets, neckties and even hats. These people were no longer the target for disapproving, mocking, and hostile expressions."[42]

Societies for the public good had a second wave of development in these years.[43] Some made public entertainment and gatherings an important part of their mission. In Bardizag, for example, the Society for the Public Garden (Hanrayin Partezi Enkeraktsutiun) helped create an attractive space where all members of the family could spend time together. A small café

[38] Ibid.

[39] Mkhalian, *Partizak*, p. 577.

[40] Piperian and Eghisheyan, *Patmagirk*, p. 86.

[41] "Shalvar" is a loose fitting trouser worn in the region by men as well as by women.

[42] Piperian and Eghisheyan, *Patmagirk*, p. 86.

[43] Sargis G. Pachajian, *Hushamatian*, pp. 220-25; Piperian and Eghisheyan, *Patmagirk*, pp. 245-50; Mkhalian, *Partizak*, pp. 581-98.

serving refreshments was opened in the park: "It was here that during the short years of liberty that the houses of Bardizag would empty out their inhabitants in the evenings and at nights for a few pleasant hours . . . in a company largely cleansed of rudeness and crudeness of village norms."[44] The Entertsavartneru Miutiun (Alumni Association) was founded around the same time, among its projects being renovation of the auditorium constructed by Reverend Eghishe Turian. The association was able to raise enough money to remodel and furnish the auditorium as a modern theater venue, which could hold up to a thousand persons.[45]

While Rodosto had been more fortunate with frequent tours of theatrical companies and actors from Constantinople, professional theater made its first entry into Bardizag and Adabazar only after the 1908 revolution. In both cases, the Abelian-Armenian Theatrical Company, a Russian Armenian troupe, had a significant impact on the theater of Bardizag and Adabazar.[46] In 1908, the Abelian-Armenian troupe visited Bardizag where it gave performances in the theater established by the Literary Union. Mkhalian states that prior to the revolution all efforts to organize theater and hold performances were "attempts of beginners." It was only with the visit of the Abelian-Armenian company that "the residents [of Adabazar] saw theater at its height" including plays by William Shakespeare.[47] The group remained in Bardizag for about three months. Reportedly, the large auditorium was full of people of all classes and ranks. The theater worked with insignificant income because the spectators could not afford tickets at higher prices. The noted musicologist Komitas (Gomidas) also visited Bardizag, where he delivered

[44] Mkhalian, *Partizak*, pp. 596-97.

[45] Ibid., pp. 442-44.

[46] The Abelian-Armenian theater was founded in Tiflis in 1908 by Hovhaness Abelian (1865-1936) and Armen Armenian (1858-1940). The company was established with the aim of performing in the Ottoman Empire. In 1908, it toured in much of Asia Minor, including Bursa and Adabazar, giving forty performances. In 1909, it joined Hovhannes Zarifian's theater group in Constantinople. The Abelian-Armenian-Zarifian group split into three subgroups: one toured in Smyrna; the second, in parts of Anatolia with large Armenian populations; and the third, in Adabazar, Bardizag, Rodosto, Izmid, and Eski-Shehir. For details on the company, see Sargis Meliksetyan, *Hovhannes Abelyan* (Erevan: Haypethrat, 1954).

[47] Mkhalian, *Partizak*, p. 444.

lectures on the expressions and sentiments that were invested in vocal compositions. His visit was followed by the arrival of his students who worked with the local supporters to develop and disseminate Armenian music.[48]

In 1913, the Abelian-Armenian Theater Company also visited Adabazar. Hovhannes Abelian delivered a speech during which he emphsized the importance of having a public auditorium (zhoghovrdayin srah). His appeal inspired the local young men to form a Committee on Construction of a Public Auditorium (Zhoghovasrahi Shinutian Handznakhumb). The building committee included members from the local branch of the pan-national United Armenian Society (Miatsial Enkerutiun Hayots), which having undergone restructuring in 1908, established a branch in Adabazar. The fundraising was organized through concerts by a touring musical group comprised of best musicians and singers of Adabazar. The committee also added a fanfare orchestra to boost the fundraising efforts. The campaign was successful enough to purchase land, half of which was used to create the public park, while the other part was set aside for a future theater.[49] Already in 1914, the *Zhamanak* (Times) newspaper of Constantinople reported that "the national park plays an important role in the city. . . . Fanfare brings a special excitement in the park. Recently, the committee also organized an orchestra composed of a violin, mandolin, and some other instruments. The orchestra starts to perform at midnight."[50]

The Impact of Constantinople

The capital city played an important role in the development of theater in the provinces in two important ways, namely, by the example it set and its contribution to the local theaters through consultations and tours. The actors and theatrical groups of Constantinople toured in the provinces whenever they faced material and political restrictions on the stages of the capital city. Geographically convenient location also served as a stimulus for the troupes to frequent certain cities more than others, as in the case of Rodosto where theatrical companies frequently stopped en

[48] Ibid., pp. 600-03.

[49] Piperian and Eghisheyan, *Patmagirk*, pp. 262-64.

[50] *Zhamanak*, July 14, 1914.

route to Bulgaria and Romania.[51]

There were two main periods when the provinces held special attraction for the Constantinople artists. In the first instance, in 1879 Vardovian's theater's ten-year monopoly expired. According to Smbat Kesejian, "all actors in Constantinople became unemployed, faced hard financial times, and were in need of food."[52] During that period, the actors and by then idle theatrical groups began to tour the provinces to sustain themselves. It was at this time that Tovmas Fasulajian, like other actors of Constantinople, "unemployed and crushed in debt," moved to Bursa to establish a theater there.[53]

The second period came after 1908 when the Turkish language theater with Muslim actors started to flourish in Constantinople, creating strong competition for the Armenian troupes. Kesejian recalled :

> Every night there were performances in all neighborhoods of Constantinople by Turkish amateur groups. As if those groups were not enough, steamships would bring groups of actors from Izmir, Bursa, and Rodosto to perform in Constantinople. All these groups made fortunes using the name of *Ittihad* [in reference to the Young Turks], while the Armenian actors were left hungry, and thirsty and had to perform in provinces not to starve to death.[54]

Apart from the cultural exchange through tours, all four provincial cities frequently turned to Constantinople for professional advice and occasionally also for a workforce. A reporter from Adabazar in an article on the public park in his native city, wrote that "similar to public parks of Constantinople, the park [of Adabazar] will also have a cinema and some other novelties."[55] This reference to Constantinople was not accidental. Truly, Constantinople served as model for local theaters. Fasulajian arrived in Bursa from the Ottoman capital with a group of unemployed

[51] For a guide of performances held by Armenian theater groups and actors in various parts of the Ottoman lands, see Babken Harutiunyan, *XIX-XX dareri hay tatroni taregrutiun* [Chronology of Armenian Theater, 19th-20th Centuries], vol. 1 (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1980).

[52] Kesejian, "Husher Arevmtahay tatroni patmutiunits," p. 167.

[53] Ibid., p. 339.

[54] Ibid.

[55] *Zhamanak*, July 14, 1914.

actors. When his theater grew thanks to the support of Vefik Pasha, Fasulajian even went back to Constantinople to recruit more actors.[56] In 1870, Karekin Rshtuni and Garabed Tertzagian of Rodosto invited an artist from Constantinople to design the stage and the curtains of their theater. They also brought actors from the capital city to appear in local performances.[57] As a result of the cooperation between the school administration of Adabazar and the director of the *Aravot* (Morning) newspaper of Constantinople, Misak Surenian, Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* was staged in Adabazar by the students.[58] The fanfare orchestra of Adabazar was also launched as a result of consultations with professional musicians in Constantinople on acquiring the proper new instruments.[59]

An Assessment

The cultural contact with Constantinople, although having a significant impact, did not change the general character and perception of theater in the provinces. The concept of theater remained limited to what was permissible under the local conditions in terms of financial resources and local moral codes and norms. Theater, especially in the modern sense of the meaning, was by and large not accepted by much of the general public. In its earlier years, theater was often met with strong ideological resistance, and efforts were made to regulate and censor stage production. For this reason, in 1870s and 1880s, the performances remained limited primarily to religious and national themes: "People were still not accustomed to digest or appreciate plays with social-philosophical implications. People's tolerance was confined to funny and entertaining pieces. The more the buffoonery, the more people's joy and 'appreciation'."[60]

While with rare exception the local repertoires remained confined to religious plays and plays based on local themes, this was in sharp contrast with Constantinople where Armenian theatrical troupes were quick to adopt European repertoires to meet

[56] Kesejian, "Husher Arevmtahay tatroni patmutiunits," p. 167; Davtian, "Patmutiun hay tatroni," Fund 1, folder 17.

[57] *Arevelk*, № 6702 (Feb. 4, 1908).

[58] Piperian and Eghisheyan, *Patmagirk*, p. 499.

[59] Ibid., pp. 262-64.

[60] Ibid., pp. 493-94.

the competition of touring or permanently-established European companies.[61] Rodosto and Bursa were exceptions in this case, the former, thanks to the frequent visits of the Constantinople Armenian theater, and the latter, thanks to Vefik Pasha's influence and investment that turned theater into a truly elite entertainment place in Bursa.

Armenian women were part of all professional theater groups in Constantinople in the 1860s. In the provincial cities, however, local women did not act, and female roles were played by men: "If there was a need for a female role that role was to be taken by . . . a man, or else a woman who was not local; otherwise men would seduce (the local woman)."[62] With the exception of Bursa, the audiences in these cities saw actresses on the stages of their theaters thanks to the theatrical groups of Constantinople and Tiflis that toured in their cities. Rodosto was more fortunate in this respect. There in 1870, Garabed Tertzagian married actress Nectar, whom he had recruited from Constantinople, and in two successive seasons Nectar performed female roles.[63]

Financial difficulties hampered the elevation of theater in Asia Minor to the professional level attained by theaters in Constantinople. Eghishe Turian's students initially performed in their regular school uniforms. Reverend Turian later used his personal funds to purchase theatrical costumes. In Bursa, because of the generous funding of Ahmed Vefik and a masterful actor like Tovmas Fasulajian, the local theater reached the professionalism of Constantinople. Yet even so, it had a short life that ended with the suspension of Vefik Pasha's term of service in Bursa. Because of financial limitations, fanfare orchestras in Adabazar, Bardizag, and Rodosto remained the most popular form of public entertainment, whereas local professional theaters never took hold.

The fanfare orchestra, on the other hand, seemed to be a long-term investment. Once established, the fanfare orchestra became self-sufficient and was even able to contribute to various

[61] Siruni, deploring this trend among Armenian theatrical companies, writes that plays picturing the local everyday life of Constantinople were never performed: "Constantinople never saw itself on the stage." Siruni, *Polise ev ir dere*, p. 397.

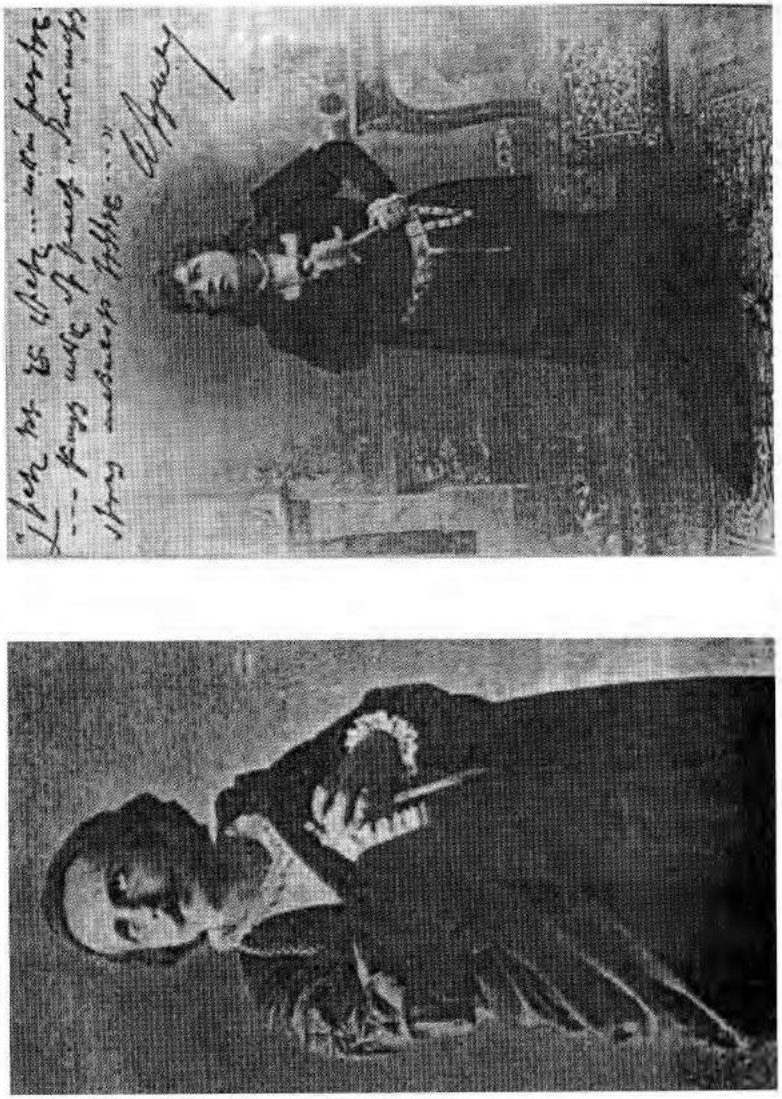
[62] Piperian and Eghisheyan, *Patmagirk*, p. 494 (ellipsis in the quotation in the original text).

[63] *Arevelk*, № 6702 (Feb. 4, 1908).

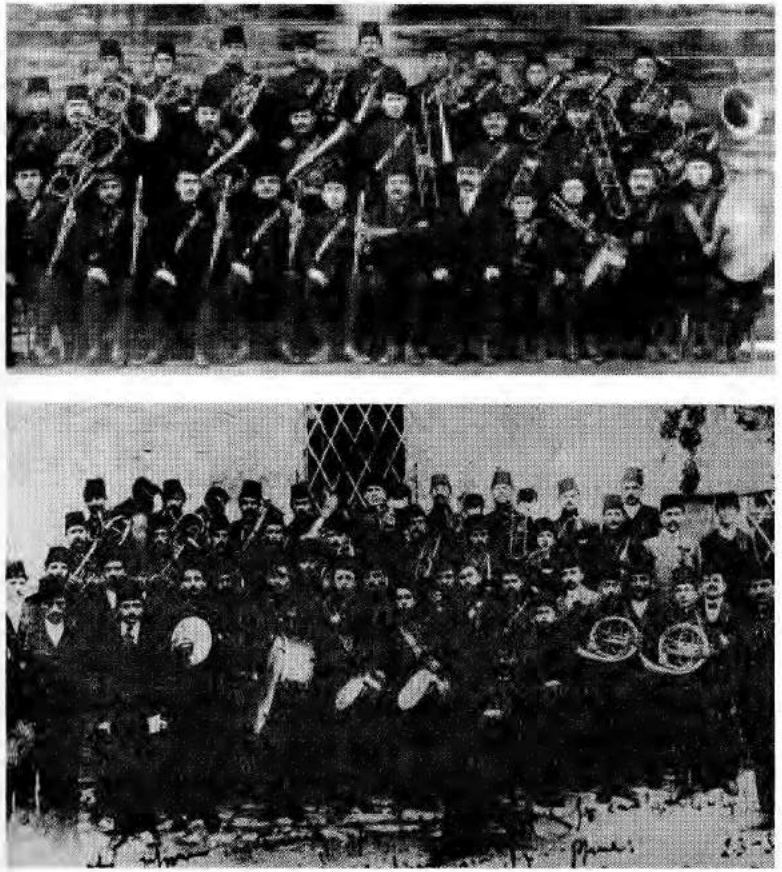
charitable causes. The longest enduring of these orchestras was that of Rodosto, which even performed in Constantinople in 1908 in a festive celebration of the widely-hailed Young Turk revolution.[64]

The ideological resistance and financial limitations in the provinces hindered the goal of promoters of the theater to bring "high culture" to the people in an expanded public sphere. Also the way theater patrons envisioned theater and its role at times remained circumscribed by prevailing local moral norms and popular culture. With all the limitations, these public performances were nonetheless important events insofar as they provided some public space in which cultural shifts and significant broadening of the "public mind" occurred. These endeavors were part of the larger pan-Armenian movement to create a "national culture."

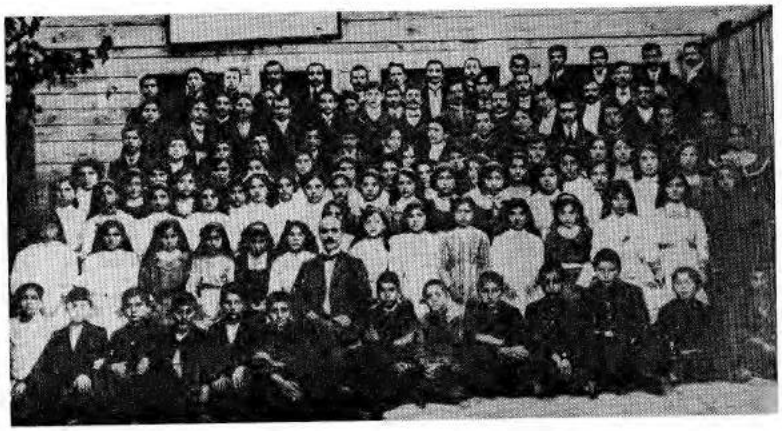
[64] Pachajian, *Hushamatian*, p. 223.

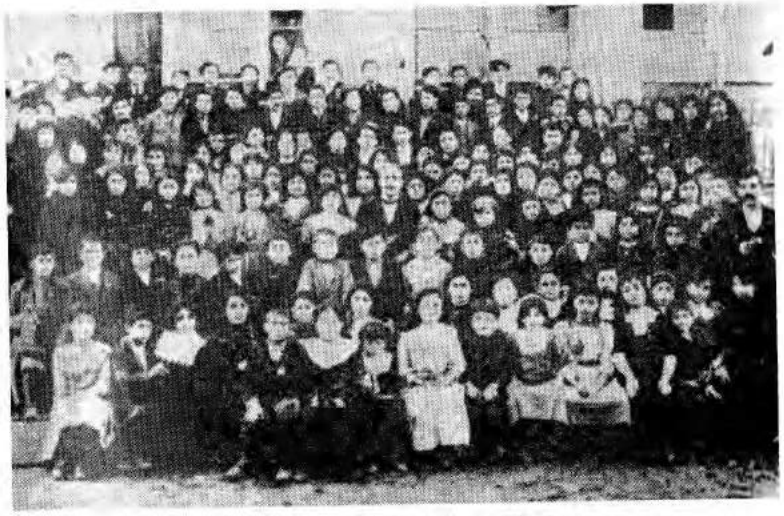


Petros Adamian (Bedros Atamian) and Siranush in Hamlet, 1888



Adabazar: Fanfare Bands

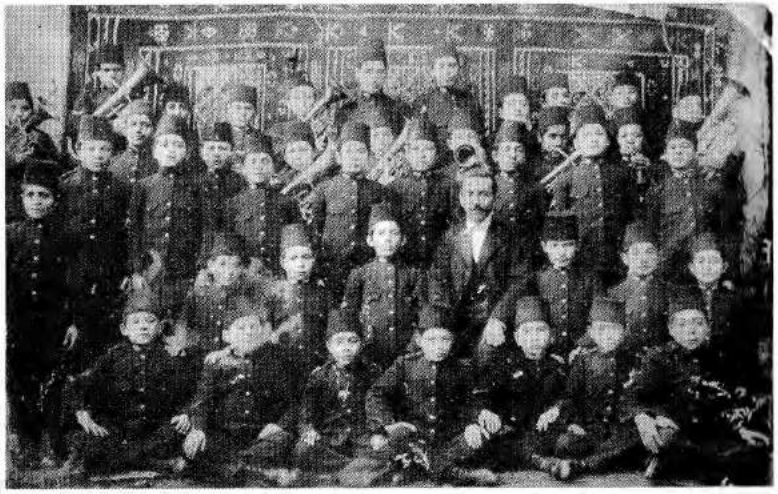




Adabazar and Bardizag Choirs

Bursa: Capuchin School Band

Brusa: String Orchestra



Kutahia: Youth Union's Orchestra and Fanfare Band

❀ 9 ❀

ARMENIAN COMMUNITIES IN WESTERN ASIA MINOR, WITH THE POST CARD COLLECTION OF O.C. CALUMENO

Osman Köker with Richard G. Hovannisian

In the western part of Asia Minor, there were important Armenian communities in the *vilayet*s (provinces) of Hüdavendigar or Khudavendigar (Bursa, Balikesir, Bilejik, Kutahia, Eski-Shehir, Afion-Karahisar); of Konia (Konia, Antalia, Nighde); of Kastamonu (Kastamonu, Bolu, Zonguldak, Chankiri); and in the *sanjak* (county) of Izmid/Ismid (Izmid, Adabazar, Bardizag, Armash). According to the Ottoman census of 1914, nearly 150,000 Armenians lived in this area of western Asia Minor. Maghakia Ormanian, the Armenian Patriarch from 1896 to 1908, gives the figure of 192,000, while subsequent statistics released by the Patriarchate on the eve of World War I show 214,866 Armenians, with 133 parishes, 135 churches, 2 monasteries, and 147 schools.

The following brief descriptions of the Armenian communities of the vilayets of Hüdavendigar, Konia, and Kastamonu and the sanjak of Izmid are intended to serve as a preliminary inventory of the numerous villages, towns, and cities in which Armenians lived in western Asia Minor. These communities, distant from the native Armenian highlands far to the east, are frequently overlooked, yet they had a vibrant economic, religious, and cultural life. The listing of these places with their churches and schools creates a valuable record of those now-vanished communities. The editor of this volume realizes that there may be a certain repetitiveness in the listing of names of churches and schools (more than half of the churches were named Surp Asdvadzadzin/Holy Mother of God), yet the sheer number of churches and

schools points to the progress and widespread presence of the Armenian element in all parts of the Ottoman Empire and the extent of the losses sustained even in areas that had a relatively small Armenian population.[1] The accompanying post cards from the collection of Orlando Carlo Calumeno are an important asset in helping to create a vivid image of the erstwhile Armenian communities of western Asia Minor.

The Vilayet of Hüdavendigar

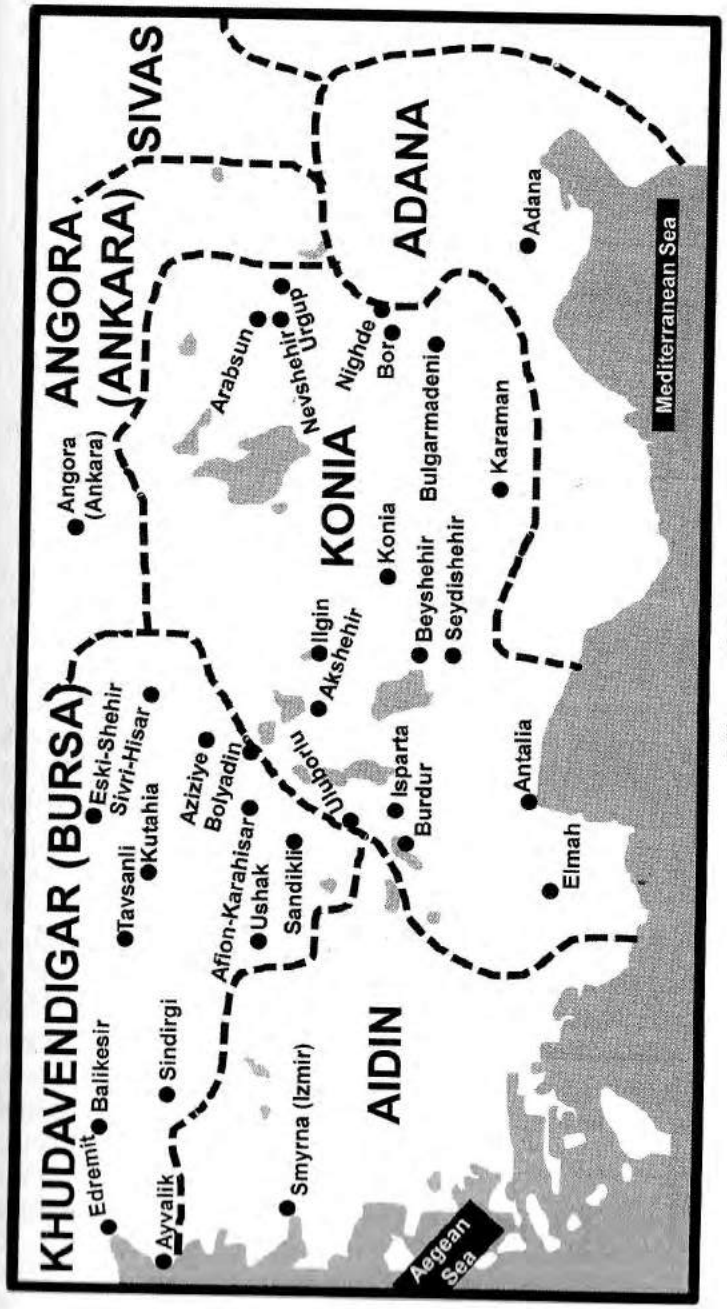
Sanjak of Bursa

More than 10,000 Armenians lived in the city of Bursa (Brusa), concentrated in the quarters of Setbashi, Kurtoghlu, and Emir-sultan. Their ecclesiastical center was in the Setbashi quarter, where the Church of Surp Asdvadzadzin (Surb Astvatsatsin) was located, along with the Kevorkian (Gevorgian) School for Boys, the Hripsimian School for Girls, the coeducational Kalantarian School, and a nursery school. There were about 700 Armenian Catholics in Bursa, who maintained their own prelacy and schools. American missionaries were also active in the city, where there was a Protestant school for Armenian congregants. The Shark Yetimhanesi (Orient Orphanage) was another Protestant institution serving Armenian children.

Armenians had an important place in the principal trades of Bursa, such as sericulture and silk production, and in jewelry and carpet making. Some Armenians operated hotels and *hamams* (baths), especially in the Chekirge quarter, renowned for its thermal springs. Because of the prominence of Armenians in the socioeconomic life of the city, several pages in the newspaper *Khudavendigar* were written in Armeno-Turkish, that is, Turkish language in the Armenian script.

In Gemlik, although the Greeks constituted the majority of the population, there was a sufficient Armenian population to keep up the Surp Toros Partoghomeos (Theodore Bartholomew)

[1] The editor has changed some of the names in modern Turkish to the form that was more familiar during the first part of the twentieth century: for example, *sanjak* rather than *sancak*; *Chukur* rather than *Çukur*; *Setbashi* rather than *Setbaşi*. By and large, the Armenian proper names based on Western Armenian pronunciation have been retained, though the alternate, perhaps more widely accepted form, may follow in parentheses, as in *Surp Asdvadzadzin* (*Surb Astvatsatsin*). Variances are also found in the use of Turkish diacritical markings.



Vilayet of Konia

Church and School.[2] Within the *kaza* (district) of Gemlik was the all-Armenian settlement of Benli with a population of 7,000. The village was divided into the upper sector, Yukari Benli (now Sahinyurdu) and the lower part, Ashaghi Benli (now Ciharli). The people were occupied in agriculture and the crafts, most notably blacksmithing. The village had two churches: S. Hagop Mtspina (Hakob Mtsbina; James of Nisibis) and S. Asdvadzadzin, as well as two schools.

Near Lake Iznik (Nicaea), Armenians were most heavily concentrated in the kaza of Bazarkoy (now Orhangazi). According to the 1914 Ottoman census, 22,726 of the 34,769 inhabitants of the district were Armenian. The city of Iznik was surrounded by Armenian villages. Of these, Keramet had more than 1,000 inhabitants with S. Asdvadzadzin and the coeducational Mamigonian-Hripsimian School. People made a living from vineyards, fruit orchards, and olive groves, as well as sericulture.

To the north of the lake, Medz Norkiugh (in the Ottoman period Cedid, now Yeniköy) boasted a population of 8,000 Armenians and had the attributes of a sizable town, with S. Garabed (Karapet), the Araratian School for Boys, and the Santukhdian (Sandukhtian) School for Girls. Its inhabitants made a living from fishing, olive cultivation, and the crafts, especially as tinkers, cutlers, morocco hassack manufacturers, boot makers, weavers, and silk producers. Only a short distance away was Michakiugh (Ortaköy) with 3,000 inhabitants, S. Asdvadzadzin, the Sahagian (Sahakian) School for Boys, and the Santukhdian School for Girls.

Farther north, near the Bursa-Yalova road, was Chengiler (now Sugören), one of the most advanced villages of the district. S. Minas, the Mesrobian School for Boys, and the Hripsimian School for Girls served the more than 5,000 inhabitants. Olive cultivation was the main agricultural occupation, but trades such as blacksmithing and coppersmithing, leather manufacturing, jewelry making, and silk production were highly advanced. Hundreds of people worked in the looms, and a cooperative of local craftsmen exported raw silk to such European cities as Milan, Marseilles, Lyon, and London.

Soloz (now Yenisölöz) was an Armenian town of 10,000 on a hillside southwest of Lake Iznik. It boasted the Church of S.

[2] Hereafter Surp is abbreviated as S. and the word "Church" is often omitted.

Hreshdagabed (Hreshtakapet; Holy Archangel) and the Lusavorchian School for Boys and the Hripsimian School for Girls. The townspeople were engaged in olive production and sericulture. In the same area, Gurle had more than 1,000 Armenians, with S. Kevork, the Ghevontian (Ghevondian) School for Boys, and the Hripsimian School for Girls. A short distance to the west was Karsak, a rich Armenian village with the advantage of lying on the road from the lake basin to Bursa. Here were S. Asdvadzadzin, the Ghevontian School for Boys, and the Santukhdian School for Girls.

In Mudania, a harbor town connected to Bursa by railway, most of the inhabitants were Greek, but there were about 400 Armenians clustered around S. Sarkis (Sargis; Sergius) Church. In addition, some 1,000 Armenians lived in various other places in the kaza. In Kirmash (now Mustafakemalpaşa), there were 1,000 Armenians, who had S. Krikor Lusavorich (Grigor; Gregory the Illuminator), the Torkomian School for Boys, and the Armenuhiyan School for Girls.

Sanjak of Ertughrul

There were 20,000 Turkish-speaking Armenians in the sanjak of Ertughrul consisting of the central kaza of Bilejik as well as the kazas of Goghut, Inegol, and Yenishehir. In Bilejik city, the 4,000 Armenians were concentrated in the Yukari Mahalle (Upper Quarter), with S. Toros Church, the Haygazian School, and a Protestant school. Sericulture was the main occupation, and silk cloth was woven in Armenian-operated factories. In the north of the kaza along the railway were the Armenian-inhabited towns of Vezirkhan, Lefke (now Osmaneli), and Mekeje.

In Norkiugh (now Gölpazari), there were approximately 500 Armenians, with S. Krikor Lusavorich and the Sahagian School. In Goldagh, where some 2,000 Armenians resided, were S. Toros and the Lusavorchian School, while in Turkmen or Terkmal, despite its name, all the 2,500 inhabitants were Armenian, with S. Asdvadzadzin and the Torkomian School.

In the kaza of Soghut, Armenians were concentrated in the central kaza and four villages. Of these the largest was Muradchai, with 2,500 inhabitants, with S. Asdvadzadzin and the Aramian School. Turks, Armenians, and Greeks lived in Yenibazar (formerly Kirka), where there was an Armenian church and the Khorenian School. The two other villages were Chalgara with

S. Asdvadzadzin and the Nersesian School and Asarlik with S. Hovhannes Vosgeperan (Voskeberan; John, the Golden Tongue) and the Vahanian School.

In the kaza of Inegol, Armenians were concentrated in the district center and two villages: Yenije with 2,000 inhabitants, S. Hagop (Hakob; James) Church and the S. Partoghomeos School; and Jerrah with 2,500 inhabitants, S. Hreshdagabed, and a school of the same name.

The Yenishehir kaza south of Lake Iznik had some 2,000 Armenians in the town of Yenishehir with S. Hagop and the coeducational Hagopian School. The largest Armenian settlement in the kaza was Marmarajik with 2,500 inhabitants, S. Hovhannes Vosgeperan, and the Mesrobian School. In Iznik itself there was an Armenian church, and in Yenikoy or Izniki Norkiugh, S. Krikor Lusavorich.

Sanjak of Kutahia/Kütahya

The Sanjak of Kutahia included the kazas of Kutahia, Eski-shehir, Gediz, Ushak, and Simav. In Kutahia itself (Armenian: Kudina), there were 3,000 Armenians with the churches of S. Asdvadzadzin and S. Toros and the S. Echmiadzin School for Boys and the Hayuhiats School for Girls. There were also 650 Armenian Catholics in the city. The Armenians were noted as carpet weavers and tile craftsmen. By the beginning of the twentieth century, tile making, in which the Armenian masters played an important role, had declined significantly, and there remained only a few Armenian-owned workshops.

In the subdistrict (*nahiye*) of Tavshanli, the 320 Armenians maintained S. Stepanos and the Mesrobian School. In the Viranjik nahiye, the 200 Armenians gathered around S. Khach (Holy Cross) Church.

The more than 4,000 Armenians in the kaza of Eski-Shehir were concentrated in the city quarter called Khoshnudiye Mahallesi, which was located along the Porsuk tributary. There were S. Yerrortutiun (Errordutiun; Holy Trinity), the Mesrobian School for Boys, and the Santukhdian School for Girls, as well as an Armenian club. Some of the children of the approximately 300 Armenian Catholics in Eski-Shehir attended the Saint Croix academy founded by the French Catholic Assumptionist order. Rural settlements in the district included the villages of Alinja

with S. Krikor Lusavorich and the Mesrobian School, Arslanik with S. Harutiun (Holy Resurrection), and Chiftlik.

There were about 1,000 Armenians in Ushak, living near S. Asdvadzadzin Church and the Nersesian School in the Sabah quarter (now Kemalöz). Their predecessors having immigrated from Persia in the seventeenth century, the Armenians here were advanced in the traditional occupations of wood production and carpet making. There were also a community of "Hay-Horoms," Armenian speakers who adhered to the Greek Orthodox Church (Chalcedonian) and an Armenian Catholic church and school.

Sanjak of Karahisar-i Sahip

The sanjak, also known as Karahisar-i Garbi, included the kazas of Afion-Karahisar, Bolyadin, Sandikli, and Aziziye (now Emirdağ). More than 6,000 Armenians were settled in the Afion-Karahisar kaza, where there were the churches of S. Asdvadzadzin and S. Toros, the Sahagian School, four private elementary schools, and a nursery school. The Armenians were involved in cultivating and marketing poppies as well as in saddlery and marble cutting. There were also small communities in Musluja and Sandikli.

Sanjak of Karesi

The Sanjak of Karesi encompassed the kazas of Balikesir, Ayvalik, Kemer-i Edrmit (Burhaniye), Gonen, Sindirgi, Banderma (Bandirma/Pandirma), Balya, and Erdek. Armenians were concentrated in the vicinities of Balikesir and Banderma. More than 3,000 Armenians lived in Balikesir's Ali Fakiye quarter, where the prelacy offices, the S. Asdvadzadzin Church, and the coeducational Hayguhian School were located. In Banderma, the 3,500 Armenians attended the churches of S. Asdvadzadzin and S. Minas and maintained the coeducational Lusavorchian School. There were also more than 100 Armenian Catholics and about 50 Protestants. Sericulture and the silk trade, textiles, and embroidery were their main occupations.

Ermenikoy (now Tatlisu), located on the Kapidagh peninsula just across from Banderma, was the largest Armenian village in the district with more than 1,000 inhabitants, S. Sarkis Church built by Garabed Amira Balian, the sultan's chief architect, and the coeducational Mesrobian School. The village was renowned for its sweet fresh waters. The granite used in the roads and

pavements of Constantinople was quarried in Ermenikoy, where the inhabitants spoke Turkish primarily and were also engaged in agriculture, sericulture, animal husbandry, and crafts.

Edinjuk or Aydinjik was a small town with more than 1,000 Armenian inhabitants, the S. Harutiun Church, and the coeducational Ghevontian School. Clusters of Armenians also were found in Gonen and Manyas. To the west of Balikesir was a small Armenian settlement near the lead-with-silver mines in Balya. At nearby Ohanlar, the limestone mining concession belonged to an Armenian named Agop Effendi. Further to the west near the Aegean Sea, Armenians could be found in Edremit, Burhaniye, and Havran, as well as in Ayvalik, where the Greeks constituted the great majority of the population. The only Armenian village in this district was Yaya, lying between Burhaniye and Ayvalik.

Sanjak of Izmid

The Kaza of Izmid/Ismid/Izmit

The total population of the kaza of Izmid (Nicomedia) was 71,349, according to the Ottoman census prior to World War I. Of this number, over a third was Armenian. Of the 12,000 inhabitants in the city of Izmid, more than 4,500 Armenians were concentrated in the quarters of Karabash and Kozluk. The Church of S. Asdvadzadzin and the diocesan headquarters were located in the Karabash quarter in the western part of the city, along with the Lusavorchian School for Boys and the Gayanian School for Girls. The Catholic and Protestant Armenians each had their own church.

Armenian tradesmen and silk and tobacco traders played an important role in the economic life of the city, which was located on the railway to Constantinople and had a busy harbor. The first journal published in the city was *Hayrenaser* (Patriot) in 1850. Several periodicals appeared in the early part of the twentieth century: *Aghavni* (Dove) in 1909; *Khtan* (Support) in 1909; and *Butania* (Bithynia) from 1910 to 1912, when the paper was moved to Adabazar.

Armash (Emişe, now Akmeşe), lying 30 kilometers/18 miles northeast of Izmid, was one of the most important Armenian religious centers. With an all-Armenian population of 1,500 persons, the city's life revolved around the Monastery of Charkhapan Surp Asdvadzadzin (Warder Off of Evil, Holy Mother of God) and the only Armenian seminary in western Asia Minor. The monastery had a large estate, a printing press, a bakery, and a water mill on Bichkirdere, a tributary of the Sakaria River. The main occupations of the inhabitants were related to agriculture and sericulture. The Armash monastery was visited by thousands of pilgrims from Constantinople and other areas. It was also a pilgrimage site for many Greek Orthodox, Catholics, and even Muslims. Aside from the monastery and seminary, the town maintained the coeducational Naregian School.

About 5 kilometers/3 miles to the east of Armash was the village of Pirahmed (Khaskal) in the nahiye of Kaymaz and the kaza of Kandira with 800 Armenians. The village was under the jurisdiction of the Armash monastery and centered around S. Hagop and a school of the same name. Its inhabitants were engaged in agriculture, herding, and crafts. Another Armenian village near Armash was Mejidiye with S. Khach and a school. Daghkoy, lying between Izmid and Armash, was home to about 400 Armenians with S. Nshan (Holy Sign) and the Sahagian School.

To the southwest of Izmid, the Armenian settlement of Arslanbeg (Aslanbeg) had a population of 3,000. A fez factory and a textile mill for military cloth operated in the town. Many of the inhabitants worked in these factories, while others were engaged in sericulture, tobacco cultivation, coal mining, and viniculture. Aside from S. Asdvadzadzin and the Mamigonian School, there was a sacred site dedicated to Surp Tovma (Thomas).

Bardizag (Bahçecik) was another town with an all-Armenian population of some 10,000 inhabitants. Lying to the south of the Gulf of Izmid and 5 kilometers/3 miles from the sea, the town maintained the churches of S. Hagop, S. Minas, and S. Takavor (Christ the King), as well as the Nersesian-Shushanian School. Here, too, Catholics and Protestants had their own schools and churches. A college (secondary school) founded by the American missionaries drew students from throughout Anatolia.

As a destination of steamships operating between Constantinople and Izmid, Bardizag had close relations with the Ottoman capital. It was advanced in sericulture, the cultivation of vegetables, grapes, and orchard fruits. Surrounded by a forest and enjoying a pleasant climate, the town became a resort for Armenian intellectuals of Constantinople. Many social and cultural ac-

tivities were organized, including regular theatrical performances. As early as 1847, the journal *Banber Partizakian* (Bardizag Messenger) was published there in vernacular Armenian. Other periodicals appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century: *Gisher* (Night), 1908-10; the humorous *Kshir* (Balance), 1908; the semiannual *Partizak* (*Bardizag*), 1909-14; the monthly *Paros* (Beacon), 1910-12; the weekly *Meghu* (Bee), 1911-14; and the fortnightly *Paykar* (Struggle), 1912-14.

Ovajik or Yuvajik, neighboring Bardizag, was another Armenian settlement which was home to the churches of S. Krikor Lusavorich and S. Yeghia (Elias) and to the Vartanian School. The periodical *Knarik* (Lyre) was published there in 1908.

Other villages where Armenians lived in the Bardizag district included Dongel with S. Sarkis and the Dajadian School; Zakar Kiugh with S. Krikor Lusavorich; Jamavayr with S. Garabed; and Manushag (now Menekşe), which had been founded by Hemshin Armenians from the distant Pontus Mountains and was home to some 900 inhabitants with S. Asdvadzadzin and the Hovhanian School.

The Kaza of Adabazar/Adapazarı

Approximately 17,000 Armenians lived in the kaza of Adabazar (Adapazarı). Nearly half of the 25,000 inhabitants of the city of Adabazar were Armenians, most of whom were concentrated in the quarters of Nemjeler, Malajilar, and Gazeller. There were four churches, each with its boys' and girls' schools: S. Garabed with the Nersesian and Santukhdian schools; S. Hreshdagabed with the Aramian and Gayanian schools; S. Krikor Lusavorich with the Rupinian and Hripsimian schools; and S. Stepanos with the Mesrobian and Nunian schools. A central intermediate school was opened in 1909 and expanded in 1912 to include courses for girls. The Protestant missionaries had their own church, elementary school, and boarding college, which was attended largely by Armenians.

On the railway between Constantinople and Anatolia, Adabazar was well developed, and as elsewhere Armenians played an important role in the city's commercial life. Sericulture in the surrounding villages had led to silk weaving and trading in the city. The making of leather goods and shoes, tile, construction materials, and jewelry, together with blacksmithing were among the crafts widely practiced by Armenians. The city boasted an active social and cultural life. Among its various societies were the

Entertsasirats (Literary), Grtasirats (Philomathic), and Azkayin Zhoghovadeghi (National Meeting Place), as well as choruses, theatrical groups, and philanthropic women's associations. *Yergir* (*Erkir*; Homeland) was first a weekly and then semiweekly in 1910-11 before being transferred to Constantinople. *Putanya* (*Butania*; Bithynia) was published from 1912 onward, while *Baykar* appeared for a time in 1913.

Another settlement in which about 1,000 Armenians were concentrated was Sapanja, located on the shore of a lake of the same name. The people maintained S. Asdvadzadzin and the Aramian School and were engaged in various crafts, sericulture, and fruit production. Northward in the direction of the Black Sea, there were villages of 400 to 900 inhabitants which had been founded by the Hemshin Armenians. These villages included Kegham with S. Hovhannes and a school; Chukur with S. Asdvadzadzin and a school; Aram or Kiziljik with S. Stepanos and the Aramian School; Findikli with S. Krikor Lusavorich and the Mesrobian School; Ferizli with S. Asdvadzadzin and the Rupinian School; Damlik with S. Stepanos and the Stepanosian School; Damlik Yenikoy with S. Garabed and the Yeghiayan School; Elmah with S. Krikor Lusavorich and the Lusavorchian School; Kavukpelit with a church and the Keghamian School; Sokkoy with S. Asdvadzadzin and the Aramian School; and Bichkikoy with a church and the Zakarian School. About fifty Gypsy Armenians called Poshas lived in Damlik Yenikoy, while Islamizied Hemshin Armenians inhabited Achmabashi.

In the kaza of Hendek, there were Hayots Kiugh (Ermeniköy) with S. Krikor Lusavorich and an elementary school, and Hoviv (now Çobanyatağı) with S. Garabed and the Vahanian School.

Kaza of Geyve

About 10,000 Armenians lived in the kaza of Geyve. Located on the railway and along the Sakaria River, the town of Geyve was often flooded, so the population moved to higher ground at Ortakoy and Sarachli. Most Armenians concentrated in Ortakoy, which had S. Asdvadzadzin, the Sahagian School for Boys, and the Hripsimian School for Girls. The Armenians of Geyve were engaged in agriculture and in sericulture and silk manufacturing, their products being exported abroad through the aegis of Armenian merchants in Constantinople.

In Eshme, just north of the city, were S. Asdvadzadzin, the

Aramian School for Boys, and the Gayanian School for Girls. There was also a large community of Chalcedonian Hay-Horoms originally from Agn. On the opposite shore of the Sakaria was Kinjilar (now Akincilar) with some 2,000 inhabitants and the Church of S. Asdvadzadzin and the Arshagunian School. Other settlements included Kurbelen with S. Asdvadzadzin, the Nersesian School for Boys, and the Hripsimian School for Girls; Ahisar (Akhisar, now Pamukova) with the churches of S. Yerrortutiun and S. Asdvadzadzin and the Nersesian School; and the small hamlets of Gokgoz and Kulfallar. Many Armenians of this district were engaged in mining. The concession of copper mines around Ortakoy was held by Drtad Dafyan Effendi, and that of the manganese mines near Kurdbelen by Hovsep Agha.

Kazas of Karamursel and Yalova

The relatively small Armenian population in Karamursel numbered a little more than 4,000. About 500 lived in Karamursel itself, on the south side of the Gulf of Izmid. Most others were concentrated in two entirely Armenian settlements: Merdigoz (now Avcilar) was a small town of 3,000 with S. Garabed and the Sahagian School, and Yalakdere was a village of 1,000 with S. Hreshdagabed and the Nersesian School.

In the kaza of Yalova, there were more than 1,500 Armenians living in the district center and small coastal villages. In Kilich, with a large estate belonging to the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the 500 inhabitants were engaged in agriculture, sericulture, and fishing and maintained S. Nshan and the Sarkisian School. The outlying settlement of Shakshak had S. Nigoghayos (Nicholas) and the Mikayelian School. In Chukur, Kurdish-speaking Armenians who had originated in the Van region attended S. Asdvadzadzin and the Vahanian School, while in Karsi or Laledere, the 1,200 inhabitants clustered around S. Asdvadzadzin and the Mesrobian-Shushanian School.

The Vilayet of Konia

Sanjak of Konia/Konya

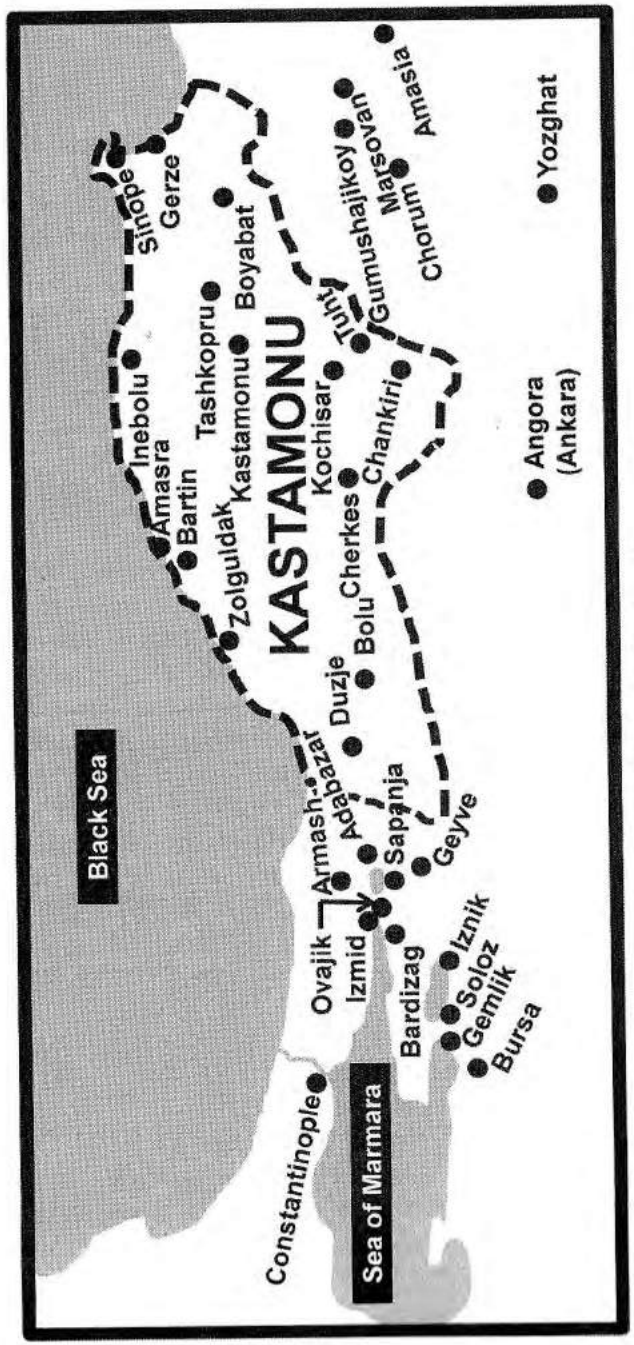
There were, according to the Ottoman census of 1914, 10,743 Armenians living in the sanjak of Konia, primarily in the kazas of Konia, Akshehir, Karaman, and Ereghli. The 4,000 Armenians of Konia, noted for their embroidery, felt making, and weaving, were concentrated in the Alaaddin quarter with the churches of S. Hagop and S. Asdvadzadzin, the Sahagian School for Boys, the Santukhdian School for Girls, and a nursery school. The city of Konia was an American missionary station, giving impetus to the Armenian Protestants, who had their own church and the Jenanian Academy. Armenian periodicals were the weekly *Hushartsan* (Monument) in 1911 and the monthly *Ikonian* (Iconium), 1912-14.

In the kaza of Akshehir, there were 4,890 Armenians according to the Ottoman census. Engaged as furriers, leather manufacturers, hardware and carpet makers, they were linked more closely with Smyrna (Izmir) than to Konia. The town had the churches of S. Boghos-Bedros (Paul-Peter) and S. Yerrortutiun and four highly-touted educational establishments, the most prominent being the Stepanosian School. To the south, the 1,245 Turkish-speaking Armenians of Karaman were occupied in the traditional trades and crafts as well as in wine and wool production. They maintained S. Asdvadzadzin and two schools. In the kaza of Ereghli, the approximately 1,000 Armenians had S. Asdvadzadzin and two schools. In addition, the Ottoman census showed 33 Armenians in Beyshehir, 129 in Seydishehir, 103 in Ilgin, and 14 in Kochisar.

Sanjak of Nighde

According to the Ottoman census of 1914, 5,705 Armenians were in the sanjak: 4,490 Apostolics (Gregorian), 769 Protestants, and 46 Catholics. The 1,265 Armenians of Nighde had S. Asdvadzadzin and the coeducational Bartevian School, which in 1901 was attended by 95 boys and 110 girls. Urgup was home to 196 Armenians; Bulgarmadeni (now Ulukishla) to 115; and Arabsun (now Gülşehri) to 12.

There were a slightly more than 800 Armenians in the kaza of Bor, with S. Asdvadzadzin and the coeducational Aramian School. Aksaray was home to 2,091 Armenians, of whom 333 were Protestants. The community centered around S. Asdvadzadzin and the Torkomian School. In Nevshehir, the 1,500 Turkish-speaking Armenians were occupied in jewelry, weaving, and mining, and maintained S. Krikor Lusavorich and the Haygazian School.



Vilayet of Kastamoni

Sanjaks of Burdur, Isparta, and Teke

Burdur was home to some 1,400 Armenians centered around S. Asdvadzadzin, while only 24 Armenians lived in the district of Tefenni. In Isparta, it was reported that there were 1,119 Armenians with S. Asdvadzadzin. A few Armenians were also found in Uluborlu and Yalyach.

There were also small communities in the sanjak of Teke, primarily in Antalia and Elmah. The approximately 200 Armenians in Antalia attended S. Hovhannes Garabed (John the Precursor) Church. In Elmah, the community of 500 possessed both a church and a school.

The Vilayet of Kastamonu

Sanjak of Kastamonu

More than 2,000 Armenians lived in the city of Kastamonu. They maintained two schools and S. Asdvadzadzin. In the bazaar, Armenians were engaged in making yarn from wool, cotton, and goat hair, in weaving, and in shoemaking. Tobacco and cereals were their main agricultural products. In mining, the concession of antimony mines at Kuzkaya was held by Sarkis Tavitian and a Greek named Vasilaki Sarakiyoni.

Gulam (now Gökçekent) was an Armenian village located 10 kilometers/6 miles to the north of the city, while in Inebolu on the Black Sea coast, there were about 200 Armenians engaged in crafts, commerce, transportation, fishing, and gardening. Being a port connecting the Ottoman capital with central Anatolia, Inebolu was often frequented by Armenian merchants. The community had S. Asdvadzadzin and a school located on the right side of the river that divided the town into two.

Tashkopru was home to some 1,500 Armenians, who maintained a church and a school. A short distance to the north was the all-Armenian village of Eskiatcha, with S. Krikor Lusavorich and the coeducational Vahanian School.

Sanjak of Bolu

About 1,500 Armenians resided in two quarters of the city of Bolu, which lay on the trade route between Constantinople and central Anatolia. The Church of S. Garabed was in the Ermeni Mahalle, while S. Asdvadzadzin was in the Eski Mahalle. These were complemented by the Lusavorchian School for Boys and

the Hripsimian School for Girls.

The Armenian quarter of Duzje, called Ijadiye, had about 400 Armenians with S. Asdvadzadzin and a school. Some 50 Armenians lived in the villages of Charshamba.

Zonguldak in which there were some 300 Armenians was a developing town thanks to the coal basin. The concessions of some mines were held by Armenian entrepreneurs, and many Armenians were employed as technicians. In addition, a few Armenians lived in Gerede.

Bartin had about 400 Armenians with S. Asdvadzadzin and the coeducational Vartanian School. Some Armenians were active in the economy of Amasra, while in Chinarli collieries (coal mines and plants) were licensed to Apik Unju and Setrak Pembedjian. Forty-year concessions of the coal mines of Amasra and Chide were granted to the imperial architect, Sarkis Balian in 1873 in return for construction of a port at Amasra, but they never materialized.

Sanjaks of Kengiri and Sinope

Some 600 Armenians lived in Kengiri (now Çankiri), the center of the sanjak, and had S. Asdvadzadzin and the Nersesian School for Boys. Small communities also existed at Kochisar (now Ilgaz), Tuht (now Yaprakli), and Cherkes.

There was a small Armenian community in the city of Sinope, while nearby the all-Armenian village of Kuyluja or Kochin Artin had 300 inhabitants, with S. Asdvadzadzin and the Kevorkian School for Boys. The Armenians of Goldagh were able to maintain a small church. Boyabat in the kaza of Sinope had the most Armenians—3,500 in all, with S. Krikor Lusavorich and the Lusavorchian School. Alibey, the closest village to Boyabat, was an Armenian settlement with S. Garabed. Near Sinope, on the coast of the Black Sea, the town of Gerze was home to about 500 Armenians who were able to support a church and a school.

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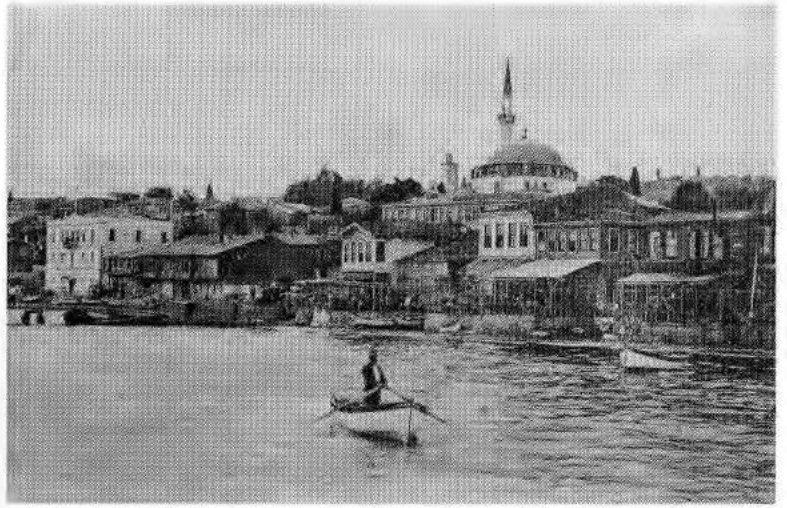
This survey of the Armenian communities of western Asia Minor, their churches, schools, and professions constitutes an impressive, if not amazing, compendium of individual and collective effort, investment, and achievement. The fact that even

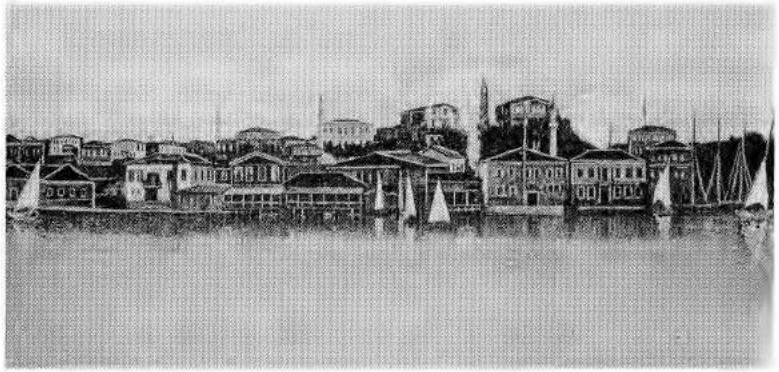
the smallest settlement managed to build and support a church and usually at least one school speaks of the commitment of the dispersed communities of Asia Minor to maintain their religion, traditions, and ethnic identity. It is significant that by the turn of the twentieth century, even the Turkish-speaking communities were sending their children to school to recapture the forgotten Armenian language.

The overview also reflects the economic history of these communities and the importance of certain professions and occupations: sericulture and silk manufacturing, weaving and carpet making, and crafts such as the production of beautiful tiles, leather goods and shoes, cloth, kitchen goods and hardware, and agricultural implements and equipment. Western Asia Minor was only a little corner of the Armenian presence in the Ottoman Empire but in itself is sufficient to underscore the contributions of this people to the overall economy, cultural and educational advancement, and spiritual life of what was perceived to be the common homeland.

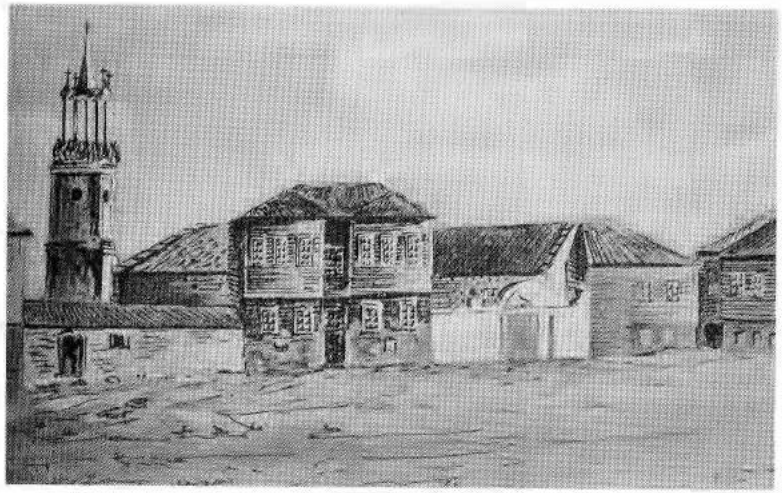
Adrianople

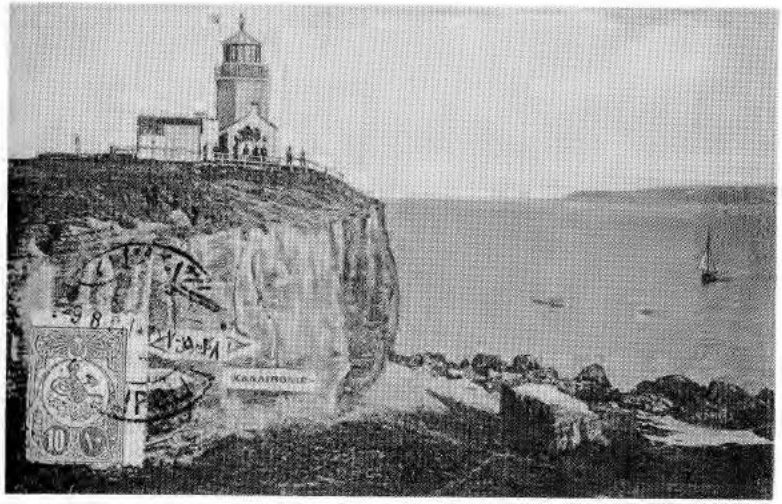


Rodosto (Tekirdagh)



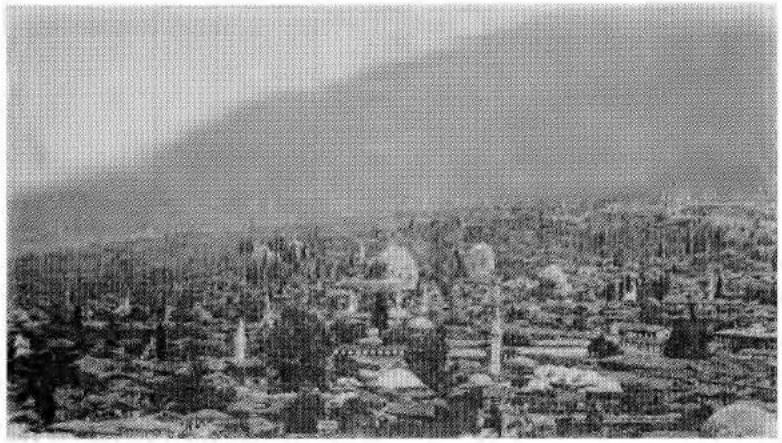
Gallipoli

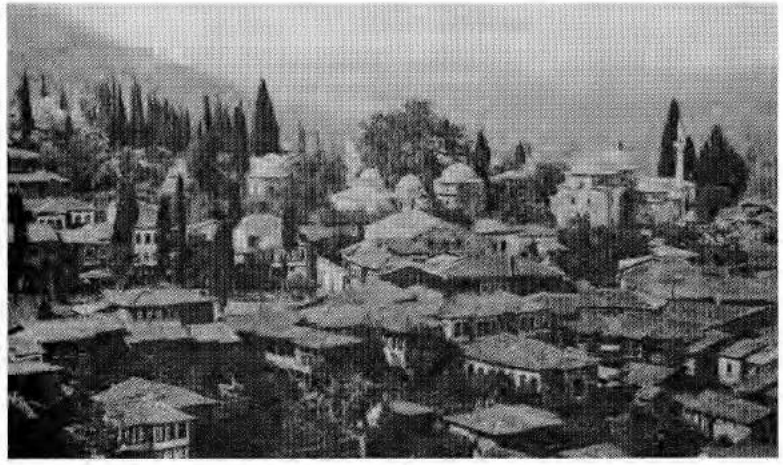




Gallipoli

Chanakkale and Dardanelles

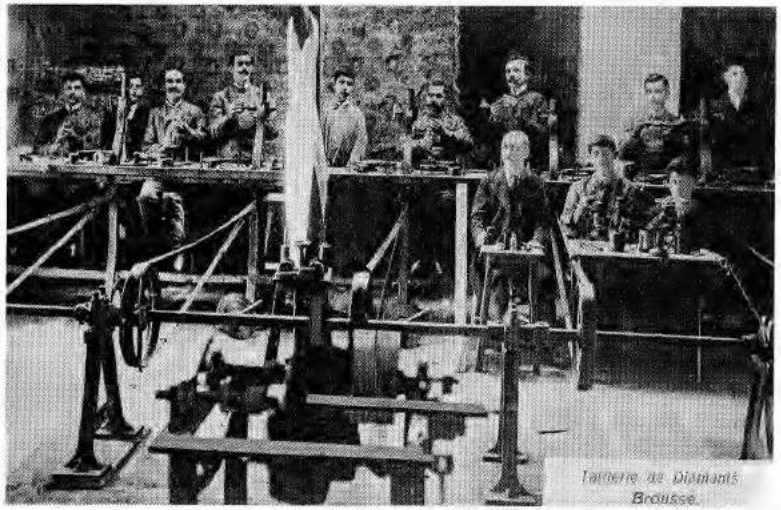


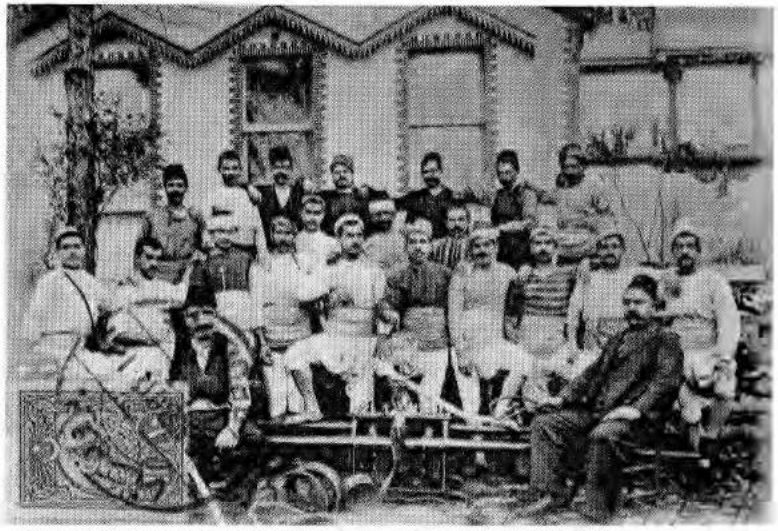


Brusa/Bursa

Brusa: Citadel and Armenian Quarter

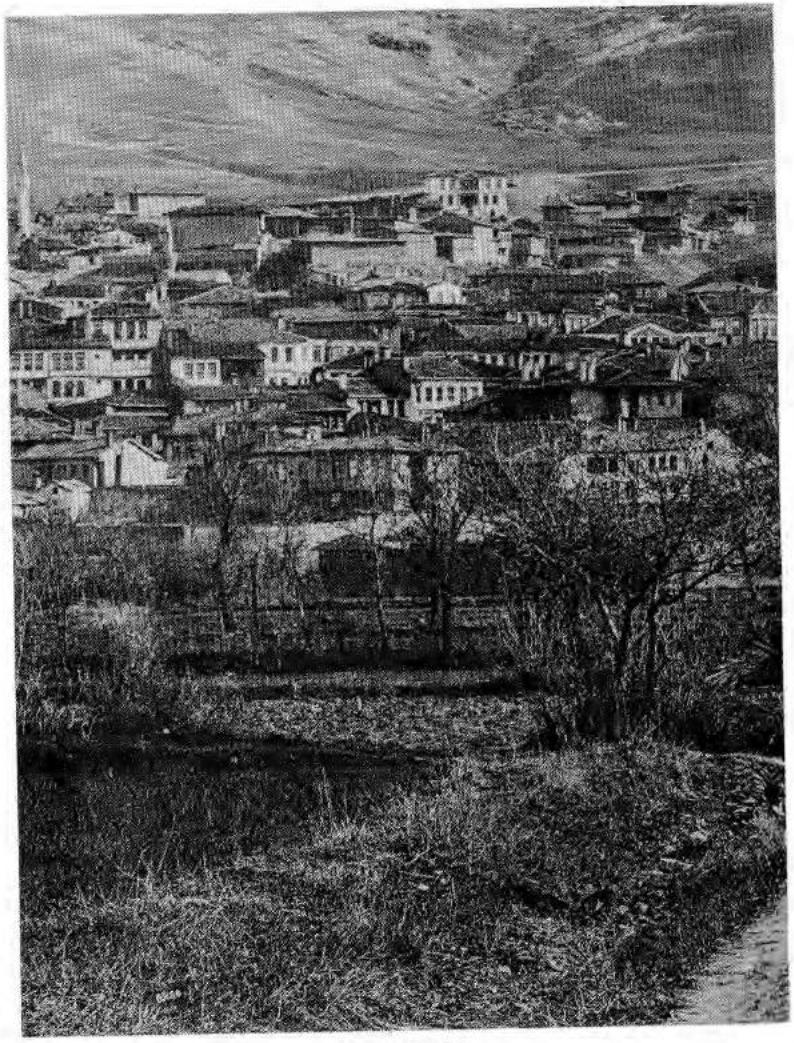
Brusa: Sorting of Cocoons and Spinning Silk





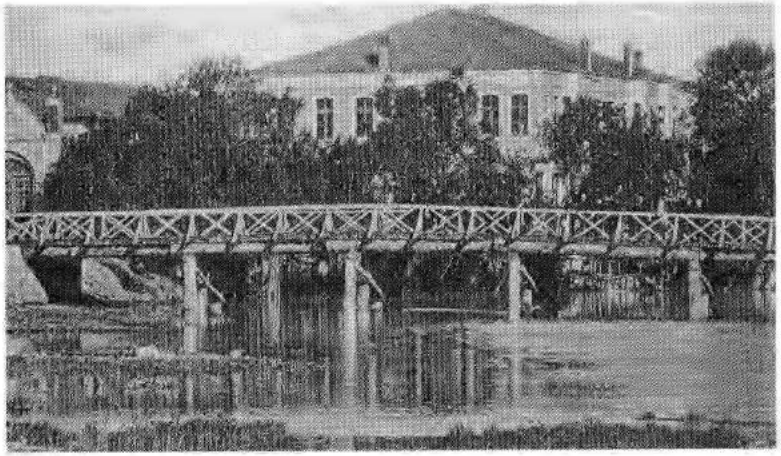
Brusa: Armenian Diamond Cutters and Firemen

Kutahia

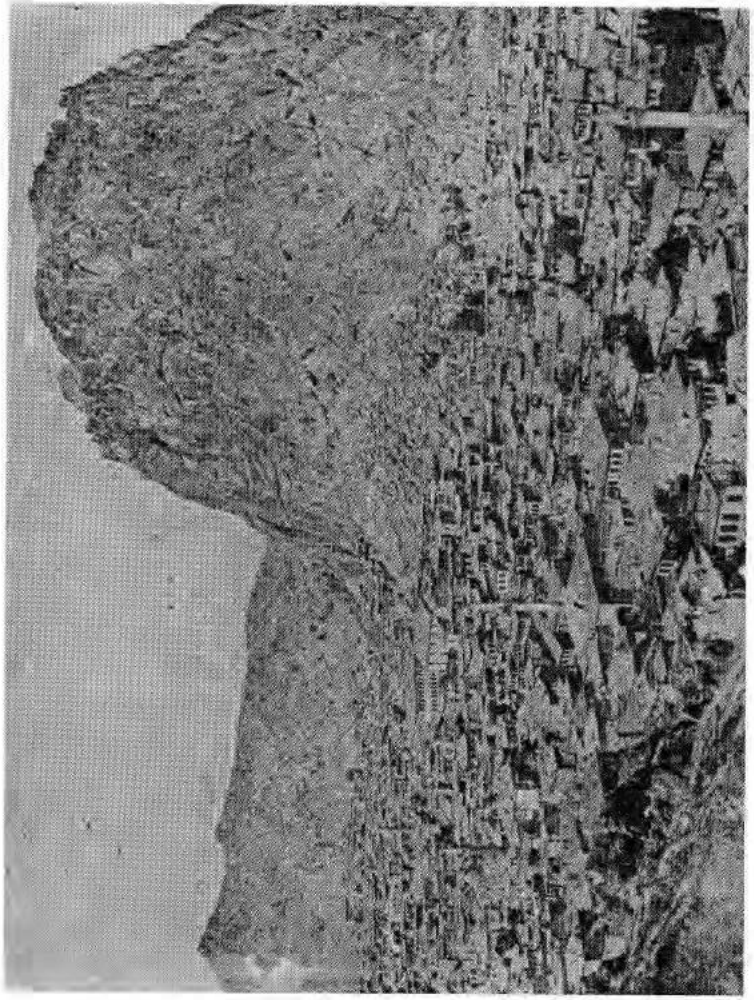


Eski-Shehir

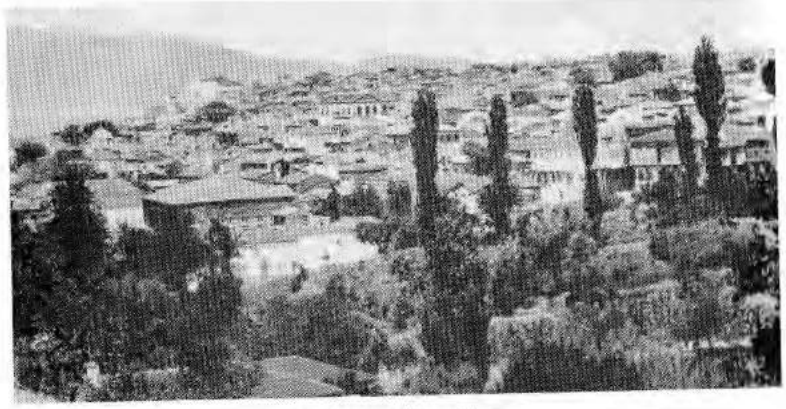
Eski-Shehir



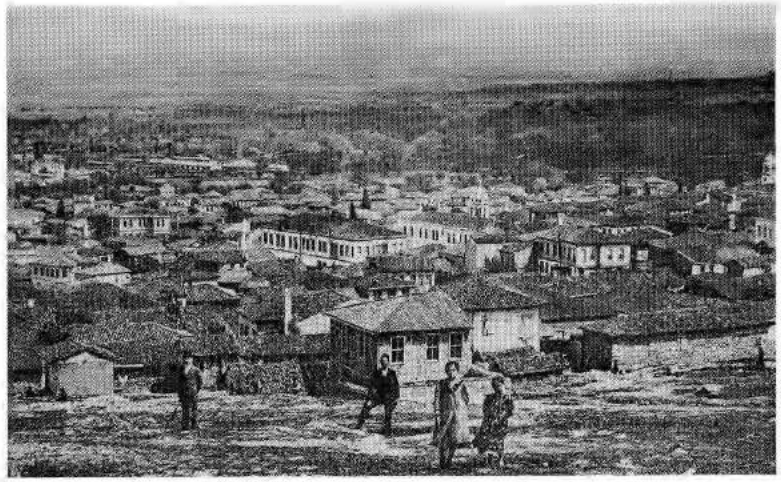
Eski-Shehir: Armenian School and Club



Afion-Karahisar

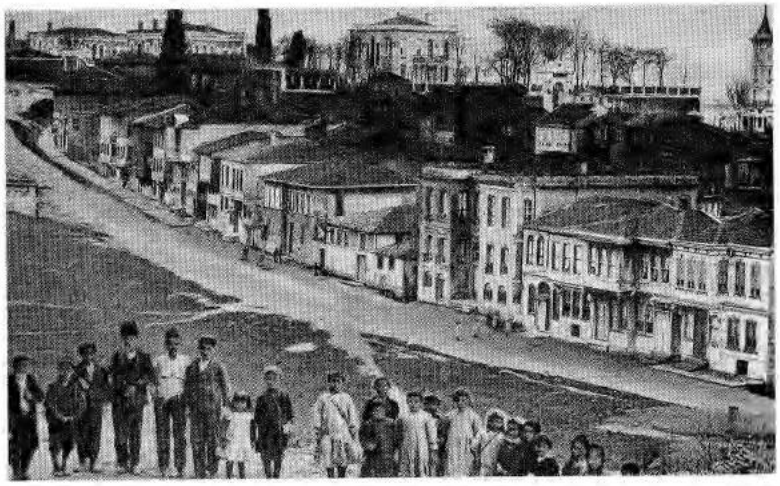


Banderma/Pandirma

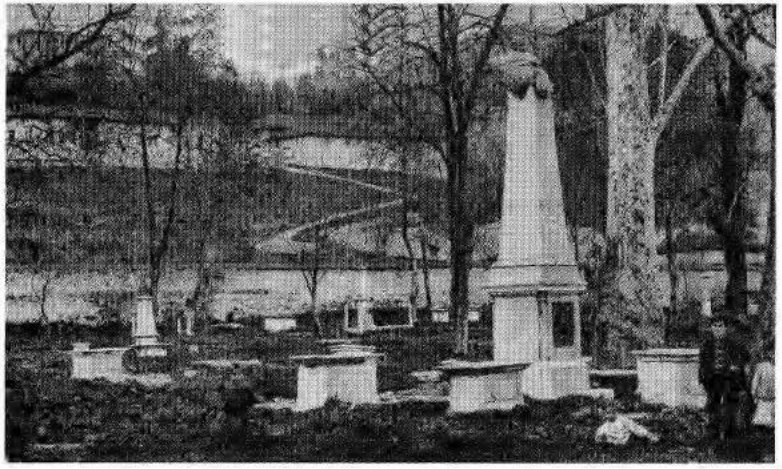


Balikeser

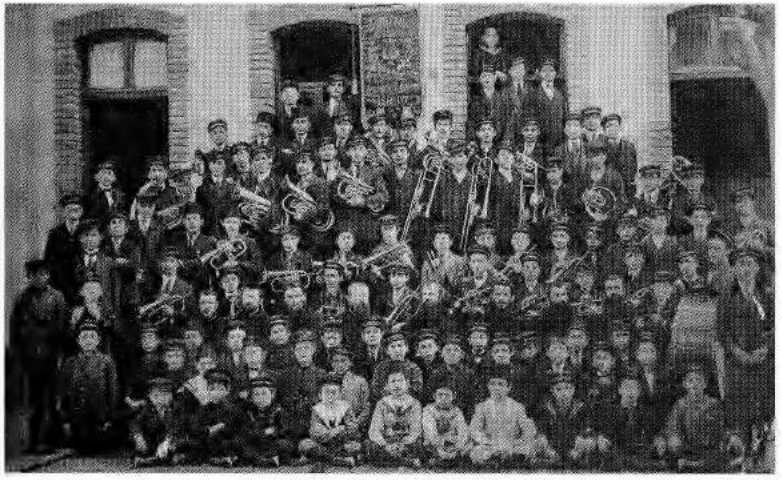
Bilijik



Izmid: Armenian Quarter

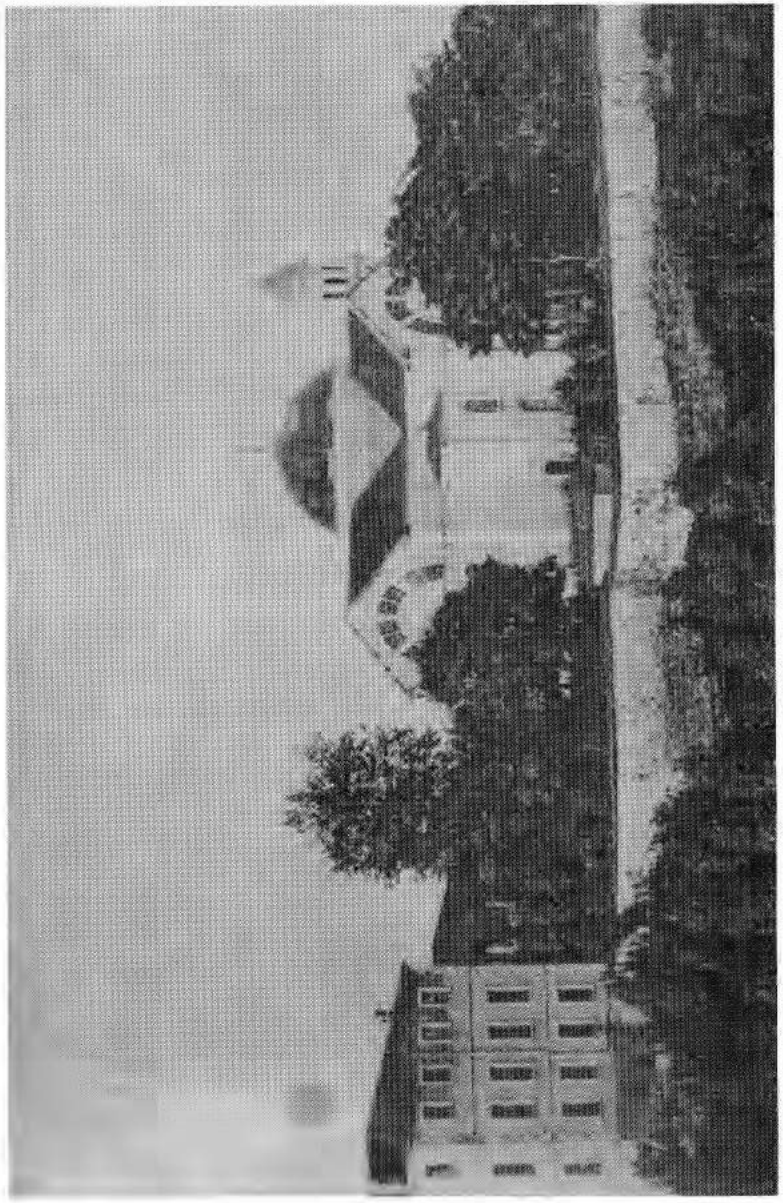


Izmid: Armenian Cemetery



Izmid: Saint Barbe's School Fanfare Band

Izmid: Military Clothing Factory



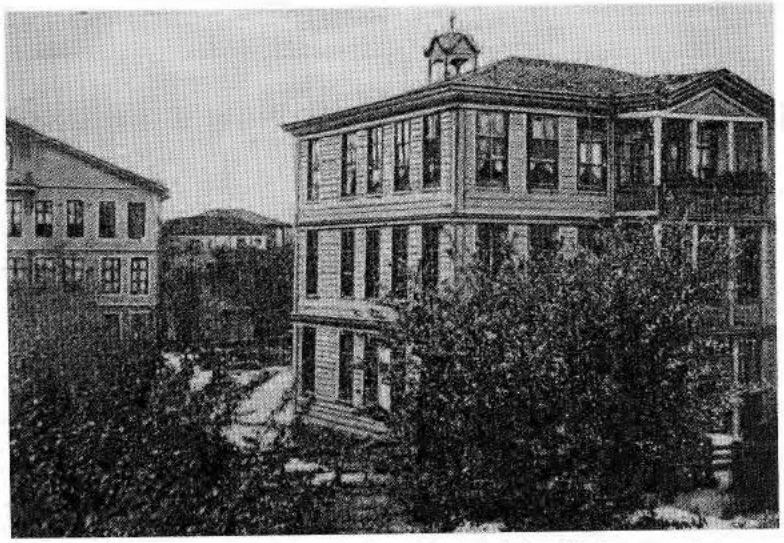
Armash

Adabazar: Railway

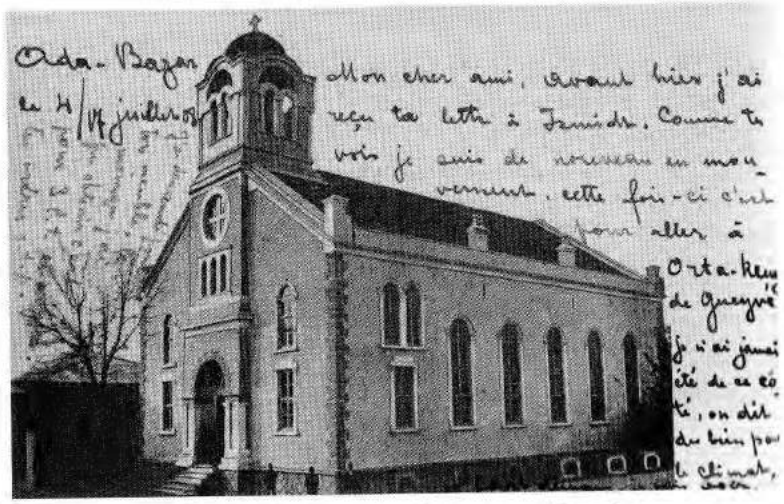
Adabazar: Sakaria River

Adabazar: Armenian Quarter

Adabazar: Spinners and Knitters



Adabazar: American School for Girls



Adabazar: Armenian Protestant Church

❀ 10 ❀

The End of the Armenian Communities of Asia Minor

Simon Payaslian

Armenians had settled across Asia Minor during the Byzantine Empire, and by the nineteenth century their communities had become vibrant commercial centers. They had been fully integrated into the Ottoman culture, maintained a strong sense of loyalty to the government, and some of their members even held prominent positions in government and commerce. Although many spoke Turkish as their primary language, particularly in Bursa (Brusa), Balikeser, Eski-Shehir, and Kutahia, the birthplace of the renowned ethnomusicologist Gomidas (Komitas), as well as in Edirne (Adrianople) in European Rumelia, the birthplace of the famed satirist Hagop Baronian, they preserved their local educational and religious institutions.[1] Relatively smaller in number than their compatriots in the eastern or Armenian *vilayet*s (provinces), prior to the outbreak of World War I, the Armenian population in the three vilayets under consideration—Edirne, Bursa, and Konia—and the *sanjak* of Izmid (Ismid; Izmit), according to Armenian records, totaled more than 230,000 distributed as follows: Edirne vilayet, 30,316; Bursa vilayet, 118,992; Konia vilayet, 20,738; and Izmid sanjak, 61,675.[2] Armenians played an active part in the financial and

[1] Levon Chormisian, *Hamapatker arevmtahay mek daru patmutian* [A Panorama of One Century of Western Armenian History], 3 vols. (Beirut: Sevan, 1975), vol. 3, pp. 483, 486-87; Teodik, "Goghgota" [Golgotha], in *Hushamatian Mets Egherni, 1915-1965* [Memorial Volume of the Great Crime, 1915-1965], ed. Gersam Aharonian (Beirut: Atlas, 1965), p. 309.

[2] See Raymond H. Kévorkian and Paul B. Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire Ottoman à la veille du génocide* (Paris: Les Editions d'Art et d'Histoire ARHIS, 1992), p. 57. According to Ottoman population statistics for 1914, the total was 174,230, distributed as follows: Edirne vilayet, 19,773; Bursa/Hûdavendigar

economic development of the region.[3] While Ottoman society benefited from international commerce and technology—for example, the Berlin-Baghdad Railway—these also generated certain economic and political frictions that were further exacerbated by Western imperialism and the ideological forces unleashed by modern nationalism.[4] The development of the Anatolian railroad complex, particularly to Izmid and Konia, contributed to the further integration of the Ottoman economy[5] and generated rapid local economic growth.[6] While many Armenian inhabitants across Asia Minor and European Rumelia had achieved a prosperous standard of living, and while Armenian merchants and the local communities in general had benefited from the construction of the Anatolian Railway as it enhanced Konia's status in finance and commerce, growing Turkish hostility by 1910, certainly by 1913, rendered the Armenian communities vulnerable to violence.[7] Unfortunately for the Ottoman Empire, despite continued efforts at modernization, the gains secured could not reverse the continuing economic and military decline, which by the early twentieth century led to intensified political tensions among various groups, especially Muslim hostility toward Christians and deep resentment of Western imperialistic designs.

vilayet, 60,119; Konia vilayet, 12,971 (but shown as 13,225 on p. 609); Izmid sanjak, 55,852; Nighde (Niğde) sanjak, 4,936; Afion-Karahisar, 7,439; Eskishehir sanjak, 8,592; and Kutahia sanjak, 4,548. T.C. Genelkurmay Başkanliği, Genelkurmay askerî tarih ve stratejik etüt [General Staff Military History and Strategic Studies] *Arşiv belgeleriyle Ermeni faaliyetleri, 1914-1918* [Armenian Activities in the Archive Documents, 1914-1918], vol. 1 (Ankara: Genelkurmay Basim Evi, 2005), p. 605. Several discrepancies appear in the figures presented in different tables—for example, while the table appearing on page 605 gives the figures 8,592 and 4,548, respectively, for Eski-Shehir sanjak and Kutahia sanjak, in another table the combined total for Eski-Shehir and Kutahia is 9,058 (p. 609).

[3] See, for example, Chormisian, *Hamapatker*, vol. 3, pp. 486-87; Donald Quataert, "Ottoman Manufacturing in the Nineteenth Century," in *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500-1950*, ed. Donald Quataert (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), pp. 104-07.

[4] Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: The Nineteenth Century* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1988); V. Necla Geyikdağı, *Foreign Investment in the Ottoman Empire: International Trade and Relations, 1854-1914* (London; New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2011).

[5] Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Ottoman Empire and the Capitalist World-Economy: Some Questions for Research," in *Türkiye'nin sosyal ve ekonomik tarihi (1071-1920)* [Social and Economic History of Turkey, 1071-1920], ed. Osman Okyar and Halil İnalcık (Ankara: Mateksan, 1980), pp. 117-22.

[6] Edward Mead Earle, *Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railway: A Study in Imperialism* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1966); Morris Jastrow, *The War and the Bagdad Railway: The Story of Asia Minor and Its Relation to the Present Conflict* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott, 1918), pp. 83-101; Sean McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad Express: The Ottoman Empire and Germany's Bid for World Power* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010).

Loyalty and Its Failure to Prevent Genocide

In the aftermath of the outbreak of World War I on July 28, 1914, the Young Turk government commenced the *seferberlik* or military mobilization for the war. Repressive measures against Armenians intensified across the empire, while, as in the other provinces, Armenian men between the ages eighteen and forty-five in Konia, Bursa, Edirne, and Izmid were drafted into the army. Thousands of Armenian men answered the call to serve the empire, but soon they were used in unarmed labor battalions (*amele taburlari*).[8] In the meantime, the government undertook the disarmament of Armenians across the Ottoman Empire. When some provincial authorities at first sought to convince the Ittihadist (Young Turk) leaders in the capital that the loyalty of Armenians within their respective jurisdiction was not in doubt and that therefore no such measures were necessary, they were replaced by other officials evincing a more pliable will or known for their hostility toward the Armenians.

Considering this growing animosity, Armenians felt compelled to demonstrate their loyalty as effectively as possible.

[7] Great Britain, Parliament, *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916*, Miscellaneous no. 31, 1916, Documents Presented to Viscount Grey of Fallodon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, ed. and comp. Arnold Toynbee, 3d ed. (Beirut: G. Doniguian and Sons, 1988 [London: Sir Joseph Causton and Sons, 1916]), p. 389, cited hereafter as *Treatment of Armenians*; Donald Quataert, "Dilemma of Development: The Agricultural Bank and Agricultural Reform in Ottoman Turkey, 1888-1908," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 6:2 (April 1975): 210-27; William I. Shorrock, "The Origin of the French Mandate in Syria and Lebanon: The Railroad Question, 1901-1914," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 1:2 (April 1970): 133-53; on Konia, see p. 135.

[8] Makarian, "Ampop hamaynapatker," p. 309; Teodik, "Goghgota," p. 287; Henry Barby, *Au pays de l'épouvante: L'Arménie martyre* (Beirut: Hamazgayin, 1972; first published, 1917), pp. 20, 185.

When the Ottoman government, prompted by the Allied military campaign on the Dardanelles in the spring of 1915, considered the temporary transfer of the government to Konia,[9] once the capital of the Seljuk sultans, the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, Zaven Der Yeghiayan, proposed as a gesture of loyalty that the Patriarchate also be removed to Konia. The Council of Ministers accepted the patriarch's request and dispatched Beha Bey, the Superintendent of Religions, to the Patriarchate, in the words of Patriarch Zaven, "to express their thanks for our love toward the fatherland and loyalty toward the State, letting me know that I was the only one among the Patriarchs who had brought them such a proposal."[10]

Despite their loyalty and location, however, most of the Armenian communities in Asia Minor, which were highly acculturated and assimilated and far from the Russian war front, could not secure exemption from the deportations and massacres. The Ittihadist government created pretexts for their forced removal, and many local Turks, perhaps fearful of reprisal by the dictatorial regime and its agencies—such as the Teshkilat-i Mahsusa (Special Organization) led by Dr. Behaeddin Shakir, which implemented the deportation and destruction of the Armenian population—or motivated by sheer avarice, changed their previously positive attitude toward their Armenian neighbors once public announcements for their deportation were issued.[11]

The mass deportations across the communities of Asia Minor began in August 1915, but arrests and exile already took place beginning on April 21, that is, prior to the arrest of the Armenian intellectuals and community leaders in Constantinople on April 24. Between April 21 and the end of the month, about 100 Armenians in Izmid were arrested and deported, 80 in Bardizag and Adabazar, and 40 in Bursa, in addition to Armenians in other

[9] U.S. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Papers of Henry Morgenthau, Sr., Diary, Feb. 25, 27, March 1, 1915.

[10] Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, p. 52. See also Rev. Dr. Andrus, Alpheus Newell (Eastern Turkey Mission, 1868-1919), Calendar-Diary, May 28, 1915, box 2, folder 2:9, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

[11] Sepuh Akuni, *Milion me Hayeru jardi patmutiune* [The Story of the Massacre of a Million Armenians] (Constantinople: Hayastan, 1921), p. 227; Johannes Lepsius, *Rapport secret sur les massacres d'Armenie* (Beirut: Hamazgayin, 1980; first published, Paris: Payot, 1918), p. 162; Dadrian, *History*, pp. 236-39.

towns.[12] The failed military campaign of Minister of War Ismail Enver Pasha at Sarikamish in December 1914 and January 1915, the Allied campaign at Gallipoli, and the potential transfer of the government to Konia inevitably heightened the sense of urgency among the Ittihadist leaders to ensure control over and, in extreme cases, to eradicate any and all internal threats.

Within days after the arrests of community leaders in Constantinople in April 1915, official and mass hostilities against the Armenians intensified, as house-to-house searches for weapons and published material spread throughout several towns, especially in Bursa, Bardizag, and Konia. It was soon announced that the entire Armenian population in the Izmid region was to be removed because the government was wary of their loyalty. In the mountains near Bardizag and Ovajik, about 320 people resorted to self-defense. Most Armenians, however, confident of their loyalty to the Ottoman government and of their close identity with the local Turks and Muslims in general, did not attach much significance to the escalating brutalities. Armenians across these communities, with the exception of Akhisar in the sanjak of Izmid, had not experienced bloodshed during the massacres of the 1890s, and they found no reason for hostility toward them under the purportedly constitutional regime of the Young Turks.[13] Yet, even in Constantinople, where (along with their compatriots in Smyrna) Armenians were spared from wholesale massacres, in part because of the presence of foreign government and business representatives, thousands were eventually arrested and dispatched to Konia to work on the construction of roads and the railroad.[14] What the government claimed to be deportations or relocations for purposes of military necessity was in fact a part of the planned annihilation of the Armenian citizens of the Ottoman Empire.[15]

[12] Akuni, *Milion*, p. 266; Lepsius, *Rapport secret,* pp. 44-45; Makarian, "Ampop hamaynapatker," p. 309.

[13] Makarian, "Ampop hamaynapatker," pp. 310, 312; Dadrian, *History*, pp. 152-53.

[14] William S. Dodd, "Report on Conditions Witnessed in the Armenian Deportations in Konia, Turkey," Dec. 21, 1917, in *"Turkish Atrocities": Statements of American Missionaries on the Destruction of Christian Communities in Ottoman Turkey, 1915-1917*, comp. James L. Barton (Ann Arbor, MI: Gomidas Institute, 1998), p. 147; Barby, *Au pays de l'épouvante*, pp. 97-98.

[15] See Wilfred M. Post, "Extracts from the Annual Report of the American Hospital at Konia, Turkey, for the Year 1917 with Additional Notes on the

"A Kingdom for Themselves in the Desert"

The more than 200 Armenian intellectuals arrested in Constantinople in April were exiled to Angora and there divided into two groups, one sent to the predominantly Turkish town of Changiri (in Kastamuni or Kastamonu vilayet), and the other to Ayash.[16] By early May, the regions of Konia and Kesaria had become the destination for hundreds of Armenian exiles. The mass deportations from Zeitun and nearby villages, which had already begun during the week of April 4-10 and continued for the next three weeks, had removed more than 26,000 Armenians from their homes. Divided into two caravans, one was deported to the Anatolian desert and Konia, Sultaniye, Angora, and Tarsus, while the other to the Syrian desert, to Aleppo and Deir el-Zor.[17] On May 12, 1915, U.S. Consul Jesse Jackson reported from Aleppo that thousands had been sent to the regions of Konia, Kesaria, and as far away as Kastamuni.[18]

Treatment of British Prisoners in Konia," in Barton, *"Turkish Atrocities,"* pp. 153-54.

[16] Grigoris Palakian [Balakian], *Hay Goghgotan* [Armenian Calvary], 2 vols. (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1922), vol. 1, pp. 119-36; on the group imprisoned in Changiri, see pp. 139-56. See also Buzand Kechian, "Drvag aksori shrjanen," in *Amenun taretsoytse, 1922* [Everyone's Almanac, 1922], ed. Teodik (Constantinople: M. Hovakimian, 1922), pp. 33-45; on Ayash, see Palakian, *Hay Goghgotan*, vol. 1, pp. 181-89.

[17] Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (A.M.A.E.), Guerre 1914-1918, *Turquie*, tome 903, folio 53, Note no. 30, M. Ledoulx, Dragoman, à l'Ambassade de France à Constantinople, à M. Delcassé, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, June 12, 1915, in *Les grandes puissances l'empire ottoman et les arméniens dans les archives françaises (1914-1918)*, ed. and comp., Arthur Beylerian (Paris: Panthéon-Sorbonne, 1983), p. 41; DE/PA-AA/R14086, No. 324, Ambassador in Constantinople (Wangenheim) to the Reichskanzler (Bethmann Hollweg), May 27, 1915, Report, encls., K. No. 55/J.No. 1000, Consul Roessler, May 10, 1915; letter, Karl Blank to Consul Roessler, April 15, 1915; letter, Karl Blank to Schuchardt, April 14, 1915, trans. Linda Struck, and DE/PA-AA/R14086, Johannes Lepsius to the Foreign Office, June 22, 1915, trans. Vera Draack, in Wolfgang Gust, ed., *Documentation; Treatment of Armenians*, Doc. 120, "Cilicia: Letter, Dated 20th June, 1915, from Dr. L., a Foreign Resident in Turkey; Communicated by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief," p. 472; *Treatment of Armenians*, "Cilicia," pp. 466-67.

[18] U.S. National Archives, RG 59, 867.4016, Jackson to Morgenthau, May 12, 1915; RG 59, 867.4016/72, Jackson to Secretary of State, May 12, 1915, encl., Jackson to Morgenthau, May 12, 1915. See also *Treatment of Armenians*, Doc. 6, "Letter from the Same Source [Armenian Patriarchate], Dated Constantinople, 13/26th July, 1915, and Addressed to a Distinguished Armenian Resident [Bishop

The direction and destination of the deportations from Zeitun caused disagreements between Ahmed Jemal Pasha in Damascus, on one hand, and Minister of Interior Mehmed Talaat and Enver, on the other.[19] Jemal had issued the initial orders to deport the Armenians from the Zeitun region to Konia, Kesaria, and Kastamuni, against the wishes of Talaat and Enver, who intended to deport them to the Syrian desert. In his memoirs, Jemal maintains that given the logistical preparations under way for the Suez Canal Expedition, he "considered it more expedient to settle the Armenians in the interior of the provinces of Konia, Angora, and Kastamuni than to send them to Mesopotamia" via Bozanti and Aleppo. He adds: "I was furious when I learned that the exiled Armenians were to come to Bozanti on their way over the Taurus and Adana to Aleppo; for any interference with the line of communications might have the gravest consequences for the Canal Expedition."[20]

Eventually, however, as the Ittihadists in Constantinople contemplated the transfer of the government to Konia in response to the Allied Dardanelles campaign, and as they widened the net of deportations to uproot and annihilate the entire Armenian population, Minister of Interior Talaat and Minister of War Enver prevailed. Jemal Pasha received a telegram stating that the Armenians from the Zeitun and Marash regions should not be deported to Konia but instead redirected to Deir el-Zor and Urfa.[21] Jemal comments in his memoirs, "as I could not oppose a Government measure based on an Act of Parliament, and had, moreover, received a specific order not to hinder the progress of the Armenian emigrant columns which were passing

Ghevont Turian] beyond the Ottoman Frontier," pp. 9-11; Doc. 139, "Aleppo: Series of Reports from a Foreign Resident [U.S. Consul Jackson] at Aleppo; Communicated by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief," encl. reports dated May 12, Aug. 3, Aug. 19, 1915, Feb. 8, 1916, pp. 547-50; Jean Naslian, *Les Mémoires de Mgr. Jean Naslian, Évêque de Trébizonde, sur les événements politico-religieux en Proche-Orient de 1914 à 1928*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1951), vol. 1, pp. 405-06; Dodd, "Report," Dec. 21, 1917, pp. 145-50.

[19] See Hilmar Kaiser, "Regional Resistance to Central Government Policies: Ahmed Djemal Pasha, the Governors of Aleppo, and Armenian Deportees in the Spring and Summer of 1915," *Journal of Genocide Research* 12:3-4 (2010): 173-218.

[20] Djemal Pasha, *Memories of a Turkish Statesman, 1913-1919* (New York: George H. Doran, 1922), pp. 277-78.

[21] Akçam, *Shameful Act*, pp. 159-61.

Adana and Aleppo on their way to Mesopotamia, I saw myself compelled to yield."[22]

At Karabunar (Karapinar), conditions had so deteriorated that at least 150 refugees reportedly died each day from starvation and disease.[23] "The misery these people are suffering is terrible to imagine," Jackson wrote. "To go into details would be a useless waste of time, for all the sufferings that a great community would be subject to in such circumstances are being experienced." The refugees included Apostolic, Catholic, and Protestant Armenians, young and old, sick and strong, their pastors and priests, "without distinction" and whose "fate . . . none can predict." Hundreds were imprisoned in Marash, and 4,500 were sent to Konia under "appalling" conditions. "The Armenians themselves say that they would by far have preferred a massacre, which would have been less disastrous to them."[24] About 32,000 Armenian refugees also arrived in the Aleppo region from Hajin, Sis, Karsbazar, Hasan Beyli, and Dort-Yol, where their houses were now occupied by Muslim *muhajir*s (refugees).[25] The Armenian refugees from Zeitun remained in Sultaniye, an exceedingly unhealthy "swampy area" south of Tuz Gol some 70 miles from Konia, until August 1915, when they were redirected to Islahiye, Katma, and Deir el-Zor.[26] A directive issued by the Interior Ministry in August instructed the local authorities to place the arriving muhajirs in areas emptied of the Armenian inhabitants. The towns of Konia and Angora were designated as centers for the gathering of the muhajirs, who subsequently were to be transferred from Konia to Adana and Diarbekir, and from Angora to Sebastia, Kesaria, and Kharpert.[27]

[22] Djemal, *Memories of a Turkish Statesman*, pp. 277-78.

[23] *Treatment of Armenians*, Doc. 123, "Exiles from Zeitoun: Diary of a Foreign Resident [Pierre Briquet, Member of the St. Paul Institute Staff] in the Town of B. [Tarsus] on the Cilician Plain; Communicated by a Swiss Gentleman [Léopold Favre] of Geneva," p. 485.

[24] U.S. National Archives, RG 59, 867.4016/72, Jackson to Secretary of State, May 12, 1915. This report appeared in part as Doc. 139 in *Treatment of Armenians*.

[25] Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (A.M.A.E.), Guerre 1914-1918, *Turquie*, tome 887, folio 160, Telegramme no. 76. Gamsaragan et Moutafoff à Boghos Nubar Pacha de la Délégation National Arménienne, June 30, 1915, in Beylerian, *Les grandes puissances*, p. 42; *Treatment of Armenians*, Doc. 120, "Cilicia: Letter, Dated 20th June, 1915, from Dr. L., a Foreign Resident in Turkey; Communicated by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief," p. 472; Naslian, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, pp. 373-74.

[26] U.S. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Papers of Henry Morgenthau, Sr., Diary, July 4, 1915; Chormisian, *Hamapatker*, vol. 3, p. 441.

Dr. William Dodd, of the American Board of Foreign Missions hospital at Konia, reported that nearly 2,000 Armenian refugees from the region of Zeitun had arrived at Konia, and that figure quickly increased to more than 3,000. Confident that his services in caring for the Turkish wounded soldiers would be rewarded in kind, Dodd requested permission to assist the refugees. The *vali* (governor) refused, responding that "the government was handling this and the people were not in need!"[28] Similarly, during a conference with Talaat, U.S. Ambassador Henry Morgenthau inquired about the condition of the Armenian refugees at Konia. The minister of the interior replied firmly: "Are they Americans?" He added that the Armenians were "not to be trusted and that it does not concern" the American ambassador. Talaat refused permission to any Americans to meet with Armenians in Konia.[29] The refugees in Sultaniye reportedly "first received 150 drams [9.6 ounces/177 grams] of flour a day each, then this was reduced to 100" and by the middle of July "totally suspended."[30]

No sooner had the first caravan from Zeitun entered Konia than the first group of Armenians, comprised of more than one hundred community leaders, was arrested and deported from Konia, exiled to Sultaniye, where they remained until September 1915. On their way to Ereghli and to the desert, the Protestants and Catholics among them were permitted to return to Konia on government orders.[31] When the Prelate of the Armenian Apostolic Church, Karekin Khachadurian, pleaded for the return of all

[27] Arshak A. Alpoyachian, *Patmutiun Hay Kesarioy* [History of Armenian Kesaria] (Cairo: Papazian Press, 1937), vol. 2, p. 1458.

[28] Morgenthau Papers, General Correspondence, Container 7, Dodd to Morgenthau, May 6, 1915. See also Bibliothèque Nubar (Paris), Doc. 1179-1182, Bishop Ghevont Turian to Boghos Nubar, June 11 [June 24], 1915, in *Boghos Nubar's Papers*, p. 96; DE/PA-AA/R14086, No. 443, Ambassador in Constantinople (Wangenheim) to the Reichskanzler (Bethmann Hollweg), July 13, 1915, encl., trans. Vera Draack, in Gust, *Documentation*.

[29] Morgenthau Papers, Diary, May 10, 22, 1915.

[30] Ibid., July 19, 1915.

[31] DE/PA-AA/BoKon/169, Aufzeichnung des Generalkonsuls in der Botschaft Konstantinopel (Mordtmann) [Recording of the Consul General at the embassy of Constantinople (Mordtmann)], June 12, 1915, in Gust, *Documentation*; Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, p. 60; Akuni, *Milion*, p. 226; Dodd, "Report," p. 145.

Armenians to their homes, Governor Azmi of Konia, who formerly had served as head of the police in Constantinople and had advised Talaat during the April arrests of Armenian leaders in the capital, conceded that those deported were innocent, but, he added, he was compelled to follow instructions from the central government. In mid-June, orders were announced that the entire Armenian population of Konia city, numbering more than 4,400, be prepared for deportation. The harmony prevailing between Armenians and Turks in the city had long dissipated by now, and some Turks attacked and plundered Armenian houses and businesses.[32]

Armenian fortunes appeared to have brightened briefly when, on June 18, 1915, in the midst of the turmoil, Governor Azmi was replaced by the more beneficent Jelal Bey, who was closely familiar with the Armenian communities. Vehemently opposed to the policy of deportations, Jelal Bey ordered restoration of calm in the city. The policy of deportations, however, was not determined by the vali but by the Ittihadist regime in Constantinople and its local functionaries. Saadeddin, chief of the Konia city police and of the local Ittihadist party, was one such functionary ready to implement the deportation orders.[33] While Jelal Bey was briefly in Constantinople, the Ittihadists issued orders on August 16, 1915, for local Armenians to prepare for deportation. The first caravan consisting of about 3,000 people left on August 21 eastward to Ereghli and Bozanti. When Jelal Bey returned from Constantinople to Konia on August 23, he found the second caravan, consisting of about 300 Armenian families, ready to march out. He ordered them to remain in their houses and sought to protect the thousands of refugees arriving to camps in the region of Konia.[34]

Many of the officials appointed to the area, as in Konia, Karaman, and Ereghli, had been transferred from territories lost

[32] Morgenthau Papers, Diary, July 14, 1915; Akuni, *Milion*, pp. 226-27; Raymond H. Kévorkian, *Le génocide des Arméniens* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2006), p. 711.

[33] DE/PA-AA/BoKon/168, American Consul in Aleppo (Jackson) to German Embassy in Constantinople, March 30, 1915, in Gust, *Documentation*; Akuni, *Milion*, pp. 227, 229; Post, "Extracts," p. 155; Kévorkian, *Le génocide des Arméniens*, pp. 711-12; Akçam, *Shameful Act*, p. 185. See also the testimony by Yervant Odian, in *The Case of Misak Torlakian*, ed. Vartkes Yeghiayan and Ara Arabyan (N.p.: Center for Armenian Remembrance, 2006), pp. 89-90.

[34] Kévorkian, *Le génocide des Arméniens*, pp. 712-13.

to Greeks or Bulgarians during the Balkan wars and were therefore extremely hostile toward Christians, including Armenians. The Ittihadists finally prevailed and succeeded in removing Jelal Bey from his post.[35] According to a report, upon being recalled, Jelal Bey "had left the exiles' tents with tears in his eyes," and soon thereafter "more than 80,000 Armenians—men, women and children—were driven away from their tents and directed towards the south, beaten along with whips and clubs."[36] Jelal Bey had rejected or delayed the order for the thousands of refugees arriving in Konia from different vilayets to march on to Bozanti and Aleppo. Patriarch Zaven Der Yeghiayan credited him for the delay in the deportation of the local Armenians.[37]

By July 1915, the Armenian population had been disarmed of what little weapons they possessed, its leadership was decimated, and its youth and soldiers were eliminated to preclude any resistance against the genocidal scheme. The *New York Times* reported:

> Throughout the vilayets of Erzerum, Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Harput, Sivas, and Adana, the Armenians have been pitilessly evicted by tens of thousands and driven off to die in the desert near Konia or to Upper Mesopotamia. . . . It is safe to say that unless Turkey is beaten to its knees very speedily there will soon be no more Christians in the Ottoman Empire.[38]

In a telegram, Catholicos Gevorg V pleaded with Boghos Nubar, his personal envoy in Europe, to find a means to prevent the Young Turks' "infernal plan"; the Young Turk government, the supreme patriarch noted, was implementing a "plan to exterminate the Armenian nation by deporting them from Armenia and Cilicia to Konia and Mesopotamia."[39]

[35] Akuni, *Milion*, p. 229.

[36] *Treatment of Armenians*, Doc. 113, "Konia: Resume of a Letter Dated Konia, 2nd/15th October, 1915; Appended to the Memorandum (Doc. 11), Dated 15th/28th October, 1915, from a Well-Informed Source at Bukarest," p. 437.

[37] Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, p. 73.

[38] "Turks are Evicting Native Christians," *New York Times*, July 12, 1915, p. 4.

