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Armenian Committee Members in İstanbul



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## WHAT HAPPENED ON APRIL 24, 1915?: THE CIRCULAR OF APRIL 24, 1915, AND THE ARREST OF ARMENIAN COMMITTEE MEMBERS IN İSTANBUL

### *Introduction*

Although the most powerful and influential Armenian political organization, the socialist Dashnaksutyun, which also had nationalist tendencies, officially decided in 1914 to remain neutral during the war, a significant number of members, including Armenian MPs, left the Ottoman lands to join the voluntary troops formed by the Armenians in Russian territories. According to an Ottoman official document (see appendix 1), the "Armenian committees have been working to accomplish autonomy for the Armenians by means of political and revolutionary societies," and this goal led them to cooperate with the Allied powers, primarily the Russians, against the Ottoman government.<sup>1</sup>

At the outset of the war, the Ottoman government preferred to warn the leading Armenians with a view to appeasing them. For example, Talat Pasha notified Vartkes Efendi, the Erzurum representative, and other prominent members of the Dashnaksutyun (Dashnak, Tashnak, Tashnag) committee, and Enver Pasha pointed out to the Armenian Patriarch that the Ottoman government would have to take severe measures if the Armenians inclined towards revolutionary activities.<sup>2</sup> Despite these warnings, Armenian representatives Vahan Papazyan and Karakin Pastırmacıyan moved to the Caucasus and fought against the Ottoman army, as did a number of Armenian volunteers. Even Armenian soldiers within the Ottoman army fled to join the volunteer Armenian troops in the Caucasia, and the German consulate reported armed threats by the Armenian soldiers within the Ottoman army during the Caucasian campaign.<sup>3</sup> Equally important, the Hinchak (Hunchak) chief

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<sup>1</sup> Russia armed the Armenians, particularly those of Oltu, Sarıkamış, Kağızman, Erzurum, Pasinler, Van and Bitlis., *Arşiv Belgeleriyle Ermeni Faaliyetleri, 1914-1918 v. I*, ed. Ahmet Tetik (Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 2005), pp. 98-99.

<sup>2</sup> *Talat Paşa'nın Anıları*, ed. Alpay Kabacalı (İstanbul, 1991), p. 71; *Ermeni Komitecilerinin Amal ve Harekat-ı İhtilaliyyesi, İlan-ı Meşrutiyetten Evvel ve Sonra* (İstanbul, 1916), pp. 235-237.

<sup>3</sup> Taner Akçam, *İnsan Hakları ve Ermeni Sorunu* (Ankara, 1999), pp. 315-316. The Armenians who ran away to Russia as volunteers were mostly from Sivas, Bitlis and Van. Some Armenian soldiers of the reserve forces in the Ottoman army also fled to Russia through Bulgaria and Romania. See Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (hereafter BOA) HR.SYS. No. 2871/1-28; BOA.HR.SYS. No. 2871/1-125; for the Armenian contribution to

Sabah Gulyan organized an assassination attempt against Talat Pasha that was prevented by the arrest of the conspirators in İstanbul in October 1914.<sup>4</sup>

Discovery of a number of bombs and weapons by security searches in several provinces convinced the government that the Armenian organizations were in preparation for an all-out rebellion.<sup>5</sup> An instruction of the Ottoman Army Supreme Military Command, delivered on February 27, 1915, cited the capture of these weapons as well as bombs and ciphered documents in ordering that Armenian soldiers in the army be kept away from armed duties but also adding that loyal Armenians would not be harmed.<sup>6</sup> After the Ottoman defeat by the Russians in Eastern Anatolia and the intensification of the war on the Dardanelles, beginning on March 18, 1915, had put İstanbul under serious threat, the armed Armenian groups expanded their activities. The Van revolt followed those of Zeytun, Bitlis, Muş and Erzurum, and massacres aimed at the Turkish-Muslim population increased in those areas.<sup>7</sup> Some writers such as Dadrian and Akçam, insisting on premeditation as a key element, have evaluated these events as counter movements against the relocation to be implemented in the near future.<sup>8</sup>

### *The Circular of April 24, 1915, and the Arrests*

The Ottoman government responded with measures to prevent the activities of the Armenian committees by taking them under control. After the disarming of the Armenian privates, the Ministry of Interior ordered dismissal of disloyal or unreliable Armenian policemen and officials or their exile to provinces without

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the Russian advance, see Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), p. 102

<sup>4</sup> *Arşiv Belgeleriyle Ermeni Faaliyetleri, 1914-1918* v. III, ed. Ahmet Tetik (Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> See BOA., DHEUM. EMN 88/33 Document No: 1,2,3,4,5.; BOA., DH. EUM 2. ŞUBE, 2/67-A; BOA., DH. EUM. 2.ŞB. 12/32.

<sup>6</sup> *Askeri Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*, issue 85 (December 1985), Document no. 1999, pp. 23-24. This instruction was delivered for the security of the Empire, but Dadrian claims that it inclined toward elimination of the Armenians capable of bearing arms by taking them to the army. See Vahakn N. Dadrian, *Ermeni Soykırımında Kurumsal Roller* trans. Atilla Tuygan, (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2004), pp. 192-199.

<sup>7</sup> See *Arşiv Belgeleriyle Ermeni Faaliyetleri, 1914-1918* v. I, pp. 101-104.; Hikmet Özdemir et al., *Ermeniler: Sürgün ve Göç* (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2004), p. 60; Kamuran Gürün, *Ermeni Dosyası* (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1983), pp. 193-209; Cemalettin Taşkıran, *Van'da Ermeni Devleti Denemesi Belgeler* (Ankara: Platin Yayınları, 2006); Hasan Oktay, "Ermeniler ve Van İhtilal Örgütü (1896-1915)," *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, no. 5 (Spring 2002), pp. 84-137. For the massacres by the Armenians in the first half of the years 1914 and 1915 in Kars, Ardahan, Van, Bitlis and other regions, see *Ermeniler Tarafından Yapılan Katliam Belgeleri* v. I. (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2001), pp. 1-71.

<sup>8</sup> Akçam, p. 213; Vahakn N. Dadrian, *Türk Kaynaklarında Ermeni Soykırımı* trans. Atilla Tuygan (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2005), p. 198.

Armenian populations.<sup>9</sup> When these measures did not produce the consequences desired, the government decided to close down the committees that had armed and incited the Armenians and to arrest their leaders. For this purpose, on April 24, 1915, the Ministry of Interior sent its famous circular to fourteen *vilayets* (provinces) and 10 *mutasarrıflıks* (counties). This circular ordered the closing of the Armenian committees, namely, Hinchak, Dashnak and the like; seizure of their documents; arrest of the chiefs of the committees and the Armenians notorious for dissident activities; and gathering in more appropriate places those whose existence in their present places was regarded as dangerous.<sup>10</sup> The circular strongly emphasized that the authorities should keep a close eye on their areas and not allow any kind of internal strife between the Muslims and the Armenians. Today Armenian diasporas in many countries observe April 24, the date of this circular, every year as Genocide Day. On April 26, 1915, Ottoman Supreme Military Command sent a similar circular to the Ministry of War and army commanders asking them to meet any kind of demands by aid by government officials.<sup>11</sup>

Following the circular from the Ministry of Interior, some of those identified as members of the Dashnak, Hinchak and Ramgavar were placed under arrest in İstanbul. British intelligence reports confirm that all were committee members.<sup>12</sup> According to the information received by the British Military Office in Egypt from Dedeağaç, on the night of April 24, 1915, some 1,800 Armenians, including three Armenian men of religion and the patron of the Armenian newspaper *Puzantion*, would be sent to Ankara after their arrest. It was stated that 500 of them were Dashnak, another 500 Hinchak and the rest Ramgavar partisans.<sup>13</sup> In addition, the ciphered telegrams sent on May 20 and 21, 1919, to the British High Commissioner to İstanbul noted that the Armenians arrested on April 24, 1915, were either volunteers who had served the Allied armies or those responsible for "the massacre of Muslims."<sup>14</sup> Likewise, German Ambassador Wangenheim reported to the German Chancellor on April 30, 1915, that there had been explosive materials, bombs and weapons in many Armenian houses and churches and that the Armenians were about to carry out bomb attacks on the Sublime Porte and several official buildings on April 27, 1915, during the anniversary ceremony of Sultan Mehmed V's accession to the throne. For this reason, "approximately 500 Armenians, among them were doctors, journalists, men of religion, writers and representatives, had been arrested on the night of 24/25 April and sent to Anatolia."<sup>15</sup> An American

<sup>9</sup> BOA.DH.ŞFR.No: 51/192.

<sup>10</sup> BOA.DH.ŞFR.No. 52/96-97/98, Appendix 1.

<sup>11</sup> ATASE. BDH. Collection File No: 401, Dosya no: 1580, Index no 1-2.

<sup>12</sup> Hikmet Özdemir et al., p. 62.

<sup>13</sup> UK ARCHIVES, WO 157/691/9, cited by Özdemir et al., p. 62.

<sup>14</sup> UK ARCHIVES, FO 608/78,(75631), no. 869 and 1094, *ibid*, p.62.

<sup>15</sup> Johannes Lepsius, *Deutschland und Armenien 1914-1918* (Potsdam, 1919), p. 59 cited in Nejat Göyünç, "Ermeni Tehciri ve Soykırım İddiaları," *Yeni Türkiye* (January-February, 2001), pp. 296-297.

document gives the number of arrests as 100,<sup>16</sup> but a telegram from Thessalonica to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France on May 8, 1915, states that 2,500 leading Armenians were arrested in İstanbul and a number of bombs and documents were captured as a result of police searches in their houses, adding that the aim of the Armenian revolutionary societies was to kill Enver and Talat Pashas with the support of the Allied powers and to cause a panic among the Muslim people through those assassinations by using dynamite.<sup>17</sup> According to Esat Uras, of the 77,735 Armenians settled in İstanbul, only 2,345 were arrested for their participation in revolutionary movements, while the rest went about their business in peace.<sup>18</sup> Kamuran Gürün notes that, upon the directive of the April 24 circular letter, 2,345 Armenians were arrested in İstanbul although the English edition of his book gives the number as 235.<sup>19</sup> Taner Akçam also states that 235 important personages of the Armenian community were arrested on April 24, 1915, and that another 600 arrests followed. He says that the Ottoman Government announced the arrest of 2,345 Armenians in İstanbul on May 24.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, Guenter Lewy talks about the arrest of several hundred Armenian committee leaders in İstanbul comprising deputies, politicians, ministers, journalists, physicians, etc.<sup>21</sup> Regardless of the differing figures, these sources agree that those arrested in İstanbul were not ordinary Armenians but committee members. Of the 19 Mauser guns, 74 Martini rifles, 111 Winchester guns, 96 *manihir*, 78 *gıra*, 358 *filovır*, 3,591 pistols and 45,221 pistol bullets found by police searches conducted in İstanbul under the April 24 circular, all were delivered to the Maçka Military Warehouse in case the army needed them.<sup>22</sup>

### *Armenians Subjected to Compulsory Residence in Çankırı*

Ottoman documents show that the number of the arrests increased from 180 to 235 between the dates of April, 24, 1915, and May 24, 1916. The ciphered message sent by the Ministry of Interior to the governorship of Ankara province on April 25, 1915, states that about 180 Armenian committee chiefs whose stay in İstanbul was considered dangerous would be consigned to Ankara by train 164 that day, accompanied by a task force of 75 men, including 15 policemen, 2 officers, 1 police superintendent and 1 official. Some 60-70 of these Armenians would be imprisoned in the Ayaş military warehouse, and about 100 of the rest would be sent to Çankırı

<sup>16</sup> *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1915*, p. 981, cited in Kemal Çiçek, *Ermenilerin Zorunlu Göçü 1915-1917* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2005), p. 35.

<sup>17</sup> Hasan Dilan, *Fransız Diplomatik Belgelerinde Ermeni Olayları 1914-1918 v. II.*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2005), pp. 96-97, document no. 14.

<sup>18</sup> Esat Uras, *Tarihte Ermeniler ve Ermeni Meselesi* (İstanbul: Belge, 1987), pp. 608-609.

<sup>19</sup> Kamuran Gürün, *The Armenian File, The Myth of Innocence Exposed* (London: K. Rustem & Bro. and Weidenfeld & Nicolson Ltd., 1985), p. 206.

<sup>20</sup> Akçam, p. 220.

<sup>21</sup> Lewy, p. 150.

<sup>22</sup> BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube 16/48.

via Ankara for compulsory residence.<sup>23</sup> The dispatch of Armenians to compulsory residence in Çankırı continued at intervals through the first week of May. A document sent from the Çankırı governorship to the General Directorate of Security on June 30, 1915, puts the number of the Armenians in Çankırı at 140.<sup>24</sup> It notes that the newcomers wandered about the town freely, that they were scattered into houses in groups of three to five men, and that some were residing in the summerhouses about half an hour's walk from town. The only thing that they did was to show up at the police station every twenty-four hours.<sup>25</sup> The needy among the exiles were provided with daily payments from the funds allocated by the Ministry of Interior.<sup>26</sup> For example, a document sent from Kastamonu province to the Ministry of Interior stated that Arşak son of Mardiros applied for daily payment; if his request was accepted, an investigation would determine whether he was needy or not,<sup>27</sup> and in yet another document, Arşak Diradoryan, an exile in Çankırı, asked for daily payment, explaining that he was in need.<sup>28</sup>

Either the Armenians subjected to compulsory residence themselves or their relatives petitioned to the Ottoman government claiming their innocence and asking for their release.<sup>29</sup> After careful examination of these petitions, the Ottoman central government set free those found innocent, foreign nationals and the ill. For instance, upon the order of the Ministry of Interior, Vahram Torkumyan, Agop Nargileciyan, Karabet Keropoyan, Zare Bardizbanyan, Pozant Keçiyan, Pervant Tolayan, Rafael Karagözyan and Vartabet Gomidas were released and were granted permission to return to İstanbul.<sup>30</sup> Vartabet Gomidas, for whom a monument was built in Paris, was in the first group set free, after thirteen days in Çankırı. When he became ill in İstanbul and applied to the Ministry of Interior on August 30, 1917, to travel to Vienna for treatment, he was duly granted permission and went to Vienna in September 1917.<sup>31</sup> Diran Dilakyan was released on condition that he would live with his family somewhere outside of İstanbul.<sup>32</sup> On May 29, Hayik Hocasaryan,<sup>33</sup> and on June 27, Agop Begleryan and Vartanes Papasyan were set free,<sup>34</sup> and by the order of the Ministry of Interior, Serkis Cevahiryen, Kirkor Celalyan, Bağban

<sup>23</sup> BOA.DH.ŞFR. No: 52/102.

<sup>24</sup> BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube 7/52.

<sup>25</sup> BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube. 7/52.

<sup>26</sup> BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube. 6/29.

<sup>27</sup> BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube. 7/62.

<sup>28</sup> BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube. 36/26.

<sup>29</sup> Most of the petitions for pardon were directly sent to the Ministry of Interior and the General Directorate of Security, but there are some that were sent to Çankırı Sanjak. For examples, see BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube. 6/10, 7/22, 7/24, 7/56, 7/36, 7/38, 8/82, 9/122, 9/23, 9/46, 9/47, 9/60, 9/79, 10/4.

<sup>30</sup> BOA.DH.ŞFR. No: 52/255.

<sup>31</sup> BOA.EUM. 2. Şube. No: 42/69.

<sup>32</sup> BOA.DH.ŞFR. No: 52/266.

<sup>33</sup> BOA.DH.ŞFR. No: 53/149.

<sup>34</sup> BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube. 8/5.

Bardiz and fourteen other prisoners returned to İstanbul.<sup>35</sup> On July 18, three prisoners<sup>36</sup> and on August 10, Apik Canbaz were granted permission to return to İstanbul.<sup>37</sup> Vahan Altunyan and Ohannes Terlemezyan, exiled to Kayseri from Çankırı, also were released and allowed to return to İstanbul.<sup>38</sup> A Bulgarian subject, Bedros Manukyan; an Iranian subject, Mıgırdıç İstepniyan; and a Russian subject, Leon Kigorkyan, were set free to be expelled from Ottoman lands.<sup>39</sup>

Serkis Şahinyan, Ohannes Hanisyan, Artin Boğasyan and Zara Mumcuyan were among those pardoned on condition that they leave İstanbul for good.<sup>40</sup> A member of Dashnak committee, Serkis Kılıncyan, having been pardoned and given permission to go to Eskişehir, first escaped to İstanbul; then, with the help of the German firm Grupi, he fled to Bulgaria, where he continued carrying out his activities.<sup>41</sup> Some of the Armenians in Çankırı were sent to prison in Ayaş;<sup>42</sup> while others were exiled to places such as Ankara, İzmit, Bursa, Eskişehir and Kütahya and the rest were dispatched to the relocation center of Zor.

On August 31, 1915, a detailed report from the governorship of Kastamonu to the Ministry of Interior included the names of the Armenians exiled to Çankırı and the procedures regarding them.<sup>43</sup> The total number of Armenians subjected to compulsory residence in Çankırı between April 24 and August 31, 1915, is given as 155. Of these, 35 were found to be innocent and allowed to return to İstanbul. Twenty-five were found guilty and imprisoned in Ankara or Ayaş, and 57 were exiled to the Zor region. Of the 7 foreign nationals, 3 were exiled from the country and the rest were detained in custody. The remaining 31 Armenians were pardoned and of these, 13 were consigned to İzmit, 10 to Eskişehir, 2 to Kütahya, 2 to Bursa, 2 to Kastamonu, 1 to Geyve and 1 to Kayseri.<sup>44</sup>

### *The Armenians Imprisoned in Ayaş*

As mentioned, approximately 70 of the Armenians arrested as committee members in İstanbul were sent to the Ayaş military warehouse.<sup>45</sup> Unfortunately, no document giving a complete list of them exists. The petition for pardon forwarded by one prisoner, Kris Fenerciyan, to Ismail Canpolat Bey, the General Director of Security, puts the number of the Armenian prisoners in Ayaş at 70.<sup>46</sup> On the other

<sup>35</sup> BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube. 9/10.

<sup>36</sup> BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube. 9/15.

<sup>37</sup> BOA.DH.ŞFR. No: 54-A/364.

<sup>38</sup> BOA. DH. ŞFR. No: 56/60.

<sup>39</sup> BOA. DH. ŞFR. No: 54-A/177; No: 57/57.

<sup>40</sup> BOA. DH. ŞFR. No: 55/214.

<sup>41</sup> BOA.EUM 2. Şube No: 57/23.

<sup>42</sup> For example, Dashnak member Hacı Hayk Tiryakyan. BOA. DH. ŞFR. No: 53/273.

<sup>43</sup> BOA. EUM. 2. Şube. 20/73. For the list of the Armenians in Çankırı see appendix 2.

<sup>44</sup> BOA. DH. EUM. 2. Şube, 10/73.

<sup>45</sup> BOA. DH. ŞFR. No: 52/102.

<sup>46</sup> BOA. DH. EUM. 2. Şube, 6/32.

hand, an examination of additional petitions for pardon by the Armenian prisoners in Ayaş reveals their number to be 60,<sup>47</sup> and a list prepared by İstanbul General Directorate of Security, gives the names of 71 Armenian prisoners in Ayaş.<sup>48</sup>

The inconsistencies in the sources stem from the fact that some of the Armenians were sent to different provinces for trial while others were released. Also some were dispatched from İstanbul, Çankırı and Ankara to be imprisoned in Ayaş. For example, in an official document the Ministry of Interior asked the Bureau of Accounting to transfer 2,897 kurush to the Governorship of Ankara for the expenses of the transporting committee members to Ayaş and Çankırı.<sup>49</sup> The Ministry sent Hamparsum Boyacıyan, the Kozan representative, to Kayseri,<sup>50</sup> Marzaros Gazaryan, the director of the Yenikapı Armenian School, to Develi,<sup>51</sup> A. Dağavaryan, the Sivas representative, to Diyarbakır for court martial,<sup>52</sup> Haçik Boğusyan to Ankara for trial; Hirant Ağacanyan to İstanbul,<sup>53</sup> Teodor Manzikyan and Akrik Keresteciyan to Zor,<sup>54</sup> and Şahbaz Parsih to Elazığ to be imprisoned there.<sup>55</sup> Leon Şirinyan, a U.S. citizen, was deported.<sup>56</sup> Viram Şabuh Samuelof and Rotsum Rostusyon were first released but later prosecuted.<sup>57</sup> A certain Hayik Tiryakyan mistaken for his namesake, the owner of the *Azadamard* newspaper, was arrested but released as was a Doctor Allahverdiyan, arrested instead of his son.<sup>58</sup> Akrik Keresteciyan was sent to Zor but also soon released.<sup>59</sup>

The Armenians dispatched to Ayaş apparently were kept under arrest throughout World War I because they all were members of the executive board of the Hinchak and Dashnak parties. Dikran son of Serkis Bağdıkyan, a Dashnak member, died on March 9, 1918, in Ayaş,<sup>60</sup> and the petition submitted by Andon Ponasyan, a Dashnak propagandist, on April 8, 1918, asking for pardon and his return to İstanbul, was not accepted.<sup>61</sup> Only after the signing of the Mudros Armistice did Karnik Madukyan, Kirkor Hamparsumyan and Pantuvan Parzisyen

<sup>47</sup> For the petitions see BOA. DH. EUM. 2. Şube. 10/4; 9/29, 8/91, 8/1, 7/69, 8/3, 7/23, 7/14, 8/68, 17/26, 9/45, 7/63, 7/61, 7/47, 7/30, 15/44, 15/45, 15/34, 15/39.

<sup>48</sup> BOA. DH. EUM. 2. Şube 67/31. For the list of Armenians imprisoned in Ayaş see appendix 3.

<sup>49</sup> BOA. DH. EUM: 2. Şube 6/46.

<sup>50</sup> BOA. DH. ŞFR. NO: 52/222.

<sup>51</sup> BOA. DH. ŞFR. No: 53/65.

<sup>52</sup> BOA. DH. ŞFR. No: 57/214.

<sup>53</sup> BOA. DH. ŞFR. No: 54-A/63; BOA. DH. EUM. KLH. No: 1/39.

<sup>54</sup> BOA. DH. EUM. 2. Şube 14/52.

<sup>55</sup> BOA. DH. ŞFR. No: 54/5.

<sup>56</sup> BOA. DH. EUM. 2. Şube No: 6/47.

<sup>57</sup> BOA. DH. EUM. 2. Şube No: 11/2.

<sup>58</sup> BOA. DH. EUM. 2. Şube No: 7/7; 6/56.

<sup>59</sup> BOA. DH. ŞFR. No: 54-A/366.

<sup>60</sup> BOA. DH. EUM. 2. Şube No: 50/10.

<sup>61</sup> BOA. DH. EUM. 2. Şube 50/10.



receive the chance to be discharged on November 10, 1918.<sup>62</sup> The rest were freed after the Allied Powers took control of the Ottoman Empire following the armistice.

*The Number of the Armenian Committee Members in İstanbul and the Prosecution of Them*

From the beginning of World War I the Ottoman Internal Security Organization closely watched the activities of the Armenian committees and their members in İstanbul and prepared a very detailed list of them. Completed probably by August 1916, the list contained the names of some leading Armenians, their occupations and duties in their respective committees, and the inquiries and/or prosecutions pertaining to them. According to the list, of 610 Armenian committee members based in İstanbul,<sup>63</sup> 356 were members of the Dashnak Party while the rest were members of the Hinchak (173 persons), Ramgavar (72 persons) and other (9 persons) Armenian committees and communities.<sup>64</sup>

As noted, about 235 Armenians, whose names and addresses were listed beforehand, were dispatched in 1915, in accordance with the April 24 circular, to Çankırı and Ayaş. Because most of the Armenians subjected to compulsory residence in Çankırı were released during the preparation of the new list in the first part of 1916, only 60 of them were recorded still to be in Çankırı and 71 in Ayaş.<sup>65</sup> Most of those named in the earlier list had not been found at the addresses listed for them. The number who had fled abroad appears to have been 44, and 14 foreign subjects had been exiled from the country on the condition of no return. Of those arrested, 53 Armenians in obligatory residence in Çankırı and Ayaş, but suspected of having ties with İzmit events, had been sent to İzmit for interrogation and trial. Some of the rest were subject to compulsory residence in Zor, Konya, Elazığ, Diyarbakır, Kayseri, etc., or would face trial by military tribunal.

The letter submitted by the Ottoman government on May 24, 1915, to the Allied powers in response to their diplomatic note questioning the Armenian massacres states that 235 of the 77,735 Armenians living in İstanbul had been arrested for their participation in revolutionary movements while the rest were occupied with their business in peace.<sup>66</sup> If the Armenians exiled out of İstanbul during the course of relocation (for example, the Ottoman MPs Krikor Zohrab and Seringulian Vartkes exiled to Diyarbakır) are also considered, however, it is acceptable to claim that between April 24, 1915, and August 1916, approximately 290 Armenians committee members were arrested and prosecuted.<sup>67</sup> An examination of the sources shows that Esat Uras was the first to suggest the number

<sup>62</sup> BOA. DH. EUM. 2. Şube 65/34; BOA. DH. ŞFR. No: 93/120.

<sup>63</sup> BOA. DH. EUM. 2. Şube No: 67/31.

<sup>64</sup> BOA. DH. EUM. 2. Şube No: 67/31.

<sup>65</sup> BOA. DH. EUM. 2. Şube No: 67/31.

<sup>66</sup> *Ermeni Komitecilerinin Amal ve Harekât-ı İhtilaliyyesi, İlan-ı Meşrutiyetten Evvel ve Sonra* (İstanbul, 1916), p. 242.

<sup>67</sup> BOA. DH. EUM. 2. Şube No: 67/31.

2,345 for the arrests in İstanbul following the April 24 circular.<sup>68</sup> Although Uras does not cite any source for this figure, the expressions he uses seem to come from *Ermeni Komitecilerinin Amâl ve Harekât-İhtilâliyesi, İlân-ı Meşrutiyetten Evvel ve Sonra*, (İstanbul, 1916), p. 242, which actually puts the number at 235. Finally, it should be noted that more than 252 additional Armenians were arrested in several provinces and sub-provinces in accordance with the April 24 circular,<sup>69</sup> but their cases fall outside the scope of the present study, which, like the assertion by Uras, focuses only on the arrests in İstanbul.

### Concluding Remarks

Of Armenians arrested in İstanbul on April 24, 1915, Lewy says that their fate is not clear, that is, most of them seem to have been massacred or exiled.<sup>70</sup> Similarly, Akçam argues that some of them died from torture under police supervision and most of the rest were hanged in public to intimidate others.<sup>71</sup> Nikolay Hovhannisyan speaks of the arrest of 800 Armenians without an official accusation on April 24 and says all were massacred on the road to or at their relocation destination, but he does not provide any evidence.<sup>72</sup>

The Ottoman government sent out commissions of inquiry to examine reports of improper treatment of the Armenians being relocated. For example, the Military Court of Syria charged Sirozlu (Çerkez) Ahmed and his friend (Galatalı) Halil with killing the Armenian deputies Krikor Zohrab and Seringulan Vartkes, who had been

<sup>68</sup> Uras, pp. 608-609.

<sup>69</sup> In Aydın and İzmir 19 Armenians bearing 180 kg. dynamite and several weapons were arrested. BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube No: 7/57; BOA.DH.EUM.2.Şb. No: 7/16; BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube No: 12/92. In Samsun and its districts 32 Armenians having 20 hand grenades as well as explosives and documents about the committees were arrested. BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube No: 7/21-15; BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube No: 7/21-8; BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube No: 69/11; BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube No: 69/13; *Arşiv Belgeleriyle Ermeni Faaliyetleri, 1914-1918 v. I*, pp. 177, 183-184. In Kayseri 30 Armenians were arrested with 146 grenades, 26 sticks of dynamite and 220 weapons. BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube No: 7/21-13, 14; BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube. No: 7/21-3. In Elazığ 20 Armenians were arrested. BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube No: 7/21-7. In Urfa 12 Armenians were arrested. BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube. No: 7/21-9. In Diyarbakır, the 120 Armenians arrested had 145 weapons, 50 grenades, and 1,282 kg dynamite. BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube No: 7/21-12; *Askeri Tarih Belgesi Dergisi*, issue: 83 (March 1983), document no: 1913, p. 119; *ibid.*, document no. 1912, p. 115. In Antep, 19 Armenians were arrested. *Arşiv Belgeleriyle Ermeni Faaliyetleri, 1914-1918 v. I*, p. 171. In Sivas, during investigations a quarrel arose between the Armenian committee members and the gendarme troops, and 472 Mauser guns, 6359 munitions, 752 pistols, 807 guns, 38 grenades and 13 cans of gunpowder were found. ATASE A.4-3671-D:A.F:3; ATASE A.4-3671-D:A.F:3-2; *Askeri Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*, issue: 83 (March 1983), document no. 1911, pp. 111-112; BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube No: 13/17.

<sup>70</sup> Lewy, p. 150.

<sup>71</sup> Akçam, p. 220.

<sup>72</sup> Nikolay Hovhannisyan, *Ermeni Soykarımı* trans. Atilla Tuygan, (İstanbul: Pencere, 2005), p. 85.

sent to Diyarbakır. Found guilty, killers were executed in Damascus.<sup>73</sup> In the years 1915-1916, 1673 individuals were tried by courts-martial for abuses against Armenians. Among them, 528 were soldiers and policemen, 170 were officials and 975 were bandits. Of 67 subjected to the death penalty, 2 were executed; 524 were sentenced to prison; and 68 were subjected to several punishments, such as condemnation to galleys, fine and exile.<sup>74</sup>

As for trials of the Armenians, some 300 wanted committee members avoided trial altogether because they could not be located at their addresses. According to the Ottoman archival documents examined above, 38 of the Armenians arrested in İstanbul (35 sent to Çankırı and 3 sent to Ayaş), were found innocent and set free. Most of the Armenians under arrest were relocated to Zor, Konya, Elazığ, Bursa or Diyarbakır, but 71 were kept in Ayaş until the end of the War for being Armenian committee members; one of them, Serkis Bağdıkyan, died on May 9, 1918, in Ayaş prison.

The Military Court of İstanbul tried a group of Armenians on June 5, 1915, for attempted assassination, seeking an autonomous Armenia, and attempting to dissociate some part of the Empire. As a result, 20 Armenians—2 of them tried by name only—were subjected to the death penalty according to article 54 of the Ottoman Criminal Code. Eighteen Armenians who were hanged following the Sultan's approval on June 15 included members of committees in İstanbul, Tekirdağ, Samsun, Giresun, Bitlis, Kayseri, Kilis and Bilecik.<sup>75</sup> On other charges, Hamparsum Boyacıyan was subjected to the death penalty; Sevariş Misakyan and Arakil Mike were sentenced to prison for five years; Ağnadyos Andonyan for four years, Samoil Tarpanyan for three years, and Leon Ersabanyan for five years. Emirza Toros Ketenciyan and Aşud Tataryan were exiled to Bursa, Aranıs (Agopof) to Zor, and İsteyan Asadoryan to Dimyat.<sup>76</sup> Haçik Boğuşyan, Hrant Ağacanyan, Armenak Leonyan, Parsih Şahbazyan, Nerses Zakaryan and Vavader Mikailyan were among other committee members also sent to the military courts to be charged, but there exist no decisive documents regarding the outcome of their charges.

To conclude, although the Ottoman government closed down the Armenian committees and arrested some of their members, Armenian revolutionary activities and cooperation with the Allied powers continued during the war in different forms, both inside and outside the Ottoman territories. The Ottoman government's decision

<sup>73</sup> Lewy, pp. 112-113, 200. These two men are recorded to have been tried for the crimes of homicide and seizure by violence. BOA.HR.SYS.Nr. 2882/29-25.

<sup>74</sup> See. BOA.HR.SYS. Nr. 2882/29. Gürün gives 1397 as the number of trials. Gürün, pp. 221-222.

<sup>75</sup> It should be noticed that these 20 Armenians were arrested for assassination attempts before April 24, 1915, and their trial started in August 1914. *Arşiv Belgeleriyle Ermeni Faaliyetleri*, v. III, p. 9. Sabah Gülyan and Verastad were sentenced to execution by name only as they were abroad. See ATASE Archives, DDH.K. 2312. ED. 1035. YD. 31 document no. 1-49/56-62, cited in *Arşiv Belgeleriyle Ermeni Faaliyetleri, 1914-1918* v. IV, ed. Ahmet Tetik (Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 2006), pp. 56-62.

<sup>76</sup> ATASE Archives, BDH.K.2329, ED. 1040.YD.93, Index no. 1-101; BOA.DH.EUM.2. Şube No: 67/31.

to relocate (*tehcir*) the Armenian population living primarily within the war zone to distant provinces was gradually expanded to the Armenians of the other provinces of Anatolia and Rumelia, with consequences that are still a subject of heated debates among historians.

*State Archives of the Turkish Prime Ministry, Ankara*

APPENDIX 1



ایشیت لومیه مدرسی  
 قلمی  
 عمومی  
 خصوصی

( شماره )

ادری	ولایت	دیار بکر	ولایت	بول	مدرسه
اوزروم		بولجک		پاتیک	مدرسه
آلان		سیراس		چیلچیل	
القره		طربزون		سویو	
آدین		جصلون		کسیر	
بلیس		لوب		قره سی	
چعمیم		سردالوزر		قشقلیق	
سینلا		سوجلی		قشقلیق	
بیجلیت		وان		تکلی	
سینلی		سینلی		سینلی	
حلب		اورله		ایبری	
خدارنکار		ایزیت		دو کوره	

تاریخ: ...  
 امضاء: ...  
 مهر: ...

سجل محمد باقری

این قضاوتی که در تاریخ ۱۰/۱۰/۱۳۳۰ در شهر ...  
 اولاً تا آنکه ...  
 دوماً ...  
 سوماً ...  
 رابعاً ...  
 خامساً ...  
 سادساً ...  
 سابعاً ...  
 ثامناً ...  
 نهمناً ...  
 عاشرناً ...





APPENDIX 1  
- (literation)

Bâb-ı Âlî  
Dâhiliye Nezâreti  
Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdüriyeti  
Kalemi:  
Umûmî:  
Husûsî:

(Şifre)

*Müsta'cel, mahrem, bi'z-zât halli*

Edirnev	Vilâyetine	Urfa	Mutasarrıflığına
Erzurum	"	İzmit	"
Adana	"	Bolu	"
Ankara	"	Canik	"
Aydın	"	Karesi	"
Bitlis	"	Kayseri	"
Halep	"	Niğde	"
Hüdâvendigar	"	Eskişehir	"
Diyarbakir	"	Karahisar-ı sahip	"
Sivas	"	Maraş	"
Trabzon	"		
Konya	"		
Ma'muratülaziz			
Van			

Ermeni komitelerinin Memâlik-i Osmaniye'deki teşkilât-ı ihtilâliye ve siyâsiyeleriyle öteden beri kendilerine muhtâriyet-i idare te'minine ma'tûf olan teşebbüsleri ve ilân-ı harbi müte'âkib Taşnak Komitesi'nin Rusya'da bulunan Ermenilerin derhâl aleyhimize harekete ve Memâlik-i Osmaniye'deki Ermenilerin dahi ordunun duçâr-ı za'fiyet olmasına intizâr ederek o zaman bütün kuvvetleriyle ihtilâl eylemelerine dâ'ir ittihâz ettikleri mukarrerâtları ve her fırsattan istifâde etmek suretiyle memleketin hayât ve istikbâline te'sîr edecek hareket-i hâ'inâneye cür'etleri bi'l-hassa devletin hâl-i harbde bulunduğu şu sırada Zeytun ile Bitlis, Sivas ve Van'da vuku' bulan hâdisât-ı ahire-i isyâniye ile bir kere daha te'yîd etmiş ve esasen merkezleri memâlik-i ecnebiyede bulunan ve el-yevm unvanlarında bile ihtilâlcilik sıfatını muhafaza eden bütün bu komiteler mesâ'lisinin hükümet aleyhine olarak her türlü esbâb ü vesâ'ita mürâca'at suretiyle netice-i amalleri olan muhtariyeti istihsâl maksadı etrafında toplandığı ve Kayseri ve Sivas ile mahâl-i sâ'irede meydâna çıkarılan bombalarla ve Rus Ordusu'ndan gönüllü alayları teşkil ederek Ruslarla birlikte memlekete saldıran ve an-asıl Osmanlı memleketi ahâlisinden olan Ermeni komite rü'esâsının harekâtı ve Ordu-yı Osmânî'yi arkadan



tehdîd etmek suretiyle ve pek büyük bir mikyâsda alınan tertibat ve neşriyatları ile tahakkuk eylemiştir. Bi't-tabi' hükümet kendisi için bir mes'ele-i hayatiyet teşkil eden bu kâbil tertibat ve teşebbüsâtın temâdisine hiçbir zaman nazar-ı ağmaz ve müsâmaha ile bakamayacağı, menba'-ı mefsedet olan komitelerin hâlâ mevcudiyetini meşru' telakki edemeyeceği cihetle, bi'l-umûm teşkilât-ı siyâsiyenin ilgâsına lüzûm-ı 'âcil hissetmiştir. Binâ'en aleyh Hınçak, Taşnak ve emsali komitelerin vilâyet dahilindeki şubâtının derhâl sedleri ile şube merkezlerinde bulunacak evrak ve vesâ'ikin kat'iyyen ziyâ' ve imhasına imkân bırakılmayarak müsaderesi ve komiteler rü'esâ ve erkânından müteşebbis eşhas ile hükümetçe tanılan mühim ve müzır Ermenilerin hemân tevkîfi ve buldukları mahallerde devâm-ı ikâmetlerinde mahzûr görülenlerin vilâyet sancak dâhilinde münâsib görülecek mevâki'da toplatılarak firarlarına imkân bırakılmaması ve icâb eden mahallerde silâh taharrisine başlanılarak her türlü hâl ve ihtimâle karşı kumandanlarla bi'l-muhâbere kuvvetli bulunulması ve icrâ'âtın hüsn-i tatbîki esbâbının te'mîn ve istikmâliyle zuhûr edecek evrâk ve vesâ'ikin tedkîki neticesinde tevkîf olunan eşhasın divân-ı harblere tevdi'i Ordu-yı Hümâyûn Başkumandanlığı vekâletiyle bi'l-müzâkere tekarrür etmiş olmağla icâb eden tedâbirin bi'l-etrâf istikmâliyle derhâl tatbiki ve tevkîf olunan eşhas adediyle icrâ'âtdan peyderpey ma'lûmât itâsı \*(ve şu icrâ'ât sırf komitelerin teşebbüsâtına karşı bir hareket mâhiyetini hâ'iz olmasına binâ'en buna ahâlî-i- İslâmiye ile Ermeni unsuru arasında mukâteleyi intâc edeceği bir şekil verilmemesi) kemâl-i ehemmiyetle tavsiye olunur.

Fî 11 Nisan 1331

Nâzır

Yazıldı

Keşidesi

İsmail

*\*İçinde bulunan ve üstleri çizilen cümle yalnız, Bitlis, Erzurum, Sivas, Adana, Maraş için yazılacaktır*

**APPENDIX 1**  
**(Translation)**

The Ottoman Government  
General Directorate of Security  
Urgent, secret

*The Ciphered Letter to Edirne, Erzurum, Adana, Ankara, Aydin, Bitlis, Halep, Bursa, Sivas, Trabzon, Konya, Elazig and Van (Province) governorships, Urfa, Izmit, Bolu, Samsun, Balikesir, Kayseri, Nigde, Eskisehir, Afyon and Maras (Sub-province) governorships.*

It is known that the Armenian committees have been working to accomplish political autonomy for the Armenians by means of several political and revolutionary societies. Immediately after the beginning of the War, the Dashnak committee got the Armenians living in Russia into action against the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, the Armenians within the Empire were waiting for the weakening of the Ottoman army to attack with all their might to raise a rebellion. They were making use of any opportunity and were so courageous for the treacherous activities against the existence and future of the country. Particularly, the last rebellious events that occurred in Zeytun, Bitlis, Sivas and Van at a time when the Empire is in war once again confirmed this attitude of the Armenians. These Armenian committees, whose administrative centers are abroad and whose names conserve their revolutionary characters, acted in accordance with the target of obtaining autonomy, their final aim, by whatever means at their disposal against the Ottoman government. Moreover, plans of the Armenians became clear with the help of several occurrences such as the bombs discovered in Kayseri, Sivas and some other provinces; the activities of the Armenian committee chiefs, who are Ottoman citizens in origin and attacked the country with the Russians by organizing volunteer regiments, threatening the Ottoman army from the rear as well as directing a great deal of preparation and publication towards the above-mentioned target. Naturally, the government felt the urgent need of abolishing all these committees because it could no longer ignore such preparations and attempts against the existence of the Empire and could not recognize these sources of defeatism, namely the Armenian committees. For this reason, it is attentively recommended that the following measures, determined in consultation with the Chief Command of the Imperial Army, should be taken:

-Closure of the branches of the Hinchak, Dashnak and other committees in the provincial centers,

-Capture and confiscation of the documents found in the provincial branches of these committees without giving any opportunity for their loss and destruction,

-Immediate capture and arrest of the leading committee chiefs and the Armenians considered by the government as mischievous,

-Gathering the Armenians whose existence in their present places is regarded dangerous in secure places of provinces and sub-provinces without leaving any room for them to escape,

-Searching for weapons in the places that seemed necessary and to be in a strong position by communicating with the commanders against any contingency,

-Providing the required conditions for the good management of these measures,

-Transfer of Armenians arrested as a consequence of the investigation through the captured documents to the courts-martial for trial.

These must be implemented immediately, and reports regarding the number of the prisoners and the operations must be sent to the Ministry. Finally, because these measures are only taken against the attempts of the Armenian committees, they must not be applied in a way to cause mutual killings between the Muslim people and the Armenian community.\*

April 24, 1915

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\* This sentence will be written only for the provinces of Bitlis, Erzurum, Sivas, Adana and Maraş.

APPENDIX 2 (\*)

Kastamonu Province  
Chief Secretary  
Number  
481

Summary:  
About the Armenians in  
Çankırı

To the Ministry of Interior.  
Secret

His Excellency

This is the enclosure of the ciphered telegram dated August 6, 1915, with the number 443.

The record that was sent from Çankırı having the names of the Armenians in Çankırı and the procedure regarding them is given. And the command belongs unto him to whom all command belongs.

August 31, 1915

The Governor of Kastamonu  
Signed

1	Puzant Keçyan	Excused on May 8, 1915, and went to İstanbul
2	Yervant Tolayan	"
3	Karabet Girobyan	"
4	Zara Badizbanyan	"
5	Agop Nargileciyan	"
6	Vahran Torkomyan	"
7	Komitas Vartabet	"
8	Rafael Karagözyan	"
9	Zara Mumcuyan	Went to İstanbul under guard on May 27, 1915
10	Karabet Sarrafyan	Went to Ankara under guard on May 27, 1915
11	Leon Badizbanyan	Went to Ankara under guard on May 30, 1915, to be sent to Ayaş
12	Haçik Hocasaryan	Went to İstanbul freely on May 31, 1915
13	Agop Topcıyan	"
14	Hayk Tirakyan?	Went to Ankara under guard on May 8, 1915, to be sent to Ayaş
15	Dr. Haçik Bogosyan	Went to Ankara under guard on June 22, 1915
16	Agop Beğleryan	Went to İstanbul freely on June 29, 1915
17	Vartanes Papasyan	"
18	İstapan Tataryan	Went to Ankara under guard on July 1, 1915, to be sent to Kayseri

(\*) BOA.DH.EUM 2. Şube No. 10/73.

19	Nişan Kalfayan	Went to İstanbul freely on July 11, 1915, by order of the Ministry of Interior dated June 29, 1915
20	Armenak Kantarcıyan	"
21	Meklit Bükciyan	"
22	Misak Serkis Cevahirciyan	"
23	Armenak Topcıyan	"
24	Bağnak Badızbanyan	"
25	Aram Kalender	"
26	Hayk Zabcıyan?	"
27	Manuk Basmacıyan	"
28	Bedros Yovanyan	"
29	Karnik İnciciyan	"
30	Avanis Zarifyan	"
31	Avanis Barsamyan	"
32	Dr. Kirkor Celalyan	"
33	Asador Manyasyan veled-i Haçik	"
34	Karabet Beğleryan	"
35	Parsih Dinamyan	"
36	Bedros veled-i Manuk	"
37	Ohannes Mardiros Arslanyan	Went to Ankara under guard on July 11, 1915, to be sent to Zor by order of the Ministry of Interior dated June 29, 1915
38	Yervant veled-i Ohan Sürenyan	"
39	Agop Ohannes Asadoryan	"
40	Arsak veled-i Mardiros Muradyan	"
41	Parnak veled-i Kigork Marhanyan	"
42	Mardiros veled-i Ohannes Yazıcıyan	"
43	Afrik Serkis Keresteciyan	"
44	Ovakim veled-i Harutyun veled-i Agabeğyan	"
45	Dikran Hamparsum Bogobelyan	"

46	Arşen Agop Sadefciyan	“
47	Dikrayel veled-i İsrail	“
48	Kirkor Mardiros Taşçıyan	“
49	Haçik veled-i Agop	“
50	Berdoven veled-i Agya?	“
51	Hirant veled-i Mıkr	“
52	Arsak Mıgırdıç Hoşuryan	“
53	Arsak Karabet Arakilyan	“
54	Mihran veled-i Agop Keçeciyan	“
55	Vahan Arsak Çarıkcıyan	“
56	Serab veled-i Margos Tunyan	“
57	Leon veled-i Agya	“
58	Frangül veled-i Artin	“
59	Aram Karabet Gedikyan	“
60	Zenop Karabet Avakyan	“
61	Artin (namı diğer Koçu) veled-i Haçator Arzumyan	“
62	Kunduracı Manuk Mikayil Buracyan	“
63	Ohannes Bedros Hacı Hamparsumyan	“
64	Manuk veled-i Kirkor	“
65	Sehak veled-i Karakin	“
66	Ohannes Dertavidyan	“
67	Manuel Karakeşişyan	“
68	Ohannes Artin	“

	Hanisiyan	
69	Serkis Keçeciyan	"
70	Kurukahveci Kirkor Hazar Celalyan	"
71	Serope Semerciyan	"
72	Mıgırdıç Avadis	"
73	Agyos Taşçıyan	"
74	Leon Rakıcıyan	"
75	Parsih Deveciyan	"
76	Serkis Bağdasar	"
77	Mikail Şerbetciyan (namı diğer Mike Kigork)	"
78	Karabet veled-i Takover Hırabetyan	Went to Ankara under guard on July 11, 1915, by order of the Ministry of Interior dated June 29, 1915
79	Armenak veled-i Bogos Sivacıyan	"
80	Kirkor veled-i Ohannes Agobof	"
81	Samuel Tohumcıyan	"
82	Ermanak Parsihyan	"
83	Leonik Serkis Daranbanyan	"
84	Beznik veled-i Artin	"
85	Asator Serkis Arsenyan	"
86	Serkis Kirkor Şahinyan	"
87	Milkon Gülbenanyan	Went to İstanbul freely on July 15, 1915
88	Mosis Bedrosyan	Went to Ankara under guard on July 31, 1915
89	Apik Canbaz	Went to İstanbul freely on August 12, 1915
90	Agop Bogos veled-i Koryan	"
91	Ohannes Terlemezyan	"
92	Vahan Altunyan veled-i Agop	"
93	Tatyus Köseyan	"
94	Arastakiz İsrailyan	Went to Ankara on August 19, 1915, to go to Bursa, by order of the Ministry of Interior dated August 4, 1915

95	Mikirdiç Basmacıyan veled-i Mihran	Went to Ankara on August 19, 1915, to be sent to İzmit
96	Leon Kigorkyan (Rus tebası)	Sent to Ankara under guard on August 19, 1915, by order of the Ministry of Interior dated August 4, 1915, being a foreign citizen
97	Kigork Kigorkyan (Rus tebası)	"
98	Mihran Kigorkyan	"
99	Artin Kalfayan (İran tebası)	"
100	Bedros Balyan	"
101	Sehak Mosisyan	"
102	Mıgırdiç İstepanyan	"
103	Leon Agababyan	Went to Ankara under guard on August 19, 1915, to be sent to Zor by order of the Ministry of Interior dated August 4, 1915
104	Mihran Haçik Debbağyan	"
105	Dr. İstapan Miskciyan	"
106	Eczacı Agop Terziyan	"
107	Eczacı Kirkor Miskciyan	"
108	Nerses Aşafsor?	"
109	Haçator Nacaryan	"
110	Mihran Pastırmacıyan	"
111	Aram Andonyan	"
112	Vahram Altunyan	"
113	Barob Arzumyan	"
114	Kozmoz Beğlikciyan	"
115	Nersis Derkiğorkyan	"
116	Aram Kirkoryan	"
117	Bedros Beğleryan	"
118	Kirkor Eseyan	"
119	Diran Kelekyan	Excused by order of the Ministry of Interior dated August 4, 1915, and will go to the center of İzmir
120	Rahib Vahan Karabetyan	"
121	Aram Papazbanyan	"



122	Mikail Şamdancıyan	"
123	Kasbar Hirant?	"
124	İstevan veled-i Ohannes Babinyan	Will go to Bandırma by order of the Ministry of Interior dated August 4, 1915
125	Yervant Çavuşyan	Will go to İzmit by order of the Ministry of Interior dated August 4, 1915, in the context of general amnesty
126	Vartas Atanasyan	"
127	Rahib Kirkor Balakyan	Will go to Ermişe Monastery, through İzmit, by order of the Ministry of Interior dated August 4, 1915, in the context of general amnesty
128	Serkis Kılınccıyan	Will go to Eskişehir, through Ankara, in the context of general amnesty
129	Dr. Emrize Ketenciyan	"
130	Nişan veled-i Agop Nehabedyan	Will go to İzmit, through Ankara, in the context of general amnesty
131	Kigork Goncagtlıyan	Will go to Eskişehir, through Ankara, in the context of general amnesty
132	Ohannes Güleyan?	"
133	Kirkor Ohangiyan	"
134	Aram Ohangiyan	"
135	Leon Ohangiyan	"
136	Karakin Ohangiyan	"
137	Papaz Vartan Karagözyan	Will go to İzmit, through Ankara, in the context of general amnesty
138	Azarik veled-i Ohannes Bülbülcıyan	Will go to Eskişehir, through Ankara, in the context of general amnesty
139	Simon Milkonyan	"
140	Haçik Haçatoryan	"
141	Bedros veled-i Andon Manuelyan	Will go to Ankara in the context of general amnesty
142	Yervant Basmacıyan	Will go to Kastamonu in the context of general amnesty
143	Nişan Gülistanyan	"
144	Bogos veled-i Agop Taniyelyan	Will go to İzmit, through Ankara, in the context of general amnesty
145	Dr. Arsak Kızasyan	"
146	Vahram Aşatoryan	"
147	Kirkor Saçyan	Will go to Geyve in the context of general amnesty
148	Aram Saçyan	Will go to Kütahya in the context of general amnesty

149	Papas Osik Kaçuni	“
150	İstepan Pulcıyan	Will go to Eskişehir, through Ankara, in the context of general amnesty
151	Rupen Çilingiryan	Will go to Ayaş under guard by order of the Ministry of Interior dated August 4, 1915
152	Vahan Kahyayan veled-i Antaş?	“
153	Onnik Mağazacıyan	“
154	Danyel Cubukkıryan	“
155	Artin Bogosyan	“

**APPENDIX 3 <sup>(\*)</sup>**  
**LIST OF THE PRISONERS IN AYAS**

No:	Name, title and name of the father	Affiliated Committee
1	Onnik veled-i Sahak Mağazacıyan [Zirayir]	Dashnaksutyun
2	Artin Hasakoryan	Dashnaksutyun
3	Agop Küfeciyan	Dashnaksutyun
4	Avram Bazcanyan	Dashnaksutyun
5	A. Marzabet (namı diğer Hazarosyan) veled-i Manuk, Osmanlı	Dashnaksutyun
6	Abraham Harikyan	Dashnaksutyun
7	Artin Kondilyan veled-i Ohannes	Dashnaksutyun
8	Ohannes Toryan	Hinchak
9	Agop Avedisyan [Arzeroni]	Dashnaksutyun
10	Ardases Ferahyan	Dashnaksutyun
11	Ohannes Kılıcıyan veled-i Tavid	Hinchak
12	Aristaki Kasparyan	Dashnaksutyun
13	Avram (namı diğer Agop) Şahinyan veled-i Karabet	Hinchak
14	İstapan Kürekçıyan	Dashnaksutyun
15	Onnik Serabyan veled-i Kirkor	Dashnaksutyun
16	Aram Hacıyan veled-i Mıgırdıç	Hinchak
17	İskender Karaağaçlıyan veled-i Karnik Aleksadr	Hinchak
18	Armenak veled-i Kigork Arakelyan	Dashnaksutyun
19	Artin Kalenderyan vel 1-i Avadis	Dashnaksutyun
20	Aram Hamparsumyan	Dashnaksutyun
21	Bogosyan Haçik veled-i Karabet	Hinchak
22	Bedros Bedrosyan [Safı]	Hinchak
23	Bedros Kalfayan	Dashnaksutyun
24	Yervant Palasyan (namı diğer Emirza Malik Muradyan)	Dashnaksutyun
25	Parsih Şahbazyan	Dashnaksutyun
26	Partoh Çopukyan [Jirayir]	Dashnaksutyun
27	Palancıyan H.	Hinchak
28	Teodor Menzikyan	Dashnaksutyun
29	Haçator Malimyan (Agatoni)	Dashnaksutyun
30	Hayik Tiryakyan veled-i İstapan [Avram Şahin]	Dashnaksutyun
31	Hamparsum Hamparsumyan	Dashnaksutyun
32	HaMarasıp Panosyan	Dashnaksutyun

<sup>(\*)</sup> BOA.DH.EUM. 2. Şube No. 67/31.

33	Harenet Gürciyan veled-i Melkon	Dashnaksutyun
34	Haçik İdareciyan veled-i Avadis	Dashnaksutyun
35	Dikran Çukuryan	Dashnaksutyun
36	Dikran veled-i Ohannes Sivacıyan	Dashnaksutyun
37	Dağdaryan Nazret veled-i Nehabet	Hinchak
38	Dinanyan Parsih veled-i Mosis	Dashnaksutyun
39	Rupen Zartaryan	Dashnaksutyun
40	Rostom Rostomyan	Dashnaksutyun
41	Jak Saybalyan	Dashnaksutyun
42	Serkis Minasyan [Emadoni]	Dashnaksutyun
43	Serkisof veled-i Mosis	Dashnaksutyun
44	Seçad Poradder Gazar	Dashnaksutyun
45	Serupe Nevradonkyan	Dashnaksutyun
46	Serkis Parsihyan	Dashnaksutyun
47	Serkis veled-i Manuk Keçiyen	Dashnaksutyun
48	Şavaraş Hrisyan	Dashnaksutyun
49	Karakin Kayacıyan [Mıgırdıç] Hajak	Dashnaksutyun
50	Karabet Paşayan	Dashnaksutyun
51	Hosyan Karakin veled-i Serkis	Hinchak
52	Kris Fenerciyan	Dashnaksutyun
53	Kıgam Parsihyan	Dashnaksutyun
54	Kıgork Tercümanyen	Dashnaksutyun
55	Leon Bardızbanyan	Dashnaksutyun
56	Leon Lariç Veregozimal (Deregazıma)	Hinchak
57	Mühürtad Haykozon	Dashnaksutyun
58	Mıhran Artınyan	Dashnaksutyun
59	Mosis Sahakyan	Dashnaksutyun
60	Manuk Hanıkyan veled-i Barnak	Dashnaksutyun
61	Mıgırdıç Ohannes Şahınyan	Hinchak
62	Mıgırdıç Karabet Karabetyan	Hinchak
63	Nersis Papazyan	Dashnaksutyun
64	Nersis Zakaryan	Hinchak
65	Nışan Oryan veled-i Agop	Hinchak
66	Nışan Padıkyan	Dashnaksutyun
67	Nışan Kalcıyan	Dashnaksutyun
68	Vıram Şabuh Samoılof	Dashnaksutyun
69	Vıram Şabuh Arabyan	Dashnaksutyun
70	Harotyan Şahrikyan [Avram Şahin]	Dashnaksutyun
71	Penodo Şahin veled-i Aranos	Dashnaksutyun