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## The Armenians of Palestine 1918-48

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## THE ARMENIANS OF PALESTINE 1918–48

BEDROSS DER MATOSSIAN

*For the Armenians of Palestine, the three decades of the Mandate were probably the most momentous in their fifteen hundred-year presence in the country. The period witnessed the community's profound transformation under the double impacts of Britain's Palestine policy and waves of destitute Armenian refugees fleeing the massacres in Anatolia. The article presents, against the background of late Ottoman rule, a comprehensive overview of the community, including the complexities and role of the religious hierarchy, the initially difficult encounter between the indigenous Armenians and the new refugee majority, their politics and associations, and their remarkable economic recovery. By the early 1940s, the Armenian community was at the peak of its success, only to be dealt a mortal blow by the 1948 war, from which it never recovered.*

THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY of Palestine during the British Mandate has been a marginalized topic in Palestinian historiography.<sup>1</sup> This stems partly from language constraints, as most of the relevant material is in Armenian, but the period represents challenges even for Armenian scholars because of the inaccessibility of the Armenian patriarchal archives and the absence of local Armenian daily or even weekly newspapers in the period under study. Other factors pertain to the community's small size and its relative marginalization with regard to the great political issues that absorbed Palestine during the Mandate. For reasons that will be discussed below, but that mainly stem from the massive transformation of the community under the impact of waves of destitute refugees in the wake of the Armenian genocide, the community turned inward following World War I.

While this article addresses the Armenian presence in Palestine as a whole, it focuses especially on Jerusalem, which not only was the nucleus of the Armenian communities in Palestine but throughout the centuries also was a major spiritual center and principal pilgrimage site for Armenians worldwide. During the Mandate period, the dominant ethno-religio-cultural role of the Holy City and the Patriarchate of Sts. James<sup>2</sup> actually increased as a result of the greatly diminished role of the Patriarch of Istanbul after the Ottoman collapse and the inaccessibility of the great theological center in Echmiadzin, Armenia, following the Soviet takeover in 1920. As a result of a growing

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economy under the Mandate, Jerusalem continued to attract Armenians from nearby countries, especially Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt.

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Armenian presence in Palestine dates back to the fourth century A.D., when Armenian pilgrims began arriving in Jerusalem after the uncovering of the holy places of Christianity (which had been built over by the Romans), ascribed to Saint Helena, mother of the newly converted Emperor Constantine I. A proliferation of monasteries, many of them Armenian, soon grew up in the Holy Land. The Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church (also known as the Armenian Gregorian Church) had its own bishop in Jerusalem as of the seventh century.

The Patriarchate of Jerusalem in its present form came into being in the first decade of the fourteenth century, when the Brotherhood of Sts. James, an Armenian monastic order established in the Holy City, proclaimed its head, Bishop Sargis, as patriarch. Eventually, the Jerusalem Patriarchate<sup>3</sup> exercised its authority over Armenians in Palestine, southern Syria, Lebanon, Cyprus, and Egypt, though by Mandate times its jurisdiction was limited to Palestine and Transjordan. An indication of the Armenian church's importance in Jerusalem is its joint guardianship—shared with the far larger and more powerful Greek Orthodox and Latin (Roman Catholic) churches—of Christianity's holiest sites, including the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the Church of the Nativity, among others. Its status with regard to the various holy places was confirmed by the Ottomans in arrangements that have remained largely unchanged since the seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup>

During the Ottoman period, the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem had to cede his administrative autonomy to the newer Armenian Patriarch of Istanbul, established in the fifteenth century and recognized by the Ottoman state as the center of the Armenian Gregorian Church throughout the empire. However, because the subordination did not involve recognition of higher religious authority,<sup>5</sup> the Jerusalem Patriarchate adapted to the new situation. In fact, it may actually have benefited insofar as it now received financial assistance from the Patriarchate of Istanbul as well as the support of the wealthy Istanbul-based Armenian *Amira* (nobles) class in its struggle to preserve its rights in the holy places.<sup>6</sup>

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Ottomans embarked on a series of reforms (*Tanzimat*), some of which concerned the traditional *millet* (community) system under which non-Muslim ethno-religious hierarchies had the right to govern their communities autonomously. These latter reforms were undertaken with a view to countering the rising nationalisms within the empire, especially among the religious minorities, by giving the lay populations of these minorities a greater say in their communal affairs. It was against this background that an Armenian National Constitution was promulgated in 1863, in accordance with which the Armenian National Assembly (ANA) was

established in Istanbul with representation from across the empire. Although largely a lay institution (only 20 of its 140 members were clerics),<sup>7</sup> the ANA was given the right to supervise the Patriarchate's finances and to elect the Jerusalem Patriarch from a list of seven candidates presented by the Sts. James Brotherhood. When later the Jerusalem Patriarchate (and Brotherhood) opposed these measures,<sup>8</sup> which curtailed their authority, Sultan Abdülhamid II in 1888 intervened in their favor by issuing an edict restoring Jerusalem's autonomous status and confirming the election of a new patriarch, Haroutiun Vehabedian,<sup>9</sup> whose long reign began in 1889.

In addition to clergy within the Patriarchate, for centuries there had been a small Armenian lay community clustered around the Monastery and Cathedral of Sts. James in what became known as the Armenian Quarter, which occupies about one-sixth of Jerusalem's Old City. A subtle divide existed between the Brotherhood/clergy and the lay community, owing not only to the distance that normally separates rulers from ruled (the entire Armenian Quarter was always and continues to be administered by the Brotherhood), but also to the fact that the lay community was continuous whereas the Brotherhood came mainly from the outside, sent to Jerusalem from the theological schools and centers throughout the Armenian world.

Some of the lay population were descended from Armenian pilgrims who came to the Holy City centuries earlier, where they were housed in compounds of the Patriarchate designated for that purpose. Some remained and found employment within the large Patriarchate administration that ran the quarter and church properties. The population of the Armenian Quarter belonged to the Armenian Gregorian Church (as did the majority of the Armenians throughout Palestine and worldwide), but a small Armenian Catholic community also existed in Jerusalem as of the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> The Catholic community was concentrated in the Muslim Quarter of the Old City, its Patriarchal Vicariate being located on Via Dolorosa.

Jerusalem's Armenians saw themselves as part of Ottoman Palestinian society. Their first language was Arabic, though they also spoke Armenian and frequently European languages as well. A rare glimpse of the community's involvement in Jerusalem's commercial life and civil administration in late Ottoman times can be obtained from a list prepared by Hagop Terzibashian, supervisor of catering within the Patriarchate for thirty years as of 1960.<sup>11</sup> Armenians were employed as barbers, blacksmiths, carpenters, builders, shoemakers, goldsmiths, tailors, and bankers, among other trades.<sup>12</sup> They also played a political role well beyond the confines of their community. Boghos Effendi Zakarian, for example, was the deputy governor (*Mutassarif*) of Jerusalem, Sahag Nersessian was chief of police, and Hovhannes Khatchadourian was the city's tax collector. Furthermore, because of their language skills and diligence, they were employed by foreign missions. In Jerusalem, for example, Hagop Pascal was vice-consul of Austria-Hungary, Haroutioun Torossian was vice-consul of Prussia, and Hagop Srabion Mouradian was the U.S. consular officer in Jaffa. Other members of

the Mouradian family held higher positions at the U.S consulate in Jerusalem. Onnig, for example, who went by the name Lazarus, was vice-consul, and Simeon was acting vice-consul (when he held the same position at the German Consulate, he went by the name Frederick).<sup>13</sup>

By the early years of the twentieth century, the Patriarchate was in disarray. Taking advantage of the patriarch's old age, certain members of the Brotherhood who were part of the administration had been appropriating huge sums of money,<sup>14</sup> causing much consternation within the Brotherhood as a whole and the lay community. Getting wind of the situation, the Patriarch of Istanbul sent an investigative commission to Jerusalem to put things in order,<sup>15</sup> but although many members of the Brotherhood were banished as a result, disorder and chaos continued.

In 1908, the Young Turk revolution in Istanbul overthrew Sultan Abdülhamid and introduced a constitutional monarchy, bringing to an end the absolutist rule of the Ottoman ancien regime and spreading hopes of freedom, equality, and justice throughout the empire.<sup>16</sup> The "Young Turks" revived the Armenian constitution and the ANA, which had been suspended by Abdülhamid. In Jerusalem, Armenian clerics and laymen, encouraged by the new atmosphere, coalesced into a reform movement targeting the Patriarchate's own ancien regime. When conservative elements attempted to block the reformers, laymen, aided by reformist priests, petitioned Jerusalem's governor to intervene against the patriarch and his supporters still holding power. Testifying to the importance of the Patriarchate of Sts. James for Armenians throughout the empire, the newly reconstituted ANA made the struggle unfolding in Jerusalem a major issue, dispatching a commission and weighing in on the side of the reformers.

The reform efforts, however, were overtaken by events. The old patriarch died in 1910 and the patriarchal seat remained vacant. The empire entered an alliance with Germany, and in 1914 World War I broke out, bringing devastation and ruin, the Armenian genocide, and ultimately the Ottoman defeat and collapse.

## THE COMMUNITY IN TRANSITION

The end of the Ottoman Empire and the coming of British rule profoundly changed the nature of the Armenian community in Palestine.<sup>17</sup> The sudden influx from 1915 onward of thousands of Armenian refugees fleeing the massacres in Anatolia radically transformed its demographic composition, even as provisions of the Mandate itself (along with the 1922 Order-in-Council) affected its position among the other communities of Palestine.

### *The Mandate Instrument*

The Mandate preserved the privileges and immunities that the Christian communities had enjoyed under the Ottomans.<sup>18</sup> It also adopted the Ottoman millet system, but with modifications that undermined the notion of a political

community made up of equal citizens bound together by *Ottomanism* that the Ottomans had tried to promote after the Tanzimat reforms. Thus, whereas the nineteenth-century millet reforms (intended to stem the tide of ethno-religious nationalisms) introduced broader based institutions of self-rule (e.g., the ANA) in an effort to replace traditional religious affiliations by a secular identity,<sup>19</sup> Britain's intentions with regard to the millet system were closely linked to its own Jewish National Home project. Indeed, aware of the strong opposition its policy would inevitably generate among Palestine's majority Arab population, the British used the system to fragment the Arabs into separate religious components.<sup>20</sup> The British were further aware (as the Ottomans had been) that it was easier to deal with the religious hierarchies, and consequently vested full authority in them as the main representatives of Palestine's religious groups. The ecclesiastical orders, which for a number of Christian sects were not part of the indigenous community but came from the outside, naturally tended toward accommodation with the ruling authorities. As a result, the local people were denied national (i.e., lay) representation in the governance of their communities.

British policy had particular consequences for the Armenians. The coalescence of politics in Palestine along Arab (Muslim plus Christian) versus Jewish lines in reaction to Mandate priorities left them marginalized; by virtue of not being Arab, they stood apart from the dominant issue of the day. But here, too, there was a circumstantial factor: given the degree of inte-

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gration into Palestinian Arab society of the original Armenian community, the situation would have been different had the community not been overwhelmed by the arrival of thousands of refugees. With the refugees soon constituting the majority, the primary political involvement of the community became intra-Armenian diasporic affairs, especially since traditional Armenian political parties previously absent in Palestine but widespread elsewhere—the Dashnaks<sup>21</sup> and the Ramgavars<sup>22</sup>—were soon firmly implanted,

the divide between them heightened by the cold war following Soviet domination of eastern Armenia (Yerevan) as of 1920. While the indigenous Armenians never became involved in these issues, and their sympathies were solidly with the Palestinians, their preoccupations were henceforth elsewhere. As a result of the new divisions, the Armenians could not even form a unified national representation in matters pertaining to the Patriarchate: the refugees, grateful to the Patriarchate for its huge role in resettlement and relief, would never challenge its authority, while the original community had long aspired to a greater say in patriarchal affairs.

The Armenian community's disengagement from local Palestinian politics<sup>23</sup> was in contrast to the Arab Greek Orthodox community, which played a dominant role in both macro- and micropolitical developments of Palestine. The Greek Orthodox community was not only much larger but

also more cohesive, benefiting from the continuity of an indigenous community undisrupted by the kind of demographic revolution experienced by the Armenians. As such, they were able to continue their struggle on two fronts. On the one hand, they sought to free their church from the domination of the ethnically (and linguistically) Greek higher clergy by demanding a larger role in managing the affairs of the Patriarchate and the community, especially with regard to education and real estate.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, as Arabs, they played an important role in the consolidation of the Palestinian national movement.

### *The Refugee Influx*

The Armenian population of Palestine on the eve of World War I numbered between two and three thousand persons. The majority lived in Jerusalem, with smaller communities in Haifa, Jaffa, Ramla, and Bethlehem. As noted earlier, Palestine's indigenous Armenian population had been overwhelmed during the war by huge waves of Armenians from Cilicia, the ancient Armenian kingdom in what is now southwestern Turkey.<sup>25</sup> Cilicia, in addition to having one of the largest Armenian concentrations in the empire, was also the seat of the Cilician Catholicos, the theological head of the Western half of the Gregorian church.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, the first wave of refugees to Palestine, which arrived in Jerusalem in early November 1915, consisted of the Cilician Catholicos himself, Sahag, accompanied by archbishops and priests.<sup>27</sup> A few days later, fifteen to twenty Armenian families were sent to Jerusalem from Adana by the Damascus-based commander of the Ottoman Fourth Army, Jamal Pasha.<sup>28</sup> Soon the number of the Armenian refugees in Palestine grew to six hundred families. Jamal Pasha, who was on good terms with the Armenian Catholicos, played an important role in saving hundreds of Armenians by sending them to Palestine. In 1916 he even made a visit in person to the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

In a report addressed to the Armenian Patriarch of Istanbul, Catholicos Sahag described what he saw on his journey from Cilicia to Jerusalem:

The road from Aleppo to Damascus was lined with thousands of Armenian refugees. Some were living in tents and others in the open air, begging for bread and water and asking for news about their friends. We went through places where one *tenekeh* [tin can] of water cost six to seven piastres, but still there was no one to give it. Many refugees—no one knows the exact number—are in the area of Kerek, and in the district of Salt there are about 400 households. Every village has 100 households of refugees and in the *sanjak* of Serai there are approximately 500 households. These people come to the Monastery [in Jerusalem], where they receive 30 to 40 loaves of bread a day, which [they] eat in the kitchen. About 80 refugees from Adana—with the special favor of Jemal Pasha—have arrived in Jerusalem and are living in the monastery compound.<sup>29</sup>



By 1920, some two thousand Armenian refugees had arrived in Jerusalem. The military governor of Jerusalem, Sir Ronald Storrs, described the situation in his memoirs as follows:

As if these things were not enough, there were added to our troubles thousands of refugees. Over two thousand desperate Armenians besieged the saintly but incompetent *locum tenens* of the Armenian Patriarchate. There were the Christian refugees from Salt, a city older than Genesis . . . and OETA [Occupied Enemy Territory Administration] had to face feeding and housing of Saltis<sup>30</sup> as well as Armenians. Later I find . . . 7000 refugees—Armenian, Syrian, Latin Orthodox, Protestant and Moslem suddenly flung on my hands this week: a good deal of typhus, but malaria not expected till autumn. No easy matter feeding and looking after them and I have had to detail three members of my staff for the purpose.<sup>31</sup>

Most of the refugees arriving in Jerusalem and elsewhere in Palestine viewed their situation as temporary and were waiting to return to their hometowns in Cilicia. But in 1922, Mustafa Kemal Pasha (later Atatürk) launched an offensive in Cilicia, and several shiploads of Armenian refugees arrived in Haifa. By 1925, there were about 15,000 Armenians in Palestine, mainly in Jerusalem, with smaller numbers in Haifa and Jaffa.<sup>32</sup>

There are no precise or reliable Armenian population figures for Palestine during the Mandate. According to Armenian sources, their numbers ranged from 15,000 to 20,000.<sup>33</sup> Britain conducted two censuses during the period, in 1922 and 1931. Both gave results by district and religious grouping, with the total number of Armenians (Gregorian and Catholic) in all Palestine put at 3,210 in 1922<sup>34</sup> and 3,524 in 1931.<sup>35</sup> These figures cannot be verified. The 1922 census in general is widely acknowledged to have been seriously flawed, and the chaos of a major influx of refugees then at its height would have made accurate counting impossible. Although the 1931 census in general was more accurate, the usual problems of enumeration (arising from fears of taxation, distrust of the authorities, etc.) would have been considerably exacerbated in the case of a traumatized population still in flux. Although there is no way of confirming the Armenian sources, there is little question that they are a better reflection of the reality.

Even after the major refugee waves ended, the Armenian community was not demographically stable. It continued to grow during the 1930s and 1940s due to Armenian immigration to Palestine (especially Jerusalem, Haifa, and Jaffa) from surrounding countries under the impact first of epidemics and economic hardships<sup>36</sup> and later of an expanding economy promising jobs and business opportunities. There was also illegal immigration.<sup>37</sup> A man called *Kör Sarkis* (Blind Sarkis) was famous among Armenians in Palestine as a courier for decades between their communities and those of Lebanon, carrying packets of letters both ways; on the return trip, he would smuggle groups of Armenians into Palestine through secret passes along the border.<sup>38</sup> As the political situation in Palestine worsened, however, Armenians began



leaving the country. In 1947, some 1,500 refugees were repatriated to (Soviet) Armenia,<sup>39</sup> inaugurating the decline of Palestine's Armenian population that gathered momentum with the 1948 war.

Inevitably, the almost-overnight demographic transformation of the community in the early 1920s caused strains. The indigenous Armenians (referred to in the new context as "locals," or *kaghakatsi*), thoroughly Arabized and speaking a heavily accented Armenian, sharing the customs and cuisine of Palestinian Arab society, suddenly found themselves vastly outnumbered by refugees (known as "guests," or *zuwwar*), who knew no Arabic, spoke only Turkish and Armenian, and had different ways and traditions. The *zuwwar*, who saw the *kaghakatsi* as more Arab than Armenian, had brought with them their own political parties and pan-Armenian unions from the regions from which they were deported, and were initially totally alien to the momentous political transformations underway in Palestine. Even as they came to realize the stakes involved, they were naturally more preoccupied with rebuilding their lives and recovering from the tragedy that had befallen them. Eventually, however, they were won over by the locals' kindness and generosity, and a gradual process of integration began.<sup>40</sup>

#### THE PATRIARCHATE AND THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES

When the British entered Jerusalem in 1917, they established a military administration whose immediate task was to deal with the famine, dislocations, and disruptions caused by the war.<sup>41</sup> In July 1920, the military regime was replaced by a civil administration under a High Commissioner, and on 29 September 1922, the Palestine Mandate was approved by the League of Nations.

Meanwhile, the Armenian Patriarchate had been in a deplorable state for over a decade. Besides the turmoil within the community resulting from the refugee influx, the Patriarchal See had been vacant since Vehabedian's death in 1910. The financial situation was such that in March 1919, Jerusalem's military governor Sir Ronald Storrs appointed an administrative commission to supervise the Patriarchate's finances. The commission was headed by Bishop Yeghishe Chillingirian, who was also appointed to take overall charge of the Brotherhood's internal affairs until a new patriarch was in place. In 1921, Yeghishe Turian<sup>42</sup> was elected patriarch under the procedures established in the constitution of 1888, except that the election was now confirmed by the British Crown rather than by the Sultan, as had been the case under the Ottomans.

Patriarch Turian immediately faced the monumental task of providing shelter for the refugees still pouring into the country. Working with the Armenian General Benevolent Union and the Near East Relief Organization, the Patriarchate of Sts. James took in more than eight hundred male and female orphans from Dayr al-Zur and elsewhere in Syria, setting up mixed orphanages in Sts. James Cathedral (Araradian Orphanage), the Holy Cross

Greek Convent, and Nazareth.<sup>43</sup> Turian later had to deal with the consequences of the earthquake of 1927,<sup>44</sup> which severely damaged the Cathedral of Sts. James and destroyed church properties in Ramla and Bethlehem. While rebuilding the damaged areas, he established a beautiful spiritual retreat surrounded by olive groves known as the Baron Der Orchard, near Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem.<sup>45</sup> He also played a major role in organizing the Armenian community of the Haifa area.

Pursuing his goal of raising the educational and cultural level of the community, Turian enacted a series of reforms aimed at improving conditions within the Brotherhood, especially concerning the nutrition, accommodation, and education of the priesthood. Two additional classrooms funded by the Gulbenkian and Melkonian families were added to the seminary.<sup>46</sup> In 1929, he initiated the building of the Gulbenkian Library and the Holy Translators (*Srpsots Tarkmantchats*) school. He also revived the Armenian printing press, shut down during the war, and within three years Sts. James Press began to publish quality works by the patriarch and other clerics.<sup>47</sup> Similarly, Turian relaunched *Sion*, the official organ of the Armenian Patriarchate, a monthly publication devoted mainly to religious matters<sup>48</sup>

One of Turian's dreams had been to bring to Jerusalem the legacy of the Armash Theological Seminary, the great center of learning of the Istanbul Patriarchate that had been destroyed in 1915. Already during the war, some fifteen to twenty Armash seminarians had been brought by their teachers, Fathers Mampre and Khoren, to the seminary in Jerusalem.<sup>49</sup> When in 1926 Turian built the new theological faculty (*enzayaran*)<sup>50</sup> and modernized the curriculum, he appointed a teaching body that included such eminent Armenian scholars as Archbishops Papken Guleserian, Torkom Koushagian, Megerditch Aghavnuni, Fr. Guregh Israelian, Fr. Norayr Bogharian, Fr. Diran Nersoyan, Garabed Kapigian, Shahan Berberian, and Hagop Oshagan, some of whom had been trained at Armash. In his eyes, Jerusalem's consequent emergence as one of the leading Armenian cultural and religious centers in the Middle East represented a "sacred vengeance" against the terrible calamity that had befallen the Armenians.

Patriarch Turian's death in 1929 immediately raised the issue of the patriarchal election. He had been the last Jerusalem Patriarch to be elected (through special arrangement with the British) by the ANA, which even then (1921) represented only a fraction of the Armenian nation (i.e., those remaining in Turkey). By 1929, the Brotherhood of Sts. James, backed by the British,<sup>51</sup> saw in the ANA's current state a good opportunity to eliminate the "national" (that is, lay) involvement in the Patriarchate's affairs, something the clerical establishment had never welcomed.

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On 8 May 1930, Archbishop Mesrob Nishanian, who had been appointed locum tenens pending the inauguration of a new patriarch, met with the

governor of Jerusalem and expressed the hope that the election would take place as soon as possible.<sup>52</sup> According to the eminent historian Arshag Alboyanian, on 17 June 1930 the Synod, the Patriarchate's supreme executive body,<sup>53</sup> proposed amendments to articles 20, 21, 22, and 23 of the Brotherhood's constitution, which in essence vested full authority for the patriarchal election exclusively in the Brotherhood's General Assembly,<sup>54</sup> thus eliminating the national character that had existed since the Ottoman Tanzimat.<sup>55</sup> After the proposed amendments received the Mandate government's approval, elections were held on 16 July 1930, and Torkom Koushagian, after being confirmed by the British, became the new patriarch.

On 20 July 1930, after the election was announced and the exclusion of the Armenian people from the process became known, more than one hundred Armenians gathered in the Armenian Quarter of the Old City at the Jerusalem Armenian Benevolent Union (a club belonging to the kaghakatsis) to protest the elimination of the "national" (or lay) character of the elections and to demand its restoration. But the group was unable to rally the community, especially since the *zuwwar*, who now made up the majority, had different views on the matter, not to mention more urgent preoccupations. In any case, given Britain's firm support for the new procedures, there was little that could be done.

Nonetheless, the controversy continued for a time in the diaspora, where the election of the Jerusalem Patriarch was seen not as a purely ecclesiastical matter but as a national Armenian concern. In Cairo, for example, the newspapers of both the Dashnak and the Ramgavar ran articles relating to the election as late as 1932. Front-page editorials in *Arev* (Ramgavar) expressed particular anger at the British for its "meddling in the affairs of the Patriarchal elections" and for the "huge role" it played in giving "full power" to the Patriarchate and Brotherhood and denying any national representation.<sup>56</sup> *Housaper* (Dashnak) also inveighed against the British, accusing them of complicity with the hierarchy.<sup>57</sup>

Patriarch Koushagian in the meantime had established himself as a strong leader. His first task was to attend to the Patriarchate's considerable debts. To this end, he invited Vosgan Bey Mardigian, who had been minister of PTT (Post, Telephone, and Telegraph) of the Ottoman Empire, to ascertain the size of the debt and propose necessary remedies.<sup>58</sup> Vosgan Bey arrived in Jerusalem on 21 April 1932 and for eight months examined the records and, after determining the debt to be 100,000 pounds, drew up a financial plan that was implemented over the next few years.<sup>59</sup> Koushagian's reign, besides witnessing a dramatic decrease in the Patriarchate's debt, between 1931 and 1936 also saw the growth of its real estate holdings, including properties on Jaffa Road and Princess Mary Road in western Jerusalem valued at 70,000 pounds at the time.

Koushagian died in 1939 and was followed by Patriarch Mersob Nishanian, who had twice been the *locum tenens* and involved for decades in Jerusalem's patriarchal affairs. Like his predecessors, he emphasized education. His four

volumes of private letters are a valuable source of information about the community.<sup>60</sup> Upon his sudden death by a heart attack in 1944, he was succeeded by Guregh Israelian, whose tenure was marked by the rapidly deteriorating Palestinian political situation that culminated in the 1948 war, during which he played a vital role safeguarding the community, providing food and shelter during the hostilities. The patriarchal seat remained vacant for almost a decade following his death in 1949.

Meanwhile, the small Armenian Catholic community in the Muslim Quarter had also grown considerably during the Mandate period with the arrival of Catholic refugees from Cilicia and elsewhere.<sup>61</sup> Like its Gregorian patriarchal counterpart, the Armenian Catholic Vicarate had remained vacant during the turmoil of World War I. It was filled only in 1921, when Mgr. Hovsep Momjian, formerly dean of the Levonian school in Rome, arrived in Jerusalem. As head of the community, he oversaw the resettlement of the Armenian Catholic refugees and the renovation of the Armenian Catholic Church. In 1930 he was succeeded by Mgr. Hagop Giragosian, subsequently named “the Reformer” for his renovations and building works in the convent area, including the establishment of the School of the Immaculate Conception for the community’s children.

#### **ARMENIAN LIFE UNDER THE MANDATE**

While the Armenians under the Mandate were far less involved in the political life of Palestine than they had been during the late Ottoman pre-World War I period, British rule witnessed a real flourishing of Armenian civil society organizations and institutions.

Education was a high priority for both the Armenian ecclesiastic leadership and lay communities.<sup>62</sup> The largest Armenian educational institution in Palestine was the above-mentioned Holy Translators School in Jerusalem (the “national school”) founded by Patriarch Turian, which offered courses in Armenian history, classical and modern Armenian, religion, science and mathematics, as well as English and Arabic.<sup>63</sup> In addition to the church-sponsored educational facilities mentioned previously, new Armenian schools were established in Jaffa and Haifa. Armenian students in Palestine also attended non-Armenian schools such as Bishop Gobat and St. George (British), St. Joseph and the Freres (French), and Schmidt (German),<sup>64</sup> if their families could afford the tuition and fees.

The Mandate period was especially notable for its immense proliferation of Armenian sports and cultural societies, especially in the 1930s.<sup>65</sup> For the most part, club memberships were either kaghakatsi or zuwwar; rarely were they mixed. The exact number of these clubs is unknown, but there were certainly scores. Most were in Jerusalem, but clubs existed everywhere in Palestine where there was a significant Armenian population. Zuwwar clubs predominated. Some were based on the members’ hometowns in Anatolia,

not only serving as gathering places but also making possible the revival and preservation of their traditions and localisms; of these, some were pan-Armenian unions, with chapters elsewhere in the diaspora. There were also political clubs, and it was not uncommon even for clubs devoted to sports or other activities to have memberships that were either Dashnak or Ramgavar. For refugees arriving in a new and even somewhat alien place, the clubs played a particularly vital role.

A multiplicity of Armenian sporting clubs—of which the most prominent was the Homentmen Club—distinguished themselves in soccer, basketball, and boxing, competing not only against each other but also against Arab, British, and Jewish teams.<sup>66</sup> Armenians were particularly strong in boxing, and even all-Armenian matches were covered by the local press.<sup>67</sup> Among the outstanding Armenian boxers,<sup>68</sup> the most famous was Mardo Gozukutchukian, whose fights were attended by large enthusiastic crowds made up of all communities and even British soldiers.<sup>69</sup> In 1940, “Boxer Mardo” won the title of the Near East Heavy Weight Champion after defeating the Egyptian champion, ‘Abdo Kibrit. Armenian cultural societies were also very visible, with active lecture programs and cultural events. Concerts and music recitals, sometimes held in the auditorium of the YMCA to accommodate large audiences (Armenian and non-Armenian), were also covered in the local press.<sup>70</sup>

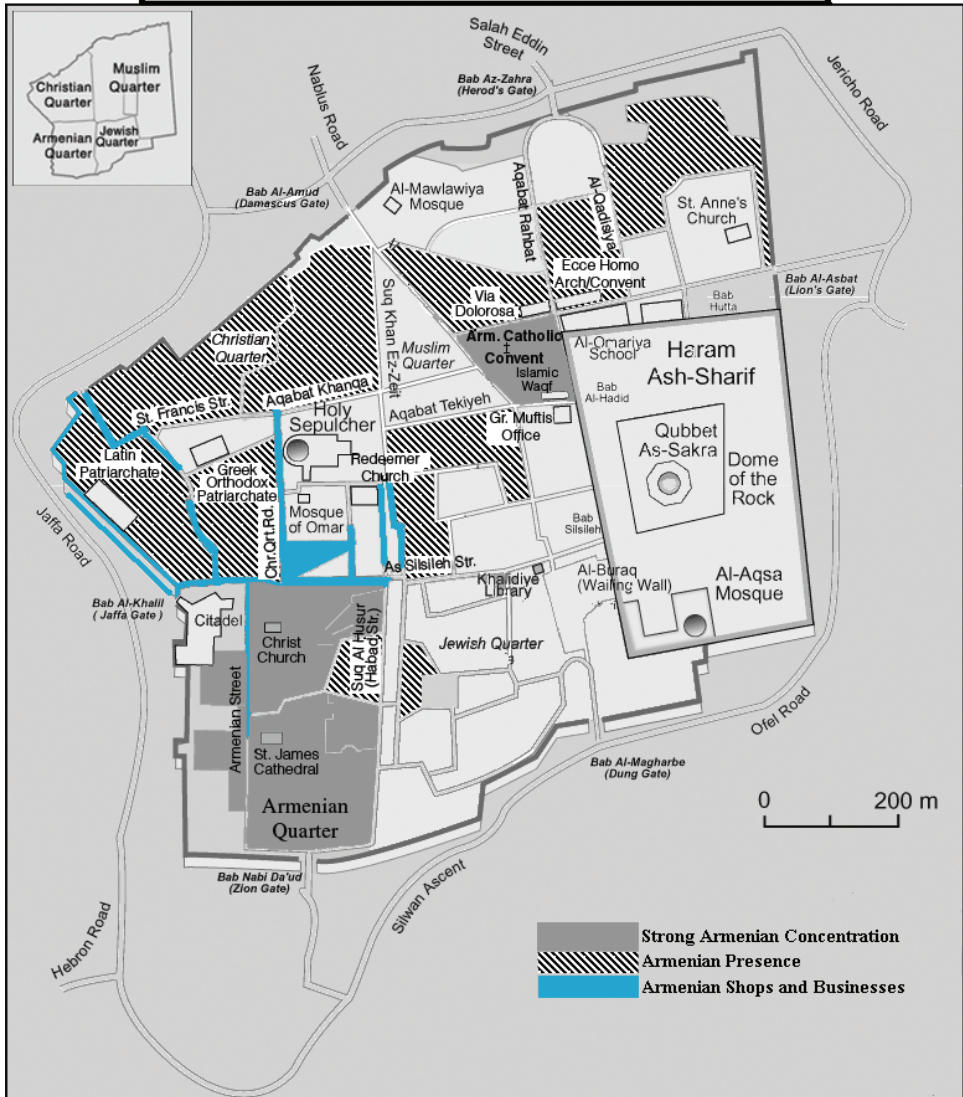
It is not coincidental that most of the Armenian clubs and associations—the vast majority of which were *zuvwar*—were founded in the 1930s. By that time, the refugees were no longer occupied solely with matters of shelter and survival. Though initially destitute, most of them had professions, which became their tools of survival. Within a decade of their arrival, aided by the gradual improvement of the economy, they had begun to engage in business and open their own small shops, already contributing to the local economy. They were particularly prominent as goldsmiths, silversmiths, shoemakers, tailors, and tinsmiths; they also worked in photography and ceramics.

In fact, the economic situation of the Armenian community in Palestine as a whole underwent a remarkable recovery in the first decade or so of the Mandate. The war and postwar years had been extremely difficult. The pilgrimage to the holy land, which drew Armenians from throughout the empire and beyond and which constituted the Patriarchate’s major source of revenue, had stopped during World War I, never to resume. The great expenditures involved in feeding and housing thousands of survivors of the Armenian genocide also took a toll, contributing to the huge accumulation of patriarchal debts already mentioned. By the 1930s, however, the Armenian community as a whole enjoyed relative prosperity.

The following map of Jerusalem’s Old City shows the spread of Armenian businesses and shops during the Mandate. Except for the shops along Armenian Street within the Patriarchate, most of the Armenian businesses



**Armenian Presence in the Old City of Jerusalem (1913-1948)**



were in the Christian Quarter, concentrated especially along *Harat al-Nasara*, as well as outside the city walls, notably in the Jaffa Gate and Mamilla areas.<sup>71</sup> More generally, the map shows the Armenian presence in the Old City, the densest concentrations being the Armenian Quarter itself and the (much smaller) Armenian Catholic enclave in the Muslim Quarter, with a significant presence in both the Christian and the Muslim quarters (the latter mainly Catholics).

While the overwhelming majority of Jerusalem's Armenian population under the Mandate lived inside the Old City, during the 1930s, wealthy Armenians began to move outside the Old City to what was then called the "New City," mainly in western Jerusalem. Starting in the late-nineteenth century, new largely Arab (Muslim and Christian) and Greek mixed neighborhoods of elegant and spacious villas were built and soon became among the most desirable residential areas of Jerusalem. These Armenians, like the Arab Muslims and Christians who had moved there from the Old City, were part of a developing bourgeoisie, and this class affiliation to an extent trumped confessional differences or concerns. Thus, Armenians did not form an enclave but were intermingled with Arab Muslims and Christians,<sup>72</sup> scattered among neighborhoods such as Bab al-Zahira, Shaykh Jarrah, Wadi al-Juz, Musrara, Mamilla, al-Nabi Dawud, Biq'a (Upper and Lower), Talbiyya, Qatamon, the Greek Colony, and the German Colony.

It is impossible to assess the economic status of the Armenians of Palestine, but some insights concerning the *distribution* of wealth within the community can be gleaned from the results of two fundraising campaigns—the first in 1933 to help the Armenian victims of an earthquake in Beirut, the second in 1939 for the Armenians expelled from the Sanjak of Alexandretta when it passed from Syria to Turkey—undertaken by the Jerusalem Patriarchate. The information, which was found in the private papers of Patriarch Nishanian, was recorded by the area where the donations originated; for Jerusalem, the areas listed were the Armenian Quarter (also called the "cathedral," or the "convent"), the other quarters of the Old City, and the areas beyond the city walls (i.e., the New City).

Tables I and II on the following page depict the results of these campaigns in P. mils (Palestine mils), with 1,000 P. mils equaling 1 £P (Palestine Pound), itself equal to 1 (British) £ sterling. In order to put the amounts involved in some perspective, the daily wage for a skilled, unionized Jewish worker in September 1939 ranged from 300 to 800 mils, depending on the sector (linotype operators being the best paid). Comparable figures for 1933 were not found, but would have been significantly lower.<sup>73</sup>



*Table I: Fundraising for the Armenians of Beirut, July 1933*

<b>Jerusalem</b>	
<b>Group A:</b> In the cathedral . . . . .	40.045 P. Mils
<b>Group B:</b> Inside the walls (of the Old City) . . . . .	21.170 P. Mils
<b>Group C:</b> Outside the walls. . . . .	53.275 P. Mils
<b>Total: 114.490 P. Mils</b>	
Bethlehem . . . . .	1.550 P. Mils
Haifa . . . . .	38.020 P. Mils
Nazareth. . . . .	5.000 P. Mils
<b>Total: 44.570 P. Mils</b>	
<b>TOTAL: 159.060 P. Mils</b>	

*Table II: Fundraising for the Armenian Deportees from Alexandretta, September 1939*

<b>Group A:</b> In the convent:	
From the Brotherhood . . . . .	23.800 P.Mils
From the people living in the convent. . . . .	29.900 P.Mils
<b>Total: 53.700 P. Mils</b>	
<b>Group B:</b> Inside the walls (of the Old City) . . . . .	22.400 P.Mils
<b>Group C:</b> Outside the walls	
1st section. . . . .	40.200 P.Mils
2nd section . . . . .	38.900 P.Mils
<b>Total: 79.100 P. Mils</b>	
Armenian Red Cross of Jerusalem . . . . .	3.000 P.Mils
<b>Total Amount from Jerusalem's Fundraising . . . . . 158.200 P.Mils</b>	
<b>Group D:</b> Jaffa . . . . .	78.620 P.Mils
Ramle . . . . .	8.050 P.Mils
<b>Total : 86.670 P. Mils</b>	
<b>Group E:</b> Haifa. . . . .	23.200 P.Mils
Acre . . . . .	1.800 P.Mils
Gaza . . . . .	3.000 P.Mils
<b>Total: 28.000 P. Mils</b>	
Transjordan . . . . .	38.020 P.Mils
<b>TOTAL: 310.890 P.Mils</b>	

Table I shows us that the Armenians living outside the city walls, by far the smallest of the three groups, donated significantly more than the majority living in the Armenian Quarter but less than the total Armenian population of the Old City, which constituted the overwhelming majority of the Jerusalem community. From Table II, we note that this overall situation had been reversed by 1939: in September of that year, the Armenians in the “New City” contributed more than the total Armenian population inside the city walls. The significant increase in total donations from 1933 to 1939 (for Jerusalem and for all Palestine, excluding the Transjordanian contribution) could be an indication of the growing prosperity of the Armenian population as a whole.

The early 1940s probably represents the high-water mark of the Armenian presence in Palestine. After a decade or so of difficult adjustment, the refugees had infused into the community a dynamic new element. By the late 1930s, they had become relatively integrated into local Armenian society, although *kaghakatsi* and *zuwwar* were still distinguishable by their speech and customs, and a tendency within the groups to intermarry persisted. What was most remarkable, however, was the extent to which the community as a whole succeeded—thanks to the commitment and organization of a strong leadership and the hard work, resilience, and perseverance of the lay population—in less than three decades to overcome the chaos, destitution, and upheaval visited upon it as a result of the tragic events of World War I. As early as the 1930s, the community had achieved a level of prosperity that enabled it to reach out to Armenians suffering elsewhere.

### THE 1948 WAR AND THE DEMISE OF THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY OF PALESTINE

During the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, Armenians from all over Palestine converged on the Armenian Quarter of Jerusalem’s Old City,<sup>74</sup> testimony to what the Patriarchate represented for the community in terms of protection and security. Within the compound walls, they organized themselves into three committees: the first to run the makeshift clinic set up in an underground section of the cathedral called *Kirechane*, the second to handle provisions, and the third to take charge of water distribution.<sup>75</sup> Meanwhile, an Armenian civil guard, armed with makeshift weapons, was formed under the leadership of the Dragoman Father Hayrig and Hrayr Yergatian to protect the quarter from the Haganah shelling of the Old City.<sup>76</sup> More than forty Armenians died in the fighting.<sup>77</sup> An editorial in *Sion* described the Armenian defense of the quarter as follows:

Considered in conventional [military] terms, the Brotherhood of Sts. James and the [Armenian] population of the Monastery did not engage in an *epic* battle during the bloody events in Palestine. Yet in other respects, it was and still can be seen as an epic stance, as the Brotherhood and the civilian

population, united, demonstrated their resolve in defending our spiritual and national heritage, our lives and possessions and, above all, our honor, which for centuries has always been illustrious and praiseworthy in these Holy Lands, particularly during events of this nature that are not unprecedented in the history of this nation.<sup>78</sup>

The 1948 war brought to an end an important period of Armenian history in Palestine. Major dislocations followed: The Armenian communities of Jaffa and Haifa and other areas that became Israel were reduced to insignificance. West Jerusalem—including the wealthy Arab neighborhoods of the New City where several hundred Armenian families had lived—was occupied by Israeli forces and almost the entire non-Jewish population was expelled; losing their homes and businesses, the Armenian residents left the country entirely.<sup>79</sup> Jerusalem's Old City, with its Armenian Quarter that for many centuries had been the heart of Palestine's Armenian community and a vital part of the city, remained in Arab (Jordanian) hands until 1967. But the community had already been dealt a mortal blow, and its dramatic decline was already underway.

## ENDNOTES

*Author's note:* I would like to thank Arpi Siyahian for reading and commenting on earlier drafts of this article. I would also like to thank the three anonymous reviewers for commenting on the article. Finally, I am indebted to Linda Butler for her meticulous editing and raising substantive questions about the article. Of course, I alone am responsible for this article.

1. Most of the historiography written about the Armenians of Jerusalem in the twentieth century is in Armenian. In English, see Assadour Antreassian, *Jerusalem and the Armenians* (Jerusalem: Sts. James Press, 1969); George Hintlian, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Sts. James Press, 1976); Victor Azaria, *The Armenian Quarter of Jerusalem: Urban Life behind Monastery Walls* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); John H. Melkon Rose, *Armenians of Jerusalem: Memoirs of Life in Palestine* (London and New York: Radcliffe Press, 1993); Ara Sanjian, "The Armenian Church and Community of Jerusalem," in Anthony O'Mahony, ed., *The Christian Communities of Jerusalem and the Holy Land: Studies in History, Religion and Politics* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003).

2. The Patriarchate is named for two saints: St. James the Apostle and St. James, the first bishop of Jerusalem.

3. The Patriarchate refers to the area and properties—centered on the Armenian Monastery/Convent of Sts. James, and encompassing the Old City's entire Armenian Quarter—under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Sts. James, with the patriarch at its head. The Brotherhood, from which the Synod, or Executive Body, is drawn, constitutes the administration of the Patriarchate.

4. The control of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and other Christian sites in Jerusalem was largely assigned to the Greek Orthodox, but other denominations had specific rights to various parts of these churches under a "status quo" agreement enforced by the government. The status quo was established by an Ottoman imperial decree in 1757 and was reaffirmed by another decree of 1852 recognized by the European powers in the Treaty of Paris of 1856 ending the Crimean War. See Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, *A Survey of Palestine* (reprint: Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 898–99.

5. Sanjian, "The Armenian Church," p. 63.

6. Sanjian, "The Armenian Church," p. 63.

7. R. V. Sarkissian, "The Armenian Church," in A. J. Arberry, ed., *Religion in the Middle East*, vol. I, p. 501.

8. Miabanit'iwann Surp' Erusaghēmi, *Azgayin Endbanur Zboghovn Zor Kbnorababar Matuts'anē* (Jerusalem: Sts. James Press, 1861); see also Mampre V. Margossian, *Surp' Erusaghēmi Hoyots' Azgayin Masin Tegbegutwinner* (Rosdov: Hovhannes Der Aprahamian Press, 1883).

9. Ajamian, Shahe Bishop, "Sultan Abdul Hamid and the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem," in Ma'oz, Moshe, ed., *Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman Period* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975), pp. 344–47.

10. The Armenian Catholic Church was established in the mid-eighteenth century, when a group of Armenians broke away from the Gregorian church and recognized the authority of the pope.

11. The list was unearthed by Hagop Terzibashian's son, Abraham Terian, an internationally renowned scholar on Armenian patristic and theological literature. See Arthur Hagopian, "Retelling the Saga of Armenians in Jerusalem," *Armtown*, 1 March 2011, <http://www.armtown.com/news/en/htq/20110301/201103019/>.

12. Hagopian, "Retelling," 1 March 2011.

13. Hagopian, "Retelling," 1 March 2011.

14. Among these were the steward of the Patriarchate, Father Ghevont Maksoudian, and the patriarch's aide, a layman named Avedis Tashjian.

15. On the patriarch's commission, see Maksoudian, Ghevont Father, *Erusaghēmi Kbnidire* [The question of Jerusalem], vol. I (Istanbul, 1908) [in Armenian].

16. Bedross Der Matossian, "Administrating the Non-Muslims and 'The Question of Jerusalem' after the Young Turk Revolution: The Cases of Jews, Armenians, and Greeks," in Eyal Ginio and Yuval Ben-Bassat, eds., *Late Ottoman Palestine: The Period of Young Turk Rule* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011).

17. For an excellent in-depth study of the transition of Jerusalem from Ottoman

to British rule, see Abigail Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem between Ottoman and British Rule* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011).

18. Great Britain, Mandate for Palestine, *The Palestine Order in Council* (London: H&S, Ltd., 1922). These privileges included the status quo arrangements with regard to the holy places.

19. William L. Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 4th ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2009), p. 85. In actual practice, the reforms were never fully carried out.

20. Britain's innovation was to include the Muslims as a millet, which had not been the case under the Ottomans. See Anthony O'Mahony, "The Christian Communities of Jerusalem and the Holy Land: A Historical and Political Survey," in Anthony O'Mahony, ed., *The Christian Communities of Jerusalem and the Holy Land: Studies in History, Religion and Politics* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), p. 14.

21. Also known as the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the Dashnak party, founded in 1890, is a member of the Socialist International and plays a dominant role in the Armenian diaspora.

22. The Ramgavar party, or the Armenian Democratic Liberal Party, was established in 1921 when the offshoots of various Social Democratic parties and Constitutional Democrats merged. It advocates liberalism and capitalism.

23. It bears emphasis that despite the universal Armenian sense of connection to Jerusalem, the issue of Palestine per se had little resonance either with the refugees or with the Armenian clergy and Brotherhood, who came from outside.

24. The leading role of members of the Arab Orthodox community in the Palestinian press (e.g., Isa & Yusif al-Isa), education (e.g., Khalil Sakakini), and the Arab nationalist movement is remarkable (e.g., Ya'qub Farraj and Emil al-Ghuri) is remarkable, without parallel in the Armenian community. See Sotiris Roussos, "The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate and Community of Jerusalem," in *The Christian Communities of Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, pp. 38–56.

25. Among the important cities of the region with important Armenian

populations were Aintab, Adana, and Marash.

26. The Armenian Apostolic Church is divided into two catholicosates: the House of Cilicia in the West, now located in Antalyas, Lebanon, and Echmiadzin in the East, in the Republic of Armenia. Theologically, the catholici are supreme, but during Ottoman times the Istanbul patriarch was granted political precedence over the catholicos of Cilicia by the state.

27. Yeghishe Arch. Chillingirian, *Nkaragrut'iwink' Erusagbēmi-Halēpi-Damaskosi gaght'akanakan ew vanakan zanazan dipats' ew ants'k'eru: 1914-1918* [A description of the different incidents and people of the refugees and religious people of Jerusalem, Aleppo and Damascus Alexandria] (Jerusalem: Sts. James Press, 1922), p. 14. On the destruction of the Armenian Church during the genocide, see Simon Payaslian, "The Destruction of the Armenian Church during the Genocide," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 1, no. 2 (September 2006), pp. 149-72.

28. Chillingirian, *Nkaragrut'iwink' Erusagbēmi-Halēpi-Damaskosi gaght'akanakan ew vanakan zanazan dipats' ew ants'k'eru: 1914-1918*, p. 16; Djemal Pasha, *Memoirs of a Turkish Statesman 1913-1919* (London: Hutchinson and Co. Paternoster Row, 1922), pp. 278-79.

29. Zaven Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, Ared Misirliyan, trans.; Vatche Ghazarian, ed. (Barrington, RI: Mayreni Publishing, 2002), p. 113. The Armenian version was published in Egypt in 1947.

30. Storrs was apparently unaware that the refugees from Salt were also Armenians.

31. Sir Ronald Storrs, *Orientalisms: 1881-1955* (London: I. Nicholson & Watson, 1937), pp. 344-46. The locum tenens during the period noted was Bishop Yeghishe Chillingirian. Locum tenens refers to the person who fulfills the duty of the patriarch until the election of a new patriarch.

32. George Hintlian, "Fact File: Armenians of Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Quarterly File* 2 (1998), p. 40.

33. Sion Manoogian, *Hay Yerusagbēm* [Armenian Jerusalem] (Boston, 1948), p. 55; Hintlian, "Armenians of Jerusalem," p. 40.

34. Palestine, Census Office, *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922 Taken on the 23rd of October, 1922*. Compiled by J. B. Barron, Superintendent of the Census (Jerusalem, Printed at Greek Convent Press, 1923).

35. Palestine, Census Office, *Census of Palestine, 1931* (Alexandria: Printed for the Government of Palestine by Messrs Whitehead Morris Ltd., 1933).

36. Manoogian, *Hay Yerusagbēm*, p. 58.

37. For more information about illegal immigration to Palestine under the Mandate, see Said B. Himadeh, ed., *Economic Organization of Palestine* (Beirut: American University Press, 1938), pp. 28-29.

38. Interview with Vartan Der Matossian, Jerusalem, 25 July 2005.

39. For more information about repatriation from Palestine, see issues of *Sion* 1946-47.

40. See Melkon Rose, *Armenians of Jerusalem*, pp. 1-13.

41. On Allenby's entry into Jerusalem, see Rose, *Armenians of Jerusalem*, pp. 64-65.

42. For a complete biography of Patriarch Turian, see Arch. Torkom Koushagian, *Eghishe Patriark` Durean* [Patriarch Yeghishe Turian] (Jerusalem: Sts. James Press, 1932).

43. Most of the orphans were transferred to Beirut, where the major Armenian orphanages were located, within the next decade. For more on the Armenian orphanages in Palestine, see Vahé Tachjian, "Orphelinats arméniens du Liban, de Syrie et de Palestine," in Raymond Kevorkian, Lévon Nordiguiian, and Vahé Tachjian, eds., *Les Arméniens 1917-1939: La quête d'un refuge* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux; Beyrouth: Presses de l'université Saint-Joseph, 2007); see also Nefissa Naguib, "A Nation of Widows and Orphans: Armenian Memories of Relief in Jerusalem," in Nefissa Naguib and Inger Marie Okkenhaug, eds., *Interpreting Welfare and Relief in the Middle East* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 35-56.

44. "Paghēstini erkrasharzhē ew luseghēn marminē" [The earthquake of Palestine and the luminous body], *Sion* 9 (September 1927), pp. 284-86. For an eyewitness account of the earthquake,

see Jacob Orfali (Hagop Khatcherian), *An Armenian from Jerusalem* (Berkeley: Ronin, 1987), p. 30.

45. The orchard was named after Krikor Baron Der, Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem from 1715 to 1749.

46. Koushagian, *Eghisbe Patriark` Durean*, p. 286. The two families were major benefactors that played a dominant role in helping the Armenians. For the opening ceremony, see “Saghimayah Kiank`en,” *Arev*, 8 October 1927, p. 2.

47. Koushagian, *Eghisbe Patriark` Durean*, p. 286.

48. *Sion* referred to Mount Zion and was first published in 1866. It usually covered religious and literal topics and provided minimal information about the community.

49. The seminary was established by the Patriarch of Istanbul, Khoren Ashekian at Armash (Akmeshe), near Izmit, in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Chillingierian, *Nkaragrut`iwnk` Erusaghēmi-Halēpi-Damaskosi gagbt`akanakan ew vanakan zanazan dipats` ew ants`k`eru: 1914–1918*, p. 16.

50. For detailed information about religious education in the Armenian Patriarchate, see Manoogian, *Hay Yerusaghēm*, pp. 129–39.

51. On the British position of denying any national representation, see Arab-Israeli Relations 1917–1970, from the British National Archives Title: Transjordan and Palestine Detail: Election of a New (Gregorian) Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem Date: 1931 Subject: Passfield White Paper, October 1930: Language: English Document Reference: FO 371/15333-0017; National Archives Reference: FO 371/15333.

52. Arshag Alboyajian, *T`orgom Patriark` Gushakean* [Patriarch Torkom Koushagian] (Cairo: Sevan Press, 1940), p. 611.

53. The Synod comprised seven clerics elected by the Sts. James Brotherhood, which together with the patriarch (who is president of the Synod) oversees the Patriarchate's operations.

54. Alboyajian, *T`orgom Patriark` Gushakean*. For the modifications in the constitution, see “Inch`bēs Piti Ėnterwi Erusaghēmi Patriark`č,” *Arev*, 7 July 1930, pp. 1–2. For the meeting, see “Patriark`agan Ėntrut`iwnč,” *Arev*, 4

August 1930. See Miabanut`iwn Srbot's Hakobeants', *Kanon Miabanakan Ukbtin Arak`elakan At`ory Srbot's Hakovbeants`* [Constitution of the Apostolic Sts. James Brotherhood] (M. Sareyan Press, 1887), pp. 13–14.

55. Britain's role in changing the constitution spared the Brotherhood from then on from interference from the lay community, with important consequences after 1948. The Patriarchate possesses vast real estate holdings, and without any oversight and the traditional role of the community greatly diminished, there was little to prevent mismanagement, embezzlement, and land scandals such as the sale of church properties to Jewish settlers and investors.

56. See “Ėchmiadzni yev Erusaghēmi Ėntrut`iwnnerč,” *Arev*, 2 March 1931, p. 1; “Erusaghēmi Patriark`ut`čiwñ,” *Arev*, 16 January 1932, p. 1; “Eerusaghēmi Azgin,” *Arev*, 31 January 1931, p. 1; “Erusaghēmi Patriark`ut`čiwñ,” *Arev*, 17 January 1932, p. 1. *Arev* proposed—contingent upon the consent of the Jerusalem Patriarchate—the formation of a new Armenian body to elect the Jerusalem Patriarch; made up of the Holy Sees (Istanbul, Jerusalem, Echmiadzin, and Cilicia, now in Antalyas, Lebanon), it would elect one of the three candidates submitted by the Patriarchate: “Eerusaghēmi Azgin,” *Arev*, 18 January 1932, p. 1.

57. Alboyajian, *T`orgom Patriark` Gushakean*, pp. 611–13.

58. Vahram Goeckjian, *Hay Erusaghēmč Dareru Mecbēn* [Armenian Jerusalem through the centuries] (Jerusalem: Sts. James Press, 1965), p. 125.

59. Alboyajian, *T`orgom Patriark` Gushakean*, p. 629.

60. Private Letters of Patriarch Mesrob Nishanian, vols. I, II, III, IV; the Gulbenkian Library in Jerusalem.

61. For more information about the Armenian Catholic church, see Rev. Parsegh Sargsian, “Kat`oghikeats` Hayots` Tiramor Talgatsmane Nwiryal,” *Pazmaveb* (1906), pp. 511–16.

62. “Nepast Paghestini Hayut`ean krdakan dsakhsk`in” [Aid to the educational expenses of the Armenians of Palestine], *Sion* 3 (1930), pp. 95–96.

63. The school had about 750 students in 1944–45, according to its annual report. Seropve Manoogian, *Hushagir`k`*



*Srbots T'argmanch'adz Varzbarani* [Almanac of Holy Translators School] (Jerusalem: Sts. James Press, 1945), pp. 12, 21.

64. For general information about the Arab educational system in Mandatory Palestine, see Abdul Latif Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine: A Study of Three Decades of British Administration* (London: Luzac, 1956).

65. Among the largest and most important were: the Society of Adult Orphans (formed in 1920s), the Sion Cultural Society (1920), the Jerusalem Armenian Benevolent Union (1925), the Armenian Young Men's Society (1929), the Armenian Physical Educational Society of Palestine (1932), the Society of the Armenian Red Cross (1932), the Armenian General Athletic Union and Scouts (1935), Arax Armenian Catholic Society (1935), the Armenian Cultural Society of Jerusalem (1939), and the Armenian Musical Society of Jerusalem (1939). Of these, only the Benevolent Union was kaghakatsi.

66. Before the 1948 war, Palestine had some sixty-five athletic clubs, and sporting events attracted thousands of spectators. For a fascinating article about sports in Mandatory Palestine, see Issam Khalidi, "Body and Ideology: Early Athletics in Palestine (1900-1948)," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 27 (Summer 2006), pp. 44-58.

67. See, for example, "Homentmen Club Bouts: Good Fighting under Spartan Conditions," *Palestine Post*, 19 July 1940, p. 4.

68. Among these were Margos Ketshedian, Armenag Hagopian, Nazareth Manpurian, Artin Kemiksizian, Ohannes Mislisian, and Hagop Naorossian.

69. For a vivid account of a Mardo match, see Dorothy Kahn Bar-Adon, "For Men Only: A Woman Looks at a Boxing Match," in *Palestine Post*, 2 February 1941, p. 6.

70. The *Palestine Post*, for example, reported on a concert of the Jerusalem Armenian Musical Society on 6 July 1939

in the "packed hall" of the YMCA, noting its excellent and disciplined choir which is not "bettered by any other choral body in Palestine." "Armenian Music Concert at YMCA," *Palestine Post*, 7 June 1939, p. 15.

71. The Jaffa Gate area was developed into a shopping center by the end of the nineteenth century and it became the meeting place for the Old City, the New City, and the surrounding villages. Melkon Rose, *Armenians of Jerusalem*, p. 30.

72. Rochelle Davis, "The Growth of the Western Communities: 1917-1948," in Salim Tamari, ed., *Jerusalem 1948: The Arab Neighborhoods and Their Fate in the War* (Jerusalem: Institute for Jerusalem Studies and Badil Resource Center, 1999).

73. See A Survey of Palestine, Prepared in December 1945 and January 1946 for the Information of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, Vol. II. Reprinted with permission from Her Majesty's Stationary Office, (Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1991), p. 738.

74. Melkon Rose puts the figure of Armenians from elsewhere seeking shelter in the Old City at 4,000. See his account in *Armenians of Jerusalem*, pp. 193-201.

75. See Harutiun Mushian, *Erusaghēm Agbeteal* [Jerusalem hit by catastrophe] (Buenos Aires: Ararat Press, 1952), pp. 66-74.

76. P. J. Vatikiotis, "The Siege of the Walled City of Jerusalem, 14 May-15 December 1948," *Middle Eastern Studies* 31, no. 1 (January 1995), pp. 139-45.

77. For a complete list of the Armenians killed in Jerusalem during the war of 1948, see Mushian, *Erusaghēm Agbeteal*, pp. 75-84.

78. "Paghēstinē yerēk ew aysōr" [Palestine yesterday and today], *Sion* 7-8 (July-August 1948), p. 198.

79. For detailed information on the impact of the 1948 war on the Armenians, see Mushian, *Erusaghēm Agbeteal*.