[39] Bibliothèque Nubar (Paris), Catholicos Gevorg V to Boghos Nubar, July 18, 1915, in *Boghos Nubar's Papers and the Armenian Question, 1915-1918: Documents*, ed. and trans. Vatche Ghazarian (Waltham, MA: Mayreni Publishing, 1996), p. 180, cited hereafter as *Boghos Nubar's Papers*. Boghos Nubar (1851-1930) was the son of Nubar Pasha (1825-1899), who had served as prime minister

In Bursa and its environs, hostilities towards Armenians intensified beginning in March 1915. Across the vilayet, Armenian houses were searched for weapons, and after weeks of arrests and persecution, about 170 prominent community leaders were arrested in the city and its surroundings, nearly all of whom were exiled southward and murdered near the town of Adranos (Edrenos).[40] In the meantime, authorities searched for weapons inside a church but found none. When Prelate Barkev Tanielian of Bursa protested the searches, the police arrested him and his secretary Sukias Durgerian and after several weeks ordered the prelate exiled to Deir el-Zor.[41]

Armenians in increasing numbers were deported starting on July 22 under the supervision of the Ittihadists Mehmedche and Ibrahim Bey. A group of seventy-five people was dispatched to Orkhan-Eli (Orhaneli) on that day, and by the end of July, an estimated 400 Armenians had been exiled to Orkhan-Eli, where all, tied together in groups of forty, were lowered to the nearby Garanlik Dere gorge and shot to death. Two weeks later, on August 14, the government issued the deportations order for Armenians to prepare to leave within three days. Enthused by the declaration, the local Turks attacked Armenian houses and shops. Between August 17 and 20, caravans of refugees, about 1,800 Armenian families, marched out of Bursa city along the railroad tracks towards Eski-Shehir, Konia, and Bozanti to the Syrian desert. Then by the end of August 1915, the Armenian inhabitants in the region of Eski-Shehir were deported. At first, Catholic and Protestant Armenians were exempted, but soon they, too, were forced to leave. Austro-Hungarian Consul L. Trano reported that an estimated 9,000 individuals had been sent from Bursa to Bilejik and Konia, about 7,000 by rail and 1,800 by

of Egypt. Succinct background on Boghos Nubar and the Armenian National Delegation is given in the introduction, pp. xvii-xxxiii.

[40] *Treatment of Armenians*, Doc. 101, "Broussa: Report by a Foreign Visitor to the City, Dated 24th September, 1915; Communicated by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief," p. 396.

[41] Akuni, *Milion*, pp. 239-40; Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, pp. 87, 136; Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (A.M.A.E.), Guerre 1914-1918, *Turquie*, tome 887, f. 182, M. Defrance, Ministre de France au Caire, à M. Delcassé, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Dépêche no. 270, Sept. 3, 1915, encl., and ff. (folios) 184-187, Lettre envoyée de Constantinople à Mgr. Ghévond Tourian et transmise par ce dernier à l'archevêché arménien d'Égypte, June 30/July 13, 1915, in Beylerian, *Les grandes puissances*, pp. 60-63.

foot. By the time the deportations in Bursa had come to an end, no more than 2,000 refugees survived in the regions of Kutahia and Konia.[42] Harry Stuermer, Constantinople correspondent for *Kölnische Zeitung* in 1915-16, reported:

> In the flourishing western vilajets of Anatolia, beginning with Brussa and Adabazar, where the well-stocked farms in Armenian hands must have been an eyesore to a Government that had written "forcible nationalization" on their standard, the whole household goods of respectable families were thrown into the street and sold for a mere nothing, because their owners often had only an hour till they were routed out by the waiting gendarme and hustled off into the Interior.[43]

The deportations from Afion-Karahisar began on August 16, 1915. Although orders to leave had arrived several weeks earlier, the *kaymakam* (county governor) Servet Bey refused to comply as he found no justification for such a policy. Servet Bey's stance caused a brief delay in the deportations, but, as in the case of Jelal Bey and other officials who were unwilling to obey deportation orders, he, too, was removed from office and replaced by Shevket, a loyal supporter of the Ittihadists, with the support of Besim, the secretary of the local Ittihad committee, and Osman Nuri, head of the gendarmerie. Armenians from Afion-Karahisar were exiled to Konia in two separate groups, one totaling about 16,000 people and the other 11,000. While the first group reached Konia by rail or on foot, the second group had been forced to walk some distance from Afion-Karahisar, as the railway was being used by the military. The 350 families who were granted exemption from the deportation orders were first permitted to convert to Islam, but being suspected of having retained their Armenian identity they were forced out a year later, in October 1916, after suffering various outrages at the hands of local authorities.[44]

[42] Akuni, *Milion*, pp. 242-44; Kévorkian, *Le génocide des Arméniens*, pp. 695-96.

[43] Harry Stuermer, *Two War Years in Constantinople: Sketches of German and Young Turkish Ethics and Politics*, trans. E. Allen (New York: George H. Doran, 1917), pp. 52-53.

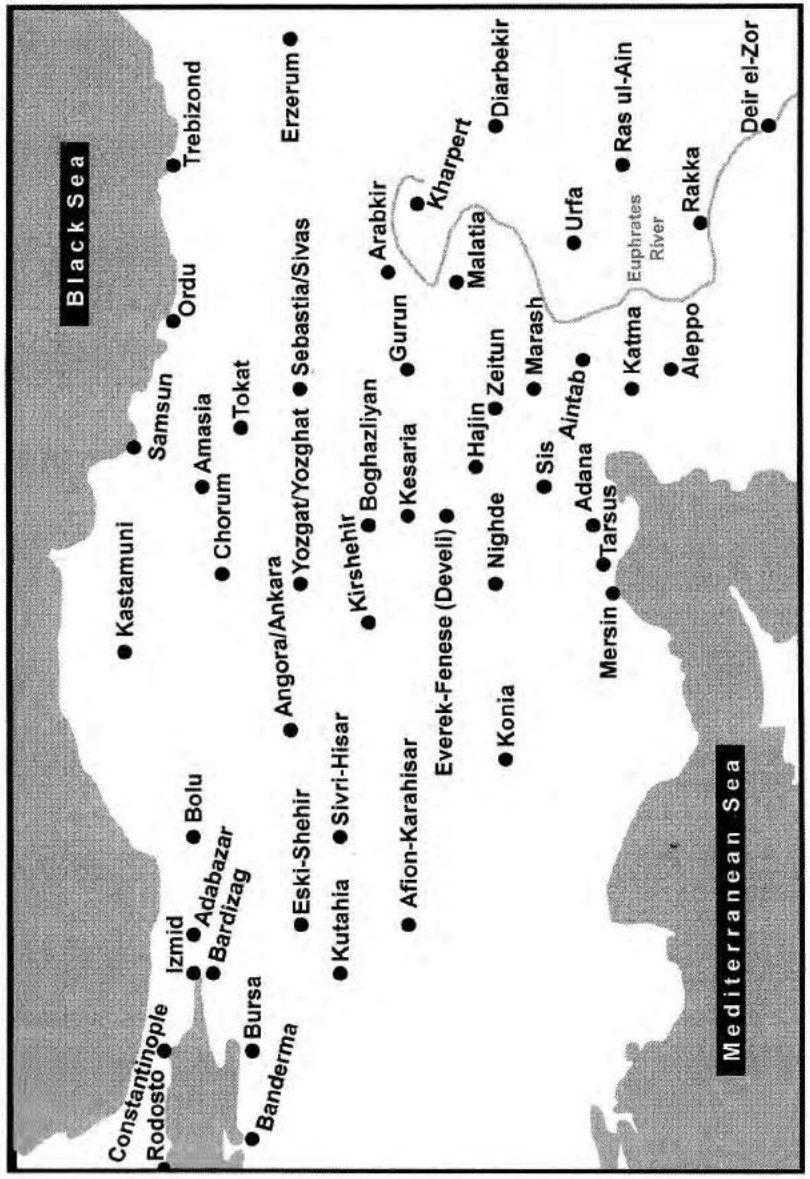
[44] Akuni, *Milion*, pp. 233-37; *Treatment of Armenians*, Doc. 107, "Afiun Kara Hissar: Resume of a Letter Dated Afiun Kara Hissar, 2nd/15th October, 1915; Appended to the Memorandum (Doc. 11), Dated 15/28th October, 1915, from a

Armenians in the *kaza* (district) of Bazarkoy in Bursa vilayet numbered more than 22,200 in 1910 and were concentrated mainly in the six towns of Keramet, Medz Norkiugh, Ortakoy (Michakiugh), Soloz, Benli, and Chengiler (Chingiler). In Chengiler, located north of the port of Gemlik near the southeastern shores of the Sea of Marmara, government and public hostility toward the local Armenians escalated soon after the general mobilization in 1914. By late July 1915, as rumors of impending deportations spread, several prominent Armenians in Chengiler and surrounding villages petitioned the authorities either with offers of money if the latter so desired or conversion to Islam in lieu of exile. Their pleas were rejected; conversion to Islam no longer offered an escape from deportation and death.[45] In the meantime, the Ittihadists removed from office all provincial authorities suspected of disloyalty, and in early August the Armenians from the towns of Ortakoy, Soloz, Benli, Keramet, and the surrounding villages were deported southward to Eski-Shehir. On August 4, the military surrounded Chengiler and ordered the 1,200 Armenian families to leave. By the end of August, nearly the entire Armenian population in the region (with the exception of 10 or so Protestant families) had been forcibly removed and sent to Eski-Shehir and Konia on their way to the Syrian desert. Many of the men were murdered as they marched to Eski-Shehir. These refugee caravans were followed, also in August, by nearly 10,000 Armenians in towns and villages dotting the region between Banderma (Bandirma) and Balikesir. The Armenians of Benli briefly resisted but unable to defend themselves instead torched the harvest before leaving their homes and lands behind.[46]

Well-Informed Source at Bukarest," p. 417; Kévorkian, *Le génocide des Arméniens*, pp. 703-04.

[45] Akuni, *Milion*, pp. 239, 245-46; Archivio Secreto Vaticano, Delegatione Apost. Di Turchi, Mgr. Angelo Maria Dolci, délégué du Vatican à Constantinople, fasc. "Persecuzione e massacre contri gli Armeni," vol. 5, 93, f. 43, Rapport sur les persecutions arméniennes, 5/18 juin 1916; and Mgr. Angelo Maria Dolci, Persecuzione armena Proposte al governo in favore degli Armeni persequitati, août 1916, in *Revue d'histoire arménienne contemporaine*, numéro spécial: *L'extermination des déportés arméniens ottomans dans les camps de concentration de Syrie-Mésopotamie (1915-1916), la deuxiéme phase du génocide*, ed. Raymond H. Kévorkian, 2 (1998): 240-41.

[46] Akuni, *Milion*, pp. 246-48, 288; Palakian, *Hay Goghgotan*, vol. 1, p. 163; Kévorkian, *Le génocide des Arméniens*, p. 698.



Routes of Deportation

As in the case of Jelal Pasha in Konia, a number of local officials, most prominently *mutassarif* (district governor) Fayik Ali Bey, Fuad Pasha, Rahmi Bey, as well as many local Turks protected the Armenians in Kutahia and approximately 2,000 refugees dispersed in the area against the deportation orders. They were not deported until the postwar Kemalist movement consolidated power.[47]

The mass deportations in the sanjak of Izmid began in early August 1915. On July 31, 1915, 200 Turkish soldiers surrounded the town of Arslanbeg (Aslanbeg) near Izmid, arrested hundreds of men, and removed the entire Armenian population of 3,500 to the town of Derbent near Konia. In late July and early August, news spread of the "impending deportation" of the Armenians in the Bardizag-Adabazar region.[48] The Armenians in Bardizag, Adabazar, Arslanbeg, Bilejik, Ovajik, and Khaskal were subjected to atrocities. Local Muslims and the muhajirs plundered and razed Armenian houses and churches to the ground before their owners were forced to march out eastward to Eski-Shehir and Konia. By the middle of August, nearly all 20,000 Armenians in the towns and villages in the Izmid-Ovajik-Bardizag region were deported to Konia without any resistance, except for some youth who fled to the nearby mountains. The deportations in the city of Izmid lasted for several days. Nearly the entire Armenian quarter of Izmid city was razed to the ground in late August, including the Armenian prelacy, the girls' school, 400 individual houses, and a score of other Armenian institutions and shops.[49] These brutal attacks on the Armenian communities were

[47] Archives du Ministère de la Guerre (A.M.G.), 7 N 1283, Secret, Rapport provenant du Service des Renseignement anglais au Ministère de la Guerre, May 30, 1916, in Beylerian, *Les grandes puissances*, pp. 208-09; Akuni, *Milion*, pp. 243-44, 251-53; Chormisian, *Hamapatker*, vol. 3, pp. 487-88; Kévorkian, *Le génocide des Arméniens*, pp. 702-03; Naslian, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 350.

[48] Morgenthau Papers, Diary, Aug. 2, 1915.

[49] DE/PA-AA/BoKon/170, Notes by the Consul General of the German Embassy in Constantinople (Mordtmann), Aug. 4, 1915, trans. Vera Draack, and DE/PA-AA/BoKon/170, A53a/1915/4857, Chairman of the Baghdad Railway in Constantinople Franz Johannes Guenther to the Legation Councilor of the German Embassy in Constantinople Neurath, Correspondence, Aug. 21, 1915, trans. Linda Struck, in Gust, *Documentation*; Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, p. 73; Akuni, *Milion*, pp. 270-71, 275-78, 286; Chormisian, *Hamapatker*, vol. 3, pp. 485-86, 582-83. On the destruction of valuable manuscripts at Armash Seminary, see H. Topjian, "Antsanot haykakan orinagirk me" [An Unknown Armenian Lawbook], in *Amenun taretsoytse, 1924* [Everyone's Almanac, 1924], ed. Teodik

rationalized on grounds of military security: German Naval Attaché, Humann, after a conversation with Enver, reported that the minister of war was convinced of "a conspiracy, whereby about 30,000 Armenians in the area around Adapazar-Ismid wanted to support a Russian landing at Sakaria."[50] By September, many of the towns and villages in the region, including the community in Armash located northeast of Izmid, had been emptied of their Armenian inhabitants.

Upon the Patriarchate's appeal, the authorities sent several seminarians and staff at Armash to Constantinople, while they deported the abbot, most of the monks, and the teachers to Konia; the government also confiscated the monastery and its properties.[51] The Catholic Armenians in Izmid were deported as well, "in the same manner as the Gregorians [Apostolics], their district was burned down, their possessions sold, supposedly for the benefit of the expellees, but in truth to enrich the Turkish officials."[52] One source identifies the following culprits as responsible for the implementation of the Ittihadist genocidal scheme in Izmid: Nuzhet Pasha, Haji Mukhbir Ali, Ali Vasfi, Haji Myurteza Ahmed, Bakal Jemal, Haji Rifat, Cholak Hakke, among others.[53]

By the end of August 1915, the regions of Adabazar were cleared nearly of all the Armenian inhabitants, including about 4,510 people from the neighboring towns of Bey Yayla, Kara Aghaj (Karaharac), Artaki Chiftlik, and Alinja. The few remaining Armenians were finally removed in May 1916. About 25,000 Armenians from Adabazar and neighboring towns were deported

(Paris: H.B. Turabian, 1924), pp. 144-47; Levon Vardan, *Zhamanakagrutiun Haykakan Tasnhingi, 1915-1923* [Chronology of the Armenian Fifteen, 1915-1923] (Beirut: Atlas, 1975), p. 52; Arthur C. Ryan, "Statement of the Misrule of Turkey and Her Cruel Treatment of Non-Moslem Subjects," in Barton, *"Turkish Atrocities,"* p. 183.

[50] DE/PA-AA/BoKon/170, Embassy register A53a/1915/4647, Notes of the Naval Attaché, Humann, Conversation between Humann and Enver, Aug. 6, 1915, trans. Robert Berridge, and DE/PA-AA/R14087, 1915-A-24507, Ambassador in Extraordinary Mission in Constantinople (Hohenlohe-Langenburg) to the Reichskanzler (Bethmann Hollweg), Report, No. 501, Aug. 12, 1915, encl., Memorandum, Aug. 9, 1915, in Gust, *Documentation*.

[51] Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, p. 73.

[52] DE/PA-AA/R14090, 1916-A-05914, MP Matthias Erzberger, to the Legation Councilor in the Foreign Office, Rosenberg, March 3, 1916, encl., "The Situation of the Catholic Armenians," trans. Vera Draack, in Gust, *Documentation*.

[53] Akuni, *Milion*, p. 278.

to Mosul through Konia; those who could afford it left on a freight train, while the rest marched on foot. In addition, in mid-August 1915, the Armenian inhabitants of Karaman and Ereghli, located halfway between Konia and Adana, were exiled to Syria. The few remaining Armenians, mainly craftsmen and those permitted to embrace Islam, were saved from the deportations.[54]

By the end of August, thousands of refugees from other regions had arrived and camped at Konia, from where they were subsequently sent to Tarsus (which the authorities claimed to be in a state of war[55]) and to Aleppo on their way to Deir el-Zor and Mosul. Most of them were murdered some distance from their towns, and their houses and shops were looted and seized by Muslims.[56] According to one report, the government treated the Protestant Armenians better than the Apostolic Armenians: "The Protestants, in Adabazar especially, were in good favor with the Government, and their condition is somewhat hopeful."[57]

In late August 1915, the Armenian Prelate of Bulgaria, Archbishop Ghevont Turian, reported the following estimated number of Armenians killed, died of starvation and famine, disappeared, or abducted on their road to exile: Izmid, 65,000; Armash, 5,000; Bursa, 25,000; and Banderma, 15,000.[58] A German observer reported:

> Almost all of the Armenians from this area have disappeared. Entire villages are uninhabited. Some of the houses have been sealed, but they are completely empty. Furniture and similar objects were stored in depots, but seem to disappear from there.
>
> The Armenian quarter in Ismid was burned down.
>
> In individual villages only children, particularly girls, were left behind.
>
> Adapazar is almost completely deserted; almost all the stores are closed. Craftsmen, shoemakers, tailors, etc., are missing.
>
> Almost all the towns must do without doctors, pharmacists, etc.
>
> The silk industry, particularly in the area around Geive, has been completely suspended; the spinning mills are closed; only a few Greeks are still working, but they are also being treated badly.
>
> Farming was also mainly in the hands of the Armenians. The difference between Armenian and Turkish fields is unmistakable, i.e. almost nothing grows on the latter.
>
> Bildjik is a clean, small town with large houses; now, it is inhabited by only a few Turks.
>
> I saw no acts of violence, but it is obvious that the people are given nothing to eat on the journey.
>
> The Armenians are sent by train to Konia and from there on foot, "in order," as a Kaymakam said, "to establish a kingdom for themselves in the desert."[59]

In an urgent letter to Archbishop Ghevont Turian, Patriarch Zaven wrote in August 1915:

> The project is now being implemented even near Constantinople. Most Armenians living in the Provinces of Izmit and Brusa are now being forcibly taken to the deserts of Mesopotamia, leaving their homes, lands, and belongings. Already the people of Adapazar, Nicomedia . . ., the villages of Geyveh, Armash and vicinity, and the villages near Izmit—with the exception of Bardizag [Bahchejik], which has been given a deadline of several days—have been taken away.[60]

The Danish minister at Constantinople, Carl Ellis Wandel, in a confidential report to Foreign Minister Erik Scavenius stated that "Even the Gregorian [Apostolic] Armenians, who have distanced themselves from all nationalist ideas to the extent that they have abandoned their mother tongue and have embraced the

[54] Ibid., pp. 231, 269-70, 286; Kévorkian, *Le génocide des Arméniens*, pp. 713-14.

[55] Morgenthau Papers, Diary, July 15, 1915.

[56] Lepsius, *Rapport secret*, pp. 157-61; Ryan, "Statement," p. 182.

[57] *Treatment of Armenians*, Doc. 102, "Adabazar: Statement, Dated 24th September, 1915, by a Foreign Resident in Turkey; Communicated by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief," p. 399.

[58] Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (A.M.A.E.), Guerre 1914-1918, *Turquie*, tome 887, f. 220, Dépêche no. 400, M. Viviani, Président du Conseil, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères *p.i.*, à M. Jusserand, Ambassadeur de France à Washington, Oct. 22, 1915, encl., and ff. 226-228, Mgr. Ghévond Tourian des Arméniens de Bulgarie, à Boghos Nubar Pacha, Président de la Délégation Nationale Arméniens, Aug. 12/25, 1915, in Beylerian, *Les grandes puissances*, pp. 128, 132-34. See also DE/PA-AA/R14087, Der Gesandte in Sofia (Michahelles) an den Reichskanzler (Bethmann Hollweg) [Minister in Sofia (Michahelles) to the Chancellor (Bethmann Hollweg)], Report, No. 123, Sept. 12, 1915, encl., Memorandum, in Gust, *Documentation*.

[59] DE/PA-AA/BoKon 97/Nr. 87-89, Notes of Thilo von Westernhagen, Correspondence, Oct. 2, 1915, trans. Vera Draack, in Gust, *Documentation*.

[60] Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, p. 90.

Turkish language as their own, are being persecuted."[61]

Although located in Rumelia, that is, Turkey in Europe, across from the Sea of Marmara rather than in Asia Minor, the genocidal events in Adrianople/Edirne and the sanjak of Rodosto were similar to those unfolding in Izmid, Bursa, and Konia. The deported Armenian population from the regions of Edirne and Rodosto was sent to Konia, Bozanti, and the Syrian desert. In the vilayet of Edirne, several Armenians were arrested in April and May 1915.[62] In August, weeks before the mass deportations in the city, Armenians were removed from all positions of public administration and finance, and the entire community was prohibited from travel within the province or abroad and subjected to wholesale persecutions. By the end of August, fifty men were imprisoned or deported, and on October 10, about forty-five were arrested and transferred first to Constantinople and on to the interior. The Armenians in Edirne city were deported in two phases, the first caravan, numbering 1,600 persons, in late October and the second on February 16-18, 1916. On the night of October 27-28 and for the rest of the week, without any warning, about 1,600 Armenian men and women were forced out of their beds and driven from their homes, while about 300 Armenian stores in the Ali Pasha bazaar were destroyed. The exiled were sent to Konia, Eski-Shehir, Aleppo, and Deir el-Zor. Those remaining behind were forced to convert to Islam.[63]

The deportations in the sanjak of Rodosto, home to 17,000 Armenians, including about 7,000 persons in the town of Rodosto (Tekirdagh), began in September. On September 21, prominent Armenians were forced out of the city and sent by railway to

[61] DK/RA-UM/Gruppeordnede sager 1909-1945, 139. D. 1, "Tyrkiet - Indre Forhold." Pakke 1, til 31 dec. 1916, Minister in Constantinople (Carl Ellis Wandel) to the Foreign Minister (Erik Scavenius), Confidential Report, No. 113, Sept. 4, 1915, trans. Matthias Bjørnlund, in Gust, *Documentation*.

[62] Archives du Ministère de la Guerre (A.M.G.), 7 N 2096, Rapport provenant du Service des Renseignements anglais au Ministère de la Guerre, Athens, May 5, 1915, in Beylerian, *Les grandes puissances*, pp. 18-19.

[63] Teodik, "Goghgota," p. 287; *Treatment of Armenians*, Doc. 98, "The Metropolitan Districts: Information Published in the Armenian Journal 'Gotchnag' of New York," p. 390; Doc. 100, "Adrianople: Despatch from the Correspondent of the London 'Times' at Bukarest, Dated 18th December and Published on the 21st December, 1915," p. 394; Akuni, *Milion*, pp. 257-60, 262-65; Kévorkian, *Le génocide des Arméniens*, pp. 681-84; Chormisian, *Hamapatker*, p. 484.

Constantinople and on to Konia. This was followed by several additional groups, totaling 2,850 Armenians, sent to Aleppo, Meskene, and Deir el-Zor. Before the deportations came to an end in February 1916, about 6,765 Armenians were deported from the town of Rodosto, and 13,000 from the sanjak.[64]

In September 1915 during a meeting with Talaat, Patriarch Zaven pleaded to put an end to the deportations and massacres, but Talaat responded: "The people being uprooted now are the ones who committed savagery against the Muslim population during the Bulgarian occupation of Rodosto."[65] In late October, the government deported the entire Armenian communities of Chorlu, Gallipoli, Malgara (Malkara), Silivri, and other towns in Edirne vilayet, and Turkish refugees from the Balkans were permitted to occupy the Armenian houses.

On the Anatolian Railroad

The region of Konia became a central station for refugees arriving on railcars or trekking along the Baghdad Railway from as far west as Edirne, Rodosto, Malgara, as well as Bilejik, Eski-Shehir, Afion-Karahisar, Kutahia, Angora, and the neighboring regions, totaling more than 150,000 refugees, women, children, and the elderly, arriving in small and large groups and continuing their torturous journey to Ereghli (Ereğli/Erekli) and Bozanti. The deported were then forced to leave the railway and march through Islahiye and Katma to Deir el-Zor, where they were dispersed across the Syrian desert.[66] As the deportations escalated, thousands of Armenian refugees converged along the railway tracks of the Anatolian/Baghdad Railway with refugees from across the Anatolian plain. The primary railway line stretched eastwardly from Smyrna toward the Anti-Taurus Mountain range, passing by the cities and towns of Afion-Karahisar, Tchai, Ilgin, Konia, Kachin-Khan, Ereghli, across the three vilayets of Aidin, Konia, and Adana, over the Anti-Taurus Range to the terminus at Bozanti/Karabunar. At times, as the

[64] Teodik, "Goghgota," pp. 290, 292; Akuni, *Milion*, pp. 262-63; Kévorkian, *Le génocide des Arméniens*, pp. 684-85.

[65] Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, p. 81.

[66] Ibid., p. 72; Palakian, *Hay Goghgotan*, vol. 2, pp. 120-21; Kévorkian, *Le génocide des Arméniens*, pp. 716-23; Barby, *Au pays de l'épouvante*, p. 97; Chormisian, *Hamapatker*, vol. 3, p. 485.

ever increasing number of caravans converged at Konia, between 40,000 and 50,000 refugees were pressed into thousands of tents on the outskirts of the city with little or no food or provisions. Many of them were killed and buried in open fields near the camps.[67] Cognizant of the difficulties created by the refugees crowding the railroads and stations during the transportation of the army, the interior ministry issued a circular in August 1915 directing the local authorities to avoid further concentration of refugees along the railroads.[68]

Eyewitness reports indicated that while the deportees were less exposed to attacks by *chete* brigand bands than their compatriots in the eastern provinces, they were nevertheless subjected to brutal treatment. "From Eski Shehr to Konia the uplands are covered with the tents occupied by the Armenians. This frightful suffering inspires no pity in the ruthless officials, who throw themselves upon their wretched victims, armed with whips and cudgels, without distinction of sex or age," stated one report.[69] Dr. William Dodd of the American hospital at Konia observed:

> On the railway, the refugees were packed into cars—baggage-cars, cattle-cars—after having been compelled to pay their railway fare. They were packed into the cars with their bundles of clothing and bedding as thick as it was possible to crowd them on the floor, then a platform half-way up was also filled, and then many were compelled to go on top of the car. . . .
>
> The scenes of suffering under these conditions can be imagined. As they passed the station I saw them crying out for water, piteously stretching out their hands through the bars, and asking for mercy.

Dodd reported to Morgenthau that during the first week of August hundreds of Armenians deported from the region of Adabazar had arrived at Konia "on train after train" forty to forty-five in each box car, after a journey of four to five days. The women paid their full fare to Konia of 180 piasters, while the men walked. At Konia station, at night the refugees were

[67] Akuni, *Milion*, p. 228.

[68] Alpoyachian, *Patmutiun Hay Kesarioy*, vol. 2, p. 1458.

[69] *Treatment of Armenians*, Doc. 105, "Eski Shehr: Letter from an Armenian Victim Published in the Armenian Journal 'Horizon,' of Tiflis, 30th October/12th November, 1915," p. 414.

forced to sleep outside, where the Armenian women and girls became preys to Turkish sexual predation. At Adabazar, they had been told that Konia was their final destination, but now they learned for the first time that they were to go "to the Desert." On Saturday, August 7, the authorities ordered 2,000 refugees to resume their march on the next morning at 2:00 a.m. without waiting for the male members of their families. While a few women were successful in gaining safe haven for their daughters with Muslim or foreign families, almost all moved on eastward to the end of the railway at Bozanti, where the conditions were "dreadful in the extreme." A railway conductor reportedly commented to Dodd: "it is hell on earth, women and girls in groups wailing and shrieking for bread, men lying on their backs too weak to move crying for bread, unburied bodies of the dead lying about." Dodd wrote: "The Pass below is filled with bands of 'Chettes' marauders who are waiting to swoop down on them, and these are authorized by the Government. . . . All reports that the Government are providing food are *absolutely false*, those who have money can buy, those who have none beg or starve."[70] The deportation to Ereghli, Dodd wrote, had stopped for now perhaps because of the congestion in refugee traffic. About 10,000 refugees were located at Ereghli, a region known as malarial, with little protection from the elements. "Dysentery is already among them. I expect to hear of cholera any day." Dodd wrote that "the stench from the whole region was so great that the Turks of the city complained to the Government that their health was endangered by the wind from these encampments." The arrival of thousands of refugees from the west created a congestion of refugee traffic stretching from Konia to Ereghli and Bozanti/Karabunar. To relieve the congestion, the authorities forced some of the refugees to the Turkish villages, where they were subjected to further atrocities.[71] Although the Turks in Konia were "noted for their mildness," their temper was rapidly changing as papers published articles against the Armenians "as traitors, as revolutionists, telling of atrocities committed by them in Van, 60,000 Turks killed by them etc, everything to influence their minds and poison their

[70] Morgenthau Papers, General Correspondence, Container 7, Dodd to Morgenthau, Aug. 15, 1915, pp. 1-3 (italics in original).

[71] Dodd, "Report," pp. 145-46, 149.

thoughts. It is the same course," Dodd added, "that I saw at the time of the massacres twenty years ago."[72]

Finally, Dodd stated, the purpose of this "awful slaughter" is "the utter destruction of the Armenians":

> It is massacre but concealed, and in a more devilish form, more cold-blooded and calculating. It is cunningly contrived to bring out all their money and make them spend every cent in hope of coming through, and then death in the end. . . . I have heard of reassuring telegrams from Enver Pacha ordering every protection to be given, saying that every provision would be made for them on the way, that they would be sent no further than Konia, etc. All are lies and mere blinds to have them to show to inquiring friends.[73]

A passenger traveling by train from the Haidar Pasha station on the Asiatic shore of Constantinople to Aleppo reported that refugee camps dotted the land along the railroad. In Alayund, thousands of Armenians were placed in a large camp. About 12,000 Armenians were held at a camp across from the train station at Afion-Karahisar when his train passed by, and at times between 50,000 and 60,000 refugees could be found there. "The further one travels to the east, the greater the number of dead," he reported.[74] During the first two weeks of September, thousands of additional surviving refugees gathered along the railway tracks with refugees from various parts of Asia Minor, Afion-Karahisar to Konia en route to Bozanti and to the desert.[75]

[72] Morgenthau Papers, General Correspondence, Container 7, Dodd to Morgenthau, Aug. 15, 1915, p. 5.

[73] Ibid., pp. 4-6.

[74] DE/PA-AA/BoKon 97/Nr. 152-161, Chairman of the Baghdad Railway in Constantinople, Franz Johannes Guenther, to the Chargé d'Affaires of the Embassy Constantinople (Neurath), Nov. 1, 1915, encl., trans. Vera Draack, in Gust, *Documentation*.

[75] *Treatment of Armenians*, Doc. 106, "Afiun Kara Hissar: Letter Dated Afiun Kara Hissar, 10th/23rd September, 1915; Published in the Armenian Journal 'Horizon' of Tiflis, 30th October/12th November, 1915," p. 416; Doc. 107, "Afiun Kara Hissar: Resume of a Letter Dated Afiun Kara Hissar, 2nd/15th October, 1915; Appended to the Memorandum (Doc. 11), Dated 15/28th October, 1915, from a Well-Informed Source at Bukarest," p. 417; Doc. 109, "Q. [Konia], Report from Dr. D. [Dodd], Dated Q. [Konia], 8th September, 1915; Communicated by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief," pp. 421-25; Doc. 113, "Konia: Resume of a Letter Dated Konia, 2nd/15th October, 1915; Appended to the Memorandum (Doc. 11), Dated 15th/28th October, 1915, from a Well-Informed Source at Bukarest," p. 437.

According to the British *Blue Book*, the deportation of Armenians from these regions was delayed by about two months because of heavy congestion on the railway "rather than any clemency on the Government's part. . . . The Armenians further down the line had been sent off in June and July, and the metropolitan districts had to wait until the consequent congestion had abated."[76]

On August 6, 1915, the Greek vice consul in Konia reported:

> Armenian inhabitants of the villages around Constantinople, Adabazar, and elsewhere arrive here daily by the trainload. They stop here for two days and are then dispatched to the interior of the country, by train to a certain point and thence on foot to Aleppo and Baghdad. It may quite well be said that these unfortunate people are being sent to their death, for it is by now certain that not one of them will reach the end of this long journey alive.[77]

By November 1915, a "pitiful mass" of 11,000 refugees in Afion-Karahisar, consisting of Armenians from towns and villages in the sanjak of Izmid, the vilayet of Bursa (Balikesir, Banderma, Gemlik, Marmarajik, Adabazar, Yalova, Medz Norkiugh, Chengiler, and Keramet) and Angora city, joined 16,000 refugees from Afion-Karahisar on their march south and southeastwardly. The journal *Horizon* of Tiflis reported: "The rich have become poor, and the poor, naked, famished and deplorably miserable, without help and without hope, are compassed by all the terrors of death."[78]

The famed Armenian satirist Yervant Odian (1869-1926), who was taken to the Shishli police station in Constantinople before being deported to Deir el-Zor, en route between Ereghli

[76] *Treatment of Armenians*, p. 389. See also Archives centrales de la Marine (A.C.M.), SS A 166, Rapport du Service des Informations de la Marine dans le Levant au Ministère de la Marine, Port Said, Feb. 21, 1918, in Beylerian, *Les grandes puissances*, pp. 506-09.

[77] Archives of the Hellenic Foreign Ministry, 1915/K/10, *Persecutions and Massacres of the Armenians by the Turks*, no. 146 (Konya, Aug. 6, 1915) as quoted in Ioannis K. Hassiotis, The Armenian Genocide and the Greek Response: Response and Records, in *The Armenian Genocide: History, Politics, Ethics*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p. 145.

[78] *Treatment of Armenians*, Doc. 106, "Afiun Kara Hissar," p. 416.

and Bozanti saw 5,000 to 6,000 Armenian refugees—women, children, and the elderly living in tents; they were mostly from Eski-Shehir, Adabazar, Izmid, Arslanbeg, Karadagh, Konia, and as far west as Edirne.[79] At Islahiye, Odian saw 40,000 to 50,000 Armenian refugees placed in about 7,000 tents, almost all from Bilejik, Izmid, Adabazar, Bardizag, Banderma, Angora, Eski-Shehir, Kastamuni, Mudania, and other parts of western Asia Minor, as well as Rodosto.[80]

On his return from Constantinople to Konia in September 1915, Wilfred M. Post, an American medical doctor who was born in Turkey, estimated between 12,000 and 15,000 refugees at Eski-Shehir, 5,000 at Alayund, and 2,000 at Tchai.[81] He observed:

> All along the way I saw the crowds of wretched and despairing people camping along the railroad or else being driven and beaten by the gendarmes as they were forced along, while train after train of cattle cars packed with the people . . . lay on the side tracks waiting for an opportunity to be sent eastward. When I arrived in Konia there was a vast encampment, for the most part without tents, of about 50,000 Armenian exiles in the fields about the railroad stations.[82]

The Armenian community in Smyrna, while relatively safe, was not protected against persecution and violence. U.S. Consul George Horton at Smyrna reported in July 1915 that the Turkish authorities at Constantinople had accused seven Armenians in Smyrna of political offenses against the Turkish government and

[79] Vartkes Yeghiayan and Ara Arabyan, ed., *The Case of Misak Torlakian* ([United States]: Center for Armenian Remembrance, 2006), p. 72; see also Misak Torlakian, *Orerus het* [Along My Days] (Los Angeles: Horizon Press, 1953), p. 458. In August 1921, Odian served as a witness during the trial, by the postwar British Military Court at Constantinople, of Misak Torlakian, who on July 18, 1921, assassinated former minister of interior of Azerbaijan, Bihbud Khan Jivanshir, in Constantinople. Torlakian sought revenge for the massacre of more than 25,000 Armenians in Baku in September 1918. On Odian, see also Kévorkian, *Le génocide des Arméniens*, p. 723.

[80] Yeghiayan and Arabyan, *Misak Torlakian*, p. 73. On Banderma, Bilejik, and Eski-Shehir, see Naslian, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, pp. 351-54.

[81] Ibid., Doc. 110, "Q. [Konia]: Report from Dr. E.[Post], Dated Q.[Konia], 3rd September, 1915; Communicated by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief," p. 426. See also Docs. 105 and 143.

[82] Post, "Extracts," p. 155.

ordered them to be hanged. Horton requested Morgenthau to intercede to secure a delay for further investigation of the charges, for, Horton insisted, neither the vali nor the military commander believed that these men were "guilty of any offence deserving death." The local authorities petitioned Constantinople for imperial clemency, but in response they were advised that while the accused technically had, under Ottoman law, the right to petition for clemency, the court martial at Smyrna should "hang them immediately and send the petition afterwards." The trial revealed that the authorities were incensed by the pro-Russian sentiments exhibited by Armenians in the Caucasus, although, Horton noted, the Armenians in Smyrna were not responsible for the crisis. Horton added that the true purpose for executing these men was "to intimidate the Armenian race":

> Their execution would be a horrible mistake here even from a Turkish political point of view as many of the most prominent and influential and loyal Ottoman subjects here are Armenians and the proposed execution has filled the entire community with horror and indignation. Moreover as far as I can understand, all the prominent Turks are against it.
>
> This is a peaceful community; up till now we have had no massacres, serious plotting or wholesale hanging, the spectacle of seven Armenians being hanged, generally believed to be innocent, will be a thing not at all salutary for Smyrna from any point of view. . . .
>
> I should add that it is feared that an execution of several Armenians for a political offence may produce the impression among the more ignorant and fanatical Turks that the Armenians have been plotting against the Government and may precipitate a massacre.[83]

Patriarch Zaven estimated that in early September between 200,000 and 300,000 refugees were gathered along the Baghdad railway and were being directed towards Tarsus and thence to Aleppo and to the desert.[84] In a letter to William W. Peet, treasurer of the Bible House at Constantinople, Wilfred Post estimated that by late October some 500,000 Armenians had passed

[83] U.S. National Archives, RG 59, 867.4016/150, Morgenthau to Secretary of State, Sept. 1, 1915, encl., a letter by Horton, July 30, 1915; Morgenthau Papers, General Correspondence, Container 7, Horton to Morgenthau, July 30, 1915.

[84] Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, p. 95.

through Bozanti.[85] By the end of 1915, thousands of Armenian refugees from Erzerum, Trebizond, Sivas, and Kharpert had marched southward to Diarbekir, Urfa, Ras ul-Ain, and Aleppo, where together with refugees from Edirne, Bursa, Konia, and Izmid they trudged on to the desert of Deir el-Zor.

The Second Year

The deportations of the Armenians continued in 1916, and by the end of February 1916, an estimated 300,000 refugees had arrived at Deir el-Zor, 100,000 at the Damascus-Ma'an area, 50,000 at Ras ul-Ain, 20,000 at Homs, 12,000 at Hama, and 10,000 at Rakka, all totaling more than 490,000.[86] According to one estimate, between June 1915 and May 1916, 20,000 Armenian refugees in the Deir el-Zor region were from Constantinople and its vicinity, 10,000 from the vilayet of Konia, and 20,000 from the vilayet of Bursa.[87]

In January 1916, William Peet reported that the list of people in need of relief in Konia and its environs had substantially grown, as more Armenians were deported, including the Protestants, contrary to government assurances. Also, the elderly and the infirm were to have been exempted from deportation, but they too were forced to depart. Villagers were supposed to have been sent to villages and city folks to other cities, a promise completely ignored by government officials. Many of those sent to villages were kept in total isolation with no communication with the outside world. Left with no external support, Peet warned, a large number of them would "simply starve." In the meantime, the local authorities had become even more impervious of the remaining Armenians. The vali of Konia had ignored all Armenian protests and replied that their removal served their own benefit, while a policeman told them that such protests were no longer relevant as "that Moda [style] has

[85] *Treatment of Armenians*, Doc. 112, "Q. [Konia]: Letter, Dated Q. [Konia], 25th November, 1915, from Dr. E. [Post] to Mr. N. [Peet] at Constantinople; Communicated by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief," p. 435.

[86] U.S. National Archives, RG 59, 867.48/271, Jackson to Morgenthau, Feb. 8, 1916; *Treatment of Armenians*, Doc. 139, "Aleppo," pp. 547-50; Lepsius, *Rapport secret*, p. 38; Antonian, *Mets vojire*, p. 52.

[87] Mihran Aghazarian, "Mémoires d'un déporté [à Deir-Zor]," in *Revue d'histoire arménienne contemporaine* 2 (1998): 224.

passed."[88] By late May 1916, approximately 130,000 remaining Armenians in the districts of Tarsus and Konia were also deported and massacred.[89]

In May 1916, petitioning the German embassy in Constantinople, Patriarch Zaven stated:

> The deportations continue. The few families remaining in Kastemonu, Ankara, Marash, Adrianople, etc., have been exiled towards the deserts, and hundreds of men every week are exiled under various pretexts, from Constantinople and Smyrna. . . . In various places, like Rodosto, Adrianople, Kaisaria, Yosgad, Amassia, Samsun, etc., the few Armenian families whose support is from the army, and which for this reason it was allowed them to remain in their homes, not only do not receive the pension which is due them, but they are subjected to all kinds of pressures to embrace Islam. . . . The Armenians found in different places in the provinces of Konia, Adrianople, Bursa, etc., are deprived of the solace of their religion, because the government forbids them from entering their churches to pray there.

Patriarch Zaven pleaded: "Mister Ambassador, I address myself a second time to Your Excellency, in the name of humanity, because I have the firm faith that a power as civilized as Germany can never consent to such a crime, without precedent in the history of humanity, and it can only soften the unjust rage with which the Ottoman Government pursues the Armenian nation."[90]

Having removed most of the Armenian population, in early 1916 the Ittihadists decided to do away with the Armenian Church and notified the Armenian Patriarchate at Constantinople to that effect. In August, the Sublime Porte abolished the Patriarchate and the Catholicosates of Sis and Aghtamar and exiled

[88] Morgenthau Papers, General Correspondence, Container 7, Peet to Morgenthau, Jan. 24, 1916; also in U.S. National Archives, RG 59, 867.4016/267, Morgenthau to Secretary of State, Jan. 30, 1916, encl.

[89] *Treatment of Armenians*, Doc. 14, "Cablegram, Dated 4th May, 1916, Transmitted through the State Department at Washington to the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief at New York, from the Committee's Representatives in Turkey," pp. 29-30.

[90] DE/PA-AA/R14091, Nr. 237, Armenian Patriarch in Constantinople, Zaven, to the German Embassy Constantinople, May 12, 1916, trans. George Shirinian, in Gust, *Documentation*.

Patriarch Zaven Der Yeghiayan to Baghdad.[91] The Armenian Catholic Church suffered a similar fate. Of its fifteen dioceses, eleven had been eliminated by March 1916 (Adana, Angora, Kaiseri, Diarbekir, Erzerum, Kharpert, Malatia, Mardin, Mush, Sivas, and Trebizond), while the dioceses of Marash, Aleppo, Constantinople, and Bursa had survived, despite large losses.[92]

In his lengthy report to the annual meeting of the Ittihad party in September 1916, Talaat, surveying the grievances of the Committee of Union and Progress against the Armenians, focused on Armenian cooperation with the Russian military but also stated that searches at "Ismidt, Bachtchedjik [Bardizag], and Ada Bazar [discovered] hundreds of bombs and forbidden arms. In the monastery of Armiché [Armash], in the school of priests, there were also discovered several bombs of great destructive power and a large number of small arms and bombs."[93]

The Continuation of the Genocide after the War

The Armenian refugees from the eastern provinces were forced to Aleppo and eastward to Meskene and Rakka on the road to Deir el-Zor. Along the banks of the Euphrates River, they joined with exiles from as far away as Rodosto, Bardizag, Adabazar, and towns and villages across Cilicia.[94] Typhus and hunger plagued a large number of the refugees, complemented by murders and wholesale massacres. Not all refugees had arrived at their destination by the time World War I ended in November 1918. Early that year, a French military source reported that an estimated 20,000 Armenian refugees remained in Konia.[95]

[91] Simon Payaslian, "The Destruction of the Armenian Church during the Genocide," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 1:2 (Fall 2006): 149-71; Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, pp. 119-22; Babgen I. Guleserian, *Patmutiun katoghikosats Kilikioy (1441-en minchev mer orere)* [History of the Catholicoses of Cilicia (from 1441 until Our Days)] (Antelias: Catholicosate of Cilicia Press, 1939, 2nd pr., 1990), pp. 925-26, 929-30; Kévorkian, *Le génocide des Arméniens*, pp. 850-51.

[92] DE/PA-AA/R14090, 1916-A-05914, From MP Matthias Erzberger, to the Legation Councilor in the Foreign Office, Rosenberg, March 3, 1916, encl., "The Situation of the Catholic Armenians," trans. Vera Draack, in Gust, *Documentation*.

[93] U.S. National Archives, RG 59, 867.00/791, Ambassador Elkus to Secretary of State, Oct. 14, 1916, encl., trans. clipping from *Hilal*, Sept. 29, 30, 1916, p. 15.

[94] Chormisian, *Hamapatker*, vol. 3, p. 506; Antonian, *Mets vojire*, p. 79.

[95] Archives centrales de la Marine (A.C.M.), SS A 166, Rapport du Service des Informations de la Marine dans le Levant au Ministère de la Marine, Port Said, Feb. 21, 1918, in Beylerian, *Les grandes puissances*, p. 509.

Passing through Konia by rail in September 1918 on his way to Constantinople, Bishop Krikoris Balakian estimated that there were still 25,000 Armenian refugees there.[96]

The Mudros Armistice signed on October 30, 1918, concluded the war between the Allies and the Ottoman Empire, and soon thereafter Patriarch Zaven was permitted to return to Constantinople from exile. He oversaw the organization of relief work and the collection of the orphans. In Constantinople, the Armenians established the Armenian Red Cross, the Vorbahavak Marmin (Orphan Gathering Agency), the Vorbakhnam Marmin (Orphan Care Agency), and the Taragrelots Enkerutiun (Society of Deportees); the latter two merged on February 28, 1919, to form the Hay Azgayin Khnamakalutiun (The Armenian National Welfare Agency). Several orphanages were established in Constantinople after the armistice, including the Guleli Central Orphanage, Beyler Bey Orphanage, Beshiktash Orphanage for Girls, Kum Kapu Orphanage for Girls, and Scutar Orphanage for Girls, and the Armash Agricultural School. The Armash Seminary had remained closed since the deportations in 1915. After the armistice, the returning refugees "expelled the Circassians settled in their villages and repossessed the Monastery."[97]

Many of the Armenian refugees returning to their homes and communities found them nearly or totally destroyed. Refugees coming back to Edirne, Rodosto, Bursa, Izmid, Adabazar, Bilejik, Eski-Shehir, Afion-Karahisar, and other towns and villages suffered yet another experience of despair and depression seeing their houses, gardens, vineyards, and stores destroyed and looted by local Turks and muhajirs.[98] The deportations and massacres during the war had confirmed the view prevalent among the world public and the major powers that Armenians could not live under Turkish rule. There was little consensus, however, regarding the future territorial boundaries of the Ottoman state. No less than the towering figure of Lord Bryce

[96] Palakian, *Hay Goghgotan*, vol. 2, p. 245. According to Yervant Odian, "the Turkish residents of Kutahia petitioned the governor to stop the deportations" in their town. Yeghiayan and Arabyan, *Misak Torlakian*, p. 83.

[97] Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, pp. 175-79, 182; Chormisian, *Hamapatker*, vol. 3, pp. 587-88, 595.

[98] Palakian, *Hay Goghgotan*, vol. 2, p. 273.

maintained that postwar Turkey "had to be confined to Konia and Ankara" and that its territorial integrity was "impossible to save."[99] Meeting with Philippe Berthelot in May 1915, Boghos Nubar, while insisting that Armenians could no longer live under Turkish rule, considered Konia potentially to be designated as the new capital of postwar Turkey.[100] Postwar Turkey, centered at Konia, would encompass Bursa, Angora, and Kastamuni.[101] The Turkish Nationalist *Milli* movement led by Mustafa Kemal (later Ataturk), however, was determined to disabuse all concerned of any notions of dismantling what the Nationalists deemed the Turkish heartland.

Armenian refugees in or from Afion-Karahisar, Sivri-Hisar, Kutahia, Eski-Shehir, Bilejik, Banderma, Brusa and other towns and villages throughout western Asia Minor became caught up in the Greco-Turkish war.[102] The Greek military campaign, commenced with the landing of troops at Smyrna on May 15, 1919, raised hopes that the returning Armenian refugees would enjoy sufficient peace and security to rebuild their communities.[103] Instead, despite the advance and military successes of the Greek army on the battlefield for more than a year, the continued attacks and harassment by the Milli groups rendered conditions in areas under Greek control—encompassing all of Aiden vilayet and the regions of Bursa and Izmid—precarious at best.

In the aftermath of the Mudros Armistice, the British High Commission established in February 1919 the Armenian-Greek Section (AGS) for the purpose of implementing the terms of the armistice.[104] Also in February, the Armenian and Greek patri-

[99] Bibliothèque Nubar (Paris), Doc. 1235-1244, Meeting of Boghos Nubar with Lord Bryce, London, July 2, 1915, in *Boghos Nubar's Papers*, p. 131.

[100] Ibid., Doc. 1022-1029, Meeting of Boghos Nubar with Mr. Philippe Berthelot, Paris, May 12, 1915, p. 31.

[101] Ibid., Doc. 1050-1056, Meeting of Boghos Nubar with Mr. de Margerie, May 22, 1915, p. 47, and Meeting of Boghos Nubar with Maurice Murais, Doc. 1712-1717, Sept. 12, 1916, p. 366.

[102] Naslian, *Les Mémoires*, pp. 148-53.

[103] On the postwar Greek campaign in Turkey, see Michael Llewellyn Smith, *Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor, 1919-1922* (London: Hurst, 1998); A.A. [Alexander Anastasius] Pallis, *Greece's Anatolian Venture—and after: A Survey of the Diplomatic and Political Aspects of the Greek Expedition to Asia Minor, 1915-1922* (London: Methuen, 1937).

[104] British High Commission, *British Reports on Ethnic Cleansing in Anatolia, 1919-1922: The Armenian-Greek Section*, comp. Vartkes Yeghiayan (Glendale, CA: Center for Armenian Remembrance, 2007), cited hereafter as BHC, *British Reports*.

archates of Constantinople submitted to the Paris Peace Conference a document of bilateral agreement which along with numerous stipulations proposed to grant "those lands that legitimately belonged to Greece but [were] forcibly taken from it to be returned to her, and we Armenians declare that our wish is to have Thrace, Constantinople, the Provinces of Aydën and Bursa, and the districts of Biga and Nicomedia joined Greece." Armenians, in turn, would establish a "great Armenia with free and wide access to the Black and Mediterranean Seas, and we Greeks declare that we will be happy to see Cilicia joined in its entirety to the six Armenian Provinces."[105] The agreement made it abundantly clear the undesirability of Turkish rule.

The postwar environment of insecurity, instability, rampant murder, robbery, and general terror wrought upon the Christian population, particularly those Armenian refugees trekking back to their communities, could not be conducive to the imposition of law and order, let alone the institution of justice and the reinstitution of Armenian statehood with access to the seas. At the meetings of the Armenian-Greek Section on April 2 and May 20, 1919, Théotokas, representing the Greek Patriarchate, reported that several murders and thefts had occurred and a general sense of insecurity prevailed in Kirk Kilisse (Edirne vilayet), Bursa, Erdek, Konia, Nighde, and other areas while the local Muslim population was being heavily armed.[106] The chargé d'affaires of the Armenian Patriarchate, Hagop Hamamjian,[107] expressed the view during the April 2 meeting that a military force would be essential for the maintenance of stability and public security and emphasized "the difficulty experienced in reclaiming Christian women from Turkish houses."[108] Meeting a week later, on April 9, 1919, the representatives heard Théotokas complain that CUP (Young Turk) members were hindering the return of refugees to their communities in Bardizag, Gallipoli, Kirk Kilisse, and Gemlik. Krikor Tavitian, a close advisor to Patriarch Zaven, reported the prevalence of physical insecurity in Bardizag and neighboring villages. Armed bands engaged in

Reports.

[105] See the text of the agreement in Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, pp. 195-97.

[106] BHC, *British Reports*, Fifth Meeting, April 2, 1919, pp. 21-24.

[107] Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, p. 200.

[108] BHC, *British Reports*, Fifth Meeting, April 2, 1919, pp. 22-23.

murder terrorized the Christians, many of whom were Armenian deportees returning to their communities. Only a small number of towns, Bursa among them, appeared to have restored the peace.[109] Lieutenant Alwyn Hadkinson, Relief Officer for South Thrace, communicated that the situation in the region remained "very unsatisfactory," and widespread anti-Christian propaganda could only generate further hostilities and bloodshed. There was sufficient evidence to assert that weapons were being distributed to local Muslims "with the knowledge, if not the actual assistance, of Government officials."[110]

In early June 1919, Tavitian estimated that the total number of Armenian refugees in Asia Minor exceeded 320,000. Meanwhile, the Armenian Relief had established twenty-four branches in the eastern Ottoman provinces and orphanages at Bursa, Izmid, and Armash. However, neither the Turkish government nor the Allied Powers possessed the political will to assist the refugees in securing housing. British forces, preferring to concentrate their energies on the occupation of Constantinople, withdrew from Konia and Eski-Shehir in 1919 and were replaced by Greek forces.[111] Konia remained one of the most unstable and, for the Armenians, insecure regions as Kemalist Nationalist forces and numerous brigands armed by them were engaged in assassinations and attacks on Christian communities. Conditions also deteriorated rapidly in Thrace, Chatalja, Bandirma, and Adabazar, creating widespread physical insecurity as Christians came under attack, partly as a reaction of the Turkish Nationalists to the Greek occupation of Smyrna. In March 1920, Tavitian reported that Adabazar, Bilejik, Bardizag, Armash, along with a number of other towns and villages, had become extremely dangerous.[112]

The local Armenians were in no position to assist the Greek or Allied military campaigns. The issue of conscription of Armenians both on the Allied side (that is, the Greek army), on

[109] Ibid., Sixth Meeting, April 9, 1919, pp. 25-26; Seventh Meeting, April 16, 1919, pp. 28-29.

[110] Ibid., Twelfth Meeting, May 20, 1919, p. 49.

[111] Ibid., p. 50; Fourteenth Meeting, June 5, 1919, p. 57; Forty-sixth Meeting, Sept. 15, 1920, p. 171; Seventieth Meeting, Aug. 31, 1921, p. 221; Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, p. 223.

[112] BHC, *British Reports*, Nineteenth Meeting, July 23, 1919, p. 75; Thirty-fourth Meeting, March 10, 1920, p. 131.

the one hand, and by the Kemalists, on the other hand, proved particularly vexing. Alexander Pallis has noted that "the Christian population of Western Asia Minor—both Greek and Armenian—was mainly urban and notoriously unwarlike."[113] Nevertheless, Kemalist troops forced many Armenians into the Nationalist army and Armenian orphans into the Turkish labor battalions.[114] The conferees at the meetings of the Armenian-Greek Section debated the feasibility of conscripting Armenians of Thrace and refugees into the Greek forces. Tavitian, representing the Armenian Patriarchate, agreed that while the Allies were in a position to draft them, such a strategy would further antagonize the Kemalists against the Armenian population who were legally Ottoman citizens, and service in a foreign occupying force would render their actions treasonous and expose them to "certain execution." Further, Tavitian added, conscription of the refugees would jeopardize the lives of their compatriots now under Kemalist control. The conferees agreed that measures be taken to end such action.[115]

In the middle of June 1920, Armenian orphans from the town of Izmid were transferred to Constantinople. According to Teodik, nearly 4,000 Armenians from Izmid were eventually relocated to Rodosto under miserable conditions and in abject poverty.[116] Yet, in an optimistic report published on June 19, the *New York Times* stated: "Negotiations between the Turkish Anatolian Republic and Armenia are proceeding favorably, and an agreement is expected shortly. . . . Armenian refugees who fled from Turkey during the war will be repatriated in Turkish Armenia and granted sufficient land there for their support."[117]

On August 10, 1920, on the same day that the Ottoman Empire and the Allied and Associated Powers signed the Treaty of Sèvres, the entire remaining Armenian male population was forced out of Eski-Shehir and Kutahia, sent to Caesarea and thence to Sivas, Malatia, and Kharpert, and distributed among

[113] Pallis, *Greece's Anatolian Venture*, p. 61.

[114] BHC, *British Reports*, Twenty-fifth Meeting, Oct. 15, 1919, p. 97; Fifty-eighth Meeting, March 16, 1921, p. 197; Eighty-second Meeting, Feb. 15, 1922, p. 258.

[115] Ibid., Sixty-ninth Meeting, Aug. 17, 1921, p. 218; Seventieth Meeting, Aug. 31, 1921, pp. 219-20.

[116] Teodik, "Goghgota," p. 290.

[117] *New York Times*, June 19, 1920.

the Kurdish villages in the area. By then, all Armenian villages that were primarily inhabited by Armenians before the war had been emptied of their Armenian population. Armenian women who continued to live in such areas were forced into "lives of slavery."[118]

The wholesale destruction wrought upon the Christian population, Greeks and Armenians alike, by the Kemalists and affiliated and independent armed bands aimed at removing both communities from what was considered the Turkish heartland. Particularly vulnerable were areas not occupied by British or Greek forces as of August 1920, as in the case of Bursa, Izmid, and Yalova. Where Greek troops were stationed, Armenians expressed concern that Allied troops would fail to occupy the area in case the former withdrew.[119]

In late 1920 and early 1921, persecution and murder at the hands of the Kemalist army and (in Patriarch Zaven's words) "*Milli* guerrillas" intensified.[120] Conferees at an AGS meeting in October 1920 heard reports of continued atrocities in Bursa, Bilejik, Kutahia, and Aidin. In the region of Konia, however, opposition to the Nationalists was sufficiently strong to organize an uprising in early October 1920, although the Kemalists quickly quenched the movement and hanged thirty people (twenty-three Turks, six Armenians, and one Greek), while twelve Christians, including the Greek Metropolitan and the Armenian Prelate of Konia, were deported to Erzerum.[121]

Many Armenian refugees who, encouraged by the presence of Greek troops had returned to their homes in Bursa and Bilejik, eventually abandoned the area for fear of Kemalist attacks, a grave concern considering the uncertainties regarding the duration of Greek military presence. As one report noted on February 2, 1921: "The Armenians of the various districts live in dread of the time when the Greek troops will retire, the Turks having made no secret of their intention, on the next occasion, to do away with all the Christians down to the smallest child."[122] Upon

[118] BHC, *British Reports*, Seventy-sixth Meeting, Nov. 23, 1921, pp. 238-39.

[119] Ibid., Twenty-ninth Meeting, Dec. 10, 1919, p. 111; Forty-fourth Meeting, Aug. 18, 1920, p. 164; Fifty-first Meeting, Dec. 9, 1920, p. 182.

[120] Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, p. 121.

[121] BHC, *British Reports*, Forty-eighth Meeting, Oct. 13, 1920, p. 175; Fifty-second Meeting, Dec. 22, 1920, p. 184; Fifty-third Meeting, Jan. 5, 1921, p. 187.

[122] Ibid., Fifty-fifth Meeting, Feb. 2, 1921, p. 191.

returning to their homes, Armenian refugees found their properties occupied by Turks, who rebuffed entreaties to restore them to their rightful owners. As the refugees lacked recourse to competent judicial authorities under Greek occupation, some resorted to force to restore their ownership, which the Kemalists for their part exploited to fan hostilities toward the Armenians and the Christians in general. Kemalist bands carried out wholesale deportations of Christian men from Bursa, Afion-Karahisar, and Adana, a situation made worse with the French withdrawal from Cilicia.

In April 1921, continuing their attacks on Greeks and Armenians, the Kemalists burned the villages of Kara-Tepe, Yenikoy (Norkiugh) of Bardizag, and Deunguil, while the population of the Greek village of Mihalij fled to Izmid, a process repeated in July of that year in Bursa where the Kemalists set the Armenian villages on fire.[123] They attacked the churches at Mirdiguez and Yalakdere and forced the inhabitants of the villages "to an unknown destination." They continued to arrest and persecute Christians, and in May 1921 many Armenians in the district of Bilejik were reportedly deported and murdered. Tavitian informed the Armenian-Greek Section meeting on May 11 that many of the towns and villages within the jurisdiction of the Armenian bishopric of Izmid had experienced substantial physical destruction; in Izmid, about 850 out of the 1,000 houses were burned; Turkish forces, upon re-entering the town of Adabazar in February 1922, massacred Christians, including more than 250 Armenians.[124]

According to data submitted by the Director of the Refugee Section of the Greek Patriarchate to the AGS in April 1921, Armenian and Greek refugees numbered 30,000 in Izmid, 7,500 in Bursa, and 6,000-7,000 in Constantinople. A report stated that 944 Armenian refugee families totaling about 3,400 persons from Izmid had arrived in Rodosto, where Christians enjoyed relative calm and security.[125] In other parts of Asia Minor, however, more than a year after the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres, conditions had not improved for the Armenians.

[123] Ibid., Sixtieth Meeting, April 13, 1921, p. 200; Sixty-first Meeting, April 27, 1921, p. 201; Sixty-eighth Meeting, Aug. 3, 1921, p. 215.

[124] Ibid., Sixty-second Meeting, May 11, 1921, pp. 203-04; Sixty-fourth Meeting, June 8, 1921, p. 207; Eighty-second Meeting, Feb. 15, 1922, p. 258.

[125] Ibid., Sixty-first Meeting, April 27, 1921, p. 201.

When in late March 1922 the Armenian-Greek Section terminated its activities, the Greek troops on the ground had failed to address the conditions of physical insecurity. At the final meeting, Théotokas stated: "The efforts of the Patriarchates to save these unfortunate Christians had been frustrated by the Turkish Authorities, who continued even after the Armistice their fanatical and inhuman programme of exterminating their Christian fellow-subjects."[126]

The Greco-Turkish war entered its final stages in August 1922, as the Greek army continued to suffer a series of setbacks on the field. The Greek military commenced its full withdrawal from Asia Minor. As the Greek inhabitants of Eski-Shehir, Kutahia, Afion-Karahisar, and elsewhere departed with the army, so did Armenians move from the regions of Bursa, Bandema, and Yalova to Smyrna and Greece while others fled to Constantinople. The Nationalist forces entered Smyrna on September 9, 1922, and razed the Armenian and Greek neighborhoods to the ground and massacred many who failed to flee in time.[127] As the Greek forces began to withdraw from Asia Minor, they assisted in transferring by ship a large number of Armenians from Izmid, Yalova, Gemlik, Mudania, Bilejik, Balikesir, and other localities to Thrace. An estimated 60,000 to 70,000 Armenians from the entire region of western Asia Minor, including the vilayets of Aidin and Bursa and the sanjak of Izmid, were made refugees yet again.[128]

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During the second week of September 1915, when Minister of War Enver, returning from an inspection tour in Smyrna, arrived at the station of Afion-Karahisar, two officers dressed as civilians charged into his carriage in an attempt to kill him. The plot

[126] Ibid., Sixty-eighth Meeting, Aug. 3, 1921, p. 215.

[127] Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, p. 238. On Smyrna, see Marjorie Housepian, *The Smyrna Affair: The First Comprehensive Account of the Burning of the City and the Expulsion of the Christians from Turkey in 1922* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971). See also Levon Marashlian, "Finishing the Genocide: Cleansing Turkey of Armenian Survivors, 1920-1923," in *Remembrance and Denial: The Case of the Armenian Genocide*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999), pp. 113-45.

[128] Chormisian, *Hamapatker*, vol. 3, pp. 616-17, 648, 651.

failed, and the would-be-assassins were quickly apprehended. The Danish minister at Constantinople, Carl Ellis Wandel, reported: "The loss of Enver Pasha would at the present time most likely have led to a disaster in Turkish history, as he is the cornerstone of the present system and cannot be replaced."[129] That Ittihadist "system" represented a dictatorial regime that relied on various pretexts, including "military necessity" and the argument that Armenians were cooperating with the Russian forces, to annihilate the Armenian people across the Ottoman Empire. The Ittihadists employed a range of policies—including deportation and massacres—to effectuate their genocidal objectives. Militarily speaking, while the emphasis on Armenian collusion with Russians may have appeared valid in the eastern provinces of Erzerum and Van, such pretexts were patently fabrications in western Asia Minor. Later, in April 1916, in a report to Foreign Minister Erik Scavenius, Wandel commented that "it seems strange that the Armenians in Ismid and Adabazar should have been spying when the Russian fleet was bombarding Heraclée. . . . Ismid and Adabazar are located near Constantinople and about as far away from Heraclée as from any other theatre of war." Wandel added: "In reality, the persecutions of the Armenians have only been the execution of the Young Turk extermination plan without any reason, military or otherwise."[130]

The Armenian communities of the vilayets of Edirne, Bursa, and Konia, and of the sanjak of Izmid were highly assimilated into Ottoman society. Few Armenians in these areas showed any proclivity to engage in anti-government activities. Yet, their persecution, murder, and forced deportations first at the hands of the Ittihadist government during World War I and subsequently at the hands of the Kemalist Nationalist forces after the war demonstrated the determined effort on the part of the Ittihadist and post-Ittihadist leadership to eliminate the Armenian population throughout the Ottoman Empire.

[129] DK/RA-UM/Gruppeordnede sager 1909-1945, 139. D. 1, Tyrkiet-Indre Forhold. Pakke 1, til Dec. 31, 1916, Minister in Constantinople (Carl Ellis Wandel) to the Foreign Minister (Erik Scavenius), Report, No. 122, Sept. 20, 1915, trans. Matthias Bjørnlund, in Gust, *Documentation*.

[130] DK/RA-UM/Gruppeordnede sager 1909-1945. 139 N. 1, "Armenien," Minister in Constantinople (Carl Ellis Wandel) to the Foreign Minister (Erik Scavenius), Report, No. 29, April 4, 1916, trans. Matthias Bjørnlund, in Gust, *Documentation*.

When Ambassador Henry Morgenthau called on Talaat on August 8, 1915, the interior minister prefaced the conversation with the pronouncement that "he greatly preferred" that the ambassador "always come alone" to discuss any Armenian matters. Talaat presented three justifications for the Young Turk policy toward the Armenians: 1) the Armenians had "enriched themselves at the expense of the Turks"; 2) they sought to dominate the Turks and to create an independent state; and 3) they "openly encouraged their enemies." The Young Turks, therefore, Talaat stated, had arrived at the "irrevocable decision to make the Armenians powerless" before the conclusion of the war. Morgenthau, for his part, attempted to explain the negative consequences of the deportations for the national economy and commerce. "There was no use," Talaat replied. The authorities had "already disposed" of 75 percent of the Armenians, leaving none in Bitlis, Van, and Erzerum, and "the hatred was so intense now" that the Young Turks were determined "to finish it." The government, Talaat noted, did not care about the economic consequences of the deportations. The authorities would take care of the Armenians at Deir el-Zor and elsewhere, but "they did not want them in Anatolia." Morgenthau wrote in his diary: "I told him three times that they were making a serious mistake and would regret it." Talaat replied: "We know we have made mistakes, but we never regret."[131]

[131] Morgenthau Papers, Diary, Aug. 8, 1915.

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