

THE ARMENIANS IN POST-WWI TURKEY (1919-1938)¹

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Anadolou and the Eastern Regions

(Van, Bitlis, Sassoon, Derdjan, Erzurum, Moush, Erzincan, Kars, *Kavar*)

1.

The region of Central Anadolou was the stage of fierce, inhuman treatment of humankind during the Greco-Turkish war. It seems that the war was a predecessor of the ethnic cleansing policy, mainly applied by the Turks, who no sooner got the upper hand in the war than reports started pouring in of massacres and forceful deportations. In fact one of the first reports unveiled that new massacres were committed in Anadolou where 400 Armenians were killed by the Kurds.² Unlike the deportations of 1915, the new deportations did not have the Arab desert addresses, because of changed circumstances, but instead, the bare hinterlands of Anadolou, to which not only the Armenians of Denizli were sent,³ but all male Christians of 15-50 who were living under the Milli Kemalist occupation.⁴ Further reports about the Armenians of Anadolou in 1921, spoke of their situation becoming worse through the fear and threat of persecution, conscription and Courts of Independence which were set up by Kemal Ataturk to try subversive elements, and since the Armenians were considered as such they were tried on these grounds. Later the situation of 1915 deportations were repeated, in a worse manner. All the previous (belonging to the 1915 era) policemen, commissioners, agents were back at work and were deporting the Armenians and Greeks from the western states to Sivas. All the Christian railway workers were laid off. These reports concluded that the Christian population of Anadolou was in danger of annihilation.⁵ These data were confirmed by other reports, speaking of the deportations, and the application of the death penalty without trial.⁶ For the fate of the Armenians of the whole of Anadolou, the obscurity of the coming days was commonplace.⁷ Yet, even the meagre facts were ill-presented, and this forced the Constantinople Armenian Patriarchate to reveal some truths to clarify the situation. In a nut shell the Patriarchate clarified, that in con-

trast to what was stated by some state official spokesmen and newspapers about the situation of the Armenians of the Anadolou, the situation of the refugees had not changed and that there could be no ground for any reinstated «confidence» between the Turks and the Armenians.⁸ Further reports spoke about the consequence of forceful conscription of the Armenians, which included the school teachers, a situation which left the community schools without teachers and led to their closure. The exemption from military service of the teachers required their certificates to be stamped by the *Mearif*.⁹ But these certificates had been lost during the 1915 deportations, and the Patriarchate's recommendation was not acceptable because of the strained relations between the government and the Patriarchate.¹⁰ Reports claimed that there were 131.000 Armenians in Asia Minor and an estimated 150.000 in Constantinople in late 1922.¹¹ Unconfirmed reports spoke about a proposal by the Kemalist government to the only Armenian high cleric in Anadolou, Archbishop Gut, to hold the post of the Patriarchate of Anadolou; but the Archbishop declined by claiming his incapability to hold such a high post.¹² As a further act of an unfolding new policy, according to the official newspaper of Enguri, *Hakimete Millie*, the government of Kemal Pasha initiated the election of three Armenian MPs to represent the 150.000 Armenians of Anadolou.¹³ As the course of the war changed and the Turks got the upper hand, the Constantinople military commanders issued an edict stating that letters sent to Anadolou, should be short, very clearly written and open.¹⁴ Next, the Kemalist authorities expelled 20.000 Armenians to a border post of Soviet Armenia.¹⁵ Alongside these deportations, news of massacres were confirmed by different reports; for instance, the Near East Relief reports that it received reports from Aleppo that Christians were massacred in Mardin, Tigranocerta, the Ourfa regions and the surrounding vilayets. Even the Mardin Assyrian Patriarch was slaughtered. According to reliable sources which reached Aleppo from Anadolou, there were 5000 Christian orphans in Central Turkey, and in a single region 1000 Armenian girls were forcefully married to Turks.¹⁶ After the tides of the events ebbed, the Patriarchate got the chance to comb the area to learn about its flock. Estimates revealed around 20.000 Armenians in Anadolou in 1926,¹⁷ while others put the number between 25-30.000 in 1928,¹⁸ which was later changed in a report to 41.282, of whom 7710 had lost their national identity.¹⁹ The forceful deportation of the Armenians from Anadolou got a new impetus in the late 20s'. Reports spoke about a new tide of emigration from Anadolou to Syria,²⁰ which left Anadolou with a total of around 4-5000 Armenians in 1938.²¹

2.

According to certain reports some 30.000 Armenians were scattered from Van to Erzurum in 1920,²² but this number was drastically reduced

to «very minor numbers» in mid-twenties.²³ Turkish papers of the late 20s' stated that the Armenians were leaving their homes of their own will, but the facts were just the opposite.²⁴

In late 1923 some Armenians of Van arrived in Erivan and spoke of the plight of the Armenians in Van. According to their testimony, after 1918 the Armenians in and around Van totalled up to 4000. When the Turks returned to Van, these Armenians were dispatched to Tigranocerta, but sometime later they were brought back. Some of these Armenians died on the way, others were massacred by the Turks, and those who were able to reach Van were only 600.²⁵ A similar report was given by 44 other travellers from Van, mostly women, who confirmed that after the Russian retreat from Van, a number of Armenians left for Bagdad, while about 1200 took refuge in the Lim and Ketouts monasteries on two islands of lake Van, where after spending some time they returned home. But 4-5 months later they were sent to Tigranocerta, then back to Van, where they settled and were living in the Armenian quarter of Aygestan.²⁶

In spite of the many similarities of these eyewitnesses' accounts and Turkish newspaper reports, a close analysis of their stories will prove the existence of certain discrepancies in the numbers mentioned. These prove that there were things being concealed pertaining to the exact number of Armenians and their whereabouts. Of the 400-500 Armenians living in Van in 1920, only 35 were men, while the rest were women and children. Some of the wares stolen from the churches in Van were sent to the National Museum in Constantinople, while the rest, amounting to 30-40 rugs and carpets, 8-10.000 valuable Armenian manuscripts and rare books, and service plates and priests' mantles and garments were stolen and lost for ever, while the icons taken from the churches and monasteries in Van were deposited in the government building.²⁷ In 1921, reports of the British Embassy in Constantinople and the Near East Relief insisted that there were only 500 Armenians in Van.²⁸ Yet this number rose up to 3000 in late 1922,²⁹ but soon fell to 1000 at the end of the same year, 1922. According to Teheran's *Nor Kyank* daily, the Armenians in Van were mostly women, old men and children.³⁰ A report of Petros Vardapet Ghazarian, the dean of the convent St. Thadeus, stated that in 1923 there were no more Armenians in the vilayet of Van. There were only 15 Armenian families in the villages of Timar and Alur, and they were farmers; in Shahbaghi, another village, there were 20 Armenian families, in Avants, a port on the lake of Van, the native Armenians were seamen. In the city of Van itself about 100 Armenian families resided, mostly tailors, blacksmiths, masons and goldsmiths.³¹ Later some of them, 17 in all, took refuge in Constantinople,³² while the 83% of the Nahr el Omar refugees in Irak, were originally from Van.³³ The remaining Armenians had appealed to the local Turkish authorities to allow them safe

passage to Soviet Armenia. After discussing the matter with the central government, the authorities led them to the border at Igdir.³⁴

This story was reported by the London *Times* too, in a telegram of 16 August, but with a different account. The British newspaper informed its readers of the fact that the Armenians of that region received a treatment similar to that of the Greeks and were forcefully expelled out of their homes after they were robbed and all their belongings confiscated. The same was repeated at Bitlis too, where a total of 35.000 Armenians were forced to sign documents, declaring they were leaving willingly. This news roused international reaction and almost all observers declared that it coincided with and hindered the international efforts to improve the Turko-Armenian relations. In fact, what the Turkish authorities did was nothing less than a new deportation of Armenians at that same moment when the Lausanne Conference was taking place.³⁵

But all these events were related somewhat differently by those Armenian women, three in number, who had left Van to Erivan on July 8, 1923. According to their story, they had left Van upon the local government's declaration that the Soviet Armenian government is requesting the return of all Armenians residing in Turkey then. They were accorded 15 days to leave and take away with them whatever was portable. Their homes were immediately confiscated by the authorities even before they left Van. On their way to the Armenian border, which took 26 days, they were accompanied by Turkish soldiers who protected them. The women claimed that no Armenians were left in the region, and as a result of which Turks destroyed the Armenian Evangelical church of Van.³⁶ The Population Exchange Program was the major reason why most of the Armenians were completely ripped out of the city of Van, leaving behind not more than 23 Armenians, of whom 5 were goldsmiths, 2 moulders, 3 cobblers, 2 tailors, 1 watchmaker. In 1930 this number rose to 68³⁷ and diminished later to nothing thus giving way to the Kurds, who now came to fill both the city of Van and the Armenian villages of Hayots Tsor region.³⁸

3.

According to many reports the ethnic cleansing of Bitlis had been excellent, and hence no Armenians were left, while 2-3000 Turks could be found there in 1920,³⁹ though reports of the British Embassy of Constantinople and the Near East Relief stated that there were 13.000 Armenians in both the city of Bitlis and the region surrounding it.⁴⁰ At the end of 1922, another report estimated the number of Armenians as 6180.⁴¹ This last number was refuted by the Armenian daily of Teheran, the *Nor Kyank*, which stated that not only were there no Armenians in Bitlis in 1922 but that the Armenian quarter had been demolished and burnt, not a single

church was left standing and that St. Karmrorak monastery had been transformed into a military barrack.⁴² Of the entire population of Bitlis only 76 people could take refuge in Constantinople.⁴³ But a different report of 1923 unearths a different tragedy. According to *Tjakatamart* newspaper, there were around 100 women in Bitlis, 70-80 Turkified orphans in Turkish and Kurdish homes, 5-6000 Armenian children, mostly orphans, who had forgotten their native language and worked as slaves, had assimilated into the Kurdish tribes of Modgani, who were in a rebellious state against the Turkish government throughout the war.⁴⁴ This report did not change the picture which speaks of the absence of Armenians in Bitlis in 1923.⁴⁵ In real terms, there were 36 Armenians in Bitlis (8 men, 28 women), while in all the district there were around 170 Armenian women⁴⁶ who dragged their lives for a time, till a report speaks of 17 extremely poor, barefooted and half-naked people taking refuge from Bitlis villages in the Tigranocerta church in the winter of 1935. They revealed that there were others who were getting ready to leave for Tigranocerta, where the local population barely could provide them with bread, because they were in need as well.⁴⁷ The next bit of information is from the year 1935, which speaks about remnants of Armenians in the Bitlis area: 3 families in the village of Oosnak, 5 families in Tjermak, 6 families in Olmez, 3 families in Zeynab, 1 family in Tsakatsor, and 2 families in Aghvenik, all in poor conditions.⁴⁸

4.

Reports of the Armenians in Erzurum in 1920 are very sketchy. There seemed to have been very few Armenian women, but around 4-500 non-muslim boys, of whom more than 200 were Armenians.⁴⁹ According to the reports of the British Embassy of Constantinople and the Near East Relief in 1921 there were 1500 Armenians in Erzurum⁵⁰ who were in a very bad shape and the city was in ruins — according to one American. Nearly all the Armenian residential areas had been destroyed. Out of the four missionary centers, only the boys' school building was standing. A number of Armenians residing there mostly lived as Turks.⁵¹ Reports of 1923, speak of 537 Armenian refugees from Erzurum, sheltering in Constantinople,⁵² while only 5% of the refugees of Nahr el Omar in Irak were from Bitlis-Erzurum.⁵³ Eventually in 1930 in the city itself there remained only 54 Armenians. Among them there were 18 women; 4 men served as sergeants in the Turkish army, 16 were soldiers and 3 were serving prison sentences. In the surrounding region there were 140 females⁵⁴ even though other reports claim that in 1931 there were about 1000 Armenians living in Erzurum, Yeriza and Bitlis.⁵⁵

5.

The fate of the Moush Armenians was similar to that of the other Armenians in Eastern Turkey. In 1920 no Armenians were found there, while Turks numbered 1500-2000.⁵⁶ Later on, in 1922, the picture changed a bit. According to *Nor Kyank*, the Teheran daily newspaper, in 1922 there were not more than 15 Armenian families in Moush. These were bakers and peddlars. The Armenian quarter of the ruined city was totally burnt. Arakelots monastery was half-demolished; all the churches were destroyed — but St. Karapet was half-destroyed, and the standing part was being used as a military barrack.⁵⁷ While in Aleppo in 1923, there were 600 refugees from the Erzurum-Moush area.⁵⁸ The next information comes from 1930, that in the city of Moush there were 41 Armenians (13 men, 28 women), and in the whole region, there were 130 women and orphans.⁵⁹ It seems that some of these took refuge in the Tigranocerta church in extreme poor conditions. According to them there were others who were getting ready to come to Tigranocerta. The local Armenians could only give them dry bread, because they too, were in need.⁶⁰ In Sassoon, according to *Nor Kyank*, the Teheran newspaper, in 1922 there were no Armenians, but a few who were Turkified.⁶¹ The St. Aghberak monastery still stood with two minor clergymen, along with 40 orphans and widows in desperate conditions. It was run by the Kurdish Shego family. In Vartenis, Mousa bek, the leader of the Shego family, employed some Armenians as farm hands. Among them were 7 Armenian girls and women, all Kurdified. Reports revealed that a considerable number of Turkified Armenian women and children were among both the Kurds and the Turks.⁶²

Reports of Derdjan claimed that there were 85 Armenians in the city in 1930, in Tevnig there were 8 (3 men, 5 women), in Pakaridj 5 (2 men, 3 women), in Vijan 4 women, in Goter 11 orphans, in Djaghari 3 women, in Kurd city 2 women, in Kharkhin 29 (6 men, 23 women) and in Mamakhatoon 23 (8 men, 15 women).⁶³

6.

Not much is known about the Erzinjan Armenians, only that 105 of the refugees of Aleppo in 1923, were from there⁶⁴ and that there were 60 Armenian women in Erzinjan and around 40 Armenians in the surrounding villages, in 1929.⁶⁵ The same was true of Bayazit where there were no reports of any Armenians, only 800-1000 Turks. Some Erzinjan and Van Armenians managed to settle in Cilicia, but after the handover of power in Cilicia to the Kemalists these 700 Armenians, mostly women and children were transported to Constantinople, in order to be repatriated in Soviet Armenia.⁶⁶ Khlat and Boulanegh, according to *Nor Kyank*, the

Teheran newspaper, were in ruins; the surrounding Armenian villages were populated by Kurds and only in Ketrantsots and Modgantsots there was a number of Armenians, in poor conditions.⁶⁷

7.

Finally in Kars there were only four Armenian families,⁶⁸ the other Armenians had been sent to Alexandropole, among them the orphans of Kars, thanks to the efforts of the American Relief.⁶⁹ These Armenians, by the provisions of the Treaty of Kars left for Russia, to Kuban in particular, where already 7028 had been settled, while 770 Armenians settled in Armenia.⁷⁰

8.

Reports of 1922 from the Gavar,⁷¹ revealed that the Kemalists started to conscript Armenian orphans of 15 and above into the Turkish army.⁷² Other reports revealed the fact that there were places in the Gavar where Armenians were living together, but the Patriarchate did not have full information about them to plan for their sustenance.⁷³ The Gavar Armenians were negatively influenced by the Turkish news media which «created» anti-Armenian feelings among the Turkish population and harassed them to make the Armenians quit the area.⁷⁴ This caused an influx of refugees to Constantinople, mostly from the Boyabad area, which lies within the Gavar region; these sheltered in Ghalatya, Constantinople. Other refugees were expected as well. They did not know where to go, and were allowed to stay in the courtyard of Ghalatya church for not more than a few days. The Trustees of the Patriarchate were not able to afford to provide the refugees with the necessities of life.⁷⁵ In the Gavar there were 28.000 Armenians in 1923-24, in addition to the 100.000 Armenians living in Constantinople. These numbers fall far less than the actual number, because they do not include the orphans and women converted to Islam, but only those who reported their existence.⁷⁶ The outflow of the Armenians from the Gavar continued in the following years. According to reports of 1926, many Armenians reached Constantinople famished and without proper clothing from the Gavar,⁷⁷ where a number of their churches and estates were appropriated by the government.⁷⁸ Archbishop Caregin Khachatourian reported in an interview that the Gavar Armenians lacked the consolation of the spiritual and educational development; unfortunately there were no schools, teachers nor priests, and the children were growing without any care.⁷⁹ Since their condition further deteriorated in 1928, a report of 1930 to Lord Mayor's Fund revealed that 30-40.000 Armenians of the Gavar were seeking visas for mass emigration,⁸⁰ and this brought their number to 16.000 in the Gavar in 1931.⁸¹

Tigranocerta and the Environs

The plight of the Tigranocerta Armenians, both deported and those who had survived in their native land, was so appalling in the early 1920's that the Compatriotic Union of Tigranocerta Armenians in America was obliged to send to them over \$ 10,000 through the good offices of the Armenian Patriarchate at Constantinople in the second half of 1919. But the need was so enormous that the Patriarch himself asked for further financial help.⁸² Money was needed to repair the Armenian Orthodox and Armenian Protestant schools and churches of Tigranocerta, which were earlier occupied but in 1919, the local Turkish authorities handed them back to the Armenians. In the early 1920's Aleppo became the main camp for the Tigranocerta Armenian deportees where 765 Tigranocerta Armenians were sheltered in 1923.⁸³ Some of these refugees arrived in Aleppo from Deir Zor, while others came over from their temporary shelters at Mardin. The latter reported that the attitude of the Turkish authorities towards the Armenians in the Mardin region was not different from what prevailed during the war: widespread appropriation and looting of Armenian property and goods, search of houses, scrutiny of the travellers, forceful conscription and terrorizing Christians.⁸⁴ According to reports of the British Embassy of Constantinople and the Near East Relief, in 1921 there were 3000 Armenians in Tigranocerta.⁸⁵ But there were other contradictory reports as well. For example, the *Nor Kyank* of Teheran, reported in 1922 that there remained no Armenian whatsoever in Tigranocerta, Siirt and Hazo,⁸⁶ while other sources claimed that there lived 1200 Armenians only in the city of Tigranocerta at the end of the same year, with 40 others living at Silvan.⁸⁷ These numbers were augmented with the passage of time, and, according to *Tjakkatamart* newspaper, there were some 400 Armenian families in the town with an Armenian Apostolic and an Armenian Catholic priest.

In 1922 the conditions of the Armenians in Tigranocerta were so unsupportable that they thought of emigrating, but learning of the poor state prevailing among the Armenians in Aleppo, they changed their plans, stayed there and accepted their lot. It was then that many Armenian young girls and men in the surrounding area got married to Kurds.⁸⁸ The conditions of the Armenians in the area remained unsatisfactory and their number fluctuated within a narrow margin for the next few years — 3000 Armenians in 1924,⁸⁹ over 5000 Armenians with their church and school in 1925.⁹⁰

The turn of the tide for the Armenians of Tigranocerta region was ushered in by the Kurdish uprising in 1925. It was then that the situation deteriorated. At Hayni, where the apprehended Kurdish rebel leader Sheikh Said was hung, the 15-20 Armenian families residing there lived in horror

for more than three months, imprisoned in their own houses and cut off from every outside contact. When the Nationalist Turkish forces captured the city, the Armenians were given some government protection: they were granted *vesikas*⁹¹ for safe departure to Tigranocerta. A report records that the Armenians of Tigranocerta were skillful craftsmen, their only agony being the lack of spiritual and educational care, in spite of the fact that an Arabic and Kurdish speaking Armenian priest and a Protestant preacher visited the city from the Mardin region, to help the Armenians, but, unfortunately they were of little help. At the same time, Armenians from distant places flocked to Tigranocerta, where they could get *vesikas* to Aleppo on the condition that they would not come back.⁹²

According to the *Azdarar*'s reporter at Constantinople, in 1928 there were 1500 Armenians in Tigranocerta and 855 others in the surrounding villages, with no school whatsoever.⁹³ A murder shakes this community in 1929, when Hovsep Vardapet, the Armenian Catholic prelate of Tigranocerta who had served his Tigranocerta parish for the last 29 years, was killed by 4 men disguised in police uniforms; they entered the church, stole its wares of the holy service, killed the priest and escaped.⁹⁴ This event with the renewed policy of harassment of the Turkish authorities⁹⁵ caused a sharp decline in the number of the Armenians of the region. In late 1929, 100 families left Tigranocerta villages to Syria, while another 2000-3000 people got ready to emigrate;⁹⁶ all in all, some 120-140 Armenian families remained in Tigranocerta, half of whom were original residents, while in the surrounding villages there remained 60-70 families who were farm hands.

The social and spiritual life was lagging too. There were just two churches left, one of which half-ruined, while the other was transformed into a hospital in 1924-25 by the Turkish authorities and in 1929 it became a military barrack, hence religious services were conducted in a private home and only on Sundays. There were no Armenian schools because of the lack of certified teachers, so most of the children attended local Turkish schools, against their own will. The Armenian community at Tigranocerta was run by a local council of 7 members who cared for and sheltered over 100 poor people and provided them with food and necessities; moreover, the council looked after the management of the community property, with the income of which they met the expenses of the poor. The town had also some 20-25 Armenian Catholic families, with no school nor church of their own. Besides the Armenian Catholics, Tigranocerta had 4-5 Armenian Evangelical families with a preacher who held Sunday services in Turkish.

The Armenians of Tigranocerta were mostly farmers, cobblers, watchmakers, carpenters, masons, peddlars. The only Armenian Apostolic priest was Father Ashot Papazian, a 45 year old man, who was also the *locum tenens* of the prelacy. In the surrounding villages of Tigranocerta — Lidje, Hazro, Bsherig — there were 250-300 Armenian families, with no school

nor church. They were all farmers, and in relatively good financial condition.⁹⁷ Some reports of 1930 record that there were 50 Armenian families in Slivan, 40 Armenians in Zerega, 60 in Bsherig, 150 in Rashkodan, 15 in Alek, 80 in Kharzan, and 10 in Kheyoon, while in the city of Tigranocerta itself, there were around 200 Armenian families. The town of Mardin had 39 Armenian families, while in the surrounding villages, Modgan had 160 Armenian families, Jizre had 48 Armenians, Teveloo had 350, as for the mountainous regions of Mardin, there were 1800 Armenians scattered in the area. A considerable number of the latter were orphans and widows.⁹⁸ The next year with the arrival of Father Sion to Tigranocerta,⁹⁹ some improvement was registered for the 2000 Armenians of the city;¹⁰⁰ religious services were held at the local Protestant church.¹⁰¹ But soon new problems arose because of the new demands of the local Turkish authorities ordering the Armenians to present, within 3 days, the ownership documents of the 28 plots of land belonging to the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, otherwise they would be confiscated as abandoned property.¹⁰² In the face of these disquieting conditions, the local Armenian council was obliged to take the case to the court; meanwhile the government planned to confiscate 80 plots of land belonging to the Patriarchate, considering them as abandoned property. Eventually, the Armenian community lost the case and the disputed property came under the jurisdiction of the Turkish *evkaf*¹⁰³ and due to the lack of income, the local council could not pay the priest's salary which was already of a meagre character.¹⁰⁴ The *evkaf* which had started running the affairs of the confiscated lands, handed some of them back to the local Armenian community council¹⁰⁵ registering the church as an Armenian institution¹⁰⁶ and handed over to the council the two deeds of the 2 Armenian churches.¹⁰⁷

In 1936, Tigranocerta had over 200 Armenian families, who financially fared well. The Terpanyants family was quite well known and owned a silk mill with some 100 workers. There was an Armenian dentist in Tigranocerta. The Assyrian Armenians had their own church which was of some architectural beauty, while that of the Armenian Protestants was in ruins and had a damaged ceiling and broken window panes. Armenian women and girls had already dropped the use of veils, because veils were officially prohibited. The salaries of Father Sion and the deacon were now met out of the income of the church lands; the church service wares were brought from Constantinople.¹⁰⁸ In the late 1930's community life in Tigranocerta dragged on with less than 1000 Armenians, with their priest, Father Arsen.¹⁰⁹ These people survived inspite of all odds, even when a fire demolished a section of the church ceiling and the alter, thus causing the community a loss of 1000 gold pounds,¹¹⁰ and the church services were not resumed until the necessary reparations were done.¹¹¹

Kharput¹¹² and the Environs
(Arabkir, Malatya, Aken, Divrik)

1.

In response to the calls of the Constantinople Patriarchate for the help of the Armenians in Kharput, the AGBU donated 300 Egyptian Pounds for the relief of the Kharput Armenians in 1919.¹¹³ Conditions did not improve in the early 1920s, the reason why around 200 of them decided to leave for America through Aleppo, but they were refused passage by the local authorities.¹¹⁴ Reports recorded that the Armenians in Kharput, were in constant danger because of continuous provocations by the Turks as pretexts for persecution such as their proposition of Archbishop Gut to conscript the Armenians between the ages of 18-22 into the army. In late 1921, news leaked that the Armenians were ordered to leave Kharput within 3 months.¹¹⁵ But other reports contradicted the previous one, claiming that the 30,000 Armenians of Kharput region, lived peacefully and did not intend to emigrate.¹¹⁶ This number was confirmed by the separate reports of the Constantinople British Embassy and the Near East Relief that put the number of the Armenians in Kharput in 1921 at 35,000.¹¹⁷ A clarifying report by Archbishop Gut recorded that the situation was calm in Kharput, where the majority of the Armenians constituting women, mostly worked in the fields. The American Relief provided for 33 orphanages, each sheltering 100-160 orphans, although its mission was hampered by government hindrances. A reign of terror prevailed; many Armenians had been hanged without having the chance to defend themselves.¹¹⁸ The American Relief ex-director in Kharput, Mr. Walter Kurt, reporting their activities, recorded that they continued to provide 4000 orphans in Kharput with food, education and training in crafts, preparing them for self reliance. Thousands of Armenian and Greek refugees of Konya, Eskishehir and the Black Sea coastal areas got medical care and food. Large numbers of orphans having learned a craft, had already found jobs and were working in the city. Similarly some grown up girls got married, and left the orphanages; other orphans, having found their relatives, left the orphanages, but new arrivals were endless. Priority was given to those who did not have any relatives.¹¹⁹ Besides, around 1000 other needy people received partial support, among these were 400 Greeks, lately arriving from Malatya. Two American Relief officers reported that between July 1921 and March 1922 around 10,000 Armenian and Greek deportees passed through Arabkir. First around 600 had arrived from Konya, who were of military age, 150 of these were Armenians and were sent to the Aken neighborhood.¹²⁰ The American Relief inaugurated a textile factory which provided clothing for the thousands of orphans;

blacksmithing, tailoring, carpentry, painting and cobblar workshops were also set up. There were separate orphanages for the blind and another for tuberculosis victims. Some Armenians got financial assistance from their relatives in America; this amounted to around 50,000 pounds.¹²¹ News of mid 1922, reported that the educational and spiritual needs of the Armenians of Kharput were being met thanks to the efforts of Archbishop Gut. In place of the demolished church, a small one was built by the people and service was conducted there. These relatively relieving conditions attracted Armenians who had been exiled from other localities (such as Malatya) despite the travelling restrictions. In an effort to ameliorate the socio-economic condition of the Kharput Armenians, Archbishop Gut appealed to the government for the decommissioning of the Armenian conscripts in vain.¹²² This led to a new wave of emigration from Kharput in the spring of 1923 to Constantinople and to Aleppo numbering 4000,¹²³ and this reduced the number of the Kharput Armenians to 1000.¹²⁴ In 1924 when Father Korun Aghajanian replaced Archbishop Gut Mekhitarian, reports revealed that the number of the Armenians in Kharput and its surroundings was 2000, mostly refugees. Only the Mezire St. Sarkis church was open. There was a local Armenian council, that ran the Kharput national school with its 370 pupils in the academic year 1923-24.¹²⁵ In 1925-26, new reports spoke of improving financial conditions, but faltering community life when the school was closed and barely 1500 Armenians lived there, others having left for Aleppo.¹²⁶ This number dropped further in 1927, when reports recorded that in Mezire, Kharput and the surrounding villages, there were around 1000 Armenians, mostly craftsmen but in good financial conditions. But the school was closed and around 200 children were on the streets, 50 of whom attended Turkish schools. In Mezire church services were held; there was an old people's home where 25-30 old people were sheltered. It had been established by the American Relief but now the local Armenians ran it.¹²⁷ According to the *Azdarar's* reporter from Constantinople, there were 1200 Armenians in Kharput, and 735 in its villages totalling 1935 in 1928,¹²⁸ while in 1929 this number dropped to 995 Armenians, mostly women and orphans; among the men there were 6 cobblers, 4 blacksmiths, 3 barbers, 5 goldsmiths, 2 tailors, 8 coppersmiths, 10 carpenters. There was a priest in Kharput, with no church building. As for the surrounding villages, there were around 350 Armenians: 13 in Chermig, 8 in Hoghoonk, 15 in Arghen, 12 in Osmaniye, 80 in Geoljik.¹²⁹ Three contradicting data were published in one year about the number of the Armenians in Kharput, in 1931: one report put the number at 10 families, in very poor conditions, with a small church building;¹³⁰ another report spoke of 300 families, in need of a spiritual leader (who was not sent till the next year)¹³¹ and a third report put their number at 2000.¹³² Late 1930s' reports claimed that there were 200 families in Kharput/Elaziz and the surrounding villages, mostly

craftsmen¹³³ and 1500 in 1938, including the local Armenian Catholics, of whom 10% were peddlars, 25% grocers, sheep traders and 55% craftsmen.¹³⁴

2.

In Arabkir there were 2000 Armenians, in late 1922.¹³⁵ According to reports from Arabkir city the men who were not conscripted and many women worked in workshops. The community succeeded in taking care of its orphans and opened a school.¹³⁶ According to reports of the Arabkir representatives of the American Relief, life in the city was very primitive. In the orphanage one single comb was passed from one hand to another. In the whole town there was not even a cart, no map for the geography classes. The population then was very poor; many of the Armenians had returned to their homes in Arabkir to find nothing left,¹³⁷ while others refused to leave their refugee camps in Aleppo.¹³⁸ In 1923 there were around 2020 Armenians living peacefully in Arabkir,¹³⁹ the St. Astvadzadzin church was open; two schools were functioning: one for girls that had 145 students and one for boys that had 130. They had three Armenian teachers, and one Turkish teacher who was appointed by the *mearif*. The school expenses were covered by the revenues from the church estates plus the tuitions paid by the students. There was a poor class that needed help. In the surrounding villages there were Armenian women and boys who did farmwork for Turks.¹⁴⁰ The 1925 Patriarchal report recorded that Arabkir was a rather organized prelacy, where there were around 2000 Armenians, 200 of whom were refugees from other regions. In that year (1925) the deputy prelate was Father Kourken Hajatian. The boys' school was attended by 130 and the girls' school by 160. It had a local council which ran the affairs of the community.¹⁴³ The number of school children attending schools dropped to 200 in 1926. Reports complained of the lack of qualified teachers. The income of the community estates — hotel, bathroom, mill, shops — administered by the financial committee, was around 200 pounds and was totally allocated to the schools. There were around 50 craftsmen in the city; they were *manousajis*,¹⁴⁴ cobblers, blacksmiths, coppersmiths.¹⁴⁵

A new wave of emigration was reported from Arabkir when news leaked that 78 Armenians of Arabkir arrived to Soviet Armenia, while still 1800 lived in Arabkir, mainly craftsmen and peddlars who are content with their lives.¹⁴⁶ But if 1926 reports spoke of small numbers of people emigrating to Constantinople, Aleppo and elsewhere; the situation in Arabkir further changed in 1927, when 35 Armenians left for Aleppo, others went to Trabizon, to emigrate to Soviet Armenia.¹⁴⁷ This left the Armenian population at 1000 in Arabkir and 220 in its villages, totalling 1220, with

no school.¹⁴⁸ This number dropped to 40-50 families mostly relatively poor, but getting ready to leave with the deputy prelate, while in the villages they totalled 57: in Vaghshen 15 women and children; in Kooshna 9 women, 1 man; in Khoroch 5 women, 1 man; in Ancherti 5 women; in Mazgerd 1 man, 1 woman and 3 children; in Shepig 11 women and children and 4 men; and in Dzak 1 woman.¹⁴⁹ These falling numbers led the deputy prelate of Arabkir to ask for instructions from the Patriarchate since his parish had nearly disappeared in 1928.¹⁵⁰ But new reports spoke of about 1500 Armenians in Arabkir in 1931,¹⁵¹ while other reports stated that the 750 Armenians of Arabkir asked permission to leave for Nor Arabkir in Soviet Armenia.¹⁵² This preceded the order of the Turkish authorities by which they granted the Arabkir Armenians 20 days to leave the city; but because of the extreme cold, the deadline was extended another 20 days. If they did not leave within this deadline, the government would send them to a destination of its choice.¹⁵³ The last report about the Armenians of Arabkir was about a certain unfortunate Sarkissian being bitten by a dog and because of the lack of treatment, he died. He had 5 children, to whom the disease was transferred; they were taken to Malatya for treatment.¹⁵⁴

3.

In 1920, Father Kourken was appointed deputy prelate of Malatya by Archbishop Gut.¹⁵⁵ The next available report spoke of late 1921 depicting the fate of 600 refugee children in lamentable conditions¹⁵⁶ among whom were those lately sent from Asia Minor.¹⁵⁷ Early 1924 reports stated that there were around 100 Armenian families in Malatya, alongside around 200 widowed women who were in need. There was no priest in the city,¹⁵⁸ while other 750 Armenians had left for Aleppo in 1923¹⁵⁹ and 30 Armenian families (= 80) who were still in Malatya expected to reach Aleppo at any time.¹⁶⁰ These refugees revealed that they had journeyed safely, every family managing this trip with a mule. Generally these refugees were poor, but were supported by their American fellow Malatyans.¹⁶¹ Late 1920s' reports claimed that there were 1200 Armenians in Malatya and 530 in its villages, totalling 1730, with no school.¹⁶² This was confirmed by the Patriarchal report of 1929.¹⁶³ Reports of mid-1930s' put their number at 200 families in Malatya and the surrounding villages, mostly craftsmen,¹⁶⁴ while reports of 1938 put their number at around 1600, mainly in the field of animal husbandry, farmwork, rug weaving and *manousa*.¹⁶⁵

4.

The Aken reports of 1920-24 spoke of land confiscation and destruction of school buildings. This was why the 170 Aken refugees of Aleppo

declined to return home in 1923.¹⁶⁶ In 1925 there were 400 Armenians in the Aken area.¹⁶⁷ In Aken itself there were around 300 Armenians, while in the surrounding villages of Aboochekh, Gamaragab, Garooshla, Lijk, Pingian there were 10-40 Armenians each, with no spiritual leadership.¹⁶⁸ A report by the deputy prelate of Arabkir after a visit to the Aken area, recorded that in 1926 there were 15 Armenians in Aboochekh, 17 in Gamaragab, 12 in Pingian-Rabad, and he himself urged that these should be transferred to Constantinople.¹⁶⁹ In 1926, in Aken, now renamed Kemaliye, 190 Armenians lived, of whom 35-40 were school age children, with no school.¹⁷⁰ This number fell to 80-100, only 5 of whom were men, while in the surrounding villages there were 50 women and children.¹⁷¹ Reports of late 1920s' recorded that Kooroochay village of Aken had 51 Armenians (8 men, 13 women, 30 orphans),¹⁷² while the Pingian Armenians had emigrated to Aken to make a living, but with no apparent success.¹⁷³ The situation improved a bit according to mid-1930s' reports, which stated that in Aken and its surrounding villages (Aboochekh, Areki, Gamaragab, Garooshla) there were about 150 Armenians, content with their situation. The men were craftsmen, while the women worked in the gardens, and in rug weaving and *manousa* factories. There were some needy families as well.¹⁷⁴

5.

Reports of early 1920 warned that the Armenians of Divrik and Chaijuma were in danger,¹⁷⁵ and later reports claimed that the surviving and returning Armenians of the nearby village of Armootagh encountered hardships — Kurds who settled there during the war, were encroaching on the Armenians in every way. The government did nothing against the Kurds, and it seemed that its authority was ignored in the region, while all the petitions of the Divrik Armenians gave no results.¹⁷⁶ Besides, men between 20 and 36 were conscripted.¹⁷⁷ The attitude of the local government varied from one region to another. For instance, in Divrik, the Armenians who wanted to leave were not allowed to sell their estates; it seems that this prohibition was locally orchestrated and contradicted that of the state policies.¹⁷⁸ In the late 1920s' there were 130 Armenians in Divrik and 520 in the surrounding villages, totalling 650, with no school,¹⁷⁹ and in very difficult financial conditions, intending to emigrate.¹⁸⁰ This number dropped to 100 in Divrik and Gurasun and to 335 in the villages;¹⁸¹ there were 19 Armenians in Kasma, 7 in Zimara,¹⁸² and 60 in other villages.¹⁸³ Reports of 1932 highlighted Divrik's Khernavool village with its 10 families because they were able to convince the Turkish authorities to reverse the government's previous decision to sell the St. Loosavorich monastery at an auction and to allow the Armenian inhabitants of Khernavool to keep it. As for Divrik itself there were about 20 families in satisfactory financial condi-

tions, generally craftsmen.¹⁸⁴ A tragic picture was unveiled in the letter sent by the villagers of Armootagh to the Patriarchate. The letter stated that there were only 14 men and 16 women left in the village. The others had relatives and were able to leave. These had no one and were in extremely poor conditions.¹⁸⁵ Later reports of 1933 of Divrik dropped the number of Armenians there to 16 families (= 60), who were craftsmen, while 25 farm hands were reported in Armootagh, 25 farm hands in Odoor, 20 farm hands in Khernavool, 20 farm hands in Ashooshen, 70 farm hands in Zimara, 2 farm hands in St. Hagop, and 1 in Gurasun, all in good conditions.¹⁸⁶ A last report about the Divrik Armenians put their number at 10 families in 1934.¹⁸⁷

Sivas and the Environs (Amasya, Marsovan, Tokat)

News of the early 1920's of Sivas are related to the orphans scattered in the hinterlands. A report records that in the region of Sivas/Boghazlian there were around 7000 orphans, who could have been gathered if conditions had permitted, and the report goes on to suggest not to keep such a large number of orphans in those areas. The report suggests that the St. Garabed Monastery seemed to be the most adequate place for an orphanage, even though the window panes were stolen... The whole monastery could be renovated for 2000 gold pounds, where a crafts workshop, school, hostel, a seminary might be established,¹⁸⁸ immediate help of \$ 5000 was needed to improve the situation.¹⁸⁹ For this purpose AGBU allocated 300 Egyptian Pounds.¹⁹⁰ Later reports speak of improved and satisfactory conditions there, a number of deportees returned, found work and made a living, while widows did needlework to earn a living. The orphanages continued to be in a satisfactory condition. The National Orphanage was under the supervision of Miss Grapem while the Senekerimian Society continued its productive work, and security conditions were acceptable for the time being.¹⁹¹ Yet, if the condition of the community was improving, the local Turkish authorities had established a tense situation which caused emigration on a large scale;¹⁹² a report says that the 5000 Armenians in Sivas in late 1920, usually lived terrified in one quarter, and generally in financial need, while there were around 1000 Armenians in the neighbouring villages. These were able to make a living with difficulty. The American Relief was doing a lot to ameliorate their situation. The 3 orphanages in Sivas were financially supported by the American Relief. The community authorities only contributed 500 gold pounds a month to the orphanages. Besides, there was an infirmary for deportees, old people and widows, where food was provided by the community authorities, while clothing and hygienic services were provided by the American Relief. Next to the Ameri-

can orphanage there was a training crafts workshop, which included carpentry, agriculture, blacksmithry, tailoring and a moulding workshop.¹⁹³ 1921 reports record that the condition of the orphans of Sivas now numbering 300 boys, was improved. Their school uniforms were sewn in the tailoring workshop of the orphanage.¹⁹⁴ New orphans and remnants of the deportees flocked to the city from the surrounding areas, thus raising the number of the Armenians in Sivas to 2000 orphans, and more than 6000 poor people in November 1921, while at the same time over 15.000 Greek men, women and children deportees passed through Sivas in very miserable conditions.¹⁹⁵ According to reports by the British Embassy of Constantinople and the Near East Relief, there were 14.458 Armenians in the Sivas region in 1921.¹⁹⁶ This number rose upon the return of the Armenians who had been previously exiled from Sivas to Amasya, Tokat and Bitlis.¹⁹⁷ But in early 1922, the worsening of the economic condition affected the community in two different ways: on the one hand those who could afford to, left the area to Constantinople, or elsewhere,¹⁹⁸ others were conscripted into the Turkish army¹⁹⁹ while on the other hand Armenians of the surrounding areas flocked to Sivas,²⁰⁰ where one of the two churches had been transformed into a military warehouse, while in the other, service was conducted; the school and orphanages were opened. On the social level, the city was cut off from its surrounding and life became more difficult; *vesikas* were required for travel and these were not usually granted as a measure to protect travellers, because military deserters in the outskirts of the cities had turned into bandits.²⁰¹ In late 1922, in Sivas city there were 2800 Armenians.²⁰² In 1923, the downfall of Sivas as an Armenian regional station started. The American mission left the city because the orphanages had already been transferred;²⁰³ some emigrated to Constantinople, where they numbered 793,²⁰⁴ but still around 700 Armenians²⁰⁵ remained in Sivas in safe conditions. After the transfer of the orphans to Greece, the St. Neshan monastery was handed to the Prelacy and its school was consequently closed.²⁰⁶ This number changed a bit according to a different report which states that there were 2000 Armenians in Sivas city, of whom 280 families (= 800) were locals, 150 families (= 750) had come from the village of Kara, and 120 families (= 450) from the surroundings. In the districts and villages there were around 6-800 Armenians scattered over the area.²⁰⁷ A traveller coming to Constantinople from Sivas, reported that there were around 1500-2000 Armenians there, mostly women and villagers who had arrived from the surroundings; some were Armenian craftsmen and peddlars. A small number of the local residents retained their homes. Only 10% of these made up the young population. The National Hripsimants school, with 50 pupils, 3 male and 2 female teachers was run by the community. 10% of its budget was provided through the tuitions from the students; a part was covered by the revenues of the church. The orphans, in due time, grew

up and became self-sufficient. The ownership of community estates, which were large, was disputed by the government. The prelacy building was in the hands of the prelate. The people conducted their church services in the church ante-room. Next to the prelacy there was a home for the poor and the refugees. These numbered around 150; they got some bread from the community estates' revenues. The Armenians then could be divided into two classes: those who were peddlars and craftsmen, and those who were virtually poor. Without any exception all the Sivas Armenians wanted to leave for Soviet Armenia. Some could afford to reach Soviet Armenia, while the majority could not even afford to reach Samsun. The government had granted them the freedom to choose between staying and leaving.²⁰⁸ Life in the districts of Sivas region reflected that of the central city: in 1925 Gemereg was annexed to the Sivas prelacy; 11 villages in that region had around 700 persons, with no school nor church. The village of Aziziye had 80-90, with no school nor church; a trustee ran the community affairs.²⁰⁹ In 1929 it had only 1 family (1 man, 1 woman, 2 boys and 3 girls).²¹⁰

The plight of the Armenians in Sivas further deteriorated in 1925, when the school was closed and the around 3000 Armenians scattered in the region mostly lived in poor conditions, some unemployed, others were partners of Turks in farming. Even though relatively in more peaceful conditions than in other places, they were eager to leave if means were provided. A large number of these had immigrated from Gemereg 2 years before, because they were unable to bear the harassment and dictatorial conditions there.²¹¹ The community estates' ownership was disputed by the local Turkish authorities and already confiscated and sold through the *moohaseb-khane khoosoosiye*²¹², even the church which was under the *moohaseb-khane* control had been demolished by the Turks, while still there was no news about rehanding the school building to its rightful owners, and 300 pupils were left without school. Since 1923 church services were conducted in the church ante-room and now the local authorities ordered the Armenians to evacuate that space as well, which left over 2000 Armenians with no place to worship.²¹³ This negative tide took a respite in 1926, when the prelate of Sivas, Bishop Sarkis Ajemian, with one priest as his aid, reported that next to the church there was a shelter where 150 took refuge and were cared for by the community and that only one school, Aramian-Hripsimants was functioning, where 250 pupils attended classes; a trustee ran the community affairs. The people worked on the land and some were craftsmen. The only surviving Armenian village of Sivas was Simhaji Keoy, where there were 100 families.²¹⁴ Other changes occurred in 1926, when due to financial difficulties and lack of funds which previously were coming from the community estates, the school was closed and around 250 school-age children did not attend school and the deputy Prelate, Father Sion Theodorosian ran the community affairs.²¹⁵ These reports were

confirmed by new data that some Armenians left for Constantinople and that the remaining 1300 were preparing for a similar move.²¹⁶ The next harassment was directed against the deputy Prelate, Father Sion, through the following scenario: since state law requested documents from every priest before he was granted permission to fulfill his duties, the Sivas local authorities warned Father Sion to present his documents or else they would terminate his services. In due time the priest was called to else they would terminate his services. In due time the priest was called to the court and sentenced to 15 days imprisonment and a 15 pound fine and forbade him from wearing his priestly attire. Thus around 2000 Armenians were without a priest and a school, and about 200 children were on the streets.²¹⁷ These harassments gave their expected results; in 1927 a report records that only 200 families were counted in Sivas. In a year's time a lot emigrated to Constantinople with the intention of crossing to Soviet Armenia. The 700 Armenians from Sharkeshla-Gemereg region stayed in their places, but they did not have homes, vineyards, school nor church and were in very difficult situation.²¹⁸ These alarming reports were covered in the yearly report of the Patriarchate, which stated that in the state of Sivas there were 4520 Armenians, of whom 1800 were in the city, and of whom 3 were green grocers, 1 money changer, 5 goldsmiths, 34 carpenters, stone carvers and masons, 8 blacksmiths, 8 cobblers, 4 tailors, 3 barbers/coffee makers, 30 millers, 2 grocers, 4 *yazmajis*,²¹⁹ 2 mechanics, 8 coppersmiths, 2 tinsmiths, 1 violin and *ood* specialist, 11 cart drivers. The school-age children of the area were over 700 in number and without school,²²⁰ this condition led some Armenian families to send their children to Turkish schools. In Kangal for instance, the Armenian children were sent to Turkish schools.²²¹ This and other reasons caused an enormous change in the structure of the community, which now showed signs of assimilation. Thus, the 5495 Armenians of Sivas and the surrounding villages,²²² according to *Milliyet*, were not distinguished from the local Turks except by their names; they even did not speak other languages but Turkish.²²³ The Constantinople Patriarchal reports for the year 1929 record that in Sivas city 80 old people were cared for by the community; church services were conducted in the wooden church of St. Sarkis and around 160 school-age children were without school. In the surrounding villages, where there were neither schools nor churches, the Armenians did farmwork for their Turkish *aghas*.²²⁴ The community was isolated and prepared to leave if means were provided. At that time there were 1200 Armenians in the city and 4750 in the neighborhood. Among these were 8 goldsmiths, 3 barbers, 12 blacksmiths, 1 watchmaker, 2 tailors, 18 carpenters, and some peddlars. In the villages there was a number of children.²²⁵ 150 families of Sivas Armenians made a living through crafts with sufficient incomes, but their community and religious life was very poor. They were prohibited from building their church.²²⁶ This, alongside the renewed policy of forceful deportation by the Turkish

authorities, reduced the number of the Armenian community. 150 refugees arrived in Constantinople on September 21, 1930,²²⁷ but the poor economic conditions of Constantinople Armenians and unemployment forced some families to return to Sivas;²²⁸ yet the damage had been done and the number of the Sivas region Armenians fell to 2000.²²⁹ A thorough report by Father Sion Theodorosian, who had visited the region upon the request of the Patriarchate, stated that there were around 175-200 families in Sivas mostly craftsmen working as millers, rug weavers, traders. Many of them had their own homes. They had no priests; a deacon conducted some sort of church services. As for the surrounding villages, the report recorded that in Yenikhan there were 40 families, all farmers and in satisfactory financial conditions;²³⁰ 15 families in Kangal, 30-40 families in Manjelek,²³¹ 3 families in Doozlasar, 8-10 families in Prapert, 1 family in Bakhja, 3 families in Khorskxon, 2-3 families in Todorag and 1 family in Yerasar.²³² In an attempt to prove their allegiance to the Turkish authorities, in mid-1930s' the Sivas Armenians made a considerable financial contribution to the campaign of the government to buy aeroplanes.²³³ Now they numbered over 100 families in Sivas, in satisfactory financial conditions, even though they preferred to leave the area. In the village of Yenikhan there were 40 content families. Later 20 persons of different ages were baptized upon a visit by a priest from the neighboring village.²³⁴ In late 1930s' the Armenians of Sivas and the surrounding villages numbered over 1000 — 25% were farm hands, the others were craftsmen: blacksmiths, copper-smiths, carpenters, millers, tinsmiths, shoemakers). In Aziziye there were 20 Armenians.²³⁵

2.

After the WWI armistice, a number of Armenians who had returned to Amasya, were forcefully conscripted into the Kemalist army, some were massacred by Topal Osman, an assistant of Kemal,²³⁶ while others, alongside Tokat and Sivas Armenians were uprooted again.²³⁷ Thus in late 1922 there remained only 120 Armenians²³⁸ in Amasya probably around 40 families, according to *Tjakatamart* newspaper.²³⁹ The tide turned with the success the Turks achieved in the war against the Greeks and according to reports in *Joghovoorti Dzayn* September 15 issue, many of the thousands of Armenians who had gathered in Samsun from the interior, trying to leave the area,²⁴⁰ moved back to their birthplace in Amasya and Sivas. This action was a direct result of a newly established law which proclaimed the right of the Armenians to own land.²⁴¹ Reports spoke of the economic contribution raised by the local silk industry which the Armenians of Simhajikeoy²⁴² and those of Amasya helped to revive.²⁴³ This friendly attitude attracted Armenians from the neighborhood, raising the number of Armenians to 1000 in 1925, in Amasya.²⁴⁴ The community was ran by a local

council composed of Krikor Fayekhian, Kevork Balekjian, and others.²⁴⁵ In late 1927, there were 1500 Armenians in Amasya,²⁴⁶ while according to *Azdarar's* reporter from Constantinople, there were 1200 Armenians in Amasya and 630 in the villages, totalling 1830, with no school.²⁴⁷ Data about the 1200 Armenian inhabitants of Amasya mentioned that they worked on the land and in crafts.²⁴⁸ A relatively comprehensive report provided by Father Sion Theodorosian, who visited the area in the early 1930s', recorded 87 families in Amasya, mainly doing business and in crafts,²⁴⁹ with no church nor school, but a local deacon and in good financial conditions.²⁵⁰ New data recorded the double of the previously registered number, thus making it around 200 families in Amasya,²⁵¹ 23 families in Chorum, 15-20 families in Gumush Haji and 25 families in Songoorloo.²⁵² In 1935 there were 100 families in Amasya; these were in good financial conditions, but in need of spiritual and educational guidance,²⁵³ while the late 1930s' reports spoke of around 800 Armenians in Amasya 5% tradesmen, 40% farm hands.²⁵⁴

3.

Reports of early 1920, register threats similar to those of 1895 and 1915 made to annihilate the Christians in Marsovan.²⁵⁵ In late October 1920 the 2000 Armenians of the city and surrounding areas were on the verge of being massacred and this was enough reason for a large number of them to leave the area. These were the cream of the society and their absence created a vacuum. For a while the schools were closed but later on reopened with a smaller number of students and teachers. A visiting cleric conducted church services from time to time. The first mass since 1915 was served on November 9, 1920.²⁵⁶ Relief was felt by the activities of the Near East Relief there, even though fear and uncertainty prevailed. The Near East Relief workers did appreciable service by combing the region and searching for orphans. The people were in great financial difficulty. Many refugees were literally naked. These were mainly from Kharput, who had flocked to Marsovan, on their way to America, but had been stopped by the Kemalists from continuing their journey.²⁵⁷ The American Relief cared for 600 Armenian and Greek orphans in Marsovan; alongside this, 650 refugees were fed and work was provided for women, while other refugees living with families of close villages got money instead of food with which they bought yarn and knit socks, thus making a living.²⁵⁸ A new report by Mr. and Mrs. Cumpon, the administrators of the American Relief, Marsovan branch, recorded that the Relief cared for 545 orphans and that it had a special weaving workshop for the refugee women and fed the malnourished and abandoned kids of the deported families. There was a number of workshops, like weaving, shoe making, ribbon works, tailoring, carpentry and

gardening. There was a specific workshop for the kids to mend their suits and socks. On Easter, 25 orphans were invited to the Near East Relief center, but they were so weak they could not climb the stairs. Their loveliest toys were the woven dolls, with which they always slept.²⁵⁹

The next bit of information about Marsovan comes in 1929 according to which in Marsovan and the surrounding villages there were 450 Armenians, mostly women and orphans deprived of living means.²⁶⁰ As for the social conditions, a letter sent from Marsovan in 28 October 1929 written by Pampish Prapion Gureghian, said, «Everything is deserted in Marsovan. I am currently everything in Marsovan: I am the teacher, councilor, preacher, priest, government affairs dealer, etc.. In our old people's home there are 7 people while 300 women, orphans and girls in the city need help. Lately I united in marriage a boy and an orphan girl. There are a lot of poor people who want to be sheltered in the old people's home, but we have no financial means for that. So far we have survived. Once a year food is sent from the village of Hadji, help has come to us through God from unexpected places. Are there American compatriots who wish to help? On Sundays, an American comes to the old people's home and plays the organ. We have a church service for 30-40. We have joined the two churches; we sing the hymns, and read scriptures. In the whole region it's only here that we flock together this way: sing, cry, pray and enjoy each other's survival... »²⁶¹

4.

The first available reports about Tokat record the existence of 240 Armenians there at the end of 1922.²⁶³ This number was somehow confirmed the following year by *Tjakatamart* newspaper, which stated that there were 80 Armenian families,²⁶⁴ while in 1925 the number reached 150-200 families, living a peaceful and secure life in fraternity with the Turks; the local Armenian school with around 100 pupils was run by 2 teachers and the church was led by Father Krikor.²⁶⁵ The number of the Tokat region Armenians in a year's time did not change much: about 200 families (approximately 900), 600 of them natives; 20 of whom were Catholic Armenian families. 40% of the residents were widowed. In 1926 the Armenian school was closed and 200 school-age children did not attend school because of the lack of a budget and a school building. The church was run by a priest and a local council. There were 20 traders, 15 masons, 41 carpenters, 30 *yazmajis*, 10 coppersmiths, 7 goldsmiths, 10 *khezarjis*,²⁶⁶ 16 millers, 4 cobblers, 2 watchmakers, 6 blacksmiths, 6 tailors, 20 farm hands, 3 painters, 1 ferrier. In other 8 villages of Tokat there were around 150 Armenian families: in Erbaa village 20 families (= 60), in Zile 20 families (= 70), in Yenikhan and Yeldez 40 families (= 150), in Oolash around 120 with 60 school-age

children on the streets; in Pashakugh 30-40, with 20 school-age children on the streets. The area was linked to Cesaria/Arabkir ecclesiastically and the deputy prelate of Arabkir, Father Kourken Hajatian payed a visit there from time to time.²⁶⁷ The Patriarchal report for the year 1927 recorded that there were around 150 families in Tokat, only 100 of whom were original residents. These mostly were craftsmen, others were labourers. A priest, Father Dertad Poladian ran the church, but its estates had been confiscated; there was no school because of the lack of teachers, with 150 children wandering on the streets. Some attended Turkish schools.²⁶⁸ Most of the Tokat Armenians were workers, and some were craftsmen: carpenters, tailors, cobblers, tinsmiths and traders. The church was open and only on special occasions were services held. An administrative council ran the church affairs. It was financed by local donations.²⁶⁹ According to *Azdarar's* reporter from Constantinople, in 1928 there were 1600 Armenians in Tokat and 330 in the villages, totalling 1930, with no school.²⁷⁰ This number does not seem to be true, because reports of the next year recorded a few Armenians in Tokat, mostly in destitute condition.²⁷¹ Their number was considered to be small by the Patriarchate.²⁷² In early 1930s' Tokat city had over 200 Armenian families, while in the neighbourhood there were: 15-20 families in Yenikhan, 2 families in Sarasan, 2 families in Aghjakhan, 1 family in Artova-Chiftlig, 1 family in Bolis, 8-10 families in Tantaba and 20 families in Sargheshla.²⁷³ This number started to fall and in mid 1930s' only 100 Armenian families were recorded in Tokat; they were in relative good conditions.²⁷⁴ In the late 1930s' Tokat with its districts had around 900 Armenians: 20% were ordinary workers, while the remaining were mainly farm hands, vine growers, farmers, millers, carpenters, and *yazmajis*.²⁷⁵

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1. This is the first part of a research paper devoted to the fate of the Armenians in Turkey after the WWI Armistice. It is based on data collected from the Armenian-American weekly *Kochnak Hayastani*, which used to monitor the Armenian newspapers of the Middle and Near East, published in the 1920s'.

During the research it became evident that a lot of the collected information contradicted each other, some needed clarification. Often certain villages were located in two different areas and there was inconsistency in presenting the data. These disadvantages and the fact that generally the data were bits of meager information made it more difficult to establish a comprehensive, full-fledged text.

Some of the data were confirmed and further enriched by the reports of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Patriarchate had requested from its priests in the hinterland to provide it with full reports about their parishes. Some of these reports were published in the yearbook of the Armenian hospital of the St. Saviour in Constantinople.

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15. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 35, 1 September 1923, p. 1116.
16. **Kochnak**, Vol. 24, N° 25, 21 June 1924, p. 801.
17. **Kochnak**, Vol. 26, N° 33, 14 August 1926, p. 1179.
18. **Kochnak**, Vol. 28, N° 31, 4 August 1928, p. 983.
19. **Kochnak**, Vol. 29, N° 33, 17 August 1929, p. 1047.
20. **Kochnak**, Vol. 31, N° 22, 30 May 1931, p. 699. See also Zaven Missirlian, «The Forced Armenian Emigration from the Interior Turkish Provinces 1929-1930», **Haigazian Armenological Review**, Vol. 3, Beirut, 1973, pages 101-118.
21. **Armaghan** (On the Occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Turkish Republic), Constantinople, 1938, p. 42. Hereafter to be cited as **Armaghan**.
22. **Kochnak**, Vol. 20, N° 12, 20 March 1920, p. 379.
23. **Taretsooyts Azgayin Hivandanotsi** (Yearbook of St. Saviour Armenian Hospital), Constantinople, 1925, p. 147. Hereafter to be referred to as **Taretsooyts**.
24. **Kochnak**, Vol. 29, N° 51, 21 December 1929, p. 1624. See also Zaven Missirlian, «The Forced Armenian Emigration from the Interior Turkish Provinces 1929-1930», **Haigazian Armenological Review**, Vol. 3, Beirut, 1973, pages 101-118.
25. **Kochnak**, Vol. 24, N° 4, 26 January 1924, p. 117.
26. **Kochnak**, Vol. 24, N° 32, 9 August 1924, p. 1014.
27. **Kochnak**, Vol. 20, N° 12, 20 March 1920, p. 379.
28. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 3, 20 January 1923, p. 85.
29. **Amerikahay Hanragitak** (Armenian Encyclopedic Almanac), Boston, 1925, p. 36. Hereafter to be referred to as **Amerikahay**.
30. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 19, 3 March 1923, p. 279.
31. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 27, 7 July 1923, p. 856.
32. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 28, 14 July 1923, p. 888.
33. **Sooryahay Taretsooyts** (Syrian-Armenian Yearbook) edited by M. Adjemian, M. Sisserian, Y. Voskerichian, 2nd year, Aleppo, 1925, p. 211. Hereafter to be cited as **Sooryahay**.
34. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 37, 15 September 1923, p. 1176.
35. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 38, 22 September 1923, p. 1209.
36. **Kochnak**, Vol. 24, N° 4, 26 January 1924, p. 117.
37. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1930, p. 146 and **Kochnak**, Vol. 29, N° 33, 17 August 1929, p. 1046.
38. **Kochnak**, Vol. 32, N° 37, 10 September 1932, p. 941.
39. **Kochnak**, Vol. 20, N° 12, 20 March 1920, p. 37.
40. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 3, 20 January 1923, p. 85.
41. **Amerikahay**, Boston, 1925, p. 36.
42. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 9, 3 March 1923, p. 279.
43. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 28, 14 July 1923, p. 888.
44. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 36, 8 September 1923, p. 1144.

45. **Kochnak**, Vol. 24, N° 4, 26 January 1924, p. 117.
46. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1930, p. 145 and **Kochnak**, Vol. 29, N° 33, 17 August 1929, p. 1046.
47. **Kochnak**, Vol. 32, N° 48, 26 November 1932, p. 1204.
48. **Kochnak**, Vol. 35, N° 46, 16 November 1935, p. 1099.
49. **Kochnak**, Vol. 20, N° 12, 20 March 1920, p. 379-380.
50. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 3, 20 January 1923, p. 85.
51. **Kochnak**, Vol. 21, N° 25, 18 June 1921, p. 830.
52. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 28, 14 July 1923, p. 888.
53. **Sooryahay**, 2nd year, Aleppo, 1925, p. 211.
54. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1930, p. 145 and **Kochnak**, Vol. 29, N° 33, 17 August 1929, p. 1046.
55. **Kochnak**, Vol. 31, N° 24, 13 June 1931, p. 731.
56. **Kochnak**, Vol. 20, N° 12, 20 March 1920, p. 379.
57. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 9, 3 March 1923, p. 279.
58. **Sooryahay**, 2nd year, Aleppo, 1925, p. 319.
59. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1930, p. 145 and **Kochnak**, Vol. 29, N° 33, 17 August 1929, p. 1046.
60. **Kochnak**, Vol. 32, N° 51, 17 December 1932, p. 1276.
61. In 1923 there were 1750 refugees from Sassoon in Aleppo (**Sooryahay**, 2nd year, Aleppo, 1925, p. 319), while 2875 others had settled in Armenia (**Kochnak**, Vol. 26, N° 13, 27 March 1926, p. 537).
62. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 9, 3 March 1923, p. 279.
63. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1930, p. 145.
64. **Sooryahay**, 2nd year, Aleppo, 1925, p. 319.
65. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1930, p. 145 and **Kochnak**, Vol. 29, N° 33, 17 August 1929, p. 1046.
66. **Kochnak**, Vol. 20, N° 46, 13 November 1920, p. 1479.
67. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 9, 3 March 1923, p. 280.
68. **Kochnak**, Vol. 21, N° 24, 11 June 1921, p. 809.
69. **Kochnak**, Vol. 21, N° 25, 18 June 1921, p. 832.
70. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 2, 13 January 1923, p. 55.
71. The term Gavar is quite confusing since none of the collected data specifies the geographic area it encompasses. Generally it refers to the central and western hinterland of Asia Minor.
72. **Kochnak**, Vol. 22, N° 11, 18 March 1922, p. 379.
73. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 41, 13 October 1923, p. 1304.
74. **Kochnak**, Vol. 24, N° 24, 14 June 1924, p. 759.
75. **Kochnak**, Vol. 24, N° 31, 2 August 1924, p. 984. Other reports speak of similar refugees reaching Mersin but unable to continue their journey, because of the lack of money.
76. **Amerikahay**, Boston, 1925, p. 32.
77. **Kochnak**, Vol. 26, N° 25, 19 June 1926, p. 934.
78. **Kochnak**, Vol. 26, N° 33, 14 August 1926, p. 1242.
79. **Kochnak**, Vol. 28, N° 20, 19 May 1928, p. 623.
80. **Kochnak**, Vol. 30, N° 5, 1 February 1930, p. 152.
81. **Kochnak**, Vol. 31, N° 24, 13 June 1931, p. 731.
82. **Kochnak**, Vol. 20, N° 17, 24 April 1920, p. 543.
83. **Sooryahay**, 2nd year, Aleppo, 1925, p. 319.
84. **Kochnak**, Vol. 21, N° 47, 19 November 1921, p. 1438.
85. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 3, 20 January 1923, p. 85.
86. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 9, 3 March 1923, p. 279.
87. **Amerikahay**, Boston, 1925, p. 36. This number is not changed in the following year: 20 teen aged orphans and 5-6 families (**Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 36, 8 September 1923, p. 1144).

88. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, N° 36, 8 September 1923, p. 1144.
89. *Sooryahay*, 1st year, Aleppo, 1924, p. 127.
90. *Taretsooyts*, Constantinople, 1925, p. 147 & Teotig, 1926, p. 578.
91. State documents, entitling the bearer to leave his residential area.
92. *Kochnak*, Vol. 26, N° 17, 24 April 1926, p. 665.
93. *Kochnak*, Vol. 28, N° 8, 25 February 1928, p. 249.
94. *Kochnak*, Vol. 29, N° 24, 15 June 1929, p. 762.
95. See Z. Missirlian, «The Forced Armenian Emigration from the Interior Turkish Provinces 1929-1930», *Haygazian Hayakidagan Handes*, Vol. 3, 1973, pages 101-118.
96. *Kochnak*, Vol. 29, N° 51, 21 December 1929, p. 1624.
97. *Taretsooyts*, Constantinople, 1929, p. 316-317.
98. *Taretsooyts*, Constantinople, 1930, p. 145-146.
99. *Kochnak*, Vol. 32, N° 22, 8 May 1932, p. 581.
100. *Kochnak*, Vol. 31, N° 24, 13 June 1931, p. 731.
101. *Kochnak*, Vol. 32, N° 43, 22 October 1932, p. 1084.
102. *Kochnak*, Vol. 33, N° 37, 16 September 1933, p. 885.
103. The department which runs the religious estates.
104. *Kochnak*, Vol. 34, N° 16, 21 April 1934, p. 380.
105. *Kochnak*, Vol. 36, N° 52, 26 December 1936, p. 1240.
106. *Kochnak*, Vol. 37, N° 26, 26 June 1937, p. 638.
107. *Kochnak*, Vol. 37, N° 29, 17 July 1937, p. 710.
108. *Kochnak*, Vol. 36, N° 4, 25 January 1936, p. 91.
109. *Armaghan*, p. 42.
110. *Kochnak*, Vol. 38, N° 23, 4 June 1938, p. 548.
111. *Kochnak*, Vol. 38, N° 34, 20 August 1938, p. 812.
112. Kharput is Kharpert-Karpert in Armenian.
113. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, N° 17, 24 April 1920, p. 543.
114. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, N° 5, 31 January 1920, p. 153.
115. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, N° 30, 24 July 1920, p. 962.
116. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, N° 48, 26 November 1921, p. 1474.
117. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, N° 5, 4 February 1922, p. 155.
118. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, N° 3, 20 January 1923, p. 85.
119. Later reports state that they were transported from Kharput to Syria on foot and then to Constantinople (*Kochnak*, Vol. 22, N° 39, 30 September 1922, p. 1284).
120. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, N° 31, 5 August 1922, p. 1022.
121. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, N° 5, 4 February 1922, p. 155.
122. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, N° 25, 24 June 1922, p. 829.
123. *Sooryahay*, 1st year, Aleppo, 1924 p. 127.
124. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, N° 11, 17 March 1923, p. 279.
125. *Taretsooyts*, Constantinople, 1925, p. 145-6.
126. *Kochnak*, Vol. 26, N° 33, 14 August 1926, p. 1210.
127. *Kochnak*, Vol. 28, N° 4, 28 January 1928, p. 123.
128. *Kochnak*, Vol. 28, N° 8, 25 February 1928, p. 249.
129. *Kochnak*, Vol. 29, N° 33, 17 August 1929, p. 1046.
130. *Kochnak*, Vol. 31, N° 18, 2 May 1931, p. 571.
131. *Kochnak*, Vol. 31, N° 22, 30 May 1931, p. 698.
132. *Kochnak*, Vol. 31, N° 24, 13 June 1931, p. 731.
133. *Kochnak*, Vol. 36, N° 52, 26 December 1936, p. 1240.
134. *Armaghan*, p. 42.
135. *Amerikahay*, Boston, 1925, p. 36.
136. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, N° 28, 15 July 1922, p. 929.
137. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, N° 29, 22 July 1922, p. 958.
138. *Sooryahay*, 2nd year, Aleppo, 1925, p. 319.

139. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 45, 10 November 1923, p. 1432.
140. **Kochnak**, Vol. 24, N° 2, 12 January 1924, N° 2, p. 54.
141. **Kochnak**, Vol. 24, N° 24, 14 June 1924, p. 759.
142. **Kochnak**, Vol. 24, N° 47, 22 November 1924, p. 1496.
143. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1925, p. 146.
144. Weavers.
145. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1926, p. 98.
146. **Kochnak**, Vol. 26, N° 47, 20 November 1926, p. 1626.
147. **Kochnak**, Vol. 27, N° 53, 31 December 1927, p. 1682.
148. **Kochnak**, Vol. 28, N° 8, 25 February 1928, p. 249.
149. **Kochnak**, Vol. 28, N° 48, 1 December 1928, p. 1529.
150. **Kochnak**, Vol. 28, N° 49, 8 December 1928, p. 1562.
151. **Kochnak**, Vol. 31, N° 24, 13 June 1931, p. 731.
152. **Kochnak**, Vol. 31, N° 35, 29 August 1931, p. 1114-1115.
153. **Kochnak**, Vol. 32, N° 13, 26 March 1932, p. 364.
154. **Kochnak**, Vol. 37, N° 35, 28 August 1937, p. 854.
155. **Kochnak**, Vol. 20, N° 32, 6 August 1920, p. 1034.
156. **Kochnak**, Vol. 22, N° 31, 5 August 1922, p. 1022.
157. **Kochnak**, Vol. 22, N° 5, 4 February 1922, p. 155.
158. **Kochnak**, Vol. 24, N° 4, 26 January 1924, p. 119.
159. **Sooryahay**, 2nd year, Aleppo, 1925, p. 319.
160. **Kochnak**, Vol. 24, N° 22, 31 May 1924, p. 696.
161. **Kochnak**, Vol. 24, N° 27, 5 July 1924, p. 857.
162. **Kochnak**, Vol. 28, N° 8, 25 February 1928, p. 249.
163. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1929, p. 318.
164. **Kochnak**, Vol. 36, N° 52, 26 December 1936, p. 1240.
165. **Armagahan**, p. 42.
166. **Sooryahay**, 2nd year, Aleppo, 1925, p. 319.
167. **Teotik**, **Amenoos Taretsooytse**, Paris, 1926, p. 578. Hereafter to be cited as **Teotik**.
168. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1925, p. 146.
169. **Kochnak**, Vol. 26, N° 10, 6 March 1926, p. 441.
170. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1926, p. 98.
171. **Kochnak**, Vol. 28, N° 48, 1 December 1928, p. 1529.
172. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1930, p. 145.
173. **Kochnak**, Vol. 33, N° 10, 11 March 1933, p. 236.
174. **Kochnak**, Vol. 34, N° 52, 29 December 1934, p. 1241.
175. **Kochnak**, Vol. 20, N° 40, 2 October 1920, p. 1289.
176. **Kochnak**, Vol. 22, N° 29, 22 July 1922, p. 959.
177. **Kochnak**, Vol. 22, N° 2, 14 January 1922, p. 59.
178. **Kochnak**, Vol. 24, N° 35, 30 August 1924, p. 1113.
179. **Kochnak**, Vol. 28, N° 8, 25 February 1928, p. 249.
180. **Kochnak**, Vol. 29, N° 51, 21 December 1929, p. 1624.
181. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1930, p. 146.
182. There were 35 Armenians in Zimara in 1926. **Kochnak**, Vol. 26, N° 10, 6 March 1926, p. 441.
183. **Kochnak**, Vol. 29, N° 33, 17 August 1929, p. 1046.
184. **Kochnak**, Vol. 32, N° 16, 16 April, 1932, p. 437.
185. **Kochnak**, Vol. 32, N° 52, 24 December 1932, p. 1298.
186. **Kochnak**, Vol. 33, N° 26, 1 July 1933, p. 621.
187. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1934, p. 290.
188. **Kochnak**, Vol. 20, N° 3, 17 January 1920, p. 87.
189. **Kochnak**, Vol. 20, N° 4, 24 January 1920, p. 123.
190. **Kochnak**, Vol. 20, N° 17, 24 April 1920, p. 543.

