

⁸⁵Faiz Demiroglu, *Van'da Ermeni Mezâlimi* (Ankara, 1985).

⁸⁶For a final work on Van, see below, n. 89, on the reprinted volumes.

⁸⁷İsmet Alpaslan, *Ağrı, Anadolu'nun Giriş Kapısı* (Ankara, 1984), its historical survey extends over pp. 21–144, of which 21–34 are devoted to antiquity and the Middle Ages, and 166–83 for the remains.

⁸⁸Cezmi Yurtsever, *Ermeni Terör Merkezi Kilikya Kilisesi* (Istanbul, 1983), pp. 65–111 (history), 227–316 (terrorism).

⁸⁹Besim Atalay, *Maraş Tarihi*, modern edition (with a brief introductory note on the sources and occasional explanatory notes) by Mehmet Yusuf Özbaş, and Süleyman Sabri Paşa, *Van Tarihi ve Kürt Türkleri Hakkında İncelemeler* (Ankara, 1982), prepared for publication by Gamze Gayesoğlu; the history appears on pp. 9–30. Note that the title, besides being modernized, now calls the Kurds the “Kurdish Turks.”

⁹⁰See the catalog, *The Anatolian Civilizations, Istanbul May 22–October 30 1983*, published in three volumes by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Istanbul, 1983.

⁹¹David Barchard, “Western Silence,” *Index on Censorship* vol. 12, no. 3 (December 1983), p. 9. This is from a writer who is normally very pro-Turkish, certainly not one to be accused of bias in favor of Armenians.

⁹²The most comprehensive view is that of Ali Kemali (1931; above, n. 17), sections of Süleyman Sabri Paşa (1926, but written earlier; above, n. 15) which I did not analyze here offer a similar though less organized account; Salih San (1966; above n. 35) also presents a broad view, largely following Kemali.

⁹³Of all the peoples mentioned in this essay, from the Sumerians to the American Indians, only the Armenians and Jews are never claimed as part of the Turkish race.

⁹⁴The antiquity of the Kurds is discussed, for example, in Botan Amedi, *Kürtler ve Kürdistan Tarihi* (History of the Kurds and Kurdistan) (Istanbul, 1991), pp. 14–50, and Cemal Bender, *Kürt Tarih ve Uygarlığı* (Kurdish History and Civilization) (Istanbul 1991), pp. 11–31, 71–78 [Zoroaster]. The notion goes back at least to the history of M. Emin Zeki, published in Arabic in 1931, and in Turkish as *Kürdistan Tarihi* (History of Kurdistan) (Istanbul, 1977), see pp. 37–63.

⁹⁵Bender, *Kürt Tarih ve Uygarlığı*, pp. 42–49.

“Images that Horrify and Indict”: Pictorial Documents on the Persecution and Extermination of Armenians from 1877 to 1922

Tessa Hofmann and Gerayer Koutcharian

The twentieth century is the age of visual media. Rapid technical development has led photography well beyond its purely illustrative function to become an autonomous means of significant expression and even political accusation. Photo-documents pretend to be reality itself. They freeze the past permanently into the present. This is especially the case for photojournalism: the image of the Jewish boy with his arms raised in the Warsaw ghetto or the photograph of a captive Vietcong, executed by a shot in the head before the eyes of an American photojournalist (where the photographer, for whom this execution was staged, likewise shot most effectively) attained world renown on account of their authenticity and stand *pars pro toto* for the horror of the Holocaust or the brutality of the Vietnam War. Such images have on occasion made their creators rich, but in each case the event they captured was for a long time snatched from oblivion. For the magic effect of every picture rests in the fixing of the transient.

The surviving visual material on the worst period of Armenian history—from the Russian-Turkish war of 1877–78 to the capture of Smyrna by the troops of Mustafa Kemal on September 8, 1922—is not, as a rule, the work of professional photographers. It nevertheless fulfills the tasks of illustration and political indictment.

Drawings and sketches also fall under the rubric of visual material, especially for the nineteenth century. The sources for these materials are the illustrated European and American magazines of the time. The

Armenian massacre in Cilicia (April 1909) is quantitatively well-documented; workers of the *Deutscher Hilfsbund für christliches Liebeswerk* (German Assistance Association for Christian Charity Work), among others, captured in photographs the victims of the massacre, the devastation, and the relief efforts. At that time the Assistance Association maintained relief stations in Marash (founded 1908) and Haruniye (1910). Prints of these photographs are preserved in the archive of the association—still active today for Armenians in 'Ainjar (North Lebanon).

The matters of 1915–16 are more difficult, because war conditions prevailed in the Ottoman Empire. Ahmed Jemal Pasha, commander of the Fourth Ottoman Army in Syria—the primary deportation area for Armenians—imposed a strict ban on the photographing of deportees.¹ For technical reasons too the number of visual documents directly related to the genocide of 1915 are relatively few: automatic cameras were still not available during World War I. At that time photography meant still photography and involved the arduous, time-consuming adjustment of photographic plates.

Two sizable collections of photographs on the events of 1915–18 survive: the collection of the American Near East Relief (founded in 1915) and that of the German author Armin T. Wegner (1886–1978). The Near East Relief was a private relief organization that gave charitable support first to eastern Christians, primarily to Armenians and Assyrians, and following the entry of the Americans into the war in 1917, also to Muslims. The photograph archive of the Near East Relief was located at the Harvard Semitic Museum, which sold it to the Library of Congress in 1987.

As of April 1915 Wegner belonged, primarily as simple soldier, to the German-Ottoman Sanitation Mission and reached Baghdad via Aleppo with the Sixth Ottoman Army in the fall of 1915. Despite the ban on photography he recorded Armenians wasting away in concentration camps on the way to and from Baghdad.² On October 19, 1916, Wegner, in Aleppo on the way from Baghdad to Constantinople, noted in his diary:

In the last few days I have taken numerous photographs. They tell me that Jemal Pasha, the hangman of Syria, has forbidden the photographing of the refugee camps on the pain of death. I carry these images that horrify and indict hidden under my cummerbund. In the camps of Meskene and Aleppo I collected many petitions, which I have hidden in my knapsack, in order to bring them to the American embassy in Constantinople, since the postal service will not deliver them. I do not doubt for a moment that I am thereby committing an act of high treason and yet the knowledge of having helped these most wretched people at least in a slight respect fills me with a feeling of greater fortune than could any other deed.³

It was not only Jemal's ban on photography that prevented most Europeans from getting too close to the dying Armenians. They were also afraid of

epidemics and infections. Wegner recalled in a conversation with the Germanist Martin Rooney in Rome in 1972:

So it was, that Field Marshal von Goltz drove in a car with a Turkish officer and another German on the quickest way through the desert to Baghdad, while the staff of officers, workers, and doctors in his charge made their way there much more slowly. So we came often, when we set up camp in the evening or at night, past the death camps in which the Armenians, driven helpless into the desert, confronted their gradual destruction.

The Turks kept away from those death camps and denied their existence. The Germans did not go in and acted as if they did not see them. I was the only one who went in, though I also was in danger for my health. There were many diseases among the refugees, and for that reason too the Germans did not go in with me. First of all they wanted to ignore the whole thing, and second they wanted to avoid the diseases and infections.

But I went into these camps—again and again—and have taken dozens of photographs of the victims.⁴

Wegner's photographic estate consists of glass picture plates and negatives and has been located since Wegner's death (1978) in the Schiller National Museum and Literature Archive (in Marbach am Neckar). Only thirty-two of the approximately two hundred pictures are related to the Armenian Genocide. The collection in Marbach is not complete, nor was Wegner the photographer of all the photographs contained therein. One can ascribe to Wegner only those photographs that he made in the camps of Mesopotamia and North Syria. Over and above that his collection contains photographs reproduced in Berlin, presumably for lectures. Among those are, for example, three portraits of Talât, Enver, and Jemal, as well as photographs from the German Orient Mission founded by Dr. Johannes Lepsius in 1895, especially of the mission school in Urfa. In addition, a part of the Wegner collection was apparently lost when Wegner was arrested in 1933, or shortly thereafter during his emigration to England (1934) and then to Italy (1938). This can be deduced from the fact that some photographs identified as from the "Armin Wegner Collection" were published in a volume appearing in Copenhagen in 1925, but no longer turned up after 1933 and are no longer present in the estate.⁵

Aside from these relatively wide-ranging and unified collections, additional photo-documents are spread among various archives. The Political Archive of the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany in Bonn possesses for example prints from the imperial German consulates of Aleppo and Erzurum.

Pictorial documentation is a young field within the science of documentation and therefore there still exist many methodological shortcomings. When we began with this work after the founding of our Information and

Documentation Center in 1985, we had to acknowledge that there were virtually no existing bases or criteria upon which we could have supported ourselves. Although almost every discourse about the Genocide of 1915 contains a few pictorial documents, most have been reproduced from older publications without exact source references. Moreover, as a result of inadequate identification of the pictures, considerable deviations, imprecisions, and even mistakes are the rule—not to mention the often poor quality of the pictures stemming from their frequent reproduction. One can formulate the matter thus: Every editor or author does whatever pleases him or her at the time, without knowing or examining the facts, nor having developed a capacity for judging them.

The biggest mistake in the false identification of these pictures resulted from the confusion of the painting *Apotheosis of War* by the Russian painter Vassili Vereshtshagin with a photo-document of the genocide. This appears to have happened first in 1970 in the memorial album *The First Genocide of the Twentieth Century*, published by James Nazer in New York, which at that time attracted a positive response. From there the supposed photograph reached various publications. It was particularly embarrassing that not a single Armenian author or editor living in the USSR or from the USSR noticed the mistake, even though the original was accessible to all Soviet citizens in the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow, and Vereshtshagin is one of the better-known representatives of Russian Realism. However it is not our goal here to attack anyone personally, especially since we ourselves made this same mistake at the beginning of our publications on the Armenian Genocide, and presented Vereshtshagin's painting as a photo-document. We did however correct this mistake at the first available opportunity for a new edition.⁶ This experience drastically brought before our eyes the need for a serious and systematic reflection on the methods of pictorial documentation.

The first step in pictorial documentation is the discovery of pictorial sources and information about them. One deals ideally (but alas rarely) with negatives or original prints from negatives. Otherwise one handles visual material that has been published in periodicals or monographs. In light of the scarcity of pictorial material for the years 1915–16, the information on the location of rare literature with pictorial sources, in particular the first edition of a document, is likewise very significant. As to the location of documents, news agencies and private collections are taken into consideration as well as archives and libraries.

The next step consists of identifying the pictorial materials. Only after a successful identification (or verification) can a historical photograph be considered a document. This is an arduous task that sometimes depends on coincidence and luck and often takes several years. This task is closely related to the problem of a picture's caption, as very few documents are so unambiguous in terms of content that they reveal by themselves location,

time, or the nationality of the persons portrayed (be they perpetrators, victims, or observers). The picture's caption thus becomes the most important key to its content. Unfortunately most of the captions in the numerous memorial albums and academic or popular articles on the Armenian Genocide that have appeared since 1965 are terse or fragmentary; so too are those in the collections of Near East Relief or Armin Wegner.

There are various reasons for this. Near East Relief went out of its way, especially in its publications, to avoid any political provocation of the Turks, in order that they could go on helping deportees and the needy in the Near East. And for this reason they even changed their original name, American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief (November 1915), to American Committee for Relief in the Near East (1918) and finally to Near East Relief (from 1919 on). With these two later names they avoided any mention of Armenians and Syrians, the main groups of victims of the Turkish deportation and annihilation policies. Especially after the entry of the United States into the war in April 1917, they had to make their humanitarian efforts accessible to Muslims as well, in order to be considered neutral by Turkish officials and to remain capable of acting in a region that was of course a war zone. As a result of this self-imposed censorship the captions of many pictures, especially in published texts, appear to be deliberately imprecise. Instead of "deportees" one finds "refugees" without any reference to the nationality or religion of those portrayed.

Also cursory, when available at all, are the handwritten comments and notes accompanying the images in the Wegner collection. Likewise, Wegner's oral presentations accompanying these photographs and slides are no great help.⁷ We must frankly acknowledge that although Wegner was a member of the German-Armenian Society, he held a slide lecture on January 26, 1918, in Breslau for the German-Turkish Society for the Enlightenment of the People, in which he did in fact show pictures of the camps of Armenian deportees in the Euphrates region, but at the same time expounded the official Turkish version of history. According to this false account, Turkey embarked upon the deportation of Armenians after Armenians had committed high treason in the regions near the Russian-Ottoman border, mainly in the Van and Erzurum provinces. Wegner added at that time: "The Turkish government does everything to ease the need of these homeless people through the distribution of food."⁸ In March 1919 in Berlin, Wegner held another lecture on the "Expulsion of Armenians into the Desert," in which he spoke of the "Armenian atrocities" and criticized Germany above all for its passive stance in the face of the annihilation of the Armenians.

Thus in the short span of a year Wegner gave two diametrically opposed portrayals of the photographs in his collection. But his presentations of 1919 are more credible, because they were made after the lifting of the

German military censorship that had blocked the truth in Germany about the Armenian Genocide during the World War.

Generally speaking, this example demonstrates once again the extent to which pictorial documents can be manipulated, which in turn reveals the ambiguity of almost every picture along with the arbitrariness of interpretation on the part of the viewer. Rarely does a pictorial document speak for itself. For the document to be completely clear, numerous important details of the picture's content would have to be rendered intelligible. In the case of photo-documents on genocides both the identity of perpetrators and victims—perhaps through uniforms or ethnic dress—would be recognizable, as well as locations and dates (perhaps through unmistakable buildings, landmarks, or characteristic features of a specific historical period). Also, specific details of photographic techniques can provide hints as to the approximate date of appearance of an image. If textual supplements (comments by the photographer or the collector) are missing, or the origin of an image can no longer be ascertained, then only the search for possible earlier publications remains. Many of the Wegner photographs, the Wegner collection in general, and the collection of the Near East Relief have been repeatedly published since the 1920s; thus the objection raised occasionally by the Turkish side—that these pictures in fact deal with the Nazi crimes against the Jewish people—does not hold.

Many pictorial documents not belonging to the larger collections of Near East Relief, Armin Wegner, and the German Assistance Association are scattered and their identification is often difficult, because one is not dealing with remains from official archives that record the originator and the owner from whom the documents were received. Moreover, a part of this scattered material turned up in the mid-1970s during an intensive scholarly treatment of the Armenian Genocide, and no one could tell at this time just how many informative photo-documents (or how much written material) on the Armenian Genocide still remains undiscovered in private or public collections.⁹ Until now there has been no systematic, internationally coordinated search, nor has there been a registration of the already available documents. Even a systematic review of illustrated magazines for the period 1894-1939 has yet to be undertaken; the same is true of a thorough review of the archives and press agencies that already existed at the time of the First World War.

Finally, a third methodological consideration: In the ideal case pictorial documentation is united with the collection and placement of documents in archives. When we founded our Information and Documentation Center in 1985, we combined both tasks from the beginning, since one must take into account that the majority of sources, insofar as they are available at all, probably will be lost in the next few decades: books, magazines, and photographic negatives or plates have only a limited life span, so that high quality reproductions must be made promptly. A second goal consisted of

being able to make a collection as wide-ranging as possible (a claim of completeness can never be realized) available to everyone who occupies himself or herself with the Armenian Genocide and needs illustrated material.

These activities and goals cannot replace an internationally coordinated pictorial documentation project, nor can they replace the coordination of a systematic review of media, archives, and collections, along with the study of already available sources and documents.

The collection of our center—ever expanding since 1985—embraces the period between 1877 and 1939, when not only a new wave of Armenian refugees was set in motion by the annexation of Alexandretta, but also the survivors of the Genocide in Syria and Lebanon still suffered from the unmitigated material consequences of the Genocide. Over two hundred of our documents relate directly to the massacres of 1894 and the Genocide of World War I, while over a hundred more deal with the activity of German and other relief organizations.

From this collection we are publishing here 118 documents, some of them for the first time, arranged in thematic-chronological order. In the face of the desolate situation in the area of Armenian pictorial documentation, and also given the growing interest in the history of the Genocide in conjunction with the increasing demand for visual material, we see our task not only as presenting an album illustrating the events from 1877 into the 1920s, but also as the compilation of a handbook/sourcebook. We would like to help all those who desire to carry out more thorough research on the Armenian Genocide, insofar as we present photographs and images as well as several unpublished German archival documents and some scarcely known material with extensive notes and precisely determined sources, so as to facilitate their retrieval. In a special section we present some of the results of our work in identification and outline with a few examples of the stones in the path in the dating, locating, and content description of pictorial documents on the Armenian Genocide. □

NOTES

- ¹On the basis of this ban, military commissar Nizami set out on 28 August (10 September) 1915 for construction division III of the Baghdad railroad and ordered the head engineer to hand over within forty-eight hours "all photographs and prints" that German engineers and officials had made. See *Deutschland und Armenien 1914-1918: Sammlung diplomatischer Aktenstücke*, ed. Johannes Lepsius (Potsdam, 1919, new edition, Bremen, 1986), p. 151.
- ²Wegner reached Turkey in 1915, where he participated in the Dardanelles campaign until the summer; he spent time in Gallipoli, on hospital boats in the Sea of Marmara, as well as in Rodosto. In the fall of 1915 he was assigned in accordance with his own wish to the staff of Field Marshall Freiherr von Goltz as a voluntary sanitation soldier and came to Baghdad on 1 November 1915 to the Sixth Army. In December 1916 he returned to Constantinople and was sent back to Germany. Wegner's year and a half stay in the Ottoman Empire can hardly be reconstructed in detail. In the secondary literature details of time and place often markedly diverge from each other. Martin Rooney contends in his tabular life chronicle that Wegner used his vacation in July and August of 1915 to go from Constantinople via the Dardanelles "to Asia Minor, and convince himself of rumored massacres of the Armenian people." (Martin Rooney, "Weg ohne Heimkehr": *Armin T. Wegner zum 100. Geburtstag: eine Gedenkschrift* [Bremen, 1986], pp. 61ff.) There are, however, no grounds for believing such a trip took place. Wegner's own brief statements about his photographic activity are quoted below. Unless there is evidence to the contrary, it must be assumed that Wegner simply encountered the Armenians during his trips to and from Baghdad and that his photographs come from the area between Aleppo and Baghdad (North Syria/Mesopotamia).
- ³Published in Armin T. Wegner, *Der Weg ohne Heimkehr: ein Martyrium in Briefen* (Berlin: Fleischel, 1919), pp. 169ff.; idem, *Fällst du, umarme auch die Erde oder Der Mann, der an das Wort glaubt: Prosa, Lyrik, Dokumente*. (Wuppertal: Peter Hammer Verlag, 1974), pp. 53ff.
- ⁴Rooney, "Weg ohne Heimkehr", pp. 24ff.
- ⁵Aage M. Benedictsen, *Armenien et folks liv og kamp gennem to aartusinder. Med kort ogbilleder* (Copenhagen: Danske Armeniervenner, 1925).
- ⁶*Der Völkermord an den Armeniern vor Gericht: Der Prozess Talaat Pascha*, introduction by Tessa Hofmann, 3d expanded and revised edition. (Goettingen, Wien, January 1985).
Türkkaya Ataöv of the University of Ankara polemicizes gloatingly against this work (*Eine armenische Heuchelei* [Ankara, January 1986]). Ataöv should not rejoice too loudly: It took the Turkish media sixteen years to notice this mistake, and Ataöv dishonestly ignored attempts at correction such as ours in the volume above.
- ⁷Sybil Milton pointed out these weaknesses in the Wegner collection in her lecture on Wegner in April 1990, held at the Armenian Academy of Sciences. Cf. Sybil Milton, "Armin T. Wegner: Polemicist for Armenian and Jewish Human Rights," *Armenian Review* 42, no. 4-168 (Winter 1989), p. 37, n. 49.
- ⁸Quoted from Johanna Wemicke-Rothmeyer, *Armin T. Wegner: Gesellschaftserfahrung und literarisches Werk* (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, 1982) (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe I, Deutsche Sprache und Literatur, Bd. 503.) p. 145, n. 70.
Wegner's biographer and one-time secretary claimed that Wegner gave this lecture supporting Turkish propaganda as a result of external coercion (German military censorship) and his tendency toward self-promotion. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁹To this group belong, for example, the photographs of the U.S. commercial attaché of Mezireh/Harput (Marmuret-ul-Aziz), which he made in July 1915 of Armenian deportees. They were published in 1989 with signatures that the editor Susan Blair took from the report of the American consul to Marmuret-ul-Aziz, Leslie A. Davis. On the discovery of photo-documents as well as the Davis report, see Leslie A. Davis, *The "Slaughterhouse Province": An American Diplomat's Report on the Armenian Genocide, 1915-1917*, ed. Susan K. Blair (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Aristide D. Cartazas, 1991), pp. 23-30, Appendix E.

□

THE DOCUMENTS

The following pictorial documents have been reproduced, unless otherwise indicated, from magazines and books, many of which were contemporary (through 1930) and were little known.

Figures 10, 11, and 15-23 are copies of heretofore unpublished original prints from the archive of the German Assistance Association for Christian Charity Work in the Orient; likewise, figures 38-41, 43-45 and 72 are from the Political Archive of the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany (Bonn). Here too the original negatives are missing, and the photographs presented by us here have until now not been published anywhere else.

The images from the collection of Armin T. Wegner which are located in the Schiller National Museum and Literature Archive in Marbach are prints from the original glass plates and negatives. The rest has been taken from a Danish book from 1925.

Figs. 64-68 are likewise prints from the original negatives of the Armenian photographer Vardan Terunian (Aleppo).

I.

*Massacres in Western and Eastern Armenia
and Constantinople*

During and after the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-88, Kurdish irregular units carried out massacres against the Armenian population, especially in the areas around Alashkert and Basen. Ten thousand Armenians fled that area in panic eastward to Russian-controlled Eastern Armenia, especially after the Russian army had to withdraw, again, from Erzurum, in accordance with the Berlin treaty of July 1878.



Fig. 1. "The Campaign in Asia: With the Russians—Fugitive Turco-Armenians on the Road Between Araval and Erivan"

Large scale flight was a favorite theme of contemporary illustrations such as this drawing in the English weekly *The Graphic*.



Fig. 2. The massacre in Sasun (August 1894)

The illustrator tried hard to reproduce the characteristics of southern Armenian traditional dress, especially that of the women.

SATURDAY CLUB (New York)



Fig. 3. Armenian massacre in Constantinople, 30 September 1895

From a book of the German Assistance Association for Christian Charity Work in the Orient (DEINES BRUDERS BLUT: EINE GESCHICHTE AUS ARMENIENS LEIDENSTAGEN, with a prologue and epilogue by director F. Schuchardt. 21st edition, Schwerin in Mecklenburg: Friedrich Bahn, 1926)



Fig. 4. "The Attack on Armenians by Softas (Theological Students) near St. Sofia"

Armenian massacre in Constantinople.

C.J. Staniland,
"from a sketch by an eye-witness"
in THE GRAPHIC, 26 Oct. 1895, p. 515



Fig. 5. "The Police Taking Armenian Prisoners to the Grand Zaptie Prison, Stamboul"

C.J. Staniland,
"from a sketch by an eye-witness"
in THE GRAPHIC, 26 Oct. 1895, p. 515



Fig. 6. "The Crisis in Constantinople: A Group of Wounded Armenians in the Hospital after the Riot"

THE GRAPHIC, 26 Oct. 1895, p. 514



Fig. 7. "The Crisis in Constantinople: After the Riot at Stamboul: Wounded Armenian Women in the Hospital. [Left:] A girl of fourteen, whose parents were killed, and who was herself badly beaten, [Center:] A woman, with a bayonet wound through the lung, who cannot live, [Right:] A woman suffering from cuts on her head and legs and from bruises"

THE GRAPHIC, 26 Oct. 1895, p. 514



Fig. 8. On exhibit, the heads of nine Armenians from the village Mahlam (fifteen kilometers southeast of Salmast in Iran), who had been murdered on October 14 (26), 1898 by order of the Ottoman government. They were members of the Dashnaksutiun, and allegedly belonged to a group of Armenian freedom fighters who had fought in the Ottoman Empire and had been retreating eastward.

The photograph was first published in the January 31, 1899 issue of *Droshak*, the organ of the Dashnaksutiun. An accompanying article identifies the slain fighters (from top left): Khachatur Harutiunian of Moks, Harutiun of Ulmia, Stepan of Khizan, Harik of Shatakh, Gabriel Muradian ("Mnjo"), Nahapet Yeghiazarian ("Nakho" of Vozm), Harutiun Khachatrian of Moks, and Galust Galoyan. The head of the ninth murdered Armenian, Avetis Ohanian (Avto) is not in the photograph.

The names make it clear that these fighters, although killed on Iranian territory, were natives of the Ottoman Empire.

DROSHAK, 31 Jan. 1899, p. 5



Fig. 9. Massacre in Baku, 1905

Sigrid Wegner-Korfes, BLUTSONNTAG
1905: FANAL DER REVOLUTION, 2d ed.
(Illustrierte Historische Heft 5, p. 13)
Berlin, 1976

II.

The Massacre in Cilicia (April 1909)

These heretofore unpublished photographs were taken near Haruniye by the workers of the German Assistance Association for Christian Charity Work in the Orient.



Fig. 10. Two workers of the Assistance Association accompanying three local workers in the burying of the highly decayed corpse of an Armenian victim of the Cilician massacre

Archive of the German Assistance
Association for Christian Charity Work in
the Orient



Fig. 11. An Armenian victim of the Cilician massacre

Archive of the German
Assistance Association

Fig. 12. An Armenian woman from Adana, having been tortured and maimed by knife wounds.

This picture and fig. 12 were taken by the German turkophile journalist Ernst Jaeckh, who propagated the official Turkish version, which blamed the Cilician Armenian massacre on the conservative opposition to the Young Turks, in particular the Kurds, who were still loyal to the sultan.

Ernst Jaeckh,
DER AUFSTIEGENDE HALBMOND:
BEITRÄGE ZUR TÜRKISCHEN RENAISSANCE
(Berlin-Schoeneberg, 1911)





Fig. 13. Armenian children from Adana, from whose bodies pieces of flesh were were ripped off with cotton hooks and whose kneekaps were severed

Ernst Jaeckh,
DER AUFSTEIGENDE HALBMOND



Fig. 14. The Armenian quarter of Adana, razed and plundered

Ernst Jaeckh,
DER AUFSTEIGENDE HALBMOND

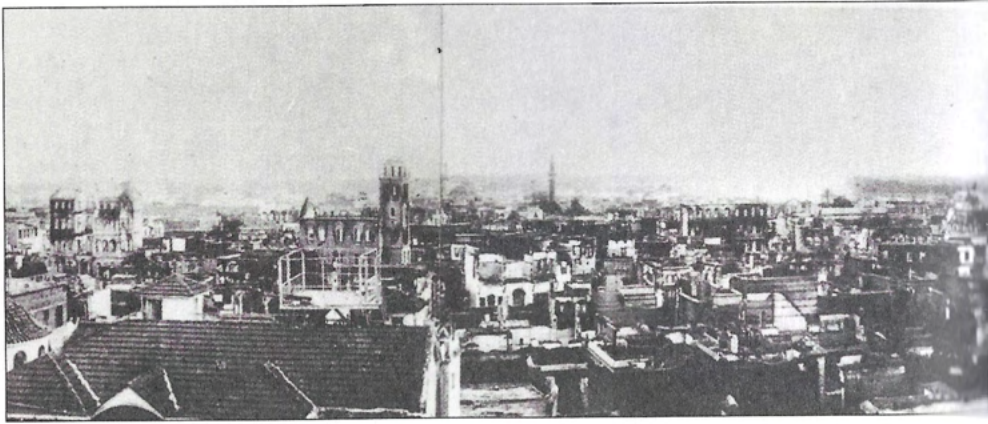


Fig. 15. The destroyed Armenian quarter of Adana

Archive of the German
Assistance Association

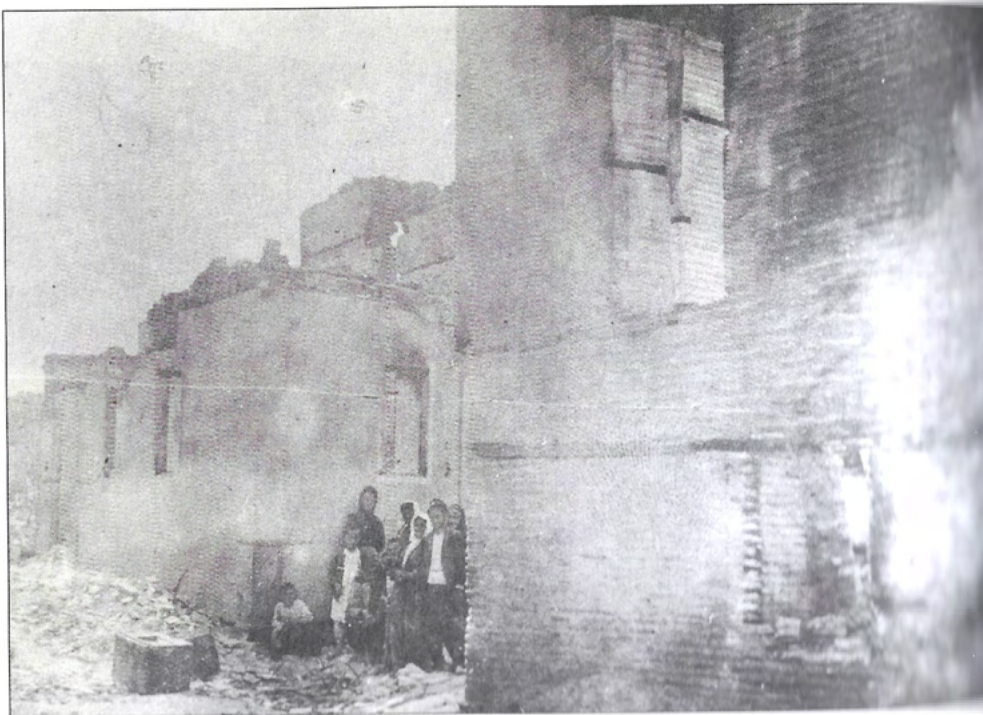


Fig. 16. Adana: Ruins and robbed safes in the Armenian quarter

Archive of the German
Assistance Association



Fig. 17. The ruins of Tarsus (Cilicia), 1909

Archive of the German
Assistance Association



Fig. 18. After the massacre: Armenian widows and orphans in Tarsus
Archive of the German Assistance Association



Fig. 19. Over three thousand Armenian refugees sought refuge with the Protestant church in Bakhche (Cilicia)

Archive of the German Assistance Association

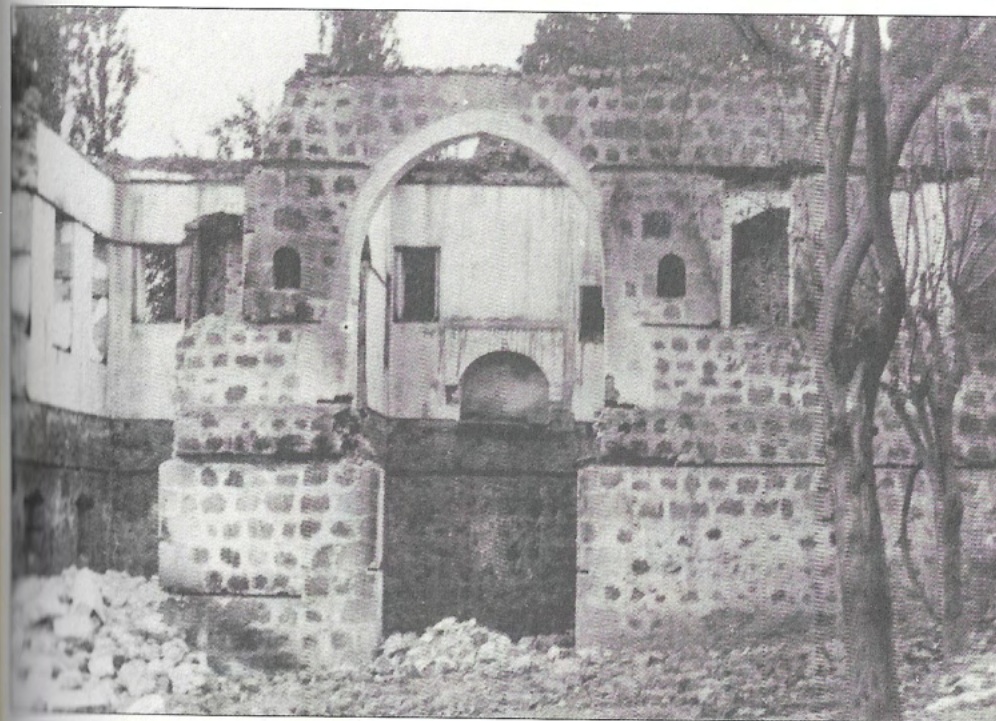


Fig. 20. The ruins of Haruniye after the massacre of April 1909

Archive of the German Assistance Association



Fig. 21. Armenian victims of a typhus epidemic in Kishiftly (Cilicia) as a result of the massacre of April 1909

Archive of the German Assistance Association



Fig. 22. The German Assistance Association in Haruniye distributing bedding and mess tins to needy Armenians

Archive of the German Assistance Association



Fig. 23. The mission station at Haruniye distributing threshing plows to surviving Armenian farmers

Archive of the German Assistance Association

III.

The Crime of Genocide Against the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-16



Fig. 24. "The Shaikh-ul-Islam, the spiritual leader of all Sunni Muslims, announcing on 14 November 1914 before the Fathi Mosque in Constantinople the Jihad (holy war) against the 'infidels' and enemies of the faith" [whereby he meant primarily inland Christians as well as the Entente states]

DIE GESCHICHTE DES ERSTEN WELTKRIEGES,
Bd. 1. (Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig: Union
Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, n.d.),
p. 289



Fig. 25. Muslim demonstration in Constantinople on the occasion of the call to holy war (November 14, 1914)

In the foreground are Iranian demonstrators with the Iranian flag.

BILDER IM SPIEGEL DER ZEIT. Bd. 3.
(Zurich, 1971)



Fig. 26.

Armenians drafted into military service in the Ottoman army were not armed; rather, they had to perform forced labor, building streets or transporting heavy loads. Most of those who did not die of malnutrition, exhaustion, or epidemic disease were murdered upon completion of their tasks.

From the archive of Near East Relief in
Maria Jacobsen, DIARY 1907-1919,
KHARPUT, TURKEY (Beirut, 1979), p. 93



Fig. 27. Soldiers of the Czarist army before an open mass grave with the corpses of murdered Armenian "worker-soldiers"

The print, delivered to us from Tehran in December 1980, carries the following note on the back: "Massacre of Armenian soldiers, Western Armenia 1914: The volunteer Azat Avetisian received this photograph from group leader Tevan [from Karabagh]. Tevan later worked as a goldsmith in Iran (Shiraz). For forty-seven years the photograph remained with Azat's brother-in-law, until Armen Hakhnazarian persuaded him to send a copy of it to Germany for publication in the journal *Pogrom*. Azat Shahbazian, Teheran, December 1980." A copy of this photograph appears to have been located in Soviet-Armenian archives, as it was included in an exhibition at the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR in April 1990.



Fig. 28. The Armenian elite of the city of Kharberd (Kharpert, Harpoot) being led away under armed guard in May, 1915

The "deportation" of the Armenian civilian population began in 1915 with the murder of the intellectual, political, and religious elite. Often the local elite was led out of the city in order to be massacred at the nearest suitable site.

Jacobsen, DIARY 1907-1919,
KHARPUT, TURKEY



Fig. 29. "The Turkish hangmen and the Armenian victim whose battered face was hidden from view"

Armenian Historical Research
Association, ed., THE TURKISH
ARMENOCIDE: THE GENOCIDE OF THE
ARMENIANS BY THE TURK, 2d ed.
(Newton Square, Penn., 1965)

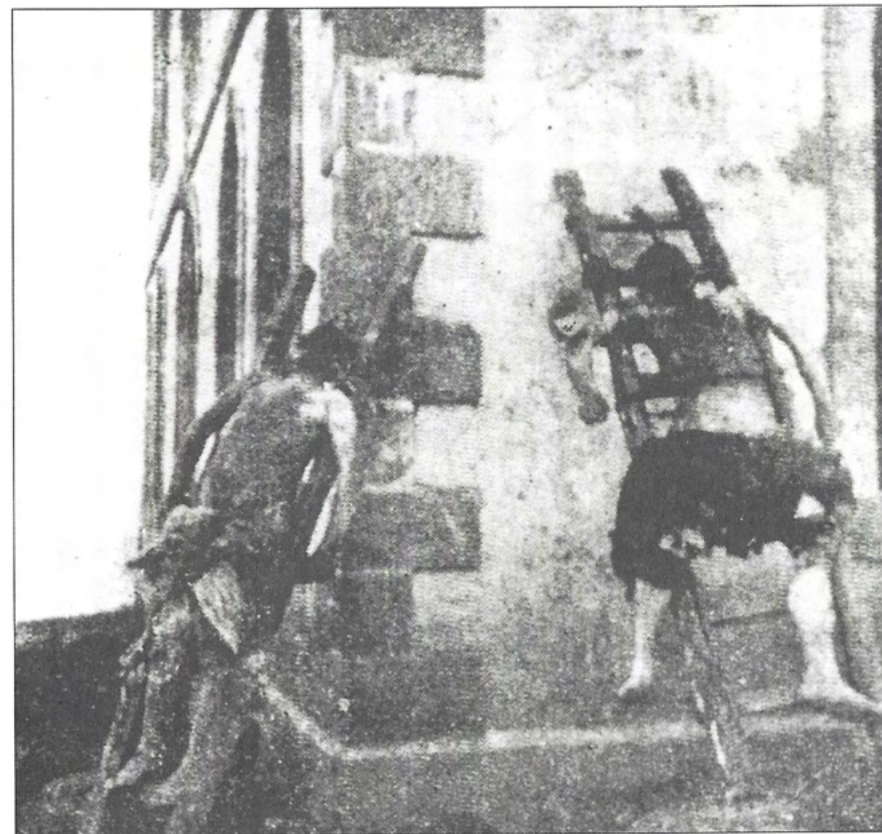


Fig. 30. "Corpses of two Armenians tortured to death, prostrated on ladders and exhibited"

From the Armin T. Wegner collection in
Aage Meyer Benediclsen, ARMENIEN ET
FOLKS LIV OG KAMP GENNEM TO
AARTUSINDER. MED KORT OG BILLEDER
(Copenhagen: Danske Armeniervenner,
1925). The photograph has obviously
vanished, since it is not part of Wegner's
estate at Marbach.



Fig. 31. *Armenian beaten to death*

Armin T. Wegner collection



Fig. 32.

At the beginning of the Genocide prominent Armenians were sometimes publicly executed. They were usually hanged in white shrouds, with a sign around their necks proclaiming their "crime," usually "treason against the fatherland." Because members of other nationalities—above all Syrians—were executed in the same way, an exact identification is especially difficult. The event portrayed in this photograph may be the execution of a Greek in Tekirdag (Rodosto), who was sentenced to death on account of "collaboration with the enemy," that is, the British. Wegner describes this episode in his memoir *Im Hause der Glückseligkeit: Aufzeichnungen aus der Türkei* (Dresden, 1920), p. 197). See also figs. 112 and 113.

Armin T. Wegner collection

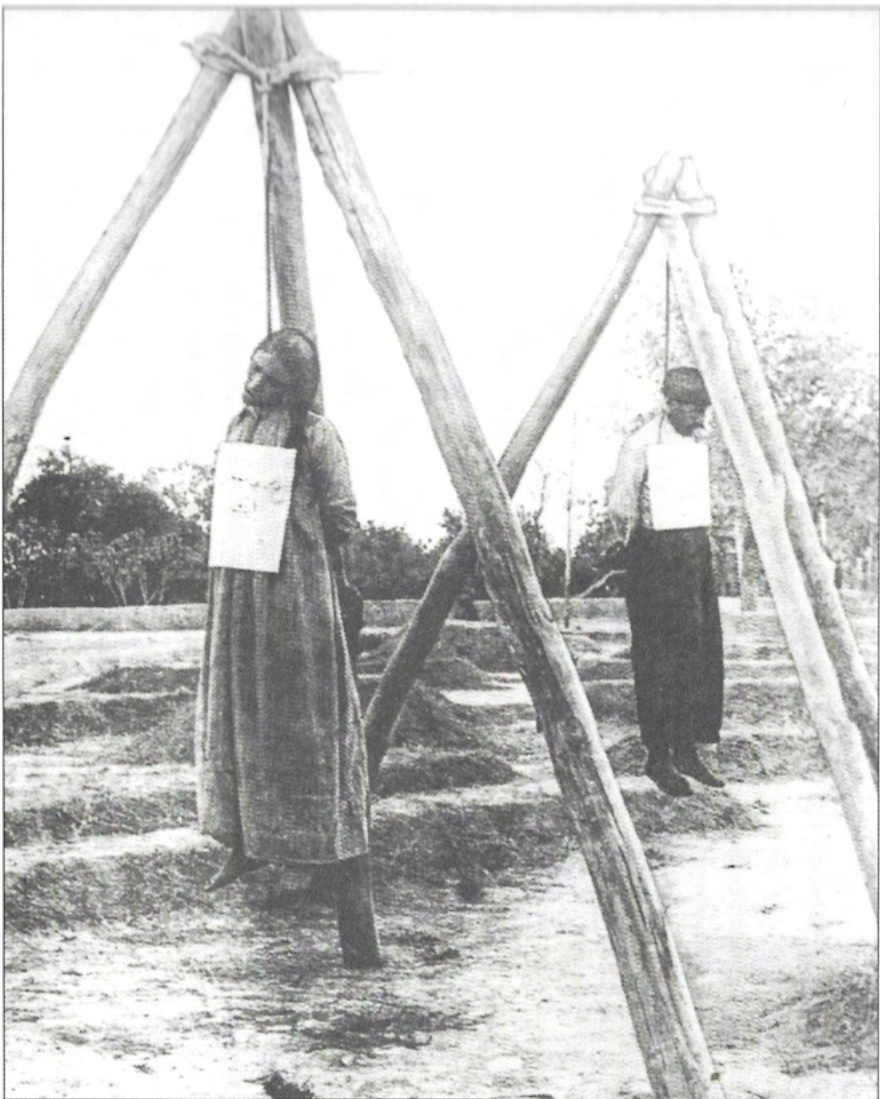


Fig. 33. Executed (Armenian?) couple

Armin T. Wegner collection

FIGURES 34-36

While a large proportion of Armenian men had already been murdered before the "deportations" began, a slow death by hunger, exhaustion, and disease awaited the women, children, and elderly. Figures 34-36 show Armenian women and children on their death march. The women were repeatedly plundered in transit and had to carry by themselves their entire possessions as well as their small children, since the farther south they went, the less money they had to rent wagons or beasts of burden.



Fig. 34.

Armin T. Wegner collection



Fig. 35.

Armin T. Wegner collection



Fig. 36.

Armin T. Wegner collection



Fig. 37. Kharberd 1915: deported Armenian woman and her daughter

Jacobsen, DIARY 1907-1919,
KHARPUT, TURKEY

FIGURES 38-41

Erzurum was an important stop-off point for the deportees from the northeast of the Ottoman Empire. The German vice-consul Erwin von Scheubner-Richter photographed the "Camp of exiled Armenians" as well as the "Distribution of bread by consulate officials" (Scheubner-Richter's captions). His nine photographs, unfortunately of poor quality, are located in the Political Archive of the Foreign Office in Bonn. However, the majority of deported Armenians never reached the "deportation goal" in Mesopotamia, despite this and other attempts to help them. Parts of the Islamic population and also the guards perpetrated too many massacres, and the strains of the forced marches were too great.



Fig. 38.

Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen
Amtes, Bonn, Türkei Archivbestand
Botschaft Konstantinopel, Nr. 169

*Fig. 39.*

Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen
Amtes, Bonn, Türkei Archivbestand
Botschaft Konstantinopel, Nr. 169

*Fig. 40.*

Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen
Amtes, Bonn, Türkei Archivbestand
Botschaft Konstantinopel, Nr. 169



Fig. 41.

Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen
Amtes, Bonn, Türkei Archivbestand
Botschaft Konstantinopel, Nr. 169



Fig. 42. Stop of a deportation convoy in a city (Aleppo!)

Armin T. Wegner collection

FIGURES 43-45

The north Syrian city Aleppo was the main transition town for deportation convoys coming from Western Armenia, Central Anatolia, and Cilicia. There was also a German high school as well as a German consulate in Aleppo. The teacher, Dr. Martin Niepage, reported to the German parliament on October 15, 1915, the atrocities taking place across from the school in a dilapidated caravan seraglio. An expanded version appeared in 1916 as an independent publication, but was immediately confiscated by Saxon military officials. Niepage reported that weakened Armenians were wasting away and dying in filth in the courtyard of the seraglio, through hunger, typhus, and dysentery. The hygienic conditions were inconceivably poor. The German consul to Mosul, Hoffmann, representing Consul Rössler of Aleppo at that time, photographed the atrocious scenes and sent the pictures together with Niepage's report to the foreign office in Bonn. Three of them are still located today in the political archive there. Niepage referred to the photographs taken by Hoffmann in the 1916 edition of his report: "They showed piles of corpses, amongst which still living children crawled or heeded the call of nature." (Martin Niepage, *Ein Wort an die berufenen Vertreter des Deutschen Volkes: Eindrücke eines deutschen Oberlehrers in der Türkei*, p. 6.)



Fig. 43.

Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen
Amtes, Bonn, Türkei 183, Armenien,
Bd. 41



Fig. 44.

Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen
Amtes, Bonn, Türkei 183, Armenien,
Bd. 41



Fig. 45.

Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen
Amtes, Bonn, Türkei 183, Armenien,
Bd. 41

FIGURES 46-52

Whoever survived the agonies of the deportation marches came to the semi-desert and desert regions of northern Syria and Iraq. Contemporary European and American literature referred to the refugee camps along the Baghdad rail line as concentration camps. There were no preparations for the reception, let alone settlement of the Armenians.

Wegner's pictures show how the Armenians tried to protect themselves from the heat with primitive tents, awnings, or pieces of clothing. As the pictures further verify, the deportees were almost exclusively the elderly, women, and children.

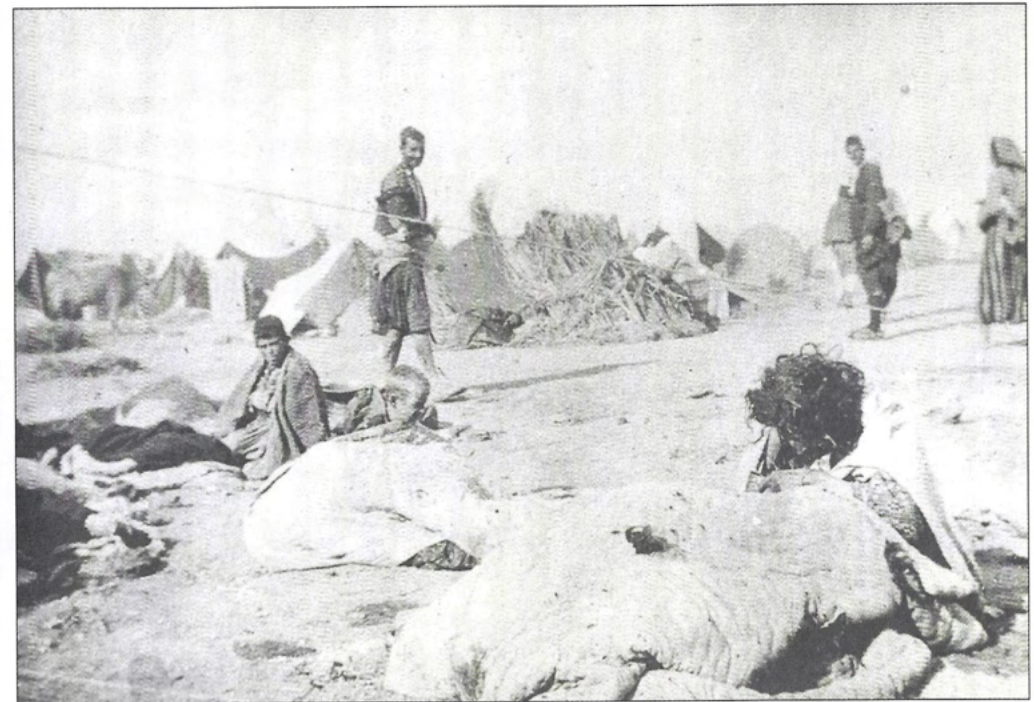


Fig. 46.

Armin T. Wegner collection

*Fig. 47.*

Armin T. Wegner collection

*Fig. 48.*

Armin T. Wegner collection



Fig. 49.

Armin T. Wegner collection



Fig. 50.

Armin T. Wegner collection



Fig. 51.

Armin T. Wegner collection



Fig. 52.

Armin T. Wegner collection



Fig. 53. Mesopotamia 1915: Deported Armenian woman doing wash in the Euphrates

Armin T. Wegner collection



Fig. 54.

Epidemics and vermin tormented the deportees in Mesopotamia. This photograph shows an Armenian child, whose relatives are attempting to remove head lice. *Left, the photographer's shadow.*

Armin T. Wegner collection



Fig. 55. "This group of human wreckage represents tens of thousands when first approached with aid"

James L. Barton, *STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF, 1915-1930* (New York: Macmillan, 1930)



Fig. 56. Children taken in by Near East Relief

This picture appeared in the diary of Maria Jacobsen, published in Beirut; it carried the note, in Danish: "Armenian children 1915-1918."

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



Fig. 57. A living skeleton

A Near East Relief nurse examines an Armenian child.

Barton, *STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF*



Fig. 58. Kharberd 1915: one of the numerous Armenian children wasted away to a skeleton

Jacobsen, *DIARY 1907-1919*,
KHARPUT, TURKEY



Fig. 59. Starved Armenian woman with two small children

Armin T. Wegner collection



Fig. 60. Armenian hunger victims

Armin T. Wegner collection