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ETHNOGRAPHY

**COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE POPULAR MATERIALS AND
THE SEX-AGE GROUPS OF THE ARMENIAN-AMERICAN NARRATORS
(According to our trips to USA in 1979, 1990, 2001, 2004 and 2008)**

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Abstract

The oral tradition of the Armenian-Americans, forming a consistent part of the centuries-old folklore of the Armenian people, has been developed according to the general folkloric principles, however, along with the generalities and the similarities, it has also involved extremely distinctive features, which are attributed to the historical-political, public and psychological circumstances of their mode of life in the multi-ethnic environment of the USA.

Writing down during about 30 years the relics of the oral culture of the Armenian-Americans in the course of our periodical five trips to USA, in 1979, 1990, 2001, 2004, and 2008, an attempt has been made to elucidate the level of traditionalism of that original ethnographical group connected with the chronological and geographical displacements, historical-political conditions, sex-age features and psychological problems.

The first time in the history of Armenian folklore the bequest of the oral tradition of the Armenian-Americans with its multifarious variants is represented in scientifically systematized form.

Keywords: USA, Western Armenia, Cilicia, narrator, oral-tradition, epic folklore, lyric folklore, saying folklore, ethnography, generations.

Comparative Analysis of the Armenian-American Five Generations and Popular Materials

On the basis of certain personal data, obtained from the narrators during the recordings, investigative analyses have been carried out considering the recorded materials in the evolution of time. Attention has been paid, particularly, to the communicated materials and the birthplace of the narrators, subsequently to their places of living, giving for each individual the path of his life from his birthplace till his arrival to the USA. Such a synthesis of facts has afforded the possibility to determine the level of traditionalism of the collected popular materials. The analyses have demonstrated that the trajectory of the origin of the folkloric materials stretches till their cradle, in Western

Armenia and Cilicia, therefore, to what extent the traditional material has been preserved immaculate remaining true to its sources and to what extent it has been subjected to the influences of time and the new environment.

The carriers of the materials, the narrators, emigrating to various countries following the Armenian Genocide have reached America and have carried with them that spiritual heritage, which was written down in the densely Armenian-populated localities of the Western and Eastern Coasts of the USA, in New York, Washington, Boston, Worcester, Detroit, San Francisco, Fresno, Los Angeles with their neighboring towns.

During these observations, the remarkable correlations of the interrelationship of the **popular materials** of the Armenian-American **narrators** and their *local* (geographical), *sex* (men, women) and *age* (8-109 years, 5 generations) peculiarities, as well as their dynamics in time have been elucidated.

Assuming as a basis the **Method of Qualitative Analysis** of the Professor of the St. Petersburg and Hamburg Universities, **Isidore Levin**, we have examined the interrelation between the popular materials and the narrators¹. For that purpose, a combining table, representing the recorded materials and the specific sex-age features of the narrators, has been formed:

PRIMARY SOURCES

- I. HISTORICAL PRIMARY SOURCES** (106 units)
- II. FOLKLORIC PRIMARY SOURCES** (1004 units)
- III. ETHNOGRAPHICAL PRIMARY SOURCES** (14 units)
- IV. MUSICAL NOTATIONS OF THE SONGS** (41 units).

By the synthesis of the data brought in the table, an attempt has been made to reveal the general picture of the tendency and the persistence of the popular material and the behavior of certain sex-age groups of the narrators toward the particular species (also: subspecies) of materials.

In the horizontal rows of the table are presented the kinds of primary sources, according to their particular sections and subsections, while the vertical columns represent the generation groups according to their sex-age peculiarities.

¹ Svazlian 1984: 10-12.

**THE INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN THE MATERIALS
AND THE NARRATOR'S SEX-AGE INDEXES**

TYPE OF THE MATERIAL	NUMBER OF ITEMS	SEX OF THE NARRATOR (Woman, Man)	NARRATOR'S AGE (Years Old)										TOTAL
			5 th Generation 1980-1999		4 th Generation 1960-1979		3 rd Generation 1940-1959		2 nd Generation 1920-1939		1 st Generation 1870-1919		
			8-16	17-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-109		
I.													
HISTORICAL PRIMARY SOURCES (106 units)													
1. THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE IN THE HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE ARMENIAN-AMERICANS (65 units)													
a. Memoir-Testimonies of the Eyewitness Survivors	37	W. M.								- 1	4 3	16 13	20 17
b. Tale-Testimonies	28	W. M.					1 1	1 -	3 3	6 4	6 3	17 11	
2. FOLKLORIC PRIMARY SOURCES (41 units)													
Interviews with Contemporaries	41	W. M.			1 -	- 1	2 2	2 6	4 7	5 5	1 5	15 26	
II.													
FOLKLORIC PRIMARY SOURCES (1004 units)													
A. EPIC FOLKLORE (300 units)													
1. Legends	5	W. M.								- 1	3 1	3 2	
2. Fairy Tales	15	W. M.									10 5	10 5	
3. Fables	16	W. M.							- 4	- 4	5 3	5 11	
4. Animal Tales	9	W. M.				- 1			- 2	- 4	1 1	1 8	
5. Moral-Edifying Tales	12	W. M.					1 -	2 -			4 5	7 5	

6. Historical Tales	20	W. M.					2 -		- 2	- 13	1 2	3 17
7. Domestic Tales												
a. Armenians in the Cradle	8	W. M.					- 1			1 2	1 3	2 6
b. Armenians in the Diaspora	5	W. M.							- 1	- 2	- 2	- 5
c. Armenians in America	26	W. M.			1 -		2 -	1 2	2 6	6 2	1 3	13 13
d. Repatriates	2	W. M.						1 -	1 -			2 -
8. Ludicrous Tales												
a. The Ottoman Empire and the Armenians in Their Cradle	24	W. M.								- 24		- 24
b. The Armenians and Other Nationalities in the USA	43	W. M.						1 7	- 12	4 13	1 5	6 37
c. The New-Comers in the Soviet Fatherland	31	W. M.					- 2	1 2	- 4	1 7	- 14	2 29
d. The Armenians of Armenia in the USA	84	W. M.			- 1		4 3	4 4	3 27	18 15	1 4	30 54
B. LYRIC FOLKLORE (216 units)												
1. Historical Songs of Armenian-Americans												
a. The Armenian Genocide (1915-1923) Songs	21	W. M.							- 1	6 -	2 12	8 13
b. Orphan and Orphanage Songs	12	W. M.						3 -		- 1	7 1	10 2
c. Self-Defensive Heroic Battle Songs	8	W. M.							- 1	2 3	- 2	2 6
d. Songs of Homeland-Deprivation	4	W. M.							1 -		2 1	3 1
e. Emigration Songs	5	W. M.					- 1			1 -	3 -	4 1
f. Songs of the Rightful Demand	6	W. M.							2 -	2 -	- 2	4 2
g. Repatriation Songs	5	W. M.					2 -				- 3	2 3

2. Songs of the Armenian-American Life												
a. Childhood Songs	8	W. M.						1 -	3 -	1 -	3 -	8 -
b. Quatrains	79	W. M.						16 -	7 1		55 -	78 1
c. Love and Family Songs	23	W. M.						3 -	10 2	- 3	2 3	15 8
d. Domestic-Revelry (Kef-Time) Songs	16	W. M.						1 -	1 7		- 7	2 14
e. Odes	15	W. M.					- 1			1 -	- 13	1 14
f. Nation-Gathering and Motherland-Construction Songs	14	W. M.						3 1	- 1	1 2	1 5	5 9
C. SAYING FOLKLORE (488 units)												
1. Proverbs-Sayings	129	W. M.					5 -	6 3	3 21	15 17	37 22	66 63
2. Admonitions	143	W. M.					6 1	4 6	10 7	18 24	36 31	74 69
3. Wise Thoughts	115	W. M.				- 1	4 2	7 12	3 19	13 21	10 23	37 78
4. Riddles	25	W. M.					1 -	4 3	2 2	5 1	7 -	19 6
5. Idioms	23	W. M.						4 -	1 -	7 4	3 4	15 8
6. Loan-Words	53	W. M.	2 3		2 3	- 2	2 3	6 6	4 3	12 -	- 5	29 24
III. ETHNOGRAPHICAL PRIMARY SOURCES (14 units)												
1. Armenian-American Rituals	6	W. M.						1 -	- 2	2 -	- 1	3 3
2. Armenian-American Holidays	8	W. M.					1 -	2 -	- 2	2 1		5 3
IV. MUSICAL NOTATIONS OF SONGS (41 units)												
Musical Notations of Songs	41	W. M.					- 2	2 -	3 3	3 4	7 17	15 26
Total Number of Materials According to the Sex-Age Indexes		W. M.	2 3		4 4	1 4	21 31	76 52	63 14 1	14 5 17 1	22 6 22 1	541 624
Total	1165		5		8	5	52	128	204	316	447	1165

Total Number of Materials According to the Sex-Age Indexes and Generations		W.	2	4	22	139	371	541
		M.	3	4	35	193	392	624
Total	1165	W. M.	5	8	57	332	763	1165

It turned out, that the quantity of the primary sources is 1,165 units in total.

Although we have, during the recordings, applied equally to the representatives of both sexes of narrators, it is noticeable, however, that not all the kinds of materials have equally found response in the said groups. With a view to elucidating which of the two groups is more traditional toward this or that kind of material, let us consult the Table:

PRIMARY SOURCES	Units	Women	Men
I. HISTORICAL PRIMARY SOURCES			
1. THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE IN THE HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE ARMENIAN-AMERICANS			
a. Testimonies of the Eye-Witness Survivors	37 units	20 women	17 men
b. Tale-Testimonies	28 units	17 women	11 men
2. INTERVIEWS WITH CONTEMPORARIES	41 units	15 women	26 men
II. FOLKLORIC PRIMARY SOURCES			
A. EPIC FOLKLORE			
1. Legends	5 units	3 women	2 men
2. Fairy Tales	15 units	10 women	5 men
3. Fables	16 units	5 women	11 men
4. Animal Tales	9 units	1 woman	8 men
5. Moral-Edifying Tales	12 units	7 women	5 men
6. Historical Tales	20 units	3 women	17 men
7. Domestic Tales			
a. Armenians in the Cradle	8 units	2 women	6 men
b. Armenians in the Diaspora	5 units	-	5 men
c. Armenians in America	26 units	13 women	13 men
d. The Repatriates	2 units	2 women	-
8. Ludicrous Tales			
a. The Ottoman Empire and the Armenians in Their Cradle	24 units	-	24 men
b. The Armenians and Other Nationalities in America	43 units	6 women	37 men
c. The Newcomers in the Soviet Fatherland	31 units	2 women	29 men
d. The Armenians of Armenia in America	84 units	30 women	54 men

B. LYRIC FOLKLORE			
1. Historical Songs of Armenian-Americans			
a. The Armenian Genocide Songs (1915-1923)	21 units	8 women	13 men
b. Orphan and Orphanage Songs	12 units	10 women	2 men
c. Self-Defensive Heroic Battle Songs	8 units	2 women	6 men
d. Songs of Homeland-Deprivation	4 units	3 women	1 man
e. Emigration Songs	5 units	4 women	1 man
f. Songs of Rightful Demand	6 units	4 women	2 men
g. Repatriation Songs	5 units	2 women	3 men
2. Songs of the Armenian-American's Life			
a. Childhood Songs	8 units	8 women	-
b. Quatrains	79 units	78 women	1 man
c. Love and Family Songs	23 units	15 women	8 men
d. Domestic-Revelry Songs	16 units	2 women	14 men
e. Odes	15 units	1 woman	14 men
f. Nation-Gathering and Motherland-Construction Songs	14 units	5 women	9 men
C. SAYING FOLKLORE			
1. Proverbs-Sayings	129 units	66 women	63 men
2. Admonitions	143 units	74 women	69 men
3. Wise Thoughts	115 units	37 women	78 men
4. Riddles	25 units	19 women	6 men
5. Idioms	23 units	15 women	8 men
6. Loan-Words	53 units	29 women	24 men
III. ETHNOGRAPHICAL PRIMARY SOURCES			
1. Armenian-American Rituals	6 units	3 women	3 men
2. Armenian-American Holidays	8 units	5 women	3 men
IV. MUSICAL NOTATIONS OF SONGS			
Total	1.165 units	541 women	624 men

It turned out, that the quantity of the primary sources was **1,165 units** in total, including: 541 units were communicated by women and 624 – by men.

Now let us discuss these sections.

It became evident, that the predominance in the Section of the “**Historical Primary Sources**,” the subsections “*Memoir-Testimonies of the Eyewitness-Survivors*” and the “*Tale-Testimonies*” (65 units) belongs to the women narrators immigrated to USA (37 units), since, in the years of the Armenian Genocide, the Armenian women and girls have endured the unspeakable grief and suffering of that pan-national tragedy, while the men, who had been drafted to the Ottoman army had been cruelly exterminated or miraculously saved, have narrated 28 units only.

In the Subsection “*Interviews with Contemporaries*” (41 units), the predominance belongs to the men (26 units) over the women (15 units).

In the Section **“Folkloric Materials Primary Sources”** – **“Epic Folkloric Materials”** (300 units), Subsections *“Legends,” “Fairy Tales”* and *“Moral-Edifying Tales”* were mainly communicated by the women, while the *“Fables,” “Animal Tales,” “Historical Tales,” “Domestic Tales”* and the *“Ludicrous Tales”* with the Subsections; *“a. The Ottoman Empire and the Armenians in their cradle,” “b. The Armenians and other Nationalities in America,” “c. The Newcomers in the Soviet Armenia,” “d. The Armenians of Armenia in America”* were predominantly (217 units) told by men (versus 83 units for the women). That circumstance is due to the ability of men to express freely their thinking and feeling, to their active participation in the public-political life and also to their attitude and life-philosophy shaped on the grounds of the historical events.

Whereas, among the **“Lyric Folklore”** Section (216 units) in the *“Historical Songs of Armenian-Americans,”* in which are included the Subsections *“The Armenian Genocide (1915-1923)”* (61 units) – *“The Derzorian Dirges,” “The Self-Defensive Heroic Battle Songs”* and the *“Repatriation Songs,”* as well as those devoted to the *“Domestic-Revelry Songs,” “Odes”* and the bold *“Nation-Gathering and Motherland-Construction Songs”* (48 units) were mainly communicated by men (19 units), including also **Gevork Kiledjian**, endowed with poetic grace.

And the greater part of *“Orphan and Orphanage Songs,” “Songs of Homeland-Deprivation,” “Emigration Songs”* and *“Songs of the Rightful Demand”* (33 units), as well as the Second Part of the same *“Lyric Folklore Section”* dedicated to the *“Songs of the Armenian-American life”* (155 units), to the *“Childhood Songs,” “Quatrains,” “Love and Family Songs”* (107 units) has fallen to the lot of women, who have also expressed their indignation by the poems created by them, such as **Ronia Terzian, Zarouhi Partamian, Eva Medzorian** and **Julietta Stepanian**. Therefore, the Table quite truly elucidates the peculiarities of the narrators’ psychological disposition, the women, emotive by nature, being directly linked with everyday worries, have more courageously responded to the petty and big troubles and events of domestic life, starting from the lullaby of the new-born child, the love and family songs and delicate ditties to the personal and public events accompanying everyday life, to the inmost feelings concealed by female bashfulness till the boundless grief and suffering of the pan-national tragedy.

In the **“Saying Folklore”** Section (488 units) the *“Proverbs-Sayings,” “Admonitions,” “Wise Thoughts,” “Riddles,” “Idioms”* and *“Loan Words”* subsections (248 units) were transmitted by men and 240 units by women.

In the section of the **“Ethnographic Primary Sources”** are included the Armenian-American *“Rituals”* and *“Holidays”* (14 units); women have communicated 8, and men – 6 units.

The **“Musical notations”** of songs (41 units); men have communicated 26 and women – 15 units.

Now, let us touch upon the data expressed in the vertical column of the Table, which give an idea about the quantitative reduction of the narrated **materials** of 206 Armenian-American narrators of various age and different **generation** groups:

- I. **FIRST GENERATION** – 1870-1919 (born in the cradle - **763** units),
- II. **SECOND GENERATION** – 1920-1939 (born in the Diaspora - **332** units),
- III. **THIRD GENERATION** – 1940-1959 (born in the USA - **57** units),
- IV. **FOURTH GENERATION** – 1960-1979 (born in the USA - **8** units),
- V. **FIFTH GENERATION** – 1980-1999 (born in the USA and Armenia - **5** units).

The **synchronic** and **diachronic** analyses of the ethnographic materials we have periodically recorded during three decades (1979, 1990, 2001, 2004, 2008) from the above-mentioned five generations demonstrate that, concurrently with the generation change brought in the Table, the number of the recorded materials has significantly diminished, while the **quantitative** changes have produced also **qualitative** changes.

For instance, in the fragment of the ancient song “*Native House*”:

*“The sweet hearts of my father and mother
I won’t change them for **jewels!**”*

has become in the USA.

*“The sweet hearts of my father and mother
I won’t change them for **dollars!**” [№ 454]²*

Or, the fragment of the song:

*“Pretty girl, come here
Let me take you to **Egypt**”*

has become, under the influence of place and time:

*“Pretty girl, come here
Let me take you to **Los Angeles.**” [№ 577]³*

The characters also have undergone **qualitative** changes. If in the cradle it was the honest and simple-minded “*Armenian peasant,*” in the Diasporan colony it was the “*Arab,*” “*Greek,*” “*Jew,*” in Armenia it was the “*Comrade*” or “*Neighbor,*” then in the USA it is the “*Mexican*” or “*Foreigner.*”

In order to study the reason of that phenomenon, let us consult again the facts.

The narrators of the **FIRST GENERATION** (1870-1919) were born in the cradle, were the representatives of the senior generation miraculously rescued from the Armenian Genocide (1915-1923), who had been underage orphan boys and girls then, had moved to the USA through the patronage of American missionaries of the Near East

² Svazlian 2021, № 454, p. 555.

³ Svazlian 2021, № 577, p. 577.

Relief Committee or otherwise, had received education and training in English there, had involuntarily lost their mother tongue, however, many among them had personally written by hand in English or someone else had written down or recorded their memoir-testimonies. These memoir-testimonies have described in full detail what they had seen and felt during the turmoil of the Great Genocide, as for instance:

Helen (Heghiné) Paronian (b. 1876, Erzroom>USA) [№ 1],
 Elmas Kavoukjian (b. 1883, Harpoot>USA) [№ 2],
 Dolores Zohrap-Lipman (b. 1892, Istanbul>USA) [№ 4],
 Khanoum Baloutsian (b. 1892, Kghi>USA) [№ 5],
 Helen (Johar) Mamigonian (b. 1892, Istanbul>USA) [№ 7],
 Manassé Choogasezian (b. 1896, Sebastia>USA) [№ 8],
 Zakaria Kloyan (b. 1900, Erzroom>USA) [№ 13],
 Arshalouys Tingourian-Chookasezian (b. 1906, Sebastia>USA) [№ 16],
 Satenik Ter-Sargissian (b. 1908, Tigranakert>USA) [№ 19],
 Issahak Yenovkian (b. 1912, Berri>USA) [№ 30],
 Luther Eskijian (b. 1913, Kessab>USA) [№ 33]⁴ and others.

Whereas those same representatives of the **FIRST GENERATION**, who had a narrow escape from the Armenian Genocide, had been scattered and had persisted in the various densely Armenian-populated colonies in Syria, in Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, France, Greece, Balkan and other countries, where, in a heterodox environment, had, in order to avoid assimilation, received an Armenian education, tried to keep immaculate not only their mother tongue, but had also preserved the historical memory of the Historic Armenia and Cilicia and the relics of the traditional folklore.

Among the representatives of the same **FIRST GENERATION** are:
 Maritsa Ohanian (b. 1887, Sebastia>Meskené>Aleppo>USA) [№ 3],
 Grigor Ajemian (b. 1895, Konia>Deir-el-Zor>Aleppo>Marseille>USA) [№ 6],
 Tagouhi Antonian (b. 1900, Bitlis>Deir-el-Zor>Aleppo>Cairo>USA) [№ 9],
 George Toutikian (b. 1900, Kessab>Meskené>Aleppo>USA) [№ 10],
 Soghomon Koukouyan (b. 1900, Harpoot>Merdin>Adana>USA) [№ 11],
 Hakob Terzian (b. 1900, Shapin-Garahissar>Istanbul>USA) [№ 12],
 Grigor Gyozalian (b. 1903, Moussa Dagħ>Paris>Beirut>Yerevan>USA) [№ 122],
 Hovhannes Kyoroghlian (b. 1904, Tigranakert>Aleppo>USA) [№ 14],
 Imastouhi Galayjian (b. 1904, Sebastia>Hekimkhané>Istanbul>USA) [№ 15],
 Haroutiun Kopoushian (b. 1906, Adana>Deir-el-Zor>Aleppo>USA) [№ 17],
 Satenik Petrossian (b. 1908, Moosh>Deir-el-Zor>Corinth>USA) [№ 18],

⁴ Svazlian 2021, №№ 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 13, 16, 19, 30, 33, pp. 279-281, 283-290, 293-303, 307-308, 312-319, 324, 342-344, 346-349.

Grigor Armenian (b. 1909, Kayseri>Cyprus>Beirut>USA) [№ 22],
 Azniv Siradeghian (b. 1909, Sebastia>Homs-Hama>Aleppo>USA) [№ 20],
 Araxi Onbashian (b. 1909, Sebastia>Surudj>Bucharest>USA) [№ 21],
 Karapet Japaghjourian (b. 1909, Balou>Deir-el-Zor>Aleppo>USA) [№ 23],
 Gevorg Chiftchian (b. 1909, Moussa Dagh>Aynjar>Yerevan>USA) [№ 295],
 Annman Toukhmanian (b. 1910, Harpoot>Mezré>Beirut>USA) [№ 24],
 Verginé Gasparian (b. 1910, Ayntap>Deir-el-Zor>Aleppo>USA) [№ 25],
 Annik Ashjian (b. 1910, Adana>Beirut>USA) [№ 39],
 Yeghissabet Shamsian (b. 1910, Harpoot>Aleppo>USA) [№ 40],
 Karapet Poponian (b. 1911, Bursa>Izmir>USA) [№ 26],
 Sargis Sarian (b. 1911, Balou>Meridin>Aleppo>USA) [№ 27],
 Gevorg Kiledjian (b. 1912, Edessa>Aleppo>USA) [№ 28],
 Marta Eoylenjian (b. 1912, Harpoot>Surudj>Urfa>USA) [№ 29],
 Marie Manoukian (b. 1912, Konia>Deir-el-Zor>Kirkuk>Montreal>USA) [№ 31],
 Robert Galenian (b. 1912, Harpoot>Aleppo>Alexandria>USA) [№ 32],
 Yester Stepanian (b. 1913, Adana>Izmir>Corfu>USA) [№ 34],
 Loussaber Demirjian (b. 1913, Kayseri>Beirut>USA) [№ 35],
 George Kaplan (b. 1913, Cairo>Marseille>San Paulo>USA) [№ 578],
 Yevniké Salipian (b. 1914, Ayntap>Beirut>Damascus>USA) [№ 36],
 Pargev Makarian (b. 1915, Ayntap>Beirut>USA) [№ 37],
 Yester Antonian (b. 1916, Marash>Beirut>USA) [№ 41],
 Alice Sharbatova (b. 1916, Istanbul>Izmir>Varna>USA) [№ 112].⁵

The greater part of these eyewitness-survivors of the Armenian Genocide were the residents of the “Ararat” nursing home, who had told in full detail what they had seen and felt.

The memoir-testimonies of the above-cited eyewitness-survivors give a direct account of their personal impressions, their thoughts and meditations with the precise and veracious reproduction of the live pictures of the fate fallen to the lot of the Western Armenians. All these eyewitness-survivors of the first generation were individualities, who had gained sagacity with their testimonies and their cruel life experience, who had also reported diverse folklore materials in Armenian. Deepest gratitude and respect to their memory!

⁵ Svazlian 2021, №№ 3, 6, 9-12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20-29, 31, 32, 34-37, 39, 40, 41, 112, 122, 295, 578, pp. 281-283, 290-293, 303-310, 312, 319-342, 344-346, 349-351, 357, 440-441, 447, 519, 578.



Fifth from the left: Verjine Svazlian with the Armenian-American eyewitness-survivors of the Armenian Genocide – residents of the “Ararat” nursing home, in Los Angeles, 2001.
In the center: His Beatitude Mesrob II, the late Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople

The narrators of the **SECOND GENERATION** (born in 1920-1939) represent the post-genocidal generation. Their greater part was born in exile, in foreign countries, in the Armenian colonies, where the Armenian Church and the newly-created Armenian schools have spared no effort to educate them with the mother tongue and the national spirit. Nonetheless, living and working in a foreign environment had their definite influence on their reasoning and vocabulary. The quantity of materials transmitted by the narrators of the second generation is twice fewer than that communicated by the previous generation (332 units). This quantity consists partially of the popular creations traditionally inherited and memorized from the seniors, they are also newly composed in the Diaspora and foreign environment, domestic-folkloric, ludicrous, saying creations and songs, connected with the outlandish nature and fauna of those countries, with the confused state of the emigrant Armenians ignorant of the customs, foreign languages and laws of the multinational peoples of various towns, with the difficulties aroused by unemployment, as well as with the enthusiasm provoked by the mass repatriation and the subsequent disappointment.

The representatives of the **SECOND GENERATION** are:

- Ronia Terzian (b. 1920, Aleppo>Deir-el- Zor>Aleppo>USA) [№ 42],
- Hakob Ter-Poghossian (b. 1920, Istanbul>Beirut>USA) [№ 47],
- Loussin Aboussefian (b. 1920, Marash>Aleppo>Yerevan>USA) [№ 109],
- Eliza Tiratourian (b. 1920, Bucharest>USA) [№ 174],
- Yervand Poladian (b. 1920, Aleppo>Bucharest>USA) [№ 46],
- Yeghia Adoorian (b. 1925, Deir-el- Zor>Aleppo>USA) [№ 71],
- Berkrouhi Mangassarian (b. 1926, Beirut>USA) [№ 632],
- Martiros Ashekian (b. 1927, Aleppo>USA) [№ 51],

Zarouhi Partamian (b. 1929, Aleppo>Mosul>Beirut>USA) [№ 456],
 Hakob Arshakouni (b. 1932, Kokinia>USA) [№ 76],
 Varouzhan Semizian (b. 1934, Bucharest>Yerevan>USA) [№ 252],
 John Gyurjian (b. 1938, Ghamishli>USA) [№ 60],
 Father Vrtanes Archpriest Galayjian (b. 1939, Aleppo>USA) [№ 85],
 Sirarpi Galayjian (b. 1939, Beirut>Yerevan>USA) [№ 209]⁶ and others.

The skilled narrators of this **SECOND GENERATION** with their Western-Armenian flavor and their distinctive speech have reported diverse and valuable folklore materials, in which appear also foreign characters of the Diaspora: Arabs, Greeks, Turks, Jews, etc., while in the materials created in the Motherland, there are Armenians of Armenia, of Gyumri, of Artsakh, of Baku, Russians and other characters. In the materials created in the USA there are Americans, Mexicans, immigrants from various countries, also immigrants from Armenia, who are not always fluent in English and often run into domestic difficulties and have various complexes.

The greater part of this diversified, but Armenian-spirited generation is, regrettably, no longer alive, however, during our periodical trips, we have succeeded in writing down and saving from a total loss 332 units of ideologically valuable materials transmitted by them.

While those same Armenian-American narrators of the **SECOND GENERATION**, who were born in the USA from the survivors of the Genocide, had received education and training in the American institutions, had become physicians, lawyers and artists, but they had lost their mother tongue and hardly remembered Armenian words in their oral speech. They thought and expressed themselves mostly in English. However, the sorrow of the nation also tormented them. Many of them were specially gathered in Fresno, in 2008, in **Rosy Dolarian's** house in order to narrate to me about their parents' sufferings. Those expressing themselves in a half-Armenian, half-English speech were of the Second Generation:

Vazgen Maroukian (b. 1925, Connecticut>Fresno) [№ 1060],
 John (Hovhannes) Bagratouni (b. 1926, Rhode Island>Los Angeles) [№ 50],
 Margaret Minassian (b. 1929, New York>Los Angeles) [№ 52],
 Lion Shishmanian (b. 1931, Providence>Fresno) [№ 55],
 Arminé Shahnazarian-Shishmanian (b. 1933, Fresno) [№ 57],
 Rosy Dolarian (b. 1935, San Diego>Fresno) [№ 18],⁷

who expressed themselves in a half-Armenian, half-English speech and related the tragic memoirs of their eyewitness-survivor parents in the form of Tales.

⁶ Svazlian 2021, №№ 42, 46, 47, 51, 60, 71, 76, 85, 109, 174, 209, 252, 456, 632, pp. 358-360, 362-364, 371, 388, 395, 401, 438, 474, 493, 508, 556, 594.

⁷ Svazlian 2021, №№ 18, 50, 52, 55, 57, 1060, pp. 364, 366-370, 631.

The narrators of the **THIRD GENERATION** (born in 1940-1959) have transmitted only 68 units of materials. The Armenian-speaking narrators were already reduced in number and had become taciturn. The emigrants from Armenia had increased in number, but they were cautious, they did not speak much and they did not express themselves much. Some of them have related with humor about the ridiculous situations they had found themselves as a result of their ignorance of the English language; for instance, **Marie Doudaklian** (b. 1938, Moussa Dagħ>Aynjar>Beirut>Yerevan>Los Angeles) has recounted a number of autobiographical ludicrous tales of such unusual occurrences. Whereas, many of the emigrants from the Near and Middle East countries and Europe, who were fluent in English and having received education and training in the USA and even graduated from two universities, and filled higher posts and positions, had mastered the local laws and the latest techniques, were successful in the various fields of science and culture.

The representatives of this **Third Generation** are:

Rubina Peroomian (b. 1939, Tabriz>USA) [№ 83],
 John Chookasezian (b. 1939, New York>Las Vegas>Fresno) [№ 84],
 Jo (Hovsep) Dagħdikian (b. 1941, Haverhill>USA) [№ 87],
 Lisa Dagħdikian (b. 1941, Meshed>USA) [№ 88],
 Levon Chorbajian (b. 1942, New Jersey) [№ 89],
 Ara Gabrielian (b. 1943, New York) [№ 91],
 Barbara Chookasezian (b. 1946, San Francisco>Fresno) [№ 92],
 Ara Ghazariants (b. 1948, Boston) [№ 93],
 Tigran Tumajan (b. 1948, Aleppo>Detroit) [№ 94],
 Harout Sassounian (b. 1950, Aleppo>USA) [№ 96],
 Maggie Mangassarian-Goshin (b. 1954, Beirut>USA) [№ 99]⁸ and others.

The narrators of the **FOURTH GENERATION** (born in 1960-1979) are often the children of mixed marriages, who did not attend Armenian schools at their dwelling-places, they had their education in American institutions, hence they are practically ignorant of the Armenian language. They think and express themselves in English.

The narrators of the **FIFTH GENERATION** (born in 1980-1999) were also questioned. They were underage, four in number, among them **Stevie Dadour** (b. 1980, Los Angeles), who was 10 years old during our interview and his brother, **Scatty Dadour** (b. 1982, Los Angeles), was 8 years old. They were born in an Armenian-Egyptian immigrant family and were attending a State Public school. These two English-speaking brothers were remote from Armenian roots; they were not speaking Armenian and almost did not understand my speech. They were fascinated by the modern “Rap,” which was a music with a repeated, monotonous refrain and the computer game “Nintendo,” in which

⁸ Svazlian 2021, №№ 83, 84, 87-89, 91-94, 96, 99, pp. 399, 400, 403, 406-415, 419.

they engaged after school, at home, till late at night. They were practically indifferent and not privy to the memoirs connected to the past of their ancestors and even of their parents.

Whereas the ten-year-old **Vardan Boursalian** (b. 1980, Yerevan>Los Angeles) of the same age, emigrated from Armenia, has, on the very first day of his attendance at the school and returning worriedly with tearful eyes, said to his mother: *“Dear mother, there is not a single Armenian in the class, not a single Armenian girl and whom shall I get married to?”* And his younger brother **Davit Boursalian** (b. 1982, Yerevan>Los Angeles) attending the same Public school, who was given a test *“If you had one million dollars, what would you do?”*, the eight-year-old boy had answered: *“I would send half the sum to Armenia, to the victims of the earthquake and the other half to my parents, who have raised me up.”*⁹

The difference between the children born in a *foreign land* and in the *Motherland* is obvious.

Still, among the last, **new generations** remotely involved in Armenian matters, there appear individuals, who, feeling the negative aspects of their national identity, are often making a sharp turn and are tending toward the roots of their ancestors. After a certain age, they are starting to learn the Armenian language by means of “Teach yourself manuals” or the Internet sites, to become interested in the past stories of their Armenian grandfathers and grandmothers, to try by inquiries or by consulting books to take out of the mists of time their forgotten memoirs or to send their half-Armenian, half-foreign children to the Armenian Sunday school in order that they too study the basics of the Armenian language. Some people are starting to take part in the Armenian cultural events to have, at least, a general idea about the Armenians. Some others are starting to draw spiritually closer and to materially assist the calamity zone of Spitak struck by the earthquake or the independent Armenia or the liberated Artsakh. Some visit the sights of Armenia as tourists and make a close acquaintance of the past history and present way of living of the hospitable Armenian people, to see and appreciate personally its diligence and creative capacities, its remarkable and highly artistic culture. Some people participate, as volunteers, in the works of constructive teams, become intimate with a female partner they love each other and get married to start a family, build houses, they settle partly or permanently in Yerevan, in the provinces, also in Artsakh, Stepanakert or the border-line regions supporting the local population or make material investments, founding enterprises and creating new jobs, practically participating in the sacred duty of the reconstruction of the Motherland. I shall not mention their names, but in the course of decades, similar people and facts are known realities, since the gradually estranged, degrading new generations stepping aside from their ancestral roots are already living a gradual awakening of self-consciousness and self-esteem by an inner-incentive...

⁹ Svazlian 2021, № 102, p. 426.

Conclusion

Thus, the comparative analysis of the interrelations between the popular **materials** and the sex-age groups of the **narrators** have elucidated the **quantitative** and **qualitative** changes of the traditional folklore undergone by the influence of time and space.

Unforeseen historical, political and cultural changes are taking place in the course of time, and people are compelled to be subjected to these changes, consequently, they involuntarily become, under the constraint of the new circumstances, a multi-identity person, a globalized individual. Therefore, the Armenian-American community will not be able, despite its everyday efforts and endeavors, to guard itself from undergoing changes, from generation to generation, in their national identity, linguistic reasoning and spiritual-conscious world.

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HISTORY

**VAN PROVINCE DURING THE RULE OF GOVERNORS ISMAIL HAGG
AND IZZET BEY (1911-1913)**

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Abstract

The article presents the state of Armenians in Van province during the tenure of governors Ismail Hagg and Izzet Bey, in 1911-1913. After the dismissal of their previous governor, Bekir Sami Bey, from the autumn of 1910 to the beginning of 1911, the position of deputy governor of Van was temporarily entrusted to the former Chief Clerk (Devtertar) (position, which is also responsible for accountancy) of the province, who was replaced by Ismail Hagg Pasha in early 1911. However, soon Izzet Bey, who is of Kurdish origin, was appointed the new governor of Van province. In the study, with the help of relevant facts from the source, for the first time, the situation of Armenians in Van province during the rule of Ismail Hagg and Izzet governors was covered, the Armenian-Kurdish relations of Van province in this period were highlighted, the agreement signed between ARF and Ittihat on February 13, 1912 was presented - the pact by which the ruling party was obliged to fulfill its long-standing promises regarding the solution of Armenians' land, school, security and other problems. The article also revealed the elections of the Ottoman Parliament held in Van on April 6-8, 1912 and the mayor's elections held in Van in 1912.

Keywords: Ismail Hagg, Izzet, Armenian-Kurdish relations, Van census, Petros Gapamachyan, ARF-Ittihat alliance, land disputes, Ittihat, Ittilaf.

Introduction

From August 1908 to the autumn of 1910, the situation in the province of Van under the rule of the pashas Mahmud-Khair, Ferit, Yaver, Bekir Sami seemed to be bearable. During their reign, under the direct influence of the 1908 Young Turk Revolution, certain measures were implemented to overcome illegalities and injustices in the province. At the initiative of the Turkish military of Van province, facts were collected and all the corrupt officials of the province were severely condemned after the investigations. During the reign of Governor Beki Sami, on July 27, 1909, a new conscription law was published and put into effect in August-September 1910, according

to which, for the first time in the history of the Ottoman Empire, Christian citizens aged 20-40 were subject to conscription, received the right to bear arms and serve in the Ottoman army. Conflicts between the old and new regimes emerged during the coup d'état of March 31, 1909, and the April 1909 massacres in Adana, as Armenians were the main exponents and defenders of the constitutional order. Following the example of the massacres in Adana, from April 7 to May 4, 1909, protests were also organized in Van and persecution of the Armenians, who were members of a party, began. Armenians had to forget about any revolutionary illusions and felt the true face of Ittihat, as violence, arbitrariness and prison persecution began to rule again in Van.

Temporary rule of “Devtertar”

The next event in Van's internal political life was the resignation of governor Bekir Sami Bey. Not being able to solve the problem of returning the occupied lands of the Armenians by the Kurds, he left for Constantinople in the autumn of 1910 and resigned from his position, being appointed the governor of Trebizond instead¹. Presenting the general description of the cunning policy of the Young Turks during the reign of Bekir Sami, in Van H. Yeramyan notes: “Several Turkish or mixed commissions in the Hurriyet period, under the pretext of studying reforms, as if on the one hand were feeding Armenians with empty hopes and on the other hand blowing dust in the eyes of Europe.”²

After the departure of Bekir Sami Bey, from the autumn of 1910 to the beginning of 1911, a disorganized and unimaginable situation reigned in Van, as Ismail Faziz Pasha refused to take over the position of governor of Van. The post of deputy governor of Van was temporarily entrusted to the former “devtertar” (Chief Clerk - A.H.) of the province, an “insignificant, lazy”, inexperienced and not influential young man who did not enjoy authority at all and who spent his time senselessly in the state with the “ghadi” (spiritual judge - A. H.), the military and Ittihat members³. Let us write about one incident regarding a salary increase in Van. He was slapped by an ordinary policeman in

¹ After serving in Trebizond, he held the posts of vali (governor) of Bursa, Aleppo and Beirut. Together with former influential members of the Young Turks party, he joined the secret Turkish nationalist “Karakolyan” society created in October 1918 to continue the underground activities of the Young Turks, including opposing the disclosure of the Armenian Genocide. On May 3, 1920, he was appointed the first minister of foreign affairs of Kemalist Turkey, and in February - March 1921, he headed the Turkish delegation at the negotiations in Moscow and London. In 1926 Bekir Sami was arrested in Izmir for the crime of organizing a conspiracy against Mustafa Kemal, but was acquitted. In 1927 he left politics and lived in the countryside. He died and was buried in Istanbul. For more details, see Chelahsaty 2009, also Shlykov 2014, also Bakdak, November 12, 1909, N 251, as well as <https://bit.ly/4brd7lv>, <https://bit.ly/4ePenSw>, also https://www.turkcebilgi.com/bekir_sami_kunduh

² Yeramyan 1929: 138.

³ Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, RF, fund 151, Political archive, 1911-1914, inv. 482, file 719, sheet 10.

connection with it, and was unable to punish him, because the slapper was sponsored by the head of the police of the province, and the “devtertar” was not sure in the impartiality of the judicial system⁴. Such an official who could not protect himself, how could he guarantee the safety of the Armenians of the entire province?

Despite all this, he was in friendly relations with the ARF members of Van, who had promised him their mediation in the Interior Ministry when he was appointed as governor of Van⁵.

In order to settle the Armenian-Kurdish land disputes and collect information for reforms during the “devtertar” period, the first investigative commission arrived in Van, the members of which were the prominent figures of Ittihat of Thessaloniki, the financier Chavid, the governor of Bitlis, Ismail Hagg, and one of the main figures of the revolution, Eomer Naji. In fact, their main goal was to study the activities of secret organizations of Armenians⁶. In his newsletter, Eomer Naji declared that “the ones who sow the seeds of unrest in Asia Minor are the officials sent from Istanbul, who incite the Islamic and non-Islamic peoples against each other, when those peoples could live in peace and harmony with each other.”⁷

The tenure of Ismail Hagg

At the beginning of 1911, the temporary governor-“devtertar” was replaced by the Albanian Ismail Hagg Pasha, who was the governor of Bitlis province until then⁸. Mevlan Zade Rifat calls him “lame” Ismail Hagg⁹. The “Devtertar” was transferred to Bitlis because he was engaged in intrigues with the Kurds against the new governor¹⁰.

The very beginning of his tenure was marked by an important event, the outcome of which greatly contributed to the rise of the governor’s reputation among Armenians. Four adult students of the Turkish military academy take with them two Armenian students of the “itat” (secondary school - A. H.) to a cafe called “Bath Stones” and try to rape them. However, the Armenian boys, who were armed, kill one, then mortally wound the second, and the other two run away.

A new threat of pogrom and destruction was created. Although the murdered man’s father accepts and condemns his own son’s guilty act and justifies the actions of

⁴ Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, RF, fund 151, Political archive, 1911-1914, inv. 482, file 719, sheet 22, also Mshak, 1911, April 7, N 73.

⁵ Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, RF, fund 151, Political archive, 1911-1914, inv. 482, file 719, sheet 10.

⁶ Yeramyán 1929: 139.

⁷ Yeramyán 1929: 140.

⁸ For details, <http://teis.yesevi.edu.tr/madde-detay/ismail-hakki-pasa>

⁹ Rifat 1990: 136.

¹⁰ Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, RF, fund 151, Political archive, 1911-1914, inv. 482, file 719, sheet 67.

the Armenian boys¹¹, the French Turk-loving consul S. Zarzeki defends the Turks and describes the self-defense of the Armenian boys as disrespect and chauvinism, provoking the Turks against the Armenians. H. Yeramyanyan gave a strong answer to the Armenian-hating consul, stating that “Mr. Consul, children of a chivalrous nation or your citizens, do not provoke the situation with unjust accusations.”¹² In 1914, A. Vramyan also published a series of critical articles about the pro-Turkish behavior of the consul in “Azatamart” (Freedom Struggle)¹³.

Governor Ismail Hagg organizes the burial of Turkish students as “Shahids” (martyrs - A. H.), at the same time he treats Armenians kindly and with his wise prudence saves Van from impending danger, not allowing the public order to be disrupted.

After a very short term in office, Ismail Hagg moved to Adana, where he continued his benevolent attitude towards Armenians.

Izzet Bey’s governing

In September 1911, Ahmed Izzet Bey¹⁴ of Kurdish origin was appointed as the new governor of Van Vilayet, but before his arrival, General Jabir Pasha¹⁵, the military commander of Van, served as a temporary vicegerent.

Izzet Bey was the step brother of the Kurdish Sayyid Pasha, the Kurdish Sherif, the editor of the “Meshrutiet” newspaper published in Paris, and the uncle of his brother Fuad Pasha, a Kurdish member of the Ottoman Parliament, a relative of Abdul Gater¹⁶, known for his liberal views, and he served in the Sublime Porte until he left for Van. According to the testimony of Jabir Pasha, at one time he was and still continues to be the spy of the French Embassy in Constantinople¹⁷.

The term of his governorship coincides with the first term of Ittihat rule, the term of Ittilaf and the second term of Ittihat rule¹⁸.

One of the important and interesting events of Izzet Bey’s term of office was the pact signed between the ARF and Ittihat on February 13, 1912, by which the ruling party committed itself to fulfilling its long-standing promises regarding the solution of land, school, security and other problems of Armenians¹⁹.

¹¹ Yeramyanyan 1929: 141.

¹² Yeramyanyan 1929: 142-143.

¹³ Yeramyanyan 1929: 141.

¹⁴ Henning 2018: 258.

¹⁵ Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, RF, fund 151, Political archive, 1911-1914, inv. 482, file 719, sheet 232.

¹⁶ Mshak, September 23, 1912, N 210.

¹⁷ Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, RF, fund 151, Political archive, 1911-1914, inv. 482, file 719, sheet 266.

¹⁸ For more details see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurd_Ahmet_Izzet_Pasha

¹⁹ Horizon, January 10, 1913, N 6.

In the winter and spring of 1912, a census was held in Van, according to which the Armenian and Turkish population of Van and 33 suburbs was 24.000 people, of which 17.000 were in the city, and 7.000 lived in the suburbs²⁰.

The elections of the new mayor of Van

During Izzet's term of office, in 1912 Van mayoral elections were also held, in which two prominent public figures enjoying respect in the city, Avetis Terzibashyan and Petros Gapamachyan, put forward their candidacies.

Avetis Terzibashyan, who was a more educated and authoritative person, had a confident and convincing victory in the elections. However, soon he leaves Van due to work circumstances and transfers his position to Petros Gapamachyan, who receives the title of "bey" "Hachi Bey".

Petros Bey Gapamachyan was one of the rich and outstanding merchants of Van. Owing to his activities trade in Van received a big boost and branches of the trading companies were opened in villages and regions. He was also a district guardian of Van province, a trustee of monasteries and schools, a member of the provincial mejlis idare (administrative assembly - A.H.). At the same time, P. Gapamachyan founded the Van branch of Charity, became its chairman, helped the Armenian schools of this province and played a major role in the opening of the Van educational institution, allocating a large amount of money for its activities, and later also making a donation for that institution. Several hundred families in Van were surviving at the expense of his charity²¹.

P. Gapamachyan carries out quite successful mayoral activities and becomes one of the best mayors of Van. A. Yekaryan said that the city of Van has rarely had a good mayor like him²². And the columnist Vahan Minakhoryan (Mtrak²³ - A.H.) wrote the following about him: "He expressed his feelings in a sincere and fearless way, he was correct and impartial in his duties, and for that many people envied him. As an impartial, straightforward person, he did not shy away from speaking the truth and spoke boldly both in the government and national circles, a merit that was not given to many."²⁴

²⁰ Azatamart, March 7, 1912, N 840.

²¹ The ARF press, which had a different opinion about P. Gapamachyan, states that he was a highly arrogant, disrespectful and ambitious person, "he was an old man with old views and thoughts... he would not accept that other than him be recognized as the leader of the nation." According to the ARF, he took part in expelling Vazgen (Tigran Teroyan) and his friends from Van, and then also in arresting and deporting revolutionary youth. P. Gapamachyan sewed military uniforms with his personal funds for some of the soldiers of the Turkish army who suppressed the 1904 rebellion of Sassoon. During the 1908 Davo's betrayal, he had helped the police in uncovering weapons caches and had not contributed to the resolution of the land issue and the elimination of Kurdish exploitation. See Horizon, March 2, 1913, N 47.

²² Memories of Armenak Yekarian, Cairo, 1947, p. 169.

²³ Hovakimyan 2005: 302.

²⁴ Mshak, 1913, January 17, N 11.

The Third Ottoman Parliament Elections of 1912

On April 6-8, 1912, the second-class elections of the Ottoman Parliament were held in Van. In the Armenian environment, the struggle was going on between the Armenian Revolutionary Federation and the Hnchakyan-Constitutional-Ramkavar alliance²⁵. The opening of the second Ottoman parliament took place in May 1912 (according to another information, on April 12²⁶), in unfavorable foreign political conditions for Ottoman Turkey. As a result of the elections, 275 deputies were elected to the parliament, 6 of them were from the opposition²⁷. MPs from Van represented Ittihat supporters, Midhat-bey²⁸, and A. Vramyan²⁹.

After the elections, taking into consideration that the authorities refused to fulfill the pre-election covenant obligations of February 13, 1912, on May 5, 1912, the ARF officially broke off relations with the ruling party, Ittihat, entrusting the duty of relations with the state to the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople. However, even after that, the relations essentially continue to be preserved. In his letter of September 19, 1912 addressed to the ARF Western Bureau (Turkey's sector), Aram advised: "Decide your position towards the government, it is right to give the ultimatum..."³⁰ In other words, even in the autumn of 1912, the further actions of the ARF with the Ittihat were still not specified.

In 1912, the ARF Regional Assembly of Vaspurakan, examining the work done in the past 4 years after the proclamation of the Ottoman constitution, came to the conclusion that the Ittihat members had taken a hostile position towards the Western Armenians. Therefore, in order to prepare the people for self-defense, a military body was formed whose primary task was to protect the Armenian villages of Western Armenia from frequent attacks by Kurdish gangs. Mobile combat groups were created to help the endangered places³¹. At the same time, all Armenian villages were instructed to avoid bloody clashes in every possible way³².

During the reign of Izzet Bey, some interest was also shown in the regulation of financial and economic relations of the state. In 1912, 1.5 years after the departure of the Chavid Bey commission, a new commission headed by Oskan Effendi came to Van,

²⁵ For more details about this, read Harutyunyan 2019a.

²⁶ Cheredjian 2007: 43.

²⁷ Akmeshe 2005: 101.

²⁸ Later, during the trial of the district responsible secretaries and officials of the "Union and Progress" party on March 8, 1919, the military court deprived the Brusa responsible secretary of the "Union and Progress" party, Haji Hasan Ahmed Midhat Bey from Caesarea, of his military rank for dealing with political issues. See Genocide 1988: 131.

²⁹ NAA, fund 1457, inv. 1, file 86, sheet 1.

³⁰ Manukian 2021: 570.

³¹ Mesrobian 1930: 63.

³² Tashjian 1994: 179.

whose purpose was to study the financial situation of the eastern provinces of the empire, and in particular the governorship of Van³³.

Armenian-Kurdish relations

Izzet Bey spared no effort to woo the Kurds under his authority, to keep the criminals from being held accountable or to inflict only minimal punishment. Not hiding his bias towards the Kurds, he announced as soon as he arrived in Van that “I didn’t want the Kurds to be oppressed.”³⁴ As a result, under his rule, the Kurds received more energy in their actions and Kurdish detractors were more encouraged. And it was not accidental, because the new governor was a dictator like them, a thug like them. Thus, near the governor’s house in Archesh, as an expression of sympathy, he kisses the foreheads of the famous local Kurdish criminals Husei and Emin pashas and their sympathizers.

During his reign, Kurdish Sheikh Jalaeddin, Hasan and Eomer aghas, imprisoned by the military authorities for looting in Abagha, were released from Van prison. Aghas Nejib and Husein, who assisted Kurdish bandit leaders Seyid and Mir-Mhe in killing Turkish officer Keazim, were also freed from prison sentences³⁵. Mir-Mhe and Mahme were also pardoned. And this was not by chance, because it was an integral part of the policy of the Kurdish governor of Van, Izzet Bey, to woo the Kurds and make them adapt to the peaceful life of Van.

On December 3, 1911, near Kerts village of Armenian Valley, three Kurdish peasants engaged in sheep trade were killed, and 170 liras were also stolen from them. Most likely, the criminal chased the traders from Vostan. But the misfortune was that after the murder, the police and gendarmes came to the neighborhoods of Van, surrounded Aygestan and prevented the villagers from entering the city. In addition to spreading fear and terror, they began to look for the diocesan inspector of Aghtamar, the ARF member Sargis Barseghyan (Nikol, Poghos Odabashyan - A.H.), who had the misfortune of being at the scene of the murder at that time. On March 28, 1912, the court and the police charged him with murder, who before that had shot the policeman who had unjustly abused him on the street³⁶. Van’s newspaper “Ashkhatank” (Labor) immediately reacted to the incident and showed that the government’s actions were reprehensible and dangerous. The chief of police immediately responded to the newspaper’s criticism and waited for reaction by Ruben Shatvoryan, a member of the Van court, who, however, did not dare to retaliate, fearing for his future tenure. As a result, the court charged Sargis Barseghyan as a “criminal” based on biased materials presented by police investigators. It seems that a good opportunity was created to get

³³ Yeramean 1929: 158.

³⁴ Horizon, 1912, November 28, N 263.

³⁵ Horizon, 1912, November 28, N 263.

³⁶ Azatamart, April 21, 1912, N 876.

rid of “dangerous ARF members”.

By the way, the cases of perjury were not random manifestations in Van, the direct result of which was the one and a half year unjustified imprisonment of four adult Armenians, one of whom even died in prison. In addition, Sargis Shahinyan, A. T. Mkrtchyan and 15 other Armenians, whose guilt issue was not even transferred from the interrogator to the court.

This incident was taken advantage of by the representatives of other parties in Van, who, manipulating the results of the parliamentary elections of 1908, posted a number of anti-ARF leaflets on the walls with the following content: “See how the Armenian Revolutionary Federation causes the massacre of the people... Long live the two parties that united for the interests of the nation and formed a bloc...”³⁷

Due to the Turkish bandit leaders and the Kurdish beys who were refugees and robbers, the desired peace and security was not established in Van, because the government, or the governor Hagg Pasha, tried in every way to woo them and show “merhamet” (mercy - A. H.).

It is true that the government spent much money to provide police and soldiers for the pursuit of gangs when necessary, but in reality, there was no serious intention to arrest them, and the orders issued in individual cases were bifacial. In fact, the policemen sent to chase the bandits just did an imitation of work. If necessary, they deliberately and confidently moved in the direction of the village from where the bandits had already left and tortured the local Armenian villagers, asking why they gave shelter to the bandits. And when the villagers pointed out that the robbers were in this or that place, they went the opposite way. There were also cases when government troops and Kurdish emissaries met and the commanders did not give the order to the soldiers to shoot at the Kurds, creating an opportunity for the bandits to leave peacefully. When, on a similar occasion, Archbishop H. Sarachyan expressed his concern to Governor Ismail Hagg Pasha, he replied with indifference. “...What can I do? The troops sent against Sayid, Mir-Mhe and other bandits do not want to shoot the bandits when they meet them, so it makes no sense to send restraining troops against them, and as a result the government’s treasury is just being wasted.”³⁸ This response was not only desperate, but disrespectful as it showed both indifference and incompetence and weakness of a senior government official.

The issue of the murder of Raphael Yeritsyan

On October 11, 1912, in a mountain gorge of Karchkan province, in the area between the villages of Tsoku (Tskor) and Khorrents-Karkar, a group of Kurdish bandits killed the ARF figure and inspector of education of Akhtamar region, Raphayel Yeritsyan, priest Ter-Martiros of the village of Hyuryuk (Hyurink) in Sparkert, and 5

³⁷ Azatamart, April 21, 1912, N 876.

³⁸ Mshak, 1912 August 9, N 174.

Armenians accompanying them. At first, one gets the impression that the motivation for the killing was religious. However, it turns out that the murder was carried out by Haji Yaghkub (Aghkub), Mullah Aim, Fakhka Charchis and Mullah Muheddin, the thugs of the Baghesh fanatic Sheikh Seyid Ali, who had great influence in Khizan, Karkar, Sparkert and their surrounding regions, whom Raphayel Yeritsyan in 1911-1912 during the inspection tour, at a meeting held in the house of a Kurdish named Tahsiltar Mustafa Bey in the village of Innerk Huryuk of Sparkert, “dared” to offer to stop the intimidation and destruction of the peaceful Armenian population of Van province by Sheikh Seyyed Ali, the son of Sheikh Jalaeddin. Raphael’s funeral turned into an unprecedented political demonstration against the Turkish regime, which was an intense expression of the decades-long anger of Van Armenians against violence and arbitrariness, the crimes of tribal chiefs and sheikhs. As a result of the inter-ethnic conflict, Armenians and Kurds were killed needlessly in Karkar as a revenge operation, only because the government did not want to arrest and punish “Haji” Yaghkub, one of the main organizers of the murder of Raphayel Yeritsyan³⁹.

After Raphael’s assassination and the authorities’ deliberate anti-ARF propaganda, there seems to have been a certain change in political orientation in Van province. S. Olferev notes that “now all the Armenians of Van, not excluding the ARF, are on the side of Russia, which, according to them, is the only one capable of making the conditions of life of Christians of Turkey more bearable and safe. The majority sincerely dreams of the partition of Turkey and the day when Armenians will become Russian citizens...”⁴⁰

A. Vramyan had told S. Olferev several times that the Armenians no longer believe in either the Turks or their constitution, that the Armenians put all their hope exclusively in Russia, and that the allies refuse to defend Turkey’s policy in Persia⁴¹.

Attempts to settle Armenian-Kurdish land disputes

At the beginning of December 1912, in three of the instructions on the regulation of Armenian-Kurdish relations sent to the governors of the six provinces of Western Armenia, the Ministry of Internal Affairs drew special attention to the problems of solving the land disputes, according to which it was planned to form a commission under the chairmanship of Van governor Izzet Bey, which should include the Mufti of Van, spiritual leader Archbishop H. Sarachyan, dual representatives of Kurdish and Armenian leaders, including P. Gapamachyan and G. Chitechyan, the chairman of the court and military officers⁴². In an official letter dated December 27, 1912 addressed to the

³⁹ For more details about this, see Harutyunyan 2019b: 40-57.

⁴⁰ Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, RF, fund 151, Political archive, 1911-1914, inv. 482, file 719, sheet 243.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Azdak, 1913 January 12/25, N 2.

Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, Archbishop H. Sarachyan, the vicar of Van, informed that a commission was formed under the chairmanship of Governor Izzet Pasha and with the participation of himself, as well as Gevorg Chitechyan, Avetis Yeramyanyan, three Turks and one military officer to “examine and to solve the problem of illegally occupied lands”⁴³.

The commission should have made a fair decision after conducting an investigation on the land issue, and the party deprived of the land should have been given either monetary compensation or a certain piece of land from the state property. Both sides had to confirm their satisfaction with the decision with a receipt⁴⁴.

From the beginning, the people were skeptical about the activities of the commission, because they did not expect serious results from it. The point was that the government did not want to take strict measures against the Kurdish leaders, because it would be an opportunity for Kurdish unrests. Kurdish bandits were freely arming the Kurdish villages, and the governor “did not do anything to remedy it.”⁴⁵ That is why the activity of the commission did not give significant results and the issue of land seizures continued.

The threat of massacres in the second period of Ittihat administration (January 1913-July 1914)

The nightmare of violence, murders and insecurity against the Armenians of Van continued and gained new manifestations even after the power passed from the Ittilafists to the Ittihatians again on January 10, 1913. The re-opening of the Armenian Question, the resignation of Keamil Pasha's Ittilaf government and the re-establishment of the Ittihat led to a new wave of hatred towards Armenians in the Turkish and Kurdish socio-political circles.

In 1912-1914, the re-opening of the Armenian Question had a negative direct impact on the inter-ethnic relations of Van province. “The Times” newspaper (London) in its issue of February 6, 1913, stated that according to the telegrams received from Van and Sgherd, the relations between Armenians and Muslims are getting worse day by day⁴⁶. The Van correspondent of “Mshak” hastened to inform that “Turks view the raising of the Armenian Question in a very bad context and consider us Armenians khayinns (disloyal - A.H.), that we want to take advantage of a difficult moment of the Turkish government by raising the Armenian Question, when the time comes, they will certainly not forget this stubbornness of the Armenians and will punish them in the way that Hamid did.”⁴⁷

⁴³ Azatamart, January 16, 1913, N 112, also Mshak, January 20, 1913, N 14.

⁴⁴ Arajamart, December 21, 1912 / January 3, 1913, N 34.

⁴⁵ Mshak, 1913, April 18, N 81.

⁴⁶ The Times, Thursday, February 6, 1913.

⁴⁷ Mshak, 1913, February 19, N 38.

And the German ambassador in Constantinople, Hans Freiherr von Wangenheim (1912-1915), based on a letter from a high-ranking Kurdish official, in his telegram to Reich Chancellor von Bettmann-Hollweg on March 13, 1913, reported that after the signing of the treaty on the Armenian Question in the province of Van, where the governor was the Kurdish Izzet Bey, probably we should wait for the massacre of Armenians⁴⁸.

The threat of massacres is also evidenced by the information from the periodicals of the time that in just six months (January-June 1913) 106 people were killed, 88 people were injured, 59 women were kidnapped, 484 armed attacks were carried out on Armenian villages and many cattle were stolen in Van province⁴⁹.

Based on the situation in the province, the ARF of Vaspurakan issued a circular on behalf of the ARF, Hnchakyans and Ramkavars, in which it was specifically stated: "This great historical crisis that has plagued our motherland will impose an imperative duty on the active parties, while remaining within the boundaries of their program and point of view, to reach an agreement on issues of a nationwide nature."⁵⁰

The dismissal of Izzet Bey

In order to strengthen the state power and preserve his authority after Ittilaf's dethronement, Izzet Bey informs the foreign consuls of Van with false information that allegedly Mahmud Shevket Pasha from Constantinople addressed him by telegram and expressed his satisfaction for the quality of his administration and "administrative ability".⁵¹

At the same time, for the sake of preserving his position, he appeals to the Ittilafians who have taken over the reins of power again, with the hope of reuniting them and working together for the welfare of the country. However, his proposal was rejected and he was dismissed as a representative of the Ittilaf in April 1913. Before leaving, Izzet appeals to the members of the Van ARF, offering "reconciliation and Armenian and Kurdish solidarity", but A. Vramyan remembers that "we kicked him out, saying that we would not need his cooperation"⁵².

H. Tahsin Bey was appointed the new vali (governor) of Van instead of him⁵³.

⁴⁸ Mikayelyan 1995 (ed.): 38.

⁴⁹ Mshak, 1913, September 3, N 193.

⁵⁰ NAA, fund 1456, inv. 1, file 1, sheet 1.

⁵¹ Horizon, 1913, March 10, N 54.

⁵² Materials 2015: 289.

⁵³ Mshak, 1913, May 8, N 98. Erdeha 1975: 374, also Koyunoğlu 2008: 163.

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**EPISODES FROM THE HISTORY OF THE ACTIVITIES OF PROTESTANT
PREACHERS IN WESTERN ARMENIA
(End of the 19th century – beginning of the 20th century)¹**

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Abstract

Beginning with the 14th century, Catholic and Protestant preachers appeared in Ottoman Turkey. However, unlike the representatives of other nations, the propaganda of the new doctrine was accepted mainly by the Armenians, which was conditioned by the awful socio-political, economic and spiritual situation of Armenia.

Protestant preachers used the plight of Christians, particularly Armenians, for the realization of their religious-political goals and interests². They were the ones who for the first time encouraged the idea among Armenians that Europe and the Pope could support the liberation of Armenia, but only on the condition of accepting Catholicism or Protestantism. It was under their direct influence that the Armenian Catholicos traveled to a number of European countries in the 16th-17th centuries.

From the beginning, the Protestant preachers were of the opinion that the Armenian Church operated applying an “idolatrous” system³. However, after long contacts with the people in the Western Armenian reality, their mentality gradually changed and they became closer to the Armenian Apostolic Church.

Starting from the 50s of the 19th century, the Armenian Protestants were recognized as a separate community by the Ottoman state and a separate diocese was established for them. After the Protestant preachers settled in Constantinople, they started to open branches in the provinces as well⁴. One such branch was also established in Van.

Keywords: Western Armenia, Van, missionary work, Protestantism, “Port” company.

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² NAA, fund 1120, inv. 1, file 93, sheet 18.

³ Gazanjian 1950: 293.

⁴ For more details, read Gevorgyan 2015.

Introduction

In 1872 two Protestant preachers, Physician-Pastor Reynolds and Burnham, founded the American “Port” Company in Van⁵. Since then, many Protestant figures have been sent to Van by this company. However, none of them could do the work until the end. Some of them left Van prematurely due to personal reasons and others out of desperation. The only exception was Dr. Reynolds and his wife, who settled in Van since 1872 and engaged in the preaching of Protestantism for about 44 years.

The beginning of educational and preaching activities

As in other regions, in Van as well, the Protestant preaching began in the field of education. At that time, Van's national-educational work was in a poor state. Within a short period of time, the Protestant preachers started the task of opening female and male schools in Aygestan and the City. At first, the residents of Van were indifferent to their activities. But gradually the preachers, in an attractive way, begin to win the interest and trust of a part of the people.

There were many cases when Protestant preachers contributed to the success of the Armenian school work. Thus, when Van's Yeramyian College was in a difficult financial situation, the English Protestant preacher Grace Kemble wrote a letter in 1895 to the English society and asked to organize a fundraiser for the Yeramyian College⁶.

Along with the educational work, they also gave a boost to the evangelical-preaching and medical fields. Proficient in Armenian, Reynolds held the position of inspector of the Van school on the one hand, and on the other hand, performed the role of Protestant preacher in the Sunday meetings. At the same time, as a physician, he “ran every day to cure the sick or to send them to Jesus”⁷. As a result of work, in the 90s of the 19th century, 1-2 families in Van had already officially accepted the Protestant faith⁸.

But Protestant figures were generally not happy with their outcome. In 20-22 years of operation, they had barely recruited 22 members, yet thousands of dollars had been spent. “Each time, the preachers complained against the ungrateful behavior of the Van residents, they criticized them, they were saddened to see that despite their efforts and enthusiasm, they do not want to come on the right path.”⁹

⁵ Yeramyian 1929: 91-92.

⁶ Van Yeramyian College: 9-15.

⁷ Tseruk 1904, N 12, p. 59.

⁸ Tseruk 1904, N 12, p. 59.

⁹ Tseruk 1904, N 12, p. 59.

Mission of Physician-Pastor Reynolds

It was 1895, when the horror of the massacres and the economic distress in Van reached its peak. In the name of the Van branch of the “Port” company, money was sent from America and Europe (Switzerland, England, Germany) to help the homesick people of Van, to care for and teach 500-600 orphans (boys and girls)¹⁰. Schools were opened in Van, Armenian Valley, Gavash, Shatakh, Archesh¹¹. At the same time, Reynolds established a factory in Van and began providing benefits to those in need. That situation continued until 1898. Until then, the protestant preachers who were mocked and reproached become “saints” and “saviors” among the representatives of rural and urban society of Van. As a result, the number of followers of Protestantism reaches 100, and the number of families reaches 10¹². Speaking about the activities of Reynolds H. Ter-Mkrtchyan assures that he “slowly resisting the persecutions and scorn of the enlightened people at the time, during the medical visits to the houses, started his preaching work with people, who accepted his preached faith”.¹³

In 1905 Reynolds founds a church-congregation in Van, where he invites David Pakhchoyan¹⁴ as a permanent preacher. Two American preachers, Armenian preachers and assistants were working under his leadership, but the main work was done by Reynolds¹⁵. With the help of the “Port” company, he also managed to build an orphanage, a cemetery, a medical center, a pharmacy, a workshop, a vegetable garden, a windmill, and a flower garden on the eastern hill of Aygestan to spread science, enlightenment, and Protestantism.

Highly appreciating Reynolds’ moral, intellectual and material role in the life of the Armenians of Van, on the initiative of the locals, with the participation of the spiritual leader of Van, Archbishop Hovsep Sarachyan, on September 30, 1912, the jubilee dedicated to the 40th anniversary of his activity was held in the newly built oratory of Van. The speakers, Hambardzum Yeramyán, the director of Van Yeramyán College, Avetis Terzibashyan, the mayor of Van, young preacher Ussher and others appreciated his contribution in the life of the people of Van¹⁶.

Criticisms against Reynolds were also not few. Thus H. Ter-Mkrtchyan, speaking about preaching of Protestant, notes: “How much the poor, oppressed people have benefited from these benefits, let’s just say that the officials’ profit has always been

¹⁰ Geghuni 1900: 5.

¹¹ Harutyunyan 2012, N 10, p. 30 and 33.

¹² Tseruk 1904, N 12, p. 60.

¹³ Gorts, November 4, 1908, N 46.

¹⁴ Gorts, November 4, 1908, N 46.

¹⁵ Gazanjian 1950: 293.

¹⁶ Avetaber, November 16, 1912, N 46, p. 1091.

more than what was distributed, and that profit has been subtracted from the money and benefits to be distributed to the poor”¹⁷.

Based on the testimonies of political figures from Van Mkryan and Tutunjan, A-Do singles out anti-Armenian practices by Reynolds, noting that during the 1896 pogroms, he handed the Armenians who took refuge with him into the hands of the Turkish governor of Van¹⁸.

By the way, a similar reality was also recorded during the 1915 April heroic battle of Van. When Armenian women and children turn in terror to the representatives of the American Protestant mission in Van in the hope of finding safe shelter from Turkish torture, as witness E. Buranyan mentions Dr. Reynolds, who always preached “humanity” among the population, carelessly and without feeling a twinge of conscience rejects and expels them¹⁹.

Nevertheless, the American Protestant preacher Reynolds, who lived and worked in Van for 44 years, highly appreciated the Van-Vaspurakan. In his speech at a gathering in London in 1913 he said that Van is so beautiful that it would be a misfortune to die without seeing it.

Fortunately or unfortunately, some of Reynolds’ dreams remained unfulfilled. He wanted to establish a higher educational institution in Van, hoping to find funds for its construction. The Protestant preacher traveled to England and the USA in 1913 and received the support of the “Port” company. But the disaster of 1915 left his goal unfulfilled²⁰. In 1916, after visiting and distributing benefits to the refugees of Yerevan, he died after returning to America. Like Catholicos of All Armenians M. Khrimyan, Reynolds had willed that his remains be moved to Van at the first opportunity. E. Rshtuni wrote about it in a 1925 letter to H. Yeramyán. “Remains have been handed over to me and I hope to take the caravan of Van residents back to the villages and settle there in our beloved Van...”²¹

His wife played a major role in the education of Armenian orphaned girls. When Reynolds was in America in 1915, she did all of her husband’s errands. However, in 1915, during the Great Migration of Van, she died of exhaustion in Tiflis, where grateful Van residents organized his funeral²².

The activities of Protestant preachers Greene and H. Allen

Young Green came to Van with Reynolds as his assistant to give impetus to the preaching and educational work. At first, he had bad ideas about the Armenian people

¹⁷ Gorts, November 4, 1908, N 46.

¹⁸ A-Do 1917: 159.

¹⁹ Buranyan 2013: 26.

²⁰ For more details about the events of this period, read Harutyunyan, Balyan 2022.

²¹ Gazanjian 1950: 295.

²² For more detail see Kochnak, 1915, October 23, N 43.

of Van. However, communicating with representatives of different segments of society, he changed his wrong beliefs and got a pro-Armenian orientation. Being against the division of the Armenian Apostolic Church, he attracted the admiration of the Armenian “brothers”, but on the other hand earned the displeasure of the conservative Reynolds, who soon removed him from Van²³.

In 1895 Green assumed the position of secretary of the pro-Armenian committee of New York, which he managed successfully until 1918, always having as his motto "I came from America to Van as a preacher and now from Van I will go to America as a preacher from Van."²⁴

In 1894 another young Protestant preacher Herbert Allen came to Van, who was the son of former editor of the periodical “The Herald” (Constantinople) Allen and the superintendent of Van school. Born in Kharberd, he spoke Armenian fluently and loved Armenians. The events of 1894 in Sassoon, the 1895-1896 Abdul-Hamid massacres, the death of his paralyzed father, who fell victim to the Kharberd massacre, left a deep trace on his mental condition.

In 1897 Herbert Allen returned to Van from America and at the same time undertook the task of restoring the rights of the Armenian peasants robbed by the Kurds. In the spring of the same year, accompanied by the American vice consul of Van and veterinarian Shahen Shatakhtsyan, H. Allen acquired draught cattle from Payajuk village in Salmast to distribute it among the villagers of Van.

Soon, returning to America in 1900, H. Allen founded the periodical “Kochnak of Armenia” (Church Bell of Armenia). He also assumes the positions of the inspector of the American School of Partizak, and then the editor of “The Herald”.

H. Allen died in 1911 at the age of 46, bequeathing the motto²⁵ “Tell my nation (we are talking about the Armenians - **V. H.**) to love each other and not stray from the path of truth.” His funeral took place at the initiative of the Armenian people, in the oratory of Van²⁶.

The role of Clarence Douglas Ussher, Ernes Earo and Creasy

In 1900 physician Clarence Ussher arrived in Kharberd and then Van from America, who diligently started the useful work of free medical care and distribution of medicine to many patients. The love and respect for C. Ussher was so great among the population of Van that when the missionary assembly convened in Karin in 1912 decided to transfer him from Van to Karin, the residents of Van immediately prepared a

²³ Yeramyan 1950: 282-286.

²⁴ Yeramyan 1950: 295-296.

²⁵ Gazanjian 1950: 297.

²⁶ Avetaber, November 16, 1912, N 46, p. 1090.

request and, turning to the participants of the missionary assembly in Karin, asked them to leave him in Van²⁷.

Clarence Ussher believed that the destruction of the Christian Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire was planned long before Turkey entered the war²⁸. According to him, “religious fanaticism played a fleeting role in them (we are talking about pogroms - **V. H.**), and only after the pogroms started, having nothing to do with that program”²⁹.

The information of Clarence Ussher, who lived in Van for 18 years, about the April heroic battle of Van is also quite valuable³⁰.

In the summer of 1915, he went to Yerevan with the refugees, taking over the affairs of the Relief Society of the Middle East³¹.

Ernes A. Earo, who was a school teacher, inspector of Armenians operating in the missionary circle, and president of the Van Missionary Higher School, also carried out missionary activities in Van.

In 1915 in Van, he greatly assisted orphans and the poor. Later, on December 20, 1915, Earo was given the certificate N 1405 of the American Committee for Emigration Assistance, which gave him the opportunity to live and work in Yerevan as well. The protestant preacher was awarded with the medal of the Armenian government for his works³². E. Earo died in 1940.

Creasy also did much in Van, who in 1916 distributed 1,200 head of cattle, as well as beds and clothes to the population in need in the regions of Armenian Valley, Norduz and Gavash alone³³.

On September 18, 1913, during the most intense period of Armenian reforms, Noel Buxton, the Balkanian and later the president of the Anglo-Armenian Committee, accompanied by his brother Harold Buxton and the editor-publisher of the English "Ararat" journal, published in London, Aram Raffi, the son of the famous Armenian novelist Raffi, arrived in Van via Tabriz³⁴. Buxton's goal was to “study the Armenian life and see the sufferings of the Armenian people.”³⁵

The delegation meets the governor of Van, Tahsin Bey, and visits the Armenian schools of Varag, Aghtamar, and returns to England via Erzurum and Tiflis on September 22.

²⁷ Avetaber, November 16, 1912, N 46, p. 1090 pp. 9-15.

²⁸ Ussher, Knapp 1917.

²⁹ Somakian 1995: 76-77.

³⁰ Yusaber, 1916, December 24.

³¹ Gazanjian 1950: 299.

³² NAA fund 50, inv. 1, file 127, sheet 25.

³³ Arev, June 17, 1916, N 131.

³⁴ Ashkhatank, 1913. October 30/ November 12, N 37.

³⁵ Mshak, 1913. October 12, N 226.

Arsen Keorkizyan's pro-Armenian activities

Armenian Arsen Keorkizyan, who was born and received his primary education at Van's American Higher School, was also carrying out protestant preaching in Van. He together with G. Petrosyan, founded the City male high school in Van, where after 4 years in office he was sent to "Anatolia" college in Marzvan, then he moved to Germany, where he studied theology at the "Alliance" seminary in Berlin. Returning to Van, in 1912-1915 he served as the deputy supervisor of American schools for boys and girls and pastor of churches. After the emigration of July 1915 until 1917, A. Keorkizyan was a teacher of the school for refugees in Baku and preacher of the local Evangelical Church. In 1917-1918 he served in the Near East Relief Administration as a Home Relief Supervisor. And in 1918, he held the position of pastor of the Armenian Christian Church in Tabriz. During the migration of Van in March 1918, with the assistance of the British military authorities, A. Keorkizyan establishes nutrition stations for the Vaspurakan exiles on the Hamadan-Kermanshah-Baghdad line.

At the end of 1918, he was sent to the British in Baghdad as a representative of the National Council of Tehran to help the 20,000 Armenian refugees sheltered there. Together with Musegh Archbishop Serobyanyan, he founded the "Vaspurakan" and "Araratian" orphanages for boys and girls of AGBU in the desert of Bakuba, which were later moved to Jerusalem³⁶.

At the beginning of the 20th century, established religious relations with representatives of other churches also existed in Van province. Thus, the leader of the Anglican Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury, presents to the mayor of Van and the representative of Van's trading society, Petros Gapamachyan, several church-artistic vessels with the inscription "in confirmation of his sincere friendship"³⁷.

Conclusion

Thus, starting from the 70s of the XIX century, the Protestant preachers, in various regions of Western Armenia, as well as in Van, undertake evangelical-preaching, educational, medical activities, as a result of which a school, a college, an orphanage, a cemetery, a medical center, a pharmacy, a workshop, a vegetable garden, windmill and flower garden were built. Protestantism in Western Armenia had both positive and negative consequences. It was obvious that the ultimate goal of the preachers was the ideological transformation of the Western Armenian population. Under the guise of science and enlightenment, the final goal of the foreign doctrine was hidden. However, it should be noted that their activities were also distinguished by many charitable and humanitarian initiatives.

³⁶ Gazanjian 1950: 301-302.

³⁷ Mshak, 1911. January 11, N 4.

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**TROOPS MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS AND THE
DIFFERENCE OF CULTURES. Part II**
(Variants and Lessons of Russian, Soviet and Other Models for Us)

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Abstract

Due to the absence of domestic military science as a separate branch of science, the topic touched on by the USSR's GS and management culture, the largest bearer of the German model after the FWW, remains an open topic. The Russian and especially the Soviet model was based on the Prussian model and even more today continues to bear the influence of the latter, but in a more refined form. The Russian army was one of the first in the world to follow Prussian innovations. The British model was and still is unacceptable to the Russian mentality and value system. The problem is that liberalism has always been punished in this country, serfdom is still very deep in public perception. It should also be noted that the influence of the Soviet model among the post-Soviet countries was quite large and is still large. But in the second decade of the 20th century, a number of post-Soviet countries began to abandon this model one after another. Although the Soviet model seems to be the main one among the CSTO countries, nevertheless, as a result of the reforms taking place in the Armenian Army after the 44-Day War of 2020, there are tendencies to abandon that model. We hope that they will have a fundamental nature.

Keywords: army, troops, General Staff, Military school, war, Russia, USSR, Armenia, Artsakh

Russian and Soviet models

Even Peter the Great approved the service of general-quartermasters¹, which, however, had a very symbolic meaning. For the first time, this institution was more or

¹ General Staff 1892.

less applied by Catherine II, who, unlike her husband, followed the military innovations of her relative more quietly. However, this Russian body did not have the freedom and powers that existed in the German and French armies. Catherine II placed this structure under the subordination of the vice-president of the military collegium². In 1815 following Bonaparte's example, Alexander I greatly enlarged this body and assigned it extensive preparatory functions, but only preparatory and not planning and governing. In the same year, the post of naval minister was also created on the example of Britain. At this time, the Russian GS was more of an educational institution. There was more education, mapping and memoir writing than planning.

In 1832, the position of Chief of the General Staff was eliminated and the Academy of the General Staff was created instead. Emperor Nicholas I did not like that structure. Until the Crimean War in the Russian Empire, the structure was called the Military Scientific Committee instead of the General Staff³. Like European countries, Russia also understood that military training and military education are interrelated phenomena, and it is necessary to have academies where officers of all ranks will receive professional education. However, in this case too, the Russian army was significantly inferior to its competitors. In 1856, there were only 23 military educational institutions in Russia, while almost twice as many were needed. But that wasn't all the trouble. Head of Military General Staff Academy I. O. Sukhozanet, who was the brother of the Minister of Defense, liked to point out⁴: "It is possible to win without science, but never without discipline." And this was not his best idea, there was also a stronger one: "Science in military work is nothing more than a button for a uniform. A uniform cannot be worn without a button, but a button is not the whole uniform." Here was the situation.

The defeat in the Crimean War was a great impetus to reorganize this structure and in 1866 it became the General Staff of the Russian Imperial Army, receiving specific functions in planning, mobilization and other matters⁵. The role of General N. N. Obruchev in this case was extremely large, who, having served in the General Staff for a long time, tried to turn it into a real planner and a structure that prepares the troops for war. However, as usual, emperors and military ministers were obstructing the process. An attempt to create a completely independent GS was made especially in 1881, when the military minister D. A. Milutin, who, being a reforming minister, still remained a supporter of centralized government, left office. After his departure, the followers of Field Marshal A.I. Baryatinsky, a staunch supporter of the independent GS, tried to bring the case to life. General P. E. Kotzebue's commission was created, but after long discussions, nothing changed⁶.

² General Staff of the Russian Army 2006: 20-26, 480.

³ Ayrapetov 1998: 88.

⁴ Glinoetsky 1882: 106.

⁵ General Staff of the Russian Army 2006: 480; 20-26.

⁶ Zayonchkovsky 1973: 100-102.

In 1905, the head of this structure received the right to personally report to the emperor, following the example of the German GS, but it did not last long. Three years later, the head of the General Staff was again deprived of that right. The Russian military system was becoming over-centralized because absolute power was so deeply entrenched in the culture of Russian government, and such conclusions were drawn from the Russo-Japanese War. In such a situation, in essence, the Russian General Staff entered the FWW, during which it was reorganized into the Staff of the Supreme Commander.

After the establishment of Soviet rule, the new Russian General Staff was formed almost on the same principle, undergoing certain changes over time. In general, as we have already mentioned, this was a body that, on the one hand, performed planning functions, and on the other hand, it did not have much influence on the troops and military commanders, because the leaders of the country, who were the commanders-in-chief, were very influential and autocratic in Russia. Political leaders continued to be such in the Soviet country, and military ministers received greater powers than in Tsarist Russia, which had a greater impact on the significance of the General Staff itself. In this system, almost everything at the operational level in the army was decided by the minister of defense, who sometimes listened to the advice of the General Staff and gave instructions so that the General Staff could take the steps he decided to the troops. In other words, the General Staff planned and implemented the minister's decisions as much as possible. All this made the role of the military minister and the leaders of the party's central committee even more absolute, removing all kinds of competition and dissent in the army in the already over-centralized government and rather poor educational environment.

There was only one opinion in the USSR - it was the opinion of Stalin, who without restraint presented himself as a "genius" military theoretician and figure. Stalin did not express dissatisfaction at all among the seven chiefs of the General Staff of the Red Army, or almost did not express dissatisfaction with only one, Marshal Shaposhnikov, who was, to put it mildly, a modest figure who never opposed the Supreme Commander on any issue. Others were labeled in one way or another, some with very harsh words.

In such an atmosphere, where officers, regardless of their background, had no value and could be shot in a day, there could be no effective administration.

The Soviet state completely destroyed the officer's initiative. Only a few military proverbs are enough to understand it: "The commander is always right, if you don't think it's right, then look at the first thought", "Do I need any intellect when the commander decides in the military unit, and my wife at home?", "As many "stupid people" there are in our army, the stronger our defense is", "Initiative is punishable". Such sayings can be continued for a long time. It is surprising that famous Soviet military commanders often

write about the importance of proactive commanders⁷, while they themselves were often punished for it, and they themselves punished their subordinates. Having already not a brilliant situation in this case, the leadership of the USSR applied another factor that kills initiative and paralyzes the management system: the institution of commissars in the troops⁸. As L. Mekhlis openly said - "The commissars were the ears and eyes of the party in the army"⁹.

These officials caused indescribable damage to the Red Army's command system, these officials had the right to cancel the commanders' orders and viewed everything with suspicion. By implementing the party's instructions, they were the main implementers of the destruction of the quality squad of the troops.

In 1940, after great protests and discussions, the sole command system was restored in the Soviet army¹⁰. It was not so easily achieved in the troops, especially since the commanders, who had barely strengthened their positions, lost that right again after the first battles of the Great Patriotic War¹¹. Stalin did not understand that the defeats in the Finnish war and in the first two years of the Great Patriotic War were not due to the lack of commissars, but the result of their destructive activities. Sole leadership was re-established only in October 1942¹². Of course, this changed the situation significantly, but there were many other reasons why the inflexible Soviet system of governance could not compete with the German and even more so the British system. The first is, of course, personnel education and the resulting mindset.

The basis of the management system is the education of personnel, in which the German military school was ahead of all countries. However, even in the classical Prussian school, the officer had to be educated, and the administration did not allow self-deception, which was due to the atmosphere of fear in the USSR. This was already a more surrogate and impoverished system.

As an example, let us recall that German officers were the most educated specialists in the world before the World War Two. Most of the senior officers were of noble origin. Education is rather important in a military professionalism. For example, a good specialist cannot be well educated; a good specialist cannot be guided by stereotypes. Therefore, a good commander should have the freedom to make decisions. In that sense, the approaches of the representatives of the quantitative and

⁷ The Great Patriotic War 2014; Russian Archive. The Great Patriotic War 1993: 145.

⁸ Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR at a meeting on January 31, 1957 found that the criminal case against M. N. Tukhachevsky, I. P. Uborevich, I. E. Yakir and others was falsified and decided to overturn the verdict, See: Russian Archive. The Great Patriotic War 1994: 310.

⁹ XVIII Congress of the All-Union Communist Party 1939: 274.

¹⁰ Russian Archive. The Great Patriotic War 1993: 97.

¹¹ Order on combat and political training of troops for the 1941 academic year, N 30, January 21, 1941, Russian Archive. The Great Patriotic War 1994: 207.

¹² Russian State Military Archive, fund 4, inv. 15, list 30, sheet 739.

qualitative schools of military management are in a classic struggle. The Soviet model was based on quantitative approaches and the German model on qualitative.

The distorted Prussian system in the USSR can be explained by the following formula: show-allow-control.

And the modernized German system and the British system operate according to this formula: teach-trust-monitor.

Examples of other models

A more extreme version of the Soviet model is the Arab model, which was referred to by the American researcher, Colonel Norwell Atkin. He explains very clearly that the rank in the Arab armies has no value; it is almost a disenfranchised body. Commanders of all echelons try to keep the information they have available secret and under no circumstances inform subordinates, whom they consider ignorant as a rule, and this is in all echelons. The state of education is very bad. It is monotonous, based on making by heart¹³. As a result, subordinates hate officers, officers do not trust subordinates, commanders do not make decisions independently, etc. The Arab system of governance has worse manifestations that have a more destructive effect on the cause. An American colonel who worked for many years in the Arab armies clearly mentions several traditions that are destructive to any army.

1. Distrust of strangers. Only tribesmen, relatives, friends are trustworthy, for example, various authors consider this to be one of the reasons for the defeat of the Egyptian army¹⁴.
2. Mistrust and lack of cooperation even between states, for example, according to the American colonel Abdel Nasser clearly lied to King Hussein in 1967 about air superiority¹⁵. In 1973 Sadat similarly lied to the Allies about his war tactics¹⁶. No country had sent an officer to the Allied army. A Saudi commander, during the Gulf War, after an attack by the Iraqi army, reports in writing to the US commander in chief that he cannot hold the city, but then blames the US military for failing to hold the city.
3. Leaders of Arab countries like to create bodies of duplication of functions, more reliable control systems, armies within armies, etc.¹⁷ It seems to them that two bodies doing the same work will achieve a better quality by competing, but this is a great hindrance.

¹³ De Atkine 1999.

¹⁴ Harkabi 1967: 678-679.

¹⁵ Lunt 1989: 99.

¹⁶ Seale 1988: 97-99; Shazly 1980: 21, 37.

¹⁷ Bill, Springborg 1990: 262.

4. Exercise is of more formality than substantive benefit. Harmonization and mutual cooperation during military exercises above the battalion are not real, they are of a formal nature, and the military units do not work together. Everything is dramatized.

In an inflexible management system, where dissent is not accepted, where orders are not discussed, where the idea that the commander is always right is reinforced since the cadet years, no idea can be born; no creative thought can be born. The author has interacted several times with different Arab armies in different countries, and I can confirm that they clearly have this rule: every subordinate is a slave of his superior¹⁸.

These are the Russian and Arab institutional similarities, which may be slightly different in degree, but they are basically the same. It should be noted here that the Russian (Soviet) army is traditionally a Ground Forces, with the navy and air force playing the role of auxiliary forces. Therefore, everything is decided by the warlords, who as a rule became ministers and heads of the General Staff. It is noteworthy that no admiral or aviation general in the Russian (Soviet) army has ever held the position of Minister of Defense or Chief of Staff. And in the USSR years, even in the case of the greatest growth of these military forces in the Soviet army, out of the air force and the navy, it was allowed to have one chief marshal and one admiral of the USSR, which was equal to the title of marshal of the GF of the Soviet Union. Two aviators, A. A. Novikov and A. E. Golovanov, who received that title during the World War Two, but they were never in active positions at the same time. No matter how strange it is, even in the army that declared artillery “god of war”, two chief marshals of artillery did not serve at the same time. The only exception were two admirals, N. Kuznetsov and H. Isakov, who simultaneously held that title for several months, until the first was finally demobilized. In general, the post of the Soviet Navy Minister is a separate topic of discussion, which was established in 1938, but it could not compete with the Soviet Union in any way, because first of all it had very small forces, a very small budget and very few personnel, of which, as we mentioned, only one had the highest military rank. This ministry was abolished in 1946, and the head of the Navy Forces became the deputy minister of defense of the USSR¹⁹. However, in 1950, the Ministry of the Navy was created again. Stalin tried to justify this step by the appearance of nuclear weapons in the navy, but under the pressure of the ground marshals, whose number and

¹⁸ As in the ancient Roman proverb, the commander of any echelon of the Arab army does not think of his freedoms, but dreams of having a subordinate, that is, a slave. The words of an unknown arms dealer about the armies of Arab countries were also interesting. While talking to the author, the arms dealer, who had been engaged in arms trade in many countries of the world for several dozen years, expressed such an idea: “In Arab countries, newly acquired weapons are treated like camels, horses and women. They admire them, they use them at the moment they get them, but the next day they forget about them because they have too much of it and get a newer one.”

¹⁹ Kuzin 1996.

influence reached a “godlike” level after 1945, this ministry survived until Stalin’s death²⁰.

Moreover, the famous marshal G. Zhukov, who first abolished the ministry, then retaliated with Admiral Kuznetsov. By the way, at the same time, the same all-powerful marshals also “successfully buried” the projects of Soviet aircraft carriers.

All this means that any collegial decision was simply not possible in the Soviet army, that no military unit had the opportunity to compete with the Ground Forces.

Here we think it is appropriate to mention that even in Germany during the interwar years and especially after 1945, the defense ministers were mostly civilians. One of the most interesting episodes is also the fact that under Hitler, the longest-serving head of the General Staff was Artillery General Keitel, and after Hitler’s death, despite being in a very difficult situation, Admiral Karl Dönitz, whose flexibility of mind amazed everyone, was appointed the de facto leader and supreme commander of Germany. And it is pointless to even mention Great Britain and the USA, because the ministers of defense in these countries are sometimes also admirals, and more often civilians.

The situation in Russia has not changed much in this respect. After the collapse of the USSR, several unsuccessful attempts were made to improve the command system and the army in general, after which they returned to the “good old” Soviet model. As strange as it is, in a country where there is no freedom of speech in the press, where the national intelligentsia does not have free mindset, there cannot be a healthy and conscious officer corps, and therefore good governance. In the Russian army, the highest level of troop management is still maintained through the General Staff, as well as the institution of the military minister, which has not justified itself for a long time, especially in large countries. It is important to note here that there can be no competition in terms of resource allocation and doctrinal development among the military forces, as the Russian Air Force and especially the Navy remain as auxiliary military forces. Moreover, in the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, the navy and the air force proved that they are not capable of carrying out any significant strategic operation. Their share and influence in the armed forces remains low compared to other countries. The first to suffer from military budget cuts is the Navy, then the Air Force, and finally only the Army.

Here we also consider some examples from other countries. First let us look at Japan, which was one of the first and best carriers of the Prussian model. The General Staff of the Japanese Army was created on the model of the Prussian Army in 1871, after the future founders of the Japanese Army, Generals Iwao Oyama and Yamagata Aritomo, were trained in the Prussian Army²¹. They were the first and second Heads of the General Staff and were then re-appointed to that position at least twice. Like the Prussian 1878, the Japanese GS had great powers, and unlike the Russian GS, the

²⁰ Achkasov et al. 1988: 522-533.

²¹ Kitaoka 1994: 67-83.

head of the GS had the right to access and report to the emperor²². In 1889, the General Staff of the Japanese Navy was created, which became a separate structure and could plan separate military operations²³. An interesting thing here is that when the Kaiser HQ was formed in Japan during the war, the HQ of the British-style Navy had the same rights and rank as the Army. This was understandable in that the political weight of the Japanese fleet was too great.

After Japan's defeat in the World War Two, this model ceased to exist, and the modern self-defense forces of Japan are very similar to the American model in their structure and organization, but they are still weak and do not yet have a clear strategy.

The model of the Israeli army's GS is interesting, which is a mixture of the Prussian and American models, as well as the entire IDF. Here, the GS consists directly of departments, and the head is the head of the GS, who has only one deputy, whose rank is equal to the ranks of the heads of departments. Only the head of the General Staff has the rank of lieutenant general, the others have the rank of major general. The Head of the General Staff is appointed for three years, with the right to stay for one more year. The Minister of Defense is a political position and does not participate in the management of the troops.

In the 1955 reorganized German army after the World War Two, the GS, as such, in the classical sense, was not created. The structure, called the Army Command, also includes the command of the Navy and the Air Force, and appoints admirals and air force generals to the highest post. The highest military officer was called the Inspector General of the Bundeswehr, who in 1957 received essentially the same functions as the Chief of the General Staff. However, the German model underwent the biggest significant change, all military units received equal rights in the leadership of the military. At least two admirals and two air force generals have held the position, with the longest, more than eight years, held by Artillery General Volker Weicker. Thus, the classic Prussian model took on British overtones even in Germany.

Recently, the Chinese army has become unprecedentedly powerful. It has made great strides ahead of the communist, Mao Zedong army and has come closer to the American army in terms of military technique and structure. Of course, it is still far from the American military model, but every day it is moving more and more away from the Soviet and Communist Chinese model. We will further write about the structure and armament of the Chinese army. However, having created quite mobile and self-sufficient units and troops, the Chinese army, unfortunately, still maintains an inflexible system of the communist rule. The highest actual governing body of the military in China is the Central Military Council (CMC), where the Minister of Defense and his deputies are members of that council, and the chief is the de facto head of the country and party. The CMC consists of five departments, three commissions, six departments

²² *Edgerton 1999.*

²³ *Sadao 2005; Schencking 2006.*

and headquarters²⁴. The General Staff of the Chinese Army has already been transformed into a unified body, which is more similar in structure to the American system. For the first time, the Chinese Army's GF received its own headquarters. At first glance, this is very good, that the military has its own headquarters, but since it is directly subordinated to this party-oriented body, its effectiveness is under a big question. Here the party decides and manages everything, the army is highly party-oriented, and most of the officers are communists. The Chinese army still retains the right to participate in internal political processes; moreover, the troops of the entire central command have such problems. Such a system cannot be flexible and efficient under modern conditions. In addition, very recently, high-ranking military members of this body were arrested for corruption. It is true that the structural reforms of the Chinese army began in 2016, but as it turns out that the political management has become stricter, which worsens the situation²⁵. On October 22, 2022, the new composition of the CMC was elected, where a military personnel loyal to Xi Jinping was gathered²⁶. In the last two years, the management of the Chinese army has become more rigid and subordinated to the political leadership.

Thus, we can summarize that those armies that give great importance to literate and open-minded officers, emphasize preparation, knowledge and quality in general, always make innovations with a creative mindset and develop the military work. Armies, that constantly emphasize numbers, inert reactions, have rigid control and do not develop.

Here is the difference between the Prussian and British models.

We believe that if the British model has a certain disadvantage, it also has some major advantage that the opposite model does not have. It is the ability to quickly correct mistakes and omissions by free and independent commanders. That is, the balance of freedom and equality quickly corrects the situation. Imagine if, for example, there was a situation in the Soviet army when the commander of a military unit had to argue with the head of the General Staff or a minister about some issue, even if a high-ranking aviator or sailor dared to do so, still the number of those high-ranking officers was inferior to those on the ground in purely quantitative terms, so there would never be a compromise. We should mention here that in fact, in all armies and headquarters, there has always been and will be competition between military units. Moreover, this competition exists even in intra-jurisdictional issues. Parallel to that, there can never be unified and absolute management in large armies, even in the same military unit. During large-scale wars, individual commanders, depending on their position, always receive separate rights from the main command to develop and conduct their operations, for example, the plans developed separately in the powerful German GS by Rommel, Manstein, Paulus and others, which were often awarded by colleagues and even to

²⁴ Khramchikhin 2017.

²⁵ Scobell 2023.

²⁶ Morris 2022.

criticism from higher ups. Let us not forget that the plan for the attack on France was criticized by some of the German field marshals, and there was no unified agreement in Galder's headquarters about the plan, and in the case of the Citadel it almost came to a duel between generals. Even in a country like USSR, there were individual situations when the commanders of the military fronts developed their plans separately and, due to various influences, contrasted it with the plans developed by the General Staff or insisted on their own options²⁷.

So, the question that non-unified and rigid management can cause problems, mentioned as a defect in the model of the Committee of the Chiefs of Staff, is not very valid. Such problems can occur in all cases, in all models, for various reasons. More important is the introduction of flexible mechanisms for solving these problems, which is much more difficult in a rigid and vertical system than in a freer and more competitive system. The best proof of the more prospective of the CCS model is also the fact that the country that created the CCS model and one of the most powerful countries that supports it today has moved more towards the British model.

There have also been opposite examples in the world, when a transition was made from the CCS model to the GS model. The best-known example is Kazakhstan, which created the CCS in 2003 and transitioned from the CCS to the GS in 2012. The Kazakh CCS was created with certain circumstances in mind, for example, a rather large air force ratio for the total number of troops. At the same time, instead of military districts, territorial commands were created. However, the problem is that at that moment all the circumstances of Kazakh reality were not taken into consideration. The leadership system for the CCS is quite rigid, starting with the Commander-in-Chief. At this time and for a long time, the Minister of Defense of Kazakhstan was a military man, moreover, most of the Deputy Ministers of Defense were military men, and the Deputy Chiefs of the GS were mostly generals of the GF.

The commander of the rather large and American-style combined air force-air defense has the rank of major general. In other words, there are not all the necessary basic requirements for CCS.

Lessons for us

Here we would like to refer to the system of Defense and Security in our army. After the establishment of the Armenian Army, the General Staff was created on the Soviet model, that is, a distorted version of the Prussian model, with only one significant Armenian difference, that our General Staff always reported directly to the Supreme Commanders-in-Chief. It should also be noted that the institution of the GS was established in the Armenian Army from the very beginning, and civilian ministers were appointed. Until now, most ministers have been professionals with civilian, non-military education. All this created a pretty good situation for us in the sense that the

²⁷ Rokossovsky 1997: 313.

commanders-in-chief often heard different opinions of both the minister and the head of the General Staff, that is, there was a discussion. However, due to the lack of leadership traditions of the Armenian army, many things are inherited from the USSR. Unfortunately, the loss of Armenian statehood, the loss of traditional national aristocracy, and the loss of officers have caused great problems.

At the same time, it is quite difficult to establish the institute of the General Staff and Heads of General Staff. In this regard, the problems are:

- in the Armenian armed forces, for obvious reasons, the GF, whose representatives make up a significant number, occupies a primary place,
- for that reason, unfortunately, the chiefs and deputies of the GS were, as a rule, mainly from the GF, more so from the infantry, besides, the heads of the GS, bearing the traces of the Soviet school, often blindly agreed with the ministers, without trying to counter in any way, even if they had other opinions, for example, Defense Ministers Vazgen Sargsyan and Serzh Sargsyan were almost never countered by the Heads of the General Staff.

There was also another problem. Heads of the General Staff have remained in the same position for a long time - Colonel-General M. Harutyunyan for more than 12 years, Colonel-General Y. Khachaturov for more than 8 years. The latter was an artilleryman, and as a result, for the first time, he was also the first deputy of the head of the GS, and for a long time, lieutenant general E. Apriamov. However, unfortunately, both of them did not lead the artillery after the artillery regiments, and continued their service as commanders of joint military units. In the case of Y. Khachaturov, Seyran Ohanyan also encouraged a relatively more liberal management approaches, but all the same, ex-military Seyran Ohanyan was able to influence the head of the General Staff, especially since the General Staff structure had almost no internal debate. There were also other problems here, which are also characteristic of the Russian army. Since most of the generals also had educational and other problems, they unwittingly became silent consenters.

GS for many years, until 2007, had a clear structure of the model of the Soviet GS, and after that small changes took place, which did not have a positive effect on the work of the GS. It refers to the creation of the position of the deputy head of the GS for Air Force and Air Defense, the creation of the strategic planning department, etc. They were distorted and unclear steps of "westernization". As a result, no significant reforms were made in this direction.

Taking into consideration the main tendencies and requirements of the development of martial arts, as well as certain features of our reality, we believe that certain structural changes of the Military Academy should be made. Those changes should be based on the principle that first the factors affecting the decisions of the head of the General Staff should be more and more profound by his subordinates, the term of office of the Chief of General Staff should be a shorter and fixed period, like Israel and the USA, this period should not exceed 3-4 years, other military units of the RA Armed

Forces and their commanders should be given wider rights in decision-making, in particular, Air force, EW, intelligence and artillery. There are serious deep reasons for all this.

They are:

- The presence of generals with basic non-military education in the RA Armed Forces. We believe that the presence of such generals in the RA Armed Forces always has a positive effect.

- the Armenian libertarian way of thinking, as a strategic consequence of the 2018 revolution,

- the importance of new and mixed types of troops with new military scientific concepts.

Today, in a sense, a strange situation has arisen. Artillery represents the main means of fire and striking potential of the RA Armed Forces, moreover, among the military units under the central command of the GS, there are more rocket artillery military units left today, but there is no artilleryman among the deputy chiefs of the GS. In our opinion, the deputy chiefs of the General Staff of the RA Armed Forces should first be from the artillery, special purpose command, as well as from the air force, which will be strengthened in the future.

In general, we think it is appropriate to address the issue of commands regarding the model of our GS. Factually, we need to solve the issue of unification of Air Force-Air Defense by turning it into a command, the issue of special purpose command, the issue of the EW command, etc. We believe that the management of Special Forces through commands is more effective and is based on more liberal decision-making and decentralized management. Also important are the strengthening of the headquarters of military units and the reduction of the function of planning combat operations from the General Staff to military units and units, as we mentioned above, following the example of the German and American armies. Modern warfare requires decentralized governance that allows for the avoidance of leadership breakdowns. However, for this, first of all, one thing is necessary: creation of management bodies in all senses, positions, structures, training, education, equipment and programs, their testing, etc.

And for such a level, first of all, an established military education system and political decisions are needed. We should mention here that in this regard we also have great potential, which the opponent does not have. Armenia and Armenians love a free and educated person, and the current political line is liberal and democratic. In contrast, Azerbaijan has a centralized, rigid form of governance and an undemocratic political system. Strategically, we need to take advantage of all this.

Conclusion

After the Artsakh War (1988-1994) and the April War (2016), the Armenian Army transitioned from a de facto victorious but semi-regular liberation militia to a regular army. However, due to the created vacuum, during that time there was an automatic

elevation of the often-heroized figures of the tactical circles to the operational and strategic level. This process was accompanied by the almost eliminated Soviet military science, almost zero level of military scientific analysis and innovation. Those personnel did not exist due to both the increase in demand and the impasse of the Soviet military science, the source of development of the existing personnel, the Russian military scientific thought, was dried up. That is why we were defeated. Now there is a new situation. In the future war, the side that will create its own military scientific school, elite and as a result science at the level of world advancement will win. Creating and implementing that science is the greatest imperative.

The 2020 44-Day War, the Russian-Ukrainian war, the special operation for the final disarmament of Artsakh proved that our arguments were true, the Russian strategic management system is a dead end. The rigid rule vertical does not work, sometimes simply because of the basic lack of time, and the political systems of authoritarian rule are a guarantee of defeat in modern wars. An authoritarian system implies rigid management, has minimal trust in subordinates, relies only on loyalists, decision-making takes longer, and is not ready for flexible scenarios in case of dynamic development of situations. The superior command interferes in the affairs of the subordinates in every matter, and with all this, the processes are quickly paralyzed.

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THE UNION MOVEMENT IN THE PUBLIC LIFE OF CONSTANTINOPLE ARMENIANS IN 1918-1923

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Abstract

The Armenians of Constantinople founded their first associations and societies at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. Considering that the Armenian cultural center of Turkey was Constantinople, most of the Armenian cultural associations and societies were founded in this city. After the Armistice of Mudros, the Constantinople Armenians developed a union movement in almost all districts of the city, which inspired new strength and new faith in their efforts to revive the nation. One of the primary goals of the unions was to support displaced persons and orphans, provide them with shelter and create opportunities for them to participate in community life, remove the moral damage caused by the war. After the end of the First World War, the efforts of the unions and societies of the revival of the nation were partially successful, but they were interrupted after the entry of the Kemalists into Izmir in 1922. As a result of new political reservations, unions and associations were closed, and efforts to revive national life remained incomplete.

Keywords: Constantinople Armenians, Constantinople Armenian Patriarchate, Armistice of Mudros, cultural associations, relief societies, patriotic associations, Republic of Armenia, deportees, orphans.

Introduction

Unions have often been factors in the advancement of social life in societies. The Armenians of Constantinople founded their first associations and societies at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. Considering that the Armenian cultural center of Turkey was Constantinople, most of the Armenian cultural associations and societies were founded in this city¹.

Beginning with the 1840s, unions and societies became widespread. The most important factor was the National Constitution of 1863. In 1878, there were 35 unions², and in the following years that number reached 350. Unfortunately, the movement was first interrupted in 1881 by the decision of the Ottoman Supreme Court, which banned

¹ Poghosyan 1957: 15.

² Poghosyan 1957: 7, 16.

meetings and gatherings in the halls of schools and associations. The activities of unions and their associations were almost completely stopped in 1895-1908 and 1915-1918. The resumption of unions began in 1918 after the Armistice of Mudros.

In addition to the activities related to the development of their professions, the unions supported other societies engaged in social assistance. Historian Leo notes that the Turkish-Armenian institutions are proof of how well the Armenian society understood this social principle³. In fact, thanks to unions and various associations, Armenians have been able to overcome many historical fiascoes. One of the best examples is the union movement organized by the citizens of Constantinople to restore the national life after the destruction of the First World War.

General structure of Armenian associations and unions operating in Constantinople in 1918-1923

As always, even in the last days of the First World War, the demand to act and self-organize came automatically from the communities of Constantinople. Various associations were founded to help their compatriots.

Cultural associations and societies established before 1918 ceased to function in 1916 with the cancellation of the National Constitution by the Ottoman government⁴. After the signing of the Armistice of Mudros, they started working again, and some of them became newly formed unions and associations in 1918-1923.

One of the most striking characteristics of Armenian community structures is the short duration of their activities⁵. It is also noticeable in the case of assets in these years, one of the main reasons of which was the lack of a stable source of income. Another reason was the excessive branching of associations. Sometimes the unions of the same neighborhood acted with the same goals and aspirations. That is why they sometimes joined in order to be more active and efficient⁶.

Taking into consideration the objectives of the establishment, the structures are grouped under such headings as women's, occupational, education, sports, arts and social support organizations. Although the goals were different, the key program of almost all unions and associations operating in 1918-1923 was to ensure the material and moral recovery of the Armenian community after the deportations and the First World War. From this point of view, the field of activity of some unions founded in

³ Poghosyan 1957: 6.

⁴ On July 17, 1916, the Ottoman government abolished the Armenian National Constitution of 1863. After that decision, the Canon of the Catholicos Patriarch was implemented. The publication of the minutes also ended due to the new situation, but according to the law of October 19, 1918, the Canon of the Catholicos Patriarch ceased to be in force, and the National Constitution was reaffirmed.

⁵ Poghosyan 1957: 11,12.

⁶ The Raffi Audience Union and the Progressive Union joined together for this reason. Poghosyan 1957. 384.

Constantinople was not limited only to this city; works were carried out outside the city and the country.

The first step of Armenian associations and unions of Constantinople united around a common goal was to work in the spirit of unity and cooperation. The civil society of the community and the Patriarchate came forward with separate initiatives. The civil society in a meeting held on June 27, 1919 formed the Cooperation Society to unite all societies irrespective of their class, ideology and party affiliation. It became a guide for those societies to work for the nation. 30 associations and unions participated in its formation⁷. In the following years, the Political Assembly of the Patriarchate adopted new resolutions to monitor the activities of these organizations. The relevant persons were informed about these decisions in a circular published in the press on July 30, 1920, signed by Patriarch Zaven.

The Armenian Deportation, Armenian Orphan Care, Armenian Red Cross and Patriotic Unions

Unions and associations were founded or reorganized to help the Armenian orphans and displaced persons who arrived in Constantinople after the Mudros Armistice⁸. The most active were the Armenian Deportation and Armenian Orphan Care official bodies, the Armenian Red Cross and Patriotic Unions. These showed the most fruitful activity among the various unions founded in 1919-1922.

The activities of Armenian Displaced and Armenian Orphan Care and the Red Cross were intertwined when there were difficulties in fundraising or collecting donations under the name of orphans and displaced persons. For these reasons, the first two were united on February 28, 1919 under the name of the Armenian National Relief⁹. It published its annual report on its activities in 1920. The Armenian Red Cross continued its activities independently.

There were also various other bodies which, though smaller, provided financial or moral assistance to these unions. Such institutions were Maiden Union¹⁰, Rahvira Union of Displaced Armenians¹¹, Tsaygaluys Orphans' Trust¹², Girls and Boys Union¹³ and Varuzhan Audience Union¹⁴. The Armenian General Benevolent Union was a national organization that helped the Red Cross, Displaced and Orphan Care Unions, as well as the starving people in the Caucasus¹⁵. The Union of Armenian Officers was one of the

⁷ See Zhoghovurdi dzajny, 21.7-3.8 1919, N. 155-248.

⁸ Bimen Zardaryan prepared the list of unions active after the Armistice of Mudros. Teotig 2010: 299-308.

⁹ National Relief 1920: 63-65, 5-12.

¹⁰ Zhamanak, 21.12.1918-3.1.1919, N 3404:

¹¹ Nor kyanq, 6.12.1918, N 49; 13.12.1918, N 56; 18.11.1919, 92. Zhamanak, 13-26.11.1918, N 3366:

¹² Nor kyanq, 12.12.1918, N 55; 3.1.1919, N 77:

¹³ Zhamanak, 19.1-1.2.1919, N 3432.

¹⁴ Zhamanak, 29.11-12.12.1918, N 3382; 25.1.1919, N 61 (1877):

¹⁵ Zhamanak, 1919 3454 3489 3483.

unions assisting the deportees, on its initiative an event was organized for the benefit of the Armenian refugees of Crimea¹⁶.

The large number of sick among the displaced persons and orphans gathered in Constantinople made evident the need to establish an institution in the spirit of the Red Cross¹⁷. On November 18, 1918, the Armenian Red Cross of Constantinople elected Dr. Vahram Torgomyan as the president of the central executive board in its General Assembly, and Zaruhi Bahri became the second president. Its goals were to care for and treat displaced and orphaned Armenian patients in Constantinople and the provinces, to bury the dead, to accept births in clinics, to shelter liberated Armenian girls and boys in shelters and orphanages¹⁸. Having adopted its charter, it presented a charter consisting of 59 articles¹⁹ to the mixed assembly of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. There were also associations that aimed to help the Red Cross, among which was the Minor Hayk²⁰.

Patriotic associations were also founded. Members of the nation from different provinces founded patriotic associations in Constantinople in memory of their brothers to help widows, orphans and those in need. Their primary task was to provide them with material and moral help in Constantinople, to repair and revive the ruins of their birthplace, as well as to help the repatriates to resettle in their birthplace²¹. The number of unions increased day by day and reached 20²² in July 1920, some of which had already published their charters²³. These unions worked not only for physical existence, but also for cultural development²⁴. The executive departments of some unions sent people to the provinces for propaganda purposes²⁵.

Women's, Arts, Crafts, Educational, Sports, Intellectual and Moral Societies

In addition to their active role in unions and societies, Armenian women and girls also founded unions in which only representatives of their gender were included. The Union of Armenian Maids was founded in the Bebek-Arnauvdköy district of

¹⁶ Zhamanak, 18.3.1919, N 108 (1929): Cakatamart, 30.1.1921, 670-2491.

¹⁷ Ardaramart, 22.11.1918, N 3-1818. Zhamanak, 2-15.11.1918, N 3355:

¹⁸ Teodig 2010: 299-300.

¹⁹ Zhamanak, 15-28.11.1918, N 3368; 22.11-15.12.1918, N 3375:

²⁰ Nor kyanq, 18.1.1919, N 92.

²¹ Yerkir, 10.6.1920, N 227:

²² Amasia, Babgen Syuni-Binkyar, Bagratunyats, Kasmagyugh, Higher Hayk Karin, Euphrates, Daranaghyats, Church, Engyuri Keskin, Kirasonsh Kyurin, Mndzur, Chmshkatsag, Bolu, Razmik, Senekerimyan, Vaspurakan, Hayk, Taronno Salno Dzor, Tivrik, Qghi. Certified Patriotic Unions, See Yerkir, 8.6.1921, N 497.

²³ For example Achemyan 1919.

²⁴ For example, the Patriotic Union of Evdokia was working to establish a Matenadaran-Reading House in Adana. See Verjin lur, 1.2.1919, N 68-1889.

²⁵ Zhamanak, 3/16.4.1919, N 497.

Constantinople by female graduates of the American College with the aim of presenting the cultural aspects of the Armenian nation to American and British circles²⁶. Likewise, the executive board of Shushan Armenian Union of Khasgyugh consisted of only female representatives²⁷.

The most remarkable of the women's unions was the Armenian Women's League, which was founded by patriarch Zaven himself with a membership of about 40 women²⁸. The board of directors included such important names as Haykanush Mark, one of the pioneers of the feminist movement of the era, and Zabel Asatur, a leading Armenian female poet and writer. The League tried to contribute to the needs of the nation and help the people to recover in many areas. The Maiden Union was also a women's union operating in Beşiktaş district²⁹.

The Skyutar Women's Association was founded with the mission of helping those affected by the fire in the area³⁰. The goal of Kadıköy "Tavros" union was to educate the promising girls of the province and to provide funds for their higher education; it also sent linen and medicine to the Armenian soldiers³¹. The Armenian Ladies' Union based in Bera pursued the same case³². And the Union of Women Scouts defended the scouting rights of girls³³.

The initiative of the Immaculate Conception School in Kadıköy belonged to the Orphan Children's Union, the aim of which was to provide fruit, sweets, chocolate, etc. to the orphans of the neighborhood. About 100 young ladies joined the union, which distributed the income to the orphans of the same district every week³⁴. The Aig Maiden's Union was also one of the women's unions³⁵.

Art societies

In Constantinople, Armenian writers and artists founded the House of Armenian Art, whose working plan was ratified in December 1921, with the intention of uniting, promoting research and creative efforts, and creating an atmosphere for the development of Armenian art³⁶.

²⁶ Nor kyanq, 18.6. 1919, N 220:

²⁷ Zhoghovurdi dzayiny, 26.9- 9.10.1920, N 606:

²⁸ Nor kyanq, 2.7. 1919, N 232: See Zhoghovurdi dzayiny, 27.8- 9.9.1919, N 278-187, p. 3:

²⁹ Zhamanak, 2-15 July 1919 N 3572:

³⁰ Zhoghovurdi dzayiny, 5-18.8.1921 N 869: Ibid,19.8-1.9.1921, N 880:

³¹ Zhoghovurdi dzayiny, 12-26.9.1920, N 595: Ibid, 27.2-12.3.1921, N 735: 7

³² Poghosyan 1957: 137.

³³ Cakatamart, 5.4.1919, N 122 (1943):

³⁴ Zhamanak, 12-25.4. 1920, N 3810:

³⁵ Zhamanak, 31.5-13.6.1919, N 545:

³⁶ House of Armenian Culture 1921: 3-4.

In addition to the Art House, there were various unions that chose different fields. For example, the Union of Artists of Armenia was more of a union of painters³⁷. And the Atrushan Literary-Musical Union for Men and Women adopted the goal of popularizing literature and art³⁸.

The Navasard Literary-Artistic and Scientific Union set a goal to awaken and develop the intellectual abilities of Armenian youth and encourage them³⁹. The Armenian Art Union, which was one of the newly created ones after Mudros, aimed to open a branch in Paris, hoping that the promotion of Armenian art would be useful for the issues of the Armenian National Committee⁴⁰.

Knar, one of the leading musical societies, performed in Constantinople for about four years, in 1918-1922. One of the contributors to art was Bambir, who joined Knar after only a few months⁴¹. The Komitas choir formed after the armistice also created an orchestra, bearing the same name⁴².

After the armistice, Constantinople Armenians showed great interest in theater performances. In order to spread the love for this art, theatrical troupes and associations were founded or re-established, including the Armenian Dramatic Society, the Dramatic Theatrical Troupe, the Theater Lovers Union, the Eastern Theater Union⁴³, the Artavazd Theater Union, the Armenian Actors' Association, and the Theater Society. They also founded other organizations to support theater groups. For example, the Armenian Theater Union was created to support the Armenian Dramatic Society⁴⁴.

Craft Unions

Studying the professional unions founded by Constantinople Armenians in 1918-1923, it should be noted that the majority of them were related to such fields as medicine, press, law, architecture and engineering, as well as agriculture.

Medical associations were at the forefront of these unions. The first was the Armenian Medical Union, which was among the reorganized ones after Mudros and resumed its activities under the management of Dr. Vahram Torgomyan⁴⁵. In addition to medical problems, an attempt was made to contribute as scientifically as possible to the community's educational and support institutions. In its first meeting, the union called on all Armenian physicians to support the Armenian Red Cross, as well as to organize

³⁷ Zhoghovurdi dzayiny, 29.10-11.11.1921, N 941 (4236):

³⁸ Teodig 2010: 300.

³⁹ Cakatamart, 13.2.1919, N 80 (1901):

⁴⁰ See Poghosyan 1957: 727-728.

⁴¹ Zhamanak, 24.10-.6.11.1919, N 3668:

⁴² Teodig 2010: 308.

⁴³ Teodig 2010: 308.

⁴⁴ Zhoghovurdi dzayiny, 26.5-8.6.1921, N 808:

⁴⁵ See Yarman 2014 for a detailed information about this association.

examinations and give certificates to the participants of nursing training. The Armenian Dental Union, based in Kartal district, provided free services to all orphanages in Constantinople, the Red Cross and other aid organizations⁴⁶. In 1922, the Union started publishing the journal “The Dentist”, but only two issues were published. The Armenian Pharmaceutical Union was also a structure providing services to the community in the medical field. It was founded on March 24, 1919 in Yenigab district. The main goal was to improve the economic condition of Armenian pharmacists operating in Constantinople and Anatolia⁴⁷. The charter of the Union was published in 1919, in the same year medical assistance was provided to the newly founded First Republic of Armenia, taking into consideration the diseases that arose in the republic. The Armenian Medical Association and the Dental Association jointly published the “Darman Hay Buzhak” journal⁴⁸.

Among these unions, except for those related to medicine, the most important activity was carried out by the Union of Armenian Lawyers⁴⁹, which tried to ensure the return of occupied Armenian monasteries, churches and real estate. It published journal “Iravunk” (Law)⁵⁰. In the early 1920s, the Union split into two groups. One continued its activities under the name of the Union of Armenian Lawyers, and the other under the name of the Union of Armenian Young Lawyers. On December 15, 1919, the Armenian Society of Lawyers published the first issue of its journal called “Lawyer”. The Union of Young Armenian Lawyers published the journal “Iravunk” (Law)⁵¹.

Among the craft unions, the services of the Armenian Agricultural Union were not directly related to Constantinople. The Union was established in order to train experts for the development of the agricultural sector of the Republic of Armenia. The Union of Armenian Architects and Engineers also pursued the project of strengthening the construction sector of the newly created First Republic of Armenia⁵². The Armenian Benevolent Society of the Anatolian Ottoman Railways, which was founded in the years of operation of the second Ottoman Constitution (1908) in Kadıköy district⁵³ and reorganized after the Armistice of Mudros, continued its activities, helping the displaced and orphaned Armenians as well as the Armenian army⁵⁴.

⁴⁶ Nor kyanq, 24.1.1919, N 97:

⁴⁷ Zhamanak, 25.7-7.8.1919, N 3592:

⁴⁸ Darman Hay Buzhak 1921, N. 1-2.

⁴⁹ Zhamanak, 27.11-10.12.1918, N 3380:

⁵⁰ Nor kyanq, 21.6.1919, N 223:

⁵¹ Iravunq 1919, N. 1, p. 1-24.

⁵² Zhamanak, 25.6-8.7.1919, N 3566. Ibid, 10-23.10. 1919, N 3656:

⁵³ Damadyan 2016: 1208-1209.

⁵⁴ Cakatamart, 11.9.1919, N 255 (2076):

One of the established educational unions, the Teachers' Union, organized free courses for preschool and kindergarten teachers and candidates⁵⁵. The Teachers' Union of Cilicia dealt with the problems of refugee Armenian teachers⁵⁶.

There were also labor unions, among which were carpenters' and barbers' unions. In Samatia, Yenigab, Gungab, and Mevlevihane, there was also a society founded by *yazmaj* craftsmen⁵⁷. Unfortunately, we cannot get information about them⁵⁸.

Among the craft unions were those in the press sector. Among them was the Armenian Press Union, whose slogan was to establish intellectual ties in the Armenian press⁵⁹. The Union of Armenian Editors was established in the same field. This association was founded by the editors of the leading Armenian press in Constantinople, *Zhamanak* (Time), *Verjin Lur* (Latest News) and *Nor Keank* (New Life). At the time of its establishment, the association was headed by the famous satirist and journalist Yervand Otyan. The first meeting of the Union's Board of Directors was held on November 1, 1919, in the Ghalatia Library.

In the same year, the charter of the union was published. One of its first decisions was the preparation of biographies of Armenian editors⁶⁰. And the union created for Armenian typewriters, which underwent a name change (Armenian Typographical Union and Printing Workers' Union), was finally called Armenian Printing Workers' Union. This was one of the formations related to the press⁶¹.

Educational associations

On the one hand, the educational unions tried to repair the destroyed schools, on the other hand, to open new schools, orphanages or reading halls. They sought to support education in every possible way by opening foreign language courses such as English and French, providing financial support to those pursuing higher education, and providing assistance to poor students with clothing, food, and school accessories. "Ararat" youth union held events to support the national half-destroyed school of Kartal district⁶².

The Union of School-loving Ladies and the Armenian-Devoted Union are among the founders of the orphanage⁶³. The Student Care Association sewed clothes for poor

⁵⁵ Cakatamart, 25 March 1919, N 112 (1933):

⁵⁶ Zhoghovurdi dzainy, 13-26.2.1922, N 1031:

⁵⁷ Zhoghovurdi dzainy, 9-22.9.1920, N 591:

⁵⁸ Cakatamart, 2.1.1919, N 39 (1854): Ibid, 16.3.1919, N 107 (1928):

⁵⁹ Zhamanak, 7-20.7.1919, N 3577:

⁶⁰ Zhamanak, 2/15.11.1919 N 3676: See Nor kyanq, 18.2.1919, N 121:

⁶¹ Nor kyanq, 24.1.1919, N 97: See Zhamanak, 19.7-1.8.1919 N 3587:

⁶² Teodig 2010: 371.

⁶³ Zhoghovurdi dzainy, 10-23.9.1919, N 290-199: See Nor kyanq, 10.12.1918, N 53:

students, built offices and provided stationery⁶⁴. The Armenian Revival Society of Ortaköy initiated courses for the people considering the importance of English⁶⁵.

The Free Audience Union of Kadıköy, which organized English and French languages courses⁶⁶, and the Educational Society, which was founded in the same district and helped the starving people in Armenia, opened English and French, typing (Dactylographie) and accounting courses⁶⁷. Torosyan Sanuts Union⁶⁸, Yenigab Zartonk (Awakening) Maidens' Intellectual Union⁶⁹ are among such organizations⁷⁰.

As in all fields, sports life began to rise after the First World War. In November 1918, prominent Armenian athletes and public figures founded the Armenian General Gymnastics Union, which in mid-1919 had 25 branches to unite Armenian gymnastics groups under one name and one structure. The Armenian Olympic Games were organized, inter-branch competitions, international competitions were held. Football teams and athletes of the branch performed successfully. The union also founded scout groups⁷¹.

In addition to sports, the AGGU also contributed to refugee aid and humanitarian aid. A visit to Yerevan was made in order to develop the sports life of the newly created First Republic of Armenia and spread scouting ideas⁷². Taron of Skyutar district, which also had a gym, was reorganized⁷³.

Societies supporting the intellectual and moral development of people

Due to the war conditions, negative customs were formed, a part of the society experienced a moral decline, which led to the creation of a number of associations promoting intellectual and moral development, which made efforts to abolish bad customs. On the other hand, they worked in parallel to raise the awareness of children, young people, and adults about all this. For this purpose, the Armenian Progressive Club was founded by young people under the age of sixteen to develop young people physically, morally and spiritually⁷⁴. The Protestant Ethical Society based in Kadıköy served the same purpose, organizing conferences explaining moral principles and

⁶⁴ Poghosyan 1957: 382.

⁶⁵ Cakatamart, 9.7.1919, N 35781:

⁶⁶ Zhamanak, 4-17.4.1919, N 3498:

⁶⁷ Zhamanak, 14-27.1.1919, N 3427: 28.11.1919, N 3698:

⁶⁸ Damadyan 2016: 1218: See also Zhamanak, 21.1.1919, N 56-1871. Zhoghovurdi dzainy, 2-15.2.1919, N 25-104:

⁶⁹ Nor kyanq, 10.7.1919, N 239:

⁷⁰ Nor kyanq, 10.7.1919, N 239 :

⁷¹ Demoyan 2015: 187-188, 192.

⁷² Demoyan 2015: 194.

⁷³ Zhamanak, 16-28.2.1920, N 3764:

⁷⁴ Nor kyanq, 15.12. 1918, N 58:

organizing religious classes and seminars with the participation of university students⁷⁵. The Saint Hovsepyan Brotherhood, which belonged to the Armenian Catholic community, was one of the longest-lasting Armenian unions in Constantinople⁷⁶.

There were other similarities. Among those were the Society of Immaculate Conception founded by the Armenian Apostolic and Catholic Ladies⁷⁷ associations of Bera and the graduates of the Saghezaghach Armenian Catholic Immaculate Conception Sisters School⁷⁸, the 70-member Student Union and the Council of Nostalgic Student Trustees in Skyutar Selamsız district⁷⁹.

Oshakan Youth Union, founded in 1915 by the graduates of Gedikpasha Mesropyan College, operated until 1919⁸⁰. The Sevak Student Union of Genali, the School-loving Alumni Association founded by Gumgabı Graduates⁸¹. After Mudros, the Armenian student association (1918-1921) with 40 members was founded in Bera by the Armenian youth from different faculties of Darulfunun (Istanbul University)⁸².

In addition to the above-mentioned unions, whose names and goals were listed, there are also other unions that were founded in 1918-1923, but we have very little information about their activities. Among such unions are Shushan⁸³, Khazhak⁸⁴, Kayts⁸⁵, Kaytsak Union⁸⁶, Tsolak⁸⁷, Deraptit Yaraj Maiden's Union⁸⁸, Artavazd Theatrical Union⁸⁹, Astghik⁹⁰, Goghtan Art Union⁹¹, Duty Youth Union⁹², Zhoghovurd Armenian Cultural Union⁹³, Ararat Society⁹⁴, Sevak Audience Union⁹⁵, Eagle Educational Union. Asparez Audience unions were established in the districts⁹⁶.

⁷⁵ Zhoghovurdi dzainy, 29.8-11.9.1921 N 889: 30 April, 1922, N 1083 (4368). Poghosyan 1957: 444.

⁷⁶ Poghosyan 1957: 16-17.

⁷⁷ Zhamanak, 11-24.9.1919, N 3632:

⁷⁸ Zhamanak, 26.1-8.2.1919, N 3439:

⁷⁹ Poghosyan 1957: 381-382:

⁸⁰ Zhoghovurdi dzainy, 14-27.12.1919, N 369:

⁸¹ Zhamanak, 18.5.-11.6.1919, N 3535: See Zhoghovurdi dzainy, 17-30.7.1921, N 853:

⁸² Nor kyanq, 23.11.1918, N 36: See Nor kyanq, 5.12.1918, N 48; 19.12.1919, N 62; 9.1.1919, N 84:

⁸³ Zhoghovurdi dzainy, 6-19.8.1920, N 563 (3859):

⁸⁴ Zhamanak, 2-15.2.1919, N 3446:

⁸⁵ Teodig 2010: 308.

⁸⁶ Zhamanak, 21.12.1918- 3.1.1919, N 3404:

⁸⁷ Zhoghovurd 20.3-2.4.1919, N 63-143:

⁸⁸ Nor kyanq, 10.1.1919, N 85, p. 3:

⁸⁹ Zhamanak, 17-30.10.1919, N 3662:

⁹⁰ Poghosyan 157: 135:

⁹¹ Poghosyan 1957: 441: Zhoghovurdi dzainy, 17-30.10.1919, N 319-228:

⁹² Teodig 2010: 302.

⁹³ Nor kyanq, 21.12.1919, N 64:

⁹⁴ Teodig 2010: 300-301.

⁹⁵ Zhamanak, 13-26.8.1919 N 3608:

⁹⁶ Zhamanak, 10.2.1919, N 77 (1898)

Conclusion

After the Armistice of Mudros, the Constantinople Armenians developed a union movement in almost all districts of the city, which inspired new strength and new faith in their efforts to revive the nation. Such progressive figures as Dr. Vahram Torgomyan, Zaruhi Bahri, Haykanush Mark, Zapel Asatur, H.J. Siruni and Enok Armen were active in these undertakings. Almost all elements of the community, led by the patriarchate, made great efforts for the success of the movement. Young people, women, intellectuals, artists, artisans, educators and workers, especially Armenian women made a great contribution to the community movement owing to their creative power, strong and unbreakable character.

One of the primary goals of the unions was to support displaced persons and orphans, provide them with shelter and create opportunities for them to participate in community life, remove the moral damage caused by the war. Unions tried to raise the level of people's development with lectures, speeches and courses. With the proceeds from concerts, event, auctions, lotteries, and so on they also opened classrooms, reading halls, and foreign language courses. The activities of some unions were not limited only to Constantinople and provinces: they also allocated their income to the development of the newly created First Republic of Armenia.

After the end of the First World War, the efforts of the unions and societies of the revival of the nation were partially successful, but, unfortunately, they were interrupted after the entry of the Kemalists into Izmir in 1922. Progressive nationalists who contributed to the social movement left the city. As a result of new political reservations, unions and associations were closed, and efforts to revive national life remained incomplete.

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THE GEOSTRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE OF SYUNIK: BALANCING REGIONAL AND GLOBAL POWERS

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Abstract

Syunik, the southern region of Armenia, occupies a pivotal and geostrategic position at the intersection of diverse cultures and geopolitical interests, due to its geographical position and natural resources.

After the 44-day Artsakh War in 2020, the issue of unblocking communication channels was raised again. In this context, projects promoted by different states, are studied, particularly, the importance of Syunik in those programs.

Thus, the article explores the intricate layers of Syunik's strategic relevance, examining its impact on regional stakeholders and global powers alike.

Keywords: Historical geography, Syunik, Armenia, International North-South Transport Corridor, “Persian Gulf-Black Sea” project, “The Crossroads of Peace” project.

Introduction

For centuries, Armenia's territory has served as a vital bridge connecting trade routes from east to west and from south to north. However, the recent military-political and geopolitical shifts following the 44-day Artsakh War in the South Caucasus region have once again brought the question of unblocking communication channels to the forefront.

This article aims to underscore the geostrategic importance of the Syunik region of the Republic of Armenia (RA) amidst historical and contemporary regional processes. In our exploration, we delve into several key aspects, including Syunik's historical-geographic location, its abundant natural resources, the historical context of geopolitical struggles waged over the region by both regional and global powers, and the current challenges it faces.

By delving into these issues, this study provides a nuanced analysis and deep understanding of the current geopolitical dynamics in the region, particularly concerning geostrategic interests.

Materials and methods

The article is interdisciplinary and based on geographic determinism theory. According to the theory, the geographical conditions are determining factors in the process of social development.

The article explores the theme, mainly through the aspects of geostrategic review, having the principles of The Strategic Balance of Power and The Correlation of Forces. The principle of historicity is used in the article. The research methodology is based on a combination of sources, comparative-historical analysis, and case study methods. The article is written based on primary sources, including archives, and scientific literature.

Results and Discussion

Historical-geographical Description and Natural Resources of Syunik

Syunik (also known as Sisakan), was the 11th province of historical Armenia, known as Greater Hayk. It was bordered by the provinces of Ayrarat and Vaspurakan to the west, Gugark and Utik to the north, Artsakh to the east, and the Araks (Yeraskh) river to the south, which separated it from Atropatene and Media (Northern Iran)¹. The province of Syunik was divided into 12 administrative-territorial districts². Covering an area of 15,237 square kilometers, it was considered the hereditary homeland of the Syunyats ruling dynasty³. Later in this region was formed the Kingdom of Syunik (987-1170). The administrative boundaries of the Kingdom encompassed the southeastern part of the historical Syunik province. Geographically, this region comprised the Zangezur Mountain Range to the west, the Araks River to the south, the Hagarj River to the east, and the volcanic massif of Ishkhanasar to the north⁴.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, Syunik was referred to as “The World or Land of Ghapanu (Kapanu)”, owing to the prominence of its main and powerful fortress⁵. It's worth noting that all fortresses and fortifications of state importance in historical Armenia were typically constructed on major communication routes⁶.

In the 19th century, Syunik came to be known as Zangezur, occupying the geographical area between the Zangezur and Karabakh mountain ranges and the Araks

¹ Orbelyan 1859: 5.

² Chopin 1852: 66-67.

³ Yeremyan 1963: 81.

⁴ Hakobyan 1966: 5.

⁵ Alishan 1893: 3.

⁶ Sayadyan 2020: 76.

River⁷.

Today, Syunik is the southern marz (region) of the Republic of Armenia, bordering the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Armenian Iranian border stretches for 42 kilometers.

Syunik is renowned for its abundant natural minerals, especially copper and molybdenum. Rich reserves of these minerals are found particularly in the Katar-Kavarti region, the upper reaches of the Voghji River, near the city of Kajaran, 7 km northwest of Meghri, adjacent to the Agarak settlement, in the Sisian region. The earliest documented mention of copper mines in Katar dates back to the 14th century⁸.

Between 1840-1860, 11 copper smelting factories were established in Zangezur⁹. In the result, these smelters supplied 3-5% of the annual copper production in the Russian Empire.

In 1932, the Ghapan-Minjevan railway commenced operations, leading to the abolition of copper transportation by carts. Subsequently, in 1935, the Ghapan mining beneficiation factory, equipped with modern facilities, began operations. On January 30, 1941, the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia decided to construct a copper molybdenum combine in Zangezur. As a result, this plant was established in Kajaran in 1951¹⁰. Today, "Zangezur copper molybdenum combine" is the largest taxpayer of the Republic of Armenia¹¹.

Historical Context: Geopolitical Struggle of Regional and Global Powers for Syunik

In his seminal work, the distinguished American diplomat Henry Kissinger emphasized that in the different historical periods, world has comprised several countries of comparable power, and therefore must establish its order based on one of the concepts of balance¹². Even though during its thousands of years of political history, Armenia was endowed with the degree of sovereignty (independence, autonomy), or whether this sovereignty was extended to all of Armenia or any of its constituent parts (Cilicia, Artsakh, or Syunik). Armenia has consistently been an essential component of the military-political, and economic structures of the Middle Eastern region, influencing the balance of power therein. Consequently, Armenia's neighbors, Iran, Rome, Byzantium, the Arab Caliphate, and later the Ottoman Empire and Russian Empire have been compelled to consider the Armenian factor to varying extents in their political strategies and quests for dominance in the Middle East and conquest policies¹³.

⁷ Lisitsyan 1969: 11.

⁸ Hakobyan 1966: 24.

⁹ Aslanyan and Avetisyan 1975: 80-81.

¹⁰ Aslanyan and Avetisyan 1975: 84-87.

¹¹ See more in detail in "Zangezur Copper Molybdenum Combine". Accessed March 10, 2024. <http://www.zcmc.am/eng/our-company/who-we-are/>

¹² Kissinger 1997: 11.

¹³ Hovhannisyan 1996: 9.

Armenia and the Transcaucasia, situated geographically between the Caucasus Mountain range, the Black and Caspian seas, the Asia Minor peninsula, and the Iranian plateau, have served (and continue to serve) as a bridge connecting the East and the West. Particularly, transit land routes of international trade passing through Armenia¹⁴ have connected Europe and Asia. Despite the decline in land trade due to the discovery of the sea route to India (circumventing the Cape of Good Hope) and later the construction of the Suez Canal, the renowned Silk Road through Persia (Iran) and Armenia has retained its strategic significance¹⁵.

In 1453, the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks led to a significant shift in the strategic balance of power in the Middle East, which also affected the Caucasus region¹⁶. Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, Armenia became a focal point for Turkish-Persian wars, ultimately resulting in the division of Armenia between the two powers. The Turks, in particular, gained the larger portion of Armenia¹⁷. In fact, Armenia turned into a “buffer zone”. According to N. Spykman, the existence of small buffer states is due to the balance of power between the great powers, and “when the balance disappears, the small states usually disappear with it”¹⁸. In the 20s of the 18th century, the regions (Melikdoms) of semi-independent Armenian Syunik (Ghapan) and Artsakh, emerged in the strategic balance of power among the Ottoman Empire, the Russian Empire, and the Persian state, owing to their geostrategic position, trade-economic potential, and military strength. In 1724, when Ottoman troops invaded Transcaucasia, the geostrategic position (importance) of Artsakh and Syunik, along with their local military capabilities¹⁹, played a pivotal role in the formation of the Armenian-Persian military alliance in 1727. This alliance was solidified by the Shah of Persia's recognition of Davit Bek's rule in Syunik and granting the Armenians the right to mint drams. Subsequently, on June 14, 1735, the joint Armenian-Persian forces, led by Nadir Khan (who later became Shah in 1736), achieved a decisive victory against the Ottoman army in the battle of Yeghvard. This victory ensured the survival of the Armenian people within the Persian state and prompted Nadir Shah to grant numerous privileges to the Armenian Meliks²⁰.

Thus, the victorious battle of Yeghvard thwarted Turanian expansion to the east and reinstated the balance of power in the region. This equilibrium persisted until the

¹⁴ The military and commercial roads of historical Armenia are represented in the ancient Roman map known as the “Tabula Peutingeriana”. See more in detail in Manandyan 1936.

¹⁵ On the strategic significance of the trade routes of New Period (contemporary) Armenia, see more in detail in Rouben 1948.

¹⁶ Throughout history, the Caucasus region has been a scene of conflict between the interests of the Great Powers, and it is no coincidence that Karl Haushofer, the leading representative of German geopolitics, classified the Caucasus as one of the so-called “zones of struggle”. See more in detail in Haushofer 2001.

¹⁷ Chardin 1902: 240.

¹⁸ Spykman 1942: 20.

¹⁹ See more in detail in Ayvazyan 2022.

²⁰ Bournoutian 1992: 4. Melik is a hereditary Armenian noble title given to Armenian lords under Persian rule.

early 19th century when Transcaucasia was absorbed into the Russian Empire.

By the early 20th century, Transcaucasia had acquired significant political, economic, and strategic significance, including due to the availability of huge oil reserves in Baku. Consequently, the clash of geostrategic interests among the world's empires in this region became inevitable during the First World War.

Following the collapse of the Russian Empire at the end of the First World War, three republics emerged in Transcaucasia by the end of May 1918: the Republic of Georgia, the Republic of Armenia, and the Republic of Azerbaijan. During the negotiations in Batumi in May 1918, Vehib Pasha, the commander of the Ottoman army on the Caucasian front, conveyed to the Armenian delegation: “You Armenians are impeding our access to Persia by insisting on Nakhichevan and Zangezur. You prevent us from going down the Kura valley leading to Baku, Kars, and Akhalkalak and block our way to Gazakh and Ganja. Armenians should step aside and allow Turk’s passage to the East, encompassing Transcaucasia, Dagestan, and Central Asia”²¹. Months later, Khalil Pasha proposed the following diplomatic solution during a meeting with the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, Aram Manukyan: to concede only the small Meghri region to them, in exchange for promising most of Zangezur. The underlying motive behind this “generosity” was that the direct route from Julfa-Ordubad-Meghri-Alyat-Baku opened the gateway to the entire Turanian world²².

On September 15 of the same year, the armed forces of the Republic of Azerbaijan, in collaboration with the Ottoman army, seized control of Baku. The city was declared the new capital of Azerbaijan. As the Prime Minister of Azerbaijan, Fatali Khan Khoyski remarked that Baku was considered “the second Istanbul of the Turkic world”²³. Khan-Khoyski also noted that “this development marked the realization of Azerbaijan's Turkish identity, symbolized by its alignment with the Ottoman Caliphate. The long-held ideal of pan-Islamism, aiming to unite all under the green flag of the Sultan, was finally coming to fruition. The arrival of Turkish “liberation forces” was eagerly anticipated by the peoples of the Caucasus highlands, the Turks, and Kyrgyz of Turkestan, the Sarts, the Khivas, and the Bukharans of the Trans-Caspian region, as well as Afghanistan and the vast territory of India”²⁴.

In the context outlined above, it was noteworthy the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain G. Curzon promoted the geostrategic theory of the “Armenian wedge”. Specifically, he stated that a great Pan-Muslim or Pan-Turan movement could develop and, for the sake of global peace, “it was desirable to create a division between the Muslims of Turkey and those of the East by establishing a Christian community, which would form the basis of the new Armenian state”²⁵. The presence of that “wedge” was mainly determined by the geographical location of Syunik, the capture of which and the

²¹ Badalyan 1980: 63.

²² Rouben 1925: 100.

²³ NAA. fund 200. inv. 1. list 7. sheets 159.

²⁴ Simonyan 2017: 61.

²⁵ Lloyd 1938: 1307.

plan to cut off Armenia from Iran became the main concern for the Turkish-Azerbaijani alliance.

On October 29, 1919, a Turkish-Azerbaijani offensive-defensive agreement was signed by M. Djemal Pasha, Chief of the General Staff of the Ottoman Army, and M. Kerimov, representative of the Musavat Azerbaijani government. According to the first point of the agreement, in case of an external threat to the territorial integrity of one of the states, both parties were obliged to act jointly. Under this agreement, the Ottoman Empire assumed responsibility for organizing the Azerbaijani army, including the training of officers and instructors²⁶. This agreement was reaffirmed on April 15, 1920, with the signing of the Military Convention between the nationalist movement led by Mustafa Kemal in Turkey and the Musavat government of Azerbaijan. According to Article 5 of the Convention, the Azerbaijani government pledged to facilitate military cooperation between the Turkish nationalist movement and the Soviet Russian government, with the condition of entering an alliance with the latter if necessary (to be Sovietized - H.N., V.H.). Additionally, according to Articles 7 and 16, “the parties agreed to unite their forces against Armenia in case of an attack on Azerbaijan by Armenia or if the Paris Peace Conference allocated the eastern provinces of Turkey to the Republic of Armenia”.²⁷ Subsequently, the Turkish-Azerbaijani alliance evolved into a Turkish (Kemalist)-Azerbaijani-Russian (Bolshevik) tripartite alliance. However, Azerbaijan's territorial ambitions for Syunik faced military resistance of Armenian forces led by Garegin Nzhdeh over several years²⁸. Ultimately, Syunik was confirmed as part of Soviet Armenia, as verified by the Moscow agreement on March 16, 1921, and the agreement of Kars on October 13, 1921.

Geostrategic Significance of Syunik in Modern Times

The Second Artsakh War (also known as the 44-Day War) in 2020 brought about significant alterations to the political map of the South Caucasus. Particularly, a trilateral ceasefire accord, mediated by the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin and endorsed by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia Nikol Pashinyan, and the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, completely altered the dynamics of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Notably, the ninth clause of the 2020 ceasefire announcement mandates the unblocking of all economic and transport channels in the region, with provisions for the construction of new transport links. Control over transport communication shall be exercised by the Border Service of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation²⁹. This clause addresses the

²⁶ NAA. fund 275. inv. 5. list 184. sheets 67.

²⁷ NAA. fund 200. inv. 1. list 33. sheets 43-44.

²⁸ See more in detail in Simonyan 2017; Georgian 1991.

²⁹ The Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia. 2020. Statement by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia, the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, and the President of the Russian Federation. Accessed January 19, 2024. <https://bit.ly/4eRmv4L>

closure of various transport routes both on roads and railways since the early 1990s. Unblocking important transport routes could be of key importance not only for the South Caucasian states, but also for regional and global powers, both economically and politically. If implemented as outlined, one of the most conspicuous consequences would be the reactivation of an east-west as well as north-south trade ways. Especially, the reactivating of a relatively modest Yerevan-Nakhichevan-Julfa-Tabriz railway between the Republic of Armenia, the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic (Azerbaijan), and the Islamic Republic of Iran could significantly enhance the feasibility of the 7,200-kilometer (4,400-mile) International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC)³⁰. It is worth noting that the reactivating of this railway will not only significantly reduce travel time between destinations but also enhance transportation efficiency, leading to a substantial increase in cargo capacity and facilitating the transportation of goods. This, in turn, is expected to stimulate economic activity and foster greater trade connections between the areas connected by the railway.

The inception of the INSTC stemmed from the collaborative vision of India, Russia, and Iran, which was later joined by 10 other countries, including Armenia, aiming to promote strategic partnership and economic cooperation by bolstering connectivity across Central Asia. While initial progress was sluggish, the project has undergone significant expansion, with the potential to extend its reach to Northern Europe. However, extending its geographical scope to such an extent and fully leveraging its vast potential is expected to be a time-consuming endeavour. Challenges such as sanctions on Iran and Russia, securing sufficient economic resources, and limited private sector involvement persist. Nevertheless, as development on the corridor continues, there remains ample opportunity to address structural issues and adapt the project accordingly³¹.

One of the key communications of South Caucasian region passes through the Syunik region of Armenia. The land route in the Syunik region of Armenia holds significant geopolitical importance and has the potential to significantly influence the transportation and communication infrastructure that has developed in the region in recent decades.

For Armenia, given the closure of two out of its four borders, maintaining relations with Iran is crucial, providing a significant alternative to Georgia's dominant role as Armenia's primary trade corridor. While Armenia's ability to serve as a complete "bridge" to Iran may be limited, Yerevan possesses strategic advantages to capitalize on as it seeks to strengthen its ties with Iran. One such advantage lies in Armenia being Iran's sole stable and amicable neighbour in the region, positioning it uniquely to offer Iran a means to alleviate its isolation. Another advantage is that, while Iran has access to maritime trade routes with Russia via the Caspian Sea and with the West through Persian Gulf ports, only Armenia presents a dependable overland route, particularly

³⁰ De Waal 2021.

³¹ Cheema 2020.

appealing to Iran amidst tensions with Azerbaijan. This land route holds tangible potential for expanding road and rail connections and establishing a broader energy infrastructure network, with the existing natural gas pipeline between Iran and Armenia serving as a foundation for further energy transport expansion and Armenian exports of surplus electricity to Iran³².

The relationship between Armenia and Azerbaijan, both of which share land borders with Iran, has sparked concerns in Tehran regarding its potential regional ramifications. One of the most immediate consequences of this crisis for Iran is the disruption of its transit routes. Azerbaijani actions in the Syunik region pose a threat to Iran's access to Armenia, a route of significant importance for connecting Iran to Europe via Armenia. Baku's breach of the trilateral agreement reached in November 2020, aimed at ensuring smooth transit through this region, has exacerbated tensions. In early 2021, Azerbaijani forces seized control of the road linking the Iranian border to Yerevan and detained Iranian truck drivers under allegations of illegal border crossing. This dispute has strained relations between Iran and Azerbaijan. Tehran perceives Azerbaijan's policies towards Armenia as an effort to depict Armenia as an unreliable alternative route for the INSTC, of which Iran is a major participant³³.

The tension between Azerbaijan and Iran peaked when the President of Azerbaijan I. Aliyev and the President of Turkey R. Erdogan floated the idea of the so-called "Zangezur Corridor"³⁴ and announced their readiness to open it by force. Azerbaijani armed aggression against the sovereign territory of the Republic of Armenia occurred in November 2021 and September 2022, aimed at resolving this issue. In response, the Islamic Republic of Iran declared the inadmissibility of changing the internationally recognized borders between states in the South Caucasus and even threatened military intervention³⁵. Iran also informed the Turkish side about this position, stating that "if efforts are made to block the border between Iran and Armenia, the Islamic Republic will oppose it, because this border has been a communication route for thousands of years"³⁶.

On October 21, 2022, the opening of the Consulate General of Iran in the city of Kapan, Syunik region, seems to be a direct message to Azerbaijan and Turkey. Iran is the first country to establish a diplomatic mission in Syunik, which Baku and Ankara are seeking. In this way, Iran reaffirms its position that any change in its borders and transit

³² Giragosian 2021: 148-149.

³³ Bazoobandi 2022: 15-17.

³⁴ Azerbaijan is endeavoring to situate this within the framework of the China's initiative "Middle Corridor", also known as the Trans-Caspian International Transport Route, which spans from East to West. It is part of the New Silk Road. Azerbaijan seeks China's political backing in this endeavor. A train comprising 61 containers traversed the 7,000-kilometer route from Xian to Absheron via the Trans-Caspian International Transport Route (TITR), arriving in Baku within 11 days. See more in detail in Kenderdine and Bucskey 2021; Omirgazy 2024.

³⁵ Mammadi 2023; Iran International, 2023.

³⁶ "Azatutyun" Radio Station, 2022.

connections with Armenia would be a “red line” that it would not tolerate crossing³⁷. Iran's stance is influenced by threats to its interests on both geopolitical such as preventing the unification of the Turkic world, which could potentially activate separatist aspirations in its northern Turkic-speaking province of Azarbaijan, and geo-economic such as the implementation of the “Persian Gulf-Black Sea” project initiated by Iran in 2016³⁸. This project aims to unite Georgia, Armenia, Iran, and India.

Armenia's participation in this program is also important from India's point of view. On March 8, 2021, India's ambassador to Iran, Gaddam Dharmendra, announced that India plans to connect the Chabahar port³⁹ (a seaport in the southeast of Iran, where India has invested heavily) and the Indian Ocean through the territory of Armenia with Eurasia and Helsinki, creating INSTC, adding that New Delhi plans to make Chabahar the most important and busiest port in the region. INSTC will help India to have smooth access to Central Asia and other countries through the territory of Iran. Geopolitically and geo-economically, INSTC is also seen as New Delhi's counter-strategy to China's One Belt, One Road initiative, given the fact that China is India's rival in the region⁴⁰. Over the past three years, the collaboration between India and Armenia has surged significantly, particularly with the establishment of a burgeoning defense and security partnership. Notably, India has explicitly expressed its intention to ally with Yerevan in the South Caucasus, citing shared strategic interests in the region. This partnership is seen as crucial for balancing the influence of the “Three Brothers” alliance comprising Pakistan, Turkey, and Azerbaijan. Through bilateral and multilateral engagements, such as Armenia-India-Iran and Armenia-India-France-Greece, Armenia gains a valuable strategic ally in a region where Turkish dominance looms large⁴¹.

India, Iran, and Armenia had formed a trilateral partnership aimed at exploring the transport corridor. During a meeting convened in Yerevan in April 2023, representatives from the three countries deliberated on economic ventures, regional communication networks, and the potential for enhancing cultural exchanges. Armenia has come to rely on India as a dependable source of weapons tailored to its specific requirements⁴². In fact, Armenia has become the main importer of Indian-made weapons. The military-technical cooperation between the two states creates a possibility for Armenia to get access to new military technologies, including western advanced technologies, which are used to develop the military-industrial complex of India⁴³. In this case, Iran's logistical role also increases, because Iran provides its air and land routes for this transportation. In fact, an informal “trilateral alliance” between India, Iran, and Armenia has been formed in the political, economic, and defense spheres.

³⁷ Motamedi 2022.

³⁸ Sargsyan 2021.

³⁹ See more in detail in Haji-Yousefi and Narouei 2021; Akbari, Ghazi and Ghaffarlou 2022.

⁴⁰ Tashjian 2022: 161-163.

⁴¹ Antonyan 2023.

⁴² “The Times of India”, 2023.

⁴³ Nazaryan 2023: 28.

The changing dynamics of the region create opportunities for the implementation of new projects and directions of communication. One such project is the “Persian Gulf - Black Sea” initiative, which aligns with the geostrategic interests of India, Iran, Armenia, and Georgia, while sidelining the interests of Azerbaijan, Turkey and Russia. Armenia and Iran view the development of an alternative transport route, bypassing Azerbaijan, as a solution to regional challenges. Recent years’ official statements from both countries highlight their joint efforts in implementing the “Persian Gulf - Black Sea” project, which traverses Iran, Armenia, and Georgia, providing India with access to the European market. A new transit route for Iranian trucks within Armenia, via the Tatev-Kapan road, has already been established, as an alternative road to the previous route (a part of Goris-Kapan highway is under Azerbaijan's control since the end of 2020). In this case, the construction of new roads and the removal of blockades represent initial steps towards fostering a secure and dependable region. All communication passing through Armenia's territory should be under Armenian control. Additionally, for Yerevan, it is imperative to advance the India-Iran-Armenia-Georgia geostrategic axis, which not only benefits these countries but also the wider region by offering new communication opportunities⁴⁴.

Regarding Armenia's participation in this program, in February 2024, the reconstruction of the 32 km road section of the Kajaran-Agarak (Iranian border) of the “North-South Road” (total length 556 km) connecting the south of Armenia to the north was started⁴⁵. It should be the largest infrastructure project implemented in Armenia. The goals of the project are facilitating communication with neighbouring countries, expanding opportunities for access to foreign markets through communication routes stretching to Central Asia, Europe, development of the main sectors of the economy and expansion of exports (industry, agriculture, construction, and tourism), activation of internal population movements, etc. The construction of this road of strategic importance will ensure easy traffic from the southern border of Armenia to the border of Georgia, and to the Black Sea ports, will allow carrying out high-standard cargo and passenger transportation, will provide serious development opportunities to all settlements from the south to the north of Armenia⁴⁶.

The Government of the Republic of Armenia has also proposed a transformative initiative known as the Crossroads of Peace project. It seeks to establish vital transportation corridors linking Armenia to neighbouring countries along both the north-south and east-west axes. According to the Armenian Government, by facilitating the opening of regional transport routes, the Crossroads of Peace project aims to foster closer economic, political, and cultural ties among participating nations. Moreover, the project can contribute significantly to the promotion of peace and stability in the

⁴⁴ Ordukhanyan 2022: 316-317.

⁴⁵ Road Department Fund, 2024.

⁴⁶ Road Department Fund, 2023.

region⁴⁷. Simultaneously, the unblocking of communication channels enables Armenia's participation in both North-South Transport Corridor, and the China's "The One Belt, One Road"⁴⁸ geo-economic project.

Conclusion

As a result of our research, several key points emerge as a summary of the findings.

Firstly, owing to its geographical location and natural resources, Syunik has held significant military, strategic, and geostrategic importance throughout various historical epochs. Consequently, Syunik has been a focal point for military-political and geopolitical struggles among regional and global powers. For centuries, the Armenian territory has served as a pivotal bridge connecting trade routes from the east to the west and from the south to the north.

Secondly, following the 44-Day Artsakh War, a new military-political and geopolitical landscape emerged in the South Caucasus region, reemphasizing the need to address the issue of unblocking communication channels. Various regional and global entities envision the unblocking of communication channels in their distinct ways. Notably, the Republic of Azerbaijan has proposed the concept of the "Zangezur Corridor", which entails an extraterritorial corridor connecting its exclave, the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, through the territory of the Syunik region of the Republic of Armenia. This corridor must be free from Armenian checkpoints and the imposition of customs duties as established by international law. On the other hand, the Russian Federation seeks to resume freight transportation between the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Azerbaijan through the involvement of a third party, ideally under its supervision.

Thirdly, the proposal of the "Zangezur Corridor" by the Republic of Azerbaijan poses a threat not only to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Armenia but also to the Islamic Republic of Iran, Armenia's southern neighbour. Linked to the concept of the "Turanian Corridor", the implementation of this corridor would sever the southern Syunik region of the Republic of Armenia from the Islamic Republic of Iran, potentially fostering separatist tendencies in the Turkic-populated Azarbaijan province of northern Iran. Consequently, Iran views the threat to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Armenia and any alteration to the border between the Republic of Armenia and the Islamic Republic of Iran as a "Red Line", and it warns of the potential use of force in response.

Fourthly, at the same time, Syunik plays a crucial role in the implementation of the "Persian Gulf-Black Sea" (India-Iran-Armenia-Georgia) project proposed by Iran, which could potentially integrate into the larger "North-South" international transport initiative.

⁴⁷ The Government of the Republic of Armenia, 2023.

⁴⁸ See more in detail in Sahakyan 2018.

Iranian companies have been actively involved in constructing the southern segment of the “North-South” road within the territory of the Republic of Armenia, extending to the Iranian border. Furthermore, the Islamic Republic of Iran has leveraged its logistical capabilities to facilitate India's arms supplies to Armenia, thereby bolstering Armenia's security in collaboration with India. This stands in contrast to the Turkey-Azerbaijan-Pakistan tripartite alliance formed in the region.

Fifthly, alternatively, Armenia has introduced an ambitious initiative called the Crossroads of Peace project. This transformative endeavour aims to create essential transportation routes connecting Armenia with its neighbouring countries along both the north-south and east-west directions. By unblocking communication channels, Armenia can actively engage in both the North-South Transport Corridor and China's “The One Belt, One Road” geo-economic project.

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**INTERETHNIC-TERRITORIAL CONFLICTS IN THE TRANSCAUCASUS,
BOLSHEVIK RUSSIA, KEMALIST TURKEY, EUROPEAN ALLIES AND THE FALL
OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA IN DECEMBER, 1920¹**

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Abstract

At the time of the declaration of independence, the Republic of Armenia seemed to already have a reliable support from British side, expecting their diplomatic-military support. It can be said, however, that the Armenian side had really unjustified high hopes for the help expected from the victorious states to resolve the issue of the borders in its favor and its sovereignty in general. The allies instilled deceptive hopes in the friendly Armenian people, which conditioned the failures of the Republic of Armenia in foreign policy and orientation. Actually, the statements of the Allies were of a declarative character only. It will be clear from the historical analysis that the Allies came to the Caucasus not because of the love of the Caucasian peoples and left there not because of enmity. The prognosis was not justified and they left, leaving us at the most difficult moment, completely helpless and alone. The Allies did not show any desire to help Armenia solve the issue of the annexation of territories that formerly belong to the Russian Empire through military force, as a result of which the RA government tried to solve it independently, which led to the Turkish-Armenian war and the destruction of the first Armenian republic.

Keywords: Republic of Armenia, Kemalist Turkey, ethnic-territorial conflict, war, Soviet Russia, European Allies, Sèvres, capitulation, Treaty of Alexandropol

At the time of the declaration of independence, the Republic of Armenia seemed to already have a reliable support from British side, expecting their diplomatic-military support. It can be said, however, that the Armenian side had really unjustified high hopes for the help expected from the victorious states to resolve the issue of the

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borders in its favor and its sovereignty in general. The allies instilled deceptive hopes in the friendly Armenian people, which conditioned the failures of the Republic of Armenia in foreign policy and orientation. Actually, the statements of the Allies were of a declarative character only.

Nevertheless, the relations with the immediate neighbors of Azerbaijan and Georgia transformed from bad to worse, and the clashes of a war nature did not resolve the accumulated problems, the questions about the borders remained unresolved, but still hoping that the Paris Peace Assembly would resolve the disputes, in which the expectations were not met. In this regard, the expert conclusion of E. Andersen and G. Parkhuladze is rational in terms of the evaluation of historical and political realities, realistic assessments of historical facts, according to which the naivety of the political leadership of Armenia was expressed in the development of relations with the South Caucasian neighbors Georgia and Azerbaijan, in connection with the assumption of the leaders of Armenia that the territorial conflicts that arose will be resolved by the great powers in their favor as a reward for the Armenian efforts during the war, accordingly refusing to resolve them through negotiations with the neighbors.

As a result of such an approach, at the end of 1918, a military conflict between Armenia and Georgia took place, which caused significant damage to both, and a long “hybrid” war began between Armenia and Azerbaijan for the possession of the disputed territories - Karabakh, Zangezur and Nakhichevan, which was accompanied by the most brutal ethnic cleansing and was interrupted only by the fall of the two republics. According to the above-mentioned experts in Caucasian studies, during that war, the command of the British armed forces, which assumed the role of “an impartial and honest mediator”, actually sided with oil-rich Azerbaijan.

Only at the end of August 1920, not later than the fall of the First Armenian Republic, the victorious powers seemed to consider Armenia’s interests when signing the peace agreement of Sèvres on August 10, 1920 with Turkey. According to the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres, Armenia was to be given a significant part of the territories of the former Ottoman Empire, but those terms remained on paper. In Turkey, that agreement was not recognized by either the Kemalists or the Sultanate government, and moreover, none of the victorious powers expressed a desire to help Armenia join those territories with the help of military force. As a result, the Armenian government tried to do this on its own, which led to a new Armenian-Turkish war and the complete defeat of the First Armenian Republic.

Continuing to suspect Ankara of collusion with the Entente, and planning to occupy all of Armenia and invade Azerbaijan, Moscow realized that the time had come for military intervention in order to Sovietize Armenia as soon as possible so that it would not be completely lost to the expanding Turkish military presence. On G. Ordzhonikidze's proposal, which was approved by J. Stalin, the Bolsheviks decided to drive a wedge between Turkey and Azerbaijan through war with the goal of depriving the latter of their immediate borders by creating an Armenian buffer.

During the events of May 1918, when the collapse of Transcaucasus became a reality, the Transcaucasian peoples were forced to declare their independence and find allies to implement it, which initially only Azerbaijan and Georgia had in the form of Turkey and Germany, and Armenia was forced to wait for the end of the war (the allied countries of the Entente), which were not in a hurry to arrive in the Transcaucasus.

Finally, at the end of 1918, the British military forces and the military and political representatives of Great Britain, France and other countries that arrived almost simultaneously, pushed Turkey and Germany out of Transcaucasus temporarily. It can be said that the Armenian side attached unjustified high hopes to the support expected from the victorious states in favor of Armenia to resolve the issue of border demarcation and the RA sovereignty, which essentially conditioned RA's slippages in foreign-political calculations and strategic orientation.

The military occupation of Transcaucasus by the British significantly, but not radically, changed the political course of the Republic of Armenia. The British did not like the pronounced pro-Russian political behavior of some of the Armenian political leaders; it was completely unacceptable for them. From time to time there was an aspiration towards Russia, because the allies could not prevent the genocide of the Armenian people, which was carried out throughout Transcaucasus, and in many cases the position of the British from ethnic, economic, military and other perspectives caused confusion among the Armenian government.

It almost happened again in the years of the Third Republic, and in particular in 2018-2020, when the RA government made drastic changes in its foreign-political strategy and calculations at the instigation of world powers and, appearing in the sphere of influence of the former Entente-European countries and the USA, faced uncertainty and an unclear position of Russia, found himself almost completely isolated and abandoned. As a result, starting in the 1990s, the government of the Republic of Armenia unwisely called the respective indivisible parts of the two states adjacent to Karabakh-Artsakh and Utik-Gardmank "occupied" for about 30 years in a row (to which the Armenian scientific community gave a lavish gift to Azerbaijan), engaged the country in the processes of globalization and the bloody Armenian-Azerbaijani military-political conflict, in which the UN, European countries, and especially Great Britain and its ally USA, which assumed the role of "impartial and honest mediators" in this war, provided Azerbaijan with the opportunity to retake most of Artsakh, making serious redraws of the Armenian-Azerbaijani state border in favor of Azerbaijan, providing significant strategic advantages for the latter.

Basically, based on this last circumstance, it can be argued that winning the war against Germany and Turkey as Allies in the First World War, but not being interested in the strengthening of Russia, and encouraging separatist sentiments in a country embroiled in a civil war in every possible way, as if it were an illusion to fight against the threat of Bolshevism, the Entente countries encouraged the separate existence of two and many "Russias" and a bloody struggle between them.

E. Andersen and G. Partskhaladze notice here as well: “The Armenian people, and first of all the Armenian political and military leaders, did not accept the terms of the Brest peace agreement and tried to hinder Turkish expansionism, relying on the active support of Western allies. As a result, hostilities continued, but since the Armenians received no real help, the result was the occupation of almost all of historical Armenia by the Turks and the continuation of the genocide with hundreds of thousands more killed and refugees. In fact, only the end of the World War and the capitulation of the Ottoman Empire on October 30, 1918 prevented the “final resolution of the Armenian Question” and the final disappearance of Armenians from their historical homeland.

After the end of the First World War, Armenia declared its independence in May 1918 and prepared to accept the “bright future” promised in 1914 by the victorious powers. Having practically no political experience, the leaders of the new Armenian state made excessive territorial claims to the (seemingly) defeated Turkey. At the Paris Peace Assembly, in which the map of the post-war world was being redrawn, the Armenian delegation voiced these demands, which included vast territories, and most of which could hardly be considered “properly Armenian”. Moreover, after the ethnic cleansing and *pogroms* during the war, there was almost no Armenian population in those areas².

After the declaration of independence on May 28, 1918, the Armenian political leaders, who assumed the role of the government of the National Council, reluctantly left the much more prosperous conditions of Tiflis and arrived in Yerevan more than three months later, in the difficult political situation created after the hasty, unplanned retreat of the Russian troops in Tiflis and the abandonment of the Caucasian front. That state had a short and difficult existence of about two and a half years, largely due to the very limited support of its own people and political leaders, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), as well as Great Britain and the United States.

The course of history has shown that Armenia, perhaps being located at the world’s most important crossroads, was able to survive as an independent state unit only when the surrounding powers were either not strong enough or not interested enough to have the motivation to dominate that Armenian corridor.

Having lost statehood since the 11th century and after an unprecedented turn in 1917, faced with the dilemma of declaring or not declaring its independent state, which was more ready for the Georgian and Turkish-Muslim political elite formed by the Beys, Khans and nobles, the romantic and inexperienced political figures that assumed the Armenian political leadership came to the conclusion that they cannot survive without foreign patronage or a benevolent power, regardless of which country it would be, the United States or Great Britain or France, and, as for Russia, it was directly excluded from our calculations at that time. Added to that is the fact that the countries interested in the collapse of the Russian Empire, particularly Great Britain, tried in every possible

² Andersen A., Partskhaladze G. 2020, A New Turn if The Karabakh Conflict in the Context of Armenian-Russian Relations. <https://bit.ly/3VNuw1U>, 25 P., Calgary, Canada.

way to involve the Armenians and their leaders, considered by them to be “more Russian than Russians”, in the realization of their imperial ambitions.

It became obvious that independent Armenia was unable to survive on its own in the conditions of the revived Turkey and Russia’s ambitious goals³. The actions, taken in Armenia, turned out to be largely insignificant and not effective, and the desires to find supporters were ineffective and unreliable. Turkish historian B. Gökay has written: “Therefore, it was a non-accidental rapprochement of the Turkish national movement with the Russian Bolsheviks, which first materialized in that region in the form of Turkish-Bolshevik cooperation with the establishment of Soviet control over the Caucasus. The partnership was like a business partnership, and then it came down to a commonality of principles. The Turks did not seek to advance to the part of Armenia historically occupied by the Russians, and the Russians did not advance further to Turkish Armenia.⁴”

The Armenian people and their leaders were unable to ensure their own security, instead submitting meekly to the political calculations of rival powers. The fate of Armenia, as it is today, in the 2020s, was largely dependent on the superpowers. Here, the choice of foreign-political priorities and the combination of ideological preferences, as well as the ideas and conceptual approaches of the leaders of the geopolitical environment and created around it became important factors for the fate of the Armenian state.

The Armenian political elite identified its goals and foreign-policy orientation with the geopolitical aspirations of the Western Allies, which for both Kemalist Turkey and Bolshevik Russia meant that they were the puppet pawns of the Western imperialists. The ARF, which was the ruling political party in the Republic of Armenia, was considered by Moscow and Ankara as an enemy of the international socialist revolution, Turkish nationalism, and the anti-colonial goals of the Bolsheviks and Kemalists. In this context it is necessary to come to the conclusion that ultimately the failure of independent Armenia’s goals was neither the fault of the leaders of Armenia, nor ultimately the fault of the oppositional Armenian political forces. It is the forces that plan the geopolitical course of events and implement it, in the role of which the Western countries acted at one pole, and at the other pole Turkey and Bolshevik Russia.

In the early 1920s, it became clear that the Soviet forces had emerged victorious in the confrontation against the White forces, openly financed and militarily supported by the Entente. In 1920, the Bolshevik forces rapidly moved towards the Caucasus with the clear intention of reconquering it. In this situation the RA leaders faced a new serious threat. It was obvious that Soviet Russia would not support a republic governed by a political force clinging to the Western powers and striving for unrelenting enmity against the Bolsheviks. Its western orientation became fatal, because it became obvious that the political leadership of Armenia was wrong in its calculations, as it did not even try to

³ Tsvetkova 2018.

⁴ Gökay 1996: 61, 68.

act faster in order to receive Soviet support. In addition, Armenia did not try to be more flexible and less provocative towards the Turkish nationalists. Ultimately the dominant factor in the decline of the Armenian statehood was its foreign policy⁵. Moreover, R. Hovhannisyan believes that, contrary to their constant “Westernization”, the ARF and the Armenian government remained abandoned by the West. The great powers had drawn Western Armenia just on paper: “The Western orientation of the ARF was not enough to receive support. On the other hand, the Soviet-Turkish cooperation would gradually expand with each week. Soviet gold and ammunition reached the Nationalist forces of Mustafa Kemal. It was in the interests of Soviet Russia and Nationalist Turkey to open the Caucasian gap between them (Zangezur-Syunik corridor, which has become a strategic goal for them today - V.V.). In this context, Armenia should be neutralized, or even taken over⁶”. As a result, strategically valuable time was wasted on groundless maneuvers and vague and empty expectations, and according to R. Hovhannisyan’s conclusion, the country was simply exhausted, there was no assistance. The cooperation of Bolshevik Russia and Turkey gave the Turks an opportunity to exterminate Armenia and impose oppressive conditions⁷. Although with more or less delay, at that time some political figures already had a not very firm, but gradually certain conviction in terms of the possible stability of Bolshevism and becoming a new real world power. It was gently noticed by Al. Khatisyan in his speech at the session of the RA Parliament on April 30, 1920 (N 86): “Nevertheless, one should not ignore that the Bolsheviks are the real power of Russia, this fact is pointed out particularly in Europe, where a breakthrough in the policy towards Russia is observed. The French parliament instructed the government to negotiate with Russia. Italy has the same point of view, you know America’s position, what was not possible in January, it is becoming possible, and the great powers are thinking or maybe they have started to negotiate with Russia on both economic and political issues”⁸.

The ruling political power of the RA simply lost the moment and did not understand that the political situation in the Transcaucasian region and around Armenia changed dramatically in 1920. The Turkish nationalist movement was experiencing a sharp rise in that historical period, Turkey was reviving under the rule of the Kemalists, and the communists recorded a victory in the Russian civil war, which was essentially provoked from outside, with the aim of finally exhausting Russia, crushing it, as it is today, and becoming the masters of the world. Caught in the grip of the advancing Turks and the Red Army in Azerbaijan, Armenia found itself in a split situation, undecided and not wanting to prioritize the issue of reaching an agreement with Russia, perhaps the only expedient at that moment, because the loyalty to the West was still firmly on the agenda. The West advised our government to immediately reach an agreement with the Turks.

⁵ Suny 1983: 32-33.

⁶ Suny 1983: 32-33.

⁷ Hovhannisyan 1993: 32- 33.

⁸ Haraj, 1920, May 15, N 9.1.

Even in this fluid state, the fate of Armenia was put on the agenda at the first conference of famous peoples of the East convened in Baku in early September 1920, where the Armenian Question was discussed, and remained as a deeply planned calculation of the Soviet policy towards Armenia during the following few years. The fate of Armenia was subordinated to the broader issue of the pseudo-agenda of the revolution in the Muslim world, as well as to the strategy of gaining allies among Turkish and Persian nationalists, as British colonel Cl. Stokes advised the defeated RA leader in October-November 1920⁹. It was even more clear that “Armenia was not in the area of interests of the Soviet state, the independence of Armenia and the issue of the physical existence of the Armenian people were subordinated to the revolutionary goals of Russia”, as it is today.

As the American-Armenian historian R. Suny says, in February - December of 1920, the limits of Western loyalty to the Armenian state became clear, and the alliance¹⁰ of the Kemalist Turkey and Soviet Russia took the Armenian Republic into its orbit. Starting with the London conference in February, Armenia gradually lost the “effective” and desirable support of the allies, and in April at San Remo, Britain, France and Italy made it clear that despite their sympathy and loyalty of the Armenian people, they would not use force to guarantee the existence of the Armenian republic. There were hopes that the United States would take that burden on itself, but the latter had already clearly given up this idea.

During that time, the Azerbaijanis, taking advantage of the open indulgence of the powers, took over Karabakh at the moment when Azerbaijan was bloodlessly sovietized by Kemal's advice and the Red Army entered Baku, which radically changed the balance of power in Transcaucasus. The presence of Soviet forces in the Caucasus encouraged the local Bolsheviks of Armenia and Georgia to start rebellions, but the ruling Mensheviks and the ARF, clearly following the instructions of the allies in Transcaucasus, and in particular the British and French military and political missions, brutally suppressed these movements, promising the latter to continue the fight to the end against Bolshevism, which had already become a serious factor in the Transcaucasus region. The May Uprising in Armenia led to the replacement of a far more moderate government by the ARF Bureau-dictatorship, which was essentially a one-party dictatorship.

The allied leaders who formed the government of Armenia also failed to form a combat-ready army, in which the Hayduk chiefs were in deep antagonism with the pro-regular army generals, as well as being unable to establish order within the borders of the republic in Zangibasar-Vedibasar, the anti-Armenian actions of the strong mass of Muslims in Sotk-Basargechar, Kars and other regions, which were sponsored and received considerable military support from Turkey. And even more, as a result of the subjugation of the Muslim regions, the Armenian army became weak and exhausted,

⁹ NAA, f. 200, inv. 1, list 440, sheets 47-48. Zohrabyan 1997: 227.

¹⁰ Suny 1983: 32-33.

which was also clearly stated by Dro. In the army-building policy, the government did not always find the right solutions, sometimes it simply lacked prudence and impartial analysis of specific situations, therefore, along with some positive developments, a number of phenomena were given reckless and hasty solutions, which somewhat damaged the formation of the security system of the republic, caused unnecessary obstacles in the state.

Already in the spring of 1919 in the military and political circles of the South of Russia, information was spread that the RA government had changed its attitude towards Russians in Armenia, and in particular state officials and officers, which at that time was highly undesirable and could play a negative role to worsen the military-political relations between the South of Russia and Armenia, to create problems for the Armenian diaspora. L. Yevangulyan, the RA Diplomatic Charge d'Affaires in Georgia, on May 30, 1919, informed the government and particularly the RA MFA: "The attitude of the Armenian government towards the Russians in general and in particular towards the Russian officials and officers who are in the public service in Armenia has changed significantly.

Russian peasants were not returned to their places, Russian officers were almost driven out of the army under the slogan of nationalization, Russian officials in all civil institutions were replaced by Armenians, that even in Yerevan a company has been formed, the purpose of which was to eradicate the Russian spirit in the country through nationalization¹¹. Yevangulyan warned that the news about the Russians reach the Volunteer Army led by Denikin somehow exaggerated, calling on the government to be aware, so that the latter does not ignore the important fact that there are thousands of Armenian refugees who have escaped the Turkish slaughter in the territories of Kuban and Terek, that all this cannot be allowed and we should not worsen the relations with the Volunteer Army, by which the situation of these emigrants will come closer to the final annihilation. We should maintain friendly relations both with the Russians living in Armenia and through them with the "Russia" that currently exist¹², which was practically ignored by the RA authorities and had undesirable consequences.

Of course, the circumstance of the Russian language at that moment did not significantly harm the affairs of the army, even if the officers' language and instructions were not yet in Armenian, to which a number of military and political figures had a morbid approach. On May 6, 1920 (N 7166-1439), the report of Military Minister Ruben Ter-Minasyan was sent to the government, which directly and unequivocally posed the problem of the widespread Armenianization of the army: "Implementing the issue of nationalization largely depends on having military regulations, manuals and a glossary of military terms. Currently, the commission attached to the General Staff has translated 7 rulebooks, now six are being translated and three rulebooks are still to be translated, and so on.

¹¹ NAA, fund 200, inv. 1, list 164, sheets 51-52, fund 275, inv. 5, list 114, sheets 74-75.

¹² Ibid.

The dictionary of military terms is compiled in parallel with the translation of statutes. In view of the fact that the printing of rule books has already started and due to the excessive cost of paper in our market, the printing of rule books may be delayed, I am interceding to release two thousand writing paper or five hundred newsprint papers”¹³.

It can be said that another decision of the government of May 30, 1920¹⁴, which was based on the report of the Minister of Labor on the one hand about the suspension from service of officials who did not know the state language, on the other hand, planned to implement Armenianization in all ministries, was not very relevant. In order to solve the issue of retaining the experts, it was necessary to provide them with translations, but more importance was given to the problem of the suspended officials, who were already forced to leave Armenia¹⁵ because of this situation. On the basis of Military Minister R. Ter-Minasyan’s Order N 1073 of June 26, 1920, which was derived from the laws of the RA Parliament of December 26, 1919 and the Council of Ministers of May 30, 1920, not later than August 1, clerical work and notarization in all headquarters, in military institutions and military units should be done in the Armenian language, except for the reporting of the economic part, with the exception of the artillery officers, the military court and the sanitary and economic institutions of the troops, which should temporarily continue to conduct business in the Russian language, since the majority of servicemen in those areas were Russians. Those Armenian officers who practically did not know the Armenian language had to definitely attend special courses¹⁶.

The political parties operating in the Armenian reality also showed a hasty, inconsistent and immature approach to the implementation of this decision. At the same time, the reality showed that it was not so easy to implement, or rather, it was impossible and not only because there were no typewriters with Armenian letters, but also because it was not possible for the Russian officials in such a short period of time and in the current war situation to learn language. The fact that even Armenian, but Russian-speaking officers of the Armenian army could solve the problem of mastering Armenian was ignored and not taken into consideration, for example, the brilliant military general Hovhannes Hakhverdyan, the hero of Sardarapat, Al. Shneur and many others. And yet, for the implementation of the nationalization work, an operational commission was created under the Military Headquarters, which started creating Armenianized versions based on examples of various writings, term orders, journals, letterheads, and seals. The translation commission of the General Staff carried out considerable work and translated into Armenian many writing forms, orders, examples of registers, rule books, etc. Administrative and writing statutes were drawn up in the

¹³ NAA, fund 199, inv. 1, list 118, part III, sheet 205.

¹⁴ Mirzoyan 1998 (ed.): 318.

¹⁵ Virabyan 2014 (ed.): 473.

¹⁶ NAA, fund 290, inv. 1, list 9, sheet 28.

Armenian language, and all their necessary forms and examples were translated from Russian into Armenian. The translation commission of the General Staff translated and Armenianized the form and terms of many writings, and the infantry rules, the instructions for constructing infantry trenches, a brief description of rifles and ammunition, the disciplinary code, etc., were printed in Armenian from the military code books. Considerable work was done in modernizing combat training, artillery manuals, manuals for handling rifles, machine guns and other types of weapons, instructions for digging trenches, manuals on discipline, garrison and internal service were translated and published, a dictionary of military terms, infantry training regulations, etc. were also compiled¹⁷.

Until June 1, 1920, there were 256 foreign and foreign-speaking officers in the Armenian troops, 81 of whom were released from service in the Armenian Army on the basis of the circular order N 1073 issued on July 1¹⁸. Moreover, seeking to weaken the influence of A. Denikin's Volunteer Army on the ongoing army-building processes in Armenia, and thus to have an army officer corps free from the dominance of Russian officers as much as possible, which was important from the point of view of the establishment of the RA state security system, because more than half of the officers of the Armenian Army were Russians¹⁹, on June 4, 1919 at the session of the Armenian Parliament, Al. Khatisyan unequivocally stated that by the decision of the RA government, the officers, officials and soldiers who are related to the Volunteer Army or who support their ideology are free to go to the South of Russia, and those who remain are obliged to recognize the supremacy of the RA government²⁰, and that is in the case when the Republic of Armenia was receiving weapons and ammunition, food support from that same Denikin, regardless of the strategy chosen by the RA government, the question arises, was the moment chosen correctly, especially since the RA was in a food crisis? However, it should be noted about an important circumstance that this anti-Russian, anti-Denikin position was more derived from the strategy of the Allied countries, in which there was no place for the Russian side. This also significantly influenced the behavior of the RA government, especially in the first half of the 1920, when the military and political leaders of the Republic of Armenia were almost delighted with the pro-Armenian activities of the Entente states, and did not have much hope for Russia, which was still immersed in civil strife, and the A. Denikin Volunteer Army, which was weakening day by day.

Nevertheless, in spite of this reality, a commission headed by Khatisyan was formed on the instructions of the Government of the Republic of Armenia to draft a bill on Armenianization²¹. However, the military units really could not deliver the list of officers to be released on time, and from that point of view, trying to avoid a situation

¹⁷ NAA, fund 199, inv. 1, list 119, sheet 189.

¹⁸ NAA, fund 199, inv. 1, list 119, sheet 190, list 142, sheet 189-190.

¹⁹ Petrosyan 2006: 190.

²⁰ Petrosyan 2006: 190.

²¹ Hayastani ashkhatavor, 1919, June 11, N 114.

that caused confusion, in order not to harm the military operations, the Ministry of Defense eventually sobered up a little and found it possible to temporarily suspend the execution of that order in the existing military units, until internal civil strife and the end of other conflicts. It was also explained by the fact that most of the Armenian officers had Russian military education, and some time was needed for their Armenianization, which was impossible in the harsh and exhausted reality of 1918-1920. The order was considered inappropriate, because it would have a destructive significance for the already difficult conditions of the Republic of Armenia, its military-political situation and the army-building processes going towards the formation of the security system in general, leaving a significant impact on the combat capability and personnel issues of the Armenian Army²².

As a result, the so-called nationalization policy played a completely negative role, in particular, the military figures, who were in the Ministry of Defense, demanded that all new state employees use Armenian, dismissing Russian officials and ordering that Armenian be used in courts²³. The liberal citizenship law of June 5, 1920, recognized all residents of the republic who were previously Russian or Turkish citizens as citizens of Armenia, and measures were taken to enable Armenians living abroad to apply for citizenship. But at the same time, the government took military action against the Muslim villages, pushing the Kurds and Turks out of the former Russian-Turkish border, which weakened the Armenian army²⁴.

Refusing to recognize the Armenian demands, the Kemalists disputed that border region, which the Ottoman Turks had lost to Tsarist Russia in 1878. It was even more unfortunate for Armenia that when the Armenian army tried to move towards the Muslim-populated Nakhichevan, the road was blocked by a fake red alliance of Soviet and Turkish troops. In July, the British garrison in Batumi, the last Allied force in Transcaucasus, retreated, leaving the Armenians alone against stronger enemies.

Armenian diplomatic efforts developed in two separate directions: one in the West, which led to the stillborn Treaty of Sevres, which created a large-scale Armenian state on paper with the borders drawn by Woodrow Wilson, the other in Moscow and Yerevan, with the equally futile efforts of representatives of Soviet Russia to gain protection from Turkish nationalists. In this regard, E. Andersen and G. Partskhaladze also have a remarkable observation that may be contested in some places: "Only at the end of August 1920, not later before the fall of the First Armenian Republic, the victorious powers took Armenia's interests into consideration when signing the Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey (10. 08.1920). According to the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres, a significant part of the territories of the former Ottoman Empire should have been given to Armenia, but these conditions remained on paper. In Turkey, that agreement was not recognized by either the Kemalists or the Sultanate government, and moreover, none of

²² NAA, fund 199, inv. 1, list 119, sheets 189-190.

²³ Virabyan 2019: 45-67.

²⁴ Virabyan 2009: 150, 178, 187-189.

the great powers expressed a desire to help Armenia join those territories with the help of military force. As a result, the Armenian government tried to do this on its own, which led to a new Armenian-Turkish war and the complete defeat of the First Armenian Republic”²⁵.

Armenians both in the republic and abroad united in 1920 around the support of an independent state. They shared the hope that at some point in the unforeseeable future, the small Caucasian unit would become the core of a larger, united Armenian state, which would include the lands of historical Armenia, the lands from which the Young Turks had wiped out the Armenians in 1915-1916. At the end of May 1920, President W. Wilson appealed to Congress for authorization to establish jurisdiction over Armenia, but the “irreconcilables” led by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge voted against his appeal in the Senate. In the conditions of the defeat of the Allies, the independent future of Armenia depended more and more on the development of a reliable relationship with Soviet Russia. But here too, everything was not clear. The Soviet leaders themselves were divided into two parts: moderates, such as the Commissar of Foreign Affairs Georgy Chicherin and others, who were more or less ready to establish peaceful interstate relations with Armenia and Georgia, and warmongers, such as Sergo Ordzhonikidze, who sought the revolutionary influence of the rest of the South Caucasian republics or military occupation.

In favor of the creation of an independent state, Chicherin tried to convince the Armenians to withdraw from the demands on Turkish Armenia. But the Armenians refused. Different approaches over Nakhichevan, Zangezur and Karabakh also were between Armenia and Soviet Russia. Even as negotiations between the two states continued, Red Army units moved into disputed areas and Soviet and Armenian troops clashed at Zangezur. Soviet delegate Boris Legrand negotiated for an early cessation of hostilities, and in the agreement of August 10, he recognized “the independence and full self-determination of the Republic of Armenia”²⁶.

On that same day, on the other side of Europe, the Armenian delegation signed the Treaty of Sèvres, linking the fate of the republic to the declarative promises of the West. Ten days later, on August 24, Soviet Russia signed a pact of friendship with the Turkish nationalists led by Kemal, and Armenia fell between the Soviet hammer and the Kemal dungeon. The last phase of the republic’s existence began in the early September, when Turkish troops preemptively attacked along the former Russian-Turkish border. Events developed quickly. Although Moscow sympathized with the Kemalists’ anti-imperial agenda, each side was suspicious of the other’s intentions regarding Transcaucasus. Legrand had signed a draft of a generous treaty in Yerevan, granting Soviet recognition to a part of Armenia’s territorial claims, but at the same time, Soviet policy in Moscow and Baku was oriented towards the militant position, preferring the Sovietization of the republic, which took place in the middle of 1920 in the context of

²⁵ Andersen, Partskhaladze 2020, October 10.

²⁶ Hovannisian 1996, vol. IV: 95.

turning points in the political situation around the Transcaucasian region, when civil war in Russia was almost over, and the European countries that had intervened in Russia's internal affairs and supported the civil strife, simply abandoned it, including the national republics, which had aligned their expectations with the victorious countries of Europe.

In that difficult situation, the countries of the Entente reformed their strategic calculations, noticing how the newly victorious Bolshevik Russia and Turkey came to a mutually beneficial agreement. Abandoned by the allies in the created panic situation, Armenia had no choice but to enter into an agreement with Soviet Russia, obtaining a survival option for the Armenian people. Well, the former allies of the RA themselves, being alarmed by this new combination of geopolitical forces, sought ways to negotiate with Soviet Russia and Kemalist Turkey, simultaneously striving to restore lost positions in the countries of the Muslim world. Thus, the interests of Armenia and the problem of existence were subordinated to the acquisition of positions in the Muslim world, directing it against the expansion of the British imperialist strategy. Already in 1920-1923, the RA allies finally renounced both the Treaty of Sèvres and the role of guarantor of the existence of the Armenian Republic, excluding the use of military force for the solution of the Armenian Question.

Along with the refusal of Sèvres by both the Kemalists and the former rulers in Turkey, the refusal of the previous promises to help Armenia by the victorious countries was also evident, which was repeated in a similar way at the end of 1920 and led to the secession of Armenia.

As a result, the attack launched by the Armenian troops on October 24 failed, which was prevented by the enemy, who launched an active counter-attack, and already on October 29, the Turks appeared in Sarighamish, on October 30 in Kars, which was not defended, where the great remnants of the Russian imperial army were still located. We have already mentioned that according to Kemal Atatürk, almost no resistance was shown by the Armenian side. The attack of the Turkish troops continues, and on October 30, Yerevan turns to its Allies of the Entente for help, on November 5 to the USA, and in the meantime, on November 6, the Turks capture Alexandropol as well. However, none of the great powers had any desire to intervene in the conflict. Armenia appeared to be alone, as it happened a hundred years later in the autumn of 2020.

The Turks continue the attack, accompanied by the most brutal massacre and ethnic cleansing in the regions already subject to the Turks, and this desperate situation was recorded by S. Vratsyan. As a result, the capitulation of Alexandropol was signed: peace, which was the first international treaty signed by the government of Ankara, and it recorded their complete victory and the actual surrender of Armenia. "He, recalls Kemal Atatürk, handed over to us, the national government, the territories that the "Ottoman" government had lost in 1876-1877"²⁷. Here it is quite appropriate to mention that M. Kemal simply made true again what Turkish Minister of Defense Enver Pasha had clearly said in one of his conversations with A.Khatisyan during the conference of

²⁷ Mustafa Kemal 1934, V. 3: 119.

the powers in Constantinople, which lasted from June 15 to November 1, 1918. As for the borders, Enver expressed the following idea: “We cannot think about the expansion of the Armenian borders, because I managed to do what is of great vital importance for Turkey. I and my friends created Armenia and thereby satisfied the national aspirations of the Armenians and thereby solved the Armenian Question. And at the same time, we managed to do it outside of Turkey, on Russian territories. Thus, we have two achievements: the state of Armenia was created and the territory of Turkey remained complete. Only at that price we agreed to the creation of an independent Armenian state. How is it possible to claim new territories now, when Kars, Ardahan and Batumi have just returned to their old homeland?”²⁸

And so, in the conditions of these new realities, in fact, the Sovietization of Armenia matured earlier and came to the fore. Although Kemalist Turkey and Soviet Russia were Allies, nevertheless it was not at all beneficial for either of them to see progress of the other in a region of strategic interests, as it is today. The Entente especially considered this expansion of the Soviet side as an attempt to make Armenia “its citadel”, but was satisfied with just announcements.

The dejected Armenian army panicked in Kars, surrendering the fortress to General Kyazım Karabekir’s troops on October 30, thus deciding the fate of the Republic of Armenia. The Turkish army captured Alexandropol (Gyumri-Kumairi) and advanced towards Gharakilisa, forcing the Armenian government to sign a humiliating cease-fire agreement. Alarmed by the Turkish successes, Soviet Russia offered to mediate the conflict resolution, with which Yerevan and Ankara agreed. Part of the negotiations took place directly with the Turks in Alexandropol, and the other part took place with the Soviet delegates in Yerevan. Meanwhile, the more militant communists decided to declare Armenia a Soviet Socialist Republic on November 29. The Red Army entered Armenia from Azerbaijan, preventing B. Legrand’s efforts to transfer power peacefully. The leader of Soviet Azerbaijan, Nariman Narimanov, “generously and unilaterally settled” territorial demarcation disputes with Armenia by donating Nakhichevan, Syunik-Zangezur and Karabakh-Artsakh to the newly proclaimed Soviet Armenia, which was just a clever political trick, a cunning maneuver and later the idea about this “donation” quickly was thrown away.

In contrast to this, the Turks were extremely radical in the issue of the amputation of the Armenian territory. In that situation, the RA government decided to transfer the power to the Soviet forces. General Dro (Drastamat Kanayan), the plenipotentiary representative of the government of Armenia, and Silin, the representative of Soviet Russia, declared Armenia an “independent socialist republic” on December 2, 1920. A few hours later, a delegation from the former government signed the Treaty of Alexandropol, which, although de facto illegal, established the border between the newly formed Soviet Republic of Armenia and nationalist Turkey.

²⁸ Khatisyan 2023: 492.

At the time of Sovietization, the country was at the extreme point of decline in its modern history. Armenians were not only expelled from the part of the Armenian Plateau by Turkish in 1915 by genocidal massacres and forced displacement, but since the outbreak of the First World War, the population of Russian Armenia had experienced a sharp decline as a result of war, migration and epidemics. By 1920, only 720,000 people lived in Eastern Armenia, a 30 percent decline. Moreover, almost half of this population was made up of refugees. Many social and political institutions that Armenians had built over centuries in the Caucasus and Turkey were destroyed. The Armenian middle class, once privileged elite in Tiflis and Baku, now distrusted by the new Soviet governments of Georgia and Azerbaijan, was driven from the scene. Their unenviable choice was either to adapt to a foreign socialist order or to migrate to the West. During the seven years of war, genocide, revolution and civil war (1914-1921), the Armenian society was “de-modernized” in many ways; it turned back to its pre-capitalist agricultural economy and a more traditional peasant society. And so, the First Republic being too ambitious in its attempts to create an immense Armenia, in the conditions of its very limited resources and powerful opponents, found itself in a geopolitical impasse and was destroyed, the alternative was to be a Soviet Armenia.

The failure of the San Remo Conference from April 19 to April 26, 1920 was also a serious defeat for the diplomacy of the South Caucasian states, during which the delegations of Georgia and Armenia could not reach an agreement with each other on the resolution of territorial disputes, which led the governments of the great powers to abandon all their promises to support the Transcaucasian republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia against the aggression of Soviet Russia and Kemalist Turkey. From that moment, the still independent South Caucasian republics (Azerbaijan was already out of the game with the voluntary and bloodless Sovietization that took place in April 1920, only Armenia and Georgia remained independent at that time) were left to the whims of fate by the Western European powers.

It was the Western powers that pushed the Kemalist forces to move closer to Russia, which was gradually coming to its senses already in 1919-1920, in the military and political spheres, and to support each other, which is insufficiently researched by historiography.

And as a result, in the situation of complete military defeat and rapid occupation of Armenian territory by Turkey, as we have already mentioned above, the government of the Republic of Armenia was forced to allow Georgian troops to temporarily occupy the neutral Zone of Lori for 3 months, allegedly to prevent it from being captured by the Turks. However, on November 16, Georgian troops not only occupied the Neutral Zone, but also moved further, crossing the old border of the former Tiflis province, which was considered in Georgia to be an indisputable border between the two South Caucasian republics, and added to this, it was also confirmed by Moscow Agreement, and thus, Georgia took control of the entire previously disputed part of Borchalu province, where the Georgian side held a referendum, based on which the entire Lori district of Borchalu

province, i.e. the Neutral Zone, which was handed over to the Republic of Armenia by the agreement of January 17, 1919, was annexed by Georgia and its demarcation was not changed for about a year²⁹.

As a result, the allied countries of the Armenian people, during the First World War, using the human and other resources of the Armenian people with great pleasure and efficiency in the form of the Armenian legion, during which the Armenians gave thousands of victims³⁰, began to consider Armenia, a small country with not very large natural resources, as a source of difficult questions to resolve. Perhaps, in this case, the approach of Levon Shant, who was not experienced enough in terms of diplomatic preparation, is very spectacular, who believed that the British wanted to see not strong and independent states in the Transcaucasian region, but “dependent independences”³¹.

In August 1920, the allied powers of the Entente, while signing the peace treaty with Turkey, stated that the Armenians should be given a part of the territory of the former Ottoman Empire, but it remained on paper. The Treaty of Sevres was not recognized by either the Sultan or Kemal, the Allies were unable to support Armenia in solving the issue of those territories by military force, and accordingly, the attempt of the RA government to do it independently was not successful, which led to the war, in which the main actors were Bolshevik Russia and Turkey, which led to a crushing defeat and the destruction of the first Armenian republic. Turkey and Soviet Russia, which established close ties, divided the small Republic of Armenia³².

This last circumstance was also well noticed by Hr. Acharyan: “The alliance between the Bolsheviks and the Kemalists was formed, and with the material and moral help of the Russians, Kemalism spread and took hold of the entire Asia Minor.” But the four new Caucasian states stood in the way of those two allies: Dagestan, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia. It was necessary to eliminate these barriers in some way, either by conquering them and making them allied states. Many propagandists scattered in those countries and persuaded them to accept the Bolshevik regime and join the Russian Bolshevik government. The Caucasian states fell into a dilemma. It was not an easy thing to suddenly give up the pleasure of having a national self-governing state, the dream of which had only just come true since centuries. On the other hand, the British provoked those states in every possible way, even with the promise of military aid, to stand against the invading Russia. Finally, the fact that Russia was weak made them believe that it would not be difficult to resist even in case of war. Especially the Armenians, apart from all these, had several articles of the Treaty of Sèvres, which promised them a great and vast Armenia.

²⁹ Virabyan 2016.

³⁰ Virabyan, Poghosyan, Yeprikyan 2020.

³¹ Shant 1925: 61.

³² Khurshudyan 2017.

For these reasons, the Caucasian nations did not see the danger that came from the north and (instead of pre-negotiating) the possibility to accept the Bolshevik regime and form allied states, instead of it they went out to fight against the Russians³³.

Basically, the Sovietization of Armenia matured earlier and came to the fore, in contrast to Menshevik Georgia, which was associated with the Turkish attack and the activity of the Entente that was still maintained at that time, and although Turkey and Soviet Russia were Allies, still none of the sides was interested in the other's advance in the region of mutual interest, as it is today. Azerbaijani author Ilgar Niftaliyev has also noticed this: "Continuing to suspect Ankara of a secret agreement with the Entente, and wanting to occupy all of Armenia and invade Azerbaijan, Moscow realized that the time had come for military intervention, with the goal of Sovietizing Armenia as soon as possible, so that it would not be completely lost to the ever-expanding Turkish military presence. Based on Ordzhonikidze's proposal, which was approved by Stalin, the Bolsheviks decided to militarily drive a wedge between Turkey and Azerbaijan, in order to deprive the latter of their immediate borders by creating an Armenian buffer"³⁴.

This was also clearly demonstrated in the case of Georgia, when the Sovietization plan of Georgia was being implemented. Taking advantage of Georgia's difficult situation, Kyazım Karabekir's military units were directed to capture Batumi and a number of other regions, as the Turkish military commander openly announced on March 17, 1921, thinking that the Soviet side either will not be able to prevent or they will stop the latter in just this reality.

During that time, the Bolsheviks also obviously manipulated the Lori Neutral Zone issue to implement their geo-occupation plans for the Sovietization of Georgia: between Armenia and Georgia there is a neutral zone with a width of about twenty *verst*s, around which there was some tension between the two countries in the past.

The Bolsheviks introduced Emergency Committee's Armenian spies into this zone, who were supposed to make the Georgians attack them. After that, the Soviet Union could send troops to Georgia to "protect the poor Armenians living in the neutral zone from the attack of the bourgeois-Menshevik government of Georgia." That, combined with the calls, such as "Save our communist friends imprisoned in Tiflis", would be enough to show the world the brotherly feelings of Soviet Russia. This was done and fighting in the neutral zone took place in early February, while troops from Baku were sent to the eastern border of Georgia. This was to be the third and last stage of the subjugation of three independent countries whose freedom was guaranteed by Great Britain and the League of Nations.

O. Baldwin states in his memoirs that "among those sent to the Neutral Zone were the former head of the Armenian Intelligence Service (Baldwin undoubtedly means the famous detective Tigran T. Devoyants, an Armenian officer distinguished by his intelligence activities in 1914-1920, who was the first Armenian intelligence officer, led

³³ Acharyan 2004: 469-470.

³⁴ Niftaliyev, Armenian-Azerbaijani territorial conflict in Soviet-Turkish relations (1920).

by the Armenian intelligence group successfully operated in Turkey, Constantinople in the second half of 1919-early 1920³⁵), a man with extraordinary talent, who was once an intelligence officer in the headquarters of Grand Duke Nicholas. He spoke Armenian, Russian, Turkish, German, French and English fluently, and when he reached the Georgian border, he was able to escape to Constantinople, where the information he possessed was of great value to the Allies.

During all this time, the Bolsheviks in Armenia did nothing to ease the grief of the poor people who were dying from cold and hunger”³⁶.

And despite the stubborn resistance of the Georgians, it could have failed if the Georgian troops fighting in Ajaria had not been supported by the red troops who arrived in time, which forced the Turks to leave³⁷, thus Soviet Russia established its supremacy in that vitally important strategic junction, which it could not give Turkey anymore.

Oliver Baldwin, the son of British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, who served as a colonel in the Armenian army, very deeply and clearly assessed the role of the Allies, particularly Russia, at this geopolitical moment: “This war, which began in mid-September 1920, was a concerted attack at the suggestion of Russia in order to arouse the concern of the Allies, since General Kyazım Karabekir attacked Armenia only after Moscow demanded the following from Erivan:

- free transit through the territory of Armenia for Turks and Russians so that they can work together,
- to abandon the Treaty of Sèvres, by which the independence of Armenia was agreed and protected by the great powers,
- to sever all relations with allies.

Armenia could have agreed for much smaller concessions than it did in the end, but the country strangely blindly trusted Great Britain, which had made many promises to help and had once defeated the Turks³⁸.”

The Entente especially considered this strategic expansion of the Soviet side in the Transcaucasian region as an attempt to make Armenia “its citadel” and base with the goal of increasing its influence in the East. Armenia was alone in a rather difficult war situation, without the expected allies and had to resist the Russian-Turkish attack with its own forces.

After Sovietization, the Allies, in the new reality and geopolitical situation, sent their anti-Bolshevism to the archive and began to look for edges in the economic and political spheres. The Allies quickly abandoned Transcaucasus and Armenia, recognizing it as a Bolshevik sphere of influence, putting forward the idea of improving

³⁵ Devoyants Tigran (1887, August 20, Yerevan – 02/09/1965, USA), studied at the Mining Engineering Faculty of Tomsk University, pedagogue: he was known as Tigr, Devo and other code names. - see Hovakimyan 2005: 596; Horizon, 1914, N 230, 233; Armyanski vestnik, 1916, N 33, p. 2; Kavkazskoe slovo, 1914, N 28-30, 34-36, 1918, N 117, Appendix 6 [1, 2, 3]; Virabyan 2015; Virabyan 2018.

³⁶ Baldwin 2022: 134-135.

³⁷ Mayilyan 2010: 135-136.

³⁸ Baldwin 2022: 36-37.

economic, political, commercial and military relations with Soviet Russia, which they had long rejected. At the same time, on January 16, 1920, the Supreme Council of the Entente adopted a resolution on canceling the economic blockade against Russia, and on November 1920, D. Lloyd George and the representative of the Soviet side, the famous Soviet diplomat L. B. Krasin reached a preliminary agreement on the conclusion of the Russian-British economic treaty³⁹, active discussion of the Soviet-British trade treaty began, which was signed on March 16, 1921⁴⁰. And as a result, the Prime Minister of Great Britain not only accepts the fact of the military and political presence of Soviet Russia in the Transcaucasus, but also unofficially gives his government's consent to the latter's free operation in the Transcaucasus region⁴¹.

Thus, the inter-ethnic political developments in the Transcaucasus in 1918-1920 proceeded in accordance with the unexpected geopolitical developments of the RA leadership and the Armenian people, when Armenia, treacherously abandoned by its allies, and in the autumn of 1920, during the Turkish-Armenian war, found itself surrounded with enemies from all sides. Russia and Kemalist Turkey, who had made a deal with each other, made their anti-Armenian verdict by amputating Armenia and imposing a different national-political perspective. And Soviet Russia was also in the role of an active supporter of Turkey.

During the Turkish-Armenian war in November 1920, when, as one of the leading modern researchers V. M. Mukhanov said, none of the Great Powers wanted to get involved in the conflict, Armenia was simply left to the whims of fate.

Turkologist R. Safrastyan is quite right when he concludes that when determining the final date of the attack on Armenia, mainly the external factor was taken into consideration. According to the author, the situation at the end of August and beginning of September 1920 was such that neither the Western countries nor the Bolsheviks would intervene in the planned war against Armenia. Accordingly, the establishment of actual alliance relations between the Kemalists and the Bolsheviks was of decisive importance. On September 8, 1920, 200 kilograms of gold sent as aid from Russia arrived in Karin (Erzurum). Part of it was given to the army under the command of Karabekir; the other part was sent to Ankara and was used to pay the salaries of officials and officers⁴².

Moreover, the allies did not even think of disturbing M. Kemal in his aggressive plan to destroy Armenia, and starting from the summer of 1920 and especially after the successes achieved by the Turks in the initial phase of the Armenian-Turkish war, some common ground appeared between Ankara and London, the diplomacy of secret contacts was started, at the same time Ankara's close relations with Moscow began to cool somewhat and contacts had assumed an irregular character. Turkish sources state

³⁹ Lang 1962: 231.

⁴⁰ Virabyan 2021: 65-82.

⁴¹ Pipes 1964: 234.

⁴² Safrastyan 2019: 75.

that Kemal was able to correctly assess the newly emerging situation and skillfully took advantage of it⁴³. It can be said that in the mid-1920s, the situation gave advantages to Turkey rather than to Bolshevik Russia, which was struggling to come out of the civil war and still had many worries.

Thus, Turkey was able to provide a more favorable diplomatic atmosphere in the war against Armenia in order to achieve its strategic goals. Taking advantage of a favorable geopolitical moment, the Turks, in particular, conducted a policy of evasion in the mediation mission of Russia in the Armenian-Turkish negotiations, to which they had given their consent in advance, which forced Russia to adopt a more decisive position, not to concede much more, which could endanger its vital interests in Transcaucasus.

In retrospect, Khatisyan has generally correctly noticed these nuances of the political process: "On the other hand, the Paris Assembly delayed dealing with Turkey's problems too much and gave them time to strengthen. And then, when Russia ended its internal civil strife, the Allies were afraid of complications and left, leaving the new republics alone"⁴⁴. He continues: "It is also a fact that they divided Armenia among themselves. And the Bolsheviks did that, not because of an enmity towards Armenia, but motivated by their "global" policy, via which they wanted to win the friendship of the Turks by sacrificing Armenia. And the Bolsheviks gave the Turks what they wanted - Kars, Surmalu, Ardahan, the rest, which did not belong to the Turks, that is, the regions inhabited by Armenians."⁴⁵

The Treaty of Sèvres, signed on August 10, 1920, left a great impression on Armenian political circles; they lost the sense of reality, which was fatal. However, for known reasons, the Treaty of Sèvres did not enter into force. And already from February 21 to March 14, 1921, at the conference of heads of governments and foreign ministers of England, France, Italy and Japan held in London, the policy of making new concessions to Turkey was started. On October 20, 1921, the Franklin-Bouillon Treaty signed between France and Kemalist Turkey in Ankara was one of the important stages of the destruction of the Sèvres system in the Middle East. One of the central member states of the Agreement was leaving the Sèvres system, thereby condemning the Sèvres Treaty to non-existence. Expressing the sentiments of the French ruling circles, Maurice Pernot, a publicist enjoying great authority in the political circles of Paris, wrote: "We should no longer test the issues of either autonomous Kurdistan or independent Armenia"⁴⁶, which was simply the realization of Enver Pasha's plan, which according to according A. Khatisyan's memoirs, a solution could be found "at least by creating a small Armenia. And thirdly, they would like to have a territory where it would be possible to deport Armenians from Turkey, leaving a limited number of them there for their

⁴³ Safrastyan 2019: 80-81.

⁴⁴ Khatisian 1968: 193.

⁴⁵ Khatisyan 1968: 293.

⁴⁶ Baiburdyan 2014.

needs, as Enver directly said about it - moreover, under the condition that the number of Armenians should not exceed 20 percent of the total population in any region"⁴⁷.

And already at the Lausanne conference held from November 1922 to July 1923, İsmet İnönü, the head of the Turkish delegation, announced that the Kurds did not want to separate from Turkey, as was envisaged by the Treaty of Sèvres, that the Kurds of Anatolia were ready to fight side by side with the Turks.

And this is how Colonel O. Baldwin, who served in the Armenian army and was a direct witness of that sudden turn of fate in Armenia, represents the triumph of Bolshevism in Armenia, abandoned and deceived by the Allies, and in particular Great Britain: "The entry of Bolshevism into Armenia and Georgia... put an end to the hopes of all those people who had devoted their lives to the goal of achieving the independence of their own country.

From the manifestations I saw, Bolshevism appeared to me more like a mental illness than a social order. Its preachers were very often people with a nervous mentality and careless actions. In its modern form, it is regressive, a form of degenerate tsarism, anti-religious obsession, endless worship, war tensions and general depravity. Here, all this, instilled in a people whose reputation of being corrupt, lying, immoral, weak and ignorant since ancient times was unsurpassed, turned into the regime we call Bolshevism.

...It is just amazing. Step by step, without visible effort, the powers played in favor of Lenin"⁴⁸.

It is obvious that the Armenian side was mistaken in all its foreign-political calculations.

Another circumstance is important, which is related to the personal qualities of former Armenian politicians, who neither knew Europe nor Europeans well, in the event that Turkish diplomatic-military and statesmen did not leave the impression of poor former teachers, and in everyday life they felt more confident as a type of man who had a psychological advantage, felt more confident, which came from the fact that they ruled for centuries, who could feel more confident in all level contacts with Europe, Russia. We find a very good reference to all this in S. Vratsyan's notes: In 1919 in one of the letters written to Armen Garo, he simply states: "Our intelligentsia wants to enjoy independent Armenia from outside. We asked Michael to come. He replied that his presence was needed in Rome. The other day, Khatisyan said that Avetik wrote to him that after the signing of the peace agreement, he wants to remain ambassador in Paris. Don't be offended, but you also preferred Washington to Yerevan. And men like us were left to organize and enjoy the state of Armenia. I agree that at this moment the work outside is very important, it is necessary to sign a peace treaty with all its implications, it is necessary to find sources of material support - I agree, but these are all the upper

⁴⁷ Khatisyan 2023: 469.

⁴⁸ Baldwin 2022: 336-337, 338.

floors of the building, if the pedestal is not strong, those international achievements have no value. The basis is the state and the government⁴⁹.

We should write about an extremely interesting conclusion of Khatisyan, who makes an important confession when talking about Enver Pasha: “Middle-height, he gave the impression of a very simple and almost shy person in communication. His face was very strict and calm, his eyes were insightful and thoughtful, and he even somehow drew the other person’s attention towards him. In Turkey, it is people like this who attract the Europeans. In the same person there is combined the ability for massacre, the destruction of tens of thousands of Christians, and the most exquisite charm in manners. How many times have European diplomats scolded us?⁵⁰

In 1918-1920, it was not possible to form a legally strong, economic state and leadership structure, all more or less serious efforts to form a functional state organization failed. H. Qajaznuni, considering the composition of that supposedly democratic institution strange and depressing, most of which were ARF representatives, wrote: “We didn’t understand that for us own we needed a strong opposition to stand by us, to always keep us attentive, call for order and not allow us to go beyond the limits of the law and authority... There was no government either; this was also subordinated to the bureau, which was a kind of executive body in the state. This was a Bolshevik system...”⁵¹

This was important in order to unite the people on the ground of solidarity, which did not become reality.

The formation and development of the First Republic of Armenia took place in difficult conditions. The period can be clearly seen from the following words of S. Vratsyan: “The Republic of Armenia was born not in its time: neither prepared with objective conditions nor with subordinate consciousness”.⁵²

In the end, those who wanted, stayed in Armenia and did what they could. The number of people who wanted to work in Armenia was small, most of them simply did not want to work in Armenia, but sought to provide themselves with “oasis” conditions. There was a personnel gap in Armenia. Many sought to stay abroad and not work in the difficult conditions of Armenia, but instead they demanded from the remaining local authorities a stable, powerful state with a powerful army, an excellent officer-commanding staff, a “professional” Cabinet of Ministers, offering nothing in return.

The result was what happened: the brutal and unstoppable collapse in December 1920, when the Armenian army suffered a crushing defeat, and we signed the shameful Treaty of Alexandropol, and then the infamous “Agreement”, according to which the Republic of Armenia was divided into two conquering countries - the Soviet Russia and Turkey.

⁴⁹ Vratsian 1962: 301.

⁵⁰ Khatisyan 2023: 491.

⁵¹ Qajaznuni 1923: 37-38.

⁵² Vratsyan 1966: 11.

Moreover, R. Hovhannisyan believes that, contrary to their constant Western orientation, ARF and the Armenian government remained isolated and abandoned by the West, which had drawn Western Armenia on paper, the country was exhausted, there was no assistance, and the additional delay necessitated not only the cooperation of Bolshevik Russia and Turkey, it also gave the Turks an opportunity to exterminate Armenia and impose oppressive conditions⁵³.

Perhaps this is what Al. Khatisyan meant, when in exile, looking back at the past and the collapse of the First Republic, becomes insightful and eventually comes to a realistic conclusion: “For this reason, our people began to think and express themselves with great bitterness about the Allies, in general. And that feeling remained until today.

It will be clear from the historical analysis that the Allies came to the Caucasus not because of the love of the Caucasian peoples and left there not because of enmity. The prognosis was not justified and they left, leaving us at the most difficult moment, completely helpless and alone. That was their role”⁵⁴.

As specialists in Caucasian studies E. Andersen and G. Parkhuladze say, the Allies did not show any real desire to help Armenia solve the issue of the annexation of those territories through military force, as a result of which the RA government tried to solve it independently, which led to the Turkish-Armenian war and the destruction of the first Armenian republic.

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⁵³ Hovannisian 1993: 32-35.

⁵⁴ Khatisian 1968: 193.

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PHILOLOGY

YEGHISHE CHARENTS - YERVAND KOCHAR**Davit Gasparyan***Doctor in Philology**Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences*mgrakanagetgasparyan@mail.ru**Abstract**

The article is dedicated to the creative and human relations of two genius artists, poet and novelist Yeghishe Charents and painter and sculptor Yervand Kochar. Charents' 125th anniversary of birth was celebrated in 2022, and Kochar's will be celebrated this year, in 2024.

Key words: Yerevan, Tiflis, Paris, poem, painting, Stalinist persecutions, Kostan Zaryan, monumental art, creator's fate.

Yeghishe Charents and Yervand Kochar, two names worthy of each other, two geniuses, who are united by deep creative commonalities, for whom the novelty was as important as the national tribal tradition. With that aesthetic feeling, they navigated their difficult path and created enduring masterpieces.

Yeghishe, born in Kars on March 13, 1897, and Yervand, born in Tiflis on June 15, 1899, were contemporaries, one a poet, the other an artist.

It is not superfluous to write that Charents was also gifted with a vivid painting skill. Here is one interesting testimony: "One day, before the drawing class had started, Yeghishe drew the Kars island-park and the citadel a little bit far from this place with chalk on the blackboard. It turned out very nice. We sat silently waiting for the teacher. When he entered, he noticed the picture and asked: "Soghomyan, did you draw it, am I right?" When he found out that there was no mistake, he praised him. Yeghishe got up to clean the blackboard, and the teacher said: "Let it stay. Today you can draw whatever you want in the copybooks".

The other class was arithmetic. We all thought that the teacher would clean the blackboard to write examples. But how surprised we were when the teacher said with a smile: "I am dictating the examples, write them down." At the end of the lessons, Yeghishe erased what he had drawn."¹

This talent of Charents, the perception of visual images, line, color, shape, light and shadow, depth and surface, the trajectory of internal movement, arrangement and sequence of elements, had to be reflected in poetry with the texture of word images, the temper of portraits, the character of the hero. It is so, because the visual-object images representing a psychological outline are expressed very vividly in Charents' works. For

¹ Alexandryan 1979: 8.

example, we see this in the portraits of Abovyan, Nalbandyan and Chieftain Shavarsh in the poems dedicated to them.

The creative career took Charents to Tiflis, where they met because Yervand Kochar, a graduate of Nersisyan School, participated in exhibitions in Tiflis in 1919-1920. And before that, in 1918, Karo Halabyan met Vahan Teryan in the North Caucasus, who helped them to continue their education in Moscow after Nersisyan School. They study in Kanchalovsky's class, visit galleries, Karo stays in Moscow, and he, having become an educated person, returns back. After that, according to the document from the Museum, from 1919 to 1921 Kochar worked as a tutor at the 3rd Female Gymnasium in Tiflis.

Like Arpenik Ter-Astvatsatryan, wife of Charents, Arpenik of Kochar studied at the Gayanyan School. And this tells us how they had got acquainted.

At the beginning of July 1921, the newlywed Charents was in Tiflis with Arpenik, they were going to go to Moscow to study. Together with Arpenik, they visit his parents. During these days, Kochar also painted Charents, created "Portrait of Yeghishe Charents" (1921, paper, pencil, 17x12, Tretyakov Gallery). Charents is 24 years old in the picture, but he is presented with a more mature image, wise eyes, some slight smile on his face, which can also be perceived as hidden irony, a broad elbow, a hat on his head. In the same year, the portraits of Hovhannes Tumanyan and Isahak Alikhanyan were also created in the same style. It is possible that Charents had given his books to Kochar.

Acquaintance with Charents turns into close relations very quickly. On April 20, 1922, in a letter addressed to his relatives from Constantinople, Kochar also sent his greetings to Charents². And this means that Charents was in the Kocharyan family, got to know his relatives, and after his departure, the friendship remained.

The beginning of the 20th century, like the end of the 19th century, was a time of great changes in the world of art. The individual, the group of like-minded people struggled against the common values and value system that dominated in art. And all that was done with the help of press, journals, books, exhibitions, discussions and absolute bohemianism.

Charents also sought creative cooperation. His first attempt in June-July 1921 with Karo Halabyan and Tigran Hakhumyan was the attempt to publish the periodical "Korchi" ("Be Gone") with a combative-offensive negative attitude, each issue of which, according to Hakhumyan, "...should have been a bomb dropped on the bourgeois Olympus of art and literature against any old idol. Charents envisaged the unprecedented success of the first issue."³ The main conflict was the accepting-denying attitude towards Teryan's work. Hakhumyan was accepting, Charents was denying, which is the reason for their disagreement. The periodical was called "Be Gone" because time had set the question of the old and the new with all its severity, according

² Yervand Kochar Museum, 3517, f. 2389.

³ Gasparyan 1986 (ed.): 153.

to which the old would perish and the new would take its place. Moreover, Kochar must have been aware of this initiative, because those were the days when he was making the portrait of Charents.

The second initiative of Charents was “The Declaration of the Three” which was some sort of a shock in cultural life of Yerevan⁴. The third attempt in 1923 was the initiative of the futuristic-constructivist periodical “The Avangard”, which failed due to lack of supporters and lack of funding. The fourth step was the publishing of journal “The Standard” in Moscow in May 1924 in cooperation with Karo Halabyan and Mikael Mazmanyanyan, which had a short life⁵. These experiments were within the framework of the same theoretical program, and “The Standard” was a revised continuation and development of the principles of “The Declaration of the Three”.

The last fifth step was radically different from the previous ones. In cooperation with Mahari, Armen, Bakunts and others, Charents created creative group “The November”, which opposed proletarian schematism to the demands of high art. They published many valuable books. Its logical end was the brilliant article, authored by Mkrtych Armen “About Charents and related problems” on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Charents’ creative activity⁶.

In 1917, Kochar attended an exhibition of Armenian artists in Tiflis, where he met Hakob Gyurjyan, who was born in Shushi. Their friendship was to continue later in Paris, and Kochar wrote about him in 1956 the following: “Throughout his life, Gyurjyan was on the top, he never became a servant of his art. He had two studios in Paris, where Italian and French masters made his works on granite, marble and bronze”⁷.

Here are his notes on the nature of the new fine art of 1917-1918: “How miserable and poor life would be if from time to time new thoughts, new emotions did not come forward and find their place in people’s souls. And that is how the new Fine Art came about. A stormy battle ensued between the morals acceptable to the old society and the spurious inventions of the new individuals. Society does not want to accept the new Fine Art and considers it “decadence” - a “decline of fine art” and artists – “mental patients”. But always the individuality has attacked the prevailing morality of the society. It is the hygiene of human history. It is enough for an artist to go out of the usual framework, to break the rules, for the society to attack him, declaring him “crazy”, “shameless revolutionary...”⁸.

Let us not forget, before all of this, the report “The Coming Day of Armenian Literature” with the same demand of the review of the past, reevaluation of values, the yes and no of the new generation was made by Teryan in Tiflis in April, 1914⁹. Also Russian futurists made speeches in Tiflis beginning with 1914, and Kochar’s was quite

⁴ Gasparyan 2022: 157-175.

⁵ Gasparyan 2022: 256-260.

⁶ Gasparyan 2022: 301-341, 479-481.

⁷ Gyurjyan 2007: 98.

⁸ Gyurjyan 2007: 16.

⁹ Teryan 1975: 48-102.

likely to participate in these meetings, and his speech contains the ideas of Teryan of a new generation.

And most importantly, according to Kochar, “artists should strive to be revolutionary in art, but not revolutionary for the sake of being revolutionary.”¹⁰ In other words, not the external formal-demonstration, but the essential one: the demand for change should come from within and not just from the whims of being fashionable. Charents thought so, too. For that reason, they were also defenders of traditional values and never cut off their feet from their native land. Later, in 1969, Kochar formulated this approach as follows: “There is no abstract art, art is always concrete. It cannot be otherwise. And what about modern art? Modern art has its own laws. It is not anarchy and ignorance. The violation must be justified. Art is not an occupation, but a culture.”¹¹

In the period of formation of Armenian art in the 1910s-1920s-1930s, Kochar actively communicated with Charents. But Kochar left the country in April 1922, first to Constantinople, then to Venice, and in 1923 he settled in Paris, the city of arts, where Picasso and Dali lived. Before his return (May 1936), Kochar participated in many exhibitions, received fame and honor. In 1925 his works were exhibited in the same hall with Picasso at the “Art of Today” exhibition in Paris. His contacts were direct with the mentioned giants of art and culture, who also appreciated him¹².

There are many commonalities between Charents and Kochar and one is more demonstrative than the other.

In 1919, among other works, Kochar painted two paintings: “Portrait of the Painter’s Mother” and “De profundis”, Mother and Self.

Not long after, Charents’ “Gazelle for my Mother” was published (compilation from “The Book of Gazelles”)¹³. Native house, mother sitting under the shade of a mulberry tree in front of the house, memories of these days, image of the son who has left home and is lost in the unknown reality, from whom she has no news, and from whose longing bitter tears are flowing. It is the fate of the orphaned generation, which should have been called the lost generation. There is a portrait of his mother, here is a “Gazelle for my mother”, in connection with which Charents said with the same innovative spirit of the time: “I wrote fifty gazelles during my youth. I burned them all and left only the gazelle dedicated to my mother. The rest were trivial things and did not bring news either in terms of theme, form or style.”¹⁴

Like Kochar’s portrait, Charents gazelle had its predecessors (Shahaziz, Isahakyan, Teryan). The continuous traditions of mother’s theme are remarkable: Arshil Gorky’s (1904-1948) painting “The Painter and his Mother”, Hamastegh’s (1895-1966) unnumbered poem titled “My Sweet Mother...”, later Shiraz’s book “Monument to My Mother” (1968).

¹⁰ Teryan 1975: 23.

¹¹ Teryan 1975: 28.

¹² Hovhannisyan, Martirosyan-Kochar 2016 (eds): 10-11.

¹³ Cooperation of Armenia, 1920, N 12, July 1.

¹⁴ Gasparyan 2008: 169.

So, let us focus on Kochar's painting "De profundis". "De profundis" is the beginning of the Latin Penitential Psalm 6, one of the liturgical episodes of the Catholic Church. It was used by Verlaine in the poem "Jesuitism" in the book "Saturnian". Time was familiar with the novel-trilogy "De profundis" (1900) by Stanislaw Przybyszewski, the confession "De profundis" (1905) by Oscar Wilde. So "De profundis" - far or near - existed and gave signals... Przybishevsky was quite popular author at the beginning of the century, whose works, apart from Charents, were known to Kochar, too.

Under the title "De profundis", Charents has two references. The first is the poem of the same name written in early 1927 after the death of Arpenik in the Yerevan Correctional Institution and the desire to collect under that title the poems written on the occasion of Arpenik's death, which he did not do and wrote about it in the poem "The Burnt Songs" (1929). "De profundis" was used by Charents in 1926 in the sense of compensation. In connection with the planned "De profundis" book, Charents said: "The poem and these poems are one whole, and I intend to publish them in a separate book, De profundis." And then we learn about the following from one source: "The reader, however, will not find that poem and that series of poems in any collection, because he burned them later. The reader can get some idea about that "De profundis" from "The Burnt Songs", "I am Not the One I used to Be", "My Muse" and other poems.

The penitentiary and the death of his wife filled him with despair: "I am not Charents I used to Be," he continues in the poem (1929) beginning with the line "Listen, my priceless"¹⁵.

Charents' second work, entitled "De profundis", is the note made, on April 13, 1937, in his apartment, "in bed as usual", on the occasion of his 40th birthday. "De profundis" is already used here not in the sense of retribution, but from the depths. So, "...a week ago, that is, on the 1st of March (the actual birthday according to the old style), I completed forty years of my life. I was lying in bed that day, as now, as I have been doing continuously for the last three years, in the bedroom: in front of me is the wardrobe, in the door of which there is a huge beautiful mirror. Every morning when I wake up, opening my eyes, I see my face in that mirror - always the same, as if more than familiar, forever the same face, the same person who is me, as long as I live, my unique earthly form... Is there anything more painful and, essentially, meaningless, than staring at one's own gaze - you look into the depths of your own eyes - and how much you struggle to understand something, to feel it internally, as if you know it, - your image becomes so unclear and unrecognizable to you - you seem to want to catch something, something that eludes you endlessly, the more you strain your mind to get closer to it - so far it recedes, becomes immaterial, devoid of meaning, as an empty space, like the idea of eternity or infinity, when you want to imagine them in your brain. - On the other hand, it is like the repetition of the same word, when the more you repeat the same word, so it becomes pointless and meaningless - and if you insist on repeating it more than necessary - you can just go crazy. - That's why I avoid looking at myself in the

¹⁵ Khoren Radio, "Armenian Language and Literature", 2017, N 4, pp. 48-50.

mirror more or less constantly. - Moreover, not only do I avoid I am, but also afraid, as one can be afraid of any haunting thought or doubt. - And indeed. - There is no more pointless and fruitless occupation than that fictitious self-examination through the mirror. - But this act, as an epistemic, spiritual act, should never be to confuse with the action that women usually like to engage in <...>. The difference is that a woman is the least eager to see her insides in the mirror. Oh, no, he doesn't instinctively think about that. <...>. When a woman looks at herself in the mirror, that is, alone with herself, she sees her image simply as an external object <...>. So the act I propose (when a person immerses himself in his gaze in the mirror - wants to feel, penetrate, sink into the depths of his being) - is a spiritual, essentially, of course, metaphysical act, when the subject (i.e., I) seeks to see himself in his reflection (that is, to the subject) - it turns out to be a real "squaring of the frame"... <...>. ... subject and object (which is the same subject) and wants to understand, recognize himself internally, as an object, which is at the same time a subject - this is where the madness really begins - and in this sense, this mental act is very similar to the same to the repetition of the word".

Then he goes to the "stream of thoughts": "Each idea has recently begun to branch out in my brain and develop in a "branching" sequence. An internal uncontrollable urge pushes the given idea to develop in all possible aspects, with a "twig" system - that is, how a tree grows.

The main idea becomes the trunk of the tree, which starts to give branches and each branch in turn, twigs, which in turn become new branches and so on endlessly: "But is it possible to develop any idea, even the tiniest one, with this method? - Of course. , no..."

After all this, Charents concludes and summarizes with the words of Narekatsi: "If this continues - it is hardly possible to ever return to the material itself - what is most amazing among great geniuses is an internal iron control, so that not the material masters the author, but the author masters the material - but in such a way that it is not lost and not an important branch, not even a branch, not even a stem... Give me, O Apollonian sun, this spiritual light, so that I can not only desire, but also fulfill, not only strive, but also - achieve - not only go - but also - proceed in a conscious and uncomplicated way..."

The note continues: "...I cannot pass and the line already branches, like a seed, like a tree and every line becomes a tree - and every word - becomes a branch and branches are endless, how, how, how can let me move on to the next line... <...> ...whatever you touch - even the simplest stone - a thousand thoughts come out of you - <...>. When you read your previous songs, you are surprised that you were able to extract so little from that material (gold, diamond). And I am afraid to touch my old songs now..."¹⁶

¹⁶ Museum of Literature and Arts; Yeghishe Charents Archive, 85; Charents 1967: 484-490; Charents 1996: 323-325.

This deep psychoanalytical self-examination continues and ends with a twig-like branching diagram of thinking, from what the mind got its impulse, and, deriving from it, where it reached. Mainly monosyllabic words written in three columns follow. Continues reasoning about networked thinking.

Accordingly, he was not able to pursue the free creative element. In fact, he wrote constantly, but he also complained that he could not keep even a small part of his inspiration; the reason was the networked thinking manner of his mind.

The best manifestation of creative commonality is the image of Gozal in Charents' "Tagharan" (1920-1921) and the image of Huri in Kochar's pictures "Huri" (1925), "The Portrait of a Girl" (1925), "The Girl with Apples" (1926), "The Eastern Women" (1926). In general, it is the East, a unique orientalism, which is represented by the image of an oriental girl. Charents' Gozal rejects the love of the poet, and Kochar's Huri turns into a mask of a girl with a full face with arched eyebrows, as if she is also one of the rejecters, perhaps one of those who are hard to convince, because there is no expectation or illusion of love on her face.

From here, the transition to the image of Sayat-Nova is made, which is present both in Charents' "Tagharan" and in the latest version of "The Road Book". The portrait of Sayat-Nova as an oriental troubadour was painted in 1945, and also sculpted by Kochar in 1963 (his remarkable explanations have been preserved)¹⁷.

Woman and dance: dance movement in poetry, such as the dance of two nice girls in black and white in Charents' "The Knight" (1922), and in painting, such as Kochar's painting "The Dance" (1971). As parallel examples in poetry, we can recall the scene of Nazenik's dance in Varuzhan's poem "Harch" (written in 1910, fully published in 1912), and Hakob Gyurjian's "Dancer" in sculpture. There are also many other examples, not stillness as inherent, but the temptation to paint movement (Chagall, Picasso, Dali).

Charents arrived in Paris on March 31, 1925 on the way to a foreign trip. Chopanyan, Shirvanzade, Kostan Zaryan, Zapel Yesayan, Hamlik Tumanyan, Hakob Gyurjian, Yervand Kochar were in Paris... Among many others, Charents also meets Yervand Kochar. In Paris, Charents had a plan to publish the periodical "The Steering Wheel" and invited Armenian literary figures to cooperate. It is not at all excluded that, as an artist, he invited Kochar to participate in that initiative as well.

Charents took the next step in the preaching of new art in the collection "The Epic Dawn" (1930).

Charents achieves the aesthetics of monumental art, something Kochar was also moving towards.

According to the schematic requirements of the theorists of socialist realism, monumentalism was imagined as a volume-spatial inclusion. This dimensional monumentalism influenced literary genres - the novel in verse - N. Zaryan: "Rushan's Cliff", "Tsaritsinian Episodes", the corresponding series of Charents in "The Epic Dawn".

¹⁷ Gasparyan 1986 (ed.): 191, 253.

The same in other fields of art: architecture, music, painting, sculpture, also urban planning, industrial enterprises, collective economies replacing individual economies. In the great and endless country, everything had to be great, starting with the great October revolution - a tendency that ultimately reaches a morbid grandiosity, gigantomania (the production of unusually and superfluously large works).

Kochar wrote the article "The monumental landscape", the title of which is the landscape of Armenia: "It is the landscape of Armenia that can simultaneously form the axis and the background of our painting."¹⁸ By the way, before "The Epic Dawn" collection, "The monumental landscape" was an obvious embodiment of Charent's poem "For my sweet Armenia..." with the entire artistic system of inclusion: the graceful dance of Nairian girls, dark sky, dark waters, inhospitable black walls of huts, thousand-year-old stone of ancient cities, mournful songs, Narekatsi, Kuchak, white peak of Ararat shining in eternal snows, and with all this, a complete geographical and historical landscape of Armenia.

For monumentality, Kochar singles out "duration and immobility", "the big whole", and at the same time, monumentality is conditioned by the requirement of the machine and communal life of the day. The second prominent impulse is the universality or grandeur of the monumental landscape. Kochar's landmark is the constant greatness, the statues of David of Sassoon and Vardan Mamikonyan created by Charents along with "For my sweet Armenia..."

Kochar also spoke about socialist realism. Taking a general look at the world history of art, he says only this: "...all arts are realistic, but these realisms have different colorings, and there is no art outside of realism."¹⁹

Contrary to the vulgar theorists of socialist realism, Charents perceived monumentality in "The Epic Dawn" as a requirement of noble and heroic, perfect and lasting art. Accordingly, monumentality had a different explanation for him. Monumental, i.e. filtered from unimportant details, characteristic thick lines and condensations of time, also mobility and speed against the dead immovable, also a personality that condenses the breath of time, a living person with his complex and contradictory psychological movements. Charents accepted monumentality with the requirement of novelism precisely as epicness. It is needless to add that at the same time, with the same novelistic demand, Pasternak reworked the previous poems and summarized them in the series "The Epic Motives" and included them in the book "On the Barrier"²⁰.

Kochar achieved monumentality both in painting and sculpture. In the first case, wonderful examples are the design of "Daredevils of Sassoun" on seven graphic sheets or pages (1939), which he did for the Russian edition of the epic on the recommendation of Hovsep Orbeli using the stone drawn on the cardboard as a support, as if by Kurkik Jalali, Lion Mher, David of Sassoun, Little Mher and other

¹⁸ "Greek-Armenian yearbook", 1928, Second year, Athens, p. 254.

¹⁹ Kochar 2007: 22.

²⁰ Pasternak 1929.

characters were also depicted on the stone. For the academic edition of the first Russian translation of the Armenian heroic epic novel, the world-famous Orientalist Hovsep Orbeli (he was the author of the book's foreword and the direct organizer of the publication) chose only Kochar's illustrations from the many suggestions presented. In the case of sculptures, "David of Sassoun" (1939, plaster; 1959, tempered copper) and "Vardan Mamikonyan" (finished in 1962, erected in 1975). In these works, monumentality is evident both as a whole and in individual episodes.

"The Eagle of Zvartnots" (1933) is also a wonderful condensation of monumentality even in small dimensions: simple, clear and eternal.

The character of David of Sassoun was also commemorated by Charents. In 1933 he also organized the printing works of the first volume of the stories of "Daredevils of Sassoun".

There were plenty of critics of Kochar and Charents: "And Ara Sargsyan was walking around with the file under his arm, trying here and there to prove that "David of Sassoun" is a copy of Michelangelo's "David", there is nothing independent, it has nothing national, the topic of David of Sassoun is not historical, it is a myth, an epic. What is the need to erect such a statue?"²¹

In the depths of monumentality, it is the unique memory of the artist that brings him to the seemingly inaccessible deep folds of the history of humanity and nationality. Such is the whole poetry of Charents, starting from the ballad "Mari, female bird" (1916) up to the poems "As a bird of the sky with lights..." (1930) and "Ecclesiastes" (1935) and then, starting with "Blue Motherland" (1915) and "From The Dante Fable" (1915-1916) up to "The Four Paths of History" (1933), "The Vision of Death" (1933), "In Praise of Grapes", "Wine and the Fair School" (1932), "Nork" (1933) and so on. That memory passes through the folds and sieve of thoughts of centuries and brings impulses from the depths. Kochar considers it "prenatal memory" and adds: "...our ideas depend on memory."²²

Charents and Kochar were urbanists in terms of art-thinking; theirs was the urban culture that is always present in the work of both. Their hero is the city resident and it is no coincidence that Charents wrote a verse novel entitled "Homo Sapiens" (1928-1929), which is the complete inner world of his teenage years in the obscurity of the dusty streets of Kars, and Kochar painted the picture with the same title "Homo Sapiens" (1933) where the person from the chest to the belly is exposed to the world with his inner essence, his eyes are dark and sad, and his face is like a metal mask. In other paintings, instead of a tree and a flower, there is a piece of faded newspaper, a cafe meeting: "Cafeteria" (1918), "Outdoor Cafe" (1918), "Three Men Sitting Around a Table" (1918), "Reflection" (1920) "Conversation" (1923), "Woman with a Necktie" (1923), "Two Women in a Cafe" (1923), "The Man with a Cigarette" (1926) or "The Muse of Cybernetics" (1972). It was this city life, the fate of the creator, that led Charents to

²¹ Gasparyan 1986 (ed.): 107.

²² Gasparyan 1986 (ed.): 260.

poems with delirious titles: “Delirium” (1935), even “Delirium in Delirium” (1937), and Kochar to “Vision” (1931, canvas), “Melancholy” (1959, sculpture), “Ecstasy” (1960, canvas) works. In front of eyes of Charents was a bifurcated man, “Homo Soveticus” – the reborn “Homo Sapiens”. Later, with the same mindset, Kochar created the painting “The Bifurcated Individual” (1954). Both Charents and Kochar created their self-portraits with the same urban psychology. Charents - “Monument” (1934), “The State with all its apparatus” (1935), “To Me” (1936), “Untitled” (1936), Kochar - “Self-Portrait” (1918, 1936).

Kochar’s picture series “The Man-City” (1933) is a condensation of urban images, and the scene of Charents was both a noisy city and urban life with its individual heroes, one of whom is the hero of the verse novel “The Great Daily Routine” (1929), the accountant thrown out of life. Maybe that is also the reason why the natural world outside the city - forest, river, mountain and valley, rural landscape with its relative idyllicness is not typical for them at all.

The character of Komitas was dear to both Charents and Kochar. On October 21, 1935, the news of Komitas’ death shocked Charents. His poem “Komitas” is a direct expression of that feeling. His poems “Komitas” and “In memory of Komitas” are different works, different expressions of the same inspiration.

In connection with the transfer of Komitas’ ashes to the motherland, “The Literary Newspaper” informs: “On May 9, two large groups of French-Armenian workers immigrated to Soviet Armenia. The immigrants bring with them the embalmed body of the greatest master of our folk music, Komitas, who will be buried in the pantheon of Armenian literary and artistic figures. The archive of the great musicologist is also being transferred to Armenia. The immigrants will be in Armenia on May 25.”²³

Kochar returned to the USSR in May 1936 on the same steamship “Sineya” with 1,800 French-Armenian immigrants that was transporting Komitas’ ashes to the motherland. The group included actor Levon Harut, director Yaghubyan and other famous people. The coffin of Komitas’ “...ashes unclaimed for a long time in a disconnected carriage at the Navtlugh station (Tbilisi)²⁴. They could not transport it to Yerevan, nor could they leave it at the Naftlugh station. Komitas’ ashes will be brought to Yerevan on the eve of the funeral, on May 27. On that rainy spring day, Charents begins the initial version of the poem “In Memory of Komitas”: “You are our motherland’s song // Back to the homeland...”²⁵ He continued his work until November 30 of the same year, the night of the Sovietization of Armenia.

For him, Komitas becomes the symbol of the Armenian nation, the native land, the Armenian spirit, the universal motherland and the fate of the Armenian nation, according to which the people must gather and unite in the motherland. Here, the expression “Oh,

²³ Grakan tert, 1936, N 11, April 30.

²⁴ Gasparyan 1997 (ed.): 108.

²⁵ Charents 1983: 612.

Armenian people, your only salvation is in your collective strength” gets a sense of a certain “advice”.

The ashes of Komitas were buried on May 28, 1936. The civil funeral was in the House of Culture. A large crowd gathers. Manuk Abeghyan, Panos Terlemezyan and others were present. Suddenly the crowd parted and made way for Charents. He expresses his farewell to Komitas, embalmed in a closed coffin, bows before him, then bends down, kisses the glass covering his face and, rubbing his hat in his hands, leaves.

Another memoirist describes that moment in a different way: “Charents bent over the coffin and said: “My father, Soghomonyan.” And the people didn’t know that Charents is Soghomonyan, too.”²⁶ Here is another memory: “...Charents entered. He was very sad. No one knew that he was being taken to the Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage for interrogations and it was forbidden to him to leave Yerevan. We, the students, considered him inviolable. The attention of those present was drawn to Charents. Very sad, he approached the coffin, knelt down and kissed the glass. Everyone was excited; the Great Poet was even more excited. When taking the ashes of Komitas, according to custom, the people came out. Then I heard that the officers of the ECCCR from Tiflis had broken the glass and searched the coffin. Charents furiously tried to intervene, but was barely restrained and removed from the coffin. I have never known anything like it. And then when burying the ashes of Komitas, I was standing at the edge of the cremation pit, if the glass had been broken, I would have noticed. I can neither confirm nor deny that story.”²⁷

Charents did not participate in the burial ceremony. They said that he turned his face and cried silently. He had already written “The Return Song”.

As we mentioned, he writes the poems “Komitas”, “In memory of Komitas”, “Requiem aeternam” (“The Eternal Rest”) poems. Several poems and fragments have also been preserved: “To your ashes, Komitas”, “The Inscription”, “Epitaph”, “With Crazy Eyes”, “The National Requiem”.

Charents was essentially with Komitas: “Among the many paintings of Panos Terlemezyan, there was a remarkable etude. The artist himself, Komitas, Siamanto and the object of the latter’s love, young beautiful writer Mannik Perperyan, while on a boat in the Bosphorus. Charents was fascinated by that painting and tried in every way to get it, or buy it, or get it as a gift. But Terlemezyan didn’t want to part with that work in any way. <...>. Once, in my presence, Charents, with the stubbornness of a child demanding a toy, pushed Terlemezyan and was persuading him to sell that etude to him. The artist could no longer resist and had to give the painting to the great poet. Charents, having received such a gift, emitting a cry of joy, pressed the picture to his chest...”²⁸

²⁶ Gasparyan 1997 (ed.): 49.

²⁷ Arakelyan 2003: 77-78.

²⁸ Alazan 1967: 302.

The image of Komitas was too dear to Kochar: he made both painting and sculpture. The picture (1946) is a light and bright image, as if it is not the tortured priest, but his bright, bright song. The sculpture (1971, Vagharshapat) is simple and calm in its solutions, it is monumental and noble, as if a traveler from a distant history has stopped for a moment to rest, to continue his journey after a while.

The destinies of Charents and Kochar are very similar. The commonality of some episodes of the lives of the two great men in those bloody and dark years of the history of the USSR is obvious.

After returning to the USSR in 1936, Kochar went to Tiflis, his father's house. The Union of Artists of Georgia did not accept him well: his application for membership was rejected, after which he moved and settled in Yerevan in the autumn, became a member of the Union of Artists of Armenia, but here his life did not pass in a calm rhythm: "In Yerevan, Kochar was severely and unnecessarily criticized. The highest art elite of Armenia was unfriendly and also hostile towards Kochar."²⁹ The accusations were so heavy that in 1937, Kochar was expelled from the Union of Artists. What happened: "...during one of the discussions, he suddenly took off his shoe, lifted it above his head, and showed it to all of us. "Look, look, the sole of my shoe has a hole. I am an artist. None of Mussolini's workers has a hole in his shoe."³⁰ After that incident, he left for Moscow, returned in 1938 and was reinstated in the ranks of the Union through the mediation of Karo Halabyan.

After being fired from his job in "Armenian State Publishing House" and his noisy "Declaration" of leaving the Writers' Union, as the expression of protest, Charents was expelled from that organization on March 13, 1935. After being reinstated in June, Charents was expelled from the same union for the second time in July 1937, then arrested and ended his life in Yerevan prison.

Kochar also faced political criticism. Finally, he was accused as a propagandist of anti-Soviet ideas. On June 23, 1941, the day after the start of the Great Patriotic War, he was arrested, tortured, they never forgave him his years spent in Paris. But they released him on October 23, 1943. At one time, it was believed that one of his Nersisyan School schoolmates, a member of the USSR Defense Committee, Anastas Mikoyan, Minister of Food Supply to the Red Army, and Karo Halabyan, Vice President of the Union of Architects of the USSR, mediated. As we learnt from the museum, it was recently found out that there were no such petitions.

After settling in Yerevan, the relations of Charents and Kochar were restored. On May 30, 1937, Charents addressed a letter to Kochar (it is unpublished, we quote it in full):

"Dear Yervand!

I think I told you once that I dedicated that wonderful book to Karo Halabyan.

Therefore, I am sorry that I cannot meet your wish.

²⁹ Alazan 1967: 31.

³⁰ Gasparyan 1986 (ed.): 56.

My greetings!
 Ye. Charents
 1937. 30. V"³¹

It is not clear what book we are talking about, but the question continues: "To Dear Yervand Kochar as a sign of respect and friendship. 937. 9. VI. Charents, Yerevan, the book "Issues of the Combination of Arts" with the inscription. Charents gives it to Kochar³². Is this the same book or another, it is not possible to say, but it is possible to note another important fact that the path of compositional art, to which this book is dedicated, was related to both of them.

Charents spoke about compositional art at the 1st Congress of Writers of the USSR. And the mentioned book brings together the materials of the first creative consultation of architects, sculptors and painters. Illustrated (in black and white), from Egyptian frescoes and Greek sculptures to Raphael, Giotto, Titian and Michelangelo and contemporaries. The book is kept in the Kochar Museum.

Probably during these days, Charents also gave Kochar a pipe, which is also kept in the artist's museum.

The attitude towards Stalin was also common for both artists. Charents looked at Stalin from two perspectives: one as a historical symbol of a powerful country, that is, as a leader, and this approach was serious ("The Paper...", "The Third Dawn", "Anthem to the Leader", "Hello to the Leader", "The Ode to the Leader"), and secondly, as a tyrant, and this view was so critical that it turned into a fatal caricature in the corresponding works ("There was a naive poet...", "A surprising son...", "I smell blood again...", "Oh, the genius Lenin was right", "They wore high boots", "Giant leader? - equal to Marx", "Stalin", "Medieval Ax", "A Kinto from Tiflis").

In an outwardly acceptable formal form is inward respect. Stalin was sculpted by Kochar with the same grotesque in 1936: a hollow head, a bust of Lenin instead of eyes in the eye sockets, eyebrows like balconies...

As we have already said, the discovery of the commonality of Kochar's spatial painting and Charents' poetry, especially of the 1930s, is a separate episode. Spatial drawing, that is, a three-dimensional volumetric image. The surface of the picture changes, it gets an open sculptural solution. Can you see the reverse side of the picture, the inside, or the sides? Charents entered the depth of the word with a burst of thought and reached the core, where the mystery of existence is like fiery magma. Such is the "The Road Book" collection (1933/1934) and the whole unpublished heritage. And that is in voluminous poems and not only. Read again the poems "Vision of Death", "Like gray yellow leaves...", "Heinrich Heine", "Untitled (On the day of my death there will be silence)" and mentally compare them with Kochar's three-dimensional paintings and it will become clear that and both the poet and the artist tried to break down the material to the last particle, to penetrate even the darkest corners.

³¹ Yervand Kochar Museum, 1379, document 452, Archives, C. 589.

³² Problems of Arts Synthesis 1936: 152.

Here art and science go hand in hand. Physicists split the atom, reach the nucleus and electrons, and the nucleus reaches the proton and neutron, try to make visible the primary material, and the writers and artists try to reach the inner first ray of the soul, which illuminates the future ontology of man, which is at the same beginning, as a preface. It is so, however different, but science and art speak to each other in languages that are equally understandable to each other over time. Here is Kochar: "Modern art is very complex and versatile. <...>. Our dreams and visions on earth are not earthly. Before going into space, man had already found the cosmic forms. <...>. Sculpture became small, reached neutrons, atoms, electrons, but gained great creative freedom. You can sculpt anything and in any way. You have to find the way to greatness"³³.

Kochar also referred to the progress of art caused by the development of science in the article "Picasso" published in 1966: "If the theory of Cubism was supported by the theories of Einstein, Riemann and Lobachevsky, then the concept of surrealist art was strengthened by the theories of Freud and Berkson. Subconsciousness began to assert its rights and was far ahead of consciousness. Artists sought the unexpected beauties of the hidden subliminal self. The impermissible unchaining of dreams, hidden desires, desires became the sign of the liberation of the soul"³⁴.

And a wording from the same article that is also characteristic of him, and not only him but also Charents, and not only Picasso, Kochar and Charents, but also all geniuses. And what does he write? "Picasso does not like to keep what he has won, he leaves it those who come, and he moves to a new arena" (ibid). Although geographically far from each other, how many creative periods did both Charents and Kochar go through? They passed and left their conquests to be enjoyed not only by their immediate followers, but also by surrounding opponents.

Another commonality that unites them as creators is related to influences. From the first steps to "The Road Book" and the unpublished works, Charents was in the gravitational field of far and near influences: Teryan, Verlaine, Blok, Mayakovski, Pasternak, Pushkin, Narekatsi, but always remained independent. The same is the case with Kochar, from Michelangelo to Braque and Picasso... In his article "Color and Form", written in 1920, but published in 1968, Kochar addressed the issue and gave the following explanation: "...my works remind many of Picasso's paintings, but this is the simple fact that proves that they neither understand my paintings nor understand what Picasso wanted. <...>. In my paintings, the question "why?" seems to constantly pass, and in Picasso's paintings, "how?" I am interested and occupied by the state of the form, and Picasso by the obsession. Picasso in this case comes from Van Gogh and I come from Cézanne. Cézanne and Van Gogh are completely mutually neutralizing and opposing forces."³⁵

³³ Kochar 2007: 26-27.

³⁴ Gasparyan 1986 (ed.): 95.

³⁵ Kochar 2007: 31-32.

Later he gave such a wise explanation to the question: "Influence is the development of one's own personality through the experience of another."³⁶ If it is not the development of one's own personality through the experience of another, then what are the characteristics of Picasso and his commonalities and differences that he so delicately explains? Since the article was written in 1920, let us go ahead and take a look at the next steps, to what extent is the comparison of Picasso's "Guernica" (1937) and Kochar's "Tragedies of War" (1963) not a development of one's own personality due to someone else's experience? The styles, shapes, colors, structure are completely different, but the same thing can be said: war is evil. Kochar's explanation is the same: the influence gives birth to a new piece of art that takes on a life of its own.

And finally, the experience of the other referred to by Kochar is the path of national and world art, which is also called tradition, and which is the normal course of art development. He wrote, didn't he, that Picasso came from Van Gogh and he - from Cézanne? This coming is the very way of tradition. Without that experience, an artist is like an illegitimate birth. Only with that experience does even the most extreme quest become acceptable. It is clear that one seeks and finds the gifted, the "search" for the ungifted is a delusion.

Kochar's painting "Family, Generations" (1925) is an artistic embodiment of the tradition. Three generations, the grandfather, the son, his wife and their son, is the life with its temporal transitions from the very basis. Charents saw that chain as a continuation of the inheritance of art, Dante and himself "as two different ages of the same humanity" ("Vision of Death", 1933), after which he depicted the hundred-year chain of generations that forged the Armenian national-liberation thought.

The Charents-Kochar relationship covers a wide range, has a far-reaching field of opening and unfolding, gives place to the world searches of the 20th century, and also reveals the commonality of the creative life of geniuses and human destiny during the years of the Soviet regime.

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POLITOLOGY

THE FOUNDATIONS OF A NATION'S EXISTENCE IN MAGHAKIA ORMANYAN'S ARGUMENTS

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Abstract

It is an obvious philosophical truth that people turn to eternal, unchanging values when they find themselves in uncertain, crisis or declining situations during historical and political scandals, as well as in the periods preceding violent cultural-civilizational movements, when in the search for new value orientations, the foundations of national existence, the universal essence of existence, universal principles of existence, reflections on human existence, self-interpretation and worldview become primary. Discussions of the problem of practical philosophy are also activated on the basis of theoretical concepts.

These universal patterns are also characteristic of the Armenian reality. In particular, in the process of searching for possible ways of solving the Armenian Question in Western Armenia at the end of the 19th century, the scientific and philosophical analyzes of the genealogy of the Armenian nation, the factors of preserving the national identity, and the legality and justice of the reform of the political existence were important.

Keywords: national existence, motherland, national factor, self-determination, national state, national unity, national goal.

In the political and philosophical concept of the Western Armenian social and political figure, theologian, philosopher, Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople Maghaqia Archbishop Ormanyan (1841-1918), the argumentation of the foundations of the existence of Armenians is of key importance. Realizing the goal of the Ottoman government to exterminate the Armenian people, to destroy Armenia and the Armenian civilization, the patriarch considers the primary problem to be the opposition of the Turkish plan to the national plan, the main idea of which is to live, act and create such “to create conditions for self-expression for Armenians, and newcomers and natives can tangibly see and feel that there is an Armenian element and an Armenian life.”¹ In other words, the basis and key to the solution of national practical-legal-political issues are the semantic arguments of Armenians as a functioning nation. With this starting point,

¹ Ormanyan 1910: 99.

Ormanyan examines the fundamentals of the Armenian nation, the reasons and factors of its existence, the phenomenon of Armenianness and its self-consciousness, especially the essence of the Armenian soul, because it is the spiritual existence that "...moves the main wheel of that machine called nationality".²

The beginning, core and goal of national existence is the nation itself. The existence of a nation is the way of its existence as a historical, cultural and political entity. National sense of meaning is the result of self-consciousness and reflection of national existence. According to Ormanyan, national knowledge is the proof of national existence. Thanks to self-consciousness, a person understands the infinity, inexhaustibility and incompleteness of national existence, which constantly pushes the nation to think about the mystery of survival and the cultural and civilizational perspective.

The core of Ormanyan's philosophical concept is the correlation between Armenianness and the Motherland, with their unbreakable unity, from which the idea of self-determination of the Armenian nation in Armenia derives. Without a self-defining subject, the motherland becomes a historical memory or an illusion. The thinker begins his theory by affirming the existence of the nation, because "existence is the first beginning and the first condition of all, the cause of all perfections and the flagman of all events."³ Of course, existence does not equate to national existence. The existence of the nation is the pre-initial certainty of its existence. The being implies not only the fact of existence, but also the reasons, manner, patterns, meaning, stability and integrity.

Ormanyan redefines the Armenian nationality in the context of the political developments of the time. According to his observation, "... today it seems that we have given a new meaning to that word, and we are placing new hopes on it. We have new theories about its explanation, and we define new points of view about its purpose"⁴. The new point of view about the nation does not at all mean putting forward the idea of a "newly created nationality", that is, such an ethnic community that has no history, tradition, and identity established by historical and political existence. Such an innovation would be useless because it contradicts natural and moral laws. The new point of view refers to the national-political movement and not to the origin and existence of the nation.

The ontological analysis of the nation was conditioned by some opinions circulating in the given period, according to which: 1) the current existence of the nation is not consistent with the essence and existence of the nation. 2) There is simply a monolingual and mono-religious community, which is called Armenian, while "...nationality is a political position that requires a political center around which all elements of Armenianness are surrounded, and which, as a center, can summarize all,

² Ormanyan 1888: 13.

³ Ormanyan 1880: 9.

⁴ Ormanyan 1880: 3-4.

and make regular all processes and joint work.”⁵ Meanwhile, Armenians do not have a political power, a governing center, and there is no hope that it will be created in the case of the existing divisions of the nation. 3) Armenians are scattered all over the world, and just as the Jews cannot expect the restoration of the Jewish kingdom, so the Armenians cannot expect the restoration of their political being. As noted by S. Sargsyan, “Ormanyanyan directly contrasts the Armenian model of nation-building with the European political model of national formation, based on a realistic understanding of national life, its uniqueness, and the great problem of preservation of Armenianness.”⁶

According to Ormanyanyan, political self-organization is the natural ability of nations, which is manifested in the historical regular movement. Therefore, the unnecessary similarity of Jews and Armenians is wrong. He does not deny the influence of Jews in foreign countries in the financial, economic, cultural, scientific and educational and other spheres, which, however, is not enough to restore Jewish statehood. The thinker mentions the reasons for its impossibility in the current historical period, the non-existence of the Jews as a native ethnic group in the motherland itself, their dispersion in different states, which excludes their political position in the state legal systems, “...so that in Judea it is not necessary to strengthen the Jewishness, but especially to reestablish it”⁷, because the main natural condition of nation’s existence is the presence of the native people in the native cradle.

In this context, the observation of the German philosopher Kurt Hubner is noteworthy. Commenting on the conditions for the formation of Aristotelian polity, he affirms. “The nation in the state is not derived from its structure, but the structure of the state itself is derived from its nation, which must follow its specific cultural goal under changing historical conditions. The structures change, but the nations remain.”⁸ It is obvious that both Ormanyanyan and Hubner value the nation as the natural-substantial-residence basis of the existence of the state. YG Fichte and A. Muller emphasize the supra-temporal nature of nations. This idea is fundamental in the romantic philosophy of the XVIII-XIX centuries. According to Fichte, “The state is not an end in itself, but a means... The state structure is a creation of ideology, but it is endowed with vitality thanks to the nation.”⁹ The concept of “nation-state” is opposed to these ideas, the authors of which understand the nation, if not as a synonym of the state, then as a reality connected to the latter. Moreover, according to L. Acton, “A state can create a nation over time, but the notion that a nation should form and establish a state contradicts the nature of modern civilization.”¹⁰

According to Ormanyanyan’s remark, some accept the existence of nationality only where “... there is a separate state position and according to this, all the peoples that

⁵ Ormanyanyan 1880: 10.

⁶ Sargsyan 2001: 207-208.

⁷ Ormanyanyan 1880: 11.

⁸ Hubner 2001: 27-28.

⁹ Hyubner 2001: 144.

¹⁰ Acton 2002: 44.

make up the essential or integral parts of each state are called the common nation, without distinguishing that they are different peoples, have different languages and different characteristics". Actually, this is not the general point of view that the whole civilized world defends, because "European powers, neither in the past nor today, have identified the borders of their nationalities with the borders of their states."¹¹

For example, the Italian nation is not limited to the Kingdom of Italy. The Germans by the German Empire and the citizens of Austria are representatives of many nations and ethnic groups.

It should be noted that until the 18th-19th centuries, the national factor did not play a significant role in European political processes, state, political, religious and other factors were mainly important. The state was perceived and observed as a form of political organization of society, and society as a union of individuals united by state-citizen ties. For example, according to the definition of Immanuel Kant, "The state (civitas) unites many people subject to legal laws, with the recognition of common law."¹² The definition of a philosopher is consistent only with the rule of law. However, as Jean Beaudin points out, this definition does not fit the Ottoman state at all, whose subjects and government were not united by common laws and interests.¹³

In historiography, philosophy of law and political philosophy, the national factor gradually began to be valued as the basis of historical progress and political changes. The main topic of scientific debates became the issues of the nation's nature, identity, fundamental elements and conditions of national existence. The peoples were declared free communities endowed with their own history and state rights and national self-consciousness¹⁴. Thus, science of statehood could no longer be satisfied with the traditional method of research, according to which the state is an abstract idea, a political structure without correlation with nationality.

The political realities of the modern era led to the formation of the theory of the national state, the foundations of which are: a) the natural basis of the state is nationality, and the state is the legal and political form of the nation, b) the main object of state policy is the public life of the nation or the people, c) there is solidarity between the people and the government of the fundamental elements of political nationality, because the nation and the state are not mutually exclusive or opposing entities. However, it should be noted that the concepts of state and nationality are not identical, the state as a legal and political structure does not coincide with the national units of the governed society.

With the increase in the level of awareness of the national and civil rights of the people, a different position was required. According to Yu. Habermas, "the national self-consciousness of the people is the cultural context that contributed to the growth of

¹¹ Ormanyanyan 1880: 12-13.

¹² Kant 1965: 233.

¹³ Mirumyan 2006: 288.

¹⁴ Bodarchuk 2005 (ed.): 7-9.

political activity of citizens.”¹⁵ From the point of view of the latest political philosophy, the identity of the state is embodied both by the right to independence of the highest authority and by the right to independent political development of the nationality as a competent entity. The nation is the source and bearer of state sovereignty. This new principle no longer corresponded to the system of artificial states based on the Treaties of the 1815 Vienna Summit.

In Europe, the right of independent historical development of each nationality as a subject of history was recognized as the basis of state identity in international relations. New theories were formed. I.K. Blunchley proposed a concept in which the natural nation and the state nation (Volk) are distinguished. For example, Germans, Italians are natural nationalities, and Prussians, Austrians, and Swiss are state nations. According to J.S. Mill's point of view, the main condition of the existence of the nation is the political contact. The coexistence of people united by the commonality of language, religion, territory and other conditions is still not a nationality in the state sense. A natural nation may also not form a state by being incorporated into another state or divided between several powers. Meanwhile, the state nation, even made up of different ethnic units, is a unique nation with the generality of state-political life.

It is obvious that such an approach ignores the rights of the natural nations themselves. According to A. Gradovski, “The principle of nationality contradicts the mechanical, forced unification of already formed nationalities into one state, from which a new nationality cannot be formed in any way.”¹⁶ We think that from the historical fact that some states were formed from different ethnic groups, many people concluded that the main condition of the existence of the nation is political contact and the commonality of state life. But it is necessary to take into consideration the non-identity of the process of formation of nations historically. We can confirm that if the basis of national consciousness with the European mentality is state-political integrity, then the self-consciousness of the Armenian nation is the starting point that led to the ideas of Armenian political self-organization and state unity.

The principle of the nation-state theory is that every nationality has the right to political independence. But this principle cannot justify the attempt to merge those nations and nationalities that are the conquered subjects of the superpowers. It is not possible to equalize the natural nationalities by depriving them of the national right of self-determination and self-governance only with forced political unity within the state borders. A typical example of this is the people of the Ottoman Empire, Russia, Austria, Switzerland and other countries. And, which is very important, if the constitutional order of the legal state of Switzerland obliges the state to protect the equality of nationalities with the active exercise of political and civil liberties, then the subjects of the mentioned other dictatorial powers have always fought not only for the right to national self-determination, but also for the respect of human dignity and basic civil rights. All the

¹⁵ Habermas 2002: 368.

¹⁶ Gradovski 1873: 22.

resources and management energy of these states created by the laws of tyranny were directed only to the preservation of the rights of the ruling nation, as well as the unnatural state structure and the formation of apparent public solidarity. These states did not even recognize the principle of administrative self-government, realizing that its application would naturally lead to the demand for recognition of the right to political identity and independent national statehood.

According to Ormanyan, the creation of a national state is the main aspiration of every nation. This is a historical truth, because both the ancient nations (including the Armenians) and the nationalities formed in modern times, as a political ethnos, took place in state-legal structures. According to H. Gevorgyan, "It is the presence of general forms of the upper civilizational layer of culture that makes a people a nation, characterizes a nation as a united community and its culture as a national culture."

Ignoring the role of the state, Ormanyan affirms that the political (even insignificant) position of a nationality is a guarantee of its security, but it is not the basis of the existence of a nation. According to him, Armenians "... have all the skills of national existence, even if they do not have statehood", that is, statehood is not an attribute for the nation in the system of nation-building foundations. As for the political powers of the nation with foreign subjection, he affirms: "and not for the existence of a nationality is a particular political position so strictly essential that without it the nationality is considered nothing... Sometimes it is possible for a nationality to maintain its existence even without this condition."¹⁷ In other words, with the loss of the state, the national existence does not end, the foundations of the nation's existence, including state-legal and political existence, do not disappear, nor does the nation's capacity for self-organization and self-governance, which Armenia has demonstrated in almost all historical periods.

On the eve of the expected national-political renaissance at the end of the 19th century, the main task was to assure the world with solid arguments that the Armenian nation, as a subject of history, has all the conditions of the existence of a nation and development and is legally and capable of participating in the international diplomatic processes of the political solution of its national issues. With this in mind, Ormanyan sees the discovery and understanding of the nation's foundation of existence as a primary issue in the subject status of the Armenians. According to him, "...in order for a nation to exist, it must also have a tradition, a multitude, a language, a center, an organization, some ties and a goal."¹⁸ Without excluding other realities, he considers the listed basics to be the main and essential ones, to which all the other characteristics of the nation ultimately lead.

Interpreting tradition (history) as evidence of the existence of a nation, Ormanyan excludes the hypothesis of the creation of a "new nationality". It is possible to develop, strengthen, and conversely disintegrate, assimilate or destroy nationalities, but inventing

¹⁷ Ormanyan 1880: 13-14.

¹⁸ Ormanyan 1880: 12:

a nation is not natural. In his opinion, even if the traditions seem mythical, and the history does not inspire national pride, nevertheless, the tradition is one of the basic conditions of national identity. With the same logic, Ghevond Alishan confirms that “The most important memory of every nation is its History, which should be traditional, especially the written one, because there are also verbal memories...”¹⁹ According to Hobsbawm, “The past is what creates a nation.”²⁰

According to Ormanyan, both the Sacred History, the polar writings-records, and the bibliography report the honorable, reliable tradition and authentic history of the Armenian nation, according to which “...in the time immemorial, there was a nation where its motherland is, and as a result of the development, it got a prominent position in the timeline.”²¹ For a special purpose, he mentions the history of the inheritance of the Armenian royal four dynasties as national statehood, which inspired Armenians with political zeal and determination to restore national statehood. Therefore, the national tradition is not only a tragedy of decline and destruction, but also a story of a glorious political history, which has rightfully become a historical-political pillar of national preservation, because “A nation that has a history for forty centuries and... is not destroyed, may it not be destroyed after all.”²²

Examining ethnic population (“multitude”) as a fundamental element of ethnography, Ormanyan informs that in the historical period of ethnography, a certain number of people were not defined as a rule. There are various large and small peoples in terms of the quantity in the world, which are recognized as separate nations with their own statehood, or nationalities scattered in different states. According to him, such a number of the national population may be required, “...which can be sufficient in itself, and achieve all the actions necessary for the preservation, governance and development of a nation”.²³ Therefore, if a people with a number of one or two million are able to be a self-sufficient, legally self-governing nation and state, then the four million Armenians “...always have a large enough number to form a nation, and dare to say that the Armenian nationality is one”.²⁴ Therefore, it is unacceptable to simply call Armenians a “minority” or a community, even in their own (albeit occupied) motherland.

Language is one of the essential foundations of the existence of nations, which Ormanyan values as a means of communication of ideas, a method of social and political contacts, as well as a unifying factor that unites the divided parts of the nation. Armenian is a comprehensive and flexible language for national literary, public speaking, scientific, rhetorical, political, legal, diplomatic, educational, ritual and other operations.

¹⁹ Alishan 1901: 10.

²⁰ Hobsbaum 2002: 332.

²¹ Ormanyan 1880: 15.

²² Ormanyan 1879, N 2240.

²³ Ormanyan 1880: 18.

²⁴ Ormanyan 1880: 19.

Referring to the issue of modernization of Armenian and formation of literary language, the specialist in Armenian Studies emphasizes the necessity of both Grabar (ancient Armenian) and modern Armenian language in the national life, because “Two languages... are linked and united by the equality of two relatives”.²⁵ In his opinion, in order not to deviate from the natural patterns of the preservation and development of the national language itself, it is necessary:

- To study all the provincial dialects”... to filter what is natural or according to the rule, and what is distorted or foreign”.²⁶
- To avoid unnecessary “neologism” presented as orthography, as well as the mechanical introduction of the grammar of foreign languages, because “...a language cannot be moved by the rules of mathematical equations and comparisons, nor subject to servile imitation”.²⁷
- Under no circumstances should Armenian be deprived of its national nuances, which determine the unity of national language thinking.

In fact, Ormanyan does not propose the task of language reconstruction, but the development of literary Armenian.

The native environment, according to the thinker, is the following one: “For the existence of our nationality, we need to have our country, our world, our motherland, our center.”²⁸ The motherland-center is the natural basis of national existence, the cradle where the Armenian people became a nation. Therefore, Armenians are the natural heirs and rightful owners of their motherland, and Armenia is inalienable. According to Ormanyan, the Armenian nation is patriotic by nature, so it should always be the bearer and defender of the idea of one-centeredness regardless of legal and political status.

Thus, the existence of a nation is determined by history (tradition), population, language and motherland. However, these objective bases are necessary, but not sufficient for national identity. They constitute the physical existence of the nation, in which its spiritual components are also interwoven. According to Ormanyan, the spiritual existence of the Armenian nation is determined by national organization, national purpose and national unity.

The national organization is a special structure, with the power of which the nation can “...grant itself a private residence and facilitate the development of its internal activity with the internal movement.” According to him, “for our nationality, it is not possible to show a more real condition”.²⁹ In Western Armenia, such a structure is the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople, whose powers extend only to the Armenian subjects of the Ottoman Empire, as a result of which relatives living in other countries, as well as relatives, who practice other religions, are excluded from the legal framework

²⁵ Ormanyan 1880: 21.

²⁶ Ormanyan 1879, N 2232.

²⁷ Ormanyan 1879, N 2316.

²⁸ Ormanyan 1880: 23.

²⁹ Ormanyan 1880: 24.

of that center. For this reason, Ormanyan combines the condition of national unity with the National Center as a factor of national protection.

The concept of unity has different cultural, social, political, religious and other sub-layers of meaning. With a historical analysis, Ormanyan first addresses the perceptions and forms of manifestation of the idea of unity formed in separate Armenian historical periods. According to him, Armenians were united in the once independent Armenia because "...at that time it had a political independence that was the foundation and center of the union". In other words, the basis of national unity with the existence of statehood was the sovereign kingdom of Armenians, and "Haykaznian and Arshakid dynasties united all Armenians under the power of their king."³⁰ In this case, there was no special propaganda about unity.

Later, during the reign of the Bagratid dynasty, the Armenian princes did not rule over all of Armenia, because they "...they reign in Ani and Kars and Vaspurakan, and they think they are protecting the same Armenia independently."³¹ From that time, the real union of Armenians was broken. It was not restored even during the reign of the Rubenid dynasty, because the Cilician kingdom was not the state-political center of all Armenia. In addition, the separation of the Patriarchal See and power with the intervention of Latin figures became the reason for a new national division³².

According to Ormanyan, the concept of "union" is opposed by two concepts: division and disunity. The first is in a physical sense, and the second in a spiritual-moral sense. In this historical period, the reason for the division of the nation was apostasy, political division and subjection to foreign states, different ways of language communication, various cultural influences, etc.

As a result of the religious division, some parts of the Armenians differ in religion and subjection to the jurisdiction of different churches. Ormanyan does not ignore the freedom of conscience and religion, but from the starting point of the idea of national unity, it is impossible not to conclude that "... such a division could also divide us as a nation... They could create new centers in Armenia, which had conflicts with the old center, and ... with a combative position they tried to damage an old center and they provoked us, caused problems."³³ If the united forces were supposed to strengthen the Armenians, then such divisions divided the nation. In addition, the Christian teaching contributes to the stability of both the whole humanity and the unique national societies. It is a faith of Love and Unity, not divisiveness. Preaching this truth, Ormanyan urges "Armenians, do not divide the nation for the sake of Christ, but honor Christ with your union."³⁴

The problem of political division is discussed on two levels: a) emigration and resettlement, b) physical political division of the motherland and Armenians. In both

³⁰ Ormanyan 1879: 7.

³¹ Ormanyan 1879: 8:

³² Sarvazyan 2011: 60-61.

³³ Ormanyan 1879: 13.

³⁴ Ormanyan 1879: 15.

cases, there are political implications. Ormanyan considers emigration to be a national evil, because those who lived in foreign countries "... got used to the local customs and language, lifestyle and family relations, and as much as the level of the national identity decreased, the level of foreignness increased as well... and he who was Armenian ... today he is Polish, Hungarian, Italian."³⁵ The most dangerous thing is to get used to inbreeding. He also does not encourage the creation of private Armenian centers in foreign countries, where, although cultural and economic progress is evident, this all is not in the Motherland.

Examining the problem in the context of the Armenian Question, Ormanyan informs that the required information about the integrity of Armenia was not enough. According to the thinker, in diplomatic negotiations, it was important that the Armenian states themselves were presented with common cultural-civilizational attributes, which were undeniable as the foundations of statehood or autonomy. And the men who are not interested in the Armenian Question "...couldn't claim that today a country in Asia that has a large population of Armenians and has formed an Armenia is being sought in vain."³⁶

The impact of the consequences of Armenia's political divisions will remain until their causes are neutralized, especially in the case of the country's triple division. In the case of one country's rule, it is easier to regulate national life with certain policies and principles and hope for political reforms. However, the biblical saying "No one can serve two masters", according to Ormanyan, "became a reality on the example of Armenia."³⁷

The reasons for violating national unity are objective, for which Armenians are not responsible. The nation is responsible for spiritual disunity. According to Ormanyan, "It is wrong to confuse division and disunity, as it is wrong to confuse the body with the soul and the natural with the moral."³⁸ Disastrous consequences flow from this confusion. It is worth arguing that the existence of Armenians is the result of patriotism and spiritual unity.

According to Ormanyan, existing divisions are difficult to eliminate, because the law of freedom of conscience opposes the ecclesiastical (denominational) union, the administrative laws of empires oppose the idea of national unity, the law of protection of economic interests opposes the union based on locality, and the international law established by military laws and diplomatic law opposes the state-political union. Therefore, certain laws contradict the real union of Armenians, which cannot be ignored. It is obvious that until statehood is restored, Armenians "...will remain separated by church, nation, place and state".³⁹

Ormanyan interprets the European understanding of the idea of national unity. According to him, "The union of nationality in a civilized nation is established on the

³⁵ Ormanyan 1879: 16.

³⁶ Ormanyan 1879: 17.

³⁷ Ormanyan 1879: 19-20.

³⁸ Ormanyan 1879: 22.

³⁹ Ormanyan 1879: 25.

basis of political union so that even if other divisions prevail in a nation they do not call its unity destroyed.”⁴⁰ In this case, national unity and civic unity are identified and represent such a powerful force that remains unshaken by religion, place of residence or other divisions. However, in the current political existence of Armenians in the XIX-XX centuries, it was extremely dangerous to defend the idea of the identity of state unity and national unity, which implied the fusion of a subject nation with a dominating people. With this in mind, the Armenian thinker emphasizes the necessity of using the vey historical method. “Today, our union will be known in a sense suitable to us and our situation, and it will be prepared in a style corresponding to it.”⁴¹

Analyzing the realities of the past and present, which became objective reasons for dividing the nation, Ormanyan proposes ways to eliminate them. According to his point of view, it is possible to “form a complete unity among all the elements, who recognize their Armenianness and want to remain in union with Armenia”.⁴² For example, he affirms that the discussion of the problem of religious divisions of the nation does not imply the denial of freedom of conscience, church rights, or a call for the unification of churches, because “in the 19th century, national unity does not depend on the number of words, or on the classification of ecclesiastical authority. The point on which we base our nationhood, Armenianness, is beyond that.”⁴³ If the religious choice of some persons is made in consideration of the supernatural order, their freedom of will should be respected. It is simply preferable to have a religious union, which has been valued for centuries as one of the foundations of national unity.

In the absence of a national political center, it is the only way out, “National unity under the administration of the Armenian Patriarchate.”⁴⁴ Ormanyan interprets the integrity of the nation by imagining it as a pyramidal formation in relation to its fundamental parts. The peak of the pyramid is St. Etchmiadzin, “who will draw the content of Armenianness, and whose influence will form Armenia.”⁴⁵ According to him, the protection of national interests in the current situation is conditioned by cooperation with the spiritual power of the nation. Therefore, the unity of Armenians with the Mother See “...will have such powerful influences that Armenians will turn the Armenian Church into a nation.”⁴⁶

The national-church union is the first permanent step for the unity of Armenians. The second is the problem of local population and unity with the state, which became a supreme issue at the end of the 19th century. According to the historical-geographic theory, Ormanyan notes that it is not correct to surround the “place of Armenian” with narrow borders and to define the Armenian-inhabited countries with 15 provinces of

⁴⁰ Ormanyan 1879: 25-26.

⁴¹ Ormanyan 1879: 26.

⁴² Ormanyan 1880: 27.

⁴³ Ormanyan 1879, N 2233:

⁴⁴ Ormanyan 1879: 36.

⁴⁵ Ormanyan 1888, N A, p. 8.

⁴⁶ Ormanyan 1880: 27.

Greater Armenia. Minor Armenia (Pontos, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Atropatene, Aghvank, Virk) has been a part of the whole of Armenia for about 37 centuries. The countries mentioned by centuries of rule “are accustomed to Armenia and populated by Armenians, and as a native element, they would not present a fairer element with a more prominent and permanent residence than Armenia.”⁴⁷ In addition, many Muslims living there are of Armenian origin, although they have become alienated from Armenians by their religious worship and nomadic lifestyle. With national education and upbringing, they can rediscover their nationality. However, as a political center, he emphasizes the actual Armenian territories of Upper Armenia and Vaspurakan, “...which are the center of Armenians.”⁴⁸

The most complicated problem is the political division of Armenians in the Ottoman, Russian and Persian autonomies and other countries. Even if all Armenians were to concentrate in Armenia, they would be united by locality, but not by the state, because they would again differ in political subjection. And as long as political unity and national-state unity are not possible, it is the primary problem of Armenians “...that they should put aside all, for the unity of their nationality not be disrupted.”⁴⁹ The patriarchal power in the Ottoman Empire, the Armenian Patriarchal power in Russia and the granting of some national freedoms to the Persian Armenians are the grounds that, according to Ormanyan, are sufficient to “... preserve the unity of the Armenians in Armenia, divided by the state, without giving diplomatic and military requests and let us protect all, enjoying the freedom of relations that are the result of the above-mentioned privileges”.⁵⁰

Thus, the four main divisions of Armenians (denominational, administrative, political, local and state) were coercive, independent of the nation’s will. Since true spiritual-ecclesiastical and national-political unity is still not possible, it is necessary to mitigate the consequences of divisions, to reduce the factors that divide the nation. According to Ormanyan, national unity is possible even in case of divisions. For this, one must first reject fatalism as a political ideology, and nationally oppose violence presented as national destiny.

He proposes the idea of a comparative center: “let us form a complex center for Armenians, partly local, partly educational, partly administrative, and mostly ecclesiastical.”⁵¹ It differs from the intra-organizational style of the Union of European Nations, but can be effective in the presence of inevitable divisions. In such a center, various persons are united in various relationships, being obliged to perform various functions. Thus, the majority of Armenians is under the jurisdiction of the Mother See and forms a church union with the Armenian religion, although they are divided by locality and subjection. Although the Armenians subject to the authority of the Sis See

⁴⁷ Ormanyan 1879: 39.

⁴⁸ Ormanyan 1879, N 2233.

⁴⁹ Ormanyan 1879: 46.

⁵⁰ Ormanyan 1879: 47.

⁵¹ Ormanyan 1879: 27.

are divided by ecclesiastical authority, they are united by religion, and administratively they are connected with the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople. And if the latter united Armenians of different religions with administrative authority, then a dual union would be created between them. As for the Armenians living outside Armenia, who are separated from the Armenians themselves by religion and administrative authority, a spiritual and moral union should be established with them as a people of the nation.

The educational union implies the unification of national educational centers and agencies under one center so that national education and training are carried out with the same policies and programs.

Ormanyan evaluates the mentioned measures that make national unity possible as legal and pro-national in accordance with the political, legal and cultural realities of the time. And since the National Center has no coercive law and punitive functions for the union, the unity of Armenians must be based on national agreement and will. In addition, there will always be obstacles from incumbent governments that need to be neutralized by unified national power as well as realistic plans. In the past, the main weapon for inciting national differences and internal riots was the efforts to present the pitiful state of Armenians and the principle of the formation of a nation as doomed. At the end of the 19th century, this weapon was not effective, because it was not possible to convince the civilized world of the non-existence of Armenia and Armenians.

Referring to the issue of the possibility of national unity, Ormanyan states that Armenians are oriented towards the principle of decentralization of private activities, which is natural and applicable in terms of national existence. He excludes the absolute centralization of the activities of the National Administrative Center: "in order to make the Union of Armenia active, we are always obliged to adopt a composite, constitutional form."⁵² When the divided parts of the nation are united by national will as relative members of one mighty union, the possibility of national union will be irresistible.

The national goal is valued as the main spiritual factor of national identity, without which national aspirations, activities and the influence of all the above-mentioned basic conditions are groundless. According to Ormanyan, the goal is a direct consequence of the current state of the nation. But this existence is perceived and evaluated ambiguously, which determines the difference between the choice of national goals and their priority. "...while some are satisfied with modest goals, others dare to be the mirror of a more encouraging and higher goal."⁵³ If the former oppose the idea of Armenians as a nation in dramatic moods and are guided only by the idea of a decayed, destroyed motherland and a discouraged, incapacitated people, then realistic national figures emphasize not only the justification of the idea of Armenians as a functioning nation, rejecting "sick and miserable" image of the people, but also manifest intense national energy and political will to "restore" and legitimately reform the national existence.

⁵² Ormanyan 1879: 52.

⁵³ Ormanyan 1880: 28.

Thus, according to Ormanyan's argument, Armenian nationality exists because all the conditions of nationality exist: tradition (history), national population with the necessary number, language, Motherland-center, spiritual-political organization, national unity and nationwide goal.

The goal of the constitutional movement of the 19th century was the national self-determination of the Armenians. According to Ormanyan, the natural basis of the legitimacy of the nation's political self-government is the existence of the Armenian nation and nationalism: there is no nation, so there is not and cannot be a state, but not vice versa. Therefore, the universal goal is the political revival of Armenia and the recognition of Armenian statehood under international law.

In this context, Ormanyan affirms that the concept of "nation" should not be understood only as "people", because it contains a political meaning. It should be noted that the nation differs from other ethnic communities in the characteristic of political self-organization and self-governance. The thinker states that the autonomy program presented by Armenians in international assemblies could not include the issue of national rights, if the existence of Armenia as a nation was not perceived in political circles, that it "...can be invited to the arena as a prominent and powerful element of the Eastern world, especially since as the main and most visible among the ancient Asian nationalities, as Western authors and political scientists did not hesitate to name the Armenian nationality"⁵⁴. Thus, the initial goal of Armenians is the survival of the nation, and the ultimate goal is the restoration of the statehood, that is, the establishment of a nationwide government in Armenia.

It is noteworthy that Ormanyan does not mention religion among the basic conditions of nation formation. He does not accept the idea of an "irreligious society" at all. As for the national religion, he unequivocally affirms the unity of the nation and religion, both in the past and in the present: "what in our opinion was religious by itself was and is truly national."⁵⁵

Ormanyan searches for the secret of Armenian existence in the unique spiritual abilities of the nation. The main task of consciousness is the discovery and meaning of the essence of the soul of the Armenians and the existence of the nation itself. According to the specialist in Armenian Studies, the national soul contains the whole of spiritual original qualities and relationships of Armenian individuals. The beginning of the recognition of the national soul is the self-consciousness of the Armenian individual, because "a part of the soul of Armenia is inside each of us, and the soul of many of us is the soul of the majority of Armenians, and the soul of Armenia is also the soul of the majority of Armenians."⁵⁶ Ormanyan argues the stability of the value system, all elements of which prove the Armenian itself and the vitality of the nation: "if we are what

⁵⁴ Ormanyan 1880: 28.

⁵⁵ Ormanyan 1880: 55.

⁵⁶ Ormanyan 1879: 5.

we are only for that reason that each Armenian individual fully had the desires and feelings and skills and abilities that will ensure the natural life of each nation”⁵⁷.

Ormanyan sees the study of the soul of Armenianness as a methodological starting point, standard, and guide for making sense of the national history and the ways of the nation’s political revival. He interprets the soul of the Armenian nation in terms of such essential features, which are endowed with the “chosen soul” nations. According to that, Armenians are characterized by natural sobriety, ingenuity, the ability to find a way out of dangerous situations, the ability to find a quick way out of dangerous situations and the ability to use the necessary measures, courage, conservatism to preserve nationality, religion, language, traditions, moderation of morals, national unity, by which the individuals of the nation strive for national welfare with a united consensus.

A nation’s positive attributes are often contrasted by many disadvantages. Ormanyan explains that the soul of Armenians is not identical only to the totality of virtues. Many Armenians are also characterized by ambition, selfishness, betrayal, etc., which are mainly caused by long-term subjugation. Foreign conquerors have always sought to complement political subjugation with spiritual subjugation: “...the lovers of critical meaning of history will feel the succession of Parthian and Persian, Greek and Arab, Christian and Mohammedan authorities” which tried to “implant their own feelings of shortcomings on the soul of Armenia”⁵⁸.

It is obvious that the mentioned defects are not natural and definitely did not affect Armenian individuals, which became the cause of internal contradictions. Therefore, the healing of the Armenian soul can be realized only by restoring the national characteristics itself, and the initial stage of solving this problem is to educate all members of the nation equally and uniformly. According to Ormanyan, the shortcomings of the nation do not diminish the greatness of the national soul. Of course, their elimination is desirable, but human shortcomings should not be mixed up with crimes committed independently of the will of the nation by declaring Armenia solely responsible for all historical trials. Therefore, in order to avoid such mistakes, he recommends making the knowledge of the national soul the basis of Armenological research.

Ormanyan also refuses to see xenophobia as a defect characteristic of the entire Armenian nation. It may be specific to some individuals, but the majority of the nation accepts national values. In addition, “whatever Armenians had and whatever they accepted from outside, they gave it a separate national form.”⁵⁹ According to him, in order to avoid xenophobia, it is necessary that a) every Armenian “...should individually feel his national value”⁶⁰, b) recognize the primary goals and urgent problems of the

⁵⁷ Ormanyan 1879: 9-10.

⁵⁸ Ormanyan 1879: 25.

⁵⁹ Ormanyan 1879, N 2230.

⁶⁰ Ormanyan 1880: 44.

nation, c) use his own means in the course of national activities, not relying on foreigners.

Thus, the basis of national identity is the soul of the nation, by which the Armenian differs from other nations and peoples, confirming its uniqueness, the National Self. With this reality, Ormanyan also emphasizes the impossibility of mixing Armenians with other nations, because "... Armenians always had an advantage over other global nations to maintain their authenticity"⁶¹. The nation has solved the main problem of survival, so it is able to strengthen national security and develop taking into consideration various civilizational factors.

Summary

The article analyzes the semantic arguments of Maghaqia Ormanyan regarding the foundations of the survival of the Armenian nation, the factors guaranteeing them, the phenomenon of Armenianness and its self-consciousness. Rejecting the "nation-state" point of view of European political philosophy, according to which the basis of the existence of the nation is political communication and the state-legal system, he argues that the concepts of "state" and "nation" are not identical, because the identity of the state is embodied in the nation as the source and bearer of state sovereignty with the right to independent political development. The natural support of the legitimacy of the nation's political self-government is the existence of the Armenian nation and nationalism. There is no nation, so there is not and cannot be a national state. The nation is valued as the natural-substantive basis of the formation of the state. Ormanyan conditions the existence of a nation with the nation-building foundations of history, population, language and motherland (objective foundations), in which the components of its spiritual existence are embedded: the national self-organization, national goal and national unity. The self-consciousness of the Armenian nation is the very starting point that led to the ideas of Armenian political self-organization and state unity.

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ARTS

**SERGEY GORODETSKY, AN APOLOGIST OF APPRECIATION AND
POPULATIZATION OF ARMENIAN FINE ARTS
(On the occasion of the 140th birthday)**

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Keywords: Sergey Gorodetsky, Tiflis, Union of Armenian Artists, Yeghishe Tadevosyan, exhibitions, “The Caucasian Word” newspaper, critical articles

The famous Russian poet, writer, publicist, translator and public figure Sergey Gorodetsky’s (1884-1967) pro-Armenian literary-cultural, social-political activities during the First World War and the years following is largely connected with Western Armenia and Transcaucasia¹. A witness of the tragic events suffered by the Armenians in Western Armenia, settling in Tiflis in early 1917, he started working at the city’s conservatory, conducting aesthetic courses and at the same time working in the newspaper “The Caucasian Word”, where a special section “Art and Literature” was opened on July 7, 1917. Articles, reviews, essays, related to art and literature issues, were published in that section title every week, largely owing to the efforts of S. Gorodetsky, who coordinated the works of that section. Soon, however, an interesting psychological phenomenon appears. His skills in the field of painting and poetry, finally, started to dominate in his life and he carried out useful activities in parallel to the publishing ones, starting with painting first. It is known that the large and charming world of Western Armenia, “like an eternal poem”, has simultaneously become a source of inspiration for him, and S. Gorodetsky has painted memorable monuments, picturesque images of nature. By the way, his painting skills were once noticed by the outstanding Russian painter I.E. Repin².

S. Gorodetsky was of the opinion that “...sight progresses faster than all other senses”³. On December 3, 1917, “The Caucasian Word” published the first article of his “Children’s Creativity” article series, where he suggested to the readers to send the works painted by children aged 5-12 to the editorial office for organizing an exhibition.

That initiative was undoubtedly the birth of not only a talent and preference for painting, but also a relationship with children (it was in the process when orphans in Western Armenia were gathered), and it has an interesting result. With the sent

¹ For details, see Zakaryan 2010; 2015.

² Alexander Blok 1981: 5. C. Gorodetsky’s watercolor paintings and pencil drawings in Western Armenia are in the Museum of Literature and Art of the Republic of Armenia. S. Gorodetsky’s Archive, N 57-73.

³ Safrazbekyan 1980: 106.

materials, on January 21, 1918, a one-day exhibition of “Children’s Creativity” was opened in the three halls of the newspaper’s editorial office. About forty children’s paintings were presented. The exhibition finds a great response among the public of the city. An almanac of works by Armenian, Russian, and Georgian children was published with the help of the received income, under the title “Paradise Eagle”⁴.

The Russian poet then continues the popularization of visual arts with the great figures. With his efforts, the “Van-Erzurum-Trebizond” exhibition was organized and on March 3, 1918 it was opened in two rooms of the editorial office of the newspaper “The Laborer”, where the historical monuments of those cities were presented with watercolor images, photographs and measurements of B. Ryabov, N. Severov and M. Kern. The exhibition attracts the interest of the general public, scientific circles of the city; museums were negotiating to acquire the exhibited collection. At the opening ceremony, Gorodetsky makes a report on the antiquities of Van. This is then repeated until the exhibition closes, which runs for a week⁵.

On April 1, the second exhibition of children’s paintings with more than 300 paintings opens in the editorial office of journal “Ars”. At the opening, Gorodetsky made a report “Happiness and sadness through children’s paintings”⁶.

Along with all this, in “The Caucasian Word” S. Gorodetsky appeared with a number of critical articles dedicated to applied arts. This aspect of his activity is particularly noteworthy, because he was shaped as an art critic in Tiflis. Gorodetsky’s merits can be appreciated in the valorization and popularization of Armenian fine art painting, sculpture, as well as applied arts.

Here we should note about one memorable fact in the history of Armenian fine arts. Fine art flourished in the Armenian environment in the first quarter of the 20th century, clearly dictating the demand to form unions and be displayed. In 1916, the Union of Armenian Artists was founded, and the distinguished artist Yeghishe Tadevosyan was elected its chairman. In 1917, the first exhibition of Armenian artists was opened, a historical event in the history of Armenian culture, which was received with great enthusiasm and turned into a real celebration.

Having addressed the issue of organizing exhibitions in press and speeches, as mentioned above, Gorodetsky becomes one of the best critics of the artists represented in this, as well as in the second exhibition of Armenian artists organized in 1919. His subtle and insightful comments are priceless, which certainly stimulated the development of fine arts, contributed to the formation of the attitude and taste of the art-loving public.

In an informative article entitled “At the Painters” published in “The Caucasian Word” dedicated to the 1917 exhibition⁷, the priority was given to sculpture. The starting

⁴ The Caucasian Word, 1918, March 20. One copy of the almanac is in the Museum of Art and Literature (Archive of S. Gorodetsky, N 53).

⁵ The Republic. 1918, March 1; 1918, March 3; The Caucasian Word, 1918, March 6; The Renaissance, 1918, March 6.

⁶ Horizon, 1918, April 14, 1918, April 16.

point is that “Mountain nature, huge mountain ranges and massive boulders are above all the work of a sculptor.” This idea, mostly related to H. Gyurdjyan, extends to painting as well. “The artist of the Caucasus,” adds Gorodetsky, “is the artist of pure and clear form.” Examining the “true, monumental” art of Gyurjyan from this perspective, the author of the article sees another feature coming from the French psychological sculpture of the time - the mastery of imprinting psychology on that national characteristic - monumentality.

Yeghishe Tadevosyan and M. Saryan are characterized by the distinctive originality of art among painters. Examining the paintings “Waiting for Passengers”, “Hot Country” and “Fairy Tale” highlights Tadevosyan’s preference for making “light in nature, color on the palette” and creating light games. Saryan’s uniqueness is the “simply heartfelt” sensuous purity of colors, his tendency to create musical color syntheses in his portraits.

S. Gorodetsky’s article dedicated to the second exhibition of the Union of Armenian Artists entitled “Exhibition of the Union of Armenian Artists”⁸ is more extensive. This exhibition opened in April 1919 in the Hall of Tiflis University, presented the works of about fifty artists, a large place was devoted to painting and graphics. This time, Gorodetsky had the opportunity to appreciate many people with his innate sense and talent for painting, broad artistic knowledge and taste. The works of M. Saryan and Yeghishe Tadevosyan, V. Gayfechyan and H. Ter-Tadevosyan, G. Sharbabchyan and S. Khachatryan, P. Terlemezyan and V. Akhikyan, finally the world-famous Edgar Shahin and others were featured.

Considering Armenian painters as “sun-worshippers”, Gorodetsky discerns the unique aspects of each of them, with broad-mindedness he values one’s compositional skills, another’s analytical skills, the third’s planar skills, the fourth’s drawing skills, and the fifth’s mastery of coloring.

In Gayfechyan’s graphic drawings and etudes, which show us the crowd in the park, the group of people in the cafe, Gorodetsky captures the skill of weaving forms with the chaos of nervous lines in the abundance of light, of keeping the rhythm in the chain of shadows.

The works of the next “sun worshiper” H. Ter-Tadevosyan are characterized by the same artistic penetration, which no longer splits, but thickens the air and light, as if making the rays of light weighty. “Like a physicist, he sees the light of the rays on the object and surprisingly captures the plane of the fall of the rays,” writes Gorodetsky, then explaining one of the artist’s best works (“The Gypsy Woman”): “the heavy light crushed everything, flattened it and could not suppress and mute only the reddish-yellow color on the headscarf. Light kills volume, flattens everything. And Ter-Tadevosyan knows that very well.”

⁷ The Caucasian Word, 1917, February 11.

⁸ The Caucasian Word, 1919, May 12; Gorodetsky 1980: 100-107.

In Saryan's paintings, "The sun like before... spreads over the world like a yellow velvet... but the fabric has started to waver, to rise a little, and here is life, everyday life, comfort." There are warm, hearty objects, harmony of everyday life. Persia has found itself in its own home".

The "Sun worshiper" Grigor Sharbabchyan has also been highly appreciated by Gorodetsky. His ethnographic paintings, together with S. Khachatryan's work "Sacrifice in the Armenian Monastery", should find a place in the regional museum.

The sixth "sun worshiper" Stepan Gabaev, "... presented two amazingly bright paintings "Persia" and "Ordubad". Both are in warm, almost tangible rays. And as in the Persian Basin, there is a tale in the mountains of Ordubad, and that tale, which is very interesting, is told in the language of a realist."

Yeghishe Tadevosyan's work "From the Life of Armenians" (where the fairy-tale is born from the tragic), the landscapes "Bosporus in the Morning", "Beirut", "Sevan Monastery", "Ararat" have also been highly appreciated.

Having finished his speech about "sun worshipers", S. Gorodetsky adds: "These six complete the circle of artists who depict the sun as such, with its power to rule unquestionably over our vision. The rest of the masters and young people depict the world either according to the old rules of luminaries or in gloomy tones." Then, with subtle observations, mostly in a few words, the article refers to one of the "lovers of darkness" Adam Medzibolotsky, Ruben ("in the exhibition, Ruben's corner smells like real libertinism"), Hakobyan, V. Akhikyan, S. Yerkanyan, doctor Zargaryants, "great master" Zakaryan ("who created undeniably cozy still lifes"), Edgar Shahin, Panos Terlemezyan, graphic designer Alexander Kulmin, sculptors Gilchevskaya ("caricature sculptures are better than ordinary sculptures"), Mikayel Mikayelvan, Gyurdjyan ("... effective, magnificent busts"), Karikoka ("... still lifes... which are very different from the artist's other works"), Kirakosyan, Sergey Mari ("the brave image"), Tarkhanyan, Florenskaya ("the painful paintings"), Vano Khojabekyan and Kocharyan ("the frescoes, works that deserve great attention..."). As for Yu. I. Tairova's collection, Gorodetsky writes, "We will devote a separate article to her work pursuing the idea of the revival of Armenian applied art."

However, one should not think that Gorodetsky's examined articles are just composed only of praises. Clear, sharp, free from exaggeration, his characteristics also contain important observations and remarks. Thus, thoroughly assessing Yeghishe Tadevosyan's talent, at the same time, he notices that "the figures do not succeed at all for the maestro", he makes some remarks regarding offers S. Khachatryan's creative career, too. His warning to Ter-Tadevosyan is no less important. Asserting that his works "Market", "Twilight", "Street in Samarkand" "can be drunk for a long time like the sun", he notices: "However, we are in danger of getting drunk with mastery. Mastery is a disease, a kind of sclerosis, hardening and even woodiness. Living talent must be afraid of it and overcome with an unbridled desire to go forward and forward."

These are such sound and subtle assessments, critical observations and conclusions, which have not lost their resonance and value to this day. They are the characteristics and generalizations of a person with a broad knowledge of arts, high taste, and a talent for painting, which cannot be ignored by the historian or theoretician of Armenian fine arts.

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

THE ROLE OF THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY IN UAE-ARMENIA RELATIONS

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Abstract

This paper explores the important role of the Armenian community residing in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) in strengthening bilateral relations between the UAE and Armenia. It highlights the contributions of the Armenian community in UAE to diplomatic relations and the promotion of Armenian culture in the region. The study also emphasizes the cultural programs organized by the embassies and the importance of fostering intellectual dialogue between Armenian and Emiratis. It discusses potential areas for collaboration in the diplomatic sphere between the Republic of Armenia (RA) and the UAE as well as the favourable business environment for UAE companies in Armenia.

Keywords: Hayastan All Armenian Fund, UAE –RA Bilateral Relations, Armenian Community, Armenian Embassy in UAE, Armenian Cultural Association of Abu Dhabi, Support to Armenia and Artsakh, Abu Dhabi Fund for Development, Arpa-Sevan tunnel

Introduction

Over the past twenty-five years, relations between the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and the Republic of Armenia (RA) have flourished steadily. Since its establishment in 1998, this diplomatic alliance has been nurtured through collaborative efforts across various sectors. These efforts include cooperation between the Armenian community and national institutions in both countries, and their respective embassies. This paper explores the diverse connections that unite Armenia and the UAE, spanning cultural interactions, humanitarian assistance, and political backing. From the outset, relations have been cordial on different levels, whether with the National Council, the "Armenian Cultural Association of Abu Dhabi," or the Embassy.

A significant contributor to fostering these ties has been the vibrant Armenian community in the UAE. Their enthusiasm for the establishment of the RA embassy in Abu Dhabi serves as a testament to their significant role in bridging the gap between the two nations. The embassy's inauguration marked a pivotal moment, paving the way for deeper interstate cooperation across various sectors. It has actively promoted cultural exchange through events showcasing the talents of Armenian artists. Additionally, ongoing dialogues between the UAE and Armenian embassies focus on solidifying

bilateral relations, fostering academic and scientific collaborations, and enhancing communication across different spheres¹.

The community relations have encompassed various aspects such as the "Committee for Cultural Relations with Diaspora Armenians²", relief aid following the earthquake, including support for Artsakh, and the establishment of political ties and cooperation, as detailed in the article.

This paper also explores the contributions of the "Abu Dhabi Armenian Cultural Association." Their two-decade-long commitment to showcasing Armenian culture to the UAE has been instrumental in fostering mutual understanding. The Association's diverse cultural initiatives, encompassing art, music, and lectures, have garnered much praise. Notably, their high-quality music concerts have become a hallmark of their successful endeavours.

In conclusion, as Armenian culture flourishes in the diaspora, it continues to serve as a powerful symbol of national identity.

History of Diplomatic and Economic Relations between the Republic of Armenia and the UAE

Diplomatic relations between Armenia and Gulf nations, including Oman, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the UAE, were established between 1992 and 1998³, marking the inception of Armenia's multifaceted engagement with the Arab world. Arshak Poladian, the former ambassador to the UAE (2000-2006), mentioned that "our current relationships with the Arab world are multinational"⁴. Practical advancements in economic and trade cooperation began around 1993, notably with Armenia's inaugural participation in the 93-TECHNO EXPO exhibition in Sharjah, UAE, led by Minister of Industry Ashot Savaryan. This event marked the beginning of commercial exchanges between the two nations, with subsequent official delegations continuing to engage in similar endeavors to strengthen economic ties⁵.

Between 1998 and 2001, RA Foreign Minister Vardan Oskanian embarked on diplomatic missions to various Arab nations, including Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, UAE, Kuwait, Qatar, and Iraq, playing a crucial role in coordinating cooperation and engaging in political consultations with Arab leaders. Minister Oskanian held numerous meetings,

¹ The Governor of Sharjah and the President of Armenia are in talks about collaborating on scientific initiatives. <https://www.albayan.ae/across-the-uae/news-and-reports/2019-01-18-1.3463458>, 18. 01. 2019 (in Arabic).

² The Committee for Cultural Relations with Diaspora Armenians celebrated its 50th anniversary (The "Committee for Cultural Relations with Diaspora Armenians" was established in 1964 through the efforts of intellectuals and workers from Armenia). <https://armenpress.am/eng/news/787181>, 09.12.2014

³ UAE and Armenia are working together to create mutual leverage, <https://tinyurl.com/5dnvtaz4>, eurasiaar.org 26.02.2024 (in Arabic).

⁴ Interview with Arshak Poladian, Ambassador of Armenia to Kuwait and Bahrain. <https://bit.ly/4cFPRRY> (in Arm).

⁵ Poladian 2004: 73.

discussing regional and international affairs and exploring opportunities for collaborative initiatives⁶.

A significant milestone occurred on October 19, 2007, when Armenia's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vardan Minas Oskanian, met with Sheikh Saud bin Saqr Al-Qasimi, Crown Prince of the Emirate of Ras al-Khaimah in the UAE. During this meeting, a joint declaration on cooperation between Ras Al-Khaimah and Armenia was signed, highlighting mutual interests in energy, mining, transportation, telecommunications, and tourism development⁷.

In conclusion, the history of diplomatic and economic relations between Armenia and the UAE reflects a story of mutual cooperation, shared opportunities, and the potential for continued growth. By leveraging their strengths and fostering deeper ties across various sectors, both nations can unlock new avenues for economic prosperity and strengthen their partnership on the global stage.

Achievements of Armenia-UAE Diplomatic Relations

Established on June 25, 1998, diplomatic relations between the Republic of Armenia (RA) and the United Arab Emirates (UAE)⁸ have evolved into a comprehensive partnership, recognizing the UAE's regional significance, political influence, and economic potential. Over the years, numerous economic forums, exhibitions, cultural exchanges, and other events have been organized, contributing to the strengthening of bilateral relations.

In 2018, the trade turnover between the two countries reached \$181.7 million⁹, underscoring the increasing economic ties. By 2018, the number of UAE investments in Armenia reached \$ 39 million¹⁰. Armenia's collaboration with the "Abu Dhabi Development Fund"¹¹ serves as a significant example of this partnership. Notably, during President Robert Kocharyan's visit to the UAE in April 2002, an

⁶ Poladian 2002.

⁷ Foreign Minister Oskanian's meetings in United Arab Emirates, <https://bit.ly/4cj5IVo>

⁸ UAE Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bilateral relations (diplomatic relations between RA and UAE were established in 1998. on June 25, with the signing of the corresponding protocol in New York), <https://bit.ly/3xP9IEG>

⁹ UAE Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bilateral relations, Economic Cooperation, <https://bit.ly/3XFzkJv>

¹⁰ UAE Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bilateral relations, Economic Cooperation, <https://bit.ly/3XFzkJv>

¹¹ Abu Dhabi Fund for Development, Annual Report 2007-2008. The project work consists of rehabilitation and refurbishment of 49 km long Arpa-Sevan hydraulic tunnel with its control and operating equipment. The tunnel divert about 250 million cubic meter of water from Arpa and Yeghegis rivers to feed Lake Sevan. The project is aimed at assisting in achievement of ecological stabilization of the lake by raising the water level by 6 m in an effort to make up for the losses experienced through evaporation and over exploitation of the lake. The lake is used in provision of water for domestic and irrigation purposes in addition to supporting the fishery sector. The lake also plays an important part in the life of the Armenian community. Contribution Amount AED 36,730,000, Annual Report 2007 2008, <https://bit.ly/4cgMLUy>, <https://bit.ly/3ziSH0a>

agreement was reached with the fund to co-finance the Arpa-Sevan project, a crucial initiative supporting the rehabilitation of the Arpa-Sevan tunnel¹².

The fund's focus on financing projects in Islamic countries is noteworthy aspect of cross-cultural cooperation. Additionally, the involvement of Sheikh Dr. Sultan bin Muhammad al-Qasimi¹³, known for his strong adherence to Islam, in the restoration of the Haghardzin church demonstrates the depth of cultural exchange between the two nations¹⁴.

Further solidifying the relationship, in February 2008, an agreement was signed between the Armenian government and the "Abu Dhabi Development Fund," leading to a preferential loan of \$10 million¹⁵ for the reconstruction of the Arpa-Sevan tunnel¹⁶. Prime Minister Tigran Sargsyan's discussions with the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the UAE, Dr. Anwar Muhammad Karkash, on 7th December 2009 expanded cooperation across various sectors such as agriculture, infrastructure, and energy¹⁷.

Moreover, the allocation of a 1300 sq.m.plot of land by the Governor of Sharjah, UAE, to Armenia in 2016 for the construction of a permanent exhibition center for Armenian products demonstrates a tangible commitment to promoting trade and industrial relations¹⁸.

In the first half of 2017, the trade volume between RA and the UAE amounted to \$27,237.1 thousand in exports and \$101,437.8 thousand in imports. The trade based on the country of origin was \$31,998 thousand, while the trading country totalled \$69,439.8

¹²The Government of the Republic of Armenia, PM Inspects Arpa-Sevan Tunnel Reconstruction Work, (Supported by the Development Fund of Abu Dhabi and co-financed by the Government of the Republic of Armenia, a program for the overhaul of damaged sections is being implemented in 2010-2017. The aim of the program is to provide for water supply stability and safety all along the aqueduct. The contractor is Arpa-Sevan OJSC, with a contract cost of AMD 11.798.546.320 and a balance of AMD 1.183.000.000 as of today), <https://www.gov.am/en/news/item/8174/>, 06.11. 2015.

¹³ Ruler of Sharjah's generosity enables Armenian monastery to reopen, Dr Sheikh Sultan bin Mohammed visited the Haghartsin Monastery in 2005. His donation helped fund the completion of refurbishment work. <https://www.thenationalnews.com/uae/ruler-of-sharjah-s-generosity-enables-armenian-monastery-to-reopen-1.594656>

¹⁴ Armenia. The church restored by the Ruler of Sharjah and its accessories <https://bit.ly/4cE9aek>. His Highness Sheikh Dr. Sultan bin Muhammad Al Qasimi, Sultan Al Qasimi restores an Armenian church in Armenia, <https://khabararmani.com/?p=6249>. Sultan Al Qasimi restores an Armenian church in Armenia, (in Arabic). An Arab Muslim sheikh "save" an ancient monastery in Armenia. "The philanthropist," ruler of Sharjah, "may God inevitably lead him to Haghardzin, <https://tinyurl.com/2h5rhhzj>, "annahar" newspaper, 03-12-2013 (in Arabic).

¹⁵ Talk with Ambassador: Gegham Gharibjanyan, <https://news.am/eng/news/254756.html>, News.am Newspaper, 28.02.2015 (in Armenian).

¹⁶ Armenian Nature Protection Minister: Sevan Lake has risen by 43 cm since the Beginning of 2008, <https://www.ecolur.org/en/news/officials/%20--2008--43-/80/>, Ecolur, New Informational Policy in Ecology, 19.08.2008.

¹⁷ The United Arab Emirates are looking to strengthen trade-economic relations with Armenia, <https://bit.ly/3zpfSL>, b24.am, 07.12.2009.

¹⁸ Interview with Gegham Gharibjanyan, the RA Ambassador to the UAE and Qatar, reveals that one of the major companies in Abu Dhabi is gearing up for significant investments, <https://bit.ly/3VMIjK9>, 24.08.2017.

thousand¹⁹. It is worth noting that these figures do not fully reflect the potential for bilateral economic relations.

On March 22, 2017, a business forum between Armenia and the UAE took place in Abu Dhabi with 350 investors in attendance, 250 from the UAE and 100 from Armenia. The event was held under the auspices of RA President Serzh Sargsyan and Sheikh Mohammed Bin Zayed Al Nahyan, Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi Emirate and Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the UAE Armed Forces. The forum was organized by the Development Fund of Armenia, Union of Industrialists and Businessmen of Armenia, Abu Dhabi Chamber of Commerce, and the Embassy of Armenia in the UAE²⁰.

Armenia highly relies on natural gas and nuclear fuel imports from Russia as it does not have any fossil fuel reserves. From the past one decade, the country has started seeing the relevance and potential of solar energy as the prices was dropping²¹.

During an investment forum focused on Armenia in Abu Dhabi on March 22, 2017, an agreement was signed between the Emirati company "Ocean Holding" and the RA Ministry of Energy. According to this agreement, "Ocean Holding" will invest \$100 million in the solar energy sector²². Additionally, two more agreements were signed during the same conference, one of which is also in the renewable energy sector. A major company from Abu Dhabi is gearing up to make significant investments in Armenia²³.

On November 30, 2019, Masdar, also known as the Abu Dhabi Future Energy Company, is an Emirati state-owned renewable energy company and one of the world's leading renewable energy companies, has signed a Joint Development Agreement (JDA) with the Armenian National Interests Fund (ANIF) for the development of solar power projects with a total capacity of 400 MW. The investment adds between US\$300 million and US\$320 million into the Armenian economy. A full member of the Masdar City-headquartered International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) since 2010, Armenia has pledged to generate more than a quarter of its domestic power needs from renewable sources and hopes to cap its carbon emissions at 633 million metric tons of CO2 equivalent between 2015 and 2050²⁴.

Masdar and Armenian government finalized an agreement to build solar power plant by 2025 in Armenia. AYG-1 is a 200 MW plant which will become Armenia's largest

¹⁹ Same place. Interview with Gegham Gharibjanian.

²⁰ Same place. Interview with Gegham Gharibjanian.

²¹ Biggest Solar Plant by Masdar in Armenia, <https://bit.ly/3VEw9z0>, 03.08.2021.

²² \$100 million from UAE to fund solar power in Armenia, <https://eurasianetwork.eu/2017/04/02/100-million-from-united-arab-emirates-to-fund-solar-power-in-armenia/>, 02.04.2017.

²³ Interview with Gegham Gharibjanian, the RA Ambassador to the UAE and Qatar, reveals that one of the major companies in Abu Dhabi is gearing up for significant investments, <https://bit.ly/3VMJnK9>, 24.08.2017.

²⁴ Masdar signs JDA for the development of up to 400MW of solar projects in Armenia, <https://bit.ly/3L1i61E> (in English).

solar plant. The plant will have around half of the current capacity of Armenia's main energy generator²⁵.

While there is potential for growth based on the trade figures for 2017, the Armenia-UAE business forum in 2017, attended by key investors from both countries, was a significant milestone. This event, under the patronage of RA President Serzh Sargsyan and Sheikh Mohammed Bin Zayed Al Nahyan, facilitated discussions on investment opportunities.

By leveraging on their strengths and fostering deeper connections across various sectors, both nations are well-positioned to unlock new opportunities and further enhance their partnership on the global stage.

Economic Cooperation: Trade Turnover between the UAE and Armenia

The UAE stands as Armenia's primary trade partner within the Persian Gulf, accounting for 90% of Armenia's total trade with the countries of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council²⁶.

On March 22, 2017, Armenia and the UAE mutually waived entry visa requirements²⁷, a move expected to boost the number of Emirati tourists visiting Armenia to 7,751 by 2022. Additionally, the simultaneous launch of low-cost flights between the two countries is anticipated to further fortify bilateral relations²⁸.

The total value of non-oil trade between the UAE and RA in 2017 amounted to AED 920 million, a significant increase from AED 375 million in 2015²⁹. Furthermore, the UAE's non-oil exports to Armenia in 2022 totalled \$229 million, with re-exports reaching \$747 million³⁰.

Projections indicate a substantial rise in trade volume, with non-oil trade between the UAE and RA expected to reach approximately \$1.53 billion in 2022, marking a 673% increase compared to 2021. Moreover, the UAE's non-oil exports to Armenia are estimated to reach around \$229 million in 2022, reflecting a 245% surge from the previous year³¹.

²⁵ Biggest Solar Plant by Masdar in Armenia, <https://solarquarter.com/2021/08/03/biggest-solar-plant-by-masdar-in-armenia/>, 03.08.2021.

²⁶ UAE Ministry of Economy, H.E. Bin Touq holds meeting with his Armenian counterpart to discuss strengthening of trade & economic cooperation, <https://tinyurl.com/mr27ye8s>, 14.02.2023.

²⁷ The Armenian President urges Emirati businessmen to promote joint entrepreneurs to enhance collaborative investments. <https://tinyurl.com/4w9784mk>, Al Ettihad newspaper, UAE, 23.03.2017, (in Arabic).

²⁸ UAE and Armenia are working together to create mutual leverage, <https://tinyurl.com/5dnvtaz4>, eurasiaar.org, 26.02.2024 (in Arabic).

²⁹ Trade between the UAE and Armenia amounted to 920 million dirhams in 2017. <https://bit.ly/3W4gdaw>, aletihad.ae newspaper, 30. 12. 2018, (in Arabic). UAE, Armenia trade exchange stood at AED920 million in 2017, <https://wam.ae/en/details/1395302729557>, Emirates News Agency, WAM, 19. 12. 2018 (in English).

³⁰ UAE Ministry of Economy, H.E. Bin Touq holds meeting with his Armenian counterpart to discuss strengthening of trade & economic cooperation, <https://tinyurl.com/mr27ye8s>, 14.02.2023.

³¹ See same place. UAE Ministry of Economy, H.E. Bin Touq holds...

Foreign trade turnover between RA and UAE in the period from January to April 2023 amounted to about \$561.3 million, representing a significant increase of 6.4 times compared to the same period in 2022³².

Statistics from the Ministry of Economy of the UAE reveal that UAE investments in Armenia total \$35 million, predominantly allocated to agriculture, food security, and real estate sectors. Conversely, Armenian direct investments in the UAE amounted to \$32 million by 2021.

Both parties underscored the importance of fostering business communities in exploring promising growth opportunities in their respective markets. For further insights, readers can refer to statistics provided by the UAE Ministry of Economy³³.

It's noteworthy that the economic partnership between the UAE and Armenia is witnessing continuous growth. In 2022, the non-oil trade volume between the two countries reached \$1.53 billion, complemented by UAE investments in Armenia amounting to \$35 million. This investment is channelled into sectors such as agriculture, food security, and real estate. Additionally, the UAE's non-oil exports to Armenia amounted to \$229 million, with re-exports totalling \$747 million³⁴.

Advancing Commercial Portfolio through Tourism Initiatives

Tourism presents a pragmatic avenue for enhancing the bilateral trade portfolio. Notably, on July 2, 2019, RA Minister of Economy Tigran Khachatryan welcomed a delegation from the Emirate of Sharjah (UAE), led by Sheikh Fahim Al-Qasimi, Executive Chairman of Governmental Affairs. Discussions emphasized agriculture and highlighted tourism as a pivotal area for cooperation, fostering mutual understanding of cultural nuances and economic prospects. "Armenia is not a new country for us, Armenia is our friend, and we want to deepen the trade-economic cooperation" Sheikh Fahim Al Qasimi said³⁵.

The official launch of Air Arabia's inaugural Sharjah-Yerevan flight on August 16, 2013 marked a significant milestone. Very Rev. Mesrob Sarkissian, the Pontifical Vicar for the United Arab Emirates, attended the ceremony, highlighting the importance of the initiative in facilitating travel for the Armenian and foreign communities living in Sharjah

³² UAE-Armenia trade reached \$561.3 million in the span of 3 months. <https://bit.ly/3zt7SED>, al-Bayan Newspaper, UAE, 28.06.2023 (in Arabic).

³³ UAE Ministry of Economy, H.E. Bin Touq holds meeting with his Armenian counterpart to discuss strengthening of trade & economic cooperation, <https://tinyurl.com/mwec4w4h>, Al Khaleej newspaper, UAE, 15.02.2023. The Minister of Economy Seeks Armenian Counterpart to Enhance Economic and Trade Cooperation, <https://tinyurl.com/4sys3hf7>, al itihad newspaper, UAE, 15.02.2023 (in Arabic).

³⁴ UAE Ministry of Economy, H.E. Bin Touq holds meeting with his Armenian counterpart to discuss strengthening of trade & economic cooperation, <https://www.moec.gov.ae/en/-/h.e.-bin-touq-holds-meeting-with-his-armenian-counterpart-to-discuss-strengthening-of-trade-economic-cooperation>, 14.02.2023.

³⁵ Armenian minister, delegation of Emirate of Sharjah discussed cooperation agenda, <https://bit.ly/4cHa4Xn>, armenpress, 02.07.2019.

and the Northern Emirates³⁶. The weekly direct flights, totalling around 30, have since been instrumental in strengthening business connections between two countries, promoting tourism, and fostering cultural and decentralized cooperation³⁷.

In September 2023, RA and UAE established a visa-free regime³⁸ for regular citizens of both nations³⁹. This arrangement came into effect on February 1, 2024, enabling RA citizens to travel to the UAE without a visa⁴⁰. Under this regime, RA citizens can stay in the emirates for a maximum of 90 days within a 180-day period. Furthermore, RA citizens are granted entry, exit, and transit privileges in the UAE without visa requirements or fees, provided their passport remains valid for at least six months from the date of arrival⁴¹.

Assistance offered by the Armenian Community in the UAE to the Republic of Armenia and Artsakh

The Armenian community in the UAE was founded in February 1980 with a focus on promoting national cultural activities and establishing an organizational structure. Rev. Fr. Oshagan Tcholyan played a crucial role in forming the governing body, initially named the "Armenian National Council of Sharjah and Dubai," later renamed the "National Council of Northern Emirates⁴²" following the first diocesan Assembly decision. The relationship between this administration and Armenia from 1980 to 2005 can be categorized into several phases: Initial development in the 1980s, increased cooperation after the December 1988 earthquake, establishment of political ties since 1993, and ongoing collaboration since 1998.

The UAE's Armenian community has demonstrated unwavering support for Armenia. This dedication extends beyond the realms of politics and diplomacy, encompassing concrete actions such as charitable endeavors, humanitarian aid, and contributions to Armenia's development and reconstruction efforts.

It is worth noting that in these areas, the Armenian community in the UAE has often provided more support to RA than it has received in return. Nevertheless, Armenia has also extended assistance to the Armenian community in the UAE as needed, demonstrating a reciprocal commitment to mutual support and solidarity.

³⁶ The Armenian Community Attended the Inaugural Sharjah-Yerevan Flight. <https://bit.ly/4cJDmob>, Aztag Daily Newspaper, Lebanon, 17.08 2013.

³⁷ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, The meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Armenia and the UAE, https://www.mfa.am/hy/press-releases/2023/09/07/mfa_uae/12186, 07.09.2023.

³⁸ UAE Exempts Armenian citizens from pre-entry visas, <https://www.dubaieye1038.com/news/local/uae-exempts-armenian-citizens-from-pre-entry-visas/>, dubaieye.com, 12.09.2023

³⁹ Armenia and UAE establish a visa-free regime, <https://bit.ly/4eQLdSM>, 12.09.2023 (in Arm.).

⁴⁰ UAE Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Visit Country, <https://bit.ly/3xsFoKN>

⁴¹ Starting February 1 citizens of the Republic of Armenia will be able to travel to the United Arab Emirates without requiring a visa, <https://armeniasputnik.am/20240105/petrvari-1-ic-hh-qaghaqacinern-arabakan-miacjal-emirutjunner-kmeknen-aranc-vizaji-70834511.html>, Armenian Sputnik.am, 05.01.2024 (in Arm.).

⁴² The inaugural diocesan elections in Kuwait, Abu Dhabi, and Sharjah was scheduled for December 16, 1994, marking the selection of the first diocesan assembly.

Community collaboration in the establishment of the RA embassy in the UAE

The active involvement of Armenians in the United Arab Emirates was instrumental in the opening of the Armenian embassy of regional significance in Abu Dhabi, the capital of the UAE.

Between 1999 and 2001, the National Council worked closely with the community, diocese and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia⁴³ to initiate the establishment of the RA embassy in the Emirates. Details of this collaboration will be discussed further in the section on the Embassy. During a meeting of the National Board, discussions were held on the diocese's role in supporting the construction of the RA embassy and the responsibilities involved. In the lead-up to the embassy opening, starting from 1993, senior

officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia held official meetings with the supportive National Administration to assess the readiness of the community and the resources available in the Northern Emirates. During these meetings, the National Administration assured Armenian officials of their commitment to facilitating the project within their means⁴⁴.

In December of the same year, members of the diocesan body conveyed the sentiments of the meeting to a delegation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia during a meeting.

Following official negotiations and applications from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia, the diocese took on the responsibility of funding the embassy⁴⁵.

The newly elected diocesan leadership of the Diocese of Kuwait and the Arab Gulf Countries convened a general meeting (at the 2nd term, the 1st session) on March 18-19, 1999, in Sharjah, under the guidance of Diocese Very Rev. Sebouh Sarkisian, the Pontifical Vicar of Kuwait and neighbouring countries at St. Gregory the Illuminator Armenian Church complex in Sharjah, representatives from the dioceses of Kuwait, Abu Dhabi, and Sharjah-Dubai welcomed the decision to establish an embassy of the Republic of Armenia in the UAE and pledged their support for the project.

On March 25, 1999, President Robert Kocharyan of Armenia submitted a formal request for the embassy key to His Highness Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al-Nahyan, the President of the UAE⁴⁶.

On December 2, 1999, Rashed Abdallah Nuaimi⁴⁷, the foreign minister of the UAE, presented a similar proposal to Vartan Oskanian, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of

⁴³ Sharjah Ruler meets Supreme Spiritual Leader of Armenian Church, <https://bit.ly/4cwMoFK>, WAM.AE online newspaper, 25.11.2008.

⁴⁴ The resolution to establish an Embassy of the Republic of Armenia was made during the General Meeting (The 2nd term, the 1st session) held on March 18-19, 1999, as reported in the HASK magazine, Antillas, Lebanon, March-April 1999, page 275.

⁴⁵ Harutyunyan 2012: 68.

⁴⁶ Poladian 2004: 26.

Armenia. A delegation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia, led by the newly appointed trustee Arshak Poladian, conducted preparations in Abu Dhabi⁴⁸ and offered material and moral support for the project during meetings with the Pontifical Vicar of the Northern Emirates National Council and diocesan members⁴⁹.

On March 10, 2000, a special meeting was held by the National Councils and diocesan members with the specific of sending practical proposals to the Diocesan 6th General Assembly. The proposals included setting a deadline for participation in the cost of the embassy of the regions, establishing a special committee to oversee the budget, establishing a special committee to oversee the budget, creating a charter for embassy-committee relations, and ensuring that the decisions made at the meeting were implemented by local administrations and their designated committees. Agreeing to Armenia's suggestion and following the decision made during the March 10, 2000 meeting, the 6th Diocesan General Assembly (March 2000) appointed a permanent custodian committee for the embassy. This committee consisted of fourteen members, with four representing Kuwait, five from Abu Dhabi, and five from the Northern Emirates. The committee members included Varoujan Nerguizian (Chairman), Bedros Aslanian (deceased), Nshan Pasmajian (Treasurer), Krikor Jabourian, and Raffi Fattal. The operations of the RA Embassy in the UAE commenced in April 2000. The official opening of the embassy took place on September 23, 2000, with the presence of former Armenian Minister of Foreign Affairs Vartan Oskanian, high-ranking officials from the Emirates, embassy diplomatic staff, and members of the Armenian community in the United Arab Emirates.

The 6th Plenary Session of the Diocese convened on Thursday, March 29-30, 2000, at the National Prelacy of Kuwait, presided over by the Very Reverend His Grace Sebouh Sarkisian, Pontifical Vicar of the Region. He emphasized that at this pivotal moment in our nation's journey, we are confronted with a significant responsibility, urging us to act with the utmost diligence. Regarding the decision to establish the RA embassy in the Gulf region, he regarded it as an opportunity to contribute to a noble and proud cause, serving as a testament to our existence.

Extensive discussions ensued regarding the implementation of the decision to establish the embassy within the jurisdiction of the RA government. Following deliberations, it was decided to establish a competent and responsible body at the diocesan level to commence work immediately, with the aim of preferably completing the task of opening the embassy in Abu Dhabi by the end of May⁵⁰.

⁴⁷ Rashid Abdullah Al Nuaimi راشد عبدالله النعيمي is the former foreign minister of the United Arab Emirates. Nuaimi is a member of the ruling family of Ajman Al Nuaimi. (He holds a bachelor's degree in petroleum engineering, which he received from the University of Cairo in 1967). Source: Wikipedia.

⁴⁸ Poladian 2004: 26.

⁴⁹ Poladian 2004.

⁵⁰ Diocesan 6th Plenary Assembly. Establishing a diocesan committee for the Embassy of the Republic of Armenia. HASK Amsakir, March-April 2000, page 320, <https://bit.ly/4bxfYtq>

According to the plan, the committee was formed and covered the embassy's expenses for two years. In response to a request from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia, the 8th General Assembly of the Diocese decided to extend the funding for another year. The Trustee Committee continued its work until the end of 2002, successfully fulfilling its assigned duties. Following another proposal from the embassy, the 8th General Assembly of the Diocese (March 2003) agreed to cover 20 percent of the embassy's costs for one year. Additionally, at the suggestion from Armenia, the 8th Diocesan General Assembly decided to prioritize the construction of the embassy within the diocese's capabilities.

In a subsequent resolution, the 10th Diocesan General Assembly (March 2004) authorized the UAE Diocese to establish a support committee. This committee, comprised of national representatives from the Northern Emirates, actively participated in the preparations for constructing the Armenian embassy in Abu Dhabi⁵¹.

The Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in the UAE commenced its operations in April 2000, and on September 23 of the same year, the embassy was officially inaugurated⁵². The inauguration ceremony was attended by former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia, Vardan Oskanian, high-ranking officials from the Emirates, the diplomatic staff of the embassy, and numerous members of the Armenian community residing in the United Arab Emirates.⁵³

The Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in Abu Dhabi began its operations in April 2000⁵⁴ with Arshak Poladian serving as Chargé d'Affaires before being appointed as the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador in 2002⁵⁵. Subsequent ambassadors included Vahagn Melikyan (2006–2012), Gegham Gharibjanyan (2012–2018), Mher Mkrtumyan (2018–2021), and Karen Grigoryan who was appointed On October 7, 2022.

It is noteworthy that the "Abu Dhabi Armenian Cultural Association" played an active role in the official opening of the Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in the Emirates from September 21 to 28, 2000⁵⁶.

Furthermore, the flag that raised in front of the embassy building during the inauguration ceremony had been blessed beforehand at the St. Grigory the Illuminator Church in Sharjah. The blessing took place during the Divine Liturgy, which was led by the community's Fr. Aram Deyirmendjian. Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of

⁵¹ Northern Emirates Archives 2002, March 2003, March 2004.

⁵² Poladian 2004: 26.

⁵³ Poladian 2004: 26.

⁵⁴ Embassy of Armenia to UAE, Bilateral Relations, General information, <https://uae.mfa.am/hy/bilateral-ae>

⁵⁵ Arshak Poladian appointed RA Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary (He held the office of RA Charge d'Affaires until 2002 and was appointed RA Ambassador to that country between 2002 to 2006), <https://nt.am/en/news/141774/>, 24-08-2007.

⁵⁶ Daghljan, KalSahagian, Jerejian, Kasemjian 2014: 27 and 42.

Armenia, Vartan Oskanian, and his diplomatic delegation were present at the ceremony⁵⁷.

In 2005, the laying of the foundation stone for the permanent Embassy of the Republic of Armenia occurred. By 2007, construction was finished, and the new embassy building was inaugurated in the presence of President Robert Kocharyan⁵⁸. It was during this period that Ambassador Vahagn Melikyan assumed his post in Abu Dhabi, where he served until 2012.

This research paper coincides with the celebration of the 25th anniversary of diplomatic ties between the Republic of Armenia (RA) and the UAE. In acknowledgment of this milestone, it is notable that a reception was held at the RA Embassy in the UAE to commemorate the occasion during the visit of RA Foreign Minister Ararat Mirzoyan. The event was graced by the presence of heads of accredited RA diplomatic missions in the Near and Middle East, along with members of the Armenian community and other representatives⁵⁹. Welcoming remarks were delivered by Karen Grigoryan, the Ambassador of Armenia to the UAE, Vahan Kostanyan, the Deputy Foreign Minister of Armenia and Arshak Poladian, the First Ambassador of Armenia to the UAE. They also touched upon the dynamics of bilateral relations between Armenia and the UAE⁶⁰, as well as the role of the Armenian community in the development of friendly ties between the two countries.

The Support of the Armenian Community in the UAE for Armenia and Artsakh

In the 1980s, the newly established Armenian community in the UAE began fostering relations with the **Committee for Cultural Relations with Diaspora Armenians**⁶¹. Annually, during the summer, one teacher and two students participated in the Committee's summer teacher training courses. Even though it was still in its early stages, the Armenian community was actively involved in providing charitable and humanitarian aid to Artsakh and Armenia. Some notable contributions included:

Relief Aid: Following the devastating December 1988 earthquake, the community of Abu Dhabi and the Northern Emirates organized a donation campaign, providing humanitarian assistance (medication, medical equipment, clothing, and food) and

⁵⁷ The UAE National Council newsletter "SHEPOR" Issue No. 9, October-November 2000 (in Arm.).

⁵⁸ The President of Armenia officially opens the Armenian Embassy building in Abu Dhabi, <https://bit.ly/4buWrcJ>, wam.ae UAE online newspaper, 12.12. 2007 (in Arabic).

⁵⁹ A reception dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries was also held at the Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in the UAE, with the participation of the heads of the diplomatic missions of Armenia accredited in the Middle East, as well as representatives of the Armenian community. Celebration in recognition of the 25th anniversary of the relation partnership between RA and UAE, <https://youtu.be/OcMYLjKlq3c?si=-2HXgvP3XLrdRt4u>, Abu Dhabi, UAE, 11.09.2023

⁶⁰ At the reception hosted at the RA Embassy in the UAE, the discussion focused on the dynamics of the relationship between the two countries. <https://tinyurl.com/mr3dsk5z>, 11.09.2023.

⁶¹ The Committee for Cultural Relations with Diaspora Armenians was established in 1964 by the initiative of Armenian intellectuals and workers.

financial aid to orphans. Individual benefactors from the Armenian community in the UAE also extended assistance to the orphans in Armenia.

Humanitarian Assistance (1990-1992): The National Councils of Abu Dhabi and the Northern Emirates, in collaboration with the assistance of the Prelacy of Iran, coordinated efforts to deliver 100 tons of flour through the city of Meghri. This flour was then distributed to deprived families in the Pert village.

Disaster Relief Programs: Between 1990 and 1992, the mentioned National Councils of the two communities initiated programs to aid Armenia during times of disaster. They utilized funds gathered from previous National Councils for this purpose.

Clothing Donation: Between 2000 and 2005, the local parish committee of St. Grigory Illuminator church sent tons of clothing to Yerevan as part of their charitable efforts⁶².

Establishment of "New Cilicia" Village (2016-2017): Through funding and initiative from the Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, the "New Cilicia" village was established in Artsakh⁶³. This village, comprising newly constructed apartments and essential amenities, was designated for families of Artsakh martyrs based on priority⁶⁴.

The Diocese of Kuwait and the Arab Gulf countries contributed to the reconstruction of "New Cilicia" with a donation of \$65,000, with Kuwait covering 60% of the costs and the Northern Emirates community contributing \$15,600. Notably, "New Cilicia" is situated near the Kichan and Nor Ghazanchi villages in the Martakert region, and the NKR government's housing commission allocated the apartments to the recipients⁶⁵.

The Armenian community of the UAE also supported the development and reconstruction of the newly independent Armenia.

Between 1990 and 1992, the National Councils of the aforementioned two communities in the UAE funded the **establishment of a carpentry company** valued at over USD 200,000, which was then donated to the furniture industry of the city of Stepanavan in Armenia. All machinery for the company was imported from Italy and transported from Dubai to Armenia by a dedicated committee. Oversight of the company on behalf of the communities' National Councils was entrusted to the Central Committee of the Armenian Relief Society (Yerevan). Subsequently, like many other companies in Armenia, the company underwent privatization.

Hayastan All Armenian Fund: In December 1993, the Central National Assembly made the decision to create Hayastan All-Armenian Fund committees within the Dioceses of the Holy See of Cilicia to facilitate donations and aid in the reconstruction of

⁶² Construction works in the Artsakh village of "New Cilicia" are close to completion, <https://bit.ly/3xw2FLS> 20.06.2016, Horizon Weekly online newspaper, Canada (in Armenian)

⁶³ The Houses in Artsakh's "New Cilicia" village have been handed over to the families of Artsakh's martyrs <https://bit.ly/3XPickl>, Aztag Daily online newspaper, Lebanon, 09.05, 2017 (in Arm.).

⁶⁴ Ashekian 2008: 138. Northern Emirates Archives, Sharjah, UAE.

⁶⁵ A dwelling place will be constructed in Artsakh with funding from the Catholicosate of Cilicia of the Great House. <https://old.hayernaysor.am/cl/archives/191196> Hayern Aysor.am, 18.06.2016

Armenia⁶⁶. In 1997, the National Council of the Northern Emirates established a bank account for this purpose. Initially, there were challenges in fundraising for church-building projects, and the National Council faced difficulties in launching the fund effectively in the first few years. However, later efforts led to a successful donation campaign.

The Diocesan Assemblies have pledged their continuous support to this cause, actively contributing under the guidance of relevant structures within the Armenian Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia. In 1998, the National Council contributed to the refurbishment of the largest hospital in Artsakh⁶⁷.

On the 9th November 2020, the Ambassador of the Republic of Armenia to the United Arab Emirates Mher Mkrtumyan visited the **Hayastan All-Armenian Fund** to transfer the next amount donated by the Armenian community of the UAE to the nationwide fundraiser – \$ 131,790⁶⁸. Additionally, donors from the UAE included Haroution Istanbuli and Sarkis Hagopian⁶⁹.

The primary focus of the newly established Armenian community in the UAE was also to support the development of Artsakh during its years of independence. Some notable contributions included:

From 1992 to 1995, the National Council was involved in cultural activities, held discussions with RA officials, visited local entities, and provided assistance to Artsakh and Armenia.

In 1998, the National Council contributed to the refurbishment of the largest hospital in Artsakh. The community actively participated in all donation campaigns and raffle draws organized for Artsakh. Individual philanthropists from the community have supported orphans from Armenia.⁷⁰

On November 25, 2010, students from the "Ohannesian" Armenian school in Sharjah contributed to the "Water is Life" telethon-2010 dedicated to Artsakh by the "Hayastan All Armenian fund"⁷¹.

To mark the 40th anniversary of the UAE National Day⁷² from November 29 to December 3, 2011, the State Dance Ensemble of Armenia performed concerts in Abu Dhabi, Sharjah, Ajman, Al-Ain, and Dubai, at the invitation of the Ministry of Culture of

⁶⁶ Embassy of Armenia to UAE, Hayastan All Armenian Fund <https://uae.mfa.am/en/hayastan-fund>, source www.himnadram.org

⁶⁷ Ashekian 2008: 138. Northern Emirates Archives, Sharjah, UAE.

⁶⁸ The Armenian community in the UAE raised \$ 131,790 <https://iravaban.net/en/301033.html>, 09.11.2020. The RA Ambassador to the UAE transferred the money collected by the Armenian community to the All-Armenian Fund, <https://b24.am/economy/262558.html>, 09.11.2020 (in Arm.).

⁶⁹The Hayastan All Armenia Fund-Our donors, <https://www.himnadram.org/en/donors>

⁷⁰ Ashekian 2008: 138-139. Northern Emirates Archives, Sharjah, UAE (in Arm.).

⁷¹ 10.9.6 The countries of the Arabian Peninsula, the commemorative events held in the Armenian community of the UAE, RA Ministry of Diaspora 2010: 228.

⁷² Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, Performances by the State Dance Ensemble of Armenia in the UAE, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/press-releases/2011/12/03/folk/2628>, MFA Press-releases, 03.11. 2011 (in Arm.).

the United Arab Emirates. The Republic of Armenia Embassy in Abu Dhabi supported the events⁷³.

The UAE community also showed support for Syrian Armenians.

On December 6, 2012, the National Council of Abu Dhabi hosted a fundraising dinner for Syrian Armenians, with the proceeds benefiting the Armenian Prelacy in Syria. The event attended by Armenian Ambassador to Kuwait Gegham Gharibjanyan, Very Rev. Shahe Panosian, the Pontifical Vicar of Kuwait and Arab Gulf countries⁷⁴.

Collaboration between the Armenian Community of the UAE and the RA Embassy

The partnership between the National Administration and the embassy thrives on mutual respect and a cooperative atmosphere. According to community officials, the Embassy of Armenia in the United Arab Emirates serves as a pillar of moral support and authority for the Armenian community. The embassy actively contributes to various aspects of community life as needed⁷⁵.

It's worth mentioning and extending a warm welcome to the benefactors and entrepreneurs within the Armenian community in the UAE, notably Varoujan Nerguizian, the executive director of Sharjah Bank (a Lebanese Armenian), as well as the architects of the embassy building, Berdj Aprahamian ⁷⁶(originally from Jerusalem) and Salah Hariri (a Lebanese Arab), who played a key role in the construction of the embassy⁷⁷.

Below are some notable visits made to the Armenian embassy in Abu Dhabi by members of the National Administration of Dubai and the Northern Emirates.

On Sunday, September 9, 2012, Members of the Council of the Armenian Community in Dubai and the Northern Emirates, under the leadership of Fr. Aram Deyirmendjian paid a courtesy visit to the Embassy of the Republic of Armenia where they were warmly welcomed by the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Armenia in the United Arab Emirates Gegham Gharibjanyan and the Consul Marad Melikyan. The visit served as an opportunity to discuss issues of concern that exist between the community and Armenia, especially the latest development in Syria which largely affected the Syrian Armenian Community.

⁷³ 10.9.5 The countries of the Arabian Peninsula, the commemorative events held in the Armenian community of the UAE, RA Ministry of Diaspora 2011: 257.

⁷⁴ 10.9.5 The countries of the Arabian Peninsula, the commemorative events held in the Armenian community of the UAE, RA Ministry of Diaspora 2012: 234.

⁷⁵ The Commemorative Book of the Abu Dhabi Armenian Cultural Association (1990-2010), Yerevan 2014, pp. 27 and 42.

⁷⁶ Mangassarian, Sh. Engineer Berdj Aprahamian's work and the book dedicated to Abu Dhabi both deal with the city's development and progress, <https://tinyurl.com/mrunrd2t>, Darperag21 online, Lebanon, 07.03 2024.

⁷⁷ Harutyunyan, Pashayan 2012: 68, The book was funded by a grant from the Ministry of Diaspora in Armenia, https://haygirk.nla.am/upload/1941-/arabakan_erkner_2012.pdf

Both the Diaspora as well as the Government of Armenia spare no effort to extend their help and assistance to their brothers and sisters in Syria. After expressing mutual readiness to cooperate, the Ambassador accepted the invitation extended by the Council to lecture on September 29, in Pierre Keusseyan hall to celebrate **the 21st anniversary** of the re-independence of the Republic of Armenia⁷⁸.

On Thursday, May 11, 2023, His Grace Bishop Mesrob Sarkissian, prelate of the UAE and Qatar, along with the newly elected National Council of the Armenian community and pastors from Abu Dhabi, Dubai, and the Northern Emirates, visited the Embassy of the Republic of Armenia. They held discussions with Ambassador Karen Grigoryan, where they presented the activities, future plans, and reorganization efforts of the Diocese. H.G. Bishop Mesrob Sarkissian emphasized the importance of the longstanding cooperation between the Council of the Armenian community and the Embassy. Ambassador Grigoryan outlined the embassy's upcoming plans and expressed support for the activities of the Armenian community council and the Armenian Prelacy. Deputy Chairman of the National Council, Ardo Hampartsumian, also underscored the significance of fostering mutual relations and maintaining full cooperation with the embassy⁷⁹.

The Role of the RA Embassy in Revitalizing the Armenian Community Life in the UAE

Armenia, through its embassies in different countries, plays a significant role in organizing and revitalizing community life in the Armenian Diaspora communities. The independence of Armenia, the establishment of diplomatic relations with different countries, and the setting up and functioning of embassies have not only boosted national self-awareness and pride among Armenians living abroad but have also served as a major catalyst for the rejuvenation of national life in the Armenian Diaspora communities⁸⁰.

Armenian embassies abroad, besides their diplomatic functions, take the initiative to organize Armenian community events or collaborate with local Armenian organizations to participate in various community activities.

Special emphasis is placed on commemorating significant days for Armenians, such as the Independence Day of the Republic of Armenia (September 21), the Day of the sovereignty restoration or the Day of the restoration of Armenian statehood (May 28), the Day of Remembrance of the Victims of the Armenian Genocide (April 24), as

⁷⁸ Visit of the Council of the Armenian Community in Dubai and the Northern Emirates to the Ambassador of the Republic of Armenia in the UAE. <https://emahay.com/en/visit-council-armenian-community-dubai-northern-emirates-ambassador-republic-armenia-united-arab-emirates/> September 9, 2012

⁷⁹ The recently elected National Council paid a visit to the Embassy of the Republic of Armenia, 11.05.2023 <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=616094007220735&set=pb.100064604233394.-2207520000>

⁸⁰ Sardaryan S. The role of the RA in preserving the Armenian Identity in the Diaspora, <https://bit.ly/3zoALSm>, p.84.

well as the visits of the RA state officials and the Catholicosate of the *Great House of Cilicia*.

To list a few them:

On May 5, 2012, His Holiness Aram I, Catholicos of the Holy See of Cilicia visited the RA Embassy in the UAE. The day before, on May 4, Aram A. laid the foundation stone of the Church of the Holy Martyrs of Abu Dhabi. On November 20, 2012, as part of his visit to the UAE, RA Minister of Foreign Affairs Edward Nalbandyan met with representatives of the Armenian community and briefed them on RA foreign policy, the situation regarding the resolution of the NK (Nagorno Karabagh) issue, and the RA government's efforts to support Syrian Armenians. On November 25, 2012, at the initiative of the RA Embassy in the UAE and the National Administration of Dubai and Northern Emirates, a meeting was organized in Sharjah between RA Defense Minister Seyran Ohanian and representatives of the Armenian community⁸¹.

On March 26-27, 2015, the RA Minister of Diaspora Hranush Hakobyan visited Abu Dhabi, where she met with the staff of the RA embassy in the UAE⁸².

On April 11, 2015, Very Rev. Mesrob Sarkissian, the Pontifical Vicar for the United Arab Emirates, along with members of the newly elected National Board of Abu Dhabi and Dubai and Northern Emirates, visited the RA Embassy in Abu Dhabi⁸³.

Cultural initiatives led by the embassy in partnership with the "Armenian Cultural Association of Abu Dhabi"

The array of ceremonies and events hosted within the Armenian community of the UAE spans a considerable timeline, encompassing gatherings from 2000 to 2017. Notably, these include celebrations and commemorations organized by both the Embassy of Armenia in the UAE and the National Administrations of the United Emirates. Additionally, cultural endeavors initiated by the embassy through the "Armenian Cultural Association of Abu Dhabi" have left a lasting impact. From March 24-29, 2001, the newly established Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in Abu Dhabi hosted its inaugural cultural event at the Abu Dhabi Cultural Foundation. The event included an exhibition showcasing the works of 10 artists, along with various samples of Armenian craftsmanship⁸⁴.

Armenian cultural figures and guests visiting Abu Dhabi via the "Armenian Cultural Association of Abu Dhabi" were graciously guided to the embassy, where they were warmly received by acting ambassadors and briefed on the embassy's endeavors.

⁸¹ 10.9.6 The countries of the Arabian Peninsula, the commemorative events held in the Armenian community of the UAE, RA Ministry of Diaspora 2012: 233.

⁸² 10.9.5 The countries of the Arabian Peninsula, the commemorative events held in the Armenian community of the UAE, RA Ministry of Diaspora 2015: 252.

⁸³ Idem: 252.

⁸⁴ Daghljan, KalSahagian, Jerejian, Kasemjian 2014: 42.

In addition to its diplomatic and consular duties, the embassy gradually became involved in cultural affairs. Notable initiatives such as the "Days of Culture of Armenia" (December 14-19, 2002) under Ambassador Poladian's leadership were made possible through the rapport established by the Association with various cultural organizations over the years.

The "Days of Armenian Culture" were held twice in the UAE, first in 2002 in Abu Dhabi and later in 2004 in Sharjah, known as the cultural capital of the UAE. The signing of a practical program of cultural cooperation between Armenia-UAE/Sharjah on the eve of cultural days in 2004 symbolizes the deepening of cultural relations. Notably, Sharjah Culture Days were hosted in Armenia in September, marking a significant milestone as it was the first time such an event took place in the South Caucasus, attended by Emir of Sharjah, Sheikh Dr. Sultan bin Muhammad al-Qasimi⁸⁵. The consistent support provided by the "Armenian Cultural Association of Abu Dhabi" for all cultural initiatives organized by the embassy demonstrates their dedication to promoting cultural exchange. In return, the RA Embassy supported the association's efforts to ensure the success of their projects, enriching the cultural scene of the Emirates with Armenian heritage⁸⁶.

During his official inaugural visit to the Arab Emirates from March 16-29, 1999, Very Rev. His Grace Sebouh Sarkissian, Pontifical Vicar of the Diocese of Kuwait and the Arab Gulf Countries, met with representatives of the "Abu Dhabi Armenian Cultural Association" to discuss relevant cultural and social issues⁸⁷.

Furthermore, on March 16, 2023, "Echoes of Armenia," a folk dance show and cultural event organized by Ajman Tourism of the "Tourism Development Authority" of the Emirate of Ajman, UAE, in collaboration with the Sultan bin Ali Al Owais Cultural Foundation, marked a significant cultural milestone for the Emirate of Ajman⁸⁸.

The "Abu Dhabi Armenian Cultural Association" has a rich history of organizing various initiatives, including:

In 1990, the "Abu Dhabi Armenian Cultural Association" held its inaugural event in December, featuring a lecture dedicated to Armenian miniatures and painting titled "Traces of Armenian Art in Foreign Countries." The lecture was delivered by the late Lebanese-Armenian educator, art commentator, and painting critic, Vazken Tutunjian. The first session took place in the lobby of the "Le Meridien" hotel in Abu Dhabi, followed by another session in Dubai, held in the hall of the "Crown Plaza" hotel⁸⁹.

⁸⁵ Pashayan A., Interview with Arshak Poladian, Ambassador of Armenia to Kuwait and Bahrain, " And how does the press of the United Arab Emirates address Armenia and Armenian topics? <https://bit.ly/45NurjI>, Noravank Scientific Educational Foundation, 09.11.2006 (in Arm.).

⁸⁶ Same place, Interview with Arshak Poladian, Ambassador..., 09.11.2006.

⁸⁷ Visit Northern Emirates and Abu Dhabi communities, HASG Amsakir, March-April 1999, p. 276, Antilias, Lebanon.

⁸⁸ Ajman Tourism organizes "Echoes of Armenia" in collaboration with the Sultan bin Ali Al Owais Cultural Foundation, <https://bit.ly/3RSsDzV>, ZAWYA.com press-release, UAE, March 14, 2023.

⁸⁹ Daghlian, KalSahagian, Jerejian, Kasemjian 2014: 47.

In 1991, an evening of honor was organized to commemorate the poet and novelist Yervant Barsoumian, which was hosted in the private house of Zareh Tutunjian.

Also in 1991, a lecture was held dedicated to four Armenian aesthetic poets: Taniel Varuzhan, Siamanto, Misak Medzarents, and Vahan Tekeyan. The speaker for this event was the late Lebanese-Armenian writer, Aram Sepetjian. The lecture, organized by Catherine Brighton Mangassarian, an Irish-born individual who settled in Abu Dhabi and worked at the British Council, took place on May 3 at the hall of the "Le Meridien" hotel in Abu Dhabi

In 1992, the association organized an event focusing on the life and poems of Baruyr Sevag, with Aram Sepetjian serving as the speaker.

Additionally, in April, a Duduk evening was hosted, featuring the renowned duduk player *Djivan Gasparyan* as a guest. With the support of Vasil Aghelian, a resident of Kuwait, the Association extended an invitation to Djivan Gasparyan to Abu Dhabi⁹⁰.

Embassy Engagements with Armenian Community Events

In addition to the official visits, the RA Embassy also actively participates in ceremonies held within the Armenian community. In the year of 2023, notable visits by Ambassador Karen Grigoryan underscored the significance of community events. For instance, on the occasion of the 108th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, Ambassador Grigoryan attended a commemorative mass at the St. Grigory the Illuminator Church in Sharjah⁹¹. Similarly, on May 28, 2023, Ambassador Grigoryan participated in a ceremony commemorating the 105th anniversary of the First Republic of Armenia, including a Republican prayer service and blessing of the flag, held at St. Gregory the Illuminator Church in Sharjah⁹².

Furthermore, after 18 years since the establishment of the Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in Abu Dhabi in 2000, the Consulate General of the Republic of Armenia was inaugurated in Dubai, UAE in 2018⁹³.

High-profile visits by RA officials, such as the president, chairman of the National Assembly, and prime minister, serve as significant occasions for the Armenian communities in the Diaspora. These visits typically include meetings with the Armenian community and other related events. By collaborating with local Armenian organizations, Armenian diplomatic missions abroad contribute significantly to the revitalization of community life in Diaspora Armenian communities, thereby fostering a stronger connection among Diaspora Armenians.

Furthermore, on April 16, 2011, the establishment of the "Moushegh Ishkhan" branch of the Hamazkayin Cultural Association took place at the "Pierre Keusseyan" hall within the St. Grigory the Illuminator church complex in the Sharjah Emirate. Former

⁹⁰ Idem: 48.

⁹¹ 108th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, Sharjah, UAE, <https://bit.ly/3XKuyKx>, <https://bit.ly/3XPpoxb>

⁹² 105th anniversary of the First Republic of Armenia, Sharjah, UAE, 28.05.2023: <https://bit.ly/4cxz6bw>, <https://bit.ly/3zlfB7R>, <https://bit.ly/3xBuYbG>

⁹³ Embassy of Armenia to UAE, Bilateral Relations, General information <https://uae.mfa.am/hy/bilateral-ae/>

RA Ambassador Vahagn Melikian attended the inauguration and expressed his support for the newly formed branch. Ambassador Melikian emphasized the significance of collaboration between the embassy team and Hamazkayin in addressing pan-Armenian issues, offering the embassy's resources for Hamazkayin's activities. He urged unity and joint endeavors to advance the interests of the Armenian community.

To mark the 40th anniversary of the UAE National Day⁹⁴ from November 29 to December 3, 2011, the State Dance Ensemble of Armenia performed concerts in Abu Dhabi, Sharjah, Ajman, Al-Ain, and Dubai, at the invitation of the Ministry of Culture of the United Arab Emirates. The Republic of Armenia Embassy in Abu Dhabi supported the events⁹⁵.

Among the community's ceremonial events, the following deserve mention:

Commemoration of Armenian Republic and Independence Anniversaries:

The Armenian community in the UAE has regularly marked the anniversaries of the founding of the First Republic of Armenia (May 28) and the Independence of the Republic of Armenia, nearly every year since 2000. These events typically feature the involvement of the Pontifical Vicar of the Armenian Diocese of the UAE and Qatar, as well as the RA Ambassador and Embassy officials in the UAE. At times, artists and musicians from Armenia also joins in these celebrations.

Armenian Cause (Hay Tad) Discussions: On February 12, 2010, a round table discussion was convened at the RA Embassy in the UAE, organized by the Armenian National Committee and chaired by committee member Huri Mayisian. The discourse focused on topics such as repatriation and the draft law of RA, as well as Armenian-Turkish relations in 2009⁹⁶.

Literary and Cultural Commemorations: Notable literary and cultural figures in Armenian history are commemorated within the community. For instance, on October 19, 2012, a concert commemorating the 300th anniversary of Sayat Nova's birth was held in Dubai under the auspices of the RA Embassy in the UAE and organized by the UAE branch of the Armenian Relief Society⁹⁷.

Celebrating Armenian Victories: Special events mark significant victories in Armenian history. For instance, on March 26, 2015, a coordination session was conducted at the RA Embassy in Abu Dhabi to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the victory in the Great Patriotic War. Similarly, on May 9, 2015, an event

⁹⁴ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, Performances by the State Dance Ensemble of Armenia in the UAE, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/press-releases/2011/12/03/folk/2628>, MFA Press-releases, 03.11. 2011 (in Arm.).

⁹⁵ 10.9.5 The countries of the Arabian Peninsula, the commemorative events held in the Armenian community of the UAE, RA Ministry of Diaspora 2011: 257.

⁹⁶ 10.9.6 The countries of the Arabian Peninsula, the commemorative events held in the Armenian community of the UAE, RA Ministry of Diaspora 2010: 227.

⁹⁷ 10.9.6 The countries of the Arabian Peninsula, the commemorative events held in the Armenian community of the UAE, RA Ministry of Diaspora 2012: 234.

commemorating the 70th anniversary of this victory took place at the "Madinat Arena" hotel in Dubai attended by representatives of various embassies⁹⁸.

Commemorating Armenian Genocide and Sumgait Martyrs: In the UAE, as in all Diaspora communities, initiatives to commemorate the Armenian Genocide and the Sumgait Massacres have played a pivotal role for years. These initiatives are driven by an unwavering commitment to pass on from generation to generation the demand for Armenians' just rights and justice. Alongside commemorating the anniversary of the Genocide, the Armenian community in the UAE also honours the victims of the Sumgait massacres. UAE solemnly observes the anniversary of the Armenian Genocide⁹⁹ and pays tribute to the victims of the Sumgait pogrom¹⁰⁰ and massacres.

Notable commemorations included:

A memorial service held on February 22, 2013, at St. Gregory the Illuminator Armenian Church in Sharjah, to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Sumgait Martyrs. The event was attended by Gegham Gharibjanyan, the Ambassador of the Republic of Armenia to the UAE, embassy staff, representatives of the National Council, and community members¹⁰¹.

On April 24, 2015 Divine Liturgy took place at St. Gregory the Illuminator Armenian Church in Sharjah followed by the lighting of a candle in the St. Gregory the Illuminator Armenian Church complex courtyard to mark the 100th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide. Very Rev. Mesrob Sarkissian, the Pontifical Vicar for the United Arab Emirates, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Armenia to the UAE Gegham Gharibjanyan, and donor Victor Baroud unveiled a bronze monument dedicated to the centennial of the Armenian Genocide¹⁰².

Armenian National Army Anniversary Celebration: The Armenian community also celebrates the 25th anniversary of the formation of the Armenian National Army.

On January 27, the Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in the United Arab Emirates and the Council of the Armenian Community in Abu Dhabi, organized a Holy Mass in the Holy Martyrs Church in Abu Dhabi, officiated by Very Reverend Father Mesrob Sarkissian, Catholicos Vicar of the Great See of Cilicia in the United Arab

⁹⁸ 10.9.5 The countries of the Arabian Peninsula, the commemorative events held in the Armenian community of the UAE, RA Ministry of Diaspora 2015: 253.

⁹⁹ 10.9.6. The countries of the Arabian Peninsula, the commemorative events held in the Armenian community of the UAE, RA Ministry of Diaspora 2010: 227.

¹⁰⁰ The Sumgait pogrom was a pogrom that targeted the Armenian population of the lakeside town of Sumgait in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic in late February 1988. Wikipedia.

¹⁰¹ 10.8.7 The countries of the Arabian Peninsula, the commemorative events held in the Armenian community of the UAE, RA Ministry of Diaspora 2013: 229, National Library of Armenia, https://tert.nla.am/hayspyurq_taregirq_2013.pdf

¹⁰² 10.9.5. The countries of the Arabian Peninsula, the commemorative events held in the Armenian community of the UAE, RA Ministry of Diaspora 2015: 252.

(In the yard of St. Gregory the Illuminator Armenian Church in Sharjah stands another Khatchkar, a hand-chiselled sculpture crafted from Armenian tufa stone weighing two tons, serving as a powerful memorial. Generously donated by the Sukiasyan family from Armenia, it was inaugurated on April 23, 1996, in commemoration of the martyrs of the Armenian Genocide).

Emirates and Qatar, dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the formation of the Armenian national army. At the end of the ceremony, a reception was held, organized by the Women's Committee. The Holy Mass was attended by the Ambassador of the Republic of Armenia in the United Arab Emirates, Gegham Gharibjanian, diplomats, and representative of the Armenian national bodies and members of the community¹⁰³.

Engagements of the RA Embassy with UAE Government Institutions

It is essential to acknowledge the proactive engagements of the RA Embassy in the UAE, which serve to enhance Armenian-Emirati bilateral relations and foster the implementation of mutually beneficial projects.

From March 23, 2010, to March 9, 2020, notable visits to the embassy included meetings with prominent UAE figures such as Dr. Rashed Ahmad bin Fahadi¹⁰⁴, UAE Minister of Environment and Water, and Sultan bin Sait Al Mansouri¹⁰⁵, UAE Minister of Economy. Discussions with Dr. Said Mohammed al-Shamsi, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs for International Organizations Affairs, facilitated the alignment of common interests between both countries¹⁰⁶.

Chairman Muhammad Ahmad Al-Merri of the "National Federal Council" of the UAE expressed high appreciation for the significant contributions of the Armenian community in the UAE to the economic, social, and cultural fabric of the Emirates¹⁰⁷.

Meetings with Amal Al Qubaisi, Chairwoman of the UAE "National Federal Council" (UAE SDF, Parliament), emphasized the friendly relations between Armenia and the UAE. It was underscored that deepening bilateral cooperation in an inter-parliamentary format would further strengthen the existing ties¹⁰⁸.

Discussions during the Armenian-Emirati intergovernmental joint commission session with UAE Minister of Education Hussein bin Ibrahim Al Hammadi focused on educational agreements and opportunities for expertise and student exchanges in the education sector¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰³ Embassy of Armenia, Holy Mass in Abu Dhabi dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the Armenian Army, <https://uae.mfa.am/hy/news/2017/01/28/army28012017/4249> , 28.01.2017.

¹⁰⁴ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Republic of Armenia, Armenian Ambassador Vahan Melikyan had a meeting with UAE Minister of Environment and Water Dr. Rashed Ahmad bin Fahad. <https://bit.ly/4eFKioj>, 24.03.2024 (in Arm.).

¹⁰⁵ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Republic of Armenia, Ambassador Vahagn Melikyan met with UAE Minister of Economy Sultan Bin Said Al Mansouri, <https://bit.ly/3LaWxvs>, 14.09.2011 (in Arm.).

¹⁰⁶ Discussion of collaboration between the Emirates and Armenia, <https://bit.ly/3L7iLPd>, Al Ittihad newspaper, UAE, 05.08.2013 (in Arabic).

¹⁰⁷ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Republic of Armenia, The Ambassador Gegham Gharibjanian had a meeting with the Chairman of the UAE's Federal National Council, <https://bit.ly/3VLPcrb>, 03.03. 2013.

¹⁰⁸ Ambassador Mkrtyumyan's meeting with the Chairman of the UAE Federal National Council, https://www.mfa.am/hy/press-releases/2019/04/22/uae_meeting/9428, 22.04. 2019 (in Arm.).

¹⁰⁹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Republic of Armenia, The RA ambassador met with the UAE Minister of Education, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/press-releases/2019/07/14/armemb-uae/9728>, 14.07.2019 (in Arm.).

Meetings with Sheikh Saud bin Saqr al-Qasimi, Crown Prince of the Emirate of Ras al-Khaimah, UAE, involved detailed discussions on bilateral protocols, agreements, and legal frameworks¹¹⁰.

Additionally, during an official visit focused on scientific cooperation to the governor of Sharjah, the RA ambassadors of the UAE and the director of the Sharjah Mint, Varoujan Nerguizian, represented the Armenian community of the UAE¹¹¹.

It is noteworthy that the UAE Embassy in Armenia initiates various programs and events aimed at strengthening bilateral cultural relations. These efforts include participation in cultural exhibitions to showcase Emirati culture, as well as organizing lectures on Emirati civilization's culture and history in Armenian universities¹¹².

Conclusion

The organized presence of Armenians in the UAE has played a pivotal role, as evidenced by the establishment of the Armenian Embassy in Abu Dhabi, a significant development for the Gulf region. The Diocesan Assemblies of the Diocese of Kuwait and Arab Gulf Countries (March 1999 and March 2000) have wholeheartedly supported this initiative, furthering practical organizational efforts in line with the directives of the relevant bodies of the Catholicosate of Cilicia in Lebanon.

Relations between the UAE community and the RA Embassy have flourished on the basis of mutual respect and cooperation, with active participation from national administrations through effective propaganda efforts. With the re-independence of Armenia and the opening of the RA Embassy in Abu Dhabi, Armenia has entered a new phase of cooperation, marking 25 years of steadily developing relations between RA and the UAE (1998-2023). These relations are founded on mutual respect and the enduring warmth between the two friendly peoples, facilitating the revitalization of trade and economic ties and the implementation of various investment programs.

The cooperation between Abu Dhabi and the RA Embassy underscores the significance of economic development and investments as crucial pillars of Armenia's independence. The UAE ranks among Armenia's largest trade partners, highlighting the strategic importance of their economic relations. As the eighth-largest market for Armenian exports and the eleventh-largest source of Armenian imports worldwide, the UAE plays a pivotal role in Armenia's trade landscape.

Today, the UAE stands as an important partner for Armenia, contributing not only to mutually beneficial regional projects and a thriving business environment but also to the deepening of inter-civilizational dialogue. The UAE's attentive approach to the Armenian community reflects its commitment to tolerance and cultural diversity.

¹¹⁰ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Republic of Armenia, Ambassador Mkrtumyan's official trip to the Emirate of Ras al-Khaimah. https://uae.mfa.am/hy/news/2020/03/09/amb_rak/7732, 09.03 2020.

¹¹¹ The Ruler of Sharjah and the President of Armenia are in talk about potential scientific collaborations. He chaired the meeting of the Advisory Board of ICCROM – Sharjah, Centre of International Cultural Heritage Organisations. <https://bit.ly/3xzY0IL>, Al Bayan online Newspaper, UAE, 18.01.2019 (in Arabic).

¹¹² Cultural cooperation, <https://bit.ly/3LpxSDP>

The opening of the UAE Embassy in Armenia in 2015 and the RA Consulate General in Dubai in 2018 further solidify the diplomatic ties between the two nations. The Armenian community in the UAE, spanning over 42 years, has made significant contributions, particularly in facilitating the establishment of the RA Embassy.

While the Arab political dialogue and partnerships with countries evolve, Armenia's engagement with Arab nations continues to grow. The establishment of bilateral diplomatic relations between RA and Saudi Arabia stands as a testament to closer mutual cooperation, alongside Armenia's engagement with Gulf countries.

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RELIGION

PERCEPTIONS AND MANIFESTATIONS OF MAGIC AMONG SOME PEOPLES OF THE OLD WORLD AND IN THE HITTITE ENVIRONMENT

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Abstract

In the framework of the article, the perception of magic in the ancient world, especially in the Hittite environment, has been focused on, considering magic as a phenomenon in comparative parallels with the perceptions of the ancient Egyptians, Jews, Armenians and other ancient Near Eastern peoples. Within the framework of the study, the origin and perception of magic will be presented, considering it from an etymological, ritualistic, operational point of view, as well as the role of magic as a negative and positive phenomenon for ancient societies, etc. will be presented. In addition, in the context of the question, an attempt is made to present the role of the sorcerer in the ancient society.

Keywords: magic, priest, magus, sorcery, heka, evil eye, rituals, mythology, Mesopotamian magic, Old Testament.

The word magus, magic, appears to originate from the ancient Greek world. When we say Greek, we should mean Athenian, because Greece was not a single state and did not reflect the universal Greek culture. Magos or makuš (old Persian)¹ were called Persian magicians, Zoroastrians². It is interesting that this term magus, Zoroastrian, (means Persian Priest or Zoroastrian), later it became the name of a tribe or nation, when Iranians were considered magus³. In ancient Greece, magical rites were given a number of names - *magos*, *mantis*, *goēs* - spell, divination, sacrifice, etc.

Early evidence of magic and sorcery has been found in cuneiform inscriptions in the region of present-day Iraq in Mesopotamia. Magic in Mesopotamia was perceived as malevolence and it could destroy a person⁴. In Mesopotamia, magic was also considered the cause of various diseases, such as indigestion, skin diseases, stroke, childhood diseases, fever, as well as mental illness. The listed diseases were caused by

¹ Ogden 2002: 33.

² Davies 2017: 18.

³ Margaryan 2023: 183.

⁴ Balentine 2020: 13.

the witch⁵. In Mesopotamia, jaundice and typhus were associated with the mythical character Lamashtu.

The witch was mostly depicted as an old woman. The sorcerer harmed the victim through indirect contact, the sorcerer made a doll, statuette with the image of the victim and buried it in the wall, or buried the doll or statuette with the victim's image with the deceased, thereby sealing a marriage between the deceased and the victim⁶.

A sorcerer in the beliefs of ancient societies was a person who possessed special abilities and was also considered a demoniac. The witch was highly respected. People were afraid of it and beware.

In Egypt, magic – Heka, was perceived as a magical life force inspired by the Sun God Ra⁷. Heka was the name of the goddess of magic. It is interesting that in ancient Egypt the god Heka did not have temples dedicated to her, but she did have shrines and the Weret Hekau, who was the female equivalent of the god Heka. The latter's name means "Elder of Magic" and was usually depicted as a cobra⁸.

In Egypt during the 1st millennium, it became more common to attribute diseases, epidemics and other misfortunes to the envy or malice of people who had the evil eye.

The Old Testament (Hebrew) mentions a number of words that symbolized magic, sorcery, such as: khartum sorcerer, hoel ob necromancer, yid'on magician, etc⁹.

In Jewish beliefs, a person who suffers from misfortune is a victim of demons. A wrongly chosen word affects like a curse and the evil eye¹⁰. The jettatori phenomenon is also associated with the evil eye. These are people, more often men, who do not physically kill, but their look has a bad effect on people, as a rule, it is noted that the latter have light blue eyes and dark black eyebrows. A famous jettatori in history was Pope Pius IX. According to the Jews, every action or word that can provoke the jealousy of the spirits has the same effect as the evil eye. There was a custom among the Jews, according to which young men with good looks were called Ethiopians, in order to avoid the evil eye¹¹. By the way, there was such an Armenian custom: when a child died young in the family they gave a Muslim name to the next born so that he would not die (according to T. Mikayelyan's oral report).

Lamashtu, who was expelled from heaven for his wickedness, was confused with Ardat Lily. Lamashtu who was regarded as an evil creation, mainly performed two magic rituals. The purpose of the first was to help the women during childbirth, the second infects the child with jaundice¹². Lamashtu tortured and killed babies. In Jewish magic, it

⁵ Davies 2017: 3.

⁶ Balentine 2020: 13.

⁷ Balentine 2020: 5.

⁸ Harris 2015: 155-156.

⁹ Davies 2017: 14.

¹⁰ Trachtenberg 1939: 40.

¹¹ Trachtenberg 1939: 46-47.

¹² Barjamovic, Larsen 2008: 1.

was believed that women who did not receive love and did not have children turned into ghosts who tempted mortal men with evil intentions and the power of the evil eye¹³.

In Jewish magic, in addition to the common forms of magic used in Egypt, the Hittite Empire, and Greece, divination by the “eye” or, as it is known, the “evil eye” was very common in Judea.

Amulets with Aramaic letters were found in the Syria-Palestinian territory of IV-VII centuries, which hung near the door threshold. The amulet protected the house from the evil eye, evil spirits and diseases. A similar custom existed in Assyria, where colorful figurines of dogs were buried in the ground near the doorway, believing that it would protect the home from misfortune and disease¹⁴.

The use of tiles to ward off evil was used not only in Mesopotamia, but also in ancient Greece and Rome. In Greece, voodoo dolls were widely used in magic, which were made from various materials: clay, bronze, copper, wax, dough, and wool¹⁵.

In Mesopotamia, black dog bile had the power of an amulet if it was smoked¹⁶.

The Hittites distinguished between black, that is evil, and white magic. Evil magic was called *alwanzatar*¹⁷. White or good magic is witchcraft, healing people from diseases, giving children to childless women, saving the devil, etc. Sorcery takes place between two people, the sorcerer and the victim of the sorcery. The Hittites tried to protect themselves from the evil eye and diseases sent by the gods through various rituals, sacrifices, and amulets. Diseases sent by the gods were treated with animals. The Hittites treated the illness caused by the god of thunder and lightning through the Zuwi ritual of magic¹⁸.

In the Hittite laws, the Edict of Telepinu clearly stated who could perform sorcery, a number of sorcery prohibitions were in use. For example, among the Hittites it was forbidden to eat dog meat. The king and queen took part in Hittite magical ceremonies. The queen personally participated in pig sacrifice rituals, such as the Kuliwišna and Hannahanna rituals. The latter was dedicated to the goddess of motherhood and fertility¹⁹.

Like many ancient cultures, Hittite magic used special objects and symbols. They could be amulets, figurines, or ritual objects believed to have protective or transformative properties. Symbols and written charms can play a role in focusing the gathering of magical powers.

Amulets were found from Hattuša, which were made of natural stones, for example, agate, and were unworked. Their purpose was to protect against the evil eye²⁰.

¹³ Johnston 2004: 399.

¹⁴ Wallis 1978: 99.

¹⁵ Ogden 2002: 245.

¹⁶ Wallis 1978: 12.

¹⁷ Mouton 2010: 515.

¹⁸ Chalendar 2019: 85.

¹⁹ Collins 2006: 162.

²⁰ Johnston 2004: 462.

Many Hittite rituals are known, involving the use of various symbols, charms, which were attributed mystical or magical properties. Hittite texts contain detailed descriptions of many rites, on the basis of which one can get an idea of their religious features, not to mention their magic prohibitions.

Armenians also engaged in practices associated with magic and sorcery. Ghevond Alishan was the first scholar who collected, systematized and offered a general picture of magic and sorcery among Armenians²¹.

In Javakhk, there was a belief that illnesses were caused by angering saints. Before treating a patient, practitioners would determine which saint was responsible for the illness. To ascertain this, they would create three small cotton bundles, wrap them around a spindle, cross and fold them, then insert the spindle into the fold and secure the ends around it. The bundles were then placed on a vessel of water, ensuring that the cotton did not come into contact with the surface of the water. After 40 minutes, the bundles were removed and unfolded. The bundle associated with a particular saint would unwind from the spindle, indicating that this saint was offended and believed to have caused the disease²².

Among Armenians magic was practiced also for the purpose of healing. For example, in the village of Lezq of the Van province, opposite the idol the wounded villagers were licked by the dogs, since they were sure that they will be cured.²³ In this regard, let us recall the legend of Ara the Handsome and Shamiram according to which by that action *aralezq* cured Ara in order to reanimate him.

Conclusion

Summarizing the article, we can conclude that all peoples practiced magic, magic was generally perceived in a negative sense, and the witch was attributed supernatural properties and separated from other members of the community. Of course, a distinction was made between black and white magic, white magic was used for the purposes of curing diseases, getting rid of evil, in many cases being identified with witchcraft and medical care, while black magic was always performed for a bad purpose and was a phenomenon punishable by law in various societies, including the Hittites. People's ideas about diseases, the occurrence of misfortune, evil and good have been almost identical. There were different types of magic prohibitions, as mentioned ancient societies fought against evil in a very similar way. Here of course ethno-cultural features and also some natural conditions should be taken into consideration.

²¹ Alishan 1895: 139; Alishan 1895: 144.

²² Lalayan 1985: 357-358.

²³ Armenian Ethnology and Folklore 2007: 135.

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REVIEWS

**ANUSHAVAN ZAKARYAN, Osip Mandelstam: poet and Armenia, Yerevan,
author's edition, 2022, 82 p.**

by **Gayane Harutyunyan**

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In a series of studies dedicated to the talented Soviet poet, translator and art theorist Osip Mandelstam, a man with a bright but tragic fate, a book by Anushavan Zakaryan, Doctor in Philology, Editor-in-chief of the “Historical-Philological Journal” of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, Senior Researcher of the Department of Art of the Armenian Diaspora and International Relations, Institute of Arts of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, author of 23 monographs and collections, more than 250 articles and publications, occupies a special place because, for the first time in the Armenian language, the life and fate of the poet connected with Armenia are presented, for which he had the most sincere feelings and which left an indelible mark on the soul and heart of the poet. This is evidenced by every page of A. Zakarian’s book, written on the basis of an in-depth study of Mandelstam’s creative biography (chapter “On the life, activities and creative path of O. Mandelstam”), in which Armenia played an important role as the key to world knowledge through the culture of another people in relation to universal spiritual values. Evidence of this is the thematic chapters of the book “O. Mandelstam in Armenia”, “Poet in Shushi”, “Cycle of poems “Armenia”, essay “Travel to Armenia” and its echoes”, reflecting the palette of feelings and thoughts of the poet caused by his acquaintance with Armenia and its centuries-old culture, which made an invaluable contribution to the collection of creative thought of humanity.

The author of the book, who has scrupulously studied all the milestones of the great poet’s work, treats very carefully every fact of his “contact” with Armenia, not missing a single detail and building a holistic picture of Mandelstam’s communication with Armenia and its people, in particular, with representatives of the Armenian intelligentsia - the key figures of Armenian history, culture and literature - Ashot Ioannisyan, Martiros Saryan, Alexander Tamanyan, Mamikon Gevorgyan and others. He was also connected by friendship with the Armenian intelligentsia of Baku and Tiflis (chapters “O. Mandelstam in Tiflis and Baku”, “Tiflis Days with Yeghishe Charents”).

The “Armenian” period of O. Mandelstam’s work was addressed by the poet and translator Georgy Kubatyan, the famous literary critic Natalya Gonchar-Khanjyan and the literary critic M. Andreeva, Mandelstam’s poetry was published in translations by Ararat Agasyan, Doctor in Art history, as well as poet and translator Hrachya Beyleryan.

However, A. Zakarian’s book, as the result of painstaking research, presenting bit by bit the collected material about the life and creative quest of the poet, whose fate was intertwined with Armenia and constituted one of the best pages of his poetry, is valuable in that it highlights in the historical and literary mosaic of the Soviet era connection and mutual influence of two cultures that have enriched the history of

Russian literature. Each chapter of the book represents stages in the life and multi-layered creativity of Osip Mandelstam, who glorified Armenia with all the power of his talent. Almost six months (from May to October 1930) spent by Mandelstam in Armenia served as a new impetus for creativity. The poet traveled through the Armenian land (Leninakan [now Gyumri], Yerevan, Sevan). He also visited the ruins of Zvartnots, Ashtarak, Byurakan, climbed Mount Aragats, and spent several unforgettable days in the Tsakhkadzor House of Writers.

Inspired by the history and culture of Armenia, O. Mandelstam intended to study the ancient Armenian language (grabar) and create a work on a historical theme, dedicated to an iconic figure - the Armenian king Arshak and the Persian Shah Shapukh. He also visited Shushi, which preserved traces of the most severe *pogroms* of the Armenian population that took place in 1920, and reflected his depressing impressions in the poem "Phaeton Driver":

*...So in Nagorno-Karabakh,
In the predatory city of Shusha
I've known these fears
Consistent with the soul.*

Impressions from the trip to Armenia resulted in a piercing poetic monologue - 12 heartfelt poems about Armenia (note that he subsequently wrote 5 more poems related to Armenia), and into interesting prose as an echo of communication with this biblical land, radiating the indomitable energy of life, despite to the difficult trials that befell the Armenian people, who suffered all the bitterness of deprivation and injustice, but at the same time retained the will to live and create: "I drank in my soul to the health of young Armenia with its houses made of orange stone, to its white-toothed people's commissars, to the horse the sweat and tramp of queues and for her mighty language, which we are not worthy to speak, but should only shun in our weakness..." And for O. Mandelstam, as a representative of Russian culture, Armenia, with its unspent love for people and loyalty to age-old traditions, was surprisingly in tune.

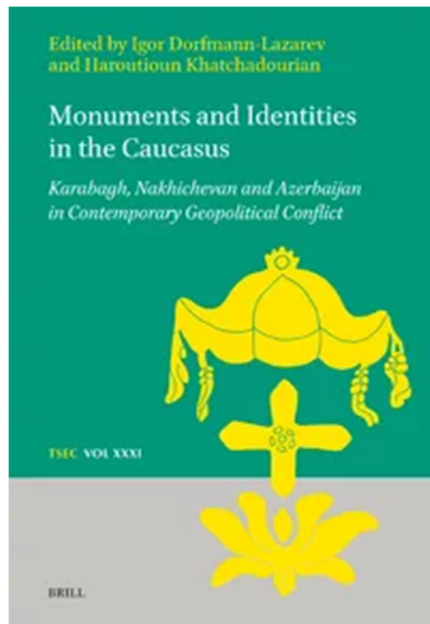
A. Zakarian's study of Mandelstam, who by the will of fate plunged into the Armenian world, into the "Land of Drysalter fires / And dead pottery plains," allows the Armenian reader to comprehend the phenomenon of a great poet who did not remain indifferent to their homeland, its nature and cities ("Ah, Erivan, Erivan is not a hard-boiled city, / I love Babylon on your large-mouthed crooked streets") and look at your country through the prism of a poet fascinated by it.

It remains to be noted that the work done by the author of the book deserves the gratitude of both today's and future Armenian readers.

Translated from Armenian by G. Harutyunyan

Delivered on January 24, 2024, accepted 22.06.2024

NEW BOOKS

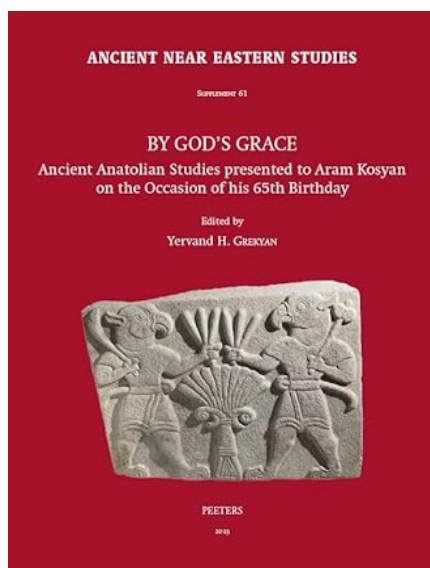


MONUMENTS AND IDENTITIES IN THE CAUCASUS KARABAGH, NAKHICHEVAN AND AZERBAIJAN IN CONTEMPORARY GEOPOLITICAL CONFLICT

Volume Editors: Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev and Haroutioun Khatchadourian, Brill, 2023, 552 p.

This is the first multidisciplinary volume whose focus is on the barely accessible highlands between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and their invaluable artistic heritage. Numerous ancient and mediaeval monuments of Artsakh/Karabagh and Nakhichevan find themselves in the crucible of a strife involving mutually exclusive national accounts. They are

gravely endangered today by the politics of cultural destruction endorsed by the modern State of Azerbaijan. This volume contains seventeen contributions by renowned scholars from eight nations, rare photographic documentation and a detailed inventory of all the monuments discussed. Part 1 explores the historical geography of these lands and their architecture. Part 2 analyses the development of Azerbaijani nationalism against the background of the centuries-long geopolitical contest between Russia and Turkey. Part 3 documents the loss of monuments and examines their destruction in the light of international law governing the protection of cultural heritage.



BY GOD'S GRACE: ANCIENT ANATOLIAN STUDIES PRESENTED TO ARAM KOSYAN ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 65TH BIRTHDAY

Edited by Yervand H. Grekyan, Series: Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement Series, Peeters Publishers, 2023, 386 p.

This volume honours Professor Aram Kosyan at the occasion of his 65th birthday and his academic career spanning over four decades. The twenty-eight essays by his colleagues from the international scientific community who contributed to this volume focus mostly on Bronze and Iron Age cultures of Anatolia

and the Armenian Highlands, offering papers on history and archaeology, beliefs and religions of the Hittites, Luwians, and other ancient societies of these regions. A large group of papers deals with linguistics, onomastics, and writing culture, including textual studies of primary sources, Cuneiform Hittite and Luwian Hieroglyphic inscriptions in

particular, as well as papers on ancient trade relations and modern trade in counterfeit antiquities.

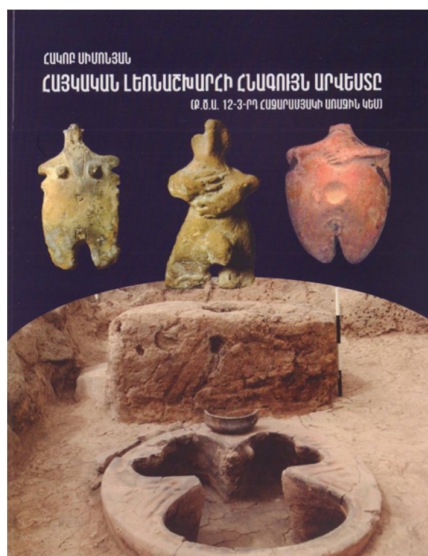


CILICIAN ARMENIA IN DOCUMENTS OF POLITICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL INTERRELATIONS IN THE NEAR EAST (ISSUES OF DIPLOMATICS)

By Azat Bozoyan, Gagik Danielyan, Marie-Anna Chevalier, Yerevan, “GITUT’YUN” Publishing House of the NAS RA, 2023, 475 p.

The authors of this book aimed to study ecclesiastical and political documents and primary sources, that provide valuable insights into the period of principality and the kingdom of the Armenian state of Cilicia; to conduct a detailed historical-critical analysis of documents in various languages that have survived to

the present day; to examine the formula systems used in documents from different notary offices and the terminology found in preserved originals, the titles and honorary titles used in official correspondence with Armenian patriarchs and monarchs, and aims to resolve issues related to the dating, authenticity, and validity of individual documents, information from primary sources about diplomatic gifts and ambassadorial protocols used in relations with neighboring sovereigns. This collective research is intended for armenologists, orientalists, medievalists, specialists in historical sources, and everyone interested in the history of Cilician Armenia.

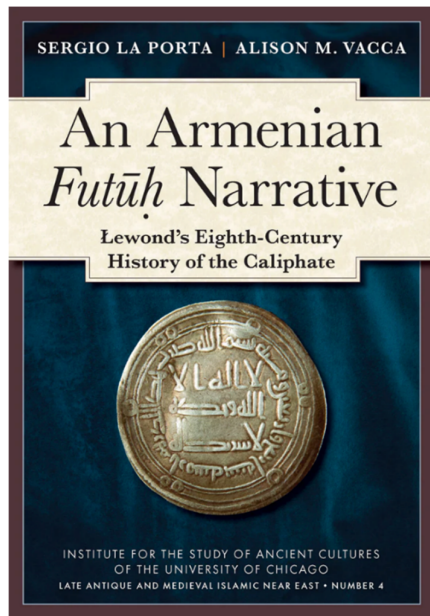


THE ANCIENT ART OF THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND (12T H – FIRST HALF OF THE 3RD MILLENNIUM B.C.)

By Hakob Simonyan, Yerevan, Van Aryan, 2023, 252 p.

This work is devoted to the study of the ancient art of the Armenian Highland. On the basis of the art history analysis of archeological sources and collections stored in various museums of Armenia and foreign countries, as well as a nature study of cave paintings, rock carvings, megalithic structures, architecture, and sculpture, ceramic and metal plastics, toreutics, jewelry, paintings on ceramic products of the

Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early Bronze ages, images and iconographic features in all spheres of the ancient art of the Armenian Highland were revealed.

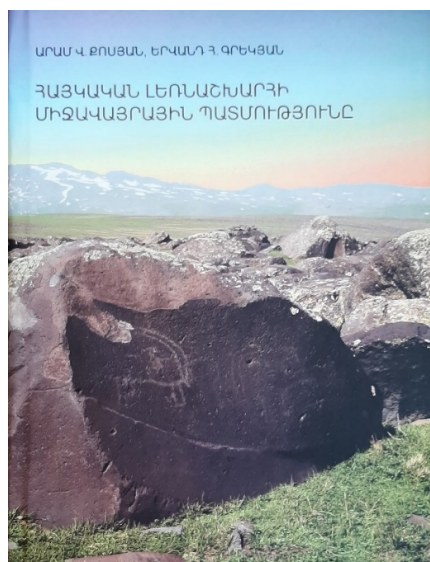


AN ARMENIAN FUTŪH NARRATIVE: LEWOND'S EIGHTH-CENTURY HISTORY OF THE CALIPHATE

By **Sergio La Porta** and **Alison M. Vacca**, *Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures at the University of Chicago*, 2024, pp. lxi + 442; 17 figures, 15 maps, 10 tables

The History of the Armenian priest Lewond is an important source for the history of early Islamic rule and the only contemporary chronicle of second/eighth-century caliphal rule in Armenia. This volume presents a diplomatic edition and new English translation of Lewond's text, which describes events that took place during the century and a half following the Prophet Muḥammad's death in AH 11/632 CE. The authors

address Lewond's account as a work of caliphal history, written in Armenian, from within the Caliphate. As such, this book provides a critical reading of the Caliphate from one of its most significant provinces. Reading notes clarify many aspects of the period covered to make the text understandable to students and specialists alike. Extensive commentary elucidates Lewond's narrative objectives and situates his History in a broader Near Eastern historiographical context by bringing the text into new conversations with a constellation of Arabic, Greek, and Syriac works that cover the same period. The book thus stresses the multiplicity of voices operating in the Caliphate in this pivotal period of Near Eastern history. Late Antique and Medieval Islamic Near East (LAMINE) Series of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures



THE ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY OF THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND

by **Aram Kosyan**, **Yervand Grekyan**, *Publishing House of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography*, Yerevan 2024, 408 p.

The work is the first comprehensive study in the field of Armenology regarding the influence of the environment on the political, economic and social development of our region during the ancient history of the Armenian Highlands (X-I millennia BC). It is an attempt to highlight the changes in climatic conditions,

their specific manifestations and the degree of influence from the Early Holocene to the decline of the Urartian state.

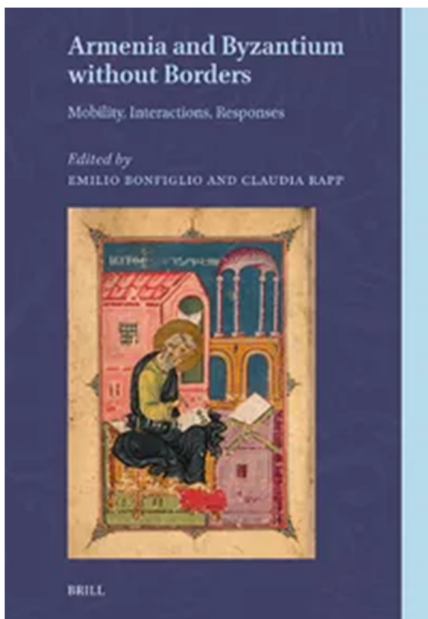


MONASTIC RULES AND RITUALS AMONG ARMENIANS, Book one

By **Lusine Tumanyan**, Yerevan, Matenadaran, 2023, 240 p.

The book presents the establishment of monastic orders in Armenia, influenced by Cappadocian and Egyptian traditions. It consolidates and analyzes the rules applied in Armenian monasteries. The dietary practices of hermits and monks, as well as the order of blessing the table, are detailed. Additionally, the book elucidates testimonies from Armenian primary sources regarding the rites of monastic pilgrimage and analyzes the content of those rites. This work is

intended for those interested in monasticism, Armenologists, theologians, and the general reading public.



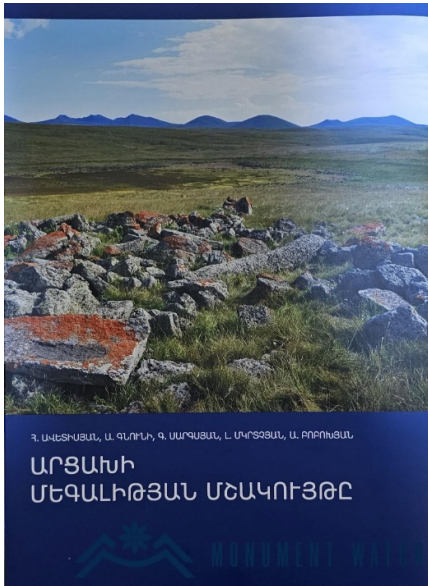
ARMENIA AND BYZANTIUM WITHOUT BORDERS Mobility, Interactions, Responses

*Armenian Texts and Studies, Volume: 7, Brill, 2023, 360 p., Editors: **Emilio Bonfiglio** and **Claudia Rapp***

Byzantium is more and more recognized as a vibrant culture in dialogue with neighbouring regions, political entities, and peoples. Where better to look for this kind of dynamism than in the interactions between the Byzantines and the Armenians? Warfare and diplomacy are only one part of that story. The more enduring part consists of contact and mutual influence brokered by individuals who were conversant in both cultures and languages. The articles in this volume

feature fresh work by younger and established scholars that illustrate the varieties of interaction in the fields of literature, material culture, and religion.

Contributors are: Gert Boersema, Emilio Bonfiglio, Bernard Coulie, Karen Hamada, Robin Meyer, Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Claudia Rapp, Mark Roosien, Werner Seibt, Emmanuel Van Elverdinghe, Theo Maarten van Lint, Alexandra-Kyriaki Wassiliou-Seibt, and David Zakarian.



MEGALITHIC CULTURE OF ARTSAKH

By H. Avetisyan, A. Gnuni, G. Sargsyan, L. Mkrtchyan, A. Bobokhyan, Publishing House of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Yerevan, 2023, 184 p.

A collective monograph titled "Megalithic Culture of Artsakh" has been published, authored by Avetisyan A., Gnuni A., Sargsyan G., Mkrtchyan L., Bobokhyan A. This book, published in Yerevan in 2023 by the Publishing House of the Institute of Archeology and Ethnography, spans 183 pages. It is dedicated to the megalithic monuments of Artsakh, presenting previously unknown megalithic structures in the Republic of Artsakh. These include menhirs, vishaps (dragon stones), idols, rock structures, stone piles, towers, and structures resembling dolmens. The monuments studied have been digitized and modeled, and the monograph includes orthophoto maps, geodetic maps, and maps illustrating the distribution of these monuments. The book is a significant contribution to the research on the ancient culture of Artsakh.