191. **Kochnak**, Vol. 20, N° 5, 31 January 1920, p. 153.
192. **Kochnak**, Vol. 20, N° 20, 15 May 1920, p. 644.
193. **Kochnak**, Vol. 20, N° 37, 18 September 1920, p. 1225.
194. **Kochnak**, Vol. 21, N° 32, 6 August 1921, p. 1064.
195. **Kochnak**, Vol. 21, N° 50, 10 December 1921, p. 1540.
196. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 3, 20 January 1923, p. 85.
197. **Kochnak**, Vol. 22, N° 7, 18 February 1922, p. 250.
198. 435 of the refugees in Aleppo in 1923 were from Sivas (**Sooryahay**, 2nd year, Aleppo, 1925, p. 319).
199. These had worked in the *Amele Tabouri* and were treated as POWs by the Turks and exchanged for Turkish POWs. They were taken from Erzurum to Trabizon and then to Greece (**Kochnak**, Vol. 24, N° 36, 6 September 1924, p. 1141).
200. A number of refugees arrived from Konya and Eskishehir. The Prelate of Konya, Artavazt Vardapet, too reached the city (**Kochnak**, Vol. 22, N° 29, 22 July 1922, p. 960).
201. **Kochnak**, Vol. 22, N° 25, 24 June 1922, p. 829.
202. **Amerikahay**, Boston, 1925, p. 36.
203. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 14, 7 April 1923, p. 440.
204. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 28, 14 July 1923, p. 888.
205. While **Tjakatamart** newspaper claimed that there were around 500 Armenian families in Sivas, 10 Armenian protestant families and 20-25 boys in the village of Enderes in the neighborhood of Sivas (**Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 36, 8 September 1923, p. 1144).
206. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 41, 13 October 1923, p. 1304.
207. **Kochnak**, Vol. 23, N° 51, 22 December 1923, p. 1624.
208. **Kochnak**, Vol. 24, N° 29, 219 July 1924, p. 920.
209. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1925, p. 144.
210. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1929, p. 311.
211. **Kochnak**, Vol. 25, N° 15, 11 April 1925, p. 472.
212. The State Tax Department.
213. **Kochnak**, Vol. 25, N° 36, 5 September 1925, p. 1043. The Armenian school building at Pasha Bostan was sold in late August 1925 by the *moochasebkhane*.
214. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1925, p. 145.
215. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1926, p. 97-8.
216. **Kochnak**, Vol. 26, N° 21, 22 May 1926, p. 794.
217. **Kochnak**, Vol. 27, N° 32, 6 August 1927, p. 1019. The case of the priest dragged on at least till 1928.
218. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1927, p. 344.
219. *Yazma* — a very delicately worked veil.
220. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1928, p. 367-8.
221. **Kochnak**, Vol. 28, N° 6, 11 February 1928, p. 186.
222. **Kochnak**, Vol. 28, N° 8, 25 February 1928, p. 249.
223. **Kochnak**, Vol. 28, N° 31, 4 August 1928, p. 987. This number was not much changed (**Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1930, p. 146).
224. **Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1929, p. 316.
225. **Kochnak**, Vol. 29, N° 33, 17 August 1929, p. 1047.
226. **Kochnak**, Vol. 30, N° 38, 20 September 1930, p. 1209.
227. **Kochnak**, Vol. 30, N° 42, 18 October 1930, p. 1209.
228. **Kochnak**, Vol. 31, N° 10, 7 March 1931, p. 539.
229. **Kochnak**, Vol. 31, N° 24, 13 June 1931, p. 731.
230. **Kochnak**, Vol. 32, N° 9, 27 February 1932, p. 269.
231. In 1926 this village had around 120 Armenians, with 40 school-age children not attending school (**Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1926, p. 97), while in 1927 it had 21 families with no school nor church (**Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1927, p. 344), but in 1934 it had 45 families (**Taretsooyts**, Constantinople, 1934, p. 290).

232. *Kochnak*, Vol. 33, N° 10, 11 March 1933, p. 236.
233. *Kochnak*, Vol. 35, N° 4, 26 January 1935, p. 91.
234. *Kochnak*, Vol. 35, N° 26, 29 June 1935, p. 619.
235. *Armaghan*, p. 42.
236. *Hooshamatyan Bontakan Amasyo*, K. Simonian, Venice, 1966, p. 57. Hereafter to be referred to as *Hooshamatyan*.
237. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, N° 4, 28 January 1922, p. 125.
238. *Amerikahay*, Boston, 1925, p. 36.
239. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, N° 36, 8 September 1923, p. 1144.
240. Reports suggest that some of these refugees were trying to leave for Marseille.
241. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, N° 41, 13 October 1923, p. 1304.
242. *Teotig*, 1926, p. 577.
243. *Kochnak*, Vol. 25, N° 24, 13 June 1925, p. 764.
244. *Teotig*, 1926, p. 577.
245. *Hooshamatyan*, p. 797.
246. *Taretsooyts*, Constantinople, 1925, p. 145.
247. *Kochnak*, Vol. 28, N° 8, 25 February 1928, p. 249.
248. *Taretsooyts*, Constantinople, 1929, p. 318.
249. *Kochnak*, Vol. 32, N° 9, 27 February 1932, p. 269.
250. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, N° 38, 17 September 1932, p. 964.
251. *Kochnak*, Vol. 33, N° 10, 11 March 1933, p. 236, which was confirmed by the Patriarchate.
252. *Kochnak*, Vol. 33, N° 10, 11 March 1933, p. 236.
253. *Kochnak*, Vol. 35, N° 26, 29 June 1935, p. 619.
254. *Armaghan*, p. 42.
255. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, N° 12, 20 March 1920, p. 381.
256. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, N° 3, 17 January 1920, p. 88.
257. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, N° 34, 21 August 1920, p. 1091.
258. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, N° 52, 24 December 1921, p. 1600.
259. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, N° 31, 5 August 1922, p. 1021.
260. *Kochnak*, Vol. 29, N° 33, 17 August 1929, p. 1047.
261. *Kochnak*, Vol. 30, N° 5, 1 February 1930, p. 150.
262. *Kochnak*, Vol. 33, N° 10, 11 March 1933, p. 236 and *Taretsooyts*, Constantinople, 1934, p. 290.
263. *Amerikahay*, Boston, 1925, p. 36.
264. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, N° 36, 8 September 1923, p. 1144.
265. *Kochnak*, Vol. 25, N° 47, 21 November 1925, p. T1393 and *Taretsooyts*, Constantinople, 1925, p. 145.
266. Textile dyer.
267. *Taretsooyts*, Constantinople, 1926, p. 97-99.
268. *Taretsooyts*, Constantinople, 1927, p. 346.
269. *Taretsooyts*, Constantinople, 1928, p. 367-368.
270. *Kochnak*, Vol. 28, N° 8, 25 February 1928, p. 249.
271. *Kochnak*, Vol. 29, N° 33, 17 August 1929, p. 1047.
272. *Taretsooyts*, Constantinople, 1930, p. 145.
273. *Kochnak*, Vol. 33, N° 10, 11 March 1933, p. 236.
274. *Kochnak*, Vol. 35, N° 26, 29 June 1935, p. 619.
275. *Armaghan*, p. 42.

A. D.

ՀԱՅԵՐԸ ՅԵՏ ՊԱՏԵՐԱԶՄԵԱՆ
ԹՈՒՐՔԻՈՅ ՄԷՋ (1919-1938)

ԱՆԴՐԱՆԻԿ ՏԱԳԷՍԵԱՆ

(ԱՄՓՈՓՈՒՄ)

Առաջին Համաշխարհային Պատերազմի աւարտին, արեւմրտահայութեան մնացորդացին մեծ մասը վերադարձաւ իր պապեանական հողերը փայլուն ապագայի երազներ հիւսելով: Սակայն դէպքերու ընթացքը ունեցաւ թրքանպաստ զարգացում եւ արեւմրտահայութիւնը, իր կիլիկեան թելով, դարձեալ մատնուեցաւ բռնագաղթի:

Այսուհանդերձ, հայութեան մէկ մասը շարունակեց կառչած մնալ իր հողին եւ գոյատեւեց՝ հակառակ թրքական տեղահանութեան խորշակներուն:

Ներկայ ուսումնասիրութիւնը (որուն առաջին մասը կը հրատարակուի այստեղ) կը ներկայացնէ իր հողերուն կառչած մնացած այդ հայութեան նակատագիրը:

Կը ներկայացուի Անատոլուի (Վան, Պիքլիս, Մուշ, Սասուն, Կարս, Էրզրում, Երզնկա, Դերջան), Տիգրանակերտի եւ իր շրջակայքի, Խարքերդի եւ իր շրջակայքի (Արաբկիր, Մալաթիա, Ակն, Տիւրիկ) եւ Սեբաստիոյ ու շրջակայքի (Ամասիա, Մարզուան, Թոճաթ) ու յարակից գիւղերու հայութեան կեանքը — ընկերային, տնտեսական, կրօնական, ուսումնական, կենցաղային երեսակներով: յատուկ ուշադրութիւն կը դարձուի անոնց բուսականին եւ դիմագրաւած դժուարութիւններուն, ուրկէ ի յայտ կու գայ թրքական հանրապետութեան բաղաձայնութիւնը՝ ամէն միջոցներով նսեմացնելու, ոչնչացնելու հայութեան այս մնացորդացը:

Թուրք տեղական իշխանութիւնները կը բռնագրաւեն եկեղեցապետական կալուածները, որոնց եկամուտը կ'ապահովէր հայ այս խլիակներուն վարժարաններուն պահպանումը: ապա իշխանութիւնները կը դիմեն զինուորագրութեան եւ գէնքի տակ կը կանչեն նոյնիսկ հայ ուսուցիչները, արհեստական դժուարութիւններ կը յարուցանեն հայ կղերին դիմաց, անդարձ մեկնելու վտարաններ կը յանձնեն հայերուն եւ կ'արտաքսեն զանոնք իրենց պապեանական հողերէն: