

THE SOCIOECONOMIC LIFE OF MUSA DAGH ARMENIAN MIGRANTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST DURING THE 1920s-1930s

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The Armenian society of Musa Dagh, although perched on uplands, was not isolated and/or static; people moved in and out for various reasons. Aspiration for post-elementary and higher education, marriage, family reunification, repatriation, tourism and estivation, and fear of the uncertain political future of the Sanjak of Alexandretta, all contributed to this ebb and flow. But the single most important cause of migration between the two World Wars was economic. Limited cultivable land and income, the demise of natural silk production and resultant unemployment, and poverty in general compelled many a Musa Daghian to leave the patrimony in search of better opportunities. This study chronicles their socioeconomic life in rural and urban localities in the Middle East, as the migrants, whether temporary or permanent, sought to ameliorate their lot while maintaining compatriotic bonds amongst themselves and with the native soil. The narrative also aims to fill some lacunae within the larger Armenian diasporic construct.

SANJAK OF ALEXANDRETTA

Svedia: As residents of the Sanjak of Alexandretta, it was natural for a number of Musa Daghians who wanted to stay close to home to seek their fortunes elsewhere within the boundaries of that autonomous county in northwest Syria. The nearest destination was the contiguous plain of Svedia/al-Swaidiyya to the south. In October 1924 a newspaper reported that some fifteen to twenty families (from Yoghunoluk, Kheder Beg, and Vakef) had established themselves at the Greek Orthodox village of Zeituniye/Zutunen, purchasing land and houses. A few other families and individuals had chosen Levshiye/Levshek, the administrative center of Svedia *nahiye* (subdistrict) inhabited mostly by Alawis, as their destination, as well as Magharajik/Mughayrun/Magharnen in the environs of Seleucid ruins, adjacent to Kabusiye and the Mediterranean.¹ In April 1925 the number of Armenian settlers at Zeituniye was estimated to be about thirty families, who were in the process of forming a village cluster with a distinct, albeit informal name (Nor/New Nakhichevan).² In 1938 the

colony comprised forty-two families.³ They included, among others, the Shannakians, Andonians, Ghabakians, Geokjians, Ashkarians, Vanaians, Hagopians, Hergelians, Yaghubians, Oflazians, Penenians, Kiurdians, Khoshians, Boyajians, Silahlans, and Pashayians.⁴ Mostly from the farming class, these had insufficient cultivable land and hence income back home. In Zeituniye, therefore, they grew vegetables and fruits—mainly oranges, peaches, apricots, and olives – and sold in Antioch. They also kept cows and sheep for milk and other dairy products.⁵

Alongside the agriculturists, there were a number of traders and professionals. Establishing businesses at the Levshiye central market—where up to twenty-five stores plus two bakeries and two cafes existed—seems to have set the trend among the latter category. Sarkis H. Boyajian of Kheder Beg opened the first post-World War I Armenian-owned store (of fabrics) at Levshiye. Fellow villager Nareg Aprahamian, who acted as the liaison between the Musa Dagh community and the French mandatory government, retailed merchandise concurrently. As he spent considerable time in Antioch, he entrusted his brother-in-law, Boghos Garabajian, with minding the store from 1919-1921. Tateos Babigian of Vakef, backed financially by his future father-in-law, Manuel Shemmassian, in 1926 began to trade commodities such as barley from his shop. After a year and a half, however, he abandoned that activity to concentrate on exporting fruit to Aleppo. Mardiros Kazanjian (“Shikhints”) of Yoghun Oluk opened a grocery store after repatriating from the United States.⁶ Dajad Antablian commuted daily on his bicycle between Vakef and Levshiye to earn his livelihood as a clothier.⁷

Other Armenians lived and worked on Svedia plain alongside Musa Daghians. Apraham Boghigian of Marash, Vahan Doghanian of Gesaria/Kayseri, and Vahan Zanoian of Gemereg, all three of whom had wedded Musa Dagh women, tailored men’s and women’s garments at their private ateliers.⁸ A certain George from Kesab served as security guard and Bible seller at the Presbyterian mission in the Greek Beilani clan neighborhood of Varshi in Zeituniye. His brother-in-law, Nofer, made and/or mended shoes. Butchers Setrag and Toros from the newly-established League of Nations rural settlement of Nor Zeitun near Bitias followed suit, as did Hajin native and blacksmith Yetimian with his two sons-in-law, Harutian and Mgrdich. Harutian leased Mustafa Terzi’s café at Levshiye, whereas Mgrdich distinguished himself as the first chauffeur to operate a Ford along the new Antioch-Svedia route. As such, he also trained Mehmed Hoja Haydar and Salim Nevshi, thereby becoming the dean of drivers in the area. A gendarme related to Yetimian named Arsen, while escorting a captured fugitive from Svedia to Antioch, was ambushed and gunned down by followers of Nasr al-Din, one of the sons of Sheikh

Maaruf al-Jilli, the religious-political leader of the district's Alawi community. Arsen was interred at Vakef. Kegham Anbarjian, a Public Debt Administration employee, and his family too resided in Levshiye, but left town together with the Yetimians sometime during 1928-29. Garabed Efendi and his nephew, Vartan, owned a farm (inhabited by the Karachay family as sharecroppers) at the juncture where the Kheder Beg stream emptied into the Orontes River. In the spring of 1927, a certain Tavit from Aleppo, assisted by two Musa Daghians, established a sugar-candy factory at Levshiye, but he quit the venture after just three months, explaining that as an Armenian he needed to reside and function at a transit location, not a dead-end spot.⁹ Last but not least, Khosrov Arabian and Aram Der Torosian earned their livelihood as a photographer and a goldsmith, respectively.¹⁰

A number of professionals provided health care. Dr. Mihran A. Varbedian, popularly known as Doktor Ajayib (wondrous), after serving in Musa Dagh for a year (1922), moved to Levshiye to spend another decade as the municipal physician. Even so, he continued to concern himself not only with the physical wellbeing of Musa Daghians, but also with their economic status.¹¹ Dr. Serop/Serge Matosian (Keghart Sharayian), a native of Yoghunoluk, on obtaining his diploma in Brussels, Belgium, in 1928, began his career at Antioch. Three years later he and his Belgian wife relocated to Levshiye, where the couple rented an apartment-clinic in the Samir Hallaq building situated on the main thoroughfare. Formerly a member of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF/*Hay Heghapokhagan Tashnagtsutium*) and a man with political ambitions, Dr. Matosian played a certain role in Musa Dagh public life.¹² In 1932 Dr. Toros Basmajian from Aleppo established his private practice in the above mentioned Varshi neighborhood. These physicians rendered their services to all patients in the general vicinity including Musa Dagh, as did pharmacist Nshan and father and son Kevork and Antranig Hekimian, both dentists.¹³

As a distinct Armenian community (comprising those of Levshiye, Zeituniye, Magharajik, and Jreiriye) on Svedia plain began to take shape, the settlers elected a board of trustees to manage their "national and educational" affairs.¹⁴ Visiting clergymen catered to the spiritual needs of the faithful. When in 1927 Dr. Varbedian's wife died, for instance, Fr. Apraham Der Kalusdian of Yoghunoluk officiated at her funeral service. She was buried at the Greek Orthodox cemetery in Zeituniye, but other Armenians were laid to rest at an exclusive graveyard acquired by the board of trustees at a later date.¹⁵ Similarly, Bitias native Rev. Garabed Tilkian, the Evangelical pastor of Yoghunoluk, led a Bible study group at Levshiye.¹⁶ Although a permanent Apostolic church was not established, a

regular grammar school opened its doors in Zeituniye in 1933. It was supported in large part by the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU/*Haygagan Parekordzagan Enthanur Miutium*) Regional Committee in Cairo, Egypt with an annual subvention of £10 sterling; the balance of the budget came from tuitions, raffle tickets sales, and donations. Most of the expenses went to the teacher's salary, the rest to the school rental.¹⁷ The school building was a single room partitioned from a larger cocoon-cultivation house out of use due to the demise of sericulture. A few student desks, a table with a chair for the teacher, a writing board, and a map in French decorated the interior. The large, grass-covered lot served as playground.¹⁸ The school board consisted of Yesayi Yaghubian as chairman, Arakel Penenian as secretary, and Hovhannes Geokjian as treasurer.¹⁹ Each year, usually a single male pedagogue was hired and replaced by another for various reasons including, but not limited to, migration and other job offers. Yezegel Boyajian, Bedros Antablian, Hovhannes Hajian, Mihran Madurian, and another instructor from Haji Habibli counted among those who taught there.²⁰

In 1935-36, "the progress of children in the Armenian language is quite palpable."²¹ To be sure, the curriculum also included arithmetic, French, geography, and physical education²²; the children's academic standard was likewise deemed satisfactory.²³ Fieldtrips added to the learning process.²⁴ The students, usually around twenty-five boys and girls, gained further, hands-on experience through special performances. On 2 January 1938, for example, they entertained their parents and the public at large with a special Christmas program.²⁵ In the second half of the 1930s ten, mostly male students from Zeituniye expressed interest in furthering their education at the Melkonian Educational Institute in Nicosia, Cyprus. Two were accepted, three were rejected, but two of them reapplied, and the status of the balance remains unknown. In addition, Papken Zanoian, an aspiring educator, applied to the teacher training department at the same institution, but the latter's response is not readily known.²⁶

Some members of the Levshiy Armenian colony had joined the AGBU Vakef chapter as early as 1924.²⁷ Although a separate chapter had been formed at Zeituniye in 1933,²⁸ it must have been short-lived, for on 27 September 1936 a new chapter was (re)established.²⁹ It started with nineteen members (sixteen male and three female) and an executive committee of seven, chaired by Yesayi Yaghubian. The membership included eleven farmers, five students, a teacher, a miller, and a homemaker.³⁰ Enrollment required a one-time registration fee ranging from 10-100 Syrian piasters and a membership fee ranging from 5-15 Syrian piasters (in both cases depending on the adherents' financial situation).³¹ By the end of 1938 the membership had grown to thirty-four, about one-

fourth of whom was female. Enthused by this trend, the local chapter sought permission from Cairo for a women's auxiliary and a separate youth group. Cairo approved of the first request, but saw no need for the second.³² The Zeituniye chapter likewise believed that as many as 85 percent of Musa Daghians would join the AGBU should Cairo pay part of the salary of a resident doctor for the Svedia district. This AGBU-sponsored physician would have a "moral influence" on people who, it was argued, were dissatisfied with the existing two doctors (Matosian and Basmajian) for their alleged discriminatory behavior vis-à-vis non-ARF members of the community. Cairo, however, disregarded the "practical proposal."³³ In the final analysis, the activity of the AGBU Zeituniye chapter revolved around executive and plenary meetings, fundraising for Culture Sunday (*Mshaguyti Giragi*), selling AGBU wall calendars sent from Cairo, and supporting the local school.³⁴

The promising outlook in this burgeoning community encouraged the AGBU world headquarters in Paris to initiate an agricultural project. Originally conceived to be implemented in Nubarashen, Soviet Armenia, but later abandoned as the Soviet authorities banned the AGBU from the country, the scheme aimed "to create a model farm and agricultural school that would use the most modern methods of stock-raising and agriculture then available." Hrant Dantzian, an agronomist and a teacher at the Melkonian Educational Institute made a feasibility study on the spot in Svedia plain, concluding that "the project would cost £1,000 and that the center would have to be subsidized for eight years before it could become financially self-supporting." The AGBU Central Board in February 1938 approved the plan that would be executed on 20 donums (about 4.5 acres) of land situated between Levshiye and Zeituniye.³⁵

Vagharsh B. Oflazian, a native of Kheder Beg then living in the farming community of Jreiriye, Svedia plain, endorsed the above project as a salutary concept. A medical student compelled to quit school due to an eye ailment and shift his focus to agriculture and animal husbandry, Oflazian urged Vicar General Archbishop Bedros Sarajian of the Catholicosate of Cilicia in Antelias near Beirut, the spiritual-civic center of Armenians in Syria and Lebanon, to support his vision of acquiring tracts of land in Svedia in order to settle Armenian refugees as a "permanent solution" and provide them with jobs instead of short-term relief. Because the political uncertainty revolving around the Sanjak's status had diminished the value of land, it would be prudent, he argued, to purchase real estate with a special fund placed under the aegis of the Catholicosate. That fund had to be raised from the rich, and he pledged 100 Syrian liras to demonstrate his active participation.³⁶ Oflazian and his brother-in-law, Yesayi Yaghubian, similarly communicated with the AGBU in Cairo,

expressing readiness to help by any means in order for the project to succeed.³⁷ Cairo responded cautiously: "The establishment of a model farm is still a plan and it is not clear as to where it will be established. Naturally a location will be selected that is politically safe."³⁸ Reminding the AGBU that they themselves had pursued this idea since 1937, the two men in frustration retorted sarcastically that only at the South Pole, where no Armenians existed, could a safe place be found, that the Musa Dagh region was the safest, and that time was of the essence.³⁹ Not only did the AGBU remain unconvinced, but for all practical purposes it shelved the plan as it wrote on 1 April 1939: "Under the current political conditions, the execution of that plan is absolutely impossible."⁴⁰ And indeed, in less than four months the overwhelming majority of Armenians would exit Musa Dagh and the Sanjak at large, unwilling to live under the new Turkish regime in the area.⁴¹ It is true that a "Progressive Body of Musa Dagh (Svedia)" was formed in 1937 as a self-defensive measure to be better prepared for any eventuality and not to be caught by surprise like in 1915.⁴² Nevertheless, the inevitability of the Sanjak's annexation to Turkey with French connivance had rendered that measure irrelevant.

Antioch: After World War I a small Armenian community of genocide survivors reemerged in the city of Antioch, situated some 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) to the northeast of Musa Dagh. Various counts put the Armenian inhabitants in that regional administrative-trade center between 227 and 500 souls.⁴³ The commercial class among them lived primarily in the Christian neighborhoods of Ward and Hamidiye, whereas the poorer artisans and laborers began to form a new quarter along the Svedia route in the southwest outside of the city limits.⁴⁴ As hinted, their occupations varied. According to a study done prior to 1931, there were two Armenian-owned pharmacies, four dentists, and three lawyers.⁴⁵ Another survey, conducted in January 1935, listed seventy-eight Armenian artisans with twenty-two different specializations.⁴⁶ To these must be added a priest and a few teachers, who, together with community leaders, managed a church, a school, and other civic organizations. The Antioch Diocese oversaw the spiritual needs of the various Armenian communities and refugee settlements in the Sanjak of Alexandretta.⁴⁷

Although Musa Daghians frequently commuted to Antioch for business and official purposes, only a few settled there permanently. After repatriating from Port Said, Egypt, in 1919, comb maker Garabed Chaparian of Yoghunoluk established himself in Antioch and built a house at an uninhabited location, named Gharib Mahallesi (the stranger's quarter) after him. He sent his three sons and only daughter to Beirut in 1938, and rejoined them in Anjar, Lebanon a year later.⁴⁸ Some Musa Daghians operated an outdoor café on the banks of the Orontes River.⁴⁹ The

following were from Kheder Beg. Garabed ("Garabaj") Dumanian served as maitre at Hôtel Tourisme; he eventually migrated to Beirut and worked at Hôtel Saint Georges. Hagop Emlikian ("Ashji"/cook Hagop) possessed a restaurant on the ground floor of a hotel that belonged to a woman from Istanbul named Nectar Khanum. "Ferenji" Apraham, Hagop's son, was a baker. Bedros Jawharjian practiced dentistry; in 1935-36 he relocated to Kheder Beg upon its people's invitation. Corporal Hovhannes Markarian, formerly a volunteer in the French *Légion d'Orient* and a teacher in Musa Dag, acted as chief of police in the nearby sub-district of Sheikh Koy.⁵⁰

The family of Movses Chaparian, a prominent Bitias native victimized in a series of vendetta killings⁵¹ between feuding factions from that village and Haji Habibli in the early 1920s, likewise lived in Antioch. During summer, widow Gulenia, daughters Shushanig, Araxi, and Arshaluys, and son Mardiros relocated to Bitias, where mother and son worked at brother-in-law/uncle Taniel Chaparian's hotel in various capacities.⁵² Tailor Nazaret Sherbetjian, a brother of attorney Armenag Sherbetjian of Bitias who was gunned down by an Ottoman officer in the immediate aftermath of the 1909 massacres, moved from Alexandretta to Antioch in the early 1920s after wife Sara nee Renjilian died and he remarried a Greek woman by the name of Asma Khuri. The couple, who resided in the neighborhood of Ward or Gul Mahallesi, had a daughter named Helen; in 1925 she attended the Saint Joseph de l'Apparition catholic nuns' school. Nazaret died in 1926 of pneumonia, but his widow and daughter continued to maintain their links with Musa Dag, by estivating at Bitias together with Asma's sister and her husband, Franguli Yatros.⁵³ A few students and soldiers exhausted the catalog of Musa Dagghians in Antioch.⁵⁴

Kirik Khan: In the rural town of Kirik Khan, to the northeast of Antioch, a young Haji Habibli native by the name of Arakel Der Arakelian lived in his two-room private house and owned one acre of land. The plot around the house bore fruit from six apricot trees, four vines, three fig trees, three pomegranate trees, two orange trees, and one mulberry tree, for a total of nineteen trees. But his main income seems to have come from a vineyard and an orchard that he owned at Beilan, a summer resort near Alexandretta. The vineyard consisted of 400 vines, whereas the orchard contained ten pomegranate trees, six plum trees, six almond trees, six myrtle trees, four walnut trees, four fig trees, and three apple trees, for a total of thirty-nine trees.⁵⁵ Der Arakelian and a married couple from Yoghunoluk, Panos and Victoria Solakian, who had similarly established themselves in Kirik Khan, relocated to Aleppo prior to the annexation of the Sanjak to Turkey in the summer of 1939.⁵⁶

Soghukoluk: A group of laborers from Musa Dag migrated to the Armenian resort village of Soghukoluk near Beilan each spring. During

their two-month sojourn, they fulfilled certain agricultural demands such as irrigation, plowing, pruning, fertilizing, and raising mounds around vines planted in orderly furrows. During fall, they returned to Soghukoluk to harvest the various crops. They likewise cracked wheat manually and voluntarily as a favor to their hosts, simultaneously keeping the spirits high by singing Musa Dagh folk songs. In addition, the brothers Hovhannes, Garabed, and Sarkis Soghomonian, also from Musa Dagh, prepared and sold pastry to the three existing hotels as well as via street stands.⁵⁷

Fartisli: A few Musa Daghians resided in Fartisli, an Armenian hamlet situated to the south of Alexandretta. Around 1925 Movses Amoghlian moved there from Bitias to work for a wholesale cloth merchant from Alexandretta called Levon Shamlian. Movses sold chintz, embroidery hoops, and similar items in nearby villages, gaining the nickname of "Cherchi Musa," that is, Moses the Peddler. His income enabled him to purchase a house, part of which served for business purposes. Wife Rosa nee Sherbetjian tended the store in her husband's absence.⁵⁸ Another woman from Bitias similarly settled in Fartisli after wedding a local man. Her brother, Movses Kendirjian earned the sobriquet of "Mushta," construed to mean "boot,"⁵⁹ because of the frequency of his visits from Musa Dagh.

Alexandretta: Alexandretta offered job opportunities for a number of Musa Dagh men. Yesayi Stambulian from Kabusiye worked as a cook. His nephew, Apraham Kasamanian ("Qrraj Apraham"), joined him and waited on French truck drivers, who delivered alimentations to French troops deployed in the area. For his services Apraham received bundles of garments, which he traded with the locals for cash. He additionally found customers from among the many Kesab Armenian émigrés in town for French arms discarded by the above chauffeurs in their station. Last but not least, he pursued the art of photography, sending part of his earnings from all those activities to his mother back in Kabusiye before rejoining her.⁶⁰ Another compatriot, Mesrob Zakarian, tried his fortunes in Antioch, Beirut, and Alexandretta, and returned to Kabusiye with some savings.⁶¹ Khosrov Iprajian of Kheder Beg, on the other hand, functioned as a customs agent at the port of Alexandretta.⁶² Here too lived a certain Dzeron Krikor Kbburian of Yoghun Oluk,⁶³ whose occupation remains unknown. The list may have been longer.

In the final analysis, the Musa Dagh migrants scattered in the Sanjak, like the rest of the Armenians there, elected to leave the area prior to its accession to Turkey in July 1939 and settled in Syria and Lebanon.

SYRIA

Musa Daghatian footprints could also be traced to other major cities in Syria like Latakia, Hama, Damascus, and Aleppo.

Sarkis Boyajian owned a business in the coastal town of Latakia and did not contemplate returning to Kheder Beg, although he possessed a cultivable plot of land there, purchased another orchard, and planned to acquire others contingent upon future earnings.⁶⁴ Kapriel/Jabra Shemmassian ("Garbushints Bzdaye") of Yoghun Oluk in the early- to mid-1920s worked in the Suq al-Tawil in Hama, where he was known as Jabra al-Mshati (Gabriel the comb maker).⁶⁵ An additional four co-villagers at least had settled in Hama by 1937.⁶⁶ In Damascus, Boghos Bllutian, who had migrated from Vakef together with his family at a young age, married a Greek Orthodox woman and stayed permanently.⁶⁷ Several other compatriots from Yoghunoluk, Kheder Beg, and Haji Habibli had joined him by the second half of the 1930s.⁶⁸

Aleppo city in the north beckoned the largest number of Musa Daghatians by virtue of its centrality in regional commerce and inland trade. Most of the newcomers originated from Yoghunoluk. They engaged primarily in the manufacture of wooden and bone combs, which were in great demand among the lice-infested fellahin and Bedouins of the surrounding countryside. The settlers included, among others, the Vanayian brothers, Hovhannes, Mikayel and Yesayi; the Sherbetians, Vartan, Sarkis and Boghos; two Adajians by the same name, Hovhannes and Hannes; and Apraham Shemmassian. Hovhannes and Hayrabad Tashjian, who operated a workshop at the Suweiqi market, were joined by their mother, Isguhi nee Atamian, and sister, Sirvart in 1936. Kheder Beg native Ghugas/Luqa Mardirian and his sister, Mari/Marukhi, tailored men's and women's apparel from their rented apartment, where their other siblings, Lucia and Yester, also lived.⁶⁹

Setrag Haigazian's experience was unlike any other. A member of the Social Democrat Hinchagian party (SDHP/*Sotsial Demokrat Hinchagian Gusagtsutian*) chapter of Yoghun Oluk, Haigazian was dispatched by his leadership to Aleppo to work for the party's *Suriagan Mamul* (Syrian Press) newspaper as well as for self-improvement in 1924. Falling under the influence of the chief typesetter, a fellow countryman of communist persuasion by the name of Masis Panosian, he embraced the Marxist-Leninist ideology and joined the *Sbardag* (Spartacus) youth group. Given the lack of sufficient income, he took another job at the Arax printing press, but his troubles persisted resulting in poor health. After just ten months in Aleppo, Haigazian returned to his native village a changed man and became one of the founders of the Musa Daghat communist cell in 1925.⁷⁰

The case of one family undergoing assimilation in exile merits attention, although most succeeded in preserving their ethnic identity through subsequent decades. In the Jdeide sector of Aleppo lived the Dmlakians, who had assumed the surname of Mardinli, meaning, of or from Mardin. This change could have taken place a) in Mardin, a town in southern Turkey near the Syrian border, where Boghos, the patriarch of the household, had migrated from Yoghunoluk at some point in time and married a Christian Arab woman before relocating to Aleppo,⁷¹ or b) in line with the tradition of Aleppo's "native" or "old" Armenians (*Arman qadim*), that is, those long-established residents who had been at least partly Arabized.⁷² Abd al-Masih (Abdo), one of Boghos' four sons, owned a workshop in Aleppo's ancient covered bazaar, where he manufactured bone combs with a number of artisans including his brothers-in-law and other compatriots. His mother-in-law "cooked lunch every day and walked several miles to the bazaar to share with Abdo and the other employees." Abd al-Masih and his wife, Victoria (also from Musa Dagh), had three sons, Fuad, Edmond, and Bulos, who attended the Arab Protestant grammar school situated on the ground floor of the American High School for Girls. Daughter Victoria was born circa 1941. The children spoke Arabic, while the adults communicated in the Musa Dagh dialect. The grandmother similarly tried to reincarnate her native village in the alien surroundings.⁷³ Reminisced Bitias native Alberta Magzarian, who lived across the street from 1940-1945:

For us, the young folk, grandmother, Victoria's mom, was the most fascinating member of that family. She grew several potted flower plants on the roof [of their house], identical replicas grown in Musa Dagh – carnations, scented geraniums, amaranth, globe basil, etc. It seems she was trying to create a mini Yoghun Oluk with her flowers, [and] two sheep which she would buy every summer, fatten and cook for a big celebration every fall [probably marking the 1915 resistance to the genocide]. Of course sheep droppings were cheap and handy fertilizer for her flowers. When we found out about her lambs, we made sure to save our melon peels for her. She appreciated our support and rewarded us with flowers.⁷⁴

As the winds of change from French to Turkish sovereignty blew in the Sanjak of Alexandretta, in the months preceding 10 July 1939 about sixty concerned families departed Musa Dagh for Aleppo.⁷⁵ They stayed mainly in the following neighborhoods/camps: Aziziye, Jdeide, Suleimaniye, Hazzaze, Saha, Meidan, Sheikh Maqsud, Zoqaq Zahr, Zoqaq Khall, Zoqaq Arbaain, Jisr al-Kaake, Bab al-Nasr, Abu Ajjur, and the

Gurun and Assyrian camps.⁷⁶ Another twenty-one families and four individuals from Musa Dagh took refuge in Aleppo after 17 July 1939,⁷⁷ while the bulk of their compatriots temporarily encamped at Ras al-Basit on the Mediterranean until a permanent settlement site could be found for them in Lebanon.⁷⁸ As the refugees in Aleppo felt discriminated against for being left out of relief lists and lists prepared for the eventual distribution of housing and farmlands among their brethren at Ras al-Basit, they asked for the same privileges through the intermediary of the Aleppo Prelacy.⁷⁹ In mid-September 1939 about twenty refugee families similarly applied to rejoin their kin, who by then had been relocated from Ras al-Basit to Anjar. In order to avoid possible complications, the Aleppo Prelacy sought approval from the Central Refugees Settlement Committee in Anjar.⁸⁰ The latter obliged, but for some reason only nine families, two siblings, four individuals, and nine unidentified persons totaling fifty-four souls were entrained from Aleppo to Anjar via Homs, Zahle, and Rayaq aboard two wagons in the afternoon of 26 September 1939.⁸¹ The fate of those remaining in Aleppo cannot be readily determined.

LEBANON

Lebanon attracted a relatively large number of Musa Daghians. Beginning with the mid-1920s, about ten families from Yoghunoluk migrated to the northern city of Tripoli. The breadwinners manufactured combs in the old bazaars. Kapriel/Jabra Shemmassian was perhaps the only exception; beginning in 1938 he sold secondhand garments at the Suq al-Bazergan, with several poor Armenian women employed for alterations and laundering.⁸² Between 1925 and 1928 Hovhannes Zeitlian (later nicknamed "*Occasion*," meaning, discount salesman) of Kheder Beg served as kitchen aide at a French Catholic friars' boarding school in Beirut, only to leave for Tripoli as a cook for the French navy. He then became the head chef of Hotel-Casino Sofar in Mount Lebanon. In 1931 a European oil engineering group on a mission to recruit workers in Lebanon for the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) hired Zeitlian as the head chef of its oil excavating team comprising some forty British, French, and German members. The team conducted its geological surveys in eastern Syria, where Zeitlian, while performing his prescribed duties, also experimented with a chicken hatching machine imported by a British employee. The machine ultimately found its way to Anjar.⁸³ In 1927 Levon Mardirian, also from Kheder Beg, worked at the French naval base in Beirut for about a year-and-a-half before becoming the gardener of the Admiralty. In his spare time, he made and sold wooden spoons, forks, and mallets. The Admiralty's chef was co-villager Hovhannes/Jean Dumanian.⁸⁴ Setrag

Blutian from Vakef served as a translator at the Beirut seaport prior to his assassination purportedly due to jealousy.⁸⁵

At least three needy widows from Musa Dagh likewise headed to Lebanon, where one subsisted as a domestic and the other two as helpers in the British Friends of Armenia Society orphanage at Shimlan.⁸⁶ This orphanage also sheltered a Yoghunoluk boy and his three sisters plus a boy from Bitias. The lad from Yoghunoluk ultimately ran away and returned to his birthplace, whereas the Bitias native was sent to the St. George British high school in Jerusalem.⁸⁷ Another three siblings from Bitias, whose parents had died in Hama during the genocide, continued to live in Beirut after leaving an Armenian orphanage upon reaching adolescence.⁸⁸

Krikor Giuzelian (Keghuni) of Kabusiye, who held an electrical engineering degree from Paris, after teaching industrial drafting at the French *Lycée* in Antioch for a year (1931-32), moved to Damascus and thence to Beirut. Here he became inspector at the French government-owned *Central Étoile* telephone company troubleshooting and ensuring uninterrupted communications for military as well as civilian purposes from 1932 until his repatriation to Soviet Armenia in 1947. At the same time, he actively participated in public life as a member and chair of the Sahagian School board of trustees, secretary of the SDHP, and a candidate of that party's Musa Dagh chapter in the Sanjak of Alexandretta legislative elections in 1932 and 1936. He similarly ran a propaganda campaign among the inhabitants of Anjar, urging them to relocate to Soviet Armenia after World War II.⁸⁹

By 1936 some sixty-five youths from Haji Habibli alone had moved to Beirut in search of employment. Another fifty-sixty co-villagers awaited their turn once they could afford 20-25 French francs to be able to travel.⁹⁰ Because most of the new arrivals were traditional silk weavers, a profession that was no longer in great demand, they had to change venue in order to make a living. They accordingly took up jobs in the hospitality-culinary sector almost to a man. Significant numbers worked at the famed Saint Georges and Normandy hotels in the coastal Ain Mrayse tourist-night life district. In Saint Georges, for instance, Hayg Mardirian, Yervant Chembetian, Aleko Markarian, and Mikael Mikaelian (Mardirian) served as waiters; Garabed ("Garabaj") Dumanian of Kheder Beg, son Haigaz, and Hovhannes Kojaian worked as *cuisiniers* or kitchen men; two Yoghun Oluk youths made coffee as *cafetiers*; Hayg Mardirian (mentioned above) and Aleksandr Isgenderian offered drinks as *sommeliers*; Arshag Khalulian tended the bar; and Apraham Dermishian cooked meals. At Normandy, the same Dermishian (working alternately) and Ardashes Mardirian acted as chefs.⁹¹

Certain clubs and eateries within and outside the above district employed fellow countrymen. Mardiros Mikaelian (Mardirian), for instance, was a *cuisinier* at the French *Cercle Officiers* (Officers Club) located between the two aforementioned hotels. Isgender Mardirian prepared food at Restaurant Lucullus, while Hovsep Kerekian, Garabed Kerekian, Antranig Kerekian, and Yesayi Kiuspekian waited on customers. George Khalulian and Avedis Magarian served as *garçons* at the Kit Kat nightclub.⁹² It appears that Magarian also worked at the Grand Café de la République in the Place des Canons (*Sahat al-Shuhada*/Martyrs' Square).⁹³ On the other hand, Hovhannes Garabedian of Yoghun Oluk, after working at Saint Georges briefly, moved to Tanios' Piscine (swimming pool) Aley café-entertainment club in the synonymous resort town near Beirut during the summer season as *garçons* and then *maitre*, spending the rest of the year at the Express fast food joint in the Place des Canons. His brother, Garabed, landed a similar job in the same central square.⁹⁴

These workers, who had to learn Arabic, French, and English to be able to entertain world leaders, military officers, and other celebrities, had to be members of and received salaries fixed by the Lebanese *Syndicat Hôtelier*. Monthly pay usually ranged between 50 and 60 Lebanese liras excluding tips.⁹⁵ Certain youths like Mikael Mikaelian got promoted through formal training. His *Certificat* of verification, signed by Saint Georges general manager André Métailler and issued on the eve of his repatriation to Soviet Armenia in 1947, read:

The Direction of Hotel Saint Georges, certifies that the named MIKAELIAN MIKAEL, was in its service from JUNE 1937 to JULY 1940 in the capacity of Restaurant apprentice, and from JULY 1940 to JULY 1947 in the capacity of VICE HEADWAITER [CHEF DE RANG].

He leaves us free of all engagements and we have always been satisfied with his conduct and with his work.⁹⁶

The separation of these men (and some women) from home and the initial shock they must have sustained in a big, cosmopolitan city like Beirut necessitated the creation of collective mechanisms to cope with their alienation. The Haji Habibli Compatriotic Association, formed in 1931, constituted one such entity whose aim was "mutual assistance" and lending financial and educational support to fellow villagers back in Musa Dagh. Two years later another union emerged, dubbed the Compatriotic Association of Musa Dagh, with similar goals. The two organizations, which comprised forty to fifty members each, merged in 1935 under the common name of Compatriotic Association of Musa Dagh. Its central board coordinated the activities of two branches, one called Tatar Alang at

Zeituniye in the Ain Mrayse district, and another called Damlajik at Mar Mkhayel in the Nahr district.⁹⁷ Both names were adopted symbolically from two spots on the mountain, where some of the fiercest and most fateful battles had taken place during the 1915 resistance of Musa Dagh.⁹⁸

The Association's activities occasionally betrayed the political divisions that existed among compatriots. A social-cultural gathering organized by the Damlajik chapter on 14 January 1939 at the Armenian Youth Association (*Hay Yeridasartats Engeragtsutium*) "Antranig" Club underscored the tension. Aimed at "keeping alive the love and admiration of compatriots vis-à-vis their birthplace," the program consisted of three segments. Part one included speeches by four individuals (belonging to the SDHP), namely, Isgender Kh. Mardirian, Vahe Mardirian, Garabed Garabedian, and Krikor Giuzelian (Keghuni), all of whom exhorted unity and harmony in their message. Part two featured a comedy skit titled "Two Deaf People." Part three entailed a feast, during which a few participants affiliated with the ARF began to sing a partisan song ("Khanasor"). Despite the organizers' attempt to explain the "neutral" nature of the evening, these "troublemakers" defiantly threw bottles and glasses around them and disappeared during the ensuing commotion before police could disperse the crowd by force.⁹⁹

When in 1938 the economic situation in Musa Dagh deteriorated as a result of the Sanjak crisis, the Association in Beirut formed a nine-member committee to steer a fund-raising campaign in a bid to assist the destitute and schools back home. The committee met with Archbishop Sarajian at Antelias to obtain permission for its initiative. According to a press release issued by the Association, Sarajian, after "appreciating the work and willingness [of the committee] in this regard, has promised to sponsor it [the drive] by all means and sanction [it] in his dioceses." Based on this purported pledge of support, the relief committee decided to commence solicitations officially on Sunday, 18 September. Donations could be sent to treasurer Hayg Mardirian, and "the list of donors will be published in the Armenian press of Beirut on a daily basis."¹⁰⁰ But despite the anticipation, the Diocesan Civic Council of Lebanon denied authorization for a communitywide drive, instead limiting it only to Musa Daghian circles in town.¹⁰¹ Information respecting any sums collected is lacking. At any rate, the Association entered a period of dormancy during World War II, but resumed its activities thereafter.¹⁰²

In addition to being members of the Compatriotic Association of Musa Dagh, a number of individuals broke out of their narrow, parochial parameters and joined (if they had not already done so in Musa Dagh) the SDHP. But even in such cases, it seems, like "birds of the same feather," they tended to flock together. In fact, one of the SDHP's newest chapters,

that of Ain Mrayse, consisted almost exclusively of Haji Habibli migrants. Its inauguration took place on 23 July 1938 at the home of Aleksan Isgenderian. The highlight of the program was the christening of the chapter as "[Vahe] Aradzani," the penname of Hapet Isgenderian, a young scion of that notable Haji Habibli clan, a leader within the SDHP, and a contributor to various Armenian newspapers, whose life was cut short due to the Haji Habibli-Bitias bloody internecine feud in the early 1920s. The presiding host welcomed the attendees, sketched Hapet's life, and invited Yeznig Boyajian, a compatriot visiting from Haifa, Palestine, to lead the remainder of the event. Antranig Kh. Juhurian's recitation of the poem, "The Workers," then set the stage for the two subsequent speeches. Vahe Mardirian underscored Hapet's unadulterated Marxist convictions and the party's communist orientation in pursuit of proletariat rights. As such, Vahe maintained, the SDHP transcended a purely nationalistic platform to embrace lofty internationalist ideals. Invited keynote speaker Arsen Gidur, editor of the Hinchagian *Ararad* newspaper and perhaps the only non-Musa Daghian comrade present, expressed similar thoughts following another rendition of poetry by Takuhi Mardirian, a female party member. The gathering adjourned with refreshments and the singing of "*Hrajarink Engerner*" (Let Us Resign, Comrades).¹⁰³

Political activism was not confined to membership in the SDHP or any other party; civic duty in the home district also loomed large among the expatriates. A case in point was the 1938 parliamentary elections in the Sanjak of Alexandretta that would determine its future status. Although the suffrage outcome was predetermined thanks to not-so-veiled French duplicity in favor of Turkey, sixty-seven male émigrés of voting age on 7 June traveled from Beirut to Musa Dagh in vehicles and boats to cast their ballot. Unfortunately, twelve participants were stranded in Latakia on their way back because of the lack of sufficient food and travel money as promised by the Armenian and Arab organizers of the trip, while others waited in Musa Dagh for the matter to be resolved. This situation prompted a representative committee of three among the returnees to lodge a complaint with the French authorities.¹⁰⁴

To conclude, a number of Musa Daghians in Beirut, like many other Armenians, repatriated to Soviet Armenia during 1946-47. Most of those who stayed behind continued to work in the hospitality industry and were identified as such within the larger Armenian community throughout their lives.

EGYPT

Egypt too hosted a number of families and individuals from Musa Dagh. That interrelationship had begun before World War I with the arrival

of a few comb merchants and fugitives.¹⁰⁵ In mid-September 1915 about 4,000 survivors of the Musa Dagh resistance to the genocide were rescued by the French navy and transported to Port Said, where they lived in a camp for four years.¹⁰⁶ Although the Armenian leadership was generally opposed to the dispersal of refugees in order to repatriate them intact as a group at the propitious moment, gradually many left the camp to rejoin their kin already in the United States and/or seek employment elsewhere in Egypt.¹⁰⁷ The latter constituted the backbone of the Musa Daghian colony in post-World War I Egypt. It was, however, augmented by other individuals who, unable to cope with the harsh economic conditions back home after repatriating in 1919, returned to the land of the Pharaohs.¹⁰⁸

The overwhelming majority of settlers hailed from Yoghunoluk. Most took up residence in Cairo's suburbs of Zeitun, Matariye, and Shoubra. Some lived in the old Bein al-Surein sector, which encompassed the *Surp Asdvadzadzin* (Holy Mother of God) Armenian Apostolic Church. One way the immigrants demonstrated their devotion to the church was by asking "young single girls to sweep the floors of the church to be blessed with a wealthy husband...they would vow to do it every week."¹⁰⁹ But whether because of such practices or not, youth from both genders found their mates by and large within the closely-knit Musa Daghian community.

At some point in their careers most Musa Daghians in Egypt engaged in the comb business, their traditional occupation. Speaking of her childhood years in Cairo, Alice Bursalian Markarian writes: "I remember some men had built a small workshop in their backyard, and were doing this [comb] work by hand. Others opened factories, or built one in their backyard, if their property was big enough, and used machinery for this production."¹¹⁰ The artisan class consisted of Boghos Boyajian, Karnig Der Kalusdian, Setrag and Hovhannes Bursalian, Mardiros Kbburian, Yenovk Hajian, Dikran and Zakar Garabedian, Shafik and Karim Dmlakian, Hovhannes and Rupen Kasnakian, Apraham Chaparian, as well as the Keoshkerians, Tashjians, Gebeshians, Masmanians, and others. They either functioned independently or worked for wholesale dealers, who were invariably compatriots.¹¹¹

A few entrepreneurs achieved notable success. Shafik Dmlakian, for instance, after establishing himself in Cairo in 1919, developed ivory combs individually hand made on kitchen tables "into streamlined factory product[s] worthy of export." He similarly "modernized the concept of one-expensive-ivory-comb-per-household to one-wooden-comb-per-family member and the factory could hardly keep up with the orders." But when plastic combs inundated the market, Shafik, with his younger brother, Karim by his side, shifted gear to manufacture knitwear to satisfy the demands of a westernized Egyptian population and those of World War II.

Significantly, "most of Rateb Basha Street in Shoubra[,] a district of Cairo[,] became Shafik's headquarters with his complex factories and mills operating around the clock. An interesting sideline scheme of his was to import human hair from China, have it braided in his factory and then ship the new product to central Africa where long, straight hair was highly valued." Despite his busy schedule, Shafik also got involved in community affairs, co-founding, among other contributions, the ARF-affiliated Husaper Club in 1944 for the preservation of Armenian culture. Similarly, due to his stature and proficiency in Arabic, "he was always called upon to represent the Armenian community during official functions and at meetings with Egyptian dignitaries."¹¹²

In turn, the brothers Hovhannes and Rupen Kasnakian "used to travel to Upper Egypt[,] Luxor and Aswan on the river Nile into Sudan and purchase ivory to bring to Cairo for their hand-made combs and other work[s] of art like beautiful hand-made statues and accessories like rings and ear-rings[,] bracelets and belts."¹¹³ Setrag Bursalian, initially a flannel manufacturer in Alexandria and subsequently in Cairo, after closing his company for an unspecified reason, returned to his old profession of comb making as a profitable endeavor among the lice-infested rural population.¹¹⁴ Hovhannes Kbburian, a prominent member of his community, owned a factory of wood products.¹¹⁵ Yenovk Hajian, a former comb maker, operated a gift shop at the Khan al-Khalil marketplace, a famous tourist attraction in the centrally-located Mousky district of Cairo.¹¹⁶ Last but not least, an enterprising youth hailing from Kheder Beg named Sarkis Boghos Oflazian exported handkerchiefs and other embroidered articles to Marseille for about a decade, personally accompanying his merchandise aboard French commercial vessels. In 1930, he and three siblings emigrated to Hartford, Connecticut, where he operated a restaurant for fifteen years before moving again, to Beirut.¹¹⁷

Not all Musa Daghians in Egypt were manufacturers or businessmen; some pursued different careers in companies. Peniamin Keshishian (Benjamin Kechichian), for example, who had studied at the French Jesuit College, made his living as an accountant in a company that ferried petroleum along the Nile.¹¹⁸ Mardiros Hajian, on the other hand, held a high position in General Motors of Alexandria during the 1930s, indeed a rare phenomenon among his compatriots at the time. He later relocated to South America to work for the same corporation.¹¹⁹

Generally speaking, the Armenian community in Egypt maintained a special relationship with Musa Dagh during the period under study. The reason was obvious: It had cared for the survivors of the Musa Dagh resistance at the Port Said refugee camp for four years and therefore felt an affinity and a moral obligation towards them. The press frequently

disseminated information on conditions in Musa Dagh, raising awareness among the public about the pressing needs there.¹²⁰ The AGBU continued to lend its support in various capacities, especially in education.¹²¹ The Prelacy in Cairo served as a channel to raise funds for the completion of the Apostolic church in Bitias and the parochial school in Yoghunoluk, as well as to resolve certain civic matters pertaining to expatriates in Egypt and their relatives in Musa Dagh.¹²² And a number of Egyptian Armenian families and individuals (like the Balekjians and Markarians) each year chose Bitias as their summer resort.¹²³ As for the Musa Dagh émigrés themselves, they maintained their ties with the patrimony through correspondence, visitations, pecuniary remittances, and acquisitions of real estate.¹²⁴ After the founding of Anjar in 1939, some spent part of their retirement years there.¹²⁵ Like the overwhelming majority of Armenians in Egypt, however, the Musa Daghians, beginning in the mid-1950s, left their adopted country for mainly Australia, Canada, and the United States due to the change in the political-economic climate under president Gamal Abd al-Naser's regime.

CONCLUSION

Other workers and fugitives from Musa Dagh were to be found in Iraq as well. Some students and individuals also lived in Palestine. The available information about these two small groups, however, is too scanty for a meaningful reconstruction of their prosopography at this stage. At any rate, the Musa Dagh Armenians did not migrate only to Arab countries. Ethiopia, for instance, became a magnet for job seekers from Yoghunoluk especially. They wholesaled leather and coffee, operated grocery-novelty stores, and repaired and sold guns to the male natives, who wore them as part of their traditional garb. Thousands of miles to the west, in the United States, several hundred Musa Dagh émigrés settled, mainly on the East Coast, to work in the silk and steel mills, food industry, and a host of other professions. Another group lived in South America, particularly Argentina and Brazil. In all cases, the expatriates networked with each other as well as their patrimony.

By resettling in Anjar in 1939, nearly the entire population of Musa Dagh now became an integral part of the Armenian Diaspora itself. But their saga did not end there. During 1946-47, between one-half and two-third of Anjar's inhabitants repatriated to Soviet Armenia. Many in turn left that restrictive and discriminatory regime for the United States beginning in the 1970s, as well as after independence in 1991 due to socioeconomic hardships. Those who stayed in Anjar eventually moved out in palpable numbers as a result of the 1975-1990 civil war in Lebanon and scattered to the Gulf countries, Australia, Europe, Africa, Canada, and

the United States. These expatriates have been trying to preserve their dual Musa Daghan-Anjarian identity by forming compatriotic associations, celebrating annually their heroic feat against the Ottoman genocidal onslaught, and/or communicating with, supporting, or visiting Anjar.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ *Suriagan Mamul* [Syrian Press] (Aleppo, Syria), 3 October 1924.
- ² *Husaper* [Hope Bearer] (Cairo, Egypt), 23 April 1925.
- ³ Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU) Archives, Cairo, Egypt, Binder 134, untitled, includes sections on Vakef, Haji Habibli, Karachay, Zeituniye, Beilan, and Kanli Dere, "Zeituniye" section, Yesayi Yaghubian, Arakel Penenian, and Hovhannes Geokjian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 7 January 1938; idem, Vagharsh B. Oflazian to AGBU *Monthly Report* Editor, 11 February 1938.
- ⁴ Ibid., ten Zeituniye School parents to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 12 July 1936; idem, The Names, Enrollment Fee, and Monthly Payments of the Zeituniye Village of Svedia AGBU Members, 27 September 1936; Hovhannes Hajian, "Im Hushere" [My Memoirs], unpublished MS, Hollywood, California, Notebook II, p. 90.
- ⁵ Hajian, "Im Hushere," II, pp. 86-87.
- ⁶ Tateos Babigian, "Husher. Tebker u Temker" [Memoirs: Events and Profiles], unpublished MS, Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Dzidzernagapert, Armenia, pp. 4, 123, 168, 171-72.
- ⁷ Misak Bllutian, untitled list of Vakef inhabitants with their nicknames, occupations, and political affiliations, prepared for the author, Hollywood, California; interview with Dajad Antablian, 1 July 1977, Anjar, Lebanon.
- ⁸ Interview with Nubar Boghigian, 9 May 2009, Glendale, California; Babigian, "Husher," p. 172.
- ⁹ Babigian, pp. 168-69, 171-72.
- ¹⁰ AGBU Cairo, Binder 134, "Vakef" section, Membership Roster of AGBU Vakef Chapter, 15 July 1924.
- ¹¹ M.A. Varbedian, "Jebel Musan" [Musa Dagh], *Husaper*, 30 May 1932, p. 2; Babigian, p. 168.
- ¹² Boghos Madurian and Mardiros Kushakjian, eds., *Hushamadean Musa Leran* [Memorial Book of Musa Dagh] (Beirut: Atlas, 1970), p. 588; Babigian, pp. 177, 235.
- ¹³ Babigian, pp. 168, 172, 177.
- ¹⁴ Khacher Madurian, "Vakef," in *Hushamadean*, p. 103.
- ¹⁵ Ibid.; Babigian, p. 169.
- ¹⁶ Garabed S. Tilkian, *Musa Dagh Boy: Story of Survival and Service* (Los Angeles: Abril, 1992), p. 79.
- ¹⁷ AGBU Cairo, Binder 134, "Zeituniye" section, Mihran Ashkarian and Arakel Penenian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, stamped 6 September 1937; idem, Binder 167, untitled, includes sections on Yoghunoluk, Bitias, Nor Zeitun, Kirik Khan, Soghukoluk, Abdal Hiuyiuk, and Soghuksu, as well as interspersed information on Zeituniye, etc., Y. Yaghubian and P. Geokjian, Accounts of 1935-1936 2nd Trimester of Zeituniye National Coeducational School, 21 May 1936 (income, in Syrian piasters: tuitions, 370, raffle tickets, 365, AGBU, 1,140, total, 1,875; expenses: teacher's salary for January, February, and March 1936, 625 per month, total, 1,875); idem, Y. Yaghubian and H. Ashkarian, Accounts of 1936-1937 1st Trimester of Zeituniye National Coeducational School, 10 January 1937 (income: tuitions 578, donations 350, AGBU 1,572, total, 2,500; expenses: teacher's salary for October, November, and December 1936, 700 per month, and

miscellaneous 400, total 2,500); idem, Y. Yaghubian, A. Penenian, H. Geokjian, Accounts of 1936-1937 2nd Trimester of Zeituniye National Coeducational School, 8 April 1937 (income: tuitions 400, AGBU, 2,100, total 2,500; expenses: teacher's salary for January, February, and March 1937, 700 per month, school rent 400, total 2,500); idem, M. Ashkarian and H. Geokjian, Accounts of 1936-1937 3rd Trimester of Zeituniye National School, 29 August 1937 (income: tuitions 600, AGBU 1,900, total 2,500; expenses: teacher's salary for April, May, and June 1937, 700 per month, expenses 400, total 2,500); idem, Y. Yaghubian, M. Ashkarian, and H. Geokjian, Accounts of (1937-1938?) 1st Trimester of Zeituniye (Svedia) Armenian School, no date, (income: tuitions 1,250, AGBU 2,196, total 3,446; expenses: teacher's salary total 3,196, miscellaneous 250, total 3,446).

¹⁸ Hajian, pp. 84-86.

¹⁹ AGBU Cairo, Binder 167, Yesayi Yaghubian, chairman, Arakel Penenian, secretary, and Hovhannes Geokjian, treasurer of the Zeituniye school Board, Accounts of 1936-1937 2nd Trimester of Zeituniye National Coeducational School, 8 April 1937.

²⁰ Hajian, pp. 83-90.

²¹ AGBU Cairo, Binder 134, "Zeituniye" section, ten Zeituniye School parents to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 12 July 1936. The parents were: Isgender Hergelian, Peniamin Geokjian, Antranig Geokjian, Hovhannes/Vanes Geokjian, Yesayi Yaghubian, Khacher Vanaian, Mihran Ashkarian, Yesayi Kabakian, Andon Andonian, and Panos Shannakian.

²² Hajian, p. 89.

²³ AGBU Cairo, Binder 181, *Grt. Desuch yev Grt. Hantzakhump Surio yev Lipanani 1 Mard 1937 en 31 Hulis 938* [Education Superintendent and Education Committee of Syria and Lebanon from 1 March 1937 to 31 July 1938], Mikael Natanian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 8 July 1938; idem, copy of letter with two illegible signatures on behalf of the AGBU Egypt Regional Committee to Mikael Natanian, 15 July 1938.

²⁴ Hajian, p. 89.

²⁵ For the number of students, see AGBU Cairo, Binder 178, untitled, includes AGBU Cairo Executive Council documents for the period 22 June 1932-31 August 1934, M. Natanian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 9 December 1933; idem, Binder 181, M. Natanian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 8 July, 1938. For the Christmas program, see, Binder 134, "Zeituniye" section, Vagharsh B. Oflazian to AGBU *Monthly Report* Editor, 11 February 1938.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Binder 134, "Zeituniye" section, Yesayi Yaghubian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 2 March 1937; idem, copy of letter from the AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair to Y. Yaghubian, 10 March 1937, 11 March 1938; idem, copy of letter from Y. Yazejian and Janig Chaker on behalf of the AGBU Egypt Regional Committee to AGBU Zeituniye Chapter Chair, 29 March 1938; idem, copy of letter from B. Giragosian and illegible name on behalf of AGBU Egypt Regional Committee to AGBU Zeituniye Chapter Chair, 26 August 1938; idem, V. Oflazian and Y. Yaghubian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 5 March 1939, 8 March 1939, 12 March 1939, 15 March 1939, 7 May 1939; idem, copy of letter from illegible signatures on behalf of AGBU Egypt Regional Committee to AGBU Zeituniye Chapter Chair, 15 March 1939, 20 March 1939, 17 May 1939; idem, copy of letter from illegible signatures on behalf of AGBU Egypt Regional Committee to AGBU Beirut Chapter Chair, 29 March 1939; idem, Binder 181, M. Natanian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 18 March 1937.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Binder 134, "Vakef" section, Report on the Formation of AGBU Chapters, 1 May 1924, attachment "Vakef" Section, 1st Membership Roster of Vakef Chapter, 15 July

1924. The members from Levshiye were: Dr. and Mrs. Mihran and Yevkine Varbedian, Mr. and Mrs. Kegham and Araksi? Anbarjian, Khosrov Arabian, and Aram D. Torosian, all of whom were not natives to Musa Dagh. For the AGBU Vakef Chapter, see also AGBU, *Vosgemadean Haygagan Parekordzagan Enthanur Miutean – Ardzatean Hopelean – 1906-1931* [Golden Book of the Armenian General Benevolent Union – Silver Jubilee – 1906-1931] (Paris: Masis, 1935), p. 164.
- ²⁸ AGBU Cairo, Binder 178, M. Natanian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 26 September 1933, 9 December 1933.
- ²⁹ Ibid., Binder 134, "Zeituniye" section, Yesayi Yaghubian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 7 October 1936.
- ³⁰ Ibid., Membership Roster of AGBU Zeituniye Chapter, 27 September 1936. The original nineteen members were, as listed: Boghos Oflazian, miller; Karun Oflazian, housewife; Yester Oflazian, student; Vagharsh Oflazian, student; Vartuhi Nakulian, teacher; Apraham Nakulian, student; Sahag Nakulian, student; Mihran Ashkarian, farmer; Yesayi Yaghubian, farmer; Nubar Yaghubian, student; Peniamin Geokjian, farmer; Antranig Geokjian, farmer; Hovhannes Geokjian, farmer; Panos Shannakian, farmer; Khacher Silahlian, farmer; Arakel Penenian, farmer; Movses Kerteshian, farmer; Boghos Kiurdian, farmer; and Yesayi Kabakian, farmer.
- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² Ibid., Y. Yaghubian, H. Geokjian, and illegible to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 10 April 1938; idem, copy of letter from three illegible signatures on behalf of the AGBU Egypt Regional Committee to AGBU Zeituniye Chapter Chair, 16 April 1938.
- ³³ Ibid., Y. Yaghubian, A. Penenian, H. Geokjian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 7 January 1938; idem, copy of letter from illegible signature on behalf of the AGBU Egypt Regional Committee to AGBU Zeituniye Chapter Chair, 12 January 1938, 27 June 1939; idem, Y. Yaghubian and V. Oflazian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 16 June 1939; idem, Binder 181, M. Natanian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 16 January 1938; idem, Janig Chaker and illegible signature on behalf of the AGBU Egypt Regional Committee to M. Natanian, 19 January 1938.
- ³⁴ Ibid., Binder 134, "Zeituniye" section, copy of letter with no signature on behalf of the AGBU Egypt Regional Committee to AGBU Zeituniye Chapter Chair, 24 December 1936, 18 February 1937, 10 March 1937; idem, Y. Yaghubian and Arakel Penenian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 2 March 1937; idem, Vagharsh B. Oflazian to AGBU *Monthly Report* Editor, 11 February 1938.
- ³⁵ Raymond H. Kévorkian and Vahé Tachjian, eds., *The Armenian General Benevolent Union: One Hundred Years of History*, vol. I, 1906-1940, translated from French by G.M. Goshgarian (Cairo, Paris, New York: AGBU Central Board of Directors, 2006), pp. 262-263. See also, AGBU Cairo, Binder 181, copy of letter with no signature on behalf of AGBU Egypt Regional Committee to M. Natanian, 30 July 1937.
- ³⁶ Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia (ACC) Archives, Antelias, Lebanon, File 22/1, *Jebel Musa-Svedia 1920-1940*, Vagharsh B. Oflazian to Archbishop Bedros Sarajian, 15 November 1937, 27 September 1938.
- ³⁷ AGBU Cairo, Binder 134, "Zeituniye" section, Vagharsh B. Oflazian and Yesayi Yaghubian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 5 March 1939, and 15 March 1939.
- ³⁸ Ibid., copy of letter with illegible signature on behalf of AGBU Egypt Regional Committee to AGBU Zeituniye Chapter Chair, 15 March 1939.
- ³⁹ Ibid., Vagharsh B. Oflazian and Yesayi Yaghubian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 29 March 1939. See also idem, V. Oflazian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 30 March 1939.

- ⁴⁰ Ibid., copy of letter with illegible signature on behalf of the AGBU Egypt Regional Committee to AGBU Zeituniye Chapter Chair, 1 April 1939. See also *idem*, 7 April 1939; *idem*, letter to V. Oflazian, 13 April 1939.
- ⁴¹ The history of that exodus has not yet been written in a substantiated manner.
- ⁴² ACC, File 22/1, Vagharsh B. Oflazian to Archbishop Bedros Sarajian, 29 July 1937.
- ⁴³ S.S. Manoogian, "A Week in Antioch," *The Friend of Armenia*, n.s., III: 106 (1928): 15; Jacques Weulersse, "Antioche. Essai de géographie urbaine," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* IV (1934): 27; Pierre Bazantay, *Enquête sur l'artisanat à Antioche* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1936), p. 4. There is not a definitive figure pertaining to the pre-WWI Armenian population in Antioch. The counts given for the period following the 1909 massacres fall within the same range as the post-WWI period. It must be noted, however, that those who settled in Antioch after the Genocide were not all necessarily native residents; survivors from other areas of the Ottoman Empire similarly lived in Antioch during the 1920s and 1930s.
- ⁴⁴ Weulersse, p. 50.
- ⁴⁵ Paul Jacquot, *Antioche. Centre de tourisme* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1931), vol. II, pp. 208-09.
- ⁴⁶ Bazantay, pp. 8-10. See also G. Besnard, "Antioche," *L'Asie Française* no. 299 (April, 1932): 130-31.
- ⁴⁷ For Armenian community affairs in Antioch, consult ACC, File 23/1, *Andiok 1914-1940* [Antioch 1914-1940]; AGBU Cairo, Binder 195, "Antioch" section.
- ⁴⁸ Interview with Asdghig Urfalian Chaparian, 12 July 2009, Anjar, Lebanon.
- ⁴⁹ Bedros Torosian, *Husher* [Memoirs] (Glendale, California: Abril, 2009), p. 35.
- ⁵⁰ Harutiun Sherbetjian, untitled list of Kheder Beg inhabitants with their nicknames and occupations, prepared for the author, North Hollywood, California; Serop Sherbetjian, "Kheder Beg," unpublished genealogical survey, 1974, North Hollywood, California, pp. 7-8, 20, 28.
- ⁵¹ The murder of Chaparian (and others) was the result of animosity between inhabitants from Haji Habibli and Bitias, with no political/party origins, although this limited conflict could have degenerated into a widescale ARF-Hinchakian clash engulfing Musa Dagh as a whole, which fortunately did not occur.
- ⁵² Telephone interview with Alberta Magzarian, 8 October 2009, Granada Hills, California-Olney, Maryland.
- ⁵³ Interview with Helen Sherbetjian Makhian, 3 April 2009, Pasadena, California.
- ⁵⁴ Some of the Musa Dagh students attending schools in Antioch were: At the French state *Lycée*, Hagop Keshishian of Kabusiye, Hagop Chaparian of Yoghunoluk, and Nazareth Bidanian of Yoghunoluk; at the St. Pierre Capuchin school, Harutiun/Artin Sherbetjian of Kheder Beg. Moses Keshishian, private papers, Los Angeles, California, picture of Hagop Keshishian as a student in Antioch, 13 May 1927; telephone interview with Nazareth Bidanian, 10 February 2010, Granada Hills, California-Fresno, California; Harutiun/Artin Sherbetjian, private papers, North Hollywood, California, picture of him as a student in Antioch, 1930s. Among Musa Dagh soldiers in the French army, Hapet Aprahamian ("Sallanints") of Kheder Beg served as the secretary of the French colonel at Antioch. Telephone interview with Bidanian. To be sure, there were other soldiers from Musa Dagh, but information is lacking about their post(s) of service.
- ⁵⁵ Armenian Prelacy of Aleppo (APA) Archives, Aleppo, Syria, Section III, File 3, 1939 *Hulis 10en Arach Haleb Hasdadvadz Sanjaktsi Hay Kaghtaganneru Arvanatsange* [The Roster of Armenian Refugees from the Sanjak Established in Aleppo before 10 July 1939], information on Arakel Der Arakelian.

- ⁵⁶ Ibid., Roster of Armenian Refugees Who Came from the Sanjak to Aleppo during the Period from 1 July 1938-10 July 1939, dated 29 August 1939, entry no. 207.
- ⁵⁷ Interview with Victoria Giuzelian, 23 February 2009, Glendale, California.
- ⁵⁸ Hovhannes Amoghlian, letter to the author, received 29 October 2008.
- ⁵⁹ Interview with Moves Sherbetjian, 6 January 2002, Thousand Oaks, California.
- ⁶⁰ Apraham Kasamanian, taped autobiography, cassette no. 6, Glendale, California. See also Urfalian, *Geanki*, p. 70.
- ⁶¹ Urfalian, *Geanki*, p. 87.
- ⁶² Sherbetjian, untitled list.
- ⁶³ League of Nations (LN) Archives, United Nations Library, Geneva, Switzerland, Sanjak d'Alexandrette, Commission de la S.D.N., C 1058, no. 3/37, File *Djebel Moussa 2* [Musa Dagh 2], Liste de tout les électeurs du Yoghoun Olouk inscrit dans les listes électorales revisées au début de 1937 qui ont perdu le bénéfice de leurs droits civiques.
- ⁶⁴ Nazareth Emlikian, private papers, Huntingdon Valley, Pennsylvania, Sarkis Boyajian, letter to brother-in-law Kapriel Emlikian, 18 January 1929.
- ⁶⁵ Vahram L. Shemmassian, private papers, address on envelope (letter missing) sent from the United States to Jabra al-Mshati (Kapriel Shemmassian) in Hama, Syria in 1925.
- ⁶⁶ LN, C 1058, no. 3/37, File *Djebel Moussa 2*, Liste de tout les électeurs du Yoghoun Olouk.
- ⁶⁷ Bllutian, untitled list.
- ⁶⁸ LN, C 1058, no. 3/37, File *Djebel Moussa 2*, Liste de tout les électeurs du Yoghoun Olouk/Khidr Bek/Haji Habablie.
- ⁶⁹ Interview with Sirvart Tashjian-Hajian, 3 January 2009, Pasadena, California.
- ⁷⁰ Setrag Haygazian, "Setrag Haygaziani Husherits," [From the Memoirs of Setrag Haygazian], unpublished MS, Musa Ler Monument-Museum, Musa Ler Town, Armenia, Notebook I, n.p.
- ⁷¹ Serop Sherbetjian, "Yoghun Oluk," unpublished genealogical survey, 1974, North Hollywood, California, p. 37. Boghos Dmlakian had four sons: Shafik, Karim, Abd al-Masih, and Hovhannes. For Shafik and Karim, see section on Egypt in this study. Hovhannes died at a young age.
- ⁷² For the partly-assimilated Armenians in Aleppo, consult Varti Keshishian, *Halebi Haygagan Kaghtojakhi Hasaragagan-Mshagutayin Gazmagerbutiunnere(1846-1915)* [The Social-Cultural Organizations of the Armenian Colony of Aleppo (1846-1915)], Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia Press, Antelias, Lebanon 2001, pp. 24-25, 36.
- ⁷³ Alberta Magzarian, letter to the author, received 6 April 2009.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid.
- ⁷⁵ APA, Section III, File 1, *Sanjaki Kaghtaganats Esdatsvadz Namagner 1939-1940* [Incoming Correspondence from Sanjak Refugees 1939-1940], Hovhannes Vanaian, Movses K. Keshishian, and Tovmas Abdenurian to Aleppo Prelate Archbishop Ardavazt Surmeian, 14 August 1939.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid., File 2, *Anvanatsang yev Adenakrutiun [Sanjaki Kaghtaganats]1939-1940* [Roster and Minutes of Meetings (Pertaining to Sanjak Refugees) 1939-1940], The Roster of Armenian Nationals Who Migrated to Aleppo before the Annexation of the Sanjak to Turkey.
- ⁷⁷ Ibid., files 1 and 2, The Roster of Musa Dagh Armenian Refugees Who Came to Aleppo after 17 July 1939.
- ⁷⁸ For the temporary stay of Musa Dagh refugees at Ras al-Basit, consult M. Kushakjian, "Musa Lertsik Ainjari Mech" [Musa Daghians in Anjar], in *Hushamadean*, pp. 497-500; Torosian, *Husher*, pp. 46-61.

- ⁷⁹ APA, Section III, File 1, Vanaian, Keshishian, and Abdenurian to Archbishop Surmeian, 14 August 1939; idem, File 2, Ardavazt Archbishop Surmeian to Bedros Archbishop Sarajian, Vicar General of the Catholicosate of Cilicia and President of the Armenian National Union in Lebanon, 29 August 1939.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid., File 2, Archbishop Ardavazt Surmeian to the Central Committee for the Settlement of Musa Dagh Refugees in Anjar, 15 September 1939.
- ⁸¹ Ibid., Archbishop Ardavazt Surmeian in a letter to Mardiros Kushakjian, 23 September 1939, maintains that twenty-eight families totaling ninety persons were ready to be entrained. But refugees waiting to be transported to Anjar stated that, although twenty families had received permission to go, only seventeen had shown up at the train station. See idem, File 1, Maritsa Stambulian, Mari Keosheian, and Mari Karageuzian to Archbishop Ardavazt Surmeian, 28 September 1939. For the list of Musa Daghians who actually left, see idem, File 5, *Artzanakrutium. Sanjaki Kaghtaganats Khnamadarutium. Comité d'Assistance aux Réfugiés ALEP, 1939-1940* [Record. Caretaking Agency for Sanjak Refugees. Refugees Assistance Committee Aleppo, 1939-1940], Roster of Sanjak Refugees Sent to Homs-Anjar via Rayaq and to Beirut by a Special Train at 2:30 p.m. on 26 September 1939.
- ⁸² Rosine Shemmassian Koundakjian, letter to the author, received 29 November 1996; interview with Rosine Shemmassian Koundakjian, 30 January 2010, Fresno, California.
- ⁸³ Gaidzag Zeitlian, email to the author, 15 May 2009.
- ⁸⁴ Interview with Varujan Mardirian, 10 July 2009, Anjar, Lebanon.
- ⁸⁵ Bllutian, untitled list.
- ⁸⁶ Torosian, pp. 25, 35.
- ⁸⁷ For the orphans from Yoghunoluk, see *ibid.*, pp. 19-36; for the boy from Bitias, telephone interview with Haig Antranig Kendirjian, 3 February 2010, Granada Hills, California-Beirut, Lebanon.
- ⁸⁸ Alberta Magzarian, letter to the author, 6 September 2009.
- ⁸⁹ Manuel Giuzelyan, written statement titled "Krikor Keghunu Dndesagan Hasaragagan Kordzuneutyune" [The Economic Public Activity of Krikor Keghuni], prepared for the author, Van Nuys, California.
- ⁹⁰ AGBU Cairo, Binder 180, *Grt. Desuch yev Grt. Hantznakhump Surio yev Lipanani 22 Okosd. 1935en 26 Pedr. 1937* [Education Superintendent and Education Committee of Syria and Lebanon from 22 August 1935 until 26 February 1937], Giragos Giragosian and Movses Melidonian to AGBU Egypt Regional Committee Chair, 24 May 1936.
- ⁹¹ Interview with Mikael Mikaelian, 2 April 2009, Hollywood, California.
- ⁹² Ibid.
- ⁹³ France, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Nantes, Mandat Syrie-Liban, Beyrouth: Cabinet Politique 1926-1941, carton 513, Le Délégué-Adjoint du Haut-Commissaire pour le mohafazat de Lattaquié à Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de France Haut-Commissaire de la République en Syrie at au Liban, 15 June 1938, attachment titled "Declaration" and signed by Avedis Magarian. (no first name) Ignatossian, and Garabed Kirikian, 14 June 1938.
- ⁹⁴ Telephone interview with Zakar Garabedian, 25 October 2009, Granada Hills, California-Corona, California.
- ⁹⁵ Interview with Mikaelian.
- ⁹⁶ Mikael Mikaelian, private papers, André Métailler, *Certificat* to Mikael Mikaelian, 14 July 1947, Hôtel Saint Georges, Beirut.
- ⁹⁷ "Jebel Musayi Hayrenagtsagan Miutium 1931-1970" [Compatriotic Union of Musa Dagh 1931-1970], in *Hushamadean*, pp. 843-44.

- ⁹⁸ For the various locations of the fights, see Vahram L. Shemmassian, "The Armenian Villagers of Musa Dagh: A Historical-Ethnographic Study, 1840-1915," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1996, pp. 201-10.
- ⁹⁹ *Ararad* (Beirut), 18 January 1939.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 21 September 1938.
- ¹⁰¹ *Joghovurti Tzayn* [People's Voice] (Beirut), 16 October 1938, 23 October 1938.
- ¹⁰² "Jebel Musayi," in *Hushamadean*, pp. 844-45. For Hapet Iskenderian's literary and public life, see Hapet M. Isgenderian, *Kertvadzner yev Artzag Echer* [Poems and Prose Pages] (Beirut: G. Donigian, 1959); Manuel Beylerian, "Hapet M. Isgenderiani Geankn u Kordzuncutiune" [Hapet M. Isgenderian's Life and Activity], in *Trvakner Svedio Antsealen (1893-95 Heghapokhagan Shrchanen)* [Episodes from Svedia's Past (From the 1893-95 Revolutionary Period)], *Ararad* Newspaper Book Series no. 22 (Beirut: Ararad, 1957), pp. 275-307.
- ¹⁰³ *Ararad*, 29 July 1938.
- ¹⁰⁴ France, Mandat Syrie-Liban, carton 513, Magarian, Ignatossian, and Kirikian, "Declaration," 14 June 1938.
- ¹⁰⁵ Telephone interview with Aurora Adajian Lehman, 20 January 2010, Granada Hills, California-Chatsworth, California; Shemmassian, "The Armenian Villagers," p. 57.
- ¹⁰⁶ For the rescue operations, see Georges Kévorkian, *La flotte française au secours des Arméniens en 1909 et 1915* (Rennes, France: Marines Éditions, 2008), pp. 71-89; Shemmassian, "The Armenian Villagers," 210-223. For the Port Said refugee camp, see M. Salpi, ed., *Aleagner yev Khleagner: Hay Vranakaghakin Darekirke* [Little Waves and Wrecks: The Yearbook of the Armenian Tent City] (Alexandria, Egypt: A. Kasabian, 1919).
- ¹⁰⁷ *Arev* [Sun] (Alexandria, Egypt), 6 December 1915, 28 January 1916, 4 February 1916, 18 February 1916; *Hayrenik* [Fatherland] (Boston), 18 February 1916, 27 January 1917.
- ¹⁰⁸ Sherbetjian, "Yoghun Oluk," pp. 13, 54; *idem*, "Kabusiyé," p. 19; *idem*, "Kheder Beg," p. 25.
- ¹⁰⁹ Aghavni/Vani Keshishian-Tashjian, email to the author, 4 April 2009.
- ¹¹⁰ Alice Bursalian-Markarian, email to the author, 7 February 2009.
- ¹¹¹ *Ibid.*; Telephone interviews with Marie Hadjian-Chitdjian, 6 February 2009, 4 March 2009, Granada Hills, California-North Haven, Connecticut.
- ¹¹² Nairi Dmlakian-Souvalian, email to the author, 9 March 2009.
- ¹¹³ Keshishian-Tashjian, email.
- ¹¹⁴ Bursalian-Markarian, email.
- ¹¹⁵ Telephone interviews with Hadjian-Chitdjian.
- ¹¹⁶ Keshishian-Tashjian, email.
- ¹¹⁷ Berjoubie Oflazian-Devejian, email to the author, 20 April 2009.
- ¹¹⁸ Bursalian-Markarian, email.
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁰ See *Husaper* and *Arev* [Sun] (Alexandria/Cairo), 1920s-1930s issues.
- ¹²¹ Consult the AGBU Archives in New York, File 14 D, and in Cairo, binders 134, 167, and 195.
- ¹²² Armenian Prelacy of Cairo Archives, Binder 2,031, *Surio Hay Kaghut* [Armenian Community of Syria], miscellaneous letters.
- ¹²³ Vahram L. Shemmassian, "Armenian Musa Dagh as a Summer Resort in the Sanjak of Alexandretta during the 1920s-1930s," *Haigazian Armenological Review*, Vol. 28, 2008, pp. 209, 214.
- ¹²⁴ Telephone interviews with Hadjian-Chitdjian.
- ¹²⁵ Dmlakian-Souvalian, email.

ՄՈՒՍԱ ԼԵՌՑԻ ՊԱՆԴՈՒԽՏՆԵՐՈՒ ԸՆԿԵՐԱՑԻՆ ԵՒ ՏՆՏԵՍԱԿԱՆ ՎԻՃԱԿԸ ՄԻՋԻՆ
ԱՐԵՒԵԼՔԻ ՄԷՋ՝ 1920-30ԱԿԱՆՆԵՐՈՒՆ
(Ամփոփում)

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Հեղինակը հիմնուելով բանաւոր տուեալներու վրայ կը դժէ մուսալիոցի պանդուխտներու աշխարհագրական քարտէսն ու կը վերականգնէ անոնց ընկերային-տնտեսական վիճակը Միջին Արեւելքի մէջ: Շեմմասեան կը բացայայտէ այն պարագաներն ու պայմանները որոնք պանդուխտութիւն պարտադրեցին մուսալիոցիներուն:

Յօդուածը կարելի մանրամասնութեամբ կը ներկայացնէ 1920-30ականներուն մուսալիոցի պանդուխտներու հաստատուած վայրերը՝ Ալեքսանտրէթի Սանճաքէն ու Սուրիոյ միւս քաղաքներէն մինչեւ Պէյրութ եւ Եգիպտոս: Միաժամանակ ան կը նկարագրէ անոնց աշխատանքային վիճակը: Հեղինակը կը ներկայացնէ նաեւ պանդուխտներուն ընկերային կեանքը՝ նոր միջավայրին մէջ եւ թէ ինչ բնոյթի կապերով անոնք կապուած կը մնային իրենց պապենական բնակավայր՝ Մուսա Լեւան: Եօդուածը կը խօսի նաեւ նոր միջավայրին մէջ պանդուխտ մուսալիոցիներու ազգային-հայրենակցական գործունէութեան, ինչպէս նաեւ տեղի հայ համայնքին հետ անոնց հաստատած շփումներուն մասին:

Ընդհանուր այս հենքին վրայ, յօդուածագիրը առանձին հատուածներով կը ներկայացնէ նաեւ այս պանդուխտներուն համարկումը նոր միջավայրին, անոնցմէ ոմանց տնտեսական ձեռնհասութիւնը եւ տեղաշարժերը: Տեղաշարժերու այս ընթացքին մէջ, հեղինակը կ'անդրադառնայ նաեւ մուսալիոցիներու Այնճար հաստատումին, անոնց մէկ մասին ներգաղթին եւ արտագաղթին, ինչպէս նաեւ այնճարցիներու մէկ մասի ցրուումին՝ Լիբանանի քաղաքացիական պատերազմի տարիներուն: