Shaping the Armenian Warrior: Clothing and Photographic Self-Portraits of Armenian *fedayis* in the late 19th and early 20th Century

Elke Hartmann

The existing photographs of the late 19th- and early 20th-century Armenian *fedayis*, those that have been reprinted and disseminated in numerous publications, are almost exclusively portraits that were taken of the fighters before they set out on a mission – group portraits in which the *fedayis* posed in clothing they had carefully selected along with their weapons and flags. There are portraits (see fig. 1) in which the *fedayis* let themselves be photographed in various costumes – uniforms and dress of the most diverse provenance – and adorned with very wide-ranging accessories; next to their weapons and ammunition belts, we see pistols, daggers and sabers, binoculars, tools and maps, or captured decorations and insignia of rank. The leadership ranks of the Armenian revolutionaries in Van appear to have spent an especially large amount of time in the photo studio. The exceptionally gifted organizer Nigol Mikayelian (Boghosian) from Shoushi, who adopted the *nom de guerre* Vana Ishkhan (Ishkhan from Van, or Prince of Van) while in Lernabar (the mountainous region south of Lake Van, which he acquired for the party), can be seen in a series of photographs in various models of richly decorated parade uniforms and warrior costumes, exhibiting a wide range of headwear.[1] The young Antranig Ozanian, later a general who achieved fame beyond Armenian circles and whose statue on horseback in the Parisian Père Lachaise Cemetery became a secular pilgrimage site, wears highly polished boots, newly tailored pantaloons and an extensively worked and richly adorned shirt with vest, and also a warrior's turban on his head and four rings of ammunition belts, from which a dagger hangs (see fig. 2). A backdrop of tree stumps, foliage and branches is draped in the photo studio, his hand rests on his gun, and behind him is a flag with the inscription "Everywhere death is equal – everyone must die someday" (*Amenayn degh mahe mi e – mart mi ankam bid' merni*). On his chest, exactly in the upper center of the image, Antranig boasts a medal of the Kurdish leader Bsharé Khalil, whom he had killed in revenge for the murder of the Armenian partisan commander Serop. This tro-

1 Cf. the photographs in Hratch Dasnabedian, *History of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnaktsutiun 1890/1924* (Milan: OEMME Edizioni, 1989), 52; *Houshamadyan Hay Heghapokhagan Tashnagtsoutyan.* Albom-Atlas, 2 vols. (Los Angeles: Hradaragoutiun Hay Heghapokhagan Tashnagtsoutian Arevmdyan Amerigayi Getronagan Gomidei, 1992), vol. 1: Tiutsaznamard 1890–1914, 98, 110, 119, 153, 161, 163, 164, 165, 208.

Fig. 1: A group of Armenian *fedayis* posing with their weapons and ammunition belts (photograph taken most probably in Yerevan, in summer 1904 before they set out for an expedition against barracks on the Ottoman border). The banner bears the slogan "Freedom or death". Note the binoculars Kayl Vahan, the commander in the middle of the picture, is holding. (Coll. ARF)

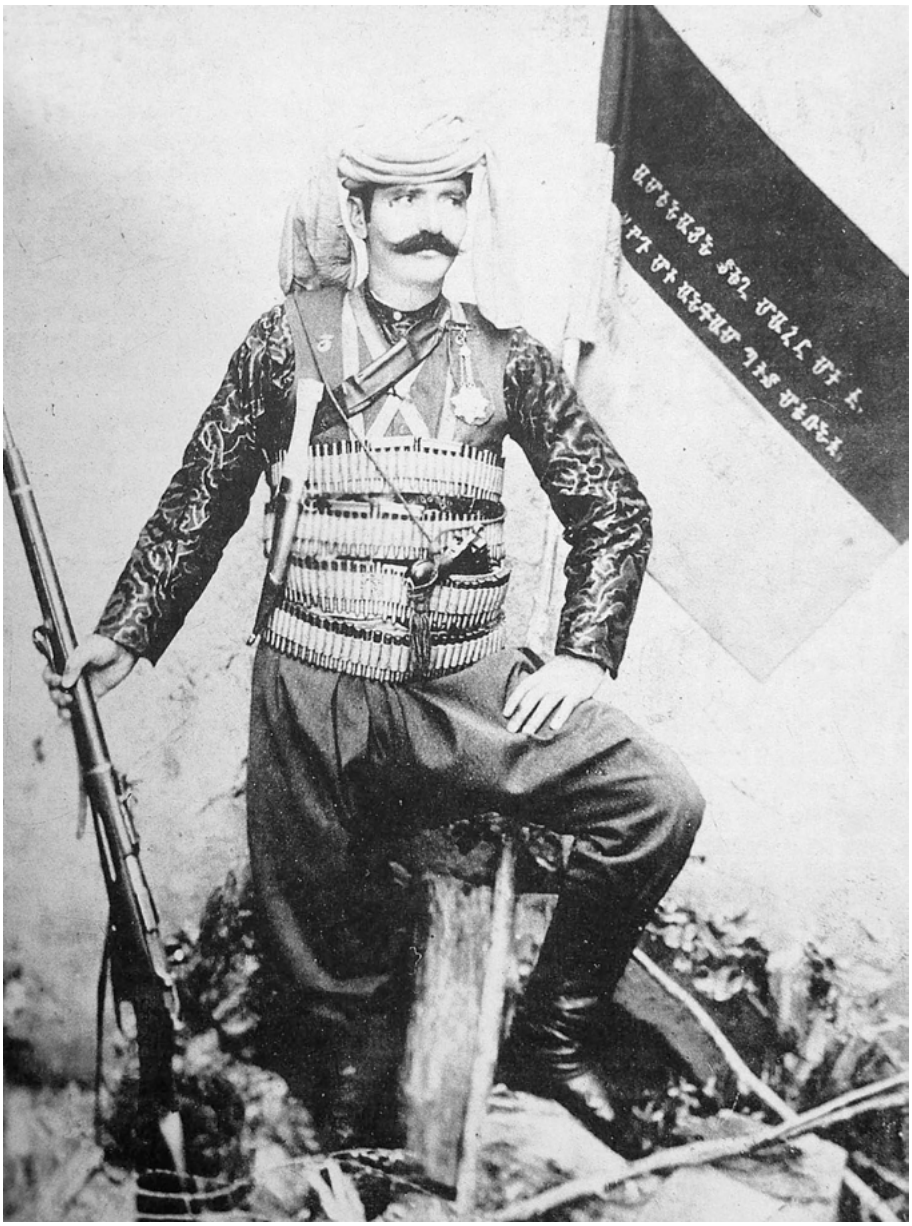

Fig. 2: Antranig Ozanian as a young *fedayi*, October 1900. (Coll. ARF)

phy was perhaps the reason why Antranig went to the studio in the first place.[2] Flags with the rallying cries of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation – in Armenian *Hay Heghapokhagan Tashnagtsoutiun*, the largest of the revolutionary parties – can be found in most of the group photos of the outward-bound commandos. The most common inscription is the phrase "Freedom or Death" (*azadoutiun gam mah*); a few commandos assigned to revenge missions present flags with the call "Revenge, Revenge" (*vrej, vrej*). The most conspicuous prop in these photos are binoculars, which can be seen in particularly obvious places (see fig. 1).[3] There are other photos in which the *fedayi*s assume theatrical poses, reenacting scenes of daily life in the military: Aram Manougian and his friends Vana Ishkhan and Vartan Shahbaz pretend to counsel a group of field officers at the command post; Troutsig (Ousanogh Kevork) Gretatsi and Tateos Amirian spot the enemy with their binoculars and send telling looks in that direction; Souloukhtsi Serop and his two sons Hagop und Avedis cock their guns and aim at their imaginary opponent, staring fixedly at the camera.[4]

Photographs of this sort, together with some examples from the most important written testimony of an Armenian *fedayi*, Roupen Der Minasian's "Memoirs of an Armenian Revolutionary," will serve as a starting point for an examination of some aspects of identity in a plural society and the significance of performative acts and time in the processes of constructing, adopting, and transforming identities. The focus is put on clothing as the Ottoman world's traditional,

---

2 Photograph in Dasnabedian, *History of the ARF Dashnaktsutiun*, 74; cf. Roupen [Minas Der Minasian], *Hay Heghapokhagani me Hishadagnere*, 7 vols., 2nd/3rd ed. (Beirut: Hamazkaini Vahé Sethian Dbaran, 1979–), 3:217–218. These memoirs of the high-ranking party functionary, *fedayi* and minister Roupen (1882–-1951) are the most important self-narrative by far of an Armenian *fedayi* after 1915. Because of its early appearance – the text's first installments were printed as a monthly series in a magazine already in 1922 – its sheer scope, richness in detail and style as well as its composition, Roupen's "Memoirs of an Armenian Revolutionary" also shaped the autobiographical works of other *fedayi*s and party leaders. Up to today, Roupen's memoirs have been read especially by members of his party, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Hay Heghapokhagan Tashnagtsoutiun) but also far beyond. This text is the most important for the history of the Armenian *fedayi*s, and for many details it is the only (accessible) source, which is why it is used here as a complementary source to the photographical documentation. For an analysis of Roupen's "Memoirs" as a self-narrative, see Elke Hartmann and Gabriele Jancke, "Roupens 'Erinnerungen eines armenischen Revolutionärs' (1921/51) im transepochalen Dialog – Konzepte und Kategorien der Selbstzeugnis-Forschung zwischen Universalität und Partikularität," in *Selbstzeugnis und Person – Transkulturelle Perspektiven*, ed. Claudia Ulbrich, Hans Medick, and Angelika Schaser (Vienna; Cologne; Weimar: Böhlau, 2012), 31–71.

3 Cf. the photographs in *Houshamadyan HH Tashnagtsoutyan*, 1:43, 45, 52, 53, 57 below right, 113, 117, 164, 250 below; Dasnabedian, *History of the ARF Dashnaktsutiun*, 78.

4 Cf. the photograph in *Houshamadyan HH Tashnagtsoutyan*, 1:161, 57 below left, 116; see also fig. 5. Noteworthy are the similarities between these photographic self-portraits of the Armenian *fedayi*s and the Bulgarian revolutionaries and partisans who were investigated by Martina Baleva from an art-historical perspective; Martina Baleva, *Bulgarien im Bild. Die Erfindung von Nationen auf dem Balkan in der Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna; Cologne; Weimar: Böhlau, 2012), 85–90.

highly differentiated expression of background and belonging, status and personal attitude, and on portrait photography as a new technique and means of self-fashioning in the late 19th century.

The Armenian *fedayi*s were not alone in their fascination with photographic self-portraits. In the later 19th century, the medium of photography had become both affordable and flexible.[5] More and more, the new technique found its way beyond the stages of the studios; outdoor exposures and, increasingly, exposures in motion became possible. In the Ottoman Empire, in the capital Istanbul as well as in the provinces – and there not only in the larger city centers but also in the smaller provincial towns – dignitaries and families let themselves be photographed. Increasing numbers of people could afford to have their photographs taken. Starting in the 1880s, portrait photography positively boomed, with competition growing stiffer and stiffer among the studios. Finally, at the start of the 20th century, many laypeople owned their own cameras. Even though the new fashion also spread among Muslims of the Empire, the art remained primarily a non-Muslim craft for a long time, and above all an Armenian one; with this in mind, one can rightly assume a generally high proportion of Armenians or Christians among the customers of these mostly Armenian and Greek photographers.

Portrait photography fulfilled various functions. Displayed or hung, the images lent the photographed person an increased presence – for identification or affirmation of a person's ties with the depicted – but they also acted as an acknowledgement and affirmation of influence and power. This way of using one's own image had its spectacular starting point with Sultan Mahmud II, who had

5 On the development of photography in the Ottoman Empire and individual aspects of its interpretation, see Engin Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: İletişim, 1995); Engin Çizgen, *Türkiye'de Fotoğraf* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1992); Wolf-Dieter Lemke, "Ottoman Photography: Recording and Contributing to Modernity," in *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Beiruter Texte und Studien 88, ed. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber, (Würzburg: Ergon, 2002), 237–249; Carney Gavin, "Imperial Self-Portrait: The Ottoman Empire as Revealed in the Sultan Abdulhamid II Collection's Photographic Albums Presented to the Library of Congress (1893) and the British Museum (1894)," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 12 (1988): 3–25; Nancy Micklewright, "Negotiating Between the Real and the Imagined: Portraiture in the Late Ottoman Empire," in *M. Uğur Derman Armağanı*, ed. Irvin Cemil Schick (Istanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2000), 417–438; Nancy Micklewright, "Late Ottoman Photography: Family, Home and New Identities," in *Transitions in Domestic Consumptions and Family Life in the Modern Middle East: Houses in Motion*, ed. Relli Shechter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 65–83; the most current research can be found in Nimet Şeker, *Die Fotografie im Osmanischen Reich* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2009). Notable is the disproportionally high number of Armenians who pursued the new profession. One of the first overviews of the Armenian photographers in the south-east Anatolian city Ayntab (today Gaziantep) and Cilicia (in Turkish today: Çukurova) is provided by Mihran Minassian, "Les photographes arméniens d'Ayntab et de la Cilicie. Bref aperçu," in *Les Arméniens de Cilicie. Habitat, mémoire et identité*, ed. Raymond Kévorkian, Mihran Minassian, Lévon Nordiguian, Michel Paboujian, and Vahé Tachjian (Beirut: Presses de l'Université Saint-Joseph, 2012), 135–167.

his portrait – at this point still painted – the *tasvir-i hümayun* (Imperial Image) hung in the barracks and administrative buildings of his country. This was an unheard of breach of taboo, which provoked unrest in 1832.[6] A few decades later the mood had changed: postcards with the likenesses of the top military and civil leaders could be bought everywhere in the streets of the capital.[7] In the short years of the political liberalization after 1908, similar portrait postcards of Armenian *fedayi*s also circulated.[8]

Additional functions that photography offered, and particularly important for the Armenian *fedayi*s, were the possibilities for documentation and memory. The large numbers of exposures of individual *fedayi*s and especially entire commandos before their departure were foremost intended as commemorative photos and as visual entries in the Armenian revolution's history and book of heroes. The only existing photograph of the legendary fighter Kevork Tchavoush emerged in such a context: the functionary Vahan Papazian hurriedly photographed him after a party meeting on the island of Akhtamar in Lake Van, before he returned to a dangerous mission in the mountains of Sassoun.[9] Many group photos from unknown photographers are explicitly labeled in this way. It almost seems part of the ritual of departure to have one last picture taken together before part of the group would risk their lives in the line of duty. From such a context comes the photograph of the participants of the revenge campaign in Khanasor in July 1897, just as the portrait of the members of Nigol Touman's group in 1904 before their failed border crossing (see fig. 5), and also the image of the leaders of the Khan and Nevrouz commandos, almost all of whom were killed in the battle of Pasen.[10] Many others can likewise be listed.

Finally, a central function of the photographic portrait that must be mentioned is the aspect of self-enactment, which is always implied in self-portraiture. The studios provided backdrops and props, and a selection of various costumes were available;[11] regional dress also seems to have been fashionable. For example, family portraits in Bedouin costume are attested in Palestine.[12] People in

6 Cf. Özendes, *Photography*, 12–21; Şeker, *Fotografie*, 39.

7 See, for instance, the documentation of the French military attaché Caffarel, who was stationed in Istanbul in the 1880s and systematically forwarded these postcards along with descriptions and classifications of the respective person to Paris; Service historique de la Défense – Archives de la Défense, Fonds de l'Armée de Terre, Vincennes, France, 7 N 1629 (Attachés militaires Turquie 1885–1888), Caffarel to the French Ministry of War, February 3, 1885; February 11, 1885; March 11, 1885; June 27, 1885; and August 18, 1887.

8 Shavarsh Misakian, *Orer yev jamer* (Paris: Haratch, 1958), 352–357; one of these postcards, a double portrait of Bedros Seremdjian in a Bulgarian Uniform and in *fedayi* clothing, is illustrated in Dasnabedian, *History of the ARF Dashnagtsutiun*, 116.

9 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 3:313.

10 Cf. Dasnabedian, *History of the ARF Dashnaktsutiun*, 50; *Houshamadyan HH Tashnagtsoutyan*, 1:52–57, 125, 115–119.

11 Cf. Şeker, *Fotografie*, 66.

12 Photos from private collections in Berlin and Beirut.

traditional costumes were also a popular motif of researchers and travel photographers, who not only visited the Holy Land of the Bible in ever increasing numbers, but also Western Armenia as the site of Noah's Ark and the Garden of Eden, as the Cradle of Civilization and the homesteads of ancient high culture and early Christianity.[13] That the Armenian *fedayi*s played with different dress and types of costume in their photographic self-representations is already evident from the few examples mentioned so far. However, the choice of clothing did not depend primarily on a love of disguise and theatrical play, which appears in a few of the mentioned examples. Rather, clothing and accessories speak more to individual ethnic and social placement; they create connections to groups and traditions, and they make assertions.

In the Ottoman Empire, clothing was one of the most important markers of regional, ethnic, religious-confessional and social belonging. Clothing displayed status. It was likewise an expression of a particular attitude. In the prolonged and fierce contention over the modernization of state and society, which lasted the entire "long" 19th century, clothing also signaled an acceptance or rejection of European techniques, ideologies and lifestyle, which acted as a code for the modern. Clothing also served the opposite response to the social and economic upheaval by reinforcing the society's re-traditionalization.[14] The choice of clothing here was an attempt to find a footing and orientation in the society's own tradition, which was in many cases first shaped over the course of these efforts. The scene was shaped by the clothing regulations, which formally were in force until the mid-19th century but remained influential in the Ottoman Empire until its final years; these provisions allotted or prohibited members of specific confessions particular colors, patterns and materials; they regulated the articles of clothing and head-coverings for civil servants; and in this way, they officially regulated how people could make visible religious and social differences, thereby simultaneously underlining the significant plurality of Ottoman society as a whole.[15] For the Vienna World's Fair in 1873, the Ottoman state chose to repre-

---

13 For Armenia – in addition to many others – the works of Ernest Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans le Caucase*, 4 vols. (Lyon: Henri Georg Librairie, 1885–1887); Harry F. B. Lynch, *Armenia. Travels and Studies*, 2 vols. (London; New York; Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901) or Hugo Grothe, *Geographische Charakterbilder aus der asiatischen Türkei und dem südlichen mesopotamisch-iranischen Randgebirge (Puscht-i-kuh)* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1909) should be mentioned. On the French travelers of the 19th century who wrote about Armenia, see David Vinson, *Les Arméniens dans les récits des voyageurs français du XIXe siècle (1796–1895)* (Valence: Éditions Régions, 2004). Ossip Mandelstam, *Journey to Armenia*, transl. Clarence Brown (London: Redstone, 1989) [first in Russian 1933].

14 I would like to thank Ilse Lenz (Bochum) for her suggestions regarding this aspect, the modernization process in general, but especially the often accompanying, catch-up modernization programs forced by the head of state.

15 On the Ottoman clothing regulations, see Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997): 403–425; also see Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922*, 2nd edition

sent itself by presenting the plurality of its people as made visible by variety in dress. A photography exhibit with a printed catalogue was commissioned as the official contribution to the fair; this presented a complete panorama of the Ottoman population through a series of studio portraits of costumed models.[16]

Especially in the areas along the borders between Iran, the Ottoman Empire and Russia, the region's daily cultural exchange and the variety of western and eastern influences at work in the Ottoman provinces were also mirrored in clothing. The boundaries between the three states were, despite every effort to control them, permeable to goods, people and ideas. Kurdish tribes that landed in trouble with the Ottoman authorities retreated to Iranian territory. Merchants brought new goods and influences back to their hometowns, and over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a class of long-distance traders emerged among the Armenians in the provincial cities of east Anatolia, developing trade networks that spanned from Western Europe across Eastern Europe, Russia, Persia and India all the way to South-East Asia.

European influences and fashions were most successfully transmitted through Istanbul and a few other larger harbors, such as Izmir in the provinces.[17] In addition to merchants and civil servants, thousands of migrant workers came into contact with this hybrid culture of the metropolis. Called *bantoukhd* in Armenian, these migrant workers from the impoverished eastern provinces became a mass phenomenon in the late 19th century, and they feature in the Armenian literature of the time.[18] Many of them remained abroad for good, but a few did

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 66–67, 148–153, 168, 177–178; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Introduction, or Why and How One Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes," in *Ottoman Costumes. From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: Eren, 2004), 15–48 (pp. 15–16, 22–29, 40–42).

16 Victor Marie de Launay and Osman Hamdi Bey, *Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie/Elbise-i Osmaniyye* (Istanbul: Levant Times and Shipping Gazette, 1873) [reprint *1873 Yılında Türkiye'de Halk Giysileri: Elbise-i Osmaniyye*, transl. Erol Üyepazarcı (Istanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 1999)].

17 On the prominent role of the Ottoman metropolis for the cultural transfer into the provinces, it is worth mentioning Stefan Weber's investigations of Syrian architectural history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; see Stefan Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels. Stadt, Architektur und Gesellschaft des osmanischen Damaskus im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert," dissertation (Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin 2001) (published online: http://www.diss.fu-berlin.de/diss/receive/FUDISS_thesis_000000002332/ [accessed March 20, 2013]); Stefan Weber, *Damascus, Ottoman modernity and urban transformation (1808–1918)*, (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2009).

18 Cf., for example, the works of Hagop Mntsouri, which are now also accessible in a modern Turkish translation; on the migrant workers (not only Armenian) in general, see the following articles by Florian Riedler, "Public People: Seasonal Work Migrants in Nineteenth Century Istanbul," in *Public Istanbul – Spaces and Spheres of the Urban*, ed. Frank Eckardt and Kathrin Wildner (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2008), 233–253; Florian Riedler, "Wanderarbeiter (bekar) im Istanbul des 19. Jahrhunderts: Zwischen Marginalität und Normalität," in *Bettler, Prostituierte, Paria. Randgruppen in asiatischen Gesellschaften*, ed. Anja Pistor-Hatam and Antje Richter (Beiträge des Zentrums für Asiatische und Afrikanische Studien der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel 12), (Hamburg-Schenefeld: EB-Verlag, 2008), 143–158.

also return. In addition to the European travelers and researchers, a growing number of missionaries – many from the United States, but also from Germany, England, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries – made their way to the remotest regions of the Armenian highlands and opened schools and hospital stations all across the country.[19]

Finally, Russia played a large role in the region, although this has been relatively neglected by scholarship. Within the Muslim population, the *muhacirun* formed a numerically large group; they comprised Muslims of various ethnic groups from Crimea and from the Caucasus (who, in the 1850s and 60s, fled by the ten-thousands from Russia's southern expansion into the Ottoman Empire) as well as Muslim immigrants who entered the country due to the turmoil of the Russian-Ottoman wars of 1877–78.[20] Especially those who had gone through the Russian state education system in their hometowns brought with them a strong Russian influence, one that became particularly apparent and potent among the Ottoman revolutionaries. A number of the prominent Young Turks, such as the ideologue Yusuf Akçura,[21] were *muhacirun*. The Young Turk movement was also indirectly influenced by Russian models through the collaboration with and also the inclination towards the Armenian revolutionaries who were active in the eastern provinces as well as in the metropolis, since many of them, and above all

---

19 Literature on the missionaries' work in the Ottoman Empire and especially in Western Armenia is both rich and controversial. Cf., among others, the early study by Julius Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East* (Grand Rapids, MI: Revell 1910) [reprint: New York: AMS Press, 1970]); Frank Andrews Stone, *Academies for Anatolia. A study of the rationale, program and impact of the educational institutions sponsored by the American Board in Turkey, 1830–1980* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1984), based predominantly on the sources of the missionaries; Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains. Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876–1909* (London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998), 112–134, who adopts the sceptical to hostile view of the Ottoman state elite; similar is Erdal Açıkses, *Amerikalıların Harput'daki Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003). In addition there is a variety of published self-narratives (mostly memoirs) by missionaries. The best investigation of the topic, which uses a wide range of material from both national and missionary archives, approaches the different perspectives critically, and above all incorporates the missionary activity and its effects in relation not only to the Ottoman Christians but also to heterodox Muslim groups, is the yet unpublished doctoral dissertation by Zeynep Türkyılmaz, *Anxieties of Conversion: Missionaries, State and Heterodox Communities in the Late Ottoman Empire*, unpublished dissertation (Los Angeles: University of California, 2009).

20 For a short introduction with references to the most important scholarly literature, see Elke Hartmann, "Muhacirun," in *Lexikon der Vertreibungen. Deportation, Zwangsaussiedlung und ethnische Säuberung im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Detlef Brandes, Holm Sundhaussen, and Stefan Troebst (Vienna; Cologne; Weimar: Böhlau, 2010), 444–447.

21 On him, see Kemal Şenoğlu, *Yusuf Akçura, Kemalizmin İdeoloğu* (Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2009); on the Young Turk movement in general, see the detailed studies by Şükrü Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Preparation for a Revolution. The Young Turks, 1902–1908* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); also see Erik J. Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor. The role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement 1905–1926* (Leiden: Brill, 1984).

Fig. 3: The Haladjian family from Agn (Eğin) (coll. M. P.).

many of the leaders, came from the Russian-controlled part of Eastern Armenia, from Artsakh (Karabagh) and the Armenian enclaves in the Caucasus (Akhalkalak, Akhaltskha).[22]

Photographic portraits of families show particularly clearly the range of possibilities for social, cultural and political self-locating that was available through dress and the types of differences that could open up even among the generations and genders within a single family.[23] In one exposure of the Haladjian family from Agn (Eğin) on the plains of Kharpert (Harput), we encounter several generations (see fig. 3).[24] The representatives of the oldest and youngest generations – the elderly couple sitting in the middle of the picture (first generation) and the small child in the lap of the couple's son sitting next to them are dressed the most traditionally. The child wears a dress of the light and dark striped mate-

[22] A series of short biographies of Armenian revolutionaries can be found in Dasnabedian, *History of the ARF Dashnaktsutiun*, 185–214; Hratch Dasnabedian, *H.H. Tashnagtsoutiune ir Gazmoutenen Mintchev J. Enth. Joghov (1890–1924)* (Athens: Troshagi Dbaran, 1988), 199–250; Haroutiun Kiurkdjian, ed., *Badmakroutiun Hay Heghapokhagan Tashnagtsoutian*, 4 vols. (Athens; Yerevan: Hrad. HHT Piuroyi, 1992), with a biographical index at the end of each volume; also see the overview by Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963).

[23] A rich collection of images can be found in Raymond H. Kévorkian and Paul B. Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire Ottoman à la Veille du Genocide* (Paris: ARHIS, 1992). The examples of images discussed in the following come entirely from the photographs that were reprinted or sometimes first published in this volume.

[24] Cf. Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 379.

rial (called *manusa*), which was widespread throughout the entire region. The old patriarch wears pantaloons, slippers on his feet and a fez on his head, the head-covering that became obligatory for Ottoman officials through the *tanzimat* reforms and first spread through the realm following these measures,[25] and additionally a half-length coat. His wife's fur-trimmed coat and the heavy velvet of the dresses worn by the young daughters attest to a certain level of affluence. Just as her husband's fez betrays association with the world of the state bureaucracy, the fur-trimmed coat signals contact with the world of the merchants who moved between Anatolia and its eastern neighbors.[26] Coats of the same type can be seen in other photographs either on long-distance traders and rich merchants or on urban dignitaries, among whom, in turn, the most affluent merchants of the city often numbered; these appeared as philanthropic patrons and were elected to the newly created political committees during the reform period.[27]

The son, who sits with his wife next to his parents, already wears narrow-fitting pants instead of pantaloons. His wife, like her mother-in-law, wears a colorfully striped and patterned sash, and her shirt is also of a traditional pattern. She combines these elements, however, with a European-cut jacket, which mimics the fur-trimming of the collar through a light fabric, and in contrast to her mother-in-law, she wears no head-covering. Her sons and daughters, standing behind her, are without exception clothed in a seemingly European style. What appears here to be "European" in contrast to the classic Western Armenian costume are the materials and cuts; these became integrated into the traditional dress in Eastern Armenian areas (and later also clearly in a few regions of Western Armenia) over the course of the 19th century.[28] A boy carries a book in his hand, which indicates his status as a pupil in a modern school, an element that can be found in many family photos.[29] The family is photographed in front of a

25 On the decree of 1829 on the fez as an obligatory head-covering for Ottoman officials, see Quataert, *Clothing Laws*, 403.

26 On the regional distribution and the social connotations of this type of coat, see Arakel Badrig, *Haygagan Daraz Hnakuyn Jamanagnerits Mintchev Mer Orere* (Yerevan: Haygagan SSH KA Hrad., 1967) 43, 33–34, 39, plates 67, 39 and 53; for examples of patterns, see Nazig Avakian, *Haygagan Joghovrtagan Daraze (XIX t.–XX t. sgizp)* (Yerevan: Haygagan SSH KA Hrad., 1983), 46, also cf. the photographs in the appendix in ibid., fig. 33, 31 a and b; on the large trading routes through Armenia and their significance for traditional dress, see ibid., 18.

27 Cf., for example, the images in Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 212 (long-distance traders from Sivri-Hisar) and 525 (the Patriarch of Constantinople and later the Catholicos of the Armenian Apostolic Church) Khrimian Hayrig with notables from Van. A prosopographical study of the Armenian deputies in the first Ottoman parliament of 1877–78 as a case example for the Armenian provincial notables is provided by Elke Hartmann, "The 'Loyal Nation' and its Deputies, in The First Ottoman Parliament," in *The First Ottoman Experiment in Democracy* (Istanbuler Texte und Studien 18), ed. Christoph Herzog and Malek Sharif (Würzburg: Ergon, 2010), 187–222.

28 A few examples with patterns and detailed descriptions of the materials used can be found in Avakian, *Haygagan Joghovrtagan Daraze*, 25, additionally figs. 11 a and b.

29 See, for example, Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 235; also cf. ibid., 496.

Fig. 4: An Armenian family from the Sebastia (Sivas) region (private coll.).

wall of the house that was decked with carpets. Other pictures exhibit background arrangements, which instead of carpets – or perhaps also combined with them – present European furnishings, very frequently end tables and floor clocks.[30]

In another Armenian family portrait, taken in 1913 by the French traveler Thérèse Roussel, the head of the family can be seen in a European three-piece suit, leather shoes and fez; the women of the family wear headscarves and chin-veils with their plain, everyday wear, and one of the small children also wears a traditional head-covering.[31] In yet another urban family from Southern Armenia, the father is presented in a traditional striped tunic with a sash, half-length coat and fez, his sons can be recognized as pupils, while his wife and daughter wear European clothing, though the daughter has put on an elaborately crafted silver belt.[32] One family from the region of Sebastia (Sivas) demonstrates its status and position in exactly the opposite way (see fig. 4). European furnishings can be discerned in the background of the picture. The family's small son, who stands at

30 See, for example, Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 212, 261 (Portrait of the Ashderian family from Marzvan/Marzovan; also cf. Sarkis Boghossian, *Iconographie Arménienne*, 2 vols. (Paris: n.p., 1987–1998), 2:250, 251; Arsen Yarman, *Osmanlı Sağlık Hizmetlerinde Ermeniler ve Surp Pırgiç Ermeni Hastanesi Tarihi* (Istanbul: Surp Pırgiç Ermeni Hastanesi Vakfı, 2001), 63.

31 *Le Tour du Monde* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1913), 550: image reproduced in Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 62.

32 Ibid., 62.

the edge of the photo slightly offset from the rest of the family, holds his school book under his arm and wears a typical school uniform. Aside from him, however, the entire family wears the traditional dress of the region, clearly made from expensive fabric. Everyone, including the small children, wear shoes.[33]

This dress can be traced back to the traditional clothing from the region. In the workmanship seen in the photographs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these clothes are festive clothing for special occasions – especially so since at this time cheap, factory-made fabrics were also widely spread in the provinces.[34] Accordingly, people can be seen in such clothing especially in photos from weddings and other large celebrations.[35] Another occasion could be to display the splendid regional dress for the cameras of European travelers.[36] The men's pants in the most recently mentioned family portrait from Sebastia (fig. 4) are made of goat hair, fashioned through a special weaving technique.[37] The sophisticated process of production appears to have made this article of clothing into an identification symbol for the rural elite of the Armenian highlands. Thus, in the international sensation caused by the kidnapping of the Armenian girl Gülizar, the Kurdish tribal chief Musa Bey from the region of Moush let himself be photographed in a newly fabricated suit of this material.[38]

As is clear from these few examples, an abundance of social historical information can be read from the details of clothing. Nevertheless there is still much research to be done. The entire palette of social and cultural historical informa-

---

33 Ibid., 235.

34 The Ottoman-English trade agreement of 1838 created a caesura, which opened the Ottoman market to English industrial goods, cf. Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey*, vol. 2: "Reform, revolution, and republic. The rise of modern Turkey 1808–1975" (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977, reprint 2002) 122; Donald Quataert, *Ottoman manufacturing in the age of the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 92–104.

35 Cf., for example, Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 481.

36 See, for example, the portrayal of a group of woodworkers from Shadakh, who carry out their work in entirely unscathed – and thus recognizable as new – splendid costume; Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 553.

37 Details on these particular weaving processes can be found in Ora Shwartz-Be'eri, *The Jews of Kurdistan. Daily Life, Customs, Arts and Crafts* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2000; first in Hebrew 1981), chapters on clothing and weaving: 67–139, esp. 69, 95, 96, 98, 121. I would like to thank Esther Juhasz (Jerusalem) for the reference and for a copy of the catalogue.

38 On the episode of Gülizar's kidnapping, the international reaction, and the legal proceedings in Istanbul, see the extensive documentation in the British National Archive, Foreign Office, 78/4332, 78/4333 and 78/4334; the Ottoman report of the proceedings are reprinted in excerpts and long paraphrases in Musa Şaşmaz, *Kürt Musa Bey Olayı (1883–1890)* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2003); the memoirs of Gülizar were written down by her daughter: Armenouhi Der Garabedian (Kevonian), *Giulizar* (Paris: Imp. A. Der Hagopian, 1946); they also appear in a French translation with supplemental commentaries by her grandson and granddaughter: Arménouhie Kévonian, *Les noces noires de Gulizar*, transl. Jacques Mouradian (Marseille: Éditions Parenthèses, 2005). The above-mentioned image of Musa Bey is reproduced in all three books: in Şaşmaz it appears on the front cover, in the Armenian edition it is on p. 41 (in mirror image), and in the French translation it can be found on p. 36.

tion, which is transmitted through dress, becomes revealed only if one can know an entire series of elements: one must be able to recognize the details of the production techniques and the materials of certain fabrics and articles of clothing, and thus be able to infer their value; one must have detailed knowledge about regional distribution of certain fabrics and patterns as well as their use by certain groups (ethnic-religious, social, professional, etc.); one needs to be able to decipher the messages about status, prestige, function and also confession that certain colors, patterns or articles of clothing can transport; in short, one must be able to read the entire set of meanings which were inherent in the multifaceted clothing of the Ottoman Empire, which were familiar to contemporaries, and through which they could orient themselves.[39]

From an analytical perspective, one has to consider two additional factors. First, it is important to keep in mind that in addition to its capacity for meaning within Ottoman society, clothing was also one of the most important media for communication with the world beyond Ottoman borders. This is especially true regarding photography. At the Vienna World's Fair, the Ottoman Empire presented itself by

[39] The ethnographic works on Armenian dress provide a good orientation, above all Badrig, *Haygagan Daraz*; this richly illustrated album gives a historical overview of Armenian dress from antiquity to modernity, with a subsequent overview of the different regions, based on ethnographic studies since the 19th century as well as the material found in the "memory books" (*houshamadyan*), which were compiled in exile by survivors of the genocide for many of the lost regions, cities, town or even villages. In addition to this album is the study by Avakian, *Haygagan Joghovrtagan Daraze* – even if restricted to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is the most important recent publication on the topic. It distinguishes five larger regions within the Armenian world, describes in detail the different fabrics and their production with many drawings and photographs of the different articles of clothing (as individual components of the costume), their cuts, colors and patterns, head-coverings, stockings and shoes, as well as ornamentation and jewelry, and finally it ends with an extensive glossary that also comprises the different regional meanings of the terms. See also *Badgerakirk Haygagan Daraznerou* (Beirut: Hamazkayin Vahe Sethian Dbaran, n.d. [1988]); Svetlana Poghosyan, "Costume," in *Armenian Folk Arts, Culture, and Identity*, ed. Levon Abrahamian and Nancy Sweezy (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001), 177–193. There are also works on the clothing of the Ottoman Empire in general. To start, the dictionary by Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1967) is useful, providing an overview of the technical terms and also the fabrics, manners of processing, patterns etc. Some information on the different textiles and their quality can be gleaned from the already cited work by Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing*; cf. additionally the likewise already mentioned compilation by Faroqhi/Neumann, ed., *Ottoman Costumes*, and Sevgi Gürtuna, *Osmanlı Kadın Giysisi* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1999). In general it can be asserted that the clothing of the elites is better researched than that of the "simple people," and that the east – as is true for many of the other areas of Ottoman research – remains hazy in comparison with the west of the country, meaning that much less is known about the clothing and its social connections for the provinces than for the capital Istanbul. What is still lacking, according to my knowledge, is a study that compares the clothing of the different groups of people within the region (cf. however, the perspective that Badrig provides by contrasting the Armenian dress with a panorama of types from the neighboring peoples into Central Asia, Badrig, *Haygagan Daraz*, plate 82).

exhibiting its regional, ethnic and religious diversity. The diversity shown was conceived as diversity in unity, which was held together – and above all made possible – by the common umbrella of the Ottoman state.[40] This self-portrayal was visually translated as a photographic exhibition of costumes, in which all the different types of inhabitants were placed side by side – groups which encountered one another in real life either extremely rarely or mostly through conflict.[41] This example reveals the strong suitability of clothing – and even more so of the photographic portraits of selected costumes – for transmitting very complex connections between political, social and cultural living conditions and identities in ways that both simplify and seem directly evident.

The European travelers who visited the Ottoman provinces in growing numbers had much interest in "originality," and thus in the celebrations, customs and clothing of the indigenous peoples; this made them a simultaneously unexpected and important mouthpiece for the inhabitants of the provinces in communicating their often difficult situations – which was especially the case for the Armenians in the Anatolian highlands. The countless pictures in European travel literature showing the misery of the villagers are also to be understood in this context as an appeal to Europe.[42] As much as the postures of the photographed villagers appear at times posed to solicit pity, their rags and bare feet nonetheless also greatly attest to a reality excluded from the portraits of the photo studios.[43] Even though photography became affordable for increasing numbers of social classes, the family portrait still remained a status symbol of the better situated city-dwellers. Furthermore, the clothing with which those being photographed enacted themselves and gave expression to their self-positioning remained for most village inhabitants an unaffordable luxury. Western Armenia had experienced a period of increasing uncertainty and daily violence since the 1840s. The ravages of the Russian-Ottoman war left entire tracts of land barren and uprooted hundreds of thousands of Armenian farmers. The fields lay fallow, and the lost harvests meant a series of local famines in the 1880s. The increasing social tension finally erupted in the 1890s in the empire-wide massacres of Armenians, in which adult men were disproportionally targeted, leaving many families without their breadwinners.[44] Poverty and oppression

40 The catalogue of this Ottoman contribution to the exhibition was published as a large-format, illustrated book: de Launay/Hamdi Bey, *Elbise-i Osmaniyye*.

41 Cf. for example the picture which shows an Armenian monk from the island of Akhtamar in Lake Van framed left and right by two Kurdish warriors, de Launay/Hamdi Bey, *Elbise-i Osmaniyye*, 320.

42 The term is borrowed from the work by Martin Schulze Wessel and Jörg Requate, ed., *Europäische Öffentlichkeit. Transnationale Kommunikation seit dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2002).

43 Cf., for example, the images in Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 486, 490, 491, 492 etc.

44 For a more extensive analysis of the situation in the eastern Anatolian provinces and for background on the violence, see Elke Hartmann, "The Central State in the Borderlands: Ottoman Eastern Anatolia in the Late 19th Century," in *Shatterzone of Empires. Coexistence*

was also experienced by many Muslims. Many of the Muslims who had fled the Caucasus and the Balkan countries were settled in the Ottoman provinces without any basis of livelihood whatsoever. Many of the settled Kurds were just as exposed to the attacks of the armed tribes as the Armenians were. The rags worn by these farmers suggest the original form of the traditional clothing. They do not, however, reveal clues to any kind of lifestyle, belonging or attitude, but attest solely to the misery and daily fight for survival of their wearers. The possibility of expressing oneself through clothing is reserved for those who can afford different dress and costume.

The Armenian *fedayis* also explicitly set themselves apart through their clothing from the villagers in their worn-out dress and over whom they asserted claims to power. Their clothing, regardless of provenance, and especially their equipment, served not least to impress the inhabitants of the villages that they entered. Particularly the binoculars that the fighters conspicuously carried with them compelled respect from the villagers. Many had never seen such a thing.[45] Equipping the *fedayis* with particularly good and sophisticated clothing was useful in acquiring new regions for the party. Once they had established themselves, however, the *fedayis* were advised to appear more simple in their dress in order to demonstrate not their claims to authority but rather their humility and solidarity with people whose resources would now be supporting them. The discussion about whether the fighters nonetheless had a right to better clothing since they were prepared to sacrifice themselves for the peasants, however, continued.[46]

The clothing of the *fedayis* foremost had to satisfy practical requirements. In his memoirs, Roupen describes in detail the individual articles of clothing of the *fedayis* who had withdrawn to the mountains. By explaining their respective functions, he simultaneously sketches the conditions under which the *fedayis* fought and the conditions of the tight social microcosm in which they lived: full of tension, and oscillating between great hardship and the uplifting feelings of freedom.[47]

The clothing that the *fedayis* selected for their photographic self-portraits do not so much emphasize the practical necessities as create a statement of self-position-

and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands, ed. Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 172–190.

45 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 2:186–187. The following remarks are based paradigmatically on the portrayal of the life and conduct of the *fedayis* in this work, which – as mentioned – is a particularly valuable contribution among contemporary Armenian self-narratives because most of the other descriptions of the partisans' daily life are entirely or greatly based on this source, just as the later historiography on the topic.

46 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 4:270–278.

47 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 2:278–302, also cf. 4:141–146, 1:282. A list of articles of clothing and pieces of equipment of the *fedayis*, classified according to specific duty (scout, fighter, weapon-bearer, etc.) can be found in the decrees of the party convention at Alexandropol in April 1904, reproduced in Hratch Dasnabedian, ed., *Niuter H. H. Tashnagtsoutian Badmoutian Hamar* (Beirut: Vahé Sethian Press, 1985), 2:195–196.

ing. Through the choice of dress, demonstrations of the person's strengths and claims of fighting power are formulated. Also through their clothing, the *fedayis* position themselves within distinct traditions, creating links to very different reference points. Some wear Caucasian uniforms and the characteristic high fur hats (*papakh*),[48] clothing which elicits a conglomeration of associations. Firstly, it indicates that a large number of leaders came from the Russian-ruled Transcaucasus, from Eastern Armenia, Artsakh (Karabakh) or Akhalkalak and Akhaltskha. It further reminds of the military training that many acquired in the lines of the Russian army. Finally, it alludes to the various traditions in which the Armenian fighters of the late 19th century wanted to be positioned. Among these are the memories of the 18th-century autonomy of the Armenian "five principalities" (*khamsayin melikoutiunnere*) of Artsakh, as well as the great resistance of the Caucasian mountain peoples to the Russian expansion. It is noteworthy that the clothing of the irregular Hamidiye cavalry of the eastern Ottoman provinces, which was created in 1890 based on the Russian Cossacks and almost entirely comprised recruits from the Sunni Kurdish tribes, was also in the style of the Circassian dress of the Caucasian military.[49] This visual proximity could only be advantageous for the Armenian *fedayis*, whose direct opponents and competitors in the villages of the Armenian highland were not so much governmental organs but rather the armed Kurdish tribes.[50]

Other *fedayis* let themselves be portrayed in the traditional garb of the Armenians from Sassoun, thereby seizing another line of tradition of Armenian "love of freedom" and unyielding nature that had become legendary.[51] In the centuries of Ottoman rule, some Armenian enclaves, all of which were located in difficult to access spots in the mountains, had defended their autonomy well into the 19th century; during the period of Ottoman reform, which foremost meant the submission of all provinces to central control, they had also resisted the central government's taxation attempts, because these payments would have amounted

48 Cf. the images in *Houshamadyan HH Tashnagtsoutyan*, 1:52, 71, 115, 116, 125; for contemporary images of Circassian male dress for comparison, see Federalnoe agenstvo po kulture i kinematografii rossiiskiĭ etnograficheskiĭ museĭ, ed., *Tslavianie yevropy i narody rossii k 140-letiiu pervoĭ etnograficheskoĭ vystavki 1867 goda* (St. Petersburg, 2008), 204–205, 211.

49 Cf. the images in Lynch, *Armenia*, 2:109, 110. The best study on the Hamidiye regiments is Janet Klein, *The Margins of Empire: Kurdish Militias in the Ottoman Tribal Zone* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); additionally cf. Kodaman Bayram, "Hamidiye Hafif Süvari Alayları. (II. Abdülhamid ve Doğu-Anadolu Aşiretleri)," *Tarih Dergisi* 32 (1979): 427–480.

50 Cf. the numerous references in Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 2:180–181, 185, 191, 1:290–293, 157, 281 etc.

51 See, for example, the images in *Houshamadyan HH Tashnagtsoutyan*, 1:52, 53, 73, 161, 250; Kiurkdjian, ed., *Badmakroutiun*, 3:177; on the men's clothing of the region, see Avakian, *Haygagan Joghovrtagan Daraze*, 55–64, figs. 16, 35, 36; Badrig, *Haygagan Daraz*, 36–37, additionally the plates 45 (Sassoun), 46 (Shadakh), 47 (Van-Vasbouragan); cf. also the photographs in Kévorkian/Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, 69, 496; on the myth of the love of freedom and unyielding nature of Sassoun, cf. also Roupen, *Hishadagnere* 2:180 passim.

to a double tax burden for the inhabitants who also had to pay tribute to the local rulers. Among these autonomous enclaves, the mountainous region of Sassoun, located in the province of Bitlis west of Lake Van, was particularly important. In this region, the resistance against state power was especially bitter. There, as before in the Cilician mountain fortress Zeytoun, revolutionary cadres were successful in their attempts to oust the traditional rulers and to spark a full revolt out of the people's initially limited resistance to new taxes, and they then placed themselves at the top. In this way Sassoun experienced two rebellions within one decade, in 1894 and 1904, both of which were suppressed with extreme brutality, thereby inciting international furor.[52] Sassoun, moreover, is the same area in which the Armenian national epic poem "David of Sassoun" was set, a poem transmitted orally throughout the region for centuries until being committed to writing by several scholars into several versions during the 19th century. This epic tells the story of David's resistance to an opposing, superior power, and of the defiance of the inhabitants of Sassoun for several generations, their berserker strength, stubbornness, wildness, recalcitrance, roughness, sincerity and unconditional loyalty, their courage and their heroism. The epic summarizes this character of David, his ancestors and progeny with the word *dzour* (crooked, skewed, slanted). Projected onto the inhabitants of the entire region, the modern revolutionaries apprehended these evocations and attributed them to themselves.[53]

By choosing the dress of Sassoun, the revolutionaries also referenced the Kurdish tribal chieftains of the region, who in the late 19th century were the actual lords

---

52 Yet to be written is a history of the events in Sassoun (and likewise in Zeytoun) that considers the different Armenian perspectives of the inhabitants on the one hand and the revolutionaries on the other, the context and the perspectives of the Ottoman state, as well as the importance of international actors. Such an analysis promises important conclusions for many fields. For one, a series of basic issues condenses around these incidents – issues of forced catch-up modernization, questions of the creation and implementation of modern statehood and central state control, and questions of the state's reach and ability to integrate; these questions are of central importance even today for the pacification and stabilization of many crisis zones of the Middle East (e.g., Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia). Furthermore, a comprehensive and critical reassessment of the revolts of Sassoun in their contexts would be an important contribution to the extremely politicized but not particularly scholarly debate about the so-called "Armenian question," the prehistory of the genocide of the Armenians during World War I. Material for all sides is amply available and accessible in the collections of the Ottoman State Archives in Istanbul, the British National Archives and other European archives, Armenian archives (in Armenia as well as abroad), as well as the Armenian memoir literature (among which are the memoirs of Roupen, who integrated the memories of many other eyewitnesses and fighters whom he had interviewed [vol. 3]). See additionally the Soviet-Armenian research on the topic, among others, H. M. Boghosian, *Sasouni Badmoutiun (1750–1918)* (Yerevan: Hayasdan, 1985).

53 Cf. Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 2:230; also cf. Melik-Shah, "Aratchin Dbavoroutiunners Roupenen," in *Asbarez* 28.11.1961; Malkhas, "Housher (Andib)," in Roupen, *Hay Heghapokhagani me Hishadagnere*, 7 vols., 1st ed. (Los Angeles, 1952), 7:381–416, esp. 409; etc. *David of Sasoun (Sasountsi Tavit)* is – mostly in excerpts – also translated into various European languages, among others, German, English, French and Russian.

of the land. In hardly any other province was it so difficult for the Ottoman central state to subordinate and to pacify the Kurdish tribes for the long-term as it was in the province of Bitlis.[54] With this in mind, it is not particularly surprising that several *fedayis* chose those goat-hair pants that had become the trademark of the powerful Kurdish Bey for their photographic self-performance.[55] This dress reclaimed at once an assertion of Armenian origins, virtually the right of Armenian seniority, in a time during which historical and ethnographic research of folk culture was blossoming; simultaneously on the political stage, it justified and reinforced national aspirations by referring to the age and dominance of Armenian culture. Precisely in the areas around Lake Van, Sassoun and Vasbouragan, which comprise the Armenian heartland and in which their myths of origin[56] and national epics find their home, the dress of the Armenians and Kurds display particularly great similarities. Usually classified by European travelers as "Kurdish," the dress of Sassoun appeared to the Armenians as the most ancient expression of their own identity and everyday culture, which they had preserved and had passed along to the Kurds. Armenian scholarship supports this claim mostly by considering the arts of fine spinning and weaving of goat-hair fabrics: ancient and medieval descriptions attest to the Armenian mastery,[57] and the Kurds of the region had recognizably adopted this from their Armenian neighbors.[58]

The *fedayis* and revolutionary cadres who had themselves so portrayed were aware of the effects of their images. They knew about the foreign public that saw their pictures in the press and likewise about the hold their self-enactment had on the local population. They also knew well that their means of impressing the peasants with their appearance, equipment and clothing and of frightening both Armenians and Kurds with their martial bearing was far more effective for their mission than all milder attempts of persuasion. Roupen supplies a few examples in his memoirs. The most impressive scene emerges from his arrival in the dis-

54 On this we have eloquent testimony not least from the documentation of the Ottoman central government on the inter-Kurdish feuds in the region, BOA, Yıldız Esas Evrakı Defterleri (Y.EE.d.) 297, 23 Ca. 1295 H.; BOA, Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Dahiliye Nezareti Maruzatı (Y.PRK.DH.) 5/76, 20 C. 1310 H. etc.

55 Cf. the images in *Houshamadyan HH Tashnagtsoutyan*, 1:113, 138, etc.

56 The reference for the so-called "traditional history" of the Armenians is the "History of the Armenians" of Movses Khorenatsi (Moses of Khoren) from the 5th century (C.E.), which combines biblical and non-Christian traditions into a mythical story of Armenian origins, which then crossed over into the chronicles of his time. Pre-modern Armenian historiography is based on this narrative; during the 19th (and also in the 20th) century, it was taught in Armenian schools and thereby popularized as traditional history. Movses Khorenatsi's "History" is available in English in a scholarly translation: Moses of Khoren, *History of Armenia*, translation and commentary by Robert W. Thomson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); additionally, there are also (partial) translations in other languages, among others in German: *Des Moses von Chorene Geschichte Gross-Armeniens*, aus dem Armenischen übersetzt von Dr. M[ax] Lauer (Regensburg: G. J. Manz, 1869).

57 Badrig, *Haygagan Daraz*, 14.

58 Shwartz-Be'eri, *The Jews of Kurdistan*, 121, 98.

tricts of Gargar and Sbargerd, which he was to make newly accessible to his party. As long as he enters the villages with all of his troops in full uniform, the organizational work proceeds rapidly. But when he arrogantly leaves behind his men after the first few successes and proceeds alone with just two companions, they are beaten up, and he is only able to bring the villages back under control by summoning his entire squad.[59] With the surprising candidness characteristic of his memoirs, he summarizes, "first then did I comprehend that the presence of the [armed] group was stronger than sermons and speeches, this living image and embodiment of force."[60]

Operative in all of these situations are the mechanisms of costume and theatrical performance. First, the photographic portraits are iconographical self-enactments that show a particular image of the *fedayi*, thereby evoking associations and predetermining how the *fedayi* would be remembered – something all the more important considering the fighters' awareness of undertaking a historic mission. Second, potential acts of violence are performed, which often spared the *fedayi* from actually performing such violence. Finally, exaggerated stories of the *fedayis*' fights are created or promoted; these stories would then precede the *fedayis*, become legend,[61] and establish their authority well before they actually arrived. The *fedayis* also took advantage of the possibilities of costume for camouflage and disguise, as Roupen describes in many episodes. In the role of servant to the group leader Nigol Touman, Roupen crosses the Russian-Iranian border for the first time.[62] The same role-play of master and servant is used by Roupen and his companion Yeghishe in 1909 during their trip from Russian Armenia over the Ottoman border to the Black Sea.[63] In another case, Roupen disguises himself as a Tatar refugee in order to move illegally from Persian territory back into Russian lands.[64] In this story – as in the other episodes – the boundaries of disguise as a possibility for camouflage are made clear. In none of the cases does the disguise alone make the role; in all situations the disguised *fedayis* have to be careful not to betray themselves through their speech, movements and habitus. In the last example, Roupen has to avoid speaking because he has not mastered the Turkish dialect of his southern Azeri peasant character. In the

59 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 2:183–188.

60 Ibid., 2:187; cf. similar depictions ibid. 4:276, 2:188–189, 191, 4:261, 1:283, 289; Dikran Deroyian, "Enger Roupen Der Minasian – Roupen Pasha," *Haratch* 5.12.1951.

61 Cf., for example, the description in Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 2:188–189. Belonging to this idealization of the fighters are also the heroic songs that were sung about them – in many cases equally in Armenian and Kurdish, cf. Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 1:134, 156, 261, 281, 295, etc. Many of these songs are still familiar among Armenians and are published in song books. A few of the songs are also still remembered by Kurds of the region, as travelers report (conversation with Anahide Ter Minassian, Berlin, August 26, 2010).

62 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 1:262–263. On the return trip, he traveled as the "servant" of a doctor: ibid., 1:312.

63 Ibid., 6:163–164.

64 Ibid., 1:340–343.

first example, the inexperienced novice Roupen is advised by his leader Nigol Touman to keep quiet lest he attract attention by saying the wrong thing. Finally, during the crossing of the Russian-Ottoman border, Roupen's escort Yeghishe in the role of attendant and baggage carrier has to accept silently the loss of his expensive fur coat, which as a servant he could not have possessed, and thus cannot reclaim without falling out of character. In yet another episode, the disguise almost leads to its wearer's doom. In this case, Nigol Mikayelian (the later Vana Ishkhan) makes his way through enemy lines by wearing the uniform of a fallen Ottoman solder, thus escaping the inferno of Pasen in which more than a hundred of his comrades meet their deaths. Upon his arrival on the Russian side of the border, however, his fellow party members do not recognize him in the enemy fighter's clothing and thus receive him with hostility. In the end, his knowledge of the language and linguistic codes save him.[65]

Disguise and theatrical act succeed because of the tight time limitations – the limitation to a timeframe bridgeable by silence or by brandishing a weapon. For situations of illegal boundary crossing, breaking through enemy lines or entering an untapped area for the first time, these means suffice. For the life of a *fedayi*, however, for molding a young civilian into a partisan fighter, a simple change of clothes is not enough. Here, the clothing of the *fedayis* becomes an element of transformation. At the beginning of this transformation process is the donning of the clothes. Together with other rituals, the giving away of the old clothes and the assuming of the new represents the crossing over from the old life into the new one. It is no coincidence that Roupen's memoirs begin with the description of this initiation. At the end of 1903, he first receives orders for deployment to Kars, the most important cadre factory of the party, where the new revolutionaries are instructed and trained, and the deployments to the country on the other side of the border are prepared and coordinated. For the hard school that every fighter goes through, Roupen appropriates a term used to describe the hardening of steel: the revolutionaries are formed here, they are steeled (Arm: *trdzvil*). Roupen is housed with "the lads" upon his arrival, i.e., in housing for the cadres and fighters of the party, and this even though his mother lives in the same city. From the first moment on he finds himself in an atmosphere of familiarity: the men accept him into their circle without asking about his name, past or person. Following this is his donning of the new clothes. He has to give away his own, good clothes (he comes from an affluent, urban household), is ordered to take off his tie, and in return he receives a rough, threadbare jacket. Next he has his first meal in the circle of "the lads": all eat with their hands from one pot.[66] He

65 Ibid., 1:170–171.

66 Ibid., 1:39–41. A revealing parallel between this transition from civil life to the life of the *fedayis* are the caesuras that novices go through during their entry into a monastery. Also here the change in residence and clothing signal his turning away from and visible dismissal of the old world for the new life, and they mark a ritual of crossover.

finds the call to Kars a "great honor." After spending some time in this "revolutionary smelter" (*lnots*) and assuming various duties, he soon presses to be taken into one of the fighting groups that smuggle weapons and munitions across the border to Western Armenia. In June 1904 he gets his chance. After the commander of the group, Nigol Touman, first wants to turn him back, Roupen attempts to impress him with his marksmanship and his reserve officer's knowledge of the Russian artillery. At last he succeeds in pushing into the commando.[67] How far he is from being a real *fedayi*, however, becomes clear on this trip that ends in his baptism of fire.

Roupen comes from an affluent home and a bourgeois family; his father had been a Russian civil servant. After his father's early death, Roupen is sent to the seminary at Etchmiadzin (the seat of the Catholicos, the head of the Armenian Church), which was one of the best Armenian educational institutions at the time. Later he continues his training at the likewise well-renowned Lazarev Institute in Moscow, where he goes through officer training for the Russian army as well.[68] When Roupen is ordered to Kars in 1903, his family also moves there. He sets himself apart from his home, however; refusing the comforts of his mother's apartment, he moves in with his comrades. Against the ridicule and mistrust that he as an educated bourgeois son has to endure from his fellow fighters, he tries to distinguish himself as an especially adaptable and dependable member. In Kars he trades his bourgeois identity for one of a revolutionary through the symbolic act of changing clothing. He goes through almost a year of training and shaping. On the journey to the Persian border, which he begins in 1904, he once more has to prove himself in order to find his way to Western Armenia. Once again, and this time particularly bitterly, he is exposed to his comrades' scorn for intellectuals. Here, he has to learn for the first time the raw conversational tone of the fighters, their special linguistic code, their mutual insults that are not meant as humiliation but rather brotherly deference.[69] In a commemorative photo that the group had taken before its decampment, Roupen poses in the center of the picture with a hand grenade in his hand, which he pretends to throw (see fig. 5).[70] This image is the only picture that exists of Roupen assuming in such a theatrical pose. Not by chance was it taken before his first combat mission, when he dreamed more of being a *fedayi* than what he had actually proven in the guerilla warfare. Later, after the bourgeois son Minas Der Minasian (his former name) has become the experienced

67 Ibid., 1:286–287.

68 Two biographies of Roupen have been published recently: Ashod Nersisian, *Roupen. Roupen Der Minasiani Gyankn ou Kordzouneoutiune* (Yerevan: Edit Print, 2007); Khatchadour R. Sdepanian, *Roupen Der-Minasian (Gyanke yev Kordze)* (Yerevan: VMV Print, 2008); cf. Anahide Ter Minassian, "The Role of the Individual: The Case of Rouben Ter Minassian," *Ararat* 46 (1993): 183–201.

69 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 1:270–276; also cf. the portrayal in Malkhas, *Housher*, 391–392, 402; on the conversational tone, cf. Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 1:336, passim.

70 The photograph is reproduced among others in *Houshamadyan HH Tashnagtsoutyan*, 1:125.

Fig. 5: Members of Nigol Touman's group before the battle of Razi, June 1904. The photograph shows Minas Der Minasian (Roupen) as a young *fedayi* (front row in the middle, with hand grenade) (coll. ATM)

partisan leader Roupen, such performances are no longer necessary. On the march Roupen must have felt that he could not muster enough tenacity, endurance and strength to manage the strain of the journey. His great willpower in this situation, however, brings him the recognition of his companions and ultimately also relief: after a strenuous day, a comrade relieves him of looking after his horse.[71] The most long-lasting shock comes from the first clash that Roupen is involved in along the Iranian-Ottoman border. For the first time he is confronted with the death of his comrades. Similarly disturbing for him is the experience of killing. Both trouble him so much that he begins to question the revolutionaries' entire approach and also his own purpose and ability.[72] He withdraws to a remote monastery to think things over. This stay at the Thaddeus Monastery comes close to an inner conversion. There he virtually molds his spirit into that of the partisan who he wants to become. There it is also clear to him that his body must also conform to that of the simple mountain peasants with whom he feels so connected and from whose rows the fighters he admires are recruited. Roupen begins to leave his light skin

71 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 1:284.
72 Ibid., 1:288–295, 301–302, 304.

exposed to the sun so that it burns, he runs barefoot across the sharp cliffs until his feet start bleeding – and encounters in this condition a peasant who has tossed his shoes over his shoulder to preserve them and approaches the monastery barefoot.[73] A little later he returns to the northern Persian region for another mission. This time he has appropriated the habitus of a *fedayi*.[74] In the meantime he has also cast off his bourgeois name and assumed a *nom de guerre*, Roupen. With the choice of this name he makes use of another tradition which many Armenian revolutionaries referenced, namely, the memory of the last Armenian sovereign state, which had existed during the Crusades in Cilicia (thus beyond the actual Armenian heartland!). The founder of this principality was called Roupen. His descendant Levon was later crowned king. In a clear play on this king, Roupen Der Minasian named his second son, born in 1926, Levon. Since Roupen adhered to a very decisive pragmatism and realism when defining his goals and approaches, he could not articulate the secession from the Ottoman Empire as a concrete, immediate, political objective; yet, through his choice of names, he could still express the distant dream of Armenian statehood and also his claim and desire to play a similar role in its creation as the medieval state and dynasty founder Roupen. Taking on the new name, just as the new clothing before, marks a further step in his passage to a new life.

What takes place here is not only the start of a new phase of life. It is also the transition to a new identity, a new definition and also a new creation of his person. Roupen's success in adopting a new identity – in making it into his own – occurs through performative acts. Performance, more precisely performative repetition, creates the person of Roupen the *fedayi*. Thus we see that identities are changeable and versatile, an observation that has since become commonplace. In addition, performance theory gave rise to a scholarly apparatus by which the person is not defined by *being* but by *doing*.[75] This doing, to be sure, is confronted with boundaries set by the contexts of gender, social and cultural conventions, political parameters etc. These boundaries, however, can be called into question and can at least partially be negotiated through the person, his or her volition, thoughts and readiness to act. Clothing in this case is not only or even primarily an *expression* of a given identity or identification, but rather the choice of clothing is itself an important *performative act*, alongside which identity is created, as is made clear through the example of the photographic performance of Armenian revolutionaries and their becoming *fedayis*.

---

73 Ibid., 1:303, 312–314, 326–327, 334, 335–336.

74 Malkhas, *Housher*, 389–392; cf. "Roupen Eng. G. Sasounii Khosadz Djare Voghpatsyal Eng. R. Der Minasiani Hishadagin Nvirvadz Rivolii Hantisoutian," *Aztag* May 10, 1952.

75 See especially the works of Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech. A Politics of the Performance* (New York; London: Routledge, 1997), and ibid., *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York; London: Routledge, 1990).

In the analytical divide between disguise and transformation, time becomes an essential determining factor. The performance that shapes the person is an elaborate act that spans a long timeframe. The result is enduring (albeit not rigid). Missing from this slow, performative, arduous and all-encompassing assimilation process is the arbitrariness of disguise. The process is also not easily reversed. Newly acquired cultural abilities – linguistic codes, movements, a habitus referring to a particular affiliation, etc. – conduct and means of action can displace and over time marginalize the old. This suppression is not, however, inevitable. The performative assimilation of a new identity represents far more an accrual, an opening of new spheres for action that does not necessitate the loss of the old. This way of thinking about identity and person, which considers their *possibilities for understanding, orientation and action*, further allows the conception of "multiple identities" or "multiple cultural affiliations." Such "multiple identities" can bind affiliations with different cultural systems (religious worlds, social subcultures, linguistic spaces, etc.) within a person, without leading to a split, fragmentation or crisis in the person, even if the affiliations contain contradictory elements. It is thus useful to introduce these performance-theory terms of identity and person into the debate about hybridity and plurality. This model of thought enables person and identity to be separated analytically: combined within a single person are multiple identities, which are understood as the *options available for acting and orienting oneself in a lifeworld*, and are more than simply roles. The term lifeworld (the German *Lebenswelt*)[76] is introduced here so that the discussion of affiliation and identity is not simply reduced to cultural systems of ethnic, linguistic or religious groups, but can instead remain open to all possible groups: social groups, subcultures, age groups and also genders. Each of these groups has its own space, shapes culture, and often develops languages or subcultural linguistic codes specific to age or gender.

One episode from Roupen's memoirs, the scene of his arrival in Moush in July 1908,[77] reflects once more the whole spectrum of meaning carried by clothing and change of clothing, performance and transformation. As the Young Turkish revolutionaries overthrow the sultan, their Armenian allies also descend from the mountains to celebrate victory and hope. Roupen who has meanwhile become commander of the *fedayis* from Daron (the region around Moush and Sassoun) also comes down to the city of Moush, where the Pasha had already asked

---

76 On this concept, first used in the work of Siegfried Kracauer and later modified and introduced into the new cultural history see Rudolf Vierhaus, "Die Rekonstruktion historischer Lebenswelten. Probleme moderner Kulturgeschichtsschreibung," in *Wege zu einer neuen Kulturgeschichte*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag: 1995), 7–28 (reprinted in: Rudolf Vierhaus, *Vergangenheit als Geschichte. Studien zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans Erich Bödeker, Benigna von Krusenstjern, and Michael Matthiesen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 98–110.)

77 Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 4:389–394.

about him, and all of the local notables and a large group of people, soldiers and police have gathered to greet him and to celebrate the new constitution.

Roupen still wears his *fedayi*'s dress, on his head the long Caucasian felt hat (*papakh*), on his feet the light *drekhs* [peasant shoes with leather soles tied around a knitted, sock-like covering], the Sassounian *shalvar* [pantaloons] with a wool *apa* [a cloak of rough woolen fabric], under which his ammunition belt shimmers. With his long hair and beard he looks "similar to a mountain bear on two legs". Surrounded by all the "honourable, cleanly shaven men" who were dressed up and "decorated with medals, glittering sables, chains seeming of gold", Roupen begins to feel uncomfortable in his stinking clothes and plenty of lice on his body.

> "I had to tidy myself up. My *drekhs*, which had served me so well, had now become a thorn in my side. The teacher Kevork Marzbedouni had shoes ready and additionally a handful of clothes. They brought the things, and I put them on. I had forgotten how to tie a tie; Kegham tied it for me. They cut my hair, shaved me, and I became an urban, hairless lad; I was no *sarê pe prtch* [disheveled, nappy head] anymore."[78]

Roupen describes how he, accompanied by notables, makes his way through a row of soldiers who shield him and his escorts from the masses forced to the side by the police and the military. They carry Roupen on their shoulders to the seat of the provincial governor. Speeches are held. Roupen, however, is irritated by the general, joyous frenzy and his role in it. A growing trepidation meets his uncertainty, and he decides to flee to the mountains. Roupen signals to his old battle companion Petara Manoug to saddle the horses, and he rides off with him.

> "We mounted the horses. I wore the clothes of an effendi [a city slicker], with a fez and bobble, tie and jacket, only one pistol girded under my vest. Weapons and armor do not fit the clothing of an effendi nor a baron. The Turkish effendis do the same. I had betrayed the weapons of the *fedayis*; this was not the case for Petara Manoug. He wore the decorated clothes of the *fedayi*, with six rows of ammunition belts, the rifle around his neck, the white dagger on his side and an additional rifle in reserve, which he has ready for me. I ride my horse at a mannered walking pace; Manoug in contrast reins his horse, simultaneously spurring it with the heels of his boots; he lets it prance, lunge out, as if he wanted to trample the people in the marketplace in order to ride past. Manoug says to the people through his movements, 'the *fedayi* has come;' I signal with my polite manner to the masses bowing left and right before me, 'the *fedayi* has gone.' Under the countless curious looks we finally leave the city."

Suddenly Manoug spots wild geese and bustards grazing on the meadow. Roupen and Manoug whip their horses towards the bustards, Roupen swings the butt of his rifle, hits something soft and hard, but then his horse also flies and falls in the mud, while Roupen lands headfirst in the bog.

> "There I see Manoug with a bustard in his hand, standing above my head, saying with a grin, 'It doesn't matter, your effendi clothes haven't brought you any good; it's the fault of the Turkish fez. The bustard that you hit also fell in here.' We had bagged two bus-

78 Ibid., 4:391–392.

> tards, but both my horse and I were finished. We were covered with mud. We went to the riverbank; I cleaned my self, and we also washed my horse. I put on Manoug's cap [*arakhtchi*] and his cloak; we hung my wet clothes on the saddlebags and mounted our horses. [...] 'I see, Baron, you want hide yourself away from people. Let us go to the monastery of Arakelots.'"[79]

Once more, Roupen withdraws to the seclusion of the monastery, that place where he had already contemplated himself, his goals and his options for action, and thus also pondered his identity, which had lead to his transformation to a *fedayi*.

After the revolution, as the *fedayis* disarm and many of their leaders are sent to the provinces as teachers, Roupen decides to pursue his studies abroad.[80] He resumes his options for action of his former lifeworld, the world he had left in order to go into the mountains as a fighter. Before his departure to Europe, he pays one last visit to his mother. She packs clean white undergarments for him and reminds him to have them washed regularly and to lead a civilized life again after his years as a "mountain bear."[81] In this scene, too, clothes become the symbol of the transition from one lifeworld to another. His decision to study and the clothing that he packs in his suitcase show, however, that even though his existence as a student had certainly receded for a time, it is still very much available to him as a framework for action and orientation. Having arrived in Geneva, Roupen nevertheless still maintains an intense connection to his life as a *fedayi*: he sends the greater part of his available resources to his former fighters in Moush, keeping only the bare minimum for himself. In contrast to his Genevan companions, he bases his conspicuously humble lifestyle on his life in the mountains that was full of privation.[82] In other words, Roupen's identity as a student is not exclusive; rather, he preserves the habitus and attitude of a *fedayi* at the same time. He acts simultaneously in different spheres of agency, or, in short, assumes the dual identity of student and *fedayi*, bourgeois and humble fighter, to which he would later add yet other identities and lifeworlds, as a high-ranking party cadre and minister in the Republic of Armenia and as the father of a family in his French exile[83], without having to give one up for the other.

---

79 Ibid., 5:13–16, quotations 14–15 and 16.

80 Ibid., 7:19–25.

81 Ibid., 6:157: "Wear woolens in winter so that you don't catch cold, change your whites every week and have them cleaned; live like a man, leave the bear existence. If you get sick, who will take care of you? Oh, I should be struck with blindness, it is [too] far, I cannot come to you."

82 [Drtad] Etchmiadznetsi, "Im Aratchin Hantiboume Roupeni," in Roupen, *Hishadagnere*, 1st ed., 7:417–422, esp. 420.

83 Recently published family photos from the private collection of Anahide Ter Minassian show Roupen as a father in a suit and hat with both his sons, or wearing a stylish bowler with his sisters. See Hayasdani Azkayin Arkhiv, ed., *Roupen Der-Minasian. Pasdatghteri yev Niuteri Joghovodzou* (Yerevan: Hayasdani Azkayin Arkhiv, 2011), pages between 168 and 169, unfortunately without captions.

Archive materials

Service historique de la Défense (SHD), Vincennes, France:
– Armée de Terre, 7 N 1629 (Attachés militaires Turquie 1885–1888)
Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Istanbul, Turkey:
– Yıldız Esas Evrakı Defterleri (Y.EE.d.)
– Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Dahiliye Nezareti Maruzatı (Y.PRK.DH.)

References

Açıkses, Erdal: *Amerikalıların Harput'taki Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003.

Avakian, Nazig: *Haygagan Joghovrtagan Daraze (XIX t.–XX t. sgizp)*. Yerevan: Haygagan SSH KA Hrad., 1983.

Badrig, Arakel: *Haygagan Daraz Hnakuyn Jamanagnerits Mintchev Mer Orere*. Yerevan: Haygagan SSH KA Hrad., 1967.

Badgerakirk Haygagan Daraznerou. Beirut: Hamazkayin Vahe Sethian Dbaran, n.d. [1988].

Baleva, Martina: *Bulgarien im Bild. Die Erfindung von Nationen auf dem Balkan in der Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Vienna; Cologne; Weimar: Böhlau, 2012.

Bayram, Kodaman: "Hamidiye Hafif Süvari Alayları. (II. Abdülhamid ve Doğu-Anadolu Aşiretleri)." *Tarih Dergisi* 32 (1979). 427–480.

Boghossian, Sarkis: *Iconographie Arménienne*. 2 vols., Paris: n.p., 1987–1998.

Boghosian, H. M.: *Sasouni Badmoutiun (1750–1918)*. Yerevan: Hayasdan, 1985.

Butler, Judith: *Excitable Speech. A Politics of the Performance*. New York; London: Routledge, 1997.

Butler, Judith: *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York; London: Routledge, 1990.

Chantre, Ernest: *Recherches anthropologiques dans le Caucase*. 4 vols., Lyon: Henri Georg Librairie, 1885–1887.

Çizgen, Engin: *Türkiye'de Fotoğraf*. Istanbul: İletişim, 1992.

Dasnabedian, Hratch: *History of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnaktsutiun 1890–1924*. Milan: OEMME Edizioni, 1989/1990.

Dasnabedian, Hratch: *H.H. Tashnagtsoutiune ir Gazmoutenen Mintchev J. Enth. Joghov (1890–1924)*. Athens: Troshag-i Dbaran, 1988.

Dasnabedian, Hratch (ed.): *Niuter H. H. Tashnagtsoutian Badmoutian Hamar*. 6 vols., Beirut: Vahé Sethian Press, 1985. 195–196.

Der Garabedian (Kevonian), Armenouhi: *Giulizar*. Paris: Imp. A. Der Hagopian, 1946.

Deringil, Selim: *The Well-Protected Domains. Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876–1909*. London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998.

Deroyian, Dikran: "Enger Roupen Der Minasian – Roupen Pasha." *Haratch* 5. December 1951.

Etchmiadznetsi, [Drtad]: "Im Aratchin Hantiboume Roupeni." In Roupen, *Hay Heghapokhagani me Hishadagnere*. 7 vols., 1st Ed. (Los Angeles, 1952). 7:417–422.

Faroqhi, Suraiya: "Introduction, or Why and How One Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes." In *Ottoman Costumes. From Textile to Identity*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann. Istanbul: Eren, 2004. 15–48.

Federalnoe agenstvo po kulture i kinematografii rossiiskiĭ etnograficheski museĭ (ed.): *Tslavianie yevropy i narody rossii k 140-letiiu pervoĭ etnograficheskoĭ vystavki 1867 goda*. St. Petersburg, 2008.

Gavin, Carney: "Imperial Self-Portrait: The Ottoman Empire as Revealed in the Sultan Abdulhamid II Collection's Photographic Albums Presented to the Library of Congress (1893) and the British Museum (1894)." *Journal of Turkish Studies* 12 (1988): 3–25.

Grothe, Hugo: *Geographische Charakterbilder aus der asiatischen Türkei und dem südlichen mesopotamisch-iranischen Randgebirge (Puscht-i-kuh)*. Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1909.

Gürtuna, Sevgi: *Osmanlı Kadın Giysisi*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1999.

Schulze Wessel, Martin; Requate, Jörg (ed.): *Europäische Öffentlichkeit. Transnationale Kommunikation seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2002.

Hanioğlu, Şükrü: *The Young Turks in Opposition*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Hanioğlu, Şükrü: *Preparation for a Revolution. The Young Turks, 1902–1908*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Hartmann, Elke: "Muhacirun." In *Lexikon der Vertreibungen. Deportation, Zwangsaussiedlung und ethnische Säuberung im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Detlef Brandes, Holm Sundhaussen, and Stefan Troebst. Vienna; Cologne; Weimar: Böhlau, 2010. 444–447.

Hartmann, Elke: "The 'Loyal Nation' and its Deputies, in The First Ottoman Parliament." In *The First Ottoman Experiment in Democracy* (Istanbuler Texte und Studien 18), edited by Christoph Herzog and Malek Sharif. Würzburg: Ergon, 2010. 187–222.

Hartmann, Elke: "The Central State in the Borderlands: Ottoman Eastern Anatolia in the Late 19th Century." In *Shatterzone of Empires. Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*, edited by Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013. 172–190.

Hartmann, Elke; Jancke, Gabriele: "Roupens 'Erinnerungen eines armenischen Revolutionärs' (1921/51) im transepochalen Dialog – Konzepte und Kategorien der Selbstzeugnis-Forschung zwischen Universalität und Partikularität." In *Selbstzeugnis und Person – Transkulturelle Perspektiven,* edited by Claudia Ulbrich, Hans Medick, and Angelika Schaser. Vienna; Cologne; Weimar: Böhlau, 2012. 31–71.

Hayasdani Azkayin Arkhiv (ed.): *Roupen Der-Minasian. Pasdatghteri yev Niuteri Joghovodzou*. Yerevan: Hayasdani Azkayin Arkhiv, 2011.

Houshamadyan Hay Heghapokhagan Tashnagtsoutyan. Albom-Atlas. 2 vols., Los Angeles: Hradaragoutiun Hay Heghapokhagan Tashnagtsoutian Arevmdyan Amerigayi Getronagan Gomidei, 1992.

Kévonian, Arménouhie: *Les noces noires de Gulizar*, translation by Jacques Mouradian. Marseille: Éditions Parenthèses, 2005.

Khoren, Moses of: *History of Armenians*, translation and commentary by Robert W. Thomson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.

[Khorenatsi, Movses]: *Des Moses von Chorene Geschichte Gross-Armeniens*. Aus dem Armenischen übersetzt von Dr. M[ax] Lauer (Regensburg: G. J. Manz, 1869).

[Kiurkdjian, Haroutiun (ed).]: *Badmakroutiun Hay Heghapokhagan Tashnagtsoutian*, 4 vols., Athens; Yerevan: Hrad. HHT Piuroyi, 1992.

Klein, Janet: *The Margins of Empire: Kurdish Militias in the Ottoman Tribal Zone*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011.

Koçu, Reşad Ekrem: *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*. Ankara: Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1967.

Launay Victor Marie de; Hamdi Bey, Osman: *Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie/ Elbise-i Osmaniyye*. Istanbul: Levant Times and Shipping Gazette, 1873 (reprint: *1873 Yılında Türkiye'de Halk Giysileri: Elbise-i Osmaniyye*, transl. Erol Üyepazarcı. Istanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 1999).

Lemke, Wolf-Dieter: "Ottoman Photography: Recording and Contributing to Modernity." In *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Beiruter Texte und Studien 88), edited by Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber. Würzburg: Ergon, 2002. 237–249.

Lynch, Harry F. B.: *Armenia. Travels and Studies*. 2 vols., London; New York; Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901.

Mandelstam, Ossip: *Journey to Armenia*, transl. Clarence Brown. London: Redstone, 1989 [first in Russian 1933].

Micklewright, Nancy: "Negotiating Between the Real and the Imagined: Portraiture in the Late Ottoman Empire." In *M. Uğur Derman Armağanı*, edited by Irvin Cemil Schick. Istanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2000. 417–438.

Micklewright, Nancy: "Late Ottoman Photography: Family, Home and New Identities." In *Transitions in Domestic Consumptions and Family Life in the Modern Middle East: Houses in Motion*, edited by Relli Shechter. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. 65–83.

Minassian, Mihran: "Les photographes arméniens d'Ayntab et de la Cilicie. Bref aperçu." In *Les Arméniens de Cilicie. Habitat, mémoire et identité*, edited by Raymond Kévorkian, Mihran Minassian, Lévon Nordiguian, Michel Paboudjian, and Vahé Tachjian. Beirut: Presses de l'Université Saint-Joseph, 2012. 135-167.

Misakian, Shavarsh: *Orer yev jamer*. Paris: Haratch, 1958.

Nalbandian, Louise: *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963.

Nersisian, Ashod: *Roupen. Roupen Der Minasiani Gyankn ou Kordzouneoutiune*. Yerevan: Edit Print, 2007.

Özendes, Engin: *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*. 2nd ed., Istanbul: İletişim, 1995.

Poghosyan, Svetlana: "Costume." In *Armenian Folk Arts, Culture, and Identity*, edited by Levon Abrahamian and Nancy Sweezy. Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001. 177–193.

Quataert, Donald: "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997): 403–425.

Quataert, Donald: *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922*. 2nd ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Quataert, Donald: *Ottoman manufacturing in the age of the Industrial Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Richter, Julius: *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East*. Grand Rapids, MI: Revell 1910 (reprint: New York: AMS Press, 1970).

Riedler, Florian: "Public People: Seasonal Work Migrants in Nineteenth Century Istanbul." In *Public Istanbul – Spaces and Spheres of the Urban*, ed. Frank Eckardt and Kathrin Wildner (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2008), 233–253.

Riedler, Florian: "Wanderarbeiter (bekar) im Istanbul des 19. Jahrhunderts: Zwischen Marginalität und Normalität." In *Bettler, Prostituierte, Paria. Randgruppen in asiatischen Gesellschaften*, edited by Anja Pistor-Hatam and Antje Richter (Beiträge des Zentrums für Asiatische und Afrikanische Studien der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel 12). Hamburg-Schenefeld: EB-Verlag, 2008. 143–158.

Roupen, *Hay Heghapokhagani me Hishadagnere*. 7 vols., 1st ed., Los Angeles, 1952.

Roupen [Der Minasian, Minas]: *Hay Heghapokhagani me Hishadagnere*. 7 vols., 2nd/3rd ed. Beirut: Hamazkaini Vahé Sethian Dbaran, 1979–.

"Roupen Eng. G. Sasounii Khosadz Djare Voghpatsyal Eng. R. Der Minasiani Hishadagin Nvirvadz Rivolii Hantisoutian," *Aztag* 10 May 1952.

Şaşmaz, Musa: *Kürt Musa Bey Olayı (1883–1890)*. Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2003.

Sdepanian, Khatchadour R.: *Roupen Der-Minasian (Gyanke yev Kordze)*. Yerevan: VMV Print, 2008.

Şeker, Nimet: *Die Fotografie im Osmanischen Reich*. Würzburg: Ergon, 2009.

Şenoğlu, Kemal: *Yusuf Akçura, Kemalizmin İdeoloğu*. Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2009.

Shwartz-Be'eri, Ora: *The Jews of Kurdistan. Daily Life, Customs, Arts and Crafts*. Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2000 [first in Hebrew 1981].

Shaw, Stanford J.; Kural Shaw, Ezel: *History of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey*, vol. 2: "Reform, revolution, and republic. The rise of modern Turkey 1808–1975." Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977 (reprint 2002).

Stone, Frank Andrews: *Academies for Anatolia. A study of the rationale, program and impact of the educational institutions sponsored by the American Board in Turkey, 1830–1980*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1984.

Ter Minassian, Anahide: "The Role of the Individual: The Case of Rouben Ter Minassian." *Ararat* 46 (1993): 183–201.

Türkyılmaz, Zeynep: *Anxieties of Conversion: Missionaries, State and Heterodox Communities in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Los Angeles: University of California, 2009 (unpublished dissertation).

Vierhaus, Rudolf: "Die Rekonstruktion historischer Lebenswelten. Probleme moderner Kulturgeschichtsschreibung." In *Wege zu einer neuen Kulturgeschichte*, edited by Hartmut Lehmann. Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag: 1995. 7–28 (reprinted in: Vierhaus, Rudolf: *Vergangenheit als Geschichte. Studien zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by Hans Erich Bödeker, Benigna von Krusenstjern, and Michael Matthiesen. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003. 98–110).

Vinson, David: *Les Arméniens dans les récits des voyageurs français du XIX^e siècle (1796–1895)*. Valence: Éditions Régions, 2004.

Weber, Stefan: *Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels. Stadt, Architektur und Gesellschaft des osmanischen Damaskus im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, dissertation (Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin 2001) (published online: http://www.diss.fu-berlin.de/diss/receive/FUDISS_thesis_000000002332/ [accessed 20 March 2012]).

Weber, Stefan: *Damascus, Ottoman modernity and urban transformation (1808–1918)*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2009.

Yarman, Arsen: *Osmanlı Sağlık Hizmetlerinde Ermeniler ve Surp Pırgiç Ermeni Hastanesi Tarihi*. Istanbul: Surp Pırgiç Ermeni Hastanesi Vakfı, 2001.

Zürcher, Erik J.: *The Unionist Factor. The role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement 1905–1926*. Leiden: Brill, 1984.