



Fig. 61. Dead of exhaustion: a deported Armenian child (Kharberd, 1915)

Jacobsen, DIARY 1907-1919,  
KHARPUT, TURKEY



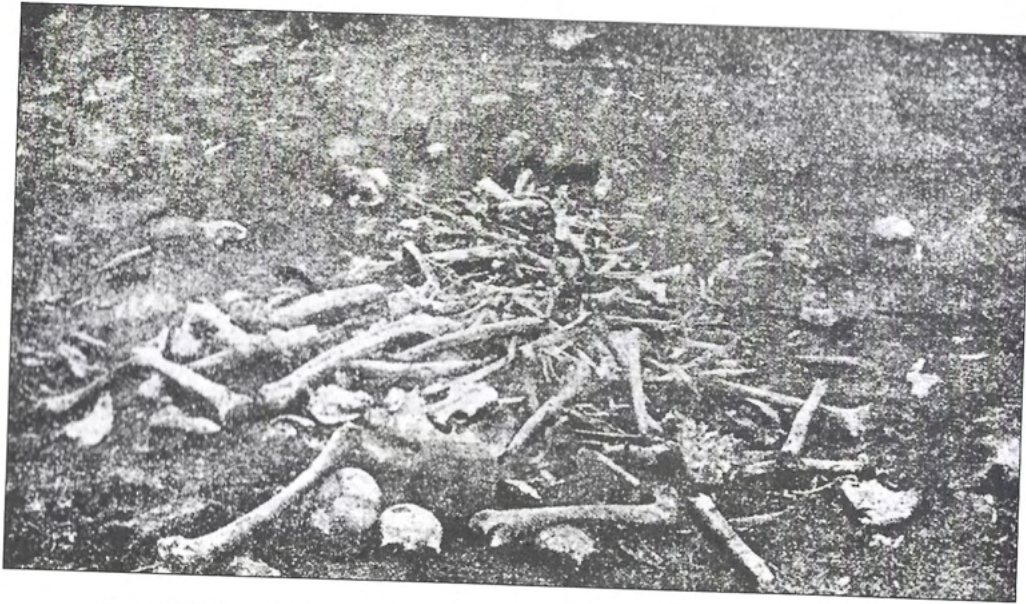
Fig. 62. Skulls and remains of bones

Armin T. Wegner collection



*The Tribulations of the Survivors*

Part of the pictorial documentation of the Armenian Genocide has to be the fate of those who survived. As homeless refugees confronted with numerous difficulties, they eventually found their way back to a normal life through their own tenacity and stamina. Most of the survivors in Syria and other states of the Near East came from Cilicia. Figs. 64–68 were taken from the album *The Armenian Refugee Camp in Aleppo 1922-1936* (Aleppo, 1986), in which primarily photographs by the professional Armenian photographer Vardan Terunian were published. Ruben Chepechian (Aleppo), who wrote the introduction to that album, made these photographs available to us.



*Fig. 63. "A public square of Erzinjan in Turkey. An Armenian Theatre had been planned for this square, now the remains of the murdered Armenians act the roles of their tragedy."*

Armenian Historical Research  
Association, ed., THE TURKISH  
ARMENOCIDE



*Fig. 64. Armenian refugees in Aleppo: Makeshift day nursery*

Photograph: Vardan Terunian





*Fig. 65. Elderly Armenians in a refugee camp in Aleppo*

Photograph: Vardan Terunian



*Fig. 66. Although invalid, this Armenian woman is happy to get by as an embroideress*

Photograph: Vardan Terunian





*Fig. 67. The original caption in Terunian's album reads: "Gloomy hours in the courtyard" (p. 29). The same motif at p. 35 bears the caption: "A big family and its allowances."*

Photograph: Vardan Terunian



*Fig. 68. An old Armenian woman makes her living with the spinning wheel. The original caption reads: "Age is no hinderance. . ." (p. 51)*

Photograph: Vardan Terunian





*Fig. 69. The Burning of Smyrna, September 14, 1922*

When Turkish-Kemalist troops captured the port city, populated predominantly by Greeks, they set the Christian quarter on fire. Approximately one hundred thousand people were massacred, burned, or died in the attempt to save themselves by swimming. There were ten thousand Armenians among them. Some of them had lived in Smyrna, while others had sought refuge there. The photograph was taken a day after the fire was set and shows the harbor quarter.

Barton, STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF



*Fig. 70.*

Armenian and Greek children from orphanages in inland Asia Minor waited in Constantinople for passage by ship to Greece. The Greek population of Asia Minor was deported there in accordance with the Lausanne treaty of 1923.

Barton, STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF





Fig. 71. Refugee camps in Port Said

In September 1916 the allies evacuated over four thousand Armenians to Port Said from the six villages on Musa Ler (*Sanjak* of Alexandretta; Turkish: Hatay). When Cilicia and the *sanjak* came under French jurisdiction in 1919, the French encouraged the Armenians to return to their homeland. But in 1939 France withdrew permanently from the *sanjak*, and the residents of Musa Ler had to leave their home for a second and final time. The photograph shows Armenian refugee children in Port Said, getting their daily bread ration with discipline and patience.

Barton, STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF

## V.

### *Eastern Armenia, Transcaucasia*

In 1915, Armenians attempted to escape to the Russian-ruled part of Armenia from Erzurum and Van, provinces near the border. Later, Armenian refugees came there from the Turkish-occupied regions of the Transcaucasus. In the end, the number of refugees in the Armenian Republic, almost all homeless, rose to over half a million.



Fig. 72. The corpses of roughly 270 Armenian refugees from Karaklis being buried

They had been massacred by Azerbaijanis near the German colony of Katharinenfeld on June 1, 1918. The photograph is an enclosure to the six-page report of Lieutenant Walker, dated June 14, 1918 from Tiflis. Walker was an eyewitness to the massacre near Katharinenfeld. The originals of his report and photographs are in the Political Archive of the Foreign Office in Bonn (Türkei 183, Bd. 53).





*Fig. 73.*

The Turkish invasion of Transcaucasia in 1918 and 1920 released a new flood of refugees. The photograph shows Armenians from Alexandropol (renamed Leninakan; since 1990, Kumairi) fleeing the Turkish army.

Barton, STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF

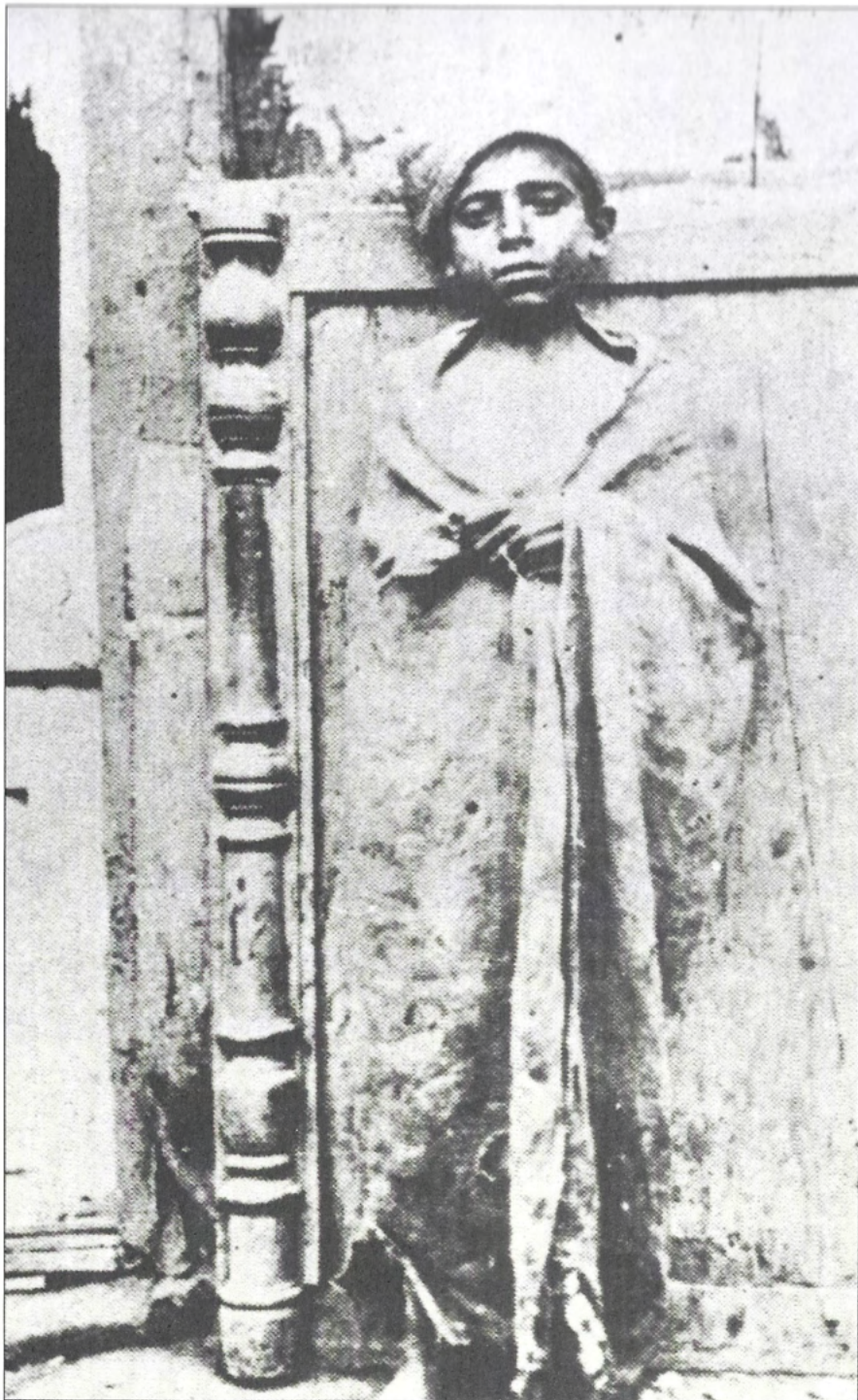


*Fig. 74.*

At every railroad station of the Transcaucasus the workers of Near East Relief came upon starving Armenian children.

Barton, STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF





*Fig. 75. Homeless boy in Yerevan*

Near East Relief archive document no.  
266; published in Jacobsen, DIARY  
1907-1919, KHARPUT, TURKEY



*Fig. 76. Refugee woman from Western Armenia in the streets of  
Yerevan in 1922*

ALBUM HEIMATLAND (Yerevan,  
Paris. n.d.)





*Fig. 77. "The refugee home, a few feet of earth or stone: its occupants waiting for death or deliverance as they slowly starved"*

Barton, STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF



*Fig. 78. "Caucasus: Dead among the living": Armenian orphans in the Transcaucasus*

Near East Relief archive document no. 156; published in Jacobsen, DIARY 1907-1919, KHARPUT, TURKEY



## FIGURES 79-81

Orphans and refugee children ask for admittance to the "Orphan City" of Near East Relief in Alexandropol. The buildings of the "Orphan City," which were constructed of black tufa and had served as barracks in the czarist age, survived the earthquake of December 7, 1988, and can still be seen today.



*Fig. 79. "Inside and outside the gates of the 'Orphan City' "*

Barton, STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF



*Fig. 80. "Children waiting in the snow for admission into the 'Orphan City,' a daily spectacle from the early morning until late at night"*

Barton, STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF





Fig. 81. "Clamoring for admittance"

From the archive of Near East Relief in  
Jacobsen, DIARY 1907-1919,  
KHARPUT, TURKEY



Fig. 82. "Two ragged waifs receive a ration of clothing from Near East Relief"

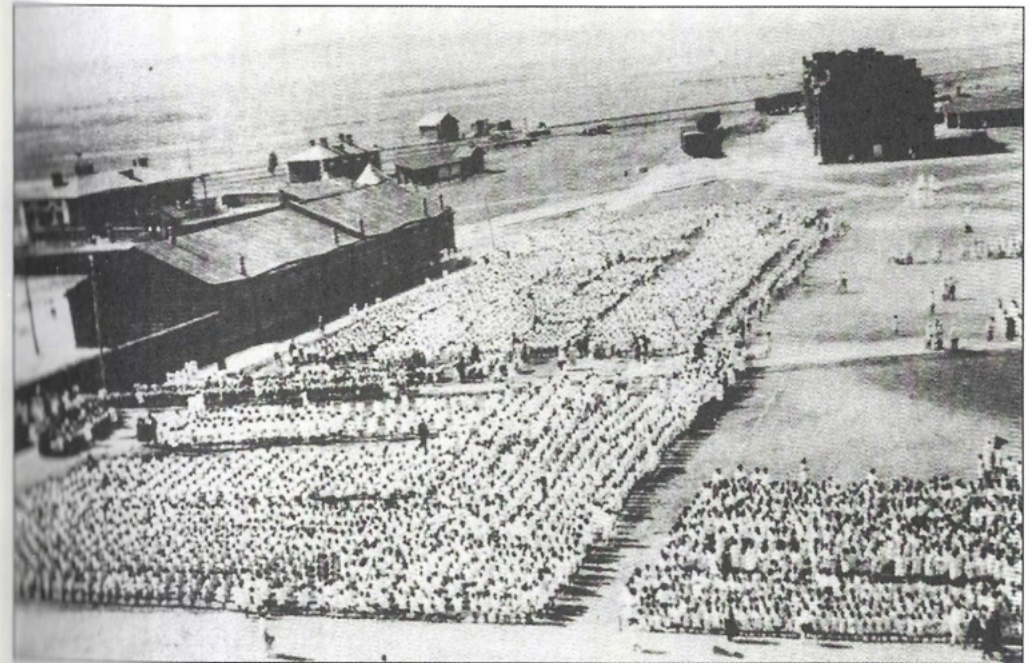
Barton, STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF





*Fig. 83. "Without subsidy this refugee mother would be obliged to relinquish her children to an orphanage and her own existence would be doubtful"*

Barton, STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF

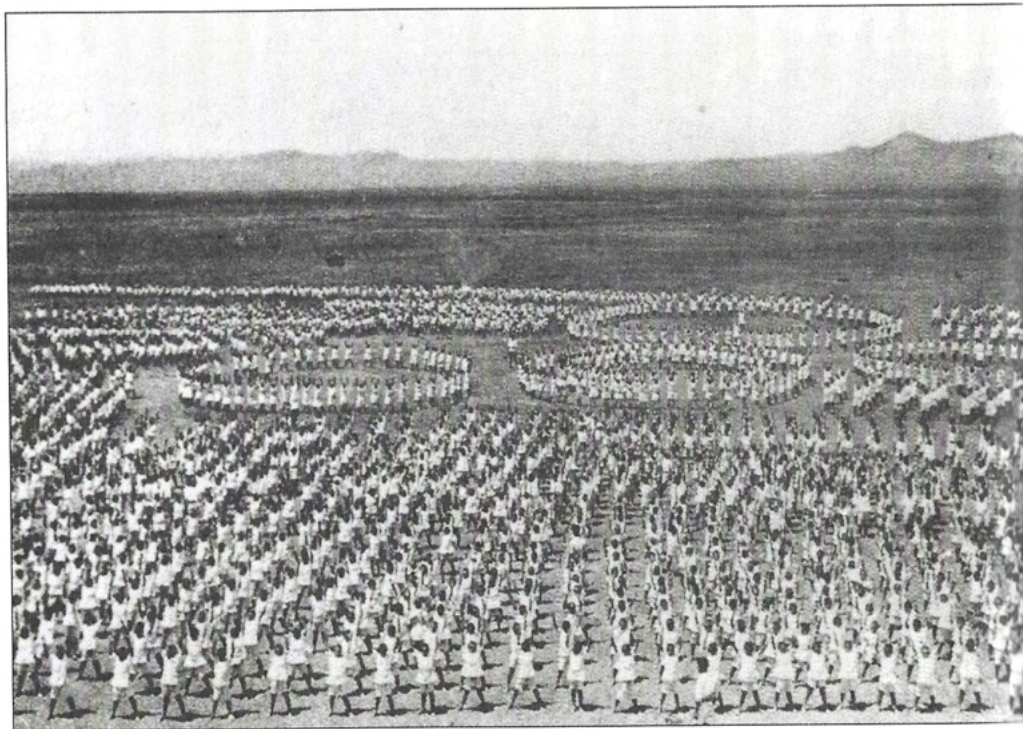


*Fig. 84. "An assembly on the playground of the 30,000 population of the 'Orphan City' at Alexandropol, Armenia"*

Group photographs like this one and the following were directed at the charitability of American readers, for whom the efficiency of the relief operation was to be quantitatively demonstrated. Further, such photographs illustrate the large-scale misery in Eastern Armenia caused by the uprooting and expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Armenians.

Barton, STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF





*Fig. 85. "Alexandropol: 'Hands up,' Polygon orphanage massed drill, October, 1925"*

The American educators placed a strong emphasis on the hygiene and physical training of their pupils.

Barton, STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF



*Fig. 86. "Section of a disease prevention camp for 30,000 children in the Caucasus"*

Barton, STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF





*Fig. 87. "The first health wagon [of Near East Relief]. It visited villages where orphans were outplaced, treating both children and adults. This service has been expanded with healthmobiles covering several Caucasian areas and refugee settlements in Syria."*

Barton, STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF



*Fig. 88. Children of the Near East Relief orphan city in Alexandropol on their way to church*

Barton, STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF





*Fig. 89. Spiritual shepherd to a nation of orphans and refugees:  
Catholicos Gevorg V receiving Armenian children*

Barton, STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF

## VI.

### *"Hayahavak": Gathering and Preserving the Remains of a Scattered People*



*Fig. 90. "Twenty-six little children picked up on the streets of Sam-  
soun"*

Barton, STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF





Fig. 91.

Hedwig Büll, KARNIKS ABENTEUER IN  
MESOPOTAMIEN: EINE WAHRE  
GESCHICHTE (Kleine Orienthefte für Jung  
und Alt 3) (Strasbourg: Editions Oberlin,  
no date [sometime after 1922])



Fig. 92.

BÜLL, KARNIKS ABENTEUER IN MESOPOTAMIEN

#### FIGURES 91 AND 92

Various Muslim peoples—Kurds, Bedouins—took in Armenian women and children and saved them from annihilation. Their motives were not always unselfish. The “adopted” Armenians had to take on their rescuers’ Islamic faith and work for them for free; often they were sexually abused. There were however cases of true generosity and humaneness. Among these were the islamicized Armenians of northern Syria who were taken in as children by Bedouins and later, out of thankfulness and conviction, maintained the faith and way of life of their adoptive families. They and their descendants do however still preserve the memory of their Armenian ancestry.

These images come from an Alsatian missionary brochure. They portray the fate of an Armenian boy separated from his mother during the deportation and later taken in by Bedouins. At the end of his Odyssey he was reunited with his mother in America.





Fig. 93. Armenian girl taken in by Bedouins

HUSHAMATIAN METZ YEGHERNI (Beirut, 1965)

Fig. 94. "Mrs. Vartanian, before her release as the third harem wife in the Arabian desert"

This photograph of an Armenian woman (*seated left*) forced to marry a Bedouin appeared in the brochure *Am Ziel!* by the Armenian A. S. Baronigian. A native of Van, Baronigian operated his own small relief operation in Germany in the 1920s.

A.S. Baronigian AM ZIEL! EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DER ARMENISCHEN KIRCHE ODER ERLEBNISSE UNTER DEN BALKANFLÜCHTLINGEN. (Lössnitzgrund/ Kötzschenbroda in Sachsen: Armenisches Hilfskomitee e. V., 1928)







*Fig. 95. Armenian widows and their children*

Benedictsen, ARMENIEN ET FOLKS LIV OG  
KAMP GENNEM TO AARTUSINDER.



*Fig. 96. Neglected Armenian children taken in after the massacre*

Benedictsen, ARMENIEN ET FOLKS LIV OG  
KAMP GENNEM TO AARTUSINDER.



VII.

*Friends of the Armenian People*

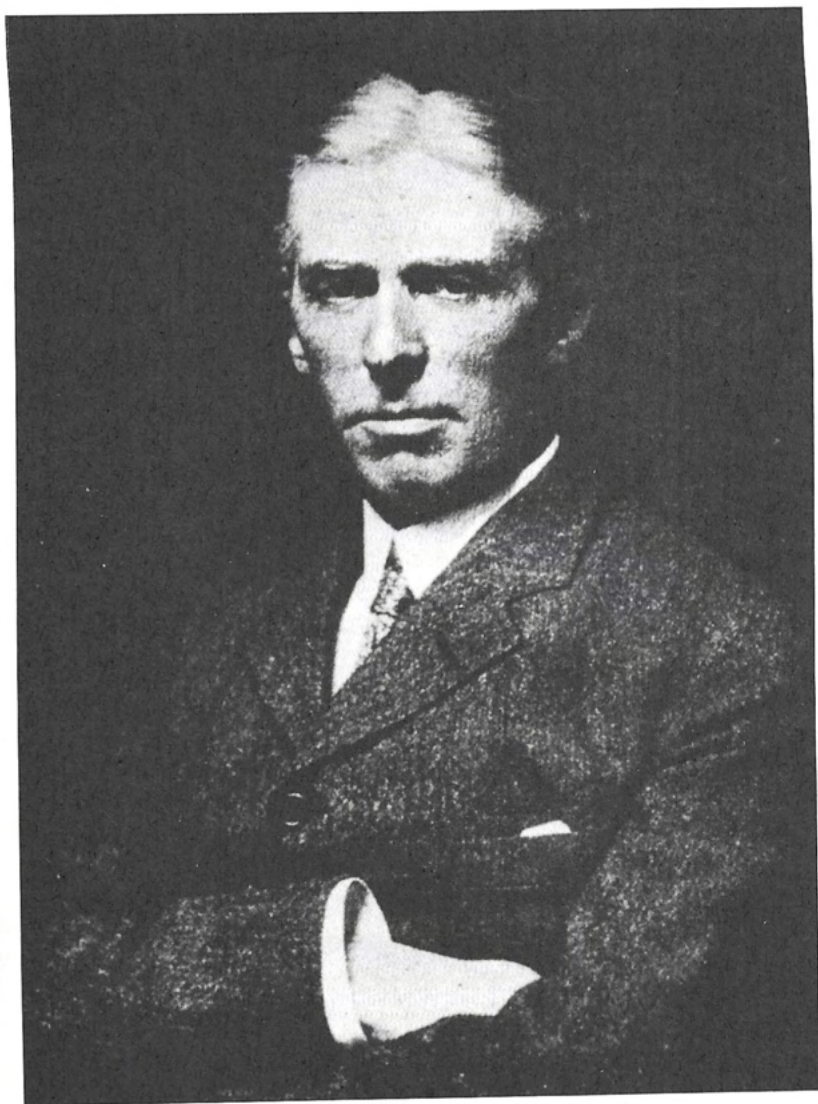


Fig. 97. "Cleveland H. Dodge, in whose board room the [Near East] Relief Committee was organized, September 16, 1915. A member of the Executive Committee from the first and Treasurer from July 18, 1917, to his death, June 24, 1926."





*Fig. 98. "John H. Finley, vice-chairman of the Committee, presenting to President Coolidge a rug woven by Near East orphan girls"*

Barton, *STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF*



*Fig. 99. Jakob Künzler (1871-1949)*

Swiss-German surgeon active from 1899 to 1919 in the hospital of the German Orient Mission in Urfa; eyewitness to the Genocide of 1915-16. In the summer of 1922, he evacuated eight thousand Armenian children to Syria on behalf of Near East Relief, and subsequently looked after 1,400 orphan girls in Lebanon. The photograph shows Künzler in an Armenian refugee camp in Beirut.

Ida Alamuddin, *PAPA KÜNZLER AND THE ARMENIANS* (London, 1970)



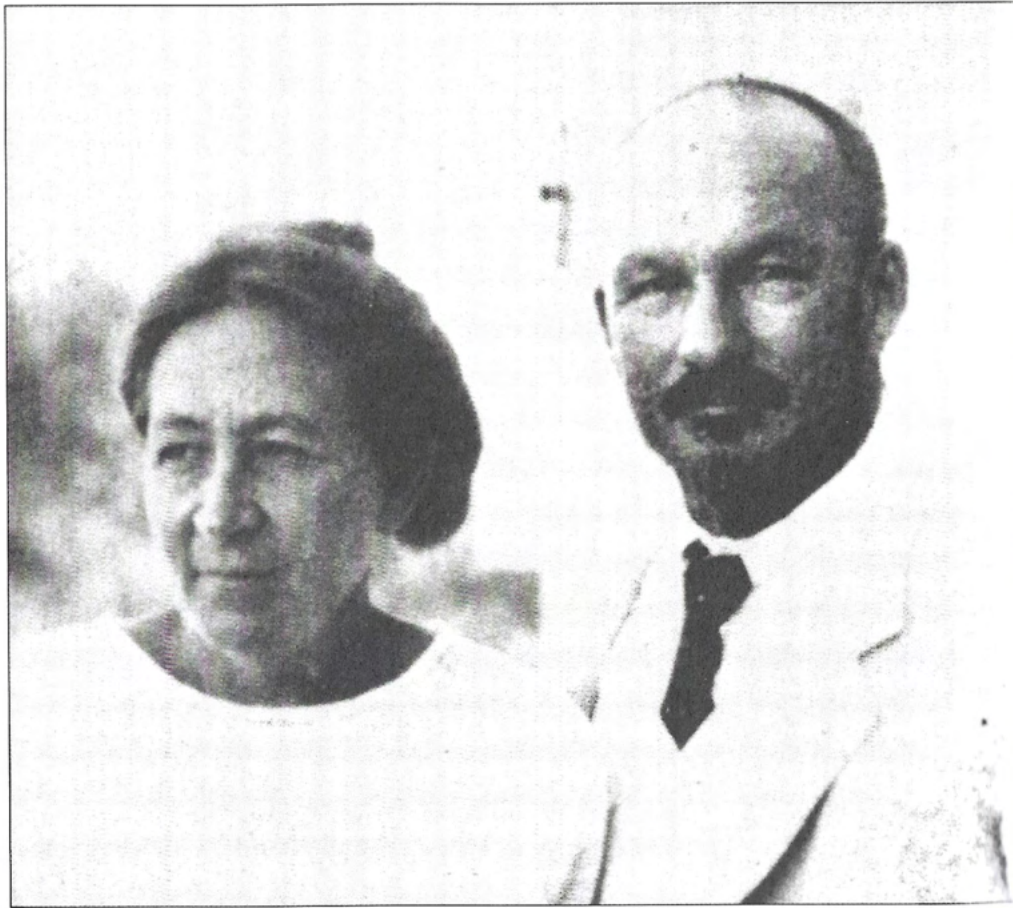


Fig. 100. "Papa" Jakob Künzler and his wife Elisabeth ("Mama")

Alamuddin, PAPA KÜNZLER AND  
THE ARMENIANS



Fig. 101. Dr. Johannes Lepsius (1858-1926)

German theologian and missionary; founder of the German Orient Mission (1895); author and editor of three prominent publications on the persecution and annihilation of Armenians in 1895-96 as well as 1915-1918.

Underwood and Underwood  
News Photographs

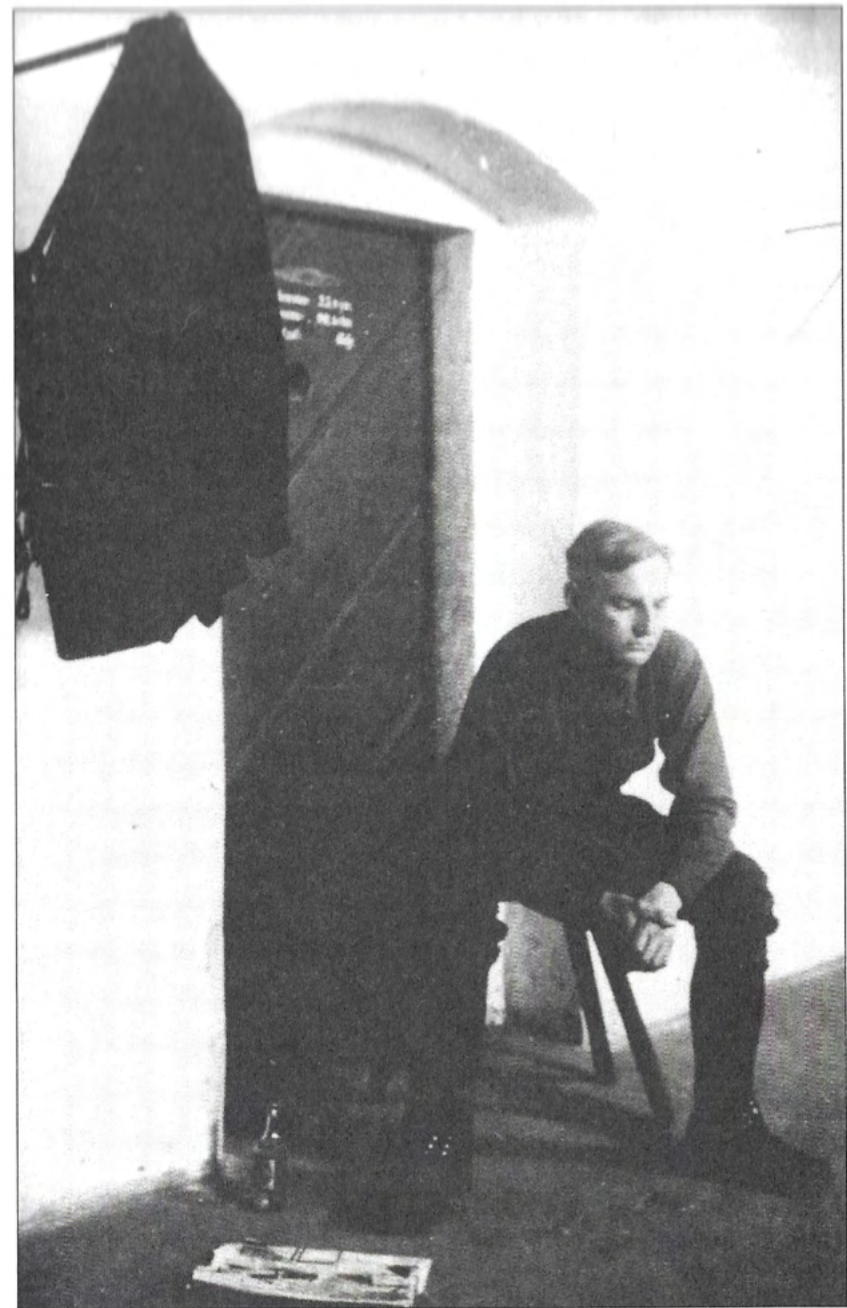




*Fig. 102. Dr. Armin Theophil Wegner (1886–1978)*

German writer. As member of the German-Ottoman Sanitation Mission as of autumn 1915, he was active for a year in Mesopotamia; eyewitnesses to the deportations, which he documented in photographs. He addressed United States President Woodrow Wilson with an open letter on the occasion of the Paris Peace Conference (published February 1, 1919), in which he called for a free and internationally protected Armenian state of Eastern and Western Armenia as well as Cilicia. The photograph shows Wegner as second lieutenant in the German-Ottoman Sanitation Mission.

Armin T. Wegner collection



*Fig. 103. Wegner in 1933, after he had been denounced, arrested, and tortured for his pacifist activism*

He was detained for several months in various German prisons and concentration camps.

Armin T. Wegner collection





*Fig. 104. Wegner with Gerayer Koutcharian in 1969 in Geneva, where Wegner took part in an international Armenian convention as an honored guest*

Gerayer Koutcharian Collection



*Fig. 105. Dr. Martin Niepage (1886–1963)*

Teacher in the German high school in Aleppo from 1913 to 1916; eyewitness to the Genocide; submitted a report to the German Parliament on October 15, 1915. An expanded version appeared as a brochure in 1916. Niepage avoided being arrested by Jemal Pasha in 1916 by returning to Germany in June of that year.

SCHWEIZERISCHE ORIENT-MISSION 2. Jg.,  
Mai 1917, Nr. 5



## VIII.

### *Methodological Questions and Comments*

#### *A. The Armin T. Wegner Collection*



*Fig. 106.*

As we said at the beginning, only a part of Wegner's photographic legacy was preserved. For example this picture of slaughtered Armenian children is missing, though it appeared in 1925 in a Danish publication. The source given there is "The Armin T. Wegner Collection"; The same is true of fig. 30.

Benedictsen, ARMENIEN ET FOLKS LIV OG  
KAMP GENNEM TO AARTUSINDER.





Fig. 107.

FIGURE 107

Wegner is not the originator of numerous documents in his collection. For example the origin of this photograph showing the naked corpses of starved people is uncertain. A German publication of the postwar era attributes it to supreme commander and infantry general von Falkenhayn. ("*Jildirim*": *Deutsche Streiter auf heiligem Boden*. ed. Dr. Steubner, following his own diary entries and using official sources of the Reichsarchiv. Oldenburg, Berlin, 1922. *Schlachten des Weltkrieges in Einzeldarstellungen bearb. und hrsg. im Auftrage des Reichsarchivs*, Bd. 4, p. 49.) There the image carries the cursory caption, "Famine victims in Mossul." The text of the book makes no further reference to it, but only mentions in a general way a terrible famine in Mesopotamia, specifically in Baalbek and Beirut.

When Wegner held a public slide lecture in Berlin in March, 1919, on the persecution of Armenians in Turkey, he presumably showed this photograph. The German nationalist press criticized him severely, both for this and for critical comments on the role of Germany during the Genocide. One critic wrote in the Berlin journal *Vaterländische Arbeit* (25 Oct. 1919): "The pictures were so grim—fifty or sixty corpses piled on top of one another—that the director [of the cultural society "Urania"] removed the worst ones for being too inflammatory. . . . Moreover, what is worse is that there was falsification: the pictures are not at all photographs of starved Armenians. Rather, they portray Arabs in Baghdad who died in the great famine at the end of 1916. In addition, the photographer, who is now in Germany, stole the pictures—from whom, no one knows. Perhaps Mr. Wegner can provide the information." (Quoted in Martin Rooney, "*Weg ohne Heimkehr*": *Armin T. Wegner zum 100. Geburtstag; eine Gedenkschrift* [Bremen, 1986], p. 69.) As far as we know, Wegner did not respond to this accusation of thievery and falsification.

Do these uncertain images show starved Arabs or Armenians, and where and when were they taken? In Mosul, Baghdad, or somewhere else? Despite the many questions, which in this context remain open, we are inclined to the view that these photographs are related to the Armenian Genocide. In the morally strict societies of the East, one would only leave the dead of a marginalized, despised, and persecuted group to lie in such a degrading state of nudity.





Fig. 108.

This image, also in the Wegner collection, has in many cases been thought to be connected to the events of 1915–16. In fact, it represents one of the frequent instances in which Wegner had prints made of available photodocuments, presumably for lectures and/or publications. The image appears as early as 1903 in a publication of the German Orient Mission (Johannes Lepsius, ed., *Ex Oriente Lux: Jahrbuch der Deutschen Orient-Mission* [Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Orient-Mission, 1903], p. 191). It has there the caption: "Our Urfa girls in line on their way into the school." The photograph shows Armenian orphan girls who were taken in by the Orient Mission after the massacres of 1895–96. Their white veils, which apparently have excited the speculative imagination of many authors, correspond to the customary clothing rules for women at that time in the Ottoman Empire. The color white expresses the orphans' mourning for their parents.

### B. Problems of Dating

These photographs (figs. 109 and 110) are often connected to the Genocide of 1915–16. In fact, they were published as early as 1895 in the illustrated British journal *The Graphic*, along with other photographs and drawings on the massacre of October 30, 1895, in Erzurum. A few photographs of the illustrated report carry the name Meisenbach in the lower left hand corner, from which one may conclude that the photographer or the photographic operation was German.



Fig. 109. "The Trench Dug for the Bodies of the Victims: A Scene in the Cemetery. This photograph shows the horrible spectacle presented to the visitors to the Armenian cemetery two days after the massacre. Two rows of dead, thirty-five deep, had already been laid down and partially covered with earth by labourers. When the photograph was taken, four men had just deposited another corpse, and so started a third row. The open spaces between the bodies were filled up with the skulls, thigh-bones, and other human remains from the graves disturbed by digging a huge grave fifty-three feet square for the reception of the slaughtered Armenians."





*Fig. 110. "A Grim Corner of the Cemetery. Nothing could be more convincing as to the truth of the reports of massacres than the sight of corpses laid out in the cemetery waiting until one huge common grave had been dug for their reception. It is impossible to state the exact number of the killed, but one correspondent heard of 400, and it is probable that the total reached about 1,000."*



*Fig. 111. "Some of the Armenians who were killed and brought to the Armenian Relief Hospital, during the massacre of Feb. 28th, 1919, at Aleppo. Phot. Najjarian Bros."*

This image too has often been related to the Genocide of 1915. In fact it deals with the Armenian massacre in Aleppo of February 28, 1919. The photograph shows some of the victims, who according to handwritten captions were laid out in front of the "Armenian Relief Hospital" (American Relief Hospital?).

Armenpress



### C. Problems of Identification

In a few cases, photographs have been said to relate to the Armenian Genocide even though it is questionable whether they actually do pertain to it. In other cases, the photographs clearly do not at all deal with events of the years 1915–16.

#### FIGURES 112 AND 113

These images, showing publicly executed individuals as well as uniformed officials, are among those that have been frequently published. With regard to determining the location, the captions fluctuate between Jerusalem (Jaffa Gate) and Aleppo; with regard to the nationality of the victims, between Arabs and Armenians. In the contemporary literature there are references to public executions by hanging in the Syrian cities of Aleppo and Damascus, as well as Beirut, Homs, and Jerusalem. (On Aleppo see Harry Stuermer, *Zwei Kriegsjahre in der Türkei: Skizzen jungtürkischer Moral und Politik* [Lausanne, 1917], pp. 178 ff.; on Damascus see Heinrich Vierbuecher, *Was die Kaiserliche Regierung den deutschen Untertanen verschwiegen hat: Armenien 1915; die Abschachtung eines Kulturvolkes durch die Türken* [Hamburg-Bergedorf, 1930], p. 23.) The victims of such hangings were prominent and distinguished Arabs, Syrians in particular, who were executed in the years 1915–17 on the order of Ahmed Jemal, who sought to suppress the Arab independence movement.

Other contemporary literature, however, refers only rarely to official executions, in the case of military tribunals in which hanging was the penalty for “state” or “high” treason (cf. Lepsius, Wegner, and the British Blue Book). At any rate, Armenians were massacred extralegally, without any trial. One possible differentiating characteristic, though by no means conclusive, between Christian (Armenian) and Muslim (Arab) victims is the European clothing (pants) visible under the white shrouds.

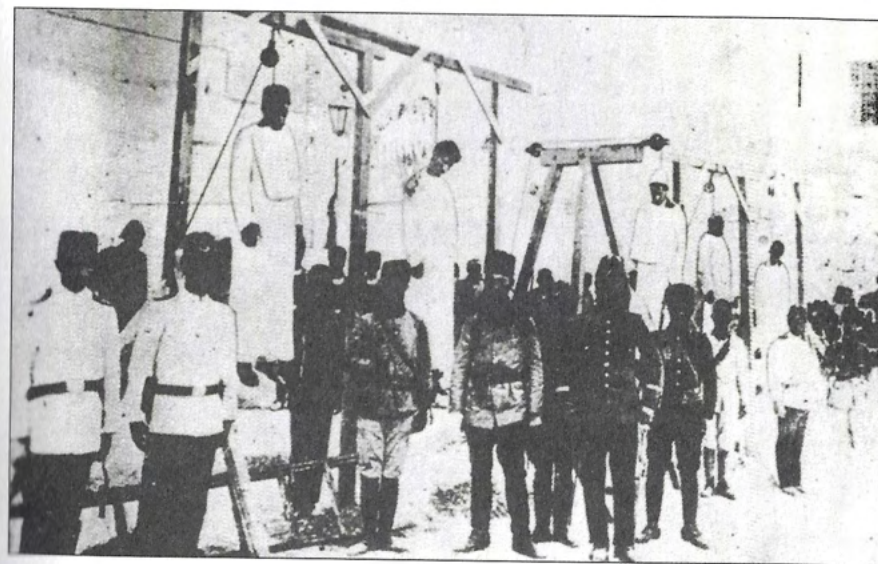


Fig. 112.

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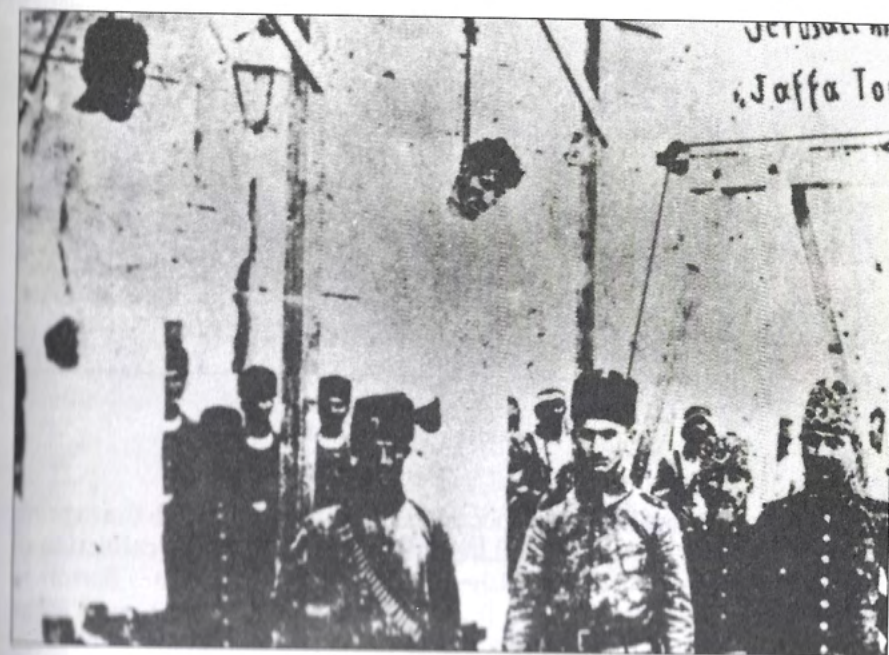


Fig. 113.

Armenian Historical Research  
Association, ed., THE TURKISH





*Fig. 114.*

Alamuddin, PAPA KÜNZLER AND  
THE ARMENIANS

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FIGURES 114-16

These images have on several occasions been published with the caption "Death March of Armenian Children." They come from the collection of Near East Relief and were published as early as 1930 by James Barton in New York. In fact, they show a lifesaving effort, the evacuation of eight thousand Armenian orphans to Syria by Jakob Künzler on behalf of Near East Relief. As the images show, the smaller children were allowed to ride on mules, while the older ones had to go on foot.



*Fig. 115.*

Alamuddin, PAPA KÜNZLER AND  
THE ARMENIANS





Fig. 116.

Alamuddin, PAPA KÜNZLER AND  
THE ARMENIANS



Fig. 117.

This photograph too has frequently and incorrectly thought to pertain to the Genocide of 1915. In fact, it does not show a torture scene in the Ottoman Empire, but rather a case of bastinado in Iran, where this sort of corporal punishment was, as in many Eastern countries, a component of the "administration of justice." The clothing of the men standing up clearly identifies them as Iranians. Possibly Wegner took the photograph when he went on a short excursion to Iran from Soviet Armenia at the end of 1927.

Armin T. Wegner collection



*D. Request for Assistance**Fig. 118.*

A few years ago, a German who has since then died acquired several photodocuments from a book collector in Hannover, which he and others correlated with the Armenian Genocide. The photographs had neither captions nor comments, but were apparently part of a larger collection, as a catalog number written in white in the lower right hand corner suggests (no. 117 in our example). We were unable to determine whether they were part of a heretofore unknown private German collection. The details of the picture as well as the photographic technique suggest that it is related to the Genocide.

We would like to thank in advance all readers for any clues that might help us in the identification of this photograph. Likewise we are most grateful for every critical evaluation and suggestion as well as hints

## “Misplaced Credulity”: Contemporary Turkish Attempts to Refute the Armenian Genocide

*Dennis R. Papazian*

Since the Armenian Genocide of 1915–16, every Turkish government except that of Damad Ferit Pasha which came into power following the defeat of the Young Turk government by the Allies in the First World War has denied not only responsibility for the Armenian Genocide, but also its very reality.<sup>1</sup> In the mid-1980s, the Turkish government's denials became more frequent and more strident, in part no doubt because Armenian extremists, beginning in 1973, brought the Armenian Genocide back into public light by the assassination of a number of Turkish diplomats in various parts of the world.<sup>2</sup> These attacks continued sporadically up to 1985 and only a few rather insignificant incidents have occurred since then. In any case, the world was once more made aware of Armenian grievances, and the Turkish government chose not to face the truth and move on as Germany had done, but attempted to develop “another side to the story” and present it to the bar of public opinion.

Indeed, the Turkish government went on the offensive. It hired a public relations firm, Doremus & Co.; a lobbying organization, Gray & Co.; and established an Institute of Turkish Studies in Washington, D.C., all for the purpose of influencing the United States administration, the State Department, the Congress, and opinion makers in the apparent hope, among other things, that either the Turkish version of history would be accepted or, at least, the reality of the Genocide would be considered debatable.<sup>3</sup> This Turkish propaganda offensive met with some initial success in the United States. The media, public opinion makers, and even a number of scholars began to speak of an “alleged” genocide when referring to the Armenian