

# FUNDAMENTAL ARMENOLOGY

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electronic journal

**ISSUE 1 (11) 2020**

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# ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

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**THE TERCENTENNIAL GLORY OF THE ARMENIAN KINGDOM OF CILICIA  
AND THE SELF-DEFENSIVE BATTLES OF THE ZEYTOUNTSIS  
(Historical-Folkloric Review)**

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Following the Armenian Genocide in 1915, the deportation of Cilicia (1921) and the calamity of Izmir (1922), the Armenian-inhabited regions of Western Armenia, Cilicia and Anatolia became completely deserted. A considerable part of the Western Armenians was exterminated, while those, who were miraculously saved, emigrated to the various countries of the world.

After a number of wanderings, many of them were repatriated from Constantinople, Greece, France, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, the Balkan states and other countries to Soviet Armenia and settled in the newly-built localities perpetuating the memory of their former cradles (Nor [New] Arabkir, Nor Zeytoun, Nor Hadjn, Nor Aresh, Cilicia, Moussa Ler, Nor Ayntap, Nor Marash, Yedessia, Sebastia, Malatia, Nor Kharbert, etc.).

By the call of my Western-Armenian blood and starting from the 1955 (in the beginning on my own initiative and subsequently making use of the individual expeditions organized by the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia and concurrently with other scientific works) I have written down the oral relics of the spiritual culture of the refugee-repatriates, who were the eyewitnesses of the above-mentioned historical events, these relics had practically not been recorded and studied in Armenia before for various reasons.

We have deliberately endeavored to involve in this study surviving narrators not only from Cilicia, but also from a number of Armenian-inhabited provinces of Western Armenia and Anatolia with a view to giving a rather complete idea about the folklore of the Western Armenians, their emotional world and their meditations.

Though it has not been easy, under the inevitable influence of time and space and under the conditions of the extensive literacy in the Motherland, to find out elderly narrators, bearers of the one-time folkloric traditions and to record from them various materials, nevertheless, we have tried, in every possible way, to preserve the dialectical peculiarities of the given locality and to genuinely present the oral speech of the narrators.

The dialectical materials have been recorded using the approved scientific transcription, taking into account the already decaying and disappearing dialects of Cilicia (Zeytoun, Fendedjak, Hadjn, Moussa Dagħ, Kessab, Marash, Beylan, Ayntap, Deurtyol, Sis, Tarson, Adana, Mersin), as well as the linguistic peculiarities of the Western Armenians of certain regions of Western Armenia (Yedessia [Urfa],

Tigranakert, Bitlis, Erzroom, Van, Kharbert, Kghi, Balou, Malatia, Kayseri, Sebastia, Yozghat, Konia, Afion-Garahissar, Adabazar, Eskishehir, Bursa, Biledjik, Nicomedia, Izmir, Chanak-Kalé, Rodosto, Constantinople).

The genre and thematic diversity of the materials included in this paper is attributed, first of all, to the ups and downs of the public-political and economic life of the Western Armenians, to the constantly changing circumstances (since the important historical events of the past, the diverse impressions of the life and lifestyle of the people could not be merely confined to the limits of certain folkloric types [genres]) and then, also, to our purposeful intention, namely, to put down everything, which is possible to save from a total loss. For that reason, we have classified the materials of practically all types of the traditional folklore of a number of Armenian-inhabited provinces of Cilicia, Western Armenia and Anatolia, and also the narratives of the survivors of the Armenian Genocide.

\* \* \*

Cilicia<sup>1</sup> or “Sissuan – the beautiful bow-shaped land”<sup>2</sup> extends on the south-eastern part of Asia Minor, separated by natural borders, the Taurus Mountains, in the east by the Black or the Amanos Mountain range, while the blue-violet waters of the Mediterranean Sea ripple in the south.

Cilicia, which has splendid plains and mountainous regions, is irrigated with large and deep rivers, such as the Piramos (Jeihan), Saros (Sihoun), Kyudnos (Tarsus Chay) embellished with waterfalls, Calycadnos (Seleucia), Lamos (Lamas) and others. These rivers, which originate in the Northern Mountains, bring with them fertile mud for the crops, rendering the already rich soils of the Cilician plain more fertile and drop subsequently into the Mediterranean Sea<sup>3</sup>.

The north-eastern part of Cilicia, Mountainous Cilicia, which was also called “The Throne of Cilicia,” is a mountainous highland with cedar, olive, fir, pine, oak and other verdant forests, fertile pastures and flowery meadows. The fauna is rich with a wide variety of animals (gazelle, fallow deer, roe deer, chamois, panther, bear, hyena, jackal, lynx, wild boar, etc) and birds (stork, bustard, eagle, griffon, owl, falcon, heath-cock, partridge, quail, peafowl, pheasant, starling, etc), as well as various mineral ores (iron, pyrites, lead, silver, limestone, sulfur, vitriol, copper, salt, borax, etc.) and different medicinal waters<sup>4</sup>.

The ancient inhabitants of Cilicia were the tribes and tribal groups of Asia Minor. The Armenians settled in Cilicia as far back as during the reign of Tigran the Great (95-55 B.C.), when the eastern part of the country was joined to Armenia and the Gulf of Issus (now: Alexandrette) was called Armenian Gulf. Later, John Chrysostom reported

<sup>1</sup> According to the ancient legend, the country was called Cilicia by the name of King Agenauros's son, Cilix, who, following his unsuccessful search for his sister, Europe, kidnapped by Zeus, settled there. See Mutafian 1988: 71-77.

<sup>2</sup> Alishan 1883: 59.

<sup>3</sup> Keleshian 1949: 9.

<sup>4</sup> For more details see Ter-Ghazarian 1966.

in his letter, written in 404 from his Cilician place of exile, that the village, where he lived, was Armenian-inhabited and that an Armenian prince was the owner of that region. As a consequence of the policy conducted by the Byzantine Empire to force the Armenians to emigrate from Armenia, a great number of Armenians lived in the eastern regions of Cilicia in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. It is also known that the town of Sis was rebuilt in 809 and where numerous Armenians moved and settled. Starting from the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the Armenian population of Cilicia was so dense, that the Armenian Catholicos Khachik I Arsharouni created new bishoprics there<sup>5</sup>.

By forcibly resettling the Armenians in the Minor Asian bordering provinces of its realm, the Byzantine Empire tried not only to create a dependable Christian stronghold against the Mohammedan East, but conducted also a policy of weakening Armenia, of depriving it of its independent state life and of imposing Chalcedonism to the Armenians. Receiving vast territories in those regions, the Armenians created a well-developed economy and supplied the imperial army with efficient and glorified warriors.

The policy of relocating the Armenians took a massive turn particularly in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, when, by the interference of Byzantium and following the fall of the Armenian Bagratouni Dynasty of Ani and other local dynasties, many princely houses from Vaspourakan, Artsakh, Sassoun, Shirak and other localities of Armenia moved to Cilicia together with their military forces, vassals and tax-payer villagers, evading the massacres and the violences of the Seljuk hordes and established in the towns of Sis, Mamestia, Adana, Tarson and their outskirts. Ruling over vast lands, towns and fortresses, the Armenians gradually controlled also the military, political and economic life of the region.

A number of Armenian principalities existed in the 11<sup>th</sup> century in Cilicia, of which the most viable and famous was the principality founded in Mountainous Cilicia by Prince Rouben, a relative of Gagik II, the last king of the House of Bagratounis. Forcing out the Byzantines in 1080, Prince Rouben established an independent Armenian state, turning the fortress of Vahka, located on the road from Hadjn to Sis, the center of the Roubinian state.<sup>6</sup>

The Armenian principality of Cilicia was in constant struggle with its neighbors, the Byzantine Empire, Iconia, the Seljuk Sultanate and the Latin principality of Antioch. During those bloody wars, many regions of the country repeatedly changed hands, however, the Roubinian princes, owing to their flexible policy, were able to make use of the divergences of their enemies and gradually expanded the borders of their principality and, at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, they ruled over nearly the whole country. The Armenian principality of Cilicia became so powerful and so vast, that in 1198, by the consent of Byzantium and the Crusaders, Cilicia was solemnly proclaimed an independent kingdom in Tarson, and Levon II was nominated King of that Armenian state (1198-1219).

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<sup>5</sup> Sarafian 1953: 4.

<sup>6</sup> Keleshian 1949: 22.

The contemporaries estimated that important event as a re-establishment of the House of Bagratounis on a new land, in a new country, where an Armenian population of many thousands was concentrated, among which were noblemen, clergymen, military-men, countrymen, artisans and tradesmen.

Subsequently, the flow of Armenians from Great Hayk and other localities to Cilicia grew even larger.

The following fragment of the popular song, which has reached us from generation to generation refers to the resettlement of the Armenians, organized during the reign of King Levon:

*"We set out from the Moosh plain,  
King Levon folded his whip,  
We were left as foreigners,  
Unite, Armenians, unite!"*<sup>7</sup>

In our days, the repatriate-survivors from Cilicia assert, referring to their ancestors that they had emigrated from Ani: *"We are from the town of Ani. Formerly, our Zeytoun was called Oulnia. After the destruction of Ani, our ancestors came and settled there, they built houses and churches. We had in Zeytoun the valley of Ani, the Kars Bridge, the Shoughri Bridge over the Arian (Blood – in Arm.) valley. All those names were from the town of Ani..."*<sup>8</sup>

Armenian Cilicia, during its glorious three-hundred-year statehood (11-14<sup>th</sup> centuries) was reputed with its well-developed political and economic system, flourishing trade, enlightened centers of science and culture. Basically continuing the feudal traditions and customs of the periods of Arshakouni and Bagratouni Armenia, the public system of Armenian Cilicia bore also, to a certain extent, the influence of the Byzantine and Western-European civilizations.

The propitious climate, the fertile river-valleys and the fecund plains of the country favored the development of agriculture and cattle-breeding in the mountainous grass-rich pastures.

During the reign of Levon the Magnificent, Cilicia had about four hundred towns and fortresses, of which the most famous were the capital Sis (Sison) fortress, also Anarzaba, Vahka, Kapan, Lambron, Levonkla, Bazé, the Bardzr (High) fortress, Anamour, Aryuts, Aregni, Berdous, Enkouzout, etc.<sup>9</sup>

About half of the more than one million population of the country lived in the towns. The largest section of the urban population consisted of small artisans and tradesmen.

<sup>7</sup> Henceforth, the references to the original texts, which I have inscribed from the Cilician narrators, are made according to the continuous number and page of the following book: Svazlian: № 417, 163.

<sup>8</sup> The blue-eyed, fair-haired, broad-shouldered 94-year-old survivor with a manly bearing, **Karapet Tozlian**, has communicated us, with the dignity peculiar to the Cilicians, the narratives and songs about the past of Cilicia and especially about the Zeytoun people he had heard from his parents and grandparents. See Svazlian 1994: № 66, 80.

<sup>9</sup> Keleshian 1949: 10.



The trades of silversmiths, goldsmiths, gunsmiths, spinners, rug-makers, carpet-makers, glass-makers, tailors, masons, blacksmiths, shipbuilders, workers of wood, leather, ferrous and non-ferrous metals were particularly developed.<sup>10</sup>

The towns and the ports (Adana, Alaya, Ayas, Anarzaba, Korikos, Mamestia, Sis, Seleucia, Tarson, etc.), being exclusively royal domains, developed under state patronage. During the Roubinian reign, the town of Ayas (Yegias) and Alexandriak (Iskenderoun) performed the role of first-rate ports between the East and the West. Assyrians, Arabs, Jews, Greeks, Persians, Italians and French people lived in the Cilician towns and ports side-by-side with the Armenians and traded under privileged conditions. Armenian Cilicia had close commercial ties with Italy, Crimea, Mother Armenia, Assyria, Egypt, the Sultanate of Iconia and other countries. The Kings of Cilicia concluded numerous trade agreements with the commercial societies and trading-houses of Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Sicily, Marseille and other towns. One of the glorious deeds of the Roubinian house was the minting and circulation of coins with Armenian letters for the first time.<sup>11</sup>

The important links in the central and local administration of the state were the courts, the Higher Court or Great Darbas, under the chairmanship of the King. With a view to defending the country against foreign enemies and to consolidating its power inside the country, the royal court had created a permanent, regular and efficient army.

The flourishing of the Armenian culture was the result of the unprecedented political and economic rise of Armenian Cilicia. It developed on the basis of the centuries-old Armenian cultural traditions. The royal court patronized and encouraged the cultural enterprises of the Armenian intellectuals. Thus, for instance, Constantine I founded the Seminary of Castamon, Toros I – those of Drazark and Mashkevor, Mleh – that of Mets Kar, Levon II – those of Akner and Gaylu. Toros II was a skilled philologist. Levon III, who was given the title of “Bibliophile,” had elaborated the program and the regulations of the famous Seminary of Akner and organized the job of collecting and copying the selected and rare manuscripts. Levon III was assisted by his wife, Queen Keran. Queen Zabel, the King’s father – Constantine, the Kings Hetoum II and Oshin greatly contributed to the development of the Armenian culture.

The Armenian intellectuals working in the cultural centers of Armenian Cilicia have meticulously collected, studied and copied thousands of manuscripts handwritten in the previous centuries and translated into the Assyrian, Arabic, Latin and Greek languages numerous valuable scientific and literary works. The fundamental principles of the art of writing have been theoretically elaborated and popularized in Cilicia. Many scientific, literary and art creations reflect the elements peculiar to the era of Renaissance.

The leading statesmen and intellectuals of that period, such as Nerses Shnorhali (Nerses the Graceful), Nerses Lambronatsi (Nerses of Lambron), General-in-Chief Smbat, Hovhannes Plouz Yerznkatsi (of Yerznka), Movses Yerznkatsi (of Yerznka) and

<sup>10</sup> Ibid: 15.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid: 12.

others, suggested the idea of the general teaching and education of the young generation. For that purpose, a great many schools were opened in the various localities and monasteries of the country, where hundreds of pupils of both sexes studied at the same time. The education was free of charge and accessible. The gifted pupils continued their education in higher specialized schools or seminaries-universities, where they were taught theology, philosophy, logic, jurisprudence, diplomacy, medicine, chemistry, foreign languages, as well as the arts of poetry, painting and music. These subjects were taught by well-known professors appointed by the royal court, scientists, archrabbis, doctors in theology, who trained scientists, state and religious high-ranking individuals. The teaching was conducted in the popular colloquial language, in average Cilician Armenian.

Important scientific centers in Armenian Cilicia were Akner, Arkayakaghni, Drazark, Hesvants, Mashkevor, Mets Kar, Mlidj, Jermaghbyour, Skevra, Sis, Tarson and other seminaries in different towns. Among the seminaries of Sev Ler (Black Mountain) those of Aregi, Shapiri, Shooghr, Paghakdziak, Parlahon (God's Paradise), Vardkan, Karasheet were renowned. Of the numerous seminaries of the capital Sis, the secular university founded by Nerses of Lambron was well-known and where famous statesmen and scientists were educated. The celebrated scientists, who lectured there, translated and studied the works of Homer, Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Euclid, Theophanes, Pythagoras and others. The Seminary of Drazark was famous for the teaching of languages, for the fine arts of writing, painting and music. The incomparable manuscript illustrator Sarkis Pitsak was educated in that seminary. Maestro Hovsep, fabulist Vardan Aygektsi (of Aygek) and other distinguished personalities lectured there. Mkhitar Gosh perfected his education in one of the seminaries of Sev Ler, while Nerses the Graceful and Grigoris perfected their education in Shoughri. Gevork Meghrik, Grigor Loretsi (of Lori) and other eminent personalities lectured in Parlahon. Professor Hakob and Hovhannes Plouz of Yerznka lectured in Mets Kar, the greatest center of science, arts and writing. Grigor Skevratsi (of Skevr) and Nerses Lambronatsi were educated at the seminary of Skevr. Among the people, who had a good fame in Cilicia were also Mkhitar Heratsi, Abusayid, Grigoris, Simeon, Joslin and many other physicians and illustrious personalities. Bearing in mind this interminable series of prominent representatives appearing in the various spheres of public life, Hovhannes the memorialist has named Cilicia "The country of philosophers and studious people." That was "The Silver Age" of the Armenian culture<sup>12</sup>.

Besides the above-cited eminent personalities, a number of secular and ecclesiastical statesmen were engaged also in chronography and historiography. Worthy of mention are Commander-in-chief (Goundstabl) Smbat's "Yearbook" and his masterpiece "Datastanagirk" (Code of Law) (1265), then Mattevos Urhayetsi (of Urha), priest Grigor Kessouni, Samvel Anetsi (of Ani), Vardan Aknerts (of Akner), monk Maghakia, Nerses Shnorhali (the Graceful), Nerses Lambronatsi and many other

<sup>12</sup> Ibid: 38.

brilliant personalities, who have not only authentically and truthfully described the heroic and admirable tricentennial historical events, but have, with boundless sorrow, deplored the unavailing efforts of our consecutive Armenian Kings against the foreign invaders to preserve the statehood of the one-time glorious Armenian Cilicia founded by King Levon II the Magnificent.

In 1375, the Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia was in decline as a consequence of the invasion of the Mamluks. Subsequently, that territory was invaded by the Ottoman Turkish tribes and, in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Avshar Gozan oghlu tribe ruled almost arbitrarily.

There is practically no written information about that anarchic period since everything was committed to the flames.

Referring to that period, Grigor H. Galoustian quoted what he had heard from Prof. Y. G. Chakmakjian: "It is told, by tradition, that the Armenians living in the towns of Sis, Adana, Tarson, Ayntap and the neighboring suburbs belonging to Cilicia were subjected to more atrocities than in the other localities." After the fall of the Roubinian dynasty, the Turks had completed the destructive work that the Arabs had left unfinished, had massacred the people, had wrecked to the ground villages and boroughs, they had demolished churches, monasteries and seminaries and had sometimes appropriated them; this last fact is testified by the "Yaz-Jamisi" mosque in Adana and "Kilisse-Jamisi" mosque in Tarson, which are erect up to the present day. These are churches remaining from the days of the Roubinian Dynasty. The old Armenian inscription on the gable of the mosque in Tarson, testifying that it had been constructed in the days of King Oshin, remained undamaged till 1905, which I have seen with my own eyes."<sup>13</sup>

During that period, the condition of the Armenians of Cilicia was so distressing and humiliating, that they were compelled, in their daily life, to wear black or dark-colored garments, since those, who wore red or green, were killed. Women and girls did not come out of their houses in daytime for fear of being abducted. The adolescent males avoided wandering about freely for fear of being killed or forcibly turkified. For that very reason the young boys came out of the house dressed in rags and soot-stained faces. The Armenian peasant could not keep body and soul together, if he did not pin his hopes on the Turk bey's patronage and "did not become his gâvur, as a slave or serf. When dissatisfied with any Armenian found under his ownership, a bey enjoyed the state privilege to kill him any day and in any manner he liked... Beys opposed to each other, urged one another to kill their gâvur as a revenge. In those cases, the Armenians were in great fear lest their beys entered into an argument or started a fight, since in both cases the Armenian was always the aggrieved party. There was legal action and judgment for a killed sheep, but there was neither legal action nor judgment for sacrificed Armenians. The Armenians' testimony was already not acceptable in the law-courts..."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Galoustian 1934: 697.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

Referring to the Turkish speech of the Armenians of the above-mentioned regions, the witness continues: "In order to educate the young Armenian generation, not only the Armenian schools were prohibited, but those who uttered an Armenian word had their tongues cut, consequently the Armenians living in the above-cited towns (Sis, Adana, Tarson, Ayntap and their environs – V. S.) had lost their mother tongue and had become Turkish-speaking."<sup>15</sup>

Alluding to the condition of the Armenian population of Ayntap of that period, G. Sarafian has noted: "The oppression and the persecutions of the Armenians by the Turks were so severe, that Armenian-speaking Ayntap became Turkish-speaking like the other Armenian-inhabited main towns of Asia Minor. And the last sharp and terrible blow to the Armenian speech of Ayntap came from the Yenicheris (Janissaries), who cut the tongues of those speaking Armenian. Those, who were forcibly turkified, took away with them their Armenian words and expressions and the Armenian customs."<sup>16</sup>

And to substantiate his statement he has quoted trustworthy arguments: "The anthropological data of the Ayntap Turks are very similar to those of the Armenians. The Ayntap Turks observe the customs and traditions of their ancestors, the Armenian Christians, they do not approve polygamy, they are attached to their ancestors' traditions, to their native beliefs, they attend the Armenian churches, the "-ian" and "-ents" Armenian endings in their family names persist along with the Turkish "-oghlu" or "-ollu," as, for instance, Pilavents oghlu Sarkis or Odzakhotan (Odzhikhaytian) oghlu, etc. As it is evident, the 1800s became a transition period for the Armenian speech of Ayntap to be converted into the Turkish."<sup>17</sup>

This fact is confirmed also by the Turkish-language folkloric materials we have written down from the surviving repatriates originally from the above-enumerated Armenian-inhabited localities of Cilicia.

However, the public-economic conditions of the Armenians of the mountainous regions of Cilicia had been different.

Referring to the Armenians of the mountainous regions of Cilicia, Doct. H. Ter-Ghazarian has noted: "Following the fall of the Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia, the Armenian peasantry living in the flat plains, who were driven away by the persecutions of the invading hordes from the plains of Cilicia, have nestled in the impregnable positions of forests and in the inaccessible crevices of valleys to avoid persecutions. Zeytoun, Hadjn, Vahka, Kapan, Androun and the environs are inhabited by Armenian peasants and have had their special dialects, their monasteries and their places of worship. Motivated by their internal free instinct to lead an untroubled life, they have chosen those isolated places at least to maintain their semi-independent existence."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid: 698.

<sup>16</sup> Sarafian 1953: 5.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid: 7.

<sup>18</sup> Ter-Ghazarian 1966: 65.

The numerous folkloric materials we have recorded in the various dialects of Cilicia (Zeytoun, Hadjn, Marash, Moussa Dagħ, Kessab, Beylan and others) are a testimony to that fact.

There are a number of factual historical narratives in the materials we have written down, where it is told in popular interpretation how the Zeytounis did not tolerate the oppression of tyrants, such as Gozan oghlu. *“At one time, Khozan oghlu (Gozan oghli – V. S.) was like a king in Cilicia. Mount Nemrut, Gâvur Dagħ, the Armenian Tavros were all under his thumb. He came with his musclemen to collect taxes from every Armenian village. The Armenians used to ask Khozan oghlu every year: “Master, shall we bring the butter melted or not melted?”*

*Khozan oghlu used to answer: “You, gâvurs, melt it and then bring it to me!”*

*Things went on in this manner for some time, but since our Zeytouni people are a little inflexible they do not like a commander above them. And one day they decided together and said: “If Khozan oghlu comes this year, we won’t give him anything.”*

*Khozan oghlu came with his musclemen and saw that the Armenians did not want to give him anything, on the contrary, they were ready to fight. So he became furious. And thus the enmity between the Armenians and the Turks started. That is why we thought of making arms in order not to lose our honor.”<sup>19</sup>*

As a consequence of all these events, Sultan Murad issued a special decree on the 17<sup>th</sup> of February 1618 granting Zeytoun the status of a “privileged region,” according to which Zeytoun would be exempt from the poll-tax paid to the imperial treasury. The decree stipulated: “No Turkish official should enter the province of Zeytoun and no harm should be caused to the exceptional and autonomic status that I have granted the people of that province to govern themselves without any external intervention.”<sup>20</sup>

Remaining dignifiedly faithful to that decree and taking advantage of their favorable natural geographical conditions, the Zeytounis have, in the lap of impregnable mountains and valleys and away from busy road, led a semi-independent life for a long time, a fact which the pashas of Marash and the neighboring Mohammedan tribal chiefs did not tolerate and tried periodically to abolish the semi-independent status of Zeytoun.

In 1780, Eumer pasha of Marash came with a large army and besieged Zeytoun during seven months. A valiant young man named Hakop found a resourceful way to kill him, while the army, defeated by the brave Zeytounis, fled in terror<sup>21</sup>. That historical event, bequeathed from generation to generation, has reached us as a historical narrative entitled *“Kotosh-Motosh Hakob”*.<sup>22</sup>

In 1819, the Zeytounis unleashed a furious counterattack on Chapan oghlu’s<sup>23</sup> gang of robbers. The following fragment of the Turkish-language epic song refers to that heroic event:

<sup>19</sup> Svazlian 1994: № 75, 84.

<sup>20</sup> Lazian 1946: 99.

<sup>21</sup> Keleshian 1949: 686.

<sup>22</sup> Svazlian 1994: № 76, 84.

<sup>23</sup> Keleshian 1949: 687.



*"The Ottoman rifles fired "chat-pat,"  
The rifles of the Zeytounis ignored them all,  
The soldiers of Chapan were all shot and fell down,  
Chapan oghlu, give up your dream of conquering Zeytoun!"*<sup>24</sup>

Subsequently, in 1847, Topal (Lame) Sado attacked Zeytoun with his army of many thousands reinforced by two thousand Albanian volunteers.<sup>25</sup> The Zeytounis united and delivered them also a heavy blow; only twenty-four men from the enemy's army were able to run away:

*"Topal Sado came to our Zeytoun,  
And coveted our twelve-year-old maids,  
We aimed our guns on our knees,  
And Sado bek was killed on the spot."*<sup>26</sup>

The Zeytounis were always ready to counterattack the enemy in order to preserve their lives and to uphold their honor. *"That is why,"* continued our narrator from Zeytoun, **Karapet Tozlian**, *"we did not think about playing and dancing, we thought about making guns and gunpowder from the iron and pyrite ores of our mountains in order not to lose our honor. That is why every time a boy was born in our town, we used to say: 'A new gun-holder will swell our ranks. Our Zeytounis are valiant, courageous people'."*<sup>27</sup>

The Zeytouni mothers also educated their children to be courageous and fearless by singing lullabies such as:

*"My son will soon become a brave,  
And will bring down the enemy's soldiers,  
The rifle with a silver ring on his shoulder,  
He will fight selflessly for his native land."*<sup>28</sup>

To the Cilicians educated with consciousness of the human rights and with the spirit of dignity and magnanimity the yoke of violence of the foreigner was, undoubtedly, incoherent, which, accumulating, would erupt like a volcano as the rebellion of Zeytoun in 1862.<sup>29</sup>

The Zeytounis had divided their armed forces composed of seven thousand people into four detachments under the command of the four princes of Zeytoun, Nazaret Sourenian, Mkrtich Yaghoubian, Assatour Yenidounian (Norashkharian) and Hazor (Ghazar) Shovroyan.

With their heroic fight, they defeated the enemy's army of many thousands, composing the following humorous song:

*"Aziz pasha came and set the cannon,*

<sup>24</sup> Svazlian 1994: № 397, 154.

<sup>25</sup> Keleshian 1949: 687.

<sup>26</sup> Svazlian 1994: № 397, 155.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid: № 78, 87.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid: № 147, 117.

<sup>29</sup> Keleshian 1949: 687.

*He threw a hundred shells and killed a donkey,  
Tashchian shot the gunner and knocked him down,  
The pasha, terrified, sh...t in his pants!”<sup>30</sup>*

Besides cannoneer Tashchian, many others displayed their bravery in this heroic battle, for instance, the twenty-one-year-old Melikset Kassemian. He was seriously wounded by the enemy, but with his abdomen torn and his intestines falling out, he continued to fight and, dragging himself with difficulty, he crawled and reached the height of Saint Prkitch, where his relatives found him, took him to the hospital, and he was saved. Learning about this astounding event, Mkrtich Peshiktashlian was deeply inspired and wrote the poem “The Dying Dare-Devil.” Perpetuating the memory of the Zeytounis, that same historical event has reached us as “a real happening” and is told as the authentic historical narrative “The Brave Zeytouni.”<sup>31</sup>

In the unequal battle of Chakerderé gorge the Zeytounis were able to drive out Aziz pasha’s regular army of fifteen thousand men and as many irregular army (bashi-bazouk – in Turk.) of the neighboring tribal chiefs till the River Jahan, throwing them out of the borders of the province.

The following fragment of the epopee also relates about that heroic battle of Zeytoun:

*“In eighteen sixty-two,  
On August two by the Roman calendar,  
We killed the Circassians on forty bridges,  
The corpses decayed before the vultures devoured them.”<sup>32</sup>*

Aziz pasha was replaced by Ashir pasha and by others, who were all instructed to punish the rebellious Zeytounis, however, they too were not successful in repressing the heroes of Zeytoun.

The rebellion of Zeytoun was the first revolt against the Turkish tyranny. It has given the hope of struggle not only to the Armenians of Zeytoun and Cilicia, but also to the progressive intellectuals of the time, to Mikael Nalbandian, Haroutyun Svadjian, Mkrtich Peshiktashlian and to all those, who saw the solution of the Armenian Question in the armed rebellion of the popular masses.

Subsequently, the French government interceded in the matter with its “peaceful” mission, which aimed at making use of the national liberation movements of the peoples languishing under the Turkish tyranny for its diplomatic interests and “the Problem of Zeytoun” was ostensibly “solved in peace.”

Some time later, in 1865, Turkish barracks and a mosque were built in Zeytoun, a Turkish prefect was nominated together with his new officials, who brought with them two hundred and fifty Circassian mercenaries under the leadership of a commander. They were housed in the newly-built barracks, which was also the governmental office

<sup>30</sup> Svazlian 1994: № 78, 86.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid: № 79, 87.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid: № 397, 155.

and started to collect taxes from the Zeytounis, to plunder their possessions and to harass the women and the girls.

At that time, the spiritual leader of Fernouz was Bishop Nikoghayos Khorkhourni, who was a very courageous clergyman and who always carried a dagger on one side and a revolver on the other. Once, when he was celebrating Mass, he was informed that the Turks had stolen the village herds of cattle. The bishop left the divine service unfinished, saying: *"I'll go and bring the herds of cattle and then I'll continue the Mass..."*<sup>33</sup>

Unable to tolerate the violences of the prefect Tavout Niazi, the Zeytounis decided, in 1875, to resort to self-defense. Filled with indignation, they burnt the government building and the mosque and requested the Prince Papik Norashkharian, renowned for his exploits and titled "Pasha" by the people, to lead their rebellion.<sup>34</sup> Prince Papik welcomed the suggestion and, as a call to military service, ordered to beat the sacred drum of Zeytoun, which had been blessed by bishop Sarkis of Cilicia.

Three hundred Armenian braves gathered at once around Prince Papik and rushed, under his command, to square accounts with the parasitic and cruel tax-collectors, the Derebey Circassians. Encouraging his brave soldiers, Prince Papik boldly declared:

*"Prince Papik announced. - I do not take anybody into account,  
I will not obey the notables of Aleppo,  
If a hundred thousand soldiers come, I won't move from my place,  
You cannot capture Zeytoun, Pasha, go back!"*<sup>35</sup>

The Turkish government concentrated new military forces intending to suppress the protracted rebellion of the Zeytounis, but the latter continued to struggle fiercely. Categorically refusing to pay taxes, they expelled from the town the Turk prefect and the policemen nominated from Aleppo and proclaimed themselves independent:

*"Wasn't the Zeytouni who killed five thousand Circassians?  
Our nation shall not leave you this land;  
Is it possible  
That the son strikes his father?"*<sup>36</sup>

The resistance commanded by Prince Papik continued till the end of the Russian-Turkish war, when the Sublime Porte was compelled to start negotiations with Prince Papik recognizing him as the Mayor of Zeytoun. Eventually, as a result of a compromise, Zeytoun calmed down.

Russia's victory and the results of the war in the Russian-Turkish armed conflict provoked dissatisfaction in the governing circles of the Western-European states, particularly of Great Britain, Germany and Austria-Hungary. The latter demanded to reconsider the Treaty concluded in San Stefano after the war in 1878. And in the Berlin

<sup>33</sup> Ibid: № 103, 104.

<sup>34</sup> Keleshian 1949: 687.

<sup>35</sup> Svazlian 1994: № 397, 155.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

Congress held in the same year, the obscure 61<sup>st</sup> clause was passed under their pressure, according to which the Sublime Porte committed itself to realize, without delay, the improvements and reforms arising from the local needs in the Armenian-inhabited provinces and to ensure the safety of the Armenians from the Circassians and the Kurds.

Along with these public-political events, the educational life of the Armenians of Cilicia having great cultural traditions was also gradually becoming more active after its centuries-old idleness.

The seminaries functioning almost secretly next to the monasteries in the various provinces of Cilicia were, after the example of Constantinople, gradually replaced by preparatory schools named "Tsaghkots," which were later changed into schools with their special "Boards of Trustees." The latter, entering in competition with the preaching and illuminative activity propagated by the missionaries established in Cilicia, gave a new impetus to the cultural life of the local Armenians. The first Armenian regular educational institution, the National Nersissian School, was founded in Ayntap as early as 1856, and in 1858 the nighttime Tangaran-School Society was founded, which was later renamed Ousoumnassirats-Tangaran Society. The first public library of Ayntap was founded in 1862, which, after being enriched with books donated from Jerusalem, became a model national educational institution under the name of Vardanian Library. With the object of founding a school in Hadjn the Vardanian Society was established on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September, 1874, by the Noubarian-Shahnazarian Alumni, which, subsequently, in 1878, choosing the whole of Cilicia as a field of activity, became the Cilician Patriotic Society and established kindergardens, preparatory and secondary schools in Hadjn, Ayntap, Marash and elsewhere. Worthy of special mention are the cultural centers Athens of Cilicia of Ayntap, the American Higher College for Girls, the Vardanian and Atenakan Colleges, the Cilician Seminary, the Central College of Turkey and other educational institutions, the graduates of which were sending spiritual light to the Armenians of Moussa Dag, Kessab, Kilis and other towns and boroughs of Cilicia by providing them with teachers, women-teachers, priests and preachers.<sup>37</sup>

Under the conditions of such a cultural renaissance, the mass massacre of the Armenians, organized by the Sultanic government in the years 1894-1896 was quite unexpected, the object of which was to suppress the national progress and the liberation movements and to put an end to the Armenian Question.

Still in 1894, the regular Turkish army and the Hamidié regiments had squared brutal accounts with the Sassounis, when the latter offered a heroic resistance in besieged Sassoun. Seeing those atrocities, the great European powers, England, France and Russia had elaborated in May 1895 a new project of "Armenian Reforms" and had handed it to the Sultan. However, the "Red" Sultan Abdul Hamid had not only disregarded it, but, in September 1895, when the Hunchaks had organized a peaceful demonstration in the Bab Ali Square of Constantinople, he had drowned that

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<sup>37</sup> For more details see Galoustian 1934: 427, and Sarafian 1953: 651-670.

demonstration in blood, causing two thousand Armenian victims. Moreover, mass massacres of the Armenians had started in that same month in Trapizon, Babert, Derjan, Yerznka, Bitlis, Charsandjak, Kghi, Baghesh, Gyoumoushkané, Erzroom, Malatia, Kharbert, Akn, Diarbekir, Marzvan, Sebastia, Zili, Urfa and elsewhere. The massacres were accomplished with the help of the regular military units and the Hamidié regiments by the cruelest and the most inhuman methods.

Seeing that their turn would soon arrive, the Zeytounis rallied around their four princes, raised, once again, the banner of rebellion under the leadership of the 75-year-old **Hazor (Ghazar) Shovroyan** and the Hunchak public figure Mr. Aghassi Tour-Sargssian, who had come from England.

*“Norashkharian, Shovroyan  
Sourenian and Yaghoubian  
United all four  
And fought against the Turks.”<sup>38</sup>*

They besieged the governmental building, the military barracks of Zeytoun, where six hundred Turkish soldiers were under training, they cut off the water supply of the barracks coming from the foot of Berznka Mountain, they disarmed the local garrison, they seized the ammunition and the food supplies and got ready to withstand the new Turkish regiments rushing to Zeytoun.

*“We fought near Berdiz Chay,  
We came and captured the barracks  
And took the askyars prisoner,  
We hoisted our flag.”<sup>39</sup>*

Sultan Hamid flew into a rage and ordered: “You must annihilate that mountain and burn it to ashes!” He ordered to attack Zeytoun from several directions with an army commanded by Ramzi pasha and composed of the Turkish regiments of Damascus, Aleppo, Beirut and Adana (about sixty companies), but again the campaign ended without success.

Subsequently, Ali bey attacked the village of Fernouz, near Zeytoun, with an army of thirty thousand men. The villagers of Fernouz withstood also the attack with a small number of fighters during three days causing heavy losses to the enemy.

Ultimately, Ramzi pasha’s army, recruited and completed with the regiments of Constantinople, Izmir, Konia, Sebastia and Kayseri, waged an attack upon one thousand five hundred Armenians who had taken up positions and had installed batteries at the foot of Sandukh Mountain.<sup>40</sup>

*“The pasha heard and flew into a rage,  
He came to Jermuk and pitched tents there,  
He fought a battle at the foot of Sandukh,*

<sup>38</sup> Svazlian 1994: № 399, 156.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Keleshian 1949: p. 688.



*He disgraced himself and ran away.”<sup>41</sup>*

During these battles, the Very Reverend Doctor Bardughimeos of Fernouz distinguished himself with his heroism and, armed to the teeth, he not only fought bravely, but he also encouraged the unarmed villagers with his example.<sup>42</sup>

*“Reverend Bardughimeos  
Moved forward, did not stay behind,  
The rifle on his shoulder, the sword at his waist,  
He was a skilled fighter.”<sup>43</sup>*

The more was the number of enemy soldiers, the more was the indignation of the villagers:

*“The psalm-readers took up rifles,  
The priests took up adzes,  
The women took up pitchforks  
And sent the Pasha’s corpse sprawling!”<sup>44</sup>*

A handful of Zeytounis fought heroically during more than two months against the Turkish army of many thousands. They suffered a lot of privations, but they did not bow down to the enemy:

*“The enemy came, Zeytounis!  
Take up your gun, ride your horse!  
Stand as heroes before the Turks  
And kill the black soldiers!*

*Let us be heroes, Zeytounis!  
We have to take vengeance on the Turks  
In return for our mothers’ sacred milk,  
Let us squeeze handfuls of blood!”<sup>45</sup>*

In the history of Zeytoun, from 1780 till October 20, 1895, forty-one clashes and sixteen incidents were recorded,<sup>46</sup> however, that last formidable battle, which was fought against the Sultan government, was Zeytoun’s victory.

In 1895, at the end of December, Zeytoun was calmed down as a result of the intervention of the consuls of six European states and compromises and was saved from the Hamidian massacres like the freedom-loving and heroic Moussadaghians, whereas about three hundred thousand Armenians fell victim to the Turkish yataghan in the Armenian-inhabited provinces of Western Armenia and Anatolia.

<sup>41</sup> Svazlian 1994: № 399, 156.

<sup>42</sup> Keleshian 1949: 688.

<sup>43</sup> Svazlian 1994: № 399, 156.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid: № 396, 154.

<sup>46</sup> Lazian 1946: 99.

The years following the Hamidian massacres were characterized by a general depression. The Armenian population of the demolished towns and villages began, self-absorbed in their sorrow, to restore silently the ravages, spreading enlightenment through the schools and relying on their faith through the churches. In those years, numerous foreign philanthropist-benefactors from the various corners of the world hurried to lend a helping hand to Cilicia and founded American, British and German educational institutions and orphanages. From 1895 till the First World War, these Armenian and foreign scholastic institutions greatly contributed to the job of the education of the new generation.

In conclusion, we should note that the precise and trustworthy relics of the popular oral tradition we had written down and cited in our present report clearly define and substantiate the erstwhile radiant historic events and personalities of the tercentennial Cilician Armenian Kingdom, as well as the cruel afflictions fallen subsequently to its lot, and the real pictures of the heroic struggles starting from King Levon II the Magnificent till the courageous rebellion and the self-defensive battles of the Zeytountsis in 1862.

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***Translated from the Armenian by Tigran Tsoulikian***

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# HISTORY

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## ECOLOGY AND CIVILIZATION OF THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND

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### **General remarks**

Scientific evaluation of any given people along with the statehood as a result of its political, economic, and spiritual-cultural development as well as civilization is mostly dependent on the geographical background where this people originates or at least spends main phases of its history. The role of the environment in the development of human society was discussed since long (including ancient Greece and Middle ages), resulting in several theories, any of which was aimed on the establishment of spheres and scales of its influence.

The existence of close relationship between the environment and the development of human society was first touched upon still in the studies of some ancient authors.<sup>1</sup> Human being and consequently society which constitute part of the given ecological system (along with other representatives of fauna and flora), could not avoid its direct or indirect influence, which affects all spheres of the subsistence of the society and tendencies of its development.<sup>2</sup> The role of the environment in the current post-industrial society sometimes is not fully recognized due to high technological potential and international cooperation, but as far we look on earlier periods we see its effect, negative or positive.<sup>3</sup> During the early history of human civilization that influence was incomparably greater, especially during the isolated/hostile nature of the patriarchal-tribal period, the existence of the mentality of “own and alien”.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Thus, still Thucydides, the famous Greek historiographer, was trying to explain the rise and strength of the Athenian polis through the geographical peculiarities of Attica (Thucydides 1981: 5f.).

<sup>2</sup> In archaeological science this area is called “Environmental archaeology” (see Jones 2005: 59ff.). Actually, it is quite close to the “Ecological archaeology”.

<sup>3</sup> To avoid all historical examples we shall refer to one which is common for all peoples dwelling in one and the same geographical and climatic zone. In the areas possessing with modest water resources the allowable variation of climate towards aridization forces the people to periodically change its habitat, and as a consequence agriculture was becoming a secondary resource of subsistence, limited with small-scale gardening. Instead, from now on dominates pastoralism which requires more mobile lifestyle. The latter begins with the usage of resources which could be acquired in the immediate and more distant neighborhood of the settlement (hunting, booty from neighboring communities, etc.) which later leads to the militarization of the society, aggressiveness, and sometimes culminating in the partial or total depopulation of the given settlement or region. By the way, the continuous migrations of different peoples and tribes of the “nomadic belt” of Eurasia (for this term see Chernykh 2008) has been explained by the negative impact of the climate by some scholars.

<sup>4</sup> For instance, the permanent conflict or at least unfriendly relations between ancient Greek poleis populated by people speaking on related dialects of one and the same language.

Let us refer to some outstanding scholars who had discussed the impact of the environment on the history of mankind – Ch. Montesquieu,<sup>5</sup> H.Th.Buckle,<sup>6</sup> Fr.Ratzel,<sup>7</sup> S.M.Soloviev,<sup>8</sup> V.O.Klyuchevskij,<sup>9</sup> E.Huntington,<sup>10</sup> C.Brooks,<sup>11</sup> R.Stothers;<sup>12</sup> among Armenian scholars are worth to mention A.M.Garagashyan,<sup>13</sup> S.Palasanyan,<sup>14</sup> Leo<sup>15</sup> etc. But until the middle of the XIX century prevail theories which underestimate or even reject the role of the environment. Among them were K. Marx, Fr.Engels and their followers in the USSR who, relying upon their theory of the development of human society, claimed environmentalism as “geographical determinism”. As a result, the role of the environment in the development of mankind was neglected and even heavily criticized.<sup>16</sup>

It should be mentioned that even today scepticism prevails regarding the interrelation between the society and environment.<sup>17</sup> One of the main causes for the formation of negative attitude towards the rejection of the decisive role of environment on the society is the absolutization of the influence of environment by some environmentalists.<sup>18</sup> Not the last role was played also by the expansionist-colonial ideas which sometimes could be seen in such studies.

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<sup>5</sup> Montesquieu 1857.

<sup>6</sup> Buckle 1857: 19.

<sup>7</sup> Ratzel 1901.

<sup>8</sup> Soloviev 1988: 56ff.

<sup>9</sup> Klyuchevskij 1987: 63ff. (Lectures III and IV): „Studying the history of any people you encounter a factor which holds the cradle of every people – its nature“ (idem: 63).

<sup>10</sup> Huntington 1907a; 1911; 1915; 1919; 1922; Huntington and Cushing 1922. He was one of those scholars who had tried to define the impact of the environment on the activities of society. By the way, in his studies the author had dealt also with the Armenian Highland (see, in particular, Huntington 1907b, where he discusses the problem of the Lake Gölcük (modern Hazar) fluctuations during the last 2,000 years). In some other studies of E.Huntington also figures the Armenian Highland.

<sup>11</sup> Brooks 1926.

<sup>12</sup> Stothers 1979; 1999; 2002.

<sup>13</sup> Garagashyan 1895.

<sup>14</sup> Palasanyan 1890.

<sup>15</sup> Leo 1966: 145-146.

<sup>16</sup> For the criticism of the theory of “geographical determinism” in Armenia see Voskanyan 1956; 1960.

<sup>17</sup> The discussion of this problem from the positive point of view see in Crown 1968. He had contributed greatly to the problem of the role of environment (1972).

<sup>18</sup> One of the main arguments of the critics of geographical determinism is extreme fatalism which sometimes could be seen in the studies of determinists. For example, S.Soloviev, the outstanding Russian historian of the XIX century, wrote: “*An extensive plain stretches before us; from White Sea until Black Sea and from Baltic Sea until Caspian Sea the traveler should not meet any significant height, should not notice any change. Forms of homogeneity of the landscape excludes regional connections, forces the population to the similar lifestyle; similarity of lifestyle leads to the similarity of traditions, behavior, faith; similarity of behavior, traditions and faith excludes hostilities; similar needs require identical means of their satisfaction; and the plain, regardless its extensiveness and initially multiethnic character, at some point should be part of one state; from this could be deduced the extensiveness of the Russian statehood – similarity of its parts and strong bonds between them*” (Soloviev 1988: 56). Let us mention that in regard to the landscape of the European Russia another conclusion could be reached, which contradicts to that of S.Soloviev.



If we leave aside some cases of overestimated evaluation of the above-mentioned authors regarding the connection between environment and the development of the human society, however, it is impossible to neglect many facts which prove the existence of that connection. Environment is not an isolated habitat which supplies the society with the so-called “greenhouse conditions”, dividing it from other close and distant neighbors who possess with their own “greenhouses”.<sup>19</sup> The interconnection between habitats having different environmental units do have essential effect on both sides. Environment does not right down complete lifestyle of the society and collective mentality, but it is able to guide priorities of the economic, social, political, and spiritual-cultural development of the given population group, creating “genetic code”.

Returning to the Armenian Highland, it should be stated with sorrow that, connected with political and other circumstances, during the most part of the XX century the scholarly heritage of many Armenian historians had been forgotten. Particularly, in modern studies the history of Armenia was not considered under the light of its integrity with the environment, a factor which essentially overshadowed the understanding of historical events and developments. In this regard the territory of Western Armenia currently is in more profitable situation due to the studies conducted by environmentalists representing different countries during the last decades.

Specific geographical and climatic conditions of the Armenian Highland had greatly affected the development of early societies of the region, essentially stipulating their lifestyle, trends of economic and political development and interconnections with neighbors. The main peculiarity of the Armenian civilization is not its vulnerability from attacks of enemies, as it is usually stressed by many historians,<sup>20</sup> but the specific environment which had imposed a burden to dealt with, regardless ethnic, political and cultural character and level of the population, like it was done by the civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt in the IV mill. BC.

For the establishment of the degree of relationship between environment and activities of population the study of several aspects dealing with primary sources is beyond doubt. Among them are archaeological sources which are able to elucidate

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Similarity of landscape and activities of population are by no means signs of peaceful co-existence, but they could be treated as constant factors for the tension of relations between them, and source of highly extensive mobility. The latter is fully registered during the ancient and medieval history of the “steppe belt”. Periodical migrations, as a rule, are main obstacles for the formation of political unity.

<sup>19</sup> As such «greenhouse» or “oasis-like” societies, probably, could be regarded those groups of primitive people who were separated from the outer world through unpassable water or terrestrial barriers during the most part of their history. Among such population groups worth to mention Australia, New Zealand and islands of the Pacific ocean before the European colonization, primitive communities who dwell in the jungles of the River Amazon in Brazil even today, etc.

<sup>20</sup> Let us refer to Leo, the outstanding Armenian historian: „Armenia was cut by communications leading to different directions and represented a place where permanently appear international movements. By these roads used to proceed conquering armies, tribes, and big caravans. ... Thus, from the first migrations of the human race Armenia was a trampled country” (Leo 1966: 144).

main fields of the lifestyle (agriculture, pastoralism, craftsmanship, urban centers, trade, communication, etc.) Unfortunately, extensive regions of the Highland lack systematic excavations; the number of fully excavated sites is small which does not allow to establish the activities of the population, their number, relations with neighboring regions, etc.

The next problem is connected with written sources, which elucidate only the history of some regions of the Highland during the limited historical period. First episodic information regarding the mountainous region of Armenian Taurus comes from the Mesopotamian cuneiform sources of the kingdoms of Akkad (XXIV-XXIII c. BC), and Assur (XIX-XVIII c. BC); then about five centuries of silence appear Middle Assyrian texts (XIII-XI c. BC). Both Akkadian and Assyrian sources deal with the southern and south-western regions of the Highland, including the basins of Lakes Van and Urmia. As to the Hittite cuneiform texts, they focus on the western parts of the Highland (classical Armenian provinces of Tsopk-Sophene, Aldznik and the upper streamflow of Euphrates river).

In this regard useful information could be found in the memoirs or reports of European and American travellers, diplomats and missionaries where are fixed important observations dealing with the environment and activities of population of the Armenian Highland. This information allows one to evaluate geographical and climatic situation of the region under discussion, land resources and their usage, means of subsistence of the population, etc.

### **Geological description of the Armenian Highland**

Armenian Highland is one of the most elevated regions of the northern hemisphere, comprising a part of the mountainous massive which stretches from Himalayas to the Northern Mediterranean (Alps). Its average elevation is about 2000 meters. In geological terms the formation of the Armenian Highland and the neighboring Iranian plateau is a result of the pressure of Eurasian and Arabian plates upon each other, in the Serravallian phase of Late Miocene.<sup>21</sup>

Even today this region comprises one of the most active tectonic belts of the earth, due to the pressure of African and Arabian platforms on the Eurasian one.<sup>22</sup> The geologically registered “north-eastern Anatolian fault” of the Armenian Highland which

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<sup>21</sup> The Serravallian period is dated with about 13.82-11.62 million years BP. On the geological structure and related problems of the Armenian Highland see Abich 1857; 1858a; 1858b; 1867; Petzholdt 1866: 108ff.; Şengör and Yılmaz 1981; Dewey et al. 1986; Pierce et al. 1990; Türkoğlu 2009; Adamia et al. 2011; Rolland et al. 2012, etc.

<sup>22</sup> This belt is known for its high seismic nature, especially the part which originates in Western Armenia and proceeds through RA well into North-western Iran (about 900 km long); in width this belt reaches 350 km (Pierce et al. 1990: 190). The Lake Van basin is located inside the mentioned active volcanic belt which includes Mush, Bingöl, Nemrut, Sipan, Tondurek, Ararat, and the Kars plain). The central and earliest volcanic region is the area from Erzerum to the southern shores of Lake Van (Pierce et al. 1990: 194).

was formed during the Late Pliocene, affects the tectonic processes in this region.<sup>23</sup> It begins from Arabian peninsula, the place of the meeting of the Arabian and Eurasian platforms, and proceeds to the north-east passing through modern Marash, then the upper stream of the Euphrates towards the Kars region and Lesser Caucasus.<sup>24</sup> Near the Lake Hazar the fault has two offshoots, one proceeding towards the north-east of the lake, another to the west about 35 km. From Erzincan the fault continues its root until the Lesser Caucasus. The vast region lying to the east of the fault, that is most part of historical Armenia is slowly moving to the east (1.8-2.5 cm annually).

In the Republic of Armenia geologically are registered the next faults<sup>25</sup>:

1) Ani-Ordubad, which follows the line Ani-Artik-Alapars-Verin Getashen (Maghmaghan)-Eghegnadzor-Vaik (Azizbekov)-Ordubad.

2) Yerevan fault follows the line Baghran-Karmrashen-Aghavnatun-Parakar-Yerevan-Tazagyugh-Dvin-Vedi-Arpa-Julfa. This fault, probably represents the part of the "north-eastern Anatolian fault".<sup>26</sup>

3) Shirak-Zangezur fault proceeding by the line Gyumri-Vanadzor-Sevan-Martuni-Tatev-Giratağ-Shishkert.

In geological terms one of the main peculiarities of the Armenian Highland is extremely high percent of volcanic lava sitting over the earth core, as a result of continuous eruptions towards the end of Neogene and Quaternary period.<sup>27</sup>

This layer covers about 2/3 of the Highland. For example, the Mush plain is covered by volcanic layer which reaches about 1 km (lower part of the layer comprise lava, the upper one – pyroclastic flows). The earth crust of the Republic of Armenia and Southern Caucasus consists of three layers. Among these the upper, volcanic layer reaches about 10-15 km to the east of the Republic of Armenia, in Azerbaijan. It directly covers the solid second layer comprised of granite (in some places about 30 km).<sup>28</sup>

Another peculiarity is seismic activity, represented by several seismic belts. According to calculations, in the Mediterranean-Transasiatic seismic zone is concentrated about 1/3 of all earthquakes of the world.<sup>29</sup> The mountainous massive of Byurakn (Bingöl) represents a great volcanic semi crater, which intersects by the Vardo fault. Unlike Byurakn and Nemrut (near the Lake Van), Sipan is a multi-layered volcano, which consists of numerous craters belonging to different geological periods. As it was

<sup>23</sup> On the active tectonic processes of the Armenian Highland and surrounding regions see Türkoğlu 2009: 28ff.; also Aslanyan 1970: 366ff. (for the Republic of Armenia).

<sup>24</sup> Pierce et al. 1990: 189ff.

<sup>25</sup> Aslanyan 1970: 371ff.

<sup>26</sup> Aslanyan 1970: 372.

<sup>27</sup> The Quaternary period begins after Neogene and continues until present. It is divided into two phases - Pleistocene (2.588-11.700 years BP) and Holocene (11.700 – until present). The maps of these sediments and tectonic belts see in Türkoğlu 2009: 35. Such belts are numerous and embrace the next regions – Erzincan, Erzerum, eastern and northern shores of Lake Van, Ararat plain, Kars, and Western Georgia as well.

<sup>28</sup> Aslanyan 1970: 368f.

<sup>29</sup> Aslanyan 1970: 390.

shown by scholars, Sipan was active about 700.000-400.000 years BP, and which, in its turn, rests on more ancient volcanic structure (5.8 million years BP). In the neighborhood of Sipan's crater were found traces of later activity (360 and 150 thousand years, and 230-190 thousand years as well).<sup>30</sup>

The geological structure of the Armenian Highland, particularly its tectonic and seismic characteristics used to have great impact on the development of the society, especially in the remote past. Destructive earthquakes and volcanic eruptions constantly interfere into the economic and social-political activities of the population, thus affecting the demographic situation. The list of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions fixed in the Armenian Highland by medieval authors<sup>31</sup> is impressive. Among most destructive ones could be mentioned the 893 AD earthquake in Dvin when approximately 70.000 people were killed. Probably, even worse consequences should be attributed to the 1309 AD earthquake at the same Dvin, and the city of Ani as well. In the latter case the city was completely destroyed and the population had abandoned it permanently.<sup>32</sup> Resuming this topic one shall recall the suggestion put forward comparatively recently regarding the fall of Urartu as a consequence of a destructive earthquake.<sup>33</sup>

### **The position, relief and climate of the Armenian Highland**

*“South-eastern Anatolia is strongly influenced by changes in the position of the westerly jet streams, the extension of the subtropical low-pressure belt, and the Siberian high-pressure area that determine the boundary between humid Mediterranean and continental climate”*<sup>34</sup>. These three different climatic regimes essentially influence especially the Lake Van region which is too sensitive to climatic changes. Due to the winds coming from the south-west, during the interval from autumn to spring prevail precipitations, and in summer - dry climate. To the south and south-west of the lake annual precipitations reach 600-800 mm (in Bitlis - 1000 mm), and to the north and north-east - 300-400 mm.

As to the flora, Armenian Highland falls into the meeting place of the European-Siberian woodland and Iranian-Turanian steppe belts where at the early phases were represented both zones. During the early Holocene wet and warm climate was favorable for the extension of forests, but later the European-Siberian forests began to decrease, due to the gradual desiccation and human intervention in the Bronze age. And by the time most part of the Highland was transformed into generally deforested

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<sup>30</sup> Pierce et al. 1990: 196. Tondurek and Ararat also are strato-volcanos.

<sup>31</sup> Aslanyan 1970: 391f.; Karapetyan 1986; 1990 (Karapetyan refers to 1479 volcanic eruptions happened in the Armenian Highland); Barseghyan 1995.

<sup>32</sup> Barseghyan 1995: 50-52.

<sup>33</sup> According to this theory, the fortress of Ayanis which lies approximately 30 km to the north of Van, was destroyed by the earthquake and abandoned (Çilingiroğlu 2010: 337f.). It was proposed that the same agent was responsible for the several important cities-fortresses of the empire.

<sup>34</sup> Wick et al. 2003: 665.

steppe zone.<sup>35</sup> This could be observed on the example of Lake Van which is represented by two floral belts - Kurdish-Zagrosian oak tree belt and north-eastern steppe belt.<sup>36</sup> Thus, most part of the Highland, except the northern regions (Lori, Javakhq and some others) are characterized by the continental and dry climate.

As to the internal division of the Highland, it could be defined as a collection of autonomous regions each having their characteristic geographical and climatic features; actually, except some short historical periods, this part of the Near East used to lack strong political organization.<sup>37</sup>

Here everywhere one could encounter neighboring regions which have different climatic and floral characteristics. Great number of big and small intermontane valleys are separated by three main mountain chains (Lesser Caucasus, Armenian Dance and Armenian Taurus) and their offshoots, mostly extending from northwest to southeast. These valleys represent pockets having their own microclimates, different from that of their neighbors.<sup>38</sup> Except Ararat plain, Shirak, Kars and some other lesser regions, the population of other regions is concentrated in river valleys and plateaus. Here one should recall the definition given by Leo: *“Many geographical names of Armenia contain the elements “dzor (gorge, canyon)”, “valley”. These gorges and valleys were natural pockets for the administrative division of the country”*.<sup>39</sup> If one considers the fact that the communication between two neighboring mountain valleys is impossible or at least endangered during several cold months (mid-autumn - mid-spring), then this isolated nature would appear as serious factor.

Armenian historian St.Palasanyan still in the XIX century writes the next in regard to the geography and landscape of the Armenian Highland:

*“If we study the structure of the Armenian land, then can see that it used to have a strong influence on the historical fate of the nation. The whole country is cut down by big and small mountains, which are followed by ravines and valleys, and streams of numerous rivers and rivulets, which, like a natural barrier, divides the people and endangers the communication. This factor contributed much to the development of tribal life among Armenians and from the very beginning in different parts of the country were organized numerous big and small principalities which usually were eager to gain*

<sup>35</sup> See Davis 1965; Zohary 1973; Collins et al. 2005. In earlier studies the term «Pontic-Hirkanian and Iranian» was used in regard to the flora of the Armenian Highland (Tachtajyan 1941: 7).

<sup>36</sup> Wick et al. 2003: 666 (with references).

<sup>37</sup> The same is true in regard to the situation in the modern eastern Turkey (= Western Armenia).

<sup>38</sup> In this regard the definition of the Armenian Highland by P.Zimansky is more than in place: *“Urartu is more effectively characterized as a terrestrial archipelago. Intersecting mountain chains and a propensity for volcanism have mangled its topography, leaving the rather modest amounts of arable land cut off from each other in irregular pockets, like islands in a sea. It is in these low-lying areas that human population has traditionally been concentrated”* (Zimansky 1985: 9).

<sup>39</sup> Leo 1966: 120.

*independence from the kingdom. Araratian kings (he means Urartu - A.K.), despite their efforts, could not conquer these principalities completely".*<sup>40</sup>

Before St.Palasanyan the same idea was expressed by H.Kiepert, well-known German ethnographer.<sup>41</sup> He says that Armenian Highland consists of numerous small and big political entities any of which corresponds to the main valleys (wording of the author, probably, he means extensive valleys - A.K.). Here big settlements are rare, which are mostly located near the churches ("temples" by Kiepert - A.K.). Here the towns came to existence initially only around the residencies of kings, particularly in the Ararat plain, during the rule of Arshakids.

E.Huntington, an outstanding American geologist, in his study devoted to the central and south-western regions of the Armenian Highland, describes the land as follows.<sup>42</sup> In the mountainous region from Alashkert to Malatya, between mountain ridges are located a number of plains. The line which separates plains from the mountain ranges is so stressed that it reminds one a shore-line with bays and promontories. These plains are extremely fertile due to waste brought from the mountains by streams and rivulets which, taking into account their regular accumulation in the central parts, are the result of the existence of lakes in the past. Most part of the population lives exactly in these plains. Rugged character of the landscape has a negative effect on the communication between the population of different valleys which in its turn leads to the provincialism of the people, local dialects and traditions.

### Land resources

The peculiarities of the landscape and climate of the Armenian Highland was first correctly described by the famous geographer Strabo: *"In Armenia itself there are many mountains and many plateaus, in which not even the vine can easily grow; and also many valleys, some only moderately fertile, others very fertile".*<sup>43</sup>

Except some regions having plain landscape and mountain valleys, where the soil is fertile and well watered through rivers and precipitations (Ararat plain including Nachijevan,<sup>44</sup> parts of Tsopk-Sophene, Harq, Derjan etc.), in other regions internal economic resources and first of all agriculture are unable to secure minimal needs for the subsistence of more or less sizeable population groups. In such regions the role of

<sup>40</sup> Palasanyan 1902: 12. The concept of St.Palasanyan was criticized by H.Manandyan (Manandyan 1981: 9), particularly in regard to the idea that the weakness of Armenian kingdoms could be explained by inner problems (feuds), a factor which was used by their aggressive neighbors since the times of Urartu. It should be mentioned that feuds and separatism of *nakharars* (hereditary rulers of provinces) were result of the geographical isolation of the landscape and, consequently the population. Actually, both authors were right, but H.Manandyan had failed to study the political history of ancient Armenia in its close interrelationship with the environment.

<sup>41</sup> Kiepert 1881: 50.

<sup>42</sup> Huntington 1902a: 302ff.

<sup>43</sup> Strabo XI,14,4.

<sup>44</sup> Anyway, even in the Ararat plain which is well-watered by the Araxes river and its numerous tributaries, counters problems connected with the semi-arid climate and possible salinization of the soil.

agriculture was marginal, meanwhile pastoralism during all historical periods, especially in antiquity, was truly most important means of subsistence.<sup>45</sup> But more precisely one can use the term complex agricultural-pastoralist economy (with different proportions of its components).

The peculiarity of the economy of the Highland is the horizontal specialization of agriculture, pastoralism and craftsmanship. In the early city-states of Mesopotamia, Syria-Palestine and Egypt the concentration of large groups of population was the result of the existence of fertile soil and water resources along the course of big rivers, and, consequently, their specialization in one and the same limited area. But even in the close neighborhood of such urban centers are registered semi-nomadic pastoralist peripheric communities.<sup>46</sup> Since the Armenian Highland lacks favorable conditions for the emergence of such urban centers (with the exception of western Tsopk-Sophene and Ararat plain), one is forced to think that in this case one might suppose close neighborhood of small communities which differ by their lifestyle. That is - 1) predominantly agricultural communities in fertile and well-watered regions (valleys/plains) and 2) predominantly pastoralist communities in more elevated places in the neighborhood of the first category. This, indeed, does not exclude certain overlapping between two modes of subsistence, but it could not cardinaly change the situation. Pastoralism as a productive mode of subsistence implies mobility since it is forced by the means of lifestyle. Pastoralism is an independent mode of lifestyle which should be regarded as a natural response to the given ecological background.<sup>47</sup>

The relief and climate of the Armenian Highland does not favor the formation of nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralist societies. At best here could be stated about the existence of seasonal pastoralism (i.e. transhumance) in some ecological niches, i.e. inside the space consisting of neighboring mountain valleys/plateaus and mountains. It means that the given population group has its permanent settlement in the lowland and which moves to the high pastures during the pastoral season (from early spring until late autumn). Or, and this seems more probable, the existence of combined pastoralist-agricultural mode of production,<sup>48</sup> in contrary to nomadism which does not regard agriculture as a constant and safe means of subsistence. In the Armenian Highland functions the vertical system of transhumance which implies alternation of winter and summer pastures located on different altitudes.<sup>49</sup> Such lifestyle points on the existence

<sup>45</sup> Let us remember what wrote Strabo regarding the horse-breeding in Armenia. He says that in Armenia there are favorable conditions for horse-breeding which do not yield Media (Strabo XI,14,9).

<sup>46</sup> For example, the Aramaean tribal units located in the steppe zone next to Northern Mesopotamian urban centers.

<sup>47</sup> Unlike modern period, in antiquity (semi)nomadic pastoralism was not regarded as secondary, auxiliary lifestyle and used to have important role in the daily life of eastern societies (Riehl 2006: 105). Any of the three social groups (agriculturalists, pastoralists and craftsmen) used to have their well defined place and it is impossible to establish a scale of importance between them.

<sup>48</sup> According to A.Khazanov, this is the "semi-sedentary pastoralism" (Khazanov 1994: 17ff.).

<sup>49</sup> Hammer 2012: 5f. On the contrary, there is also horizontal transhumance which exists in the lowlying geographical areas (i.e. steppe belt).

of mutual dependence between seasonal pastoralists and sedentary agriculturalists. For example, in the ancient Near Eastern polities both units were integrated into the economic system of urban centers.<sup>50</sup>

In this regard it is worth to recall travel reports of European diplomats, missionaries and others who visited Western Armenia in the XIX century; in their accounts dealing with some regions they present the same situation as we have described above. Particularly they mention the existence of mutually profitable cooperation and peaceful co-existence between agriculturally oriented Armenian villages located in lowlying areas (i.e. river valleys) and pastoralist Kurdish settlements of elevated regions.

For example, J.Brant, the British consul in Erzerum who visited the province of Mush and adjacent areas in 1830s, wrote that between the Lake Van and Kharberd, in the neighborhood of Armenian villages are located settlements of pastoralist Kurds. During the winter season the latter live in the Armenian villages for rent, but from spring to late autumn move to high pastures.<sup>51</sup>

When one looks on the same Mush then it becomes clear that only its northern part possesses with land resources favorable for intensive agricultural lifestyle. In the central part agricultural activities encounter the problem of drainage since the soil “rests on a large plate of sandstone conglomerate not well suited to drainage and soil accumulation”.<sup>52</sup> The problems are more than visible at spring when run-off streams are flooding large areas and turn part of them into swamps for quite a long period.

For the evaluation of land resources of the Armenian Highland it will be useful to look on statistics.

First table is compiled by the Ministry of Ecology, Republic of Armenia, in 2002,<sup>53</sup> the second one - Institute of Statistics, Republic of Turkey.<sup>54</sup>

#### **Land resources of the Republic of Armenia in 1997 (thousand hectares)**

Province	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Syunik	450.5	194.3	48.3	9.6	133.7	57.0	199.2
Geghargh.	407.1	240.1	95.3	35.6	107.4	16.0	278.9
Lori	378.9	192.2	48.4	39.4	99.9	90.0	96.7
Aragatsotn	275.6	136.7	56.2	4.1	68.7	7.5	131.4
Tavush	270.4	98.6	27.8	15.0	49.0	123.9	47.9
Shirak	268.0	165.7	84.5	16.8	63.9	2.5	99.8
Vayk	230.8	75.9	20.6	4.6	47.4	6.5	148.4

<sup>50</sup> This model („enclosed nomadism“) has been formulated still in 1970s (Rowton 1974: 6f.).

<sup>51</sup> Brant and Glasscott 1840: 353f. In the Armenian village of Kizil Aghaj located in the western part of Mush during the winter live 30 Kurdish families along with their cattle.

<sup>52</sup> Rothman and Kozbe 1997: 108.

<sup>53</sup> National program 2002. This publication is not paginated.

<sup>54</sup> Zimansky 1985: 15, Table I. The data is taken from Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Türkiye istatistik yilligi 1971, Ankara, 1973: 3, 202f.



Ararat	209.9	99.1	30.0	2.9	54.4	9.5	101.3
Kotayk	209.5	99.8	40.6	10.9	40.7	20.0	89.7
Armavir	124.2	80.7	40.4	0.2	26.5	1.0	42.5
Total	2846.4	1391.4	494.3	139.1	694.4	333.9	1249.0

### Explanatory symbols

- 1 - Total
- 2 - Agricultural
- 3 - Arable land
- 4 - Meadows
- 5 - Pasture
- 6 - Forests and bushes
- 7 - Other

\*Total land resources used for agricultural purposes reaches 18.5 percent, that of forests and shrubs 11.8 percent; 12 percent of all land resources of the republic which are not used for agricultural purposes comprise water basins, mountains chains etc.

### Eastern regions of the Turkish Republic (Western Armenia)

Region	1	2	3	4	5
Agri/Ararat	11.488 km <sup>2</sup>	18%	0.2%	59.5%	21.7%
Bingöl	8.911	11.4	0.1	33.7	58.8
Kharberd	9.951	26	4.0	15.6	53.4
Bitlis	8.551	11.4	0.2	11.4	54.9
Erznka	12.165	16.8	0.5	17.5	65.2
Erzerum	26.582	23.1	0.3	49.7	24.6
Kars	19.407	21.6	0.4	53.6	23.6
Mush	8.713	22.9	0.3	55.8	20.6
Tunjeli	8.676	13.1	0.7	5.6	80.3
Van	21.823	8.9	0.2	(together	91.5)

### Explanatory symbols

- 1 – Total
- 2 – Arable lands
- 3 – Orchards
- 4 – Pastures
- 5 – Other

Some remarks concerning the statistics should be useful. Methodologically, the statistics dealing with the not so remote past could not be applied to the much more earlier historical periods, due to the next considerations.

Every historical period requires specific mode of production which depends on the nature of political organization, level of social and economic development of the population, integration in the civilizational processes of the time being etc. All these criterias one should bear in mind while trying to operate with statistic materials. In particular, in the sense of percentage, indeed, there should have been essential differences while one compares the periods before the rise of Urartu, its later history and that of Hellenistic period. If during the Middle Bronze age which is characterized by the high mobility of population groups and, consequently the pastoralist lifestyle required more territory destined for pasture-lands, hardly the same could be assumed for such highly organized (even sophisticated) state as Urartu. The economic basis of the latter comprise agricultural-industrial regions which were guarded and administered by fortresses, and where pastoralism was not an essential component of subsistence. As to the eastern regions of Turkey (Western Armenia), especially its rural population dwelling in the elevated regions, mostly consist of Kurds whose main field of economic activities comprise pastoralism. Hence the high percentage of pasture-lands.

Even these considerations are unable to cardinaly change the existing percentage of land use as it appears according to the charts referred above. The ecological peculiarities of the Armenian Highland (high mountain ranges and valleys enclosed by them, high seismic characteristics, climatic fluctuations etc.), regardless considerable changes happened during the historical past, could not have cardinaly affected the lifestyle of the population. Climate could become warmer or cooler, precipitations increased or decreased (forcing the societies to undergo some transformations in their activities, change political centers, foreign relations, etc.), but the volume of land resources actually would remain the same.

Anyway, agricultural-pastoralist economy also was not enough to solve vital problems of the population. In some regions of the Highland mining and metal industry along with the craftsmanship, exchange trading of metals, especially with Mesopotamian states supplements the means of their subsistence. The latter sphere of activities is fully elucidated by the Mesopotamian written sources dated with the II-I mill. BC.<sup>55</sup>

Summarizing this brief overview of the land resources of the Armenian Highland, the next important point should be stressed, which had played an important role during the whole history of Armenian civilization.

During the periods preceding the statehood or those lacking centralized states exist numerous autonomous and self-sustaining small economic units which possess with limited population. Their consolidation is possible only in the case of serious threat from outside (for example, Assyrian and Urartian military campaigns). Such poleis-like units, as a rule, do not possess with sufficient material resources and manpower in order to establish economic infrastructures – the main threshold for the creation of

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<sup>55</sup> Grayson 1987; 1991; 1996.

strong and stable statehood in order to establish political hegemony over their neighbors.

In the Armenian Highland the first such state was Urartu, which had succeeded to establish an economic basis for the future empire. The study of the economic background of the Urartian state<sup>56</sup> allows one to evaluate the means of establishing stable mechanisms of unified and strong statehood in the Armenian Highland. Thus, the economic activities of the kings of Urartu was focused on the establishment of military-political control over the lowlying river valleys; here were dug impressive canals and strong fortresses were built in order to secure the agricultural areas from attacks of the neighbors. Also was established firm control over the mines located in elevated regions.

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<sup>56</sup> See the unpublished fundamental study of Ye.Grekyan (Grekyan 2016), where the author analyzes the economic foundations of Urartu based on combined written and archaeological sources.

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## AN ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY A PICTURE ON THE PARTHIAN ROCK-CUT RELIEFS OF HONG-I AZHDAR

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Among the Iranian rock-cut reliefs by its iconographic and stylistic diversity, as well as the problem of historical reality is distinguished that of Hong-i Azhdar (Hong-i Novruz)(Fig. 1). This monument (5.40 meters in length and 2.10 meters in height) was erected in the north-eastern mountainous region of the Iranian province of Khuzhistan, about 17 km to the north of the modern city of Izeh, in the neighborhood of the ancient Elamite rock-cut relief. Although this monument is known to the scholarship still from the mid-XIX century, it became a subject for study only from 1860's. This relief has been studied in the context of the history and culture of ancient Iran by L.Vanden Berghe, H.Mathiesen, A.Invernizzi, E. De Waele, S.Downey, T.Kawami and others.<sup>1</sup> In 2008-2011 the Italian-Iranian joint expedition of V.Messina and J.Mehr Kian even had studied it by means of lazer scanning.<sup>2</sup> Anyway, until today the monument lacks consensus regarding the date, genre and identity of pictures depicted on it.<sup>3</sup>

Agreeing with the opinion of L.Vanden Berghe in that the rock-cut relief of Hong-i Azhdar was created during the reign of the Parthian king Mithridates I (165-132 BC)<sup>4</sup> and is directly connected with the military operations of the Parthians in Mesopotamia and Elymais in 141-138 BC, we shall study one of the problems of that monument, i.e. the identity of the person standing behind the king on the horseback.

All scholars who had studied the rock-cut relief of Hong-i Azhdar exclusively were

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<sup>1</sup> Vanden Berghe 1963: 55-168; Vanden Berghe, Schippmann 1985; Mathiesen 1985: 191-196; Mathiesen 1992; Invernizzi 1998: 219-259; De Waele 1975: 59-79; Downey 1977; Downey 1986: 580-585; Kawami 1987; Harmatta 1981: 189-217.

<sup>2</sup> Messina, Mehr Kian 2011: 215-231.

<sup>3</sup> According to H.Mathiesen, the left group of the pictures on Hong-i Azhdar relief represented in profile was carved in the second half of the II century BC, as a commemoration of the victory of Mithridates I over Elymais, and the right one, which is carved frontally, has been augmented later, by the request of the Parthian governor of Elymais (Mathiesen 1992: 121). The diachronic character of the two groups of the monument is accepted also by V.Messina and J.Mehr Kian (Messina, Mehr Kian 2011: 215-231). T.Kawami regards late II century or early III century as the latest chronological limit (Kawami 1987: 124). His opinion is shared by S.Downey who considers it possible that "the figures of the rider and the page were deliberately archaized for some now unknown historical reason" (Downey 1986: 381). Such an approach is demonstrated also by V.S.Curtis and D.V. Schlumberger, but who suggests a comparatively narrow period for the creation of the monument - late I century or even II century (Curtis 2000: 25; Schlumberger 1986: 1043). A.Invernizzi also takes into consideration the stylistic peculiarities of the right section of pictures and suggests to date the monument with the I-III centuries AD (Invernizzi 1998: 258). More fundamental approach was demonstrated by L.Vanden Berghe, who, taking into account the similarity of the rider to that on the coins of Mithridates I concluded that the rock-relief was created towards the end of the king's later period; thus, the rider represents Mithridates who receives the defeated people of Elymais (Vanden Berghe 1963:167; Vanden Berghe 1983:120-121; Vanden Bergh, Schippmann 1985: 36, pl. 2).

<sup>4</sup> The dates of the Parthian kings are given according to G.Assar (Assar 2006a: 87-158).

focused on the central persons of the composition; the picture behind the king was not discussed. Regarding him as the “squire”, “bodyguard”, “servant”, scholars neither were concerned with the identity nor the participation of that person in the given historical event.

This picture has been considerably damaged due to erosion. Currently many iconographic details are hardly visible which makes it difficult to identify him. However, it would be possible to establish the tentative list of candidates if we approach the problem from the point of view of fundamental principles of the ancient Near Eastern artistic thinking - **usefulness**<sup>5</sup> and **hierarchy**. In such case two related questions arose:

- a) does the picture of the person standing behind the king has social content or not,
- b) what was the role of that person in the artistically represented historical event depicted on the monument.

Justin regards the person on horseback in the Parthian reality as a sign of the priority of aristocrats over slaves<sup>6</sup>. And if we consider the information of the Roman historiographer as a truth, and thus directly connect it with the opposition of rider-pedestrian on the left group of pictures of Hong-i Azhdar, then the person on foot really should be regarded as a slave or servant of the king. But this would be a simplified and methodologically wrong decision. In the Near Eastern reality the word for slave (Greek δούλος) used to have different social meanings. In one case it was applied to slaves, in other cases a person who was somebody's subject, in the third case to those who generally has a subordinate status and whose right on life and death belongs to the king.

Our observations of the genre and identity of persons depicted on the rock-cut relief of Hong-i Azhdar show that this has an official character. Hence, intended to propagate official ideology, it should have been created according to the principles of usefulness and hierarchy. In that case it becomes clear that on the official composition which represents the Parthian society, slaves or servants could not have place. Accordingly, the identity of the person on foot should be evaluated not by means of his place on the relief but by his place just after the king. From this point of view the possible identification of the picture should be narrowed; probably that person belonged to the closest circle of Mithridates I and, possibly, played an important role in the historical event depicted on the relief. This suggestion follows also from the comparison of the Hong-i Azhdar relief with the identical monuments of the pre-Parthian and post-Parthian periods.

In the official monuments of the IX-V centuries BC usually after the king are depicted princes. It points on the status of “after the king”, “second by rank” (*pasāgrīw*). This phenomenon is vividly expressed in the Neo-Assyrian art where the status under

<sup>5</sup> The word “usefulness” V.G.Lukonin considers inseparability of artistic perception from religious and “producing” mentality. By his definition, “On different stages of the existence and development of ancient oriental art this peculiarity was expressed by different sized lucidity, but characterizes it permanently (Lukonin 1987: 50).

<sup>6</sup> Justinus 1953: XLI, 3. 4.



discussion expresses, along with the legal status (prince), also his participation in the rule of the country.<sup>7</sup> Introduction of the latter in the official art had political-propagating sense, in order to make public image for him and secure the easy transfer of royal power.<sup>8</sup> This motive was introduced and used in the official art of the V century BC Achaemenid empire. But since the Achaemenid crown princes did not participate actively in the military-political affairs of the empire, this propagatory form for introducing them as “after king” remained as a unique parallel to the ritual of introduction of the crown prince (ἀνάδειξις).

The rock-carved inscriptions and other written sources from Persepolis, Hatra, Edessa, and Parthia show that in the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods the term *pasāgrīw* “after king” was used in two senses, in relation to whether the preposition *pasā* “after” was expressed in the static or dynamic sense.<sup>9</sup> In the first case *pasāgrīw* shows steady status in the hierarchy of the person who was granted with this title which means “second after the king”, “second (person) by the rank”, “viceroy”, “vicegerent”. In that case this word is a parallel to the Old Persian \**dvitīyaxšaya* “second governor”, Middle Persian *bidaxš* “bdeshx, viceroy”.<sup>10</sup> In the second case, when *pasā* is used in the provisional sense, *pasāgrīw* means “successor”, “crown prince”.<sup>11</sup>

In the Parthian empire references to the succession of the throne are contradictory. Strabo denies the existence of the principle of direct succession in Parthia, saying that the supreme right for the succession was reserved for the Parthian senate.<sup>12</sup> And according to Justin, first Armenian Arshakids follow the Achaemenid tradition and managed that question towards the end of their rule.<sup>13</sup> But, as it seems, that contradiction is not as principal as it might appear. It reflects two tendencies which used to exist simultaneously in the Parthian world. Beginning from Mithridates I and due to the formation of the Parthian empire the participation of Parthian Arshakid princes in the military-administrative state affairs was increasing. That practice was carried out in order to centralize the administrative organization of the empire and at the same time to

<sup>7</sup> A similar positional relationship is observed on the wall-painting of Sargon II in Dur-Šarrukin (Loud and Altman 1938: 85, pl. 89). In this composition Ch. Altman regards the identification of the god on the podium with Assur as “possible”, and the king with Sargon II “undoubtedly”. What regards the third picture, the author not only erroneously presents his place in the composition, that is “to the right of the king”, instead of “after the king”, but also defines him simply as “accompanying official” (Loud and Altman 1938: 85). To our knowledge, the official character of the wall-painting, the position of the picture “after the king”, measurements identical with the king, luxurious clothing and headgear forces one to identify the picture with the crown prince Sennacherib, son of Sargon II who during the reign of his father held the office of the ruler of Assyrian provinces facing Urartu (Frahm 2002: 1116).

<sup>8</sup> Melikyan 2013: 109.

<sup>9</sup> Sanches 2014: 53-63; Gnoli 2002: 79.

<sup>10</sup> Hinz 1969: 149-153; Khurshudyan 1990: 9; Khurshudyan 2015: 21-48.

<sup>11</sup> In Iranian inscriptions the term under discussion first was used in the bilingual of Xerxes I from Persepolis in the face of its homonym *’passā tanūm* “after him” as a unique epithet of Xerxes who was recognized by Darius I as his heir to the throne (Herzfeld 1932: 4-5). See also Gnoli 2002: 79; Melikyan 2013: 88-118.

<sup>12</sup> Strabo 1960: XI. 9, 3.

<sup>13</sup> Justinus 1953: XLI, 5. 10.

establish control over the succession. With the incorporation of the future heir to the throne into state affairs the ruling king first of all was concerned with the promotion of experience for him, and makes conditions for eliminating possible alternatives of the Parthian senate in regard to the succession. So, in the early Parthian state system the *pasāgrīw* office became a sort of its Assyrian-Achemenid precedents; it propagates the person who occupies a place after the king in the state affairs, whose right on the throne later was ratified by the senate.<sup>14</sup>

Under the light of the compositional peculiarities of the Assyrian and Achemenid reliefs one might consider the possibility of the identification of the person standing behind Mithridates I as his son Phraates. According to the current view, Rinu, the mother of Phraates was the descendant of the family of Karenians who rule in the neighborhood of Ecbatana which after the conquest of Media in 148/147 BC had recognized the Parthian supremacy.<sup>15</sup> But even if we accept that the political marriage with Rinu took place in that same year (the conquest of Media), then the first child should have been born in 147/146 BC. Hence, the identification of the bearded person with the son of Mithridates I seems impossible.

The next person from the close neighborhood of Mithridates I was the ruler of Media who is mentioned by Justin ("Abbreviation" XLI) as Vagasis,<sup>16</sup> in some copies also Bacasis<sup>17</sup> or Bocasis.<sup>18</sup> Saying that after the conquest of Media, before his return to Hyrcania, Mithridates handed over to him the rule of that province<sup>19</sup>, but he does not reveal their affiliation to each other. This gap is filled by the Babylonian astronomical table dated with the VII month of the Seleucid calendar for the year 179 (year 133, 7/8.10-5/6.11) which calls the Median king by the name *Bagāyāsh*, regarding him as being the brother of Mithridates I.<sup>20</sup> Taking into account the identity of the Iranian Bagāyāsh with *Vagasis-Bacasis-Bocasis* reported by Justin (*vag-bac(g)-boc(g)*), we can agree with G.Assar who regards all these forms as variants of the same name.<sup>21</sup>

N.Debevoise is right when he noticed that the appointment of Bagasis in the office of the ruler of Media contradicts the practice adopted by the tradition of leaving the representatives of the local dynasties in their places.<sup>22</sup> The violation of that practice could be explained with the important role given to Media in the expansionist policy of the Parthians. Firm control over the recently conquered province was intended to close

<sup>14</sup> The mechanism introduced by Mithridates I is clearly visible especially during the "Dark ages" of the Parthian empire (91-55 BC)(Assar 2006b: 56-104) and later, from the early I century AD until its last quarter (Melikyan 2003: 22-26).

<sup>15</sup> Assar 2006a: 95.

<sup>16</sup> Iustinus 1886: XLI, 6. 7.

<sup>17</sup> Iustinus 1953: XLI, 6. 7.

<sup>18</sup> Justin 1994: XLI, 6. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Iustinus 1953: XLI, 6. 7.

<sup>20</sup> Sachs, Hunger 1996: 216-217, № 132B, 1. 22.

<sup>21</sup> Assar 2005: 42-43.

<sup>22</sup> Debevoise 2008: 43, n. 96.

the access of the Seleucids to Parthia, and to become an important precondition in the future movement of Parthians to the west as well. And although the Greek and Roman sources does not mention Bagasis anymore, the information contained in the numismatic materials and Mesopotamian astronomical tables prove the important role of Media in the western policy of Mithridates I.

Bagasis was the person from the neighborhood of Mithridates I whose profile has reached us due to the silver *obols* minted in Ecbatana after the conquest of Media<sup>23</sup> and copper double *dichalcouses*.<sup>24</sup> On the obverse figures the profile of Mithridates I wearing a diadem, and on the reverse that of the Bagasis with the headware of a satrap (Fig. 2). Although the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ (“[coin] of Arshak the Great king”) in Π-form encircles not the figure of Mithridates but that of Bagasis, it goes without saying that it refers to the Parthian king but not the ruler of Media. The minting of coins bearing parallel pictures of the Parthian king and the vassal ruler is unprecedented phenomenon in Parthia. In this regard G.Koshelenko suggests that “the Parthian satrap Bakasis was trying to reach some independence from the central government of Mithridates I”.<sup>25</sup> As to L.Torday, he assumes that between Mithridates I and Bagasis existed relations of co-rulership.<sup>26</sup>

Hardly the suggestion of G.Koshelenko could be accepted since it lacks any evidence in written sources. As to the second opinion, in the Hellenistic world and especially in the Seleucid empire (whose impact on the early Parthian political system could not be doubted) our knowledge of the co-rulership mentioned above<sup>27</sup> theoretically does not exclude such a possibility. But we think that such relationship could have been only unofficial. Otherwise it might have performed through the ceremony of ἀνάδειξις which was adopted by the Hellenistic world from Achemenids,<sup>28</sup> an event which probably should have been fixed by the Greco-Roman sources and Babylonian astronomers. And in that case calculations of the calendar carried out by the latters should have took place on behalf of two kings, as it was done in the text from Uruk which regards the co-rulership of Phraates II and his mother Rinu:

“11: .... Uruk. Month V,

12: [day x, year 116, which is year] 180, Arsaces and Rīnnu, his mother,

13: (are) Kings”<sup>29</sup>.

Narrative sources does not contain any information regarding the extent and form of the Median king’s participation in the conquest of Mesopotamia, and the Babylonian astronomical texts mention him only in the context of events which took place in 179

<sup>23</sup> Sellwood 1980: 12. 4-5.

<sup>24</sup> Sellwood 1980: 12. 13; 12. 17-18; 12. 23-24.

<sup>25</sup> Koshelenko 1972: 99.

<sup>26</sup> Torday 1997: 349.

<sup>27</sup> Bickerman 1985: 23-24.

<sup>28</sup> Bickerman 1985: 24.

<sup>29</sup> See Assar 2006: 95.

(133 BC) and 185 (126 BC).<sup>30</sup> However, it goes without saying that the responsibility of a large-scaled invasion into Mesopotamia probably must have been laid on the ruler of the neighboring ally, i.e. Media.

The Parthian army invaded Mesopotamia under the command of Mithridates I in 141 BC. In June-July of that same year Parthians entered Seleucia on Tigris, and Babylon in July 6/7. His success in Mesopotamia Mithridates celebrated with the minting of silver drachmaes and tetradrachmaes in Seleucia on Tigris, on which the king is given a new title “Great king Arshak, Hellenophil” and new official image,<sup>31</sup> which almost is identical with the rider on Hong-i Azhdar. But according to another Babylonian astronomical table, in the IX month of 171 of the Seleucid calendar (December 3/4, 141 BC – January 1/2, 140 BC) Mithridates I had already returned to Parthia<sup>32</sup> and was concerned with the Saka tribes who were terrifying his new empire in the north-east.<sup>33</sup> Being busy with the extension of his eastern borders<sup>34</sup> Mithridates I never returned to Mesopotamia. Hence, neither the war against Demetrios, nor after the defeat and imprisonment of the latter the durative struggle for Elymais were headed by Mithridates personally.

A question arises concerning the leadership of the military operations in the west in the absence of Mithridates. Considerable number of scholars think that shortly after the conquest of Babylonia the old political system of this region was replaced by the Parthian one, and the Babylonian scribes continue to use the title <sup>lú</sup>GAL ERÍN KUR URI<sup>ki</sup> šá ana UGU 4 <sup>lú</sup>GAL ú-qu-tú “commander who stands over four commanders” in regard to the Parthian viceroy of Babylonia<sup>35</sup> who was in command of military operations. This view is acceptable, although still remains the question whether this person had acted alone or through the advise of Parthian central administration.

On one of the Babylonian astronomical tables dated with 171 BC (141 BC) of Seleucid calendar as the first Parthian “commander who stands over four commanders” of Babylonia is mentioned Antiochus, the son of the king Arabuzana (<sup>1</sup>An-ti-’u-uk-su A šá <sup>1</sup>Ar-’a-a-bu-za-na LUGAL).<sup>36</sup> The same individual is mentioned also in the cuneiform tablet dated with the IX month of that year (November 3/4, 141 BC – January 1/2, 140 BC) in the context of the Parthian campaign against Elymais:

<sup>30</sup> Sachs, Hunger 1996: 216-217, № 132B, 1. 22; 256-259, № 126B, 1. 2.

<sup>31</sup> Sellwood 1980: 13.1-10.

<sup>32</sup> Sachs, Hunger 1996: 216-217, № 140 C, 1. 34.

<sup>33</sup> Assar 2006a: 91.

<sup>34</sup> Justinus 1953: 41.6.1-3; Strabo 1960: XI. 9.2.

<sup>35</sup> By K.Kessler, this title which was alien to the Greeks, was given to the Seleucid strategos of Babylon under whose supremacy were acting four other strategoses (Kessler 1999: 178). Initially Y. Mitsuma considered that “the general above the four generals” is probably to be equal in the status with “the Satrap of the East” of the Seleucid kingdom”, to whom four other governors were subordinated” (Mitsuma 2002: 26-27). After the revision of his assumption he thinks that the chief of the four generals of Babylonia was the supreme administrator of Upper satrapies, i.e. all Transeuphratian east of the Seleucid empire (Mitsuma 2007/9:9).

<sup>36</sup> Sachs, Hunger 1996: 134-135, № 140A, 1. 7.

“34: .... That month, I heard as follows: King Arsaces and his troops departed from Hyrcania.

35: I heard as follows: (on the) 6th, the Elamite and his troops departed towards Apamea which is on the river Silhu for fighting.

36: That [month?], the people who dwell in Apamea went out to Bit-Karkudî; they burned Apamea.

37: [...] An(tiochus) the general who is above the four generals, who was representing King Arsaces, went out from Sel[eucia which is on]

38: the Tigris towards the Elamite for fighting...”.<sup>37</sup>

The name of the Babylonian commander and his patronymics point on his non-Parthian origins. M.Olbrycht regards the name Arabuzana as a corrupted form of Ariobazan and, recalling its frequent appearance in the I century BC dynasty of Atropatena, identifies him as the son or grandson of Artaban, the king of Media-Atropatena. According to him, this Antiochus was born as the result of the political Seleucid-Atropatenean marriage and named after Antiochus III, his maternal grandfather.<sup>38</sup>

The involvement of the representative of a vassal dynasty in the military operations outside his country was a common practice during the Achemenids and Seleucids. Numerous examples could be referred to also in the Parthian empire. But in our case it seems highly improbable that Mithridates who was busy with the defence and increase of his eastern borders could give the recently conquered Babylonia to the prince of not too long ago subdued country without establishing firm control over him. On the contrary, the situation in the Parthian-Seleucid front and in Mesopotamia and beyond the borders of the empire, and inability to successfully manage the affairs in the West should have forced Mithridates to hand over the material and military resources and administration of the West, as well as the expansion and security of the borders to an experienced and trusted person. From the Babylonian astronomical texts Bagasis, king of Media appears as such person:

In the astronomical table dated with the VII month of 179 BC (October 7/8, 133 BC –November 5/6) is mentioned Philinus, another Parthian general of Babylonia:

“21: That month, I heard as follows: Philinus, the general of Babylonia who is above the four generals,

22: who in month I had gone to the cities of Media before Bagāyāsh, the brother of the king ....”<sup>39</sup>

The phrase “Cities of Media” in the text (URU<sup>meš</sup> šá KUR Ma-da-a-a), undoubtedly is used traditionally as an equivalent to the former “Ummān-Manda” which the Assyrian-Babylonian scribes use in regard to the whole country of Media. Due to the defective state of the tablet it is impossible to define the exact motive of the above-mentioned trip

<sup>37</sup> Sachs, Hunger 1996: 146-147, № 140C.

<sup>38</sup> Olbrycht 2010: 239-240.

<sup>39</sup> Sachs, Hunger 1996: 216-217, № 132B, 1. 22.

of Babylonian general. Excluding the possibility that he could have excersized any legacy or function in Media, we can propose that the purpose of that trip was a report to the king of Media.

Mithridates I had died in 132 BC. The troublesome situation along the borders demands to put on the throne a strong and experienced person, such as Bagasis. Probably, Mithridates I also might prefer to act in that manner, just like in the similar situation he was granted with throne from Phraates I, his brother, bypassing the former's sons.<sup>40</sup> Meanwhile Parthian senate put on the throne Phraates, his underaged son (Phraates II - 132-127 BC).<sup>41</sup> Probably, the order of succession drawn by Phraates I and Mithridates I had not become political reality yet. However, as Babylonian sources mention, during the reign of Phraates II Bagasis had completely preserved his former positions.

In 130 BC Antiochus VII Sidetes organized a major campaign against Parthians and defeating Phraates II in three battles, conquered Seleucia on Tigris and Babylon.<sup>42</sup> Since in 130-129 BC Phraates II was only 16-17 years old, probably Bagasis, king of Media had to take care of the war against Seleucids. Accordingly, his role should have been significant in the rebellion of Hellenistic towns of Media against Antiochus.<sup>43</sup> That organized action which put an end to the attempts of the Seleucids to re-conquer the lost territories, demonstrates the popularity of Bagasis during the last two decades.

After the defeat of Antiochus VII and the retreat of Seleucid army Babylonian astronomical texts testify in favor of the participation of the Median king Bagasis in the military-political processes in Mesopotamia, particularly in the war of Parthians against Hyspaosines, king of Charax. The text dated with the VIII month, 185 BC of the Seleucid calendar (September 31/October 1, 127 – October 29/30) says:

“6:.... .... That month, on the 4th Timarchus,

7: who previously from the side of King Arsaces was appointed the guard commander and who in month IV

8: had escaped from Hyspaosines, came from the side of Indupanē with troops of Media;

<sup>40</sup> Justinus 1953: XLI, 5, 9-10. “Priapatius, after reigning fifteen years, died, leaving two sons, Mithridates and Phraates, of whom the elder, Phraates, being, according to the custom of the nation, heir to the crown, subdued the Mardi, a strong people, by force of arms, and died not long after, leaving several sons, whom he set aside, and left the throne, in preference, to his brother Mithridates, a man of extraordinary ability, thinking that more was due to the name of king than to that of father, and that he ought to consult the interests of his country rather than those of his children”.

<sup>41</sup> On tetradrachmae minted in Suza for the commemoration of his accession Phraates II is represented as a youngster, without moustache (Sellwood 1980: Types 44-45). G.Assar is right when he assumes that the co-rulership of Phraates II and his mother after the death of Mithridates I proves that in July-August of 132 BC he has not reached his adulthood (in Zoroastrian tradition the adulthood begins with 15 years) (Assar 2005: 44).

<sup>42</sup> Debevoise 2008: 51-52.

<sup>43</sup> Debevoise 2008: 52.

9: they entered Babylon. That day, the administrator of Esangil and the Babylonians provided for him one bull and 3 (sheep) sacrifices”.<sup>44</sup>

Although the Babylonian source does not clarify the offices of Timarchus and Indupane, from the general context of the text G.Assar assumes that the former was the commander of the Babylonian garrison appointed by Phraates II, and Indupane the newly appointed satrap of Babylonia or the commander of the satrapy's army.<sup>45</sup>

In order to reveal the role of Bagasis in the struggle against Hyspaosines is of importance the mention of **Median army**. Undoubtedly, the advance of Median army towards Seleucia on Tigris should have been caused by the conquest of Babylon by Hyspaosines and carried out only by the order of Bagasis. About the exceptional rights of Bagasis in regard to the territories lying beyond the borders of the region under his jurisdiction testifies one Babylonian astronomical table dated with the last period of Phraates II:

“1:[....] from Seleucia [....]

2: [.... Bagāyāsh ordered the 4 generals to [(enter Babylon from Seleucia)? ....]

3: [....] above Babylon towards the rivers to the .... [....]

4: [....] this [general ....] from his camp with his riders [....]

5: [....] and workmen an offering which was like .... [....]

6: [....] they provided for him. The administrator of Esangil and the Babylon[ians ....]

7: [.... performed] sacrifices at the ‘Gate of the Son of the Prince’ of Esangil for the general [....]

8: [....] to great [gods] for the life of King Arsaces [....]”.<sup>46</sup>

Defective state of the cuneiform tablet does not allow us to identify the described event. The phrase referred to in the second line (“[Bagā]yāsh ordered four generals”) is not enough to assume that Bagasis held the offices of the Median king and the “commander of four generals”. Hence, the order given by him to four generals could lead to an assumption that the Median king experiences a military-political supremacy over them during Mithridates I and his successor Phraates II as well, as the architect of the Parthian Arshakids in the West.

With the proposed role of Bagasis beyond the borders of Media should be connected also the first Parthian-Armenian war. Still in 1888 A. von Gutschmid and some other scholars, trusting the confusing information of the “Epitome” of Justin,<sup>47</sup> had suggested that the above-mentioned Armenian-Parthian war took place during the last

<sup>44</sup> Sachs, Hunger 1996: 254-255, № 126A, Obv., lines. 6-9.

<sup>45</sup> Assar 2006a: 104.

<sup>46</sup> Sachs, Hunger 1996: 256-259, № 126B.

<sup>47</sup> Justinus 1953: XLII, 2, 4. “Artabanus, making war upon the Thogarii, received a wound in the arm, of which he immediately died. He was succeeded by his son Mithridates, to whom his achievements procured the surname of Great; for, being fired with a desire to emulate the merit of his ancestors, he was enabled by the vast powers of his mind to surpass their renown. .... He fought successfully, too, several times, against the Scythians ....: At last he turned his arms against Artavasdes, king of Armenia“.

years of Mithridates II.<sup>48</sup> But they did not consider the important fact that in the Prologue to the Pompeus Trogus Book XLII, Mithridates the Great who waged war against Armenia is regarded as the king who had succeeded Phraates I (168-165/4 BC) but not Artabanus I (126-122 BC). "In the forty-second volume are contained Parthian affairs. How the prefect of Parthia created by Phrates, Himerus, made war on the Meseni and of his brutal treatment of the people of Babylon and Seleucia: how Phrates was succeeded on the throne by King Mithridates surnamed The Great, who made war on the Armenians..."<sup>49</sup> It was not considered also the question that, Mithridates II (121-91 BC<sup>50</sup>), the son and successor of Artabanus I could not fight with the Armenian king Artavazd I (160-115 BC) towards the end of his rule (*ad postremum*). From the point of view of these principal discrepancies looks well-founded the suggestion of Zh.G.Elchibekyan who thought that the war in question in the "Epitome" of Justin was removed to more earlier period due to the confusion of repeated personal names, and that "the first Armenian-Parthian war must have taken place during the last years of Mithridates I."<sup>51</sup>

Thus, it appears that the Roman historiography had ascribed to Mithridates a war which he could not wage personally since he was busy with the problems in the East. This paradox was solved by M.Khorenatsi in his "History of the Armenians", where in the Book I we read: "Arshak the Great, king of the Persians and Parthians, who was Parthian by race .... He made his brother Vagharshak king over this land of Armenia, thinking it convenient in this way to render his own rule unshakeable. And ... established as his frontiers part of Western Syria, Palestine, Asia, and all of Mediterranean and T'etalia, from the Sea of Pontus to the place where the Caucasus runs into the Western Sea, and Atrpatakan".<sup>52</sup>

Indeed, it was revealed since long that Arshak the Great and Vagarshak of M.Khorenatsi combine numerous historical personalities who lived in different periods.<sup>53</sup> Some scholars who gave credence to the "facts" contained in the source mentioned above which deals with the enthronement of the Parthian kings' brother in Armenia and thus ascribing him the foundation of the Armenian Arshakid dynasty, identify Arshak the Great of M.Khorenatsi with Vagharsh I Arshakuni, and accordingly that Vagharshak with Trdat I.<sup>54</sup> It shall be stated that these arguments are not enough to prove the above-mentioned identifications.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Debevoise 2008: 58; Diakonoff 1961: 19; Manaseryan 1987: 27-28; Bivar 2006: 40-41.

<sup>49</sup> Justin 1994. Prolog. XLII.

<sup>50</sup> Assar 2006a: 134.

<sup>51</sup> Elchibekyan 1979: 72-76.

<sup>52</sup> Movses Khorenatsi 1913: I. 8.

<sup>53</sup> Sarkisyan 1973: 57; Danielyan 1976: 165-169.

<sup>54</sup> Yeremyan 1971: 745; Danielyan 1976: 167.

<sup>55</sup> M.Khorenatsi could have erroneously identified Arshak the Great with Arshak the Brave in the oral tradition regarding the early Parthian history which was available to him, but hardly he could identify Trdat with his kingly



A new and logical approach was demonstrated by G.Assar, who regards the name Vagharshak mentioned by M.Khorenatsi as variant of Justin's *Vagasis* (*Bacasis*, *Bocasis*) and *Bagāyāsh* of Babylonian texts, and his brother "Arshak the Great" with Mithridates I.<sup>56</sup> As to why M.Khorenatsi regards Bagasis-Vagharshak Armenian king, he writes: "Perhaps, the satrapy of Media Atropatene covered part of what Moses perceived as Greater Armenia".<sup>57</sup>

Indeed, to the Parthian empire during the reign of Mithridates I could not be attributed such expansionist ambitions, and it is clear that the Armenian historiographer had pushed the later situation<sup>58</sup> back to the period of Arshak I. But we assume that in this case the extensive region "granted" to Vagharshak-Bagasis by M.Khorenatsi should be understood merely in the sense of the "western side" of the Parthian empire, as it is summarized in the Book II of the "History": "At that time he made his brother Vagharshak king of Armenia, giving him the regions of the north and west".<sup>59</sup> The passage of M. Khorenatsi was understood by St.Taronetsi as follows: "In that period of time Arshak the Great, the grandson of Arshak the Brave, enthroned his brother Vagharshak over our land Armenia. He left all the Western world (the west - A.M.) which was obedient to his authority, to him and he himself left for Bahl".<sup>60</sup> In that case Vagharshak-Bagasis appears as the person who was granted the defence and extension of the western borders of Parthian empire: "... for the frontiers of the brave", he said, "are their weapons; as much as they cut, that much they hold".<sup>61</sup>

If our assumption regarding the position of Bagasis in the Parthian empire is acceptable, then it would be fairly possible to identify him with the person depicted in the left group of pictures of Hong-i Azhdar. In the case of such explanation principally is not important the question whether the commander of the Parthian army which had reached the Malmir field was Bagasis, the governor of the Parthian West or the Babylonian "commander over four commanders" acting as his subordinate. The latter acted on behalf of the king and, naturally, on the official monuments erected in order to commemorate the victory of the Parthian army should have been depicted the Parthian king and the person who was the "second after the king".

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brother Vagharsh since the works of Greco-Roman historiographers used by him, especially Josephus Flavius, clearly distinguish these persons (Josephus 1963: XX, 3. 4).

<sup>56</sup> Assar 2005: 42.

<sup>57</sup> Assar 2005: 43.

<sup>58</sup> Tacitus 1963: VI, 31.

<sup>59</sup> Movses Khorenatsi 1913: II, 3.

<sup>60</sup> Stepanos Taronetsi 1885: 30.

<sup>61</sup> Movses Khorenatsi 1913: I, 8.

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***Translated from the Armenian by Aram Kosyan***



Picture 1. Rock-cut relief of Hong-i Azhdar



Picture 2. Silver obolus of Mithridates I, with the image of Bagasis on the reverse (Sellwood 1980, 12.5).



## THE FORMATION OF THE MILITIA IN VAN PROVINCE (November 1915 - October 1916)

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**Aram Manukyan**

After liberation of Van and the great part of the province in May 1915, the Caucasian Army command formed an interim administration of Armenians headed by Aram Manukyan, a prominent figure in the Armenian liberation movement.<sup>1</sup> Together with other authorities, the judicial system, including militia, was organized. However, after July retreat of the Russian army, the Armenian government in Van was not restored. In October 1915, Russian officials were appointed: Governor General Pavel Voronov and Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Termen, Head of the District.<sup>2</sup>

Unlike the governor, the provincial head or district chief A. Termen, who held the post of police chief in the General Administration of Turkestan (Andijan) and Far East, in China (Mukden),<sup>3</sup> had gained considerable experience working with locals, at the same time having been an author of two studies, realizing that it was impossible to work effectively without the help of locals.<sup>4</sup>

That was the reason why A. Termen primarily organized governing bodies from the Armenians: the municipality, the court,<sup>5</sup> the economic body, the militia<sup>6</sup> and the police. The members of the latter were called Yerkrpahs by the Armenians. They carried out a variety of operations specific to internal troops, that is, maintaining order,

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<sup>1</sup> See in detail Sahakyan 2006; Sahakyan 2008a.

<sup>2</sup> Ashot Atanasyan, a farmer and public figure, described A. Termen as follows: "The new governor of Van (the head of the district – R. S.) is a 50-year-old person: tall, middle-aged, very polite and kind. His French ancestry put a stamp on him (the ancestors of Termen came to Russia in the 18th century – R. S.); an energetic, excited, dreamy and sincere man. He was fully occupied with the issues and concerns of his upcoming ministry and mission". see Mshak. 25. X. 1915. in October 1916 Termen was replaced by General VI. Burkovsky, see Ashkhatank. 15. X. 1916.

<sup>3</sup> In 1900 Mukden (now Shenyang) was captured by Russian troops and a Russian regime was established there.

<sup>4</sup> Termen 1912; 1914.

<sup>5</sup> Unlike the Van Provincial Administration headed by A. Manukyan, the Van-Vaspurakan court, municipality, and police had no elaborate laws at the time under discussion. The court was headed by Aghabek Hambaryan, assisted by Hakob Smsaryan. Hambaryan's lawsuits were conducted "with Van's" traditions "and his conscience." See Mshak. 9. XII. 1915.

<sup>6</sup> Judging from the press releases of the time, it follows that the city police was initially headed by Arsen Georg-Bekyan, replaced by Nshan Hakobyan, then Hrant Galikyan. He had a deputy and 25 police officers. The city was divided into four police stations; see Van-Tosp. 31. I. 1916, page 3, 29. XI. 1915, page 16, Mshak. 1 XII. 1915: H. Galikyan has served as Attorney General in the Van province, see Sahakyan 2006: 49.

securing the rights of returning Vaspurakan residents, Armenians, Assyrians and Yezidis, and, where necessary, conducting intelligence activities.

The initiative to organize the militia belongs to Termen.<sup>7</sup> At a meeting with the members of the Armenian Reconstruction Commission,<sup>8</sup> it was agreed that the militia would have received the weapons from the Russian command, and the entire cost of maintenance should have been taken over by the Armenian Reconstruction Commission.

Seven Armenian, Russian and American non-governmental organizations were operating in favorable conditions both in Van and in the province, enabling Armenians to gradually begin their economic recovery.<sup>9</sup>

Almost uninhabited and without police control, Van and the surrounding villages became a place of robbery. From the Caucasus to Vaspurakan, caravans of plunderers were being hurried out, bringing in the stolen goods in Vicegerency for the purpose of selling them. Police in Igdir seized 30 camels and 9 vans loaded with loot.<sup>10</sup> The governor, while leaving for Van, ordered to arrest the carriages and vans loaded with stolen goods and stationed along the road, returning them to Van under the control of a police guard.<sup>11</sup>

The base of the militia was formed by the American-Armenians, who arrived in the Caucasus from the United States in late August 1915 to join the volunteer movement. Their number was 52, headed by Captain Jim (Petros) Chankalyan, a member of the Armenian rebuilt Hunchak party.<sup>12</sup> According to the latter, his party friend, Petros Tepoyan, was informed about the formation of the militia. Jim Chankalyan met Termen in private, agreeing to be involved in the militia with his friends. It was planned to bring the number of members to 200,<sup>13</sup> which was too small for the



**Jim Chankalian**

<sup>7</sup> Termen formed a law enforcement body with his own responsibility, and that was one of the main reasons the Russian command and especially Governor Voronov did not consider the existence of the militia legal, but used the Armenian militia for their own purposes if necessary.

<sup>8</sup> The committee was chaired by David Khan Avan-Yuzbashyan; Vice-Presidents were Hambardzum Arakelyan, Doctor Bagrat Navasardyan, treasurer - Alexander Melik-Azaryan, members - Michael Aramyants, Michael Atabekyan, Avetik Yezekyan, Stepan Malkhasyan (secretary), Michael Minassyan, Khachatur Khachatryan; see Mshak. 5. XI.0 1915.

<sup>9</sup> Manukyan 1937: 59.

<sup>10</sup> Mshak. 3. XI. 1915.

<sup>11</sup> Mshak.18. XI. 1915.

<sup>12</sup> Horizon. 21. I X.1916. Jim (Petros) Chankalian (1879-1947) was captain of the US Army. He participated in the American-Spanish War (1898) and came from the United States to participate in the Armenian Volunteer Movement, but was informed that the Russian Command had decided to disband the volunteer groups. He gone out with his friends to serve in the Van Militia. Chankalian fought against Turkish troops in French or Armenian Legion at a later date (1917-1918).

<sup>13</sup> Sahakyan 2008b: 26.

state not only to control the operative situation, but also to conduct intelligence and local battles against various hostile forces.<sup>14</sup> It was necessary to bear in mind that a considerable number of Kurdish detachments remained in the mountains. They did not miss the opportunity to attack the Armenian settlements. In addition, some Kurdish tribesmen were "subjugated" to the Russians and returned to their villages, but used every chance to attack the Vaspurakan people.

Lieutenant Colonel Termen, accompanied by a Cossack and American-Armenian guard, moved to Van in late October 1915.

In December 1915, it was reported that as soon as he entered Van, the militia immediately took over the city's buildings, as well as the newly formed orphanage.<sup>15</sup> Studying the difficult situation of local refugees, Armenak Ekaryan turned to the Catholicos asking him to allocate some money to improve their situation to some extent. On November 11, 1915, by the order of Gevorg V, 4.000 roubles were sent in the name of Termen,<sup>16</sup> which was to be used for the abovementioned purpose.

At the beginning of February 1916, on the basis of Termen's order, the police in Van province carried out population statistics, aimed at finding out the real number of peasants, in order to effectively organize the aid.<sup>17</sup>

A prominent figure of the Armenian Liberation Movement, A. Ekaryan, was appointed as commander of the militia. Such an armed force was needed to protect the 15,000 Armenians in the province and the city.<sup>18</sup> The experience of the Armenian police under the former governor Manukyan demonstrated clearly that the Kurds, seeing a small subdivision of armed Armenians, preferred not to fight them. This proved again and again what an important role the Armenian militia could play in Van if the law enforcement agencies were to be empowered, expanded, and increased in number. Unfortunately, the Russian command had no intention of organizing and financing the newly organized Armenian Armed Forces instead of colonizing the occupied territories and imposing various barriers on returning Armenians to their homelands.

Thus, by the order of Nikolay Peshkov, the Governor-General of Turkish Armenia (Western Armenia) and other regions, occupied by the right of war in Turkey, dated with July 24, 1916, it was allowed only the return of persons, having exclusively his signature and seal. N. Peshkov informed of his decision to the head of the district of Archesh through a telegram.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Mshak. 17. XI. 1916.

<sup>15</sup> Van-Tosp. 6. XII. 1916: 14.

<sup>16</sup> National Archives of Armenia (henceforth NAA), stock 57, list 2, case 1289, p. 22.

<sup>17</sup> Van-Tosp. 28. II. 1916: 14.

<sup>18</sup> Horizon. 7. IX. 1916. According to the district chief Termen, there were only about 5,000 people in Van alone; see NAA, s. 57, l. 2, c. 1979, p. 3. On March 22, 1915, the spiritual representative of Van, Hovhannes Hyusyan, reported to Gevorg V, "We have been able to find a building for the Prelacy, but in order for the local Prelacy to play its role and support the people and others, it is necessary to have a suitable scribe and, if possible, one who knows Russian well, in order to avoid difficulties in our official relations." NAA, s. 57, l. 2, c. 1979, p. 17.

<sup>18</sup> NAA, s. 654, l. 4, c. 16, p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Idem.



In addition, the Caucasus authorities, in the face of Viceroy Nikolai Romanov,<sup>20</sup> had vague hopes that it would be possible to establish "friendly" relations with the leaders of various Kurdish tribes and use them for their own purposes. In fact, as in the previous Russian-Turkish wars, and during World War I, no such positive result was achieved. With the exception of a few Kurdish tribes, the Russian authorities failed to persuade the Kurds to take their side.<sup>21</sup> They continued to serve the Ottoman authorities faithfully during this war as before.<sup>22</sup>

Not only the plight of the Armenian and Assyrian population of Vaspurakan, but also their moral and psychological decline caused serious inconvenience to the governor. So, he authorized Chankalian to make a report for the Catholicos and ask him for help.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, the relations with Georgians were exacerbated, who thought that the vicegerency deliberately populated the Armenians in Georgian areas. In a report, dated May 10, 1916, the head of the Tiflis Gendarmerie Department, Colonel Ivan Pastryulin was informing the Viceroy's Assistant in Civil Affairs, Prince Vladimir Orlov, that the Georgians were unhappy with the Armenian refugees' privileged status, comparing with those of other nations. According to Pastryulin, Georgians would join Muslims against Armenians at the first opportunity.<sup>24</sup>

We consider it necessary to state that the Armenians of Batumi and Kars suffered the most at the beginning of the war, the Georgian population suffered less material and human casualties than the Armenians, and as far as the Muslims were concerned, a considerable part of them not only provided aid to the Ottoman troops but also

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<sup>20</sup> General Tovmas Nazarbekyan gives evidence that the forces of the Caucasian Army were reading Nikolay Romanov's order on the need to attract the Kurds to their side. The general finds the order wrong. To his conviction, the level of their consciousness was so low that it was impossible for them not only to conquer but also to promote friendly relations with the Armenians. See NAA, s. 45, l. 1, c. 7, l. 22, circular-23. The Russian command provided Major General Ashraf Bek Shamshadinov with 50,000 roubles for the Kurds to take them to their side, but to no avail. The attempts to organize a Kurdish brigade by the same person also failed; see Sahakyan 2010b: 25. Similarly, it was not possible to use another Kurdish bey, Abdurezak, whose squad, consisting of about 300 men, was engaged in looting alone. The chief of the Van garrison, General Nikolaev, has repeatedly appealed to the command to remove Abdurezak and his "volunteers." The Kurdish Bey was imagining himself as a future ruler of Kurdistan. See also p. 30. According to General Nazarbekyan's information, the Russians paid Abdurezak 300 roubles per month. See NAA, s. 45, l. 1, c. 1, p. 17, circular 22. Even after such attempts, the authorities have continued to hold vain hopes that the Kurds can be faithful allies. As a result of such short-sighted policies, the situation remained volatile particularly in Vaspurakan. The Russian authorities of the province, blindly executing the order of the Viceroy, were arming the Kurds, and, in some cases, confiscating weapons of Armenians; see Sahakyan 2010a: 196.

<sup>21</sup> Murtullah Bey of Moks and the head of Shatakh tribes, Shekir's son Lezki, obeyed the Russian command and settled in the Armenian villages of the Armenian valley with their families and pets; see Materials 2016: 204. This, however, did not prevent them, and especially Murtullah Bey, from raising a weapon against the Russians a year later, see Sahakyan 2009: 48.

<sup>22</sup> The above is testified by the intelligence services of the Caucasian Army, which proves that during the war the Ottoman command also received intelligence from the Kurds, who, being well-positioned in the area, were often able to approach the locations of the Russian military units; see Sahakyan 2009: 50.

<sup>23</sup> Sahakyan 2008b: 26.

<sup>24</sup> NAA, s. 1168, l. 1, c. 315, p. 29.

participated in the massacres of Armenians.<sup>25</sup> So, the Georgians' discontent was inappropriate, and the Armenians had long dreamed of returning to their homes.

The situation in Van, especially in the Armenian settlements of the provinces, was threatening. The Kurds were continuing attacks on Armenian settlements. According to contemporaries, not only Armenians but also Yezidis were subject to Kurdish plunders.<sup>26</sup>

The refugees from Vaspurakan hurried to their native lands, as the refugees in Yerevan and especially in other places of the Vicegerency felt that the situation was getting worse day by day. We find evidence of the said fact in the petition of a group of figures from Van, addressed to Catholicos Gevorg V and dated January 16, 1916.<sup>27</sup>

In a letter to Catholicos Gevorg V, dated February 9, 1916, Chankalian and Nerses Dshkhoyan raised, among other things, the issue of replenishing the police force. They wrote: "Noting that the current Vaspurakan police force consists of only volunteer Armenians who have already been remarkably helpful in their small staff, it is necessary to further strengthen and especially secure the existing staff to provide and satisfy all the needs of the immigrant population".<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See in detail Sahakyan 2012: 256-276; Sahakyan 2013: 7-45.

<sup>26</sup> Horizon. 31.VI.1916: Ruben Muradyan, a Yerkrpah, was killed by brigands in unknown circumstances; see Ashkhatanq. 28.V.1916.

<sup>27</sup> NAA, s. 57, l. 2, c. 1293, p. 43-48.

<sup>28</sup> Idem, s. 57, l. 2, c. 1979, p. 8. In a letter addressed to the Armenian Revolutionary Federation's Eastern Bureau, dated April 14, 1916, Grigor Bulgarian (Grigor Keozyan) expressed his dissatisfaction with the state of anarchy in Van and the province. Murders and robberies continued. According to his information, Termen had decided to liquidate the militia and "It seems that he is disappointed. The restriction of the rights given to volunteers has slowly begun. The affair of distributing benefits through them is now discontinued. It is promised to form a new committee, which will include Termen, Kostia (Kostantin Hambardzumyan – R.S.), Dr. Matinian (they both are our friends) and others ...". See Materials 2016: 194. We believe that the prominent figure did not have much accurate information about the events in Van. Yes, robberies and killings continued in the city and provinces, but what could do a handful of poorly-armed militias whose status was not even clarified. In addition, there were disagreements between parties. After all, some of the Armenian-American volunteers were Reformed Hunchakists, and Ekaryan and his allies were Constitutional Ramkavars. The latter, as was common in political life, were guided by the policy of including their party comrade in important posts, agreeing to appoint Terzibashyan as mayor if he joined the party (see Darbinyan 1947: 343). So, Grigor Bulgarians' dissatisfaction was not appropriate. The militia was not abolished in April. It was liquidated later, but it did play a role in alleviating the hardship of the Armenian population to some extent. We would like to state that Chankalian and his four subordinates distributed bread to Armenian and Assyrian refugees. They succeeded in fulfilling their duty, for which the Food Authority decided to award each militia 15 roubles, see Van-Tosp. 3.I.1916, page 15. It should also be noted that, on the instruction of the National Bureau, Bulgarian worked with 12 friends in Van and mainly participated in the intelligence activities of Russian units, see Manukyan 1937. 59. Termen noted one of the major pains in Armenian and other societies - the divisions between the parties that did not allow the nation to unite and achieve its goal. He noted that "The Armenian society or, more precisely, the Armenian people must forget all party disputes, unite strongly for a common, non-partisan cultural-creative work, the consequences of which will soon be apparent, to restore prosperity in the Van region," see Van-Tosp. 7. II. 1916, page 15. It is worth mentioning that one of the contemporaries generally appreciated the activities of the district head. "Mr. Termen, District Leader ... though a man of weak character and an indecisive person, he is disposed very well towards the country to see it prosperous and well-maintained again," see Ashkhatanq. 12. X. 1916.

The Armenian side offered Termen to hand over the city's public order to the militia, but the head of the district disagreed, having the General Voronov's order.<sup>29</sup>

Beginning from July 25, 1916 it was reported in Van that the Cossacks had committed murders in Karchkan.<sup>30</sup> Three Armenian villagers were killed in the gorge, called Paghaprak, and three more in Oghvan valley. At the same time, the Russian command ordered that the population of the provinces of Gavash and Karchkan be expelled as Turkish-Kurdish forces launched an attack on Datvan and Bitlis (Baghesh). General Voronov ordered the evacuation of orphans and sick people from Van. As the residents of Van have testified, "this news left an overwhelming impression on the people." Chankalian made a special appeal to the youth of Vaspurakan to enlist in the militia.<sup>31</sup>

However, the overwhelming majority of Van population was not disposed to leave, despite the controversial news. They were convinced that staying in the city and resisting the enemy would have less to do with the evacuation. The aftermath of the July 1915 retreat was vivid,<sup>32</sup> so they appealed to General Voronov to supply weapons and ammunition to withstand the Turkish-Kurdish forces. Voronov sent a telegram to the commander of the 2nd Cavalry Corps, General Chernozubov, requesting to provide some weapons to the Armenians, but the commander refused; hence, Voronov hinted at the migration during a private meeting with the residents of Van.<sup>33</sup>

In the evening of July 27, a meeting of organizations and representatives of the city was held in Van, where two committees were formed – one had to organize self-defense and the other, the regular migration of the population. Around 160 young people were involved in the armed group.<sup>34</sup> The transportation of sick people, women and children from the Armenian valley and Gavash began with carts and chariots. The companies, operating in Van, were distributing bread, sugar, rice and clothing in storage to those arriving from the provinces. The military was also seeing preparations for retreat.

On the night of July 29, an armed infantry group headed by Grigor Khilghatyan left for Berkri to secure the retreat. The residents of Van were vividly aware of the atrocities committed by the Kurds in the Berkri Gorge during the July 1915 retreat, when about 40,000 people were killed. There were guards in Van, consisting of Termen's Cossacks and fighters of Chankalian and Grigor Bulgarian.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Hambavaber. 14. VIII 1916, p. 1032.

<sup>30</sup> NAA, s. 57, l. 5, c. 122, p. 1 circular 2.

<sup>31</sup> Idem.

<sup>32</sup> According to Ohandjanyan, "The people decided not to leave Vaspurakan at whatever cost.... Having instinctively grasped the state of affairs, people were convinced that having left Vaspurakan, they would no longer be its owner, instead of the Kurds and Assyrians who would take their possession"; see Sahakyan 2010a: 189.

<sup>33</sup> NAA, s. 57, l. 5, c. 122, p. 2. Ashkhatanq. 17. VIII. 1916.

<sup>34</sup> Ashkhatanq. 17. VIII. 1916.

<sup>35</sup> Idem.



**Grigor Bulgarian (Grigor Kyozyan)**

And when the population began to leave, General Voronov handed over unexpectedly 126 units<sup>36</sup> of weapons to Termen to supply the local militia with ordering the militia to leave the city at the same time. In contrast, Termen, the head of the district was trying to persuade the population not to be expelled because the city was not in danger, but Voronov was relentless; so, the population and the militia were forced to obey. Termen remained in Van with his guard.<sup>37</sup>

According to Van residents, General Voronov had been trying to keep the Armenians in uncertainty for the last four days, giving contradictory orders one after another. Eventually, Termen managed to get permission and return to Van on August 2.<sup>38</sup> The militia remained in Van until August 8, witnessing Colonel Aghalarov and his subordinates robbing the warehouses of the Caucasian branch of the Union of Russian Cities and clothing, worth 100,000 roubles and stored by American missionaries. The robbers set fire two buildings to hide the traces of crime.<sup>39</sup>

According to Chankalian, they had 200 "Berdan" and 123 "Kuchukap" rifles at their disposal. Grigor Bulgarian was very helpful in filling the staff of militia. About 45 militants were heading to Berkri to secure the retreat of the local population. Djahangir Agha also reached there with his soldiers. According to Chankalian, "the support shown by Grigor (Bulgarian - R.S.) and friends is invaluable."<sup>40</sup> Bulgarian, Shaghoyan and Baghdasaryan had a 12-member cavalry unit that was actively involved in "Almost all intelligence activities carried out by the Russian army as they were familiar with the area. They greatly help the army move forward and make the Kurds always driven and unable to settle there."<sup>41</sup>

The migration of residents of Van occurred almost without casualties, as the combat forces were able to occupy more important strategic positions, with the majority of the population being able to secure their means of transportation, including carts and chariots. According to eyewitnesses, one of the migrants was Termen's wife, Antoineta, who placed three young girls in her chariot.<sup>42</sup>

On August 1, 1916, new officials were appointed by the decree of Termen to govern the city<sup>43</sup>. Only Avetis Terzibashyan held the previous position.<sup>44</sup> Following this

<sup>36</sup>According to Chankalyan, 123 rifles, see Horizon. 22. IX. 1916.

<sup>37</sup> NAA, s. 57, l. 5, c. 122, p. 2 and circular.

<sup>38</sup> Idem.

<sup>39</sup> Idem.

<sup>40</sup> Horizon. 22. I X. 1916.

<sup>41</sup> Manukyan 1937: 59.

<sup>42</sup> Ashkhatanq. 10. VIII. 1916.

<sup>43</sup> NAA, s. 57, l. 5, c. 122, p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> Horizon. 21. IX. 1916. The court was also reorganized. It was headed by Hambaryan. The members were lawyer Yeghia Kadjuni and Martiros Nalbandyan, former deputy dean of the Yeremyan School. See Ashkhatanq. 28. V. 1916.

brief report in one of the Armenian newspapers, one can assume that Chankalian was officially appointed commander of the militia in June.<sup>45</sup> The latter departed for Echmiadzin on August 29 to hand over to the Catholicosate the various silver utensils, vessels, etc.<sup>46</sup>

On August 9, the militia expelled the Kurds from several villages in the Timar province who came for robbery.

On August 12, Chankalian told his friends that General Voronov "does not recognize the existence of the militia, he has given young people weapons only to keep people safe from dangerous places on the way to the Caucasus."<sup>47</sup>



**Avetis Terzibashyan**



**Armenak Yekaryan**

In a letter to Catholicos on August 24, 1916, Achemyan, Mesropyan, Kosoyan, and Kaputikyan considered the recognition of the legitimacy of the militia's existence and the right to bear arms as one of the primary issues.<sup>48</sup>

Prince Khachovsky, the former Russian Consul to Damascus, having the assignment of Romanov, the Viceroy, arrived in Van to investigate the so-called Kurdish "massacres" committed by Armenians. He had also organized Kurdish and Assyrian squads.<sup>49</sup>

Unfortunately, the Armenian militia could not function for long. There were rumors of a retreat. As Hmayak Manukyan has testified, "Vaspurakan is already on its way back. During this migration, our friends, who had up to 70 soldiers with them, stayed in Van.... Ekaryan's militia is being discredited, he is leaving, having been replaced by Chankalian, a rebuilt Hunchakyan, who was under the influence of

<sup>45</sup> Ashkhatanq. 9. VI. 1916.

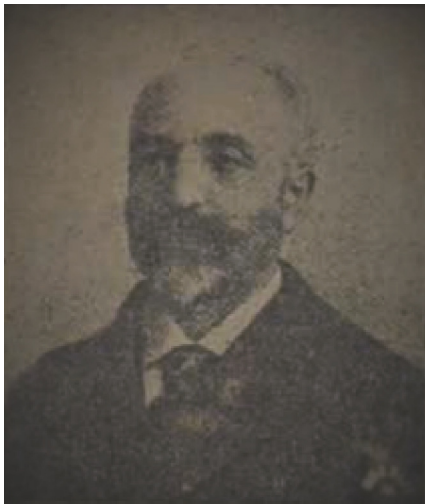
<sup>46</sup> Horizon. 21. IX. 1916.

<sup>47</sup> Ashkhatanq. 24. VIII. 1916.

<sup>48</sup> NAA, s. 57, l. 5, c. 122, p. 4. Unfortunately, it was already late, as Armenian-Americans were already preparing to return, see Ashkhatanq. 9. VII. 1916.

<sup>49</sup> Sahakyan 2010: 188. The Assyrian squads (militia units) were dissolved shortly afterwards. Prince Shakhovsky realized that some Kurdish tribes, including those of Berkri, would receive state allowances and food, see Ashkhatanq. 14. I. 1917. It should be noted that the Kurds of Berkri had been actively involved in the massacre of Vaspurakan Armenians during the July 1915 retreat.

our friends and has finished with the Ramkavars and Ekaryan."<sup>50</sup> The Armenian Reconstruction Committee sent Professor Michael Minasyan to Van, who, according to the Caucasus Gendarmerie Department's operative intelligence, sowed discord between the Constitutionalist-Ramkavars and the Reformed Hunchakists and interfered with the affairs of the local authorities. The head of the district, Lieutenant Colonel Termen, seeing Minasyan's interference, handed over the command of his detachment to Chankalyan. The latter was supposed to go to Khoshap on the order of the command, but Ekaryan refused to give him people. In this case, Chankalian turned to Grigor Bulgarian and Levon Shaghoyan, who provided the necessary number of armed men. This made matters worse not only for Termen but also for Chankalian and Ekaryan. At the beginning of April 1916 Termen convened a meeting, attended by A. Hambaryan, St. Malkhasyan, R. Shatvoryan and others, where A. Yekaryan presented his resignation.<sup>51</sup>



Hambardzum Arakelyan

As stated in a report of July 20, 1916, by the head of the Tiflis Gendarmerie Department, Colonel Pastryulin, "Such a change of policy towards the Ramkavars did not please Arakelyan, the editor of the "Mshak" newspaper, who is the soul of all anti-Dashnaktsutyun parties. He ceased to support the mentioned police by means of the "Committee for Restoration of the Economy of Armenia", as a result of which it fell into a state of crisis".<sup>52</sup>

It is clear that the Russian authorities were well aware of disagreements between the parties, but did not take any step to eliminate the contradictions and maintain the Armenian militia of about 100 men. In fact, it turned out that the Armenians abolished the militia unit with their own hands, which was guaranteeing the security of Van Armenians to a certain extent.

Unfortunately, the Armenian press of the time, mainly the "Horizon" and "Mshak" newspapers, began publishing articles that blamed the activities of the militia and accused each other. There were many "credible" and "undisputed" facts that contradicted one another. This, however, did not produce any results, but further politicized the society. As a result, the militia was dissolved. The power, even in a small size, that instilled hope and faith in the Vaspurakan resident, who had seen the enormous amount of work, done by the Armenian authorities and led by Aram Manukyan, was abolished, when almost all the classes, regardless of party affiliation, were united into one single task. The court in Van, the municipality, the economic body, the militia and other structures were somehow the symbols of statehood. This was the

<sup>50</sup> Horizon. 21. IX. 1916.

<sup>51</sup> Idem.

<sup>52</sup> State Archives of Russian Federation, Stock of Police Department, Special Division, 1916, case 29, p. 22-23.

case that the Armenian political forces did not understand and support for their further functioning and development.

The Russian authorities achieved their goal - the Armenians "helped" dissolve a small subdivision, called to protect the Armenians of Vaspurakan, through their unreasonable actions. After the retreat, the Van court and police were liquidated, but the municipality continued to function. It should be added that Ekaryan and Chankalian could have met in Cilicia when the Armenian or Eastern Legion of the French Army reached there and the self-defense of the local Armenians was organized subsequently. The details of the two men's relationship in Cilicia are not known.

Unfortunately, the service of the Armenian militia, which was supposed to protect the safety and security of the Armenians of Vaspurakan, appeared again and again in the area of sharp divisions between the parties, which mainly affected the Vaspurakan people, seeking the way of returning to their homeland.<sup>53</sup>

It is worth noting that the situation in Van-Vaspurakan has worsened after the departure of the militia, and especially Termen. According to Grigor Ohandjanyan, "The two authorities, political and military, clashed with each other, making a pretext for the people, and the people were always the victims."<sup>54</sup>

In spite of all this, the Vaspurakan resident was determined to return to his native land and take possession of it in order to restore the economy and settlements, destroyed by the enemy. Proof of this is the Armenian government of Van, led by Constantine Hambardzumyan from 1917 to 1918.

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<sup>53</sup> The correspondent of "Ashkhatanq" newspaper in Van described Termen's activities during the August retreat: "The District Governor Termen, despite his weak attitude in these critical days so far, has shown a high degree of vigilance and patriotism," see Job. 17. VIII. 1916.

<sup>54</sup> NAA, s. 28, l. 1, c. 171, p. 1.



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**Gevorg V Surenyants**



**Hrant Galikyan**



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*Translated from the Armenian by Vahram Gharakhanyan*

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# PHILOSOPHY AND LAW

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**ARGUMENTATION OF THE SOURCE OF POWER, ITS FORMS AND THE STATE  
SOVEREIGNTY IN THE "CODE OF LAW OF ARMENIAN PEOPLE"  
BY MKHITAR GOSH**

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Philosopher, theologian, jurist, ecclesiastical and public-political figure Mkhitar Gosh (c. 1130-1213) has made a significant contribution to the history of Armenian medieval legal and political culture. He left a huge literary legacy, appreciated by Kirakos Gandzaketsi, "...**thoughtful books like a tomb statue for the benefit of scholars**".<sup>1</sup> These are "A Brief Interpretation of the Prophecy of Jeremiah", "A Lament on Our Essence", "The Declaration of the Orthodox Faith Against the Schists", "The Order of the Patriarchs from Albania" ("Albanian Chronicle"), "Fables", etc. Gosh's masterpiece is the work "Code of Law" ("Armenian Book of Judgments", 1184), which took a leading place among the world's recognized legislative monuments.

At the XII century, the level of legal awareness of the Armenian people was so high that they understood the need for secular-political laws to ensure **national judicial identity**. It is known that Muslim rulers did not examine the internal affairs of Christians under their own law. According to Nerses Lambronatsi, during the patriarchate of Grigor IV Tgha (1173-1193), "the inhabitants of towns and provinces asked for secular laws from His Holiness", but "there were no secular laws amongst Armenians, neither in churches, nor among princes."<sup>2</sup> There were only canonical laws in the Catholic archives. The creation of the "Code of Law" was conditioned by the legal and political realities of the given historical period.<sup>3</sup> In Armenia itself and in Cilicia, the Armenian people were waging a national liberation struggle to restore political independence and national statehood. Therefore, the Judicial Code was drafted as the code of the future Armenian state.

Mkhitar Gosh's legislative activity was based on **the idea of a sovereign and centralized statehood in Armenia**, the implementation of which presupposed the solution of a number of issues, unification of internal and disbanded armed forces, cooperation of local authorities, neutralization of separatist-centric policy, mitigation of inter-class conflicts on the principle of justice, establishment of social harmony, influence of spiritual and moral ideology, etc. These problems are reflected in the "Code of Law" and were solved by the genius thinker on a philosophical and legal level.

Based on the Bible, Mkhitar Gosh considers **God**, the Divine Will and the Predestination as the sources of power, because "there is no power that is not of God, and the present authorities are ordained of God" (Rom., Ch. 13: 1-2).

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<sup>1</sup> Kirakos Gandzaketsi 1982: 161.

<sup>2</sup> See The law of city 1907: 5.

<sup>3</sup> The 12 reasons of writing his "Code of Law" Gosh explains in the second chapter of "Prolegomena" to his "Code of Law". See Mhitar Gosh 1975: 2-5.

At the same time, the Jurist establishes the rights of political self-organization and self-government of nations. In the national political system, Gosh distinguishes between two structures of power: **state (secular) and ecclesiastical (spiritual)**. The principle of separation of powers should have ensured the Armenian statehood and its stability, covering all spheres of national existence. The state and the Church are the pillars on which the nation is based as a political reality.

Gosh imagines the state as a kingdom (monarchy). Having been aware of national history, he advocates the **idea of a centralized royal government**. According to the thinker, there is no state in the Armenian world, but "we set the rules of kings for the sake of decency."<sup>4</sup> And although many mocked the idea because of non-existence of the Armenian state, it should be remembered that "all earthly kingdoms are transient and changeable, especially our kingdom, because the past [kingdom] does not exist now and we will not have it in the future, but I make my wish come true by trying to keep my [legislative] proposal complete".<sup>5</sup>

It should be noted that the "Code of Law" ("Judicial Book"), being aimed at national interests, contributed to the processes of self-preservation and political self-determination of the Armenian people. Medieval Armenian thinkers developed a unique concept of **national sovereignty and state sovereignty** (power supremacy-sovereignty), which corresponded to the national ideology of the Armenian people and the demands of the national liberation struggle.

Gosh imagines the independence of the country with a strong sovereign state, which was connected with the head of state, the king. In order to substantiate the sovereignty, he confirms: **"And God is only King, and men are only nominees**, not true [kings] (emphasis added – L. S.)."<sup>6</sup> The King is ordained of God, and only He can change him. That is, the king is God's substitute on earth, ruling by God's commands and imitating Him. Gosh defines the concept of "king" in the earthly (secular) sense. "Kings are called kings who rule over their entire nation, and collect other taxes from other nations, and if not, they [themselves] are not compelled."<sup>7</sup> The content of this definition implies that the king: a) is endowed with sovereignty, b) is the head of state, the supreme representative of the nation, c) collects taxes from other nations, d) if he does not take taxes from others, at least he does not become a taxpayer. According to the understanding of the time, these characteristics were sufficient to consider the king's authority superior.<sup>8</sup>

In this historical period, the Zakaryan princes were called **kings, Shahنشah**, which proves that their rule did not differ from that of the king. Unofficially anointed king, the Zakaryans were not taxpayers of the country, but took taxes from others. This fact is

<sup>4</sup> The «Armenian Code of Law» 2001, Article 2, p. 392.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.: 399.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.: 392.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> For the analysis of national and European perceptions of the concept of sovereignty, see Mirumyan 2008: 194-199, 240-241, 291-292; Safaryan 2013: 19-120.

proved by Kirakos Gandzaketsi, "Zakare and Ivane seized many Armenian territories occupied by the Persians and Arabs. **They made the sultan of the city of Karin a tax payer.**" "The fame of their courage spread over many lands, and **many nations became their taxpayers** out of love and fear."<sup>9</sup>

It is noteworthy that Gosh mentions the characteristics of the king's sovereignty without using the term "sovereign". Meanwhile, in the same article related to the Armenian Patriarch, he writes: "And in the court the patriarch will be sovereign to sit, but not the king in the patriarch's house"<sup>10</sup>. It is obvious that the "Protocol" recognizes unconditionally the sovereignty of the Armenian Patriarchate.

One of the guarantees of stability and survival of a sovereign, strong and centralized state is the **rule of inheritance**, which is based on the following principle: "The kingdom is personal property and passes from father to son".<sup>11</sup> Based on the national tradition of inheritance law, the political realities of the time and the state interests, Gosh defines a flexible system of heredity:

- A) First, it confirms the equality of the king's heirs. "If he has sons and daughters, let the kingdom be divided equally among them." But the son is a "king by descent."
- B) He considers it appropriate to **inherit the throne of his eldest son**, but realizing the importance of the head of state in governing the country, he orders the king: "And let the **progressive** son sit on the royal throne." And the firstborn needs to be honored with his chosen possessions.
- C) If the king has brothers, "his sons have no right to take the kingdom," but only after the brothers have died can the sons reign. In this provision, he means the Zakaryan brothers.
- D) If the king has a daughter, "she and her husband will have a patriarchal house, and the [daughter] will receive half of the brother's [receipt]."
- E) After the death of kings, "the son of the son shall receive the throne, but not the daughter of the daughter." Otherwise, the daughter's heirs will be considered strangers.
- F) If the king does not have a son, but a daughter, and "gives the crown to his daughter," and if she marries, "she will have the right to give her throne to her husband," but in the event of her death, "her children will be considered strangers."<sup>12</sup> In this regard, Gosh relies on biblical laws (see Count. 17, 8-11).
- G) The king has the right to make a will and change it during his lifetime. If he has no heirs from his family, "he shall have the right to give his crown to a stranger, but **not by religion.**" And if there are heirs from the royal family, "the closest ones will be the heirs." This regulation also applies to princes and nobles, but "reign will not be arranged without the order of the patriarch."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Kirakos Gandzaketsi 2002: 122-123.

<sup>10</sup> The «Armenian Code of Law» 2001: Art. 2, p. 393.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., Art. 230, p. 515.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., Art. 2, p. 392.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.: 393.

Thus, the inheritance was to be done directly from the descendants of the blood relatives to the "eldest" of the king's sons, brother or daughter without transferring to the latter's sons.

According to the "Code of Law", the king's personality is sacred and inviolable. His **exclusive rights** as the supreme bearer of the state power are as follows: declaring war, normalizing foreign relations, building cities, fortresses, bridges, conducting a census, minting coins "according to the laws", the death penalty, the right to pardon, etc.

The model of the **national legal state** is outlined in Gosh's concept. All classes of the country, including high-ranking princes, clergy, and even the king, are subject to certain rights. It is the king's **duty** to govern by the principle of justice ("in any case, and in every case, let the believing king do the right thing"), to maintain peace in the country, to prevent internal split. He should be a member of the Armenian Apostolic Church, take the example of the pious, "do not abide by the laws of pagan kings, but be legally married, for he has the power to go to court with the patriarch."<sup>14</sup>

Gosh calls for the king's **humanitarianism**, urging him to refrain from violence, to avoid killings, and to "kill only foreigners who cause war" after the end of the war with foreigners. And if he invades another country, he must first call for peace, only if he resists, he will kill the conspirators and turn the others into taxpayers. Gosh sets the death penalty for those who surrender their cities and fortresses to the enemy, but urges the king to "instruct us in one way or another for the sake of the humanity of our laws, so that he may attain repentance and not perish...."<sup>15</sup>

In the state system, the secular princes are subordinated to sovereign king, whose rights and responsibilities are defined by Gosh based on the **principles of centralized governance and relative decentralization of local bodies**. Realizing that one of the reasons for Armenia's current political situation is the dispersal of the country's armed forces and the inclusion of princes in their provinces, he criticizes those princes who discreetly "considered better the state enslaved by any people than obey each other and be free."<sup>16</sup> Gosh tries to solve the problem of neutralizing the centrifugal aspirations of the princes on the legal level, which at that time was possible only on the principle of subordination.

The Jurist clearly defines the powers of central and local authorities. Only the king has the upper hand. He orders the princes. The latter are masters and directors in their domains. "In the province given to the prince by the king, if, according to him, a fortress or a trading village is built, or he rebuilds the ruins of the province, the prince's inheritance must be considered."<sup>17</sup> Moreover, if the prince does not commit a major

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.: 393-394.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.: 394.

<sup>16</sup> New Armenian witnesses 1903: 24.

<sup>17</sup> The «Armenian Code of Law» 2001, Art. 2, p. 398.

crime, the right of inheritance is transferred to the sons after his death by the order of the king.

The princes can only enjoy some of the king's exclusive rights (building cities, fortresses, bridges, minting coins, etc.) only by royal decree. They have the right to punish thieves, but without the king's order they have no right to execute murderers. The authorities are not allowed to punish or fine employees without a sentence. Punishment is allowed if "...there is a crime against the country, let those who are criminals in other things be judged".<sup>18</sup> During the war, gold, the main spoil, belong to the king, and silver to the princes, copper, iron and other items to the army. Half of the captives and loot belong to the king, the other half to the army. The king and the princes are obliged to give tithes to the church.

Gosh defines the **responsibilities of secular officials**: fair governance, the rule of law, and moderate taxes. "Residents have to be forced into crafts or trades, because Christians do not have a head tax, the head tax belongs to non-believers when they are forcibly taxed." According to Gosh, the king and the princes have the right to land, but not to water. Taxes vary widely for Christians and non-Christians alike. Therefore, "it is not appropriate for princes, like other believers, to tax believers."<sup>19</sup> The "Code of Laws" defines various taxes for deserts, gardens, orchards, animals, as well as for water use.

Gosh defines the **subordination of the subjects to the princes**, according to which the princes are subject to the prince of princes, the nobles to the princes, and the peasants to the nobles. Each class has certain rights, responsibilities to the superior and the state. Various punishments are imposed on those who insult the king and the princes. "If someone is unjustly hostile to kings or princes, he will be punished, if he is religious, he will be disqualified, and if he is secular, he will be isolated." Bishops and priests have the right to decide, "for the kings and princes are the image of God."<sup>20</sup>

The degree in the "Code of Laws" is also reflected in the provisions on the **right to punishment**. God punishes kings appointed by God, as the Bible testifies, "As for the princes, whom the king commands, the king has the right to exile and punish." However, the king's authority is not unlimited. "If there is a need to punish the king for maintaining **peace** in the country, it must be done by the will of another king and the patriarch and with all justice."<sup>21</sup>

Gosh does not define the right of dethronement for the people, because at that time it could lead to internal unrest, and its purpose was to establish **national unity**. But he does not accept illegal judgments, even by high-ranking princes. If the princes put on throne an unworthy king, they must be exiled. The nobles or princes have no right to "declare themselves princes and rule themselves," in which case the king has the right to exile or punish them. The prince of the princes has the right to punish or exile the

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., Art. 2, p.397-398.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., Art. 50, p. 419.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., Art. 230, p. 515.

nobles as well, and if "he was ordained by them (the princes), he shall do so by their unanimous consent."<sup>22</sup> And if he is appointed by the king, he must do as he pleases.

Freedmen have no right to punish soldiers, because punishment is the prerogative of the princes. Similarly, soldiers have no right to exile or punish villagers because the nobles can exile and punish the princes. Gosh confirms that the decisions regarding the royal house are fair.

**The creation of a national legislative system** presupposed the key functions of the central government - to create a common legal system, to ensure the mandatory application of human rights throughout the country. National laws must apply equally to all segments and nationalities of society. The natural rights of all subjects (that is of life, person, dignity, property, etc.) must be protected by law. The fact that Gosh does not accept the Muslim religion (according to which Christians are oppressed by the laws), but defends the rights of Muslims as subjects of the Armenian Kingdom, rightly shows some discrimination against them.

State sovereignty was to be strengthened in the country with the establishment of a **common law**. According to Gosh, in order to overcome the economic isolation and local separatism of individual provinces, **internal economic unity** is needed as an essential factor and precondition for the unification of the people. This implies a common legal, customs system, a single trade and a common internal market.

The "Code of Laws" sets **common standards for trade** for the whole country. The collection of customs duties within the limits of the state power is prohibited, unified size and weight are approved, and the right to set food prices is reserved to the central government as an exclusive monopoly. "Sales in the cities were regulated by the orders of kings or by the permission of kings through princes. The order of sale is defined in cities, towns and other provinces. And they were the first to adjust the size and weight, creating samples."<sup>23</sup> Gosh considers the **internal free market** as a guarantee of the internal unity of the people, condemning the fraud, deception, illegal transactions in the mentioned sphere.

According to the Code, **customs** are also regulated by royal decrees, and princes are not authorized to take customs without the king's order. Gosh urges to set food prices "according to the fertility of the year or other circumstances." Prices can be changed (go up or down) only by the order of the king and the princes, "informing the governors and the people's leaders (local officials – L.S.) of the price changes." Price fluctuations are also due to the poverty or wealth of buyers. Therefore, "Let the authorities exercise fair control by establishing high and low prices so that farmers and other agents, as well as traders, do not deprive each other," and "judges can conduct the investigation accurately, according to the orders of the government."<sup>24</sup> Thus, Gosh's legal policy is based on the **principles of justice and social harmony**.

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., Art. 240, p. 522.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.: 523.



The Jurist defines penalties for robbery, theft, prohibited trade and charges, illegal minting, and violation of customs standards. For example, the article on the **prohibited trade** states: "The property that the local church does not want to sell is not for sale." Gosh also instructs, "It is appropriate to know that church property is not subject to sale for other nations, and if it is sold because of unsuitableness for the church, it should be sold at the same price (emphasis added – L.S.)."<sup>25</sup> Another article condemns fraud: "And if an animal with a defect or a bad habit is sold, then whatever damage is done, the seller must compensate the damage in court, because the law instructs to eliminate such an animal and not to sell it."<sup>26</sup> The above articles clearly show the national, moral, social and health context of the law.

Under the **authority of economic control**, "[the kings] have established a procedure to search and find the robbers so that they do not commit fraud in the sale." Fraudsters are punished according to the orders of the princes. "Those who steal with size and weight must repay four times as much and be ashamed to reprimand others." The hands of those who mint illegal coins (*dahekan*) must be cut off." Customs must be taken legally if they come from other places for sale. Gosh forbids customs duties on the road, saying "one can rent if the enemies have taken refuge in them."<sup>27</sup> For the welfare of the people, he also imposes a **stable and certain amount of taxes and duties**, criticizes usurers, forbids usury, rebukes illegal officials, and imposes penalties for abuses.

According to Kh. Torosyan, "the forces of the agrarian society, which were fighting against localism, political separatism and economic inclusion, were fighting for political and economic unity, for a free internal market without feudal obstacles. They have historically been progressive forces".<sup>28</sup> In his time, Gosh noticed and appreciated the positive tendencies of the realities of Armenia's internal life, defending them in his "Code of Laws."

One of the important factors in establishing a common law in Armenia is **social harmony**, which is possible through the legislative regulation of social relations. Gosh tries to alleviate the differences between the different classes of society, the owners and the servants, to harmonize their interests. The owners are urged to act within the law, in accordance with the **principle of justice**, to refrain from arbitrariness, to "take care" of employees, to prevent dangers at work, to pay the rent, and so on. And he calls on the lower classes to obey their masters, to fulfill their obligations in good faith, to pay their taxes on time, and so on. Gosh has clearly defined the rights and responsibilities of each social class, which must be unconditionally fulfilled.

The norms of the "Code of Laws" are aimed at the **protection of human dignity and rights**, the realization of the idea of public welfare, because "there is nothing more

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., Art. 142, p. 454.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., Art. 185, p. 474.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., Art. 240, p. 522.

<sup>28</sup> Mkhitar Gosh 1975, Preface, p.29-30.

honorable than public benefit." However, as K. Mirumyan confirms, "in the absence of a national state and the presence of a foreign yoke, the social problem, in all its necessity, is subject to the general national-political problem."<sup>29</sup>

**Spiritual Power.** The second pillar of the Armenian Kingdom is the **sovereign and independent Armenian Church**, which has played a major historical role in uniting the people, organizing the national liberation struggle, restoring statehood and establishing national unity.

The "Code of Laws" emphasizes the **national** nature of the Armenian Church, as it is a structure that carries and propagates the national ideology. Gosh unequivocally defends the Armenian religion, and, as Kh.Torosyan affirms, "the law at that time was a religion, and the latter was not only a ritual and a faith, but also a **weapon of political self-determination and national self-preservation**."<sup>30</sup>

Prior to the re-establishment of the Armenian statehood, the Armenian Church was the only nationally centralized organization capable of uniting the divided parts of Armenia and individual princedoms around national-political ideas. In the event of a threat from Muslim tribes, Gosh does not rule out Christian solidarity among the churches. However, this generality is interpreted only as the **equality of national churches without any administrative authority of the church**. It rejects both pro-Greek and pro-Latin currents, defending the ideological and religious freedom of nations, their freedom to choose their own way of self-governance and the historical path. According to Gosh, religious differences should not affect the relations between peoples. Christian nations cannot be united by religion, but they may not be enemies and may even be allies in the political arena.<sup>31</sup>

The "Code of Laws" is based on the **state-church-people** relationship. Many defined provisions reflect the rules of legal regulation of secular power and spiritual authorities, as well as the relations between the government and the people. Gosh seeks to give a normative character to the mentioned relations, which form the legal basis of the Armenian state to be established.

The church class is the bearer of spiritual power and must deal with the spiritual sphere, but not interfere in the state and political affairs. The secular government must deal with purely state and political issues, without interfering in the affairs of the clergy and the church, and without restricting the ownership of the church. For example, "The princes have not the right to appoint a person as a priest upon brothers they do not want. Bishops can settle the issue, but not by bribery, but only by law."<sup>32</sup>

Thus, by the **principle of separation of powers** Gosh clearly defines the rights and functions of state and ecclesiastical authorities, reserving relative independence for

<sup>29</sup> Mirumyan 2008: 245.

<sup>30</sup> Mkhitar Gosh 1975, Preface, p. 16.

<sup>31</sup> See a detailed analysis of the problem in Mirumyan 2005: 308-310; Mirumyan 2008: 241-243.

<sup>32</sup> The «Armenian Code of Law» 2001, Art. 3, p. 400.

them. At the same time, the methods and means of solving national problems are discussed by the joint political authorities in a joint consultation.

According to Gosh, the church must govern with true judgments according to the heavenly order. As in the case of secular power, he misses the **spiritual hierarchy** from top to bottom. For example, in the case of problems that arise, the final word belongs to one who stands higher in the hierarchy.

The church governs with the **principles of centralization and relative decentralization**: "Everyone can decide on the consecration of priests and the affairs of villages and towns only in his domain, and in another domain he has no right to the authorities and does anything if there is no decision of the bishop of the capital. Nor can the Catholicos himself do anything without consulting other bishops."<sup>33</sup>

Thus, the "Code of Laws" reaffirms the **principle of consultation** established by the first National-Church Assemblies, which was used to solve national problems of utmost importance.<sup>34</sup> In this context, Gosh's exhortation is noteworthy. "The ancient traditions of the churches of the provinces should not be changed. This is the order of the day, the officials and the people. And if a patriarch wants to change the tradition, **he must do it in the Assembly, safely, according to the Code**" (emphasis added – L.S.)<sup>35</sup>.

The Church has the right to participate in the discussion of important social and political issues of the country. According to the Code, the Patriarch of All Armenians has free access to the court, participates in the election of the heir to the throne, and his consent is required when the king is overthrown or punished.

For the sake of improvement, Gosh considers the **electoral system** of the clergy important, "The honor and grace of electing a diocesan bishop belongs to the head, that is, the Catholicos, but the decisive will goes to the great assembly."<sup>36</sup> With the approval of the leaders in the Congregation, the **progressive** should be chosen as the "chief and senior." In this case, the unworthy will not seek the throne. And if everyone is equal in grace, "the older one becomes the better."<sup>37</sup>

When defending the **church's property rights and property immunity**, Gosh bases his rule on those of St. Sahak and Barsegh of Caesarea, stating, at the same time, that "we must add to them the provisions of certain laws."<sup>38</sup> The laws contain both moral counsel and severe punishment for encroaching on property belonging to the church and the clergy.<sup>39</sup> The monasteries are not subject to inheritance, as they are built to meet spiritual needs.

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., Art. 157, p. 460.

<sup>34</sup> For a detailed analysis of this issue see Sarvazyan 2014: 43-58.

<sup>35</sup> The «Armenian Code of Law» 2001, Art. 161, p. 462.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., Art. 4, p. 400-402.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., Art. 3, p. 399.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., Art. 3, p. 399.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., Art. 44, 75, 92, 142, 153.

The terms of sale of church property are defined. Church property is under the jurisdiction of the bishop, and if the elders sell it, the bishop has the right to claim the same property or its value. It is noteworthy that Gosh gives the bishop a choice by ordering: "And let the bishop weigh what is right and what is wrong; if he can, let him take the price or return it."<sup>40</sup>

The "Code" pays great attention to the **education of the clergy**, "Monks must be educated according to the laws of the canon and the Old and New Testaments." They are obliged to "report on the sciences they have obtained," so that the half-educated people, receiving the title through deception, "will not do evil because of their incompetence."<sup>41</sup> For example, if a priest retaliates against someone with personal revenge, "he will condemn himself, but after repenting, he must do penance on the advice of the bishop."<sup>42</sup>

The Jurist punishes gluttonous, drunkard, undisciplined and lawbreaking priests, instructing to take from them their ranks. For secular attractions bishops should be deprived of their ranks since "... nobody could be servant to two lords".<sup>43</sup> In case of robbing the people, extortion, greed, violence the priests should be judged by the **great council** in order "to deprive the robbers from position and priestly rank and completely release from their duties".<sup>44</sup> At the same time, relying upon Apostolic laws, Gosh establishes a punishment equal to the offenders of the God for the civilians who would offend priests.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, the state-legal provisions of M. Gosh's "Code of Laws" provided bases for the restoration of the Armenian statehood, the **sovereign kingdom**, the establishment of the right to national self-government, and the establishment of a unified national legislation. Based on the principles of centralization of governance and relative decentralization of local authorities, the "Code" clearly defines the rights of central and local authorities, with the supremacy of central government. Based on the principle of separation of powers, the powers and functions of secular and spiritual authorities are clearly separated. The ecclesiastical laws were designed to strengthen the authority of the Armenian Church, to enhance its authority and role in governing the country, uprooting moral principles in society, and establishing national unity.

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., Art. 142, p. 454.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., Art., p. 400-402.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., Art. 5, p. 403.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., Art. 48, p.418-419. See also Art. 36, p.414-415.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., Art. 138. See also Art. 139, p.453, art. 160, p.462.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., Art. 37, p. 415.

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***Translated from the Armenian by Vahram Gharakhanyan***

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# DEMOGRAPHY AND GOVERNANCE

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## CIVILIZATION, POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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The role of political institutions in the economic and social development was discussed extensively in Acemoğlu's and Robinson's work entitled as "Why Some Countries Are Rich and Others Poor."<sup>1</sup> The book is rich in factual material about different countries of the world and interesting generalizations, which mainly refer to the interactions of economic development and political institutions. The key idea is that as long as political institutions are overactive, the long-term, sustainable economic growth cannot be ensured because they concentrate power in the hands of the elite, creating appropriate economic institutions that pursue a pro-government economic policy.<sup>2</sup>

The authors consider the prescription to fight the economic and political devastation of some countries of the modern world to be the transformation of overactive political institutions into inclusive ones.<sup>3</sup> Included are the political institutions, which are characterized by pluralism and concentration at the same time.<sup>4</sup> Such institutions, according to the authors, reserve power for a wide range of individuals, and prevent the creation of overactive economic institutions with the above-mentioned negative manifestations of their activities. Of course, in the observed context, the authoritarian-democratic countries are the subjects, in the first of which a powerful political institution or elite rules. However, we believe that the above provisions need further interpretation, taking into account the level of civil society and civilizational development in different countries, the established legislative framework, especially the level of law enforcement, executive and judicial relations, restraint structures, available resources and national government traditions, the level of education, science, economic development and integration tendencies.

Therefore, in order to study the conclusions and scientific-practical generalizations drawn from the interrelations between political institutions and the complicated economic development, it is necessary to focus on the next problems:

- a) for theoretical and methodological generalizations
  - the level of development of civilization and civil society in the country,
  - the level and trends of economy, education and science development, integration, new culture,
  - the existing mineral, demographic resources, climatic conditions, nature of their use and efficiency,

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<sup>1</sup> Acemoğlu, Robinson 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.: 114.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.: 533.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.: 114.

- the established legislative field, especially the constitutional structures of the relations and restraints of the legislative, executive and judicial powers,
  - the progress and competitiveness of the current economic structure, compliance with the requirements of the new public administration system in the civilized world.
- b) for description of the peculiarities of the Republic of Armenia in terms of the system of public administration and the development of guarantees on the economic strategy
- to analyze the above-mentioned directions of political institutions and economic relations in the Republic of Armenia,
  - to develop substantiated proposals on the economic and social strategy on the basis of the reform of the components influencing the mentioned interactions and the technological development of the scientific-educational system and technology.

### 1. Civilization and its interactions with political institutions

There are different definitions and interpretations of civilization. The encyclopedic commentary is that civilization is "a synonym of culture", at the same time, "civilization is the level of social development, material and spiritual culture, and its level".<sup>5</sup>

According to the French historian F.Braudel, "the civilizations or cultures are two interchangeable words without loss, *from the semantic point of view*, representing an ocean of habits, limitations, affirmations, mysteries, assertions ... They are a heritage, just like the language we speak."<sup>6</sup> The author also adds that civilization is in principle an enemy of innovation, but the realities of life force him to adapt to it, to give it a green light.<sup>7</sup>

According to A.Toynbee, an English thinker and philosopher of history, civilization is originated and developed under the influence of external pressures (natural, extranational) and human factors, but found that a discrepancy between the progress of technology and the growth of civilization is possible<sup>8</sup>. However, answering the question why the industrial revolution of the 18th century took place in England, Toynbee answers: "The stagnation of politics, religion and lifestyle in the 18th century accelerated the concentration of industry. For its part, the focus was on technical discoveries that have contributed to the development of mathematics and advances in the physical sciences."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Encyclopedic dictionary 1981.

<sup>6</sup> Braudel 1988.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.: 564.

<sup>8</sup> Toynbee 1991: 233.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.: 25.



The judgments of modern Russian scholars about civilization and its structure are remarkable.<sup>10</sup> In their opinion, three main components can be distinguished in the system of civilized values:

- Ethics: moral-customary norms that determine human behavior in society,
- Ideology - ideas that guide a person or social groups who determine the goals and incentives of actions,
- Religion - a system of views that confirms the existence of a higher, supreme power, its influence on earthly life.<sup>11</sup>

The key commonality of the above-mentioned provisions is that civilization and culture are identical, and the achievements of science and education are not properly included in them. However, the complete and deep understanding of civilization does not refer only to a part of the spiritual culture, the arts, religion, language and customs. It includes education as a process of knowledge transfer, science as an important sphere for worldview, recognizing nature, creating knowledge and offering technologies, aimed at materializing the results of the latter.

Indirect justification for this provision can be found in Toynbee's reference to the importance of mathematics and physics during the First Industrial Revolution, as well as Braudel's hint that civilization is the enemy of innovation but adapts to it.

A comparative analysis of the events of the Renaissance is more than convincing. In the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, fine arts, music, literature, that is, pure culture flourished in Western and Central Europe. In parallel to that, the architecture, geography, astronomy, mathematics, physics, botany, geology, anatomy, and medicine were succeeding. Hydraulic motors, metal-cutting lathes, drilling machines and other apparatus began to be used in the production.<sup>12</sup>

It was no coincidence, then, that the historical events of the Renaissance were followed by the first industrial revolution, for which scientific and technical preconditions were created due to the rapid development of science and technology in the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Civilization, in our opinion, is the set of spiritual and material values created by the human mind and hand. In this sense, there can be no discrepancy or conflict between civilization and technical progress, innovation. Moreover, the history of civilization confirms that human being has accumulated knowledge from the moment of its formation with the objective requirements of living conditions and security, due to which he has created means of production and protection, used science and education, and improved the scientific and educational system. In other words, the driving force of civilizational development is the human mind, and its new scientific and cultural ideas, values, especially knowledge-based means of production and products, are the real and spiritual results created as a guarantee of civilization's progress and security. However,

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<sup>10</sup> See, for example, The Dialogue of cultures 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.: 388.

<sup>12</sup> Encyclopedic dictionary 2018: 933; Armenian Soviet encyclopedie 1985: 386.

depending on the level of scientific education and traditions, the degrees of civilization vary according to countries, peoples and even spheres (art, religion, science, etc.). The levels of development of political institutions (state, civil society, public political unions) correspond to them\*.

## **2. Is the role of political institutions crucial for economic development?**

As it has already been mentioned in part, the economy was created by a human being to provide him with livelihoods and security items, and then to sell the surplus, and later to sell the goods he/she produced, in order to make a profit. All this was done without a complex of modern political institutions, which were formed as a result of the development and establishment of civil society (18th-19th centuries) and then development (20th century). An important exception should be emphasized here. The state was established as a political institution along with the formation of human civilization, but it was mainly of a hereditary monarchy, and was certainly not inclusive.

And before that complex was built, in 1776, Adam Smith proclaimed the principle of the "invisible hand" in his famous "The Wealth of Nations", based on liberal economic doctrine, where the objective motives of economic development are followed by supply, and indeed the coveted profit. In general, without excluding the price factor, the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of demand in the long run change directly in relation to the level of human civilization, especially in terms of quality of goods and services, range, i.e. demand structure, which directly affects supply structure and movement. By the way, before the popularity of Smith's idea, even today and in the future, they are unchanged.

In order to cover the issue raised in the title, it is possible to remember some episodes of the creation of the state and its functions, especially when it is the main political institution.

The theological (Thomas Aquinas), natural, legal, and allied interpretations of the need and origin of the state (John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Paul Holbach) are well known.<sup>13</sup>

Proponents of the state's need for natural and legal alliances explain the need for this institution by saying that people sign a public alliance that sets out common rules and conditions for everyone. At the same time, the person and his property are protected, and there are ways to be held accountable for violating the general rules. It is noteworthy that Th. Hobbes believed that the human is inherently evil. That is why there is an endless struggle among the people for a "war of all against all" for the spheres of property and influence, and for the prevention of which the state was created. He saw

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\* About the coverage of national and territorial features of civilizations and the dogma of "unity of civilization" as being scientifically unfounded see Toynbee 1991: 81-85.

<sup>13</sup> The Theory 2001: 51-98; Chirkin 2001: 23-24.

the "absolute power of the state" as a guarantee of peace and a means of exercising natural rights.

The oligarchic theory of the origin of the state is also known, according to which people differ in mental and physical abilities, in the size of property. Therefore, as a result of natural inequality a certain stratification of people occurs and an elite class that leads the whole society comes forward. Thus, the power of the oligarchy was formed as a state power. In line with the latest interpretation, monarchies or aristocratic states have been formed, which, for the most part, according to the political regime, have been characterized as dictatorial. By the way, the origin of political institutions in modern political science is explained by the same factors that Hobbes used. He considered the state authorities, organizations and structures whose activities were allowed by the state to be political institutions.<sup>14</sup>

In our opinion, the most common of many definitions of political institutions is given below, being, at the same time, the exact one; the political institutions are agreements between groups of people in the form of votes, whose behavior is regulated by clearly defined rules and the decision-making process, which is ensured by the power of an individual or their group, i.e. by a formally endowed authority.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to Hobbes's theory, the state is currently a political institution, a structure related to its activities, as well as non-state formations: parties, groups formed on the basis of common interests, social movements. And the beginning of the formation of parties is considered to be the XVII-XVIII centuries, when such political structures were formed in Great Britain and France.<sup>16</sup>

Then, along with the establishment of civil society, modern democratic-legal states were formed. In particular, from the beginning of the 18th century, Great Britain became a parliamentary monarchy from a constitutional monarchy, where the highest executive power actually belongs to the government, and it consists of members of the party that won the elections. In France, the republic was first proclaimed in 1792 instead of the monarchy, and for the fifth time in 1958; a federal republic was established in the United States in 1787. Of course, during the monarchies, especially in European countries, economic development took place, but the three industrial revolutions - mechanization, standardization, the creation of flow lines - took place in the 18th and 20th centuries in England and the United States. The fourth revolution also began in the United States.

These revolutions, which significantly contributed to the economic and social progress in the world, were first of all the result of the development of the scientific-educational system and, above all, of the above-average level of civilization. At the same time, the growing economic competition created the need for rapid innovation, which increased the demand for science and highly qualified professionals. These trends continued throughout the 20th century. They are typical of the 21st century.

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<sup>14</sup> Politology 2005: 235.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.: 238.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.: 265-266.

Let's take a look at some of the information that confirms this point from the history of the development of world science, the source of which is the collective study entitled as "100 Great Scientific Discoveries."<sup>17</sup>

According to the logic of this study, the priority is not to cover the content of discoveries of great importance in science and socio-economic life, but to find out where and when they were made. The major discoveries in the table below have been made in countries with a corresponding level of civilization in both the ancient, medieval and modern worlds.

### Some landmark discoveries in human civilization

<b>№</b>	<b>Discovery</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Copper, bronze	Ancient Greece	III millennium B.C.	
2.	Iron	Egypt, Mesopotamia	II millennium B.C.	
3.	Pythagoras' theorem	Ancient Greece	VI-V centuries B.C.	Pythagoras
4.	Basic laws of hydrostatics	a) Ancient Greece b) France	287-212 B.C. 17 <sup>th</sup> century	Archimedes B. Pascal
5.	Electricity	a) Ancient Greece b) USA	VII century B.C. 18 <sup>th</sup> century	F. Miletski, B. Franklin
6.	Laws of motion	England	1667	I. Newton
7.	The law of cosmic gravitation	England	1666	I. Newton
8.	Molecular theory of material structure	Italy	1814	A. Avogadro
9.	Periodic law of chemical elements	Russia	1869	D. Mendeleev
10.	X-rays	Germany	1896	W. C. Röntgen
11.	Quantum theory	Germany	1896	M. Plank
12.	General and specific theory of relativity	Germany, USA	1915-1916	A. Einstein
13.	Insulin	Canada, University of Toronto	1921-1923	F. Bunting, J.J.R. McLeod
14.	Penicillin	England	1928-1941	A. Fleming, E. Chen, W. Flori

The country that has contributed to the treasury of human civilization more than others has won and now also continues to win the economic and scientific-technical

<sup>17</sup> 100 great scientific discoveries 2018.

competition. Economic development, in addition to the above, certainly implies mineral resources, favorable climatic conditions, markets for the sale of goods and services. This was the reason why the race of the powerful countries in the 18th and 19th centuries tried to conquer new regions, especially the rich ones, and expand their spheres of influence. The same struggle took place in the 20th century, it continues in the 21st century, but the force manners to gain spheres of influence are supplemented by the methods of impact of the "soft power". Summarizing this section, we can conclude that political institutions, if not more important, are not the only factor in ensuring economic development. Especially, as history proves, democracy wins in the most civilized countries. Let's remember M. Nalbandian's genius observation that only citizens with internal freedom can form a democratic government if there is no "element of violence and lawlessness" in the individual.<sup>18</sup>

Among the mentioned factors, it is necessary to consider the role of individuals in history. Just one example, the author of the Singapore Miracle is the longtime leader of that country, Lee Kuan Yew, who has created an effective management system and wonderful traditions. "History, however, shows that ordinary, good-natured calculations can be changed by very extraordinary and outstanding individuals," H. Kissinger wrote in the preface to Yew's book<sup>19</sup>. Fortunately, such individuals are not unique. And according to A. Toynbee, "Human history is created by individuals, and not by society."<sup>20</sup>

Let's not forget that even in the case of inclusive political institutions, the intervention of the elite in political and economic processes is not ruled out, especially since the unequal distribution of income is a global phenomenon, it is typical of many developed countries, even the United States.<sup>21</sup>

It should also be remembered that political institutions, being the result of the development of public consciousness, are not derivative or basic, but, of course, public levers influence all manifestations of the country's development, including the factor of civilization. In this respect, the generalization with Toynbee is remarkable, "The society, and not the state, is the social "atom" on which the historian should focus his attention".<sup>22</sup>

At the same time, the civilizational progress, being objectively advanced, particularly the rapid advancement of modern science and technology, has led to the development of public administration, at least in the following directions:

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<sup>18</sup> Nalbandyan 1985: 472-474.

<sup>19</sup> Yew 2016: 9.

<sup>20</sup> Toynbee 1991: 254.

<sup>21</sup> Stiglitz 2019. Moreover, the concentration of wealth is a dominant trend. The share of wealth of 1% of the world's population in global wealth reached 47.2 from 42.5% during 2008-2018. As of 2010, 388 people owned as much wealth as the world's poorest population - 3.5 billion people. Bogosyan 2020: 132.

<sup>22</sup> Toynbee 1991: 40.

- Extensive application of e-governance principles, approval of trends in digital technology and models,
- Improving the constitutional structure of the relationship between the legislative, executive and judicial powers in the context of the application of democratic principles of public administration and the transformation of political institutions into inclusive ones.
- Rooting of participatory governance by raising the scientific and educational level of the society, limiting the possibilities of maneuvering the elite. By the way, participatory governance is not only group or collegial governance; in a broad sense it includes the whole spectrum of public decision-making: referendums, free elections of national and local government bodies, constitutional powers reserved for the opposition, freedom of speech and press.

Of course, the connection between public administration and scientific and technical progress is two-sided. The management system, especially the financial resources and the position of the scientist in the public life can stimulate the development of the scientific-educational system. Some countries are poor, underdeveloped, because the resources allocated for the development of the scientific and educational system are not enough, as these resources do not exist as a result of poor economic development. Highly developed countries have them, they are provided with the rise of science and education, as a result of which the technological progress is ensured, the newly created culture becomes dominant. The results of science are in demand in such countries, and in weakly developed countries, where the non-sensitive branches of technology are predominant (food production, the mining industry, etc.), the achievements of science are not in great demand.

Weakly developed countries find themselves in a magical period. There are no resources for scientific and technical development, and without technology there is no breakthrough in the economy of highly qualified personnel. Some of the countries that broke this chain have become developing, even developed (Singapore, South Korea, etc.). Therefore, the key to overcoming poverty is scientific and technical progress, the development of education, as a result of which the civilized level of the population increases, the nature of demand changes, political institutions grow, become inclusive. The democratic, in particular, participatory governance is becoming dominant.

Under the influence of these processes, the economic structure, as a component of public administration, ensures economic freedom and competitive environment for economic entities, active foreign economic ties in the globalized world, based on the country's well-founded and long-term economic and social strategy.

Of course, in order to overcome economic development and poverty, as it was mentioned, the mineral resources and climatic conditions are essential. Their availability and favorable conditions are preconditions for economic growth, which must be used effectively and very purposefully. There are countries in the world whose crust is rich, but its extraction does not always contribute to a stable increase in the living standards of the population. There are also countries that are not rich in mineral resources, but

have a high level and quality of economic and social development. This issue also reflects the level of civilization of the population and the efficiency of public administration conditioned by it.

### **3. The logic of economic development: how to overcome poverty**

There is no need to touch upon textbook truths in this section: human resources, the need for finances, their provision. Here will be a brief description of the formation of political institutions in Armenia, the problem of very modern technological advancement for economic development and the improvement of public administration in the modern period, and the second, as mentioned, is an essential precondition for the first.

In the Republic of Armenia, the political institutions and civil society are at a level of establishment and development that is conducive to sustainable economic and social growth. During the years of independence, a system of public administration in line with European standards was created with components of public administration and local self-government; a favorable legislative field for business, and an effective fiscal and monetary policy was developed, which is constantly improving. The country's main law, the Constitution (2015), states that the basis of Armenia's economic order is "social market economy based on private property, freedom of economic activity, free economic competition and state policy aimed at general economic prosperity and social justice." (Article 11). Prerequisites for the establishment and development of civil society are a number of articles of the Basic Law, in particular, Article 8, according to which "Ideological pluralism and multi-party system are guaranteed in the Republic of Armenia", Articles 42-46, which define the expression of opinion, the right to create, to participate in rallies, to form associations, to form or join a party. Article 42.2 guarantees "freedom of the press, radio, television and other media."<sup>23</sup>

It is noteworthy that the main goals of the state policy to promote economic development and scientific and technical progress of the country (Article 86) constitutionally include improving the business environment, promoting entrepreneurship and employment, improving working conditions, free higher education, basic and applied science.

It is obvious that the Armenian people, having a history of 10 thousand years, 1500 years of statehood, and being as one of the bearers of centuries-old human civilization and one of the nations with great contribution to the development of culture and science, quickly adapted to the political, economic, socio-cultural standards of modern civilization. The Armenian nation has the potential to provide economic and social development in the country on a technological basis with modern requirements.

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<sup>23</sup> According to the State Register Agency of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Armenia, 109 parties, 5040 non-governmental organizations, 27 TV companies, 17 radio companies, 54 newspapers, 26 periodicals, 5 news agencies are registered in the republic as of 01.01.2020.

In the current context of the new world governance, traditional principles are intertwined with the components of business management, and in this regard, the strategic management, the pursuit of an executive and incentive environment, is needed to ensure technological development.

Strategic governance is an opportunity to analyze and evaluate the country's internal and external environments in detail, especially given the strengths and weaknesses, opportunities and threats, that is, to determine the vision based on a thorough SWOT analysis for up to ten years, a promising development program based on the necessary resources.

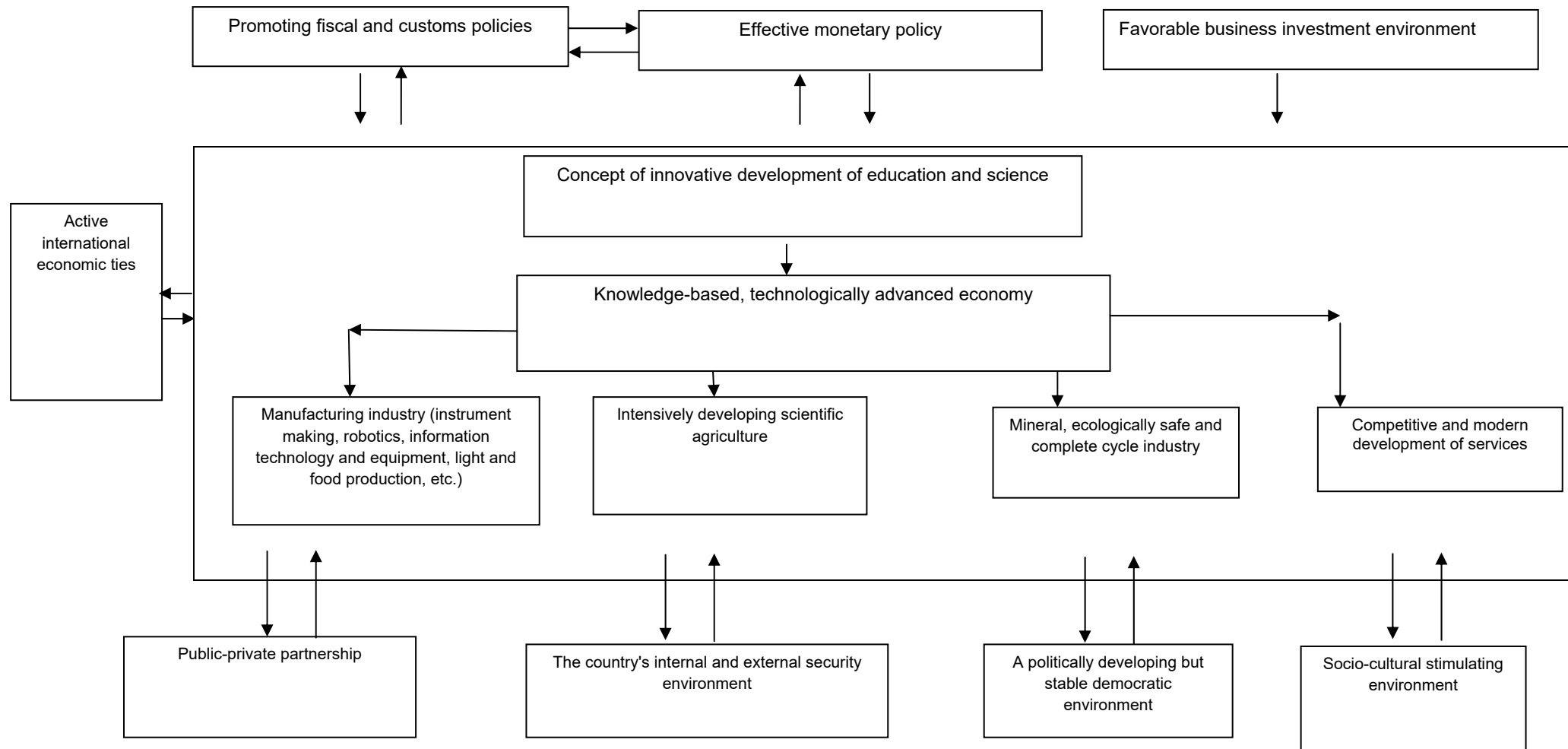
Let us emphasize once again that the key to the strategy is to ensure the scientific and technological development of the educational system and, as mentioned above, these are the most important factors, especially in the age of artificial intelligence and robotics, overcoming poverty and being the first to move from the third world.

After the development of the program, it is necessary to define the tools for its implementation and monitoring. In this regard, there are standard rules of the game for all countries, in particular, legislation that regulates fiscal, monetary, business promotion, creates a favorable investment environment, develops and implements the customs and other civilizations, which, however, are not sufficient to ensure economic development. The well-founded and stimulating legislative base is extremely important, but the prospect of defining the initiative of the executive branch to fix the most important and situational issues and to strive to solve them is of no less importance as well. And these problems are unique in each country, due to the available mineral, climatic, human resources, national traditions, geopolitical environment. Therefore, the main task of each country is to find its relative but competitive advantage in the system of international division of labor, to make it the core of economic policy and to build on it the interconnected priorities of the development of the whole socio-economic system, the specified content. For the Republic of Armenia, it can be presented in an extremely generalized schematic form with the following drawing.



Figure 1

### The logic and structure of the RA economic development strategy



In the diagram, each component (inside or outside the square), is of great synergistic significance for the upward development of the whole system. Therefore, their design and operation is a very important issue in terms of public administration.

It is obvious from the comparative analysis of the proposed strategy and the process of economic development of the Republic of Armenia that there are some issues to be solved. First of all, they refer to the need for technological development of the economy, and to the overall internal product, the branch structure and the tendencies of change. According to the National Statistical Service of Armenia in 2017-2018, the share of industry in gross domestic product is 11%, agriculture - 14-15%, services - more than 25%. The branch structure of the industry is more problematic. The mining and open-pit mining sector accounted for 15.5% of the total, the processing industry - 69.8%, in which the share of food production was 63.3%, light industry - 4.6%, machinery - 2.3%, chemical and pharmaceuticals - 1.9%.

Thus, the share of purely scientific products is very low - 4.2%. In the structure of the gross domestic product, there is a non-positive trend, according to which the spheres of trade, living and public food, entertainment are growing relatively faster than the spheres of producing real economy and scientific products.

The similar structure of jobs in the economy distorts the structure of education. In 2017, the share of people with higher education in the humanities reached 64.5%, which means that more graduates were issued in social, behavioral, business, law, than in physics, biology, mathematics, information and communication directly related to technological progress.

One of the main obstacles to technological and economic progress in agriculture is the large number of small farms - about 318 thousand, whose average weighted productivity is low - 57%, and 30% of which is in the amount of money; the rest is in exchange for goods and services.<sup>24</sup>

For technological development of the country's economy, the establishment of a new national system of education-science-production, integrated with the chain, is extremely important. The transition to a relatively environmentally safe and complete mining cycle is a major issue in the long-standing technological and economic development.

In general, it is obvious that the concept of technological and newly created development on a scientific basis has not yet become the core of the logic of economic strategy.

There are issues to be solved in the areas of monetary policy: increasing efficiency in terms of economic growth, creating a favorable investment environment, improving public-private sector, scientific, technical and economic cooperation.

The solution to the above-mentioned problems is largely conditioned by the maturity of political institutions, which, as already covered, is the result of civilizational development, but it also influences the basic components of public progress on the principle of feedback. And public administration, in addition to being a science, is also an art. A leader (manager), as a representative of a political institution, possessing a certain amount of knowledge, must have the potential to quickly consider the

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<sup>24</sup> For details on the structure of GDP and agriculture, see Suvaryan 2019.

opportunities created by the economic and political environment management decisions. They refer to both the choice and the definition of the toolkit for its implementation.

It can be argued that there is no country in the world that lacks resources at all, the population is doomed to poverty, and the low level of economic development and the poverty of the population are conditioned by improper level of collective or middle civilization and the necessary maturity of political institutions, which do not allow for effective public administration.

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***Translated from the Armenian by Vahram Gharakhanyan***

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# ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE

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## DEPICTION OF THE ARMENIAN CARPETS IN THE WORKS OF EUROPEAN ORIENTALISTS RUDOLF ERNST AND GIULIO ROSATI

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The article is devoted to the depictions of Armenian carpets in the paintings of the XIX century European Orientalist-painters, particularly the Austrian Rudolf Ernst and Italian Giulio Rosati, in whose paintings figure some Armenian carpets. Further we shall discuss Armenian parallels to these carpets which are kept in different collections.

The art of tapestry is known in Armenia since antiquity and Armenian carpets were well known throughout the world, and it is not accidental that numerous pictures of Armenian carpets figure in the paintings of Western European painters representing Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo. The interest in the East, eastern realities in Western European art is visible still during the Renaissance and Baroque and, as it was mentioned above, beginning from that period depictions of Armenian carpets occur on the paintings of European painters such as Jan van Eyck, Anthony van Dyck, Hans Memling, Gerard ter Borch, Diego Velazquez and others, which was discussed in special literature.<sup>1</sup>

The period of Rococo which follows Baroque is regarded as the preliminary phase of Orientalism when came into being along the interest in the Turkish and Chinese realities, and even was created special terminology - "Turquerie" and "Chinoiserie", which means Turkish style and Chinese style (translated from French). This interest in the Turkish realities was expressed in the art of several French painters of the XVIII century who live in Turkey and in parallel with the eastern everyday life made portraits of European aristocrats in the manner of "Turquerie", where the latters are depicted in eastern cloths and headgears.<sup>2</sup>

This was followed by the phase of Orientalism which came into being in the art of the XIX century, in the period of Romanticism. The rise of Orientalism is connected with the stories about the Eastern countries, as well as writings of travellers, and impression of the monuments of eastern art. The interest in eastern realities throughout Europe was so widespread that it was expressed, besides arts and architecture, also in linguistics, literature, philosophy etc. The emergence of Orientalism had began from the campaigns of Napoleon to Egypt, Cyprus, the conquest of Algeria by France, the independence of Greece from the Ottoman rule, Crimean wars etc. The Orientalists created imaginary picture of the East sometimes without visiting eastern countries. The most attractive topics for Orientalists were the life in harems, mystic images of women, their everyday life and luxurious palaces of Sultans and Shahs, as well as baths. In the

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<sup>1</sup> Ghazaryan 1988: 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> Alpatov, Rakova 1978: 140.

paintings of Orientalists the most popular application were carpets, and it is not accidental that on many of them appear Armenian carpets.

Very few studies had been carried out on the topic of the depiction of Armenian carpets in the art of Western European Orientalists, despite the fact that our studies show the existence of a great number of materials. In this article we shall focus on the depictions of Armenian carpets in the art of two Orientalists.

Rudolf Ernst was an Austrian Orientalist painter, who in his different paintings had depicted numerous oriental decorations, items of applied art, in particular oriental carpets, where Armenian ones prevail.

Ernst was born in Vienna in 1854, in the family of an architect-painter (he died in Paris in 1932). He had studied in the academy of fine arts of Vienna, then travelled to Rome in order to be acquainted with the works of the painters of the Classical and Romantic periods. His Orientalist period had begun in 1885, as a result of his travels to the Middle East (Morocco, Spain, and prolonged stay in Turkey). By his return Ernst settled down in Paris where his paintings were successfully exhibited in Paris six times, due to which he became one of the outstanding Orientalists of the XIX century.<sup>3</sup> Judging by his paintings, Ernst was interested in eastern decorations, realistic and colorful expression of eastern lifestyle, harems, minarets, street trading, eastern singers, tradesmen of carpets etc.

In the paintings of Rudolf Ernst sometimes figure a street singer, old blind man accompanied with beautiful woman, luxuriously dressed court guard and a Pasha with his tiger.<sup>4</sup>

Generally, in the paintings of the XIX century Orientalists one sees original colors, decorative designs, specific contrasts of light and shadow. They make use of unusual from the point of view of Europeans' mystic oriental luxury for depicting all achievements of Realism and Romantism. Their exquisite art was aimed to reveal not the inner world of personages but the realities and decorations which surround them. The latters are pictured on the paintings of these Orientalists actually with photographic accuracy, thus creating the unrepeatable atmosphere, which distinguish the art of R.Ernst.<sup>5</sup> And exactly due to this accuracy in depicting details it becomes possible to recognize the realities of this and other cultures in the paintings of R.Ernst. For example, in regard to the carpets it is easy to typologize them, since the decorations and compositional peculiarities are correctly reproduced. In some of his paintings, for example "Favorite", "After bath" (Pic. 1) an Armenian carpet of the type "Jraber" comprises the part of decoration (Pic.2),<sup>6</sup> which some scholars regard as a type of the Dragon-carpet. According to Mania Ghazaryan, beginning from the XVII century the classical Dragon-carpets had lost their appearance and having been influenced by the

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<sup>3</sup> About Rudolf Ernst see Thornton 1994: 80. See also <http://www.artnet.com/artists/rudolf-ernst/>.

<sup>4</sup> Temkin, Kalmykova 2009: 105.

<sup>5</sup> Temkin, Kalmykova 2009: 115.

<sup>6</sup> The source of the picture is Callet 2016: 148.

carpets of other styles, thus initiate the creation of other types of carpets, among them also Eagle-carpets mentioned above (they were produced in the village of Jraberd, Artsakh, later in the village of Khndzoresk, Zangezur, in Sisian and other places).<sup>7</sup> Vahram Tatikyan regards carpets of this type also as Eagle-carpets (Jraberd or Khachen sub-types)(Pic.2). He regards these carpets as direct heirs to the Dragon-carpets, and their decorations, according to the scholar, are perfect and, probably, they have been originated from some well-preserved classical Dragon-carpet, and numerous details were taken from its decorations.<sup>8</sup> Such cross-like Eagle-carpet was found in the village of Garnaqar.<sup>9</sup>

This type of carpets was studied and typologized by Ashkhunj Poghosyan who thinks that the Jraberd group of carpets should be divided into four sub-types, and among them to the classical Dragon-carpet are related those which are decorated with single ray-shaped composition, compiled through the surrounded from both sides intertwined dragons.<sup>10</sup>

The authors mentioned above demonstrate pictures of this carpet which fully correspond to the carpets depicted on some paintings of Rudolf Ernst.<sup>11</sup>

On one of the paintings of Rudolf Ernst ("A breakfast with tea") a woman is sitting on a typical Armenian praying carpet (Pic. 3).<sup>12</sup> On the painting by means of bright colors has been created a morning atmosphere of eastern yard; a woman sits on the bench which stands on an Armenian praying carpet made on a red background. Almost identical two Armenian praying carpets have been found from the settlement Ladik, Isparta (1910); it is four belted, on a red background like that of Ernst, on the space are depicted two big decorations representing flowers and geometric figures, and on the bottom – three complete decorations with flowers directed to the bottom, as it is on the painting of R. Ernst, the third belt has big decorations. Other belts are thinner and are decorated with floral and geometric figures (Pic. 4).<sup>13</sup>

We suppose that these paintings should attract the attention of specialists, and maybe could be helpful for establishing new sub-types. It should be mentioned that the painting "On the terrace, Tangier" of R. Ernst which depicts an Armenian decorated carpet, has been sold at the Christie's auction for 350.000 pounds (July 2, 2008).

The next painter is Giulio Rosati. He was born in Rome in 1861, in the family of a banker and military serviceman. He joined the academy of fine arts of San Luca, being a student of Francesco Podesti and Dario Querci. He mainly worked with the watercolor techniques, but used also oil paint. He generally worked in the manner of Orientalists as

<sup>7</sup> Ghazaryan 1988: 11-13, Pic. 32, 36, 37.

<sup>8</sup> Tatikyan 2004: 22.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.: 24.

<sup>10</sup> Poghosyan 2005: 109-110.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., Pic. 2.

<sup>12</sup> The source of the picture is Callet 2016: 121.

<sup>13</sup> The picture and the analysis of the picture is taken from <https://armeniancarpets.am/hy/carpet/143>.

a representative of its academic style. His paintings were exhibited in Rome in 1900, in the exhibition of Fine arts.<sup>14</sup> G.Rosati had died in 1917.

Working with the watercolor techniques Giulio Rosati had succeeded to masterly reproduce the details of decorations and represent complete eastern interior, although he himself never visited any eastern country. Actually, eastern scenes created by Rosati are fully inspired by the images seen and stories heard about the East, photos etc.<sup>15</sup> Making eastern decorations for his paintings he had made use of eastern items he found in Rome; probably he possess with these items in his studio. Paintings of G.Rosati were popular among the admirers of eastern style and were successfully sold.

G.Rosati also repeatedly depicts Armenian carpets, which he probably acquired in Rome. Remarkably, on the photo of the painter<sup>16</sup> one can see that his studio is full of Armenian carpets which figure on his paintings. Probably, he owned some Armenian carpets which serve as decorations for his paintings but also as furniture for his studio (Pic.5). For example, the carpets on the black and white photo are seen on his famous painting "Dance in harem" (Pic.6),<sup>17</sup> where on the floor and wall are pictures of Armenian carpets, and the half-naked dancer stands on another Armenian carpet. Its parallels now are kept in different collections of Armenian carpets (for example, the Javakhk carpet dated with 1920, which bears the name "Striped-Slanted", decorated with red, blue and swampy green colors, and has three belts (Pic. 7)).<sup>18</sup> Another such carpet which originates from Utik (1902), also has oblique strips where bright red, red, blue, and honey-color strips are represented successively and are decorated with ornaments. On the painting depicting two women ("Conversation") also are present depictions of Armenian carpets (Pic. 8). The carpet on the floor having crosses in the center is a carpet bearing the peculiarities of a Dragon-carpet, and on the wall hangs a tabernacle carpet, which reminds the well-known "Yerakhoran" (triapsidal) carpet (Pic.9). It is regarded as the oldest preserved Armenian carpet and has a legend – the year of 1202.<sup>19</sup> It is interesting that while Rosati had depicted this tabernacle carpet, he was unaware about the purpose of the carpet, since it is depicted horizontally, meanwhile tabernacles should be watched vertically.

In summary, it should be concluded that in the art of Western European Orientalists depictions of Armenian carpets are numerous and this topic needs further studies.

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<sup>14</sup> Juler 1994: 138.

<sup>15</sup> Thornton 1994: 160.

<sup>16</sup> The source of the picture is <https://bit.ly/3dke3u9>.

<sup>17</sup> The source of the picture is <https://bit.ly/30T3HyH>.

<sup>18</sup> For the description of the picture and the carpet see in <https://armeniancarpets.am/hy/carpet/135>.

<sup>19</sup> On triapsidal carpets in detail see Poghosyan 2017.



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Pic. 1. Favorite or after the bath



Pic. 2 . «Jraberd» type Eagle-carpet»



Pic. 3. Breakfast with tea



Pic. 4. Armenian praying carpet from Ladik, Isparta, 1910





Pic. 5. Giulio Rosati in his studio



Pic. 6. Dance in harem



Pic.7. Carpet from Javakhk



Pic. 9. Triapsidal carpet





Pic. 8. Conversation

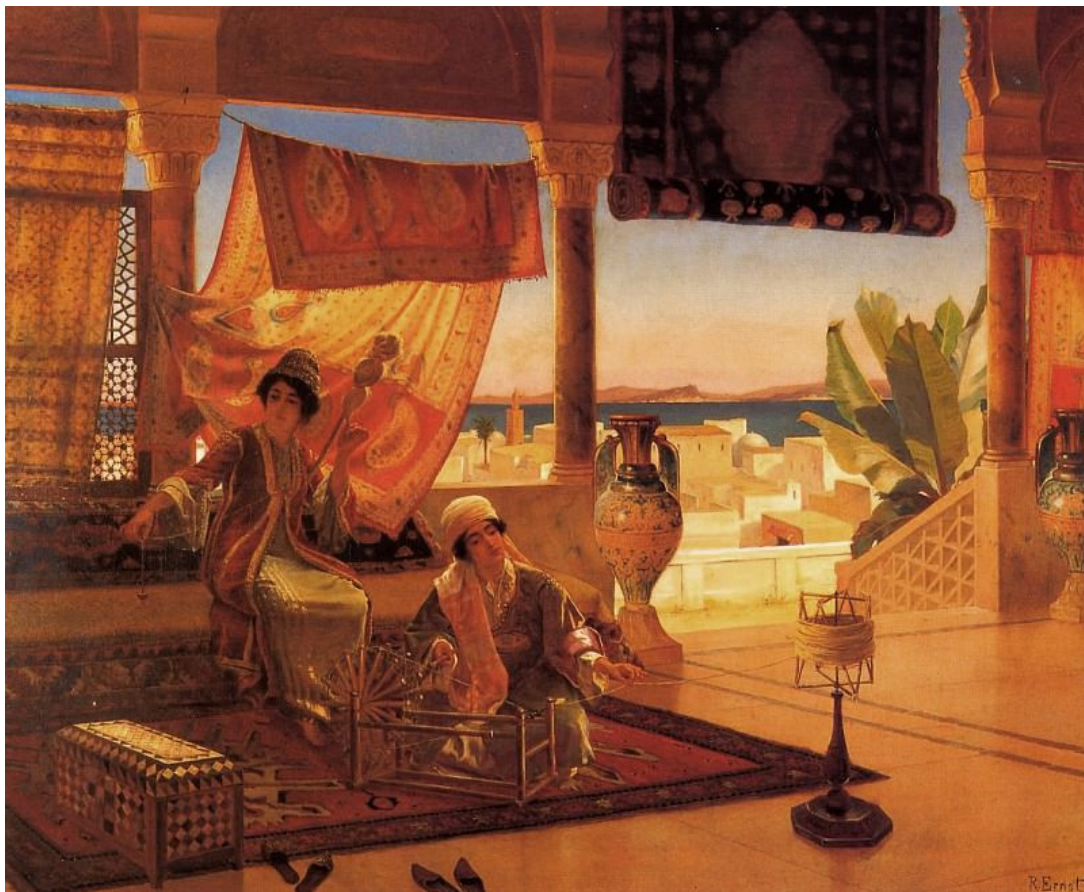
## Appendix

### Armenian Eagle-carpets on other paintings of R. Ernst



Mauritanian interior





On the balcony



Musician





**Smoking the Hookah**



**In harem**



**Slave-women**



**A section from the “Slave-women”**





Gnaua-player in North-African interieur



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# PHILOLOGY

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## NEW READINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS IN THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED URARTIAN CUNEIFORM TEXT FROM AYANIS

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### 1. Etymology of the words *išerhini* and *ešinini*

The new inscription from Ayanis helps to establish that the word *išerhini* first was attested in one inscription of Menua still in 1880s which originates from Tsolakert (on the northern slope of Greater Ararat).<sup>1</sup> But due to the defective state of the inscription it remained unnoticed in the special literature.

It might seem that the extensive inscription of Rusa II from Karmir blur could have offer a clue for the establishment of the phonetic writing of *išerhini*. But this time also the sign *i* at the beginning of the word erroneously was attached to the previous word *LUGÁL-tuhini* “kingly” and the imaginary word *\*šerhini* was put into relation with the word *šeri*.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, *išerhini* figures twice also in the newly found inscription of Rusa II from Ayanis, which makes possible to establish the phonetic writing of that word.<sup>3</sup> Remarkably, in both cases *išerhini* is attested at the beginning of the text and its phonetic form could not be doubted.

Now, after this preface let us analyze briefly the inscriptions of Menua and Rusa II and try to find out what could be said about this word *išerhini* on the textual materials of these identical inscriptions.

The passage of Tsolakert inscription of Menua:

1. [<sup>d</sup>Hal]-di-ni-ni uš-ma-ši-n[i]
2. [i]-ú <sup>m</sup>Me-nu-a-še <sup>m</sup>Er-ku-a-h[i]
3. [KUR-n]i i-ú <sup>URU</sup>Lu-hi-ú-ni-ni KUR-ni
4. [i]-še-er-hi-ni i-ni e-si
5. [<sup>m</sup>Me]-nu-a-še e-ši-ni-ni du-ni
6. [ši-d]i-iš-tú-a-li <sup>d</sup>Hal-di-ni-li KÁ
7. [É.GAL ba-du-[s]i-i-e<sup>4</sup>

Before discussing the word *išerhini* it would be appropriate to turn to all identical contexts of different Urartian inscriptions, and among them that of Tsolakert.

First, it is remarkable that at the beginning of Tsolakert inscription, due to the inaccuracy of the scribe, is absent the verb *hauni* “conquered”. Here the text describes

<sup>1</sup> Smbateanc 1886: inset between pages 500-501; Müller 1887: 216-219.

<sup>2</sup> Harutyunyan 1966: 38, text N.1, line 4; Melikishvili 1971: 267, line 4; Harutyunyan 2001: 348, 424, line 4 and n.5.

<sup>3</sup> Salvini 2001: 254, (I, 5), 258 (V, 55).

<sup>4</sup> Harutyunyan 2001, 48, lines 1-7.

the conquest of the country of Erikuah<sub>i</sub> and its administrative center of Luhi<sub>i</sub>uni. Instead, in the text twice is written the word *iu* “when”, in connection with Erikuah<sub>i</sub> and Luhi<sub>i</sub>uni.

By the way, despite the absence of the verb *hauni* and double usage of *iu*, is of considerable importance the passage which follows *išerh<sub>i</sub>ini*, where it is said: *ini esi<sup>m</sup> Menuaše ešinini duni šidištuali<sup>d</sup> Haldinili KÁ É.GAL badusie*. We shall mention that the general sense of the quoted passage is well-known to scholars. In this part the text tells about making that place (*ini esi*) as *ešinini* by Menua, that is the erection (*šidištuali*) of the Doors of Haldi (*<sup>d</sup>Haldinili KÁ*), i.e. the temple and the magnificent (*badusie*) temple (*É.GAL*).

Therefore, in the quoted passage of Tsolakert still remains untranslated only the word *ešinini* since in the phrase *ešinini duni* the second word *duni* is safely interpreted as “has made” which in Urartian texts often is used in the sense *d(u)* “to do”, “to make” and in compound formations like *abili-d(u)*, *uedia-d(u)*, *ueli-d(u)*. As to *ešinini*, due to the scarcity of materials it remains unexplained. It was not discussed neither in the existing corpora of Urartian texts, nor in other studies.

Besides Tsolakert, *ešini(ni)* is attested in another defective inscription of Menua from Güzak (modern Karatavuk), on the north-eastern shore of Lake Van. In some sense the inscription is similar to Tsolakert since here is also mentioned Luhi<sub>i</sub>uni, the administrative center of Erikuah<sub>i</sub>. Here is used the word *patari* “city” which replaces the word *É.GAL* “fortress” of Tsolakert.<sup>5</sup>

In the another identical and also defective inscription from Güzak is mentioned the same Luhi<sub>i</sub>uni, and *<sup>d</sup>Haldinili KÁ<sup>MES</sup> badusi*, that is the erection of a magnificent temple.<sup>6</sup> And, finally, in regard to our problem is of interest also another inscription of the same Urartian king which is kept in the museum of Van, where also is mentioned the temple (*<sup>d</sup>Haldinili KÁ*) and fortress (*É.GAL-ni*) built in Erikuah<sub>i</sub> (Menuah<sub>i</sub>nili).<sup>7</sup>

So, the textual data clearly show that all inscriptions quoted above tell about one and the same building undertakings of this Urartian king in the Ararat plain, carried out on its left bank. Hence, the word *ešinini* (or the phrase *ešinini duni*), probably, like in Tsolakert and Güzak, was used (or is expected to have been used) also in all other inscriptions. By the way, the inscription from the museum of Van (see below) which is almost complete, does not contain the phrase *ešinini duni*, but taking into account the fact that it actually repeats the event referred to in Tsolakert (the erection of a magnificent fortress Menuah<sub>i</sub>nili and the temple of Haldi), we think that in this case the existence of *ešinini duni* should be expected.

Taking into account what was said above, we are inclined to suggest for the word *ešinini* of Tsolakert and Güzak the meaning “habitable”, and for the phrase *ešinini duni* correspondingly “make habitable”. Probably, in all cases the king hints at his actions of making the uninhabited territories (which are mentioned many times in the Urartian

<sup>5</sup> Idem: 50, lines 2-4.

<sup>6</sup> Idem: 49, lines 1-3.

<sup>7</sup> Idem, 101, Obverse, lines 5-8, 21-25.

inscriptions) habitable, construction of irrigational system and activities in the field of agriculture, and building of fortified cities.

Above we have focused on the interpretation of *ešinini*, since in the inscription of Tsolakert only the meaning of this word along with *išerhini* needs further studies. Therefore, *ešinini* completes not only the interpretation of this inscription but also that of other identical Urartian inscriptions, particularly Güzak.

Now let us discuss again the word *išerhini* focusing on the inscription of Rusa II from Karmir blur<sup>8</sup> where in the lines 3-4 is written the next:

i-ú-me <sup>d</sup>Hal-di-še LUGÁL-tú-hi a-ru-ni na-ha-<di <sup>LÚ</sup>AD-si-ni> e-si-i LUGÁL-tú-hi-ni i-še-er-hi-ni i-ni-li <sup>d</sup>Hal-di-ni-li K[Á š]i-di-iš-tú-ú-li ba-du-si-e

“When the god Haldi granted me the kingdom (and I) sat on the paternal royal throne, *išerhini* these magnificent doors of Haldi (temple) I built”.

The comparison of the passages of the inscriptions of Tsolakert and Karmir blur shows that in both them it is spoken about the time of identical building activities of these kings in different places. In one case Menua makes habitable the right bank of the River Araxes (modern Tsolakert) and built there magnificent doors of Haldi (temple) and fortress at the time when by the might of Haldi he had conquered the country of Erikuah<sup>hi</sup> along with its center Luhiuni. In another case Rusa II had built magnificent doors of Haldi (temple) in Karmir blur when the supreme god Haldi granted him royal throne. The inscription from Karmir blur probably speaks in favor of the assumption that the temple at Teishebaini and the city-fortress itself coincided with the enthronement of Rusa II.

Regarding the new inscription of Rusa II from Ayanis, it should be stated that here the word *išerhini* is mentioned twice, and every time in different contexts. In one case it completely corresponds to the inscription from Karmir blur with one minor difference; while here the personal pronoun *-me* “to me” is attached to the word *iu* “when” (*iu-me* “when to me”), in Ayanis *me* is attached to the name of Haldi (<sup>d</sup>Haldiš-*me* “Haldi to me”). Therefore, here also, like in Karmir blur, *išerhini* shows that the erection of magnificent doors of Haldi (*išerhini inili* <sup>d</sup>Haldinili KÁ šidištuli badusie) chronologically follows directly the granting of the throne to the Urartian king by Haldi (*iu-me* <sup>d</sup>Haldiše LUGÁL-tú-hi aruni na<sup>h</sup>adi <sup>LÚ</sup>AD-sini esi LUGÁL-tu<sup>h</sup>ini).<sup>9</sup>

The second attestation of *išerhini* in Ayanis appears in other context with untranslatable words:

... aše TAG qutumenaue tanuli MÁŠ.TUR <sup>d</sup>Haldie nipsidulini UDU <sup>d</sup>Haldie TAG UDU <sup>d</sup>IM-a UDU <sup>d</sup>UTU-nie UDU <sup>d</sup>Arubainie UDU <sup>d</sup>Haldinaue BE.LI UDU <sup>d</sup>Haldinaue KÁ UDU <sup>d</sup>Ua UDU DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ue ... <sup>d</sup>Haldina KÁ *išerhini* haluli uilatini...<sup>10</sup>

A thorough study of this text show that while here is spoken about different matters, the presentation remains the same as in Tsolakert, Karmir blur, and Ayanis. But, as it should be argued below, for the determination of the sense of *išerhini* exactly

<sup>8</sup> Idem, 424.

<sup>9</sup> Salvini 2001, 254, (I, lines 4-6).

<sup>10</sup> Idem, 257-258 (V, lines 5-11).

the form of representation is most important. This could be demonstrated through the usage of the words *aše* and *išerh<sub>ini</sub>* with that of *iu* and *išerh<sub>ini</sub>* of the Tsolakert, Karmir blur and Ayanis inscriptions (see lines 4-5). Here to the variant *aše* “when” corresponds the word *iu* having the same meaning “when”. In other words, in one case are extant the words *aše* and *iu* having the same meaning, in the other case *išerh<sub>ini</sub>* in both variants.

Now let us see whether the suggested interpretation is correct in regard to the second variant of the Ayanis inscription where it is said the next. During the ritual of the sacrifices to the gods Haldi, Teisheba, Shiwini, Uarubani, the weapon of Haldi, the doors (temple) of Haldi, Ua, and other gods in the temple took place also the offering of vine (*išerh<sub>ini</sub> haluli uilatini*).

Therefore, when the words *iu* and *išerh<sub>ini</sub>* are used, while (*iu*) Urartian kings sat on the throne, during (*išerh<sub>ini</sub>*) that procedure they undertook building of temples and fortresses, and settling people in that place (*ini esi ešinini duni*). In the case of *aše* and *išerh<sub>ini</sub>*, when (*aše*) in the temple took place sacrifices of animals to honor the gods, weapons of Haldi etc., at that time (*išerh<sub>ini</sub>*), in the course of official cultic ceremonies was offered also vine (*haluli uilatini*).

In any case, in all contexts of the inscriptions discussed above the word *išerh<sub>ini</sub>* most probably expresses the idea of time. A crucial information for the treatment of *išerh<sub>ini</sub>* contains the inscription from Karataş of Sarduri II where it written:

<sup>md</sup>Sarduriše <sup>m</sup>Argišti<sub>h</sub>iniše alie iu <sup>d</sup>Haldiš-me LUGÁL-tu<sub>h</sub>i aruni na<sub>h</sub>adi <sup>LÚ</sup>AD-sini esi LUGÁL-tu<sub>h</sub>ini ikukani MU terubi É.GAL badusie <sup>md</sup>Sarduriei URU tini<sup>11</sup>

“Sarduri, son of Argishti says: When the god Haldi granted me the kingship (and I) sat on paternal royal throne, in that same year I founded a magnificent fortress with the name ‘city of Sarduri’”.

In this regard a question might arouse since the text mentioned above does not contain the word *išerh<sub>ini</sub>*. But it could be observed that here we deal with the duplicate of the text which mentions *išerh<sub>ini</sub>*. In both texts the same events are referred to, that is the building of new temples and fortresses which took place after the enthronement of kings – “in that time” (*išerh<sub>ini</sub>*) or “in that same year” (*ikukani MU*).

The word and the phrase *išerh<sub>ini</sub>* and *ikukani MU* in Urartian texts usually are used in those cases when the given text begins with *iu* “when”. The study of such contexts reveals that *išerh<sub>ini</sub>* or *ikukani MU* not always figure in texts but their meaning is expected. For such cases we shall quote three passages:

- 1) ...<sup>m</sup>Menuaše <sup>m</sup>Išpuinie<sub>h</sub>e iu <sup>LÚ</sup>ateini esi na<sub>h</sub>ubi <sup>KUR</sup>Šatiruni durbaie manu<sup>12</sup>  
... Menua, son of Ishpuini, when ascended on the paternal place (throne), (the country of ) Shatiruni rebelled ...
- 2) <sup>m</sup>Menuaše <sup>m</sup>Išpuini<sub>h</sub>iniše ... iu <sup>d</sup>Haldinili KÁ šidištuali É.GAL šidištuni badusie teruni <sup>d</sup>Haldi patari tini ini <sup>GIŠ</sup>uldi teruni <sup>GIŠ</sup>šarie...<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Idem, 274 (lines 2-6).

<sup>12</sup> Harutyunyan 2001: 148, lines 6-8.

<sup>13</sup> Idem: 49, lines 1-3.

Menua, son of Ishpuini, ... when built the doors of Haldi (temple), built a magnificent fortress, founded a city of Haldi, this garden of vine founded, garden of fruits ...

- 3) <sup>md</sup>Sarduriše <sup>m</sup>Argištiḫiniše alie iu <sup>KUR</sup>Uḫimeali ḫaubi biduiaše ikukani KASKAL ḫaubi <sup>URU</sup>Maqaltuni...<sup>14</sup>

... Sarduri, son of Argishti, says: When the country of Uḫimeali I conquered, by the return I conquered (also) the city of Maqaltuni ...

Therefore, it is easy to notice that in the texts quoted above *išerḫini* or *ikukani MU*, although unattested, are expected, used between the verb *naḫabe* and <sup>KUR</sup>Šatiruni, adverb *badusie* and verb *teruni*, and verb *ḫaubi* with the noun *biduiaše*.

Here it remains to add that M.Salvini, the editor of the new inscription from Ayanis, is right when he interprets *išerḫini* as adverb, that is secures for this word a possibility to be regarded as an adverb.<sup>15</sup> Taking into account the textual materials mentioned above, it appears that the word *išerḫini* is an adverb of time.

## 2. Etymology of the word *šišini*

This word is attested in Urartian cuneiform texts only twice. One of them is known still from the first editions of Khorkhor annals of Argishti I,<sup>16</sup> and the second figures in the inscription of Rusa II from Ayanis.<sup>17</sup>

The interpretation of *šišini*, as well as its reading had caused problems. G.A.Melikishvili, the author of the Corpus of Urartian inscriptions, for example, instead of *ši-ši-ni MU* suggests the combination of the logograms ŠI.ŠI.DÙ MU(?) and had translated only *MU* "year".<sup>18</sup> As to the reading *ši-ši-ni*, it was established by A.Goetze.<sup>19</sup>

Later the reading of A.Goetze was accepted by F.W.König who also had left this word without translation.<sup>20</sup> In 1963 I.M.Diakonoff suggested an interpretation for this word which was based on its relationship with the reconstructed word *\*šišē* (= *III-še* "three").<sup>21</sup>

During a quite long period we were inclined to accept the assumption of I.M.Diakonoff, particularly in our Corpus of Urartian inscriptions.<sup>22</sup> And M.Salvini suggested for the word *šišini* the translation "second time", since to the goddess *Inua(ni)* twice was sacrificed a sheep - *UDU* <sup>d</sup>*Inuanie* ... *UDU* <sup>d</sup>*Inuanie* *šišinie* in one and the same inscription from Ayanis.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Idem: 248, lines 2-6.

<sup>15</sup> Salvini 2001: 259, (I, 5).

<sup>16</sup> Sayce 1882, inscription 20.

<sup>17</sup> Salvini 2001: 254, (II, 2).

<sup>18</sup> Melikishvili 1960, 128B1, line 34 and n. 13.

<sup>19</sup> Goetze 1936: 282.

<sup>20</sup> König 1957, 82, Rev., line 34.

<sup>21</sup> Diakonoff 1963: 76 (and n. 122), 91.

<sup>22</sup> Harutyunyan 2001: 174B1, line 34 and n. 14, also p. 464.

<sup>23</sup> Salvini 2001: 259 (II, 2).

But now the study of new material leads us to the assumption that the translation “three” and “second time” for *šišini* are not justified neither in the case of the Khorkhor annals, nor in Ayanis. Hence, we shall carefully look once more on the existing data.

In one of the duplicates of the Khorkhor annals we find the next passage:

[<sup>m</sup>A]r-gi-iš-ti-še a-li-e a-li-e-li LUGÁL<sup>MEŠ</sup> [a]r-nu-i-a-li <sup>m</sup>Di-a-ú-hi-ni-e ši-ši-ni MU [ha]-ú-bi <sup>KUR</sup>Lu-šá-e KUR-ni-e <sup>KUR</sup>Ka-tar-za-e KUR-ni-e [<sup>m</sup>E-ri-a-hi KUR-ni-e <sup>KUR</sup>Gu-lu-ta-hi...<sup>24</sup>

This text reminds those passages of Urartian annals where during consecutive yearly campaigns the conquest of hostile countries are preceded by the phrases *ikukani MU haubi* “I conquered at the same year”, *ikukani MU šišini* (or *šišuhani*, *tarani*) *haubi* “I conquered at the *šišini* of the same year (or *šišuhani*, *tarani*)”. Indeed, until now the words *šišini*, *šišuhani*, and *tarani* does not have well-founded translations and some scholars had tried to hypothesize that they merely mean names of the seasons of the year or the order of campaigns. But for the threatment of *šišini* is more important that since long it was established that the phrase *šišini MU* is the variant of *ikukani MU* (*šāli*) “at that same year”.

Therefore, we can assume that *šišini* could be the equivalent of *ikukani*, and suggest the translation “in that year” for *šišini MU*. Such translation is justified for the next passage of the Khorkhor annals:

“Argishti says: (those) kings who came to the aid of Diauhi, in that year I conquered the countries Lusha, Katarza, Eriahi, Gulutahi ... “.

Here we shall add that the main undertaking of Argishti I, probably, was the conquest of the tribal union of Etiuni, which is mentioned only at the beginning of the text which serves as the summary of his dealings.<sup>25</sup> As to the conquest of allied countries who came to the aid of Diauhi, which took place “in the same year” (*šišini MU*), probably, they were the subjects or allies of Etiuni.

Now let us see if the proposed translation “same, mentioned” for *šišini* is justified in the case of Ayanis which deals with the goddess Inuani:

... UDU <sup>d</sup>E-i-du-ru UDU <sup>d</sup>Ba-ba-a UDU <sup>d</sup>A-di-a UDU <sup>d</sup>Sar-di-e UDU <sup>d</sup>I-nu-a-ni-i-e UDU <sup>d</sup>A-ia-a UDU <sup>d</sup>Tu-uš-pu-ni-a UDU <sup>d</sup>I-nu-a-ni-e ši-ši-ni-e...<sup>26</sup>

As it is evident, during the rituals accompanied by animal sacrifices in the Doors of Haldi (<sup>d</sup>*Haldinili KÁ-li*), for the goddess *Inuani* is reserved a special place, that is double sacrifice of sheep. And that this action took place not simultaneously but successively, first “a sheep for Inuani”, then “a sheep to the *šišini* of Inuani”.

On the other side, it is remarkable that for Uarubani, the spouse of the supreme god Haldi was sacrificed only a cow. The double sacrifice of sheeps was assigned for all other gods who were not mentioned by name (*DINGIR*<sup>MEŠ</sup> “gods” and <sup>d</sup>*NIN*<sup>MEŠ</sup> “goddesses”).

<sup>24</sup> Harutyunyan 2001: 174B1, lines 33-36.

<sup>25</sup> Idem, 174B1, lines 27-29.

<sup>26</sup> Salvini 2001: 259, (II, 1-2).

It is remarkable that the text clearly distinguishes from each other two sacrifices performed for Inuani, with interval. This might be an evidence that in the duplicate of Khorkhor annals the translation “mentioned” is equally justified also for the Ayanis inscription. In one case is written *šišini MU haubi* “I conquered in the mentioned year” (cf. *ikukani MU haubi* “I conquered in the same year”), in another *UDU<sup>d</sup>Inuanie šišinie* “a sheep to the mentioned Inuani”.

Taking into account our argumentation presented above, we suggest the next translation for the passage of the Ayanis inscription as follows:

“... a sheep to the goddess Euduru, a sheep to the goddess Baba, a sheep to the goddess Adia, a sheep to the goddess Sardi, a sheep to the goddess Inuani, a sheep to the goddess Aia, a sheep to the goddess Tushpunia, a sheep to the mentioned goddess Inuani”.

Concluding the article we shall add that the name *<sup>d</sup>Inuani* means “goddess” in Urartian, and *<sup>d</sup>inuanaue* which is attested in the inscription of Mheri dur and Çelebibağı is well known since long.<sup>27</sup> And now we have its logographic form in Ayanis as *<sup>d</sup>NIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ue*.<sup>28</sup>

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***Translated from the Armenian by Aram Kosyan***

<sup>27</sup> Idem: 449.

<sup>28</sup> Salvini 2001: 254, (II, 2).



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# FOREIGN SOURCES AND AUTHORS ABOUT ARMENIA AND ARMENIANS

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**Friedrich Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Volume III, London, 1898. Macmillan and Co., Limited. New York: The Macmillan Company. Translated from the second German edition by A.J. Butler, M.A. with introduction by E.B. Tylor, D.C.L., F.R.S., with coloured plates, maps, and illustrations. 599p.**

The text below is extracted from the extensive monograph written by F.Ratzel, an outstanding German ethnographer and geographer, whose studies paved way for human geography ("Anthropogeographie, 1882, 1891"), political geography ("Politische geographie, 1897") and some important disciplines of anthropology.

**Book V, CHAPTER D, WESTERN ASIATICS AND EUROPEANS.  
THE CAUCASIAN RACES (pp. 534-545).**

**Historical position of the Armenian and Caucasian region - Statements as to survivals of races - Effects of seclusion - Antiquated manners and customs - The chief groups: Armenians, Kurds, Georgians, Cherkesses, Chechenes, Lesghians, Ossetes -Scattered fragments of races and colonies - Dress - Economic and political features.**

THE almost impracticable mountain-ranges between the Black Sea and the Caspian were even in ancient times the abode of numerous peoples. Here races were crowded together, unable to settle down tranquilly on the narrow tracts of often unproductive soil. Emigrations and immigrations played, down to the most recent fighting with the Russians, a great part. Refractory tribes were often tamed and broken up by means of compulsory settlements. Even in ancient times the origin of the Colchians was traced to forced colonisation from Egypt. Armenian and Georgian colonies in large numbers were planted by Persian monarchs on Persian soil; since the time of Shah Abbas there have been seventeen Armenian villages in the province of Feridan. Similarly Cherkesses have been removed to Bessarabia, and great numbers of them are found in all Cossack pedigrees. Races moved to and fro across the neck of land between the Euxine and the Caspian, which was one of the gates between Europe and Asia; and in the Caucasian mountain country, to either side of which the roads led, remnants settled, and remained hemmed in and secluded. Thus the Ossetes lived confined between Grusians and Kabardians, completely cut off from the lower valleys and the roads to the plain; which explains much in their manners and customs. Near them dwell others into whose midst people retreating from the plain have thrust themselves. Where the contrasts in natural privileges are as great as here, where, only a few days' journey from the Kuma steppe - "undoubtedly," says Koch, "the most desolate region in Europe" - rise the fertile foothills of Besh-tau, there was no question in which direction the thronging swarms would give way.

Much that is antiquated and much that is crude has kept itself alive in these mountain solitudes. Points recalling even the Stone Age have been noticed, as when

the Armenian Kurds weight the yoke of young bulls with a perforated stone of 12 lbs. weight or so, to prevent them from being over-frisky. The ramifying caverns, in which Xenophon found the Carduchi, still serve as winter quarters for the Kurd and Tartar herdsmen, and even some of the Armenian husbandmen. On the inclement Armenian plateau this marmot-like life is explained by the lack of fuel, but not so in the middle valley of the Kur, on the border of fine forests and close by fortified villages, where a bullet-proof stone tower is attached to each house. At Nij Noukha they leave a woman in childbirth to herself; among the Mussulman Georgians in the province of Zakataly, who are called Ingiloizes, the poor woman, when her pains come on, is even driven from the living rooms as "unclean," and has to seek some stable or barn, where she must bring her child into the world without any kind of help. Not for a period varying from five to seven days may she return to her family and go about her household affairs. A Khevsur woman has even to be delivered without help in a hut outside the village; and formerly she had to stay there a month, while the father abstained from all festivities for seven weeks. In the Caucasus it is not unusual for children to be suckled till their third year. The servile position of the married woman can hardly anywhere be more pronounced than among Ossetes, Lesghians, and Khevsurs. In winter she has to fetch faggots from the extreme limit of trees down into the mountain-valley, and she does all the labour except ploughing and hay-cutting. It is sometimes said that the men have been so long used to a warlike life as to have lost the habit of work; but the low position of the woman is too universal to have grown up so casually. The Khevsurs still like to give their children names that sound like echoes of their pagan past, as Wolf, Lion, Panther, Bear, for boys; Little Sun, Sun-girl, Rose, for girls. All petting of children in public is scouted. Betrothals are made in the cradle, and purchase of wives is universal. A show of wife-capture precedes the conclusion of the marriage proper. Monogamy appears to have prevailed originally; then concubines were allowed, their children remaining in the house as semi-slaves. The family community of the Caucasian Iberians was noticed by the Romans. Among the Georgians such a community often embraces a hundred members in one homestead. The sacredness of hospitality cannot be exceeded anywhere. When the Cherkess has adopted any one as his guest, that person's life and safety are guaranteed. If danger threatens him, the wife of his host will give him milk from her own breast, whereby he is recognized as a lawful son, and it becomes the duty of his new brothers to defend him against his foes at the risk of their own lives, and to avenge him if slain. The guest only loses his rights if, visiting the same village, he puts up with some other - conduct which turns his first host into his bitterest foe. Blood-vengeance is universal for such crimes as cannot be redeemed with cattle. In Suanetia a church is an inviolable asylum for the criminal. The Khevsurs take dying persons out of doors that they may give up the ghost there. Formerly corpses were arranged in a sitting posture on the stone benches of the dead-house, armed, and with their pipes at hand; but they are now laid in stone graves. The Ossete, funeral feast is repeated every Saturday for a year, and is attended by sports and pugilistic

competitions; and the same among the Khevsurs. Not in language only is the Caucasus a region of ethnographic relics and debris.

All Caucasians are perhaps not hybrids in the sense of the Suanetians, who go back to fugitives of Georgian stock, or the Khevsurs, "a mixed race," says Professor Radde, "which has in the course of centuries formed itself in the recesses of the high mountains out of the populations round about"; but in a region of transit and crowding, in a land of refuge, there can be no question of pure races. In the pre-Russian time numerous crossings took place in the Abkhasian lowlands between fugitives from Turkey -Turks, Arabs, even negroes - and native women. The lower strata of Cherkesses are much blended with their Tartar subjects. Koch has already described the Natokhvagas of the North Kuban. In this constant renewal of blood he has seen the primary cause of those physical advantages for which Massudi sang a hymn of praise to the Circassian women, and which induced Blumenbach to make the Caucasian the type of the white races. Before their subjection the Kabardians were pointed out as having among the North Caucasians maintained themselves in greatest purity, and also as the oldest branch. With them, as among the better class of Cherkesses, great stress was laid upon purity of blood, perhaps not without an afterthought as to the market value of well-bred female slaves.

The Armenians in appearance remind us strongly of Jews; fairer in skin than the Persians, black-haired - though brown hair is often found, and in young people even fair hair - with noses sharply curved, and inclined like the lips to fleshiness, and a marked tendency to putting on fat. Many Armenians could be described as fairer and fatter Persians. This race, which from its numbers, capacity, and past history seemed specially called to play a great part in the seething struggle of the Eastern Question, long kept so quiet as to cause a doubt whether any strong resolve would ever again be developed from its Jewish pliability. In their political dependence, and in the linguistic isolation which obliges them to learn other tongues, the Armenians have become the link between Turks and Greeks. None of the races of the once vast Turkish empire has ever approached the Turk in a like degree. The Armenians take part, but also profit, in the maintenance of Turkish rule in Asia and Europe.

Far apart from them, on the contrary, are the Kurds, of whom Polak says, that in colour of hair, skin, and eyes, they are so little different to the northern, especially the Teutonic breed, that they might easily be taken for Germans. There is nothing to contradict this racial affinity in the reputation for honour and courage which, in spite of their rapacious tendencies, the Kurds enjoy wherever it has been found possible to compel them to labour or to the trade of arms. In Persia the Shah entrusts the security of his person to Kurdish officers rather than to any others. Their loyalty to their hereditary Wali, which neither Turks nor Persians have been able to shake, is also noted with praise. The Kurd prefers to wander with his herds, and in the winter lives in caves in the earth, like Xenophon's Carduchi. Where Kurds and Armenians come into contact, there arises the opposition between nomad and settled, herdsman and husbandman, oppressor and oppressed. Hence among the gnawing cankers of Turkey

in Asia is the claim of the Kurds to a share of the Armenians' property, real and personal - a claim not only set up but acted upon, though the Armenians are tributary subjects of the Porte. The Kurds are a highly-mixed race of a type chiefly Iranian, which has been compounded with the Afghan, but is not homogeneous. The eastern Kurds must have received a larger infusion of Turkish blood than the western. "Husbandmen by necessity, fighters by inclination," says Moltke; "The Arab is more of a thief, the Kurd more of a warrior." They are a vigorous, violent race, running wild in tribal feuds and vendettas. Not selling their children, like the Caucasians, they increase rapidly, and have thus extended into Armenian and Persian territory. Their women hold a freer position than those of the Turks and Persians. But the Kurd's greatest friend and fairest ornament is his damascened gun. In Islam they are on the Semitic side, that is, opposed to the Persians, but they have adopted also Nestorian and Jacobite usages.

The Syrians and Mesopotamians have become mixed races, seeing that wherever the plains extend, the Bedouins have pressed in, while in the settled regions the ancient Syrian race, belonging to the Aramaic branch of the Semites, exists now only as a rare survival, having been replaced by Arabs, Turks, Jews, and in recent times even Cherkesses. The basis of the people has, however, remained Semitic. In the towns are also Greeks, Spanish Jews, and those undefinable Levantines of European, half-European, one-tenth European, origin or blend, who prefer to call themselves Catholics. As everywhere in the East, differences of faith go deeper than those of race. The Maronites of the Lebanon, Christians of old standing, annexed only in late times to the Church of Rome, are faced by the Druses with a religion which upon a Mussulman foundation embraces Christian and Zoroastrian elements. After hard fighting with the Maronites, a great part of them has in these last decades migrated to the Hauran. A peculiar position is held by the Ansariebs of Syria. Christians and Mussulmans treat them as outcasts, and will not take their evidence in a court of law. They are said to deform their skulls.

The Georgians, called by the Russians Grusians, are of all the Caucasian races that which most nearly corresponds to the ideal; tall, powerful figures, clear-skinned, brown or black-haired, dark or gray-eyed, of strong physiognomy, owing to the broad low forehead, somewhat strongly prominent nose, and broad face. In many valleys the population is disfigured by goitre and cretinism; and in the higher mountain regions the strain is on the whole better than in the lowlands. Naturally, all the forms are not beautiful. There are Tartar blends of unmistakable stamp, and many a traveller has been as much disappointed in the Caucasian beauties as in the Colchian wine. There are districts with handsome people and less handsome. Artwin is rich in this line, while the surrounding Armenian country and the district of Tiflis are poor. The Georgians, whose historical importance has long been a thing of the past, have by means of their daughters exercised continuously an ennobling effect on the breed of the neighbouring peoples. Georgian women are numerous and influential in all the harems of the East; their blood flows in the veins of Turkish, Egyptian, Persian, and Tartar grandees, and in more recent times they have frequently married Russians. The Georgian character has

an indolent and sensual vein, which has tended more and more to repress them, and that not in presence of Europeans only. The Armenians, especially, have found the way to attract to themselves the once large possessions of the Georgians, and in Tiflis, the old capital of Georgia, it is not the Georgians but the Armenians - who make up 40 per cent of the population - that set the tone to-day.

Beside the Mingrelians, the Lazes, who inhabit the ancient Colchis, and the Swans or Suanetians who live north of the Mingrelians, between them and the Abkhasians, in the most secluded of the larger Caucasian valleys, are more closely akin to the Georgians in language. The 12,000 "free Swans," independent till a generation ago, who live about the sources of the Ingur on the south side of the great chain, are among the most vigorous races of the Caucasus, dwelling exclusively in villages of castellated houses with tall towers for defence. Imeritians seem to have immigrated from the south-east, Mingrelians from the west; but to both the Suanetian language, developed in the seclusion of the mountains, has become almost unintelligible. In spite of vendetta and frequent village feuds, they are an industrious race of men, making an active use of the four months of growth which the climate of their high valley allows. Near akin to them in origin are the Tushins, Pshavs, and Khevsurs, settled further east along the great range; similarly small mixed races, started, no doubt mainly by fugitive Georgians, who live to the east of Tiflis in the basin of the Yora, in the middle and upper mountain regions. Poor, vigorous, simple, quite old-fashioned in manners and usages, they represent a highly original national existence. Their religion is an indication of their fortunes. Like that of the Suanetians and Ossetes, it is a very motley Christianity, worn very threadbare, in which, spite of the mutilated Church prayers recited by the "decanos," Islam has crossed its notions in great variety with those of Christianity; while in addition to these, nature-worship goes on at sacrificial altars and in sacred groves. Among the Suanetians, Queen Tamara is the great saint. Her churches are little chapels, inconspicuous among the gigantic towered houses.

We do not find among the Northern Caucasians that affinity of language, or that yet more intimate affinity of customs, which we do among those south of the range. They fall into several linguistic groups, and have undergone more modifications from the surrounding races. At least three groups may be distinguished. We have first the Cherkesses in the western half of the Caucasus district, and beyond from the frontier of Mingrelia nearly to the Straits of Yenikale. Physically, these people come nearest to the Georgians, with whose daughters the famed "Circassian" girls vie for the prize of beauty. Among their individual tribes differences are noted, which come to this, that certain groups like the Abkhasians, to whom is ascribed a strong mixture of Georgian blood, are browner of skin, blacker-haired and leaner, while the Kuban Cherkesses who roam the country about the northern foot of the Caucasus are less regular of feature and less conspicuous of stature. But the princely families of the Cherkesses and Kabardians are also said to be darker of skin and hair than the majority of their subjects, which they themselves, as Mussulmans, love to ascribe with pride to Arab descent. The Cherkess character is distinguished from that of their neighbours on the east, especially

the Kists and Lesghians, by nobler traits. But a good deal of Tartar reaches from the steppe into the Northern Caucasus; such as the imitation in architecture of the felt *yaourts*, or where a stationary mode of life is in fashion, the arrangement of the *sakla* or flat-roofed hut of wattle-work daubed with clay, supported by four posts, and the watch-tower of wattle and daub to correspond. Deeper in the mountains the building is more solid. The Cherkesses in all their ramifications are Mussulmans, and afford, especially where they have immigrated amid Georgian populations, several examples of the rule that in the Caucasus the Mussulman is more industrious than the Christian. They fall into the two great groups of Adighes - to whom belong the Cherkesses proper - and Kabardians, and of Asegas and Abkhasians. Large portions of both have migrated to Turkey since the last Russo-Turkish war.

The Chechenes, as the Russians call the people whom the Georgians call Kisti, and who call themselves Nakhtchuri and Nakhtche, that is "people," live, about 140,000 in number, to the east of the Kabardians, and the great military road. By Chechnia is briefly understood the country between the Assa the Sulak, and the last terraces of the Caucasian range known as the mountains, of Little Chechnia. The Chechenes migrated to their present seats from the mountains, and drove the Turkish Kumuks eastward; but in the course of the struggles with the Russians, in which they were some of the most stubborn participators, some of their clans withdrew again into the hills. They are a race of "Uzdi," or free men, knowing no chiefs, but self-governing within their clans, which still bear the names of the villages once occupied by them in the mountains. Tradition, manners, and customs all point to their having once been Christian. Islam did not succeed in penetrating them till the end of last century. The Chechenes have always passed for one of the most warlike, and at the same time most savage and cruel, of Caucasian races.

The Ossetes, about 111,000 in number, occupy the highest inhabited regions of the Caucasus, round Kasbek. Their language assigns them to the Perso-Armenian kindred, history to the once Christian stocks of the Caucasus. Islam has indeed loosened the bond between them and other Christian races, but has not been able itself to gain a footing. A religion has grown up quite peculiar to themselves, recognising no priestly status, but only hereditary or elective priests, strictly speaking only overseers of the popular temples, and with the name of "*decanos*" or "*papar*." The Ossetes still revere the Virgin as "Mady Mairam"; but they locate her on mountain-heights and in caverns, where the tutelary spirits of the villages also have their places of worship in towers and houses lying higher than the village. The oldest man in the commune holds the office of sacrificing priest, and has alone the right to enter the narrow door of the temple whither the victims are brought. The temple is small, low, dark, without windows or ornament of any kind; inside stands a stone altar for sacrifice, covered with a few glasses of beer and various amulets. These village tutelary spirits seem to get more reverence than all the other saints to whom the Ossetes apply, like Elias and Nicholas; and next to them the patron saints of all beasts of the chase, of whom the Ossete always first asks permission to shoot when he will go a-hunting. Inanimate things, also,

have their patron saints; in short, there is no object connected with Ossete life that has not its "god" or "saint." Ossete magicians and soothsayers, as also the persons who conduct marriage and burial ceremonies, apply to "saints" without number in their prayers and conjurations-to the saint of the cobweb, the saint of hair and nails, the saint of wind and grass, the saint of beetles, worms, and snakes. Every step is surrounded with magic and incantations, and the magician is the real priest. To him are known most of the songs that contain a mythology of their own, singing as they do of the giant heathen race, the Narts, who once inhabited the Caucasus. The deeds of the Nart princes, among whom the Promethean figure of Batras or Batirae is conspicuous, remind us of those who are renowned in the heroic legends of Persia. Many other things in the manners and customs of the Ossetes point to an exterior source in the remote past. Unlike Orientals, they sit on benches and stools. Judgements are pronounced in the assembly of the village *patres familias*, formerly even capital sentences; but the head of the house has to execute them on his own people. Family ties, and those of hospitality, stand high with the Ossete. Before a carouse with his friends he says a kind of grace, his cup in one hand, the meat in the other. Originally the Ossete has neither writing nor numbers; he casts his accounts with a notched stick.

The most easterly group of North Caucasian peoples embraces the inhabitants of Lesghia and Daghestan; small peoples, with some 400,000 souls, who speak several distinct languages, and have been pressed far back by their neighbours. Part of them, in racial character and mode of life, form a transition to the Tartars of the adjacent lowlands; pasturing herds and flocks, they dwell, like their predecessors in Roman times, the Albani, in felt *yaourts*, differing from those of the Tartars in their elongated form, or in little wooden houses put together in separate pieces for convenience of transport from one feeding-ground to another. The very name points to mixed descent. The centre of Daghestan is inhabited by so-called Avars. "Avar" is of Turkish origin and denotes "robber." These people have, however, no common name, but call themselves after the principal villages of each tribe. The name Lesghian is said also to mean "robber." The agricultural Kumuks or Kasi-Kumuks of this region have nothing in common with the Turkish tribe of the same name north of the Terek, save the name, which has been applied to them without justification. Persian influences are strongly felt here. The architecture of the flat-roofed stone house, with its broad surrounding wall, the careful fittings of the interior, are far enough from Cherkess simplicity. Their strict Shiite profession marks the Lesghians as more pronounced Mussulmans than their western neighbours, but has not prevented their Bairam feast from borrowing many features of the Russian Easter.

The Avars of Daghestan, mentioned above, are not of Turkish type. Racially, they are Caucasians, and their language stands near that of the Chechenes in the East Caucasian group. Thus they have nothing to do with the Huns who penetrated to Central Europe. There seem, however, to be points to support the assertion of their kinship with the Avars who entered Europe later. Tradition and language point to a northern origin and arrival from a level country; according to Khanikoff even to a former



nomad state. When we remember that the Avars are said to have carried an Alan tribe along with them, that the Ossetes came into connection with the Alans, and, lastly, that in the Ossete territory skulls have been found deformed in the same way as the Avar skulls, we seem to have an explanation of the so-called Avar skulls here and in Eastern Europe.

In the dress of the Caucasian peoples Tartar influence prevails to the north, as also in the use of felt for clothing, as in the *bourkas* or sleeveless coat; Armenian and Persian to the south. Religious differences make themselves apparent also in the clothing. The women of the Shiite Lesghians wear the long baggy trousers, close-fitting coat reaching to the knees - both gaudy in colour - blue shift, low fez-like cap; but among them, as among their Mussulman sisters in the Caucasus, the veiling of the face is found only as an exception. Armenian and Georgian women, on the other hand, wear long clothes. White, which men avoid, is preferred by women; and they wear red caps, which the men despise. On the other hand both sexes, especially among the vain Kabardians, take much trouble to get as small a waist as possible. There can be few places where the women's dress, through the influence of silk and cotton goods, has lost its originality so much quicker than that of the men. The peculiar ornaments of the head and the belt are all that remain in many valleys of Daghestan. The men's dress is more uniform. The *chokha* or close-fitting coat reaching beyond the knee and usually girt, its gray colour relieved by fur trimmings, the cap of cloth or fur, sometimes hemispherical, sometimes of fantastic height - its variations in these respects, and in shagginess afford some index of the wearer's greater or less pugnacity - the socks knitted in tasteful patterns and sometimes with a gold thread in them, and, finally, the leather slippers of Persian shape with pointed toes, are found both north and south of the mountains. Variations in details are naturally not excluded. Customs like that found in Suanetia of sewing crosses on the garments, especially where a stab or a shot has pierced them, are not universal. The arrangement of the cartridge-belt across the breast, the shape of the head-covering, the longer or shorter cut of the clothing, are subject to alterations. Mussulmans shave the head, the Lesghians leaving a triangle over each ear; and the fashions of dressing the beard vary from tribe to tribe.

The primary weapon in the mountains is the iron-shod pole, to which a projecting handle or arm on which to hang a powder-flask, and a forked top to serve as a gun-rest, give an original appearance. It is a long way from this to the load of weapons in which the Cherkess swaggers. In the fighting times sword, dagger, and pistol were indispensable component parts of these people's dress. For special occasions were added the mail-shirt, the musket, the Asiatic bow, and a well filled quiver. Many valuable damascened weapons were formerly imported from Persia and Turkey, and old panoplies, handed down from generation to generation, were the pride of princely houses. Horse-trappings were similarly treated. Arrows with white eagle-feathers were highly valued, and people of low rank might not venture to use them. Archery has remained till the present day a favourite diversion of young people in the Cherkess country.

The mountain districts and elevated plains of the Caucasian region not being on the whole eminent for fertility, the Ossetes, Khevsurs, and their fellows in the higher parts are unable to carry on either Alpine farming to any adequate extent, or agriculture with any certainty of profit. Above all they have no means of wintering large herds. The single great cattle-breeding district is what was Turkish Armenia, from which there has long been a large exportation of sheep. The well-known story of the fat tails, which for convenience sake are stowed in little go-carts, has been recently related afresh by Dr. Arzruni of Tiflis with reference to the flocks at Van, where Angora goats are also bred. A considerable amount of live-stock too is bred in Lesghian territory, where a peculiar thin and goat-like breed of sheep is well suited to the mountain pastures. The Caucasian goats are said to pair with the wild *bezoar* goats. The warlike Cherkesses take much trouble in breeding thoroughbred horses. In the fertile lowlands and terrace-lands of Mingrelia, Imeritia, Georgia, Kakhetia, agriculture, which here includes rice-growing, has fallen off. The vineyards and orchards, of which former travellers tell with delight, occupy now a much smaller region. It is asserted that the climate has grown more and more uncertain, and the vine-disease has attacked even the wild grapes of the Mingrelian forests. But the natives of this part are lazy and luxurious. The wines of Kakhetia have the reputation of being the oldest and most genuine in the Caucasus. The Georgians, however, both make and drink the most wine; drinking it too at interminable carouses regulated by traditional customs. Opium-smoking has unhappily been introduced from Persia. The vine grows at even 3 300 to 4300 feet above the sea. Here too silk is grown, and maize and the Italian millet (*setaria*) cultivated, as well as wheat. Life is less easy here than in the lowlands, but in the Caucasus industry increases with the altitude. Barley and oats are the mountain crops. On the north-eastern slope the limit of corn extends to 8000 feet or more. In the lower parts of Daghestan, where drought proclaims the proximity of the steppe, artificial ponds may be found near almost every village. The plough is little used, and the sickle full of notches serves rather to catch hold and tear up than to cut. Corn is kept in large baskets standing on frames in the open, or in trenches underground. Bread is of the oriental kind, toasted rather than baked; often too in the form of unleavened flat cakes. In Daghestan it is made of barley or bean-meal. The taste for onions and garlic is very general; in many districts they may be called the chief garden vegetable. Pulse, especially in the form of broad beans, ranks next to them.

How important is the preservation of the forests in these elevated, cold, and in parts naturally arid regions may be learnt from the decline of industry and population at Erzeroum since the cession of the Soghanlu forests to Russia. The legend that these forests were the creation of an Armenian king has been taken to imply that forestry once stood higher in that country; and from Daghestan we have a story ascribing to plantation the origin of a plane-grove near Nukha. Wood, above all the fine wood of the box, has long formed an article of export in the Caucasus. Many of the wild plants that grow there in profusion have been turned to use by the Caucasian peoples. In Daghestan the shoots of a certain *rhamnus* are used for tea, and the stalks of various species,

*heracleum*, *andropogon*, *cnidium* are eaten, as well as the leaves of *Sempervivum pumilum*.

The women support a domestic industry, which formerly was in the main concerned with clothing. The coarse Lesghian cloth, the gold embroidery on leather of Daghestan, the silk sashes of Kumukh, the home-made carpets which cover the floor of Lesghian huts, have become articles of trade. The taste for wooden vessels, cut out of one block, seems to recall older times; the like are used by the Basques. Very good unglazed earthenware is made in the Caucasus. Plates and dishes, beautifully painted and glazed, such as adorn the walls of peasants' rooms in Daghestan, are the produce of trade or of ancient raids into the border provinces of Persia. There is a demand for earthenware vessels of large size, milk being churned by shaking in them, and wine being stored in them underground. Bronze-working was once highly developed in the Caucasus; later, and indeed to the present day, the industry, imported from Persia, of inlaying polished steel with gold has flourished.

The entire political life and the historic activity of the Caucasian races is closely dependent on the fashion of living in strong castellated houses of several stories, walled round, often furnished with loopholed towers 70 or 80 feet high, which, even combined into villages, stand detached on the hillside. These towered houses are most frequent in the mountains. Among the free Suanetians every homestead has its tower. But even the Mingrelian, where the fertile lowlands invite to denser habitation, sticks fast to his solitary walled farm-buildings, while in Daghestan an embankment and ditch surround the homesteads, the gate being a mighty structure of stone. Here, in rooms often very comfortably furnished, the members of the family live together in a close and exclusive union of housekeeping, such as the Romans admired long ago in the Iberi of the modern Georgia. Here was developed their vigour in self-help and their readiness for the fight. Wife and children, as regards the father's authority, are slaves. Among the Ossetes and other peoples, no son starts a conversation or sits in his father's presence; when the father enters, all rise. Questions of peace and war are decided in the assembly of heads of families. Common interests, which among the smaller races have been clearly circumscribed by geographical considerations, bound these compact village-tribes together politically; and similar confederations have been by no means always confined to the heart of the mountains. Armenia possesses a remarkable relic of ancient freedom in its republic of Khotorjur, consisting of eight Catholic villages, the inhabitants of which are by ancient custom bound to render mutual services almost amounting to community of goods. The lively family and tribal sentiment of the Armenians is at times in its economic results found inconvenient by neighbouring peoples.

Like their social arrangements, the much-lauded valour of the Caucasians, which is not unconnected therewith, is not peculiar to one stock, but is a common possession of all, though not exercised by all alike. Georgians, Cherkesses, and Lesghians were formerly the most conspicuous. Vendettas and the interminable feuds between clans and villages have contributed to its training. Where warlike practice pervaded whole

generations, as during the long period of the Russian wars in the Caucasus, a closer union was effected among the clans of freemen under fighting chiefs, of whom Schamyl is the most notable example. Turkish Begs from the borders of the steppe had long intruded as conquerors into the independent life of the village republic, and reduced large populations on the north side to serfage; while the relations of dependence in which some Nogai tribes of Turks, like the Karachais, stood towards the Kabardian mountain tribe had been broken up. Even since their subjection the mountain peoples have remained bound together in free family union. Persian influence seems to have operated on weapons and equipment, but also that of mediaeval Christianity on manners. Even at this day the Suanetian dedicates himself in chivalrous devotion as *linturali* to a woman by the ceremony of kissing her on the breast, after which he is bound to her by a relation of pure friendship and protection.

The days have gone by when the Caucasian coast tribes appeared as sea-faring people, equipped with swift galleys, dreaded as pirates; and when great expeditions were sent out to put a stop to this mischievous trade, which even in ancient times was bound up with kidnapping and slave-dealing. Trade, necessary then as now to the not over-productive mountain country, must have been served, as it would seem, in earlier times also, more by foreign than native navigation. The Caucasians have always wanted salt and corn, offering in exchange timber, hides, wax, and honey. They had not, like their Sarmatian neighbours, who Strabo tells us, would not even procure iron, and had accordingly to tip their spears and arrows with bone, any objection to trade. In metal-work they formerly surpassed all their neighbours. The raw material they must have got out of Caucasian mines; but in the forms of the ancient bronze articles of which quantities occur, Iranic influences, older than Islam, make themselves felt.

**DISCOVERIES AMONG THE RUINS OF NINEVEH AND BABYLON;  
WITH TRAVELS IN ARMENIA, KURDISTAN, AND THE DESERT: BEING THE  
RESULT OF A SECOND EXPEDITION UNDERTAKEN FOR THE TRUSTEES OF  
THE BRITISH MUSEUM.**

**By Austen H. Layard, M.P., New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 329 &  
331 Pearl Street, Franklin Square. 1856. 586p.**

Sir Austin Henry Layard (1817-1894) was an English traveler, art historian, politician and diplomat. He is well known as the excavator of Nineveh and Nimrud, ancient Assyrian cities in the mid-XIX century, and the founder of the famous Assyrian king Assurbanapals's library. The results of his works in Mesopotamia had appeared in several publications - in the extensive book "The Monuments of Nineveh" (2 volumes, London, 1849), "Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon with travels in Armenia, Kurdistan, and the desert" (London, 1853), "A Second series of the Monuments of Nineveh" (London, 1853). As a diplomat A.H.Layard was appointed as envoy extraordinary to Spain in 1869 and ambassador to the Ottoman empire in 1877.

During his travels as an excavator and diplomat as well Sir A.H.Layard had studied national minorities of the Ottoman empire (Armenians, Assyrians, Kurds etc.). The Editorial board finds this book useful for those who are interested in the everyday life and condition of Armenians and other peoples in the historical Armenia to be acknowledged through the eyes of Sir A.H.Layard. With this in mind were chosen four chapters of this monograph which contain extensive references to Armenians and Western Armenia (Chapters I, II, XVIII, XIX).

**CHAPTER I (pp. 1-34).**

**THE TRUSTEES OR THE BRITISH MUSEUM RESUME EXCAVATIONS AT  
NINEVEH. - DEPARTURE FROM CONSTANTINOPLE. - DESCRIPTION OF OUR  
PARTY. - CAWAL YUSUF. - ROADS RROLIL TREBIZOND TO ERZERROOM.  
- DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY. -VARZAHAN AND ARMENIAN CHURCHES.  
- ERZERROOM. - RESHID PASHA. - THE DUDJOOK TRIBES. - SHAHAN BEY.  
- TURKISH REFORM. - JOURNEY THROUGH ARMENIA. - AN ARMENIAN BISHOP.  
- THE LAKES OF SHAILU AND NAZIK. - THE LAKE OF WAN.**

AFTER a few months' residence in England during the year 1848, to recruit a constitution worn by long exposure to the extremes of an Eastern climate, I received orders to proceed to my post at Her Majesty's Embassy in Turkey. The Trustees of the British Museum did not, at that time, contemplate further excavations on the site of ancient Nineveh. Ill health and limited time had prevented me from placing before the public, previous to my return to the East, the results of my first researches with the

illustrations of the monuments and copies of the inscriptions recovered from the ruins of Assyria. They were not published until some time after my departure, and did not consequently receive that careful superintendence and revision necessary to works of this nature. It was at Constantinople that I first learnt the general interest felt in England in the discoveries, and that they had been universally received as fresh illustrations of Scripture and prophecy, as well as of ancient history sacred and profane.

And let me here, at the very outset, gratefully acknowledge that generous spirit of English criticism which overlooks the incapacity and shortcomings of the laborer when his object is worthy of praise, and that object is sought with sincerity and singleness of purpose. The gratitude, which I deeply felt for encouragement rarely equalled, could be best shown by cheerfully consenting, without hesitation, to the request made to me by the Trustees of the British Museum, urged by public opinion, to undertake the superintendence of a second expedition into Assyria. Being asked to furnish a plan of operations, I stated what appeared to me to be the course best calculated to produce interesting and important results, and to enable us to obtain the most accurate information on the ancient history, language, and arts, not only of Assyria, but of its sister kingdom, Babylonia. Perhaps my plan was too vast and general to admit of performance or warrant adoption. I was merely directed to return to the site of Nineveh, and to continue the researches commenced amongst its ruins.

Arrangements were hastily, and of course inadequately, made in England. The assistance of a competent artist was most desirable, to portray with fidelity those monuments which injury and decay had rendered unfit for removal. Mr. F. Cooper was selected by the Trustees of the British Museum to accompany the expedition in this capacity. Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, already well known to many of my readers for the share he had taken in my first discoveries, quitted England with him. They both joined me at Constantinople. Dr. Sandwith, an English physician on a visit to the East, was induced to form one of our party. One Abd-el-Messiab, a Catholic Syrian of Mardin, an active and trustworthy servant during my former residence in Assyria, was fortunately at this time in the capital, and again entered my service: my other attendants were Mohammed Agha, a cawass, and an Armenian named Serkis. The faithful Bairakdar, who had so well served me during my previous journey, had accompanied the English commission for the settlement of the boundaries between Turkey and Persia; with the understanding, however, that he was to meet me at Mosul, in case I should return. Cawal Yusuf, the head of the Preachers of the Yezidis, with four chiefs of the districts in the neighborhood of Diarbakir, who had been for some months in Constantinople, completed my party.

After my departure from Mosul, in 1847, the military conscription, enforced amongst the Mussulman inhabitants of the Pashalic, was extended to the Yezidis, who, with the Christians, had been previously exempted from its operation on the general law sanctioned by the Koran, and hitherto acted upon by most Mohammedan nations, that none but true believers can serve in the armies of the state. On the ground that being of

no recognised infidel sect, they must necessarily be included, like the Druses and Ansyri of Mount Lebanon, amongst Mussulmans, the Government had recently endeavored to raise recruits for the regular troops amongst the Yezidis. The new regulations had been carried out with great severity, and had given rise to many acts of cruelty and oppression on the part of the local authorities. Besides the feeling common to all Easterns against compulsory service in the army, the Yezidis had other reasons for opposing the orders of the Government. They could not become *nizam*, or disciplined soldiers, without openly violating the rites and observances enjoined by their faith. The bath, to which Turkish soldiers are compelled weekly to resort, is a pollution to them, when taken in common with Mussulmans; the blue color, and certain portions of the Turkish uniform are absolutely prohibited by their law; and they cannot eat several articles of food included in the rations distributed to the troops. The recruiting officers refused to listen to these objections, enforcing their orders with extreme and unnecessary severity. The Yezidis, always ready to suffer for their faith, resisted, and many died under the tortures indicted upon them. They were, moreover, still exposed to the oppression and illegal exactions of the local governors. Their children were still lawful objects of public sale, and, notwithstanding the introduction of the reformed system of government into the provinces, the parents were subject to persecution, and even to death, on account of their religion. In this state of things, Hussein Bey and Sheikh Nasr, the chiefs of the whole community, hearing that I was at Constantinople, determined to send a deputation to lay their grievances before the Sultan, hoping that through my assistance they could obtain access to some of the Ministers of State. Cawal Yusuf and his companions were selected for the mission; and money was raised by subscriptions from the sect to meet the expenses of their journey.

After encountering many difficulties and dangers, they reached the capital and found out my abode. I lost no time in presenting them to Sir Stratford Canning, who, ever ready to exert his powerful influence in the cause of humanity, at once brought their wrongs to the notice of the Porte. Through his kindly intercession a firman, or imperial order, was granted to the Yezidis, which freed them from all illegal impositions, forbade the sale of their children as slaves, secured to them the full enjoyment of their religion, and placed them on the same footing as other sects of the empire. It was further promised that arrangements should be made to release them from such military regulations as rendered their service in the army incompatible with the strict observance of their religious duties. So often can influence, well acquired and well directed, be exercised in the great cause of humanity, without distinction of persons or of creeds! This is but one of the many instances in which Sir Stratford Canning has added to the best renown of the British name.

Cawal Yusuf, having fulfilled his mission, eagerly accepted my proposal to return with me to Mosul. His companions had yet to obtain certain documents from the Porte, and were to remain at Constantinople until their business should be completed. The Cawal still retained the dress of his sect and office. His dark face and regular and

expressive features were shaded by a black turban, and a striped aba of coarse texture was thrown loosely over a robe of red silk.

Our arrangements were complete by the 28th of August (1849), and on that day we left the Bosphorus by an English steamer bound for Trebizond. The size of my party and its consequent incumbrances rendering a caravan journey absolutely necessary, I determined to avoid the usual tracks, and to cross eastern Armenia and Kurdistan, both on account of the novelty of part of the country in a geographical point of view, and its political interest as having only recently been brought under the immediate control of the Turkish government.

We disembarked at Trebizond on the 31st, and on the following day commenced our land journey. The country between this port and Erzerum has been frequently traversed and described. Through it pass the caravan routes connecting Persia with the Black Sea, the great lines of intercourse and commerce between Europe and central Asia. The roads usually frequented are three in number. The summer, or upper, road is the shortest, but is most precipitous, and, crossing very lofty mountains, is closed after the snows commence; it is called *Tchairler*, from its fine upland pastures, on which the horses are usually fed when caravans take this route. The middle road has few advantages over the upper, and is rarely followed by merchants, who prefer the lower, although making a considerable detour by Gumish Khaneh, or the Silver Mines. The three unite at the town of Baiburt, midway between the sea and Erzerum. Although an active and daily increasing trade is carried on by these roads, no mean whatever have until recently been taken to improve them. They consist of mere mountain tracks, deep in mud or dust according to the season of the year. The bridges, built when the erection and repair of public works were imposed upon the local governors, and deemed a sacred duty by the semi-independent hereditary families, who ruled in the provinces as Pashas or Dereh-Beys, have been long permitted to fall into decay, and commerce is frequently stopped for days by the swollen torrent or fordless stream. This has been one of the many evil results of the system of centralisation so vigorously commenced by Sultan Mahmoud, and so steadily carried out during the present reign. The local governors, receiving a fixed salary, and rarely permitted to remain above a few months in one office, take no interest whatever in the prosperity of the districts placed under their care. The funds assigned by the Porte for public works, small and totally inadequate, are squandered away or purloined long before any part can be applied to the objects in view.

Since my visit to Trebizond, a road for carts has been commenced, which is to lead from that port to the Persian frontiers; but it will, probably, like other undertakings of the kind, be abandoned long before completed, or, if ever completed, will be permitted at once to fall to ruin from the want of common repair. And yet the Persian trade is one of the chief sources of revenue of the Turkish empire, and unless conveniences are afforded for its prosecution, will speedily pass into other hands. The southern shores of the Black sea, twelve years ago rarely visited by a foreign vessel, are now coasted by



steamers belonging to three companies, which touch nearly weekly at the principal ports; and there is commerce and traffic enough for more. The establishment of steam communication between the ports and the capital has given an activity previously unknown to internal trade, and has brought the inhabitants of distant provinces of the empire into a contact with the capital highly favorable to the extension of civilization and to the enforcement of the legitimate authority of the government. The want of proper harbors is a considerable drawback in the navigation of a sea so unstable and dangerous as the Euxine. Trebizond has a mere roadstead, and from its position is otherwise little calculated for a great commercial port, which, like many other places, it has become, rather from its hereditary claims as the representative of a city once famous, than from any local advantages.

The only harbor on the southern coast is that of Batoun, nor is there any retreat for vessels on the Circassian shores. This place is therefore probably destined to become the emporium of trade, both from its safe and spacious port, and from the facility it affords of internal communication with Persia, Georgia, and Armenia. From it the Turkish government might have been induced to construct the road since commenced at Trebizond, had not a political influence, always hostile to any real improvement in the Ottoman empire, opposed it with that pertinacity which is generally sure to command success.

At the back of Trebizond, as indeed along the whole of this singularly bold and beautiful coast, the mountains rise in lofty peaks, and are wooded with trees of enormous growth and admirable quality, furnishing an unlimited supply of timber for commerce or war. Innumerable streams force their way to the sea through deep and rocky ravines. The more sheltered spots are occupied by villages and hamlets, chiefly inhabited by a hardy and industrious race of Greeks. In spring, the choicest flowers perfume the air, and luxuriant creepers clothe the limbs of gigantic trees. In summer, the richest pastures enamel the uplands, and the inhabitants of the coasts drive their flocks and herds to the higher regions of the hills. The forests, nourished by the exhalations and rains engendered by a large expanse of water, form a belt, from thirty to fifty miles in breadth, along the Black Sea. Beyond, the dense woods cease, as do also the rugged ravine and rocky peak. They are succeeded by still higher mountains, mostly rounded in their forms, some topped with eternal snow, barren of wood and even of vegetation, except during the summer, when they are covered with Alpine flowers and herbs. The villages in the valleys are inhabited by Turks, Lazes (Mussulmans), and Armenians; the soil is fertile, and produces much corn.

Our journey to Erzeroum was performed without incident. A heavy and uninterrupted rain for two days tried the patience and temper of those who for the first time encountered the difficulties and incidents of Eastern travel. The only place of any interest, passed during our ride, was a small Armenian village, the remains of a larger, with the ruins of three early Christian churches, or baptisteries. These remarkable buildings, of which many examples exist, belong to an order of architecture peculiar to

the most eastern districts of Asia Minor and to the ruins of ancient Armenian cities<sup>1</sup>, on the border of Turkey and Persia. The one, of which I have given a sketch, is an octagon, and may have been a baptistery. The interior walls are still covered with the remains of elaborate frescoes representing scripture events and national saints. The colors are vivid, and the forms, though rude, not inelegant or incorrect, resembling those of the frescoes of the Lower Empire still seen in the celebrated Byzantine church at Trebizond, and in the chapels of the convents of Mount Athos. The knotted capitals of the thin tapering columns grouped together, the peculiar arrangement of the stones over the doorway, supporting each other by a zigzag, and the decorations in general, call to mind the European Gothic of the middle ages. These churches date probably before the twelfth century: but there are no inscriptions, or other clue, to fix their precise epoch, and the various styles and modifications of the architecture have not been hitherto sufficiently studied to enable us to determine with accuracy the time to which any peculiar ornaments or forms may belong. Yet there are many interesting questions connected with this Armenian architecture which well deserve elucidation. From it was probably derived much that passed into the Gothic, whilst the Tatar conquerors of Asia Minor adopted it, as will be hereafter seen, for their mausoleums and places of worship. It is peculiarly elegant both in its decorations, its proportions, and the general arrangement of the masses, and might with advantage be studied by the modern architect. Indeed, Asia Minor contains a mine of similar materials unexplored and almost unknown.

The churches of Varzahan, according to the information I received from an aged inhabitant of the village, had been destroyed some fifty years before by the Lazes. The oldest people of the place remembered the time when divine worship was still performed within their walls.

We reached Erzeroom on the 8th, and were most hospitably received by the British consul, Mr. Brant, a gentleman who has long, well, and honorably sustained our influence in this part of Turkey, and who was the first to open an important field for our commerce in Asia Minor. With him I visited the commander-in-chief of the Turkish forces in Anatolia, who had recently returned from a successful expedition against the wild mountain tribes of central Armenia. Reshid Pasha, known as the "*Guzlu*," or "the Wearer of Spectacles," enjoyed the advantages of an European education, and had already distinguished himself in the military career. With a knowledge of the French language he united a taste for European literature, which, during his numerous expeditions into districts unknown to western travellers, had led him to examine their graphical features, and to make inquiries into the manners and religion of their inhabitants. His last exploit had been the subjugation of the tribes inhabiting the Dudjook Mountains to the south-west of Erzeroom, long in open rebellion against the Sultan. The account he gave me of the country and its occupants, much excited a

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<sup>1</sup> Particularly of Ani. Mons. Texier is, I believe, the only traveller who has attempted to give elaborate plans, elevations, drawings, and restorations of these interesting edifices.

curiosity which the limited time at my command did not enable me to gratify. According to the Pasha, the tribes are idolatrous, worshipping venerable oaks, great trees, huge solitary rocks, and other grand features of nature. He was inclined to attribute to them mysterious and abominable rites. This calumny, the resource of ignorance and intolerance, from which even primitive Christianity did not escape, has generally been spread in the East against those whose tenets are unknown or carefully concealed, and who, in Turkey, are included under the general term, indicating their supposed obscene ceremonies, of Cheragh-sonderan, or "Extinguishers of Lights." They have a chief priest, who is, at the same time, a kind of political head of the sect. He had recently been taken prisoner, sent to Constantinople, and from thence exiled to some town on the Danube. They speak a Kurdish dialect, though the various septs into which they are divided have Arabic names, apparently showing a southern origin. Of their history and early migrations, however, the Pasha could learn nothing. The direct road between Trebizond and Mesopotamia once passed through their districts, and the ruins of spacious and well-built khans are still seen at regular intervals on the remains of the old causeway. But from a remote period, the country had been closed against the strongest caravans, and no traveller would venture into the power of tribes notorious for their cruelty and lawlessness. The Pasha spoke of re-opening the road, rebuilding caravanserais, and restoring trade to its ancient channel-good intentions, not wanting amongst Turks of his class, and which, if carried out, might restore a country rich in natural resources to more than its ancient prosperity. The account he gave me is not perhaps to be strictly relied on, but a district hitherto inaccessible may possibly contain the remains of ancient races, monuments of antiquity, and natural productions of sufficient importance to merit the attention of the traveller in Asia Minor.

The city of Erzerum is rapidly declining in importance, and is almost solely supported by the Persian transit trade. It would be nearly deserted if that traffic were to be thrown into a new channel by the construction of the direct road from Batoun to the Persian frontiers. It contains no buildings of any interest, with the exception of a few ruins of those monuments of early Mussulman domination, the elaborately ornamented portico and minaret faced with glazed tiles of rich yet harmonious coloring, and the conical mausoleum, peculiar to most cities of early date in Asia Minor. The modern Turkish edifices, dignified with the names of palaces and barracks, are meeting the fate of neglected mud. Their crumbling walls can scarcely shelter their inmates in a climate almost unequalled in the habitable globe for the rigor of its winters.

The districts of Armenia and Kurdistan, through which lay our road from Erzerum to Mosul, are sufficiently unknown and interesting to merit more than a casual mention. The map will show that our route by the lake of Wan, Bitlis, and Jezirah was nearly a direct one. It had been but recently opened to caravans. The haunts of the last of the Kurdish rebels were on the shores of this lake. After the fall of the most powerful of their chiefs, Beder Khan Bey, they had one by one been subdued and carried away into captivity. Only a few months had, however, elapsed since the Beys of Bitlis, who had

longest resisted the Turkish arms, had been captured. With them rebellion was extinguished for the time in Kurdistan.

Our caravan consisted of my own party, with the addition of a muleteer and his two assistants, natives of Bitlis, who furnished me with seventeen horses and mules from Erzerum to Mosul. The first day's ride, as is customary in the East, where friends accompany the traveller far beyond the city gates, and where the preparations for a journey are so numerous that everything cannot well be remembered, scarcely exceeded nine miles. We rested for the night in the village of Guli, whose owner, one Shahan Bey, had been apprised of my intended visit. He had rendered his newly-built house as comfortable as his means would permit for our accommodation, and, after providing us with an excellent supper, passed the evening with me. Descended from an ancient family of Dereh-Beys he had inherited the hospitality and polished manners of a class now almost extinct, and of which a short account may not be uninteresting.

The Turkish conquerors, after the overthrow of the Greek empire, parcelled out their newly acquired dominions into military fiefs. These tenures varied subsequently in size from the vast possessions of the great families, with their hosts of retainers, such as the Kara Osmons of Magnesia, the Pasvan Oglus, and others, to the small *spahiliks* of Turkey in Europe, whose owners were obliged to perform personal military service when called upon by the state. Between them, of middle rank, were the Dereh-Beys, literally the "Lords of the Valley," who resided in their fortified castles, or villages, and scarcely owned more than a nominal allegiance to the Sultan, although generally ready to accompany him in a great national war against the infidels, or in expeditions against too powerful and usurping subjects, Sultan Mahmoud, a man of undoubted genius and of vast views for the consolidation and centralisation of his empire, aimed not only at the extirpation of all those great families, which, either by hereditary right or by local influence, had assumed a kind of independence; but of all the smaller Dereh-Beys and Spahis. This gigantic scheme, which changed the whole system of tenure and local administration, whether political or financial, he nearly carried out, partly by force of arms, and partly by treachery. Sultan Abd-ul-Mejid, freed from the difficulties and embarrassments with which an unfortunate war with Russia and successful rebellions in Albania and Egypt, had surrounded his father, has completed what Mahmoud commenced. Not only have the few remaining Dereh-Beys been destroyed or removed one by one, but even military tenure has been entirely abolished by arbitrary enactments, which have given no compensation to the owners, and have destroyed the only hereditary nobility in the empire. Opinions may differ as to the wisdom of the course pursued, and as to its probable results. Whilst greater personal security has been undoubtedly established throughout the Ottoman dominions, whilst the subjects of the Sultan are, theoretically at least, no longer exposed to the tyranny of local chiefs, but are governed by the more equitable and tolerant laws of the empire; his throne has lost the support of a race bred to military life, undisciplined, it is true, but brave and devoted, always ready to join the holy standard when unfurled against the enemies of the nation and its religion, a race who carried the Turkish arms into the heart of Europe,

and were the terror of Christendom. Whether a regular army, disciplined as far as possible after the fashion of Europe, will supply the place of the old Turkish irregular cavalry and infantry, remains to be seen, and, for reason which it is scarcely necessary to enter into, may fairly be doubted. With the old system the spirit which supported it is fast dying away, and it may be questioned whether, in Mussulman Turkey, discipline can ever compensate for its loss. The country has certainly not yet recovered from the change. During the former state of things, with all the acts of tyranny and oppression which absolute power engendered, there was more happiness amongst the people, and more prosperity in the land. The hereditary chiefs looked upon their Christian subjects as so much property to be improved and protected, like the soil itself. They were a source of revenue; consequently heavy taxes which impeded labor, and drove the laborer from the land, were from interest rarely imposed upon them. The Government left the enforcement of order to the local chiefs; all the tribute received from them was so much dear gain to the treasury, because no collectors were needed to raise it, nor troops to enforce its payment. The revenues of the empire were equal to great wars, and there was neither public debt nor embarrassment. Now that the system of centralisation has been fully carried out, the revenues are more than absorbed in the measures necessary to collect them, and the officers of government, having no interest whatever in the districts over which they are placed, neglect all that may tend to the prosperity and well-being of their inhabitants. It may be objected in extenuation that it is scarcely fair to judge of the working of a system so suddenly introduced, and that Turkey is merely in a transition state; the principle it has adopted, whatever its abuse, being fundamentally correct. One thing is certain, that Turkey must, sooner or later, have gone through this change.

It is customary to regard these old Turkish lords as inexorable tyrants - robber chiefs who lived on the plunder of travellers and of their subjects. That there were many who answered to this description cannot be denied; but they were, I believe, exceptions. Amongst them were some rich in virtues and high and noble feeling. It has been frequently my lot to find a representative of this nearly extinct class in some remote and almost unknown spot in Asia Minor or Albania. I have been received with affectionate warmth at the end of a day's journey by a venerable Bey or Agha in his spacious mansion, now fast crumbling to ruin, but still bright with the remains of rich, yet tasteful, oriental decoration; his long beard, white as snow, falling low on his breast; his many-folded turban shadowing his benevolent yet manly countenance, and his limbs enveloped in the noble garments rejected by the new generation; his hall open to all comers, the guest neither asked from whence he came or whither he was going, dipping his hands with him in the same dish; his servants, standing with reverence before him, rather his children than his servants; his revenues spent in raising fountains<sup>2</sup> on the

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<sup>2</sup> The most unobservant and hasty traveller in Turkey would soon become acquainted with this fact, could he read the modest and pious inscription, caned in relief on a small marble tablet of the purest white, adorning almost every half-ruined fountain at which he stops to refresh himself by the wayside.

wayside for the weary traveller, or in building caravanserais on the dreary plain; not only professing but practising all the duties and virtues enjoined by the Koran, which are Christian duties and virtues too; in his manners, his appearance, his hospitality, and his faithfulness a perfect model for a Christian gentleman. The race is fast passing away, and I feel grateful in being able to testify, with a few others, to its existence once, against prejudice, intolerance, and so called reform.

But to return to our host at Guli. Shahan Bey, although not an old man, was a very favorable specimen of the class I have described. He was truly, in the noble and expressive phraseology of the East, an "Ojiak Zadeh," "a child of the hearth," a gentleman born. His family had originally migrated from Daghistan, and his father, a pasha, had distinguished himself in the wars with Russia. He entertained me with animated accounts of feuds between his ancestors and the neighbouring chiefs, when without their armed retainers neither could venture beyond their immediate territories, contrasting, with good sense and a fair knowledge of his subject, the former with the actual state of the country. On the following morning, when I bade him adieu, he would not allow me to reward either himself or his servants, for hospitality extended to so large a company. He rode with me for some distance on my route, with his greyhounds and followers, and then returned to his village.

From Guli we crossed a high range of mountains, running nearly east and west, by a pass called Ali-Baba, or Ala-Baba, enjoying from the summit an extensive view of the plain of Pasvin, once one of the most thickly-peopled and best cultivated districts in Armenia. The Christian inhabitants were partly induced by promises of land and protection, and partly compelled by force, to accompany the Russian army into Georgia after the end of the last war with Turkey. By similar means that part of the Pashalic of Erzerum adjoining the Russian territories was almost stripped of its most industrious Armenian population. To the south of us rose the snowcapped mountains of the Bin Ghiul, or the "Thousand Lakes," in which the Araxes and several confluent of the Euphrates have their source. We descended from the pass into undulating and barren downs. The villages, thinly scattered over the low hills, were deserted by their inhabitants, who, at this season of the year, pitch their tents and seek pasture for their flocks in the uplands. We encamped for the night near one of these villages, called Gundi-Miran, or, in Turkish, Bey-Kiui, which has the same meaning, "the village of the chief." A man who remained to watch the crops of corn and barley went to the tents, and brought us such provisions as we required. The inhabitants of this district are Kurds, and are still divided into tribes. The owners of Gundi-Miran, and the surrounding villages are the Ziraklu (the armour-wearers), who came originally from the neighbourhood of Diarbekir. Within a few months of our visit they were in open rebellion against the government, and the country had been closed against travellers and caravans.

Next day we continued our journey amongst undulating hills, abounding in flocks of the great and lesser bustard. Innumerable sheep-walk branched from the beaten

path, a sign that villages were near; but, like those we had passed the day before, they had been deserted for the *yilaks*, or summer pastures. These villages are still such as they were when Xenophon traversed Armenia. "Their houses," says he, "were under ground; the mouth resembling that of a well, but spacious below: there was an entrance dug for the cattle, but the inhabitants descended by ladders. In these houses were goats, sheep, cows, and fowls with their young."<sup>3</sup> The low hovels, mere holes in the hill-side, and the common refuge of man, poultry, and cattle, cannot be seen from any distance, and they are purposely built away from the road to escape the unwelcome visits of travelling government officers and marching troops. It is not uncommon for a traveller to receive the first intimation of his approach to a village by finding his horse's fore feet down a chimney, and himself taking his place unexpectedly in the family circle through the roof. Numerous small streams wind among the valleys, marking by meandering lines of perpetual green their course to the Arras, or Araxes. We crossed that river about midday by a ford not more than three feet deep, but the bed of the stream is wide, and after rains, and during the spring, is completely filled by an impassable torrent. On its southern bank we found a caravan reposing, the horses and mules feeding in the long grass, the travellers sleeping in the shade of their piled up bales of goods. Amongst the merchants we recognised several natives of Mosul who trade with Erzeroom, changing dates and coarse Mosul fabrics for a fine linen made at Riza, - a small place on the Black Sea, near Trebizond, - and much worn by the wealthy and by women.

During the afternoon we crossed the western spur of the Tiektab Mountains, a high and bold range with three well defined peaks, which had been visible from the summit of the Ala Baba pass. From the crest we had the first view of Subhan, or Sipan, Dagħ,<sup>4</sup> a magnificent conical peak, covered with eternal snow, and rising abruptly from the plain to the north of Lake Wan. It is a conspicuous and beautiful object from every part of the surrounding country. We descended into the wide and fertile plain of Hinnis. The town was just visible in the distance, but we left it to the right, and halted for the night in the large Armenian village of Kosli, after a ride of more than nine hours. I was

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<sup>3</sup> Anabasis, lib. IV. c. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Sipan is a Kurdish corruption of Subhan, i.e. Praise. The mountain is so called because a tradition asserts that whilst Noah was carried to and fro by the waters of the deluge, the ark struck against its peak, and the patriarch, alarmed by the shock, exclaimed "Subhanu-llah," "Praise be to God!" It has also been conjectured that the name is derived from "Surp," an Armenian word meaning "holy." It has only been ascended once as far as I am aware, by Europeans. Mr. Brant, the British consul of Erzeroom, accompanied by Lieut. Glascott and Dr. Dickson, reached the summit on the 1st of September, 1838, after experiencing considerable fatigue and inconvenience from some peculiarity in the atmosphere (not, it would appear, the result of any very considerable elevation). They found within the cone a small lake, apparently filling the hollow of a crater; and scoria and lava, met with in abundance during the ascent, indicated the existence, at some remote period, of a volcano. Unfortunately, the barometers with which the party were provided, were out of order, and Mr. Brant has only been able to estimate the height of the mountain by approximation, at 10,000 feet, which I believe to be under the mark. (See Mr. Brant's highly interesting memoir in the tenth volume of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, p. 49.)

received at the guest-house<sup>5</sup> with great hospitality by one Misrab Agha, a Turk, to whom the village formerly belonged as Spahilik or military tenure, and who, deprived of his hereditary rights, had now farmed its revenues. He hurried with a long stick among the low houses, and heaps of dried dung, piled up in every open space for winter fuel, collecting fowls, curds, bread, and barley, abusing at the same time the *tanzimat*, which compelled such exalted travellers as ourselves, he said, "to pay for the provisions we condescended to accept." The inhabitants were not, however, backward in furnishing us with all we wanted, and the flourish of Misrab Agha's stick was only the remains of an old habit. I invited him to supper with me, an invitation he gladly accepted, having himself contributed a tender lamb roasted whole toward our entertainment.

The inhabitants of Kosli could scarcely be distinguished either by their dress or by their general appearance from the Kurds. They seemed prosperous and were on the best terms with the Mussulman farmer of their tithes. This village, with others in the district, had been nearly deserted after the Russian war, the inhabitants migrating into Georgia. Several families had recently returned, but having finished their harvest, were desirous of recrossing the frontier, probably a maneuver to avoid the payment of certain dues and taxes. Of this Misrab Agha was fully aware. "The ill-mannered fellows," exclaimed he, "having filled their bellies with good things, and taken away the fat of the land, want to go back to the Muscovites; but they deceive themselves, they must now sit where they are." The emigrants did not indeed speak very favourably of the condition of those who had settled in Russia. Many wish to return to their old villages in Turkey, where they can enjoy far greater liberty and independence. This was subsequently confirmed to me by others who had come back to their native settlements. The Russian government, however, by a strict military surveillance along the Georgian frontiers, prevents as far as possible this desertion.

Kosli stands at the foot of the hills forming the southern boundary of the plain of Hinnis, through which flows a branch of the Murad Su, or Lower Euphrates. We forded this river near the ruins of a bridge at Kara Kupri. The plain is generally well cultivated, the principal produce being corn and hemp. The villages, which are thickly scattered over it, have the appearance of extreme wretchedness, and, with their low houses and heaps of dried manure piled upon the roofs and in the open spaces around, look more like gigantic dunghills than human habitations. The Kurds and Armenian Christians, both hardy and industrious races, are pretty equally divided in numbers, and live sociably in the same filth and misery. The extreme severity of the winter - the snow lying deep on the ground for some months - prevents the cultivation of fruit trees, and the

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<sup>5</sup> Almost every village in Turkey, not on a high road, and not provided with a caravanserai or khan, contains a house reserved exclusively for the entertainment of guests, in which travellers are not only lodged, but fed, gratuitously. It is maintained by the joint contribution of the villagers, or sometimes by the charitable bequests of individuals, and is under the care either of the chief of the village, or of a person expressly named for the purpose, and called the Oda-Bashi, the chief of the guestroom. Since the introduction of the *tanzimat* (reformed system), this custom is rapidly falling into disuse in most parts of Turkey frequented by European travellers.



complete absence of wood gives the country a desolate aspect. Bustards, cranes, and waterfowl of various kinds abound.

We left the plain of Hinnis by a pass through the mountain range of Zernak. In the valleys we found clusters of black tents belonging to the nomad Kurds, and the hill-sides were covered with their flocks. The summit of a high peak overhanging the road is occupied by the ruins of a castle formerly held by Kurdish chiefs, who levied black-mail on travellers, and carried their depredations into the plains. On reaching the top of the pass we had an uninterrupted view of the Subhan Dag. From the village of Karagol, where we halted for the night, it rose abruptly before us. This magnificent peak, with the rugged mountains of Kurdistan, the river Euphrates winding through the plain, the peasants driving the oxen over the corn on the threshing-floor, and the groups of Kurdish horsemen with their long spears and flowing garments, formed one of those scenes of Eastern travel which leave an indelible impression on the imagination, and bring back in after years indescribable feelings of pleasure and repose.

The threshing-floor, which added so much to the beauty and interest of the picture at Karagol, had been seen in all the villages we had passed during our day's journey. The abundant harvest had been gathered in, and the corn was now to be threshed and stored for the winter. The process adopted is simple, and nearly such as it was in patriarchal times. The children either drive horses round and round over the heaps, or standing upon a sledge stuck full of sharp flints on the under part, are drawn by oxen over the scattered sheaves. Such were "the threshing-sledges armed with teeth" mentioned by Isaiah. In no instance are the animals muzzled - "thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn;" but they linger to pick up a scanty mouthful as they are urged on by the boys and young girls, to whom the duties of the threshing-floor are chiefly assigned. The grain is winnowed by the men and women, who throw the corn and straw together into the air with a wooden shovel, leaving the wind to carry away the chaff whilst the seed falls to the ground. The wheat is then raked into heaps and left on the threshing-floor until the tithe-gatherer has taken his portion. The straw is stored for the winter, as provender for the cattle.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> These processes of threshing and winnowing appear to have been used from the earliest time in Asia. Isaiah alludes to it when addressing the Jews (XXVIII. 27, 28. See Translation by the Rev. John Jones):-

"The dill is not threshed with *the threshing sledge*,  
Nor is the wheel of the wain made to roll over the cummin.

.....

Bread corn is threshed:

But not for ever will he continue thus to thresh it;  
Though he driveth along the wheels of his wain,  
And *his horses*, he will not bruise it to dust."

"The oxen and the young asses, that till the ground  
Shall eat clean provender,

Which hath been winnowed with *the shovel* and with the fan." (xxx. 24.)

"Behold, I have made thee a new sharp threshing wain (sledge) *armed with pointed teeth*." (XLI. 15.)

"Thou shalt winnow them, and the wind shall carry them away." (XII. L6.)

The Kurdish inhabitants of this plain are chiefly of the tribe of Mamanli, once very powerful, and mustering nearly 2000 horsemen for war, according to the information I received from one of their petty chiefs who lodged with us for the night in the guest-house of Karagol. After the Russian war, part of the tribe was included in the ceded territory. Their chief resides at Malaskert.

We crossed the principal branch of the Euphrates soon after leaving Karagol. Although the river is fordable at this time of the year, during the spring it is nearly a mile in breadth, overflowing its banks, and converting the entire plain into one great marsh.

We had now to pick our way through a swamp, scaring, as we advanced, myriads of wild-fowl. I have rarely seen game in such abundance and such variety in one spot; the water swarmed with geese, duck, and teal, the marshy ground with herons and snipe, and the stubble with bustards and cranes. After the rains the lower road is impassable, and caravans are obliged to make a considerable circuit along the foot of the hills.

We were not sorry to escape the fever-breeding swamp and mud of the plain, and to enter a line of low hills, separating us from the lake of Gula Shailu. I stopped for a few minutes at an Armenian monastery, situated on a small platform overlooking the plain. The bishop was at his breakfast, his fare frugal and episcopal enough, consisting of nothing more than boiled beans and sour milk. He insisted that I should partake of his repast, and I did so, in a small room scarcely large enough to admit the round tray containing the dishes, into which I dipped my hand with him and his chaplain. I found him profoundly ignorant, like the rest of his class, grumbling about taxes, and abusing the Turkish government. All I could learn of the church was that it contained the body of a much venerated saint, who had lived about the time of St. Gregory the Illuminator, and that it was the resort of the afflicted and diseased who trusted to their faith, rather than to medicine, for relief. The whole establishment belongs to the large Armenian village of Kop, which could be faintly distinguished in the plain below. The Kurds had plundered the convent of its books and its finery, but the church remained pretty well as it had been some fifteen centuries ago.

After a pleasant ride of five hours we reached a deep clear lake, embedded in the mountains, two or three pelicans, "swan and shadow double," and myriads of water-fowl, lazily floating on its blue waters. Piron, the village where we halted for the night, stands at the further end of the Gula Shailu, and is inhabited by Kurds of the tribe of Hasanalu, and by Armenians, all living in good fellowship amidst the dirt and wretchedness of their eternal dungheaps. Ophthalmia had made sad havoc amongst them, and the doctor was soon surrounded by a crowd of the blind and diseased clamoring for relief. The villagers said that a Persian, professing to be a Hakim, had passed through the place some time before, and had offered to cure all bad eyes on payment of a certain sum in advance. These terms being agreed to, he gave his patients a powder which left the sore eyes as they were, and destroyed the good ones. He then went his way: "And with the money in his pocket too," added a ferocious-

looking Kurd, whose appearance certainly threw considerable doubt on the assertion; "but what can one do in these days of accursed Tanzimat (reform)?"

The district we had now entered formerly belonged to Sheriff Bey, the rebellious chief of Moush, but, since his capture last year, had been made *miri*, or government property. Although all the Mohammedan inhabitants of this part of Kurdistan are Kurds, those alone are called so who live in tents; those who reside in villages are known simply as "Mussulman."

The lake of Shailu is separated from the larger lake of Nazik, by a range of low hills about six miles in breadth. We reached the small village of Khers, built on its western extremity, in about two hours and a half, and found the chief, surrounded by the principal inhabitants, seated on a raised platform near a well-built stone house. He assured me, stroking a beard of spotless white to confirm his words, that he was above ninety years of age, and had never seen an European before the day of my visit. Half blind, he peered at me through his bleary eyes until he had fully satisfied his curiosity; then spoke contemptuously of the Franks, and abused the Tanzimat, which he declared had destroyed all Mussulman spirit, had turned true believers into infidels, and had brought his own tribe to ruin, meaning, of course, that they could no longer prey upon their neighbours. His son, more of a courtier, and probably thinking that something might be gained by praising the present state of things, spoke less unfavorably of reform, though, I doubt not, entertaining equal aversion to it in his heart. The old gentleman, notwithstanding his rough exterior, was hospitable after his fashion, and would not suffer us to depart until we had eaten of every delicacy the village could afford.

Our path lay along the banks of the lake. The people of Khers declare that the Nazik Gul only contains fish during the spring of the year, and then but of the one kind caught in the lake of Wan. I was unable to account for this fact, repeated by the peasants whom we met on our road, until reaching the eastern end of the lake I found that a communication existed between it and that of Wan, by a deep ravine, through which the waters, swollen during the rains and by the melting of the snows in spring, discharge themselves near Akhlat.<sup>7</sup> At this season there was only water enough in the ravine to show the difference of level. In spring the fish seek the creeks and fresh-water streams to spawn, and at that time alone are captured by the inhabitants of the shores of the lake of Wan. During the rest of the year, they leave the shallows and are secure from the nets of the fishermen.<sup>8</sup> The only fish known is of the size and appearance of a herring. It is caught during the season in such abundance that it forms, when dried and salted, provision for the rest of the year, and a considerable article of exportation. I was

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<sup>7</sup> The Shailu lake has, I was informed, a similar communication with the Murad Su. Both lakes are wrongly placed in the Prussian and other maps, and their outlets unnoticed.

<sup>8</sup> Yakuti, in his geographical work, the "Moajem el Buldan," mentions this disappearance of the fish, which are only to be seen, he says, during three months of the year. He adds, however, frogs and shellfish.

informed, however, by a Christian, that a large fish, probably of the barbel kind, was found in the Nazik Gul, whose waters, unlike those of Wan, are fresh and sweet.

Leaving the Nazik Gul we entered an undulating country traversed by very deep ravines, mere channels cut into the sandstone by mountain torrents. The villages are built at the bottom of these gulleys, amidst fruit trees and gardens, sheltered by perpendicular rocks and watered by running streams. They are undiscovered until the traveller reaches the very edge of the precipice, when a pleasant and cheerful scene opens suddenly beneath his feet. He would have believed the upper country a mere desert had he not spied here and there in the distance a peasant slowly driving his plough through the rich soil. The inhabitants of this district are more industrious and ingenious than their neighbours. They carry the produce of their harvest not on the backs of animals, as in most parts of Asia Minor, but in carts entirely made of wood, no iron being used even in the wheels, which are ingeniously built of walnut, oak, and kara agatch (literally, black tree-? thorn), the stronger woods being used for rough spokes let into the nave. The plough also differs from that in general use in Asia. To the share are attached two parallel boards, about four feet long and a foot broad, which separate the soil and leave a deep and well defined furrow.

We rode for two or three hours on these uplands, until, suddenly reaching the edge of a ravine, a beautiful prospect of lake, woodland, and mountain, opened before us.

## CHAPTER II. (pp.19-34)

**THE LAKE OF WAN. - AKHLAT. – TATAR TOMBS. – ANCIENT REMAINS. – A DERVISH. – A FRIEND. – THE MUDIR. – ARMENIAN REMAINS. – AN ARMENIAN CONVENT AND BISHOP. – JOURNEY TO BITLIS. – NIMROUD DAGH. – BITLIS. – JOURNEY TO KHERZAN. – YEZIDI VILLAGE.**

The first view the traveller obtains of the lake of Wan, on descending towards it from the hills above Akhlat, is singularly beautiful. This great inland sea, of the deepest blue, is bounded to the east by ranges of serrated snow-capped mountains, peering one above the other, and springing here and there into the highest peaks of Tiyari and Kurdistan; beneath them lies the sacred island of Akhtamar, just visible in the distance, like a dark shadow on the water. At the further end rises the one sublime cone of the Subhan, and along the lower part of the eastern shores stretches the Nimroud Dagh, varied in shape and rich in local traditions.

At our feet, as we drew nigh to the lake, were the gardens of the ancient city of Akhlat, leaning minarets and pointed mausoleums peeping above the trees. We rode through vast burying-grounds, a perfect forest of upright stones seven or eight feet high of the richest red colour, most delicately and tastefully carved with arabesque ornaments and inscriptions in the massive character of the early Mussulman age. In the

midst of them rose here and there a conical *turbeh*<sup>9</sup> of beautiful shape, covered with exquisite tracery. The monuments of the dead still stand, and have become the monuments of a city, itself long crumbled into dust. Amidst orchards and gardens are scattered here and there low houses rudely built out of the remains of the earlier habitations, and fragments of cornice and sculpture are piled up into walls around the cultivated plots.

Leaving the servants to pitch the tents on a lawn near one of the finest of the old Mussulman tombs, and in a grove of lofty trees, beneath whose spreading branches we could catch distant views of the lake, I walked through the ruins. Emerging from the gardens and crossing a part of the great burying-ground, I came upon a well-preserved mausoleum of the same deep red stone, now glowing in the rays of the sun; its conical roof rested on columns and arches, and on a *kubleh*, or place to direct the face in prayer, decorated with all the richness, yet elegance, of Eastern taste. The cornice supporting the roof was formed by many bands of ornament, each equally graceful though differing one from the other. The column stood on a base rising about nine feet from the ground, the upper part of which was adorned with panels, each varying in shape, and containing many-angled recesses, decorated with different patterns, and the lower part projected at an angle with the rest of the building. In this basement was the chamber; the mortal remains of its royal occupant had long ago been torn away and thrown to the dust. Around the *turbeh* were scattered richly carved head and foot stones, marking the graves of less noble men; and the whole was enclosed by a grove of lofty trees, the dark-blue lake glittering beyond. Whilst the scene was worthy of the pencil of a Turner, each detail in the building was a study for an architect. Tradition names the tomb that of Sultan Baiandour,<sup>10</sup> one of the chiefs of the great Tatar tribes, who crossed the frontiers of Persia in the fifteenth century. The building still resisting decay is now used as a storehouse for grain and straw by a degenerate race, utterly unmindful of the glories of their ancestors. Near this *turbeh* were others, less well preserved, but equally remarkable for elegant and varied decoration, their conical roofs fretted with delicate tracery, carved in relief on the red stone. They belong, according to local tradition, to Sultans of the Ak-Kouyunlu and Kara-Kouyunlu Tatars, the well-known tribes of the White and Black Sheep.

Beyond the *turbeh* of Sultan Baiandour, through a deep ravine such as I have already described, runs a brawling stream, crossed by an old bridge; orchards and gardens make the bottom of the narrow valley, and the cultivated ledges as seen from above, a bed of foliage. The lofty perpendicular rocks rising on both sides are literally honeycombed with entrances to artificial caves, ancient tombs, or dwelling-places. On a high isolated mass of sandstone stand the walls and towers of a castle, the remains of the ancient city of Khelath, celebrated in Armenian history, and one of the seats of Armenian power. I ascended to the crumbling mint, and examined the excavations in the rocks. The latter are now used as habitations, and as stables for herds and flocks.

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<sup>9</sup> A small building which sometimes covers a Mohammedan tomb is so called.

<sup>10</sup> A sultan of the Ak-Kouyunlu, or White-sheep Tatars, from whom the tribe derived their name of Baiandouri.

The spacious entrance of some are filled up with stones for protection and comfort, a small opening being left for a doorway. Before them, on the ledges overlooking the ravine, stood here and there groups as noble a race as I have anywhere seen, tall, brawny men, handsome women, and beautiful children. They were Kurds, dressed in the flowing and richly-colored robes of their tribe. I talked with them and found them courteous, intelligent, and communicative.

Many of the tombs are approached by flights of steps, also cut in the rock. An entrance, generally square, unless subsequently widened, and either perfectly plain or decorated with a simple cornice, opens into a spacious chamber, which frequently leads into others on the same level, or by narrow flights of steps into upper rooms. There are no traces of the meant by which these entrances were closed: they probably were as by stones, turning on rude hinges, or rolling on rollers.<sup>11</sup> Excavated in the walls, or sometimes sunk into the floor, are recesses or troughs, in which once lay the bodies of the dead, whilst in small niches, in the sides of the chambers, were placed lamps and sacrificial objects. Tombs in every respect similar are found throughout the mountains of Assyria and Persia, as far south as Shiraz; but I have never met with them in such abundance as at Akhlat. Their contents were long ago the spoil of conquerors, and the ancient chambers of the dead have been for centuries the abodes of the living.

Leaving the valley and winding through a forest of fruit trees, here and there interspersed with a few primitive dwellings, I came to the old Turkish castle, standing on the very edge of the lake. It is a pure Ottoman edifice, less ancient than the turbehs, or the old walls towering above the ravine. Inscriptions over the gateways state that it was partly built by Sultan Selim, and partly by Sultan Suleiman, and over the northern entrance occurs the date of 975 of the Hejira. The walls and towers are still standing, and need but slight repair to be again rendered capable of defence. They inclose a fort, and about 200 houses, with two mosques and baths, fast falling into decay, and only tenanted by a few miserable families, who, too poor or too idle to build a new, linger amongst the ruins. In the fort, separated from the dwelling places by a high thick wall and a ponderous iron-bound gate now banging half broken away from its rusty hinges, there dwelt, until very recently, a notorious Kurdish freebooter, of the name of Mehemet Bey, who, secure in this stronghold, ravaged the surrounding country, and sorely vexed its Christian inhabitants. He fled on the approach of the Turkish troops, after their successful expedition against Nur-Ullah Bey, and is supposed to be wandering in the mountains of southern Kurdistan.

After the capture of Beder Khan Bey, Osman Pasha, the commander-in-chief of the Turkish army, a man of enterprise and liberal views, formed a plan for restoring to Akhlat its ancient prosperity, by making it the capital of the north-eastern provinces of

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<sup>11</sup> Tombs, with entrances closed by stones, ingeniously made to roll back into a groove, still exist in many parts of the East. We learn from both the Old and New Testament, that such tombs were in common use in Palestine, as well as in other countries of Asia. The stone was "rolled away from the sepulchre" in which Christ was laid; which we may gather from the context was a chamber cut into the rock and intended to receive many bodies, although it had not been need before. Such also, was the tomb of Lazarus. Raphael, who is singularly correct in delineating Eastern habits and costumes in his scriptural pieces, has thus portrayed the tomb of the Saviour in a sketch in the Oxford Collection.

the Turkish empire. He proposed, by grants of land, to induce the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages to remove to the town, and by peculiar privileges to draw to the new settlement the artisans of Wan, Bitlis, Moush, and even Erzeroum. Its position on the borders of a vast lake is favourable to traffic, and its air is considered very salubrious. From its vicinity to the Persian and Russian frontiers it might become of considerable importance as a military depot. Osman Pasha was about to construct a palace, a bazar, and barracks, and to repair the walls of the old castle, when death put an end to his schemes. In Turkey a man in power, from principle, never carries out the plans, or finishes the buildings of his predecessor; and Akhlat, one of the most beautiful spots that the imagination can picture, will probably long remain a heap of ruins. Scarcely a sail flutters on the water. The only commerce is carried on by a few miserable vessels, which venture in the finest weather to leave the little harbour of Wan to search for wood and corn on the southern shores of the lake.

The ancient city of Khelath was the capital of the Armenian province of Peznouni. It came under the Mohammedan power as early as the ninth century, but was conquered by the Greeks of the Lower Empire at the end of the tenth. The Seljuks took it from them, and it then again became a Mussulman principality. It was long a place of contention for the early Arab and Tatar conquerors. Shah Armen<sup>12</sup> reduced it towards the end of the twelfth century. It was besieged, without result, by the celebrated Saleh-ed-din, and was finally captured by his nephew, the son of Melek Adel, in A. D. 1207.

The sun was setting as I returned to the tents. The whole scene was lighted up with its golden tints, and Claude never composed a subject more beautiful than was here furnished by nature herself. I was seated outside my tent gazing listlessly on the scene, when I was roused by a well-remembered cry, but one which I had not heard for years. I turned about and saw standing before me a Persian Dervish, clothed in the fawn-colored gazelle skin, and wearing the conical red cap, edged with fur, and embroidered in black braid with verses from the Koran and invocations to Ali, the patron of his sect. He was no less surprised than I had been at his greeting, when I gave him the answer peculiar to men of his order. He was my devoted friend and servant from that moment, and sent his boy to fetch a dish of pears, for which he actually refused a present ten times their value. He declared that I was one of his craft, and was fairly puzzled to make out where I had picked up my knowledge of his mystery and phraseology. But he was not my first Dervish friend; I had had many adventures in company with such as he.

Whilst we were seated chatting in the soft moonlight, Hormuzd was suddenly embraced by a young man resplendent with silk and gold embroidery and armed to the teeth. He was a chief from the district of Mosul and well known to us. Hearing of our arrival he had hastened from his village at some distance to welcome us, and to endeavor to persuade me to move the encampment and partake of his hospitality. Failing, of course, in prevailing upon me to change my quarters for the night, he sent his

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<sup>12</sup> "Shah Armen, i. e. King of Armenia, was a title assumed by a dynasty reigning at Akhlat, founded by Sokman Kothby, a slave of the Seljuk prince, Kothbedin Ismail, who established an independent principality at Akhlat in A.D. 1100, which lasted eighty years.

servant to his wife, who was a lady of Mosul, and formerly a friend of my companion's, for a sheep. We found ourselves thus unexpectedly amongst friends. Our circle was further increased by Christians and Mussulmans of Akhlat, and the night was far spent before we retired to rest.

In the morning, soon after sunrise, I renewed my wanderings amongst the ruins, first calling upon the Mudir, or governor, who received me seated under his own fig-tree. He was an old greybeard, a native of the place, and of a straightforward, honest bearing. I had to listen to the usual complaints of poverty and over-taxation, although, after all, the village, with its extensive gardens, only contributed yearly ten purses, or less than forty five pounds, to the public revenue. This sum seems small enough, but without trade, and distant from any high road, there was not a para of ready money, according to the Mudir, in the place.

The governor's cottage stood near the northern edge of Akhlat, and a little beyond it the road again emerged into that forest of richly-carved tombs which surrounds the place, like a broad belt - the accumulated remains of successive generations. The triumph of the dead over the living is perhaps only thus seen in the East. In England, where we grudge our dead their last resting places, the habitations of the living encroach on the burial-ground; in the East it is the grave-yard which drives before it the cottage and the mansion. The massive headstones still stand erect long after the dwelling-places of even the descendants of those who placed them there have passed away. Several handsome turbehs, resembling in their general form those I had already visited, though differing from them in their elegant and elaborate details, were scattered amongst the more humble tombs.

From the Mudir's house I rode to the more ancient part of the city and to the rock tombs. The ravine, at no great distance from where it joins the lake, is divided into two branches, each watered by an abundant stream. I followed them both for four or five miles, ascending by the one, then crossing the upland which divides them, and descending by the other. Both afford innumerable pleasant prospects, - the water breaking in frequent cascades over the rocky bottom, beneath thick clusters of gigantic chesnuts and elms, the excavated cliffs forming bold frames to the pictures. I entered many of the rock-tombs, and found all of them to be of the same character, though varying in size. The doors of some have been enlarged, to render the interior more convenient as dwelling-places, and there are but few which have not been blackened by the smoke of the fires of many centuries. The present population of the ravine, small and scanty enough, resides almost entirely in these caves. Amongst the tombs there are galleries and passages in the cliffs without apparent use, and flights of steps, cut out of the rock, which seem to lead nowhere. I searched and inquired in vain for inscriptions and remains of sculpture, and yet the place is of undoubted antiquity, and in the immediate vicinity of contemporary sites where cuneiform inscriptions do exist.

During my wanderings I entered an Armenian church and convent standing on a ledge of rock overhanging the stream, about four miles up the southern ravine. The



convent was tenanted by a bishop and two priests. They dwelt in a small low room, scarcely lighted by a hole care - fully blocked up with a sheet of oiled paper to shut out the cold; dark, musty, and damp, a very parish clerk in England would have shuddered at the sight of such a residence. Their bed, a carpet worn to threads, spread on the rotten boards; their diet, the coarsest sandy bread and a little sour curds, with beans and mangy meat for a jubilee. A miserable old woman sat in a kind of vault under the staircase preparing their food, and passing her days in pushing to and fro with her skinny hands the goat's skin containing the milk to be shaken into butter. She was the housekeeper and handmaiden of the episcopal establishment. The church was somewhat higher, though even darker than the dwelling-room, and was partly used to store a heap of mouldy corn and some primitive agricultural implements. The whole was well and strongly built, and had the evident marks of antiquity. The bishop showed me a rude cross carved on a rock outside the convent, which, he declared, had been cut by one of the disciples of the Saviour himself. It is, at any rate, considered a relic of very great sanctity, and is an object of pilgrimage for the surrounding Christian population. Near the spot are several tombs of former bishops, the head and foot stone of the same deep mellow red stone, and as elaborately carved as those of the old Tatar chiefs near the lake, although differing from them somewhat in the style of their ornaments; the cross, and the bold, square, ancient Armenian character being used instead of the flowery scroll-work and elongated letters of the early Mussulman conquerors. The bishop, notwithstanding his poverty, was, on the whole, better informed than others of his order I had met in the provinces. He had visited the capital, had even studied there, and possessed a few books, amongst which, fortunately for himself, and I hope for his congregation, he was not ashamed to include several of the very useful works issued by the American missionary press, and by that praiseworthy religious society, the Mekhitarists of Venice. The older books and MSS. of the church, together with its little store of plate, its hangings, and its finery, were gone. The last rummage was made by Mehemet Bey, the Kurdish freebooter of the castle on the lake, who, having been expelled from his stronghold by the exasperated inhabitants of Akhlat, took refuge in the Armenian convent, and defended it for nearly a year against his assailants, living of course, the while, upon the scanty stores of the priests, and carrying off, when he had no longer need of the position, the little property he had pulled out of every nook and corner. The tyranny of this chief had driven nearly the whole Christian population from Akhlat. About twenty families only remained, and they were huddled together in the rock tombs, and on the ledges immediately opposite the convent. They are not allowed to possess the gardens and orchards near the lake, which are looked upon as the peculiar property of the ancient Mussulman inhabitants, to be enjoyed by their orthodox descendants, who employ neither care nor labor in keeping them up, trusting to a rich soil and a favorable climate for their annual fruits.

I was again struck during my ride with the beauty of the children, who assembled round me, issuing, like true Troglodytes, from their rocky dwelling-places. Near the end

of the ravine, on the edge of a precipice clothed with creepers, is a half-fallen turbeh, of elegant proportions and rich in architectural detail. It overhangs the transparent stream, which, struggling down its rocky bed, is crossed by a ruined bridge; a scene calling to mind the well-known view of Tivoli. Beyond, and nearer to the lake, are other turbehs, all of which I examined, endeavoring to retain some slight record of their peculiar ornaments. The natives of the place followed me as I wandered about and found names for the ancient chiefs in whose honor the mausoleums had been erected. Amongst them were Iskender, Hassan, and Haroun, the Padishas, or sultans, of the Tatar tribes.<sup>13</sup>

On my return to our encampment the tents were struck, and the caravan had already begun its march. Time would not permit me to delay, and with a deep longing to linger on this favored spot slowly followed the road leading along the margin of the lake to Bitlis. I have seldom seen a fairer scene, one richer in natural beauties. The artist and the lover of nature may equally find at Akhlat objects of study and delight. The architect, or the traveller, interested in the history of that graceful and highly original branch of art, which attained its full perfection under the Arab rulers of Egypt and Spain, should extend his journey to the remains of ancient Armenian cities, far from high roads and mostly unexplored. He would then trace how that architecture, deriving its name from Byzantium, had taken the same development in the East as it did in the West, and how its subsequent combination with the elaborate decoration, the varied outline, and tasteful coloring of Persia had produced the style termed Saracenic, Arabic, and Moresque. He would discover almost daily, details, ornaments, and forms, recalling to his mind the various orders of architecture, which, at an early period, succeeded to each other in Western Europe and in England;<sup>14</sup> modifications of style for which we are mainly indebted to the East during its close union with the West by the bond of Christianity. The Crusaders, too, brought back into Christendom, on their return from Asia, a taste for that rich and harmonious union of color and architecture which had already been so successfully introduced by the Arabs into the countries they had conquered.

This connection between Eastern and Western architecture is one well worthy of study, and cannot be better illustrated than by the early Christian ruins of Armenia, and those of the Arsacian and Sassanian periods still existing in Persia. As yet it has been

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<sup>13</sup> Iskender, the son of Kara Yusuf, second sultan of the Tatar dynasty of the Black Sheep, began to reign A.D. 1421, and was murdered by his son, Shah Kobad. Hassan, commonly called Usun, or the Long, the first sultan of the Baiandouri, or White Sheep, Tatars, succeeded to the throne A.D. 1467. Neither of these sultans however, appear to have died at Akhlat. I have been unable to find the name of Haroun amongst the sultans of these Tatar dynasties. It is possible that the turbehs may be more ancient than the period assigned to them by the inhabitants of Akhlat, and that they may belong to some of the earlier Mussulman conquerors.

<sup>14</sup> The sketch, not very accurate unfortunately in its details, of the ruined Armenian church at Varzahan (p. 6.), will sufficiently show my meaning, and point out the connection indicated in the text. I would also refer to M. Texier's folio work on Armenia and Persia, for many examples of Armenian churches, illustrating the transition between the Byzantine and what we may undoubtedly term Gothic. It would be of considerable importance to study the remains of churches still scattered over Armenia, and of which no accurate plans or drawings have been published.

almost entirely overlooked, nor are there any plans or drawings of even the best known Byzantine, or rather Armenian, remains in Asia Minor, upon which sufficient reliance can be placed to admit of the analogies between the styles being fully proved. The union of early Christian and Persian art and architecture produced a style too little known and studied, yet affording combinations of beauty and grandeur, of extreme delicacy of detail and of boldness of outline, worthy of the highest order of intellect.<sup>15</sup>

Our road skirted the foot of the Nimroud Dagħ, which stretches from Akhlat to the southern extremity of the lake. We crossed several dykes of lava and scoria, and wide mud-torrents now dry, the outpourings of a volcano long since extinct, but the crater of which may probably still traced in a small lake said to exist on the very summit of the mountain. There are several villages, chiefly inhabited by Christians, built on the water's edge, or in the ravines worn by the streams descending from the hills. Our road gradually led away from the lake. With Cawal Yusuf and my companions I left the caravan far behind. The night came on, and we were shrouded in darkness. We sought in vain for the village which was to afford us a resting-place, and soon lost our uncertain track. The Cawal took the opportunity of relating tales collected during former journeys on this spot, of robber Kurds and murdered travellers, which did not tend to remove the anxiety felt by some of my party. At length, after wandering to and fro for above an hour, we heard the distant jingle of the caravan bells. We rode in the direction of the welcome sound, and soon found ourselves at the Armenian village of Keswack, standing in a small bay, and sheltered by a rocky promontory jutting boldly into the lake.

Next morning we rode along the margin of the lake, still crossing the spurs of the Nimroud Dagħ, furrowed by numerous streams of lava and mud. In one of the deep gulleys, opening from the mountain to the water's edge, are a number of isolated masses of sandstone, worn into fantastic shapes by the winter torrents, which sweep down from the hills. The people of the country call them "the Camels of Nimrod." Tradition says that the rebellious patriarch endeavoring to build an inaccessible castle, strong enough to defy both God and man, the Almighty, to punish his arrogance turned the workmen as they were working into stone. The rocks on the border of the lake are the camels, who with their burdens were petrified into a perpetual memorial of the Divine vengeance. The unfinished walls of the castle are still to be seen on the top of the mountain; and the surrounding country, the seat of a primeval race, abounds in similar traditions.

We left the southern end of the lake, near the Armenian village of Tadwan, once a place of some importance, and containing a caravanserai, mosques, and baths built by

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<sup>15</sup> The Arabs, a wild and uncultivated people, probably derived their first notions of architecture on the conquest of the Persian provinces. The peculiar and highly tasteful style of the Persians, of which traces may still be seen in the remains of the celebrated palace of Chosroes, at Ctesiphon, and in other ruins of southern Persia and Khuzistan, united with the Byzantine churches and palaces of Syria, produced the Saracenic. Already some such modification had, I am convinced, taken place in Armenia by a similar process, the Persian and Imperial power being continually brought into contact in that kingdom. I cannot dwell longer upon this subject, which well merits investigation.

Khosrew Pasha in the sixteenth century. Entering an undulating country we soon gazed for the last time on the deep blue expanse of water, and on the lofty peaks of the Hakkiari mountains. The small trickling streams, now running towards the south, and a gradual descent showed that we had crossed the water-shed of central Asia, and had reached the valleys of Assyria. Here and there the ruins of a fine old khan, its dark recesses, vaulted niches, and spacious stalls, blackened with the smoke of centuries, served to mark one of the great highways, lead in the days of Turkish prosperity from central Armenia to Baghdad. We had crossed this road in the plain of Hinnis. It runs from Erzeroom to Moush and thence to Bitlis, leaving to the east the Nimroud Dag, which separates it from the lake of Wan. Commerce has deserted it for very many years, and its bridges and caravanserais have long fallen into decay; when, with the restoration of order and tranquillity to this part of Turkey, trade shall revive, it may become once more an important thoroughfare, uniting the northern and southern provinces of the empire.

We soon entered a rugged ravine worn by the mountain rills, collected into a large stream. This was one of the many head waters of the Tigris. It was flowing tumultuously to our own bourne, and, as we gazed upon the troubled waters, they seemed to carry us nearer to our journey's end. The ravine was at first wild and rocky; cultivated spots next appeared, scattered in the dry bed of the torrent; then a few gigantic trees; gardens and orchards followed, and at length the narrow valley opened on the long straggling town of Bitlis.

The governor had provided quarters for us in a large house belonging to an Armenian, who had been tailor to Beder Khan Bey. From the terrace before the gate we looked down upon the bazars built in the bottom of a deep gulley in the centre of the town. On an isolated rock opposite to us rose a frowning castle, and, on the top of a lofty barren hill, the fortified dwelling of Sheriff Bey, the rebel chief, who had for years held Bitlis and the surrounding country in subjection, defying the authority and the arms of the Sultan. Here and there on the mountain sides were little sunny landscapes, gardens, poplar trees, and low white houses surrounded by trellised vines.

My party was now, for the first time during the journey, visited with that curse of Eastern travel, fever and ague. The doctor was prostrate, and having then no experience of the malady, at once had dreams of typhus and malignant fever. A day's rest was necessary, and our jaded horses needed it as well as we, for there were bad mountain roads and long marches before us. I had a further object in remaining. Three near relations of Cawal Yusuf returning from their annual visitation to the Yezidi tribes in Georgia and northern Armenia, had been murdered two years before, near Bitlis, at the instigation of the Kurdish Bey. The money collected by the Cawals for the benefit of the sect and its priesthood, together with their personal effects, had been taken by Sheriff Bey, and I was desirous of aiding Cawal Yusuf in their recovery. Reshid Pasha had given me an official order for their restoration out of the property of the late chief, and it rested with me to see it enforced. I called early in the morning on the mudir or governor,

one of the household of old Essad Pasha, who was at that time governor-general of Kurdistan, including Bitlis, Moush, and the surrounding country, and resided at Diarbekir. He gave me the assistance I required for the recovery of the property of the murdered Cawals, and spoke in great contempt of the Kurds now that they had been subdued, treating like dogs those who stood humbly before him. The Turks, however, had but recently dared to assume this haughty tone. Long after the fall of Beder Khan Bey, the chiefs of Hakkiari, Wan, Moush, and Bitlis had maintained their independence, and Sheriff Bey had only been sent that spring to the capital to pass the rest of his days in exile with the author of the Nestorian massacre.

The governor ordered cawasses to accompany me through the town. I had been told that ancient inscriptions existed in the castle, or on the rock, but I searched in vain for them: those pointed out to me were early Mohammedan. Bitlis contains many picturesque remains of mosques, baths, and bridges, and was once a place of considerable size and importance. It is built in the very bottom of a deep valley, and on the sides of ravines, worn by small tributaries of the Tigris. The best houses stand high upon the declivities, and are of stone, ornamented with large arched windows, trellis work, and porticoes; many of them being surrounded by groves of trees. The bazars are in the lowest parts of the town, and low, ill-built and dirty. They are generally much crowded, as in them is carried on the chief trade of this part of Kurdistan. The export trade is chiefly supplied by the produce of the mountains; galls, honey, wax, wool, and carpets and stuffs, woven and dyed in the tents. The dyes of Kurdistan, and particularly those from the district around Bitlis, Sert, and Jezireh, are celebrated for their brilliancy. They are made from herbs gathered in the mountains, and from indigo, yellow berries, and other materials, imported into the country. The colors usually worn by both men and women are a deep dull red and a bright yellow, mingled with black, a marked taste for these tints, to the exclusion of almost every other, being a peculiar characteristic of the Kurdish race from Bayazid to Suleimaniyah. The carpets are of a rich soft texture, the patterns displaying considerable elegance and taste: they are much esteemed in Turkey. There was a fair show of Manchester goods and coarse English cutlery in the shops. The sale of arms, once extensively carried on, had been prohibited. The trade is chiefly in the hands of merchants from Mosul and Erzerum, who come to Bitlis for galls, at present almost the only article of export from Kurdistan to the European markets. This produce of the oak was formerly monopolised by Beder Khan Bey, and other powerful Kurdish chiefs, but the inhabitants are now permitted to gather them without restriction, each village having its share in the woods. The wool of the mountains is coarse, and scarcely fit for export to Europe; and the "teftik," a fine underhair of the goat, although useful and valuable, is not collected in sufficient quantity for commerce. There is a race of sheep in Kurdistan producing a long silken wool, like that of Angora, but it is not common, and the fleeces being much prized as saddle and other ornaments by the natives, are expensive. There are, no doubt, many productions of the mountains, besides valuable minerals, which appear to abound, that would

become lucrative objects of commerce were tranquillity fully restored, and trade encouraged. The slaughter-houses, the resort of crowds of mangy dogs, are near the bazars, on the banks of the stream, and the effluvia arising from them is most offensive.

Having examined the town I visited the Armenian bishop, who dwells in a large convent in one of the ravines branching off from the main valley. On my way I passed several hot springs, some gurgling up in the very bed of the torrent. The bishop was maudlin, old, and decrepit; he cried over his own personal woes, and over those of his community, abused the Turks, and the American missionaries, whispering confidentially in my ear as if the Kurds were at his door. He insisted in the most endearing terms, and occasionally throwing his arms round my neck, that I should drink a couple of glasses of fiery raki, although it was still early morning, pledging me himself in each glass. He showed me his church, an ancient building, well hung with miserable daubs of saints and miracles. On the whole, whatever may have been their condition under the Kurdish chiefs, the Christians of Bitlis at the time of my visit had no very great grounds of complaint. I found them well inclined and exceedingly courteous, those who had shops in the bazar rising as I passed. The town contains about seven hundred Armenian and forty Jacobite families (the former have four churches), but no Nestorians, although formerly a part of the Christian population was of that sect.

There are three roads from Bitlis to Jezireh; two over the mountains through Sert, generally frequented by caravans, but very difficult and precipitous; a third more circuitous, and winding through the valleys of the eastern branch of the Tigris. I chose the last, as it enabled me to visit the Yezidi villages of the district of Kherzan. We left Bitlis on the 20th. Soon issuing from the gardens of the town we found ourselves amidst a forest of oaks of various descriptions.<sup>16</sup> It was one of those deep, narrow, and rocky valleys abounding in Kurdistan; the foaming torrent dashing through it, to be crossed and re-crossed, to the great discomfort of the laden mules, almost at every hundred yards, and from the want of bridges generally impassable during the spring and after rains. In autumn and winter the declivities are covered with the black tents of the Kochers, or wandering Kurds, who move in summer to the higher pastures. The tribes inhabiting the valley are the Selokeen, the Hamki, and the Babosi, by whom the relatives of Cawal Yusuf were murdered. There are no villages near the road-side. They stand in deep ravines branching out from the main valley, either perched on precipitous and almost inaccessible ledges of rock, or hid in the recesses of the forest. Several bridges and spacious khans, whose ruins still attest the ancient commerce and intercourse carried on through these mountains, are attributed, like all other public works in the country, to Sultan Murad during his memorable expedition against Baghdad (A.D. 1638).

About five miles from Bitlis the road is carried by a tunnel, about twenty feet in length, through a mass of calcareous rock, projecting like a huge rib from the

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<sup>16</sup> In the appendix will be found a note, with which I have been kindly favored by Dr. Lindsay, upon the new and remarkable oaks found in these mountains, and now for the first time grown in this country from acorns sent home by me.

mountain's side. The mineral stream, which in the lapse of ages has formed this deposit, is still at work, projecting great stalactites from its sides, and threatening to close ere long the tunnel itself. There is no inscription to record by whom and at what period this passage was cut. It is, of course, assigned to Sultan Murad, but is probably of a far earlier period. There are many such in the mountains;<sup>17</sup> and the remains of a causeway, evidently of great antiquity, in many places cut out of the solid rock, are traceable in the valley. We pitched our tents for the night near a ruined and deserted khan.

We continued during the following day in the same ravine, crossing by ancient bridges the stream which was gradually gathering strength as it advanced towards the low country. About noon we passed a large Kurdish village called Goeena, belonging to Sheikh Kassim, one of those religious fanatics who are the curse of Kurdistan. He was notorious for his hatred of the Yezidis, on whose districts he had committed numerous depredations, murdering those who came within his reach. His last expedition had not proved successful; he was repulsed with the loss of many of his followers. We encamped in the afternoon on the bank of the torrent, near a cluster of Kurdish tents, concealed from view by the brushwood and high reeds. The owners were poor but hospitable, bringing us a lamb, yahgourt, and milk. Late in the evening a party of horsemen rode to our encampment. They were a young Kurdish chief, with his retainers, carrying off a girl with whom he had fallen in love, - not an uncommon occurrence in Kurdistan. They dismounted, eat bread, and then hastened on their journey to escape pursuit.

Starting next morning soon after dawn we rode for two hours along the banks of the stream, and then, turning from the valley, entered a country of low undulating hills. Here we left the Bitlis stream, which is joined about six hours beyond, near a village named Kitchki, by the river of Sert, another great feeder of the Tigris. This district abounds in saline springs and wells, whose waters, led into pans and allowed to evaporate, deposit much salt, which is collected and forms a considerable article of export even to the neighbourhood of Mosul.

We halted for a few minutes in the village of Omais-el-Koran, belonging to one of the innumerable saints of the Kurdish mountains. The Sheikh himself was on his terrace superintending the repair of his house, gratuitously undertaken by the neighbouring villagers, who came eagerly to engage in a good and pious work. Whilst the chief enjoys the full advantages of a holy character the place itself is a Ziorah, or place of pilgrimage, and a visit to it is considered by the ignorant Kurds almost as meritorious as a journey to Mecca; such pilgrimages being usually accompanied by an offering in money, or in kind, are not discouraged by the Sheikh.

Leaving a small plain, we ascended a low range of hills by a precipitous pathway, and halted on the summit at a Kurdish village named Khokhi. It was filled with Bashi-Bozuks, or irregular troops, collecting the revenue, and there was such a general

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<sup>17</sup> See Col. Sheil's Memoir in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. VIII, p. 81.

confusion, quarrelling of men and screaming of women, that we could scarcely get bread to eat. Yet the officer assured me that the whole sum to be raised amounted to no more than seventy piastres (about thirteen shillings). The poverty of the village must indeed have been extreme, or the bad will of the inhabitants outrageous.

It was evening before we descended into the plain country of the district of Kherzan. The Yezidi village of Hamki had been visible for some time from the heights, and we turned towards it. As the sun was fast sinking, the peasants were leaving the threshing-floor, and gathering together their implements of husbandry. They saw the large company of horsemen drawing nigh, and took us for irregular troops, - the terror of an Eastern village. Cawal Yusuf, concealing all but his eyes with the Arab kefeh, which he then wore, rode into the midst of them, and demanded in a peremptory voice provisions and quarters for the night. The poor creatures huddled together, unwilling to grant, yet fearing to refuse. The Cawal having enjoyed their alarm for a moment, threw his kerchief from his face, exclaiming, "O evil ones! will you refuse bread to your priest, and turn him hungry from your door?" There was surely then no unwillingness to receive us. Outing aside their shovels and forks, the men threw themselves upon the Cawal, each struggling to kiss his hand. A boy ran to the village to spread the news, and from it soon issued women, children, and old men, to welcome us. A few words sufficed to explain from whence we came, and what we required. Every one was our servant. Horses were unloaded, tents pitched, lambs brought, before we had time to look around. There was a general rejoicing, and the poor Yezidis seemed scarcely able to satiate themselves with looking on their priest; for a report had gone abroad, and had been industriously encouraged by the Mussulmans, who had heard of the departure of the deputation for Constantinople, that Yusuf and his companions had been put to death by the Sultan, and that not only the petition of the Yezidis had been rejected, but that fresh torments were in store for them. For eight months they had received no news of the Cawal, and this long silence had confirmed their fears; but "he was dead and is alive again, he was lost and is found;" and they made merry with all that the village could afford.

Yusuf was soon seated in the midst of a circle of the elders. He told his whole history, with such details and illustrations as an Eastern alone can introduce, to bring every fact vividly before his listeners. Nothing was omitted: his arrival at Constantinople, his reception by me, his introduction to the ambassador, his interview with the great ministers of state, the firman of future protection for the Yezidis, prospects of peace and happiness for the tribe, our departure from the capital, the nature of steam-boats, the tolling of the waves, the pains of sea-sickness, and our journey to Kherzan. Not the smallest particular was forgotten; every person and event were described with equal minuteness; almost the very number of pipes he had smoked and coffees he had drunk was given. He was continually interrupted by exclamations of gratitude and wonder; and, when he had finished, it was my turn to be the object of unbounded welcomes and salutations.



As the Cawal sat on the ground, with his noble features and flowing robes, surrounded by the elders of the village, eager listeners to every word which dropped from their priest, and looking towards him with looks of profound veneration, the picture brought vividly to my mind many scenes described in the sacred volumes. Let the painter who would throw off the conventionalities of the age, who would feel as well as portray the incidents of Holy Writ, wander in the East, and mix, not as the ordinary traveller, but as a student of men and of nature, with its people. He will daily meet with customs which he will otherwise be at a loss to understand, and be brought face to face with those who have retained with little change the manners, language, and dress of a patriarchal race.

**CHAPTER XVIII. (pp. 335-352)**

**MEHEMET PASHA. - DESCRIPTION OF WAN. - ITS HISTORY. -  
IMPROVEMENT IN ITS CONDITION. - THE ARMENIAN BISHOP. - THE CUNEIFORM  
INSCRIPTIONS. - THE CAVES OF KHOR-KHOR. - THE MEHER KAPOUSI. - A  
TRADITION. – OBSERVATIONS ON THE INSCRIPTIONS -TABLE OF KINGS  
MENTIONED IN THEM. - THE BAIRAM. – AN ARMENIAN SCHOOL. - THE  
AMERICAN MISSIONS. –PROTESTANT MOVEMENT IN TURKEY. - AMIKH.  
- THE CONVENT OF YEDI KLISSIA.**

MEHEMET PASHA was living during the fast of Ramazan in a kiosk in one of the gardens outside the city walls. We had scarcely eaten, before he came himself to welcome us to Wan. He was the son of the last Bostandji-Basha of Constantinople, and having been brought up from a child in the imperial palace, was a man of pleasing and dignified manners, and of considerable information. Although he had never left his native country, he was not ignorant of the habits and customs of Europe. He had long served the Sultan in difficult and responsible posts, and to his discretion and sagacity was chiefly to be attributed the subjugation of Beder-Khan Bey and the rebel Kurdish tribes. His rule was mild and conciliating, and he possessed those qualities so rare in a Turkish governor, yet so indispensable to the civilisation and well-being of the empire, - a strict honesty in the administration of the revenues of his province, and a sense of justice beyond the reach of bribes. From Christians and Kurds we had received, during our journey through his pashalic, the highest testimony to his tolerance and integrity.

In the evening I returned his visit, and found him surrounded by the chiefs and elders of the city, and by the officers of his household. I sat with him till midnight, the time passing in that agreeable conversation which a well-educated Turk so well knows how to sustain.

I remained a week at Wan, chiefly engaged in copying the cuneiform inscriptions, and in examining its numerous remarkable monuments of antiquity.

The city is of very ancient date. It stands on the borders of a large and beautiful lake, a site eminently suited to a prosperous community. The lofty mountains bordering the inland sea to the east, here recede in the form of an amphitheatre, leaving a rich plain five or six miles in breadth, in the midst of which rises an isolated, calcareous rock. To the summit of this natural stronghold there is no approach, except on the western side, where a gradual but narrow ascent is defended by walls and bastions. From the earliest ages it has consequently been the acropolis of the city, and no position could be stronger before the discovery of the engines of modern warfare. The fortifications and castle, of a comparatively recent date, are now in ruins, and are scarcely defensible, with their few rusty guns, against the attacks of the neighboring Kurds.

According to Armenian history, the Assyrian queen Semiramis founded the city, which, after her, was originally named Schamiramjerd. Here, in the delicious gardens

which she had planted in the fertile plain, and which she had watered with a thousand rills, she sought refuge from the intolerable heats of a Mesopotamian summer, returning again, on the approach of winter, to her palaces at Nineveh.

The first city having fallen to decay, it is said to have been rebuilt, shortly before the invasion of Alexander the Great, by an Armenian king named Wan, after whom it was subsequently called. It appears to have been again abandoned, for we find that it was once more raised from its foundations in the second century B. C. by Vagharschag, the first king of the Arsacian dynasty of Armenia, who made it the strongest city in the kingdom. In the eleventh century it was ceded by the royal family of the Ardzrounis to the Greek emperors, from whom it was taken by the Seljuk Turks. It fell, in 1392, into the hands of Timourlane, who, according to his custom, gave the inhabitants over to the sword. Even in his day, the great monuments of solid stone, raised by the Assyrian queen, were still shown to the stranger.

Moses of Chorene, the early historian of Armenia, has faithfully described its position and its antiquities; the isolated hill, rising in the midst of a broad plain covered with flourishing villages, and watered by innumerable streams; the chapels, chambers, treasuries, and caverns cut in the living-rock, and the great inscriptions written, as it were, on the face of the precipice, as pages are written with a pen on wax. Twelve thousand workmen and six thousand master masons were employed, he declares, by Semiramis to execute those mighty works. The artificial caves and the inscriptions still remain, but modern research has proved that they belong to a far different period than that to which they were assigned by the Armenian antiquary.

The first traveller who, in modern times, examined the remarkable remains of antiquity at Wan was the unfortunate Schulz. He visited the place in 1827. The cuneiform inscriptions carved on the rock were known to exist long before his day, but he was the first to copy them, and from his copies they have been published by the Asiatic Society of France.<sup>18</sup> Since the time of Schulz, the city has undergone many changes. It was seized by the rebel Kurdish chief, Khan Mahmoud, who massacred the Turkish garrison, inflicted large fines upon the Christians, and grievously oppressed the dependent villages. After the troops of the Sultan had made many vain attempts to recover the place, it finally yielded two years before my journey. Under the mild rule of Mehemet Pasha it was rapidly rising to prosperity. The protection he had given to the Armenians had encouraged that enterprising and industrious people to enlarge their commerce, and to build warehouses for trade. Two handsome khans, with bazars attached, were nearly finished. Shops for the sale of European articles of clothing and of luxury had been opened; and, what was of still more importance, several native schools had already been established. These improvements were chiefly due to one Sharân, an Armenian merchant and a man of liberal and enlightened views, who had seconded with

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<sup>18</sup> In the ninth volume of the new series of their Transactions; a memoir by Schulz accompanies the inscriptions.

energy and liberality the desire of the Pasha to ameliorate the social condition of the Christian population.<sup>19</sup>

Shortly after my arrival, the Armenian bishop called upon me. He was dressed in the peculiar costume of his order, - long black robes and a capacious black hood almost concealing his head, - and was accompanied by the priests and principal laymen of his diocese. On his breast he wore the rich diamond crescent and star of the Turkish order of merit, of which he was justly proud. It had been asked for him of the Sultan by the Pasha, as an encouragement to the Christians, and as a proof of the spirit of tolerance which animated the government. If such principles were fully carried out in Turkey, there would be good hope for the empire. Although he had been duly elected several years before to his episcopal dignity, he still wanted the formal consecration of the patriarch of his church. This ceremony had hitherto been omitted on account of differences which had estranged the Armenian clergy residing in the Turkish dominions from the head of their sect, whose seat is the convent of Echmiadsin, made over to Russia at the close of the last war. These differences, arising from political interference in the management of the affairs of the Church, had for some time threatened a division in the community, that portion of it which acknowledges the authority of the Sultan wishing to place itself under a patriarch who resides at Cis, in Cilicia, and, consequently, beyond foreign control. The quarrel had now, however, been settled, and the bishop was on the eve of his departure to receive that consecration which was essential to his due admission into the Armenian hierarchy.

The modern town of Wan stands at the foot, and to the south of, the isolated rock. Its streets and bazars are small, narrow, and dirty; but its houses are not ill built. It is surrounded by fruitful gardens and orchards, irrigated by artificial rivulets derived from the streams rising in the Yedi Klissia mountains. It may contain between twelve and fifteen thousand inhabitants. The whole pashalic at the time of my visit paid an annual sum of six thousand purses (about 27,000l.) to the Turkish treasury. In the town there was a garrison of a thousand foot and five hundred horse, and the commander of the troops in the district and in the adjoining province of Hakkiari was at the head of five thousand men.<sup>20</sup>

The old hereditary pashas of Wan, as well as the principal families, were of Turkish origin, and came, I was informed by some of their descendants, from Konia (Iconium), about three hundred years ago. The chiefs, however, of the surrounding districts are Kurds. Two families, named the Topchi-oglus and the Timour-oglus, divided

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<sup>19</sup> I must not omit to mention the name of Dr. Bimerstein, a German gentleman at the head of the quarantine establishment, from whom I received much civility and assistance during my stay at Wan, and who, by the influence he had obtained over the Pasha, and by his integrity and good sense, had contributed considerably towards the improvement in the condition of the Christians, and the general prosperity of the pashalic. He was a pleasing exception in a class made up of the refuse and outcasts of Europe, who have done more than is generally known to corrupt the Turkish character, and to bring an European and a Christian into contempt. I am proud to say that an Englishman is not, I believe, to be found amongst them.

<sup>20</sup> Wan is about 5600 feet above the level of the sea.

the town into opposite factions, which were continually at war, and carried their bloody feuds almost daily into the streets. The Timour-oglus were the most powerful, and it was through their means that Khan Mahmoud possessed himself of the place.

The inscriptions of Wan are of two distinct periods, though all in the cuneiform writing. The most ancient are in a character identical with that on the oldest monuments of Assyria.<sup>21</sup> The only one not entirely in this Assyrian character is on the southern face of the rock, inaccessible from all sides, but easily legible, on account of the size and distinctness of its letters, by a glass from below. It was copied by Schulz, and is a trilingual tablet of Xerxes the son of Darius, very nearly word for word the same as those of the same king at Hamadan (Ecbatana) and Persepolis.

The earliest inscriptions are found on two square stones built into a wall near the western gateway of the city, and immediately beneath the only entrance to the castle. This wall appears to have been part of the old fortifications, and at a more recent period formed one of the sides of a Christian church, dedicated to St John, but now in ruins.<sup>22</sup> The inscribed stones were taken from some far more ancient building.

The two inscriptions are similar, and contain the names of a king and his father, which have not been satisfactorily deciphered. They are written,

𐎶 𐎵𐎠𐎧 𐎶𐎠𐎧 𐎶𐎠𐎧 𐎶𐎠𐎧 𐎶𐎠𐎧 𐎶𐎠𐎧 𐎶𐎠𐎧 𐎶𐎠𐎧 𐎶𐎠𐎧

It is remarkable that the royal titles

𐎶𐎠𐎧 𐎶𐎠𐎧 𐎶𐎠𐎧 𐎶𐎠𐎧 𐎶𐎠𐎧 𐎶𐎠𐎧 𐎶𐎠𐎧 𐎶𐎠𐎧 𐎶𐎠𐎧 𐎶𐎠𐎧

are precisely the same as to those used by the early monarchs of Assyria, with the exception of "King of Nahiri," a name apparently applied to the northernmost part of Mesopotamia, between the head waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and perhaps even including the lake of Wan. It is possible that this country may also be identified with the Naharina of the Egyptian monuments, which, there are grounds for believing, may have been far to the north of the Mesopotamia of the Greeks.

It is also to be remarked that the language of these inscriptions appears to be Assyrian,<sup>23</sup> whilst that of all the others is peculiar to Wan. Nevertheless, the names of the kings in them can be genealogically connected, as it will be seen, with those on the other monuments.

But the most important records at Wan are carved on the southern face of the isolated rock, round the entrance to a set of excavated chambers, probably once serving as tombs, which, unlike the artificial caves at Bavian and Malthaiyah, may be

<sup>21</sup> The distinguishing feature of the Wan writing is a tendency to repeat the horizontal wedge when two wedges intersect: thus 𐎶𐎠𐎧 for 𐎶𐎠𐎧. In this character are the inscriptions at Pahlou, on the Euphrates (Brit. Mus. Series, p. 74.), on a rock near Malatiah on the same river (copied by M. Mühlbach, and published by the Syro-Egyptian Society), on a column at Patnos (copied by the Hon. F. Walpole), and in various parts of Armenia, but principally in the neighbourhood of Lake Wan.

<sup>22</sup> In Schulz's collection only one of these inscriptions is given (No. 1.); one is seven, the other eight lines in length.

<sup>23</sup> The same forms of expression occur in these inscriptions as in the standard inscription of Nimroud: compare the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> lines of Schulz's copy with 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> lines of Brit. Mus. Series, p. 3.

referred to the same period as the inscriptions. As those inscriptions record the victories and deeds of a monarch, it is highly probable that they were placed over royal sepulchres.

A flight of twenty narrow steps cut in the perpendicular face of the precipice, and partly destroyed, so as to be somewhat difficult and dangerous, leads to a narrow ledge, above which the rock has been carefully smoothed, and is still covered with inscriptions in the cuneiform character. Here an entrance, about 7 feet deep, opens into a hall, 341½ feet long, by nearly 21 wide and 12 high, leading by four doorways into as many distinct chambers. Around its walls are window-like recesses, and between them, and on each side of the doorways, are ornamental niches, with holes in the centre, which may have held metal lamps. The floor has been excavated in two places into squares a few inches deep; I cannot conjecture for what purpose.

The door to the left on entering leads into a small chamber, 11 ft. 8 in. by 9 ft. 8 in., surrounded by similar window-like recesses. In it is a second doorway opening upon a well or pit, filled to within a few feet of the mouth with stones and rubbish. There were no means of ascertaining its depth or original use without removing the contents. The three other doors in the entrance hall lead to square rooms, surrounded by niches, but without other ornament. The excavations are sometimes called by the Turks "Khorkhor Mugaralari," the caves of Khorkhor, from a garden of that name below them.

The inscriptions on the face of the rock around the outer entrance to these chambers are contained in eight parallel columns, including in all above 300 lines and thirteen consecutive paragraphs.<sup>24</sup> The letters are large and admirably carved, and the writing is divided by horizontal lines. They are defective in many places, partly from natural decay, but mainly from wilful injury: the obliterated characters may to a great extent be restored by a comparison of the several inscriptions which contain corresponding passages.<sup>25</sup> These rock tablets are the records of a king whose name, according to Dr. Hincks, is Arghistis. He invokes the gods of his nation, and celebrates the conquest of various peoples or tribes, whose names still require to be identified, but who probably inhabited countries to the north of Armenia; he describes the burning of their temples and palaces, and the carrying away of captives and of an immense spoil of horses, camels, cattle, and sheep, the numbers of each being given with apparent exactness. The name of the region in which these conquests were chiefly made seems to read Mana.

The gardens beneath these inscriptions belong to the family of one of the former hereditary Pashas of Wan. A spring gushes forth from the foot of the rock, and over it is a small tablet, once containing a legend in arrow-headed characters, now entirely destroyed. The grounds, as I have observed, are called Khorkhor, and this name has been believed to occur in the cuneiform inscriptions as the ancient name of Wan, on the

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<sup>24</sup> These inscriptions are numbered from II to VIII in Schultz's collection.


<sup>25</sup> And see Dr. Hincks's Memoir on the Inscriptions of Wan, 2. In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

supposition that it is still given to the whole castle. I was assured, however, that it is limited to these gardens.<sup>26</sup>

The remaining inscriptions are on the northern face of the rock. They are five in number.<sup>27</sup> The longest and most important contains twenty-nine lines, and is on the side wall to the left on entering an artificial vaulted recess. It has been partly destroyed by a rude cross cut by the Armenians across the tablet. The cave is called the "Khazana Kapousi," or the treasure gate, and is held to be a sacred spot by Christians and Mussulmans. Beneath it, according to tradition, an iron gate, guarded by genii armed with swords of flame, closes the entrance to a vast hall filled with all manner of riches. The magic words that can alone open this portal are contained in the inscription, which is guarded at night by a serpent who retires at break of day into a hole near the cave.<sup>28</sup>

An inscription of seventeen lines is carved at the entrance to a second artificial chamber, and on tablets cut in the rock are three more, each of nineteen lines, word for word alike, but with orthographical variations in the royal name.

Four of these inscriptions belong to the father of the king, who recorded his conquests on the southern face of the rock. His name, according to Dr. Hincks, may be read Minuas. They merely contain the royal titles and invocations to the gods. The long inscription in the vaulted recess is of the grandson of Minuas, the latest king mentioned on the monuments of Wan. It is of considerable interest as containing the name of a

country,  which Dr. Hincks identifies with Babylon, and as enumerating, first in detail, the amount of booty taken from three different countries, and afterwards giving the total amount of the whole. By this double account the one checking the other, a clue was afforded to the signs representing numerals in the Assyrian inscriptions, as well as to their respective values, a discovery for which we are indebted to the sagacity of Dr. Hincks.<sup>29</sup> It gives, moreover, a long list of nations conquered by the Armenian king, of which the principal appears to be called Abana, a name not yet identified.

The Pasha had kindly placed the "Mimar Bashi," or architect in chief of the town, an intelligent and honest Armenian, named Nikòos, under my orders during my researches at Wan. I also found in the place a half-crazy Cawass, who had been all the way to Constantinople to obtain a firman for leave to dig for treasure beneath the inscribed tablets. The imperial document had been granted, with a clause, however, that a share of the riches discovered should be paid into the Sultan's treasury. His search had hitherto been vain, although his purse had been emptied; but he knew all the old stones and inscriptions in the neighborhood. With the aid of these two men I carried on excavations for a short time at the foot of the northern face of the rock, without other

<sup>26</sup> The ancient province of Khorkhorunik was to the west of the lake of Wan; the city of Wan stood in that of Dosb.

<sup>27</sup> Numbered in Schultz's collection from XII to XVI.

<sup>28</sup> Schultz gives this tradition, which, like many others, is probably of very ancient date.

<sup>29</sup> See Dr. Hinck's Paper on the War Inscriptions, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

results than clearing away the earth from one or two half-buried tablets, and laying bare the artificially smoothed rock.

About a mile and a half to the east of the town, near a small village in the gardens of Wan, is a recess in the rock 15 feet 8 inches high, and 6 feet 7 inches broad, containing a long cuneiform inscription. On the tablet may still be traced the remains of the yellow varnish, or glaze, mentioned by Schulz. The ancient Persians appear to have protected their rock-carved inscriptions by similar means from the effects of the atmosphere, traces of the glaze having been discovered on the great monument of Bisutun.<sup>30</sup> The inscription is called Meher Kapousi, which, according to the people of Wan, means the Shepherd's Gate, from a tradition that a shepherd, having fallen asleep beneath it, was told in a dream the magic word that opened the spell-bound portal. He awoke and straightway tried the talisman. The stone doors flew apart, disclosing to his wondering eyes a vast hall filled with inexhaustible treasures; but as he entered they shut again behind him. He filled with gold the bag in which, as he tended his flocks, he carried his daily food. After repeating the magic summons, he was permitted to issue into the open air. But he had left his crook, and must return for it. The doors were once more unclosed at his bidding. He sought to retrace his steps, but had forgotten the talisman. His faithful dog waited outside until nightfall. As its master did not come back, it then took up the bag of gold, and carrying it to the shepherd's wife, led her to the gates of the cave. She could hear the cries of her husband, and they are heard to this day, but none can give him help.

The inscription of the Meher Kapousi originally consisted of ninety-five lines, comprising the same record twice repeated. Only about sixty are now legible. It was carved by order of two kings, who appear to have reigned together, and whose names Dr. Hincks reads, Ishpuinish and Minuas. It contains little else than a list of sacrifices and offerings made to a multitude of gods, each one receiving a share probably according to his importance in the celestial hierarchy, the lowest in rank getting only one sheep, and the highest seventeen oxen and thirty-four sheep. With the gods of Armenia are mentioned those of foreign nations, who have the smallest portion of the honors, some obtaining but half an ox.

Near the Shepherd's Gate the rocks are excavated into a vast number of caves. In some places long flights of steps lead nowhere, but finish abruptly in the face of the perpendicular precipice; in others the cliff is scarped to a great height without any apparent object. A singular shaft, with stairs, leading into a cavern, is called Zimzim. It is difficult to account for the use and origin of these singular excavations; their height from the plain and their inaccessible position almost preclude the idea of their having been quarries.

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<sup>30</sup> Col. Rawlinson, Memoir on the Inscriptions of Behistan, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.



Several slabs of black basalt, inscribed with cuneiform characters, have been built into the interior walls of two ancient Armenian churches within the town of Wan.<sup>31</sup> They had been whitewashed with the rest of the building, but the bishop obligingly ordered the plaster to be removed from them. Some of the inscriptions are no longer legible. In the church of St. Peter and St. Paul I found parts of four legends,<sup>32</sup> which appear to refer to two kings, grandfather and grandson, whose names, according to Dr. Hincks, are Ishpuinish and Milidduris. They are historical, containing a record of the capture of many cities, and of the amount of spoil carried away from conquered countries.

In the church of Surp Sahak I was able to transcribe two inscriptions, one under the altar, the other in the vestibule beneath the level of the floor, which had to be broken up and removed before I could reach the stone. The longest consists of forty lines, the other of twenty-seven. The beginning and ending of the lines in both are wanting. They belong to a king whose name Dr. Hincks reads Arghistis, and one of them celebrates the capture of no less than 453 cities and 105 temples or palaces, and the carrying away of 25,170 (?) men, 2734 officers, 73,700 sheep, and an immense number of women, oxen, and other spoil.<sup>33</sup>

The only inscription at Wan that I could not copy was the trilingual tablet of Xerxes. It is on the most inaccessible part of the rock, about seventy or eighty feet above the plain. Not having a glass of sufficient power, I was unable to distinguish the characters from below. As it had been accurately transcribed by Schulz, and resembles those of the same king at Persepolis and Hamadan, I did not think it necessary to incur any risk or expense in reaching it by means of ropes or scaffolding.<sup>34</sup>

In the rock there are numerous excavated chambers, some even exceeding in dimensions those I have described; but, with the exception of a simple seat or bench of stone, about two and a half feet high on one side of them, they are perfectly plain and unornamented. They appear to have been used as tombs, and Schulz declares that he found human bones in them; but it is doubtful whether those remains belonged to the original occupants. Some are approached by flights of steps cut in the precipice; others are altogether inaccessible except by ropes from above. As they all more or less resemble the one previously mentioned, I will not give a particular account or accurate measurements of them.<sup>35</sup>

I add a list of the kings mentioned in the inscriptions of Wan in the order of their succession, which may be interesting to the historical student.

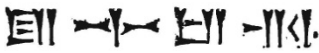



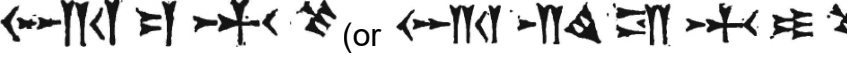


<sup>31</sup> These churches are probably of great antiquity, but no record appears to remain of the date of their foundation. They are dark and rudely built, and have nothing remarkable in them.

<sup>32</sup> Two are given by Schulz, Nos. XXXVIII and XXXIX.

<sup>33</sup> The beginnings of the lines having been destroyed, the numbers are not all complete.

<sup>34</sup> This inscription was copied, with a strong telescope, by Schulz, and is published with the rest of his transcripts.

<sup>35</sup> Schulz has given the measurements, and a detailed account of each cavern, in his Memoirs.

1. . Lutibri, or Lutibar.<sup>36</sup>
2. . Milidduris.
3. . Ishpuinish.
4. . Minuas.
5.  (or ) Argishtis.
6. . Milidduris.

It is yet doubtful to what family of languages the Wan inscriptions must be assigned. Some believe it to be a Tatar dialect; or, at least, to be largely intermixed with the Mongolian element. Dr. Hincks, on the contrary, is of opinion that it is Indo-Germanic, and adduces, in proof, various instances of case-endings corresponding with the Sanscrit.<sup>37</sup> Two of the inscriptions, and the earliest in date, as I have already observed, are in pure Assyrian.

With regard to the date of the monuments there appears to be a clue which may enable us to fix it with some degree of certainty. In an inscription from Khorsabad,<sup>38</sup> amongst the kings conquered by Sargon one is mentioned whose name corresponds with Arghistis, the fifth in the Wan dynasty. Supposing the two, therefore, to be the same, and there is no reason to doubt their being so, we may assume that the monarchs of the Wan records reigned from about the middle of the eighth century before Christ to the end of the seventh; and the evidence afforded by the forms of the characters leads to this conjecture. It is possible that between the death of the obelisk king and the reign of Sargon, the Assyrian monarchs were unable to enforce their authority beyond the lofty range of mountains to the north-east of Nineveh, and that a dynasty, which may indeed have been a branch from that of Assyria<sup>39</sup>, established itself

<sup>36</sup> The above are Dr. Hincks's version of the reading of the names. He entertains some doubt as to the correctness of the second and sixth, the first part of which is the name of a goddess, perhaps the Mylitta of Herodotus, though in the Babylonian inscriptions it seems to be written "Gula." It must be observed that they are sometimes written with orthographical variations in the inscriptions, and that those in the above list are, according to Dr. Hincks's view, in the nominative case.

<sup>37</sup> On the inscriptions of Wan. Page 14., Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

<sup>38</sup> Botta, pl. 151. 1. 5.

<sup>39</sup> Since the above was written Col. Rawlinson has announced three synchronisms between the inscriptions of Nineveh and Wan. "Lutipari is found contending with Sardanapalus (the builder of the north-west palace at Nimroud); his son Semiduri is attacked by Deleboras (the obelisk king); and the fifth Wan monarch, Arghisti, is an antagonist of Sargon." Dr. Hincks, however, denies the second identification, and entertains considerable doubt, therefore, as to the first. (Literary Gazette, Dec. 18, 1852, p. 931.) It is a curious fact that the earliest inscriptions found at Wan should be in Assyrian, whilst the others are in an essentially distinct language. Connected with the Armenian tradition, that the two sons of Sennacherib, after they had slain their father, fled into Armenia, and established royal dynasties, which reigned over that country with northern Mesopotamia (St. Martin, vol. i. p. 163.), it might have led to the conjecture that the inscriptions were of a more recent period, and of the time between the fall of the Assyrian empire and the rise of the Persian.

during that period in Armenia, and maintained its independence until a great conqueror again sat on the throne of Nineveh. It is to be remarked that Dr. Hincks believes he has even found an invasion of Babylonia recorded in these Armenian inscriptions. If such be the case, it must be inferred that the territories of the Assyrians were at that time confined within very narrow limits round their capital city.

In the Khorsabad inscription Arghistis is called king of



War-ar-di, apparently the genitive case of War-ar-ad, a name that may be identified with the biblical Ararath, the kingdom of Armenia.<sup>40</sup> But at Wan we have two different names for this country. In the oldest inscriptions (those in the Assyrian language) it is called Nahiri, a name which, as I have already mentioned, was applied by the Assyrians to the very northernmost part of Mesopotamia, if it can be called Mesopotamia at all, between the head-waters of the Tigris and Euphrates. In the others it is termed Biaynee,



a name not yet identified, but perhaps not unconnected with the mountainous province of Adiabene, to the north of Assyria.<sup>41</sup>

At sunrise, on the 8th August, the roaring of cannon, re-echoed by the lofty rock; announced the end of Ramazan, and the beginning of the periodical festivities of the Bairam. Early in the morning the Pasha, glittering with gold and jewels, and surrounded by the members of his household, the officers of the garrison, and the gaily-dressed chiefs of the irregular troops, rode in procession through the streets of the town. As it is customary, he received in the palace the visits of the *cadi*, *mollahs*, and principal Mussulman inhabitants of Wan, as well as of the bishop, clergy, and elders of the Armenian Church. The population, rejoicing at their release from a fast almost intolerable in summer, decked themselves in holiday garments, and made merry in the houses and highways. The sounds of music and revelry issued from the coffee-houses and places of public resort. The children repaired to swings, merry-go-rounds, and stalls of sweetmeats, which had been raised in the open spaces within the walls. The Christians add the feast to their own festivals, already too numerous,<sup>42</sup> and, like their Mussulman neighbours, pay visits of compliment and ceremony. Their women, who are said to be handsome, but are even more rigidly concealed than the Mahommedan ladies, crept through the streets in their long white veils.

I called in the evening on the bishop, and next morning, at his invitation, visited the principal schools. Five have been established since the fall of the Kurdish Beys, and the

<sup>40</sup> 2 Kings, XIX. 37, &c.

<sup>41</sup> The country is also thus called in the inscription at Pahlou (Br. Mus. Series, p. 74. l. 20), and that near Malatiah.

<sup>42</sup> The Mussulmans have only two great annual feasts in which labor gives way to rejoicings and festivities; the Christians of all sects have little else but fasts and festivals throughout the year. A lazy Christian will add to his own holidays the Friday of the Mohammedans, and the Saturday of the Jews.

enjoyment of comparative protection by the Christian population. Only one had been opened within the walls; the rest were in the gardens, which are thickly inhabited by Armenians, and form extensive suburbs to Wan. The school in the town was held in a spacious building newly erected, and at that time scarcely finished. More than two hundred children of all ages were assembled. They went through their exercises and devotions at the sound of a bell with great order and precision, alternately standing and squatting on their hams on small cushions placed in rows across the hall. An outer room held basins and towels for washing, and the cloaks and shoes taken off on entering. Books were scarce. There were not more than a score in the whole school. The first class, which had made some progress, had a few elementary works on astronomy and history, published by the Armenian press at Constantinople and Smyrna, but only one copy of each. The boys, at my request, sang and chanted their prayers, and repeated their simple lessons.

Such schools, imperfect though they be, are proofs of a great and increasing improvement in the Christian communities of Turkey.<sup>43</sup> A change of considerable importance, and which, it is to be hoped, may lead to the most beneficial results, is now taking place in the Armenian Church. It is undoubtedly to be attributed to the judicious, earnest, and zealous exertions of the American missionaries; their establishments, scattered over nearly the whole Turkish empire, have awakened amongst the Christians, and principally amongst the Armenians, a spirit of inquiry and a desire for the reform of abuses, and for the cultivation of their minds, which must ultimately tend to raise their political, as well as their social, position in the human scale. It is scarcely fifteen years since the first institution for Christian instruction on Protestant (independent) principles was opened by those excellent men in Constantinople. By a wise selection of youths from different parts of the empire, who from their character and abilities were deemed worthy of the choice, they were shortly enabled to send into the provinces those who could sow the seeds of truth and knowledge, without incurring the suspicions attaching to strangers, and without laboring under that ignorance of the manners and languages of those amongst whom they mix, which must always prove so serious an obstacle to foreigners in their intercourse with the natives. A movement of this nature could scarcely escape persecution. The Armenian clergy, not unfavorable to the darkness and bigotry which had for centuries disgraced their Church, and exercising an uncontrolled power over an ignorant and simple people, soon raised a cry against the "Evangelists," as they were contemptuously called. By such misrepresentations and calumnies as are always ready at hand to the enemies of progress and reform, they were able to enlist in their favor the Turkish authorities at the capital and in the provinces. Unfortunately, four sects alone, the Roman Catholic, the Armenian, the

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<sup>43</sup> The desire of a large number of the Armenians to improve their institutions, and to adopt the manners of Europe, is a highly interesting, and indeed important, fact. I was amused, after having contributed a trifle to the funds of the school, at having presented to me a neatly printed and ornamented receipt, with the amount of my donation duly filled up in the blank space left for the purpose, the document being signed by the head of the school.

Greek, and the Copt, were recognised by the Porte amongst their Christian subjects. The reformed Armenian Church was consequently without an acknowledged head, and unable, to communicate directly with the government, to make known its tenets, or to complain of the acts of injustice and persecution to which it was exposed. Many persons fell victims to their opinions. Some were cruelly tortured in the house of the Patriarch himself, and others were imprisoned or utterly ruined in Constantinople and the provinces. Sir Stratford Canning at length exerted his powerful influence to protect the injured sect from these wanton cruelties. Through his exertions and those of Lord Cowley, when minister, a firman was obtained from the Sultan, placing the new Protestant community on the same footing as the other Churches of the empire, assigning to it a bead, or agent, through whom it could apply directly to the ministers, and extending to it other privileges enjoyed by the Roman Catholics and Greeks. This act of toleration and justice has given fresh vigor to the spirit of inquiry bred by the American missionaries. There is now scarcely a town of any importance in Turkey without a Protestant community, and in most of the principal cities the American mission has opened schools, and is educating youths for the priesthood. Fortunately for the cause, many men of irreproachable character and of undoubted sincerity from the Armenian nation have been associated with it, and its success has not been endangered like that of so many other movements of the same kind, by interested, or hasty conversions. Those who have watched the effect that this desire for improvement and for religious freedom is gradually producing upon a large and important section of the Christian population of Turkey, may reasonably hope that the time is not far distant when it may exercise a marked influence upon other Christian sects, as well as upon those who surround them; preparing them for the enjoyment of extended political privileges, and for the restoration of a pure and rational faith to the East.

The influence of this spirit of inquiry, fostered by the American missions, has not been alone confined to those who have been out off from their own community. The Armenian clergy, no longer able to coerce their flocks, or to persecute those who left them, have found that the only mode of checking the schism is to reform the abuses of their own Church, and to educate and instruct their people. Schools in opposition to the American establishments have been opened in the capital and in most of the large towns of Asia Minor; and elementary and theological works, of a far more liberal character than any hitherto published in Turkey, have been printed by Armenian printing-presses in Constantinople and Smyrna, or introduced into the country from Venice. This is another, though an indirect, result of their labors, which the American missionaries may justly contemplate with satisfaction, unmingled with any feelings of jealousy or ill-will.

Whilst on this subject, and connected as I have been with the Nestorians, I must not omit a tribute of praise to the admirable establishments of the American missions amongst the Chaldaeans of Ooroomiyah in Persia, under the able direction of the Rev.

Mr. Perkins.<sup>44</sup> It was with much regret that I was compelled to give up the plan I had formed of visiting that small colony from the New World. The Rev. Mr. Bowen, who crossed the frontiers from Wan, has in a true Christian spirit home witness in the English Church to the enlightened and liberal spirit in which their labors are carried on. Forty or fifty schools have been opened in the town of Ooroomiyah and surrounding villages. The abuses that have crept into this primitive and highly interesting Church are being reformed, and the ignorance of its simple clergy gradually dispelled. A printing-press, for which type has been purposely cut, now publishes for general circulation the Scriptures and works of education in the dialect and character peculiar to the mountain tribes. The English language has been planted in the heart of Asia, and the benefits of knowledge are extended to a race which, a few years ago, was almost unknown even by name to Europe.

The Armenian bishop of Wan was not wanting in intelligence and in liberal feeling; but like most of his order, he was profoundly ignorant. He had not seen the valuable works in his native language, even those of the fathers of his Church, published by the Mechitarists of Venice; and was equally surprised and gratified with printed copies of the works of Moses of Chorene, Eusebius, and one or two other authors in Armenian which I had with me. The convents of Wan and of the neighbourhood, he said, were once rich in ancient manuscripts, but they had been carried away by camel-loads some two hundred years before by the Persians, and were believed still to be preserved in Isfahan. With the exception of a few printed copies of the Scriptures, and some religious works for the use of the churches, there are now no books in the city. He received with pleasure from Mr. Bowen a copy of the New Testament in the vulgar Armenian tongue, remarking that it would be a great advantage to the common people to have a version of the Scriptures in a language which they could understand. He was probably not aware that the head of his church had utterly condemned its use, and had anathematised all those who received it.

My companions had been compelled, from ill-health, to leave the plain, and had taken refuge in the convent of Yedi Klissia, from the sultry heats of the plain. Before joining them I visited the village of Amikh, where, according to my Armenian guide, Nikòos, an inscription was engraved on the rocks. I left the city on the 10th of August. Wan stands at a short distance from the lake, and the few boats which traffic along the shores anchor at a small Iskelli, or port, about a mile and a half from the gates. The greater part of this village is now under water, the lake having gradually risen during the

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<sup>44</sup> "I cannot refrain from recording the names of the Rev. Messrs. Goddall, Dwight, Holmes, Hamlin, and Schauffler, of the Constantinople missionary station; the late excellent and enterprising Dr. Smith, who, like the estimable Dr. Grant, his fellow-laborer in the same field, and many others of his countrymen, has recently fallen a victim to his zeal and devotion; the Rev. Eli Smith of Beyrout, and Perkins of Ooroomiyah; men who will ever be connected with the first spread of knowledge and truth amongst the Christians of the East, and of whom their country may justly be proud. Personally I must express my gratitude to them for many acts of kindness and friendship. The American mission has now establishments in Smyrna, Brousa, Trebizond, Erzeroom, Diarbekir, Mosul, Aintab, Aleppo, and many other cities in Asia Minor, together with native agents all over Turkey.

last few years. The inhabitants pretend that this rising is caused by a periodical ebbing and flowing, each continuing for seven years, and that the waters will again fall to their former level. It is certain, however, that, from some cause or other which I cannot explain, many villages on the borders of the lake are now partly submerged, and that there appears to have been for some years a gradual increase in the waters.

Leaving the small port, and passing some pans in which a kind of alkaline deposit is collected from the water of the lake to be used as soap, we struck into a fine undulating corn country, abounding in Christian villages. The soil is well cultivated, though by dint of much labor. Eight, or even ten, pairs of oxen are frequently yoked to a plough, which differs from that seen in any other part of Turkey; and having two wheels, one larger than the other, more resembles those in common use in England. The landscape was richly tinted by large plots of bright yellow thistles,<sup>45</sup> cultivated for the oil expressed from the seeds, and used by the Armenians during their numerous fasts. We reached at sunset a deep bay hemmed in by gardens and orchards, and sheltered from the wind by an amphitheatre of low rocky hills. I pitched my tent about a mile from the village of Amikh, near a transparent spring, in a small glade shelving to the water's edge, and embowered in white roses.

Early next morning I sought the inscriptions which I had been assured were graven on the rocks near an old castle, standing on a bold projecting promontory above the lake. After climbing up a dangerous precipice by the help of two or three poles, in which large nails had been inserted to afford a footing, I reached a small natural cave in the rock. A few crosses and ancient Armenian letters were rudely cut near its entrance. There was nothing else, and I had to return as I best could, disappointed, as many a traveller has been under similar circumstances before me.

From Amikh I rode across the country in a direct line to the monastery of Yedi Klissia, whose gardens on the side of the lofty mountain of Wurrak are visible from most parts of the plain. I stopped for an hour at the church of Kormawor before ascending to the convent. An aged priest, with beard white as snow, and wearing a melon-shaped cap, and long black robes, was the guardian of the place. He led me into an arcade surrounding the inner court of the building. Seeing that I was a Frank, he fancied at once that I was searching for inscriptions, and pointed to a circular stone, the base of a wooden column, which, he said, he had shown many years before to a traveller, meaning Schulz.<sup>46</sup> It bears three imperfect lines of cuneiform writing, part of an inscription belonging to one of the Wan kings, whose name Dr. Hincks read Minuas. It appears to record the foundation of a temple. A second inscription on a black stone, and several fragments with the same royal name, are built into the walls.<sup>47</sup>

I copied that which remained of the legends, the old priest hooking a pair of primitive spectacles on his nose, and watching my movements with anxious curiosity.

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<sup>45</sup> Called in Turkish Khanjerek.

<sup>46</sup> The inscription is published in his collection, No. XXIII.

<sup>47</sup> Schulz, No. XXIV.

He entreated me, with every term of endearment, to communicate the contents to him. Were they talismans for the discovery of riches, or words of promise to the Armenian nation? They recorded, I told him, the past glories of his race, and might be regarded as a promise that by education, integrity, and reform, these glories might be revived. This explanation was scarcely sufficiently definite to satisfy him. However, in return for the interpretation, he offered me a frugal breakfast of cheese and sour milk.

Eight hours' ride from Amikh brought me to the large Armenian convent of Yedi Klissia, or the seven churches, built of substantial stone masonry, and inclosing a spacious courtyard planted with trees. It has more the appearance of a caravanserai than that of a place of religious retreat, and is beautifully situated near the mouth of a wooded ravine, halfway up a bold mountain, which ends in snowy peaks. Spread beneath it is a blue lake and a smiling plain, and the city, with its bold castellated rock, and its turreted walls half hid in gardens and orchards.

The church, a substantial modern edifice, stands within the courtyard. Its walls are covered with pictures as primitive in design as in execution. There is a victorious St. George blowing out the brains of a formidable dragon with a bright brass blunderbus, and saints, attired in the traditionary garments of Europe, performing extravagant miracles. The intelligence of the good priest at the head of the convent was pretty well on a par with his illustrated church history. He was a specimen of the Armenian clergy of Asia Minor. As he described each subject to me, he spoke of the Nestorians as heretics, because they were allowed, by the canons of their church, to marry their mothers and grandmothers; of the Protestants as freemasons or atheists; and of the great nations of Europe as the Portuguese, the Inglese, the Muscovs, and the Abbash (Abyssinians).

I found two short cuneiform inscriptions; one on a stone amongst the ruins of the old church, the other built into the walls of the new.<sup>48</sup> They also belong to Minuas, and merely contain the name and titles of the king.

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<sup>48</sup> Nos. XXVIII and XXIX. Schulz's Collection. Schulz gives three from this convent, one of which may have been covered by the ruins of the former church since his visit.



**CHAPTER XIX. (pp. 353-373).**

**LEAVE WAN - THE ARMENIAN PATRIARCH. - THE ISLAND OF AKHTAMAR. - AN ARMENIAN CHURCH. - HISTORY OF THE CONVENT. - PASS INTO MUKUS. - THE DISTRICT OF MUKUS - OF SHATTAK - OF NOURDOOZ. - A NESTORIAN VILLAGE. - ENCAMPMENTS. - MOUNT ARARAT. - MAR SHAMOUN. - JULAMERIK. - VALLEY OF DIZ. - PASS INTO JELU. - NESTORIAN DISTRICT OF JELU. - AN ANCIENT CHURCH. - THE BISHOP. - DISTRICT OF BAZ - OF TKHOMA - RETURN TO MOSUL**

SICKNESS had overcome both Dr. Sandwith and Mr. Cooper. A return to the burning plains of Assyria might have proved fatal, and I advised them to seek, without further delay, the cooler climate of Europe. Mr. Walpole, too, who had been long suffering from fever, now determined upon quitting my party and taking the direct road to Erzerum.

In the afternoon of the 12th August I left the gates of the convent of Yedi Klissia with Mr. Hormuzd Rassam. Once more I was alone with my faithful friend, and we trod together the winding pathway which led down the mountain side. We had both been suffering from fever, but we still had strength to meet its attacks, and to bear cheerfully, now unhindered, the difficulties and anxieties of our wandering life.

We made a short journey of three and a half hours to the pleasant village of Artamit or Adremit, and encamped beneath its fruit trees in a garden near the lake.<sup>49</sup> Our path on the following day led through a hilly district, sometimes edging a deep bay, then again winding over a rocky promontory. We crossed by a bridge the large stream which we had seen at Mahmoudiyah, and which here discharges itself into the lake. The feast of St. George had been celebrated during the previous day at the church of Narek, and we passed, as we rode along, merry groups of Armenians returning from their pilgrimage. The women, seated with their children on the backs of mules and asses, and no longer fearing the glances of haughty Kurds, had lifted their veils from their ruddy faces. They were dressed in scarlet cloaks, which half concealed their festive robes. To their platted hair was attached a square black pad of silk hung with tassels, and sometimes with coins. Most of the men carried umbrellas to protect themselves from the rays of the sun. In the midst of them we met, surrounded by a crowd of adherents, the Patriarch of Akhtamar, once the head of the Armenian Church, but now only recognised by a small section of Christians living in the province of Wan. He rode a mule, and was dressed in long black robes, with a silken cowl hanging over his head. Several youthful priests, some carrying silver-headed wands, followed close behind him. He was on his way to the city, and I thus lost the opportunity of seeing him at his residence on the sacred island.

<sup>49</sup> There are two cuneiform inscriptions near the village, which are included in Schulz's collection.

On the shores of the lake we found many encampments of gipsies; the men to be distinguished by their swarthy countenances, the women and children by their taste for begging.

We passed through Vastan; in the eleventh century the residence of the royal Armenian family of Ardzrouni, but now a mere village. The convent boat was on the beach, three miles above the usual landing-place. Four sturdy monks were about to row it back to the island. As they offered to take me with them, I left the caravan to journey onwards to our night's encamping place, and with Mr. Rassam and the Bairakdar, we were soon gliding over the calm surface of the lake. Not a breeze rippled the blue expanse. The burning rays of the sun were still full upon us, and the panting boatmen were nearly two hours before they reached the convent.

In the absence of the Patriarch we were received by an intelligent and courteous monk named Kirikor. His hair, as well as his beard, had never known the scissors, and fell in long luxuriant curls over his shoulders. It was of jetty black, for he was still a young man, although he had already passed twenty years of a monastic life. He led us through an arched doorway into the spacious courtyard of the convent, and thence into an upper room furnished with comfortable divans for the reception of guests. Tea was brought to us after the Persian fashion, and afterwards a more substantial breakfast, in which the dried fish of the lake formed the principal dish. Kirikor had visited Jerusalem and Constantinople, had read many of the works issued by the Venetian press, and was a man of superior acquirements for an Armenian monk of the orthodox faith.

The church, which is within the convent walls, is built of the sandstone of a rich deep red color that has been quarried for the turbehs of Akhlat. Like other religious edifices of the same period and of the same nation, it is in the form of a cross, with a small hexagonal tower, ending in a conical roof, rising above the centre. The first monastery was founded by a Prince Theodore in A.D. 653: and the church is attributed to the Armenian king Kakhik, of the family of Ardzrouni, who reigned in the tenth century; but the island appears from a very remote date to have contained a castle of the Armenian kings. The entrance and vestibule of the church are of a different style from the rest of the building, being a bad imitation of modern Italian architecture. They were added about one hundred years ago by a patriarch, whose tomb is in the courtyard. The interior is simple. A few rude pictures of saints and miracles adorn the walls, and a gilded throne for the Patriarch stands near the altar. The exterior, however, is elaborately ornamented with friezes and broad bands of sculptured figures and scroll work, the upper part being almost covered with bas-reliefs, giving to the whole building a very striking and original appearance. The conical roof of the tower, rising over the centre of the cross, rests upon a frieze of hares, foxes, and other animals. Above arched windows are bands of rich foliage, and beneath them, at the base of the tower, a row of small vaulted recesses. The roof of the transept is supported by human heads. Beneath is a frieze, Assyrian in its character, and resembling the embossed designs on

some of the bronze dishes described in a previous chapter.<sup>50</sup> It consists of lions springing upon stags, and figures of wild goats, hares, and deer. Under the projecting roof of the aisle is a frieze, formed of bunches of grapes mingled with grotesque forms of men, animals, and birds. Next is a row of the heads of similar figures, projecting in high relief from the wall. They are succeeded by bas-reliefs representing Scripture stories from the Old and New Testaments, divided into separate subjects by medallions with images of Armenian saints. An elaborate border of scroll work completes the exterior decoration about halfway up the building. The human form is rudely portrayed in these sculptures; but the general design is far from inelegant and the ornaments rich and appropriate. I know of no similar specimen of Armenian architecture, and I regret that time would not allow me to make detailed drawings of the edifice.<sup>51</sup>

In a grave-yard outside the church are several most elaborately carved tombstones belonging to the early Armenian patriarchs. That of Zachariah, who died in the fourteenth century, and who was for one year patriarch at Echmiadsin and for nine years at Akhtamar, is especially worthy of notice for the richness and elegance of its ornaments.

In the portico is a circular black stone, like a millstone, with short cuneiform inscriptions on the two flat sides. They contain the name of the king who carved the great tablet of the Meher Kapousi near Wan, which Dr. Hincks reads Minuas. The inscriptions do not appear to record any events of importance.<sup>52</sup>

A library of manuscripts, said to have been once preserved in the convent, no longer exists. Kirikor assured me that many works of value had been removed some years ago to the capital by order of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch.

The Patriarchate of Akhtamar, or Aghtamar, was founded in 1113 by an archbishop of the island, who declared himself independent of the universal Patriarch, residing at Echmiadsin. Its jurisdiction does not extend far beyond the immediate neighbourhood of Wan, and the ecclesiastic who fills the office is generally even more ignorant than other dignitaries of the Armenian Church. The present Patriarch, I was informed, obtained his nomination by bribing the celebrated Kurdish chief, Khan Mahmoud, with in whose territories his followers mainly reside.

The convent and church are built on a small rocky island about five miles from the shore. On an adjacent islet are the ruined walls of a castle partly covered by the rising waters of the lake. Intercourse with the main land is carried on by the one crank boat which, whenever the weather permits, goes backwards and forwards daily for such provisions as are required by the inmates of the monastery. Khan Mahmoud took the place by collecting together the vessels belonging to Wan for the transport of his troops.

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<sup>50</sup> Chapter VIII.

<sup>51</sup> This building affords another clue to the origin of the early Mussulman architecture - Arab and Tatar - of which remains exist in many parts of Asia Minor, and particularly at Akhlat.

<sup>52</sup> Nos. XX and XXI in Schulz's collection. One inscription contains ten, and the other, nine short lines.

Late in the afternoon, accompanied by the monk Kirikor, I was rowed to the farm and garden belonging to the convent, near the village of Ashayansk. We had scarcely reached the land where a violent storm of wind suddenly arose, and lashed the water of the lake into high waves crowned with foam. The monks dragged the boat high on the beach to save it from being dashed to pieces. I was well satisfied not to have encountered the gale, with which our frail bark could scarcely have struggled. It was, however, but one of those mountains squalls which sometimes sweep down the deep valleys, and expend their fury in a short hour. By sunset the air was again serene, and the face of the blue lake once more reflected, like a mirror, the snow-white gulls and black cormorants that floated on its surface.

A few monks live on the farm, and tend the property of the convent, supplying the Patriarch with the produce of the dairy and orchards. They received us very hospitably. Kirikor rode with me on the following morning as far as the large Armenian village of Narek, in which there is a church dedicated to St. George, much frequented in pilgrimage by the Christians of Wan and the surrounding country. It was built by one Tateos Arakil, in the ninth century, according to the priest of the place; but, according to Kirikor, by a certain Theodorus in the time of King Kakhik. It has probably been added to and repaired at various periods, and there are parts, such as the belfry, which are modern, whilst others bear evident marks of antiquity. It is a strong solid building, of the same red sandstone as the tombs of Akhlat.

We had now left the lake of Wan, and our track led up a deep ravine, which gradually became more narrow as we drew nigh to the high mountains that separated us from the unexplored districts of Mukus and Bohtan. We passed a large Armenian village named Pagwantz, near which, on the summit of a precipitous rock, stands the ruined castle of Khan Mahmoud, the rebel chief. He was the eldest of seven brothers, all of whom governed under him different districts on the borders of the lake, and sorely oppressed the Christian inhabitants. Five were captured and are in banishment.

On both sides of the ravine were villages and ruined castles. Numerous streams from the hill-sides irrigated plots of cultivated ground. Ere long we entered a rocky barren tract, patched here and there with fragrant Alpine flowers. After climbing up a steep declivity of loose stones like the moraine of a Swiss glacier, and dragging our horses with much difficulty after us, we found ourselves amidst eternal snow, over which we toiled for nearly two hours, until we reached the crest of the mountain, and looked down into the deep valley of Mukus. This is considered one of the highest passes in Kurdistan, and one of the most difficult for beasts of burden. The flocks of the nomade Kurds of Bohtan were feeding in the gullies, cropping the sweet and tender herbs nourished by the snow. The descent was even more rapid and precipitous than the ascent, and we could scarcely prevent our weary horses from rolling down into the ravine with the stones which we put into motion at every step. At the foot of the pass is a small Armenian church called Khorous Klissia, or "the church of the cock," because a black cock is said to warn the traveller when the snowdrifts hide the mountain tracks.

There was no other pathway down the rocky ravine than the dry bed of the torrent. As we approached the widening valley the springs began to collect together and to form a considerable stream, through which we had to wade as we best could. A track, occasionally followed by the solitary foot-traveller, and by the shepherds in their periodical migrations to the uplands, had been carried here and there over the foaming water by trunks of trees. But these simple bridges had been washed away during a recent storm. Leaving the laden horses to find their way over the stones and through the torrent, I rode onwards with Hormuzd. We passed soon after a deep natural cavern, from which burst, white with foam and struggling through a bed of pink flowers, a most abundant spring. This was one of the principal sources of the eastern branch of the Tigris, here called the river of Mukus, which, according to an Armenian tradition, only issued from the rock for about five hundred years ago.

A ride of eight hours brought us to the large scattered village of Mukus, the principal place of the district of the same name. We were met, as we drew near, by the Mudir or governor, an active bustling Turk, who had already chosen, with the usual taste of an Eastern, the prettiest spot, a lawn on the banks of the river, for our tents, and had collected provisions for ourselves and our horses. The good Pasha of Wan had sent to the different chiefs on our way, and had ordered preparations to be everywhere made for our reception. The Tigris is here a deep stream, and is crossed by a stone bridge. The houses are built without order, on the slopes of the mountain, each family choosing some open place more free from stones than the usual rocky declivities to cultivate a small plot of ground. There is no room for them in the narrow valley. The place may contain altogether about two thousand inhabitants.

The district of Mukus, anciently Mogkh, and one of the provinces of the Armenian kingdom, had only lately been brought under the authority of the Sultan.<sup>53</sup> Like the rest of this part of Kurdistan, it had long maintained its independence under hereditary chiefs, the last of whom, Abdal Bey, after several times defeating the Turkish troops sent against him, was at length captured as he was flying into Persia. Of its sixty villages forty are inhabited by Christian Armenians. The revenues amounted the year of my visit to little more than 100,000 piastres (about 910 l.), of which the village of Mukus contributed 42,000. The garrison consisted of only forty regular soldiers and forty Albanians, so completely had the seizure of their chiefs discouraged the wild Kurdish tribes who dwell in the mountains, and were formerly in open rebellion against the Porte. This nomade race forms the principal part of the Mussulman population, and is the most fierce and independent in Kurdistan. Mukus was anciently celebrated for its mines. None are now worked, and even the site of the greater part of them is unknown.

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<sup>53</sup> The ancient Armenian province of Mogkh was bounded on the south by a part of Assyria called by the Armenians Arovasdan. It was governed by Armenian princes, whose descendants still reigned there in the tenth century. (St. Martin, i. 175., who by mistake places Mukus on the Khabour.) Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the district under the name of Moxoene. According to a tradition, the mountains to the south of the lake of Wan were the original seat of the Armenian race. (St. Martin, I 206.)

The Pasha of Wan had sent miners from Arghana to examine those of silver and copper, but their report being unfavorable, no further attempt was made to explore them. The Armenians of Mukus weave the striped woollen stuffs, some of rich color and fine texture, worn by the Kurds, and export a little honey and wax, but have no other trade. The border districts are Karkar (containing about eighteen villages), Khiawash, Isparut, Bidar, and Shattak.<sup>54</sup>

The Mudir showed the greatest anxiety for our welfare during the night, continually visiting our tents to see that the Albanians he had placed as guards over our property did not sleep, as the village swarmed with Bohtan thieves.

The principal Armenians of Mukus with their priests spent a morning with me. They knew of no ruins or inscriptions in the district, and I found them even more ignorant than their fellow-countrymen of the districts around Wan, whose stupidity has passed into a Turkish proverb. Long subjection to the Kurds and a constant intercourse with Mussulmans, have led them to adopt their manners and dress; their religion at the same time consists of mere outward profession, and the punctual performance of a few ceremonies and fasts.

We left Mukus early in the afternoon, accompanied by the Mudir. The path following the course of the river, leads to Sert Jezireh and the Assyrian plains. We soon turned from it, and entered a valley running eastwards. On the mountain-sides were many villages, buried, like those of Tiari, in orchards and groves of walnuts. We forced our way through thickets and through matted climbing plants hanging from the branches of trees, the track being continually lost in rivulets or in watercourses for irrigation. The valley soon narrowed into a wild gorge. High above us, in a cave in the rock, was an ancient Christian chapel, which I visited, but without finding anything of interest in it. The ravine ended at length in the gardens of Aurenj. We chose amongst them a sheltered nook for our night's resting-place.

Next day we crossed a high mountain ridge covered in some places with snow, separating the district of Mukus from that of Shattak. Its northern and western slopes are the summer pastures of the Miran Kurds, whose flocks were still feeding on the green lawns and in the flowery glens. On the opposite side of the pass we found an encampment of Hartushi Kurds, under one Omar Agha, a noble old chieftain, who welcomed us with unbounded hospitality, and set before me every luxury that he possessed. I could scarcely resist his entreaties that we should pass the night under his tent. I had honored it, he declared, by entering into it. All that it contained, his children, his wives, and his flocks, were, upon his head, no longer his but my property. I had no wish to profit by his generosity, and at length we parted. Resuming our journey we

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<sup>54</sup> The principal villages in the Mukus district are Aughin, Nouravos, Kasr, Achichos, Kerkichos, Aurenj, Kotzabiloor, Auveriss, Parangos, Mangoneh, Komos, Ketchoks, Amaghus, Marakos, and Berwar. Of the nine districts into which, according to the Armenian writers, the province of Mogkh was divided, I could recognize no name in the modern villages and valleys. From Mukus to Jezireh there are five caravan days' journeys, and to Sert three, by difficult mountain roads.

descended by a precipitous pathway into a deep valley. A broad stream, another arm of the eastern Tigris, wound through it; its glittering waters had been just visible amidst the gardens of Shattak, from the mountain-top.

Here again the Mudir had been apprised of our coming, and was ready to receive us. He had collected provisions for ourselves and horses in an open space on the river bank. Shattak is a small town, rather than a village. It is chiefly inhabited by Armenians, an industrious and hardy race, cultivating the sides of the mountains, on which are built their villages, and weaving in considerable quantities the gay-colored woollen stuffs so much esteemed by the Kurds. In nearly every house was a loom, and the rattle of the shuttle came from almost every door. The large and flourishing Armenian communities inhabiting the valleys between lake Wan and the district of Jezireh, appear to be unknown to modern geographers, and are unnoticed in our best maps. The difficulties and dangers of the road have hitherto deterred travellers from entering their mountains. The existence of this people in the very heart of Kurdistan might, if taken advantage of by the Porte, be the means of establishing an important trade and of quieting and civilising a country but recently brought under its rule. The mountains produce galls, wool (some of which has the same silky texture as that of Angora), the small under-wool of the goat called *teftik* (a valuable article of export), and minerals. In the bazar at Shattak I saw a few English prints, and other European wares brought for sale from Wan.

The priests and principal Armenians of the place came to me soon after my arrival, and I learnt from them that efforts had already been made to improve the condition of the Christian community, now that the oppressive rule of the Kurdish hereditary chiefs had been succeeded by the more tolerant government of the Sultan. A school had been opened, chiefly by the help of Sheran, the active and liberal Armenian banker of Wan.

The town itself is called by the Armenians Tauk, by the Kurds Shokh, and when spoken of together with the numerous villages that surround it, Shattak. It stands near the junction of two considerable streams, forming one of the head-waters of the eastern Tigris, and uniting with the Bohtan Su. The largest comes from the district of Albagh. These streams, as well as that of Mukus, abound in trout of the most delicious flavor. The entire district contains fifty villages and numerous *mezras* or hamlets. The revenues are about the same as those of Mukus. A few Mussulmans live on the right bank of the stream opposite Shokh, round the ruins of an old castle, medresseh (college), and mosque, all apparently at one time handsome and well-built edifices. They prove that the place was once a flourishing Mohammedan town. The castle belonged to Nur-Ullah Bey, from whom it was taken by Beder Khan Bey, who gave it to Omar Agha, a chief of the Hartushi Kurds, the last independent lord of the place.

We left Shokh on the 17th August by a bridge crossing the principal stream. The Mudir rode with us up a steep mountain, rising on the very outskirts of the town. After a long and difficult ascent we came to a broad green platform called Tagu, the pastures of the people of Shattak, and now covered with their tents and flocks. This high ground

overlooked the deep valleys, through which wound the two streams, and on whose sides were many smiling gardens and villages. We stopped at an encampment of Miran Kurds, a large and wealthy tribe, pasturing their flocks far and wide over the mountains and ravines of Shattak and Nourdooz. Their chief had died five days before. We had passed on the road his son, a boy covered with embroidery and gold, and surrounded by armed servants. He was on his way to Wan to receive a cloak of investiture from the Pasha, who had recognised him as lord of the clan.

Crossing a high mountain pass, on which snow still lingered, we descended into a deep valley like that of Shattak, chiefly cultivated by Armenians. We crossed a small stream, and ascended on the opposite side to Ashkaun, whose inhabitants were outside the village, near a clear spring, washing and shearing their sheep. We had now entered Nourdooz, a district under a Mudir appointed by the Pasha of Wan, and living at a large village called Pir-bedelan.

Our ride on the following day was over upland pastures of great richness, and through narrow valleys watered by numerous streams. Here and there were villages inhabited by Kurds and Armenians. We were now approaching the Nestorian districts. The first man of the tribe we met was an aged buffalo-keeper, who, in answer to a question in Kurdish, spoke to me in the Chaldee dialect of the mountains. Hormuzd and my servants rejoiced at the prospect of leaving the Armenian settlements, whose inhabitants, they declared, were for stupidity worse than Kurds, and for rapacity worse than Jews. Chilghiri was the first Nestorian village on our way. The men, with their handsome wives and healthful children, came out to meet us. We did not stop there, but continued our journey to Merwanen, which we found deserted by its inhabitants for the Zomas, or summer pastures. The Kiayah, or chief, however, with one or two of his people, had ridden down to examine the state of the crops, and turning his horse he led us up the steep pathway to his tents. They were huddled up in a little rocky nook, high on the mountain, and in the midst of snow. Unlike the Kurds, the Nestorians do not shift their encampments, but remain on one spot during the whole time they are in the Zomas. They thus live for some months in the midst of the dung of animals and filth of all kinds, whilst vermin abounds as plentifully as in their wretched villages. The cattle and flocks are kept during the night in folds, formed by a circular wall four or five feet high, built of loose stones. The dwellings indeed consist of little more than such rude inclosures, with coarse black goat-hair canvas stretched over them. As the nights are cold, and protection from the high winds is necessary in these lofty regions, a shallow pit is dug in the centre of the hut, in which the family crouches for warmth when not engaged in out-door occupations. Although poor and needy, the people of Merwanen were not less hospitable than other Nestorians I had met with. They brought us as the sun went down smoking messes of millet boiled in sour milk and mixed with mountain herbs.

The Nestorian Christians of these Kurdish districts dress like their Mussulman neighbours, and can scarcely be distinguished from them. They still go armed, and are



less exposed to oppression than the suffering tribes of Tiari. The Kiayah and a party of musketeers escorted us next day to a large encampment of Hartushi Kurds, near the outlet of a green valley, watered by many streams, forming the most easterly sources of the Tigris.<sup>55</sup> Abd-ur-Rahman, the chief, was absent from his tents collecting the annual salian or revenue of the tribe. In his absence we were received under his capacious goat-hair tent by a conceited mollah, who, being the spiritual adviser of its master, considered himself also the joint owner of his personal property. He did the honors, as if we were his guests, in a very patronising fashion. A scene of activity rarely witnessed in a Kurdish community reigned around. The banks of a small stream running through the midst of the camp were crowded with sheep: some being washed in the pure water, other being under the scissors of the shearers. Groups of boys and women were already beating and pressing the newly-cut wool into felt, a manufacture of the Hartushi Kurds much prized for its close yet soft texture. In the tents girls were seated before the long warps stretched over the green-sward for the woof of their beautiful carpets. I was not unknown to these mountaineers, who wander during the winter in the plains to the east of the Tigris, below Jezireh, and frequently come into Mosul to trade. A group of chiefs, gaily dressed in the striped cloth of Bohtan, soon collected round us. The wives of Abd-ur-Rahman Agha did not suffer their husband's good name for hospitality to be forfeited. Although Hormuzd and myself were the only partaken of the feast, a primitive table-cloth formed of the skins of the wild goat was spread before us, and covered with a great pile of the white and delicate mountain bread.

The mountain rising above us was the boundary between the pashalics of Wan and Hakkiari and the watershed of the Tigris and Zab. On the opposite side of the streams uniting their waters flowed towards the latter river. The first district we entered was that of Lewen, inhabited chiefly by Nestorians. The whole population with their flocks had deserted their villages for the Zomas. We ascended to the encampment of the people of Billi, a wretched assemblage of dirty hovels, half tent and half cabin, built of stones and black canvas. Behind it towered, amidst eternal snows, a bold and majestic peak, called Karnessa-ou-Daoleh.<sup>56</sup> Round the base of this mountain, over loose stones and sharp rocks, and through ravines deep in snow, we dragged our weary horses next day. The Kurdish shepherds that wander there, a wild and hardy race, have no tents, but, during the summer months, live in the open fields with their flocks, without any covering whatever.

After a wearisome and indeed dangerous ride, we found ourselves on a snowy platform variegated with Alpine plants. The tiny streams which trickled through the ice were edged with forget-me-nots of the tenderest blue, and with many well-remembered European flowers. I climbed up a solitary rock to take bearings of the principal peaks around us. A sight as magnificent as unexpected awaited me. Far to the north, and high

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<sup>55</sup> The several streams forming the headwaters of the eastern branch of the Tigris mentioned in this Chapter were not before known, I believe, to geographers.

<sup>56</sup> The encampment at Billi was 8612 feet above the level of the sea.

above the dark mountain ranges which spread like a troubled sea beneath my feet, rose one solitary cone of unspotted white sparkling in the rays of the sun. Its form could not be mistaken; it was Mount Ararat. My Nestorian guide knew no more of this stately mountain, to him a kind of mythic land far beyond the reach of human travel, than that it was within the territories of the Muscovites, and that the Christians called it Bashut-tama-hamda. From this point alone was it visible, and we saw it no more during our journey.<sup>57</sup>

To the east of us were mountains scarcely less imposing or picturesque in form than Ararat, but more rocky and more naked. We were again drawing near to the lofty peaks of Jelu, beneath whose eastern precipices we had journeyed in the plain of Gaour. But the Zab divided us from them. Into the deep and narrow valley through which this river flows we gazed from the top of the Kamesseh-ou-Daoleh Pass. Over against us were the Nestorian districts, at one time inhabited by the only independent Christian tribes of Asia, and still the dwelling-places of this remnant of a primitive church.

We descended rapidly by a difficult track, passing here and there encampments of Kurds and the tents and flocks of the people of Julamerik. To the green pastures succeeded the region of cultivated fields, and we seemed to approach more settled habitations. Following a precipitous pathway, and mounted on a tall and sturdy mule, we spied an aged man with long robes, black turban, and a white beard which fell almost to his girdle. A few lusty mountaineers, in the striped dress and conical felt cap of the Christian tribes, walked by his side and supported him on the animal, which with difficulty scrambled over the loose stones. We at once recognized the features of Mar Shamoun, the Patriarch of the Nestorians, or, as he proudly terms himself, "of the Chaldaeans of the East." He had not known of our coming, and he shed tears of joy as he embraced us. Kochhannes, his residence, was not far distant, and he turned back with us to the village. Since I had seen him misfortune and grief, more than age, had worn deep furrows in his brow, and had turned his hair and beard to silvery grey. We had last met at Mosul, the day previous to his escape from confinement into Persia. Since that time he had been wandering on the confines of the two border countries, but had now sought repose once more in the old seat of the patriarchs of the mountain tribes.

We soon reached his dwelling. It is solidly built of hewn stone, and stands on the very edge of a precipice overhanging a ravine, through which winds a branch of the Zab. A dark vaulted passage led us into a room, scarcely better lighted by a small window, closed by a greased sheet of coarse paper. The tattered remains of a felt carpet, spread in a comer, was the whole of its furniture. The garments of the Patriarch were hardly less worn and ragged. Even the miserable allowance of 300 piastres (about 2l. 10s.), which the Porte had promised to pay him monthly on his return to the

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<sup>57</sup> The bearing I obtained of Mount Ararat (N. 15°.30 E) corresponds correctly with its position on the best maps. Our distance was about 145 miles.

mountains, was long in arrears, and he was supported entirely by the contributions of his faithful but poverty-stricken flock. Kochhannes was, moreover, still a heap of ruins. At the time of the massacre Mar Shamoun scarcely saved himself by a precipitous flight before the ferocious Kurds of Beder Khan Bey entered the village and slew those who still lingered in it, and were from age or infirmities unable to escape.

Mar Shamoun, at the time of my visit, had no less cause to bewail the misfortunes of his people than his personal sufferings. The latter were perhaps partly to be attributed to his own want of prudence and foresight. Old influences, which I could not but deeply deplore, and to which I do not in Christian charity wish further to allude,<sup>58</sup> had been at work, and I found him even more bitter in his speech against the American missionaries than against his Turkish or Kurdish oppressors. He had been taught, and it is to be regretted that his teachers were of the Church of England, that those who were endeavoring to civilise and instruct his flock were seceders from the orthodox community of Christians, heretical in doctrine, rejecting all the sacraments and ordinances of the true faith, and intent upon reducing the Nestorians to their own hopeless condition of infidelity. His fears were worked on by the assurance that, ere long, through their means and teaching, his spiritual as well as his temporal authority would be entirely destroyed. I found him bent upon deeds of violence and intolerant persecution, which might have endangered, for the second time, the safety of this people as well as his own. I strove, and not without success, to calm his unreasonable violence. I pointed out to him his true position with regard to the American missions, trying to remove the calumnies which had been heaped upon them, and to show in what respects they could benefit and improve the condition of the Nestorians. I could not disguise from him that in education and the free circulation of the Scriptures, there could alone be found any hope for his people. I showed him that, if he wished to foster an interest which had been naturally felt amongst Protestants for the remains of a primitive Church, exposed to great oppression and great sufferings, he must reform the abuses which had unfortunately crept into it, and endeavour to render his clergy equal to the task of instructing and guiding their flocks. He answered, as might have been expected, that he wished to be helped in that labor by priests of the Episcopal Church of England, whose doctrines and discipline were more in conformity with the Nestorian, than those of the American missionaries. If such men would join him, he was ready, he declared, to co-operate with them in reforming abuses, and educating the community. It was almost in vain I observed to him that, as the Church of England had hitherto not listened to his appeals, and as there was no immediate prospect of help from her, it was his duty, as well as his true interest, to assist in the good work so zealously and disinterestedly

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<sup>58</sup> Those who wish to have a painful picture of the nature of the interference amongst the Nestorians, to which I allude, may read Mr. Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, and Mr. Fletcher's *Travels in Assyria*. Although Mr. Badger naturally gives his own version of these transactions, the impartial reader will have no difficulty in seeing the misfortunes to which the unfortunate opposition to the American missions naturally led.

begun by the American missionaries, and which they were desirous of carrying on with his sanction and support.

The Nestorian community had greater wrongs to complain of than their Patriarch. The Turkish government, so far from fulfilling the pledges given to the British embassy, had sent officers to the mountains who had grievously ill-treated and oppressed the Christian inhabitants. The taxes, which the Porte had promised to remit for three years, in consideration of the losses sustained by the unfortunate Nestorians during the massacres, had not been, it is true, levied for that time, but had now been collected altogether, whole districts being thus reduced to the greatest misery and want. Every manner of cruelty and torture had been used to compel the suffering Christians to yield up the little property they had concealed from the rapacity of the Turkish authorities. The pastures and arable lands around their villages had been taken away from them and given to their Kurdish tyrants. Taxes had been placed upon every object that could afford them food, and upon their mills, their looms, and their hives, even upon the bundles of dried grass for their cattle, brought with great labor from the highest mountains. There was no tribunal to which they could apply for redress. A deputation sent to the Pasha had been ill-treated, and some of its members were still in prison. There was no one in authority to plead for them. They had even suffered less under the sway of their old oppressors, for, as a priest touchingly remarked to me, "The Kurds took away our lives, but the Turks take away wherewith we have to live."

My tents were pitched on a lawn near Mar Shamoun's dwelling. Near to us was a small church, built about 160 years ago, on an isolated rock. The only entrance to it is by a low door, high up from the ground, and reached by a ladder. The interior consists of a yard in which service is performed during summer, and an inner chamber for winter. Mar Shamoun officiated every evening about sunset in the open air, reading the whole service himself, dressed in his usual robes. A few persons from the ruined village attended, and formed his congregation.

We remained a day with the Patriarch, and then took the road to Julamerik, three caravan hours distant from Kochhannes. This town has been more than once visited and described by English travellers. Its castle, strongly built and defended by towers and bastions, is picturesquely situated upon a bold rock, overlooking the valley of the Zab. It was until lately held by the celebrated Kurdish rebel chief, Nur-Ullah Bey, but, since his capture, it has been garrisoned by a small force of Turkish regular troops. The town and bazars are far below it.<sup>59</sup> They were almost deserted, their inhabitants, as is the custom of the country, living in tents with their flocks amid the summer pastures on the mountains.

Near Julamerik we met many poor Nestorians flying, with their wives and children, they knew not whither, from the oppression of the Turkish governors.

The direct road by Tiyari to Mosul is carried along the river Zab, through ravines scarcely practicable to beasts of burden. It issues into the lower valleys near the village

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<sup>59</sup> Julamerik is 5625 feet above the level of the sea.

of Lizan. Instead, however, of descending the stream, we turned to the north, in order to cross it higher up by a bridge leading into Diz. I had not yet visited this Nestorian district. Mar Shamoun, as well the people of Julamerik, declared that the mountain pathways could not be followed by beasts of burden; but a man of Taal offering to show us a track open to horsemen, we placed ourselves under his guidance. On the banks of the Zab, I found the remains of an ancient road, cut in many places in the solid rock. It probably led from the Assyrian plains into the upper provinces of Armenia. There are no inscriptions or ruins to show the period of its construction; but, from the greatness of the work, I am inclined to attribute it to the Assyrians.

We picked our way over the slippery pavement as long as we could find some footing for ourselves and our beasts, but in many places, where it had been entirely destroyed, we were compelled to drag our horses by main force over the steep rocks and loose detritus, which sloped to the very edge of the river. At length, after many falls, and more than once turning back from the polished rocks, across which the track we carried, we found ourselves before a wicker suspension bridge. This primitive structure had been almost washed away by recent floods, and now hung from the tottering piers by a slender rope of twisted osiers. It seemed scarcely able to bear the weight of a man. However, some Nestorians, who, seeing us from the opposite side of the river, had come to our help, undertook to carry our baggage across, and then to lead the horses over one by one. After some delay this dangerous passage was effected without accident, and we entered the valley of Diz. But there was another stream between us and the first Nestorian village. We had to ford an impetuous torrent boiling and foaming over smooth rocks, and reaching above our saddle-girths. One of the baggage mules lost its footing. The eddying waters hurried it along and soon hurled it into the midst of the Zab. The animal having, at length, relieved itself from its burden, swam to the bank. Unfortunately it bore my own trunks; my notes and inscriptions, the fruits of my labors at Wan, together with the little property I possessed, were carried far away by the stream. After the men from the village had long searched in vain, the lost load was found about midnight, stopped by a rock some miles down the river.

We passed the night in the miserable village of Rabban Audishio. Only two families dwelt in it; the other inhabitants had been slain in the massacre. The church was large, but deserted, for there was no priest to serve in it. Three brothers, who owned the only huts still standing near, fed a few lamps with oil, and burnt daily before the altar a little incense, whose grateful perfume scented the evening breeze. Near the church were the ruins of a former dwelling-place of Mar Shamoun, who once resided in this village.

On the opposite side of the valley, but high in the mountains, was the village of Seramus. The pathway to it being precipitous, and inaccessible even to mules, we turned to Madis, the residence of the Melek, or chief, of the district of Diz. We crossed the stream by a rude bridge consisting of two poles, resting on opposite rocks. The horses and mules again forded the torrent, but this time without mishap. The Melek was

abroad collecting the taxes, which he had been summoned to pay to the governor of Julamerik. The villages of Diz, like those of the Nestorian valleys in general, stand in the midst of orchards and cultivated terraces. They were laid waste, and the houses burnt, during the first massacre. Diz was the first Christian district attacked by Beder Khan Bey. The inhabitants made a long and determined resistance, but were at length overpowered by numbers. Those who fell into the hands of the Kurdish chieftain were put to death without mercy, none being spared, as in Tiyyari, for slaves. The trees were cut down, and the villages reduced to their present state of misery and desolation. They might slowly have recovered had not the Turks, by an unjust and oppressive system of government and taxation, checked all the efforts of these poor but industrious people to cultivate their lands, and rebuild their ruined dwellings.

We continued our journey through a deep and narrow valley hemmed in by high mountains and by perpendicular cliffs. The Melek met us on the road near the village of Cherichereh, or Klissa. The old man turning back with me, I dismounted and sat with him beneath a walnut-tree. He had little to tell but the usual tale of misery and distress. The Turkish governor had called upon the district to pay about 150l., a small sum certainly, but more than he could collect by seizing all the little property of the inhabitants. Even the seed for their next harvest had been taken from them, as well as the very millet with which they made their coarse bread. The valley produces nothing but a little rice, *garas* (a kind of millet), and barley, a few walnut and apple trees and hemp. Scarcely any wheat is raised, and the taxes levied on mills almost prevent its being ground into flour. The district formerly contained thirteen villages. Only one hundred and twenty families with three priests were left. Many had run away to avoid the payment of taxes, and the rest only waited until they could escape the vigilance of the Turkish authorities to follow the example. Melek Beniamen implored me to help him in his difficulties; but I could do no more than offer words of sympathy and consolation.

Leaving the Melek to pursue his tax-gathering, we rode through a magnificent valley, now narrowing into a wild gorge walled with precipitous cliffs, then opening into an amphitheatre of rocks encircling a village imbedded in trees. A church, called Marshalita, built on a natural pinnacle, was a conspicuous object as we journeyed in the ravine below. It was far too high and difficult of access for the pious wayfarer to turn aside to it from his path; a cross had, therefore, been rudely cut, by way of compromise, in a stone by the roadside beneath it, and the Nestorians who were with us kissed it reverentially as we passed. Another lofty rock was pointed out to us as the place of refuge of a few of those who escaped the massacre: on a third could be seen the remains of an ancient castle, attributed, like all such ruins in the East, to the Franks. The valley at length was abruptly closed by the towering peaks and precipices of the Jelu mountain. At its foot is the village of Khouresin, where we encamped for the night. The inhabitants were, for the most part, like the other people of Diz, in the Zomas, or summer pastures.

The next morning, after with difficulty dragging our weary beasts up a steep and even dangerous mountain track, we found the Nestorian families with their flocks at the very base of those cliffs of naked rock, which, rising far above the surrounding mountains of Hakkiari, form the peak of Jelu, and are visible even from Mosul. On all sides of them was snow; but the small recess in which they had built their miserable hovels of loose stones, mud, and dried grass, was carpeted with Alpine herbs and flowers. These poor people were in extreme wretchedness and want; even their clothing had been taken for taxes.

Not far from the Zomas of Diz were the tents of the villagers of Jelu. They also had encamped on the very verge of eternal snow, but within the boundaries of Diz, as there were no pastures on the other side of the pass in their own district. They were better clothed, and showed more signs of comfort, if not of wealth, than their unfortunate neighbours. Many of the men spoke a little Arabic, and even Turkish, learnt during their yearly visits as basket-makers to the low country.

We were still separated from the valley of Jelu by a shoulder jutting from the lofty Soppa-Durek mountain. Before reaching this rocky ridge we had to cross a broad tract of deep snow, over which we had much difficulty in dragging our heavily-laden mules. When on the crest of the pass we found ourselves surrounded on all sides by rugged peaks, the highest being that known as the Toura Jelu, of which we had scarcely lost sight from the day we had left Mosul. It is probably the highest mountain in central Kurdistan, and cannot be under, if it be not indeed above, 15,000 feet. On its precipitous sides, rising like an artificial wall of rock, the snow cannot rest; but around it are eternal glaciers. Some Nestorian bunters assured me that they had followed the wild goat even to its summit, whence they gazed upon a view of sublime extent and grandeur, the Desert stretching like a vast sea beneath them, and the city of Mosul distinctly visible in the distance. The pass we crossed before descending into the valley of Jelu is considered the highest in the Nestorian country, and is probably more than 11,000 feet above the level of the sea.<sup>60</sup>

These mountains abound in bears, leopards, wolves, chamois, wild goats, and sheep, of which I was assured there are three distinct varieties. The large yellow partridge, as well as the red-legged, are also found in great numbers.

From the top of the pass we looked down into a deep abyss. The flocks of the Jelu villagers had worn a small pathway in its almost perpendicular sides during their periodical migrations to and from the Zomas; but frequently it was only marked by a polished line across flat, slippery rocks of enormous breadth, or by a faint streak over the loose stones. Down this terrible descent we had to drag our jaded horses, leaving our track marked in blood. I have had some experience in bad mountain roads, but I do not remember to have seen any much worse than that leading into Jelu. After numerous accidents and great labor we left a rocky gully, and found ourselves on a slope ending,

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<sup>60</sup> According to observation by the boiling water thermometer the encampment of the people of Jelu was 10,000 feet above the level of the sea, consequently the crest of the pass must have exceeded 11,000.

at a dizzy depth, in a torrent scarcely visible from our path. The yielding soil offered even a more difficult footing for our beasts than the polished rocks. One of our mules soon fell, and rolled over and over with an avalanche of stones for two or three hundred feet. We fully expected to find the animal dashed to pieces; but breaking away from the broad pack-saddle, it contrived to check its rapid course and to regain its legs. Its load, however, was hurled into the valley, and we watched it as it bounded from rock to rock, until it was lost to sight in the depths below. We continued our journey, and it was an hour or two before the active mountaineers succeeded in recovering our lost baggage.

The wild mountain ravine was now changed for the smiling valley of Jelu. Villages, embowered in trees, filled every nook and sheltered place. We descended to Zerin or Zerayni, the principal settlement, and the residence of the Melek. To our left were two other villages, Alzan and Meedee.

As my large caravan descended the hill-side; the inhabitants of Zerin took us at once for Turks, and we lacked that hospitable reception which two or three years before would have awaited a stranger in these Christian communities. Wherever the Osmanli has placed his foot; he has bred fear and distrust. His visit has ever been one of oppression and rapine. The scarlet cap, and the well-known garb of a Turkish irregular, are the signals for a general panic. The women hide in the innermost recesses to save themselves from insult; the men slink into their houses, and offer a vain protest against the seizure of their property. In many parts of Turkey the new system and the better discipline of the army have placed a check upon these scenes of injustice and violence, and the villager may hope to get some, if not adequate, pay for the supplies he furnishes to those who quarter themselves upon him. But in the Nestorian valleys the old habits were still in vigor, and the appearance of a stranger caused a general hiding and dismay. When, at last, we had satisfied the trembling people of Zerin that we were not Mussulmans, they insisted upon our being Americans, of whom they had at that moment, for certain religious reasons, almost as great a distrust. At length they made out that I was the Balios<sup>61</sup> of Mosul, and the Melek arriving at this crisis we were received with due hospitality. Our baggage was carried to the roof of a house, and provisions were brought to us without delay.

Although, during his expedition into Tiari, Beder Khan Bey had seized the flocks of the people of Jelu, and had compelled them, moreover, to pay large contributions in money and in kind, he had not been able to enter their deep and well-guarded valleys.<sup>62</sup> The blackened walls, the roofless house, the plundered church, and the neglected vineyard, which marked in other parts of the mountains the once flourishing villages of the Nestorian tribes, did not disfigure the smiling district of Jelu. Its inhabitants, too, still maintained to a certain extent the appearance of their former prosperity,

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<sup>61</sup> Consuls are so called in Southern Turkey and Persia, and all European strangers are supposed to be consuls.

<sup>62</sup> Beder Khan Bey was afterwards troubled by a conscientious scruple for not having also visited Jelu with fire and sword, and massacred the Infidels. He was projecting an invasion of the district the year that he was captured by the Turkish troops.



notwithstanding the rapacity and injustice of their new masters. Both men and women were gaily dressed in the many-colored garments usually worn by their Mussulman neighbours.

The Nestorians of Jelu have no trade to add to their wealth. Shut out from all intercourse with the rest of the world, during six months of the year, by the deep snows of the lofty mountains that surround them, it is only in summer that they are able to exchange a few loads of fruit and a little honey and wax in the districts about Amadiyah for such supplies of corn as may serve for their immediate wants. Many of the men, however, wander during the winter into Asia Minor, and even into Syria and Palestine, following the trade of basket-making, in which they are very expert. Thus they save money, and are able in the summer to cultivate the land around their villages. There was only one priest in Zerin, and there appeared to be in Jelu less of that earnest religious feeling so peculiar to the Nestorians than in any other Christian district I had visited. The travels of the men, and their intercourse with the rest of the Christian world, have not improved their morals, their habits, or their faith.<sup>63</sup>

The district of Jelu is under a bishop whose spiritual jurisdiction also extends over Baz. He resides at Martha d'Umra (the village of the church), separated by a bold rocky ridge from Zerin. It was Sunday as we descended through orchards, by a precipitous pathway, to his dwelling. The bishop was away. He had gone lower down the valley to celebrate divine service for a distant congregation. The inhabitants of the village were gathered round the church in their holiday attire, and received us kindly and hospitably. From a belfry issued the silvery tones of a bell, which echoed through the valley, and gave an inexpressible charm to the scene. It is not often that such sounds break upon the traveller's ear in the far East, to awaken a thousand pleasant thoughts, and to recall to memory many a happy hour.

The church is said to be the oldest in the Nestorian mountains, and is a plain, substantial, square building, with a very small entrance. To me it was peculiarly interesting, as having been the only one that had escaped the ravages of the Kurds, and as containing therefore its ancient furniture and ornaments. Both the church and the dark vestibule were so thickly hung with relics of the most singular and motley description, that the ceiling was completely concealed by them. Amongst the objects which first attracted my attention were numerous China bowls and jars of elegant form and richly colored, but black with the dust of ages. They were suspended, like the other relics, by cords from the roof. I was assured that they had been there from time out of mind, and had been brought from the distant empire of Cathay by those early missionaries of the Chaldean Church, who bore the tidings of the gospel to the shores of the Yellow Sea. If such were really the case, some of them might date so far back as the sixth or seventh centuries, when the Nestorian Church flourished in China, and its missions were spread over the whole of Central Asia. The villagers would not, in the

<sup>63</sup> The villages of Jelu are Zerin, Biri Khanee, Martha d'Umra, Nara, Muta, Tellana, Bokhrani or Be Bukra, Uri, Nerik, Zer, Gubawa, Serpilta, Shemsiki, Maturie, Bispira, and Bakshi (Kurdish).

absence of their bishop, allow me to move any of these sacred relics. The sister of the Patriarch, they said, had endeavored to wash one some years before, and it had been broken. Hung with the China vases was the strangest collection of objects that could well be imagined: innumerable bells, of all forms and sizes, many probably Chinese, suspended in long lines from one side to the other of the church, making a loud and discordant jingle when set in motion; porcelain birds and animals, grotesque figures in bronze, remains of glass chandeliers, two or three pair of old bullion epaulets, and a variety of other things, all brought at various periods by adventurous inhabitants of the village, who had wandered into distant lands, and had returned to their homes with some evidence of their travels to place in their native church. The walls were dressed in silks of every color and texture, and with common Manchester prints. Notwithstanding the undoubted antiquity of the church and its escape from plunder, I searched in vain for ancient manuscripts.

We followed the valley to the village of Nara, where the bishop was resting after his morning duties. A young man of lofty stature and handsome countenance, dressed in the red-striped loose garments of the Kurds, and only distinguished by a turban of black silk from those around him, came out to meet us. A less episcopal figure could scarcely be imagined; but, although he seemed some Kurdish hunter or warrior, he gave us his benediction as he drew near. We seated ourselves together beneath the shade of a gigantic tree; and whilst the good people of the village were preparing a simple repast of yagbourt and garas, we discussed the affairs of the church and the political condition of the tribe.

It was difficult to determine whom the poor bishop feared most, the Turks or the American missionaries; the first, he declared, threatened his temporal, the others his spiritual, authority. I gave him the best advice I was able on both subjects, and urged him not to reject the offer that had been made to instruct his people, but to identify himself with a progress on which might be founded the only reasonable hope for the regeneration of his creed and race. Unfortunately, as in the case of Mar Shamoun, strange influences had been at work to prejudice the mind of the bishop.

A broad and rapid torrent crossed by a bridge, and a steep mountain wooded with oak, over which we climbed by a rugged pathway, separate the districts of Jelu and Baz. The first village we came to was Shouwa, but we rested for the night at Martha Akhtayiah,<sup>64</sup> adjoining Ergub, the furthest limits of my journey to the Nestorian districts in 1846. Our reception here was far different from that we had experienced in Jelu. We were at once recognised by the villagers. The men and women crowded round us, vying with each other in offers of hospitality. We alighted at the clean and spacious house of the Melek, who was, however, away at the time of our arrival. The inhabitants had been shamefully ill-used and over-taxed by the Turkish authorities, and were driven to a state of despair. I had, as usual, to listen to sad tales of misery and misfortune, without having it in my power to offer either consolation or relief.

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<sup>64</sup> I.e. The lower village, corrupted into Makhtaiyah.

We were now in the track I had followed during my former visit to the mountains.<sup>65</sup> Crossing the precipitous pass to the west of Baz, which, since my first visit, had been the scene of one of the bloodiest episodes of the Nestorian massacre, we entered the long narrow ravine leading into the valley of Tkhoma. We stopped at Gunduktha, where, four years before, I had taken leave of the good priest Bodaka, who had been amongst the first victims of the fury of the Kurdish invaders. The Kasha, who now ministered to the spiritual wants of the people, the Rais of the village, and the principal inhabitants, came to us as we stopped in the churchyard. But they were no longer the gaily dressed and well-armed men who had welcomed me on my first journey. Their garments were tattered and worn, and their countenances haggard and wan. The church, too, was in ruins; around were the charred remains of the burnt cottages, and the neglected orchards overgrown with weeds. A body of Turkish troops had lately visited the village, and had destroyed the little that had been restored since the Kurdish invasion. The same taxes had been collected three times, and even four times, over. The relations of those who had ran away to escape from these exactions had been compelled to pay for the fugitives. The chief had been thrown, with his arms tied behind his back, on a heap of burning straw, and compelled to disclose where a little money that had been saved by the villagers had been buried. The priest had been torn from the altar, and beaten before his congregation. Men showed me the marks of torture on their body, and of iron fetters round their limbs. For the sake of wringing a few piastres from this poverty-stricken people, all these deeds of violence had been committed by officers sent by the Porte to protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan, whom they pretended to have released from the misrule of the Kurdish chiefs.

The smiling villages described in the account of my previous journey were now a heap of ruins. From four of them alone 770 persons had been slain. Beder Khan Bey had driven off, according to the returns' made by the Meleks, 24,000 sheep, 300 mules, and 10,000 head of cattle; and the confederate chiefs had each taken a proportionate share of the property of the Christians. No flocks were left by which they might raise money wherewith to pay the taxes now levied upon them, and even the beasts of burden, which could have carried to the markets of more wealthy districts the produce of their valley, had been taken away.<sup>66</sup>

We remained a night in Tkhoma to see the Meleks who came to us from Tkhoma Gowaia. On the following morning, it being the Feast of the Virgin, the people assembled for prayers - a crowd of miserable, half-naked men, women, and children. Leaving the valley, we crossed the high mountain inclosing Tkhoma to the south, and passed through Pinianish into Chaal, a district inhabited by Mussulmans, and which had consequently not suffered from the ravages of the Kurdish chiefs. It presented, with its still flourishing villages surrounded by gardens and vineyards, a vivid contrast to the unfortunate Christian valley we had just left.

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<sup>65</sup> Nineveh and its Remains, vol. I. p. 209.

<sup>66</sup> On my return to Mosul I sent to Constantinople a report of the exactions and cruelties to which the Nestorians had been subjected by their Turkish rulers; but nothing, I fear, has been done to amend their condition.

A rapid descent through a rocky gorge brought us to the Zab, over which there were still the remains of a bridge, consisting of two poles fastened together by osier bands placed across the stone piers. It almost required the steady foot and practised head of a mountaineer to cross the roaring stream by this perilous structure. The horses and mules were with much trouble and delay driven into the river, and after buffeting with the whirlpool and eddies reached, almost exhausted, the opposite bank.

We now entered the valley of Berwari, and, crossing the pass of Amadiyah, took the road to Mosul, through a country I had already more than once visited. Leaving the caravan and our jaded horses, I hastened onwards with Hormuzd, and travelling through a night reached Mosul in the afternoon of the 30th Aug., after an absence of seven weeks.

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# DOCUMENTS: ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

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## **THE DOCUMENTS REGARDING THE ATROCITIES OF THE ARMENIAN POPULATION OF THE VILAYET OF BITLIS IN 1915**

**Extracted from "THE TREATMENT OF ARMENIANS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1915-1916)" (DOCUMENTS PRESENTED TO VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS by Viscount Bryce, with a preface by Viscount Bryce), London, 1916, p. 79-97.**

### **III. VILAYET OF BITLIS.**

*The Vilayet of Bitlis lies due west of Van, across the Lake. The chief Armenian centres in the province were the town of Bitlis itself, commanding the principal pass leading from the lake-basin to the upper valley of the Tigris; the town and villages of Moush, situated in the only considerable plain along the course of the Mourad Su or Eastern Euphrates; and the semi-independent highland community of Sassoun, a group of Armenian villages in the massif of mountains which separates Moush from the headwaters of the Tigris and the lowlands of Diyarbekir.*

*The extermination of the Armenians in these three places was an act of revenge for the successful resistance of the Armenians at Van and the advance of the Russian forces to their relief. There was no pretence here of deportation, and the Armenians were destroyed, without regard for appearances, by outright massacre, accompanied in many cases by torture.*

#### **21. THE NORTH-EASTERN VILAYETS: STATEMENT COMMUNICATED BY THE REFUGEE ROUPEN, OF SASSOUN, TO THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY AT MOSCOW; PUBLISHED IN THE RUSSIAN PRESS, AND SUBSEQUENTLY REPRINTED IN THE "GAZETTE DE LAUSANNE." 13th FEBRUARY, 1916.**

At the beginning of the European war, the "Dashnaktzoutioun" Party met in congress at Erzeroum in order to decide on the attitude to be observed by the Party. As soon as they heard of this congress, the Young Turks hastened to send their representatives to Erzeroum to propose that the Party should declare its intention of aiding and defending Turkey, by organising an insurrection in the Caucasus in the event of a declaration of war between Turkey and Russia. According to the project of the Young Turks, the Armenians were to pledge themselves to form legions of volunteers and to send them to the Caucasus with the Turkish propagandists, to prepare the way there for the insurrection.

The Young Turk representatives had already brought their propagandists with them to Erzeroum - 27 individuals of Persian, Turkish, Lesghian and Circassian nationality. Their chief was Emir Hechmat, who is at present organising bands of rebels at Hamadan (Persia). The Turks tried to persuade the Armenians that the Caucasian

insurrection was inevitable; that very shortly the Tatars, Georgians and mountaineers would revolt, and that the Armenians would consequently be obliged to follow them.

They even sketched the future map of the Caucasus.

The Turks offered to the Georgians the provinces of Koutais and of Tiflis, the Batoum district and a part of the province of Trebizond; to the Tatars, Shousha, the mountain country as far as Vladivkavkaz, Bakou, and a part of the province of Elisavetpol; to the Armenians they offered Kars, the province of Erivan, a part of Elisavetpol, a fragment of the province of Erzeroum, Van and Bitlis. According to the Young Turk scheme, all these groups were to become autonomous under a Turkish protectorate. The Erzeroum Congress refused these proposals, and advised the Young Turks not to hurl themselves into the European conflagration - a dangerous adventure which would lead Turkey to ruin.

The Young Turks were irritated by this advice.

"This is treason!" cried Boukhar-ed-Din-Shakir, one of the delegates from Constantinople: "You take sides with Russia in a moment as critical as this; you refuse to defend the Government; you forget that you are enjoying its hospitality!"

But the Armenians held to their decision.

Once more before the outbreak of war between Russia and Turkey, the Young Turks tried to obtain the Armenians' support. This time they opened their *pourparlers* with more moderate proposals, and negotiated with the Armenian representatives of each Vilayet. At Van, the *pourparlers* were conducted by the provincial governor Tahsin Bey, and by Nadji Bey; at Moush, by Servet Bey and Iskhan Bey (this latter is at present a prisoner of war in Russia); at Erzeroum, by the same Tahsin Bey and by others.

The project of an Armenian rising in the Caucasus was abandoned. Instead, the Ottoman Armenians were to unite themselves with the Transcaucasian Tatars, whose insurrection was, according to the Young Turks, a certainty.

Once more the Armenians refused.

From the moment war broke out, the Armenian soldiers had presented themselves for service at their regimental depots, but they refused categorically to form irregular bands. On the whole, up to the end of 1914, the situation in Armenia was quiet. But when the Turks had been expelled from Bayazid and driven back in the direction of Van and Moush, their fury turned upon the Armenians, whose co-religionists in the Caucasus had formed themselves into volunteer legions under the leadership of Andranik and other patriotic leaders, and had been giving aid to the enemy.

It was then that the disarming of Armenian soldiers, gendarmes and members of the other services began. The disarmed Armenian soldiers were formed into groups of a thousand each, and sent into different districts to build bridges, dig trenches and work at the fortresses.

At the same time the wholesale massacres began. The first victims fell at Diyarbekir, Erzeroum and Bitlis. Soldiers, women and children, both in the towns and villages, were slaughtered *en masse*. By the end of last January the massacres had

extended over the whole of Armenia. In the Armenian villages, the whole male population above the age of twelve was led out in batches and shot before the eyes of the women and children.

The first movement of revolt declared itself towards the beginning of February, at Koms. Seventy Turkish gendarmes had arrived there with orders to massacre the chief men of the place, and among them Roupen and Gorioun. When the Armenians learned their purpose, they threw themselves upon the gendarmes and killed them all. They proceeded to take the local governor prisoner, and found on him the following order from the governor of Moush: -

"Execute the decision communicated verbally to you."

On the same day the leading Armenians retired into the mountains, where they were joined by the young men under arms from the district of Moush.

Two thousand Turks, commanded by Mehmed Effendi, took the offensive against them, but were annihilated by the Armenians.

This was how the revolt in Armenia began.

The Government saw that the insurrection was spreading and announced the suspension of the process of disarmament, rescinding at the same time the order for the deportation and extermination of the people of Sassoun. A commission of enquiry was appointed, consisting of Essad Pasha, the Kaimakam of Boulanik, the President of the Military Tribunal at Moush, and Mr. V. Papazian, an Armenian member of the Ottoman Parliament.

The commission found that the gendarmes were the whole cause of the trouble between the Armenians and the Turks, and the Government promised to put an end to the reprisals. Talaat Bey telegraphed from Constantinople that the representatives of the Armenians were not to be molested.

Quiet was re-established for the moment, but in the month of May the Turks attempted to force their way into Sassoun, and at the same time the massacres began again without warning at Harpout, Erzeroum and Diyarbekir. The Armenians repulsed the Turks and took up a position round the town of Moush, where a large number of Turkish troops were concentrated. This was the situation when the Turks perpetrated the great massacre of Moush at the end of June. Half the inhabitants of Moush were massacred, the other half were driven out of the town. The Armenians never knew that at that moment the Russian troops were only two or three hours' distance from Moush.

The massacres extended over the whole plain of Moush. The Armenians, who had managed to retreat on to the heights of Sassoun with a remnant of their forces and a slender supply of munitions, attacked the Turks in the valleys and gorges of Sassoun, and inflicted considerable losses upon them. A fraction of the Armenians who escaped the massacre broke through the Turkish lines and reached Van, which was already in the hands of the Russian troops.

The number of Armenian victims is very large. In the town of Moush alone, out of the 15,000 Armenian inhabitants there are only 200 survivors; out of the 59,000 inhabitants of the plain hardly 9,000 have escaped.



## **22. BITLIS, MOUSH AND SASSOUN: RECORD OF AN INTERVIEW WITH ROUPEN, OF SASSOUN, BY MR. A. S. SAFRASTIAN; DATED TIFLIS, 6th NOVEMBER, 1915.**

At the moment of writing, there is very little doubt that during the months of June and July last the Turks have almost completely wiped out about 150,000 Armenians of Bitlis, Moush and Sassoun.

When a detailed account of the horrors which accompanied these massacres is fully disclosed to the civilised world, it will stand out in all history as the greatest masterpiece of brutality ever committed, even by the Turk. A short description of these horrors was given to me by Roupen, one of the leaders in Sassoun, who has miraculously escaped the Turkish lines after long marches across Moush and Lake Van and has been here for the last few days; As soon as the Turks went into the war, they entered into negotiations with the Armenian leaders in Moush and Sassoun with a view to co-operating for the common defence. The Turkish representatives, however, laid down such conditions as a basis for agreement that the Armenians could scarcely entertain them as serious. Until January things had gone on fairly smoothly, and the Armenians were advised by their leaders to comply with all legitimate demands made by the authorities. On the failure of negotiations, the Turks adopted hard measures against the Armenians. They had already ruthlessly requisitioned every commodity they possibly could lay hands on, and now they demanded the surrender of their arms from the peasantry. The Armenians said that they could not give up their arms while the Kurds were left armed to the teeth and went about unmolested. Towards the end of January, a Turkish gendarme provoked a quarrel in Tzeronk, a large Armenian village some 20 miles west of Moush, where some 70 people were killed and the village destroyed. Soon afterwards, another quarrel was started by gendarmes in Koms (Goms), a village on the Euphrates, where the Turks wanted to raise forced labour for the transport of military supplies. As a previous batch of men employed on similar work had never returned home, the peasants grew suspicious and refused to go. Local passion ran high, and the Turks desired to arrest one Gorioun, a native of considerable bravery, who had avenged himself upon Mehmed Emin, a Kurdish brigand, who had ruined his home in the past. All such conflicts of a local character were settled in one way or another by negotiation between the authorities and the leaders of the Dashnaktzoutioun party. In the meantime, Kurdish irregulars and Moslem bands, who were just returning from the battle of Kilidj Geduk, where they had been roughly handled by the Russians, began to harry the Armenians all over the country to the limit of their endurance. In answer to protests, the authorities explained away the grievances and gave all assurances of good-will towards the Armenians, who naturally did not believe in them.

***The Massacres at Sairt and Bitlis.*** - Towards the end of May, Djevdet Bey, the military governor, was expelled from Van, and the town was captured by the native Armenians and then by the Russo-Armenian forces. Djevdet Bey fled southwards and,

crossing the Bohtan, entered Sairt with some 8,000 soldiers whom he called "Butcher" battalions (Kassab Tabouri). He massacred most of the Christians of Sairt, though nothing is known of the details. On the best authority, however, it is reported that he ordered his soldiers to burn in a public square the Armenian Bishop Yeghishé Vartabed and the Chaldean Bishop Addai Sher. Then Djevdet Bey, followed by the small army of Halil Bey, marched on Bitlis towards the middle of June. Before his arrival, the Armenians and Kurds of Bitlis had agreed upon scheme for mutual protection in case of any emergency, but Djevdet Bey had his own plans for exterminating the Armenians. He first raised a ransom of £5,000 from them, and then hanged Hokhigian and some 20 other Armenian leaders, most of whom were attending the wounded in field hospitals. On the 25th June, the Turks surrounded the town of Bitlis and cut its communications with the neighbouring Armenian villages; then most of the able-bodied men were taken away from their families by domiciliary visits. During the following few days, all the men under arrest were shot outside the town and buried in deep trenches dug by the victims themselves. The young women and children were distributed among the rabble, and the remainder, the "useless" lot, were driven to the south and are believed to have been drowned in the Tigris. Any attempts at resistance, however brave, were easily quelled by the regular troops. The recalcitrants, after firing their last cartridges, either took poison by whole families or destroyed themselves in their homes, in order not to fall into the hands of Turks. Some hundred Armenian families in the town, all of them artisans or skilled labourers badly needed by the military authorities, were spared during this massacre, but since then there has been no news of their fate.

It is in such "gentlemanly" fashion that the Turks disposed of about 15,000 Armenians at Bitlis; and the Armenian peasantry of Rahva, Khoultig, and other populous villages of the surrounding district suffered the same fate.

***The Massacres in Moush.*** - Long before this horror had been perpetrated at Bitlis, the Turks and Kurds of Diarbekir, followed by the most blood-thirsty tribes of Bekran and Belek, had wiped out the Armenians of Slivan, Bisherig, and of the vast plain extending from Diarbekir to the foot of the Sassoun block. Some thousands of refugees had escaped to Sassoun, as the only haven of safety amid a sea of widespread terror. They told the people of Sassoun and Moush of the enormities which had been committed upon themselves. The line of conduct to be adopted by the Armenians was now obvious. The Turks were resolved to destroy them, and therefore they had to make the best of a hopeless situation by all means at their disposal. Roupen tells me that they had no news whatever as to the progress of the war on the Caucasian front, and that the Turks spread false news to mislead them. The general peace was maintained in the Province of Bitlis until the beginning of June, when things came to a climax. The outlying villages of Boulanik and Moush had already been massacred in May. Now Sassoun was attacked in two main directions. The Kurdish tribes of Belek, Bekran, and Shego, the notorious Sheikh of Zilan and many others were armed by the Government and ordered to surround Sassoun. The 15,000 Armenians of these

mountains, re-inforced by some other 15,000 from Moush and Diyarbekir, repelled many fierce attacks, in which the Kurds lost heavily, both in men and arms; whereupon the Government again entered into negotiations with the Armenian leaders, through the Bishop of Moush, and offered them a general amnesty if they laid down their arms and joined in the defence of the common fatherland. And, as a proof of their genuineness, the authorities explained away the massacres of Slivan, Boulanik, &c., as due to a deplorable misunderstanding. Oppressions suddenly ceased everywhere, and perfect order prevailed in Moush for about three weeks in June. A strict watch, however, was kept over the movements of the Armenians, and they were forbidden to concentrate together. In the last week of June, one Kiazim Bey arrived from Erzeroum with at least 10,000 troops and mountain artillery to reinforce the garrison at Moush. The day after his arrival strong patrols were posted on the hills overlooking the town of Moush, thus cutting all communication between Moush and Sassoun. Kurdish bands of "fedais" and gendarmes were commissioned to sever all intercourse between various villages and the town of Moush, so that no one knew what was going on even in the immediate neighbourhood.

Early in July, the authorities ordered the Armenians to surrender their arms, and pay a large money ransom. The leading Armenians of the town and the headmen of the villages were subjected to revolting tortures. Their finger nails and then their toe nails were forcibly extracted; their teeth were knocked out, and in some cases their noses were whittled down, the victims being thus done to death under shocking, lingering agonies. The female relatives of the victims who came to the rescue were outraged in public before the very eyes of their mutilated husbands and brothers. The shrieks and death-cries of the victims filled the air, yet they did not move the Turkish beast. The same process of disarmament was carried out in the large Armenian villages of Khaskegh, Franknorshen, &c., and on the slightest show of resistance men and women were done to death in the manner described above. On the 10th July, large contingents of troops, followed by bands of criminals released from the prisons, began to round up the able-bodied men from all the villages. In the 100 villages of the plain of Moush most of the villagers took up any arms they possessed and offered a desperate resistance in various favourable positions. In the natural order of things the ammunition soon gave out in most villages, and there followed what is perhaps one of the greatest crimes in all history. Those who had no arms and had done nothing against the authorities were herded into various camps and bayoneted in cold blood.

In the town of Moush itself the Armenians, under the leadership of Gotoyan and others, entrenched themselves in the churches and stone-built houses and fought for four days in self-defence. The Turkish artillery, manned by German officers, made short work of all the Armenian positions. Every one of the Armenians, leaders as well as men, was killed fighting; and when the silence of death reigned over the ruins of churches and the rest, the Moslem rabble made a descent upon the women and children and drove them out of the town into large camps which had already been prepared for the

peasant women and children. The ghastly scenes which followed may indeed sound incredible, yet these reports have been confirmed from Russian sources beyond all doubt.

The shortest method for disposing of the women and children concentrated in the various camps was to burn them. Fire was set to large wooden sheds in Alidjan, Megrakom, Khaskegh, and other Armenian villages, and these absolutely helpless women and children were roasted to death. Many went mad and threw their children away; some knelt down and prayed amid the flames in which their bodies were burning; others shrieked and cried for help which came from nowhere. And the executioners, who seem to have been unmoved by this unparalleled savagery, grasped infants by one leg and hurled them into the fire, calling out to the burning mothers: "Here are your lions." Turkish prisoners who had apparently witnessed some of these scenes were horrified and maddened at remembering the sight. They told the Russians that the stench of the burning human flesh permeated the air for many days after.

Under present circumstances it is impossible to say how many Armenians, out of a population of 60,000 in the plain of Moush, are left alive; the one fact which can be recorded at present is that now and then some survivors escape through the mountains and reach the Russian lines to give further details of the unparalleled crime perpetrated in Moush during July.

***The Massacres in Sassoun.*** - While the "Butcher" battalions of Djevdet Bey and the regulars of Kiazim Bey were engaged in Bitlis and Moush, some cavalry were sent to Sassoun early in July to encourage the Kurds who had been defeated by the Armenians at the beginning of June. The Turkish cavalry invaded the lower valley of Sassoun and captured a few villages after stout fighting. In the meantime the reorganised Kurdish tribes attempted to close on Sassoun from the south, west, and north. During the last fortnight of July almost incessant fighting went on, sometimes even during the night. On the whole, the Armenians held their own on all fronts and expelled the Kurds from their advanced positions. However, the people of Sassoun had other anxieties to worry about. The population had doubled since their brothers who had escaped from the plains had sought refuge in their mountains; the millet crop of the last season had been a failure; all honey, fruit, and other local produce had been consumed, and the people had been feeding on unsalted roast mutton (they had not even any salt to make the mutton more sustaining); finally, the ammunition was in no way sufficient for the requirements of heavy fighting. But the worst had yet to come. Kiazim Bey, after reducing the town and the plain of Moush, rushed his army to Sassoun for a new effort to overwhelm these brave mountaineers. Fighting was renewed on all fronts throughout the Sassoun district. Big guns made carnage among the Armenian ranks. Roupen tells me that Gorioun, Dikran, and 20 other of their best fighters were killed by a single shell, which burst in their midst. Encouraged by the presence of guns, the cavalry and Kurds pushed on with relentless energy.

The Armenians were compelled to abandon the outlying lines of their defence and

were retreating day by day into the heights of Antok, the central block of the mountains, some 10,000 feet high. The non-combatant women and children and their large flocks of cattle greatly hampered the free movements of the defenders, whose number had already been reduced from 3,000 to about half that figure. Terrible confusion prevailed during the Turkish attacks as well as the Armenian counter-attacks. Many of the Armenians smashed their rifles after firing the last cartridge and grasped their revolvers and daggers. The Turkish regulars and Kurds, amounting now to something like 30,000 altogether, pushed higher and higher up the heights and surrounded the main Armenian position at close quarters. Then followed one of those desperate and heroic struggles for life which have always been the pride of mountaineers. Men, women and children fought with knives, scythes, stones, and anything else they could handle. They rolled blocks of stone down the steep slopes, killing many of the enemy. In a frightful hand-to-hand combat, women were seen thrusting their knives into the throats of Turks and thus accounting for many of them. On the 5th August, the last day of the fighting, the blood-stained rocks of Antok were captured by the Turks. The Armenian warriors of Sassoun, except those who had worked round to the rear of the Turks to attack them on their flanks, had died in battle. Several young women, who were in danger of falling into the Turks' hands, threw themselves from the rocks, some of them with their infants in their arms. The survivors have since been carrying on a guerilla warfare, living only on unsalted mutton and grass. The approaching winter may have disastrous consequences for the remnants of the Sassounli Armenians, because they have nothing to eat and no means of defending themselves.

### **23. MOUSH: STATEMENT BY A GERMAN EYE-WITNESS OF OCCURRENCES AT MOUSH; COMMUNICATED BY THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ARMENIAN AND SYRIAN RELIEF.**

Towards the end of October (1914), when the Turkish war began, the Turkish officials started to take everything they needed for the war from the Armenians. Their goods, their money, all was confiscated. Later on, every Turk was free to go to an Armenian shop and take out what he needed or thought he would like to have. Only a tenth perhaps was really for the war, the rest was pure robbery. It was necessary to have food, &c., carried to the front, on the Caucasian frontier. For this purpose the Government sent out about 300 old Armenian men, many cripples amongst them, and boys not more than twelve years old, to carry the goods - a three weeks' journey from Moush to the Russian frontier. As every individual Armenian was robbed of everything he ever had, these poor people soon died of hunger and cold on the way. They had no clothes at all, for even these were stolen on the way. If out of these 300 Armenians thirty or forty returned, it was a marvel; the rest were either beaten to death or died from the causes stated above.

The winter was most severe in Moush; the gendarmes were sent to levy high

taxes, and as the Armenians had already given everything to the Turks, and were therefore powerless to pay these enormous taxes, they were beaten to death. The Armenians never defended themselves except when they saw the gendarmes ill-treating their wives and children, and the result in such cases was that the whole village was burnt down, merely because a few Armenians had tried to protect their families.

Toward the middle of April we heard rumours that there were great disturbances in Van. We have heard statements both from Turks and from Armenians, and as these reports agree in every respect, it is quite plain that there is some truth in them. They state that the Ottoman Government sent orders that all Armenians were to give up their arms, which the Armenians refused to do on the ground that they required their arms in case of necessity. This caused a regular massacre. All villages inhabited by Armenians were burnt down. The Turks boasted of having now got rid of all the Armenians. I heard it from the officers myself, how they revelled in the thought that the Armenians had been got rid of.

Thus the winter passed, with things happening every day more terrible than one can possibly describe. We then heard that massacres had started in Bitlis. In Moush everything was being prepared for one, when the Russians arrived at Liz, which is about 14 to 16 hours' journey from Moush. This occupied the attention of the Turks, so that the massacre was put off for the time being. Hardly had the Russians left Liz, however, when all the "districts inhabited by Armenians were pillaged and destroyed.

This was in the month of May. At the beginning of June, we heard that the whole Armenian population of Bitlis had been got rid of. It was at this time that we received news that the American Missionary, Dr. Knapp, had been wounded in an Armenian house and that the Turkish Government had sent him to Diyarbekir. The very first night in Diyarbekir he died, and the Government explained his death as a result of having overeaten, which of course nobody believed.

When there was no one left in Bitlis to massacre, their attention was diverted to Moush. Cruelties had already been committed, but so far not too publicly; now, however, they started to shoot people down without any cause, and beat them to death simply for the pleasure of doing so. In Moush itself, which is a big town, there are 25,000 Armenians; in the neighbourhood there are 300 villages, each containing about 500 houses. In all these not a single male Armenian is now to be seen, and hardly a woman either, except for a few here and there.

In the first week of July 20,000 soldiers arrived from Constantinople by way of Harpout with munitions and eleven guns, and laid siege to Moush. As a matter of fact, the town had already been beleaguered since the middle of June. At this stage the Mutessarif gave orders that we should leave the town and go to Harpout. We pleaded with him to let us stay, for we had in our charge all the orphans and patients; but he was angry and threatened to remove us by force if we did not do as instructed. As we both fell sick, however, we were allowed to remain at Moush. I received permission, in the event of our leaving Moush, to take the Armenians of our orphanage with us; but when

we asked for assurances of their safety, his only reply was: "You can take them with you, but being Armenians their heads may and will be cut off on the way."

On the 10th July Moush was bombarded for several hours, on the pretext that some Armenians had tried to escape. I went to see the Mutessarif and asked him to protect our buildings; his reply was: "It serves you right for staying instead of leaving as instructed. The guns are here to make an end of Moush. Take refuge with the Turks." This, of course, was impossible, as we could not leave our charges. Next day a new order was promulgated for the expulsion of the Armenians, and three days' grace was given them to make ready. They were told to register themselves at the Government Building before they left. Their families could remain, but their property and their money were to be confiscated. The Armenians were unable to go, for they had no money to defray the journey, and they preferred to die in their houses rather than be separated from their families and endure a lingering death on the road.

As stated above, three days' grace was given to the Armenians, but two hours had scarcely elapsed when the soldiers began breaking into the houses, arresting the inmates and throwing them into prison. The guns began to fire and thus the people were effectually prevented from registering themselves at the Government Building. We all had to take refuge in the cellar for fear of our orphanage catching fire. It was heart-rending to hear the cries of the people and children who were being burnt to death in their houses. The soldiers took great delight in hearing them, and when people who were out in the street during the bombardment fell dead, the soldiers merely laughed at them.

The survivors were sent to Ourfa (there were none left but sick women and children); I went to the Mutessarif and begged him to have mercy on the children at least, but in vain. He replied that the Armenian children must perish with their nation. All our people were taken from our hospital and orphanage; they left us three female servants. Under these atrocious circumstances, Moush was burnt to the ground. Every officer boasted of the number he had personally massacred as his share in ridding Turkey of the Armenian race.

We left for Harpout. Harpout has become the cemetery of the Armenians; from all directions they have been brought to Harpout to be buried. There they lie, and the dogs and the vultures devour their bodies. Now and then some man throws some earth over the bodies. In Harpout and Mezre the people have had to endure terrible tortures. They have had their eye-brows plucked out, their breasts cut off, their nails torn off; their torturers hew off their feet or else hammer nails into them just as they do in shoeing horses. This is all done at night time, and in order that the people may not hear their screams and know of their agony, soldiers are stationed round the prisons, beating drums and blowing whistles. It is needless to relate that many died of these tortures. When they die, the soldiers cry: "Now let your Christ help you."

One old priest was tortured so cruelly to extract a confession that, believing that the torture would cease and that he would be left alone if he did it, he cried out in his

desperation: "We are revolutionists." He expected his tortures to cease, but on the contrary the soldiers cried: "What further do we seek? We have it here from his own lips." And instead of picking their victims as they did before, the officials had all the Armenians tortured - without sparing a soul.

Early in July, 2,000 Armenian soldiers were ordered to leave for Aleppo to build roads. The people of Harpout were terrified on hearing this, and a panic started in the town. The Vali sent for the German missionary, Mr. Ehemann, and begged him to quiet the people, repeating over and over again that no harm whatever would befall these soldiers. Mr. Ehemann took the Vali's word and quieted the people. But they had scarcely left when we heard that they had all been murdered and thrown into a cave. Just a few managed to escape, and we got the reports from them. It was useless to protest to the Vali. The American Consul at Harpout protested several times, but the Vali makes no account of him, and treats him in a most shameful manner. A few days later another 2,000 Armenian soldiers were despatched via Diyarbekir, and, in order to hinder them the more surely from escaping, they were left to starve on the way, so that they had no strength left in them to flee. The Kurds were given notice that the Armenians were on the way, and the Kurdish women came with their butcher's knives to help the men. In Mezre a public brothel was erected for the Turks, and all the beautiful Armenian girls and women were placed there. At night the Turks were allowed free entrance. The permission for the Protestant and Catholic Armenians to be exempted from deportation only arrived after their deportation had taken place. The Government wanted to force the few remaining Armenians to accept the Mohammedan faith. A few did so in order to save their wives and children from the terrible sufferings already witnessed in the case of others. The people begged us to leave for Constantinople and obtain some security for them. On our way to Constantinople we only encountered old women. No young women or girls were to be seen.

Already by November<sup>1</sup> we had known that there would be a massacre. The Mutessarif of Moush, who was a very intimate friend of Enver Pasha, declared quite openly that they would massacre the Armenians at the first opportune moment and exterminate the whole race. Before the Russians arrived they intended first to butcher the Armenians, and then fight the Russians afterwards. Towards the beginning of April, in the presence of a Major Lange and several other high officials, including the American and German Consuls, Ekran Bey quite openly declared the Government's intention of exterminating the Armenian race. All these details plainly show that the massacre was deliberately planned.

In a few villages destitute women come begging, naked and sick, for alms and protection. We are not allowed to give them anything, we are not allowed to take them in, in fact we are forbidden to do anything for them, and they die outside. If only permission could be obtained from the authorities to help them! If we cannot endure the sight of these poor people's sufferings, what must it be like for the sufferers themselves?

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<sup>1</sup> 1914.



It is a story written in blood. Two old missionaries and a younger lady (an American) were sent away from Mardin. They were treated just like prisoners, dogged continually by the gendarmes, and were brought in this fashion to Sivas. For missionaries of that age a journey of this kind in the present circumstances was obviously a terrible hardship.

**24. MOUSH DISTRICT: NARRATIVE OF A DEPORTED WOMAN, RELATED BY HER TO MR. VARTKES OF MOUSH<sup>2\*</sup>, RECORDED BY HIM ON THE 25th JULY, 1915, AND PUBLISHED SUBSEQUENTLY IN THE ARMENIAN JOURNAL "VAN-TOSP."**

To-day I heard a terrible story. All the Armenians who were deported from Moush were either killed or drowned in the Mourad River<sup>3</sup>. Among these were my mother and three sisters with their children. This news was brought to us by a woman who came here at midnight. We thought she was a ghost, as she seemed like one coming from the grave. She had saved her two-year-old boy.

She immediately asked for bread. We had not any, as we were living on raw grain and meat, but we gave her what we had. After she had had enough, we asked her all kinds of questions. She was from the village of Kheiban, and was one of the deported. This is what she told us:

"The Turks collected all the women and children of the villages of Sordar, Pazou, Hassanova, Salekan and Gvars, and after keeping them for five days they brought them to Ziaret. Here the inhabitants of Meghd, Baghlou, Ourough, Ziaret and Kheiban joined them, and they were all taken towards the bridge over the Mourad River. On the way the families from the villages of Dom, Hergerd, Norag, Aladin, Gomst<sup>4</sup>, Khashkhal-doukh, Souloukh, Khoronk, Kartzor, Kizil Agatch, Komer, Shekhlan, Avazaghpur, Plel and Kurdmeidan joined the party, making altogether a company of 8,000 to 10,000 people.

"All the old women and the weak who were unable to walk were killed. There were about one hundred Kurdish guards over us, and our lives depended on their pleasure. It was a very common thing for them to rape our girls in our presence. Very often they violated eight or ten-year-old girls, and as a consequence many would be unable to walk, and were shot.

"Our company moved on slowly, leaving heaps of corpses behind. Most of us were almost naked. When we passed by a village, all the Kurdish men and women would come and rob us as they pleased. When a Kurd fancied a girl, nothing would prevent him from taking her. The babies of those who were carried away were killed in our presence.

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<sup>2</sup> At that time in hiding in the forests of Sourp Garabed.

<sup>3</sup> Eastern Euphrates.

<sup>4</sup> Koms.

"They gave us bread once every other day, though many did not get even that. When all our provisions were gone, we gathered wheat from the fields and ate it. Many a mother lost her mind and dropped her baby by the wayside.

"Some succeeded in running away, and hid themselves in the fields among the wheat until it was dark. Those who were acquainted with the mountains of that region would thus escape and go back to seek their dear ones. Some went to Sassoun, hearing that it had not yet fallen, others were drowned in the Mourad River. I did not attempt to run away, as I had witnessed with my own eyes the assassination of my dear ones. I had a few piastres left, and hoped to live a few days longer.

"We heard on our way from the Kurds that Kurdish Chettis (bands of robbers) had collected all the inhabitants of Kurdmeidan and Shekhlán, about 500 women and children, and burnt them by the order of Rashid Effendi, the head of the Chettis.

"When we reached the Khozmo Pass, our guards changed their southerly direction and turned west, in the direction of the Euphrates. When we reached the boundary of the Ginj district our guards were changed, the new ones being more brutal. By this time our number was diminished by half. When we reached the boundary of Djabaghchour we passed through a narrow valley; here our guards ordered us to sit down by the river and take a rest. We were very thankful for this respite and ran towards the river to get a drink of water.

"After half-an-hour we saw a crowd of Kurds coming towards us from Djabaghchour. They surrounded us and ordered us to cross the river, and many obeyed. The report of the guns drowned the sounds of wailing and crying. In that panic I took my little boy on my back and jumped into the river. I was a good swimmer and succeeded in reaching the opposite shore of the Euphrates with my precious bundle unnoticed, and hid myself behind some undergrowth.

"By nightfall no one remained alive from our party. The Kurds left in the direction of Djabaghchour. At dusk I came out from my hiding place to a field in the vicinity and found some wheat, which I ate; then I followed the Euphrates in a northerly direction, and after great difficulty I reached the plain of Moush. I decided to go to the mountains of Sourp Garabed, as I had heard that there were many Armenians there. During the nights my boy was a great comfort to me. I felt that a living being was with me and fear lost its horror. I thank God I have seen the faces of Armenians again."

The poor woman ended her story, and our hearts were stricken with sorrow, for we had loved ones among the unfortunate people of her convoy. Two days later her boy died from lack of nourishment, and after five days she was found by a party of patrolling Kurds and killed.

**25. MOUSH: RESUME OF INFORMATION FURNISHED BY REFUGEES IN THE CAUCASUS AND PUBLISHED IN THE CAUCASIAN PRESS, ESPECIALLY IN THE ARMENIAN JOURNAL "MSCHAK"; COMPILED BY MR. G. H. PAELIAN, AND COMMUNICATED BY HIM TO THE ARMENIAN JOURNAL "ARARAT," OF LONDON, MARCH, 1916.**

The following reports concerning the massacres and deportations in the region of Moush and Sassoun have come to hand from completely independent sources, yet it is remarkable to note how they confirm one another.

The massacres of Moush began on the 28th June (11th July), Sunday morning, and lasted until Monday night. They were organised by the Governors of Van and Bitlis and carried out in the presence of their representatives, among whom were Abdoullah Bey of Sipuk, Topal Ibrahim of Moush (tax collector), Hassan (tax collector), and the police Hakim. Before the massacres, all the prominent Armenians underwent indescribable sufferings. They were flogged and their limbs twisted until their thumbs began to bleed. The day the peasants were arrested they wished to take Holy Communion first, but were refused. The monks of Saint Garabed and the prominent Armenians of the villages of Gvars, Sortra and Pazou were assassinated in the monastery. The perpetrators opened the tomb of Bishop Nerses Kharakhanian, with the hope of finding money. They took his shroud and put the body back in the tomb. Mehmed Effendi, the Ottoman deputy for Gendje<sup>5</sup>, collected about 40 women and children and killed them. Two hundred of the inhabitants of Moush were brought to the village of Shekhlan and thrown into the Mourad River. One hundred men from Sassoun, who surrendered, were imprisoned without food or drink. "Then they begged for bread, the Turkish inhabitants could not stand their wailing, and asked the Government either to give them bread or kill them. They were all killed about the middle of November.

Then the Government looked for the Armenians who had found refuge with some Kurds, and finding about 2,000 of them massacred them all. The fact is confirmed that Kegham Der Garabedian, the Ottoman deputy for Moush, was hanged. The property of the Armenians of Moush and Bitlis was sold by the Government, and all their sheep and cattle which were left with the Kurds were requisitioned by the army of Halil Bey.

According to reports from the Caucasus, the Turks gathered together about 5,000 Armenians by treachery and deception from 20 Armenian villages round the monastery of Saint Garabed at Moush and massacred them. This took place near the wall of the monastery. Before the massacre began, a German officer stood on the wall and harangued the Armenians to the effect that the Turkish Government had shown great kindness to, and had honoured, the Armenians, but that they were not satisfied and wanted autonomy; he then, by the report of a revolver, gave the signal for the general massacre. Among the massacred were two monks, one of them being the father superior of Sourp Garabed, Yeghishe Vartabed, who had a chance of escaping but did not wish to be separated from his flock and was killed with them. From the Sahajian

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<sup>5</sup> Ginja (?).

district about 4,000 Armenians found refuge in the forests of the monastery, and fought against the attacking Turks and Kurds. They kept themselves alive on wheat, raw meat without salt, turtle, frogs, etc. Some of them finally surrendered, but no one knows the fate of the remainder. The monastery of St. Garabed was sacked and robbed. The Turks opened the tomb of St. Garabed and destroyed everything. They also discovered some secret chambers. Turkish chiefs took up their quarters in the monastery with imprisoned Armenian girls.

According to another report no one was spared in Moush, not even the orphans in the German Orphanage. Some of these were killed and others deported. The Rev. Krikor and Mr. Marcar Ghougasian, teachers in the German Orphanage, were killed, and only two escaped death, Miss Margarid Nalbandian and Miss Maritza Arisdakesian. These were graduates of the German Seminary at Mezré, and owe their lives to a kind German lady.

According to the reports of some Armenians who had found refuge in the forests of Sourp Garabed and finally made their way to the Caucasus, Hilmi Bey was appointed for the purpose of clearing the Armenian provinces of Armenians. This man reached Erzeroum on the 18th May, and then went to Khnyss, Boulanik, Khlát, etc., massacring every Armenian in these places. According to a letter, dated the 19th June (3rd July), written to one of these refugees, Hilmi Bey had three army corps (?) with him, a body of gendarmes, and the volunteers of Hadji Moussa Bey and Sheikh Hazret, who had come to Moush to massacre the Armenians. To these forces were added the Turkish mob of Moush, the Turkish refugees from Alashkerd and Badnotz, Keur Husein Pasha and Abd-ul-Medjid Bey. The massacres were directed by Governor Djevdet of Van, Commander Halil of Dillman, Governor Abd-ul-Khalak of Bitlis, and Governor Servet Bey of Moush. The order for massacre was given on the 28th June (11th July). According to Turkish Government statistics 120,000 Armenians were killed in this district.

**26. BITLIS: LETTER DATED 14th OCTOBER, 1915, FROM A FOREIGN RESIDENT AT BITLIS TO A GERMAN OFFICIAL; COMMUNICATED BY THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ARMENIAN AND SYRIAN RELIEF.**

From having seen you yesterday, I am assured that you will receive with kindly consideration what I feel obliged to write to you. It is about the women and children who still remain with us.

It might be well to relate first a few of the recent events bearing on the matter.

On the 23rd June the Armenian men of the city, including those on our premises, were led to prison. A few days later, when they began to take the women from the city, I called on the Vali and told him that I could not give up the girls of our school and the women who had come to me for protection. He said that Halil Bey had decided the matter in regard to the women, and that he himself had no power to alter that decision, but that he would leave those on our premises till the last. I wrote a letter to Halil Bey with the consent of the Vali, to whom I sent a copy. I received no answer.

The women and girls are now employed in the hospitals, and by this means we have been able to keep them until now. We have spoken with Djévdet Bey recently, but he gives us no assurance of their ultimate safety, and says that the children must go. Of our Protestant community, we have twenty-five teachers and pupils, twenty-five women and twelve children. Apart from these there are other women who are employed in the hospital, and about thirty orphans. The first orphans whom we received were brought to the school by Turkish officials, and since it appeared that the Government did not disapprove, we have received others and provide them with food and shelter. Much as we should like to save them all, we feel that we can only insist on keeping those of our community.

My heart is full of this subject. It is not my desire in any way to oppose the Government. Our superiors give us very definite instructions on this point before we come out. We all agreed here that since the Government thought it a necessary war measure that the men should be taken into exile, we could not refuse to give them up. But since that time I have witnessed so many things that seemed unnecessary, that the giving up of those entrusted to my care now seems a different matter. I am not saying that we can prevent their being taken - some of our women have already been taken from us - no one realises more than we do our own helplessness. But we are trying by every means in our power to save them. I plead with you for your help in this. I have wanted very much to see the Vali, but owing to Miss A.'s being ill I have had no interpreter.

We received word recently from Constantinople that the Government had informed our Ambassador that Protestant communities would not be molested, and that he had notified the consuls to that effect. But such orders have not been carried out here.

These women and children who are with us cannot possibly do harm to the Government - why must they be sent away to such a fate? If the hospital were removed, we could then be responsible for their support, until such time as it would be fitting to take them with us to Harput. My first plan, in the event of their trying to take our girls, was to barricade the school building, and compel them to force their way in or set fire to the building. Death in that form would have been welcome to the girls under those circumstances. The plan was not practicable, and I am telling you only that you may understand how much we dread the fate that awaits them. When I suggested the plan to my associates, I met with some opposition, but Sister B. said: "If I were in your place I would do the same thing," and suggested that she should take some of the women whom I could not accommodate in the school, to another building, and remain with them there. Her sympathetic understanding at that time was a great help to me. I have always had a great faith in Germany. Through Miss C. I learned to love her country. Somehow, I trust you as trusted her, and I feel that you will do for us what she would have done had she been able. Both Miss A. and myself entreat you most earnestly that you will use what influence you can exert here, that we may keep these women and children with us.

Your companions are here and inform us that you will leave to-morrow. We regret that we shall not see you again, but enjoyed the opportunity of meeting you the one time.

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# ARMENOLOGICAL HERITAGE

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**Karen V. Melik-Pashayan, The Cult of the Goddess Anahit, Yerevan, 1963, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Academy of Sciences of Armenian SSR.**

In this remarkable monograph the renowned ethnographer presents a study of Anahit, one of the chief deities of the Pre-Christian Armenia. Below the Editorial board suggests two chapters of the monograph – “Armenian pagan pantheon and the place of Anahit in the pantheon” (Chapter 2, pp.23-45) and “Places of cult of Anahit” (Chapter 5, pp.103-125).

### **ARMENIAN PAGAN PANTHEON AND THE PLACE OF ANAHIT IN THE PANTHEON**

Ancient Armenia which comprises the northern part of the Near East, due to its geographic situation is a transitional country where the peoples of ancient Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and Caucasus contact each other. Through the Armenia proceed trading caravans of these countries followed by military campaigns of ancient eastern monarchs. Due to trading relations elements of foreign ideology and thought enters into the population of Armenia. On the other side, the conquerors introduce the cult of their religion and main deities by force, especially among the elite. Thus, in Armenia were adopted Assyrian-Babylonian deities from the south, Anatolian, Hittite ones from the west, and that of Persian from the south-east. In the process of the amalgamation of these foreign and local cults had come into being the Armenian pantheon.

One of the central figures of our pantheon is regarded Aramazd. He was the father of the gods, the pagan forefathers took him as the creator of the sky and earth, and call him “Great and noble Aramazd, creator of the sky and earth”,<sup>1</sup> by his support exists the Armenian country, he gives abundance and richness. Here are the words of Trdat about Aramazd: “May there be greeting and prosperity by the help of the gods, abundant fertility from noble Aramazd ...”.<sup>2</sup>

Linguists etymologize the word Aramazd as follows. Ahura means “lord” and Mazda – “ultimate wisdom”.<sup>3</sup> To the pagan deities were dedicated festivals, those dedicated to Aramazd took place during the month Navasard.

The chief temple of Aramazd was located in the settlement Ani of the Daranali district (*gavar* in Armenian – transl.), Upper Armenia. In this regard we read the following wrote by Agathangelos: “... then he went to the fortified site of renowned Ani, the site of the royal burial ground of the Armenian kings. There they destroyed the altar

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<sup>1</sup> Agathangelos, History of Armenia (G.Ter-Mkrtychyan and St.Kanayants), Tiflis, 1909: 38 (translation of R.Thomson [Agathangelos, History of the Armenians, Albany, 1976, p.65]).

<sup>2</sup> Idem, p.73 (Thomson 1976, p.139).

<sup>3</sup> H. Acaryan, Dictionary of Armenian personal names, vol.1, Yerevan, 1942, p.268.

of the god Zeus-Aramazd, called father of all the gods".<sup>4</sup> Afterwards Trdat donated Ani along with its surroundings to the church.

Another temple of Aramazd was located on the mountain Palato where he was worshipped along with Astlik.<sup>5</sup>

Khorenatsi remembers that there was a temple of Aramazd in Mtskheta, on the bank of the Kura river: "And he immediately destroyed the stormy image of Aramazd, which stood out of the town, passing through a mighty river, people worshipping him everyone standing on the roof of his house since it was visible, and if anyone wishes to make sacrifice he passes the river and sacrifice before the temple".<sup>6</sup> From this reference it becomes clear that the statue stood on an elevated place and everybody worshipped him from the roof of his house, and anyone who want to perform sacrifice, crosses the river and did it in front of the temple.

Another temple of Aramazd was in the settlement Bagavan of the district Bagrevand, Ayrarat province. Although temples dedicated to Aramazd were numerous, thorough study of historical sources show that Aramazd was not so popular among the pagan Armenians as Anahit. We think that the cult of Aramazd emerged due to the Persian influence, so it was alien to the Armenian pantheon.

Armenian pagan pantheon was composed on the principle of kinship which is essentially different from that of the Persian Zoroastrian religion. Aramazd was the father of the family, he has three daughters – Anahit, Astlik, Nane, and one son – Mihr; in some sources Vahagn also is regarded as the son of Aramazd.

In Armenian pagan pantheon Vahagn occupied an exceptional place; he was one of the most beloved and popular deities of pagan Armenians and was the war god. It is seen from the words of Trdat: "... valor from valiant Vahagn to you ...".<sup>7</sup>

Vahagn was worshipped also as the sun-god, and from this point of view is important an ancient reference which Alishan had included in his "Old beliefs...": "Some people worshipped the Sun and called it Vahagn".<sup>8</sup>

In the only song which had reached us and is dedicated to Vahagn, also is evident his association with the sun and fire:

Heaven was in travail, earth was in travail, the purple sea  
Was also in travail, in the sea travail also gripped the red  
Reed. From the tube of the reed came forth smoke, from  
the tube of the reed came forth flame. From the flame a  
read-headed young boy run out. He had fire for hair, and  
had flame for beard, and his eyes were sun.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Agathangelos, p.73 (Thomson 1976, p.325)).

<sup>5</sup> Matenagrutyunk of our Holy father Movses Khorenatsi, Venice, 1865, p.301.

<sup>6</sup> Idem, p.170.

<sup>7</sup> Agathangelos, p.73 (Thomson 1976, p.139).

<sup>8</sup> Alishan, Old beliefs, Venice, 1865, p.294.



In the Armenian ethnography is preserved very interesting data which also prove that in the remote past Vahagn personified the cult of sun as well. In Van was preserved for long a remarkable custom connected with the cult of sun. On the next day after the wedding, in the morning the participants along with the bride and son-in-law, frequently lead by a priest, climb on the roof of the house or some other elevated place from where could be seen the sunrise, and the group of unmarried young men sang the next song addressed to the sun:

Hello morning sun, morning hello,  
 Let us say hello to morning sun  
 Let give the king much sun,  
 Vahe, Vahe.  
 Hello morning sun, morning hello,  
 Let us say hello to morning sun,  
 Let give the queen much sun,  
 Vahe, Vahe.<sup>10</sup>

Without doubt this song is a hymn preserved from the pagan period which is dedicated to Vahe, the sun-god. The etymology of the word Vahagn also speaks in favor of the fire-sun. It is built from the root Vah which means “bring, he who brings” and noun *agn* (*agni*) resulting in “he who brings fire”.

Thus, Vahagn simultaneously acts as the sun-god and it explains the popularity of his cult. Windischmann, Lagarde, Gelzer had identified Vahagn with Verethrana mentioned in Avesta and on this basis classified him among the gods of Persian origins. We think that it is not right suggestion. We could not agree with that treatment. First of all, for Persians Verethrana was a secondary deity, and the next, the roots of the cult of Vahagn are deep, and the Persian influence is traced from later period. We think that by its attributes and religious significance Vahagn stands closer to the Indian Indra, since P.Kretschmer has shown that Indra is of Anatolian or, precisely Hittite origins and identified with the Hittite deity of Inar or Inara which is attested in the Hittite texts many times.

According to historiographers, the chief temple of Vahagn was in Ashtishat and was very rich in gold and silver. Grigor Lusavorich had destroyed it with great difficulty, since the pagans heroically defend the temple of their beloved god.

Another temple, as reports Tovma Artsruni, was in Ahevakan village on the eastern side of the mountain Varaga (Vaspurakan). According to the same Tovma, a temple dedicated to Vahagn was located in the Lesser Albak which was erected by Artashes II.

One more temple was in the place called Salahuneac of the district Derjan, Upper Armenia, built by Trdat.

<sup>9</sup> Movses Khorenatsi, *Matenagrytyunk*, p.59 (translation of R.Thomson [Movses Khorenatsi, *History of the Armenians*, Ann Arbor, 2006, p.119).

<sup>10</sup> *Azagrakan handes*, vol.20, Tiflis, 1910, p.158.

According to Movses Khorenatsi, Vahagn was a god also in Georgia where it was erected a statue of him and he was worshipped through numerous sacrifices. Khorenatsi remembers that a priestly family was dedicated to Vahagn – Vahunik, who were obliged to serve Vahagn. The festival of Vahagn took place in the 7<sup>th</sup> day of the month Sahmi (October 15) and was celebrated with great luxury.

Among pagan Armenians the days of the months bear different names and were dedicated to one or another god, thus, the 27<sup>th</sup> day was dedicated to Vahagn and bear his name.

It is known that Vahagn was called dragonslayer; until recently this word was thought to consist of *vishap* and *qaghel* which mean *vishap qaghel*, exterminate a dragon. B.Arakelyan explains the word *vishapaqagh* as *vishap* and *qagh*, where *qagh* means male goat, *nokhazn*. So, here we got dragon-goat.<sup>11</sup> This new explanation helps to trace the evolution of the cult of Vahagn from totemistic character to the deity. Let us remember that the gods had originated from totems who primarily were depicted zoomorphous, and later, as a result of the development of productive forces religious sphere was transformed. The deities had lost their zoomorphism and become anthropomorphic. But, as a hangover they still preserve their previous images; Ishtar was depicted with the head of a cow, Marduk as lizard, Indra – bull etc. So it is not impossible that Vahagn used to have an appearance of half-dragon half-goat.

Despite the fact that Nar and Mittanian Ishtar were not form part of the Armenian pantheon, but, since those tribal groups whose deities were Nar and Ishtar had an important role in the process of the formation of Armenian ethnos, and from the other side, the evolution of the cult of Anahit should not be understood without aforementioned goddesses, let us briefly discuss their cults.

Nar, the goddess of water and fertility, had an important role in the religions of Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. Gr.Kapancyan has established the existence of her cult among Armenians.<sup>12</sup> Nar was expressed as a relic in the worship of Nurin, about her exist numerous songs, one of which we refer below:

She wears a red belt,  
She wears a *shila* shirt,  
*Ajba* gorgeous lady has come,  
Nuri, Nuri has come,  
Let us bring an egg and put into her hands,  
Let us bring oil and put on her navel,  
Let us bring water and pour on her head,  
Let us open the door of the heaven.

This song is simply an address to the goddess Nar expecting from her a rain, for which she was pleased, given some gifts. It is well known that in the antiquity the statues of goddesses (Nar, Anahit) were brought out of the temples and water was

<sup>11</sup> B.Arakelyan, Notes on Vahagn Vishapaqagh, Bulletin of Humanitarian Sciences , 1951/2, p.75.

<sup>12</sup> Gr.Kapancyan, Hittite gods among Armenians, Yerevan, 1940.

poured on them from every side and were performed sacrifices. The same was done in regard to Nuri (Nar) also in the XIX-XX centuries.

As it was mentioned by Gr.Kapancyan, the existence of Nar among Armenians is proved both linguistically and by ethnographic materials. Tsovinar simply represents the word Nar and its association with the sea (water), *voskinar*, as well as its variants *naroy*, *naroy*, *naroy*, leave no doubt that these are the relics of the cult of Nar.

In his study "Some traces of the agricultural cult among Armenians" V.Bdoyan has shown that the goddess Nar is the further development of the totemistic frog which corresponds to the matriarchal social structure in Armenia.<sup>13</sup>

The Egyptian and Hittite inscriptions show that before the Urartians a part of the Armenian Highland was settled by the Mittanians who in the XVI-XV centuries BC had created a mighty kingdom whose borders were extending from Cappadocia to Nineveh. The Mittanian state had political and economic contacts with neighboring countries and especially with Egypt. Were preserved the letters of the Mittanian king Tushratta addressed to Egyptian pharaohs. In the Mittanian religion an important role played the cult of the Mother-goddess expressed through Ishtar. From the letters of Tushratta addressed to the pharaoh Amenophis III becomes clear that Ishtar was the chief god of Mittanians. Amenophis III who was married to Giluhepa daughter of Tushratta, after her death desired to marry his daughter Taduhepa. After a durative correspondence Tushratta agreed and sent Taduhepa to Egypt. But soon after Amenophis became ill and asks Tushratta to send the goddess Ishtar in order to cure him. Tushratta immediately sent Ishtar to Egypt and wrote: "Let Ishtar, the lord of the heaven, help my brother and me one hundred thousand years and grant us both great joy. Let us live in good accordance, Ishtar is my goddess, but for my brother she is not his goddess".<sup>14</sup>

From the last words it becomes clear that Ishtar was the goddess of Mittanians and Tushratta warns the pharaoh to send Ishtar back. Tushratta's letter which we did not refer completely, shows that Ishtar traveled to Egypt not the first time.

In the Mittanian treaties, oaths, curses Ishtar has an important role and is mentioned commonly, and this shows exceptional popularity of her cult. Unfortunately, the scarcity of written and epigraphic information does not give us possibility to represent in full the cult of Ishtar. But one thing is clear, the Subarian-Mittanian component of the Armenian ethnos was not neglected in the Armenian ideological grounds.

In the Armenian pagan pantheon had an important role Astlik, the goddess of love. In the Babylonian pantheon Ishtar has dual character; she is simultaneously the goddess of love and fertility. Probably, initially in our pantheon the situation was similar and Anahit combined the functions of love and fertility, but later her cult was splitted and the function of love had passed to Astlik.

<sup>13</sup> Studies of the State Historical Museum of Armenia, vol.3, Yerevan, 1950, p.68.

<sup>14</sup> A.Khachatryan, Critical history of Armenia of cuneiform period, Yerevan, 1933, p.338.

H.Acaryan regards the name Astlik as translation of Syriac “Kaukabta” which means Astlik, i.e. Arusyak.<sup>15</sup>

According to the information given by Agatangelos, the chief temple of Astlik was in Ashtishat: “The third was the temple named for the goddess Astlik, called the spouse of Vahagn, who is in Greek Aphrodite”.<sup>16</sup> Khorenatsi also has a similar mention; the statue of Aphrodite, beloved of Heracles was ordered to erect near the statue of Heracles, in the district of Hashteanak.

The cult of Astlik was widespread in Taron and for this reason, as wrote G.Srvandztyants, there was not a single mound or high mountain in Taron which was not dedicated to Astlik; thus, a part of the mountain Varaga, as well as a segment of the Taurus massive near S.Hovhan bears the name of Astlik.

In the same Taron an interesting legend was preserved which tells that “The Euphrates river makes a roaring noise (*grgral* in Armenian – transl.) when it enters the Mush plain, passing through the narrow gorge and hitting the stones; and that place is called Gur gurai where Astlik’s bath was located. And since Astlik usually took bath by nights, passionate young men make a big fire on the Daghonats mountain and under its light observe the marvellous beauty of Astlik, so she makes to cover the whole place with fog, that is the whole Mush plain in Summer and Winter, until the foothills of the mountains, in order to prevent watching from the mountains; and maybe it is possible that exactly after this heavy fog (*mshush* in Armenian – transl.) that land was named as Mush. The people sang the next song: “Mountains of Mush are *mush*, its soil and water are sweet (*anush* in Armenian – transl.)”.<sup>17</sup>

Tovma Artsruni tells that Artashes had built a temple of Astlik in Artashat: “And in the small hollow-like valley divided into three parts which begins from three mounds, by means of a trench he built a high tower and erected an image of Astlik, and a treasury in its neighborhood in order to protect it”.<sup>18</sup>

In the “History of Taron” by Hovhan Mamikonyan it is mentioned that in Taron there is a place called Astghnaber,<sup>19</sup> near the district of Hashteanak – Astghaber. G.Srvandztyants in his “Toros Aghbar” remembers that one of the mountains in the region of Sebastea bears the name Astlik<sup>20</sup>, in the same region was a river which also was called Astlik, there was Astghablur in Artsakh.<sup>21</sup>

The other temple of Astlik, as we have mentioned above, was located on the mountain Palato of Andzevaci district of Vaspurakan, next to the temple of Aramazd.

Indeed, the great number of the temples of Astlik speaks in favor of the popularity of her cult. The temple of Nane, another daughter of Aramazd was in the settlement Til

<sup>15</sup> H.Acaryan, Dictionary of Armenian personal names, vol.1, Yerevan, 1942, p.232.

<sup>16</sup> Agathangelos, p.603 (R.Thomson, Agathangelos, p.349).

<sup>17</sup> G.Srvandztyants, Groc-broc, Constantinople, 1874, p.97-98.

<sup>18</sup> History of the House of Artsruni of Tovma Artsruni, Tiflis, 1917, p.98.

<sup>19</sup> Hovhan Mamikonyan, History of Taron, Yerevan, 1941, p.180.

<sup>20</sup> G.Srvandztyants, Toros Aghbar, part 1, Constantinople, 1879, p.167.

<sup>21</sup> S.Eprikyan, Natural dictionary, Venice, 1903, p.249.

of Daranali district of Upper Armenia. Nane was the goddess of wisdom and knowledge. Due to the scarcity of information, her cult is not defined yet. Two opinions circulate among the scholars concerning Nane; P. de Lagarde derives the name of Nane from Sanscrit Nana, and according to Emin, Nane is one of the names of Ishtar and she was worshipped in Assyria under the name of Nana.

We think that Nane was a local goddess and had played an important role among the Armenian tribes.

In order to prove our suggestion it is enough to recall the circumstance that Nane had an essential impact on the epos "Daredevils of Sassoon". In the epos, as it was mentioned by H.A.Orbeli, Nane appears as an old woman.<sup>22</sup> In the person of Nane of Sassoon, as it was correctly noticed by V.Bdoyan, was personified the tutelary god of harvesting. "In the functions of the old woman we see a remote echo also on the account of war. Actually, the idea of the defence of the motherland Davit takes from the old woman. Femininity, without doubt, does not matter, since in the matriarchal society women were also warriors".<sup>23</sup>

Among the Persians Nane figures as a goddess of victory. The cult of Nane held an important place among Georgians, about which is written a voluminous study by V.Bardavelidze (forthcoming).

Mihr, the son of Aramazd was the god of the sun and fire.

Mihr has left numerous traces in our personal names and toponyms. Thus, Mihrshapuh, Mihrdat, Mihran, Mehruzhan, Mehendak; toponyms – the monastery of Ners Mihr, the town of Mihravan in Albania, in Syunik St.Orbelyan mentions the village of Mehogats (means the throne of Mihr) etc.

The temple dedicated to Mihr was located in the place named Bagaric, Derjan district of Upper Armenia. According to Strabo,<sup>24</sup> Armenians pay 20.000 horses to Persia annually on the occasion of Mithraic festivals. In the Armenian pantheon Mihr took the place of Vahagn, leaving the latter the function of the war-god; this could explain the popularity of the cult of Mihr.

A question arises, who was the spouse of Aramazd. According to some references, Anahit was regarded as the spouse of Aramazd.<sup>25</sup> Many scholars find it impossible saying that Anahit was only the daughter of Aramazd. To my mind, it should not be excluded that Anahit was both the daughter and spouse of Aramazd. Similar phenomena we observe among other peoples; thus, Hera was the sister and wife of Zeus, Osiris – the son and wife of Isis at the same time,<sup>26</sup> Ramesses I had been

<sup>22</sup> H.A.Orbeli, The Epos of Davit of Sassoon, Soviet Armenian literature, 1939/8-9, p.18-19.

<sup>23</sup> V.Bdoyan, Some traces of agricultural cults among Armenians, Studies of the Armenian State Historical Museum, vol.3, Yerevan, 1950, p.33.

<sup>24</sup> Strabo, About Armenians and Armenia (selected and translated by Hr.Acaryan), Yerevan, 1940, p.61.

<sup>25</sup> Haysmavurq, Constantinople, 1706, p. 38, "Small chronicles, XIII-XVIII centuries", vol.2, (compiled by V.A.Hakobyan), Yerevan, 1956, p.317, 359 etc.

<sup>26</sup> Mackenzie D.A., Egyptian Myth and Legend, p.367.

married to her four daughters, one of which held the position of the first wife,<sup>27</sup> Vormizd (Iranian Ormazd – transl.) was engaged in marital affairs with his mother and sister,<sup>28</sup> Erato was the sister and wife of Tigranes II; such examples are numerous.

In his book “Armenian pagan religion” K.Kostanyan had tried to solve this problem and expressed an idea that the goddess Spandaramet was the wife of Aramazd, but the data brought by him is not convincing. The study of a scarce information about Spandaramet show that she acted as a goddess of netherworld. In the prophecy of Ezechiel is written: «Let sandaramet torture your body».<sup>29</sup>

That she was the goddess of the netherworld is proved by the information of Agathangelos: “And he descended and came down near to the ground of the earth in the middle of the city. And he struck the wide expanse of the solid ground, and great and immeasurable rumblings sounded in the depths of hell”.<sup>30</sup>

One of the popular curses used in Van is said the next: «Let sandaramet eat away at your body»;<sup>31</sup> this is a remote memory about Spandaramet who was the goddess of the netherworld. Let us mention that Spandaramet exactly means “hell”.

Almost all organized pagan pantheons had a deity of scholarship and writing which different peoples name by different names; Tot by Egyptians, Nebos by Assyrians, Apollo and Hermes by Greeks, Mercurius by Latins etc. Armenian pagan pantheon has Tir. He was regarded as the scribe of Aramazd, the mentor of writing, rhetorics. Pagan Armenians ascribe him ability of interpreter of dreams. The temple of Tir was near Artashat. As Agathangelos mentions, Trdat first destroyed the temple of Anahit in Artashat: “On the road he first came across the shrine of the god Tir, the interpreter of dreams, the scribe of pagan learning, who was called the secretary of Ormizd, a temple of learned instruction. (Here) first they set to work, and destroyed, burnt, ruined and razed it”.<sup>32</sup>

From the name Tir were built personal names Tribaz, Trdat, Tiran, Tiroc, Tiratur, Tirit, and place names Tirinkatar, Tirarej, to Tir was dedicated the month of Tre and the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the month.

Let us discuss Ara the Handsome. Many scholars had studied his person. Among recent studies are worth to mention the “Worldview of ancient Armenians” by N.Adontz,<sup>33</sup> “Ara the Handsome” by Matikyan,<sup>34</sup> and the third, more important one -

<sup>27</sup> M.E.Matie, Traces of Matriarchate in ancient Egypt, in «Problems of ancient history» (collection of papers dedicated to the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the book of Fr.Engels “The emergence of family, personal property and state”), Moscow - Leningrad, 1936, p.373.

<sup>28</sup> Ethnographic journal, vol.26, Tiflis, 1917, p.144.

<sup>29</sup> Prophecy of Ezechiel, 31, p.16.

<sup>30</sup> Agathangelos, p.384 (R.Thomson, History of the Armenians, p.277).

<sup>31</sup> Ethnographic collection of papers dedicated to Emin, vol.6, Moscow – Vagharshapat, 1906, p.310.

<sup>32</sup> Agathangelos, p.404 (R.Thomson, History of the Armenians, p.317).

<sup>33</sup> Hayrenik, Boston, 1926, October-November, 1927, January.

<sup>34</sup> Vienna, 1930.

“The cult of Ara the Handsome” by Gr.Kapancyan,<sup>35</sup> where the highly skillful scholar solves in detail and comprehensively the problems connected with Ara the Handsome, whereby the cult is studied under the light of historical development given its evolution.

Gr.Kapancyan established that it is a reflection of the ancient Near Eastern dying and resurrecting deity which has cultic similarities with Mesopotamia.

During the period of developed agriculture the idea of the dying - resurrecting deity had an important place which in the Armenian reality also was reflected in the face of Ara.

Gr.Kapancyan wrote: “Ara is not the deity which personifies the awakening of spring, plants and forces, but also of productivity, fertility or harvest”.<sup>36</sup>

What place in the pantheon was secured for Barshamin remains unknown yet. From the scarce information kept in the sources it becomes clear that his cult had entered Armenia from Mesopotamia. In this regard Khorenatsi writes: “He himself went down to Mesopotamia, and finding there the statue of Barshamin, he embellished it with ivory, crystal, and silver. He ordered that it should be brought and set up in the town of Tordan”.<sup>37</sup>

The next historian who had kept an information about Barshamin is Anania Shirakatsi, who in the chapter “Milky way” of his study “Cosmology and calendar” also mentions the Assyrian origins of Barshamin: “Again some people among Armenian forefathers says that in severe winter Vahagn, the forefather of Armenians, had stolen the straw of Barshamin, the forefather of Assyrians, so we learned to call it by tradition as milky way”.<sup>38</sup> The next information comes from Agathangelos telling how Grigor Lusavorich had destroyed the statue of snow-white Barshamin at the village of Tordan of Daranali district. But what was the essence of Barshamin's cult, what ideas does it contain, today remains unknown.

Strabo gives a remarkable information according to which Anahit was worshipped together with two gods – Oman and Anadat.<sup>39</sup> In the Armenian mythology exist two more deities of secondary importance – Amanor and Vanatur, about whom different scholars had expressed contradictory views. Thus, M.Emin regarded Amanor and Vanatur as a single deity, but Gh.Alishan found out that they were separate gods. H.Gelzer regarded as a god only Vanatur, and S.Paronyan takes both as a subordinates<sup>40</sup> of Aramazd.

To our sense, Vanatur and Amanor correspond to Oman and Anadat of Strabo, and are satellites of Anahit. To Oman corresponds Amanor and to Anadat – Vanatur (in Persian *dat* means “to give; gift”), where initial *v* could have been dropped and *dat* was

<sup>35</sup> G.Kapancyan, The cult of Ara the Handsome, Yerevan, 1945.

<sup>36</sup> Idem, p.156.

<sup>37</sup> Khorenatsi, Matenagrutyunq, p.89.

<sup>38</sup> Anania Shirakatsi, Cosmology and calendar, Yerevan, 1940, p.37.

<sup>39</sup> Strabo, p.39.

<sup>40</sup> The author uses the unusual word *storadryal* “subordinate” for both deities without defining its sense. Probably, he means satellite, a word used in the next sentence (transl.).

translated as *tur* (Armenian translation of *dat* – transl.). It should be remembered that the festival dedicated to Vanatur and Amanor was held in Navasard, almost together with that of Anahit, and this also proves that they were satellites of Anahit.

Anahit had an exceptional role in the Armenian pagan pantheon; it is seen from the words of Trdat addressed to Grigor: "... unless you agree to offer worship to the gods, and especially to this great lady Anahit. She is the glory of our race and our savior; her all kings honor, especially the king of the Greeks. She is mother of all virtues, benefactor of all human nature, and the offspring of the great and noble Aramazd".<sup>41</sup> These words are very important for the definition of Anahit. Thus, the wording "especially to this great lady Anahit" shows that Anahit had a special role in the Armenian pagan pantheon, her cult was spread everywhere, she "She is the glory of our race and our savior", etc.

No less important are the next words of Trdat's edict which define the functions of our chief deities: "May there be greeting and prosperity by the help of the gods, abundant fertility from noble Aramazd, protection from Lady Anahit, valor from valiant Vahagn to you and all our land of Armenia ...".<sup>42</sup>

The above mentioned passage shows that the kings seek protection of Anahit.

According to the Armenian pagan thought, Anahit was the force "who gives life and fertility to our land of Armenia", to her are ascribed creative and productive attributes, hence she appears as the symbol of productivity, motherhood, and fertility. It is clear that a deity having such attributes could not have been emerged in the patriarchal period, so the roots of her cult should be looked in the remote past, in the social-economic background of matriarchate.

The cult of Anahit was widely spread over the whole East. The information proving this is attested in the New Testament and in Soperk. These references belong to the period when Christianity had begun its propaganda in the East. Christian preachers were trying to discredit pagan deities, and, first of all Anahit whose authority was very popular, and from their turn, supporters of paganism fiercely fought against the Christians, trying to excite people: "... the temple of the great goddess Artemea is regarded as an empty place, and her greatness should be destroyed whom worship the whole Asia and the world".<sup>43</sup>

Almost identical important information is preserved also in Soperk. During the reign of Sanatruk the apostle Thaddeus came to Armenia from Mesopotamia in order to disseminate Christianity. Thaddeus and his supporters were arrested. The devil came to the enjailed in the image of a human and spoke to them: "what did you lack that you have left the great goddess Anahit and Pisidov, the mother of the gods and deluded with that Jewish man who taught you new learning and deceived your mind, return into the fold, kiss the country of Anahit and I shall plead to all gods for your absolution".<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Agathangelos, p.31 (R.Thomson, History of the Armenians, p.65).

<sup>42</sup> Agathangelos, p.73 (R.Thomson, History of the Armenians, p.139).

<sup>43</sup> New Testament, Constantinople, 1892, p. 163 (in Arm.).

<sup>44</sup> Sopherk Haykakanq, Venetik, 1853, vol.8, p.23.



The cited words show that the supporters of paganism were trying to use the authority of Anahit as a barrier against the victorious march of Christianity, since Anahit has a central position in the pantheon and she overshadows other deities.

### PLACES OF CULT OF ANAHIT

Above we have mentioned that the cult of Anahit was very popular in Armenia. Naturally, temples dedicated to her also should have been numerous, but due to scarcity of written, archaeological and ethnographic sources it is impossible to identify most of their locations.

The main temple of Anahit was located in the settlement of Eriza, district Ekeleac, Bardzr Hayk province, on the bank of the river Gayl. The cult of Anahit was so popular in this district that, according to Strabo, Pliny and Dio Cassius the entire district bears the name Anahtakan (i.e. belonging to Anahit – transl.).

Among the nakharar families who are named after their domains are mentioned those from Ekeleac. Thus, listing Armenian noblemen who visited the emperor Constantine in the city of Karin (Erzerum – transl.) Sebeos writes: “Spereans (of Sper – transl.), princes of Bagratuni, Manakeans and Daranakeans who were from the district of Ekelec”.<sup>45</sup>

In the list of false Gahnamak which is included in the Life of St. Nerses, we also meet the term Ekeleank-Ekelakank.<sup>46</sup> These testimonials allow us to suggest that among ancient Armenians there used to exist a princely family descending from priests which bear the name Ekeleank and, probably, the district Anahtakan belonged to them.

After the elimination of pagan religion the district of Ekeleac was granted to the family of Lusavorich, and after the death of the male representatives, in 439 it had passed to Mamikonyans.

According to Gr.Kapancyan, Ekelik originated from the Sumerian word “eklum”,<sup>47</sup> which means “field”, and the geographical data prove this explanation. In reality, the district of Ekeleac comprises a field, and in this regard it is worth to refer to the next information given by Hakob Karnetsi: “He went and reached the land of Ekeleac, which is a field-shaped and wide; and it has numerous villages and settlements”.<sup>48</sup>

The temple of Anahit at Eriza in the district of Ekeleac is the oldest one about which we have references by Pausanias and Procopius who tell that Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, has brought from Eriza the statue of Anahit accompanied by Orestes and Pylades.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Sebeos, Constantinople, 1851, p.217.

<sup>46</sup> “Sopherk”, vol.VI, Venice, 1853, p.33.

<sup>47</sup> Kapancyan Gr., Hayasa – the cradle of Armenians, Yerevan, 1947, p.86.

<sup>48</sup> Hakob Karnetsi, Bulletin of Upper Armenia, Vagharshapat, 1903, p.11.

<sup>49</sup> Procopius of Caesarea, The History of wars of Romans with Persians, Vandals and Gots, St-Petersburg, 1862, p.85.

The second big temple of Anahit was in the settlement of Ashtishat, district of Taron of the province of Turuberan, located at the plateau of the mountain Qarqe on the right bank of the Eastern Euphrates or Aratsani. During the reign of the kings Artashes and Vagharshak that settlement belonged to the family of Vahuni, Tigran II had confiscated it which became part of the royal domain, and later Trdat III donated it along with surrounding farmlands to Grigor Lusavorich (Illuminator – transl.). Since Sahak does not have male descendant, and his daughter had married to Hamazasp Mamikonyan, the domain had passed to Mamikonyans as a hereditary property. In Eriza, as well as Ashtishat were golden statues of Anahit.

Another temple of Anahit was in Armavir which was a distinguished pagan center, where were statues of sun and moon, a sacred forest where the priests perform different prophecies on the rustling of tree-leaves, here were located also the temples of Anahit and Apollo. Some scholars had doubted this information of Khorenatsi, but from the Greek inscriptions of Armavir it becomes clear that in Armavir actually existed a temple dedicated to Anahit. H. Manandyan regarded this temple as belonging to Artemis but we think that it was the temple of Anahit, and where was erected a statue of Artemis, under the Hellenistic influence and Artemis was identified with Anahit. Being the synthesis of Eastern and Western cultures the Hellenistic culture could not escape but influenced the Armenian pantheon, and actually with that influence should be explained the convergence of Greek and Armenian pagan religions and, as reports Movses Khorenatsi, in the temples alongside Armenian deities were identical Greek deities; thus, Zeus near Aramazd, Artemis near Anahit, etc. The same process we see in Armavir where next to the statue of Anahit stood the statue of Artemis. Thus, in Armavir a separate temple of Artemis was not erected.

The other big temple of Anahit was in Artashat and this fact finds proof due to the information given by Khorenatsi, Agathangelos and other authors. That temple was distinguished for its treasures: “First of all Trdat began to destroy the temple which was built in the city of Artast. And he took over gold, silver, precious stones and ritual vessels for the worship so much that is impossible to write down<sup>50</sup>”.

The next temple of Anahit was called the “Throne of Anahit” about which Pawstos writes the next: “There were two anchorite religious living-in-the-mountains. The name of one, who was a Syrian by race and who lived on the mountain Arewc, was Šalita. The name of the other was Epip'an. He was a Greek by race, and he lived on the great mountain called the Throne of Anahit ...”<sup>51</sup>.

Among our researchers circulate contradictory opinions regarding the location of the “Throne of Anahit”; thus, some scholars (M.Emin, K.Kostanyan) think that the Throne of Anahit was located in Ashtishat of Taron, province of Turuberan. From that same reference it is clear that the Throne of Anahit and the mountain Arewc were near

<sup>50</sup> N.Marr, *The baptise of Armenians, Georgians, Abkhazians and Alans by the St. Grigor, Vagharshapat*, 1913, p.51.

<sup>51</sup> *Armenian History of Pawstos Buzand*, Venice, 1889, p.224 (translation after *The Epic Histories Attributed to Pawstos Buzand* [transl. and commentary by Nina G.Garsoïan], Cambridge/Mass., 1989, p.205).

each other, but our historians did not mention a mountain Arewc in Taron. Taron is far away and, as it is seen from the reference, Šalita and Epip'an had reached very quickly, so the Throne of Anahit could not have been far from the Ekeleac district. So, most probably, the Throne of Anahit was located in Bardzr Hayk, in the district Arewc where also was a mountain Arewc. N.Adontz places the district of Arewc to the north of Akn<sup>52</sup>, on the left bank of the Euphrates, in the westernmost part of the Mndzur mountains.

A big temple of Anahit was also in the city of Komana of the province Gamirk, Cappadocia, which was part of Armenia. The staff of this temple reached 6000 people. The temple possessed also with extensive lands.

Movses Khorenatsi is the only author who mentions the temple of Anahit in the place called Darbnac qar of the district Andzevaci, Vaspurakan province; he writes the next: "... and the local population call it Darbnac qar. Reaching that place the Saint apostle chased the smiths, henchmen of evil and destroyed idols of Anahit".<sup>53</sup>

The priests of the place Darbnac qar or Agravaqar were called *darbin* since they cause great noise while striking the anvils with their hammers and kept the cult of the mountain live among the people. After a violent and persistent struggle the followers of Christianity had succeeded to destroy that temple and erect there the monastery of Hogeac which was dedicated to Mariam the Godmother (Maria Magdalena – transl.). In Taron is mentioned the fortress of Tirinkatar or Tsirinkatar, in the Taurus mountains, in the place called Aregaknatsag, where also stood a temple of Anahit. According to N.Sargsyan, in the monastery of Arakeloc was kept a manuscript in Greek written by Grigor Lusavorich in which the latter tells about his deeds and travels. Later the manuscript was translated by Chartuanel Mamikonyan into Armenian. N.Sargsyan in his "Topography of Lesser and Greater Armenias" introduces its copy where the passage concerning Anahit tells: "This is true border of the monastery which before the great castle was called Tirinkatar, since it was a place of Anahit which we destroyed by the might of Christ ..."<sup>54</sup> After it the temple was conquered with great difficulty and Lusavorich donated the fortress Tirinkatar along with its town and neighborhood to the monastery of Arakeloc.

A temple dedicated to Anahit exists also in Bagaran, about which we have a reference by Movses Khorenatsi. After the construction of Artashat Artashes I "... erected in it a temple and transferred to it from Bagaran the statue of Artemis ...".<sup>55</sup>

Another temple of Anahit should be looked in the place called Anatadzor of the district Baghk-Qashunik, province of Syunik, of which informs us Stepannos Orbelyan.<sup>56</sup> Before us it was suggested by academician Gr.Kapancyan who wrote: "In Syunik, in the region of Qashuni was a village Anatadzor that originates from Anahta dzor, hence it

<sup>52</sup> Recently bears the name Eğin, now Kemalieh (transl.).

<sup>53</sup> Movses Khorenatsi, *Matenagrutyunk*, p.294.

<sup>54</sup> N.Sargsyan, *The Topography of Lesser and Greater Armenias*, Venice, 1864, p.235.

<sup>55</sup> Movses Khorenatsi, *Matenagrutyunk*, p.126.

<sup>56</sup> History of the province of Sisakan by Stepannos Orbelyan, archbishop of Syunik, Tiflis, 1911, p.519.

means the gorge of Anahit. This could speak in favor of the existence of the cult of Anahit in ancient Syunik".<sup>57</sup>

In the chapter "Asia Minor" of his study "The Topography of Lesser and Greater Armenias" N.Sargisyan divides Lesser Armenia into several districts; the district of Atapazarı consists of 29 villages one of which bears the name Anahtacılar. The suffix *cılar* is extant in some other village-names, thus Toğancılar, Gırclar, Hacılar etc. We assume that this suffix *cılar* shows place-names, hence Anahtacılar means the place of Anahit. It seems that in antiquity in that place was located one of the temples of Anahit.

Worth to mention the information of Atrpet that in the Chorokh basin (Turkish Chorukh – transl.) was a village with the name Gül-Anahit where in the past was one of the temples of Anahit.<sup>58</sup>

G.Srvandztyanc in his "Manana", describing in details the festivities near the monastery of St.Tiramayr of Arcesh, which exactly resemble that of dedicated to Anahit, writes with some caution: "Now does not this location, that ceremonies, that name show the specialists of the past what was this place before Christianity".<sup>59</sup>

Relying also on the descriptions of some other ethnographers it could be stated that in the remote past in this place was a pagan temple dedicated to Anahit. Such an assumption is based on the next arguments:

1. Here was built a church of St.Mariam and we know that almost all temples of Anahit were replaced by the churches of St.Mariam. And this practice took place not only in Armenia but everywhere; in the places where exist temples dedicated to the Mother-goddesses were erected churches of St.Mariam. For example, in Georgia in the place of the temple of Levkote, goddess of fertility and love, was erected the famous temple of the godmother Atskuri.
2. For the St.Tiramayr church of Arcesh people collect cattle which has a white sign on the forehead, and this is a practice that was used only in regard to Anahit. From the history it is known that the cattle dedicated to Anahit also bear such signs and they freely graze around the temples dedicated to her. Thus, collecting of cattle which have white sign is a reminiscence of the cult of Anahit.
3. To the St.Tiramayr were ascribed curing abilities which among pagan deities characterize only Anahit. For that same reason it could be assumed that the church dedicated to Mariam the godmother of Verin Agulis in the past also was a temple of Anahit. In this regard Ye.Lalayan writes: "Traditionally it is told that this was a pagan house (the church of Mariam the godmother of Verin Agulis – K.V.Melik-Pashayan), and that St. Thaddeus had destroyed the idols and erected a church in that same place. All residents of Agulis tell that during the reconstruction of the church were found idols and fanatically broken".<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Gr.Kapancyan, Historical-linguistic significance of the toponymy of Armenia, Yerevan, 1940, p.292.

<sup>58</sup> Atrpet, The Chorokh basin, Vienna, 1929, p.91.

<sup>59</sup> G.Srvandztyanc, Manana, Constantinople, 1876, p.123.

<sup>60</sup> Ye.Lalayan, The district of Nakhijevan, part 1, Goghtn, «Ethnographic journal» 11, Tiflis, 1911, p.304.

In the records of Ter-Hakob from Agulis, a copy of which was in the possession of Ye.Lalayan, in this regard is written: "... From inside the earthenware table were found idols made of clay and cast iron".<sup>61</sup> Here the information deals with the same church. Unfortunately, the idols were destroyed by the local population.

It would be worth to remember that Agulis is located in the place of the historical district of Goltn where paganism was so strong that Mesrop Mashtots was forced to visit it for the second time in order to suppress the insurgent pagans.

In antiquity it was customary to dedicate towns, districts to gods and name after them. As it was mentioned above, the district Ekeleac was called Anahtakan, there were towns dedicated to Shamiram, Artemis, Khaldi etc. Worth to mention the towns Artimed (in the district of Vagharshapat) and Artamet (in Van). It could be assumed that the names of both towns were originated from the name of the goddess Artemida. For that reason in Armenia under the influence of Hellenism was in use the Greek terminology of naming the deities as it was done in the studies of Movses Khorenatsi, in the Arabic version of Agatangelos, partly by Agatangelos and Pawstos Buzand, where Anahit is called Artemis, Aramazd as Zeus, Astlik as Aphrodite etc. Therefore, it is not impossible that these two towns were dedicated to Anahit and were named Artemida (Artimed, Artamet). A noteworthy information concerning the town Artimed is contained in the Arabic version of Agatangelos where it is mentioned that after the destruction of the pagan temple in Artashat Trdat and Grigor "... reached the town of K-sat and ordered to destroy the temple of Artemid".<sup>62</sup> Linguistically it is proved that K-sat is the river Kasakh, next to which was located the town Artimed of Vardges, and since the town was dedicated to Artemid, it is clear that here should have been the temple of Artemid about which is spoken in the Arabic version of Agatangelos. Hence, undoubtedly, the town K-sat is identical with Artemid.

The study of the places of worship of Anahit convinces us that Upper Armenia (Eriza, Throne of Anahit) was the original center of her cult, from where it spread to the Ararat plain and were established great centers of the cult of Anahit such as Artashat, Armavir, Bagavan. This cult was widespread also in southern Armenia – Vaspurakan (Darbnac qar, Artamet, Arcesh), Sassoon (Tirinkatar), and in Syunik (Anahtadzor), Goltn, Taron (Ashtishat).

According to references familiar to us, it becomes clear that the cult of Anahit was widely spread over the western, southern, eastern and central regions of Armenia. In the northern regions of Armenia temples of Anahit are not recorded, but it does not allow us to say that in these areas Anahit was not worshipped.

Out of Armenia, in Asia Minor, Central Asia (Inner Asia in the original – transl.), Media, Persia and elsewhere are recorded places of worship of Anahit.

The city of Comana of Pontus, on the river Irida (also Iris – transl.) was a temple dedicated to Anahit. Strabo writes on that matter: "Comana is a populous city and a

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> N.Marr, The baptise of Armenians, Georgians, Abkhazians and Alans, p.51.

famous market for items brought from Armenia. During the outing of the goddess people are gathered from everywhere – towns and villages, men and women for that festival ...”<sup>63</sup>

According to the historian Procopius, the temples of both Comana's had erected Orestes son of Agamemnon, for his sister Iphigenia.

By the reference of the same Procopius the temple of Comana used to exist still in his times (late V – early VI centuries) and he saw it.<sup>64</sup>

One of the big temples of Anahit, as writes Strabo,<sup>65</sup> was on the mound of Shamiram, in the town Zela. Later Zela had become part of Lesser Armenia. G.Srvandztyanz writes about Zela: “In these lands are found coins and antiquities. Probably, on this mound was erected the statue of Anahit”.<sup>66</sup>

Temples dedicated to Anahit were in Ecbatana, Bactria, Suza, Germanicopolis and elsewhere.

Out of Armenia the cult of Anahit was spread over the whole Asia Minor, Central Asia (where recently were unearthed some statues of Anahit), partly in Persia and Media. Thus, the cult of Anahit encloses an enormous territory.

Unfortunately, due to the absence of materials it is impossible to judge about the architecture of the temples of Anahit. From the sketchy information of Agatangelos we learn that the temple at Eriza had high walls which were difficult to destroy. We bring the passage from Agatangelos full of fantastic tones: “The demons gathered together and gave battle in the form of an army carrying shields; with a tremendous shout they made the mountains echo. They were put to flight, but as they fled, the high walls collapsed and were flattened”.<sup>67</sup>

The demons mentioned there were those soldiers who ferociously defend the temple of their beloved goddess. From the description it becomes clear that Grigor Lusavorich and Trdat had succeeded to capture and destroy the temple with great difficulty, first of all due to its fortifications, and then the resistance.

Now let us discuss the statues of Anahit. As historians mention, one of the golden statues of Anahit stood in Eriza of the district of Ekeleac. It was taken of by Antonius, but the Armenians again erected a new golden statue. The latter was destroyed 300 years later by Trdat and Grigor Lusavorich. The second golden statue was in Ashtishat which also was annihilated at the hands of Grigor Lusavoric. The statue located in Artashat, according to Movses Khorenatsi, was made of gilded copper.

Indeed, in other places of the cult of Anahit were also statues but we do not possess with information about them. Unfortunately, none of them reached us.

<sup>63</sup> Strabo, p.79.

<sup>64</sup> Procopius of Caesarea, The history of wars ..., p.85.

<sup>65</sup> Strabo, p.79.

<sup>66</sup> G.Srvandztyanz, Toros akhpar, part 1, Constantinople, 1879, p.71.

<sup>67</sup> Agathangelos, p.409 (R.Thomson, History of the Armenians, p.325-327)].

Only at the end of the XIX century, to the south of Trapizon, in Satala was found a head made of copper which was ascribed to Anahit. Along with the head was found also a part of the hand. Both the head and the hand had traces of blows. The head is decorated with round circle and rich headband, the opening on the circle, and as it was rightly noticed by Enkelmann,<sup>68</sup> the head was decorated with the crown. Curly hairs are combed to the back and two curls on the forehead are designed like half-moon. Places for the eyes are empty, probably in the past they were filled with some material, half opened lips are graciously stepped forward. That head now is kept at the British museum.

In 1940 at the village Hacarat, Kamo district, accidentally was found a golden medallion of the Hellenistic period where is pictured mother embracing a child;<sup>69</sup> we assume that on the medallion is depicted the goddess Anahit.

Temples of Anahit possess with households. According to historiographers, temples of Anahit were very rich, they had numerous slaves, vast land resources, uncountable cattle, as well as gold, silver and precious stones.

The sources of the wealth of the temples were the next: 1. Donations from kings and priests, 2. Income from the economic structures of the temple, 3. Huge share from the spoils of war and war-prisoners.

It was customary that after a successful wars Armenian kings were obliged to send 1/5 of the spoils of war to the temples. Thus Khosrov, by his return from a victorious campaign ordered to send to the temples "... honored the sites of the ancestral worship of his Arsacid family with white oxen and white rams, white horses and white mules, gold and silver ornaments, fringed and tasseled silks, gold crowns and silver altars, beautiful vases with precious gems, gold and silver, shining raiment and lovely decoration".<sup>70</sup>

It is clear that most of the sacrifices and gifts were given to Anahit "... who is the glory of our race and our savior".<sup>71</sup>

People who serve in the temples were called priests (*qurm* – transl.) and their leader – chief priest (*qrmapet* in Armenian – transl.). In pagan Armenia priesthood comprise an extensive social group and as such arose from the material basis of slave economy and by its character it was completely social one. According to Strabo, Armenians donate numerous female and male slaves to the goddess Anahit and temples were full of them which were called temple slaves. Besides them, temples of Anahit own many *dastakerts* (estates – transl.), villages, settlements, many lands, forests etc.

<sup>68</sup> Enkelmann, A copper head found in Armenia, Bazmavep, 1883, p.135.

<sup>69</sup> V.Abrahamyan, Crafts in Armenia in the 4-18th centuries, Yerevan, 1956, p.89.

<sup>70</sup> Agathangheos, p.18-19 (R.Thomson, History of the Armenians, p.41)).

<sup>71</sup> Agathangheos, p.408 (R.Thomson, History of the Armenians, p.65)).

After the elimination of paganism all possessions of the priesthood had passed to the churches and clergymen. "And they devoted to the church's service the (temple's) all villages along with estates and territories".<sup>72</sup>

Chief priests had extensive rights and play significant role in the political life. The chief priest was regarded as the second in the country after the king and, as it was described by Strabo, as a rule, the king and the chief priest belong to the same family. In Armenia it was exactly the same. According to Movses Khorenatsi, Yervand built a city of Bagaran and appointed his brother Yervaz as chief priest. Mazhan, the chief priest was the brother of Tigran. Moreover, in his study "Tigran the Great according to his coins" prof. St.Lisitsyan demonstrates that Tigran the Great was also a chief priest: "The crown of Tigran the Great and all decorations on it convince us that he was a priest, particularly of Anahit. His authority had not lost theocratic principles yet and this had to be strongly reflected on all aspects of the feudal system. In his struggle against Rome he was backed not only by nakharars, civil aristocracy, but also all priesthood which look on him as the chief priest of the most respected goddess".<sup>73</sup>

It is known that the king Trdat I also was a priest.<sup>74</sup>

Not only in Armenia but elsewhere the priests experience great authority and play an important role in the political life. In this regard the famous English Assyriologist A.H.Sayce in his study "The Hittites. the history of a forgotten empire" writes the next: "Komana in Kappadokia and Ephesos on the shores of the Aegean are typical examples of such holy towns. The entire population ministered to the divinity to whom the city was dedicated, the sanctuary of the deity stood in its centre, and the chief authority was wielded by a high priest. If a king existed by the side of the priest, he came in course of time to fill a merely subordinate position".<sup>75</sup>

In ancient Rome priesthood also played significant role, after the elimination of the kingship chief priest became the most influential person. The great influence of the priesthood is explained by the economic power. Priests were very rich. Thus, the priestly family of Vahuni of Taron owned six villages, 12,298 houses, 7847 soldiers and the district of Hashteank.

In order to have an idea about the wealth of the temples of Anahit we can recall the next reference of Pliny; some soldier who became very rich after he robbed the temple of Anahit at Eriza, invited the emperor Augustus to a feast. During the feast Augustus asked that soldier whether the first soldier who attacked the statue of Anahit

<sup>72</sup> Agathangelos, p.38 (R.Thomson, History of the Armenians, p.321)).

<sup>73</sup> Scientific conference dedicated to the 20th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet system in Armenia, Yerevan, 1941, p.122-123.

<sup>74</sup> Tacitus, Works, book XV, vol.II, St.Petersburg, 1887, p.478.

<sup>75</sup> The author refers the Armenian translation of the study of A.H.Sayce published in "Banaser", Paris, 1900, p.250. For the sake of accuracy we have replaced the quoted passage with the original English publication (London, 1890, p.113).



had become handicapped, the soldier answered with smile, no, conversely, with the part of the calf of that golden statue which became mine I am happy to honor you.<sup>76</sup>

To the priests were given also judiciary functions, in antiquity pagan temples were cultural centers. Besides their spiritual job priests were busy with scholarship, curing, astronomy, history etc. They administer also education since the schools function at temples. Pagan Armenians had two types of archives – secular and religious. The first record political events and these books were called “Books of kings”, the second – “Temple history” where first of all are written mythological histories, and the political events occupy secondary role.

Anahit was greatly used for political purposes; in this regard is of interest the following speech of Cicero: “For fear had been inspired in these nations, whom the Roman people had never thought, either should be harassed by war, or attempted. There was also another serious and potent belief, which had prevailed through the minds of the barbarous nations, (that) our army was led into these regions for the purpose of despoiling of a most rich, and most sacred temple”.<sup>77</sup>

Th.Mommsen thinks that this mentioning refers to the temple of Anahit of Elymais, but he is wrong since:

1. The temple of Elymais was too far from the itinerary of Lucullus,
2. The temple of Elymais has been robbed since long by the Parthians,
3. Among the Persians there was not a custom to have luxurious and rich temples.

So, without doubt, as it was rightly noticed by H.Gelzer, the mention of Cicero refers to the famous temple of Anahit at Eriza, district of Ekeleac. The latter was distinguished in the East for its wealth and authority.

So, Tigran and Mithridates had masterly made use of the great authority of Anahit saying that the Romans want to insult and rob the temple of Anahit. This point gave a reason to some scholars (Mommsen and others) to regard Mithridatic and Tigranian wars against Rome as a religious war between East and West, wrongly ignoring their political and economic background.

Taking into account great authority of Anahit, Lucullus as well as Pompeius did not harm the temples of Anahit; moreover, as more farsighted person, Pompeius was trying to please the priesthood and he donated some estates to the temple of Anahit of Zela.

The study of historical sources show that Tigran II was eager to perform religious reforms and introduce stable religious norms. He adopted the Greek terminology of naming the gods. This, indeed, met an opposition since in that period in different provinces and districts of Armenia exist many local deities which express the ideology of Armenian tribes.

After erecting temples for the Greek deities Tigran ordered to make sacrifices and worship them. On this occasion against Tigran revolted Vahunis and Bagratids which

<sup>76</sup> C.Plini Secundi, *Naturalis historiae*, p.18.

<sup>77</sup> Cicero, Pompey's military command (this citation is taken by the author from H.Gelzer, *A Study on Armenian mythology*, Venice, 1897, p.44).

resulted in the takeover of religious functions from Vahunis, Tigran also ordered to cut off the tongue of Asud Bagratuni and took over the command of the army leaving them only the office of coronants (*tagadir aspet* – in Armenian). Thus, in order to create a strong centralized authority Tigran fought also for the establishment of unitary religious system aimed on the submission of numerous Armenian tribal groups.

The idea of monarchy brought with it the idea of supremacy of one god. Making Anahit a chief goddess, Tigran himself became her priest, as it was demonstrated by St.Lisitsyan.

Thus, the contemporary politicians in their political struggle made use of religious factor.

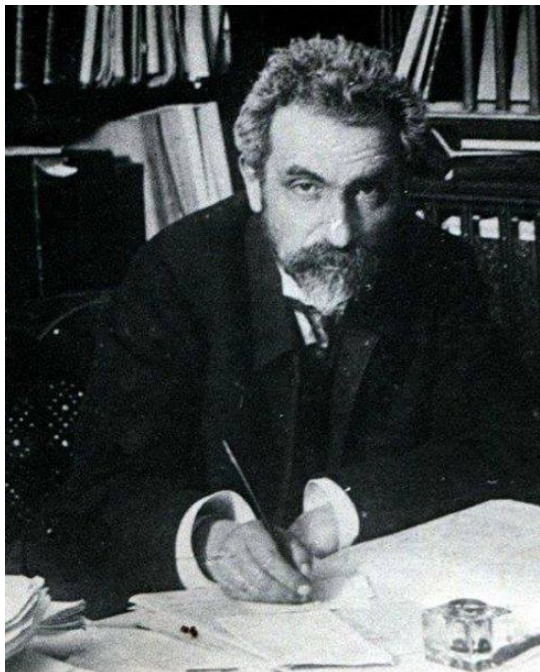
***Translated from the Armenian by Aram Kosyan***

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# CLASSICS OF ARMENOLOGY

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## NIKOLAI MARR (1864-1934)



Nikolai Marr was born on December 25, 1864, in Kutaisi, Georgia (then part of the Russian Empire). His father (Scott James [Jacob] Marr) was Scottish and his mother (Agrafina Mugularia) was Georgian. Nikolai Marr's father was an agricultural engineer, botanist who was working in Georgia and was the founder of the Kutaisi Botanical Garden. He had previously established several botanical gardens in different cities of the Russian Empire. In Kutaisi, Scott James Marr met Agrafina Mugularia, married her and settled there. From an early age, Nikolai communicated with local Armenians and learned Armenian.

In 1884 he graduated from the Kutaisi Gymnasium, and in 1888 from the Faculty of Oriental Languages of the University of St. Petersburg. He specialized in Armenology, Georgian Studies, Iranian Studies and Classical Philology. In 1891 he joined the staff of the University. Then Marr was appointed associate professor of the Department of Armenology at St. Petersburg University, and from 1900 became the head of the Department of Armenian-Georgian philology (since 1901 he was a doctor of philological sciences, professor).

The publication of the monograph "Scientific Mission to the Caucasus" by the French archaeologist and explorer Jacques de Morgan in 1889, prompted the Saint Petersburg Academy to take a closer interest in the antiquities of Armenia. It was for this reason that Nikolai Marr was sent with a small team to undertake the first proper excavations in Ani during the summer of 1892.

He started his scientific activity as a researcher of Armenian medieval historiography. He was also one of the well-known figures in the field of Armenian medieval literature. Of particular importance are his source studies on the works of Movses Khorenatsi, Sebeos, Hovhannes Kozern, Shota Rustaveli and others. He also paid special attention to the history of the Armenian language. He revealed the importance of Armenian medieval literature for the restoration of the original editions of Assyrian and Greek written monuments. Contradicting a number of European scholars, he refuted the misconception that Movses Khorenatsi himself was Mar Abas Katina, and proved that Khorenatsi had indeed used Mar Abas Katina's work in writing his "History".

He first visited Armenia in 1890. In 1899 he carried out reconnaissance excavations at the Dvin Citadel. In 1909-1911 in the Geghama Mountains, he discovered giant stone monuments called Vishap (dragon), which are associated with

the worship of water and fertility. In 1913 N. Marr excavated the Bronze Age tombs of Shirakavan. Along with his initial excavations in Akner, Shirakavan, Dvin, Zvartnots and Garni, he also dealt extensively with the excavations of Ani (1892-1916, intermittent), the first comprehensive and well-planned archaeological work in Armenia. The sponsor of the excavations in Ani was the great Armenian businessman and philanthropist Mikael Aramyants.

Large-scale excavation started in 1905. Marr was especially interested in locating the site of King Gagik's church of Saint Gregory, known as the Gagkashen. This church was built as a copy of the famous church of Zvartnots near Etchmiadzin, the foundations of which had been discovered in the year 1900 and then excavated.

The excavations in Ani brought great glory to the scientist. With the discovery of the archaeological excavations in Ani, museums were opened in Ani. During the excavations, he discovered the complete statue of King Gagik I of Bagratuni (990-1020), as well as the Gagkashen Church, similar in plan and shape to Zvartnots Church. In addition to architectural monuments, he studied medieval urban planning, the social and administrative structure of the city, trade and crafts, and more. The work "Ani, a History of the city according to literary sources and the excavations of the ancient city" (Leningrad – Moscow, 1934) is a summary of the above-mentioned scientific studies.

Excavations actually continued until 1917, but nothing was published and the excavation records were lost at the end of the war.

In 1910-1911 N. Marr, together with architects Romanov and Smirnov excavated the ruins of the pagan temple of Garni.

In 1916 Marr took advantage of the fact that Russian troops had taken control of the Lake Van region. He travelled to Van with several members of his Ani team (A. Kalantar, H. Orbeli, and A. Vruyr) in order to study and excavate the Urartian remains that existed there. A book describing their findings was later published.

In 1922-1931 he founded and headed a number of scientific institutions in Moscow and Leningrad. In 1921, with the approval of the Academy of Sciences he founded the St. Petersburg (later Leningrad) "Japhetic Institute". In 1923 he was elected President of the Central Council of the Intellectual Workers Department, and in 1930 he was elected Vice-President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences (Marr had previously been a full member of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences).

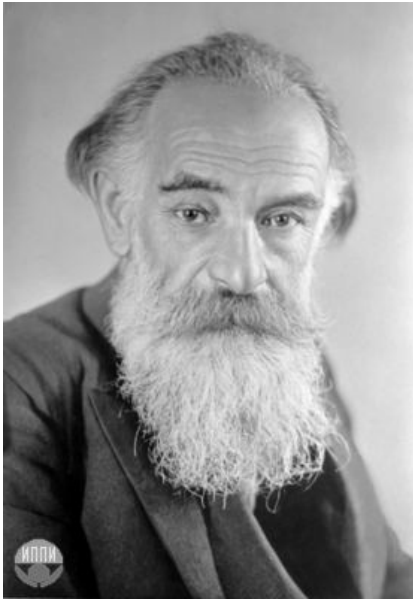
Caucasiologist, Armenologist, Orientalist N. Marr was one of the leading orientalists in pre-revolutionary Russia. But first and foremost, he was a linguist. Studying a number of Caucasian languages, he called those languages "Japhetic". He developed the so-called "Japhetic theory" (later criticized as unscientific). N. Marr founded the academic journal "Christian Orient" (1912-1922), which is a unique publication with its authorship and importance.

Nikolai Marr died in Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) in 1934.

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## HOVSEP ORBELI (JOSEPH ORBELI) (1887-1961)



Hovsep Orbeli was born on March 20, 1887 in Kutaisi (Russian Georgia) to the family of Abgar Orbeli and Varvara Arghutinskaya (both representatives of ancient aristocratic families). In 1904 he graduated from the Third Men's Gymnasium in Tbilisi with a Gold Medal, and in 1911 from the Faculty of History and Philology of the University of St. Petersburg. At the same time, he was attending the courses of the Armenian-Georgian-Persian department of the Oriental Faculty of the University. He was involved in research since he was a student, and wrote articles on art for Brockhaus and Efron's new encyclopedic dictionary.

In 1906-1917, H. Orbeli participated in the excavations of Ani and other archaeological expeditions under the leadership of N. Marr, his teacher. The excavations at Ani were a great archaeological school for H. Orbeli. From these campaigns he gained a deep knowledge of the archaeological material and its interpretation. Views of the monuments of Ani gave rise to a number of new and important ideas that soon became the basis of his works on the cultures of the Near East. Becoming the closest employee of N. Marr, he, along with other responsibilities, managed the Ani Archaeological Museum. In 1908 the museum's new building was completed. H. Orbeli prepared and published a guide to the excavated city, then compiled a scientific list of materials of the museum. Later, summarizing all the knowledge he had accumulated about the history of Ani and its monuments, he published another popular science book entitled "The Ruins of Ani".

In 1909, he also studied the Armenian inscriptions in Artsakh. In 1911-1912, on a scientific trip organized by the Russian Academy of Sciences, he studied the dialect and folklore of the Armenians and Kurds of Moks (Western Armenia), the architectural monuments of Erzurum, Bayazet, Van, Akhtamar, Bagavan, and carried out archaeological excavations in Toprakkale and Haykaber.

Hovsep Orbeli taught archaeology, History of Armenia and Kurdish language at the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of St. Petersburg since 1914. In 1916, he participated in a Russian archaeological expedition around the Lake Van region; it was here that he discovered an inscription attributed to the Urartian king Sarduri II. In 1917-1918 he carried lectures at the Petrograd University, at the Institute of Archaeology and the Lazaryan Institute of Oriental Languages, Moscow.

He wrote a fundamental monograph entitled as "Akhtamar", where he studies medieval historical monuments of Western Armenia. The study of the works of Pavstos Buzand, Shapuh Bagratuni, Anania Shirakatsi, the translations of Yeghishe and Ghazar

Parpetsi's works, as well as the "Fables of Medieval Armenia" are also connected with his name.

In 1919 H. Orbeli was awarded the title of Professor.

He was also the Head of the Chairs of the History of Armenian-Georgian philology (1925-1929), History of Material Culture (1929-1931) and History of the Near East (1956-1961).

The best pages of his biography are related to the Hermitage. In 1920-1951 H. Orbeli worked at the State Hermitage, first as a museum keeper, then as the founder and head of the Eastern Department, and from 1934 as the director of the Hermitage (1934-1951).

In 1934, as a member of the Soviet delegation, he went to Iran for the Ferdowsi millennial celebrations and visited the cities of Tehran and Mashhad.

In addition to administrative work, he continued his scientific activities. In 1936 H. Orbeli studied the pagan temple of Garni, explored the monuments of Armenia - Ptghni, Ashtarak and Amberd.

During the World War II, he personally supervised the evacuation of the Hermitage's treasures and their reversion after the war. During his free time, he read lectures for Soviet soldiers on the front. In 1946, during the Nuremberg Trials, H. Orbeli spoke as a witness.

He was also the director of the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1937-1939), a senior researcher at the Institute of Linguistics (1953-1956). In 1956, he founded the Leningrad branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences and headed it for the rest of his life.

H. Orbeli was a member of the USSR Academy of Sciences (he was elected Corresponding Member in 1924 and member of the Academy in 1935). In 1938 H. Orbeli was elected President of the Armenian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1938-1943). Despite the war, on November 29, 1943 he was unanimously elected the first president of the Academy of Sciences of Soviet Armenia (1943-1947). At the same time, he headed the Institute of History of the Armenian Academy of Sciences (1943-1947).

While still working in Leningrad, he took special care of Armenian students and graduate students, and in fact educated an entire generation. H. Orbeli was an unusually bright personality, a unique orator, a brilliant scholar dedicated to his work. He served science for more than half a century.

H. Orbeli also organized exhibitions on significant anniversaries: the millennium of the birth of Ferdowsi, the classic of Persian poetry, the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Alexander Pushkin, the 750<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Shota Rustaveli's "Vagrenavor ("The Knight in the Panther's Skin")" and the millennium of the Armenian heroic epic David of Sassoon.

H. Orbeli also made a significant contribution to the study and publication of Armenian lithography, Armenian dialectology, and Kurdish lexicography. Orbeli stood out not only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Soviet Union, not only in Oriental studies, but also in



social science in general, with his great talent as a science organizer, rare charisma, courageous social attitude, unwavering devotion to science and work, uprightness, honesty, kindness and humanity.

H. Orbeli was an Honored Scientist of the Armenian SSR (1938). In 1935 he was awarded the title of Honorary Professor of the University of Tehran, in 1944 he was elected an honorary member of the London Archaeological Society, and in 1945 a corresponding member of the Iranian Academy of Sciences. He was awarded 2 Lenin Orders and 2 Red Banners of Labor, the Order of the First Degree of Scientific Services of Iran.

The Orbeli Brothers (Levon Orbeli, Ruben Orbeli, Hovsep Orbeli) Museum (1982) operates in Tsakhkadzor, Republic of Armenia.

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# BOOK REVIEWS

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## THE FAIRY TALE ABOUT DRAGON AND REALITY

**A. Bobokhyan, A. Gilibert, P. Hnila (ed.),**

*Yerevan, Publishing House of Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, 2019, 651 pages.*

The Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia has published the second collection, dedicated to dragon-stone monuments. In the first collection, which was published by the "Gitutyun" publishing house in 2015, the term "archaeology of dragon-stones" was defined for the first time, and separate monuments, their architecture, construction features and the archaeological context were presented as well. The collection also discussed issues related to ritual-religious significance and functions (Dragon Stones, 2015).

In the present collection, which is in fact the creative continuation of the first book, are included articles by 55 authors from 7 countries and 20 scientific institutions. It takes a deeper look at the ritual-cultic functions of the dragon-stones, the problems of their spiritual significance.

The preface of the collection was written by Pavel Avetisyan, director of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the National Academy of Sciences. In the preface the author mentions the inter-professional nature of the articles.

The introductory section of the collection begins with the article "From Fairy Tale to Archaeology" by A. Bobokhyan (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography), where the author refers to the categories of "fairy tale" and "archaeology", their differences and similarities, formulating the term "fairy tale of archaeology" on the border of these two, taking into account the environment where the relationship between fairy tale and archaeology is revealed both in terms of method and reorganization. Based on this methodological basis, the author considers dragon-stones to assess the role of investigations of traditions in the study of dragon-stones.

The next article in the introductory section is "Visual history of the Ur-ritual: interpreting the images on the stone vishap stelaes" by Levon Abrahamyan (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography). The author examines the recently discovered dragon-stone and concludes that the supernatural animal, whose fur is spread on top, refers apparently not to everyday rituals, but to the original event, which becomes a copy of the ritual that recreates it. Besides, the author throws a look at the musical competition between Marsius and Apollo, not excluding that it may have something to do with dragon-stones.

The article "Vishap with five-headed bull in mythological context" by A. Petrosyan (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography) is dedicated to the examination of the recently found statue of the five-headed dragon. Commenting on this monument, A. Petrosyan brings numerous mythological parallels and analyzes the five-dimensional

sculpture found in Harzhis. He concluded that the five-headed bull depicted on the "Arshaluys 5" dragon-stone is the animal correspondence of this image of the Weather-god.

The second part of the collection is titled "Space and Archetype". The section opens the paper of Hrachya Vardanyan and Avetik Vardanyan ("Dragon" cultural organization, Gyumri) entitled as "The Vishapous inside the art: node of space and human perception". The authors view dragon-stones from the art worker's point of view, considering dragon-stones as an integral part of the landscape.

The artist's point of view is also expressed in the article "The enigma of space: a panorama of Dragon Stones" by Zareh Tjeknavorian (American University of Armenia). The author does not limit himself to the study of dragon-stones in the Armenian Highlands, but includes information about European megalithic monuments. Z. Tjeknavorian not only considers dragon-stones in the context of the surrounding landscape, but also appreciates their role in the cultural life of people, discussing the traditions associated with dragon stones, which are an integral part of the spiritual cultures of Armenians and other people.

The section logically finishes the article "Manifestations of the Archetypal image of Dragon in the Armenian worldview" written by Karen Hovhannisyan (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography). Summing up the system of popular ideas, the author considers its various manifestations – dragon fish, dragon snake, etc., noting their meaning in different periods. The author concludes that the dragon-stone actually united the past and the future, based on the present world.

The third part of the collection is called "Fairy Tale and Myth". If in the previous section the emphasis was on the placement and perception of the real space of the dragon-stones, here the authors consider the place of the dragon and its role in the mythical and fairy-tale domain. The first article in the section is "Vishap in Armenian folktales of magic" written by Tamar Hayrapetyan (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography). The author considers both the separate manifestations of the dragon and their functions. The author concludes that the dragon and the fish play a key role in Armenian fairy tales. As if the inhabitants of the lower part of the universe, the snake and the fish share many functional similarities. Treatment of diseases, modeling of the world, and overcoming the pre-determined trials for a cultural hero are often played out by a dragon or a snake.

The second article of the section is L. Abrahamyan's "Dragon at the well". Based on the comparative method, the author analyzes two plots of Armenian fairy tales that are not similar at first sight, where there are episodes of a dragon fight. Using this method, the author observes the change of the Snake-Man relationship in the context of the Renaissance.

The next article is "Transforming serpent-vishap in marriage plots of the Armenian Fairy Tales" (Nvard Vardanyan, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography). The author discusses the plot about the transforming dragon in the context of the plot of the animal

being transformed into an animal. As a result, the author separates a number of symbolic meanings of the transformed dragon - the snake as a part of the female essence (ancient sub-layer), as a phallic male symbol, some erotic code, as a dying and rising symbol.

Another semantic connection of the dragon in the fairy-tale world is the article "The Dragon and the Tree in the Armenian Folk Tales" (Lusine Hayriyan, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography). The sea, the tree, the dragon sheltered on the tree or under the tree are the unchanging motives of the ancient archetypal ideas about the world. The author analyzes the relevant tales and separates a number of plot lines.

From the point of view of comparative mythology and linguistics, the article "Indo-European serpent in the Armenian Tradition and the Dragon Stones" is dedicated to the interpretation of the dragon-stonemasons in the image of the dragon. The article is written by A. Petrosyan. The author analyzes the Indo-European root *\*we/-*, combining it with the Armenian divine names such as Angegh, Tork Angegh, Ara Geghetsik. In this context, the author examines the name of the patriarch Gegham, taking into account that the greatest concentration of dragon-stones is observed in Gegharkunik. Besides, A. Petrosyan compares the Urartian name of Velikukhi in the region with the name of the giant Ullikummi, the opponent of Teshub in the Hurrian mythology.

The next article in the section is "Religious-Mythological concept of Dragon in the Armenian epic folklore" written by Siranush Arakelyan (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography). The author concludes that the dragon appears in all layers of epic folklore, both as a human and as a giant snake that requires human deaths. In the Christian era, the dragon was transformed into a devil. The dragon is confronted by a cultural hero or magician who defeats the dragon, ending the chaos.

The article "Ancient water supply systems, Little Mher and vishap-stones", written by Lilit Simonyan and Karen Hovhannisyan (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography), is dedicated to dragon-water interactions. The author correctly notes that the traces of ancient water supply systems have been preserved for millennia, not only as material remains, but also in the form of symbolic texts. In general, the author analyzes the image of Little Mher as the ruler of water and luck. The myths about dragons and great giants are also connected with the water system. The author believes that interdisciplinary research can greatly contribute to the clarification of this important issue.

One of the most important issues in the study and interpretation of dragon-stones is the identification of dragon figures. In the article "Demon in the Armenian folk superstitious stories" Hasmik Galstyan (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography) studies the image of the dragon: its origins, functional manifestations, habitats, as well as the characters of the dragon-reaper heroes. The author concludes that despite the ancient origins of the word "dev (dragon)", thoughts and beliefs about it are seen in the Christian period, which is not true in the case of the dragon, since it is a very archaic mythological character.

The materials included in the fourth section, "Belief and Cult", are a logical continuation of the themes of Section III of the Collection. The section opens with the article "The Good practices of snakes and dragons in the Armenian Beliefs" by Astghik Israelyan (History Museum of Armenia). The article is relevant in the sense that the dragon is considered an evil and negative force mainly by everyday perception. Examining a number of examples of applied art, the author rightly notes that the functions of the dragon and the snake are extremely diverse and multifaceted, including the role of giving evil, wealth, healing, saving lives, punishing evil and establishing justice.

One of the good features of the snake is the following article "Snake in Armenian Folk Medicine" written by Galya Davidova (Museum of Armenian Ethnography). In order to fully discover the subject, the author refers to a number of issues, examining the image of the snake as a symbol of medicine, as well as the use of the snake in folk medicine. The author also included a number of conversations and stories covering the snake's connection with medicine.

The section concludes with the study "The Dragon vishap (arvand) in the beliefs of Kessab Armenians" written by Hagop Tcholakian (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography). The mythical creature Arvand occupies a certain place in the beliefs of the Kessab Armenians (Syria). Arvand could be imagined as a flying or a horned snake. Arvand could also be in the form of a skull, a whale, or another fish-like creature. In other words, Arvand looked like a hurricane or lightning. Arvand lived near a spring or ruined sanctuary.

The next node in the logical chain of materials is Section V, "Ritual and Game". The section opens with the article "Manifestations of dragon-fighting in the wedding ritual" written by Anahit Mkhitarian (Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts). Putting into circulation the still unexplored manuscript, the researcher concludes that there are separate manifestations of dragonfly in both folk and church ceremonies.

Shushanik Hovhannisyan's (Museum of Armenian Ethnography) study "Snake's character in the Armenian folk games" states that in folk roles, in contrast to mythology, the snake has an unequivocally negative perception.

The sixth part of the book is called "Word and Logos". The section is built on clear logic: the origin of the word, the dragon in dialects and folklore, the dragon in modern literature. The issues of etymology are discussed in the article "Etymology of Armenian word višap" written by Tork Dalalyan (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography). First, the author considers the ancient evidence of the word meaning dragon in Avesta, in the Armenian translation of the Bible. Then, the word perception is considered in a folk word and thing. The author also refers to previous research (H. Hübschman, E. Benveniste, H. Acharyan, G. Jahukyan and others). The author also draws parallels with the Ossetian words meaning "to destroy" and "to overturn", noting that these words reveal the functions of the dragon.

Armen Sargsyan's (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography) "The dragon in the Armenian folklore" presents dragons in Armenian dialects, folk sayings, legends, fairy tales, folk tales and amusements. Written specimens in ancient times, the image of the dragon was associated with the thinking of the Armenian people. It is also interesting to note the author's observation that nowadays, in connection with the peculiarities of modern person's thinking, almost all the examples of the art of the dragon are no longer told.

If in the previous sections the authors referred to the perceptions of the image of the dragon and the understanding of that image, then the seventh, by far the most extensive section, "Sign and image", is dedicated to the specific manifestations of these perceptions in the monuments. This section can be logically divided into several subsections. The first subdivision presents archaeological discoveries.

The section opens with the article "Snake-shaped ornaments on the pottery of the Shengavit culture" written by Anna Azizyan ("Erebuni" Historical-Archaeological Museum-reserve). The author analyzes the images, both in terms of the location of the pottery and the plot, concluding that the ideological core of most ornaments is the snake and the bird, sometimes associated with the Tree of Life.

From the chronological point of view, the logical continuation of this article is "Snake ornamentation on Bronze and Iron Age Pottery of Armenia: The II<sup>nd</sup> millennium – beginning of I<sup>st</sup> millennium BC) by Nora Yengibaryan (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography). The author considers the pottery with a mantle according to the place of discovery - mausoleum complexes and sanctuaries. In the tombs, the placement of vase-bearing vessels is associated with the idea of death and rebirth, and in sanctuaries, where the ritual of agriculture and the worship of bread are clearly expressed, the worship of the serpent was intended to provide much-needed moisture in the agricultural process.

The image of the snake is dedicated to the bronze items "Image of serpent on the ancient bronze items (serpent-dragon)" written by Aram Gevorgyan (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography). The author specifically mentions that the snake was mainly depicted in military items.

Nora Yengibaryan's second article, "Vishap-snake in Urartian Iconography" presents both the objects decorated with the image and an attempt to interpret some of the plots. Analyzing the archaeological sources, the author concludes that the dragon-serpent is mainly associated with the worship of water in the beliefs of the Urartians.

The second subdivision presents monuments of applied art (carpets, embroidery, dress). The first article of the sub-section is the program article "The origin and typology issues of classical dragon rugs" written by Ashkhunj Poghosyan (Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport of the Republic of Armenia). The author considers the origins of dragon rugs, the main types of classical and later dragon rugs. The author specifically mentions that the late dragon rugs are typical only of the Syunik-Artsakh

region, from which it can be concluded that the traditions of the classical dragon rug were formed right here.

In the next article, "Snake-dragon in the Armenian embroidery of the XVIII-XIX centuries" by Karine Bazeyan (Shirak Armenological Research Center, National Academy of Sciences). The author discusses separate groups of embroidery on household items, clothing, as well as church accessories. The author believes that the image of the snake in embroidery, on the one hand, acts as a protector, and on the other hand, as an evil force.

Comments on the image of the snake-dragon often indicate the negative context of the Christian interpretation of the image, but this interpretation is not the only one in the Christian perception. The article "The symbol of the dragon in the vestment complex of the Catholicos and its reflection in the medieval miniature painting" written by Sofi Khachmanyanyan (Santa Monica City College, California-Hollywood Art Institute) is dedicated to the examination of this issue. The author concludes that the motives of the fish and the snake-dragon in the Catholicos' costume complex and miniature painting are in fact a distant response to the ancient pre-Christian beliefs, which in the new conditions adapt to the requirements of monotheism.

The image of a dragon warrior is inseparable from the image of a snake-dragon. The article "Jesus-Christ as a Dragon Fighter, church tradition and artist's memory" written by Levon Abrahamyan and "Demonfighter Christ and dragon's iconographic tradition in the medieval Armenian Art" written by Tigran Grigoryan (Yerevan State University) are dedicated to the reflection of Christian perceptions of this ancient image.

In the first article, the author reinterprets the image of a serpent depicted under Christ's feet in the scenes depicting Baptism, finding that it should be treated not on the basis of original or contradictory sources, but in the context of the ancient image of the Dragon Fighter.

In his article T. Grigoryan, first, separates the plots depicting the image of the dragon in miniatures and sculpture. Based on these sources, the author concludes that the characters of the hero, the snake-dragon, reaching the Christian circle, have remained intact.

This section concludes with two generalizing articles summarizing the reflections of the Christian perception of the dragon-snake in the miniature and the sculpture.

The first is the article by Ashkhen Yenokyan (Yerevan State University) "The iconography of dragon-snake in the Armenian miniature". The author notes that in Christian art, the snake-dragon was often identified with the devil, which was reflected in the corresponding pictorial episodes. At the same time, some of the scenes depicting the dragon-snake are associated with the miracles of God ("Moses' staff", "Ankez Moreni", "Copper snake", "St. Gregory in Virap"), others present the idea of victory over evil ("Baptism", "The Mansion in Hell", "The Destruction of Hell", etc.).

The eighth section of the collection, "Saint and Sanctuary", is dedicated to the discovery of the image of Dragon Fighters, as well as to the shrines associated with the



worship of dragons. The section opens with Lilit Simonyan's (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography) "Dragons turned to stone and dragon slaying saints: myth and memory". The author notes that many legends about petrified dragons have been preserved in various Armenian-populated areas, where dragons embody the harmful forces of nature. In this context, petrification is a memory of a wonderful or heroic act that once took place. At the same time, these perceptions do not change over time, as each period interprets the old cult in its own way.

The article "Saint serpent-fighters in the Armenian oral and written Tradition" by Lusine Ghrejyan (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography) the author concludes that in popular Christianity there are saints of pan-Armenian and local significance, whose characters and cults are based on the characteristics of the dragon-fighting deity. The dragon saints, according to the author, are the thunderous gods under the guise of Christianity, who act as patrons of the military class.

Next articles in the section are dealing with monuments and shrines. The first in this series is Yervand Grekyan's (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography) article "The Urartian Stela in the ancient Near Eastern context (preliminary observations)". The author considers *puluse*-type Urartian stone monuments in the context of the ancient landscapes of the Middle East. The author considers Urartian-Assyrian similarities of the monuments of the XIV-VII centuries BC, suggesting their general origin.

In Arsen Bobokhyan's article "The sanctuary Kuntara and the stone Kunkunuzzi", the author tries to localize the events described in the Hurrian theological text "Kumarbi's Song" about the victory of the god Teshub. The author analyzes the view that the *Ikunta luli pool* (Cold Lake) mentioned in the myth is Lake Van, the Great Rock is the Van rock, and Mount Kantzura is Tondrak, Npat or Nemrut. Then, analyzing the information of the myth, comparing it with the archaeological information, in particular the accumulation of dragon quarries in the mentioned period, the author supposes that Mount Kantzura is Nemrut. The article also presents a table of dragon stones in the Van region.

The section concludes with the article "Sanctuaries of antique period Armenia: geographical panorama" written by Arevik Parsamyan (University of Rouen, University of Ex-Marseilles) and "Outdoor sanctuaries in ancient Armenia: Tir and Anahit" written by Hrach Martirosyan (University of Leiden).

In the first article, combining geographical, historical, ethnographic sources, the author localizes the rocks dedicated to the worship of Mihr/Mithra, the hills dedicated to the goddess Astghik, the sacred forests and rivers dedicated to Anahit the Great Lady.

In the second article, H. Martirosyan moderates outdoor shrines, celebrating sacred forests, mounds, sacred monuments.

The ninth section, "Memory and Memorial", opens with an article entitled "Activities of Ashkharhbeq Kalantar in archaeology and in protection of historical monuments" written by Karen Bayramyan (Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport of the Republic of Armenia). Using the published works of A. Kalantar, the author covers the

archival materials published in the periodical press. In particular, it is mentioned that due to the activities of Kalantar as the secretary of the Committee for the Preservation of Antiquities of Armenia, it was possible to save famous monuments such as Zvartnots, S. Hripsime Temple, Tatev.

The article "Dragon-Stones in the Context of the Museumification of Monuments" written by David Poghosyan (Armenian State Pedagogical University) has a great practical importance. The author examines the types, methods and features of the museum-stones of dragon-stone museums, and offers a number of practical suggestions.

The two articles concluding the section can be viewed in the context of memory archaeology. The first is an article by Arsen Harutyunyan (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts) entitled "The epigraphs on dragon-stones turned into cross-stones". This study is the first attempt to examine the lithographic inscriptions of khachkarized dragon lithographs in terms of both content and archaeology.

The next article is the study of Avetik Ghazaryan (Historical-Cultural Reserve Museums and Historical Environment Protection Service SNCO) "Vishap-architrave in architectural composition of the Avan Temple ". The author examines the architectural features of the temple of Avan, looking at the "kind-dragon" in that context. Examining the stylistic features of the sculpture, the author does not rule out the latter's early Christian and pre-Christian origins. At the same time, the author notes that the sculpture is made of the same building material as the temple, a tuff from the Avan quarry.

The final section of the collection, "Object and Fact", is dedicated to the archaeological context of dragon-stones. The first article in the category is "*Les poisons muets*: Fish-shaped vishaps and cult of water in prehistoric Armenia", written by Marina Storachi and Alessandra Gilibert (University of Ca' Foscari, Venice). The article is dedicated to a type of dragon - fish-shaped monuments. The article develops a method that tries to decipher the symbolic meaning of monuments by integrating quantitative, pictorial and semiotic methods. The pictorial analysis allows the authors to conclude that the sculptures feature large fish species, such as the northern pike and the catfish, which live in low-lying rivers and lakes. Semiotic analysis of the sculptures shows that they are associated with the worship of mountain springs.

The last article on the study of dragon-stones is "Menhirs in South Georgia: new results based on photogrammetry" by Dimitri Narimanishvili (Georgian National Museum). The article presents a map of the distribution of *menhirs*, which was compiled during the reconnaissance, as well as the updated versions of previously made pictures and maps.

Two articles in the section are devoted to the tombstones in the context of the tomb: the article "Vishap stelae and grave tombs" written by Hakob Simonyan (Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport of the Republic of Armenia, "Historical and Cultural Heritage Research Center" SNCO). The author analyzes in detail the location

of the dragon-stones, their connection with the toponyms, presents the separate types of dragons, their imagery. H. Simonyan deals separately with the sacrifices of bulls and dragons in tombs. This information allows the author to make some conclusions about the period of the formation and worship of dragons and stones.

The next article dedicated to the mausoleum context of the Dragon-Stone Cemetery is the study carried out by Ashot Piliposyan, Ruzan Mkrtchyan, Hasmik Simonyan, Artavazd Zakyan, and Arsen Bobokhyan. The research is based on the studies of E.Khaznadyan, the prominent Armenian archaeologist, dedicated to the Lchashen dragon. The Lchashen dragon is unique in that, because it is the first dragon-stone in the context of which anthropological material was discovered. The study of bones shows that two newborns-twins were buried here. This fact makes it possible to observe the dragon's face in a mythological context.

The article "The Petrified vishap of Areni and the protector vishap of Chiva: from myth to archaeology" written by Boris Gasparyan, Arthur Petrosyan, Dmitry Arakelyan, Arsen Bobokhyan (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Institute of Geology) is dedicated to the clarification of the functions of dragons. The authors review both local legends about dragons and newly discovered dragon-stones.

A number of monuments are being studied in the archaeological context of dragon-stones, including the stones worked in the form of a cup, which are considered in the article "Cup-marks on vishap stelae and their parallels" written by Hayk Avetisyan, Artak Gnuni, Levon Mkrtchyan, and Arsen Bobokhyan. The authors consider such stones found during the excavations, their types, features of the structure, architectural context, and religious functions. Particularly are discussed dragon-stones and pit-shaped structures confirmed in their context.

In the context of the housing system, the problems of dragon-stonemasons are discussed in the article "Settlement system and hydrology of the southern slopes of the Mount Aragats and the problem of vishap stone stelae" written by Henrik Danielyan (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography). The author concludes that the rich hydrographic system of the valleys of Amberd, Arkhashan, Shahverd and Kasakh rivers gorges and the roads passing through the mountain gorges were the important junction around which the settlements were grouped. The author especially mentions the fact that in both mountainous and foothill areas the worship of water is expressed by dragon-stones placed near the water sources. It was from these sources that the Bronze and Iron Age settlements of the Aragats foothills and Ararat valley were fed.

In the final article of the section "Tower-like constructions of the southern slopes of Aragats and the question of their interrelation with dragon stones" written by Levon Mkrtchyan ("Metsamor" historical-archaeological reserve-museum). The author discusses the relationship between dragons and megalithic towers, concluding that the ritual contexts of dragons and towers coincide, as they are both part of a common megalithic complex. In addition, although few, there are chronological coincidences.

Finally, the areas of the two types of monuments coincide to some extent, stretching to the southern slopes of Aragats and bypassing the eastern part (Aparan region).

Although “Dragon on the border of fairy tale and reality” is formally a collection of articles, but due to its solid logical structure the present volume is a unified summary that allows us to understand the construction of dragon-stones and worship as a socio-cultural phenomenon: the characteristic features, the subjects of interaction, the factor of significance without which all aspects are purely biological or mechanical, actions and material bearers, as well as long-term.

The high scholarly level of the presented articles, innovative approaches and interdisciplinary nature, allows us to consider this collection as a serious contribution to the field of Armenology.

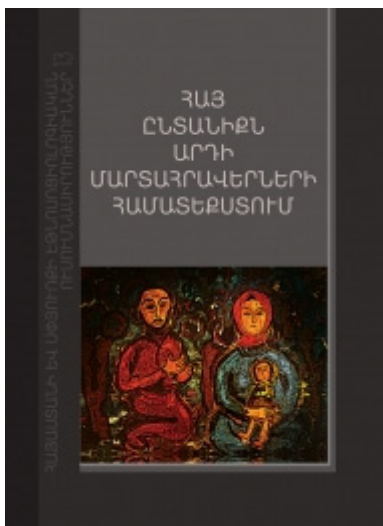
**Artak Gnuni**  
**(Yerevan State University)**

***Translated from the Armenian by Anna Hakobyan***

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## NEW BOOKS

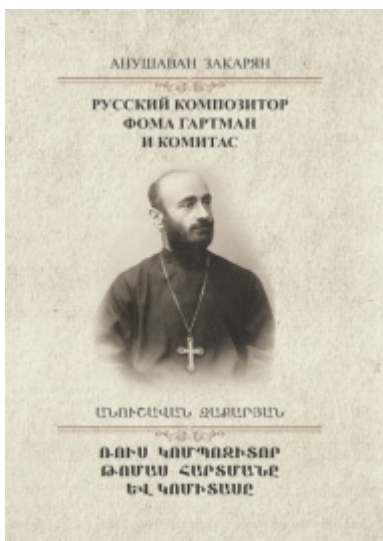
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## THE ARMENIAN FAMILY VIV-A-VIS CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

*(Proceedings of the International conference dedicated to the memory of a prominent researcher of the Armenian family, ethnographer Emma Karapetyan) (Ethno-sociological studies of Armenia and Diaspora, vol.13), Yerevan: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, NAS RA, 2019. - 232 p.*

The present volume of “Ethno-sociological studies of Armenia and Diaspora” is a collection of papers dedicated to Dr. Emma Karapetyan, the distinguished specialist in Armenian ethnography and long-time senior researcher of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, NAS RA. The International conference which was held at the Institute includes 17 papers of authors from the Republic of Armenia and Armenian diaspora and is divided into four sections - “Armenian family issues: conceptual approaches”, “Migrations and the Armenian family”, “Family and ethno-cultural values”, “Family and ethnicity”.



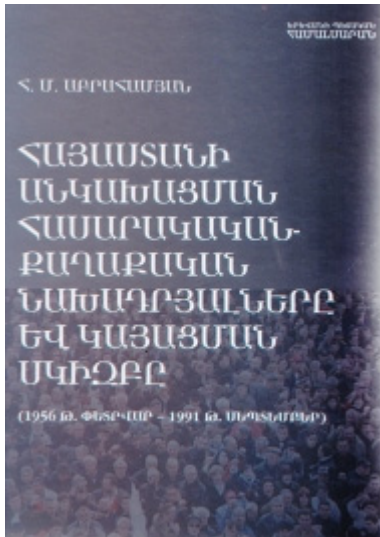
## RUSSIAN COMPOSER THOMAS HARTMANN AND KOMITAS

By: **Anushavan Zakaryan**

*Institute of Arts, “Gitutyun” publishing house, Yerevan, 2019, 108 pages.*

Thomas Hartmann (1885–1956), a Russian composer (of German origin), musicologist and conductor, took an active part in the musical and public life of the city, established friendly and creative ties with representatives of the Armenian intelligentsia.

The study of the author deals with the activities of Th.Hartmann directed towards the publication and preservation of the creative heritage of Komitas, the pioneer of the Armenian music. In the monograph is represented in detail the participation of Th.Hartmann in the establishment and activities of the “Society after Komitas”, one of the memorable pages of the Armenian music culture.



## **SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PREREQUISITES FOR THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA AND THE BEGINNING OF ITS FORMATION (FEBRUARY 1965 - SEPTEMBER 1991)**

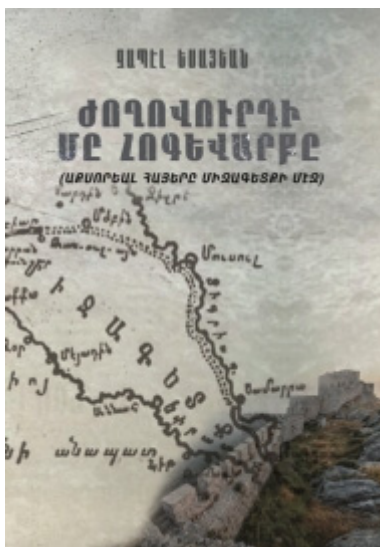
By: **Abrahamyan H.M.**

*Yerevan, 2019, YSU publ. house, 398p. (in Arm.)*

The work is devoted to one of the most important events of the history of the Armenian people, at the end of the 20th century, when the struggle for the independence of Armenia began. The work covers such topics as the rich

social and political life of the period, the nationwide reaction of the Artsakh and Gorbachev's perestyoyka.

The monograph analyzes and evaluates the literature related to the topic under discussion, indicates the significance of the scientific works of Armenian historians, political scientists, politicians, economists and literary critics. Not only is a positive assessment given of these studies, but also their shortcomings and omissions are mentioned in the book.



## **THE AGONY OF A NATION (THE DEPORTED ARMENIANS IN MESOPOTAMIA)**

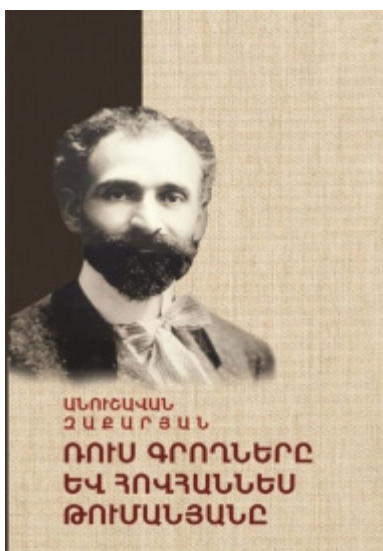
By: **Zapel Yesayan**

*(Compiled by Anushavan Zakaryan), Institute of History, NAS RA, Yerevan, 2000, 180 pages.*

Zabel Mkrtych Yesayan (Hovhannisyan) was a prominent Armenian writeress, translator, publicist and national-public figure born in 1878 in Constantinople (died in 1943).

“The Agony of a Nation (The Deported Armenians in Mesopotamia)” presents a history which Z. Yesayan heard and recorded following the words of Hayk Toroyan – an eyewitness of the tragedy of Armenians deported from Tigranakert, Zeitun, Achna, Aintap, Marash, Adana, Mersin, Sis, Edessa and other prosperous territories to the deserts of Mesopotamia starting from the end of 1914 up to February of 1916. The records are of historical-documentary value which highlight the evidence and descriptions of the Armenian Genocide.

The material of “The Agony of a Nation (The Deported Armenians in Mesopotamia)” by Z. Yesayan is one of the brightest examples of the “literature of evidence” prevailing in the world literature and the last half a century.



## RUSSIAN WRITERS AND HOVHANNES TUMANYAN

By: **Anushavan Zakaryan**

*M.Abeghyan Institute of Literature, Yerevan, 2019, 72 pages.*

The study of A.Zakaryan is focused on the relations of the late XIX – early XX century Russian writers (Konstantin Balmont, Valery Brusov, Alexander Kulebyakin, Sergey Gorodet-sky, Boris Lazarevsky) with Hovhannes Tumanyan, the classic of the Armenian new literature. They got an indelible impression of Tumanyan, treated him with love, respect and honour. Russian writers characterized the Armenian poet as a most noble personality with extraordinary human qualities. H.Tumanyan highly estimated the input of Russian writers and intelligentsia in the human history. This was mostly conditioned with the fact that Tumanyan was a convinced adherent of the Russian orientation among the Armenian people.



## LEBANESE ARMENIANS TODAY. ETHNO-SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES (ETHNO-SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES OF ARMENIA AND DIASPORA, VOL.11)

*Ethno-sociological studies (Ethno-sociological studies of Armenia and Diaspora, vol.11), Yerevan-Beirut: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, NAS RA, 2019. - 178 p.*

Volume 11 of “Ethno-sociological studies of Armenia and Diaspora” is a joint undertaking of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, NAS RA and Haygazean university of Beirut devoted to the problems of the history of Lebanese Armenian community, particularly its integration issues carried out both by Lebanese Armenian and that of the Republic of Armenia.





**PROCEEDINGS OF THE INSTITUTE OF  
ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY, VOL. 3**

(eds. T.Dalalyan, R.Hovsepyan, A.Babajanyan). Yerevan:  
*Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, NAS RA, 2019. –*  
253 p.

The present volume includes mostly the articles of the young generation of Armenian archaeologists and ethnographers. It covers the period from early antiquity until modern times. The volume is divided into several sections – “Prehistoric societies”, “Middle ages”, “Traditional ritual and and folklore”, “Anthropology and culturology of Soviet and Post-Soviet periods”, “Problems of the Diaspora”.