

## ՀՐԱՊԱՐԱԿՈՒՄՆԵՐ

### ԵՐԻՏԱՍԱՐԴԱՅ ՔՐԻՍՏՈՆԵԱԿԱՆ ԸՆԿԵՐԱԿՑՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԱՇԽԱՏԱԿԻՑ ՕԼԻՆ Փ. ԼԻԻ ՀԱՇՎԵՏՎՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ ԿԻԼԻԿԻԱՅԻ ԻՆՔՆԱՎԱՐՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՀՈԶԱԿՄԱՆ ՄԱՍԻՆ

1918 թ. հոկտեմբերի 30-ին կնքված Մուդրոսի հրադադարից հետո Կիլիկիան անցավ ֆրանսիացիների տիրապետության տակ: Կիլիկիայի հայությունը այս իրողությունը ընկալեց որպես փրկության հույս: Ավելի քան 150 հազար հայեր վերադարձան իրենց լքված բնակավայրերը<sup>1</sup>: Ավաճ, նրանց հույսերը շատ շուտով ի դերև ելան:

1920 թ. մայիսի 30-ին ֆրանսիացիների և քեմալականների միջև կնքված զինադադարը վերջնականապես բացահայտեց, որ ֆրանսիացիները իրականում պատրաստվում էին թուրքերին հանձնել ողջ Կիլիկիան: Իսկ 1920 թ. Մարաշի և Հաճընի կոտորածները ապացուցեցին, որ ֆրանսիացիները իրենց նպատակներին հասնելու համար ամենևին չէին խորշում զոհաբերել հայերի գոյության իրավունքը: Այս իրավիճակում Ադանայում դեռևս գոյատևող բազմահազարանոց հայությանը այլ բան չէր մնում, քան սեփական ճակատագիրը ինքնուրույն տնօրինել:

1920 թ. օգոստոսի 4-ին, 275 հազար քրիստոնյաների անունից ընդունվում է Կիլիկիայի ինքնավարության հռչակագիրը<sup>2</sup>: Փաստաթուղթը ստորագրում են հայ ազգային բոլոր կուսակցությունների ներկայացուցիչները, հայ առաքելական, կաթոլիկ ու բողոքական, քաղղեական<sup>3</sup> ու սիրիական կաթոլիկ եկեղեցիների առաջնորդները, հունական և ասորական համայնքների պատվիրակները: Ձևավորվում է կառավարություն՝ Միհրան Տամատյանի վարչապետությամբ:

<sup>1</sup> Հայոց պատմություն, հ. IV, գիրք առաջին, Ե., 2010, էջ 220:

<sup>2</sup> World Alliance of YMCAs' Archives, Geneva, Switzerland: Dossier – Correspondence, Box–Turkey, File – The Declaration of Autonomy of Cilicia, Document – The English translation of The Declaration of the Autonomy of Cilicia, typed, page 1.

<sup>3</sup> Քաղղեական – կաթոլիկ ասորիների եկեղեցին: Եկեղեցու հեղկորդները շուրջ կես միլիոն են, նրանք ոչ մի կապ չունեն Ք.ա. 1-ին հազարամյակի Միջագետքի քաղղեացիների հետ:

Հռչակագրի ընդունումը ոչ մի կերպ չէր հակադրվում ֆրանսիական մանդատին: Այդուհանդերձ, ֆրանսիացիներն այն ընդունեցին սվիննե-րով: 1920 թ. սեպտեմբերի վերջին նրանք ձերբակալեցին Մ. Տամատյանի կառավարության անդամներին, լուծարեցին հայկական միլիցիան, զինաթափեցին պաշարված Հաճընին օգնության մեկնող արշավախումբը, կազմացրեցին Հայկական լեգեոնը: Սրանով վերջնականապես հարթվեց քեմալականների կողմից Կիլիկիան զավթելու ճանապարհը:

Ստորև ներկայացնում ենք ամերիկյան Երիտասարդաց քրիստոնեական ընկերակցության<sup>4</sup> (ԵԲԸ)՝ Ադանայում պաշտոնավարող աշխատակից Օլին Փ. Լիի (Olin P. Lee) հաշվետվությունը Կիլիկիայի անկախ քրիստոնեական հանրապետության հռչակման մասին: Այն պատրաստվել է Կ. Պոլսում տեղակայված ամերիկյան ԵԲԸ-ի վերադաս աշխատակիցներին, ինչպես նաև Կ. Պոլսում ԱՄՆ-ի գերագույն հանձնակատար, ծովակալ Բրիսթոլին ներկայացնելու համար: Ամբողջական փաստաթղթի բնօրինակները պահպանվում են ԵԲԸ համաշխարհային ալյանսի՝ Ժնևում գտնվող արխիվում<sup>5</sup>: Այն ամբողջությամբ տպագրվում է առաջին անգամ:

Կատարվել են ուղղագրական կամ կետադրական մասնակի շտկումներ: Մեր միջամտությունները արված են ուղղագիծ փակագծերով, իսկ ծանոթագրությունները տրվել են տողատակում:

#### ՀԱՄԲԱՐՁՈՒՄՅԱՆ Վ.Վ.

<sup>4</sup> Երիտասարդաց քրիստոնեական ընկերակցությունը հիմնադրվել է 1844 թ. հունիսի 6-ին Լոնդոնում: Արդեն 1855 թ., արագ տարածման շնորհիվ, դարձել է համաշխարհային շարժում (տե՛ս Shedd, Clarence Prouty and others: 'History of the World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations', London, 1955): Լինելով քրիստոնեական արժեքները հիմնովին ընդունող մի կազմակերպություն ու սկիզբ առնելով Բրիտանական կայսրությունում՝ ԵԲԸ-ն ի սկզբանե ունեցել է բողոքական հենք: Սակայն, ժամանակի ընթացքում տարածվելով աշխարհով մեկ, դարձել է համաեկեղեցական շարժում: Այսօր այն գործում է աշխարհի 119 երկրներում և ունի շուրջ 58 միլիոն անդամ: Համարվում է աշխարհում ամենահաջողակ, ամենաերկարակյաց ու ամենատարածված հասարակական նախաձեռնություններից մեկը:

<sup>5</sup> World Alliance of YMCAs' Archives, Geneva, Switzerland: Dossier – Correspondence, Box-Turkey, File-The Declaration of Autonomy of Cilicia, Document-Olin P. Lee Special Report on Cilicia as of August 14, 1920, typed, 5 pages:

Adana, Cilicia, August 14, 1920

Mr. F. D. Steger<sup>6</sup>:  
American Y.M.C.A.<sup>7</sup>  
Constantinople.

Dear Mr. Steger:

I am enclosing some copies on the situation in Adana which I am sure will be of interest to you. Our report for July covers the situation up to the first August. On the forth of August representatives of various Christian communities of Adana formed a Christian inter-national or inter-community council and issued a declaration on the autonomy of Cilicia under French mandate, a translation of which I enclose. This translation was not made from the original French[,], which is the official version of the declaration but from an Armenian translation which appeared in one of the local papers. The Armenian translation does not always do justice to the literary merit and force of the original but gives with reasonable accuracy the meaning and intent[,], which it was desired to convey. I have a copy of the French original, but as yet it has been impossible to have it copied, as I have no typist with [a] knowledge of French. The original has gone on to Paris anyway.

On the forth of August this declaration was handed to Col. Bremond<sup>8</sup> by the representatives who had signed it. I have talked with some of those present at the meeting. Col. Bremond received the document with expression of sympathy, according to their version, and promised to convey it at once to Paris saying that it was not his province to decide the matter. Leading Armenians claim that Col. Bremond (Civil Administrator for Cilicia) in talking with two of the prominent Armenians that evening said that he was convinced that the Armenians were the best writers in Cilicia, that only they could have written the above document, but that they were not men of action and did not know how to put a thing

<sup>6</sup> Կ. Պոլսում ամերիկյան ԵԲԸ ավագ քարտուղար:

<sup>7</sup> Young Men's Christian Association–Երիտասարդաց քրիստոնեական ընկերակցություն:

<sup>8</sup> Էդուար Բրեմոն (Édouard Brémond, 1868-1948) – ֆրանսիական ռազմական գործիչ, գնդապետ, 1919-1920 թթ. Կիլիկիայի ֆրանսիական վարչական վերահսկողության ղեկավարը:

into practical operation. This statement does not necessarily carry with it any implication other than that he believed that the Armenians were incapable of carrying into effect the plan implied in the declaration. The Armenian leaders, however, seized this as a pretext for further action the following day.

As Adana is far the most part an Armenian city at the present time, the Armenians were the principle force in the movement. They had formed a council including representatives from the various religious and political organisations. This council is more inclusive than the Askhaiene Meoutoon<sup>9</sup>[,] which in the past has handled most of the political business for the Armenians. In this body it was decided call a meeting of the Christian Inter-national Council of Cilicia on August 5<sup>th</sup> and plan for an immediate seizing of the Turkish administrative machinery at the Konak<sup>10</sup>. It seems that the Secretary failed to notify the representatives of the other communities. Later, however, when the commission was discovered, they were hurriedly notified to be present at a meeting in the afternoon. Even some of the Armenian leaders such as the heads of the religious communities were only notified at the last moment. The Greek representatives expressed their sympathy to Mr. Damadian<sup>11</sup> but said they would not take part in the contemplated movement. I believe only one or two non-Armenian member was present, but of that I am not sure. In the meantime the plans had all been laid as though the meeting would agree to the step and since it was felt that delay was fatal to the movement it was decided to go ahead and carry it through. At the meeting in the afternoon of August the 5<sup>th</sup> there was very little time for discussion. It was more of a notification as to what would be done. A cabinet had been formed with Mr. Damadian as Prime Minister. They provided for nine members in all, five Armenian, one Greek, one Assyrian, one Turkish, one Arabic. The Armenian and Assyrian members agreed to take part in the movement that afternoon and six members went to the Konak.

The plans had been carefully laid. The Turkish Vali<sup>12</sup>, the Turkish Chief of Police and one or two Turkish officials had been advised to confine themselves to their houses. All the Turkish gendarmes about the Konak and many Turkish employees had been sent away. Through an Armenian

<sup>9</sup> *Բառացի է՝ Հայոց ազգային միություն:*

<sup>10</sup> *Բառացի է՝ կառավարական շենք:*

<sup>11</sup> *Միհրան Տամադյան (1863-1945) – հայ ազատագրական-քաղաքական գործիչ, 1920 թ. Կիլիկիայի Հայոց ազգային միության ղեկավարը:*

<sup>12</sup> *Նահանգապետ:*

telephone operator telephones communications had been out. When the six men entered the building none but Armenian gendarmes were around. They took their place in the Vali's office and notified Col. Bremond that they were ready to arrange with him the formation of the new government. Col. Bremond at once sent word by his aide that they must leave the building immediately. They answered that they were there by the direction of their communities and that they could not leave except at their command, that the movement was in no way directed against the French authority as they wished to work loyally under French mandate, but that the Turkish authority in Cilicia was at an end. Col. Bremond sent in another official who advised them in a friendly wa[y] to leave the building, which advise was not accepted. He then sent in a French officer, a commandant, who brought a peremptory order to vacate the building at once. Finally Col. Bremond came in person and ordered Mr. Damadian and the other men to leave the building. On their remonstrance he called in two gendarmes who led Mr. Damadian out of the building. The gendarmes came in with fixed bayonets. Mr. Damadian yielded to force and the other men left with him.

I have talked with two of the men who were present that afternoon. [They] admit that the French had not encouraged them but rather had discouraged them against taking any action. Having issued, however, a declaration of autonomy, they felt that they were under the necessity of actually putting it into effect. They felt that this was different from a petition without effect. The expressions of sympathy toward the declaration on the part of Col. Bremond, the cabled sympathy from Beirut of General Gourand<sup>13</sup> and the above mentioned remark of Col. Bremond on the evening of August 4<sup>th</sup> were all given as reasons for believing that unofficially the French authorities would not be opposed to their step. They felt that officially Col. Bremond could only take the step he did in removing them from the Konak. This they expected. Their purpose, however, was to continue the government from another location and they believed, or at least hoped, that this the French authorities would not prevent. They believed that it was absolutely necessary to start it from the Konak in order to give concrete evidence of the fact that the Turkish government was at an end. At

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<sup>13</sup> Անրի Գուրո (Henri Joseph Eugén Gouraud; 1867-1946) – ֆրանսիական ռազմական գործիչ, գեներալ: 1919 թ. Ֆրանսիայի գերագույն կոմիսար Սիրիայում և Կիլիկիայում:

the instance of General Dufieux<sup>14</sup> on the evening of the 5<sup>th</sup> Col. Bremond sent a letter to Mr. Damadian notifying him that the French authorities would no longer have communications with him – that all the relations between them had been severed. That same evening the heads of the Armenian religious communities were called together. Gen. Dufieux notified them that the city was under martial law and that all gatherings of more than three people were strictly forbidden and that the provision would be rigorously enforced. At the same time he issued a proclamation a copy of which I enclose. When an attempt was made to continue the new government elsewhere the Armenian leaders were given instructions by the French authorities absolutely to discontinue it. For the present all the steps in this direction have seemingly been stopped, but that does not mean that the idea has been given up, and the Armenians say that in name the new government continues. I am also enclosing the official notice issued by the Christian Inter-national Council of Cilicia on the issuing of the declaration.

The Armenian leaders absolutely disclaim any hostility to the French authorities or that their movement is in anyway directed against French occupation or a French mandate. On the other hand they expressly request the military occupation of the French and the control of the government under a French mandate. They do, however, declare undying hostility to the Turk and that they will never agree again to the setting up of any Turkish government in Cilicia. They say that the partition of Cilicia into two parts as contemplated by the Peace Treaty<sup>15</sup> cannot be defended upon any grounds.

I am enclosing a translation of a proclamation of Gen. Dufieux relative to the return of the villagers and inhabitants of Adana to their homes. Very few have returned. Tomorrow the time limit expire and we are waiting to see what action will be taken. The military situation here is indeed peculiar. The French Column has gone to Mersine<sup>16</sup> and returned. They fought a battle at Yenedji<sup>17</sup>,

<sup>14</sup> Ժուլիեն Դուֆյո (Julien Dufieux, 1873-1959) – ֆրանսիական ռազմական գործիչ, գեներալ: 1919-1921 թթ. Կիլիկիայում ֆրանսիական օկուպացիոն ուժերի հրամանատար:

<sup>15</sup> 1920 թ. մայիսի 30-ին ֆրանսիացիների և քեմալականների միջև կնքված զինադադարը:

<sup>16</sup> Մերսին – քաղաք-նավահանգիստ Կիլիկիայում՝ Միջերկրականի ափին, Ադանայից 67 կմ արևմուտք:

<sup>17</sup> Յենեջի կամ Յենիչայ – գյուղ Կիլիկիայում՝ Ադանայից 48 կմ արևմուտք, Տարսուսից 9 կմ հարավ:

relieved Tarsus<sup>18</sup> and entered Mersine. I was given to understand by one of the French officers that another battle waited them at Yenedji on their return. The understanding now, however, is that they passed Yenedji to the S. E.<sup>19</sup> avoiding the chettas<sup>20</sup> who again seemed to occupy that point. It is hard to see at the present time very many permanent results from sending of the column to Mersine of the relief of Tarsus. Seventeen Armenians were sent ahead as the column left here and blew up a bridge to the west of Yenidji which cut off quite a quantity of supplies. This move enable the French to take quite a bit additional booty – ammunition, rifles, and military supplies in general – also many prisoners. The Armenian military leader here claims that the flanks of the column were protected by the Armenians. Just [before] the column started the French authorities asked hurriedly, so it is said, for 1500 Armenian volunteers into the district to the south of the city between the Sihoun<sup>21</sup> and the Djihoun<sup>22</sup> rivers. Eight or nine hundred were sent in all. They protected that side of the column from attack and in five days cleaned up most of the territory between the rivers. In the meantime the column had reached Mersine following the railway line. Of course, nearly all of the Turks were driven out of the territory between the rivers. [This] covered perhaps 2/3 or 3/4 of the distance to the sea when they were met by a small detachment of French which had come up from Karatash<sup>23</sup>. This made possible a regular stream of grain and provisions into the city from the south. The men who cleaned out the territory in many cases confiscated large quantities of grain and supplies from the [v]ineyards and farms vacated by the Turks.

It looked for a few days as though the French were going to land large forces at Karatash. It was thought that the settling of the trouble in Syria would release troops for Cilicia. This is very doubtful now. Only a few troops, not over

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<sup>18</sup> Տարսոն – քաղաք Կիլիկիայում, Ադանայից 41 կմ արևմուտք:

<sup>19</sup> Հարավ-արևելք:

<sup>20</sup> Չեթե (սերբ.՝ četnici՝ վաշտ) – այդպես էին անվանում օսմանյան տիրապետության դեմ պայքարող ապստամբներին և աշխարհազորայիններին: Օսմանյան Թուրքիայում չեթեները մահմեդական բնակչությունից կազմված անկանոն ռազմականացված սպորաբաժանումներն էին, որոնք հիմնականում օգտագործվում էին խաղաղ բնակչության դեմ իրականացվող պատժիչ գործողություններում:

<sup>21</sup> Սիհուն – գետ Կիլիկիայում:

<sup>22</sup> Ջիհան – գետ Կիլիկիայում:

<sup>23</sup> Քարատաշ (Սև քար) – գյուղ Կիլիկիայում՝ Միջերկրականի ափին, Ադանայից 49 կմ հարավ:

three or four hundred, seem to have been landed at Karatash. In spite of that fact in keeping the proclamation of Gen. Dufieux calling on former villagers and inhabitants to return to Adana, they have ordered the disarming of all Armenians between the rivers and have forbidden armed men to leave the city. In the absence of French forces to protect the district the Armenians are naturally alarmed. They fear to remain in the territory without their arms. Some have already been disarmed. Others fearing the return of the Turks have seemingly left with their arms for the country to the north in the direction of Sis and Hadjin. Numbers seem also to have filtered out of the city with their arms. In fact the Armenian leaders have been encouraging them to do so. They feel that to the north vacated by the French is now a fair field of operation for them. They feel that abandoning it the French have given up claim to it. They intend to send eight hundred to a thousand men in a very few days to retake Sis and Hadjin, not only to rescue the inhabitants but also to establish their control over the country. The move is both humanitarian, military and political. If successful, they will try to place the territory under French mandate but it will also be under the new government claimed by the declaration of autonomy. The French authorities are not aiding this expedition but are permitting it. They look upon it, however, in a different way than do the Armenian authorities as their motives are different. Most of the troops[,] which go are already outside of the city and outside of French control.

As the column went to Mersine the chettas occupied the territory behind it again. The same thing has happened on the return of the column from all we can tell. All during the time the French were in Mersine and since their return there has been the usual nightly exchange of fire between the chettas and the troops within the city. For several days the city was mostly defended by the Armenians. It is hard to see how at the present time conditions have much improved. Yesterday the chettas threw over seven or eight shells into the north section of the city. The French authorities claim that only two exploded but one of them killed one of our workers at boys' camp. I am enclosing a separate report on this matter. This morning a number of shells fell into that side of town. I have been unable to learn as yet whether any damage was done. Col. Bremond this morning assured me that these canons would be stopped in three or four days at least but he could not say the precise time. He said that they were continuously extending their occupied zone three or four hundred metres out each day and



soon there would be no fear from either rifle or artillery fire. I pass this hope on without coment.

Communication has now been opened up with Karatash by motor transportation. All mail and supplies must come in by this way for the present. The French authorities promise to keep it open and it promises to furnish much better mail communication then we have had in the past. The cost of the freight, however, is tremendous – forty pounds a ton. It is hard to see how the Near East<sup>24</sup> will be able to get supplies from Mersine in any appropriate quantities. It will be some weeks before the railway with Mersine is open.

One hates tremendously to have any suspicion of any of the allied authorities, but one has been compelled at times to wonder if the French authorities at the time the column went to Mersine would not have been willing to see the Turkish forces take over the city if it could have been done peacefully, but the four thousand or more arms in the possession of the Armenians within the city present a very knotty problem. One also is compelled to wonder if it is really the desire of the French authorities to relieve the food situation within the city or whether they are not exploiting it for their own ends. Certainly the policy both from the political and economic standpoint has been disastrous in the extreme. It has left every one perplexed as to the future and perplexed as to all points of the French policy. The distrust that it has inspired has been unanimous. On any supposition as to intention it is hard to see how another course would not have brought the results sought much more quickly and easily. If the purpose was to drive the Armenian out of Cilicia, it is on a fair way to realisation. They are confined almost entirely to a few large centres. The last to be removed was Hassan Beyli and for no apparent reason. Afterwards the French authorities admitted it was a mistake. If the purpose was to drive out the Turk that has been accomplished only in a few districts outside of the large cities. If the purpose was to hopefully divide the Turk and the Armenian, no better policy can be found. They now hate each other as they never did before the armistice. Then by wise settlement they might gradually have grown to appreciate each other more and have come to the point where they could live and work together. Today one question if in fifty years the events of the last

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<sup>24</sup> Մերձավոր Արևելքի օգնության կոմիտե (Near East Relief, American Committee for Relief in the Near East, ACRNE) – ամերիկյան բարեգործական ընկերություն:

few months can be effected. Whatever the motives there is no question of the tragedy of the outcome, for Armenian and Turk alike. Let us hope that this is only darkness before the dawn and that a better day that can hardly be seen now is ahead us.

I hope that this statement will help to show something of our situation. Of course it is confidential. I am enclosing extra copies[,] which I wish you would send the safest way possible to addresses on the enclosed clips. Also show to Admiral Bristol<sup>25</sup> if you think best. Best regards to all.

Cordially yours,

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<sup>25</sup> Մարկ Լեմբերտ Բրիստոլ (Mark Lambert Bristol, 1868-1939) – ամերիկյան ռազմական գործիչ, ծովակալ: 1919 թ. նշանակվել է Միջերկրական ծովի արևելյան տարածաշրջանում ամերիկյան ռազմածովային ուժերի հրամանատար և Կ. Պոլսում ԱՄՆ-ի գերագույն հանձնակատար: Փաստորեն, զուգահեռաբար համակարգել է ԱՄՆ-ի ռազմական և դիվանագիտական գործառնությունները Օսմանյան կայսրությունում: Թուրքիայի Հանրապետության ճանաչումից հետո՝ մինչև 1927 թ., եղել է ԱՄՆ-ի դեսպան: Վարել է հիմնականում թուրքամետ քաղաքականություն: