

# FUNDAMENTAL ARMENOLOGY

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# HISTORY

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## THE GEOPOLITICAL CONDITIONS OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN (1918): A BRIEF OVERVIEW

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### **Abstract**

Two Russian revolutions of 1917 were the turning points that shaped the development of Transcaucasia leading first to the separation of the region from Russia and then to the emergence of three independent states: Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan. However, it was not only revolutionary processes within Russia and the ensuing civil war that determined the independence of the Transcaucasia, but also the clash and combination of interests of a number of regional and extra-regional states: Ottoman Empire, German Empire, Great Britain, Soviet power, and White army in Southern Russia. The main goal of this research is to reveal the combination of those geopolitical conditions, which led to the creation of a new state called “Azerbaijan” in the Eastern Transcaucasia. In the article are examined the following issues: the political approaches of Muslims, the Caucasian invasion of Turkish army and the declaration of Azerbaijan’s independence, Baku as a key to real independence or destruction. Overall, it is important to discuss the purpose and legality of naming the newly formed state after the historical name of the territory that is a constituent part of another state.

**Keywords:** *Transcaucasian Muslims, Turkish army, Germany, Baku, Azerbaijan*

Political sentiments of Transcaucasian Muslims from February 1917 to February 1918. The February revolution in Russia revitalized national movements. The Muslim political elite enthusiastically accepted the fall of the monarchy, particularly the Provisional Government's promises to grant freedom of speech and assembly, and to remove class and religious restrictions, opened up a wide field of activity for the latter. On April 9, as a result of the consultation led by F. Khan Khoisky, the National Bureau of the Provisional Committee of Baku Muslim Public Organization was formed. A. Topchibashev, F. Khan Khoisky, N. Narimanov and Amirjanov became its members, and the leadership of the committee was taken over by M. Hajinski and M. E. Rasulzadeh.<sup>1</sup>

In the first months after the revolution, the Muslims of the former empire were aware of their unity as a religious community, which suffered the same difficulties under the imperial administration, but after a short time, the differences in culture, socio-economic development, and political organization made themselves felt, and caused

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<sup>1</sup> Kaspiy, № 75, 06. 04.1917: 1.

disagreements between the representatives of different regions of the Muslims. And these disagreements were particularly reflected in the discussions on the form of organization of the state at the first All-Russian Congress of Muslims in May 1917.<sup>2</sup> The following questions were included in the discussion of the Congress: the structure of the state, agrarian, women's and labor questions, cultural-enlightenment, religious issues, organization of military forces, etc.<sup>3</sup> The main disagreements among the participants concerned the future structure of the state. There were two main approaches: a federal one, according to which the state should be formed on a federal basis, with national-territorial autonomies within it, and a unitary one, which envisaged the creation of a unified state, not with territorial autonomies but with cultural-religious ones. To resolve the issue, a vote was held on 7 May, with the federalists winning by 446 votes over supporters of cultural-religious autonomy (271 votes). Thus, "the form of the state structure of Russia, which will mostly ensure the interests of the Muslim peoples, is a democratic republic organized on the national-territorial-federal principle. Moreover, those nations whose borders of residence were not clear should benefit from cultural autonomy."<sup>4</sup> As a result of discussions, the All-Russian Muslim Council (Milli shura, 30 members) and Executive Committee (12 members) was formed. From Transcaucasian Muslims F. Khan Khoyski was elected a member of Muslim Council, and A. Sheykhulislamov and M. Vekilov as members of the Committee.

Thus, the Russian Muslims, especially Transcaucasian Tatars, were full of hope of obtaining equal rights with other citizens of the future democratic state, and there were no aspirations of separatism or independence. The same is obvious in the programs of Muslim political parties. In spring of 1917, a new political party was formed in Yelizavetpol - the Türkic party of Federalists. The party's program was published in the newspaper "Kaspiy" on May 19, 1917. The program envisaged the granting of territorial autonomies to certain provinces, with the fourth point declaring that "each autonomous unit is an inseparable federal part of Russia and is linked to it in matters of defense, foreign policy, monetary and customs systems".<sup>5</sup> Soon afterwards the Turkish federalist party merged with the Musavat party.<sup>6</sup> The joint Central Committee was formed with four representatives from each party: M. E. Rasulzadeh, M. H. Hajinsky, M. Rafiev, M. Vekilov from the former Musavat party and N. bey Usubbekov, H. bey Aghaev, Sh. bey Rusatambek and Mirza-Mehmed Akhundov from the party of Federalists. The united

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<sup>2</sup> Volhonski and Mukhanov 2007: 27-28.

<sup>3</sup> Iskhakov 2001: 169.

<sup>4</sup> Volhonski and Mukhanov 2007: 28.

<sup>5</sup> Kaspiy, № 109, 19.05.1917: 4.

<sup>6</sup> The Musavat Party was founded in 1911. The party was formerly known as the Musavat Muslim Democratic Party. The official name implies the principles that formed the basis of the party's first program. It consisted of eight clauses with pan-Islamic content.

party was called the Turkish Federalist Party "Musavat".<sup>7</sup> This organization was destined to play an important role in the further development of the region.

In April, another party "Ittihat-i Islam" ("Union of Islam") was formed in Yelizavetpol, whose main slogan was the dissemination of "pure" Islamic ideas. This party also envisioned the future of the region as an autonomous unit within democratic Russia. But very soon the situation changed. The Bolsheviks carried out an armed coup d'état in Petrograd, overthrowing the Provisional Government and established the Council of People's Commissars. The entire Transcaucasia, with the exception of Baku, did not recognize the change of the central government and "instead waited for the Bolshevik 'adventure' to be overturned."<sup>8</sup> On November 11, a new local governmental body was established in Tiflis: Transcaucasian Commissariat.<sup>9</sup> This was a temporary governing body, which was to deal with industrial, agrarian, financial and other issues. It was necessary to negotiate a truce with Ottoman Empire and to pacify the internal conflict.<sup>10</sup> Turkish propagandists were actively operating among the Muslims and incited them against Christians, thus destabilizing the situation. The Soviet power adopted a Peace Decree on October 26, 1917, by the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets. It called for an immediate cessation of hostilities, a cease-fire, and preparations for peace negotiations with a view to conclude a final treaty.<sup>11</sup> It also meant the disintegration of the Caucasian front line.

The political life of the Caucasus was characterized not only by grouping by parties, but by nationalities too. This was reflected in the issue of the "division" of the Caucasian army,<sup>12</sup> when the political leaders of the three main nations in

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<sup>7</sup> Huseynov 1927: 26.

<sup>8</sup> Hovhannisyan 2005: 20.

<sup>9</sup> Documents and materials on Transcaucasian and Georgian foreign policy 1919: 3.

<sup>10</sup> Volhonski and Mukhanov 2007: 58.

<sup>11</sup> Wheeler-Bennett 2009: 340-342.

<sup>12</sup> As the Peace Decree led to the collapse of the entire front line, new units had to be created to replace the returning Russian troops back home. In early December of 1917, a proposal was received from the headquarters of the Caucasian Front to create separate Muslim military units. The Transcaucasian Commissariat and the Provincial Council of the Caucasian Army approved this proposal. Some researchers explain the fact of arming Muslims by an unofficial Georgian-Muslim agreement. Bolshevik ideas were spreading among the soldiers of the Caucasian Army returning from the front and the road from the front led to Baku, from where it was possible to move north along the Baku-Tiflis railway. The appearance in Baku of soldiers obsessed with Bolshevik ideas could have posed a real threat to the establishment of Soviet order in the region; instead it was possible to disarm returning trains through Muslims (Sef 1932: 71). On December 18 the Commissariat declared the creation of a new army to be created by disarming the 219th Regiment. It also included a Muslim or Tatar corps. The armed Tatars had absolutely no intention of acting in concert with the rest of the army and engaging in the defense of the territory. Some researchers argue that the corps actually existed only on paper. It was originally supposed to be established on a voluntary basis. Volunteers who were included in the corps deserted after receiving clothes and weapons (Steklov 1928: 4-5).



Transcaucasus sought to nationalize as many troops as possible, realizing that their future existence depended on it. The Musavats were also involved in this process and sought to create Muslim units similar to the Armenian and Georgian units that already existed.<sup>13</sup>

By the beginning of 1918, the situation in the Transcaucasus was as follows. The Bolsheviks, led by Stepan Shahumyan, had established de facto power in Baku and turned Baku into a stronghold for the further expansion of Soviet power, on the other hand, the Transcaucasian Commissariat, the successor of the Transcaucasian Special Committee, was operating in Tiflis with the participation of the main political forces in the region and was carrying out its own activities, in this case towards the formation of national armed forces. In February 1918, the deputies of the dissolved Constituent Assembly, elected from Transcaucasus, created the Seym, which, as a legislative body, took over the administration of the territory. The creation of the Seym was the first practical serious step in the separation of Transcaucasus from Russia, although in theory both the Commissariat and the Seym regarded the region "an integral part of Russian democracy".<sup>14</sup>

Soon, the Turkish army reached the pre-war border. The commissariat had to go to negotiations. Such developments on the military front could not but affect the political attitudes and practices of the region's Muslim leaders. The idea of remaining part of Russia on a federal basis was gradually replaced first by latent and then by open separatism and attraction towards the Ottoman Empire. The absence of separatism in the initial period cannot be explained by the sincere devotion of the Muslim leaders to Russia. Simply, the balance of power in the region, on the one hand, was not favorable to such practices and, on the other hand, there were no resources to fight. The Russian army controlled vast areas in the Ottoman Empire and Persia before the collapse of the war front, turning the Caucasus into a regional hinterland, cut off from outside forces.<sup>15</sup> The collapse of the front lines, however, transformed the region into a theater of war where Turkish, German, British, and Soviet interests clashed. Turkey was betting on the aspirations of the Muslims. Even on the first day of the opening of Seym the Musavat faction was not present. A witness to the events, S. Heifetz writes about this situation: "The reason for the absence of representatives of this party is more than clear. This party desires to use the situation to join Yelizavetpol Province to Turkey. The current situation seemed more than suitable. During the opening of the Seym, the Musavat deputies were busy with preparing to join Azerbaijan with Turkey and could not come to Tiflis".<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Mukhanov 2019: 33.

<sup>14</sup> Hovhannisyan 2005: 23.

<sup>15</sup> Davidov 2020: 295.

<sup>16</sup> Heifetz 1923: 301.

### **Turkey's political aspirations**

Turkey's policy towards the Transcaucasus led to its separation from Russia, which would open Turkey's hands in both military and diplomatic operations. Turkey's aim was to capture Baku. This plan, formulated by the Ottoman Defense Minister Enver Pasha, was part of Pan-Turkism, which aimed at the political unification of all Turkic-speaking peoples of the Ottoman Empire, Russia, China, Iran, and Afghanistan. Baku played a key role due to its location on the route to Central Asia, the North Caucasus and other regions. The details of his plan were communicated by Enver only to the chairman of the state council, Khalil Pasha, and Grand Vizier Tala'at Pasha, and the implementation of the plan was entrusted to Enver's brother Nuri Pasha and his uncle Khalil Pasha. Thus, the Baku operation was to become a kind of "family operation" for Enver Pasha and his relatives.<sup>17</sup>

According to the plan, Nuri Pasha's army was to enter the Eastern Transcaucasia from the Northern Iran and form military regiments from the Musavat units and former Turkish army captives there, which were to be called "Caucasian Army of Islam". The choice of this name was not accidental but aimed at exploiting the religious feelings of the local Muslim population. On the other hand, the regular Turkish army was to enter the territory of Azerbaijan from Georgia and establish contact with the counter-revolutionary forces of the North Caucasus. This would have captured not only the Eastern but also the Northern Caucasus, after which the Turkish army would have moved on to the Caspian regions, the Volga and Central Asia.

An attempt to inflame separatism was noticed in a letter written by Vehib Pasha dated with January 1, in which he states that it seemed to them that the Caucasian Army had gone to armistice negotiations and sign on behalf of the "Caucasian Independent Government"<sup>18</sup> and asked to be informed, how relations can be established with the Caucasian government with a view to establishing peace between the two countries". After some delay, the Transcaucasian Commissariat clearly stated in its reply that the Transcaucasus is an integral part of the Russian Republic and could not enter into separate negotiations. In January disturbing information was received regarding the situation in the front and near-front rear. The Muslim population, agitated by a possible invasion of the Turkish army, became a threat to the Christian population.

The negotiations between the Transcaucasian Sejm and Turkey took place in two stages: in Trabzon and Batum. At the beginning of negotiations in Trabzon the Brest-Litovsk treaty was signed, which not only ceded to Turkey the pre-war territories, but also Kars, Ardahan, and Batum. The Turkish delegation demanded the recognition of the Brest Treaty. The Turkish approach was clear: if Transcaucasus considered itself part of Russia, then it should recognize the Brest Treaty, and if it does not recognize it, then it should declare its independence. In front of the Transcaucasian delegation Turkey saw great military preparations. At the same time, there was no unity not only

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<sup>17</sup> Ludshuveyt 1966: 175.

<sup>18</sup> Documents and materials on Transcaucasian and Georgian foreign policy 1919: 24.

within the Sejm, but also in the Transcaucasian delegation, whose Muslim representatives were in favor of meeting Turkish demands. Parallel to its demands, the Turkish army crossed the pre-war border and captured Sarikamish, Ardahan, Kars, and Batum one by one.

On the initiative of the Muslim faction and the Georgian National-Democratic Party in the Sejm, a question arose about the complete independence of Transcaucasus. On April 22, the leadership of the Sejm declared the independence of Transcaucasus. "There is no doubt that the raising of this question already reflected a strong Turkish-German influence, which was based on the Pan-Islamist tendencies of some Transcaucasian intelligentsia and, finally, on the longstanding links of the Turkish and German governments with the "Committee for the Liberation of Georgia".<sup>19</sup>

New negotiations with Turkey were to begin in Batum. Turkey's recognition of the independence of Transcaucasus at the start of the Batum negotiations freed it from the obligation to accept the provisions of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, but it gave Turkey the opportunity to put forward new territorial protectorates. The Turkish military command, as a justification for its invasion, puts forward the protection of the Muslims of Transcaucasus. This is evidenced by the note of the head of the Ottoman delegation to the head of the Transcaucasian delegation on May 26, 1918: "Hundreds of thousands of Turks and Muslims in and around Baku are under the bloody yoke of thugs, the so-called revolutionaries, and the irreversible disaster threatening these unfortunates is getting more and more inevitable. The fate of Turkish and Muslim populations in other parts of the Caucasus ... deserves the most serious attention".<sup>20</sup>

### **The political aspirations of Germany**

Germany had no less serious interests in Transcaucasian events. The Turkish activity in the Caucasus worried Germany. After invading Armenia, part of the Turkish army moved to Georgia. Soon the Turkish army appeared at a distance of about 25 km from Tiflis. The advance of Turkish troops in Georgia could be prevented by the entry of German troops and the establishment of a German protectorate.<sup>21</sup> By taking over the defense of Georgia, Germany would not allow the military occupation of the entire Transcaucasus by Turkey. Anticipating Turkey's imminent aggressiveness towards Transcaucasus, Germany forced Turkey to sign a secret agreement on the division of spheres of influence in the Transcaucasus on April 27,<sup>22</sup> which gave Turkey the

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<sup>19</sup> Denikin 2017: 603.

<sup>20</sup> NAA, fund. 200, reg. 1, file 27, f. 32 (following: NAA).

<sup>21</sup> On May 28, 1918, a total of 6 contracts were signed on the merchant ship "Minna Horn" in Poti, of which 2 were additional. According to the agreements, Germany could use the railways of Georgia, all the ships belonging to Georgia were at the disposal of the Germans, the captains were considered to be in service in Germany, the German currency was allowed to be used in the territory of Georgia (Pipiya 1978: 103-105).

<sup>22</sup> Chichkin 2013: 131.

territories already occupied in the Transcaucasus, as well as a part of Armenia along the Kars-Alexandropol-Gharakilisa railway, were transferred to Turkey. The rest of Transcaucasus, including the territory of the future Azerbaijan, was to be regarded as a sphere of German interests. But even after such an agreement, the Turkish side managed to obtain the right to transport its troops by railway, ostensibly to fight against the British in Northern Persia.<sup>23</sup>

General E. Ludendorff writes of the Turkish conquests: "I approved of Turkey's actions as long as they were not detrimental to the general interests of the development of the war. But they should not distract Turkey from its main war problems or make it difficult for us to get raw materials from the Caucasus. Enver's task was to fight England primarily on the Palestinian front. But Enver and the Turkish government were more concerned with their pan-Islamic goals in the Caucasus".<sup>24</sup> Germany clearly stated that if "Turkey does not respect the boundaries defined by the Treaty of Brest, Germany will reserve the right to make further decisions. The treaties signed between Turkey and the Transcaucasian states bypassing Germany will not be recognized by Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria".<sup>25</sup> Ludendorff mentions in his memoirs that Germany's occupation of Georgia opened up the prospect of attacking Baku. The occupation of Georgia by Germany caused anxiety in Turkey, since the capture of Baku became a key for Germany as well, thanks to which it could take advantage of the resources of the East, as all other routes were already closed. According to K. Helferich, "Germany was very interested in the oil fields of Baku, which are connected by an oil pipeline to Batum, and the rich manganese mines of the Caucasus, which are of great importance to us both in this war and after it".<sup>26</sup> E. Ludendorff repeatedly referred to the importance of Baku. "For us (the protectorate over Georgia) was a way of using the Caucasian raw materials independently from Turkey and using the railways passing through Tiflis. In this sense, we could not trust Turkey. We couldn't count on Baku oil if we didn't get it ourselves".<sup>27</sup>

### **Baku as a key**

At the end of May, under Turkish pressure, the Transcaucasian Seym was dissolved, and Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia declared their independence.<sup>28</sup> The

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<sup>23</sup> Pipiya 1978: 101.

<sup>24</sup> Ludendorff 1924: 187.

<sup>25</sup> Mukhanov 2019: 112.

<sup>26</sup> Denikin 2017: 68.

<sup>27</sup> Ludshuveyt 1966: 213.

<sup>28</sup> On May 28, the first meeting of the National Council adopted a six-point declaration of independence for Azerbaijan: 1. The peoples of Azerbaijan are henceforth the bearers of sovereign rights and Azerbaijan, encompassing Eastern and Southern Transcaucasia is now a fully-fledged independent state, 2. The form of political structure of independent Azerbaijan is established as a Democratic Republic, 3. The Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan seeks to establish good-neighborly relations with all members of the international

emergence of three newly independent states in the Transcaucasus radically changed both the internal and external situation of the region, opening the door for the clash of interests between different states. Therefore, the emergence of a state named "Azerbaijan" in the Eastern Caucasus, in the territory of Baku and Yelizavetpol provinces, gained great geopolitical significance. The name of the state reveals the purpose of the fathers of this organization - the Turkish military-political command. Although the extension of the name of Iranian northern historical province Azerbaijan to the territory of Baku and Yelizavetpol provinces lacked "historical" legitimacy, it allowed the Ottoman Empire to carry out a large-scale geopolitical maneuver. The aim was to capture the north of Persia under the slogan of the unification of the "two Azerbaijan", therefore establish control over the whole of Persia, enter the North Caucasus, then Povolzhiye, Near-Caspian regions, Central Asia, thereby implementing the ideology of Pan-Turkism. Thus, great importance was attached to Baku oil and the support of the local population.

After the declaration of independence of the three Transcaucasian republics (Georgia on May 26, Azerbaijan on May 27, and Armenia on May 28), negotiations in Batum continued with each of them separately. This further intensified the struggle between Turkey, Germany, Great Britain, and Bolshevik Russia for control of Baku. In this regard, A. Denikin writes: "Baku oil especially dominated the thoughts and feelings of European and Asian politicians. In the spring, a sharp competition and a "race" in the field of war and politics began, towards the final goal - Baku. the British from Enzeli, Nuri Pasha from Azerbaijan and the Germans from Georgia. For the same purpose, Ludendorff withdrew one cavalry brigade and several battalions from the Balkan front and hurriedly moved them to Batum and Poti, a port that the Germans had leased from Georgia for 60 years".<sup>29</sup>

On June 4 in Batum the Ottoman Empire signed a "Peace and Friendship Treaty" with the Republic of Armenia and the Democratic Republic of Georgia, and a "Friendship Treaty" with the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan. Although Turkey did not present territorial claims to Azerbaijan, like Armenia and Georgia, the signed agreement created a basis for the advance of the Turkish army. The fourth article of the treaty was of great military and political importance: "The Ottoman Imperial Government undertakes to provide military assistance to the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan within the borders of its territory, if it is necessary to establish order and

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community, and in particular with neighboring nations and states, 4. The Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan guarantees civil and political rights within its borders to all citizens without distinction of nationality, religion, social status and sex, 5. The Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan will provide all nationalities living on its territory with wide space for free development, 6. Until the Constituent Assembly is convened, the National Council, elected by popular vote, and the Provisional Government are in charge of governing all of Azerbaijan, responsible to the National Assembly (Nesibzadeh 1996: 37).

<sup>29</sup> Denikin 2017: 69.

security in the country".<sup>30</sup> The treaty was supposed to be ratified within a month and exchanged with them in Constantinople, after which the treaty would enter into force.<sup>31</sup> This clause was to provide a legal basis for the invasion of the Turkish army to the territory of Yelizavetpol and Baku provinces. The treaty, however, did not ratify and did not recognize Azerbaijan as an independent state.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, Nuri Pasha was already in Yelizavetpol on May 25 before the declaration of Azerbaijan's independence and the signing of the Batum Treaty.

The former interests of Turkey and Germany ceased to coincide with the continuation of the invasion by the Turkish army. But according to E. Ludshuveit: "The Turkish government could immediately include Musavat Azerbaijan, but due to diplomatic reasons, it did not take that step, not wanting to further exacerbate relations with Germany on the Caucasian issue".<sup>33</sup> In addition, Germany sought to adhere to the Treaty of Brest. The Soviet government also tried to rely on the agreement reached with Germany under the Treaty of Brest, so that Germany would not allow Baku to be captured by the Turkish army. As a result, the Treaty of Berlin was signed on August 27, 1918, which was supplementary to the Treaty of Brest Litovsk. "Part IV of the agreement contained the following provisions for Azerbaijan: 1. Germany will take measures to prevent any third power from crossing the boundary line of the *uezds* (sub-provinces) of Shemakha and Baku. 2. Russia would deliver to Germany one quarter of the oil extracted at Baku or a specified monthly quota".<sup>34</sup> In this way Germany could ensure a partial supply of oil.

The Musavat government in Yelizavetpol also longed for the capture of Baku by the Turkish army for the simple reason that the existence of that government depended only on the Turkish capture of Baku.<sup>35</sup> Otherwise, it could absorb the Baku Soviet, which did not hide the intention of attacking Yelizavetpol and was preparing to do so.

Active hostilities began on June 10, 1918. During the first period of military operations, Soviet forces in Baku managed to achieve success, using almost all military potential. However, the Turkish-Azerbaijani army was reinforced and went on a counter-attack, gradually approaching Baku. The failures at the front and the lack of the support from the Soviet center led to disagreements within the Baku authorities, the result of

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<sup>30</sup> Archive documents on the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Azerbaijani Turkic Khanates 1993: 216-217.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Hille 2010: 179.

<sup>33</sup> Ludshuveyt 1966: 213.

<sup>34</sup> Hille 2010: 179.

<sup>35</sup> On June 14, an agreement was reached between the Musavat government and the Turkish authorities, according to which the railways of Azerbaijan were put under Turkish control for 5 years. In addition, with the consent of the Musavat government, the latter took over the oil industry, ships of the Caspian Sea fleet, the Baku-Batum oil pipeline, etc. (Pipiya 1978: 123), In addition, the small military force of Azerbaijan was placed at the disposal of the Turkish military command.

which was the calling of an emergency session by the non-Soviet forces (Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, Dashnaks) on July 25, which decided to call in British troops to defend the city. A new government was formed - The Dictatorship of Centro-Caspiy.

Baku oil was also of great importance to Great Britain. In addition, Britain feared that a Turkish-German advance to the Caspian Sea and Turkestan might threaten the English colonies. The situation and the attendant risks that were facing L. Dunsterville, the Commander of the British Expeditionary Corps in Northern Persia, would be grave indeed. The total number of the Turkish army was 30. 000 to 40. 000 troops and the Germans had two divisions in Georgia. Dunsterville only had roughly 1.200 of his own British troops to defend the city. He himself even questioned the enterprise.

However, at the same time, in early August, both the Turkish-Azerbaijani army appeared at the gates of Baku, and the leading detachment of the British army, led by Colonel Stokes, entered Baku. L. Dunsterville made the following statement in the Moscow "Mir" newspaper: "With the consent of its allies, the British government, at the request of the people of besieged Baku, sent ammunition and troops. Dunsterville reports that for the information of all: 1. The British Government does not pursue any personal goals in Baku other than the common interests of the Allies in the common struggle, 2. British troops do not participate in Russia's internal politics, all political parties and peoples are equal in the eyes of the British government".<sup>36</sup>

On August 17, L. Dunsterville arrived in Baku with other units. "Another important political factor in Transcaucasia that the British had to take into account was the large Muslim population, which the British would not want to antagonize. General Dunsterville appealed to the Muslims, in which he pointed to England's historical patronage of the Muslim population and their devotion to Britain, inviting them to join the ranks of the Baku army to fight against the Turks, who were allegedly led astray by German influence."<sup>37</sup>

The appearance of British troops in Baku seems to have changed the position of the Germans as well. Professor Zugmeier reported that Baku could now be treated as an English fortress, although there are no large English forces there.<sup>38</sup> In addition, Germany feared that by occupying Baku, the Turks might negotiate with England.

On August 26, a new attack of the Turkish army led by Khalil Pasha began. Under intense pressure the British were slowly retreating to the residential areas. On 1 September, L. Dunsterville informed the Baku government that a continuation of the defense was out of the question, saying "no power on earth could save Baku from the Turks" and that negotiations and an armistice should be started immediately. On the last day of the attack on the city, in September 14, the British did not take part in the defense and left Enzeli in the evening, along with the government of Cento-Caspiy and

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<sup>36</sup> Mshak № 180, 08.09.1918: 3.

<sup>37</sup> NAA, fund 200, reg. 1, file 158, f. 8.

<sup>38</sup> NAA, fund 200, reg. 1, file 57, f. 24.

part of the Armenian population.<sup>39</sup> On September 15, the Turkish-Azerbaijani army entered the city and engaged for three days in unrestrained looting and massacre of the peaceful non-Muslim (Armenian) population. According to various sources, 30-35 thousand people were massacred after Baku was taken. On September 17, the Azerbaijani government headed by Khan Khoisky arrived in Baku, receiving the half-burnt city as a gift from his ally.

### **The consequences of the Baku occupation**

What were the consequences of the capture of Baku by the Turkish army? The capture of Baku was a serious tactical victory for the young government of Azerbaijan over its main adversary, the Baku Council. It marked the end of dualism in the region. However, the government of Azerbaijan did not get real power over the country, because the Turkish military leadership took over the government. Moreover, not recognizing the Republic of Azerbaijan as a sovereign state, the Turkish government did not even appoint its diplomatic representative here, as it did in Armenia and Georgia.<sup>40</sup> After the capture of Baku, Ahmed Izzet Pasha was sent there with extraordinary powers in the Caucasus. Turkey was allowed to proceed with its Pan-Turkism plan. However, success on the Baku front came at the expense of the reduction of troops on other fronts, particularly in Syria and Mesopotamia, which ultimately led to the victory of Great Britain on these fronts and the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the entire war.

The Soviet side lost its stronghold in the Transcaucasus. Whereas previously it had seemed possible to spread the Soviet power in the Transcaucasus in a short time through the Baku Commune, this process was now delayed.

With the defeat of the Central powers, Germany also had to withdraw its troops from the Caucasus.

With all this, it is impossible to talk about truly independent and independently functioning Azerbaijan during this historical period. First of all, the capture of Baku and the elimination of the de facto dualism in the country was not the result of a Soviet-Azerbaijani struggle, but of a de facto Soviet-Turkish struggle, since the main force fighting against the Soviet government was the Turkish army, to which the small Azerbaijani armed forces were attached or supported. Therefore, the capture of Baku was not an intra-Azerbaijani phenomenon, as in the civil war, but one of the nodes of the logic of the war going on at this point in history on the Caucasian front of the World War I, involving a number of interested parties, one of which was the Khan Khoyski government in Yelizavetpol. In addition, as has been repeatedly stated above, during both the Trabzon and Batum negotiations, the representatives of the Musavat party took active steps to directly annex the territories inhabited by Muslims to the Ottoman

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<sup>39</sup> Mukhanov 2019: 92.

<sup>40</sup> Mukhanov 2019: 93.



Empire. However, in the opinion of the Turkish commanders, this was hindered by the logic of general war and the conflict of interests with Germany.

Throughout the investigation of the events, we shall note that the creation of any state in the Eastern Transcaucasus has not been part of Turkey's plans since the winter of 1918. Nor did the Muslim political parties envisage the creation of an independent state in the Eastern Transcaucasus under the name of Azerbaijan in their political programs. However, the creation of an independent state of Azerbaijan would only serve the implementation of Turkey's military and political plans and lacked historical legitimacy. In K. Davydov's view, to give "historical" legitimacy to the new state, it would be more appropriate to call it the "Islamic Republic of Shirvan", "Democratic Republic of Shirvan", "Caspian Republic", "Caspian Muslim Democratic Republic". As convenient as the use of the name Shirvan was for the territory, it did not provide the same opportunity for territorial ambitions as was possible in the case of 'Azerbaijan'. Although the use of the name "Caspian" was more comprehensive than Shirvan, even now the possible claims could be limited to the Near-Caspian regions only.<sup>41</sup>

Azerbaijan was not recognized as a truly independent state either by Great Britain, which took control of the Eastern Transcaucasia after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, and by the South Russian Volunteer Army led by A. Denikin. The period of November 1918-August 1919 was to last in this uncertain atmosphere of existence. Hence, although there were nominally three independent Transcaucasian states, the major powers simply did not recognize them as such.<sup>42</sup> A delegation sent to Paris led by Tobicbashev failed to secure recognition of Azerbaijan's independence. He wrote from Paris: "Not only do allies not discuss the question of our independence, they don't seem to want".<sup>43</sup> The Allies considered the independence of Azerbaijan and Georgia within the framework of the "Russian question". Until the "Russian question" was resolved, the question of recognizing their independence would remain unresolved. Azerbaijan's de-facto independence was recognized by the Paris Assembly only when the victory of the Bolsheviks in the Russian Civil War became evident.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Davidov 2020: 299-300.

<sup>42</sup> Hille 2010: 179.

<sup>43</sup> Rayevski 1930: 52.

<sup>44</sup> Documents on British foreign policy 1949: 747-748.

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## MIGRATIONS IN THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND (the Mushki Problem)

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### **Abstract**

Any discussion of the ethnic and political history of eastern Asia Minor, particularly the Upper Euphrates area after the disintegration of the Hittite Empire should be studied in close relationship with the Mushki problem. Here this ethnic element was considerably active on both sides of the Euphrates during the XII-VIII centuries BC, which is well traced even in Northern Mesopotamia. In the article is discussed the problem of these tribes, their possible impact on the political and cultural history of Asia Minor and the Armenian Highland. These key problems are of utmost importance for the reconstruction of the history of the region. The Mushki had played the same role here as, for example, the so-called "Dorians" in Homeric and Classical Greece, Aramaeans in Neo-Assyrian Empire, etc., which until now remains fairly underestimated. The wide geographical area where in different sources appears the term Mushki (also in Western Asia Minor and in the Balkans) indicates that we deal with different ethnic groups, though probably related to each other culturally and maybe linguistically.

**Keywords:** *Mushki, Assyria, Urartu, Phrygia, cuneiform texts, Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, Elaziğ, handmade burnished ware*

Any discussion of the ethnic and political history of eastern Asia Minor, particularly the Upper Euphrates area after the disintegration of the Hittite Empire should be studied in close relationship with the Mushki problem. Here this ethnic element (better to say group of closely connected tribes) was considerably active on both sides of the Euphrates during the XII-VIII centuries BC, which is well traced even in Northern Mesopotamia. Who were these Mushki, where did they reside before their large-scaled migrations towards the end of the II millennium BC and much later, how can one determine their impact on the political and cultural history of Asia Minor and the Armenian Highland? These key problems are of utmost importance for the reconstruction of the history of the region. The Mushki had played the same role here as, for example, the so-called "Dorians" in Homeric and Classical Greece, Aramaeans in Neo-Assyrian Empire, etc., which until now remains fairly underestimated. Although the ethnic term Mushki is attested to in different written traditions (cuneiform Assyrian and Urartian, Hieroglyphic Luwian, the Bible, Classical Greek), its exact nature appears to be complicated due to several difficulties. The wide geographical area where in

different sources appears the term Mushki (also in Western Asia Minor and in the Balkans) indicates that we deal with different ethnic groups, though probably related to each other culturally and maybe linguistically. Below we shall discuss the main components of the Mushki problem - sources, origins, geography, and their impact upon the area under discussion.

### Assyrian texts

The Mushki had been referred to in the texts of several Assyrian kings, of whom the most earlier are those composed by Tiglathpileser I (1114-1077 BC). The reign of this king coincides with the „XII century Near Eastern Crisis“, when widespread migrations were attested throughout the whole Near East and Aegean as well.<sup>1</sup> Tiglathpileser I mentions these Mushki as the most numerous intrusive group of peoples who raided the Assyrian-held areas on the north. Below are the accounts of Assyrian encounters with the Mushki.

*„In my accession year: 20,000 Mušku with their five kings, who had held for 50 years the lands Alzu and Purulumzu - bearers of tribute and tithe to the god Ashur my lord - (the Mušku), whom no king had ever repelled in battle, being confident of their strength they came down (and) captured the land Katmuhu. With the support of the god Ashur, my lord, I put my chariotry and army in readiness (and), not waiting for my rear guard, I traversed the rough terrain of Mount Kašiiari. I fought with their 20,000 men-at-arms and five kings in the land Katmuhu. I brought about their defeat. Like a storm demon I piled up the corpses of their warriors on the battlefield (and) made their blood flow into the hollows and plains of the mountains. I cut off their heads (and) stacked them like grain piles around their cities. I brought out their booty, property, (and) possessions without number. I took the remaining 6,000 of their troops who had fled from my weapons (and) submitted to me and regarded them as people of my land“.*<sup>2</sup>

*„[...] my father, with the support of the god Aššur, my lord, [I defeated] 12,000 troops of the extensive Mušku. [The remaining] troops I uprooted (and) brought down into my land. (Thus) I became lord of [the entire land of the Mušku] (and) added (it) to the borders of my land“.*<sup>3</sup>

The Mushki advance towards Kadmuhi (to the south of the Taurus mountain system) appears to be only part of a large-scaled migration of several peoples, amongst whom Tiglathpileser I mentions *Kashku* (also known as *Apishlu*) and *Urumu* as well.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the XII century BC migrations see Barnett 1975: 359ff.; Sandars 1978; Ward and Joukowsky 1992 (eds.), etc.

<sup>2</sup> Grayson 1991: A.0.87.1, p.14.

<sup>3</sup> Grayson 1991: A.0.87.2, p. 33, and also A.0.87.4, p. 42 for the same event.

<sup>4</sup> In the account of a campaign against Alzi and Purulumzi the Assyrian king mentions his clash with these people: „As soon as with my valour, by means of which the god Aššur my lord had placed in my hand the strong weapon which subdues the insubmissive, he commanded me to extend the border of his land, 4,000 Kašku (and) Urumu, insubmissive troops of Hatti - who had seized by force the cities of the land Šubartu

The Mushki are referred to also by Ashshurbelkala (1076-1056), the successor of Tiglathpileser I, under the account of his V or VI year.

*„In that year, in the month Tammuz, the city [.....] of the Muš[ku.....]“<sup>5</sup>*

The next king who mentions Mushki is Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884).

*„Moving on from [Mag]ar[is]u I pitched camp (and) spent the night in the city Guretu. [Moving on] from [Guretu] I pitched camp (and) spent the night [in the city Ta]bitu. Moving on from Tabitu [I pitched camp (and) spent the night in the city Kahat]. Moving on [from the city] Kahat I pitched camp (and) spent the night in the city Nasipinu. [Moving on from the city Nasipinu] I pitched camp (and) spent the night [in] the city [Hu]zirina. [Moving on] from Huzirina I pitched camp (and) [spent the night in the city ...] which [Tuk]ulti-Ninurta had reorganized. I [approached...] through mountains, difficult terrain, a rough region [...] of the land of the Mušku I marched. On the fourth day the city Pir[u...] their booty, their possessions, their oxen, [their] sheep, [...] conquered. I massacred them without number. I burnt their cities, [I cut down] the harvest of [their] gardens [...]. I allowed them to remain in possession of their cities (but) imposed [upon] them tribute, tax, [(and) corvée]“<sup>6</sup>*

This campaign was conducted in 885 BC.

Aššurnasirpal II (883-859) mentions the country of the Mushki next to Kadmuhi, under the year of 883 BC:

*„In this same eponymy, on the twenty-fourth day of the month Ab, by the command of Aššur (and) the goddess Ištar, the great gods, my lords, I moved out from the city Nineveh (and) marched to the cities which lie at the foot of Mounts Nipur and Pasate, mighty mountains. I conquered the cities Atkun, Ušhu, Pilazi, (and) 20 cities in their environs. I massacred many of them, carried off prisoners (and) possessions from them, (and) burnt the cities. The troops, as many as had fled from my weapons, came down (and) submitted to me. I imposed upon them corvée. Moving on from the cities which are at the foot of Mounts Nipur and Pasate I crossed the Tigris (and) approached the land Katmuhu. I received the tax (and) tribute of the lands Katmuhu (and) Mušku, bronze casseroles, oxen, sheep, (and) wine“<sup>7</sup>*

Apparently, as was indicated in the special literature, the above-mentioned Assyrian texts referred to those Mushki who during the reign of Tiglathpileser I had entered Kadmuhi.<sup>8</sup> After their defeat in 1114 BC the Mushki had settled down there and were distinguished by Assyrians through 230 years, preserving their ethnic identity.

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*which were vassals of the god Aššur, my lord - heard of my coming to the land Šubartu. The splendour of my valour overwhelmed them, fearing battle they submitted to me. I took them, together with their property and 120 chariots (and) harnessed horses, and regarded them as people of my land“* (Grayson 1991: A.0.87.1, p.17). The same event is mentioned also in A.0.87.2, p.33; A.0.87.4, p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> Grayson 1991: A.0.89.7, p. 101.

<sup>6</sup> Grayson 1991: A.0.100.5, p.177-178.

<sup>7</sup> Grayson 1991: A.0.101.1, p.198.

<sup>8</sup> Diakonoff 1968: 151f.

### Urartian texts

The only Urartian king who referred to Mushki is Rusa II (685-645), in his inscriptions from *Adilcevaz/Kefkalesi* and the later and fully preserved duplicate of *Ayanis* inscription.<sup>9</sup>

#### Ayanis, VI 10f.

*„I have deported men and women from the hostile country, from Ashshur, from Targuni, from Etiuni, from Tablani, from Qainaru, from Mushki, from Hate, from Halitu, from Siluquni“.*

This list of countries from where Urartians had deported people, indeed, could not be regarded as an itinerary, since here figure countries situated on different directions from the core of Urartu.

Of these countries mentioned by Rusa II, *Hate* used to be tentatively identified with the Upper Euphrates country of Melid and *Halitu* with the province *Haltik* of Classical Armenian sources.<sup>10</sup> This indicates on much more northerly localization of this *Mushkini*, than that of the above-mentioned Assyrian *Mushki*, although the reference to *Tablani* (if this is Neo-Hittite Tabal, to the west of Hate-Melid as it is proposed by the M.Salvini) does not rule out the possibility of identification of *Mushkini* with Greater Phrygia in the Sangarius valley. It should be noted also that hardly Rusa II could have had operated in Northern Mesopotamia where to that date Urartu did not experience any political influence.

Scholars had mostly assumed the identity of this *Mushkini* with western Anatolian country of *Mushki* (Greater Phrygia),<sup>11</sup> though some had suggested its much eastern localization in the neighborhood of Melid (to the north or north-east).<sup>12</sup> It should be noted that the eastern localization of Urartian *Mushkini* fits better into the political situation in the first half of the VIIc.B.C.

<sup>9</sup> Melikishvili 1960: No.279, lines 1-4.

<sup>10</sup> First proposed by Diakonoff 1952: 111f.; also Diakonoff and Kashkai 1981: 39; Harouthiounian 1985: 226f.; according to some scholars, the same as *Halyzones* of Homer (van Loon 1966: 82; Çilingiroğlu and Salvini 2001: 20).

<sup>11</sup> Melikishvili 1954: 315f. The author assumed that this joint Urartian-Cimmerian campaign of Rusa II was organized in 676 BC, and it should correspond to the information offered by Greek authors who mention the Cimmerian attack on Phrygia, in the course of which the king Midas had find his end. This theses is shared by most scholars (Forrer 1921: 71; Diakonoff 1968: 170f.).

<sup>12</sup> Harouthiounian 1970: 323 n.54; 1985: 226f.; Kosyan 1997b: 255. The location of the „Mushki-country“ in the area of modern Gaziantep-Adiyaman by A.Çilingiroğlu and M.Salvini (2001: 20) seems arbitrary.

## Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions

Two slightly different ethnic names (or country-names) similar to Mushki are attested to in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from Kargamis, in Northern Syria. They appear in the inscription of its Luwian king (regent) Yariris (c.800B.C.).

### A 6, 2-3:

„The gods caused my name to pass abroad, and on the one hand they heard of me in Egypt, and on the other they heard (of me) in Babylon(?), and on the other they heard of me among the Musa, the Muska, and the Sura“.<sup>13</sup>

The tentative assumption of I.Diakonoff concerning the identification of Musa and Musaka (= Phrygia and Upper Euphrates Mushki correspondingly)<sup>14</sup> shows that to that date two different political entities bear similar designations by their neighbors.

From this point let us discuss the problem of the above-mentioned two groups of ethnic element who are attested to in the sources of the XII-VII centuries BC in the eastern and western Asia Minor, i.e. the „eastern“ and „western“ Mushki.

If one would ignore the somewhat puzzling attestation of a country-name *Ma-sà(URBS)*(previously read *Ma/u-sà-ka-na*), attested to in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of *Kızıldağ IV* (in the Konya Plain - southern Asia Minor),<sup>15</sup> then the earliest reference to „western“ Mushki appears to be that of Sargon II's texts. His inscriptions are full of references to this western Anatolian country which was extremely active in Asia Minor during the 717-713 BC, being one of the main opponents of Assyria in this region.<sup>16</sup> This Mushki has long been identified with the Greater Phrygia, in the Sangarius Valley.<sup>17</sup>

The another area where the similar ethnic name is attested to is that mentioned by Herodotus and other Greek authors. They know certain *Moschoi* in the Pontic area (north-eastern Asia Minor), listed also as a group of unidentified peoples of the XIX Persian satrapy.<sup>18</sup>

This wide geography of the ethnic name *mušk-mosx* from the Balkans to eastern Asia Minor, along with toponyms like *Mysia* (north-eastern Asia Minor = Lesser Phrygia), *Moesia* (Northern Balkans), <sup>KUR</sup>*Mušani* and <sup>URU</sup>*Mušuni* of Urartian texts,<sup>19</sup> or Classical Armenian province *Mok-k/Mok-s* (on the southern coasts of Lake Van) lacks satisfactory explanation.

<sup>13</sup> Hawkins 1975: 152.

<sup>14</sup> Diakonoff 1984: 115ff.

<sup>15</sup> Meriggi 1975: N.17. Later J.D.Hawkins offered a reading *Ma-sà-ka?-na* (Hawkins 1992: 267), but now seems to accept the new reading of M.Poetto - *Ma-sà(REGIO)* „Masa country“ (Poetto 1998: 469f.)(Hawkins 2000: 438, 441).

<sup>16</sup> Parpola 1970: 252-253.

<sup>17</sup> Bittel 1950: 76; Götze 1957: 202; Mellink 1965: 317f.; Roller 1983: 300; Muscarella 1989: 333, etc.

<sup>18</sup> Hecat. Fr.188 apud Steph. Byz., s.v.; Herod. III 94, VII 78.

<sup>19</sup> Melikishvili 1960: No.158, lines 14-15, No.77, line 4; Harouthiounian 2001: 244, line 15, 97, line 4.



## DISCUSSION

In the literature figure three contradictory views dealing with the Mushki origins.<sup>20</sup>

1) The Mushki of Tiglathpileser I were a vanguard group of North Balkanic Indo-European peoples (Thracians or Phrygians) who during the early XII century BC had reached the Upper Euphrates valley, participating along their long march in the destruction of the Hittite Empire.<sup>21</sup> Several Armenologists had put down a theory according to which these Mushki were the bearers of Proto-Armenian, who after a durative residence in the Upper Euphrates valley and its neighborhood (XII-VIII/VII centuries BC), then had spread eastward, to their historical homeland.<sup>22</sup>

2) The „eastern“ Mushki represented the local population of north-eastern Asia Minor, related to Kashkaeans and Pontic Moschoi (ancestors of Kartvelian-Georgian Meschians).<sup>23</sup>

3) “Eastern” Mushki are at home in the Armenian Highland (modern eastern Turkey), their migrations being limited to its western and southern parts.<sup>24</sup>

The problem of the Mushki origins at present lacks several criterias, of which the linguistic one is most striking. Ancient texts did not preserve any proper names, as well as lexics which could be applied to the „eastern“ Mushki. The least can do modern scholar, is to discuss this problem primarily on good archaeological grounds which recently had come up from historical Armenia (= Eastern Anatolia).

The archaeological data from the Upper Euphrates area (to the north of the Taurus range), as well as from different parts of the Armenian Highland now can clear the Mushki problem. Today we have good archaeological evidence for a quite different migration here at approximately the same period as that from the North Balkans to western Anatolia.

In the Upper Euphrates area, from the excavated sites of the modern province of Elâziğ a new type of Early Iron Age pottery was discovered in great number,<sup>25</sup> „*which is strikingly different from the preceding Late Bronze Age pottery*“.<sup>26</sup>

According to archaeologists who deal with the above-mentioned Elâziğ pottery which is dated in earliest to the mid-XII century BC, it has good parallels in the „*Trialeti*“ sites of Transcaucasia (for instance, in *Metsamor* and *Karmir blur*), in north-western Iran (*Geoy Tepe A*), in Erzerum province (*Güzelova* and *Pulur*), on the south-eastern shore

<sup>20</sup> For the most recent study of written and archaeological sources regarding the Mushki see Wittke 2004.

<sup>21</sup> Barnett 1975b: 420f.; Albright 1975: 597; Mallory 1989: 34f.; Diakonoff 1984: 64f., 115ff., etc.

<sup>22</sup> Markwart 1928: 211ff.; Eremyan 1958: 59ff.; Diakonoff 1984: 64f., 115ff., etc.

<sup>23</sup> Melikishvili 1954: 106; idem 1990/91: 73; Götze 1957: 185; Barnett 1975b: 420.

<sup>24</sup> Sevin 1991: 87ff.; Bartl 1994: 473ff.; Kosyan 1996: 207ff.; 1997a: 186ff.; 1997b: 259ff.

<sup>25</sup> Burney 1958: 157ff.; 1980: 157ff.; Hauptmann 1968/69: 21ff.; Loon van 1975-1980; Whallon 1979; Sevin 1991: 87ff.; Bartl 1994: 473ff., etc.

<sup>26</sup> Sevin 1991: 87ff.; Yakar 1993: 18.

of Lake Van (*Dilkaya Höyük*),<sup>27</sup> and near Adıyaman (*Tille Höyük*). Amongst these sites the Transcaucasian data is regarded as earlier ones; the Elazığ, Erzerum and Iranian pottery is certainly intrusive.

First Ch. Burney had assumed that the Elazığ Early Iron Age pottery could have been ascribed to the Mushki of Tiglathpileser I,<sup>28</sup> which now is shared by a number of archaeologists.<sup>29</sup>

It is worth to say that today the origins of the pottery that appeared during the XII century BC in Elazığ and elsewhere in the Highland has become subject to several contradictory suggestions.

U. Müller thinks that the source of this ware should be looked for in the Upper Euphrates area (İşuwa) and its spread should be the outcome of the migration of some portion of its population.<sup>30</sup> According to another version, the geography of the Grooved ware does not coincide with the regions the Mushku tribes referred to by Assyrian sources used to inhabit.<sup>31</sup>

The ascription of the new Elazığ pottery to the Transcaucasian Late Bronze Age culture seems to contradict the Assyrian texts where these newcomers are clearly designated as the people of Hittite-land (see above, texts of Tiglathpileser I). The only plausible assumption which will fit these two sources (textual and archaeological), probably, is a location of the Mushki and other ethnic groups before their migrations in the area which at some earlier date was under Hittite control or its political influence.

Is it possible to locate the primary homeland of the Mushki? That the Mushki of Kadmuhi were only a part of this ethnic group is a fact beyond any doubt. The absence of visible archaeological traces of the pottery similar to that from Elâzığ to the west of the Euphrates should be regarded as a clue against their western localization.

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<sup>27</sup> Similar pottery types had come up recently from the excavations conducted in 1989 in the pre-Urartian levels of the Van Castle Mound (Sevin 1994: 221ff.). V. Sevin refers to the existence of a considerable number of such pottery in the Archaeological Museum of Van, originating from Patnos and the neighborhood of Mount Ararat (from the Turkish side). Recently V. Sevin had reported on more data from the Iron Age cemetery at the village of *Karagündüz*, 35 km north-east of Van on the shore of *Lake Ercek* (Sevin - Kavakli 1996).

<sup>28</sup> Burney 1980: 166.

<sup>29</sup> Sevin 1991: 87ff.; Yakar 1993: 18f.; Bartl 1995: 205f. Although until now special studies concerning the date of similar Early Iron Age ware from Transcaucasia are missing, it has been unearthed in large quantities from most of pre-Urartian levels on the Ararat plain and elsewhere, modern Armenia (Dr. Simon Hmayakian, Dr. Pavel Avetisyan, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, NAS RA - personal communication [early 2000s]). A situation well paralleled with that reported by V. Sevin. Thus, it appears that from at least the XII century BC all Armenian Highland and some areas beyond it had experienced a great influx of migrants from outside, if one have to postulate with the migratory character of this phenomena.

<sup>30</sup> Müller 2003: 142.

<sup>31</sup> Summers 1994: 246-247; Roaf and Schachner 2005: 119, etc.

It seems that in search of the „*Mushki country*“ one have to look to the north or north-east of Elâziğ. Here we have a country „*Mushkini*“ attested to in the inscription of Urartian king Rusa II (see above).

Further on, the reference to Kashku-Apishlu tribes operating in the same area as the Mushki by Tiglathpileser I is of considerable importance. It is well-known that Kashkaeans were the population of north-central Asia Minor.<sup>32</sup> One of the most distinguished centers of the Kashka-land was the city *URUTipiya* (also *Tibiya*), on the sources of the Kelkit (Arm. *Gayl-geṭ*).<sup>33</sup> According to the Annals of Mursili II,<sup>34</sup> Pihhuniya from Tipiya, was the first among the Kashkaeans to rule as a king. This area later was included in the XIX Achaemenid satrapy, among the peoples of which certain *Tibarenoi* and *Moschoi* are referred to. Classical Greek authors mentioned *Moschoi* in a considerably wide area in north-western Asia Minor. Strabo mentions the „*Moschian mountains*“ (I 61; XI 492ff.) which included also the Pariadres range (Arm. *Parkhar*).<sup>35</sup>

If the Mushki of cuneiform Assyrian and Urartian sources are to be sought as identical with the Moschoi of Classical tradition, then the „*Mushki-country*“ could be easily located in the north-eastern Asia Minor,<sup>36</sup> approximately in the area where the Hittite texts referred to the country of Hayasa-Azzi. Hence, the „*Mushki-country*“ mentioned in the Assyrian texts exclusively designated only the Mushki of Kadmuhi. The tentative assumption to include in the latter also the Upper Euphrates countries of Alzi, Ishuwa, Purulumzi and several political entities of the region<sup>37</sup> seems improbable. Here one can speak only about the Mushki enclaves among the local population, since these countries are regularly mentioned by their traditional names. Nothing could be gained from the Assyrian texts to show any sort of political alliance in the Upper Euphrates region during the XII-VIII centuries BC.

The northern localization of the „*Mushki-country*“ opens a door for the discussion of the ethnic affiliation of the Mushki. Two theories are current in the literature:

1) Mushki and Moschoi represented the same Kartvelian ethnic group, whose name was preserved in the designation of later Georgian tribe of *Meschians*.<sup>38</sup> This theory is supported by *Hecataeus*, who refers to the latter as a „*Colchian people*“.<sup>39</sup>

2) Mushki and Moschoi are two distinct peoples.<sup>40</sup> The „eastern“ Mushki were the bearers of the Indo-European component of Armenians, who had arrived from the west in the XII century BC.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>32</sup> On Kaskaean see Schuler von 1965.

<sup>33</sup> Schuler von 1965: 26.

<sup>34</sup> Keilschrifttexte aus Boğazköi III 4 III 73ff.

<sup>35</sup> On the localization of *Moschoi* see Khazaradze 1973: 208f.

<sup>36</sup> For this localization see Götze 1957: 185; Mellink 1965: 319; Sarkisyan 1988: 58f.; Kosyan 1991: 77; 1994: 253f.; 1996: 218; Petrosyan 1991: 22ff.

<sup>37</sup> Eremyan 1958: 60.

<sup>38</sup> Melikishvili 1954: 106; Götze 1957: 185, etc.

<sup>39</sup> Hec., Fragm. Hist. Graec. I, 1, fragm. 228.

It should be mentioned that the Kartvelian origins of the Mushki rests primarily on late tradition. The wide geography of the Mushki in eastern Asia Minor and Northern Mesopotamia, as well as the presence of this term in western Asia Minor and in Northern Balkans could not be explained on Kartvelian grounds.<sup>42</sup>

On the contrary, the Pontic *Moschoi* could have been primarily an Indo-European ethnic group (Thracian or Phrygian), who later were partly Kartvelianized but had preserved their ethnic designation as *Meschians*. The wide geography of this term, as well as that of the Mushki pottery including the whole Armenian Highland, north-western Iran and Northern Mesopotamia, is a strong argument against the Kartvelian theory.

At this point we have to end the discussion of this problem, since the current data is too scanty to go further.

It is worth to mention that, taking into account the good archaeological background which testifies upon local origins of the Mushki ethnic group, the current theory dealing with their Balkanic origin should be rejected. The existence of a migration from Northern Balkans during the XII century BC is a fact not to be doubted. But the traces of this migration are visible only in north-western and west-central Asia Minor. The only site which produces considerable amount of North Balkanic handmade pottery to the east of Halys (Kızılırmak) is *Kaman-Kalehöyük*.<sup>43</sup> This pottery type (*Knobbed Ware* = *Buckelkeramik*) is abundantly introduced in the Troad (*Troy VIIb2*), and the Early Iron Age pottery of Gordion (*Yassıhöyük 7B*) has some similarity with the Trojan *Knobbed Ware*.<sup>44</sup> The North Balkanic or even south-eastern European origins of the *Knobbed Ware* has long been proposed and now is shared by most archaeologists.<sup>45</sup> Thus, the handmade pottery of Gordion is intrusive and c.1200 BC is to be considered as *terminus post quem* for its appearance.<sup>46</sup>

As to the east of the Sangarius valley, here traces of North Balkanic peoples are yet unattested. Two Post-Hittite levels of Hattusha - *Büyükkaya* and *Büyükkale* are not related neither to Balkanic peoples, nor to the Post-Hittite Early Iron Age people of

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<sup>40</sup> Diakonoff 1968: 58. He thought that the name of the Kartvelian tribe of Meschians resulted from the contamination of the Moschoi by Classical authors. Gr.Kapantsyan suggested the early Armenization of Kartvelian ethnic group Meschians (1948: 146).

<sup>41</sup> Diakonoff 1968: 214ff. and Ch.1, n.9.

<sup>42</sup> Though some scholars are inclined to look for Kartvelian enclaves in Phrygia (Cavaignac 1953: 132ff.; Khazaradze 1962: 45f.). Worth to mention Diakonoff 1981: 58, where he states that neither in the area of „eastern“ nor the „western“ Mushki could one find traces of Kartvelian population.

<sup>43</sup> Mellink 1992: 130.

<sup>44</sup> Henrickson 1994: 95ff.

<sup>45</sup> Blegen 1975: 164; Finley 1964: 5; Rutter 1992: 30ff.; Muhly 1992: 12, etc.

<sup>46</sup> Henrickson 1994: 107.

Gordion.<sup>47</sup> Further to the east, Malatya and Karahöyük-Elbistan did not suffer visible destructions.<sup>48</sup> Here the transition from Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age was predominantly peaceful process, without cultural break. Hence, the “eastern” Mushki migration should be disassociated from the North Balkanic migrations, the latter having affected only western Asia Minor.

### The Mushki impact

The Mushki tribes had entered into the Near Eastern geopolitical space as mobile ethnic groups ready to fill the political and cultural vacuum in once flourishing centers who had experienced total or partial decline. One could hardly speak about large and destructive migration of peoples from Transcaucasian „*Trialeti*“ cultural zone during the XII century BC. Archaeological investigation of the Elâziğ sites (*Norşuntepe, Korucutepe, Tepecik, Değirmentepe, Imikuşağı, Dilektepe, Tülintepe, Köşkerbaba*, etc.) shows that traces of fire or destruction here are too scanty to propose a violent attack of the newcomers. Most probably, some of them were abandoned by their population long before the arrival of migrants.<sup>49</sup> Maybe we encounter with the situation well attested for the XII century BC arrival of the Dorians in Peloponnese, according to recent Mycenological studies.<sup>50</sup>

Though archaeological surveys were conducted primarily in the Elâziğ province, the impact of a new population on the Late Bronze Age centers could be similar in other Upper Euphrates countries as well. The main conclusions concerning the effect of this migration could be illustrated by the next points:

1) Mass influx of a new primitive culture, which is strikingly different from that of the Late Bronze Age.

2) The number of Early Iron Age settlements exceeds the Late Bronze Age sites, but not that of their size and level of cultural development which we see during the Hittite Empire.<sup>51</sup>

3) Features of the new culture: a) handmade (or made on a slow wheel) wares, the repertory of wares is restricted in number,<sup>52</sup> primitive planning of houses and

<sup>47</sup> Bittel 1970: 137ff. Moreover, now one can state that the XII-IX century BC (Early Iron Age) is to be considered as a political vacuum in Hattuša. Actually all Hittite settlements of Central Anatolia either were depopulated or represent small primitive communities (for Hattuša see Genz 2003: 179; Seeher 2010).

<sup>48</sup> Bittel 1983: 31.

<sup>49</sup> Sevin 1991: 87; Yakar 1993: 18f.

<sup>50</sup> Sandars 1978: 79ff.; Muhly 1992: 11ff.; Rutter 1992: 70ff.; According to calculations, the number of archaeologically fixed settlements, cemeteries and sanctuaries in the XI century BC Balkanic Greece reaches 40, against 130 for the XII century BC and 320 for the XIII century BC (Snodgrass 1971: 304f.). The decrease of the population of Messenia (western Peloponnese) reaches 90%. For the review of current studies see Kosyan 2023 (in press).

<sup>51</sup> Sevin 1991: 87f.

settlements in the whole, the absence of administrative and religious buildings in *Norşuntepe*.<sup>53</sup>

It should be mentioned that this situation is paralleled by several areas of the Near East and the Aegean. For instance, exactly the same features are at home in the Early Iron Age Gordion (the level *Yassihöyük 7B*),<sup>54</sup> two Post-Hittite levels of Hattuša (*Büyükkaya* and *Büyükkale*),<sup>55</sup> *Troy VIIb2* (the mound of *Hissarlık*),<sup>56</sup> and Post-Mycenaean sites of Peloponnese.<sup>57</sup> In all these sites one can state the break in the Late Bronze Age cultural tradition (mainly, pottery) and the appearance of a new primitive culture, small rural settlements, low social status of their population. The comparative study of all these features covering almost the whole Near Eastern and Aegean world, shows that we deal with the combination of several destructive tendencies in the development of the Late Bronze Age civilizations: 1) gradual degradation of political and social structure of societies leading to the decline of urban culture, 2) due to this, depopulation of the Late Bronze Age centers (mostly excluding foreign interference).<sup>58</sup>

As to the nature of the Mushki migration, one can hardly speak about a large shift of peoples from Transcaucasian cultural zone or most western point of departure (Hayasa-Azzi). According to Assyrian kings who dealt with the Upper Euphrates and Upper Tigris valleys, here the Mushki, Kashku and Urumu tribes are mentioned only as enclaves in local principalities. Moreover, as a rule, the newcomers and local population are listed by Assyrians as allies who jointly fought against them. This will be easy to illustrate on some texts of Tiglathpileser I.

In the same context where the account of deeds against the Mushki of Kadmuhi is given, Tiglathpileser I describes his victory over its local principality and their allies - the army of neighboring Paphi, the capture of their king Kili-Teshub, son of Kali-Teshub (this person bears a Hurrian name, like his father). As to another important political entity of the area - Alzi, the Assyrian king mentions his successful campaign to this country, where he encountered the locals (they said to have abandoned the practice of paying tribute), as well as 4,000 Kashku and Urumu who had seized by force the cities of Alzi and Purulumzi.<sup>59</sup>

Indeed, it will be difficult to propose the same scenario for the Upper Euphrates Ishuwa (= Elazığ), since, as we have shown above, archaeological surveys had

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<sup>52</sup> Winn 1980: 155.

<sup>53</sup> Bartl 1994: 476ff.

<sup>54</sup> Henrickson 1994: 95ff.

<sup>55</sup> Bittel 1970: 137ff.

<sup>56</sup> Blegen 1975: 161ff.

<sup>57</sup> Desborough 1964: 225ff.

<sup>58</sup> On local (i.e. internal) factors of the decline of the Late Bronze Age civilizations see Mellaart 1984: 65ff.; Liverani 1987: 66ff.; Singer 1987: 413ff.; Hallo 1992: 1ff.; Kosyan 1998: 117ff.; 1999: 87ff., 134ff.; Seeher 2001; De Martino 2009, etc.

<sup>59</sup> Grayson 1976: 12, 18.

revealed considerable influx of a new population here. Hence, one may argue in favor of series of Mushki migrations (easy to say, infiltration), rather than a single action. It seems also that the Mushki migrations were more intense to the north of Taurus range, than that to the south. Most probably, Mushki was a collective term designating numerous related tribes who during the XII century BC were gradually infiltrating into different areas of western and south-western parts of the Armenian Highland which had suffered the political vacuum during the disintegration of the Hittite Empire and internal crisis in Assyria, both once active here.<sup>60</sup>

The history of the Mushki ethnic groups in the Upper Euphrates area after the XII-XI century BC, as we have seen above in this chapter („Sources“), is poorly illustrated only by the texts of the Assyrian kings Tukulti-Ninurta II and Aššurnasirpal II (early IX century BC), dealing with the tribute of the Kadmuhean group of Mushki, and the text of Rusa II of Urartu, which, probably, refers to northern Mushki (to the north of Ishuwa). We do not have any written data concerning the political organization of Mushki who certainly should be sought as one of the main ethnic groups in the Upper Euphrates region, primarily to the east of the river (Ishuwa). Unfortunately, the existence of Mushki-ruled political entities today is curtailed by the absence of textual data.

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<sup>60</sup> I.M.Diakonoff had tentatively proposed that the term „Mushki“ designated Indo-European groups of cattle-breeding - agricultural population of the Near Eastern periphery in the Post-Hittite period (1981: 58).

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### ABBREVIATIONS

AnSt - Anatolian Studies (London).

BIOS – Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Yerevan).

CAH – Cambridge Ancient History (Cambridge).

JHP - Journal of History and Philology (Yerevan).

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## THE FEMALE FIGURES AND PARTICIPANTS OF THE ARMENIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN THE MEMOIRS OF VARDAN OF KHANASOR

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### **Abstract**

Since the 80s of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Armenian women and girls played an active role in the Armenian liberation movement against the Ottoman despotism. Based on the memoirs of one of the most prominent figures of the liberation movement, Vardan of Khanasor (Sargis Mehrabyan, 1867-1943), the article presents the women and girls, who fought against the Ottoman despotism almost equally with men. In his memoirs, he presents the women and girls of the Province of Salmast in Northern Iran, and the Van Province, who helped the Hajduks with all their might. Vardan recalls teachers Mariam Makaryan and Satenik Ohanjanyan, who also held cultural events by organizing various circles for women and girls. Among the feminine persons from the Province of Van, Vardan of Khanasor focuses on Zaruhi Teroyan, who was sentenced by the Turkish authorities to seven years in prison for her active liberation activities.

**Keywords:** *Vardan of Khanasor, Artsakh, Salmast, Mariam Makaryan, Satenik Ohanjanyan, Khanasor Expedition, Aristakes Zoryan, Van, Zaruhi Teroyan*

### **Introduction**

The Armenian liberation movement is known not only for its male but also for its female figures. In the memoirs<sup>1</sup> of Sargis Mehrabyan (Vardan, Vardan of Khanasor), one of the figures of the Fedayi movement, there is interesting information about the young women involved in the anti-Sultan struggle. There are separate studies on some of them; they are mentioned in the memoirs of different figures of liberation struggle.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of famous Hajduk are kept in the National Archives of Armenia: fund 402, inv., 2, file 1-12. For more details – Sahakyan 2022: 3-29. Mehrabyan 2022.

<sup>2</sup> Gyulkhandanyan 1939; Minasyan 2016; Arakelyan 2016.



**Sargis Mehrabyan (Vardan of Khanasor)**

S. Mehrabyan was born on August 10,<sup>3</sup> 1867 in the village of Ghshlagh (Tsaghkashat) of the Askeran region of Artsakh.<sup>4</sup> In 1885 he graduated from Shushi diocesan school, after which he got a job at one of the Baku oil refineries. In 1888 he was drafted into the Russian army. On September 23, 1890 he participated in the expedition of Sargis Kukunyan, after the failure of which he came to Yerevan, then to Ghalasar village in Salmast, where affiliated to the Armenian Revolutionary Federation and received the party nickname Vardan.



**The participants of the Khanasor Expedition. Vardan is in the center.**

<sup>3</sup> In the memoirs, Shushi is mentioned as the place of birth, NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 80.

<sup>4</sup> The author of this information is the granddaughter, Irina Postina, see Alik, October 5, 2017, N 206. It should be noted that Nikol Duman (Nikogayos Ter-Hovhannisyan, 1867-1914), a prominent figure of the liberation movement, was from the same village.

In Persia, he performed various party assignments: he transported weapons and ammunition to Vaspurakan<sup>5</sup> as part of an armed group, participated in the 1896 Van and Shatakh self-defense battles. In 1897 he led the famous Expedition of Khanasor, after which he worked on memoirs. In 1904, along with Simon Zavaryan, one of the prominent figures of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, on the instructions of the party, went to Cilicia to study the situation and take possible measures for the liberation struggle. Vardan was disappointed with the Armenians of Cilicia, who were not very willing to participate in the liberation struggle. He recorded the following in his memoirs: "Seeing them, I started to respect Vaspurakan people more, I really missed people of Van.... there was no revolutionary vein among them (Cilician Armenians- R. S.)."<sup>6</sup> However, Vardan believes that it is possible to carry out activities in Cilicia, taking into consideration its geographical location. In his opinion: "Here (in Cilicia- R.S.) the shot of a single rifle is more audible and worthy of attention than the many heroic battles of (Western- R. S.) Armenia, which are being lost in obscurity."<sup>7</sup>



Ghazanchetsots Church in Shushi (modern photo)

In February 1905, the Armenian-Tatar clashes provoked by the Russian authorities forced him to return urgently and lead the self-defense fights of the Armenians of Artsakh and Syunik. Later, he performed various tasks of the party.

<sup>5</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 3.

<sup>6</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 29.

<sup>7</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 33.

In 1907 he married in Vienna. Father of his wife Francesca was of a Hungarian origin, mother - German. Later, two sons and a daughter were born in their family. In order to take care of the needs of the family, he took the position of the manager of the Weaving factory in Manisa (Magnesia). After the start of the World War I, he returned to the Caucasus in October 1914, where he participated in the Armenian volunteer movement. Vardan headed the 5th Armenian and then the Ararat regiment. The latter, together with the Russian contingent, participated in the liberation of Van in May of 1915.

After the dissolution of the Armenian volunteer units by the Russian authorities, he settled in Baku, where in 1918 he participated in the battles against the Turks. After the city was captured by Turkish troops in September, Vardan took refuge with his family in Astrakhan, where he tried to find out the whereabouts of 26 commissars of Baku on the instructions of the Emergency Commission.

At the end of 1918, he returned to Baku, then to Yerevan. After the untimely death of his wife, he devoted himself entirely to the cares of his family. On January 2, 1943, he died in Moscow.

### **Female figures in the Province of Salmast in Northern Persia**

From time to time, whenever there was an opportunity, Vardan returned to his birthplace, Artsakh. Hajduk's mother and brothers were in Shushi. The residents of Shushi, having learned about the arrival of a prominent compatriot, invited him to meetings and gatherings, where Vardan told about the Hajduk struggle, described the battles in Western Armenia. The wives of the rich people of Shushi considered it their duty to visit Vardan's mother and express their admiration for her son. In response to such honors, the mother would reply: "Are you serious? Do any of you go? My beloved son goes. I can't talk so easily about this all."<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps inspired by the stories of their wives and daughters, the rich residents decided to have their contribution and give Vardan a rifle and a pistol. He hands over the rifle to Hajduk Shero, and the pistol to teacher Mariam Makaryan.<sup>9</sup> Those were fateful gifts. In 1896 Shero was killed during one of the battles against the Kurds, in the same year M. Makaryan commits suicide.

When leaving Shushi, the wives and young ladies of the wealthy people give Vardan a gold watch, which had a bell and signaled the specified time with a special melody. At first, Vardan refuses, but after a long persuasion and requests, he accepts the gift. Vardan notes: "That clock showed the time of the attack in the dark during the Khanasor Expedition."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 7, sheet 10.

<sup>9</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 79.

<sup>10</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 7, sheet 10.

The first mention of the activities of women figures in S. Mehrabyan's memoirs refers to the Salmast Province of Northern Persia in the 1890s.



**Satenik Ohanjanyants**

In his memoirs, Vardan mentions with the greatest respect and reverence about the Eastern Armenian teaching group that taught in Tabriz and then in the Armenian villages of the province. They taught at Liava school and there were about 10 of them.<sup>11</sup> The teachers, among whom were Miss Satenik Ohanjanyants<sup>12</sup> and Mariam Makaryan,<sup>13</sup> have been focused on. They "brought the women and girls of Tabriz to the square and let them participate in performances. They also owned a sewing and patterning workshop. These teachers had left the high salary of the Caucasus and received a rather modest salary there."<sup>14</sup>



**The Armenian Quarter of Tabriz**

<sup>11</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 80.

<sup>12</sup> Satenik Ohanjanyants (1885?-1915), one of the first female figures of the liberation movement, educator, sister of Hamazasp and Ruben Ohanjanyants, member of the ARF. See Tumanyan 1915, N 224.

<sup>13</sup> Mariam Makaryan (Maro, 1872-1896), one of the first female figures of the liberation movement, educator, member of the ARF.

<sup>14</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 82.



The teachers were busy and did not have time to take care of their food problems, so they hired a cook. Appreciating the self-sacrificing work of the pedagogues and noticing that the cook does not perform his duties very conscientiously, Vardan assumes the position of the cook and according to his testimony, the pedagogues "began to live well, eat well and of course spend less money".<sup>15</sup>

A friendly relationship was established between Mariam Makaryan<sup>16</sup> from the teaching group and the Hajduk and gunsmith Aristakes (Aris, Caro) Zoryan, which eventually turned into love. A. Zoryan was the younger brother of Rostom (Stepan Zoryan)<sup>17</sup>, one of the founders of the ARF. According to the description of a contemporary: "He was a middle-aged, stocky, attractive young man with a gentle and sweet character."<sup>18</sup>



Modern Tabriz

According to Vardan's memoirs: "I had never seen such crazy love."<sup>19</sup> Maro couldn't bear Caro's absence even for a short time. Vardan testifies: "Maro's anxiety knew no bounds."<sup>20</sup>

### Aristakes Zoryan

Vardan was a Hajduk who had enlisted for the liberation of his homeland, he was used to hardships, sufferings, deprivations, he had lost many brothers in arms during

<sup>15</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 82.

<sup>16</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 7, sheet 7.

<sup>17</sup> Zoryan Aristakes (Caro, Aris, 1871-1897), figure of the liberation movement, Hajduk, weapon maker, ARF member.

<sup>18</sup> Memoirs of the ARF 1950: 1890–1950: 375-376.

<sup>19</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 7, sheet 7.

<sup>20</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 7, sheet 7.

the battles, so it was initially incomprehensible to him such anxiety and concern by woman. The Hajduk, being a witness of many disasters, did not understand why Maro covered Caro with a coat when he returned from hunting, showed signs of care, etc. Probably, when in Vienna in 1907 he also fell in love and got married, he understood the essence of Maro's care and found it necessary to refer to the tragic love story of Caro and Maro in his memoirs.

In the 1890s, Sultan Abdul Hamid II carried out mass massacres of Armenians, and around 300,000 people became victims. In a number of places, Armenians faced the Turkish and Kurdish murderers. Among such places was Van-Vaspurakan. From June 3 to 8, 1896, the Armenians of Van resorted to self-defense. The enemy was unable to break the resistance of the Armenians using significant forces and artillery. Fearing that prolonging the fighting would give the Russians an opportunity to intervene, the Ottoman authorities, through European consuls, offered the Armenians to stop the resistance and "safely" leave for Persia. Finally, deceived by the promises of the authorities and especially the consuls, about 1000 people,<sup>21</sup> armed and unarmed, leaved the Varaga monastery to cross to Persia. However, on the way, they were attacked by the Ottoman army and especially by the Kurdish Mazrik tribe in the Khanasor field, Chukh-Ketuk and on the slope of Garahisar Mountain. Despite heroic resistance, the enemy managed to slaughter most of them.<sup>22</sup> Only about 30 people remained alive.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> According to Vardan, about 1,500 people, see NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 72.

<sup>22</sup> See Barkhudaryan V. *et al.* 2010 (eds.). According to Vardan, 800 people died in Chukh-Ketuk and near St. Bartholomeos Monastery, see NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 72.

<sup>23</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 5.



Varaga Monastery

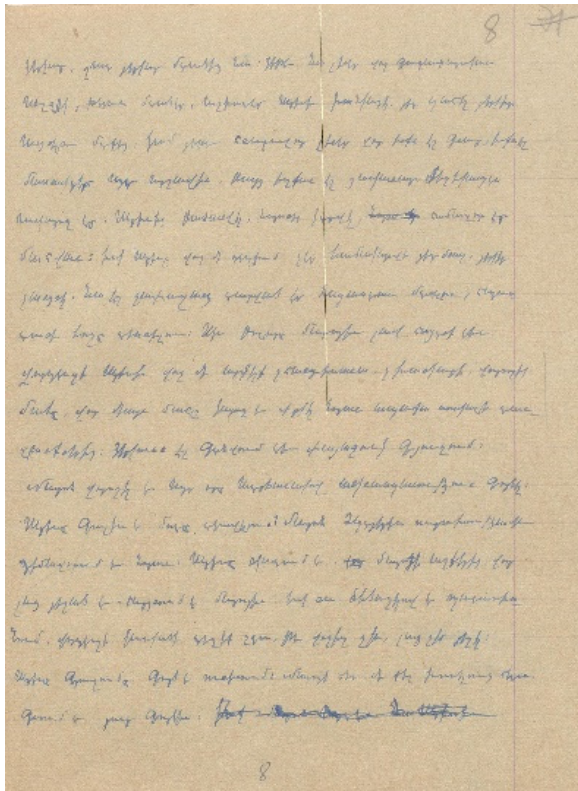
As Vardan notes: "All those who went to Persia were massacred by the hands of the Kurds all along the way, of course by the order of the government."<sup>24</sup>

The ARF decided to take revenge on the Mazrik tribe and its chieftain Sharaf, so they launched a punitive expedition known as the Khanasor Expedition. Starting from the spring of 1897, Payajuk, Havtva and other Armenian villages of Salmast Province became the center of the Hajduks. According to Vardan, they were all "selfless soldiers".<sup>25</sup> A large number of Hajduks gathered in Salmast Province, whose livelihood was completely taken care of by the local Armenians. Vardan testifies: "Hajduks' clothes were washed and patched by local women. When the Hajduks left the villages for Van, it was as if the villages became orphans, they had so much merged with the Hajduks."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 72.

<sup>25</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 7.

<sup>26</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 43.



Excerpt from memoirs of Vardan of Khanasor

For Maro, it was understandable that her beloved one would definitely take part in the action. As Vardan notes: "If she (M. Makaryan - R.S.) were a non-ideological girl, she might have thought, tried to dissuade Aris from the idea of going to Country (Western Armenia), or, if it was possible for her to go and participate in that expedition, too, but no matter how much she wanted, she was physically incapable."<sup>27</sup>

Unfortunately, the young lady made a radical decision. Believing that she may be a barrier to Caro not participating in the expedition, she decided to commit suicide: "In order not to become an obstacle, not to hinder, she decided that only death can save him (A. Zoryan- R. S.) from future terrible tortures."<sup>28</sup>



The city of Khanasor (modern photo)

On the eve of the suicide, both were in Payajuk village of Salmast. Caro notices that she was in tears, but Maro laughs and says that there is no such thing. As Vardan testifies: "She (Maron- R. S.) never showed Aris a sad face no matter how excited she was."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 7, sheet 8.

<sup>28</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 7, sheet 8.

<sup>29</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 7, sheet 7.

On December 2, 1896 when A. Zoryan leaves the house, shortly after M. Makaryan commits suicide<sup>30</sup>. She had left the following note on the table in the apartment: "I didn't want to disturb you, burn all the ships after you, just go and do your favorite work. Aris, Aris, Aris..."<sup>31</sup> There were the following lines in the maiden's diary: "A girl's vocation is modesty, sweetness and simplicity."<sup>32</sup>



**The Armenian cemetery of Payajuk village**

According to Vardan's testimony, the young man was in a half-crazy state, because he was the cause of his woman's suicide. Vardan testifies: "He leaves Salmast, travels on foot to Julfa. From there, he comes to Tpkhis directly to me. ... Since that day, I didn't let Aris leave me. I was constantly consoling and encouraging him... I was afraid to leave him alone to avoid a trouble."<sup>33</sup> Vardan was trying to occupy himself with some important work, so that he could be distracted a little, forget the unfortunate, tragic accident. As Vardan writes: "I try in every possible way to soften and dispel sad thoughts. In such circumstances, the only comfort is a close friend."<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> The participant of the expedition testifies that upon reaching Mount Araul near Khanasor, the Fedayi were invited to take part in the swearing ceremony, see "Droshak" October 1, 1897, N 12, p. 96

<sup>31</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 7, sheet 8.

<sup>32</sup> Memoirs, ARF: 380.

<sup>33</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 7, sheet 8.

<sup>34</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 7, sheet 12.



Raffi's house in Payajuk

Vardan was appointed the commander of the punitive operation of Khanasor. The number of fighters was about 275, of which 25 were horsemen and the rest were infantry.<sup>35</sup> After the liberation struggle of Syunik and Artsakh in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, for the first time, Armenians moved such a large number of forces to the battlefield.

Vardan testifies that "all the Armenians of Salmast knew about the expedition (about the preparation of the expedition - R.S.) and showed full support. The women and girls made gata (Armenian pastry or sweet bread) for our soldiers, made signs and notes on the tents. They were happy to be able to participate in something, to help, to send good wishes."<sup>36</sup> Hajduk considers it necessary to mention an important fact. "There were no betrayals by the people of Salmast."<sup>37</sup>

The operation, known as the Khanasor Expedition, which took place from July 24 to 27, 1897, ended in success, with the Kurds suffering about 300 casualties and the Hajduks suffering 19 casualties<sup>38</sup>. Vardan was honored with the title "Vardan of Khanasor", and the Kurds, especially Mazrik chieftain Sharaf, who was a Hamidean colonel,<sup>39</sup> made his best to reach an agreement with the Hajduks and began to assist the Armenians in transporting weapons and ammunition to Western Armenia.

<sup>35</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 8, sheet 2.

<sup>36</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet.

<sup>37</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 8, sheet 3.

<sup>38</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 12. According to other information, 20 people, see the brave men who fell in the last heroic battles of Vaspurakan. Droshak, September 13, 1897, N 11, p. 83.

<sup>39</sup> A-Do 2015: 303, 507.

During the Khanasor operation, Vardan learnt that Aris was injured and rushed to check. As Vardan testifies: "Aris approached me laughing...the enemy's bullet had hit the stone and the fragments of the stone had hit his face and made him bleed a little."<sup>40</sup>

While retreating from Khanasor, one of the Hajduks, Saghatel Zohrabyan, a Persian-Armenian, was seriously wounded and it was clear to everyone that it was impossible to move him through the difficult, hilly terrain, even at night, so "Aris killed him. It was very hard, but death was preferable."<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately, after some time, during the night retreat on July 27, A. Zoryan was killed. It can be assumed that the young lady M. Makaryan had some kind of bad premonition; probably an unknown, supernatural sense had hinted her that her beloved one was in mortal danger.



**Sako from Sevkar**

After the Khanasor operation, Vardan, Sako from Sevkar (Sargis Sevyan) and another Hajduk, whose name was Bek, came to Yerevan, then Etchmiadzin, where they met Catholicos Khrimyan Hayrik, then Vardan and Sako moved to Shush. Vardan became a popular person after Khanasor. He was invited to various gatherings and meetings. Vardan was surprised by the fact that especially the wives and daughters of the wealthy people became interested in the liberation struggle. They were proud that the famous Hajduk was their compatriot.<sup>42</sup> They were "especially impressed by the contribution of Van women's groups in the struggle".<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 8, sheet 9.

<sup>41</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 8, sheet 9.

<sup>42</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 7, sheet 9.

<sup>43</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 79.

In 1898 Vardan came from Shushi to Baku, where his mother and brothers lived. Here, too, he was invited to various meetings, where he called on everyone to support the liberation movement, to find weapons and ammunition and send them to the Country (Western Armenia). Vardan was so excited by the above-mentioned issue that he even offered his mother to sell the gold necklace, made of coins, and buy a weapon with the money. Vardan testifies: "My mother smiled and answered, son, you didn't buy these gold coins, your father bought them, when you buy them, then do whatever you want."<sup>44</sup>



**Catholicos of All Armenians Mkrtych Khrimyan  
(Khrimyan Hayrik)**



**Abraham Gyulhandanyan**

A contemporary, Abraham Gyulhandanyan highlighted the role of Armenian women in the liberation struggle as follows: "The Armenian woman not only took care of the Armenian fighters and encouraged them, but also covered many kilometres for days and weeks and delivered weapons to them using secret paths to provide the continuous resistance of our brave men."<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 79.

<sup>45</sup> Gyulhandanyan 1939: 5.





Mariam Makaryan and Aristakes Zoryan

**Female figures in Van**

The second reference to the participation of the Armenian women in the liberation struggle refers to Van-Vaspurakan. Vardan remembers with admiration the secrecy of the people of Van. According to his testimony: "It was impossible to get a word out of the mouth of the youngest child of Van, to become aware of a secret. Young girls even served as a guard at nights at the houses where Hajduks lived."<sup>46</sup>



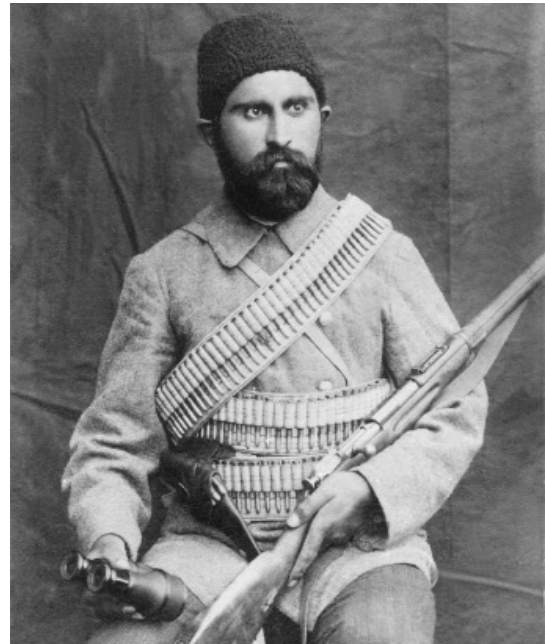
Van

<sup>46</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 73.

There is an interesting and instructive reference in Vardan's memoirs, which characterizes the children of Van, who never lost their vigilance and, whenever possible, exposed this or that trick or machination. On one of the streets of the city, a young man named Aram notices that a little girl is wearing gold earrings and offers to exchange them for candy, hoping that the child will be tempted and the beneficial exchange will be made. The girl, who knew very well the difference between the prices of candy and gold earrings, "agrees", but on one condition: if Aram brays like a donkey. The young man, looking around and having seen anyone, does it. The girl turns to Aram laughing: "How is it that you, actually being a donkey, know the earrings are golden, and I don't know? Go away, go, go."<sup>47</sup> According to Vardan, Aram was later ordained a priest in Urmia.<sup>48</sup>



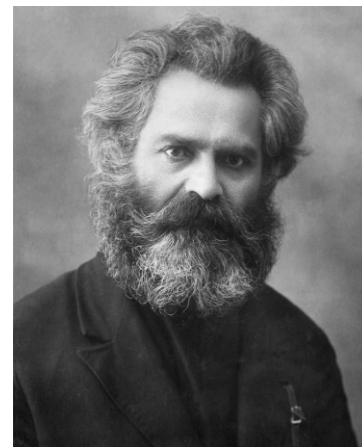
**Zaruhi Teroyan (Zhenya, 1870-1944)**



**Tigran Teroyan (Vazgen)**



**Zaruhi and Vazgen Teroyans**



**Varazdat Teroyan**

<sup>47</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 74.

<sup>48</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 1, sheet 74.



Alexander Petrosyan (Peto)

In the memoirs of Vardan of Khanasor, there is another testimony about Zaruhi Teroyan<sup>49</sup>, one of the female liberation figures. Four members of the Teroyan family, Zaruhi, brothers Tigran<sup>50</sup>, Varazdat<sup>51</sup> and sister Satenik were included in the anti-Ottoman liberation struggle<sup>52</sup>. Initially, Zaruhi and Tigran, who was better known by the party nickname Vazgen, joined the Armenakan Party, however, when Peto (Aleksandr Petrosyan), a representative of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, came to Van, the brother and sister joined the ARF and became active members of the party. Moreover, mutual feelings arise between Peto and

Zaruhi, but in 1896, while retreating from Van to Persia, Peto was killed. True to her vow, Zaruhi never marries again.

Z. Teroyan, who had graduated from the “Sandkhtian” female school in Van, taught at the same educational institution, and at the same time used to form secret patriotic groups of women and girls. Secret from the Ottoman police they used to organize supply of the banned literature as well as weapons and ammunition.

<sup>49</sup> Zaruhi Teroyan (Zhenya, 1870-1944), one of the first female figures of the liberation movement, ARF member.

<sup>50</sup> Tigran Teroyan (Vazgen, 1873-1898), figure of the liberation movement, poet, Hajduk, member of the ARF. For more details about him, see Sahakyan 1998: 22-27.

<sup>51</sup> Varazdat Teroyan (Vazrik, 1887-1938), liberation movement, scientific-social figure, translator of philosophy classics. For more details about him, see Teroyan 2006.

<sup>52</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 5, sheet 1.



The Mehrabyan family

In Van, Vardan established warm relations with Vazgen and Zaruhi. He highly appreciated them, testifying that "They are (Zaruhi and Vazgen-RS) indomitable."<sup>53</sup> Zaruhi's activities did not remain unnoticed by the Ottoman government and in 1896, on June 2, the young lady was arrested. At the same time, the Turkish police was looking for Vazgen.

Vardan testifies: "Every week police<sup>54</sup> was being sent by the government to their house (Teroyans - R.S.) and they shouted: "Varazdat, Satenik, let's go!" Those little children were taken to the city (City center - R. S.) for an interrogation, to ask where brother Tigran was (Vazgen is a pseudonym), who visited them, and so on. At that time, it was very difficult to get the child to speak. In

the end, the investigators used to say about these children that "All of them are advocates".<sup>55</sup>

While in prison in Van, Varazdat kept in touch with his sister, via whom Vardan sent him money. He writes in a memo: "When I needed to send money to Zaruhi to prison, I called Varazdat and put the money (1 r. 60 coins) in the shoe, that's how he took the money to prison and handed it over."<sup>56</sup> In the end, the government exiles Zaruhi to Jerusalem and then to Damascus. Catholicos M. Khrimyan is taking measures to save the girl from imprisonment<sup>57</sup>. In 1907 The Ottoman court sentenced Zaruhi to 7 years in prison. She was released only after the Revolution of Young Turks in 1908. Further information is rather poor. It is known that she lived abroad for some time. She attended courses in a number of European universities. After the proclamation of the Republic of Armenia in 1918 she worked as a teacher at the school of the American Committee for Middle East Relief. In 1929, after the dissolution of the American Committee, she conducted private foreign language courses.

At the end of the article, an appendix is presented, which is the letter of the Patriarch of Constantinople M. Ormanyan letter to Catholicos of All Armenians Mkrtych Khrimyan related to the problems of the imprisonment of Z. Teroyan. The document is issued in its original form, without significant changes. Our comments are in parentheses.

<sup>53</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 5, sheet 1.

<sup>54</sup> Police in our modern perception.

<sup>55</sup> Advocate in our modern perception.

<sup>56</sup> NAA, fund 402, inv. 2, file 5, sheet 1.

<sup>57</sup> See the last document of the article.

## Conclusion

At different stages of the Armenian history, there are many testimonies about Armenian women's participation in national liberation movements. Narrators have left many testimonies of the struggle against foreigners, the struggle of the Armenian women equal to men. Among the most brilliant figures of the Middle Ages were Queen Parandzem fighting with the soldiers in Artagers Castle, Lady Dzvik, Princess Ruzan, Aitsemnik fighting the enemy during the siege of Ani, and Mariam Tumanyan, Zaruhi Teroyan, Satenik and Natalyan Matinyan, Mother Sose, Satenik Ohanjanyan, Mariam Makaryan and many others, who were active participants in the liberation struggle from the middle and especially the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Armenian writers have glorified the "delicate ladies of the Armenian world" in their works. The Armenian women and young ladies participated in the First and Second World Wars, and especially in the Artsakh Liberation War and in the defense of Armenia's borders from hostile encroachments.

In the article, based on the memoirs of Sargis Mehrabyan (Vardan, Vardan of Khanasor), one of the prominent figures of the Armenian liberation movement, we covered the liberation activities of the Armenian women and girls who developed their activities in Van and the Salmast Province of Northern Persia in the 1890s. They were mainly educators, which provided an opportunity to carry out liberation-patriotic propaganda not only among students, but also among their parents. With their activities, they involved local women and girls in the liberation struggle. They worked to bring them out of the medieval darkness and participate in public life.

This article is a unique tribute to the Armenian women and girls, who in many cases contributed equally to the men for the liberation of the motherland from foreign rule.

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**THE ARMENIAN-GEORGIAN RELATIONS DURING THE FALL OF  
KARTLI-KAKHETI KINGDOM  
(According to Georgian Sources and Georgian Contemporary  
Historiography)**

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**Abstract**

The article presents the process of annexation of Eastern Georgia to Russia. The study of the relations between the Armenian and Georgian peoples has always been one of the most important trends of Georgian historiography. During the long-term absence of independent statehood, various parts of the Armenian people found themselves within the borders of neighboring states and were forced to live there following the laws of these states. In this regard, the events of the last quarter of the 18th century were no exception. Since the second half of the 17th century, the liberation expectations of the Armenian people had mainly been associated with the Russian Empire. This was due to the new political process that Russian Empire adopted after the annexation of Georgia. Thus, the matter of Georgia's accession to Russia was closely associated with the future of Armenia. This is the reason we discuss the matter of Georgia's annexation to Russia in detail, as it was a turning point for the Russian government and makes the leaders of the Armenian liberation movement face difficult task: that is what will be the future of Armenia.

**Keywords:** *Heraclius II, Russian Empire, Eastern Georgia, Ottoman Turkey, Transcaucasia, Simeon Yerevantsi I, Georgian lands, Paul I of Russia, the Meliks of Karabakh, Georgian historiography*

The study of the relations of the peoples of the Caucasus has always been one of the most important trends of Georgian historiography. In this regard, the events of the last quarter of the 18th century were no exception.

Nadir Shah, the ruler of Iran, was killed in Khorasan as a result of a treachery in 1747. Anarchy seized the country. Under Teimuraz II (1700-1762), the king of Kartli, and his son Heraclius II (1720-1798), there was a favorable situation for practically united Kartli-Kakheti, for implementing an independent policy.

Georgia was actively engaged in the struggle for supremacy in the Caucasus. Significant successes were already achieved in the 1740-1750s. The supremacy of Kartli-Kakheti was established in Transcaucasia under King Heraclius II in the 1760-1770s. The general crisis in Iran and the Ottoman Empire as well as the still unstable, gradually advancing positions of the Russian Empire in Transcaucasia greatly

contributed to the further prosperity of the country.<sup>1</sup> As N. Berdzenishvili mentions, “During this period, Eastern Georgia became both economically and politically powerful. The state revenues of Kartli-Kakheti increased significantly compared to the previous decades in the 1780s”.<sup>2</sup>

Concerned about the strengthening of the Russian Empire, Ottoman Turkey was willing to hand over Western Georgia to Heraclius II in exchange for an anti-Russian orientation,<sup>3</sup> on the other hand, it continued to support to maintain its dominance in the Caucasus.<sup>4</sup> Certainly, the Ottoman Empire was not sincere in this matter and was forced to take this step. If the Russian Empire had established itself in the Caucasus, this would have been difficult to stop it, therefore it would have been more beneficial for the Turks to hand over Western Georgia to Heraclius II than to lose this part of Georgian lands.

Kartli-Kakheti might have good possibilities for revival in the light of the Iranian-Ottoman Empire’s political fall. In addition, Transcaucasia and especially Kartli-Kakheti were gradually getting a place in the eastern politics of European countries due to the expansion of the Russian Empire to the south.

The situation within the kingdom was also becoming stable. By oppressing influential princes, Heraclius II strengthened the central power of the country. With the creation of the “service army” the security of the country’s borders was increased. The country returned to normal life, and the abandoned villages were restored.<sup>5</sup>

From the beginning of the 1780s, the situation in Transcaucasia became complicated again. The Russian Empire was trying to dominate first in Transcaucasia, and then in the Middle East with slow but confident steps, putting pressure on its opponents Iran and Ottoman Turkey. Not only Iran and Ottoman Turkey, and most of the Caucasian Muslim feudals but also the European countries who stands behind them were against this policy of the Russian Empire. In such conditions, the Kartli-Kakhetian Kingdom was of great importance, as the Russian orientation had a dominant position there. The Russian Empire desires Heraclius II to officially ask for her protection. According to the task put forward, “Catherine’s diplomats begin to act”. Various officials of the Empire, ambassadors, and “travelers” began to visit Heraclius II’s kingdom. All of them studied and explored Georgia. They quickly learned the circumstances under which Kartli-Kakheti could be included within the Russian Empire’s Middle Eastern strategy.<sup>6</sup> The actions of the Russian agency in Kartli-Kakheti grew stronger day by day.

Al. Orbeliani, the grandson of Heraclius II (1802-1869) mentioned in his letters that the Armenian grouping especially stood out in this regard.<sup>7</sup> The Armenians tried to

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<sup>1</sup> Jibashvili 2010: 44-46.

<sup>2</sup> Berdzenishvili 1973: 444.

<sup>3</sup> Samsonadze 1988: 209.

<sup>4</sup> Cheishvili 1982: 2.

<sup>5</sup> Berdzenishvili 1973: 455.

<sup>6</sup> Berdzenishvili 1973: 456.

<sup>7</sup> Jambakur-Orbeliani 1914: 42-52.



restore the Armenian statehood with the help of Russia. It is true that some Armenians recognized the patronage of Heraclius II, but the idea of restoring their own Armenian state under the patronage of the Russian Empire gradually became stronger. At that time, the Armenian people had one main political task—to unite their fragmented homeland. However, since there was no internal organizational force that could represent the interests of the united Armenian society, there was no common, consistent program for all Armenians to achieve this goal, and there could not exist. However, the uncertainty was overcome soon, and the idea of restoring the Armenian state took on a clear and stable form. Simeon Yerevantsi I, Catholicos of All Armenians, and one of the most active inspirers of all this was the one who played a very important role in the history of Armenia in the 18th century. As historian O. Gibashvili testifies, the Armenian national liberation movement entered a new quality phase with the consecration of the Catholicos Simeon Yerevantsi I. This experienced figure began an indefatigable struggle for the restoration of the Armenian statehood from the very beginning. Despite unfavorable conditions, the Catholicos managed to gather numerous Armenians around him.<sup>8</sup>

To achieve this goal, Catholicos was oriented towards the Russian Empire. The program was supported by representatives of the rich class of the Armenian community of the Empire. Etchmiadzin became a loyal ally of the Russian Empire in the Caucasus and Transcaucasia. In order to maximize and trigger this intention, the spiritual leader of the Armenians of Russia, Archbishop Hovsep Arghutyan, in 1779-1780 signs an agreement between the Russian Imperial House and the Armenian people. On the basis of this agreement, the Armenian state was to be restored in a short while under the auspices of the Russian Empire. As V. Potton testifies: “Armenian regions have become more pro-Russian, their goal was to create a “Great Armenia” using the Russians and achieving dominance in Transcaucasia.”<sup>9</sup>

There is a viewpoint in Georgian historiography, according to which the “Armenian thron” poisoned Levan Batonishvili, the son of Heraclius II, in 1782 who was his father’s right-hand, a strong commander and a far-sighted politician. As a result, the kingdom of Heraclius II weakened.<sup>10</sup> Heraclius II soon succumbs to the expediency of receiving Russian patronage and rushes to sign the Treaty of Georgievk. Kartli-Kakheti enters the political orbit of the Russian Empire. The Armenians’ hopes are growing stronger that the empire will soon be established more firmly in Transcaucasia and help them to restore the Armenian state.

According to historians Tamar and Akaki Papavas, “Hovsep Arghutyan tried to restore the Armenian state at the expense of Georgian lands, he created a movement that aimed to relocate at least part of the old and lost “Armenia” to Georgia. Certainly, it was disturbing that the commander of the Russian army who was sent to seize Georgia

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<sup>8</sup> Jibashvili 2010: 101.

<sup>9</sup> Potto 1886: 718-720.

<sup>10</sup> Jibashvili 2010: 58-69.

was the Armenian General Ivan Lazarev, and this appointment was the deed of Arghutyan and his fellows”.<sup>11</sup>

As Simon Quarriani writes: “The Armenians also played a negative role for Georgia during the battle of Krtsanisi (1795). They pursued a double policy at the time, lighting a candle to both the devil and God. That is, they were sympathetic to Kartli-Kakheti but invited Russians to Georgia as owners while sending money and presents to Agha Mohammad Khan, the Shah of Iran, to conquer Kartli-Kakheti at the same time.<sup>12</sup> Javakhishvili sarcastically mentions that Ghukas Karnetzi I, the Catholicos of All Armenians, gave “probably out of fear”, 100,000 manat to Agha Mohammad Khan to cover military expenses during military campaigns to Georgia in 1795”.<sup>13</sup>

Alexander Jambakur-Orbeliani talks about the events in Krtsanisi: “Throughout the whole of Georgia, the enemies of Heraclius II silently wandered and frightened the people. Agha Mohammad Khan comes with two hundred thousand soldiers, run and save yourself. Orbeliani considers Armenians to be the leaders of spreading panic and destabilization. By spreading panic, they deliberately prevented Heraclius II from gathering his troops and practically left the country almost undefended.<sup>14</sup> Despite Heraclius II had little forces, he was able to repel the Shah of Iran, due to his skillful command and selfless struggle of the Georgian warriors. However, the treacherous Armenians – Artyom Ararattsi and Hovsep Behbutov, who were in Tbilisi at that time, release the imprisoned Persian ambassador and inform the Shah that the Georgians had a small army and they must attack immediately. Inspired by all this, Agha Mohammad Khan attacks and defeats Georgians in a fierce battle by looting, destroying houses and Orthodox churches. According to the conclusions of Georgian historians, the defeat in Krtsanisi, which happened because of the “betrayal” of the Armenians caused great damage to Eastern Georgia, as Kartli-Kakheti suffered great losses in material and human potential. The country was in crisis and became easily accessible to the enemy.

It is also interesting that not only the Armenian refugees who had flown from Karabakh, but also a lot of meliks found “temporary” asylum in Kartli-Kakheti, which was devastated by Agha Mohammad Khan.<sup>15</sup> Armenian meliks who had been oppressed in Karabakh turned to Heraclius II for help, who settled them in the territory of Georgia. A small nobility was created, led by the evicted Armenian meliks - Melik Abov, Jimshid and Fridon. In fact, these meliks became Georgian princes. Their legal status was much higher than that of the meliks of the Karabakh Khanate.<sup>16</sup> However, the Armenian meliks Jimshid and Fridon, circumventing the king of Kartli-Kakheti, sent a secret

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<sup>11</sup> Papava and Papava 1956: 85-86.

<sup>12</sup> Kvariani 1919: 12.

<sup>13</sup> Javakhishvili 1919: 31.

<sup>14</sup> Jambakur-Orbeliani 1914: 2-3.

<sup>15</sup> Gugushvili 1949: 79.

<sup>16</sup> Lomsadze 1975: 344.

petition to St. Petersburg on behalf of the meliks of Karabakh. They asked Emperor Paul I to let them settle in Kvemo Kartli and take it under the control of the Russian Empire. Enraged by the Armenian meliks' dishonesty, I.V. Javakhishvili writes: "Undoubtedly, this was completely an unbearable behavior. With the fall of Georgia's independence, Armenians found refuge in the same Georgia, fleeing from forced destruction, but instead of expressing their gratitude they tried to interfere in Georgia's internal affairs, and they wanted to get land and water in our country, accepting Russian subordination and defense".<sup>17</sup>

After all this, Paul I "asked" George XII to grant the Armenian meliks lands on favorable terms. As it is stated "Armenians receive Georgian lands". It is preferable, that the Armenian communities should be in vassalage to Georgia and pay taxes to the king and help in the defense of the country. It can be assumed that in this case the restoration of the Armenian state should have begun at the expense of Georgian lands. The Armenians took advantage of the Russian Empire's increased interest in the Caucasus and tried to get use of it. They tried to prove their loyalty to the empire in all the possible ways, and with the help of the latter to gather their dispersed population in Kartli-Kakhet. In the future it would help to easily seize the Georgian territories and begin the restoration of the Armenian state from here.<sup>18</sup>

As we learn from another Georgian source: "After the death of Heraclius II, the anti-Georgian Armenian circles became more active, since George XII was not as powerful king as his father. The Armenians tried to break Kartli-Kakhetian with the help of the Empire, and settle there, as it was already weakened by the defeat at Krtsanisi. Armenian merchants and clergymen living both in the Empire and in Georgia showed great interest in this matter".<sup>19</sup>

On this occasion, priest P. Karbelashvili published a series of articles in the newspaper "Samshoblo" in August 1916, entitled "Armenians in Georgia" (historical documents), in which he tells about "disloyalty and betrayal of Armenians towards Georgia." The Armenians desired to restore the Armenian kingdom, so they did not help Heraclius II, on the contrary, they contributed to the weakening of Georgia".<sup>20</sup>

Thus, as W. Shubitidze notes: "It can be concluded that the Armenians played an unworthy and unreasonable role in the fall of Georgian statehood. The Armenian circles which had anti-Georgian views, accepted the abolition of the Kartli-Kakheti Kingdom with great joy. It was a new opportunity for them to settle Armenians in Kakheti. On this occasion, led by the newly appointed Armenian Catholicos Hovsep Arghutyan, the Armenians who lived in Tbilisi celebrated the fall of the Kartli-Kakheti kingdom in the temple of Zion (with 74 priests and 8 archimandrites) with the presence of numerous Armenians."

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<sup>17</sup> Javakhishvili 1919: 1-34.

<sup>18</sup> Tetvadze, Tetvadze 1998: 53-54.

<sup>19</sup> Javakhishvili 1919: 40-47.

<sup>20</sup> Karbelashvili 1916: 11-18.

According to the prevailing viewpoint in Georgian historiography, the Russian Empire properly appreciated the loyalty of Armenians and settled hundreds of thousands of Armenians on the territory of Georgia, who were expelled from the Ottoman Empire and Iran in the 19th century. Armenians started a demographic annexation of Georgia. The ambition to take over Georgian territories, culture, and history has become stronger as the numbers of the Armenian population had increased in Georgia. This idea of reestablishing the Armenian state at the expense of Georgian territory was therefore strengthened and developed further.

So, in the 20s of the 18th century Georgia took a fatal step by creating an alliance with Russia. Both Ottoman Turkey and Iran were engaged in hostile actions against Georgia, occasionally adopting a rude position. The latter, in order to free itself from the Iranian-Turkish conquerors, pinned his hopes on Russia, considering the latter its real ally. However, the Caspian expedition, which was conditioned by military-political and economic interests and was organized by Russian Empire in 1722, considered its main goal not to liberate Georgia, but to establish its own domination. Georgia was only an appendage to the implementation of this program. The Russian Empire would never have faced its enemies Turkey and Iran, fighting for the liberation of the Georgian people without having any benefit.

Nevertheless, from the events that took place during this historical stage, the Georgian people could not make the right political decision, which became disastrous for the Georgian statehood. The study of the events of the annexation of Eastern Georgia to Russia manifested that if the Armenian people could free themselves from Turkish and Persian tyranny on their own and create their own independent national statehood, this would undoubtedly be the best way to resolve the issue of national liberation. However, a specific historical situation developed in such a way that the Armenian people could not achieve victory and restore their independence on their own.

During the long absence of independent statehood, various parts of the Armenian people found themselves within the borders of neighboring states and were forced to live according to the laws of these states. Therefore, with its rich experience of fighting for its freedom and independence, Armenians came to the firm conviction that it was possible to free themselves from the ruinous domination of the Persian khans and Turkish pashas only with the military help of Russia. This expectation of the Armenian people had a real and solid base. It was undermined by the power of the Russian state, its policy of affirmation and strengthening in Transcaucasia. It was based on into the power of the Russian state, its policy of becoming more stable and powerful in Transcaucasia. If during the 18<sup>th</sup> century the emphasis was on the Armenian statehood, the restoration of Georgia and the strengthening or the establishment of the united Georgian-Armenian Christian state, then in 1801 this policy took a different direction.

The annexation of Eastern Armenia to Russia, which began at the beginning of the 19th century and ended with the Turkmenchay Treaty of February 10, 1828, signed

between Persia and Russia became one of the most remarkable pages in the history of the Armenian people.

Thus, we believe that the study of Armenian-Georgian relations is still relevant and very necessary, in order to understand the political goals of our neighbors in future.

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## THE QUESTION OF THE SUPPLY OF WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION TO THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA IN 1918-1920

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### **Abstract**

Until now, there have been superficial, incomplete and one-sided, sometimes politicized references to the Armenian-British military-political relations and British support in terms of military assistance and the supply of weapons and ammunition to the Republic of Armenia in 1918-1920, as well as in terms of the professional training of officers of the Armenian army. All this has left the study of the problem incomplete. There were blank pages that needed to be covered, as well as to offer rethinking, new historical and in-depth approaches. In this context, in the Armenian-British military-political relations and the British military-political mission in the Transcaucasus, there were both individual positive phenomena and cumulative pro-imperialist and pro-British phenomena that need a new assessment, revealing, in particular, the so-called Armenian-friendly British cabinet officials, as well as, in particular, purely imperialist officials, on the one hand, considering military and political figures who have a certain positive attitude towards Armenia, such as Oliver Baldwin of Bewdley, as well as Captain J. Gracie, who knows Armenian and has a positive attitude towards Armenia, Colonel Cl. Temperley. The activities and steps, on the contrary, of V. Thomson, D. Shuttleworth and the purposeful actions of others are sharply anti-Armenian, pro-Azerbaijani - pro-Turkish in their nature, as a result of which the Republic of Armenia suffered significantly, relying on its faithful allies. Different sides of the problem, some facts and details can be found in the books by R. Hovhannisyan, G. Galoyan, Arts. Hovhannisyan, as well as other sources. In the works of contemporaries and state politicians Al. Khatisyan, S. Vratsyan and other statesmen, there is factual selective material, the authors of which, as well as in memoirs, for the most part, are dominated by the approach of proofreading realities and facts, due to which the truth is presented incompletely or distorted, depending on the party and political affiliation of these people and the interests of which country they served or what rank they had in world processes, their possible influence. For example, the Armenian political forces that collaborated with the Young Turks and Al. Parvus or with the main characters of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917 - V. Lenin, L. Trotsky and others. It is also obvious that the Armenian-British military-political ties and a new assessment of the military support of the Republic of Armenia, the activities of military-political mission of Britain in Transcaucasus should be covered with a deep consideration of geopolitical factors,

focusing on the short existence of the Armenian statehood, its losses in the Turkish-Armenian war in the autumn of 1920 and the deepest causes of the fall of the Republic of Armenia. This is important because in 1918-1920 Armenia never showed any results in the military sphere, not without the participation of Great Britain, an ally of Armenia, with its incomplete, untimely and insufficient military assistance, and as for the rest powers, they did not show significant interest in this issue, as the oil and socio-political interests of these countries and the same England had other priority. The former “Entente ally” of Great Britain and rival Russia also chalked up its contribution to the above mentioned, which, after the fiasco by the “efforts” of the world powers in 1917, by superhuman efforts in the late 1919 and early 1920s, gradually came to its senses, as a result of which both sides turned the issue Armenia’s support in just a tool to fight against each other, and eventually came to a consensus to control the fate of Armenia by mutual agreement.

**Keywords:** *weapons and ammunition, allies, Entente, Republic of Armenia, Great Britain, Turkey, armed forces*

The October Revolution of 1917 in Russia marked the beginning of a new and long-term geopolitical process, in which many peoples were involved, as well as the Armenian people, which was subjected to genocide. The Armenian people had heroic battles in Sardarapat and, in the struggle for existence, decisively stopped the advance of Turkish terrorists in the Transcaucasus and in particular, in Eastern Armenia, as a result of which, after a 900-year break, a geopolitically favorable, but difficult opportunity arose for the further survival of Armenia and the restoration of Armenian statehood.

Unpredictable developments in 1918-1920 led to the restoration of Armenian statehood, which forced the creation of its own armed forces as a guarantee of its existence, and made the young republic dependent on almost all powers in terms of acquiring weapons and ammunition, and especially after the October Revolution in Russia in 1917, when Great Britain and France became the protagonists in Transcaucasus, who were guided by their hidden deep interests, as a result of which the support provided to Armenia was conditional, half-hearted, inadequate and in many cases untimely. The military occupation of Transcaucasus by the British side significantly changed the political course of the Republic of Armenia, since they did not like the Russophilia of the Armenians.<sup>1</sup> The “orientation” of the Armenian leadership had a dual character and was constantly changing, the issue of choosing a foreign policy course was constantly dependent on powerful geopolitical factors, and it gravitated towards the Entente countries. But after the middle of 1919 and from the beginning of

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<sup>1</sup> Denikin 2002: 247.

1920 Bolshevik Russia began gradually to become the dominant power on the outskirts of the former Russian Empire, including the Transcaucasus, Great Britain, France and other states gradually gave way to Russia, and Armenia could not avoid this circumstance, which is also connected with the concession strategy of the former allies, which was the result, perhaps, of a mutual agreement. Again there was a desire for Russia, because the allies could not prevent the Armenian genocide, which was carried out throughout the Transcaucasus. However, in 1918-1919, Armenia gravitated towards the main European countries: Great Britain, France, and in terms of Russia, some far-sighted politicians had a premonition that one day Russia would be reborn and return to the Caucasus.

Armenia was particularly interested in the position of the British from “ethnic, economic, financial, military and other points of view.”<sup>2</sup> The Armenians had almost no alternative, and in 1918, after gaining independence, Armenia was an ally of Great Britain, a member of the Entente, and this alliance is due to the fact that Armenia continued the war against Turkey, which was one of the most active opponents of the Entente.<sup>3</sup> The strongest evidence of this was the presence of the Armenian Legion as part of the Entente troops, as well as Armenian volunteer military units as part of the Russian armed forces on the Caucasian front.

Moreover, this is in case when the Armenian people, their political leaders, by the time the allies came to the Caucasus, believed that the victory of the allies in the First World War was their victory, that Armenian interests would triumph in the Caucasus. Armenians warned the British authorities that the last food supplies were running out, that hospitals and orphanages were not receiving bread, that the Armenian people was in danger of destruction, and this expectation was well expressed by Prime Minister H. Qajaznuni. In a letter addressed to the British on February 7, 1919, he simply writes: “The Armenians were fully confident that with the victory of the allies and their arrival in the Caucasus, the situation would improve. However, I must say that a feeling of indignation, fear and disappointment began to creep into their thoughts. They start to think that the allies don’t care if they live or die.”<sup>4</sup>

So it was, the allies, the even more politically savvy British, saw very well how devoted the Armenians were to them, but the imperial interest remained above all, although some British officers, such as Cl. Temperley, J. Gracie<sup>5</sup> or Oliver Baldwin were somewhat different from other officers, they loved the long-suffering Armenia and its people, and repeatedly called on their government to support them with military supplies

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<sup>2</sup> Denikin 2002: 251.

<sup>3</sup> Hovhannisyan 2019: 17-18.

<sup>4</sup> Yenukidze 1954: 118-189.

<sup>5</sup> George F. Gracie - On July 22, 1919 the British government appointed the chief British commissioner in Transcaucasus, the representative of Oliver Wardrope in Yerevan, intelligence officer, captain, who knew Armenian, Kurdish and Turkish languages - Hovhannisyan 2014: 131. After Gracie’s departure, the British military delegation was headed by Gordon Brown – Ashkhatavor, 1920, October 20, N 231.



and weapons so that the Armenians could effectively defend themselves against the Azerbaijani-Turkish encroachments, and not arm only Azerbaijan.

Already in the second half of 1919, the Azerbaijani government has already refused to accept the confirmation of the American governorship of Sharur-Nakhijevan, although it had given preliminary consent, subject to the withdrawal of Armenian troops from Zangezur, accusing the Armenians of continuing the occupation of the region. Al.Khatisyan refutes this claim, saying that it is a completely false pretext to thwart the Haskell plan and justify an open attack in Zangezur, which was supported by the British representative in Yerevan, George F. Gracie, informing Wardrope that Armenia did its best to keep the peace, but was constantly deceived, the Azerbaijanis and their agents have already tried to incite the Azerbaijanis in the Bashkend-Artsvashen region near Lake Sevan to attack this large village of 800 houses and seize their pastures.

At the same time, J.Gracie added to what was said: "From the self-confident smile and behavior of the representatives of Azerbaijan, it is easy to understand that they do not doubt their ability to conquer these regions by force of arms. They never hid from me that the troops were on the move, and that all this would probably lead to trouble." This situation continues to remain the same in December, during which J.Gracie again defends the Armenians, despite the fact that, in general, British support for one of the parties at intervals played a negative role in resolving the situation. Captain J. Gracie again stood up for the Armenians in response to Wardrope's instructions to reprimand the leaders of Yerevan for the fact that after the truce in Daralyagyaz, a military operation was provoked by Muslims, and heavy weapons were used in Zangezur that had nothing to do with the army, since these weapons were distributed in 1918 among Andranik's "partisans" by a British commissioned officer. Captain Gracie also accused Khosrov-bek Sultanov of new conspiracies, writing on December 12, 1919, that he would insist on taking measures to remove Khosrov-bek Sultanov from the Karabakh region, since he was a dangerous person.

Although it is worth saying that Wardrope and the American representative, Colonel James Ray, as if accusing both sides, tried to stop the bloody operations in Karabakh, Zangezur and other places, appealing to Prime Ministers Al. Khatisyan and N. Usubbekov with a demand to meet with each other and inform the Paris Armistice Commission, in connection with which the British Foreign Office considered it necessary to warn the Azerbaijani delegates in Paris, in response to which A. Crowe said that the Supreme Council knew little about the region and that only the warnings seem futile and no one is surprised that there were rational grounds. J.Gracie seems to have retained his sympathy for Armenia and Armenians. This is even evidenced by his speech on November 23, 1920, when the Republic of Armenia was going through difficult days, and J.Gracie had just returned from Yerevan. He conveys to the government a petition from the American Committee of Armenia asking the British Navy to introduce a permanent patrol service in the Black Sea and give the Sultan the authority to ratify the Treaty of Sevres. The Committee demanded that in the event of a possible revision of

the treaty, the articles relating to Armenia should not be weakened, and the revision of other provisions should be conditional on the removal of the Turks from all the lands that were provided to Armenia under the W.Wilson Arbitration, as well as the return of the seized weapons and ammunition, the payment of all reparations and compensation for all losses. However, the Foreign Ministry of Great Britain accepts the conditions of the Armenian committee presented to it with surprise and irritation, as if it did not concern them.<sup>6</sup>

However, it was so deceptive that the first Military Minister of the Republic of Armenia Hovh. Hakhverdyan disappointedly remembers: "Thomson was in no hurry to arrive in Yerevan, while the Armenian government was especially waiting for him, rightly assuming that the Armenian people, who fought the enemy to the end and remained loyal to the Allies, seemed to have the very right to special treatment from the Allies. During the first meeting with Gen. V. Thomson,<sup>7</sup> Qajaznuni made this clear. Thomson objected rather sharply that they had more important things to do than simply express sympathy, but then, Prime Minister Hovh. Qajaznuni told him about the government's upcoming plans, and Thomson changed his "anger" to mercy and declared that he was pleasantly surprised by the government's sober standpoints. It should be noted that such sober approach refers to the first period of Armenia's existence, when Qajaznuni served as a Prime Minister. Later, along with the apparent successes of Armenia's foreign policy and after the resignation of Qajaznuni, the approaches and way of thinking of the government led by the hotheads of the party (meaning the ARF Bureau-Government -V.V.) became more "aggressive",<sup>8</sup> but rather less harsh, not deeply thoughtful and carefully prudent rather than aggressive.

Returning to the strictly self-interested and self-centered policy of Great Britain in the Transcaucasus, it should be clearly stated that the first obvious proof of this was the creation of a neutral zone in Lori for Armenia immediately after the victorious Armenian-Georgian war, when the predominantly Armenian Lori was declared neutral against the will of its native Armenian population by British officer colonel N. Stewart.

However, the behavior of the British command and its military-political representation in Transcaucasus in the person of General V. Thomson and Shuttleworth,<sup>9</sup> was emphatically anti-Armenian especially in terms of artificially declared

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<sup>6</sup> Hovhannisyan 2007: 804-805.

<sup>7</sup> Thomson William Montgomery (December 2, 1878 - July 23, 1963) - Major General, from November 17, 1918 to 1919. On March 10 he was in command of the 39<sup>th</sup> Division, which occupied Baku, bringing with him about 2,000 soldiers from the British Indian Army, followed by his appointment as Governor of Baku.

<sup>8</sup> NAA, fund 45, inv. 1, file 32, sheets 3-4.

<sup>9</sup> Digby Inglis Shuttleworth (August 23, 1876-May 15, 1948) - British brigadier general known for his anti-Armenian activities in Karabakh. 1905 received the rank of captain. 1912-1916 he served with the rank of major in India, Mesopotamia and northwestern Iran, 1917-1919 he was the commander of the 39<sup>th</sup> infantry brigade in the Caucasus, in April-August 1919 he was involved in the withdrawal of British troops from Baku and Transcaucasus in general, being in warm relations with the leadership of Azerbaijan. D. Shuttleworth commanded all British forces in Azerbaijan, Petrovsk and Krasnovodsk. D. Shuttleworth in 1920 in Constantinople, he was a member of the Allied Control Commission of the military administration

right by British side disputed territories of Nagorno-Karabakh, Syunik-Zangezur and Nakhichevan between Azerbaijan and Armenia. Openly supporting Azerbaijan, Thomson and his supporters did everything they could to subjugate Nagorno-Karabakh and Zangezur to Azerbaijan, emphasizing British oil interests and mainly wanting to create a barrier against Russia, convinced that the Armenians, who were considered incorrigibly pro-Russian, should not be helped. This was done with a cynical openness, which sometimes surprised even the other allies of the Armenians, about which there is a very interesting observation in the May 20 report of the diplomatic representative of Azerbaijan in Yerevan, the famous Khan Tekinsky with his espionage activities against Armenia.<sup>10</sup>

“During lunch at my place, the representative of France in Armenia expressed his displeasure with the policy of the British, which was directed exclusively in favor of Azerbaijan, and mainly with the policy of Thomson, who managed to hand over Karabakh to Azerbaijan with his reports, which, according to the French, was an injustice. He then said that with the arrival of other allies, the policy would have to change. He openly expressed the sympathy of the French towards the Armenians, considering them somehow as an ally”.<sup>11</sup>

As for the sympathy expressed by the Transcaucasian representatives of France, Italy and other countries with much smaller weight, it must be said that it was also the case for the 2020 Armenian-Azerbaijani war with the support of Turkey, in which case it was a matter of declarative sympathy and impressive outbursts from the point of view of emotion. Their strategies on territorial disputes did not have radical or essential differences and were almost identical, they could propose more favorable conditions and solutions for Armenia.

Thus, it was obvious that after the end of the World War I and the forced withdrawal of Turkish troops from the Transcaucasus, the expected conditions for the implementation of Armenian plans were not created, although the borders of the Republic of Armenia which was founded under the Batumi Treaty had an incomparable expansion and included a number of parts of the Ararat valley, Surmalu, Alexandropol provinces, Kars Province not completely, the entire territory of the Republic of Armenia became about 45 thousand square meters from the initial 10-12 thousand square meters. However, it was not possible to more or less restore the ethnic-territorial integrity of the RA, from which Akhalkalak-Javakhk and the neutral zone of Lori, Nagorno-Karabakh and Sharur-Nakhijevan were left out, mainly due to the British efforts and the overt military support shown to Azerbaijan, with the delivery of weapons and ammunition, giving Azerbaijan the opportunity to claim the Arax Valley, and all this with the support and indulgence of the much-awaited and glorious Allies in Transcaucasus,

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of the Ottoman Empire and the commander of the 83<sup>rd</sup> infantry brigade during the Chanakian and Dardanelles crisis 1920-1923 during the unstable situation following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. In 1936 receives the military rank of Major General.

<sup>10</sup> Virabyan 2021: 51-81.

<sup>11</sup> NAA, fund 200, inv. 1, file 358, sheet 25.

Great Britain and other allies taking care to create a great and powerful Azerbaijan, which would block them from Bolshevik Russia, and not at all interested in a strong Armenia. On the contrary, until the end, they did nothing to help Armenia against the danger coming from the north, and at the moment of danger, they left and subordinated its interests to Azerbaijan, which was Bolshevized by the advice of M. Kemal, the leader of the Turkish extreme nationalist "Milli" movement. The British military and political representations and generals, with some reservations, only encouraged and militarily supported the separatist sentiments of the Muslim rebel regions, which undermined RA's positions in the region, causing enormous material and moral damage to the Armenian people, who, being weakened, could not face the challenges of the future.

According to R. Hovhannisyan, such position of Great Britain is due to an important circumstance. "At the end of 1918, they believed that the eastern Ottoman vilayets would be allocated to Armenia. Therefore, it seemed natural to view Karabakh and Zangezur as compensation for Azerbaijan, whose claims to western lands would be rejected. Several critics single out economic exploitation as the foremost factor in British politics.

... Great Britain managed to acquire thousands of tons of petroleum products worth millions of pounds. "Whether oil imperialism dictated British policy or not, in any case, economic factors could not be ignored."<sup>12</sup>

However, those very circumstances played a disastrous role in the fate of Transcaucasus. The South Caucasus was of utmost importance for the British colonial empire, primarily due to its geographical location, which made it possible to view the three Caucasian republics (Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan) as a "blocking barrier" against Russian and Turkish expansion in the Middle East and India,<sup>13</sup> considering also the rich oil and other resources in the South Caucasus region.

As the military and political representations of the Allies appeared in Transcaucasus and Armenia, the initially cautious approach was gradually replaced by open pro-Muslim practices, the interests of the British and other countries were more harmonized with Azerbaijan and Georgia than with Armenia, which appeared in the role of begging for help from the Allies, including in terms of the delivery of weapons and ammunition, which was shoddy, touchy and completely out of date. However, the possibility of an alternative was small, from time to time it was possible to find some batches of weapons and ammunition from the Volunteer Army of general A. Denikin in the south of Russia with difficulty, a part of which, about 27 percent, was confiscated by Georgia at the time of transit, to some extent from Greece, which itself was fighting against Turkey, etc., that is why the main hope remained on the allies of the World War I, the Entente, Great Britain and France, which, coming to Transcaucasus, quickly transformed, other interests appeared, pro-Azerbaijani and pro-Georgian, which RA did

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<sup>12</sup> Hovhannisyan 2005: 17-171.

<sup>13</sup> Hovhannisyan 1971: 269.

not quickly understand, let's say there was almost no other option. The foreign policy option remained suspended and strategic maneuvers failed one after the other.

Nevertheless, the creation of the national army was paramount, about which H. Qajaznuni says: "We had an army that was well armed with English weapons and dressed in English clothes, we had enough military supplies, and we had an important fortress like Kars in our hands."<sup>14</sup> Much of what was said is not true, because the Armenian army had severe shortages of weapons, rifles, and ammunition.

Those political speculations and games of the Allies could not be kept completely under wraps, something always leaked out from the veil of secrecy and became obvious to the socio-political and military circles. Representative of the Socialist-Revolutionary faction, deputy V. Minakhoryan, speaking at the Council of Armenia during the meeting on January 25, 1919, emphasizes that "not only the neighbors want to destroy us, but England does the same. It can be said that the responsibility for 99 percent of our misfortunes falls on the allies. Today, the only practical step of our parliament should be to show that we feel and understand all those deceptions of the allies."<sup>15</sup> We meet such a very remarkable testimony of the Armenian diplomatic representative of Tiflis. On September 1, 1919, the Secretary of the Parliament of Armenia H. Ter-Hakobyan says the following in his message: "From the writings of our delegation in Paris, it is clear that the British throughout their presence in the Caucasus were insincere towards us and systematically pursued a Muslim policy. Everywhere, as well as in the Caucasus, England conducts a covert Muslim policy."<sup>16</sup> In 1919, on March 6, RA Foreign Minister S. Tigranyan in the letter addressed to the chairman of the RA delegation in Paris A. Aharonyan, emphasized the following idea that "it seems that England does not want to rely on any Armenian power, because in its opinion, an Armenian is more Russian than a Russian, and one cannot rely on an Armenian when anything against Russia is being undertaken<sup>17</sup>," that the British "don't miss an opportunity to emphasize their aversion to the idea of a united Russia".<sup>18</sup>

In reality, it was much more complicated. From the telegram of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia on April 24, 1919, addressed to the diplomatic representative of Armenia in Tiflis, it becomes an obvious reality what behavior the British had, what interests and goals they had in the region and in particular in Armenia, which was trying to establish itself as a state, trying to get out of economic and political isolation and the clutches of hunger. Thus, it was mentioned that the British continue to take out cannons, shells, three-line bullets from Kars. The Minister of Foreign Affairs strongly interceded in the said telegram to the commander of the armed forces of the Entente countries in Transcaucasus, British General V.

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<sup>14</sup> Qajaznuni 1923: 41.

<sup>15</sup> NAA, fund 198, inv. 1, file 15, sheet 89.

<sup>16</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 97, sheet 126.

<sup>17</sup> NAA, fund 200, inv. 2, file 43, sheet 1.

<sup>18</sup> NAA, fund 200, inv. 1, file 181, I part, sheets 35-36.

Thomson to cease the withdrawal of these goods, because of dire necessity, and particularly of shells. The Minister of Foreign Affairs asked the diplomatic attaché of Armenia in Tiflis to take vigorous measures against the withdrawal of Armenian property, and at the same time, he discussed the issue of receiving clothing accessories for the needs of the army.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, another document states about this more emphatically.

On April 30, 1919, the Prime Minister of Armenia Al. Khatisyan, during a conversation with the British Commander-in-Chief in the East G. F. Milne,<sup>20</sup> protests against the withdrawal of military property, weapons, etc. from Kars by the British, demanding to stop it. To that, G. Milne answers very ambiguously that first of all - 1) as if "the war is over, there is no need to strengthen the army, that they fought for 4 years not to strengthen the army... it is enough to have not troops, but a good gendarmerie, 2) that there is a lot of everything in Kars, especially clothes, that not all the forts were seen there, and if the British took out the artillery and ammunition from there, then it was sent to the army of General Denikin, because Denikin is fighting against the Bolsheviks, and the Bolsheviks are considered by the British serious enemies for Armenia as well, and the remaining 2 million bullets will supposedly fully satisfy Armenia's needs,<sup>21</sup> which was not so, and Al. Khatisyan protested against it.

It should be said that the British general's point of view did not come from a realistic, non-calculative and comprehensive and uncorrupted accounting of all factors and a sober assessment of the real geopolitical situation, in which Armenia was at that time, surrounded by enemies. He did not take into consideration that in order to solve the problems of Armenia, not only a good police force was needed to solve internal problems, but mainly a well-armed and equipped army that could provide real security guarantees to the Armenian people. And finally, it became obvious from all this that everything was adapted to the state interests of Great Britain only, and this was already destructive from the point of view of ensuring the national-state security of the Republic of Armenia.

Moreover, the study of archival documents and various other documents clearly proves that the situation in that field was much more serious and complicated than it could be imagined at first glance. The British military representation in Armenia operated in a very discreet way, covering up and encrypting all the actions of a military and political nature undertaken by it. This anti-Armenian policy was expressed more

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<sup>19</sup> NAA, fund 200, inv. 1, file 211, I part, sheet 92.

<sup>20</sup> Milne George Francis (1866-1948) - general, from October, 1915 he headed the Thessaloniki expeditionary corps, and in May, 1916 he was appointed the commander-in-chief of the British forces in Macedonia, and after the armistice also in the Middle East and the Black Sea region. In 1920, on March 16, British troops under the leadership of Milne occupied Constantinople, introducing martial law there and the parliament was dissolved. In 1920 Milne was recalled from the Middle East, and beginning with February, 1926 he held the position of Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

<sup>21</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 101, sheet 48, inv. 114, sheet 196.

clearly and more openly later on, and particularly in the fact that the British, despite the appeal of the Armenian side and the sharp position of General Tovmas Nazarbekyan, in the middle of 1919 still continued to take away from Kars cannons (more than 60 pieces), large quantities of shells, bullets, undertook the withdrawal of automobile equipment, cotton and other property, and moved it to Musavat Baku to reinforce General Lazar Bicherakhov's<sup>22</sup> army.<sup>23</sup> The fact that the British military authorities withdrew more than 60 cannons and a large amount of shells and bullets, automobile equipment, cotton and other property from Kars left a bad impression in the sense that it was addressed not only to Denikin but also, perhaps, only to the Azerbaijanis. Captain A. Poidebard<sup>24</sup> addresses this issue as well, mentioning the seizure of weapons by the Turks from the Russian arsenal in Kars, and instead of handing them over to the RA government, 65 cannons, six wagons of shells and several million bullets were sent to Tiflis, as a result of which the Armenians were deprived of the weapons and ammunition that are very necessary to protect the resettled immigrants. At the same time, Poidebard found that the British command had to take into consideration the power of the anti-Armenian Muslim organization created by the commander of the Turkish army, General Shevki Pasha, in Kars immediately after the armistice, the propaganda of Turkish agents.<sup>25</sup>

The RA Minister of Foreign Affairs also intervenes in the case. On April 24, 1919, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia in a telegram (N 1327) addressed to the diplomatic attaché of Armenia in Tiflis, stressed that the British continued to take out shells, three-line bullets, etc. from Kars. At the same time, he requested to intercede with General V.Thomson to stop this, citing their great need, and especially the need for shells and bullets.<sup>26</sup> It is clear from a number of documents that even the rank-and-file officers of the British were not very respectful, and sometimes simply showed an incorrect attitude towards the main staff and command of the Armenian Army. The British brought out not only from Kars, but also from Sarighamish

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<sup>22</sup> Lazar F. Bicherakhov (Russian, November 15 (27), 1882, Saint Petersburg, Russian Empire - June 22, 1952, Dornstadt, Germany), Russian officer, participant of the World War I and Civil War in Russia. George Bicherakhov's brother. At the beginning of 1918, he formed a small detachment (about thousand people) in Persia, serving with the British. In July 1918, the detachment left the port of Bandare Anzali by sea for Baku and joined the Turkish-Azerbaijani forces defending the city (where the Baku Commune ruled at that time). During the attack of Turkish-Azerbaijani-Dagestan troops on Baku, Bicherakhov and his squad retreated to Dagestan on July 30, 1918, where they captured Derbent and Port-Petrovsk (Makhachkala) with the help of the British. In January 1919, Bicherakhov's detachment moved to Batumi, where it was formed in April 1919. The personnel and property of the detachment was transferred to the replenishment of AFSR. In 1920 he immigrated to Great Britain - Bezugolny 2011: 25.

<sup>23</sup> Mahmuryan 2002: 64-65; Karapetyan 1999: 92-93; Hovhannisyan 2005: 243-245; Armenian soldier 1994, June, N 10 (24).

<sup>24</sup> Antoine Poidebard (1878-1955) - archaeologist, historian, pilot, cartographer, missionary who knew Armenian well, Ter-Minasyan 2004.

<sup>25</sup> Ter-Minasyan 2004: 90.

<sup>26</sup> NAA, fund 200, inv. 1, file 92, sheets 208-209.

and Alexandropol the above mentioned ammunition, as well as railway property, machines, locomotives, wagons, etc.

It should also be added that General Nazarbekyan, protesting against these actions, believed that the actions of the Brigadier General, head of British intelligence in the Caucasus V. H. Beach<sup>27</sup> are completely incomprehensible, in addition to the fact that the property taken out of Kars by trains by British individuals, especially the railway property, was being taken to Georgia for resale. In this connection, a question was also raised through Major Charles to urgently request General V. Thomson to prohibit illegal export of the above-mentioned products.<sup>28</sup> However, according to another version, as claimed by R. Hovhannisyan, according to the explanation given by General G. N. Cory<sup>29</sup> (V. Thomson's successor) to the Georgian government, the Kars ammunition was not intended for the Volunteer Army, but allegedly for the Turkmen forces fighting against the Bolsheviks.<sup>30</sup> About that action, based upon M. Silikyan's report, T. Nazarbekyan and Chief of Staff, Major General H. Hakhverdyan, on May 2, 1919, reported to the Military Minister K. Araratyan: "All this leaves a depressing impression on the army and the people, especially since this property is sent to Baku, which may appear in the hands of the Azerbaijani government".<sup>31</sup>

However, not being satisfied with that, they also took out the N 3 armored train, which was in Kars, as reported by Major General Silikyan to the Commander-in-Chief of the RA troops, T. Nazarbekyan, in his report dated May 4, 1919.<sup>32</sup> In this report, Major General M. Silikyan protested against similar unfriendly actions on the part of the British command and requested the Commander-in-Chief to initiate a petition for the recovery of all the property they had taken.<sup>33</sup>

General Nazarbekyan received the head of the Alexandropol group of troops M. Silikyan's aforementioned report, on May 5, 1919 (N 0060 / 0228) addressed to the Minister of Military Affairs, in which he asked the minister to mediate the return of the taken weapons and ammunition, the rest of the property and to stop their withdrawal without the permission of the Government of the Republic of Armenia<sup>34</sup>. Finally, the Minister of Defense presents the above-mentioned letter to the Prime Minister, waiting for the necessary order in this regard. The document was signed by the Minister of Military Affairs Major General Araratyan and the acting Chief of General Staff and one of

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<sup>27</sup> Beach William - the head of British military intelligence in Transcaucasus, considered the head of the political bureau of the headquarters of the British occupation forces in the Caucasus and Transcaucasus, brigadier general.

<sup>28</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 158, sheet 4, fund 200, inv. 1, file 92, sheet 251, file 299, sheets 4, 7.

<sup>29</sup> George Norton Cory (1874-1968) - Major-General, from May 10, 1919 to September 6, 1919, he was the commander of the 27<sup>th</sup> Division and in general all British troops in Transcaucasus, until their withdrawal from this region.

<sup>30</sup> Hovhannisyan 2005: 244.

<sup>31</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 158, sheet 4.

<sup>32</sup> NAA, fund 199, inv. 1, file 67 (77), sheet 20.

<sup>33</sup> NAA, fund 199, inv. 1, file 67 (77), sheet 20.

<sup>34</sup> NAA, fund 199, inv. 1, file 67 (77), sheet 20, fund 200, inv. 1, file 92, sheet 251.



the main organizers of the intelligence work in Armenia, Colonel Zinkevich (N 00921)<sup>35</sup>. In addition, a corresponding order is made to send copies of this document to the delegation of the Republic of Armenia in Paris (May 6, 1919, N 1553) and the Diplomatic Representative of the Republic of Armenia in Constantinople.<sup>36</sup>

The confirmation of this reality becomes evident from the telegram of the diplomatic representative of Azerbaijan in Armenia, Khan-Tekinsky, sent on May 10, 1919, to the president of the government, F. Khan-Khoysky. "On the pretext that the Bolsheviks are threatening Baku, ask the British to transfer from Kars to Baku"<sup>37</sup>. And it is very likely that one of the main reasons for the heavy and disastrous defeat suffered by the Republic of Armenia during the Turkish-Armenian war, which began on September 23, 1920, and, in particular, the inglorious fall of Kars on October 30, are the anti-Armenian actions of the British. During the meeting at the Armenian government on June 7, 1919, Al. Khatisyan demands from English General G. Cory to stop the illegal removal of military property from Kars, as it was RA property. For that reason, General Silikyan stopped the British train, which General Thomson used as an excuse to justify the removal of military property from the fortress of Kars<sup>38</sup>. The solution to that problem was of great importance from the point of view of strengthening the defense capability of the Republic of Armenia, and it was this circumstance that the RA Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs focused on in the letter dated August 11, 1920 (N 3155) addressed to the British military representative: "At the moment when the government of the Republic is forced to organize its army in order to suppress the Tatar rebellion on the one hand and to protect its borders from the attacks of Kurdish and Turkish guerrilla groups on the other hand, at the moment when it receives munitions from the British command, taking the munitions out of Armenia would be a blow to the Armenian people, its security. The British representatives do not allow the Armenian military authorities of Kars to undertake necessary steps and make the fortress of Kars capable of defense".<sup>39</sup>

Complaints of the RA government continue. In a letter to British military representative in Yerevan, His Excellency Colonel Sh. Baldwin, dated August 11, 1919 (N 3155), the Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, informing that General Biramov and the governor of Kars had informed that Captain Evechel of the British army and two officers of Denikin's army had come to Kars to take cannons and munitions from there.

At almost the same time, the British Ministry of Defence simply rejected the RA government's request to establish a factory for the production of ammunition for small

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<sup>35</sup> Mikhail M. Zinkevich, colonel [03.01.1883 - 24.12.1944] - Until 07.1918 was in the Transcaucasus (chief of staff of the Armenian Corps). 09. 1918 - 1920 was in the Volunteer Army, actually on a permanent mission in the Republic of Armenia, the Chief of Staff of the Armenian Army, Chief of the General Staff of the RA Military Ministry. Ganin 2009: 227, 460, 593, 727, 835.

<sup>36</sup> NAA, fund 200, inv. 1, file 92, sheets 251- 252.

<sup>37</sup> NAA, fund 200, inv. 1, file 92, file 299, sheet 7.

<sup>38</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 114, sheet 196.

<sup>39</sup> NAA, fund 200, inv. 1, file 92, sheet 357a.

arms. Back on August 28, 1919, the military advisor of the RA delegation to the Paris Peace Assembly, General G. Ghorghanyan<sup>40</sup> having meetings with representatives of the British Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Defense, requests military aid and support. For this purpose, on September 1, he met with Colonel William Gibbon and presented him the information about the military forces of the Republic of Armenia, and then handed it over to the Minister of Defense W. Churchill, in which it was reported that there are 17,729 soldiers, 824 officers, 3 armored vehicles in the RA army, as well as 4843 horses<sup>41</sup>. In November 1919, H. Ohanjanyan and General G. Ghorghanyan, as part of the peace delegation of the Republic of Armenia in Europe, in Leeds, England, studied the possibility of buying a factory that could produce 12,000 bullets per day, but it turned out that the cost was high.

On December 27, 1919 (N 220/c.o), RA Prime Minister A.I. Khatisyan in a letter addressed to Captain Gracie, the representative of Great Britain in Transcaucasus, stated that they are encouraged by the attitude of the allies, the British government gives them financial, material and organizational support, which is quite reasonable. He notes about the following necessary things: 1) radiograph management and assistant specialists, 2) air fleet 3) army "ammunition"-clothing manufacturing factory, 4) a high-ranking military officer with several assistants in the position of general instructors of the army. To overcome these difficulties, A.I. Khatisyan, on behalf of the RA government, asked the British government for a loan of one million pounds at an affordable interest rate, saying that they would come to a separate agreement on the details. A.I. Khatisyan assured that they would pay back the mentioned loan in installments. He emphasized on behalf of the Government that these needs are urgent and they believe that the British government will have a favorable attitude towards this issue, stressing that they need specialists and experienced leaders in several branches.<sup>42</sup>

On April 7, 1920, General G. Ghorghanyan again raises the issue of purchasing the bullet factory, urging Av. Aharonyan to allocate the money collected for these purposes at least to buy a small factory with used equipment, which could produce up to 50 thousand bullets per day, while asking the latter for permission to continue negotiations in Leeds to start a more modest venture with a company there. James Malcolm submitted the issue of the founding of such a factory in Armenia under consideration of the British government, which we learn about from the April 27 memorandum. J. Malcolm expresses himself in favor of the desire of the Republic of Armenia to produce its own munitions, offering to transport the necessary equipment to Armenia along with the intended weapons. The British War Office, which was wary of providing Armenia with even one shipment of weapons, rejects Armenia's request. On May 12, Colonel V. H. Gibbon informs J. Malcolm that after reviewing the issue "the

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<sup>40</sup> Gabriel G. Ghorghanyan [3.05.1880 - 8.01.1954]. He was born in the family of a nobleman; his father was Major General G. G. Ghorghanyan. Since the declaration of the First Republic, Ghorghanyan has been involved in diplomatic work as a military adviser.

<sup>41</sup> Galoyan 1999: 172-173.

<sup>42</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 101, sheets 100-101.

Army Council does not find it appropriate to support in this way”, finding that “the supply of such equipment is not necessarily in the interests of Armenia in the long term”, in connection with which even some employees of the British Foreign Office come to the opinion that it will be difficult to convince the Armenians that the British want to help the Armenians.<sup>43</sup>

On May 20, 1920, RA Prime Minister H. Ohanjanyan, the diplomatic representative of Armenia in Georgia T. Bekzadyan was asked by the British military representative in Transcaucasus, Colonel Stokes'<sup>44</sup> deputy, through Commander Harry Luke, to report to Paris, where Aharonyan was, that the British government had authorized him and Poghos Nubar to give a bond of up to one million pounds at 5 percent for 12 months for arms and equipment sold by the British government to the Armenian government.<sup>45</sup>

Another high-ranking British official, A. McDonnell was convinced that it would be a fundamental mistake to arm Armenia and not to arm the other republics of the Caucasus, finding that such a move would nullify all sympathy for them both in Georgia and Azerbaijan, that it was this policy of supporting the Armenian armed forces in 1917 that threw Georgia and the Tatars [Azerbaijani] into the arms of their enemies, saying at the same time that refusing to supply arms to Azerbaijan would deprive them of any influence over that people, and they would certainly try to get arms from elsewhere, and if the only people receiving arms were the Armenians, they would certainly try to act in their own way.<sup>46</sup>

Various authors and military specialists have recorded many times that, naturally, in such a situation, the armed forces of the Republic of Armenia could not effectively organize the defense of the country. Stokes stated that they refrained from supplying arms and munitions to the three republics, which would have enabled them to face various threats, including the Bolshevik threat, but at the same time emphasizing the securing of their economic and political interests in the Transcaucasian region.<sup>47</sup>

One thing was bad, that in the absence of an alternative, the calculations in many cases were based on the expected help from the Entente allies, which was well noticed by R. Hovhannisyan. “And indeed, the British infantry unit composed of Englishmen, Scotsmen and the formidable Indian Gurkha, Rajput and Punjab soldiers was the only visible external support for all the Transcaucasian republics against the renewed encroachment of the Turks from the south and the penetration of the Russians from the

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<sup>43</sup> Hovhannisyan 2015: 413.

<sup>44</sup> Stokes Claude Bayfield (October 27, 1875 - December 7, 1948) - In 1907-1911 he was a military attaché in Tehran, served for many years in Asia as the intelligence department of the General Staff of the British Indian Army from the beginning of the World War I.

<sup>45</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 231, sheets 126-127.

<sup>46</sup> Hovhannisyan 2015: 406-407.

<sup>47</sup> Galoyan 1999: 188.

north”,<sup>48</sup> the announcement of the subsequent gradual withdrawal from Transcaucasus in August-September 1920 “just spread appalling across the entire Caucasus”.<sup>49</sup>

In 1920, in general, in the Armenian political-military field, as well as among the top political and military officials of the Allies, there was a half-hearted mentality that the Armenian state, which was being created and was showing development tendencies, could not be viable without Western Armenia and universally guaranteed access to the sea. It was also obvious that this calculation was built solely on external support, particularly military support, which was a pending issue. It was also clear internally that the Allies had practically failed the issue of taking over the guardianship or mandate over Armenia, and had left the option of military assistance actually. The allies, not wanting to take a direct part in these issues, shifted the center of gravity to the sphere of arms and munitions transfer to the Armenian armed forces, even though they did not show sufficient consistency and compassion here. It meant leaving the men of the Armenian state with the difficult task of opening a way for themselves and fitting into the world community of nations, being satisfied with ineffective and paper-declarative hollow words.

It became obvious that the Allies, even in the pre-August period, were not determined enough to complete the Versailles process with Germany, and even more so to be determined to the end with Turkey, in particular for its disarmament and the imposition of a full version of peace. Therefore, it seems that the British and their war office, having moved the center of gravity to the field of weapons and ammunition transfer to the armed forces of Armenia, had uncertain approaches, moreover, they connected it with the processes of withdrawing their troops from Batumi and the Transcaucasus. The British intention to subjugate the Armenian army had been a matter of contention for months in the cabinets of the British War Office, it was not aimed at strengthening the Armenian state, but was more aimed at blocking the South Caucasus from Bolshevik Russia, although there were strange deviations here as well. It was related to the long-range strategy of the British cabinet, allegedly for the sake of securing appropriate trade and economic interests with Soviet Russia for the beginning, or in the case of Turkey, in the case of new military-political developments, to support their ambiguous intentions to have their military-political interests in the Middle Eastern region.

Throughout 1919 and the first half of 1920, the RA delegates made attempts to “convince” the Allies to show proper determination to go all the way in the restrictions against Turkey stipulated by Mudros, but they did not take any serious measures to deprive Turkey of the huge reserves of arms and ammunition that it had and practically did not prevent the Turks from taking possession of the extremely rich warehouses of munitions and weapons, artillery, and firearms left in Erzurum after the retreat of the Russian army. Moreover, the Turks, taking advantage of the allies' indecisiveness,

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<sup>48</sup> Hovhannisyan 2014: 23.

<sup>49</sup> Hovhannisyan 2014: 23.

insufficient consistency, and the almost absence of control operations, in order to undermine the foundations of the newly created Armenian state and military forces, in order to fulfill their intentions to create a foothold in the Caucasus in the form of Azerbaijan and Georgia, sent agents, spies, to provide arms and ammunition to the anti-Armenian forces, forming insurgent-rebellious forces in different regions of Armenia, inciting them to oppose the pro-Armenian decisions of the allied states and the Paris Peace Assembly.

The situation was getting worse, because Azerbaijan and Georgia in particular became the owners of the rich heritage left after the collapse of the Russian Empire: Russian imperial arsenals, munitions and other property, which did not satisfy them, and even after the defeat of the White armies, the Georgians and Azerbaijanis took possession of their huge stocks of weapons and munitions. General G. Ghorghanyan in the cabinets of the British Ministry of Defense, trying to ensure the resolution of the issues of finding military support and inviting military instructors for the reorganization and modernization of the Armenian army, linking the needs and capabilities of the armed forces with the liberation of Western Armenia and the gradual establishment of the Armenian state there, still did not achieve the expected results. G. Ghorghanyan did not receive any real promises and commitments from the British War Office,<sup>50</sup> and the Minister of Defense W. Churchill had an unenthusiastic premonition that any munitions would end up only in the hands of the Red Army and the Turkish nationalists, which made sense, since the British Cabinet had already adopted a different strategy, deciding to pull the defensive line back to the railway tracks in Palestine, Mesopotamia and Birjand in north-eastern Persia, and under such conditions it was considered expensive and dangerous to maintain an isolated British garrison at Batumi. This was explained by the advance of the Red Army and the threat of a joint Soviet-Turkish invasion, which would endanger the small number of British troops and force the British unit to leave Batumi in an inglorious manner.<sup>51</sup> However, it is quite another thing to claim that, as stated in an archive document, the British Government provided the Armenian army with weapons and ammunition for a 40,000-strong army, which at the prices of that time was worth 1,200,000 pounds.<sup>52</sup> but as accurately stated by Al. Khatisyan, “the Armenians accused the British of the fact that the weapon arrived too late, that the weapon was not of the type that the Armenian soldiers were used to, and these accusations and dissatisfaction coincided with the disastrous outcome of the Armenian-Turkish War in the autumn of 1920”.<sup>53</sup>

By the way, the 22 airplanes bought by the Ankara government in Germany were delivered to Turkey through the territory of Russia without any customs and tax duties. From the port of Novorossiysk, the planes were quickly brought to the Turkish coast by

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<sup>50</sup> Hovhannisyan 2015: 398.

<sup>51</sup> Hovhannisyan 2015: 399, 404.

<sup>52</sup> NAA, fund 200, inv. 1, file 498, sheet 768, fund 199, inv. 1, file 146, sheet 96. Khatisyan 1968: 183.

<sup>53</sup> Khatisyan 1968: 183.

the ship "Shakhin" in great secrecy. The delivery of the planes coincided with the attack of the Turkish army, they were successfully deployed on the Anatolian front.

In the same way, arms and ammunition were sent from Novorossiysk to Turkey. Three Soviet submarines were used for the transportation of diplomatic delegations and envoys between Sevastopol and Inebulu.<sup>54</sup> On March 27, 1920, French Marshal Foch wrote to the Turkish government: "Russia's continued sea supplies at any cost, as well as the unprecedented self-sacrifice of the Turkish people, will never put them in a difficult situation." According to modern researchers, in total, Russia provided assistance to the national liberation movement of Turkey in the amount of about 80 million Turkish golden liras, which was more than half of the Mejlis budget in the early 1920s.

Soviet specialists helped to regulate military production. Under their leadership, two gunpowder factories were built, and Russia provided financial assistance to purchase field printers and film equipment. M. V. Frunze handed over 100,000 roubles in gold to the Turkish authorities in Trabzon to build an orphanage for children who lost their parents during the war. An abstract from M.K. Atatürk's letter to Lenin states: "In terms of history, filled with the bloody wars that took place for centuries between the Turks and the Russians, such a rapid reconciliation between us astonished other nations. Turkey is closer to Russia, especially the Russia of recent months, than to Western Europe. Turkey will not back down from its course towards Soviet Russia, and all rumors to the contrary are baseless. I assure you that we will never sign an agreement or enter into an alliance directly or indirectly against Soviet Russia."<sup>55</sup>

In this regard, professor of political science and history E. Andersen, and the researcher from Georgian Technical University and State University, cartographer-historian G. Partkhaladze have a very interesting standpoint: "The naivety of the political leadership of Armenia was also expressed in the development of relations with the South Caucasian neighbors, Georgia and Azerbaijan. Here the leaders of Armenia assumed that the territorial conflicts that had arisen would be resolved by the great powers in their favor as a reward for the Armenian efforts during the war and accordingly refused to resolve them through negotiations with the neighbors. As a result of such an approach, Armenia's military conflict with Georgia at the end of 1918 caused significant damage to both, and a long "hybrid" war began between Armenia and Azerbaijan for control of the disputed territories of Karabakh, Zangezur and Nakhichevan, which was accompanied by the most brutal ethnic cleansing and was partially interrupted only by the fall of the two republics. During those conflicts, the command of the British armed forces, which was entrusted with the exercise of control over the Eastern Mediterranean region (the former territories of the Ottoman Empire, the Caucasus and the Northern Mediterranean region) and assumed the role of "objective and honest mediator", actually stood by the side of oil-rich Azerbaijan, in

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<sup>54</sup> Embassy Russia in Ankara: 2021.

<sup>55</sup> Embassy of Russia in Ankara: 2021.

particular when the Karabakh issue was on the agenda.”<sup>56</sup> Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as the conflict that arose parallel to it and was provoked by the efforts of the British military-political mission based on the right of the owner in the Transcaucasus and the Republic of Armenia and by the hollow declarative regulations, and later exacerbated by the imperial policy of even more Bolshevik Russia, with the foci of new conflicts in Sharur-Nakhijevan, Syunik-Zangezur and other legal territories of Armenia, became a permanent conflict and a process threatening the Transcaucasus, the roots of which with some intervals come from the depth of almost 100 years, again became a topic of severe tension during the Azerbaijani-Turkish aggression against Armenia in the autumn of 2020, at the same time acquiring new colors of tension and features in the conditions of deaf solidarity of European countries and the Russian Federation:

1) Turkey was involved in the active conflict, including the elite Turkish Special Forces, which had been trained in punitive operations against the Kurds, enjoying the concession of NATO, thus becoming an important factor threatening the peace of the region.

2) Russia’s new position was sudden and can be interpreted from the starting point of the strategy of imperialism, which openly repelled and alienated Armenia, and unlike the 1991-1994 war, when it seemed to favor the Armenian side in some issues in the Karabakh problem, which was a result of its unstable and unclear geopolitical situation, in 2020 did not show any significant support to Armenia within the framework of the existing alliance, and even on the contrary, openly supported Azerbaijan, strengthening close and friendly ties with Turkey, as it was during the 1920-1921 cooperation, and the main propagandists of the Moscow Kremlin without hesitation put the blame for the Karabakh conflict on the Republic of Armenia, claiming that Azerbaijan only “liberated” its legally “occupied territories.” As a result, what happened was what the Allied European-Entente powers did in 1918-1920, using the human and other resources of the Armenian people during the war, they began to consider the small, but rich in natural resources, Armenia as a saucer full of problems, not at all in a hurry and not wanting to meet its just territorial demands, even questioning the existence of its independent statehood and the preservation of territorial integrity within its current borders.

The peculiarity of the 1918-1920 situation and the developments had such content that no matter how much the government of the Republic of Armenia made its best, as it was not sufficiently experienced in only two years, not much could be achieved. Moreover, we should mention about the black gold of Baku, the oil, on which the British focused on. The Republic of Armenia born in Sardarapat was shattered, and Russia, together with Turkey, left only a small, fragmented Armenia to survive under the Soviet veil, under the dictates of the Moscow Kremlin. Azerbaijan took Artsakh-Syunik, Nakhichevan and other territories from Armenia with the active support of Bolshevik

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<sup>56</sup> Andersen, Partskhaladze 2020; Virabyan: 2021: 72.

Russia, Great Britain, and Turkey, and during that time many Russian and Georgian officers and soldiers served in the Azerbaijani army.

Naturally, in those years, it was not possible to arm the more or less complete Armenian army, provide it with military equipment, the obstacles and biased solutions were numerous.

On March 10, 1919 (N 60) in Georgia, the military attaché of the RA, Major General H. Kishmishyan<sup>57</sup> reported in the secret report submitted to the Minister of Defense that he together with the RA diplomatic commissioner in Tiflis L. Yevangulyan and Umikyan, left for Batumi to receive the bullets, artillery shells, as well as the French airplanes brought by the steamer "Cossack" and transport them to Armenia. It was said that upon arriving in Batumi, they hear the declaration of the British command that they do not have the right to allow the transportation of bullets and shells. They applied to General Milne for permission. RA military attache in Tiflis, General H. Kishmishyan informed that in the conditions of such an attitude of the English command, he and Yevangulyan made a mutual decision to send the cargo to Poti. However, due to the fact that the crew of the steamer was in a Bolshevik mood and threatened to throw the cargo into the sea, they hired a special guard of three people, who, together with two Cossacks, were supposed to guard the cargo until it reached Poti, accompanied by an officer of the Volunteer Army and Second Lieutenant Umikyan, who was to take care of sending the cargo to Armenia. Referring to the issue of airplanes, General Kishmishyan reported that the British command has again created obstacles on the way to transfer them to Armenia, again insisting that they should contact General Milne. It was said that the negotiations conducted together with Yevangulyan and Umikyan in order to resolve the issue did not lead to any results, based on which they requested the support of the RA Military Minister.<sup>58</sup>

On March 24, 1920 (N 71), General Kishmishyan informed the Chief of the RA General Staff that the cargo with bullets and shells was not even allowed to be unloaded at the port by the order of the British command of Batumi, and the steamer "Cossack" was sent to Poti for a raid, from where the cargo had to be loaded into wagons to send to Armenia.<sup>59</sup> Already on March 29, 1920 (N 71), General Kishmishyan in a letter addressed to the Assistant Minister of Defense of Georgia reported that according to the verbal negotiations between Minister of Defense Lordkipanidze and Yevangulyan, he had the honor to ask not to reject the written order, so that the Georgian government would not create obstacles in case of transit through Georgia<sup>60</sup>.

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<sup>57</sup> Hovsep A. Kishmishyan (Kishmishev) (born in Tiflis, 1881 - 1921). Was an assistant prosecutor of the Caucasus Military District Court in 1916-1917, and a military representative (military attaché) of the diplomatic representation of the Republic of Armenia in Georgia from July 1919. - Virabyan 2015: 37-42, 50-52, 151-153, 258- 267 etc. Gogitidze, Bezhitashvili 2014: 64.

<sup>58</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 209, sheets 60-60.

<sup>59</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 209, sheet 68.

<sup>60</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 209, sheet 82.



On April 3, 1920 (N 100), in the report submitted to the Minister of Military Affairs, General Kishmishyan reported that the complete device and 4 new English-made 1916 “Sopwich Triplan”<sup>61</sup> destroyer airplanes, which were imported by the Georgian authorities, are in their hangars.<sup>62</sup>

On April 5, 1920 (N 110), General Kishmishyan reported on the receipt of 1,200,000 bullets and artillery property sent from the Volunteer Army by the steamer “Cossack”, which arrived in Batumi on March 5 and encountered obstacles from the British to settle it. Kishmishyan and Umikyan are going to Batumi to find means to deliver them to Poti, while having the Deputy Military Minister General Prince A. K. Gedevanov’s<sup>63</sup> assurance that the necessary orders have been made by him. Meanwhile, the representative of the Volunteer Army, General Porokhonsky, comes forward, allowing the steamer “Cossack” to go to Poti, on the condition that the ship will be supplied with coal, but the British do not allow it to stop in the port and sent it to sail. However, it doesn’t help either, because they fail to convince the British, who this time claim that they cannot release the cargo without a written agreement from the Georgian government, to solve which, Umikyan goes to Tiflis and meets with Gedevanov to get permission.

The ship arrives in Poti on March 21. The People's Guard intervenes in the course of the case and a new misunderstanding occurs, which declares that without permission of N. Zhordania and V. Jughely the cargo will not be released from Poti. In the current situation, Umikyan leaves for Tiflis, and together with Prince Mikael Tumanyan,<sup>64</sup> advisor of the RA diplomatic representation in Georgia, goes to meet with the assistant of the Georgian Foreign Minister Karpivadze, who informs that it is not allowed to transport military goods in transit, that they put veto also on the Azerbaijani cargo. Umikyan disputes that question, saying that Georgia acted like that in terms of the transit cargo of Azerbaijan in connection with some events that took place at the Yalam station. The Georgian side reports that they reached an agreement as a result of the negotiations conducted by Yevangulyan with Lordkipanidze. At that time, Karpivadze announced that if the Armenian side gives at least 50 thousand bullets to Georgia, then they will find it possible to tell Azerbaijan that they have seized part of the cargo, to which the Armenian side categorically refuses. However, two days later, Karpivadze informs that all obstacles have been overcome, and Umikyan was received by the Chairman of the Government of Georgia, informing him about the obstacles. On March 26, Zhordania gave his consent and handed him a letter signed by the Secretary of the Council of Ministers Tsitsadze, after which Umikyan left for Poti.

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<sup>61</sup> Hovhannisyan 2005: 14.

<sup>62</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 209, sheet 108.

<sup>63</sup> General A. K. Gedevanov (16.02.1870 -1933, general since 1914) - Jamalian 1928: 85; Gogitidze 2001: 74; Hayazn, Ghazaryan 2009: 290.

<sup>64</sup> Mikael G. Tumanyan (b. November 28, 1887, Tiflis). A lawyer by profession. In 1930s was the last victim of Stalinist violence. M. Tumanyan was an adviser to the RA diplomatic mission in Tiflis, actually being the second person after the diplomatic chargé d'affaires.

However, the events took a surprising turn again, because Umikyan had not yet reached Poti, when on March 29, Zhordania's telegram (N 1198) was received with the order to immediately take the cargo to the Tiflis arsenal. The Armenian guard was removed, the keys of 14 locks were taken from Umikyan. Everything starts again, Umikyan meets with Karpivadze and receives his assurance that there are no more obstacles and the Armenian side can receive the cargo from Tiflis. On March 29, General H. Kishmishyan meets with Gedevanov and negotiates again, after which on March 31 General Gedevanov orders an armed guard of 10 men and an officer to accompany the cargo to Sanahin, which reaches Armenia on April 8, despite countless obstacles from the Georgian side.<sup>65</sup>

On July 1, 1920 (No. 3), Colonel R. Martirosyan, on behalf of the representatives of the RA Military Ministry, informed the Minister of Defense that on May 17, according to the order, they left for Crimea, Sevastopol, where the Russian army representation was located, as well as the RA diplomatic representation. They tried to receive from Colonel Turbin information regarding the Artillery Department, as the Russian side promised to show support. Despite the difficulties of the Russian army in Crimea, however, Colonel Turbin promised to support by giving one million bullets for Armenian needs, adding that in a few days he will be able to provide another 2 million bullets.<sup>66</sup> It was reported that Lieutenant Umikyan arrived in Sevastopol on July 4, who, together with Saghatelyan presented General Shatilov, assistant commander-in-chief, new demands. Only on July 4, Umikyan was attacked by the authorities as a result of his separate activities, and said that the representatives of the RA government, on behalf of General Kishmishyan and others, had reached an agreement with the Georgian military ministry to share the munitions from Crimea, and until then, they decide to take the promised 3 million bullets on the ship "Phoenix", as was agreed with Yervand Ter-Minasyan in Batumi.

The two Armenian military representatives acted separately from each other, and it was too problematic, but both sides were interested in the issue and wanted to resolve it as soon as possible, using the transit provided by Georgia. However, it was reported by Colonel Martirosyan, they were meeting in Crimea with another representative group of the RA Military Ministry, Captain Aniyev and M. Makaryan, which were authorized by the Military Minister, without waiting for information from the RA representative in Tiflis about those, who were already in Crimea. Satisfaction was expressed that thanks to the agreement reached by their representative office in Tbilisi with the Government of Georgia, it was possible to solve the issue of 3 million bullets, dividing it equally between Georgia and Armenia, and moreover, it was possible to get aluminum under certain conditions, assuring that in the near future it will be possible to get another million bullets, if the course of events would be favorable for the Armenian representatives. It was emphasized that the responsibility of receiving those bullets was

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<sup>65</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 209, sheets 114-116.

<sup>66</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 154, sheets 204, 207.

placed on Umikyan, who remained in Crimea to finish the negotiations. In addition, they receive a promise from Turbin that in the near future they will also receive a thousand machine guns, cannon bombs and other generally necessary munitions.<sup>67</sup>

On July 24, 1920 (N 1292), the assistant to the Military Minister of the RA, acting Chief of the General Staff, went on a business trip, receiving General Hovh. Hakhverdyan's resolution, stating that according to General Kishmishyan, Lieutenant Umikyan, according to the order of the Minister of Defense, was sent to South Russia to purchase a large amount of ammunition. Baghdasaryan set the problem of finding out the course of the business trip of Captain Aniyev and M.Makaryan, because he personally did not know about it. Baghdasaryan reported that he only learned that they went to Theodosia to bring back the 500,000 bullets already bought and taken by Shkuro. It was recorded that if General Kishmishyan knew about this before giving additional assignment to Aniyev and Makaryan, then, of course, he should have instructed Lieutenant Umikyan to arrive in Crimea, first of all find Aniyev and Makaryan and act in full cooperation with them. A question was raised that if General Kishmishyan knew about the new assignment given to Aniyev and Makaryan, then the misunderstanding was the omission of him and Umikyan. On July 24, B. Baghdasaryan, Acting Chief of the General Staff, sent copies of this letter to the General Artillery Department on behalf of the Military Minister, with a request to inform him regarding the report addressed to the Military Minister, which was done.<sup>68</sup>

However, the problem does not end there. In connection with this case, Military Minister R. Ter-Minasyan ordered on July 27, 1920 (Bx 1321) to check the following: 1) on what basis were Aniyev and Makaryan allegedly already delegated, and Umikyan was sent along with them with new instructions and new conditions, 2) why there was a contradiction and dualism in the case, 3) then it is required to inform General Kishmishyan.<sup>69</sup>

On August 11, 1919 (N 8), the representative of the Military Ministry of the RA in Tiflis, military attaché General Kishmishyan, in a report sent to the Military Minister, states that the Armenian troops are in need of three-line bullets, he and the mission's advisor M. Tumanyan appealed to the British High Command with the request. It was reported that in response to their petition, they received an answer from the British that they did not have such bullets at their disposal. At that time, as Kishmishyan reports, they asked if there might be any of them in Batumi, whose chief of staff, General Cory, replied that they should contact Colonel Bellew for information, who, however, denied the existence of the bullets, hinting at the same time that the bullets can be found in Tiflis. Accordingly, Kishmishyan asks the British to provide them with transportation means to take cargo to Yerevan, and gets an agreement to load two wagons, based on which Makaryan promises to deliver 30-40 thousand bullets. Kishmishyan informs that

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<sup>67</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 154, sheet 204.

<sup>68</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 154, sheet 206.

<sup>69</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 154, sheet 206.

according to their information, there are many war reserves in the Neutral Zone of Lori, especially in the village of Uzunlar.<sup>70</sup> As it turns out from Kishmishyan's report of August 15, 1919 (N 128), they learned from the representative of the Volunteer Army, Dan, about the telegram of General Sannikov, according to which the General Staff was ready to give our representative 1 million bullets, and the Armenian side, in its turn, should give two million Lebel cartridges. Kishmishyan reports that they have given their consent, while taking measures to deliver immediately the bullets to Armenia.<sup>71</sup>

Kishmishyan's report to the RA Military Minister dated August 16, 1919 (No. 8), again refers to the acquisition of bullets in Tiflis. It was reported that the Minister of Foreign Affairs received irrefutable assurances from Advisor Tumanyan that a sufficient amount of bullets would be sent from Tiflis, but later it turned out that difficulties suddenly arose with the purchase of bullets due to the risk of arrest by civil authorities, as well as the unwillingness of the owners of these goods, which was reported to the British authorities, and on August 11, also to the Georgian government. It was reported that in any case, efforts are being made to send the English echelon, new sources of ammunition purchase are being considered, noting that this task is assigned to Makaryan, the property manager of the mission's military department. It was said that when the number of bullets reaches 20-25 thousand, they will be sent to Armenia by the military representative of France in Armenia A. Poidebard. A telephone and several topographical maps will be sent along with that cargo, which will be brought to Armenia accompanied by an English officer. Kishmishyan reported that another million bullets were expected from the Volunteer Army, but to find out the details, appropriate instructions were given to Lieutenant Aniyev in Batumi. It was mentioned that in any case, every effort was being made to organize the transit of these goods through the British.<sup>72</sup>

In another report of August 16, 1919 (N 134) addressed to the RA Military Minister, General Kishmishyan once again refers to the problems of weapons and ammunition, stating that on August 14, Colonel Zinkevich, Major General Voskresensky arrived in Tiflis with an escort group alongside with General Baratov. There was talk of providing 1 million bullets. According to Kishmishyan, General Baratov promises to support, offering to contact Colonel Dan. The latter promises to help, saying that a month or two ago they contacted Ekaterinodar with a request to facilitate the purchase or exchange with "Lebel". Later, he finally informs that at the last moment the British prevented him from taking advantage of the created opportunity.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 177, sheet 25.

<sup>71</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 177, sheet 36.

<sup>72</sup> NAA, fund 275, inv. 5, file 17, sheet 45.

<sup>73</sup> NAA fund 275, inv. 5, file 177, sheets 47-48.

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**SOLUTION OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION ACCORDING TO V. D. PLETNYEV  
(On the eve of the World War I)**

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**Abstract**

On March, 1914 Professor of Petersburg's military-juridical academy, colonel, journalist, publicist, public figure Vladimir D. Pletnyev (1878–1954), arrives in Transcaucasus where in hall of the Tiflis Royal theatre he gave a lecture called “The Armenian Question and Europe”. He lectured on the same theme in Yerevan, Alexandropol, Kars, Batum and Baku, too.

According to the press reports V. Pletnyov had comprehensively studied the Armenian Question, the conditions of the Armenian land, the past and the present of the Armenian people. In accordance with it, he spoke about the Armenian Question, the phases of its development, the benefits and positions of Russia, England, Germany and Turkey connected with that question and then concluded, that only Russia and the Russian people can give a helping hand to the culture-creating people of Old East and save them from the massacre and extermination.

**Keywords:** *Vladimir D. Pletnyev, Armenian Question, Berlin Treaty, Israel Ori, six vilayets*

It is a well-known fact, that on January 26, 1914, a Russian-Turkish agreement was signed on the implementation of reforms in Western Armenia. Two months later, Vladimir D. Pletnyev, Professor at the St. Petersburg Military Law Academy, colonel and journalist, publicist, public figure, arrives in Transcaucasus to deliver lectures on the Armenian Question.<sup>1</sup> The press had announced that he had already left St. Petersburg

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<sup>1</sup> V. D. Pletnyev (October 8, 1878 - June 22, 1954, Casablanca, buried in a local cemetery, Morocco). Graduated from the Military Law Academy, Associate Professor of the Petrograd University on criminal law. He delivered lectures at the Military Law Academy, at the Higher Schools of the Artillery Department. Professor, Chairman of the Society for Reasonable Entertainment of Employees of Commercial Enterprises, Scientific Secretary of the Slavic Society, He was the editor of the Petersburg Courier, Member of the World War on the Caucasian front, chief of staff of a special purpose brigade. With the beginning of the revolution, he entered the disposal of General L. G. Kornilov, wrote his first biography for distribution in the army. In 1919 he left for Yugoslavia at the invitation of the government. He was the first secretary of the Sovereign Commission for Russian Refugees, the founder and director of the male gymnasium, and then created the female gymnasium. He opened more than ten technical courses for Russian officers, a hospital for Russian tuberculosis children in Herzog Novi. Then he moved to Prague. From 1934 he lived in



and would arrive “directly to Tiflis”, to deliver lectures here, in Yerevan, Alexandropol, Batumi and Baku.<sup>2</sup>

During his visit to Tiflis, V. Pletnyev communicated with many representatives of the Armenian public. So, on March 20, he attended the regular 33<sup>rd</sup> meeting of the Caucasian Society of Armenian Writers. The evening was opened by the Chairman, H. Tumanyan, who, in his welcoming remarks, also greeted the honorable guest.<sup>3</sup>

V. Pletnyev’s lecture on the topic “Armenian Question and Europe” was delivered on March 25 in Tiflis, at the state theater.<sup>4</sup> Before that, on March 22, V. Pletnyev delivered a lecture in Yerevan, on March 23 - in Alexandropol. Press reports indicated that he was one of the best experts on the Armenian Question and a supporter of its cardinal solution - the full implementation of the requirements of Article 61 of the Berlin Treaty of 1878. According to Pletnyev, this is possible if conditions and procedures are created in Armenia, which were established by England, Russia, France and Italy on Crete in 1897, after the island received full autonomy. V. Pletnyev, with his lectures, tried to convey the Armenian Question to the people of Russia and present the Russian public opinion with an irrefutable truth, a political axiom - the solution of this problem is fully in line with the interests of Russia.<sup>5</sup> It was also reported that he will present this report on March 27 in Batumi, and on March 29 in Baku.<sup>6</sup>

The Armenian and Russian press of Tiflis widely covered V. Pletnyev’s lectures. The lecturer presented the following program:

1. Historical essay on the development of the Armenian Question and its connection with Russian politics until 1854;
2. The rivalry between Turkey and Russia for Armenia until 1854;
3. The vital need for reforms in the Armenian vilayets (provinces);
4. Intervention of Europe and the question of the implementation of reforms under the control of Europe after the Treaty of Paris;
5. Programs for the improvement of living conditions in Armenia before the Berlin Congress;
6. Futility of programs;
7. San Stefano agreement as a real basis for reforms in Armenia;

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Casablanca. In 1939–1945, on an American order, he wrote a book about Roosevelt’s policy and its consequences.

(see: <http://www.dommuseum.ru/index.php?m=dist&pid=9641&PHPSESSID=da6e293f80df7744931d451004f6ae4b>; <http://www.photoarchive.spb.ru/showChildObjects.do?object=2510517612&language=1>)

<sup>2</sup> Mshak, 15. III. 1914, 18. III. 1914, Horizon, 18. III. 1914

<sup>3</sup> Horizon, 22. III. 1914

<sup>4</sup> The newspaper "Kavkaz" (25. III. 1914) reported that the topic of the report would be: “The Armenian Question in Turkey (The Armenian Question and Europe in connection with the issues of Russia in the East)”

<sup>5</sup> Horizon, 25. III. 1914

<sup>6</sup> Mshak, 18. III. 1914

8. Berlin Congress: the attitude of England and Russia towards the Armenian reforms and the theoretical elimination of Turkish domination;
9. Council of Cyprus of 1878 as a broad development of the idea of reforms in Turkey;
10. Reform programs of 1880 and 1895 and their infertility;
11. Mass *pogroms* as a result of European programs - 1822 in Chios, 1850 in Kurdistan, 1860 in Lebanon and Damascus, 1876 in Bulgaria, 1895–1896 in Armenia and Sasun, 1908 in Adana and the constant extermination of Armenians from 1909 to the present day;
12. The reasons for the impossibility of the actual implementation of all programs are presented in the political, economic and legal life of Turkey;
13. The Balkan War as a New Period in the Implementation of Armenian Reforms: Russia's New Tasks and Germany's Intervention;
14. The Russian reform program of 1912 and the rivalry around it between the Alliance and the Entente;
15. The position of Germany in connection with the problem of the Baghdad railway and its difference from the Russian approaches and standpoints;
16. The Potsdam Agreement and its negative impact on the political and military position of Russia on the borders with Persia and Turkey;
17. The strategic importance of the Armenian Highlands for ensuring the security of Russia in case of a German attack;
18. Armenian Question - Russian Question;
19. The reforms to be implemented in Armenia will remove the harm caused by the Potsdam Agreement;
20. Armenian reforms seem to be a natural condition for Turkey's independence;
21. Only the immediate implementation of fundamental reforms can finally save the Armenians of Asia Minor from complete annihilation.<sup>7</sup>

According to the press, at the beginning of the lecture, V. Pletnyev explained his goal: "The lecture should show that a favorable solution to the Armenian question is important not only for the Armenians, but also for the Russian government and for the Russian people".<sup>8</sup> Moving on to the essence of the problem, the lecturer presented in details the stages of development of the Armenian Question. Let us note that the history of the Armenian Question is generally well-known, but since the solution of this problem is still relevant today, we consider it necessary to present the point of view of a prominent Russian officer-journalist and publicist.

According to Pletnyev, the Armenian Question has a 200-year history and attracts the attention of Russia and Europe. Back at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Armenians, unable to endure the oppression of the Turks and Persians, sent a delegation headed by Israel Ori to Europe with a request for help. After appealing to the European states,

<sup>7</sup> Horizon, 25. III. 1914, Mshak, 25. III. 1914. By the way, in Horizon, the 10<sup>th</sup> point was omitted.

<sup>8</sup> Horizon, 27. III. 1914.

envisaging their intervention with favorable consequences for the Armenians, Ori, on the advice of the German Kaiser, turns to Russia, because only with the help of this state could anything be done for the Armenians. Peter the Great receives the Armenians and promises to show support. Ori went to Persia as a Russian ambassador, being sure that it is through the efforts of Russia that the liberation of the Armenians will be realized. After the end of the Northern War (1700-1721), Russian troops in 1723 were sent against Persia and captured Baku, from where they intended to move along the coast of the Caspian Sea and conquer the Armenian-populated provinces under the rule of Turkey and Persia.

But Peter the Great was not able to complete the work he had begun, and his successors rather mediocly continued the initiatives of their talented predecessor. According to the lecturer, since the time of Nicholas I, Russian interests in the countries bordering Persia and Turkey have become so clear that there is an urgent need to resolve the Armenian Question. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, England became Russia's rival on this issue - the interests of the latter dictated London the need to protect Turkey from other European states. Until the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, only Russia was considered a country that raised the Armenian Question. In 1855, Russia received heavy blows; doubts arose as to whether it would rise again: the Armenian Question started to be observed as a matter of concern to all of Europe. And according to the Paris Treaty,<sup>9</sup> it was decided that Turkey, as an independent state, should implement reforms in the country, in particular, in the Armenian vilayets, itself, moreover, under the control of Europe. Turkey accepts this proposal and until 1866 several times promises to implement reforms. However, it does not fulfill the promises, moreover, harassment and pogroms are intensifying. Turkey was sure that the European states would not be able to demand the implementation of reforms.

V. Pletnyev notes that in 1866 there was an uprising on the island of Crete, which was brutally suppressed by Turkey. European states are beginning to understand that reforms under the auspices of Europe will not be carried out in the Armenian vilayets. It becomes clear that only through Russia can pressure be exerted on Turkey. The European states, as it were, silently agreed to entrust the solution of the Armenian question to Russia, however, on the condition that the power of the Sultan and the independence of Turkey remain unshakable.

During the Russian-Turkish war of 1877–1878, Russians reached San Stefano: trapped, the Turks were forced to agree to carry out the promised reforms under Russian control. But England was very attentive towards the situation, the strengthening of Russia and the concluded treaty threatened her interests. And through the efforts of England, in 1878, the Berlin Congress was convened, at which Russia's right to control the implementation of reforms was canceled - it was transferred to all of Europe. Turkey again promises to organize the process of reforms and in 1880 and 1895 presents a

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<sup>9</sup> The Paris Peace Treaty (Paris Treaty) is an international treaty signed on March 18 (30), 1856 at the Paris Congress.

broad program. Reforms remain only on a paper - Turkey continues its previous policy, playing on the interests of Russia and England, until Germany appears on the political arena. After that, the knot becomes even more tangled.<sup>10</sup>

In 1888, Germany received a concession for the construction of a 300-kilometer railway in Anatolia, and then for its continuation. When the Baghdad Railway turned south towards the Persian Gulf, England started to realize that this was very harmful to its interests. The Armenian *pogroms* of 1895-1896 begin, and the European powers again turn their attention to the need for reforms. England once more determines for itself that only Russia is able to force Turkey to put an end to the pogroms and carry out reforms. However, this would hurt British interests. Germany realized how beneficial it is friendship with Turkey.

During a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Kaiser Wilhelm writes to the Sultan that he will always remain a friend of Turkey. Germany understood that the preservation of the integrity of Turkey was very beneficial, and for this reason Germany was the main rival of Russia. In July 1913, during the meeting of the ambassadors of European states held in Constantinople, during the discussion of the program of reforms proposed by Russia, Germany came out as an ardent opponent of any reforms in Armenia. Russia drew up an extensive reform program, through which it sought to create a sphere of influence in Turkey where it could protect its economic and political interests. Considering that the power of the Sultan should in no case be infringed upon, Germany did not accept proposals to appoint general inspectors in the vilayets where reforms had to be realized, to streamline the land and economic issue, and other important proposals. As a result, the program proposed by Russia changed and turned into a document, the implementation of which, in the lecturer's opinion, will not lead to significant changes in the Armenian populated vilayets.

According to the newspaper "Kavkaz", V. Pletnyev, among other things, expressed the following approaches to the issue: "After the Balkan War, the question of dividing the Turkish possessions in Asia Minor between the great powers became too relevant and vital. England used to be Russia's rival in this region. From the time Germany received the concession for the construction of railways in Anatolia, Russia began to be threatened by the German danger on our Transcaucasian frontier. Back in the time of Abdul-Hamid, Germany had in mind to populate the entire strip along the railways with Germans and replace the indigenous Armenian population in Armenia with Ottoman Turks from western Anatolia, thus destroying the ethnic barrier, which is the six Turkish settlements bordering the Transcaucasus inhabited by Armenians. In case of complications in the west, Germany, having carried out its plans, could organize sabotage in the regions bordering on the Transcaucasus, throwing Ottomans led by its officers at us. Hence the importance for Russia of the strategic position of Armenia is clear. True, at the present political moment there are no grounds for assuming that

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<sup>10</sup> Horizon, 27. III. 1914, Mshak, 27. III. 1914.

Turkey, even under the influence of Berlin friends, could embark on an adventure that is risky for it. But the situation may change, and then Armenia may play the role of a natural barrier for Russia".<sup>11</sup>

V. Pletnyev believes that the recently adopted reform program in Turkey will bring almost nothing to the Armenians. Control over their implementation remained in the hands of the European powers, which led to the preservation of the former situation. The lecturer believed that in order for the proposed reforms to have the desired result, control over their implementation should be transferred to one authorized state. This state could only be Russia, because, as a neighboring power, it would not allow pogroms and oppression on its borders - this would cause great harm to its economic and political interests. For this reason, Russia would have to take drastic measures for the quick implementation of reforms.

Further, V. Pletnyev notes that until now he has been focusing on the benefits of a positive solution to the Armenian Question both for Armenians and for Russia. But besides the benefit, the lecturer emphasizes, there is also a conscience. It is impossible to remain silent when talented people, who have great culture, are subjected to pogroms and sufferings. And Russia, the Russian people must "work" in this direction. V. Pletnyev recalls the Russian-Persian, Russian-Turkish wars, when the Armenians with great enthusiasm supported Russian troops. The speaker concludes that the Russian people should help the suffering Armenians. A talented people is dying: "Let these interests not exist, let Russia, the entire Russian people, in the name of universal culture, in the name of conscience, save the perishing people".<sup>12</sup> "If," said V. Pletnyev, "state policy is based at the present historical moment on the so-called real interests in which there is no place for sentimentality, then it does not follow from this that the feeling has been etched out of the hearts of ordinary citizens, members of Russian society. The people who make up this society cannot and must not remain indifferent to the horrors that the unfortunate Armenian population has experienced and is experiencing in their neighborhood. Russian society must go hand in hand with the Russian government and achieve real guarantees of the inviolability of the life and property of Armenians in the Turkish provinces. On January 26, 1914, Russia, on behalf of the powers, concluded a formal agreement with Turkey regarding the implementation of reforms in Armenia. But the final resolution of the Armenian Question is still in the future; its fate depends entirely on the international situation around Russia".<sup>13</sup>

According to the press, the lecture lasted about four hours. The overcrowded theater hall rewards V. Pletnyev with prolonged, stormy applause.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Kavkaz, 27.III. 1914.

<sup>12</sup> Horizon, 28. III. 1914, See also Mshak, 27. III. 1914.

<sup>13</sup> Kavkaz, 27.III. 1914.

<sup>14</sup> Mshak reports that Colonel Pletnyev, after completing the lecture, at 12 o'clock in the morning went to Kars to make the report. He will also deliver lectures in Alexandropol, and on March 30 in Baku (see Mshak, 27.III.1914).

From the above mentioned material, we can conclude that the Russian government, on the threshold of the First World War, not only tried to probe the moods of the Armenian people, but also tried in every possible way to inspire the Armenians with the idea that only Russia could be their savior.<sup>15</sup>

By the way, V. D. Pletnyev addressed the Armenian Question in January 1917, too. According to the newspaper "Petrogradskiye Vedomosti", he, in the society of Slavic Scientific Unity, chaired by a member of the State Council A. V. Vasiliev, made a report on the Armenian Question.

Having familiarized the meeting with the Armenian Question comprehensively, starting with the memorandum of 1895 and ending with the Tsargrad (Constantinople – A.Z.) meeting of 1913, the speaker, having considered the projects for the liberation of Armenia (1) of only six vilayets: Van, Bitlis, Sivas, Harput, Mush, Diyarbekir, (2) six vilayets with the addition to them Trebizond with Trebizond and 3 and the mentioned vilayets with the addition of Cilicia (with the harbor of Alexandretta), spoke out for the protectorate of Russia over the whole of Armenia with access to the Mediterranean Sea and against the new division of the Armenian territories after the world war".<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> By the way, on the same days in Moscow, "during the merchants' meeting", a member of the State Duma P. N. Milyukov made a report on the Armenian Question, emphasizing the same ideas (Mshak, 22. III, 1914, 26. III. 1914, Horizon, 22. III. 1914, Kavkaz, 27. III. 1914).

<sup>16</sup> Armenian Herald, N 5, January 29, 1917, p. 20.

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# PHILOSOPHY AND LAW

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## THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN MATTHEOS MAMURYAN'S POLITICAL CONCEPTION

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### **Abstract**

19<sup>th</sup> century Armenian prudence is valued as a result of self-awareness and self-reflection of national existence. Evidence of this is the philosophical-political problem of the thinkers of the time, the goal of which is the preservation of the nation's living foundations as a guarantee of national sovereignty. Historically, libertarianism has become an important factor in the political self-organization, statehood and culture formation of Armenians. Mattheos Mamuryan (1830-1901), a Western Armenian liberal-conservative figure, publicist, political scientist, is distinguished by his original interpretation of these problems. His conception is built on the basis of considerations about the national life (being) and the identity of the nation ("inherent essence").

**Keywords:** *Mattheos Mamuryan, national identity, sovereignty, foundations of nation's existence, family, church, language*

From the organistic point of view, Mamuryan sees the nation as a physical-spiritual integrity, whose members are united by natural rights and responsibilities, national interests, moral, political and state-legal relations. However, as a result of political division, the nation has lost its integrity in its current existence: "Since a nation like us is in a circle of civilization and has relations with other nations, it cannot be considered as a separate body, but subject to surrounding influences".<sup>1</sup> In this case, he considers the primary task of the Armenian intellectual to be the argumentation of the foundations of nation's existence, the characteristics of Armenianness, the "signs of the nation's essence", without which the nation as an ethnic entity cannot be perceived, moreover, its existence is endangered.

Valuing sovereignty as the supreme characteristic of nation and statehood, Mamuryan explains: "It is different from the national self-segregated entity, which is strong by itself, is the master of its own destiny, but it is different from a passive existence that lives with the permission of others and is dependent on them".<sup>2</sup> In the absence of state sovereignty, national sovereignty is understood as the basis and

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<sup>1</sup> Mamuryan 1899d: 130.

<sup>2</sup> Mamuryan 1874a: 11.



guarantee of the restoration of the nation's political independence. The conditions of existence and durability of a nation are determined by the standards of national life.

National life (entity) is a methodological starting point in the author's conception. According to him, national life is nothing more than "...a collective body of the same gender, same language, the same family and urban education, the same manners and customs, the same basic principle and right, the same way of life, the same protection from the public interest, the same moral, literary, legislative, historical anticipations, the struggle, the movement, with all the means that our past, our different living conditions, material and intellectual abilities, the enlightenment and knowledge of our age can give us".<sup>3</sup>

In order to reveal the fundamentals of national life, Mamuryan studies the tribal origin, national spirit, moral, political maturity, administration systems and legislative principles of different peoples using the historical-comparative method. According to his belief, the existing differences between the nations prove that each of them, "...like an individual in the crowd, has his own shape and signs among people and deserves to be called a certain nation".<sup>4</sup> Thus, he does not emphasize human commonalities, the similarities of peoples, but the peculiarity of the national Self as an identity characteristic only of a specific nation. And he describes "primary nation" as an ethnic collective that is faithful to the family, religious and moral traditions that determine its national identity, is governed by fair laws, and protects its freedom and national interests.

Unlike other peoples, who in the case of foreign invasion lose their national characteristics, ceasing to exist as a separate ethnic group, according to Mamuryan, "Only Armenians in their exceptional situation will present an exceptional image of the protection of their existence".<sup>5</sup> In other words, the power to preserve the national identity is the will of the nation, the internal endurance characteristic of Armenians, the political zeal to self-organize and protect everything that is national and patriotic. And if the Armenian "...does not cultivate the moral circumstances that are the essential characteristics of identity, does not strengthen the ties that are the pledges of the preservation of his nationality... his most noble institutions will become refuges of xenomania".<sup>6</sup> Regardless of the political situation, preventing all this is the main duty of every generation of Armenians, which begins with the awareness of the national Self.

According to Mamuryan, national self-recognition begins with a natural question: "Who am I, where will I be and where will I go?".<sup>7</sup> He considers the prudence of the Greek philosopher Socrates as an example for all humanity, who with the message "Know thyself" not only marked a methodological basis for epistemology, but also with a

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<sup>3</sup> Mamuryan 1875: 5.

<sup>4</sup> Mamuryan 1966a: 68.

<sup>5</sup> Mamuryan 1891: 367.

<sup>6</sup> Mamuryan 1891: 366.

<sup>7</sup> Mamuryan 1966a: 108.

mental vehemence, inspired civic virtues and national spirit to the Greek people, who began to "...understand their essence, to examine one's self".<sup>8</sup>

According to Mamuryan, just as the individual Self improves its spiritual inner world through moral education, so "the Self of the nation, which is the composition of many selves, when it reaches self-recognition... it will baptize itself with the muron of its obligations and rights, will show the signs of its essence... in its thinking production".<sup>9</sup> Thus, the problem of the nation's existence ("essence") is solved in the thinker's concept from the starting point of perception of identity, self-recognition and spiritual self-improvement.

According to Mamuryan, the main component of the national nature of Armenians is the perception of freedom as the supreme right: "Liberalism became a natural feature of the Armenian nation." He interprets freedom as a value granted by nature, which Patriarch Hayk "... found in his soul... saw in his human rights. He felt his birthright".<sup>10</sup> In other words, the source of national identity is in human nature itself, and due to this, freedom has become the basis of Armenian political self-organization and the creation of statehood.

With the same logic, Mamuryan affirms that the ways of governance, the forms of the state structure reflect the political nature and national character of the peoples who choose them. In this sense, he emphasizes that "the nature of a people will be seen in its institutions".<sup>11</sup> According to him, in order to judge any nation, one should examine not only its external existence, but also its internal national-spiritual characteristics, the fundamental conditions of existence, which, changing over time, can weaken ... and lose their conservative properties, leading to non-existence".<sup>12</sup> Therefore, the preservation of the nation's existence, identity and vitality is the main strategic problem of national policy, in order to solve this it is first necessary to argue the historical foundations of nation's existence. According to Mamuryan, they are:

A. FAMILY, which the thinker appreciates as an ancient traditional institution of the nation, "a miniature of the people",<sup>13</sup> "a small motherland", where the initial principles of kinship, piety, philanthropy and patriotism and self-government are cultivated. The family is also a model of the state, "it is the first link in the friendship chain",<sup>14</sup> and it is no coincidence that the virtues formed in the family are manifested in various spheres of society. Accepting the family as a condition for the vital power and durability of the society, the ideology of German philosopher and lawyer H. Ahrens, Mamuryan especially emphasizes his following statement: "The family is the center that will spread

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<sup>8</sup> Mamuryan 1966a: 756.

<sup>9</sup> Mamuryan 1966a: 756.

<sup>10</sup> Mamuryan 1966a: 116.

<sup>11</sup> Mamuryan 1966a: 151.

<sup>12</sup> Mamuryan 1966a: 208.

<sup>13</sup> Mamuryan 1897: 257.

<sup>14</sup> Mamuryan 1890: 536.

good habits on the society, whose morality will rise or fall with the moral spirit of the family".<sup>15</sup>

Emphasizing family's well-being, Mamuryan points out that the basis of the stability of family relations and family welfare is the family spirit, which implies a union based on love, marital fidelity, devotion, equality, dignity, duty, etc. He also emphasizes that "the gorgeous heroes Armenian nation is proud of, were the birth of the family spirit..<sup>16</sup> In other words, family educates Armenian soldiers dedicated to the motherland, national figures, who ensure the nation's security with their struggle and activities.

In order to preserve the national identity, Mamuryan rejects the introduction of foreign customs and laws into the sphere of family relations, and says that their regulation should be carried out only by national traditional regulations based on the ancient Armenian hereditary and family law. He draws the attention of spiritual and secular legislators and moralists to this vital issue. According to the thinker, no matter how faithful the people are to their native customs, it is not possible to prevent various influences, especially in the status of subjection. "Friendly foreigner's manners, political law, the lie of civilization... the invaders will directly or indirectly attack our family and destroy its basis".<sup>17</sup>

Therefore, Mamuryan considers the constitutional protection of family rights and the responsibility of the National Department to take care of the well-being of Armenian families' mandatory. He states that "creating true families is building and shaping of a nation",<sup>18</sup> and assures that the interest of the Armenian nation requires protection against foreign influences with national education, legislation, serious moral principles, because "... just like the national church, the family institution remaining pure is an essential condition for the preservation of nationality".<sup>19</sup> In this context, Mamuryan rejects the strict liberalization of civil marriage laws, especially the divorce law. According to him, divorce can be implemented only in extreme cases, when it is no longer possible to save the marriage union by any means.

According to the principle of radical liberalism, some consider the traditional model of the family backwardness, prejudice, and the reason for this, according to Mamuryan, is that they subordinate the Divine Council to civil laws as a "contractual action". Meanwhile, the Divine Council, which was sanctified by the canonical law of the Armenian Church, cannot be violated by secular legislation. It is necessary to reform the marriage law in such a way that "...it corresponds to modern enlightenment, rhetorical and psychological requirements, but giving a freer arena to the fanatics is not an improvement at all".<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Mamuryan 1873: 260.

<sup>16</sup> Mamuryan 1890b: 536.

<sup>17</sup> Mamuryan 1883: 8.

<sup>18</sup> Mamuryan 1890c: 582.

<sup>19</sup> Mamuryan 1883: 9-10.

<sup>20</sup> Mamuryan 1890a: 491-492.

Therefore, if the European nations allow the separation of church and secular laws regulating family legal relations, this is unacceptable in the current situation of Armenians, because "we cannot go beyond our national religious autonomy".<sup>21</sup> In Armenian reality, the decisions of Ashtishat (354 AD) and Shahapivan (444 AD) councils, which were reflected in the Armenian Codes of Laws, Statutes and Constitutional Bills, were adopted as the basis for the regulation of marriage and family. This regulation was used for centuries. Of course, some rules of family law were considered to be revised, but "... we are obliged to do so only for cases, which can only refer to secondary points".<sup>22</sup>

B. CHURCH - According to Mamuryan, in the East, nations are distinguished by religion, and "among Armenians, a church would also mean nationality".<sup>23</sup> This reality has its reasons. If Europeans accept the importance of religion and church in their social and political life, then Armenians, who have no statehood, have no right to ignore the role of this national-historical institution, especially since the Armenian Church was valued with its importance even during the reign of the Armenian sovereign state as a national collectivity.

Proclaiming the slogan "An independent people needs an independent church and religion", Mamuryan defends the administrative sovereignty of the Armenian Church, the independence of the Patriarchal See from other churches and states, as well as the powers of the Armenian Patriarchate over all layers of the Armenian people. He justifies this defense by the fact that "Holy See ... will be considered not only as the center of Armenian Church, but also as the center of nationality... Etchmiadzin is not only a spiritual, but also a political and glorious symbol".<sup>24</sup> Therefore, the thinker sees religion as the second essential characteristic of nation's existence after the family, as "a special mark and condition of Armenia".<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the church gets its moral power from the family, and the latter "...would get his faith and hope from the Church".<sup>26</sup>

By the way, some Soviet-Armenian historians considered Mamuryan an atheistic thinker<sup>27</sup> and considered his assessments of the Armenian Church and religion as contradictory to his own "atheistic" ideas. This opinion is denied in Mamuryan's literary works, as well as in many historical-philosophical, legal-political and publicist articles. According to him, "The most free-minded person must admit that in the present situation the essential power of national protection is the Church".<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Mamuryan 1874b: 51.

<sup>22</sup> Mamuryan 1874b: 51.

<sup>23</sup> Mamuryan 1966a: 151.

<sup>24</sup> Mamuryan 1966a: 208.

<sup>25</sup> Mamuryan 1899d: 130.

<sup>26</sup> Mamuryan 1899b: 177.

<sup>27</sup> Mamuryan 1966b: 20.

<sup>28</sup> Mamuryan 1885: 64.

Analyzing the vital elements that preserve the national identity - family life, history, religion, literature, language, ancient legislation, etc., according to the principle of historicity, Mamuryan comes to the conclusion that the Armenian nation "...has no stronger ties than the national church, which is connected with its essence and that it has strong reasons to keep this organization safe".<sup>29</sup> Again comparing the Armenian and European peoples, he clarifies the following reality: the political freedom of Europeans allows for the separation of state and church by legislation. However, in contrast to materialist and positivist theories, religion and the church have such a significant influence in their lives that the slogan "free church in a free state" was seriously tested in many states. Moreover, it is not acceptable for the Armenian people.

The thinker generally considers that "irreligious" society is impossible. Religion is "the foundation and basis of society, which will be formed and moved for better or for worse...".<sup>30</sup> Of course, the peoples definitely do not understand and confess the Divine Councils, religious teachings, as a result of which their socio-political life and culture are significantly different: "Legislation, institutions, morals, customs, crafts and literature would not remain free from the influence of religion".<sup>31</sup> Muslims, pagans, and Christians imagine the fundamental principles of governance, the extent of freedom, and the limits of rights and responsibilities in different ways. According to Mamuryan, there have been as many political revolutions in the world as there have been religious ones. He explains the types of state structure by denominational differences and church affiliation, noting: "Everywhere, together with the church, states have gradually become theocratic, monarchical, constitutional, and authoritarian, supporting each other." Armenians are not an exception in this matter either.<sup>32</sup>

According to Mamuryan, the source of vitality of the Armenian Church is its apostolic origin and constitutionality. According to his testimony, even European theologians claim that "the Armenian Church is based on true apostolic boundaries, free from monarchical and theocratic tendencies, free in its electoral and pastoral actions".<sup>33</sup> It should be noted that this reality significantly influenced the nature of the self-organization of the Armenian nation, the formation of the principles of self-government. In the conditions of subjugation, through the church and culture, a spiritual-moral commonality is created between Armenians, the basis of which, according to Mamuryan, is not the political coexistence of the nation, but "...only the national religion and the Constitution that is established to preserve it. We have the constitutional law of the Armenian Church as our leader".<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Mamuryan 1888a: 74.

<sup>30</sup> Mamuryan 1872a: 505.

<sup>31</sup> Mamuryan 1872a: 505.

<sup>32</sup> Mamuryan 1872a: 507.

<sup>33</sup> Mamuryan 1899d: 135.

<sup>34</sup> Mamuryan 1872b: 545.

Appreciating the unifying nature of the Armenian religion, the Armenian thinker rightly rejects the division of the nation based on religious differences. On the one hand, he does not accept religiosity, declaring that Catholic and Protestant Armenians should also be considered members of the nation, if they do not deny their nationality. On the other hand, he affirms that many gentile Armenians have no sufficient spirit of tolerance, and they refer to the Armenians with bigotry. Therefore, it is important to guide Armenians towards real values through national-religious education.

Mamuryan's conception discusses the influence of religious factors on political processes. He attributes many trends in politics to religious systems and principles, believing that "in the current enlightened age, even a legislator and a political scientist, no matter how liberal he may be... could not decide his program without taking into consideration the religious sentiments... which are powerful factors in social welfare".<sup>35</sup> And if politics is based on the principle of freedom, it will contribute to social progress and the enlightenment of the people. In this sense, the role of the Armenian Church in the formation of national libertarian governments is appreciable. According to Mamuryan, theocratic authorities are more prone to tyranny, and the Armenian Church is free from that accusation, because "...its legal structure will bear the stamp of the simplicity and independence of the original church", and the spiritual authority "will have its administrative authority towards the nation".<sup>36</sup> This reality proves an essential manifestation of Armenian national identity.

Mamuryan also argues the problem of the relationship between secular and spiritual authorities, emphasizing their interaction in national processes. According to his conviction, the clergy should not only engage in spiritual activities, but should also "...be a soul mate and advisor with the secular, whether in national life or in meetings",<sup>37</sup> support the legal decisions of the government, participate in solving political problems for the sake of protecting national rights. Without these conditions, "the Armenian religious figure... will always be a morally and nationally separate body, a damaging, dissolving element in the Armenian society and will prohibit all freedom... enthusiasm and development, will lead to the destruction of nation's existence".<sup>38</sup>

Thus, in Mamuryan's conception, the Armenian cleric with their moral and political description is seen as a guarantor of the national identity, the integrity of the nation's spiritual and moral essence. He criticizes those figures who "...according to the European theory, noting that nationality and religion are different things" want to "shape" the Armenian society according to the European model and "...the door of the church will be open for every sect, every belief, every religion".<sup>39</sup> But the important thing is that

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<sup>35</sup> Mamuryan 1888a: 75.

<sup>36</sup> Mamuryan 1888a: 77-78.

<sup>37</sup> Mamuryan 1872b: 545.

<sup>38</sup> Mamuryan 1872b: 545.

<sup>39</sup> Mamuryan 1888a: 76.

the majority of Armenians unconditionally accept the creed, authority and rights of the Armenian Church.

It should be noted that Mamuryan is liberal when it comes to cultural communication between different peoples, he even emphasizes the need to borrow universal values. As for religious issues, he takes a conservative position, considering Armenians to be a closed society. At the same time, he dreams of such a civilization where the standards of the vitality of nations will be their morality, wisdom and "steps taken in freedom".

C. LANGUAGE - Among the vital elements of national identity, Mamuryan particularly appreciates the role of language, noting: "In general, language will take a dominant place in the various conditions of nation's existence".<sup>40</sup> It has always been important as a unique means of communication, nationwide education and upbringing, culture development, and identity preservation.

The peoples differ not only in their locality, customs, religion, legal and political systems, but also in their linguistic features. Mamuryan especially emphasizes the function of language to preserve the nation's wellborn-tribal peculiarity and way of thinking. According to him, languages "...are a pursuit of purely preserving their native features, as inherited treasures of national intellectual activity".<sup>41</sup> Although Armenian language has changed over the centuries, the original linguistic nuances in the dialects have been preserved. With this reality, Mamuryan confirms the immutability of the essence of national language thinking. He excludes the possibility of linguistic unification of different peoples, even if some figures in the context of European civilizational reforms try to realize the religious or political union of nations.

Mamuryan, like many Armenian thinkers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, poses the problem of improving the Armenian language and developing the literary language. The use of a common language will make it easier for Armenians from different provinces to communicate. However, he does not ignore the peculiarities of Eastern Armenian and Western Armenian, considering their compatibility as possible. The thinker emphasizes the role of national dialects - "linguistic jewels" in terms of enriching Armenian vocabulary and phrases. At the same time, he rejects the artificial introduction of foreign words and concepts into the national language, explaining: "We are not purists, but we do not want to be the followers of the foreign, especially when our rich, pleasant and flexible language will give us inexhaustible means to fill the lack of new words with complexity".<sup>42</sup> The purity of the language prevents the alienation of all national, national school, literature and the entire culture in general.

Thus, Mamuryan interprets the Armenian language as: a) a vital power for the preservation of the nation's identity, b) a way of expressing national thinking, c) a means of preserving and transmitting historical memory and national intellectual values,

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<sup>40</sup> Mamuryan 1899c: 257.

<sup>41</sup> Mamuryan 1899c: 258.

<sup>42</sup> Mamuryan 1899c: 263.

d) a factor that unites different parts of Armenians and spiritual-mental ties, e) basis of national agreement and solidarity, etc.

Valuing the fundamentals of the vitality of the national identity as elements intertwining the Armenian integrity of the nation, Mamuryan also confirms their interdependence, because if any condition of the nation's existence is disturbed, the others will also be endangered. The family, the school, the church are the institutions with which "... the foundations of the nation should be strengthened, the favorable environment will be found, the wise law will be written, by which it will enjoy the freedom of conscience, religion and education, the constitutional and administrative organization will work, which will conduct domestic and national affairs".<sup>43</sup> In addition, with unique national elements and features, Armenians can progress and show themselves in the world civilizational arena as well, as a cultural and active nation, making its contribution to the universal treasury.

### Summary

According to M. Mamuryan, the discovery of national identity is possible through the nation's self-knowledge. It allows us to confirm that the main component of the nation's spiritual existence and essence is the perception of freedom as the supreme right. Historically, libertarianism has become the basis of Armenian political self-organization, statehood and culture. The vital elements that preserve national identity are argued in the thinker's concept as the foundations of nationhood. These are: family, history, religion and national church, language, literature, ancient Armenian legislation, etc. Mamuryan also confirms the interdependence of these foundations, because the loss or distortion of one of them by foreign customs will endanger the existence of the others as well.

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# DEMOGRAPHY AND GOVERNANCE

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## STRATEGY AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

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### Abstract

The strategy is the philosophy of the organization, which expresses its competitive goals, priorities of resource distribution and actions, and the validity of the strategy is significantly determined by the methodology of its development, as well as the way, i.e. the level of intellect and leadership style of the chief executive of the organizational structure - the leader, as the first figure of making managerial decisions. The next administrative decision after the adoption of the strategy by the corresponding authorized bodies is the approval of the organizational structure of the administration, which must take into consideration certain requirements: correspond to the implementation of certain strategic goals of the organization, professional and industry division of labor, characteristics of rational bureaucracy, formulated by M. Weber, to be flexible and adaptable in the conditions of changes at high rates of scientific and technological processes, to ensure optimization of the administrative apparatus.

One of the features of public administration is that, in addition to the above mentioned requirements, it is necessary to attach significant importance to the first level of the historically formed division of public labor, as well as the core of the long-term strategy of the state - the mission of ensuring the necessary level of the population's well-being and the country's security.

Substantive and juridical-administrative relations between the strategy and the organizational structure are regulated by the provisions of the current legislation taking into consideration that the structure is the environment for the implementation of the adopted strategy.

**Keywords:** *strategic management, organizations, organizational structure, legislation, public management, professional and public division of labor, efficiency*

### Introduction

The terms strategy and structure, which are closely related to each other, are widely used at the current stage of socio-economic life. The first of them, as a scientific category, expresses the development priorities of the organization, as well as the country, the region, in a certain period of time, usually with medium-term and long-term

horizons, evaluating the quantitative characteristics of all kinds of resources necessary for them.<sup>1</sup>

The structure reflects the organizational environment that can ensure the realization of the strategic vision. According to the management theory, the organizational structure is derived from the selected strategy and should be derived from it.<sup>2</sup>

The basis of such logic is the structure of business thinking: to define profitable goals arising from the organization's mission, to create organizational structures to implement them, and also to motivate employees and control the processes of achieving the goals. Control is at the same time a means of providing feedback in the goals-results chain. Such logic of business philosophy is of key importance for the classification of management functions. And currently, as is accepted in management theory, there are mainly four of them: planning (programming), organization, interest, control.<sup>3</sup>

Of course, there are also other classifications.<sup>4</sup>

The task of this research is the development of principles and criteria for choosing an effective option of strategy-organizational structure interactions. By the way, this problem will be considered at the micro level (organizations), as well as at the macro level, making focus on the peculiarities of public administration. It may seem that strategy-structure interactions are regulated over time, especially when flexible and adaptable organizational structures are introduced, but often the management efficiency in organizations and at the macro level does not meet the required level, which is manifested by low or declining rates of economic growth, economic competitiveness, insufficient level of living standards of population, safety environment, etc. In many cases, the volume or quality of resources, low labor productivity, insufficient technological level are considered the reasons for such deficiencies, while both low indicators and these gaps can be the result of ineffective management. That is why the choice of the best version of the organizational structure of management, which is an essential prerequisite for high management efficiency, is a vital issue.

However, before looking at the interactions between strategy and structure, we should make an attempt to give characteristics of the modern requirements and standards presented to them.

#### 1. Universal characteristics and features of strategy at the micro and macro levels

Strategy, as a widely used scientific and practical concept, was formed in the field of business and military sphere. Each organization is created for the

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<sup>1</sup> Meskon, Albert, Khedouri 2000: 257; Mintsberg, Alstrand, Lampel 2000: 16; Daft 2006: 237; Suvaryan 2020: 21-22.

<sup>2</sup> Meskon, Albert, Khedouri 2000: 331; Daft 2006: 360.

<sup>3</sup> Meskon, Albert, Khedouri 2000: 71-76.

<sup>4</sup> Fayol 1965: 362-363; Kunts, O'Donnel 1981: 114-116; Daft 2006: 26-28.

implementation of a certain mission, accordingly, pursuing certain goals and striving to be competitive and receive income (profit). Business (also military sphere) is not a short-term operation, it involves making investments, releasing products (services), realizing them and having customers, being noticed in the market with quality products, competitive price and ensuring sustainable and long-term profitability. Therefore, there is a need for long-term planning of business activities, clarifying the goals of the strategy arising from the mission of the organization, assessing the demand for resources and market competition criteria (quality, price, demand structure, etc.). According to one of the general definitions of the essence of strategy in management theory, "strategy is a plan that describes the allocation of resources and actions necessary to interact with the external environment, obtain competitive advantages, and achieve the organization's goals".<sup>5</sup> Thus, strategy is the organization's philosophy, which, taking into consideration the development experience, patterns, changes in internal and external environments, expresses its competitive goals, priorities for actions and allocation of resources. Depending on the subject of the strategy, it can be economic, social, scientific-technical, political, territorial, etc.<sup>6</sup>

The validity of the strategy is significantly determined by the methodology of its development. Choosing a strategy means making a managerial decision about the organization's mission and goals for the long term, at least for 3-5 years or more. And future-oriented decisions are made in conditions of uncertainty and risks, from among possible alternatives. Effective or the best option can be selected if the forecasting multivariate mathematical methods that take into consideration changes in the organization's internal and external environments, technological and market factors, famous Boston and McKinsey consulting groups, I. Ansoff's, M. Porter's matrix methods, SWOT analysis toolkit.<sup>7</sup> Of course, it is more difficult to make a strategic decision at the level of public administration. However, methodologically, the differences in scale and subject (by years) do not significantly affect the logic of strategy selection, because the content of the strategy is structurally unchanged, the volume indicators, the composition of external and internal environments, composition and values of market and scientific-technological factors, trends of their change.

By the way, strategy adoption and strategic management are different from each other regardless of the level. The first is strategic planning with long-term and operational time horizons, and the second, in addition, also includes the creation of management organizational structures and interest system to implement the planned measures, allocation of resources, provision of feedback control (figure 1).<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Daft 2006: 237.

<sup>6</sup> Suvaryan 2020: 21.

<sup>7</sup> Management 2016: 105-119.

<sup>8</sup> Suvaryan 2020: 22-23.

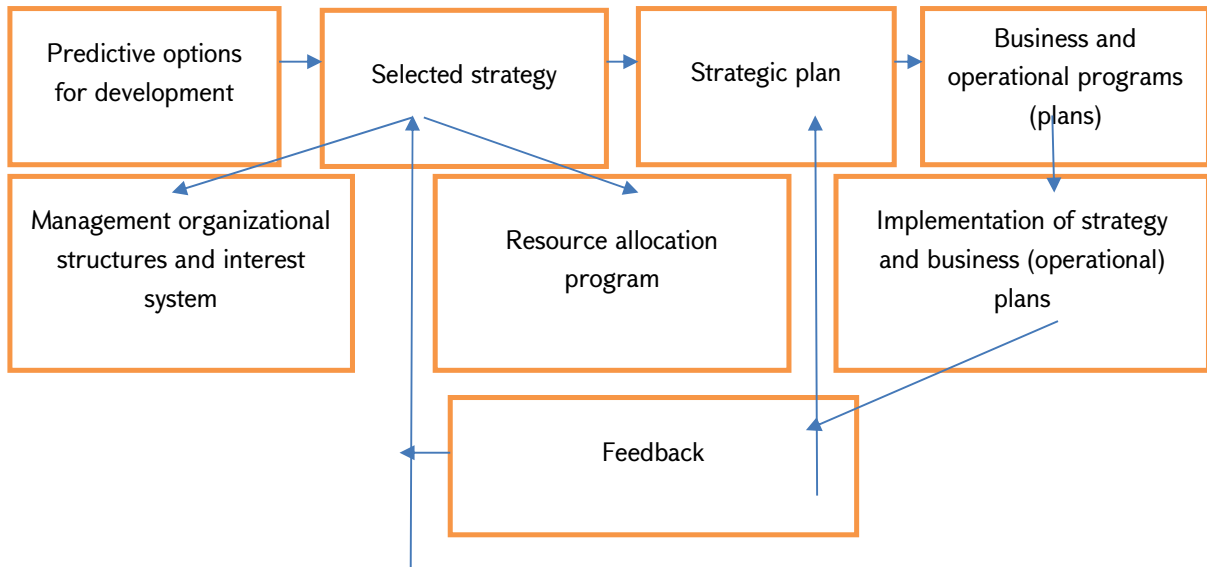


Figure 1. The strategic management process

### Structure, principles, requirements and models

If the choice of strategy can be positively or negatively decisive for the organization, even for the country, then the organizational structure of management can play a role in the exact implementation or failure of the chosen strategy, and in general, in the validity and quantitative and qualitative effectiveness of all stages of the strategic management process.

The strategy, as the most important decision, is accepted by the management of the organization (country, region). Certainly, in this matter the figure of the leader, the head of the organizational structure, is important as the first figure of managerial decision-making.<sup>9</sup> In the theory of management, the structure of the organization is characterized as “such logical relationships of management levels and functional areas, structured in such a way that enables the most efficient achievement of the organization’s goals”.<sup>10</sup>

After the selection of the strategy, as mentioned, the next managerial decision is the definition of the management organizational structure, the main requirements of which are:

- the goal of the organizational structure created at any level is the implementation of the adopted strategy, therefore it must be based on it, correspond to the unconditional solution of the set problems,

<sup>9</sup> Suvaryan 2020: 75-79.

<sup>10</sup> Meskon, Albert, Khedouri 2000: 90.

- the created organizational structure can be effective if it reflects the professional and sectoral division of work and separate structures and workplaces are assigned clear powers to perform their tasks,

- the structures created in the conditions of rapid scientific and technological changes should be flexible, adaptable, and if necessary, interdepartmental temporary project structures can be formed to solve problems of a synergistic nature,

- organizational structures should objectively meet the characteristics of a rational bureaucracy formulated by M. Weber,<sup>11</sup> among which are a clear division of labor, which leads to the involvement of highly qualified specialists according to positions, hierarchy of management levels, when lower levels are controlled by higher ones, general rules binding for all and the existence of standards that ensure the systematicity and uniformity of work, the spirit of formal impersonality in the performance of official duties, etc.,

- optimization of the management apparatus, which means the implementation of management functions under the conditions of minimal or non-inflated management costs, that is, with such a number of employees as is necessary for the fulfillment of the established powers.

The most common and used variety of the organizational structure of management is the linear-functional model, which has various manifestations, and in terms of organizations and public administration, has features, which we will observe below.

### **Interactions between strategy and structure in organizations**

In practical life, the interactions between strategy and the organizational structure of management in organizations are regulated by the current legislation, based on the country's constitution, civil code and sectorial laws, as well as the organization's charter.

According to the Article 51 of the current "Civil Code" of the Republic of Armenia, all legal entity organizations are divided into commercial and non-commercial. Commercial organizations can be created in the form of economic associations and companies, non-commercial organizations are public associations, foundations, associations of legal entities and other structures provided for by law.<sup>12</sup>

Let us first consider the interactions of strategy and organizational structure in a functional way, using the example of some of the most widespread commercial organizations, limited liability companies and joint-stock companies. Then we will discuss the state non-commercial organizations.

The highest governing body of a limited liability company is the general meeting, whose purely managerial powers include the determination of the main directions of the company's activity, the adoption of the charter, the formation of executive bodies, the

<sup>11</sup> Meskon, Albert, Khedouri 2000: 332-333.

<sup>12</sup> Civil Code of the Republic of Armenia 2015: 26.

election of the audit committee, and the adoption of documents regulating internal activities.<sup>13</sup>

The highest management body of joint-stock companies is the general meeting, whose management powers include the approval of the charter, as well as the approval of the quantitative composition of the next management body, the board, and the election of its members, the formation of the company's executive body (individual or collegial), if this right is not reserved to the board by the charter, the company election of audit committee members.<sup>14</sup> Among the exclusive competences of the board is the determination of the main directions of the company's activity, the formation of the company's executive body (if this right is reserved to the board by the charter), the approval of internal documents regulating the activities of the company's management bodies, the approval of the company's administrative structure and staff list.<sup>15</sup>

It is obvious from the written above that the organizations of the business sector independently decide on the organizational structure of strategy and management. In particular, in limited liability companies, the person responsible for adopting the strategy is the company meeting, and in joint stock companies, the company board. The problems of forming the organizational structure of management are regulated by the same logic.

In the founding document of the organizations, the charter reflects the object of their activity, goals, as well as the composition and competence of management bodies, the procedure for their decision-making, etc.<sup>16</sup> Basically, the charter expresses the principled solutions proposed by the highest governing body, the meeting, and the following body, the council. It is logical that both the validity of the strategy and the effectiveness of the organizational structure depend on the scientific and practical level of those who develop and adopt them.

According to the RA law on state non-commercial organization, the functions of its management bodies are carried out by the founder, the state body authorized by him, the executive body, as well as the collegial management body, the board, upon the decision of the founder.<sup>17</sup> According to that law, among the exclusive powers of the founder are the definition of the object and goals of the SNCO's activity, the approval of the charter, and the determination of the management organizational system. The founder may assign the authority to appoint the executive body to the collegial management body.<sup>18</sup> By the way, the council is authorized to submit recommendations to the authorized state management body regarding the main directions of the

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<sup>13</sup> RA Law on Limited Liability Companies 2008: 21-22.

<sup>14</sup> RA Law on Joint Stock Companies 2009: 66-67.

<sup>15</sup> RA Law on Joint Stock Companies 2009: 70-71.

<sup>16</sup> Civil Code of the Republic of Armenia 2015: 28, 52.

<sup>17</sup> Law of the Republic of Armenia on State Non-Commercial Organizations, <https://www.arlis.am>, Article 12.

<sup>18</sup> Law of the Republic of Armenia on State Non-Commercial Organizations, <https://www.arlis.am>, Article 13.



organization's activities within the scope and tasks of the organization defined by the founder.<sup>19</sup> By the same article, the collegial management body is also authorized to carry out current control over the activities of the executive body of the organization, to approve the internal documents regulating the activities of the organization, the regulations of divisions, internal disciplinary rules, etc. According to Article 17, one of the powers of the executive body is the definition of the structure and structural units of the SNCO.<sup>20</sup> Thus, in terms of the SNCOs, the founder, the collegial and executive bodies of the organization's management participate in solving the problems of the organizational structure of strategy and management.

In business organizations, which are primarily private and profit-seeking, the appropriateness of the strategy and the effectiveness of the organizational structure can be evaluated by the indicators of the competitiveness and profitability of the organization in the market. In state non-commercial organizations, the evaluation of interactions and quality of strategy and structure can be done by the results obtained by the organization, as well as by expert observations.

According to our studies, during the activities of the organizations operating in the republic, the necessity of strategy development and implementation is not properly emphasized, and the linear-functional bureaucratic or classical model of the organizational structure is dominant, there are relatively few flexible project (matrix) options.

Such a situation is due to the structure of the republic's economy. Currently, food production branches dominate the service sector and manufacturing industry, and the share of scientific, technological oversaturation of production in the GDP is significantly low,<sup>21</sup> while these are the changing fields in which flexible organizational structures are widely used.

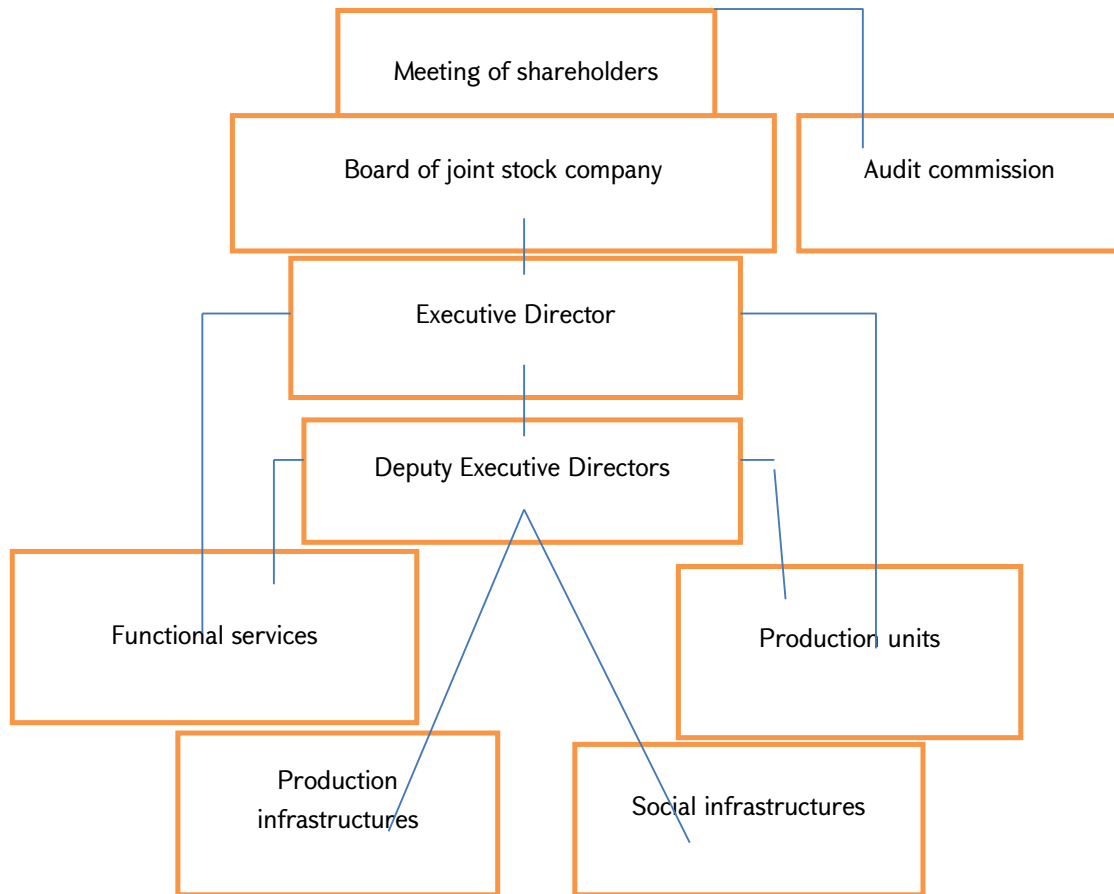
As a typical model, let us present the organizational structure of the management of a joint-stock company (figure 2).

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<sup>19</sup> Law of the Republic of Armenia on State Non-Commercial Organizations, <https://www.arlis.am>, Article 19.

<sup>20</sup> Law of the Republic of Armenia on State Non-Commercial Organizations, <https://www.arlis.am>, Article 17.

<sup>21</sup> Suvaryan 2019: 91-101.



**Figure 2. Organizational model structure of joint stock company management**

### **The model of the organizational structure of public administration\***

The public economy includes the entire financial system of the country, including the activities of state, local self-government and private organizations. It is managed as a result of policies developed and implemented by public bodies, which refer to scientific and technical, educational, economic, foreign trade, fiscal, customs regulations and measures. All this is reflected in the country's strategic development plan, which usually represents the government formed as a result of each electoral process to the parliament and acts according to the approved strategy. The latter is also the basis for the formation of the organizational structure of public economy management. However,

\* For the author's first reference to this issue, see Suvaryan 2020: 122-131.

unlike organizations where a flexible structure can operate, there is a significant limitation in this matter. The point is that in the main laws of many countries, in the RA constitution as well, there is an article (147.2), which stipulates: “The list of ministries and the order of the government’s activities are defined by the law at the presentation of the government. The number of deputy prime ministers cannot exceed three, and the number of ministers - 18. The purpose of such regulation is to mitigate the impact of political changes in the public administration system, because it is, first of all, a group of highly qualified professionals providing state and community services, who enjoy certain rights, and besides, it is not desirable to subject the administration system to frequent radical shocks. Therefore, the complete system of public administration, including its financial and economic part, should be built based on the main mission of state administration, the essence of which is to ensure the necessary standard of living and security of the country’s population with the effective use of existing human and natural economic resources. The sustainable nature of the stated mission also gives relative stability to the management organization, i.e. the extent of powers and the structure of their delegation, which, however, does not mean that the problems to be solved cannot remain identical within the limits of the same powers. Moreover, they should be continuously changing over time, along with the rapid scientific and technical and market changes. For the fulfillment of the above mission, the state performs the following well-known main functions:

- creation of the legal framework necessary for social and economic life,
- ensuring the stability of the political situation and effective macroeconomic balance,
- implementation of investments in social security and infrastructure sectors,
- social protection of incapable and elderly members of society,
- environmental protection.

In order to implement the listed functions, bodies of legislative, executive and judicial power are created, whose powers are fixed by the country’s constitution and sectoral laws.

Structures dealing with security and foreign affairs issues are necessarily created within the executive branch, the composition of which is mostly stable and almost unchanged. Usually, the responsible bodies of the economy and the social sphere are interchangeable, although there are historically formed and relatively stable, even very necessary, areas of strategic importance. It is known that as a result of the first social division of labor, cattle breeding and farming were separated, and then from the latter, handicrafts. Thus, agriculture and the industry created historically as a result of the development and expansion of handicrafts are the most important branches of production of food and production tools, safety products. Construction is meant to create a living environment, production and social infrastructures for the population. Considering the extremely significant importance of the scientific and educational system in the country’s economy, cultural development and security environment, we believe that it is necessary to have separate education management and science and

technology management bodies<sup>22</sup>. The necessity and importance of telecommunications and transport in the era of generalization do not raise doubts. The same applies to healthcare, culture, environmental protection. In general, if the professional division of labor is one of the important elements of creating the organizational structure of organizations, then the first level of public division of labor (according to major branches and sectors) is essential in terms of public administration. The first level of branch and sectoral division of labor must be reflected in the organizational structure of public administration\*, as certain historically formed branches or sectors have a clear and unique mission, and endless intra-sectoral divisions express the directions and priorities of the field's development and are included in sectoral strategies and organizational structures.

Separate objects of public administration are functional: economic, social, financial, as well as territorial spheres, which should also be included in the organizational structure of administration.

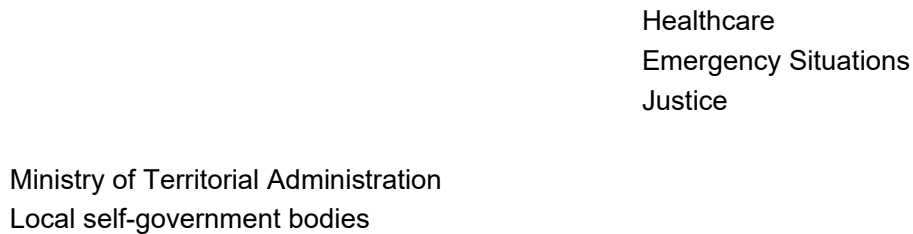
The specified branches and sectors are the minimum that should necessarily be the object of public management intervention. It should also be noted that modern ministries not only coordinate the production (service provision) processes of the sector, but also develop the general strategy of the sector, place and ensure the execution of state orders, if necessary, issue licenses to business structures, thus ensuring the implementation of policies related to the sector.

Accordingly, the public administration system can be characterized by the following structure (figure 3).

RA Constituion	RA President	
Legislative Power	Executive Power	Judicial Power
Deputy Prime Ministers	Prime Minister	
		Security and foreign affairs bodies
Functional ministries		
Finances		Branch (sectoral) ministries
Economic Development		Science and Technologies
Labor and Social Affairs		Education
State Revenue		Culture
RA Central Bank		Industry and Energy
RA National Statistical Service		Agriculture
Other independent constitutional bodies		Telecommunications and Transport
		Construction
		Environment and Ecology

<sup>22</sup> For the justification, see Suvaryan 2020: 100-121.

\* The theory of management explains the necessity of practical management by the vertical division following the horizontal division of work, so it is logical that the organizational structures of management should not be separated from them.



**Figure 3: Public administration bodies**

In the given figure, the bodies necessary for the realization of the constitution and mission of the state have been showed, whose activities are relatively stable and necessary.

During the years of independence of the RA, in accordance with the international experience, the bodies of legislative, executive and judicial power, territorial administration and local self-government were successfully established. Then, at all levels and circles, reforms took place and continue today to achieve higher efficiency. However, the composition and names of the ministries were changed more often, even when in 2005 the structure of the government is defined by law under the adopted constitution. It was believed that it is necessary to find the optimal (best) structure of the government, which corresponds to the mission and long-term strategy of the state administration, and to ensure the flexibility of the administration through the delegation of powers and the definition of tasks. In this sense, the version proposed above meets these requirements and can have a prospective application, because, as already mentioned, it is based on two important prerequisites: its mission, which is the core of the long-term strategy of the state, and the historically formed first level of the social division of labor. Purely as a result of historical-logical analysis, the above-mentioned conclusion was evaluated with the experience of the organizational structure of the governments of some post-Soviet unitary countries (Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan), Eastern European (Poland, Czech Republic) and large federal states (Germany, Russia).<sup>23</sup>

Functional ministries of the economic bloc (of finance, economy) have been established in all countries.

In order to manage the social sphere, the ministries of labor and social security, healthcare, culture, sports, education, and science are functioning in all the surveyed countries.

The management structures of different sectors of the economy, especially real production and services are diverse. All the observed countries have ministries of agriculture.

A national industry management body does not exist in all countries. Where there is no industry department, it is assumed that the policy for the development of the sector

<sup>23</sup> Suvaryan 2020: 128-130.

is developed and implemented in the Ministry of Economy. Meanwhile, the industry has a huge importance in the cultural and strategic development of the country, as well as an integrating and locomotive role for the entire economy. It is possible to effectively implement the branch management function in the presence of professional qualities, development prospects and deep knowledge of market features.

Joint transport and communication management bodies have been established in all the countries surveyed, incorporating modern telecommunications and digitization capabilities.

By the way, a remarkable trend is observed in some of the surveyed countries: the tendency to reduce the number of ministries. It is 11 in Georgia and Estonia, 9 in Latvia, 14 in the Czech Republic, Lithuania and Germany, 17 in Poland and Kazakhstan, and 21 in the Russian Federation. The problem of optimizing the composition of the government, in our opinion, has at least two limitations: the need to reduce the costs of maintaining the state apparatus and the importance of the full and effective implementation of state functions, with the latter taking precedence over the former. Therefore, the reduction of the number of ministries, the minimum standards of which have already been referred to, should not harm the efficiency of public administration, at the same time, to put it mildly, the exaggeration of the state apparatus is not useful either. Thus, supplementing the historical-logical analysis of the problem with the combination of the experience of different countries, it can be generalized that the proposed version of public management of the economy, in addition to meeting the strategic requirements, also meets the above mentioned limitations, is close to the optimum and has practical significance.

## **Conclusion**

The strategy, as a perspective vision of the organization's activity, and the organizational structure, as an environment for ensuring its implementation, are interconnected in terms of content and legal-management aspects. From the substantive point of view, regardless of the level of management, the organizational structure is a derivative of the selected strategy, it must be derived from it, and correspond to the mandatory solution of the set goals and problems. From the legal-managerial point of view, the interactions between the strategy and the organizational structure are coordinated by the regulations of the current legislation, the constitution of the country, the civil code and the charter of the organization.

The purposefulness of the strategy and the effectiveness of the organizational structure can be evaluated by the indicators of the competitiveness and profitability of the organization in the market, by the obtained target results, as well as by expert observations. From the studies, it turns out that the development and implementation of a scientifically sound strategy is not properly emphasized in the organizations currently

operating in the republic, and the linear-functional model of the organizational structure is dominant, there are few flexible design (matrix) options.

At the macro level, the core of the development strategy is the main mission of the state administration: ensuring the necessary standard of living and security of the country's population with the effective use of existing human and natural economic resources. The organizational structure of public administration is objectively and necessarily based on two important premises: its mission, which is the core of the state's long-term strategy, and the historically formed first level of social division of labor.

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FOREIGN SOURCES AND  
AUTHORS ABOUT ARMENIA  
AND ARMENIANS

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TRAVELS  
IN THE  
THREE GREAT EMPIRES  
OF  
AUSTRIA, RUSSIA,  
AND TURKEY.

BY  
*Charles*  
*Boileau*  
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VICAR OF GODALMIN;

(LATE OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE;)

AND AUTHOR OF "LETTERS FROM THE NORTH OF EUROPE."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:  
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,  
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.  
1838.

**TRAVELS IN THE THREE GREAT EMPIRES OF AUSTRIA, RUSSIA, AND TURKEY**  
**Volume 2 (London: 1838)**

**by Charles Boileau Elliott**

**About the author**

Charles Boileau Elliott was an English travel writer. After retiring from the military service in the Bengal Horse Artillery he then occupied different religious offices in England. His extensive diaries present the political, social, and economic conditions of several territories of what is now Austria, Russia, Hungary, Prague, Slovenia, Crimea, Macedonia, and Turkey. The excerpt from his diary is a detailed account of religious life and habits of two Christian nations of the Ottoman Empire – Greeks and Armenians.

**CHAPTER XIV**

**TURKEY, HER CHRISTIAN SUBJECTS**

Rayahs. - Bératlees. - Jews. - Roman Catholics. - Greeks. - Their numbers, personal appearance, dress and character. - Civil degradation. - Anecdote. - Present condition whence originating. -Brighter prospects. - Religious doctrines. - Public services. - Burial-service. Patriarch. -Bishops and clergy. -Marriage of priests. - Curious construction of law. - Deacons. - Avarice. -Simoniacal sales. - Chicanery. - Anecdote. - Armenians. - Their numbers. - Papal and "schismatic." - Anecdote. - Their political influence. - Character. - Person. - Dress. - Females. - Antiquity of language. - King Abgarus's letter to our Lord. - Separation from church. - Catholicos. - Patriarchs. - Bishops. - Priests. -Their qualifications and character. - Ceremonial purity. -Respect for bible. - Translation to Armenian. - Fasts. - Sacrifices. - Masses for dead. -Worship of cross. - Various modes of making sign of cross. - Doctrines. - Monophysitism. - Creed. - Confession. - Worship of virgin and saints. - Sacraments. - Judaism of Armenians. - Doctrines of Greek and Armenian churches compared. - Missionary proceedings in Turkey. - Difficulties and encouragements, State of religion and education among Armenians, Greeks, Jews, and Turks. - Anecdotes. - Concluding reflections.

The subjects of the Ottoman Porte are divided into Mussulmans and rayahs;\* the latter name comprehending Jews and Christians, or all who are not followers of the

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\* The word rayahs is employed throughout this work, as being more familiar to the generality of readers than (riaya), the proper plural of rayah or rayat; the first of which is commonly used by writers on Turkey, the last (generally spelt ryot) by those on India, though the two words are, in fact, identical; the pronunciation of the final letter as *h* or *t* depending on two diacritical points.

prophet. A tax, called kharaj, for permission to retain his faith is demanded from every rayah, except the Bératlees, a small privileged class which includes some of the principal merchants and those who have rendered a service to the state. Besides the exemption referred to, these are liable only to the same custom duties as Europeans, and are entitled to wear yellow slippers: moreover, they are amenable to no courts but those at the seat of government, where they have authorized representatives of their body who defend their rights, and to whom they refer in all cases of injury or affront. It is a remarkable fact that in Turkey during four centuries no amalgamation between the conquerors and the conquered was affected; and no modification attempted of tyranny and slavery. But the present sultan resolved to pierce the cloud of Moslim prejudice which obscured the perceptions of his people, to recognize man as man apart from the prepossessions of bigotry, and to enthrone himself in the affections of the more enlightened, that is the Christian, portion of the population. This, however, was no easy task. By carrying his wishes into full operation, he would have forfeited the hold he yet retained on the hearts of his Mohammedan subjects, and he has therefore been compelled rather to keep within his desires and to await a happier season. At the same time, the rayahs are alive to their favorable position and to the views of their sovereign; nor are they wanting in tendering him a return; very few are to be found who are not grateful for the amelioration of their condition; and their attachment to his person may be regarded as one of the strongest bonds which now hold together the crumbling elements of the empire.

Jews in Turkey, like Jews in every other part of Asia, are objects of pity, whether we regard their physical, moral, or civil condition; they cherish the disease engendered by dirt, because they believe it purifies the blood; they cling to ignorance, because they interpret each effort to instruct into an attempt to Christianize them; and they submit, because without resource, to a double portion of every indignity which a capricious government is pleased to inflict on its helpless dissenting dependents. They are trampled on even by the persecuted Greeks; and are actually obliged, during the week preceding Easter, to confine themselves to their houses, lest they should suffer violence from those whose feelings are more than ordinarily exasperated against the murderers of their Lord at the time when they commemorate his crucifixion. They are addicted to gain because the aristocracy of wealth is the one to which alone they can aspire, and yet poor because the indulgence of their passion enriches only their persecuting lords. Inoffensive and quiet, yet despised and hated, they are compelled to carry about with them a badge of degradation and a lure to insult in the purple color of their slippers and in a peculiar headdress of figured cloth twined round a circular black hat. Thus, while the patois they speak, corrupted from the languages, of Italy and Spain; pants to the latter of those countries as giving them a claim to be regarded as Europeans, they exhibit a condition scarcely to be rivalled by that of the most debased Asiatics.

Of the four great classes of Christians only three are known among Turkish rayahs, as the Protestants resident in the empire are all foreigners, enjoying the protection of the respective European governments to which they are subject. Many of the Roman Catholics are similarly circumstanced: of those who are not so a few are

converts from the Greeks, while some are Armenians and some Syrians by birth. All the other rayahs, constituting the great mass, belong to the Greek and Armenian churches, if we except an inconsiderable number attached to minor sects, inhabiting chiefly Egypt and Syria, as the Copts and Abyssinians.

About two hundred thousand Greeks reside in Constantinople and the neighbouring villages. The principal families have acquired the name of Fanariotes from the quarter they occupy, called the Fanar, which was originally consigned to their ancestors by Mohammed II. when he conquered the last of their emperors, and which has been retained ever since as the residence of their patriarch and of the old Greek nobles, some of whom still live in great splendor.

Both sexes are handsome; the young men particularly so; and the women have bright dark eyes and regular features. The usual robe of the higher classes flows from the neck to the feet, and is buttoned above and girt with a ceinture. Over this is another similar one, or a jacket, the material of which may be cloth, cotton, or silk, according to the weather and the finances of the wearer: when it is of cloth, the edges are often trimmed with fur. For these two garments the lower orders substitute a coarse tight jacket. All use the petticoat trousers of the Turks; while their legs, if not bare, are covered either with stockings or with some of the superabundant folds of the anomalous trousers. The poor wear Frank shoes; the rich, black slippers. The turban is formed by a long strip of cotton cloth rolled round and round a scarlet cap, or fez: it differs from the Moslim head-dress in being very low on the crown, like the slippers restricted by law to a dark color, and tightly twisted; while the Turkish turban, formed of larger folds and raised much higher, exhibits a fuller surface and handsomer appearance. The priests wear a black cloth hat without a brim and with a flat projecting crown. The mass of the Greek women dress in a tight bodice and full petticoat; but the ladies are gradually losing the nationality of their costume, assimilating it to that of western Europe, except the head-dress: this consists either of a scarlet cloth cap, covering the crown and decorated with a silk tassel and a piece of black velvet richly worked in gilt wire, or of a preposterously large toque, shaped like the expanded wings of a butterfly.

The Greeks, for upwards of four centuries groaning under a galling yoke, exhibit in their character all the qualities which servitude engenders. Avaricious, intriguing, treacherous, timid, servile, and immoral, they appear to adapt themselves to every change of circumstances, while vanity prevents them from deviating a single point from their ancient self. In business proverbially dishonest, a Greek's word is ever at discount: his one object is to grasp all he can reach, and it is said that to give a merchant the price he first asks is to render him miserable; for, having obtained it so readily, he is vexed that he did not demand a larger sum.

But more serious charges are brought against them. Scarcely a single Greek family is free from the stain of some disgraceful imputation. The conversation of the ladies, even in the presence of the other sex, is said to be indecorous in the extreme; and so common is it for unmarried females to retire for a few weeks into the country under circumstances the least creditable, that girls of unimpeachable character have

been known to deny themselves the gratification of a temporary absence from home, lest reports unfavorable to them should be circulated.

The civil degradation of this people has already been hinted at. Justice itself can be obtained only by bribes; their vanity is wounded by a prohibition against the use of any bright color either on their houses or in their apparel and against carrying weapons, which form a component part of the dress of the meanest Turk; they cannot even worship God according to the religion of their fathers without purchasing permission; and every now and then their blood is made to boil by some special act of cruelty or oppression. The following occurrence fell under our own observation. A young Greek, while walking in the streets of Smyrna, was seized by order of the governor and hurried to the altar, where, *malgre' lui*, he was united to a girl, whose parents, desiring the match, had bribed the bey to take forcible possession of him. The bishop happened to be in attendance at the church and, not daring to refuse obedience to the mandate of the Moslim, was compelled to perform the ceremony without heeding the remonstrances of the unfortunate bridegroom. A few days after the transaction, the father of the youth calling on one of our acquaintance, bitterly lamented this cruel act of injustice, but concluded his invective against Turkish cruelty with a desponding exclamation, "Yet, what can we do?"

Still, notwithstanding their character and circumstances, the Greeks enjoy some consideration. Religion unites them by a common bond, and this union ensures to them a greater degree of influence and respect than is conceded to either of the other classes of rayahs; at the same time, peculiar causes have tended to raise them from the abyss of degradation in which they were originally sunk under their present masters. The natural indolence of the Turks prompts them to disengage themselves, as much as possible, from all cares, even those of government; and in their Greek subjects they found men at once able and willing to relieve them of the duties which involve labor, either in execution or previous qualification; accordingly, the office of dragoman was, at an early period of their history, entirely resigned to Greeks, who consequently assumed the management of all diplomatic negotiations. The Turks thus became more and more dependent on their interpreters, who acquired increased influence, which they never failed to exert for the exaltation of themselves and their nation; till, by degrees, the Greeks were relieved from the most irksome of the restraints with which they were shackled; the demand of every fifth child to be made a soldier and a Turk was suspended; and the government of the two large principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia was set apart as a prize for the most deserving or the most powerful among them. But this boon has lately been "taken out of their hands to be restored to those of native boiars, and their influence has proportionately suffered.

Great, however, as is this loss of political power, it may be more than repaired, if the nation itself shall awake to the destinies that seem to be opening upon her, and to those principles from which alone permanent honor and excellence can emanate. In this case, the Greeks will not be suffered to constitute an ignoble exception to the advance that every nation of Europe is making in education and intelligence. The spirit of the ancient men of Athens, which has for many centuries slumbered the grave of a nation's

liberty, is already re-exhibiting signs of animation, rousing itself to throw off the incumbent weight of despotism and ignorance, and preparing to infuse a new principle of vitality into elements long mouldering in decay. The descendants of Plato and Solon, endowed, as they are, with remarkable acuteness and intelligence, are now putting forth their native talents, and the time is probably approaching when the name of Greek will cease to be associated with a state of moral and intellectual degradation such as has hitherto debased the slaves of Turkey. - Is it altogether visionary to indulge a hope that at some future period this name will attain to a glory exceeding that with which it was invested in ancient days; when the *pure* light of Christianity shall shed its hallowed radiance over the successful efforts of genius and learning?

The Greeks hold many tenets at variance with the creed of the Roman Catholics. The Bible and the first seven general councils are the standard of their faith. They maintain that the Holy Ghost proceeds not from the Father and the Son, - a doctrine they regard as blasphemy, - but from the Father only. They admit no previous dispensation for the omission of any religious duty; but yield full absolution after the commission of sin, and reject the doctrine of purgatory. They deny the pope's infallibility; and refuse to admit images into their churches and houses, though they advocate the legitimacy of picture worship. They baptize by immersion; and use leavened bread and wine unmixed with water in the sacrament of the eucharist, which they administer in both kinds to the laity by dipping the bread in the wine, but from which a restored apostate is entirely excluded, except in the hour of dissolution. They require their priests to be ceremonially clean when administering mass, and prohibit women from participating in it till forty days after the birth of a child. They fast, not on Friday and Saturday, but on Wednesday and Friday; urging that it was on a Wednesday that Christ foretold that he should be betrayed, and on a Friday that he was betrayed.

Like the Latins, they acknowledge the corporeal presence, encourage confession, venerate saints, and pray to the virgin, whom they designate Παναγία, (Panagia), or Most Holy, maintaining zealously her perpetual virginity.

The Greeks have three daily masses; namely, at 4 and 7 A.M., and at sunset; all performed in the ancient language, unintelligible to the people: and the priests are further required to repeat forty Kyrie eleesons thrice every day, and the book of Psalms once a week. Some of their offices are very solemn, particularly that for the dead. The corpse, preceded by a number of the clergy, is carried through the streets on an open bier, dressed in the ordinary costume of life and covered with flowers, with a hat or turban on the head and the face exposed to view. After a service in the church, from which the following is an extract,\* the friends and acquaintance assemble round the deceased and kiss his forehead; they then follow the body to the grave, in which it is deposited in a common wooden coffin.

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\* The author is indebted for this translation, and for some valuable information regarding the peculiar tenets of the various sects in the Ottoman empire, to the Rev. William Jowett's Christian Researches in the Mediterranean.

"Come, Brethren, and let us give the last embrace to the deceased, thanking God! He hath left his kindred; he is borne to the grave, no longer heeding the things of vanity and of the burdensome flesh. Where now are kindred and friends? Now we are separated! Whom let us pray the Lord to take to his rest.

"What a separation, O brethren! What woe, what wailing, in the present change! Come, then, let us embrace him who a little while ago was with us. He is consigned to the grave; he is covered with a stone; his abode is with darkness; he is buried with the dead! Now we are separated! Whom let us pray the Lord to take to his rest.

"Now all the evil and vain festivity of life are dissolved, for the spirit hath left its tabernacle, the clay hath become black; the vessel is broken, speechless, void of feeling, dead, motionless! Whom consigning to the grave, let us pray the Lord to give him rest for ever.

"Truly, like a flower, and as a vapor, and as morning dew, is our life. Come then, let us look down narrowly into the grave! Where is the comeliness of the body, and where is youth? Where are the eyes and the beauty of the flesh? All are withered like grass, all are vanished. Come then, let us fall before Christ in tears!

"Come hither, ye descendants of Adam! Let us behold committed to the earth one who was of our likeness; all his comeliness cast away, dissolved in the grave, food for worms; in darkness, covered with earth! Now we are separated! Whom let us pray the Lord to take to his rest!"

The head of the Greek church is the patriarch who resides at Constantinople, being chosen by twelve archbishops and bishops, and approved by the sultan: he retires after a certain time from the duties of his high station, and lives upon what he may have accumulated, always retaining the title of expatriarch. Besides the metropolitan there are three other patriarchs in Turkey, and about a hundred and twenty bishops and archbishops.

The clergy are divided into two classes, monastic and secular. The former reserve to themselves all the high ecclesiastical offices by enforcing the law which requires every parish priest to marry, and precludes him, when married or a widower, from rising to any superior dignity in the church: but though, when bereaved of his partner, he be thus debarred from promotion, yet he is not suffered to unite himself to a second wife; for the Greek church forbids its disciples to marry more than three times, and applies the rule to the holy order with this curious construction: their first marriage is to Christ in their ordination as deacons; their second to Him in their ordination as priests; their third to their wives; and, as no one may marry four times, if they lose their wives they must remain widowers till death.

To convey an adequate idea of the degradation of the clergy and of their ignorance would be difficult. They are generally very illiterate and taken from the dregs of the people; thus, our cook was a candidate for the ministry; and each is compelled to act for some time in the capacity of servant to a clerical superior, performing the most menial offices, before he is eligible to the order of priesthood: in this state he is called a deacon, is boarded by his master, and receives from the community a suit of clothes

and three or four pounds a year: many are deacons all their lives; and few, when entering into holy orders, venture to aspire to the high office of a preacher.

Avarice appears to be the besetting sin of the Greek clergy; and even when due allowance has been made for their inadequate provision and the struggle they have to maintain with poverty, they still appear grasping and mercenary in the extreme. Money is the god at whose shrine they sacrifice; and the essentials of religion may be said to be unknown to men whose minds are diverted from its spiritual requirements by the ceremonies, processions, and fasts enjoined by their ritual. Every sacred service is made a matter of barter; and in their churches we have seen two large desks, at which, during divine worship, approaching marriages, funerals, and even sacraments are estimated and paid for. How would such traffic have been regarded by Him who scourged the money-changers out of the temple?

Nor, unhappily, is the love of gold confined to the inferior clergy; it governs the proceedings of the ecclesiastical department, from the highest to the lowest, and gives rise to a system of intrigue which pervades the whole hierarchy and enters into every transaction between themselves and their rulers. Would a priest be invested with a mitre? He must fee his immediate superiors. Would a bishop secure the office of patriarch? He must present a handsome sum to the principal Turkish ministers, and distribute his favors among the influential of his own party. Would a patriarch retain his seat on the "patriarchal throne" with his title of Ἀγιώτατος, or "Most Holy?" His protectors must be continually bribed, and the envy of his episcopal brethren similarly warded off. To answer these demands, he must rob the church; and while so doing, he must secure something for himself against the probably approaching day of deposition or exile. But even among the most depraved, the voice of conscience will sometimes be heard. The owner of an English merchantman trading between Trebizond and Smyrna told us that two of his passengers were a bishop and archbishop of the Russo-Greek church. The vessel encountered a severe gale and was nearly wrecked. The two prelates manifested the greatest terror, and began to confess their sins to one another. They then implored our informant to put back; and, conscience-stricken, declared, like Jonah, that the storm was sent in token of divine wrath against their impiety. Shortly after, the captain succeeded in making a port, when they left the ship and pursued their journey by land.

The number of Armenians now residing in Constantinople and its environs is about three hundred thousand, of whom about thirty thousand owe allegiance to the see of Rome. These, as well as their brethren acknowledging the pope in all parts of Turkey, consider themselves more as Franks than as Asiatics; they court the society of Europeans, and dislike their own countrymen, yielding to the efforts of Roman Catholic emissaries, whose object is to substitute attachment to Rome and her people for national prepossessions. Only six years ago an order was issued, on a suspicion that the Papal Armenians sided with the Russians, requiring them all to quit the metropolis within a few days. It was the depth of winter and snow lay deep on the ground;



consequently, very many died, and many more would have perished had it not been for the humanity of the Turks living at Scutari, who received them into their houses.\*

With the exception of this comparatively small number, all the Armenians, much more than the Greeks, assimilate with their rulers in habits and manners. Being originally Asiatic, and having no connection with Europe, there is only the one point of religion which forms a necessary distinction between them and the Turks. They are consequently contented and loyal. Engrossed in mercantile concerns and occupying the chief posts as bankers, they not only have their all at stake in the country, but by means of their wealth they exercise over its administration an influence of a most extensive and peculiar character: in fact, they may be regarded as the secret machinery which regulates the internal movements of the government. By giving security to the sultan for the payment of the whole annual revenue of each province, of which they are every year required to advance a portion on behalf of the native governor before it is collected, they hold all the pashas as their debtors, and can ensure a compliance with the most unreasonable demands under a threat of insisting on an immediate payment of their bonds. Thus they become the virtual viceroys of the provinces, in which their sway is almost unrestricted; and no pasha is in a position to object to any impost which his banker may choose to levy on the people, when reminded by the man of money that the tribute he has advanced, with the interest it bears, - an interest limited only by the means of extortion, - is yet unpaid. Nor is the power of the Armenians confined to oppressive exactions in the interior of the country: in the capital their collective body possesses so great an influence that they can generally obtain the deposition of any pasha who refuses to submit to the conventional laws they have established for the regulation of a system which involves their wealth and aggrandizement.

As individuals, the Armenians are mild, peaceable, and diligent, but proud, vindictive, dishonest, and immoral. In person, the men are good-looking. The women are pretty, but destitute of expression, to obtain which they anoint their eyelids with antimony and their cheeks with rouge. The costume of the men resembles in its main points that of the Greeks, but it is distinguished by some peculiarities, the most striking of which is the *kalpack*, a head-dress resembling a balloon put out of shape by a square frame of wire fitted into it, so as to form four angles. This *kalpack* is either white, brown, green, or half black and half scarlet. The outer and inner robes are always long, reaching from the neck to the feet; the one closed in front by means of a girdle; the other open. The women can scarcely be distinguished from the Turkish, except that, like their countrymen, they are forbidden to wear yellow slippers, and make use of red.

Armenian females are in a state of degradation equal to that exhibited under the influence of Mohammedanism; and their education is wholly neglected, since they are regarded in other light than as appendages to the other sex. Marriages are effected without the consent of the parties, who are often betrothed as early as three or four years of age, and wedded, the girls at ten, the boys at fourteen. A man's mother

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\* The order was subsequently evoked through the interference of the three great powers, and the Papal Armenians were permitted to return.

generally rules his house, while his wife is a mere cipher in it, and obliged, on every occasion, to submit her will to that of her mother-in-law: she is not permitted to sit while her husband is in the room, nor to speak unless spoken to, till she bear a child; she takes no share in the entertainment of her husband's guests, unless it be that of a servant, in which case she appears with her face concealed; and it is considered indelicate for a young woman to raise her voice above a whisper before a stranger. A husband and wife may be separated by mutual consent, or on account of the last excesses of immorality on the part of the latter, but neither is at liberty to contract a new marriage; and divorce is not sanctioned by the law nor the church.

The Armenians have a tradition that their ancestors were taught astronomy and husbandry by Noah. They believe their language to be of greater antiquity than the Hebrew, the first medium, in fact, of communication in the garden of Eden; and they argue that, as the ark rested on Ararat, the descendants of those who settled in its neighbourhood were the most likely to retain the original tongue: Their conversion to the Christian faith is referred by them to the time of our Lord himself. Their king Abgarus, having heard of his miracles, despatched two messengers with a prayer that he would heal him of a severe disease, sending, at the same time, some valuable presents, including the "sacred and mysterious" coat without seam, for which the soldiers subsequently cast lots. In the letter transmitted by these deputies he addressed Christ by his own titles as sovereign of Armenia and Assyria, offering him those kingdoms, and stating his own readiness and that of his people to submit themselves entirely to him. Our Lord, being about to suffer, replied that he must fulfil the Holy Scriptures, and could not, therefore, accede to the king's request to visit him in person; but that he would shortly send an apostle to restore him to health. Accordingly, St. Thaddeus afterwards went to Edessa, where, preaching the gospel to Abgarus, he healed and baptized him. The baptism of their sovereign was followed by the adoption of Christianity as the religion of his subjects, who have held, as they consider, the faith of Jesus undefiled from that day to the present. Tradition adds that one of these deputies was a painter, and wished to take the Saviour's portrait on a cloth prepared for that purpose; but, as his face was illuminated by so bright a halo of glory that the artist could not succeed, Christ, willing to gratify his laudable desire, caused his likeness to be miraculously impressed on the cloth, which he directed to be given to the king with a written reply to his letter. The genuineness of the first of the two letters referred to has been a subject of much dispute among the learned: it was maintained by St. Augustine, who says that our Lord promised Abgarus that his city of Edessa should be impregnable; and Addison on the same subject observes, "Had we such an evidence for any fact in pagan history an author would be thought very unreasonable who should reject it."\*

The Armenians separated from the Christian church A. D. 535, eighty-four years after the council of Chalcedon: the secession was perfected in sixteen years; and in the year 551, in the patriarchate of Moses the first, they commenced an era of their own, which has ever since been substituted by them for the Christian. Their patriarchs are

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\* Addison on the Christian religion. Sect. I.

five in number, who reside respectively at Cis near Tarsus, Constantinople, Aghtamar on the great lake Van, Jerusalem, and the monastery of Etchmiazin near Erivan. The last-mentioned is the head of the church, and is called *catholicos*<sup>1</sup>. He is the only person who has power to ordain bishops and to consecrate the *meiron*, or holy oil, used in confirmation, ordination, and other religious ceremonies; whose virtue consists in a miracle said to be performed at the time of consecration, when it is made to boil without the application of heat. The patriarchs of Cis and Aghtamar have the powers and privileges of a *catholicos* within their own narrow limits; but, with these small exceptions, the authority of the prelate of Etchmiazin has been admitted by the whole Armenian nation ever since the year 1441, when Armenia proper seceded from the jurisdiction of the see of Cis. A few years ago, however, Etchmiazin fell into the hands of Russia; since which period the Porte has striven to sever the link which unites the Armenians of Turkey to their spiritual head by directing their allegiance to the patriarch of Cis, who is still a Turkish subject.

While the *catholicos* of Etchmiazin is the spiritual superior, the patriarch of Constantinople is the avowed secular head of the Armenian church: he is elected by twenty-four lay primates, chosen to fill that office on account of superior wealth, talents, or influence; and is then confirmed by the sultan. In ecclesiastical matters he does not rank above any other bishop; but, with the Turkish government, he is the only acknowledged representative of the Armenian rayahs: through him all applications are transmitted, and all orders issued; and he receives an annual tribute from every bishop, which was paid even by his spiritual superior of Etchmiazin, till the latter became a Russian subject. From these tributes he satisfies the one impost levied by Turkey on the Armenians as a body; except that collected by the patriarch of Jerusalem, who pays direct to the Porte, and is independent of his brother at Constantinople. He is, moreover, vested with a certain judicial authority over his own people, in virtue of which he presides over a court of "prèmiere instance" he takes note of births, deaths, and marriages; and supplies the certificate, without which no Armenian can obtain a passport.

Formerly the prelate resident at the capital had no powers beyond those of any other bishop; but after his elevation to a patriarchate, the *catholicos* of Etchmiazin resigned to him the appointment of suffragans to their dioceses within the limits of his jurisdiction. The number of prelates is not limited by the number of sees; and any convent that presents a petition in favor of an individual whom it desires as its president may ensure his consecration by a handsome present. In the Armenian, as in the Greek, church, every secular priest must be married; but this is not enough; he must be a father before he can undertake the charge of a parish: if he become a widower, he must enter a convent and remain such; but, unlike the Greek priest similarly circumstanced, he is eligible to the highest ecclesiastical honors. No qualification is required of a candidate

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<sup>1</sup> This word was originally only a prefix to episcopos, just as the pope is called "universal bishop," and has a similar, though more limited, signification.

for holy orders but that he should be able to read; many cannot write; and few, by comparison, are familiar with the old and dead language of Armenia, in which all their theological works are written, and which differs as much from that now spoken, as ancient Greek from Romaic: they do not generally maintain a high moral character; but, on the contrary, are as careless, indolent, and self-indulgent, as they are illiterate. Pastors are never nominated to parishes by the bishop, but selected by the congregation; the diocesan, however, has the power of deposition. The parish priest very seldom preaches; this duty being performed by a *vartabed*, or preacher, appointed for the purpose; while the former confines himself to the daily routine of church services, confessing, baptizing, marrying, and burying. As the sons of Aaron were required to be ceremonially clean when offering sacrifices, so is the Armenian priest when celebrating the mass, which is a supposed renewal of the sacrifice of Christ; and with this view, he is called upon to separate himself from his family and to devote himself entirely to religious services, passing his nights as well as his days in the temple for a month and a half: this period is divided into three, during the first and last of which he is occupied in baptizing, administering extreme unction, celebrating marriages, and making wafers for the use of the church; and only during the middle period of fifteen days is he permitted to celebrate the mass. A similar seclusion and appropriation of himself to religious duties is required for fifteen days before and after every repetition of that sacrament.

The Armenians entertain a profound respect for the Bible, copying it on their knees, and covering it with a binding enchased with silver: the laity are obliged to solicit a special permission to read it, which they do with the head uncovered. For a hundred and twenty years after their conversion to Christianity, they made use of the Greek language in their public services; but no sooner had they formed for themselves an alphabet than the Bible was translated from the Greek, A. D. 410, into their vulgar tongue. This translation is still used: it is the oldest Armenian book, and one of the oldest manuscripts of the Sacred Scriptures, now extant; and, as such, it would be invaluable, were it not for the alterations effected in the thirteenth century by the false zeal of Hethem (Hethum – ed.), king of Armenia, who became a Franciscan friar, and introduced into it from the vulgate several corruptions favorable to the papists.

The Armenians are exceedingly rigid in their fasts. Besides the whole season of Lent, they have ten others of five days each; and one of eight, together with every Wednesday and Friday, making in all two hundred and two days in a year. During these periods they abstain from flesh, fish, butter, oil; milk, and wine: and in addition, their priests observe two other fasts of fifty days each, one before Christmas, the other before the anniversary of the transfiguration; but during these two seasons they indulge in eggs, butter, and milk; and on Saturday and Sunday they drink wine.

One of their modes of dispensing charity is very peculiar. They say that when, after a long defection, a portion of their nation reembraced Christianity at the preaching of St. Gregory Loosavoritch, the priests, who used to be supported by the heathen sacrifices, requested him to provide for their sustenance. He accordingly directed that they should have a tithe of the produce of the land; and that the people, now relieved from the burden of sacrifices to other gods, should dedicate them to Jehovah in the

name of the dead, "as a charity to the hungry". On the strength of this tradition they occasionally devote as an offering for their deceased friends an ox or a sheep, taking it first to the door of the church, placing salt before the altar, reading the Scriptures, praying for the departed, and finally giving the salt for the animal to be eaten. The victim is then slain and shared between the priest, the poor, and the friends of the deceased; while, with Levitical scrupulosity, they guard against any portion remaining till the following day. Similar sacrifices are offered at Easter and on the great festivals of the saints; but always in the name of the dead, and as an eleemosynary gift, never as a propitiatory oblation.

Though they profess to deny the existence of a state of purgatory, yet occasionally, and on certain days, they say masses for the dead, in memory of whom they keep lamps burning all night. The stated seasons are the day of the funeral, and the seventh, fifteenth, fortieth and three hundred and sixty-fifth day after it. Besides praying for their deceased friends, they burn incense over their graves, especially on Saturday evening, and give alms on their behalf, believing that this will redound to their merit. For a whole year after the loss of a near relation, women never quit their houses, even to attend divine service. Every person bequeaths to the church a silver cross bearing his name, which varies in size with the means of the testator.

They hold the original cross in high veneration, regarding it as an effective intercessor with the Father for the sins of the world, as is proved by the following words in their prayer book: -"Through the supplications of the holy cross, the silent intercessor, O merciful God, have compassion upon the spirits of the dead:" and again, "Let us supplicate from the Lord the great and mighty power of the holy cross for the benefit of our souls." Imitations of this sacred object in wood and metal are much in vogue with them; but these, prior to use, must be dipped in water and wine: to worship them before this immersion is a breach of the second commandment; to worship them after, is consistent, they say, with Scripture; for in the ceremony Christ has united himself to the cross, making it his "throne," his "chariot," his "weapon;" and the spiritual eye sees not the material substance, but Him who is united to it.

It is this veneration of the cross which confers on its sign such a virtue. One of the chief Christian duties, in the estimation of an Armenian, is to cross himself frequently, and, above all, in the due canonical form, placing the thumb and three fingers together, then touching, in succession the forehead, the bottom of the chest, the left breast, and the right breast, saying with this action the following words, to synchronize exactly with the quadruple movement of the arms," In the name of the Father,- and of the Son,-and of the Holy-Ghost." The Armenians and Papists perform this ceremony alike; the Greeks, besides touching the right before the left breast, (an unpardonable sin!) use but two fingers and the thumb, intending thereby to symbolize the Holy Trinity; while the Jacobites, Copts, and Abyssinians manifest their monophysitism by employing only one finger. The Armenians reason curiously regarding the merit of making the sacred sign. By it they "profess to signify, First, a belief in the Trinity, since the three persons are named; and Secondly, in the mediatorial work of Christ; since the act of carrying the hand from the forehead to the chest represents his descent from heaven to earth, and

its motion from the left to the right breast intimates that he delivered the saints that were in *hades*, and made them worthy of heaven." They make this mystical sign as often as they kneel, rise from prayer, retire to rest, get up, dress, wash, eat, drink, or enter upon any important business. They believe it will render their prayers, acceptable and facilitate their work, guard them from evil spirits, and strengthen them against sin.

The leading feature in the Armenian creed is the error of Eutyches, who maintained that there was but one nature in Christ, the human being wholly absorbed in the divine. Though they rejected the council of Chalcedon, and though an assembly of bishops who met A.D. 491 anathematized Eutyches, yet in a council, held A. D. 520, under the patriarch Nerses the Second at Thevin, the monophysite doctrine was avowedly espoused, and the words "who wast crucified for us" were inserted in the trisagion\*, thus making God the Father the passible victim of his own justice. This was the consummation of the heresy for which, upwards of twenty years before, the rest of the Christian church had denounced the Armenians; and their separation became from that time inevitable and permanent. On this doctrine, however, it is extremely difficult to ascertain accurately their opinion. Their own statement is, that they hold but one nature in Christ, not denying the human as did Apollinaris, nor confounding the two as did Eutyches, nor dividing them as did Nestorius, but believing that the divine and human natures were so united as to form but one, in the same way that the soul and body constitute but one person. An ecclesiastic in Armenia informed an American missionary of our acquaintance that his church maintains the existence of only one will, as well as only one nature, in Christ; thus representing it as tainted no less with the monothelite, than with the monophysite, heresy.

The creed, which the Armenians repeat daily, is peculiar to themselves, and involves, among much that is scriptural, some doctrines in which they differ from Papists, Greeks, and Protestants. The following is the translation of a portion of it\*. The priest, standing with his face to the west, says, "We renounce the devil and all his arts and wiles, his counsel, his ways, his evil angels, his evil ministers, the evil executors of his will; and all his evil power renouncing, we renounce." Then turning towards the east, he says, "We confess and believe; with the whole heart, in God the Father, uncreated,

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\* The trisagion is the following ejaculation, with the objectionable words inserted: "O holy God, holy strong, and holy immortal, who was crucified for us, have mercy upon us!"

\* Messrs. Smith and Dwight, two American missionaries now in the Levant, were among the first, if they be not still the only, Protestants who have explored Armenia, with the express object of collecting information regarding the religion and habits of the people. To the journal and conversation of these gentlemen, especially Mr. Smith, under whose hospitable roof he was entertained at the foot of mount Lebanon, the author is indebted for this creed and the following form of confession, as also for nearly all the little information he has gleaned respecting the habits and doctrines of the Armenians. Regarding their statements as peculiarly authentic, he has been induced to dilate on a subject at once so new and so interesting to many readers: in doing which, he has entered into some details that, perhaps, more strictly apply to the Armenians of Armenia Proper than to their brethren at Constantinople, who may have lost some little (though less than might be expected) of their peculiarities as a nation and a church.

unbegotten, and without beginning, both begetter of the Son, and sender of (literally, *from whom proceeds*;) the Holy Ghost. We believe in God the Word, uncreated, begotten and begun of the Father before all eternity; not posterior nor younger, but as long as the Father is Father, the Son is Son with him. We believe in God the Holy Ghost, uncreated, unbegotten, but proceeding from the Father, partaking of the Father's essence, and of the Son's glory. We believe in the Holy Trinity, one substance, one divinity, not three Gods but one God, one will, one kingdom, one dominion, creator of all things visible and invisible. We believe in the forgiveness of sins, in the Holy Church, with the communion of saints. We believe that one of the three persons, God the Word, was before all eternity begotten of the Father, and perfect God became man, with spirit, soul, and body, one person, one attribute, and one united nature; God became man without change, and without variation. As there is no beginning of his divinity, so there is no end of his humanity, for Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever."

After this creed a form of confession is used for the whole congregation, which, at the conclusion of the service, is repeated by each individual who wishes to be absolved; when the priest sits on the ground in a corner of the church, and the penitent kneels by his side with his, or her, head in his lap. The form is in all cases the same. With a few expressions omitted and the indelicacy of others corrected, it is as follows: "I have sinned against the most holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and I confess before God, the holy mother of God, and before thee, holy father, all the sins I have committed. For I have sinned in thought, in word, and in deed; voluntarily and involuntarily, knowingly and ignorantly: I have sinned against God. I have sinned with my spirit and its faculties, with my mind and its acts, with my body and its senses. I have sinned with the faculties of my spirit; by cunning and by folly, by audacity and by cowardice, by prodigality and by avarice, by dissipation and by injustice, by love of evil, by desperation, and by mistrust: I have sinned against God. I have sinned with the evil devices of my mind; by artifice, by malice, by vindictiveness, by envy, by jealousy, by dissoluteness, by unchaste propensities: I have sinned against God. I have sinned with the lusts of my body, by sensuality, by sloth, by the yawning of sleep; by the acts of the body and by the commission of divers kinds of impurity, by the hearing of my ears, by the shamelessness of my eyes, by incontinence, by gluttony, and by drunkenness: I have sinned against God. I have sinned with the evil speaking of my tongue; by lying, by false swearing, by perjury, by contentiousness, by disputing, by defamation, by flattery, by tale-bearing, by idleness, by mockery, by vain conversation, by talking heresy, by cursing, complaining, backbiting, and blaspheming: I have sinned against God. I have sinned with every joint of my frame and every member of my body, with my seven senses and my six operations: I have sinned against God. I have also sinned by committing the seven transgressions, the mortal sins; by pride and its varieties, by envy and its varieties, by anger and its varieties, by sloth and its varieties, by covetousness and its varieties, by gluttony and its varieties, by lasciviousness and its varieties. I have also sinned against all the commands of God, both the positive and the negative; for I have neither done what is commanded, nor abstained from what is forbidden. I have received the law, and come short of it. I have been invited to the rites of Christianity,

and by my conduct have been found unworthy; knowing the evil, I have voluntarily debased myself, and of myself have departed from good works. Ah me! Ah me! Ah me! which shall I tell? Or which shall I confess? For my transgressions cannot be numbered, my iniquities cannot be told, my pains are irremissible, my wounds are incurable! I have sinned against God! Holy father, I have thee for an intercessor and a mediator of reconciliation with the only begotten Son of God. That by the power given unto thee thou wouldest loose me from the bands of my sins, thee I supplicate!"

This form has the merit of being so general that no one repeating it can stand acquitted at the bar of conscience; at the same time, it is open to the charge of being so minute that few will acknowledge themselves guilty in every point adverted to. The simple and beautiful confession which our church puts into the mouth of her children is entirely free from this fault, and strikingly exhibits that excellence; for each clause is equally adapted to, and equally convicts, every individual: the sinner overwhelmed with a sense of guilt could not say more, while the saint on the point of entering into glory would not express less, than is included in its comprehensive and deeply penitential strains. It is worthy of remark that the Armenians themselves are so conscious of the impossibility of particularizing every possible species of transgression, an attempt to do which constitutes the main defect of their form, when cleansed of its indelicacies, - that, previous to absolution, another confession is generally called for of the peculiar sins, not specified in the canonical summary, which the penitent may feel to weigh heavily on his conscience.

In several respects the Armenian church is chargeable with errors similar to those of the Roman Catholic. Saints and angels are so exalted that the "One mediator between God and man" is almost lost sight of. Prayers and supplications are offered "through the intercession of the holy mother of God, and of John the Baptist, and of St. Stephen the protomartyr, and of St. Gregory Loosavoritch, through the memory and prayer of the saints, and for the sake of the holy cross;" and even when they are addressed directly to the second person in the Trinity, they are urged with some such plea as this: "O gracious Lord, for the sake of thy holy, immaculate, and virgin mother, and of the precious cross, accept our prayer and make us live." The virgin is over-estimated quite as much by the one church as by the other. The German missionaries at Shoosha heard an emissary of the *catholicos* of Etchmiazin preach a sermon in which he made use of these words: "As Adam could not live without the woman, neither can Christ be mediator without Mary; she is the queen mentioned in the 45th Psalm; the most beautiful of women whose charms are celebrated in the Song of Solomon; and as Christ did all that she required at the marriage in Cana, so will he now always regard her intercessions." On another occasion the same divine is said to have asserted, not only that Christ could not be mediator without Mary, but even that he would take upon himself to affirm that she is equal to either of the persons in the holy Trinity!"\* In the

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\* Though instances of this character serve rather to exhibit the ignorance of an individual than the errors of the church to which he belongs, yet enough has been already stated to prove that the doctrines and acknowledged formularies of the Armenian church lead to such excesses.



common prayer-book she is called the "mediator of the world, seraph of dust, more famous than the cherubim." Though the Armenians do not hold her freedom from original guilt, so strongly advocated by Greeks and Papists, yet they assert that she ceased to be susceptible of sin from the moment that the incarnate Word was conceived in her, and they believe in the miraculous assumption of her body into heaven.

Like the Romanists also, they hold seven sacraments; namely, baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, ordination, marriage, and extreme unction; and in the celebration of the Lord's supper they use unleavened bread. With the Papists, too, they maintain the corporeal presence of Christ in the consecrated elements, declaring that the human soul and the divinity of our Lord, as well as his body, are present in the bread and wine; therefore they pray, " May these (the bread and wine) be for justification, propitiation, and remission of sins, to all of us who draw near!"

In the administration of baptism and the eucharist the Armenians follow the Greeks, except in a few trifling particulars. Like them, they baptize by immersion, first sprinkling water thrice over the face in the name of the Holy Trinity, and then immersing the body as often to intimate that Christ remained three days in the grave. This sacrament, which can under no circumstances be administered out of a church, is generally celebrated on the eighth day; and, strange as it may appear, the child is confirmed at the same time by anointing with the meiron the forehead, and the organs of the five senses; that is, the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, and hands and feet: the infant is made a partaker of the communion immediately after, by rubbing his lips with the sacred elements ; and, lest he should, at the moment of death, be so circumstanced as not to be able then to receive extreme unction from the hand of a priest, that sacrament also is administered with the other three to a babe eight days old! Again, like the Greeks, in opposition to the Papists, the Armenians use wine unmixed with water in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, of which they allow the laity to partake in both kinds by dipping the consecrated wafer in the wine. On the exhibition of the host, the priest exhorts the congregation to salute one another with a holy kiss, in token of congratulation for Christ's presence among them; and the exhortation is compiled with either in fact or in form.

In some respects the Armenians Judaize: for instance, they offer up sacrifices of animals on the festival of the virgin, besides those referred to for the souls of deceased friends; they abstain from unclean meats, as pork and hare; and enjoin on females and priests ceremonial cleanness, as above noticed.

As the differences between the Greek and Armenian churches relate to very minute points, and are yet maintained with a violence which engenders mutual hatred exceeding that borne by either party to any other class of religionists, it may be interesting to exhibit those discrepancies in juxtaposition as accurately as a limited acquaintance with the subject will allow.

1. The Armenians use *unleavened* bread in the sacrament of the eucharist.
2. They do *not* maintain the virgin's freedom from original sin.
3. They touch the *left breast before the right*, in making the sign of the cross.

4. They offer *sacrifices*.
5. They *abstain* from unclean meats.
6. They never admit *females* as baptismal sponsors, nor suffer a *layman* to baptize.
7. They *allow* ecclesiastics, who have been married and have lost their wives, to attain higher grades in the church.
8. Their sacred *festivals differ* both in the time of celebration\* and in number, the Armenians *not* having increased their's since the date of their separation from the universal church.
9. But the principal difference consists in the attachment of the Armenians to the *monophysite* heresy, which teaches that the human nature of Christ was absorbed in the divine, and, therefore, that God *suffered*.

Considerable efforts have been made by English and American missionaries to instruct the rayahs in Constantinople, as well as in other parts of the Ottoman empire, especially in Smyrna. Several schools have been established, in which, after learning to read and write, the children are taught the doctrines of Scripture without any direct reference to the heterodoxies of their own creed. The inculcation of truth is found to be the surest safeguard against error; and though, in after years, some may love darkness rather than light, yet there is ground to hope that many will continue to hold the essentials of Christianity learnt in childhood, without yielding to the heresies promulgated by their mother-church.

But the anticipations of those who expect much to be effected in a very short time by mere human agency are not likely to be realized. A rapid transition from a state of extreme debasement to moral excellence is an anomaly in the history of man; and here, the peculiar character of the people opposes more than ordinary barriers to the introduction of truth. The object of every one is to conceal his transactions, his plans, and his feelings; to be "politic;" to steer between extremes; to keep well with all parties: and this spirit infects the converts to Protestantism in common with all their countrymen. Such as are convinced of the errors of their church and wish well to the missionary cause are long, very long, before they will express boldly their opinions or commit themselves by any overt act of participation; and even when they have once done so, their continued adherence is by no means certain. Thus, the missionary's difficulties are increased, his patience tried, and his harvest deferred. Still, the work is progressing; the seed is being sown; and here and there a plant, springing up in the ungenial soil, bears fruit.

Of all the rayahs the Armenians are in the most hopeful state. Among them a spirit of enquiry on religious subjects has been excited: many are dissatisfied with their own teachers and, like Pilate, enquiring "What is truth?" Some young men were pointed out to us who always carry their Bibles in their bosoms; and a peculiarly interesting and

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\* Thus the Armenians celebrate our Lord's nativity fourteen days after the Greeks; and, as they believe that on the thirtieth anniversary of that event he was baptized, the nativity and baptism are commemorated on the same day. Like the Greeks, they adhere to the old style.

encouraging circumstance lately occurred here. An Armenian, of good family and unusual talent, was led to see the anti-scriptural nature of many of the doctrines in which he had been educated, and yielded his unqualified assent to the simple truths of the word of God, as set before him by Protestant ministers. After much deliberation, he decided that he would not voluntarily leave his own church, as by so doing he should diminish his sphere of usefulness; he therefore abstained from any formal act of separation, but continued to associate intimately with the American missionaries, and even to teach in their schools. The keen and jealous eye of his ecclesiastical superiors did not long overlook this advance of truth against error: the convert was accused by a priest of holding heterodox opinions, and was summoned to answer the charge before a council appointed by the patriarch to enquire into the matter. In his defence he referred exclusively to the Sacred Scriptures; such evidence could not be gainsaid by men professing themselves Christians; and after an examination, extended through several days, he was declared perfectly orthodox, while his accuser was denounced as an infidel. The Armenian convert having identified himself with the "Bible-men," (as the missionaries are designated,) his cause was theirs: with his theirs would have fallen; and with his it was confirmed and established to the great dismay of the hostile party, who, in full assurance of victory, had prepared a list of eight hundred persons to be arraigned on the same account, as soon as their first victim should be condemned. His acquittal, however, resulted in their confusion, which was rendered the more complete by the episcopal president patting the accused on the shoulder and saying, "I wish there were more of your way of thinking." This occurrence interestingly exhibits the superiority of the Armenian priesthood to their Greek and Romish rivals as regards their veneration for the word of God; a feature in their character which alone can account for the acquittal of the young convert, and which at the same time holds out a hopeful promise of self-renovation to the church.

Of the Greeks, not less than seven hundred were, till lately, receiving education, through the agency of the English Church Missionary Society, in Smyrna and the neighbouring towns; and the schools were a source of light and instruction to the children, while the parents joyfully acknowledged the benefit they received. We witnessed their operations with exceeding interest; and heard both boys and girls read the Scriptures in their mother tongue and answer the questions proposed to them with an accuracy which reflected honor on the native teachers and on the Rev. Mr. Jetter, their unwearied superintendent. But this was not to last. The priests had long watched the missionaries with envy, and at length resolved to put a stop to their proceedings. They first demanded the dismissal of one of the masters, on the plea that he was a convert to Protestantism who had shown himself very zealous for the reformed religion, and must therefore necessarily be anxious to shake the faith of the children in the dogmas of the Greek church. Failing in this effort, they circulated a report that the English and Americans had sent missionaries to convert the Greeks to Protestantism, they fabricated the vilest calumnies against them, and at length they obtained from the patriarch of Constantinople an order, which was read in all the churches of Asia Minor, denouncing every parent who should continue to send his children to be instructed under their superintendence. From that time the schools have been deserted; and an

ignorant and superstitious clergy have succeeded in robbing their fellow-countrymen of the key of truth and knowledge. The fact is, that their own influence over the minds of the people can be preserved only by a systematic effort to shut out all intellectual and spiritual light. But the conflict between light and darkness is begun, and it remains to be seen how long the latter will prevail. The people are at this very time bitterly lamenting the loss they have sustained in the schools, and it is not improbable that the missionaries may be requested to re-open them.

But while the condition of the Christian rayahs is one which leaves the mind to fluctuate between hope and despair, that of the Jews is still less favorable. Among them a persecuting spirit prevails, and many who desire to be taught are afraid to hold intercourse with the missionaries. Not long since, a Hebrew, anxious to enquire into the truth of Christianity, was seen going to one of their houses. On leaving it, he was seized, imprisoned, and bastinadoed. Another, who, with his wife, was known to have sought instruction, was ejected from the city; the woman was poisoned, and their three children were violently taken from the father to be brought up in Judaism. A third Israelite was lately converted under the ministry of an enlightened Roman Catholic, who continued for a short time to preach the gospel faithfully; but was soon compelled to desist; and his proselyte was driven out of Constantinople.

While directing their attention principally to the rayahs, the indefatigable missionaries have not neglected their Mohammedan fellow subjects. A school was established some years ago for Turkish youth, which continued in a flourishing condition till the jealousy of the imams was excited. They impeached the native master before the governor, and he was committed to prison; the boys were forbidden to attend under a heavy penalty, the books were destroyed, and the room was stripped of forms and tables. Since that occurrence, the attempt to instruct the Turks has not been renewed; but each year is making inroads on their superstition and exclusiveness, and every obstacle that is thrown in the way of introducing the truth to the rayahs tends to stimulate the efforts of the missionaries to place it before their rulers; who, though they still refuse to trust their children in the hands of the "*giaours*" are very willing to receive schoolbooks and maps, while some will even accept and read with interest copies of our sacred Scriptures. Such is the state of morals and religion in the great metropolis of Turkey; and such the picture which the whole empire presents. All, or very nearly all, is darkness; and the few and feeble rays which pierce the gloom serve only to make the "darkness visible," and to "discover sights of woe." The faith of the Saracen impostor, itself holding forth no inducement to moral or spiritual excellence, not only operates as a debasing principle upon its own disciples, but, with an upas influence, blights every germ of virtue in those subjected to its control or example. Nevertheless, in spite of all, the Christian is encouraged by the word of God to hope against hope for the dawn of a day when Mohammedanism shall be superseded by the religion of the Bible, and when that religion itself, now exhibited in this country under forms so vitiated that it can hardly be recognized as Christianity, shall burst the veil which superstition and idolatry have thrown over it, and shall attest by its fruits the efficacy of divine truth on the heart of man.

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# ARMENOLOGICAL HERITAGE

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## FEATURES OF HELLENISM IN THE SPIRITUAL CULTURE OF ANCIENT ARMENIA <sup>1</sup>

G. KH. SARGSYAN

*Gagik Sargsyan was a prominent Armenologist and expert in ancient Near Eastern civilizations. His scientific interests included several key problems of Armenian history - social-political history of ancient Armenia, Hellenism in Armenia, historicity and chronology and of Movses Khorenatsi's "Armenian history", Pre-Mesropian Armenian historiography, the problem of Urartu-Armenia and issues of the formation of the Armenian people etc.*

*Below the editorial board presents full text of his report at the international conference "Eirene" (1976) which deals with the problem of the impact of Hellenism on the spiritual culture of ancient Armenia.*

Hellenistic culture, which developed in the countries of the Near and Middle East as a result of the interaction of the Hellenic civilization that penetrated here together with the Greek-Macedonians with local civilizations, became one of the most important phenomena in the history of mankind at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC. According to this phenomenon, the last three centuries BC are called in science the period of Hellenism, although, of course, Hellenism as such by no means exhausted the entire diversity of the history of the region mentioned. Moreover, the nature and results of syncretization were very different in various areas of the region.

For example, in a country like Babylonia, which has gone through the evolution of millennia and developed mature and stable cultural forms. The clay soil of Babylonia did not absorb the rain of Hellenism that had passed through it in any deep way. Its impact here rather led to a certain accumulation of ancient civilization, to its last outbreak before the long-planned decline. One can find examples of other societies that Hellenism did not have a significant impact on, like Babylonian, for reasons, however, directly opposite, namely, due to their insufficient maturity and unpreparedness for the perception of developed forms of Hellenic civilization.

As for Armenia, Hellenism found its society not at its decline and not at the initial stages of development, but at a period of upswing. Two or three centuries before that, the first Armenian state formation was established on the basis of the consolidation of various ethnic units of the Armenian Highlands into a single nationality. Armenia experienced a rapid growth of productive forces, behind which the spiritual culture and ideological superstructure hardly kept pace. Therefore, sometimes it had to turn for ready-made cultural forms, in one way or another corresponding to her needs, the

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<sup>1</sup> Report made at the XIV International Conference of Classical Scholars of the Socialist Countries – "Eirene" (Yerevan, May 18-23, 1976), and appeared in the journal *Patmabanasirakan handes*, 1976, issue 3, pp.51-61.

essence of the processes it experienced, to more mature societies with which it came into contact. And the Hellenic cultural forms were the most advanced and perfect for their time.

As a result, Hellenism played a significant role in Armenia. The interaction of Hellenic culture with local civilization stimulated the development of the latter and left a certain imprint on its external manifestations. For about six centuries, including the Hellenistic period itself, as well as the first three centuries AD, which as applied to Armenia, can be called the post-Hellenistic period, some branches of the spiritual culture of the Armenian society developed under the cover of Hellenistic attire, which, however, gradually wore out and, under the influence of the primordially local essence of the corresponding processes, was replaced by local attire.

These processes included a change in the social nature of the Armenian culture. It is no secret that the main arena for the development and spread of Hellenism in any country was the culture of the ruling classes; the same was in Armenia. And in the evolution mentioned above, an important role was played by the culture of the masses, which gradually emerged from the depths of society to the surface and asserted its role. The de-Hellenization of culture was at the same time its democratization. However, the contribution of Hellenism was by no means crossed out by this. It was only creatively mastered and organically merged into the national Armenian culture.

Let us try briefly to trace the above-mentioned phenomena on concrete material relating to various areas of spiritual culture—language, literature, theatre, religion, and science.

So far, the earliest documented evidence of the penetration of the Greek language into Armenia and its use here are Greek inscriptions from Armavir, the ancient capital of Armenia (to the west of Yerevan). Seven inscriptions carved on two large boulders were found here. Their most probable dating is the turn of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC. The inscriptions amaze with the variety of content. On one of the stones, we find: a royal letter—an appeal from “the king of Armavir Mithras” to “the king of Euront” (Yervanduni) with a wish for prosperity; a complete list of the names of the months of the Seleucid calendar; two texts, fixing some historical events, with the mention of a certain “Hellenic Numenius”, and in one of them Armenia is mentioned twice. In one of the inscriptions on another stone, the names of Hesiod, the author of “Works and Days”, and his brother Perses are found; the second inscription is a 12-line poetic text, individual sentences or phrases of which can be correlated with excerpts from the tragedies of Euripides; the third inscription is possibly a votive text: it mentions about four horses.

Such a diversity in the content of the inscriptions, on the one hand, of course, makes it difficult to assess them in general, to classify them as a whole under any particular category of epigraphic monuments. On the other hand, however, this diversity testifies to the versatility of the interests of the author (authors) of the inscriptions, to his (their) considerable erudition, which included information about ancient Greek poetry, Greek classical tragedy, the Seleucid calendar, Greek epistolary formulas, etc., and, at

the same time, information about Armenia, about the historical events connected with it and about the names of its rulers. All this, undoubtedly, gives the inscriptions a huge historical and cultural interest, they are clear evidence of the penetration of the Greek language and culture into Armenia.

A number of inscriptions dating from a later period show that Greek at this time continued to serve the Armenian society as a written language and, in particular, the language of the state chancellery, performing this function along with the Aramaic language inherited from the Achaemenid imperial chancellery.

One of the interesting samples of the Greek inscriptions of the Armenian kings is the inscription from Garni, carved on the square of the fortress wall in the 11<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Trdat I, therefore, in 76 AD. Of particular interest here is the term λιτουργός, the interpretation of which gives reason to judge the existence of the institution of liturgy in ancient Armenia, although it differs significantly from the polis liturgy as here the action is performed not in favor of the city, but of the king; the liturgist, apparently, pays for the cost of the walls of the royal fortress, the nominal founder of which in the inscription is the king.

Of great interest is a Greek inscription from Tigranakert dating back to the turn of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. This is the latest, one might say, surviving example of a kind of documents very common in the Hellenistic period, messages of kings to cities, in which they expressed their will to the urban community in the form of wishes, in accordance with the semi-autonomous status of cities in the state.

Of the other Greek inscriptions on the territory of Armenia, two epitaphs dating back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD should be focused on. One of them refers to a lady named Athenais, whose mother, judging by her name, Antonia, daughter of Lucius, was a Roman, and her father, perhaps, an Armenian. The other is dedicated by the chiliarch of the division of the XV legion, Apollinaris Poplius Elius Valens, stationed in the ancient capital of Armenia, Vagharshapat, to his wife and daughter. In both cases, and especially in the second, an epitaph, rather in Latin, would be expected. The fact that both of them are still made in Greek testifies to the prevalence of this language in Armenia and its use, in addition to the royal office, in other areas of life. The Greek language, which served the Armenian society as a written language, finally lost this role with the invention of Armenian scripts at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century and with the transformation in connection with this of the Armenian language into a written language.

Strengthening of Hellenism in Armenia in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC was largely due to the fact of the mass resettlement by Tigran II (95-55) of the inhabitants of the Hellenistic cities of the countries he conquered to Armenian cities, both to the newly founded capital Tigranakert, and to other cities that developed in the previous period. Probably no less than half a million people were resettled.

The sources make it possible to restore some phenomena of Hellenism, one way or another connected with the mentioned facts. Of these, the data on the Hellenistic theater in Armenia are the most prominent. At the same time, they testify to a new stage



in the penetration of the works of Greek “classical literature” into Armenia. According to Plutarch (Lucullus, 29), Tigran II built a theater in Tigranakert and invited a troupe of Greek actors to perform. If it was a genuine, that is, an ordinary theater—and Plutarch’s message does not allow for any other interpretation—then its creation must have been conditioned by the presence of a sufficient mass of spectators familiar with the Greek language. The audience of the theater were, undoubtedly, to some extent, settlers from Hellenistic cities, accustomed to the polis life. However, the real purpose of creating a theater in Armenia, of course, could not satisfy the needs of these segments of the population. Such was the desire to instill in the Armenian society the Greek theater as one of the most important elements of the Hellenic culture. The desire to perceive and develop this culture in Armenia is clearly seen in the activities of both Tigran II himself and his descendants, and was also manifested in the title “Philhellen”, the bearers of which were some of them.

Another report by Plutarch (Crassus, 33) about the Hellenistic theater in Armenia concerns the period of the reign of Tigran II’s son Artavazd II (55-34). In Artashat, the capital of Armenia, where two allies, the Parthian king Orodes and the Armenian king, met, they watched Euripides’ “Bacchae”, performed by the Greek troupe of Jason of Thrall. It happened during the battle at Carrhae, and during the performance a messenger arrived with the head of Crassus on the tip of a spear. From the scene described by Plutarch in very dramatic tones, regardless of the degree of plausibility of its individual details, it is clear, in any case, that even after Tigran II, interest in the Hellenistic theater in Armenia did not fade away - the works of Greek tragedians were staged and famous Greek actors were invited for this purpose.

The interest of Plutarch’s message increases in connection of the news immediately reported by him that King Artavazd II himself wrote tragedies. This means that the described incident with the performance of the “Bacchae” was not an episodic phenomenon in Armenia, and here, apparently, it was in the capital Artashat that there probably existed a theater in which, along with Greek tragedies, the works of Artavazd were also staged. These works, which, unfortunately, have not reached our days, were written in Greek and, of course, were in line with Hellenistic literature. However, they could also have local features, in particular, in the plot, characters, etc. For there is no doubt that the Armenians in the previous period created original games and actions of a cult-theatrical order, and the introduction of the Hellenistic theater in Armenia could not have proceeded completely without the influence of these local forms on it. In the future, we receive information about these games and actions from Armenian sources of the 5<sup>th</sup> and following centuries. And the life of the Hellenistic theater in Armenia was short-lived.

The history of the Armenian pagan pantheon has not been studied enough, but the main lines of its development are known. The original pantheon is recorded as already existing, in addition to the original Armenian deities, also of the deities of the Hurrian-Urartian and Hittite circles. Contact with Iranian society led to changes, expressed in the

fact that some of the old gods - Hayk, Ara, Tork and others, were reduced to the level of heroes, and their divine functions were embodied in the gods with the Iranian names Aramazd, Vahagn, Mithra, Anahit, etc. The penetration of Iranian theonyms into Armenia, however, does not in any way indicate the introduction of Iranian Zoroastrianism with its dualism in Armenia. The Armenians remained with their former religion, only partially replacing the names of the gods. An excellent parallel to this phenomenon is the widespread penetration of Iranian anthroponymy into Armenian onomastics, which, apparently, was used here without taking into consideration its most important — semantic, etymological side, i.e., it did not bring with it the ideology associated with it. These curious phenomena still should be studied.

The great prevalence of syncretization of religions in the Hellenistic period is known by comparing or identifying local gods with Hellenic ones on the basis of the approximate similarity of their divine functions. The temptation of such syncretization probably lay in the fact that it made possible to bring greater order to the local pantheons, to observe the gods according to a certain ranking - a quality generally characteristic of the Greek pantheon, if we ignore the frequent inconsistencies and deviations in it.

This phenomenon was in the Armenian society, too. The god Aramazd, the supreme deity, was compared with Zeus, the god Vahagn with Heracles, the goddess Anahit with Artemis, Mithra (or sometimes Tir) with Apollo-Helios, etc. We meet these identifications in a surviving form even in the Christian Armenian historiography of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, namely in the works of Agathangelos, Faustus of Byzantium and Movses Khorenatsi. That they really date back to the Hellenistic period is illustrated by the fact that they were mentioned as early as the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC in Commagene, neighboring Armenia, a country connected with Armenia by age-old political, cultural and ethnic ties, in which, moreover, a branch of the Armenian Orontid dynasty (Yervanduni) ruled for about four centuries. In the sanctuary on Nemrut-Dağ, built by Antiochus I, a representative of this dynasty, a contemporary of Tigran II, colossal statues were erected, dedicated, as is clear from the inscriptions, to three gods - Zeus- Aramazd, Apollo-Mithra-Helios-Hermes, Heracles- Artagnus (i.e., Vahagn) - Ares and the goddess of Commagene. The latter acts as a Commagene hypostasis of the same goddess Anahit, the most important function of which, as it is known, in the Armenian pantheon, was precisely the guardianship of the country.

Of undoubted interest for this topic, in addition to what has been said, is the fact of the existence in ancient Armenia of the institution of the cult of the royal dynasty and the deification of the living king. This “political religion”, which was very widespread in the Hellenistic world, as it is often called, was called upon to raise the authority of the king and royal power to an unattainable height. Deified kings were often identified with some classical deity—Zeus, Apollo, Dionysus, Helios, etc.

The example of the powerful Seleucids and Ptolemies was followed by the rulers of small countries - Pergamon, Bythinia, Cappadocia, Pontus. The richest data are

available for Commagene, one of the smallest countries of the Hellenistic world. These data, as already noted, can be attributed to some extent to Armenia. The Commagene sanctuary on Nemrut-Dağ was dedicated specifically to the dynastic cult, and next to the mentioned colossal statues of four deities, King Antiochus I erected a fifth of his own. Nearby he arranged in two rows dozens of steles with bas-reliefs depicting his ancestors from the paternal and maternal side, and provided these steles with the corresponding Greek inscriptions. On the paternal side, Antiochus built his genealogy through Aroands (Armenian Yervand, Orontes of ancient authors) - kings and satraps to the Achaemenids and to Darius I himself; from the maternal side - to the Seleucids and, further, to Alexander the Great.

Data about Armenian sanctuaries of this nature, preserved in the narrative sources of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, are reminiscent of Commagene sanctuaries. So, from the “History of Armenia”, authored by Movses Khorenatsi, we learn that one of the Armenian kings, attributed by him to the II century BC, Vagharshak, “built a temple in Armavir and installed statues of the Sun and the Moon and images of his ancestors in it.” Further, the author calls the statues of the Sun and the Moon also the statues of Apollo and Artemis, respectively. Another Armenian author of the 5<sup>th</sup> century Agathangelos calls these same deities by their local names - Tir and Anahit. According to another Armenian author of the 5<sup>th</sup> century Faustus of Byzantium, the family tomb of the Armenian Arsakids was located in the fortress of Ani, at the temple of Zeus-Aramazd.

The very composition of the deities associated with the cult of ancestors, Zeus-Aramazd, Apollo-Tir-Helios (the Sun) and Artemis-Anahit-Moon, indicates the connection of the Armenian version of the cult of the dynasty with the corresponding Commagene and, further, Seleucid cults, where also in the first turn are Zeus and Apollo. There are clear similarities in the organizational form of the cult.

A number of other data on the cult of the royal dynasty in ancient Armenia refer to the identification of a living king with some deity. In one of the prologues of Pompeius Trogus, “Tigran, called God” is mentioned, undoubtedly it is Tigran II. The legend of “King Tigran, God” is read on a coin of one of the following Tigrans. The identification of the Tigran II with the god Heracles-Vahagn is evidenced by the story told by Movses Khorenatsi, where King Tigran clearly acts as the dragon-slayer god Vahagn, who, according to the data of the same Movses Khorenatsi, and also, as it is known, inscriptions from Commagene, identified with Heracles. The same is evidenced by the coins of Tigran II with the image of Heracles on the reverse side.

The son of Tigran II Artavazd II, apparently, was identified with Helios-Mithra. The legends of the Mithraic circle are connected with the name Artavazd, according to which Artavazd is imprisoned in chains in the depths of the mountain, and he has to come out of there and destroy (in another version, save) the world. The coins of Artavazd II with the image on the reverse side of the quadriga, which Helios usually rules, have also reached our times.

The Arsakids who came to power in Armenia in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, preserved the tradition of deification of the royal ancestors and the ruler. Trdat I (66-80) calls himself “Helios-Tiridates” in a Greek inscription from Garni. In the future, the cult of the king in Armenia undergoes a certain romanization, and in the Greek royal inscription from Tigranakert, referring to the very end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> or the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, and, consequently, belonging to Trdat III (298-330), we are already talking about the “fate” of the monarch, which, as it is known, was an important component of the imperial cult in the Roman Empire.

All these phenomena disappear with the victory of Christianity in Armenia at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

Let us move on to the field of science. We are talking about the first steps in the development of historiography in Armenia. The beginning of Armenian historiography is usually dated to the time of the invention of Armenian alphabet, to the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. However, “a number of circumstances force us to reconsider this thesis. This is a fact of the high level of development of the Armenian statehood in the II-I centuries BC, during the reign of the Artaxiad dynasty, and further in the I-V centuries AD, which in itself should have given rise to an urgent need for historiography, for fixing the history of the state. This, further, is the fact of the rapid flourishing of the Armenian historiography in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, which cannot be historically comprehended without the assumption of a preliminary gradual accumulation of products of historiographical thought. These general considerations are supported by specific data. These have already existed since the time of Tigran II. It has already been noted that he was a promoter of Hellenism; he gathered around him representatives of Greek-oriented thought and education. Of these persons, in the aspect of the origin of historiographical thought in Armenia, we may be interested in Amphicrates of Athens, who wrote the work “On Great Men” that has not reached us, in which, perhaps, a place was given to Tigran II, and especially Metrodorus of Scepsis. These were representatives of the layer of wandering Hellenic intelligentsia typical of the Hellenistic period.

Information about Metrodorus has been preserved by many ancient authors - Strabo, Plutarch, Pliny, Cicero, Athenaeus, scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes). Metrodorus was known as a hater of the Romans. The authors speak of him as a versatile figure – “a man with great level of knowledge” - a politician, philosopher, rhetorician, naturalist, historian and they also note about the amazing style of his writings. We know the names of some of them: “Alexander, or on the presence of mind in dumb animals”, “About Customs”, “About Tigran”.

Naturally, we are interested here in the last of these works, from which, unfortunately, only a short, insignificant fragment has survived. Since Metrodorus died in 70, his work on Tigran II was supposed to cover the first, conquering period in the history of the reign of this king, when he created a great power stretching from the Caspian to the Mediterranean Sea. Written, in all likelihood, by royal order, the work was, of course, panegyric in nature. The introductory part could also present the

predecessors of Tigran II (beginning, perhaps, with the founder of the dynasty, Artashes I), the source for which could be both local tradition and ancient authors, for example Polybius, who is known to be well aware of Artashes I.

Considering the work of Metrodorus about Tigran as one of the facts of the birth of historiography in Armenia is due to the fact that it did not turn out to be episodic and single in the Armenian reality. Metrodorus had a successor, moreover, not a Greek, but an Armenian, although he wrote in Greek. This was King Artavazd II (55-34), who has already been mentioned as a playwright. The same Plutarch reports that he also wrote historical works (Crassus, 33). Plutarch notes that some of them survived; they used to be read, therefore, even a century and a half after their creation. However, they did not reach us. One can only guess about their content, but the assumption that they were dedicated specifically to the history of Armenia will not be arbitrary.

We obtain information about the further development of historiographical thought in Armenia from the works of the early medieval Armenian historians who mention their sources and their predecessors, in particular, from the "History of Armenia" by the "father of Armenian history", the author of the 5<sup>th</sup> century Movses Khorenatsi.

Movses names many of his sources—written and oral, local and foreign. Some of them are still mysterious. We are interested here in those of the written sources mentioned by him, which have developed in Armenia itself, regardless of the language in which they were written. This is primarily the "Temple History", attributed to Olympius, the priest of the temple of Zeus-Aramazd in the fortress of Ani, in the ancient Armenian region of Daranali on the Euphrates.

The main content of the work of Olympius, as it is revealed in the "History of Armenia" by Movses Khorenatsi, is the history of King Artashes I (mentioned as Artaxias by ancient authors): the history of his struggle with the usurper Yervand (Orontes, as mentioned by Strabo), victory, the founding of the capital Artashat (Artaxata, as mentioned by ancient authors), military campaigns of Artashes, internal reforms, including the division of land into private and communal land through the establishment of boundary stones, etc.

If we exclude, however, an anachronism, which is significant, but at the same time characteristic of Movses Khorenatsi, in dating the reign of King Artashes (a shift of more than two centuries), then the facts reported from the words of Olympius are surprisingly consonant with the data of epigraphic monuments (namely, boundary stones with inscriptions in Aramaic on behalf of Artashes I) and ancient authors—Diodorus, Justin, Appian, Plutarch and others—about this king. The similarity with Strabo's data is especially clear, so clear that it encourages us to look for a connection between the two authors, Olympius and Strabo. It can be assumed that both of them, directly or indirectly, used the same or similar materials of local origin - something like the works of Metrodorus or Artavazd II mentioned above.

The most probable time of the life of the historian-priest of Olympius is I-II centuries AD. His Greek name, of course, does not mean that he was a Greek. He was

a priest, although at one time somewhat Hellenized (as the double name - Zeus-Aramazd shows), but still a primordially Armenian temple, and there is no reason not to consider him an Armenian. But he apparently wrote in Greek.

In all likelihood, the Syrian scholar Mar Abas Katina, as Movses Khorenatsi calls him, or Maraba of Mtsurn, as he is named by the anonymous author of the 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries, who lived at the court of the Armenian Arsakids, as they believe, in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, also wrote in Greek. He wrote the history of Armenia, making extensive use of the Armenian oral tradition—tales and legends that existed among the people, as well as written sources—the royal archives and some Greek work on chronology. His work served as the most important source for Movses Khorenatsi and for the mentioned anonymous author. So, the fragmentary data that have reached us, allow us to judge that historiography, which originated in the Hellenistic period in Armenia, developing in temples and at the royal court, was an important flourishing factor in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, immediately after the invention of the Armenian alphabet, genuine national Armenian-language historiography, which produced such a brilliant constellation of authors as Koryun, Agathangelos, Faustus of Byzantium, Ghazar Parpetsi and the “father of Armenian history” Movses Khorenatsi.

A general description of the significance and role of the features of Hellenism in the spiritual culture of ancient Armenia was given at the beginning of the article, and we will not return to this. We confine ourselves to formulating the most general conclusion. The influence of one culture, civilization on another is not a unilateral action. In varying degrees and in a different sense, both sides are always active - influencing and perceiving. Often even the latter surpasses the former in activity, being more interested in perceiving than the former in acting.

In conclusion, we should say the following. Dealing with the issues of contacts between different cultures and civilizations, we constantly face somehow frightening variety of diversities and combinations of such contacts. At the same time, a clear lack of development is revealed, often simply even the absence of a scientific approach to them, which prompts us to argue that the problem as a whole is neglected. Meanwhile, in our opinion, it has full right to turn into a separate branch of historical science, covering the relevant phenomena not only of antiquity, but of all epochs of human history, up to the present day.

We are far from sufficiently differentiating such terms as influence, mutual influence, contact, impact, interaction, collision, merger and other concepts of this kind that characterize the variants of contacts between cultures and civilizations, although their meaning, like the significance of their differences, is enormous. We are accustomed to assessing this kind of phenomena by eye, and often with a fair dose of emotionality. And our present message is no exception to this.

But here, as it is in other areas of historical science, precise definitions, clear criteria, careful systematization of facts, their quantitative and qualitative analysis, their generalization, and the development on this basis of a certain theory are possible and

necessary, designed to identify general patterns and chronologically areal features, finally, to find out the very mechanism of various types of contacts between cultures and civilizations in the amplitude from collision to merger, to make it possible to mathematically model these processes, etc.

It seems to us that this need is already being understood, and one of the types of evidence of this is the very fact that the problems of the current XIV Eirene conference are set at the forefront of precisely the problem of “Ancient World and the East”.

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# CLASSICS OF ARMENOLOGY

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## PAUL ANTON DE LAGARDE

(1827-1891)



P. de Lagarde (Paul Bötticher) was an outstanding German orientalist, philosopher and theologian whose studies until today remain as milestone for modern Orientalistics.

P. de Lagarde studied oriental languages, as well as in philosophy and theology first at the Humboldt University of Berlin (1844– 1846) then the University of Halle-Wittenberg (1846–1847). From 1869 until his death P. de Lagarde worked at the University of Göttingen as a lecturer.

His scholarly activities embrace both academic studies and politics, the latter aimed at the establishment of the so-called German national religion as a special form of Christianity (“Über das Verhältnis des deutschen Staates zu Theologie, Kirche und Religion. Ein Versuch Nicht-Theologen zu orientieren” and “Über die gegenwärtige Lage des deutschen Reichs. Ein Bericht”), the idea which became milestone for German nationalism and expansion.

A significant place of P. de Lagard’s studies were devoted to the Bible. Among them should be distinguished the Aramaic translation (known as the Targum) of the “Prophets” (1872), “Hagiographa chaldaice” (1874), “Arabic translation of the Gospels” (1864), “Der “Pentateuch koptisch” (1867), etc. He dealt also with Iranian studies (“Persische Studien”, 1884).

Armenological studies of P. de Lagarde were published in two monographs - the pre-history of Armenians (1854) and in extensive work which deals with Armenian linguistics (1877). In the latter about 1000 Armenian words were examined. He came to conclusion that about 1/3 of the old Armenian words are of Indo-European origin. According to his periodization the history of the Armenian language should be divided into three periods - Haikanisch (Haykazean), Arsacid, and Sassanid. Although all three periods are closely related to Iranian languages, unlike F.Bopp, F.Müller and many other linguists of the XIX century who regarded Armenian as simply a branch of Iranian languages, P. de Lagarde concludes that Armenian stands between Iranian and some other Indo-European languages. The main achievement of P. de Lagarde’s Armenological studies was the compilation of the first Armenian etymological dictionary.

### STUDIES

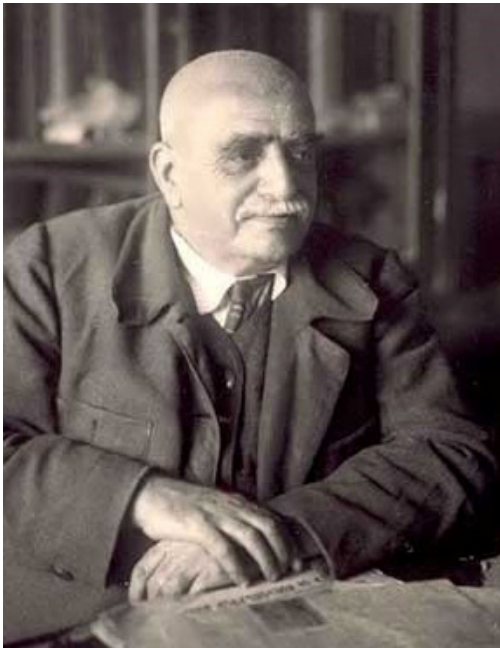
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## TOROS TORAMANIAN

(1864-1934)



Toros Toramanyan was a prominent Armenian architect, father of Armenian history of architecture.

He was born in Sebinarahisar, Western Armenia (modern Turkey). After graduating the school in his birthplace he went to Constantinople in order to continue his education. Here Toramanyan entered the Department of architecture at the Imperial gymnasium of Fine arts (1888-1893).

After graduating the gymnasium he worked as architect, projected private houses. When in 1895 started repressions against Armenian population he left Constantinople for Bulgaria and spent there four years. During this period Toramanyan travelled to Romania, Greece,

Egypt, Italy, France in order to study ancient and medieval architecture.

First direct contact with medieval Armenian architecture happened in 1903 when he visited Ani. Deeply impressed with architectural remains of the city he decided to study it. Here he met N.Marr, then the supervisor of the excavations, who supported him financially.

In 1904 Toramanyan moved to Etchmiatsin where he succeeded to restart the excavations of Zvartnoc temple which were initiated some time before his arrival but were cancelled. The preliminary results of excavations were published in Tiflis in 1905. Toramanyan's reconstruction of the planning of the temple were met with great skepticism since nobody have an idea of similar construction yet. But soon, after N.Marr had unearthed the statue of the Bagratid king Gagik I in Ani, the discussion of whether Toramanyan was right came to an end.

In 1913 Toramanyan was invited to Vienna by prominent Austrian scholar J.Strzygowski in order to write joint study devoted to Armenian architecture. But with the beginning of World war I their studies came to an end. Toramanyan was forced to complete this work separately since his materials remained in Vienna. In 1918 he published a voluminous study «Armenian architecture and Europe».

In 1905-1909 Toramanyan worked in Ani as a member of N.Marr's expedition where he made numerous photos of architectural remains, also suggested reconstructions of some destroyed buildings.

After the Sovietization of Armenia Toramanyan worked at the Yerevan State university where he held lectures on the architecture of ancient and medieval Armenian architecture.

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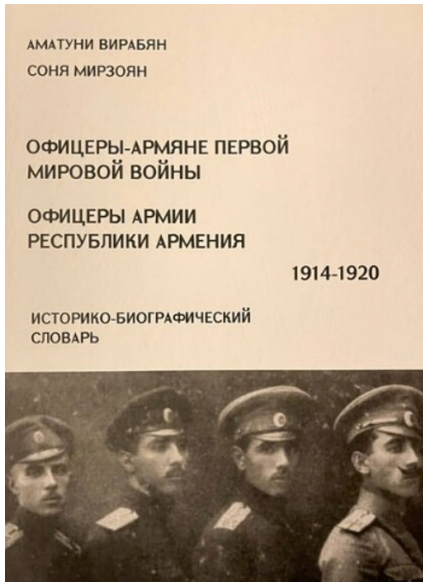
Also several studies which deal with the medieval Armenian churches, problems of Armenian architecture, different aspects of the city of Ani etc.

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# BOOK REVIEWS

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**ARMENIAN OFFICERS IN THE WORLD WAR I. OFFICERS OF THE ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA. 1914-1920: HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY (DOCTOR IN HISTORY A. S. VIRABYAN, CANDIDATE OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES S. S. MIRZOYAN). YEREVAN, NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ARMENIA, 2022, 1392 P., 40 P. OF ILLUSTRATIONS**



*"Death, unanticipated, is death;  
death, anticipated, is immortality"*

After many years of the intensive scientific research, the National Archives of Armenia has published the historical-biographical dictionary of the officers who have participated in the First World War and served in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Armenia, where their combat path, positions held, awards, etc., were presented. Many previously unreleased documents have been put into circulation, with the help of which the biographical data of different officers has been clarified or supplemented. We should say that a large-scale research work has been carried out, which has been supported by archive specialists Gohar Avagyan, Candidate of Historical Sciences, Hayk Virabyan, Candidate of Historical Sciences, in addition to the compilers, Amatuni Virabyan, Doctor of History, and Sonya Mirzoyan, Candidate of Historical Sciences. Nune Balbalyan and Svetlana Sargsyan have participated in the preparation of the work, too. The publication of the biographical dictionary has been supported by the Doctor of History Sergey V. Volkov and Candidate of Pedagogical Sciences Rafael M. Abrahamyan. The study has been published under the sponsorship of Vardges Artsruni (1941-2019), an honored builder and philanthropist of the Russian Federation. The biographies of more than 7,000 Armenian officers are presented in the compilation.<sup>1</sup>

The compilers have used the 17 funds stored in the National Academy of Sciences, as well as some Russian archives and the Internet,<sup>2</sup> when compiling the historical-biographical dictionary.

A significant number of Armenian officers have participated in combat operations on various battlefields of the First World War. Armenian has officers fought in various military units of the Caucasian Front (Russian-Turkish) in the Armenian volunteer militia groups or druzhinas (retinue) formed by the Russian government, where foreign Armenians were also included. The groups were led by famous Hayduks (type of irregular infantry) and figures Andranik Ozanyan, Drastamat Kanayan (Dro), Hamazasp

<sup>1</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War. Officers of the Army of the Republic of Armenia. 1914-1920: Historical and biographical dictionary /Doctor of History A. S. Virabyan, Candidate of Historical Sciences S. S. Mirzoyan. Yerevan, National Archives of Armenia, 2022, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 31.

Srvandztyants (Hamazasp), Arshak Gavafyan (Keri), Sargis Mehrabyan (Vardan of Khanasor), Hayk Bzhishkyants (Gai), Hovsep Arghutyan and others. According to the description of General Tovmas Nazarbekyan, the commanders of the volunteer groups were “beloved leaders of the people”,<sup>3</sup> and according to the assessment of General Evgeny Maslovsky, they devoted themselves completely to the liberation of the motherland.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, he notes that the druzhinas were organized for political purposes,<sup>5</sup> because the battles would take place in Western Armenia and the Russian army needed the support of the local Armenian population.

Armenian groups, or druzhinas have actively participated in combat operations and especially invaluable in conducting reconnaissance operations. In 1914-1916, they gained experience in conducting wars in the conditions, required by that time, which was later used in the fight against the Turkish-Kurdish forces in 1917-1920.

The Russian government, unlike the military, treated volunteer groups with suspicion and mistrust, so it was waiting for a suitable opportunity to disorganize them. In summer of 1916, the Russian command disbanded the volunteer groups, on the basis of which six rifle battalions were organized, one of which was a reserve unit. The commanders of the battalions were Armenian officers of the Russian army. The battalions take part in the combat operations on the Caucasian front, but, being careful again, the command did not unite them into one tactical unit.

The situation changed after the February Revolution, when by the order of the Supreme Commander of the Russian Army, General Alexei Brusilov, on June 19, 1917, the Armenian rifle battalions were reorganized into rifle regiments consisting of two battalions. According to the order of June 28, the rifle regiments were reorganized into the Armenian Rifle Brigade, whose commander was Colonel and then Major General Pavel Bezhanbek (1869-1956).<sup>6</sup>

On October 23, 1917, the formation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Armenian Rifle Brigade began, the commander of which was appointed Lieutenant Colonel Poghos (Pavel) Ter-Sargisov (1871-1920). On November 16, by the order of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief, the formation of the Armenian Corps was initiated, the commander of which was appointed General Tovmas Nazarbekyan (Foma Nazarbekov, 1855-1931). The corps consisted of 1687 officers and 10388 soldiers (11675 soldiers in total), and the Armenian collective detachment - 179 officers, 13,679 soldiers and 1,000 horsemen (14,858 in total).<sup>7</sup>

In this period, the continuous formations of the Armenian military units took place, which have been presented in details in this dictionary.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> R. Sahakyan, *The Unreleased Memoirs of Tovmas Nazarbekyan*, Vem, 2019, N 1, p. 277, NAA, fund 45, inv. 1, file 1, sheets 14-15.

<sup>4</sup> E. V. Maslovsky. *World War on the Caucasian Front in 1914-1917*, Strategic Essay, Paris, 1933, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 40.

<sup>6</sup> *Armenian Officers in the First World War*, p. 5-6.

<sup>7</sup> *Armenian Officers in the First World War*, p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> *Armenian Officers in the First World War*, p. 7-19.

Specialists and readers were somewhat aware of the Armenian officers who fought on the Caucasian (Russian-Turkish) front, but the biography of the Armenian officers who participated in combat operations on the Russian-Austrian front was new. Such an attitude has several reasons: specialists have always been more interested in the Caucasian front, where important events for the Armenian people took place: volunteer movement, self-defense battles of Western Armenians, genocide of Western Armenians, reconstruction of Western Armenia, etc. One of the reasons is that the “former” officers who served in the Soviet Army tried not to “remember” their positions in the tsarist or RA armies and their participation in combat operations. As it is well known, some of them, such as Generals Hovhannes Hakhverdyan, Movses Silikyan, were shot, and others were sentenced to different prison terms.

The compilers of the dictionary note that 7 Armenian Druzhinas were formed in the Viceroyalty of the Caucasus, the number of whose personnel reached up to 10 000.<sup>9</sup> In total, 250,000 Russian-subject Armenians, 50,000 Armenians from France, Great Britain and Armenia participated in the Great War. 60 thousand out of around 300 thousand Armenian servicemen were killed or wounded (page 4).

We consider it necessary to mention that not all Armenians who came as volunteers from abroad, especially from the USA, took part in combat operations.

From the research done by the compilers of the dictionary, it turns out that 6,440 Armenian officers have participated in the First World War, of whom:

№	Rank	Number
1	General	65
2	Colonel	225
3	Lieutenant Colonel	155
4	Captain <sup>10</sup>	285
5	Rittmeister <sup>11</sup>	27
6	Stabskapitän <sup>12</sup>	540
7	Stabsrittmeister <sup>13</sup>	46
8	Lieutenant <sup>14</sup>	1035
9	Podporuchik <sup>15</sup>	1290
10	Cornet <sup>16</sup>	85
11	Second Lieutenant <sup>17</sup>	2450 <sup>18</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Chief in the RA army, “Razmik”, Yerevan, 1920, N 1.

<sup>11</sup> Senior officer rank in cavalry, corresponding to captain of infantry.

<sup>12</sup> Senior officer rank given to company commanders.

<sup>13</sup> Senior officer rank, assistant cavalry commander rank. Deputy Chief of Staff in the RA Army, “Razmik”, 1920, N 1.

<sup>14</sup> Junior officer rank. Deputy in the RA army, see “Razmik”, 1920, N 1.

<sup>15</sup> Junior officer rank. Deputy officer in the RA army, see “Razmik”, 1920, N 1

<sup>16</sup> Junior officer rank.

About 240 of the mentioned officers were killed, missing or died during the combat operations<sup>19</sup>. 720 officers participated in the anti-Bolshevik White movement. 65 of them were killed or shot by the Bolsheviks<sup>20</sup>.

In 1918-1920, more than 3,400 officers from the First World War served in the Armenian Army, of which 2,785 were Armenians, and 615 were of different nationalities, mostly Russians.<sup>21</sup>

In a separate Armenian army corps served:

№	Rank	Number
1	General <sup>22</sup>	49
2	Colonel <sup>23</sup>	140
3	Lieutenant Colonel <sup>24</sup>	115 <sup>25</sup>

16 of the generals, 73 of the colonels and 50 of the lieutenant colonels belonged to other nationalities.<sup>26</sup> 80 of them served in the White Army in 1918-1919.<sup>27</sup> About 160 officers of the Armenian Army died in service or died as a result of various diseases.<sup>28</sup>

After the establishment of Soviet Rule in Armenia, in January 1921, 850 officers were arrested and sent to Baku under the “disposition” of the 11<sup>th</sup> Red Army, after which they were deported to the Ryazan concentration camp.<sup>29</sup>

About 150 officers took part in the anti-Bolshevik uprising in February of 1921. Some of them left for abroad, and then some of them returned to Soviet Armenia in 1921-1922. About 635 officers served in the Red Army, and 330 of them participated in the Great Patriotic War.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Junior officer rank. In the RA army, Second Lieutenant, “Razmik”, Yerevan, 1920, N 1.

<sup>18</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 31.

<sup>19</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 31.

<sup>20</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 31.

<sup>21</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 31.

<sup>22</sup> On May 28, 1920, the government thanked the RA Army Sparapet, Infantry General T. Nazarbekyan for his service. Major Generals Daniel Bek-Pirumyan and Kostandin Gamazyan were awarded the title of Lieutenant General, “Razmik”, 1920, N 4.

<sup>23</sup> Chief in the RA Army.

<sup>24</sup> Deputy Chief in the RA Army.

<sup>25</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 31.

<sup>26</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 31.

<sup>27</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 31.

<sup>28</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 31.

<sup>29</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 31.

<sup>30</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 31.



In the 1920s and 1930s, 635 officers were shot and about 200 were imprisoned, 25 were arrested and released after some time.<sup>31</sup> Among them, Lieutenant Samvel Hambardzumyan (1894-1955) participated in the war and then served in the Armenian 2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment. In January 1921, he was deported to the Ryazan concentration camp, but managed to escape, after which he joined the Red Army and was even placed in the field commission for combating desertion. In 1938 he was arrested and sentenced to 10 years in prison, and then he was released and exiled to Kazakhstan.<sup>32</sup>

The Armenian servicemen who were awarded with three or four crosses of the George Cross have been presented in the biographical dictionary.<sup>33</sup> This award was given to privates and junior officers who distinguished themselves in battle. It should be added that by the decree of the Supreme Council of the Russian Federation in 1992, the status of the “Georgian Cross” was restored.

For the compilation of the work, several Internet websites have been used, which made it possible to fill in the problems related to the biography of some personalities, their combat path, some of which we would like to present.

Second Lieutenant Levon G. Bashinjaghyan (1893-1938) studied at the Faculty of History and Philology of St. Petersburg University and participated in the World War. He graduated from the Pavlov Military Academy (1.12.1916). After the Soviet Rule was established, he was exiled to Persia (1921-1922), then returned to his homeland and continued studying in Petrograd. He worked in various research institutes. He was arrested and shot on October 17, 1938. The officer was the son of the famous painter Gevorg Bashinjaghyan (1857-1925).<sup>34</sup>

Captain Grigory Bashinjaghyan (1887-1918), the elder brother of famous film director Hamo Beknazaryan, participated in the war and served in the 6<sup>th</sup> Armenian Rifle Regiment. He died in the hospital from the wounds received in the battle.<sup>35</sup>

Second Lieutenant Artem Hovhannisyan (Ovanesov Khan-Kotursky, ?-1930), held the position of the head of the counterintelligence department of the headquarters of the Black Sea Fleet on the Romanian front. He held various positions in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Armenia, including the head of the counter-intelligence department of the General Staff (1918), acting head of the intelligence department of the headquarters of the commander of the RA troops.<sup>36</sup>

The participants of the First World War were brothers Mikhail (Michael, 1892 - 1920) Georgits (1886- ?) Manaseryan (Manaseryants). The eldest of them, Georgy, served in the RA Army. During the Soviet years, he served in the military-engineering department.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 141-142.

<sup>32</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 31.

<sup>33</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 31.

<sup>34</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 291.

<sup>35</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 305.

<sup>36</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 898.

<sup>37</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 692-693.

Lieutenant Colonel Khoren Igitkhanyan (1887-1938) started his military career in 1907. A graduate of the Tiflis Infantry Academy (1912), he passed an additional exam and received the qualification of an artillery officer. He fought on the Russian-Austrian front. He was the Commander of the 1<sup>st</sup> battery of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Armenian rifle-artillery brigade. He participated in the battles of Sardarapat and Bash Aparan (May 1918). He was the participant of the Armenian-Georgian war (1918). After the Soviet regime was established, he was exiled to the Ryazan concentration camp (January 1921), but managed to escape on the way, and then joined the Red Army, where he held various command positions.

Grigory Khakhanyan (Grigor Ter-Khakhanyan, 1895-1939) participated in the World War with the rank of Second Lieutenant. He joined the Red Army and participated in the attack on the Winter Palace in Petrograd. He is the participant of civil war in Russia, as well as Soviet-Polish War (1918-1920). He studied at the military-academic courses of the High Command Staff (1923-1924). He was the head of the military faculty of the Air Fleet Academy named after Professor N. E. Zhukovsky (since June, 1924). He was the head of the Military Academy named after M. V. Frunze (since 06, 1929), Corps commander (15.02.1936). Khakhanyan became a victim of Stalinist era violence (23.02.1939).<sup>38</sup>

The combat path of Marshal of the Soviet Union, Twice Hero of the Soviet Union Hovhannes Baghramyan (1897-1982), who initially held the rank of cornet and participated in the Battle of Sardarapat (May 1918) has been presented, too. Later, he served in the Soviet Army, distinguished himself by his military talent during the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945), after which he held various positions, among which we should focus on the position of head of the Rear of the USSR Armed Forces,<sup>39</sup> alongside with military intelligence work.

Hakob Melkumyan (Yakov Melkumov, 1885 - 1962) was a participant of the First World War. He was awarded the rank of Second Lieutenant (24.02.1916), cornet (31.05.1916), and then staff commander, commander of the 1<sup>st</sup> Moscow Cavalry Regiment (1918). He participated in the Sovietization of Central Asia and the battles against the forces of Enver Pasha, the former military minister of the Ottoman Empire. He graduated from the Higher Academic Courses of Workers and Peasants (1924), the Worker-Peasant Academy named after M. V. Frunze (1934). He served in various places, mainly in Central Asia. He was awarded the rank of corps commander. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison (1937). He was acquitted (1954) and retained his military rank.<sup>40</sup>

28 representatives of the Korganov (Ghorghanyan) family participated in the First World War, some of them served in the the RA and White armies.<sup>41</sup> The most prominent of them is Major General Gabriel Korganyan (1880-1954).<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 1270-1271.

<sup>39</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 268-269.

<sup>40</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 782.

<sup>41</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 618-625.

Andrey Melik - Shahnazarov (Andranik, 1887 - 1937), lieutenant colonel. Lieutenant colonel of the Red Army, graduated from the Suvorov Cadet Academy in Warsaw (1906), then the Nikolaev Cavalry Academy, where he was awarded the rank of cornet. Participant of the First World War, during which he was awarded various officer titles: second lieutenant, staff officer, quartermaster, lieutenant colonel (29.10.1917). He was the commander of the 1<sup>st</sup> Armenian Cavalry Regiment (March, 1918). His accompanist was cornet H. Baghramyan (later Soviet Marshal). He participated in the May Bolshevik Riot (1920). During the Soviet years, he was the commander of the Armenian separate cavalry brigade, the commander of the command faculty of the Air Force Academy named after Professor N. E. Zhukovsky (from March 1931). He held various command positions. He is among the victims of Stalinist era violence.<sup>43</sup>

About eight representatives of the noble family of Silikyans served in the military sphere. Among them we should speak about the Lieutenant colonel Movses Silikyan (1862-1937), one of the main figures in the process of shaping the victory in the Battle of Sardarapat.<sup>44</sup>

The first military minister of the RA, Lieutenant-General Hovhannes Hakhverdyan (Ivan Akhverdov, 1873-1931), who joined the Russian army in 1890 and held various command positions, participated in the war initially on the Russian-Austrian front, then - on the Caucasian front. From July 24, 1918 to March 27, 1919, he was the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Armenia. He held other positions, too. After the establishment of Soviet Rule, he was arrested and sent to Moscow, then released. He settled in Petrograd. In 1930 he was arrested and then sentenced to death for joining the “fictional” “Vesna” underground anti-Soviet organization, “established” by the Soviet state security.<sup>45</sup> It should be noted that about 13 000 former officers<sup>46</sup> suffered a similar fate, and about a thousand of them were sentenced to death.<sup>47</sup>

The biography of Major General of the RA Army Harutyun Hovsepyants (Artem Osipyants, Oosepyants, 1872-1921) has been also presented in the work. He graduated from Tiflis Artillery Junker School<sup>48</sup> (1889). He participated in the combat operations of the Russian-Turkish front of the First World War, in the Armenian 1<sup>st</sup> Volunteer Army.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 620.

<sup>43</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 769.

<sup>44</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 1049-1051.

<sup>45</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 234–235, for details - A. Ganin. In the Shadow of “Spring”. Former officers under repression in the early 1930s. “Rodina”, 2014, N 6, p. 95-101.

<sup>46</sup> A. Ganin. In the Shadow of “Spring”. Former officers under repression in the early 1930s., <https://bit.ly/3D7ZzfW> (accessed on 11.04.2023)

<sup>47</sup> <https://bit.ly/3OjG9ev> (accessed on 11.04.2023)

<sup>48</sup> Junior officer rank.

<sup>49</sup> R. Sahakyan, The Unreleased Memoirs of Tovmas Nazarbekyan, Vem, 2019, N 1, p. 281.

In the RA he held various command positions. He has also participated in the Sovietization of Lori (1921).<sup>50</sup>

There are a number of non-essential inaccuracies in the dictionary, on which we would like to draw the attention of the authors.

It is noted that General T. Nazarbekyan was appointed the commander of the 66<sup>th</sup> Infantry Brigade on November 6, 1914 (page 5). According to the general's memoirs, he was appointed assistant to the head of the aforementioned military unit<sup>51</sup> (deputy), then acting commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Caucasian Rifle Brigade.<sup>52</sup>

Summarizing the review, we consider it necessary to note that the authors have done quite large-scale research work. If during the Soviet period, more attention was paid to the Armenian servicemen who served in the Soviet Army, then in the current biographical dictionary, not only the biography, but also the combat path of the Armenian officers who served in the Russian Army in the First World War and the officers of Armenian, Russian and other nationalities who served in the armed forces of the Republic of Armenia, are presented to the readers.

The publication once again refutes the misconception that Armenians have never been a military nation and have always been persecuted by various conquerors. Armenian military traditions found their expression in many battles for the Armenian independence in different periods. The presented historical-biographical dictionary proves once again that the combat abilities of the Armenians arise when there is an opportunity to restore the Armenian armed forces. The Armenian gene has preserved the military spirit in itself, which is evidenced by the soldiers who served in the Russian Army. We believe that the biographical dictionary will be the important source that will enable researchers to complete not only the biography of this or that serviceman, but also their combat path.

We are sure that such a study, dedicated to the Artsakh Liberation War, will be also prepared, where the Armenian and foreign servicemen of that period will be impartially presented, those, who contributed to the combat operations dedicated to the liberation and defense of the Artsakh world.

***Ruben Sahakyan, Doctor in History***

***Translated from Armenian by Gevorg Harutyunyan***

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<sup>50</sup> Armenian Officers in the First World War, p. 884–885.

<sup>51</sup> R. Sahakyan, The Unreleased Memoirs of Tovmas Nazarbekyan, Vem, 2019, N 1, p. 273.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, p. 274.

## **THE THEORIES OF POLITOGENESIS IN EVOLUTIONARY SYSTEMS**

**by Mariam Khanzadyan,**

**Institute of Oriental Studies, NAS RA, Yerevan, 2022, Tir, 192 p.**

At the end of 2022, the Institute of Oriental Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia published a rather remarkable and unique work in its kind in the field of the Armenian historiography “The Theories of Politogenesis in Evolutionary Systems”, authored by Mariam Khanzadyan, a researcher, representing this institute. The monograph was approved for publication at the scientific session of the Ancient East Department of this institute. Before publication, it was edited by Doctor of History, Professor A. V. Kosyan.

In the monograph, the theories of politogenesis, which were developed and presented within the framework of the most important concept of the era, evolutionism, have been discussed and presented in details. The work consists of an introduction, two chapters, an epilogue and a list of the used literature.

The first chapter (pp. 5-62) presents the evolutionist concepts of politogenesis. Theories on the concept are discussed in details. The careful examination of conceptual terminology and concepts should be highlighted here. The second chapter (pp. 63-151) presents the neo-evolutionary concepts of politogenesis, alongside with their theories and terminologies.

The work was written on the basis of the studies of the authors of the theories of the main evolutionary concepts and classical scientific studies of the field (ancient and medieval thinkers) from the period of (XIX century) to the 1980s of the XX century.

The main goal of the work, according to the author, is the presentation of the theoretical part of politogenesis to a wide range of readers, as well as to bring the neo-evolutionary scientific achievements of politogenesis into the scientific circulation in Armenia and to make the systematic presentation of classical evolutionary theories of state-building processes, including the coordination of K. Wittfogel’s theory and the works of Soviet-Armenian authors on the subject (pp. 3-4).

The first most important thing in this monograph is the unique approach and presentation of the work by the author. The author has obviously avoided the easy way of presenting the material according to the theories and chosen a rather complicated way, that is, to present the theories not only as theories, but according to the authors.

The work begins with a brief overview of the theories of politogenesis (pp. 5-7) and a thorough presentation of the concept of civilization (pp. 7-11). Summarizing all possible approaches to civilization as a term, the author generalizes that it is an internally complete and unique socio-cultural entity that followed the primitive age, in other words, the equivalent of an early state or complex society (p. 11). Then the study of the concepts of politogenesis up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century is presented, and then transitions to the study of the period of formation and further development of evolutionism (pp. 11-25). As a logical continuation of the latter, the author refers to classical evolutionism, rather extensive and detailed Marxist theory and K. Wittfogel’s “hydraulic theory” (p. 26-57). The author summarizes the first chapter with the sub-chapter “The Early Societies

of the Armenian Highlands under the Marxist Concept” (pp. 58-62). This sub-chapter, while conforming to the principle of a monograph and not having the goal of maximum study, leaves the impression of incompleteness. We hope that quite soon the author will make an attempt to address as completely as possible the prerequisites and nature of the emergence of tribal unions and state formations of the Armenian Highlands. The first chapter ends with the conclusion that in the post-Soviet period, issues of Marxist evolutionist typology have not been discussed in the Armenian historiography (p. 62).

The second chapter (pp. 63-151), entitled “Neo-evolutionary concepts of politogenesis”, almost entirely, with separate sub-chapters, presents the main representatives of the concept theory: G. Child, L. White, J. Steward, M. Fried, E. Service, M. Sullins, H. Marvin and R. Carneiro. The second chapter ends with the sub-chapter “Neo-evolutionism in the Armenian historiography” (pp. 149-151). In this subchapter, the author refers to P. Avetisyan’s work “The Armenian Highlands in XXIV-IX centuries BC. Dynamics of socio-cultural transformations according to archaeological data”, noting that the neo-evolutionary schemes and concepts known to the author in post-Soviet Armenian historiography have been used in that work (pp. 149-151).

One of the most important theoretical gaps in the work is the “incest” theory<sup>1</sup> of the Belgian sociologist and ethnographer Claude Levi-Strauss (by the way, the author’s name appears only once on p. 100). According to the theory of incest of C. Levi-Strauss, the most important factor in the process of human development was the prohibition of incest. This circumstance, according to C. Levi-Strauss, became the starting point of the social factor separating man from the natural world - shaping the structure of society and the emergence of the state.

It was not possible to avoid similar omissions in the monograph, however, we believe that it was most likely due to the methodological principle of the work. The monograph would definitely benefit from tables and diagrams of conceptual theories. Below we present the main theories of politogenesis, some of which for one reason or another have not been included in the monograph.

**Divine** (religious) - the theory of the origin of the state by God and supernatural forces prevailed for a long time. Representatives: Thomas Aquinas, F. LaBeouf, D. Ewe et al.

**Patriarchal** – the state is the result of the development of the family (Aristotle). The state acts as a big family, where a wise leader (father) takes care of his subjects (children) and uses power on behalf of all and for the common good. Representatives: Confucius, Aristotle, and others.

**Psychological** - the emergence of the state was associated with the presence of various human impulses aimed at ruling or subjugating their species. Representatives: Cicero, E. Fromm, et al.

**Voluntarist** - the emergence of states is connected with the voluntary activity of this or that “strong personality”. Founder of the theory is J. F. Maitland-Jones.

<sup>1</sup> Lévi-Strauss C., *Les Structures élémentaires de la parenté*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1949.

**Public contractual** (voluntary) - the state is in ensuring the universal reconciliation of people. People, coming to an agreement on the normal transfer of power, stop the “struggle of all against all” and organize life on a reasonable basis. Representatives: T. Hobbs, J. Locke, J.-J. Rousseau, D. Diderot, P. I. Pestel and others.

**Organic** - the state and law is considered as a product of the power of nature, as a variety of biological organism. Representatives: H. Spencer, I. K. Blunchley, R. Worms, et al.

**Class** (Marxist) – the state arose with the emergence and development of the family and private property. Division of society according to classes and class exploitation. Representatives: K. Marx, F. Engels, et al.

**Violence** - the state arose as a result of wars and conquests, during which the conquerors created the institution of the state to maintain their supremacy. If we consider the problem in its entirety, it becomes clear that the war required powerful organizational structures and was more a consequence of politogenesis than its cause. Representatives: L. Gumplovich, K. Kautsky, et al.

As well as the theory of incest, hydraulics, mutual exchange, and others.

The conclusion of the monograph (pp. 152-166) is quite remarkable, where the general conclusions of the evolutionist and neo-evolutionist concepts of politogenesis are summarized. So, the evolutionist teaching is able to overcome the complications that appeared during its development and, as in the case of neo-evolutionism, by revising its main tenets and interpreting scientific data in a new way, to rise on a qualitatively new level, conforming it to the requirements of modern science (p. 164).

As a summary, it is necessary to note that the author has mainly used the comparative method of analysis, which helped to show a proper scientific approach. The author has diligently collected and presented all available materials within the framework of the topic.

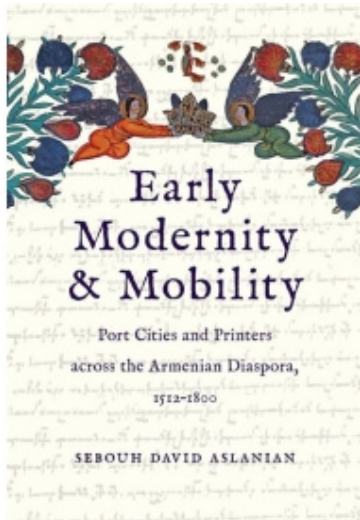
*Ruslan Tsakanyan, PhD*

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# NEW BOOKS

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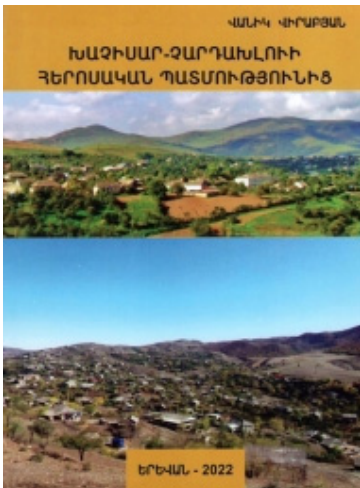


**EARLY MODERNITY AND MOBILITY PORT CITIES AND PRINTERS ACROSS THE ARMENIAN DIASPORA, 1512-1800**

By: **Sebouh David Aslanian**

*Yale University Press, 2023, 584 p, 11 b-w illustrations.*

Early Modernity and Mobility explores the disparate yet connected histories of Armenian printing establishments in early modern Europe and Asia. From 1512, when the first Armenian printed codex appeared in Venice, to the end of the early modern period in 1800, Armenian presses operated in nineteen locations across the Armenian diaspora. Linking far-flung locations in Amsterdam, Livorno, Marseille, Saint Petersburg, and Astrakhan to New Julfa, Madras, and Calcutta, Armenian presses published a thousand editions with more than half a million printed volumes in Armenian script. Drawing on extensive archival research, Sebouh David Aslanian explores why certain books were published at certain times, how books were sold across the diaspora, who read them, and how the printed word helped fashion a new collective identity for early modern Armenians. In examining the Armenian print tradition Aslanian tells a larger story about the making of the diaspora itself. Arguing that “confessionalism” and the hardening of boundaries between the Armenian and Roman churches was the “driving engine” of Armenian book history, Aslanian makes a revisionist contribution to the early modern origins of Armenian nationalism.

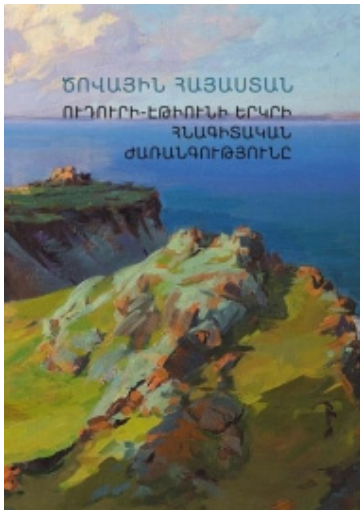


**FROM THE HEROIC HISTORY OF KHACHISAR (CHARDAKHLU)**

By: **Vanik Virabyan** Doctor of History, Professor, Armenian State Pedagogical University after Kh. Abovyan  
*vanik.virabyan@mail.ru*

*Author's Edition, Yerevan, 2022, 128 p.*

The monograph represents a fundamentally new approach to the issues under discussion. It clarifies the role of the Armenian Khachisar-Chardakhlu in the annals of Armenian national heroic, particularly within the context of Utik in the North-Eastern part of Armenia and the Armenian war of freedom. It also highlights the self-defense efforts of dozens of surrounding Armenian villages. The monograph reveals the outstanding role of the heroic Khachisar-Chardakhlu in the centuries-old history of the Armenian Gardmank.



## ARMENIA MARITIMA ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE OF THE LAND UDURI-ETIUNI

By: *Mikayel Badalyan, Kristine Martirosyan-Olshansky, Arsen Bobokhyan*

*Publishing house of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Yerevan, 2022, 484 p.*

The basin of Lake Sevan is rich in archaeological monuments: settlements, fortresses, tombs, rock paintings, dragon monuments, lithographic inscriptions. Their research began as early as the 19th century, and excavations were carried out from the beginning of the 20th century. Research shows the important role played by the region in the cultural development of the Armenian Highlands. This collection is dedicated to summarizing those works and presents the materials of the exhibition and conference of the same name. The volume is intended for both narrow professional and wide readership interested in culture and art.



## THE ARMENIAN PRICE OF PEACE

By: *Naira Sahakyan*

*Yerevan, Newmag, 2023, 304 p.*

100 years ago, Armenian thought was inspired by European values. First it was socialism, now it is democracy. 100 years ago, and today, the main question remains the same: how to build relations with Russia? At the beginning of the last century, Armenians in the Ottoman, Iranian and Russian empires actively participated in future-oriented ideological discussions. The Caucasian events of 1917 showed the ideological differences of Armenian politicians and intellectuals. The role of the Caucasus was redefined. It was a part of the ancient kingdom of Armenians, therefore the territory of Armenian autonomous existence, and then also the restoration of the state. What were the expectations of the Armenian parties from the Tsarist government and then from the Bolshevik government? Why did the fate of Western Armenia divide Armenians into Leninist and Plekhanovian ideological camps? Armenians' ideas about the right to self-determination 100 years ago: what was changed?



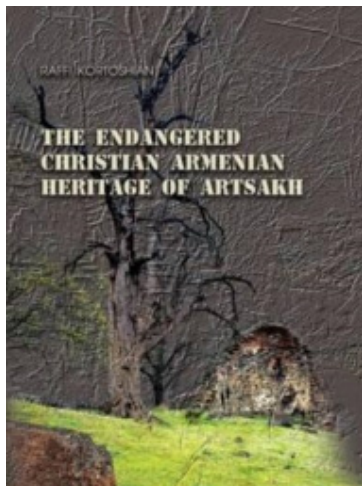
### **BRONZE AGE III, LATE BRONZE AGE BURIALS**

By: **Seda Devejyan**

*Publishing house of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Yerevan, 2022, 392 p.*

The work is dedicated to Lori Berd, one of the prominent archeological monuments covering the Middle Bronze Age to the Achaemenid period in Armenia. The book presents 50 excavated Late Bronze Age tombs with their external and internal structure, rituals, rich artefacts, and cultural features. The appendix presents the results of the examination of human remains and bronze objects. It is

intended for archaeologists, historians, cultural experts and those interested in the early history of Armenia.



### **THE ENDANGERED CHRISTIAN ARMENIAN HERITAGE OF ARTSAKH**

By: **Raffi Kortoshian**

*Research on Armenian Architecture Foundation, Yerevan, 2022, 200 p.*

This English-language book presents Artsakh's endangered Armenian cultural heritage, exposing Azerbaijan's policy of cultural genocide. It consists of two parts, including: a) documentary evidence proving the destruction of Armenian historical monuments in lands that

have been occupied by Azerbaijan since 1991 (QR codes have been used for a more accurate presentation of the facts); b) endangered Armenian historical monuments that went into Azerbaijani control in the aftermath of the 44-day war of 2020 (these monuments are presented according to the districts where they are located: Hadrut, Karvajar, Kashatagh, Askeran, Martakert, Martuni and Shushi).



## LABOR MIGRATION AND SOCIOCULTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN ARMENIA

By: **Mihran Galstyan**

*Publishing house of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Yerevan, 2023, 388 p.*

Based on a broad comparative analysis of the pre-Soviet, Soviet and post-Soviet periods, the book highlights the ethno-cultural and social consequences of labor migration of the Armenian population at the individual, family and society levels. The causes of labor migration, the socio-professional composition of migrants, the importance of kinship ties in the formation of these groups, the role of network migration in the preferred destinations of departure, the influence of inter-ethnic contacts on the identity, cultural and linguistic behavior of migrants are comprehensively analyzed. Migrants, moving from one system of social relations and institutions to another, a new socio-cultural environment, also export a number of elements of their national culture. The book analyzes in detail the impact of labor migration on the change of the modern family model and ethno-demographic processes. The work may be of interest to public and humanitarian specialists dealing with migration issues, state policymakers and a wide range of readers.



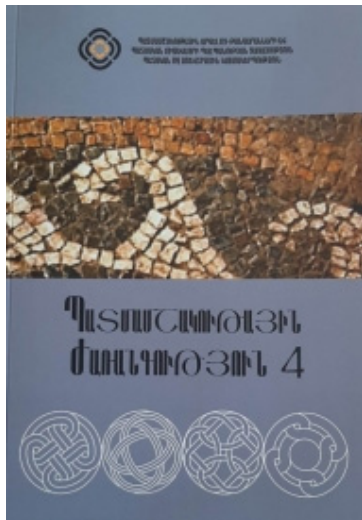
## ARMENIAN DIASPORA IN DYNAMICS

By: **Ruben Karapetyan, Sona Nersisyan, Marta Mezhlumyan**

*IAE and Charles University, 2022*

This publication is devoted to the analysis of historical experience and modern trends in the development of Armenians in some countries, to determine the prospects for methodological developments in their study. It consists of three parts. The first part concerns to the methodological problems of studying the Diaspora and includes articles that examine the principles of resource analysis of Diasporas and analysis of integration and relationships with the homeland and social involvement as well. The second part presents studies of the modern Armenian communities of Kuwait, Belarus, Czech Republic, Lebanon, and Cyprus, which refer to specific research issues. The third part is a historical excursus of the past of the Armenian communities of Medieval

Europe, Constantinople of the 10th century, and an analysis on the cultural heritage of the Armenians of Turkey and Iran created over a thousand years.



## **HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE Collection of Scientific Articles IV**

**By: Ashot Piliposyan**

*Service for the Protection of Historical Environment and Cultural Museum-Reservations NCSO, Yerevan, 2022, 252 p.*

The collection of articles includes scientific articles and reports of Armenian and foreign specialists. It is dedicated to the preservation, study, use and popularization of Armenian and world historical and cultural heritage.