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HISTORY

THE CRISIS OF THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY OF SYRIA AS A GROUND FOR THE REEVALUATION OF THE PAN-DIASPORAN PRIORITIES (In the Context of World Processes)

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Beginning from the 20th century, world terrorism with its various forms of manifestation (the Young Turk coup in the Ottoman Empire in 1908, World War I in 1914-1918, the Armenian Genocide in 1915-1923, the February revolution and the October coup in the Russian Empire in 1917, World War II in 1939-1945 and the subsequent events in the Middle East) has had and continues to have devastating consequences on the world civilization, as well as to become the cause of the change and reformation of the demographic state of the native people and the native cradle-territories.

In other words, the Armenian Genocide, the fall of the Ottoman and Russian Empires in World War I laid the foundation for the extensive plan of the occupation of the Near and Middle East countries, which has further developed in the subsequent decades (in the years of World War II and later), as a result of periodic and continual wars and which is trying today to reach its culmination during the undeclared World War III.

The peculiar feature of the three World Wars was and continues to be committed and still periodically continuing genocides and the forced deportation of the indigenous people, the natives (Armenians, Slavic peoples, Eastern and Western European peoples, as well as Arabs, Yezidis, Assyrians and other hetero-ethnic or religious groups), which, as a rule, are accompanied by the total destruction of the heritage of universal civilization (the ancient and newest material and spiritual values¹), as well as by the Christian-expatriation, namely, Armenian-expatriation (twice in the course of one century, at first in the native cradle – in Western Armenian, Cilicia, also in the Armenian-inhabited provinces of the Ottoman Empire, and then in the “Mother Armenian Diasporan communities” of the captured territories).

That disastrous process had, in its time primarily affected the Armenians living at the crossroads of East and West, specifically the Western Armenian segment, causing them to suffer the Genocide and the loss of their Homeland, dispersing the living remainder all over the world. A situation, which, in the following decades, led to the process of gradual assimilation (immediately in the Western countries and at a slower rate, in the Eastern countries); moreover, it has caused also an inevitable alienation and estrangement of a significant section of the population living on the preserved ¹/₁₀ of their Motherland (Republic of Armenia - RA, Republic of Mountainous Karabagh - RMG, from 2017 - the Republic of Artsakh - AR).

¹ Irina Bokova - the general director of UNESCO has qualified the actions of the “Islamic State” as a form of “cultural cleansing”) UNESCO seeks to save Jewish sites from Islamic State’s claws. 2014, December 1, <https://goo.gl/8USF9H>).

In fact, a 100 years after the Armenian Genocide and the Homeland-deprivation of the Western Armenians and particularly following the World War II, the radical processes occurring in the Near and Middle East countries have, as a result of periodic and continual wars, already led and are intended to lead, to the annihilation and the expatriation of the native and hetero-ethnic peoples of the region, as it happened with regard to the Armenians a century ago.

Started with the terrorist attacks launched in the USA on September 11, 2001, the successive destructive terrorist wars, the civil clashes, the coups realized with identical scenarios have had and continue to have their irreversible consequences on the Armenian communities (Iraq [2003, March 20 - 2007, May; 2008 to date], Egypt [2011, January 25 - 2013, July 3], Syria [2011, March 15 to date]), which had greatly increased in number following World War I, as a result of the Genocide perpetrated against the Armenians, the survivors of the pogrom having found refuge in those countries.

It is no mere chance that the descendants of the rescued survivors of the Armenians subjected to the first Genocide and Homeland-deprivation in their historical cradle, in Western Armenia, Cilicia, as well as in the Armenian-inhabited provinces of the Ottoman Empire by the same patrons of the world criminal powers continue to undergo the attacks, the ravages and the deportations of the genocidal terrorists now on the one-time host Arab land, the Near and Middle East countries, where their ancestors had formerly taken refuge.



Political map of Syria

As a consequence of the protracted and devastating war launched by the terrorist forces in 2011, thousands of Armenian-Syrians have taken shelter in other countries (Lebanon, Jordan, the United Arab Emirates, the USA, Canada, Sweden, etc.) also in the Motherland, in the Republics of Armenia and Artsakh.

Simultaneously, as a result of the immigration Quota privileges² (to the USA, Canada, European countries, Australia and others), assigned mainly to the Christian refugees by the Immigration Services of the Western countries, more and more Armenian generations chiefly from “Armenian-preserved” Eastern countries are sacrificed to the “Melting Pot” of the West.

Due to **historical-political** *objective* and *subjective* circumstances the Armenian people both **in the Diaspora** (communal organizations) and **in Armenia** (authorities) were, on the whole, unprepared for the radical crisis of the Diasporan communities, especially, of the largest Armenian community of the Near East, Syria, and to show hospitality to the tens of thousands Armenian refugees.

Thus, the **national organizations of the Armenian community of Syria** (both dioceses: the second by its size - the Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, the Diocese of Perio, and that subject to the Mother See of Edjmiadsin in Damascus), as

² Thus, during the Syrian war, when the Armenians and the Armenian community organizations started to become targets of attack, some Armenian-American public figures have appealed to the US appropriate structures with a proposal to reconsidering the quota assigned to the Armenians in the country's immigration programs. On November 11, 2012, the US government, responding to the appeal of four prominent Armenian-American lawyers, has reconsidered the former resolution of the Homeland Security Department of the US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) to grant the Armenian-Syrians merely a “Temporary Protected Status” (TPS) and has permitted to issue for them “Visa Waivers”. The said resolution stated: “Due to the violent upheaval and deteriorating situation in (Syria) USCIS announced that eligible Syrian nationals ... in the United States may apply for Temporary Protected Status (TPS).” Alluding to the bombing of the St. George Armenian Church in Aleppo, as well as to the kidnappings (seven in number) of Armenians in the Beirut-Aleppo route bus, the Former Assistant Director of ACTION/Peace Corps, the well-known lawyer Vardges Yeghiayan Esq., and the Former Mayor of Pasadena, William Paparian Esq., had applied, on October 12, 2012, to the US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, and to the Homeland Security Secretary, Janet Napolitano, expressing their concern about the fate of the beleaguered Christian citizens in Syria: “The fighting there [in Syria] has engulfed large portions of the country and has made the already precarious position of Christians even more untenable. It is precisely because we feel the current legislation, including the extension of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) to Syrian nationals, is insufficient in addressing the deteriorating humanitarian situation that we turned to the United States government.” Before long, their innumerable friends and relatives from the USA and elsewhere expressed their readiness to assist the US government to ensure facilities to the Syrian-Armenians for their entry to the USA. According to William Paparian's assertion, they will continue “to press the US Government to take immediate action to alleviate the suffering of Christians in Syria and will immediately advise the Syrian Armenian community and their family and friends of further developments” [US Government Responds to Prominent Armenian-American Lawyers Call upon US Government to Issue Visa Waivers for Syrian-Armenians. Center for Armenian Remembrance. Press Release. 2012, November 12, <<http://www.centerarnews.com/>>]. Whereas, the Diasporan Armenians should have displayed unanimity in order that the transfer and the accommodation of our compatriots from war-ruined Syria would have been realized in the Republics of Armenia and Artsakh (Mountainous Karabagh), concurrently with the activities of the local authorities, and not in the USA, as well as a substantial material aid should have been offered to our Diasporan compatriots to ensure their transportation to the Motherland, their lodging and their employment, and not to the US government, and for settling them in the US.

well as the authorities of the political-party and national-communal organizations were not prepared to the war situation, although, being the witness and well-informed about the proceeding military-political developments in the Near and Middle East countries, particularly following the World War II (Palestine, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, etc.), they had to do their utmost to objectively foresee the inevitability of the ripening military outcome and its devastating consequences on the Armenian community. Therefore, as the communal organizations of the “Mother community,” it was necessary that they could, thus far, reconsider the pan-Diasporan and, particularly, the communal priorities (passive Armenian-preservation, to maintain, at any cost, the community even at the price of human lives, to establish “homelands” in foreign countries, even under machine-gun fire).

The communal and, generally, the pan-communal organizations responsible for the vital activity of the Armenians of Syria (on the eve of the war there was a fairly-well organized Armenian community in Syria numbering about 80 thousand people, the greatest part of which, around 60 thousand people, lived in Aleppo³), who had the one-time historical experience of the classical Armenian communities (India, Poland, the Netherlands, etc.), created by the statehood-deprived Armenians, should consider Syria as a provisional and unpromising haven. Moreover, following the crumbling of USSR and the factual termination of the “Cold War,” these organizations (and the Diaspora, in general), although cultivating multilateral state-political and social-economic relations with the Republic of Armenia (which is free and independent since 1991 and, with the proclamation of the Republic of Mountainous Karabagh - Republic of Artsakh, is in the process of becoming also united), nevertheless they were, based on *subjective* motives, and still are interested in preserving the “Mother community” of the Near East (enlarged in number as a result of the Armenian Genocide) even in the ruins⁴.

Whereas, ***Eastern Armenia***, especially after its unification with Russia (Armenian Province - 1828-1840, Yerevan District - 1840-1849, Yerevan State (Erivan Governorate) - 1849-1918), and the more so during the whole 20th century (First Republic of Armenia - 1918-1920, Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic - 1920-1991 and the Republic of Armenia - 1991 to date) has been and continues to be an *objective* refuge of immigration and repatriation (individual, organized and massive) even if these migratory processes are realized under difficult historical-political and social-economic conditions.

As a consequence of subjective motives, it is natural that Armenia, confronting social-economic and military-political hardships, would be unprepared to receive such a huge number of its compatriots displaced by reason of a similar dreadful calamity. Nonetheless, in contrast to the experience gained in Armenia with our compatriots displaced as a result of the Iraqi war, the assistance shown to the Armenian-Syrians

³ Pashayan Araks, Instability in Syria, «Globus. Energetic and regional security», n.3, 2011, May 31 <https://goo.gl/rzfsxT> (in Arm.); Galstyan Hrant, Syrian Armenians. return which was not considered, June 3, 2015 <https://goo.gl/bozXio> (in Arm.).

⁴ To recovery. Appeal of Aram I to Armenian people from alarmed Aleppo, January 9, 2017, <https://goo.gl/sqnoNV>.

had a more organized and coordinated course thanks to the Ministry of the Diaspora of the Republic of Armenia, created in 2008 (Minister: Hranoush Hakobyan). Making use of the corresponding governmental levers, the Ministry together with the national and Diasporan (including Syrian-Armenian) public and benevolent organizations exerted and continue to exert great efforts (coordinated also with a few international bodies) to facilitate, with all possible means the process of putting up and settling of the Syrian-Armenians in the Motherland.

So that, the crisis of the Armenian community of Syria has been, since the foundation of the Ministry of the Diaspora of the Republic of Armenia, the first serious and trying experience in the evaluation of the efficiency of the cooperation between Armenia and the Diaspora and the involvement of the Motherland in the Armenian-Syrian problem.

The crisis of the Armenian community of Syria was an experience also from the point of view of examining the ideological-psychological readiness of the mutual understanding, cooperation and coexistence between the two segments of the Armenian people since the periodical repatriation programs realized in Armenia in the Soviet period.



St. Martyrs' Armenian Church of Deir-ez-Zor exploded by the Islamic terrorists on September 21, 2014 (the date was chosen not by accident: the day of the proclamation of the Independence of the Third Republic of Armenia)

Based on **ideological - political** objective and subjective motives, the Armenian people both **in the Diaspora** and **in Armenia** are, from the viewpoint of being repatriated and receiving repatriates, on different planes of national readiness.

Thus, for the Armenian's from **Syria**, who had, at one time, visited or been educated or engaged in various occupations (personal, scientific, business, etc.) in Armenia and thereby being familiar with the linguistic peculiarities

(also with Russian language), mode of life, customs and habits and other behavioral features of Armenia, it was objectively easy to make a decision to be repatriated to Armenia long before the beginning of the hostilities in their country or at their outbreak.

In contrast, for a certain number of people, who had taken refuge ("involuntary repatriates") in the Motherland by reason of the intensification of the hostilities in Syria in the subsequent years, Armenia was considered and can still be considered as a provisional shelter and transit place to move to either other countries (Europe, USA,

Australia, Eastern countries) or to return back to Syria, something, which has subjective motives (lack of desire to accommodate themselves to Armenia's environment, to the social-economic hardships of Armenia, to the military-political complications, to the peculiarities of the Eastern-Armenian linguistic thinking, also the Russian language, being unfamiliar with the lifestyle, customs and habits, other cultural and behavioral features or feeling alienated to them).

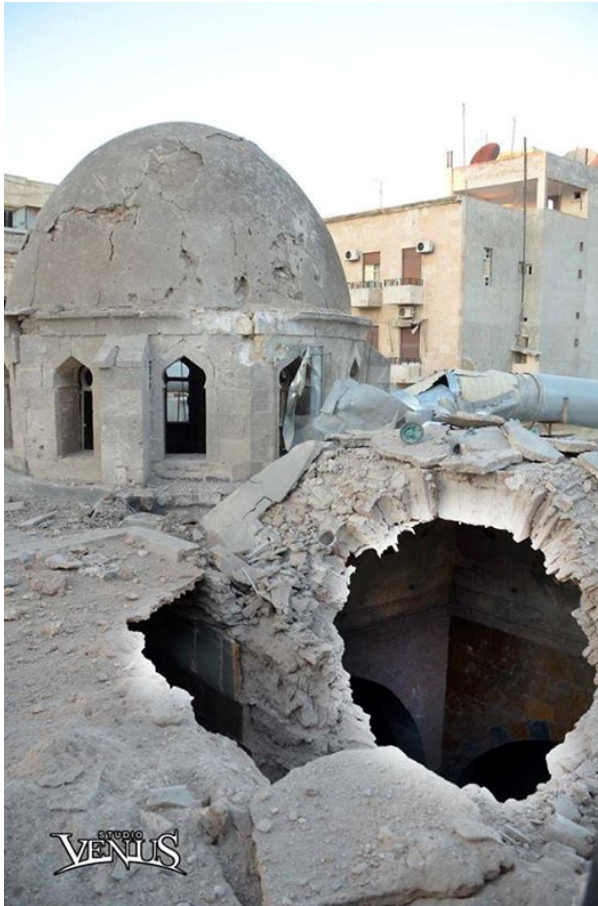
Whereas the citizens of ***independent Armenia*** in general (with a few negligible exceptions) have displayed and are displaying now a tolerant behavior toward our compatriots from Syria, which is the consequence of objective factors (being familiar with the Western Armenian linguistic reasoning, as a result of periodic and individual repatriation events in the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, the utilization by some of the repatriates of Turkish, Arabic and other languages, their mode of life, customs and habits, being acquainted or familiar - in some cases also accustomed to or mastered – with their cultural and behavioral peculiarities).

Consequently, in the *subjective* perceptions of the majority of the population of the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Artsakh it is incomprehensible, that a certain segment of Diasporan Armenians are bargaining about the priorities for the large-scale investments in the Motherland, as well as the lack of preference and zeal toward the repatriation among a certain part of the “mostly-preserved” Armenians of the “Mother community,” Syria. Inasmuch as, Armenia is the main assembly place (Repatriation, the call “Come Home,” Home-Coming, Armenian-Assemblage) and habitation for the hundreds of thousands Armenians, who were scattered all over the world as a result of the Armenian Genocide. Moreover, Armenia has become free and independent since 1991 and, by the proclamation of the Republic of Artsakh, is on its way also to become united.

Formerly, the main obstacle for a certain section of the Diasporan Armenians in the relations with Armenia was the latter's forming part of the USSR; after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and a quarter of a century past, the new obstacles for those relations, which are now considered (basically by the same group of people) are Armenia's social-economic hardships, the political situation in Artsakh, the peculiarities of the Eastern Armenian linguistic thinking, as well as the use of the Russian language, etc.

Moreover, appeals to restore and to reestablish the national structures of the ruined (following the war) adopted country (“Syrian motherland”) are heard⁵, which have laid and will lay obstacles in the path of the pan-Diasporan efforts of the rebuilding of the real Homeland, as well as of the ideological-practical program of the utmost importance and actuality, the Armenian-Gathering.

⁵ Ibid.



St. Rita Tilel Armenian Catholic Church of Aleppo with the adjacent Eparchy bombed on April 28, 2015 (the date was chosen not by accident: the commemoration days of the 100th Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide)

The political-party segmental ideology, with some exceptions, unfortunately, nowadays again, tries to keep the diverse sections of the Diasporan society away from Armenia's efforts to join and to strengthen wholly our repatriate-compatriots from Syria, thereby hindering the Diaspora from the opportunity to unambiguously orient itself toward the Motherland, in some cases preferring to support the refugee Armenians to settle abroad, offering the new generation of Armenians of foreign countries the option to induce "(re)constructing" new "motherlands" in alien lands, which is a meaningless activity, devoid of prospects, whereas the Motherland - the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Artsakh need the unbargainable and entire assistance of their sons.

The situation is the same also in the other communities, where under the conditions of the development and expansion of similar (Syrian) or other events (which cannot be excluded in the course of time), the return to the Motherland and the assistance of repatriates to establish themselves there remains questionable, out of the pan-Diasporan priorities (we have the examples of Armenians departed and departing from Iraq, Egypt and Syria), meanwhile preference being given mainly to emigration to foreign lands, whereas the free and independent Motherland (which is on its way to become united as well, following the liberation of Artsakh),⁶ in some cases, is being regarded as a springboard or a transit place.

The present geo-political challenges should further promote the reevaluation of the pan-Diasporan priorities, in order to radically revise and reorganize, in a moral-psychological, ideological-practical sense, the communal life in the Diaspora. That epoch-making mission should resolutely and urgently be assumed both by the Diaspora with all its structures, the Armenian Church (Apostolic, Evangelical, Catholic), the national parties (Social Democrat Party - SDP Hunchakian, Armenian Revolutionary Federation – ARF Dashnaktsutyun, Armenian Democratic Liberal Party - ADLP

⁶ "Free, Independent and United Armenia" - the credo of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF - Dashnaktsutyun), proclaimed in 1919. See: Independent and United Armenia, <https://goo.gl/bTUEkT> (in Arm.).

Ramkavar), the pan-Armenian benevolent organizations, all the Diasporan unions and clubs, the Armenian mass media in Armenian and foreign languages (the press, radio, television, internet), the educational institutions and the Motherland Armenia (RA and AR) with its state, ecclesiastical, public and other levers, to guide and to coordinate all the joint efforts.

It is necessary that the organization of Armenia and the Diaspora reconsider, first of all, from the ideological viewpoint and with the help of their nationalist and patriot forces, the pan-national priorities in the world becoming insecure with every passing day, the perspectives of survival and set the subsequent tasks. It is important also to organize illuminative work in the Armenian communities with a pan-Armenian, pan-Diasporan everyday consistent activity, by means of publications, speeches, presentations, etc., representing the real geo-political situation, the universal developments and challenges, the dangers of degeneration and the transformation and mutilation of the Armenian identity as a consequence of assimilation and generation changes.

Otherwise, the Diaspora, as a collective body of national importance, with its aimless and inefficient "Armenian-preservation," is doomed to assimilation and disappearance under the constantly changing, rapidly globalizing geo-political conditions, ceaselessly facing new challenges.

Under the conditions of a precarious and unpromising future and the gradually threatening dangers in the Near and Middle East and the Western countries, in addition to the dreadful geo-political developments imperiling humanity and civilization, and a 100 years following the Armenian Genocide, it is advisable to ideologically and psychologically prepare those living in foreign lands and facing the danger of the maintenance of their physical existence and assimilation to make a transition from a century-old passive and inefficient, migratory and **dubious Armenian-preserving policy into a practical land-preserving policy**, into **Repatriation to the Native Country**. This idea implies that the Diaspora should be ideologically, physically and materially prepared and aimed exclusively at the Republic of Armenia and the Mountainous Karabakh - the Republic of Artsakh, liberated at the price of the blood of heroes, aimed at an unbargainable **massive and comprehensive Home-Coming**.

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

FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ARMENIA. THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND

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The historical-geographic environment of the Armenian nation from the earliest times embraced the Armenian Highland and adjacent territories between the Black Sea in the north, the Mediterranean Sea in the south-west and the Caspian Sea in the east.

Armenia is a country of mountainous landscape with mountain ranges, plateaus and high peaks. The holistic natural environment of Armenia is mentioned as the mountains of Armenia¹ or the Armenian mountains², (the mountains of Ararat³) and *montes Armeniae*⁴ (the mountains of Armenia) in antique and Armenian early medieval sources⁵, as well as in the Bible⁶.

Armenia's mountains are of volcanic origin and its mountainous relief is higher, on average, than surrounding territories, being characterized by geomorphologic peculiarities, thus since the 19th century it has been singled out as a geographic and geologic region and the ancient and medieval geographic terms *լեռինս Հայոց* (the mountains of Armenia or the Armenian mountains) have been adopted in geographical

¹ Herodotus, with an English translation by A. D. Godley. Cambridge. Harvard University Press, 1920, I, 72, 2; V.52.3. As J. Rennel noted: "The Armenia of Herodotus (in Terpsichore 52) extended westward to the Euphrates, in the quarter towards Cilicia; and southward to mount *Masius* in Mesopotamia; as may be inferred from the same chapter. Northwards it included the sources of the Euphrates (Clio, 180)... it should be confined on the east by the mountains which separate the course of the Araxes, from the eastern sources of the Euphrates; amongst which is Mount Ararat..." (James Rennel, *The Geographical System of Herodotus Examined and Explained by a Comparison with Those of Other Ancient Authors and with Modern Geography*. Volume 1, London, 1800, pp. 279-280).

² The Geography of Strabo, with an English translation by H. L. Jones, London, in eight volumes, vol. V, 1954, XI. II. 15, et al.

³ Gen. 8.4. There is the following entry about Armenia in Eastons Bible Dictionary: "Armenia: A country in western Asia lying between the Caspian and the Black Sea. Here the ark of Noah rested after the Deluge" (A Dictionary of Bible Terms by M.G. Easton M.A., D.D., from Illustrated Bible Dictionary Third Edition published by Thomas Nelson, 1897, pp. 97-98).

⁴ *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae, editionis juxta exemplaria ex typographia apostolica Vaticana: Romae 1592 & 1593 inter se collata et ad normam correctionum romanarum exacta auctoritate Summi Pontificis Pii IX, Valentinus Loch (Herausgeber), Manz, 1863, t. I, Gen. 8. 4.*

⁵ Movses Khorenatsi, *The history of Armenians*, Yerevan, 1991, p. 33, 34; Ղազարայ Փարպեցոյ Պատմութիւն Հայոց, եւ թուղթ առ Վահան Մամիկոնեան, Տիփլիս, 1904, ՀԳ; Խաչիկյան Լ., Եղիշեի «Արարածոց մեկնութիւն», Yerevan, 1992, p. 245, etc.:

⁶ The phrase εἰς τὰ ὄρε Ἀραράθ (The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, with an English translation and with various readings and critical notes, London, Τωβίτ I, 21, cf. Ἀραράτ, Gen. 8.4) is translated «ի լեռինս Հայոց» ("into the mountains of Armenia") in the Armenian translation (the beginning of the 5th c. AD, Գիրք Աստուածաշունչք Հին եւ Նոր Կտակարանաց, ի Վենետիկ, 1860, Տոբբիթ Ա 24) of the Bible.

and geological literature as *das Armenische Gebirge*⁷, *das Armenische Hochland*⁸ (the Armenian Highland).

The Armenian Highland is located in Western Asia and covers almost 400 thousand km²;⁹ average elevation: 1500 to 2000 meters. The highest peak of the Armenian Highland is Great Ararat-Masis (5165 m), called also Free Masis, according to Movses Khorenatsi¹⁰.



The views of Mount Ararat-Masis and the Yeraskh (Arax River) from the Ararat valley¹¹

⁷ Handbuch der alten Geographie, aus den Quellen bearbeitet von Albert Forbiger. Erster Band. Leipzig, 1842, S. 86; Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über Wichtige Neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie von Dr. A. Petermann. Gotha, 1868, S. 131.

⁸ Abich Hermann, Ein Cyklus fundamentaler barometrischer Höhenbestimmungen auf dem Armenischen Hochland. Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg. t. 27, N 12, 1880; Abich G., The geology of the Armenian Highland. Western part, Orographic and geological description, "Zapiski kavazskogo otdela imperatorskogo geograficheskogo obshestva", boazskogo otdelaok. 21, 1899, Eastern part, book 23, 1902. Cf. Élisée Reclus. The Earth and Its Inhabitants. Asia. Vol. IV, South-Western Asia, New York, 1891, pp. 3, 13; Promptow J., Durch das Armenische Hochland, Leipzig, 1955. Researching geomorphological and geological features of the orography of Armenia (Western and Eastern Armenia) Herman von Abich (1806-1886) used the historically grounded geographic term *das Armenische Hochland* (the Armenian Highland) characterizing the physical-geographic-geologic-geomorphologic features of Armenia, i.e. the physical-geographical location and characteristics of the Armenian Homeland.

⁹ <https://www.britannica.com/place/Armenian-Highland>

¹⁰ Movses Khorenatsi, p. 84, 192. É. Reclus noted: *Armenian Masis (Ararat)* (É. Reclus, op. cit., p. 1)

¹¹ In his "History of Armenia" Movses Khorenatsi gave a picturesque description of the Ararat valley ("a deep valley, guarded by mountains with high peaks and crossed by a loquacious river (Eraskh) flowing from the west... At the feet of the mountains spring many limpid sources, which flow together forming quiet rivers. They border the feet of the mountains and edges of the plain like teenagers courting maidens") together with Mt Masis-Arara ("And the mountain to the south that goes up to the sun, with shining white summit rising straight up from the earth - it being a three-day journey, as one of our countrymen said, for a well-girded man to encircle - and gradually crowning with the peak is truly an old mountain amid the rejuvenated mountains" (Movses Khorenatsi, p. 112-113).

The north-western mountain ranges of the Armenian Highland extend to the shore of the Black Sea. The Armenian Highland borders on the plateau of Asia Minor in the west and the Iranian plateau in the south-east. The Armenian Highland is bordered by the Kura River in the north and north-east and the plains of North Mesopotamia in the south-west.

Among the characteristic features of the landscapes of Armenia are snow-covered peaks, Alpine meadows, mountainous lakes, rivers flowing through deep canyons, fertile valleys, slopes of mountains covered with forests and shrubs. The nature of Armenia is favorable for agriculture and cattle-breeding which were developed here from the earliest times.

The Eastern Pontic mountains¹² and Anti-Taurus are in the northwest and the west, the mountains of Upper or High Armenia, Tayk, Gugark¹³ in the north, Syunik (Zangezur)¹⁴ and Artsakh in the east¹⁵, the Eastern or Armenian Taurus (Aghdznik and Sasun), Korduk in the southwest¹⁶, the Kotur in the south and the *Armenian mountains*¹⁷ in the southeast of the Armenian Highland.

The Kechvan, Metsrats, Tsiranyats, Tsaghkavet massifs are situated in the mountainous zone stretching from Tayk to the plain of Karin. In Upper Armenia, between the Western Euphrates and the Tchorokh situated is the mountain range named in ancient times after the goddess Anahit (in the Middle Ages it was renamed St. Gregory Mountain- 3537 m). To the east of the Tevrik mountain range stretch the mountain ranges of High Armenia (the peak- Pakhra, 3287 m), Mndzur and to the further south is the Khordzyan gavar mountainous zone of the province of Tsopk.

¹² The Eastern Pontic Mountains in Armenian sources were called the Parkhar Mountains (Kachkakar - 3937 m and Verjnbak - 3711 m). The continuation of Parkhar is the Khaghtyats Mountains.

¹³ The mountainous system of Gugark includes mountains of Kghark, Javakhk, Tregkh, Khonav (Mtin or Kangark), Bazum, Lori-Tashratap, Kayan and others. It includes also the Armenian mountains (the medieval sources apply the name Armenian mountains in relation to different mountainous parts of Armenia) mentioned by Ghazar Parpetsi (V c.). The south-eastern slopes of the Arsian range (the peaks: Arsian - 3165 m. Ulgar - 3015 m) reach Ardahan. The highest peak of Javakhk Mountains is Mt. Aboul (3304 m). From the south of Gugark the mountains of Pambak (the peak is Maymekh or Dzitahanits mountain - 3109 m), Tavush and others turn to the Areguni and the Sevan-Mrav system. Parallel to Areguni mountain range, edging Lake Sevan stretch Mrghuz Mountains.

¹⁴ Bargushat (the peaks: Aramazd, Geghakar, Qarakatar, Erkatasar) mountains (the watershed of Vorotan, Voghji and Geghi rivers) branch off from the Zangezur range. The Syunik mountains (the peaks: Kaputjugh 3905 m, Khustup) extend to Yeraskh (Araks) River in the south. From the Arpa River to Meghri Gorge stretches the Zangezur mountain range. To the south from Zangezur mountain range is Meghri mountain range (the peak Baghatssar). The Vayk mountain range reaches Sharur and Nakhijevan plains.

¹⁵ The loftiest peaks of the Artsakh Mountains are Yeghegnasar (Gyamish), Mrav, Alharak, Great Kirs and Dizapait (Artsakh Atlas, text by Karapetyan S. G., Yerevan, 2016). From the east of Vardenis massif stretches the Artsakh mountain system, including Kashatagh (at the junction of Kashatagh and Sodk ranges rises Mt. Rmbasar) and Mrav mountain ranges. From the midstream of Tartar River to the south-east stretch Dizapayt Mountains. In the junction place of Kashatagh and Sodk rises Rmbasar (3373 m). The mountainous region of Artsakh in the south reaches up to Aghavno River.

¹⁶ In Andzevatsik gavar of Vaspurakan province Kangvar mountain range connects the Armenian Taurus with the Korduk Mountains.

¹⁷ The mountain pass (gates) called *Armenian Droonk* is located in the *Armenian Mountains* to the east of Kaputan Lake.

The Basen valley is crossed by the Yeraskh (Araks) River, between the Tsiranyats and Tayk massifs and the Jrabashkh and Aytsptkunk mountain ranges. The mountains of Tayk are adjacent to the Metsrats and Karmir Porak Mountains to the east of which is the Kars plateau. *Kogovit concavity* stretches from the foot of Mount Ararat-Masis in the south-western direction, up to the Vaspurakan massif. The regions of Tsaghkants, Tondrak, Tsaghkotn, Sipan, Berkri, Bznunyats, Manazkert and Van are situated in the basin of Lake Van. The Tsaghkants Mountains with Tsaghkeo (3543 m), Aghi (3519 m) and Npat (2332 m) peaks are situated between Lake Van and Eastern Euphrates (Aratsani). The Sipan plateau (the summit Sipan-*Nekh Masik*) stretches between the Tsaghkants Mountains and Lake Van. To the west from Lake Van, in Bznounik gavar, is Mount Nemrut (Sarakhn) (3050 m), where above 2500 meters Lake Nemrut is situated; to the south from Nemrut is Mount Grgur. The mountainous zone of Meghedukh and Taron stretches from the Karin valley to the ranges of Armenian Eastern Taurus. It includes the Meghedukh, Byurakhn, Khamur shield-shaped massifs and the mountain ranges of Aytsptkunk, Mardaghi and Taron. The Aytsptkunk mountain range, with the namesake peak (3124 m) stretches from the Yeraskh River to the Meghedukh massif. The Byurakhn massif stretches from Mount Kataroy (2950 m) to south-east. Some of the tributaries of the Yeraskh and Aratsani rivers spring in the Byurakhn massif, which is surrounded by the valleys of Ginek and Bazkan rivers, the Khnus concavity and the Tekman plateau. In the south-east the Armenian *Chain joints the* Tondrak massif (through Yeghbark upland) with Khori (3548 m) and Tondrak (3313 m) peaks, which emits sulphury gas and water vapors.

Taron-Hark mountain range stretches between the Aratsani River and the Mush valley. Between Simsar and Taron mountain ranges the Mush valley is situated. The natural continuation of the Cilician Taurus is the Armenian (Eastern) Taurus, in the middle part of which rise Marutasar, Achkakar, Tsovasar, Kepin and other peaks. The Khacharaj mountain range is the south-eastern continuation of Simsar. The southern Sanasun (Sasno) and Salna massifs of Simsar form Sanasun or Sasun and Salnadzor cantons, and the eastern part of those mountains is called Khut. One of the peaks of Sasun mountain range is Tsirinkatar, on the northern slopes of which is located the famous St. Apostles (Aregatsag Tirinkatar) monastery. Khut and Aghdznik plains are located to the south from Sasun. The Masius Mountains are situated in the north of Armenian Mesopotamia. Shatakh, covered with forests, Rshtunik edging Lake Van and Mokq (Arnos - 3550 m and Artos - 3475 m) are the eastern branches of the Armenian Taurus. The peak of Vaspurakan plateau, Mount Varaga (3250 m) rises to the east of Van. To the south-west from Lake Van is Hayots Dzor (Armenian Valley).

The mountains of *Byurakhn* ("Ten thousand springs") and *Haikakan Par* (the *Armenian Chain*) are in the middle of the Armenian Highland¹⁸. The summit of the

¹⁸ The Armenian (Central) volcanic plateau, known as *Mijnashkharh* (Midland), is divided into northern and southern parts by the *Armenian Chain* to the west of which is the *Jrabashkh* (Watershed) mountain range (its peak is Sukavet, 3424 m.) and to the south - the Sharian mountain range between the Vagharshakert (Alashkert) plain and Dalar valley.

Byurakn massif is *Sermants-Byurakn* (3189 m), which in "Ashkharatsoyts" (The Geographic Atlas) is called "the Peak of the Land, where spring many sources."

Above all tower the summits of the huge extinct volcanic massif of the Ararat Mountains: Mount Great Ararat-Masis, and Little Ararat (Sis, 3925 m.).



The view of Mt. Ararat-Masis from the slope of Mt. Aragats

The mountains of the Armenian Highland are of volcanic origin and most of its peaks are extinct volcanos: Mt. Ararat-Masis, Mt. Sipan (Nekh-Masik, 4434 m, to the north of Lake Van), Mt. Aragats (4095 m), Mt. Kachkar (3937 m), Mt. Kaputjugh (3917 m), Mt. Azhdahak (3598 m.), Yeghegnasar (3725 m), Mt. Ishkhanasar (3552 m), Mt. Tondrak (3542 m), Mt. Artos (3475 m), Mt. Aramazd (3392 m), Mt. Rmbasar (3373 m), Mt. Mrav (3340 m), Mt. Geghmaghan (3319 m.), Mt. Samsar (3285 m.), Mt. Baghatssar (3256 m), Mt.

Khustup (3216 m), Mt. Sermants-Byurakn (3189 m.), Mt. Mndzur (3188 m), Mt. Great Maimekh (3109 m), Mt. Nemrut (3050 m), Mt. Marutasar (2967 m), Mt. Andokasar (2830 m), Mt. Teghenis (2812 m)¹⁹, Great Kirs (2725 m), Mt. Simsar (2689 m), Mt. Arai Ler (2614 m), Ishkhanisar (2561 m), Mt. Dizapait (2448 m), Mt. Npat (2332 m) and others.

Armenia - Haik' - Haiastan - the Homeland of the Armenian nation is the cradle of civilization from ancient times, the evidence of which are the petroglyphs and megalithic observatories, various manifestations of early cosmological and calendrical contents, the origin and development of agriculture, the monuments of city planning, temples and later, cathedrals, horse breeding, metallurgy and chariot making, etc. Preconditions for the origin of civilization in the Armenian Highland situated in Western Asia were the favorable geographical environment, natural resources, the Hai-Armen ethnic basis and the Aryan spiritual commonality which enabled spiritual, cultural, economic and political life of the Armenian people. With its historical-cultural values Armenia has a prominent place along with Sumer, Egypt and other countries of the basin of the Mediterranean Sea and Mesopotamia in the development of world civilization.

¹⁹ It is the peak of the Tsaghkunyats mountain range; to the south is Yeghvard plateau.



Mt. Sipan and Lake Van



Mt. Aragats

The complete system of the Armenian ethno-geographic names characterizes the natural-historic environment and cultural and social-political history of Armenia-Haiastan - the cradle and the Homeland of the Armenian nation. Armenia and the Armenian statehood have been attested in ancient (the 3rd millennium BC-3rd c. AD) and medieval historical sources under the names of Aratta²⁰ (Ararat), Armanum²¹ (Armani, cf. Armi, Arme), Hayasa²², Nairi, Ararat (Kingdom of Van-Urartu), Armina²³, the kingdoms of Greater Armenia (320 thousand km²) and Armenia Minor (80 thousand km²)²⁴, as well as the Armenian state of Cilicia²⁵ (in 1080-1198 - the Armenian principedom, in 1198-

²⁰ See about Aratta: Kramer S. N., *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta: a Sumerian Epic Tale of Iraq and Iran*, Philadelphia, 1952; L. N. Petrosyan compared the name of Aratta with the name of Ararat (Urartu) [see: *Armenian Ethnography and Folklore. Collection*, 6, Yerevan, 1974, p. 123, cf. Kavoukjian M., *Armenia, Subartu and Sumer. The Indo-European Homeland and Ancient Mesopotamia*, Montreal, 1987, pp. 59-81; Movsisyan A., *The ancient state in Armenia: Aratta*, Yerevan, 1992 (in Arm.).

²¹ Kifishin A., *geographical views of ancient Sumerians during patesi Gudea (2162-2137 BC. – Palestinskij sbornik 13 (76), 1965, p. 64 (in Russian); Ivanov V.V., The highlighting of different chronological layers in Armenian and the problem of the initial structure of the hymn of Vahagn, Patmabanasirakan handes 1983/4, p. 32-33 (in Russian); Danielyan E. L., On the genetic identity of Armanum with Armenia, Fundamental Armenology, № 1 (5) 2017, pp. 7-17 ([http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/datas/issues/ISSUE-1-\(5\)-2017.pdf](http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/datas/issues/ISSUE-1-(5)-2017.pdf)).*

²² Martirosyan N., *The relationship of Armenian with Hittite, handes amsorea*, 1924, N 9-10, p. 453 (in Arm.); Kretschmer P., “Der nationale Name der Armenier Haik”, *Anzeiger der Acad. Der Wiss. In Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1932; Kapancyan Gr., *Hayasa – the cradle of the Armenians. Ethnogenesis of Armenians and their pre-history*, Yerevan, 1956 (in Russian); Kosyan A., *Hayasa and Azzi, in Gift from Heaven. Myth, Ritual and History: Collection of papers dedicated tot he 80th birthday of Sargis Haruthiounyan*, Yerevan, 2008, p. 263-291 (in Arm.); Ghazaryan R., *Political and cultural history of Hayasa*, Yerevan, 2009 (in Arm.) etc.

²³ Cf. Arminiya, see: *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide. Traduit du viueux perse, de l'élamite, du babylonien et de l'araméen, présenté et annoté par Pierre Lecoq*, Gallimard, 1997, p. 55.

²⁴ Ptol., V. 12. 1; 6. 18. The Armenian statehood as manifested by the ancient and medieval kingdoms [generated and reigned by the Haikian (Haikazun) dynasty (from the 3rd millennium BC) and its branches (until I c. AD), the Armenian Arshakuni (until 428), the Haikazun-Sisakyan-Aranshahik (Vachagan the Pious of Artsakh, 484 - the mid-6th c.), the Bagratuni (885-1045) and its coeval and the subsequent ones (Vaspurakan, 908-1021, Kars-Vanand, 963-1065, Tashir-Dzoraget, 966-1113, Parisos, the mid-10th c.-1044, Siunik, 970-1170, Kilikia (Principality - 1080-1197, Kingdom - 1198-1375)], and also manifested by the early and late medieval principalities (e.g. the Mamikonyans of Taron, Sasun and Taik, the Zakarians, the Arstakh Melikdoms et al.) were based on the Armenian system of principalities.

²⁵ The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia by Sirarpie Der Nersessian. - in: *A History of the Crusades*, vol. II, Philadelphia, 1962, pp. 630-659.

1375 - the Armenian kingdom, 40 thousand km², the capital Sis) in the region of the Cilician Taurus - the natural continuation of the Armenian (Eastern) Taurus.

In this respect it is worth mentioning the Babylonian map of the world (7th-6th cc. BC) and the maps of the world by Hecataeus of Miletus (550 BC - 476 BC), Herodotus (484-425 BC), Eratosthenes (276 BC - 195 BC)²⁶ and the maps of Greater Armenia and Armenia Minor by Claudius Ptolemy (83-161 AD), "Geography" of Strabo (64 BC - 24 AD) and other classical and medieval authors' works, particularly, "Ashkharhatsoyts", as valuable ancient and early medieval geographic and cartographic sources about the history and geography of Armenia.

According to Claudius Ptolemy, Greater Armenia "is terminated in the north by a part of Colchis, by Iberia, and Albania on the line which we have indicated as running along the Cyrus (Kura) river; on the west by Cappadocia along the accessible part of the Euphrates and the part of Pontus Cappadocia... on the east by a part of the Hyrcanium (Caspian) sea from the mouth of the Cyrus river... and by Media on the line leading to the Caspius mountains... on the south it is terminated by Mesopotamia... then by Assyria... The part of Armenia Minor farthest north is called Orbalisene, below this - Aetulane, then Haeretica and below this Orsene and further south after Orsene is Orbisene..."²⁷.

According to the Armenian historians, especially the authors of "Ashkharatsoyts" ("Armenian Geography" or "World Atlas", along with geographical and cartographical information about Europe, Africa and Asia, containing detailed data about the historic geography of Armenia²⁸) - Movses Khorenatsi (the 5th c. AD) and the continuer of his work, famous geographer, mathematician and astronomer Anania Shirakatsi (the 7th c. AD), Greater Armenia consisted of 15 provinces: Bardzr (Upper or High) Armenia, Tsopk, Aghznik, Turuberan, Mekk, Korduk, Nor Shirakan (Parskahayk), Vaspurakan, Syunik, Artsakh, Paytakaran, Utik, Tayk, Gugark, Ayrarat. Each province consisted of *gavars* (cantons), their number, according to "Ashkharatsoyts", was 201. Armenia Minor was situated to the west from Greater Armenia. A part of the Armenian Homeland is Cilicia (Kilikia) situated in the north-eastern coastal zone of the Mediterranean Sea.

Most capitals of ancient and medieval Armenia were located in the Ararat valley (Armavir, Yervandashat, Artashat, Vagharshapat, Dvin) and other parts (Bagaran, Yerazgavors, Kars, Ani) of the Ayrarat *ashkharh* (province). The classical Greco-Roman and early medieval Armenian geographers and historians mention also other ancient

²⁶ Eratosthenes: "The Tigris and Euphrates flow from Armenia to the south and enclose Mesopotamia" (Eratosthenes' Geography. Fragments collected and translated, with commentary..., by Duane W. Roller, Princeton and Oxford, 2010, p. 186).

²⁷ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ ΥΦΗΓΗΣΙΣ. Parisiis, 1901, V.12.1; cf. Strabo, XII, 3.29.

²⁸ "Ashkharhatsuyts" contains data of great historical-geographical value about the administrative-political state of ancient and early medieval Armenia within the confines of Great Armenia and Armenia Minor (Eremyan S., Armenia according to « Ashkharhatsoyts», Yerevan, 1963 [in Arm.]).

Armenian capitals (Van of the Araratian Kingdom, Tsopk - Arshamashat, Commagene - Samosat, Greater Armenia and the Armenian Empire - Tigranakert).

Armenia is one of the centers of the origin of metallurgy. The Armenian mountains are rich in copper (Gugark: Pghndzahank, Manasgomer, Syunik: Kajaran, Agarak, Kapan, Aghdznik: Arghana) silver (Aghdznik: Angegh-tun), gold (Upper Armenia: Sper, Tayk: Arseats-por, Syunik: Sodk-Zod) lead (Syunik: Bakhk) and iron (Angegh-tun, Tayk, Rshtunik), tin (nearby Van and Karin), etc. There are salt mines in Koghb, Kaghzvan, Nakhijevan and Avan. Mineral springs and terminal waters (Jermuk, Arzni, Bjni, etc) of the Armenian Highland have curative properties. There are coal-fields in the basins of the Tchorokh, Aghstev, Debed, in the region of the watershed of Lake Van and Lake Urmia.

As Strabo mentions, the so-called *sandyx* (which is also called the “Armenian colour,” like purple) was mined in Sper (in the region of *Upper Armenia* in Western Armenia)²⁹. According to the Roman author Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus, 23-79 AD), blue paint was exported from Armenia which was made of a mineral (a type of *lapis lazuli*) known under the name of the “Armenian stone” - *Armenium*³⁰.

Since ancient times various kinds of stones have been an important material in construction works and economic activities of Armenians. Obsidian was used in making implements, it was also exported as raw material or integrated products from Armenia to the countries of Mesopotamia and the Near East. The abundance of various stones (volcanic tuff, basalt, marble, granite) contributed to formation of a specific coloring of the Armenian architecture.

The Armenian Highland is the watershed of the main rivers in Western Asia, which are important water-ways. The Euphrates (2700 km) and the Tigris (1945 km) flow into the Persian Gulf, the Kura (1364 km) and the Yeraskh (Araks, 1072 km) flow into the Caspian Sea, the Tchorokh (368 km), Gayl (320 km) and Halys (1355 km) flow into the Black Sea.

The Euphrates, originating in the Tsiranyats mountains (in southern Tayk), is formed of two arms, the Western Euphrates and the Eastern Euphrates (Aratsani).

The Tigris is formed of two branches, the Western Tigris (originates in Lake Tsovk) and the Eastern Tigris. The Western Tigris basin is separated from the Eastern Euphrates basin by the mountain system of the Armenian Taurus.

Since ancient times navigation was realized by the Euphrates and Tigris rivers from Armenia to the countries of Mesopotamia. It is evidenced by the Sumerian sources (3rd millennium BC), as well as the Greek historian Herodotus (484-425 BC), who describing Babylon, noted: “The city is divided into two parts; for it is cut in half by a

²⁹ Strabo, XI, 14, 9.

³⁰ “Armenia sends us the coloring substance which is known to us by its name. This also is a mineral, which admits of being dyed, like chrysocolla, and is best when it most closely resembles that substance, the color being pretty much that of *cæruleum*... (Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History*, XXXV, 28 *Armenium*).

river named Euphrates, a wide, deep, and swift river, flowing from Armenia...³¹. He noted that the boats “which ply on the river and go to Babylon are all of skins and round. They make these in Armenia, higher up the stream than Assyria. First they cut frames of willow, then they stretch hides over these for a covering, making as it were a hold; they neither broaden the stern nor narrow the prow, but the boat is round, like a shield. Then they fill it with reeds and send it floating down the river with a cargo; and it is for the most part palm wood casks of wine that they carry down”³². Herodotus also mentioned the Tigris, Zab and Gind which flow from Armenia³³. According to the Greek geographer Strabo (64/3 B.C.- 20 A.D.), “the Euphrates... rises in the northern part of Taurus, and flows toward the west through Greater Armenia, as it is called, to Armenia Minor³⁴ ... it leaves this and Commagene on the right hand; on the left Acilisene and Sophene, belonging to Great Armenia...”³⁵.

Rivers and lakes (Van, Sevan, Tsovk, Parvana, Tsovakn Hyusiso) in Armenia were used for navigation and fishing, as evidenced also by archaeological materials (fishing supplies, anchors, etc.).

The Armenian people tenderly call Yeraskh “Mother Araks”. The famous Roman poet Publius Vergilius Maro (70-19 BC) allegorically wrote about the Araks river: “angry at the bridge”. The Araks has a number of tributaries: Murts, Akhurian, Metsamor, Kasakh, Hrazdan (Zangu), Azat, Tghmut, Arpa, Karmir Get, Vorotan, Aghavno, Karkar, etc.

According to Movses Khorenatsi, from the forests of Metsrats Mountains, cedar wood was transported along the Araks for the construction of Artashat.

The northern and the north-eastern parts of the Armenian Highland are crossed by several streams flowing down to the Kura River. The sources of the Kura are in Kogh gavar of Tayk, the right bank tributaries are: Alget, Tsurtaget, Khram, Dzoraget (Debed), Aghstev, Tavush, Trtu, etc.

There are a number of lakes in the Armenian Highland. Lake Van (Bznuneats tsov: “the Bznuneats Sea”) and Lake Urmia (“Kaputan tsov”) have no outlet, their water is salty. Lake Van is known for its herring “tarekh” fish. Van *tarekh* is the only species of fish which lives in its salty water. The waters of Lake Urmia contain no fish. Lake Sevan (“Geghama tsov”: “the Sea of Gegham”) is one of the highest freshwater lakes in the world. The Sevan trout, an endemic fish of Lake Sevan is called “ishkhan” in Armenian. Only one river - the Hrazdan (Zangu) flows out of Lake Sevan. The islands of Lake Van are: Sim, Arter, Ktuts, Akhtamar. To the south-east from Lake Van is Lake Artchak, and to the west - Lake Nazik. Berkri, Marmet and some other rivers flow into Lake Van. The largest lake of Armenia is Kaputan. The other lakes of Armenia are:

³¹ Herod. I. 180.

³² Ibid., I.194.

³³ Ibid., V.52.

³⁴ Strabo XI. 12. 3.

³⁵ Strabo, op. cit.

Tsovk (from which flows out the Western Tigris), Tsovakn Hyusiso, Gaylatu, Parvana, Parz etc.

Armenia is situated in the temperate zone. Its climate is distinctly continental with dry, hot summers and rather cold winters. In accordance with the relief and climate, the flora and fauna of the Armenian Highland exhibit a remarkably wide variety largely as a result of the changes in altitude.

The plateaus of Lori, Shirak and Kars are covered with mountain steppes mostly cultivated as fields of grain crops. Armenia is the country of origin of the cultivated variety of wheat. Among the trees the pine, cedar, oak, walnut, poplar, willow and fir are common in the forests of Armenia. In ancient times extensive forestations were made in Armenia. A part of these forests have survived and now cover the slopes of the Garni National park. From ancient times the artificial forest-plantings were also connected with the artificial irrigation. One of those is Khosrov forest in the Azat River gorge. The high mountainous meadows are rich pastures. From fruit trees are common: apricot, plum, peach, mulberry, silverberry, cherry, apple, walnut, pear and so on. Armenia is the motherland of apricot (*prunus armenicus*)³⁶. From ancient times grape has been cultivated in Ararat plain.

Since ancient times Armenia has been famous for viticulture. "Viticulture and winemaking played an important role in economy, social and cultural life in Armenia starting from the timing of formation of the complex societies, which chronologically corresponds to the so-called Late Chalcolithic period. The world's earliest known wine-making facility has been discovered during the excavation of Areni-1 cave in 2007 dating back to 6000 years (the beginning of the IV Millennium BC), also confirmed by archaeochemical analyses"³⁷.

In ancient and medieval times the fauna of Armenia was represented by a variety of mammals, birds, crawlers, insects and fish. Among the mammals the wild goat, wild sheep-mouflon, chamois, wild boar, dappled deer, antelope, bear, wolf, panther, lynx, fox, jackal, hedgehog, hare and cane cat were common in the mountains, forests and valleys of Armenia. The mountain lion lived in some parts of the Armenian Highland.

The birds of the Armenian Highland are amazingly varied. Hundreds of species have been identified in Armenia, among them the eagle, hawk, falcon, vulture, partridge, grouse, pheasant, quail, pigeon, egret, crane, wild goose and duck, francolin and lark. Among the reptiles some species of poisonous snakes are common, as well as coil and green lizards.

Since ancient times beekeeping has been practiced in Armenia; honey has been an important food in the diet of Armenians, according to the Greek historian Xenophon and the Armenian historian Movses Khorenatsi.

³⁶ Danielyan E. L., Armanu - *Prunus Armeniaca*: Originated in Armenia (historical background of the native land of apricot versus modern information challenges), «21st CENTURY», № 2 (16), 2014, pp. 79-94.

³⁷ Nelli Hovhannisyan, Marina Dallakyan, Aleksander Yesayan, Tamara Bagoyan, Gagik Melyan and Boris Gasparyan, Multidisciplinary investigation of identity of the "Areni" grape variety <https://goo.gl/3HtE6H>

The brilliance of flora of the country is enhanced by large species of multi-colored butterflies. By contrast some species of the locust greatly damaged fields and orchards. In the Middle Ages peasants had to kill them as a duty.

An insect known as the *Armenian red cochineal* lived in the roots of the cereal *Aeluropus*. The paint *red cochineal* made from this insect in ancient and mediaeval times was known by the name of the “Armenian paint.”

Several strong earthquakes occurred in Armenia (in 893 in Dvin, in 1319 in Ani, in 1679 in Garni, in 1840 in Masis (Akori village and St. Jacob's Church were destroyed), in 1926 in Gyumri, in 1931 in Zangezur, in 1937 in Yerevan, in 1988 in Spitak and Leninakan-Gyumri).

Greater Armenia, Armenia Minor and Cilicia included correspondingly the whole territory of the Armenian Highland, adjacent Armenian (Northern) Mesopotamia, as well as the coastal zones of the Black, Caspian and Mediterranean seas. A research on the Ottoman documents and publications revealed that “the government of Sultan Abdul Hamid II fallaciously substituted for the name Armenia such terms as Kurdistan³⁸ or Anatolia³⁹ and Turkish forgers started to use wrongly “Eastern Anatolia”⁴⁰ (instead of Western Armenia) in Turkish official documents and pseudo-scientific literature. They falsify even former Ottoman publications and maps in which Armenia is mentioned⁴¹. Contrary to such a fraud the truth is that the word stem of the term “Anatolia” is the Greek word ἀνατολή (“east”)⁴² and “Anatolia” relates only to Asia Minor.

³⁸ The present-day Kurds sometimes are mistakenly confused with the inhabitants of ancient Korduk (Corduene) (see: William Smith, A Smaller Classical Dictionary of Biography, Mythology and Geography, New York, 1883, p. 177). But Korduk was an Armenian region in Korchayk, the 6th Province of Great Armenia (Eremyan S., loc.cit., p. 108). As noted by N. Adonts, “immigration of Kurd tribes into Armenia” started only since XVI c., as a result of Selim I's expansionist policy (Adonz N., Towards the Solution of the Armenian Question, (London, 1920), Yerevan, 2007, pp. 51-52).

³⁹ Sahakyan L., Turkification of the Toponyms in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey, Montreal, 2011, p. 12.

⁴⁰ Continuing genocidal occupation and re-divisions of Western Armenia and Kilikia, the present-day administrative division of the Republic of Turkey was established by the state-sponsored First Geography Congress, which was held in Ankara in 1941. Thus, the Turkish government continued the implementation of the plan to cover up the Armenian Genocide, at the same time, moving its military divisions to the borders of the Armenian SSR for purposes of aggression. Western Armenia was divided into the so-called “Eastern Anatolia” (with “Upper Euphrates”, “Erzurum-Kars”, “Upper Murat-Van”, “Hakkari” Subregions), “Southeastern Anatolia” (with “Middle Euphrates”, “Tigris” Subregions) Regions, “Eastern Black Sea Subregion”, and Kilikia was divided into “Adana” and “Antalya” Subregions of the “Mediterranean Region” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regions_of_Turkey). An example of genocidal “territorial appropriation” propagandized in the Republic of Turkey is the program of “Turkish Geographical Society. Activity Report, 2010”, where a “three-year plan” (2010-2013) includes activities “in homeland (Internal and East Anatolian Fieldwork...)”, i.e. occupied Western Armenia is presented falsely as the “homeland” of Turkic nomadic invaders and their descendants - the genocide perpetrators.

⁴¹ Sahakyan L., op. cit., p. 21-22.

⁴² Liddell H. G., Scott R., Greek-English Lexicon, Oxford, 1966, p. 123. Byzantine imperial theme system in Asia Minor had been formed since the middle of the 7th century to protect the Empire from the attacks of the expanding Arab Califate (The Cambridge Medieval History, vol. IV, The Byzantine Empire, part I, Byzantium and its Neighbours,

G. Ripley and Ch. A. Dana noted: "Asia Minor, a peninsula at the western extremity of Asia... between lat. 36° and 42° N. and lon. 26° and 41° E., and bounded N. W. by the Dardanelles (the Hellespont of the ancients), N. by the sea of Marmora (Propontis), the Bosphorus, and the Black sea (Pontus Euxinus), E. by the Armenian mountains... S. by the Mediterranean, and W. by the Archipelago (the Aegean Sea)...". With the same correct methodology Greater Armenia and Armenia Minor are depicted to the east of Asia Minor on the map entitled "Ancient Asia Minor"⁴³.

Henry Lynch (1862-1913) also correctly wrote: "I have invited attention to the characteristics which Armenia shares in common with her neighbours in the series of the Asiatic tablelands, Persia on the east and Asia Minor on the west"⁴⁴. An adequate geographic perception is present also in "The Encyclopedia of World History": "Asia Minor, or Anatolia, is a peninsula stretching westward from the Armenian mountains to the Aegean Sea, with the Black Sea to the north and the Mediterranean to the south ... Armenia is a mountainous region lying between the Black and Caspian Seas" and at the time of King Menua (810-786 BC) the Urartian Kingdom included "the entire Armenian Highland area"⁴⁵. Thus, according to the historic sources and historiographical and geographical literature, Anatolia with all its parts (northern, southern, eastern and western) corresponds to Asia Minor situated to the west of the Armenian Highland⁴⁶.

The Turkish official circles' anti-Armenian policy of distortion and falsification of the Armenian geographic names is targeted at deleting from the historical memory the indigenous place names of the western part of the Armenian Homeland - Western Armenia and Cilicia which suffered the genocidal devastation. D. M. Lang noted with distress: "It is difficult to convey the horror of events of 1915, as the Ottoman government set into action its design for genocide. In April 1915, the Armenian intellectual and community leaders in Istanbul (Constantinople - E.D.) were rounded up and transported in ships to their doom; among the victims were a number of priests, poets, doctors, and the great composer Komitas"⁴⁷.

The Kemalist and successive governments of the Republic of Turkey have continued obliteration of the Armenian place names in Western Armenia and Cilicia,

Cambridge, 1966, pp. 193, 194). The Anatolikon theme was in central Asia Minor, being settled by the army of the East.

⁴³ George Ripley and Charles A. Dana, *The American Cyclopaedia*. Vol. 1, D. Appleton and Company, 1873. Ancient country names and aboriginal peoples of Asia Minor (Hatti, Hittites, Kaska, Kizzuwatna-Cilicia, Troada, Mysia, Bithynia, Aeolis, Ionia, Doris, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Cappadocia) are quite well known from ancient and medieval sources and maps.

⁴⁴ Lynch H.F.B., *Armenia: Travels and Studies*, vol. I, London, 1901, p. 439. 3 "The Encyclopedia of World History: Ancient, Medieval and Modern", Sixth edition, Boston, 2001, <http://worldhistory.50webs.com/111.html>; <http://worldhistory.50webs.com/116.html>; <http://worldhistory.50webs.com/118.html>

⁴⁵ Lynch H. F. B., *Armenia: Travels and Studies*, vol. I, London, 1901, p. 439.

⁴⁶ Zohrabyan L.N., *Orography of the Armenian Highland*, Yerevan, 1979, p. 14-15 (in Russian) Danielyan E., *Problems of the History of Ancient Armenia in the Historiography*, *Patmabanasirakan handes*, 2003/3, p. 30-37 (in Arm.).

⁴⁷ Lang D. M., *op. cit.*, p. 288.

forging the political-administrative map of the occupied territories⁴⁸ by eliminating the native names, translating the indigenous place names into Turkish or inventing Turkish ones, alien to the indigenous Armenian environment.

Over the centuries the enemies seized the most part of the Armenian territories. The greatest human and territorial losses took place particularly because of Turkish genocidal policy since the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the Ottoman Empire resulting in the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923 committed by the Young Turk and Kemalist regimes. In both the Soviet and post-Soviet periods falsifications of the history of Armenia and its place names have also been perpetrated by the artificially introduced unit of “Azerbaijan”⁴⁹. After the Artsakh Liberation War (1991-1994) the defeated aggressive Republic of Azerbaijan has been using these falsifications in the militaristic propaganda against the Republic of Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic (the NKR) (Artsakh). The Republic of Armenia (29.743 km²) and the Republic of Artsakh (12.000km²) together constitute the one-thirteenth part of the Armenian lands in the north-east of the Armenian Highland.

⁴⁸ “Cartographic war” (Danielyan E., “Cartographic War” and the problem of protecting Armenian placenames. - <http://blog.ararat-center.org/?p=160>, Danielyan E., Armenia and Armenian toponyms, «VEM» 2009/1 (26), p. 9-25 (in Arm.); Ayvazyan A., Western Armenia vs. Eastern Anatolia. Europe and Orient, Journal of the Institute Tchobanian, Paris, 2007, N 4, pp. 57-58) is waged also against history and historical geography of the lands far away from Armenia. Commenting on the militaristic pan-Turanic policy during WW II A.A. Chichkin notes: “Indeed, along with military preparations of Turkey at the borders of the USSR, since the autumn of 1941 in Turkish media were published geographic maps of the future state” and Turkish aggressors stated: “The border of Turkey is far away beyond the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea... Volga - the River in which our ancestors watered their horses” (Chichkin A., The syndrome of the Ottoman empire, Century. Informational-analytic publication of the foundation HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES, 22.05.2012 http://www.stoletie.ru/territoriya_istorii/sindrom_osmanskoj_imperii_253.htm)(in Russian).

⁴⁹ This name has been stolen from Iranian Adarbaigan/Azerbaijan (derived from the ancient geographic name Atropatene). At the end of May 1918 “Eastern-Caucasian Muslim Republic” appeared (see Avetisyan H., Armenian question in 1918, Yerevan, 1997, p. 285 [in Arm.]) or “the Tartar Republic of Azerbaijan” (“Christian Science Monitor”, 05.08.1919, Haykaram Nahapetyan, Publications in American Periodicals Concerning Nagorno-Karabakh in 1918-20, http://www.noravank.am/eng/articles/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=3534) and so on, as a result of pan-Turkic projects.

KARABAGH (ARTSAKH) IN OLD MAPS

Galichian Rouben

GENERAL¹

In this article, the author will attempt to present a balanced, unbiased historic and cartographic view to the reader interested in enhancing their knowledge of how and when the historically Armenian-populated region of Karabagh (Artsakh - in Armenian) was described by various world-famous geographers and depicted by famed cartographers. For this reason, maps reproduced in the article (with the exception of the first image and the first map) are selected from the works of non-Armenian geographers and cartographers, whose maps form the basis of the world cartographic heritage. These documents have been sourced from various libraries across the world.

The documents discussed are in no way exhaustive, representing merely a small portion of the maps where Karabagh has been shown and named. Furthermore, the article excludes all descriptions and details mentioned in the travelogues of Islamic and Western travellers, who have chronicled their passage through Karabagh. These include Clavijo², who travelled during 1405-1407, Schiltberger³, who travelled from 1396 to c. 1422, and many others who travelled through the South Caucasus from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries. These sources confirm the Armenian presence in the area by providing extensive detail about the population and their way of life in the region concerned⁴. However, as they do not contain any maps, they have been excluded from this study.

The maps come to prove that Karabagh or (in Armenian) Artsakh, has appeared in maps from around 1460. However, this does not imply that the name has been absent from older writings and documents, the discussion of which is outside the scope of this article (see Figure 1).

EARLY AGES

The oldest cartographic or geographic information has reached us from the Greco-Roman sources, but these do not contain any documents which may be considered as maps. In the main, they constitute descriptive texts and references to mapmaking and maps prepared by some of the ancient geographers such as Hecataeus of Miletus amongst others⁵. The maps alluded to in these works could today be seen in

¹ The original version of this article was first published in the "Journal of Armenian Studies" of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, 2017 Volume 2 and 2017 Volume 3.

² De Clavijo, Ruy Gonzales. Narrative of the Embassy of the Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo to the Court of Teimour at Samarkand. Translated by Clemens Markham. London: Hakluyt Society, 1854.

³ Schiltberger, Johann. Bondage and Travels, 1396 to 1427. Translated by Telfer Buchan. London: Hakluyt Society, 1879.

⁴ Galichian, Rouben. Clash of Histories in the South Caucasus. London: Bennett & Bloom, 2012. 92-116.

⁵ Galichian, Rouben. Historic Maps of Armenia. London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004, 12.

reconstructions only, prepared by celebrated cartographic experts such as Karl Müller, Konrad Miller, E.H. Bunbury, John Murray and others, based on the descriptions provided in the texts of ancient historians such as Hecataeus, Herodotus, Eratosthenes, Strabo and others. Today, when we refer to world maps of the Greco- Roman periods, we mainly refer to the reconstructions prepared by these specialists.

Interestingly, although these texts and maps contain names of countries, no borders are delineated. Generally speaking, regions, or as some prefer to call them “countries”, are labelled in accordance with the names of the races, peoples and nations who, at the time, inhabited the given area. Borders, given their artificial nature, are amorphous and transitory, rendering their depiction irrelevant, unless formed by major geological features, such as large rivers, lakes, seas and mountain ranges. Since the population of the region of Karabagh was mainly Armenian, the region was covered under the umbrella nomenclature of Armenia. On many maps the same name “Armenia” also appeared over the region of Karabagh-Artsakh. This said, names of regions generally do not appear in ancient and early medieval maps.

One of the founding fathers of cartography was Claudius Ptolomaeus, known simply as Ptolemy (c. 90-168 C.E.) whose opus magnum, *Geographia*, is considered to be the most significant seminal work on geography and cartography. The book contains instructions on how to observe the universe, measure distances and angles, and general instructions on map preparation. His methods were so advanced that they were used well into the sixteenth century. The book has a list of about 8,000 toponyms, divided by continents and subdivided into countries. Out of these toponyms, around 176 relate to Armenia Maior and Armenia Minor. No original map of the work has survived and the oldest manuscript copy of the work containing maps mentioned in the book to reach us dates from the thirteenth century. This contains the reworking of the drawings as mentioned by Ptolemy in his book.

On the maps redrawn according to Ptolemy’s descriptions and coordinates, countries are divided predominantly in accordance with natural topographical features, which did not always correspond exactly with existing borders, while few other maps of the ancient and early medieval periods show country borders at all⁶. In Europe the tradition of omitting borders extended well into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In some medieval maps straight lines are drawn to artificially divide and/or specify countries, mainly as a visual aid⁷. The map-maker was often unaware of the regions and countries he was drawing and had no knowledge of the strategic variations in their political geography and shifting borders; the option of omitting borders altogether remained, therefore, the safest. With the exception of the reconstructed and copied Ptolemaic maps, dating from around the fifteenth century, the practice of drawing

⁶ It must be noted that the earliest Ptolemaic maps date from the thirteenth century and most of the mainstream maps attributed to Ptolemy were drawn after the 1470’s, when the drawing of borders was already being practiced.

⁷ Galichian, Rouben. *Countries South of the Caucasus in Medieval Maps*. London: Gomidas Institute, 2007. 45, 91, 194-196.

borders came into use during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

PRESENCE OF KARABAGH IN THE REGION

In keeping with the above-mentioned methodology of the Middle Ages, the name of the region of Karabagh (the Armenian Artsakh) did not feature in early maps, as it was considered to be a part of the country of Armenia or the Armenian population of the region, thus covered by the broader toponym of "Armenia"⁸.

Notwithstanding the above, the name of Karabagh appears sporadically in maps prepared earlier than the sixteenth century. In such cases, the reference is invariably to the region between the Arax and Kura rivers located to the west of the confluence of the two, extending to the eastern end of Lake Sevan in Armenia proper. Up to the fourth century the country located east of Karabagh and north of the river Kura was named "Caucasian Albania" or in Arabic and Persian "Aran" - in Armenian "Aghvanq". After the takeover of the region by the Iranian Sassanid dynasty during the late fourth century, Sassanid administrators combined the regions north and south of the Kura into one province, that of the Iranian Satrapy of Aran. For this same reason in Islamic cartography the region north of the Arax River, up to Mount Ararat, is sometimes referred to as Aran⁹.

It must be mentioned that in all the Islamic maps of the ninth to twelfth centuries, the Iranian- Sassanid province of Aran also included the entirety of Georgia. Furthermore, north of the eastern end of the River Arax there was no country mentioned other than Aran. In all the Islamic maps Azerbaijan is shown south of the Arax, as a north-western province of Iran, its name having changed from Lesser Media to Atropatene during the second century B.C.E., a name, which itself evolved to Atorpaten, Adherbigan, Adherbaygan and finally, during the Arab and Turkish rules, to Azerbaijan. In all Islamic maps of the south Caucasus, there is a third country, Armenia, straddling the Arax River and extending south-westward to Bitlis, Amid and Miafarqin (old Armenian capital of Tigranakert, today near Diyarbakir, Turkey). Thus, it could reasonably be deduced that the region of Karabagh, north of the River Arax, has never been placed inside a country named Azerbaijan, as claimed by the present authorities of the Republic of Azerbaijan, since, prior to 1918, such a country did not exist in the region north of the Arax River. Azerbaijan, as name of a country, had always been a province of Iran, located south of the Arax River. Various Russian, British, Turkish, American and European encyclopaedias published before 1918 bear evidence to this fact.

⁸ Ptolemy. *Geographia*, prepared by Lorenzo Fries, Manuscript Maps. C.1.d.11 and other copies in the British Library. For full texts of towns etc. see also Galichian, Rouben. *Historic Maps of Armenia*. London and New York: IB Tauris, 2004, 96-99.

⁹ Galichian, Rouben. *Countries South of the Caucasus*. Op. cit. 94-130. Here, the most important Islamic maps depicting the area are reproduced. These include the works of Istakhri, Ibn Hawqal, Idrissi, Qazwini, Mas'oudi, and Ibn Said.

A further look into maps of the region prepared by various renowned cartographers and published all over the world, would show that north of the Arax there has never been a country named Azerbaijan prior to 1918. The name of the region in medieval times was Aran, and after the Islamization of the region, Karabagh and Aran were divided into smaller regions, where Muslim khans and beglarbeys ruled under the names of the khanates of Ganja, Shaki, Talish, Derbend, Shamakhi, Shushi etc., which were collectively given the all-encompassing name of Shirvan¹⁰. Historically, in this area lived and ruled the five Armenian “Meliks” (derived from the Persian word “malek”, large landowning families), who led almost independent lives, but paid their tribute to the Persian rulers or the Ottomans, whoever happened to rule during the particular time.

KARABAGH IN OLD MAPS

In medieval texts the name of Karabagh or Artsakh was mentioned in some manuscripts, particularly in the first Armenian language geography book, the seventh century *Ashkharhatsuyts* (World Mirror) of Anania Shirakatsi, a paragraph of which could be seen in a manuscript of the work reproduced in Fig. 01, taken from MS N.1486- f102, 1597¹¹.

Historically Artsakh has been one of the fifteen provinces of medieval Armenia. The book has much information about the provinces, including their location and important towns and villages.

In a map, published in 1751 in Venice, prepared as per the descriptions of Anania Shirakatsi's *Ashkharhatsuyts*, the region of Artsakh is shown lying near the confluence of the Arax and Kura Rivers. The image in Fig. 02 is a section of this map showing the region of Artsakh which is entitled *Armenia according to old and new Geographers*. The name of Karabagh/Artsakh is underlined red in both images.

In western cartography the name of Karabagh does not appear until the middle of the fifteenth century. In 1459 a World Map was prepared ordered by Portugal's King Alfonso V. This huge map (two metres in diameter) was prepared by the Venetian cartographer Fra Mauro (c. 1400-1464). The original of the map was lost in transit from Venice to Portugal and a second copy was made by the master's assistants, which was eventually sent to the king in 1460¹².

¹⁰ For further historic and cartographic details related to the subject see Galichian, Rouben. *The Invention of History*. London: Gomidas Institute, 2009/2010 and Galichian, Rouben. *Clash of Histories in the South Caucasus*. London: Bennett & Bloom, 2012. Even Ottoman, Persian and Arab geographers and cartographers, never show a country named Azerbaijan north of the Arax River. The country by this name appeared only in 1918 and contrary to its current claims of having three thousand years of history.

¹¹ Some experts are of the opinion that the author of the *Ashkharhatsuyts* is the fifth century historiographer Movses Khorenatsi, the author of the *History of the Armenians*. However, this author is of the opinion that the book was penned by Anania Shirakatsi, in the seventh century, as it contains references to sixth and seventh century European historians.

¹² Fra Mauro's map is kept in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice.

This map is oriented with the north at the bottom and peculiarly shows the approximately correct shape of the Caspian Sea, which on other maps prepared well into the 1700s, is shown by a flat oval shape¹³. In the detail map of Fig. 03, the region of Armenia can be seen on Fra Mauro's World Map of 1460. On the lower left part of the map Armenia is mentioned near the confluence of the two rivers, Arax and Kura. Another *Armenia* in black letters and *ARMENIA* in gold letters appear at the top of the map with the Iranian Azerbaijani city of *Thauris* (Tabriz) to their south (above). Near these toponyms other cities such as *Choi* (Khoy), *Carpi* and *Arachaze* are also indicated¹⁴, which are cities in or near the region of Armenia. To the right of *ARMENIA* the pile of stones depicts Mount *Ararat* with *Archa Noe* (Noah's Ark) sitting on the summit. Between these two the name of the Armenian city of *Salmas[t]* and the Artsakh town of *Barda* are shown, with *Monte Charabach* (Mountains of Karabagh) in between. Here, for the first time in the Western cartography the name of Karabagh is mentioned. Below the confluence of Arax and Kura the toponym *Siroan* (Shirvan) can be seen, which was given to the region corresponding with the location of the present day Republic of Azerbaijan.

Gerardus Mercator (1512-1594) was one of the most important Flemish cartographers of the time, and his projections for showing the spherical earth on a flat sheet of paper are widely used even today. His atlas of the world was published posthumously by his son Rumold and contains many detailed maps of Europe as well as of maps of the other continents and countries.

The detail image shown in Fig. 04 is taken from Mercator's *Map of Asia*. The western part of Armenia is shown and has been entitled *Turcomania* (Turkish-Armenia), under the Ottoman rule, while eastern Armenia is shown under Persian domination¹⁵. The region north of Armenia, neighbouring the *Mare di Sala olim Caspium* (Caspian Sea) is named *Seruan* (Shirvan), while the Persian cities of *Merent* (Marand) and *Coy* (Khoy) are shown south of the River Arax flowing into the Caspian. North of the Arax River the name *Carabach* can be seen underlined green. The Armenian populated cities of *Van*, *Mus[h]* and *Vastan* are placed inside the Armenian territory occupied by the Ottoman Empire.

The Royal Geographer Philip du Val (1619-1683) was an important French cartographer. Fig. 05 shows a detail from his map of *Turkey in Asia* published in 1676, where the green line delineates the border of the Ottoman and Persian Empires.

¹³ The correct shape of the Caspian Sea was not known until 1720s, when Peter the Great of Russia had it comprehensively surveyed. Until then the generally agreed shape was a flat oval, and in the ancient times was thought to be connected to the Northern Ocean. It is a mystery how a fifteenth century cartographer would show the correct shape of the Caspian, only surveyed some 250 years after the making of his map.

¹⁴ This could refer to Mount Aragats or the region of Aragats in Armenia.

¹⁵ For a period of a century or so, West Armenia, which was under the occupation of the Ottoman Empire, was on certain Western maps given the name of *Turcomania*. At the same time in some of these atlases it is explained that "Turcomania and Turkish [West] Armenia are the same". The name has possibly arisen from the more generally used terminology of "Turkish-Armenia", hence "Turco-[Ar]mania".

Western Armenia is under the Ottoman rule and is entitled *Turcomanie al. Armenie* (Turcomania or Armenia, see footnote 15), which includes the region of *Nachijevan* and *Ararat*, the cities of *Kars*, *Erivan*, *Van* etc. The adjoining territory to the east, inside Persia include the provinces of *Adherbetzhan* (Azerbaijan) and *Kilan* (Gilan), where the cities of *Tauris*, *Chui*, *Ardebil*, *Maraga* and others are placed. The Persian-occupied territory in South Caucasus extends northward up to Shirvan and Derbend.

On this map the region north of the rivers *Arais* (Arax) and *Kur* are named *Shamachie* and *Shirwan*, but the triangle inside the confluence of the rivers Kura and Arax is entitled *Karasbag* (Karabagh), underlined red.

The British cartographer Robert Morden's (1668-1703) atlas *Geography Rectified* contains a map of *Armenia, Georgia and Comania*. In the map the borders between the Ottoman and Persian empires are shown similar to du Val's map. On this map, shown in Fig. 06, *Scirvan* (Shirvan) and *Shamachie* are north of the *Aras* and *Kur* Rivers inside the Persian Empire and *Karasbag* with *Nassivan* (Nakhijevan) are placed west of the confluence of these rivers, inside the Persian-occupied territory north of the Arax.

The Dutch cartographer Pieter Van der Aa (1659-1733) published his *Atlas Nouveau et Curieux* around 1710, which contained a map of the Tartar territories. A detail of this map in Fig. 07 shows the regions of Caucasus extending to northern Persia. The map covers the regions of Circassia, Georgia, Armenia and Persia. Here *Karasbagh*, underlined red, is shown on the southern shore of the river *Corasse* (Arax) and *Cirus* (Kura), north-east of *Nachsua* (Nakhijevan) and north of *Ardavil* (Ardabil) placed inside Persia. The map does not include political boundaries.

Pierre Amédée Jaubert (1779-1847) began his travels through Turkey and Armenia towards Persia in 1805. After spending four months in the Turkish town of Bayazed, where he was imprisoned by the Pasha, Jaubert was only allowed to continue his journey only after the Pasha's death. In his book *Voyage en Arménie et en Perse* (Paris, 1821) he writes about his experiences and includes a map of his travelled route, drawn by the well-known French cartographer Pierre Lapie (1777-1850).

The detail reproduced in Fig. 08 from Lapie's map shows the region of southern Caucasus. North of the Kura we can see the regions of *Chyrwan* (Shirvan) and *Talidj* (Talish), which are mainly in the territory today occupied by the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Here *Cara-Bagh*, undelined red, is placed between the rivers *Araxes* and *Kour*, east of the Lake *Sivan* (Sevan) and south of *Elizabethpol* or *Ghandjeh*. On the map the sister territory of Karabagh, *Cara-Dagh* is shown south of the Arax, inside the territory or Persian Azerbaijan.

Heinrich Kiepert (1818-1899) was a German cartographer, who spent most of his time in the South Caucasus and eastern part of the Ottoman Empire. His maps of the Ottoman Empire, Armenia, the Iranian province of Azerbaijan and Georgia are known for much detail and accuracy. The map of Fig. 09 is taken from his map of the Ottoman Empire, 1844, published in Germany. The map was also translated into Ottoman Turkish published in 1854.

South of the Arax River we see the Persian Province of Azerbaijan and to its north lie the regions of *Chapan* (Ghapan) and *Karabagh*, underlined red, which extends from the confluence of the *Aras* and *Kur* to the east of Lake *Goktgchai* or *Sewanga* (Laake Sevan), including the town of *Schusha* (Shushi in Karabagh).

The map of Fig. 10 in Armenian language is one of the maps of the first Armenian Atlas, printed in Venice in the year 1849, entitled *The World according to the Old and New Geographers of France, England, Germany and Russia*. The detail reproduced here is from the above atlas map entitled *The Ottoman Empire*. It covers the eastern end of the Ottoman Empire, western edge of Persia and south of the Caucasus.

On the map Azerbaijan can be found south of the *Arax River*, inside the Persian Empire, while across the river, to the north of the river we see the country entitled *Armenia* with its easternmost region named *Karabagh*, underlined red.

The next detail is from the map of the Caucasus and Armenia by the British cartographer Edward Weller (1819-1884) whose maps were considered to be very accurate. The map reproduced in Fig. 11 depicts the border of Persia and the Russian Empires from Wellers' map of 1858 entitled *Armenia and the Caucasus*.

Azerbaijan is shown as a province of Persia, with the region of Karadagh on the southern bank of the River Aras, while Karabagh is on its northern bank, extending from east of Lake Sevan to the confluence of the rivers Aras and Kur (Cyrus), underlined red. To the north of Karabagh lie the southern Caucasian regions of Shirvan and Sheki, which in 1918 were absorbed in the newly founded country of Azerbaijan.

Fig. 12 is a partial section from the map of old world specialist German cartographer Karl Spruner (1803-1892), who has produced many beautiful and detailed maps and atlases of the old world. This particular map is taken from Spruner's 1855 *Atlas Antiquus* and is entitled *Armenia, Mesopotamia, Babilonia et Assyria*.

On the map, the provinces of Armenia in the Middle Ages are delineated and named both in Latin and Armenian as they were known during the Middle Ages. In the region to the west of the confluence of the Araxes and Cyrus rivers the province is named Sacasene and/or Artsakh, underlined red, which extends westward to Siunik.

As this is a map of the area in ancient times, south of the Araxes the Persian province is still named with its old name - Mediene (Media), which, as mentioned earlier was subsequently changed in honour of the military commander of the region Atropat, to Atropatene. This region today generally is known as the Iranian province of Azerbaijan, while the Armenians still call it by its ancient name "Atrpatakan". The present-day Republic of Azerbaijan was established on the northern shores of the Arax River, borrowing its name from the Persian province, located south of the river¹⁶.

The map of Fig. 13 was prepared by the German Adolf Graf in 1866, showing the south-western part of Asia, published by the Weimar Geographic Institute. Here *Armenia* is shown divided between the Ottoman and Russian Empires, which was the situation after the war with Persia and the treaties of Gulistan and Turkmenchai (1813

¹⁶ Galichian, Rouben. *The Invention of History*. Op. cit., 6-12 and 27-31.

and 1828). *Aderbeidjan* (Azerbaijan) is shown south of the Arax River, while further north the region inside the Russian-occupied territory is named *Karabagh*, underlined red. To its north the region which since 1918 is home of the Republic of Azerbaijan, is shown under the title *Schirvan*, which was the name given generally to the regions.

In 1869 the first printed map in Persian was that entitled *The Map of All the Countries under the Protection of the Iranian Government*. This, in fact was the map of Iran, ancient Persia, prepared by the Iranian cartographer Qarachedaghi, the pioneer of cartography in Iran. Fig. 14 is the north-western region of Iran from this map.

On the map, in the region of the border of the Russian Caucasus and Iran, there are a few names which are self-explanatory. Inside the Iranian territory the border province, outlined and coloured pink, is named *Azerbaijan*. One of its regions, on the southern shore of the *Aras River* (Arax) is *Karadagh*. Consistent with all other maps, the neighbouring Russian-occupied region north of the river is named *Karabagh*, underlined green, with the *Shirvan* to its east, *Nakhijevan* to its south and *Irevan* (Yerevan) to its west.

The map of Fig. 15 is a British map from 1900 entitled *Turkey in Asia, Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan & Baluchistan*. On this detail taken from the map the border of Persia and Russia shows the situation of Southern Caucasus, which is exactly the same as in 1869, shown in Fig. 14 above.

In this map *Azerbaijan* is a province of Iran, *Karabagh* lies north of *Arax River* and west of its confluence with *Kura*. The territory of *Armenia* is shown as divided between the Russian and Ottoman Empires.

Henry Finnis Blosse Lynch (1862- 1913) was a British traveller, who spent time in western and eastern Armenia and his two volume illustrated work entitled *Armenia, Travels and Studies* is a detailed description of the land and peoples of Eastern (*Russian provinces- Vol. I*) and Western (*Turkish province, Vol. II*) Armenia. The volumes are accompanied by a detailed map entitled *Map of Armenia and Adjacent Countries*, 1901 (Fig. 16) as well as numerous images and sketches.

In this map *Karabagh* is shown extending from south-eastern end of *Lake Sevan* eastward to the *Karabagh Steppe*. This is the name given to the easternmost region inside the confluence of the rivers *Arax* and *Kur*, at the time all under the rule of the Russian Empire. The name of this region is underlined red.

Fig. 17 is a detail from the *General Map of the Theatre of the Turkish War*, published in Berlin, 1916 by Dietrich Reimer, based on Kiepert's *Map of the European and Asian Provinces of the Ottoman Empire*. The section reproduced is that of the region of South Caucasus.

North of the *Aras River [Arax]*, inside the Russian border the region from the confluence of *Arax* and *Kour* rivers is named *Karabagh*, underlined red and bordered in the north by *Shirwan* and to the west reaching the area of *Zangadzor* (Zangezur) in Syunik, Armenia.

The final map of the article, Fig. 18 shows the territories of the Ottoman Empire, as it was before its demise and splitting into various regions and countries, prepared by Hammonds in 1923. On the map Karabagh lies outside the borders of the Empire, directly at its east and is placed north of the Arax River, while to the territory to the south of the river lies inside Iran and is named Azerbaijan. Karabagh is underlined red.

From the analysis of the above maps and all other relevant documents one could conclude that the mainly Armenian-populated region of Karabagh/Artsakh has been present on the maps prepared by non-Armenian, mainly western specialists since 1460s. In all maps of the region which include details and their toponyms, the name of Karabagh is omnipresent. Regarding the population of Karabagh, all travelogues confirm that the region has been populated by Armenians. As one example, Schiltberger, who spent 26 years with the Tamarlane and is son Shahrokh, in his memoirs entitled *Bondage and Travels: 1396 to 1427*, writes the following:

I have also been a great deal in Armenia. After Tāmurlin [Tamarlane] died, I came to his son, who has two kingdoms in Armenia, He was named Scharoch [Shahrokh]; he liked to be in Armenia, because there is a very beautiful plain. He remained there in the winter with his people, because there was good pasturage. A great river runs through the plain is called the Chur [Kura], and near this river, in this same country, is the best silk. The Infidels [Muslims] call the plain in the Infidel tongue Karawag [Karabagh]. The Infidels possess it all, and yet it stands in Ermenia. There are also Armenians in the villages, but they must pay tribute to the Infidels. I always lived with the Armenians, because they are very friendly to the Germans and because I was a German they treated me very kindly; and they also taught me their Pater Noster.....¹⁷

The above is given as an example, but this would be subject of another research and article¹⁸.

The reader is reminded of author's suggestion, backed by Iranian and Armenian specialists that the prefix "kara", which in the Turkish and Azerbaijani languages means "black", should be correctly translated as "great" or "big". These names originate from the Middle Ages, when the language of the local population was a dialect of the old Persian, the Pahlavi language. In this language the word kara or kala was used to denote "large" or "big" size¹⁹.

Accordingly Karabagh, which is translated as "Black-garden" should be "Large garden" and similarly "Karadagh" should be translated to "Large mountain", which are quite appropriate terms, as the first one is a forested and green country and the second is dominated by a mass of high mountains.

¹⁷ Galichian, Rouben. *Clash of Histories in the South Caucasus*. Op. cit., 103.

¹⁸ Further details of the various travelers' writings can be found in Rouben Galichian's *Clash of Histories in the South Caucasus*, Op. cit.

¹⁹ Kasravi, Ahmad. "Azeri, or the ancient language of Azerbaijan", Collection of 78 papers. Tehran: Ketabkhaneh Jibi, 2536 (Persian). See also Abdolali Karang, Tati and Harzani two ancient dialects of Azerbaijan. Tabriz: Vaezpour, 1954 (Persian).

and Bagrat Ulubabian, *The Kingdom of Khachen in 10-16th centuries*. Yerevan: NAS 1975, 42-43 (Armenian).

This correction will clarify why there are so many names with the prefix “kara” in Iranian Azerbaijan and Turkey, which have no relevance to the colour black²⁰. The matter is further confirmed by the following terms:

1. The largest tree in the city of Tabriz was called “Kara-aghaj “ (meaning “Large tree”, not “Black tree”)
2. One of my Azeri colleague’s tall and well built great grandfather, according to him was addressed as “Kara-agma” (meaning “Big man” not “Black man”).
3. The widest river in Iranian Azerbaijan is called “Kara-su” (meaning “Large water” not Black water”)
4. The largest monastery in Iranian Azerbaijan is St Thaddeus, which is built in white marble, with one of the domes having couple of rows in black stone. This is called “Kara-Kilisse” (meaning “Large church” not “Black church”).

The author suggests that this matter is worthy of fuller investigation by competent authorities and specialists.

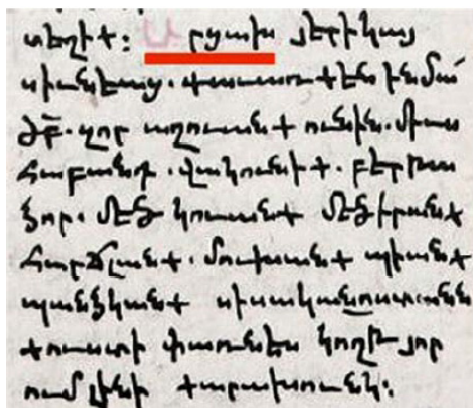


Fig. 01- A paragraph related to Artsakh (underlined red) from a manuscript copy of the “Ashkharhatsuyts”.



Fig. 02 – Detail of Artsakh from the “Map of Armenia”, Venice, 1751

²⁰ Galichian, Rouben. *Historic Maps of Armenia*. Op. cit., 210.

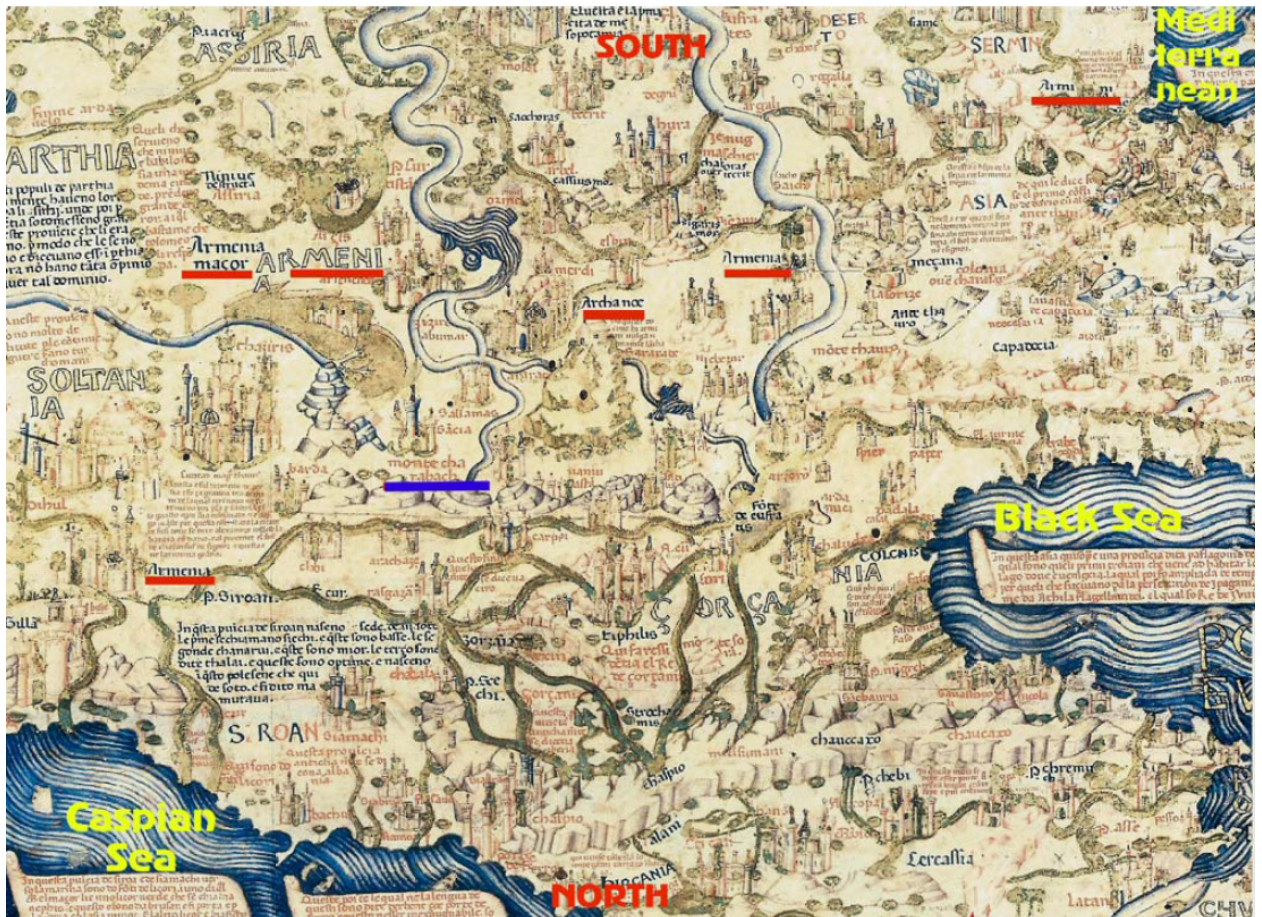


Fig. 03 – Detail from Fra Mauro's "Mappa Mundi", 1460, Venice.



Fig. 04 – Detail from the map of “Asia” by Mercator, published in Duisburg in 1595 by his son Rumold.



Fig. 05 – Detail from the map of “Turkey in Asia” by du Val, dated 1676, showing the border of the Ottoman and Persian empires.



Fig. 06 – Part of the map of “Armenia, Georgia and Comania” by Morden, 1700, the image shown may possibly be a later revision.



Fig. 07 – Detail from the “Tartarie” map of van der AA.



Fig. 08- Detail from Lapie's map showing the route taken by Jaubert, when travelling from Constantinople to Persia in 1805.



Fig. 09 – Easternmost part of Kiepert's map of the "Ottoman Empire", 1844.

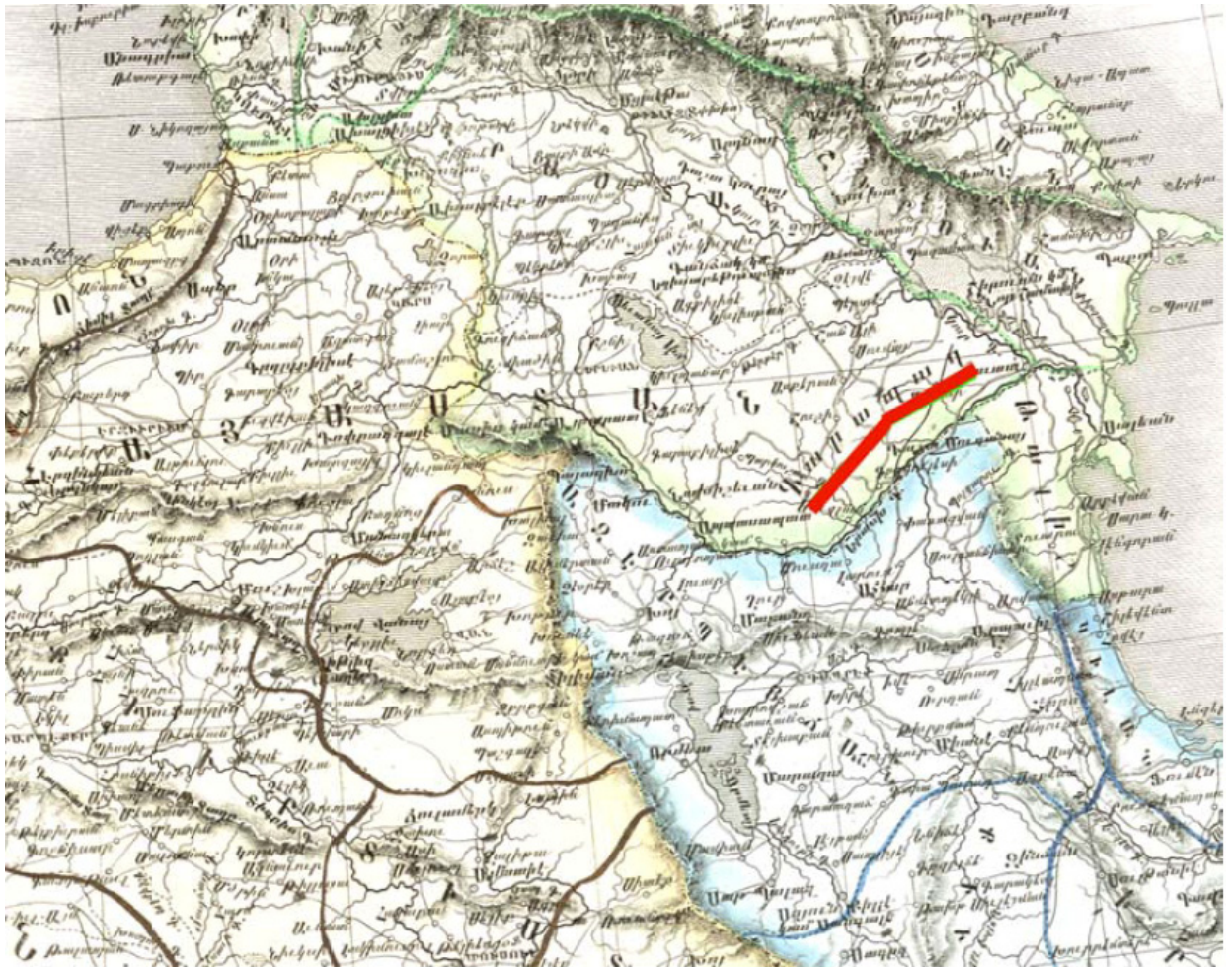


Fig. 10 – Detail from one of the maps of the first Armenian Atlas, published in 1849.

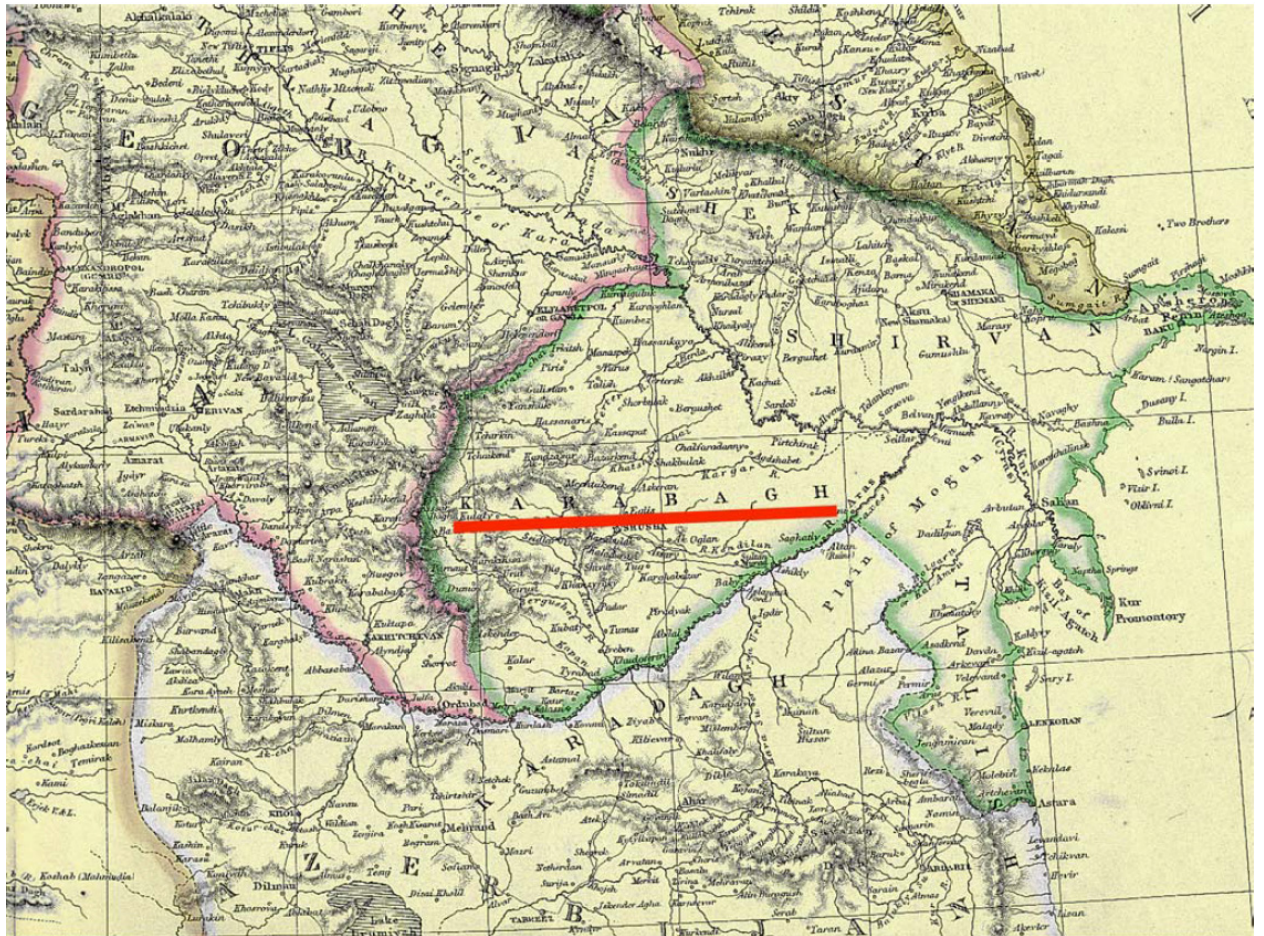


Fig. 11 - Detail of the border of Iran and Russia from Wellers' map of the "The Isthmus of Caucasus and Armenia", 1858. London.

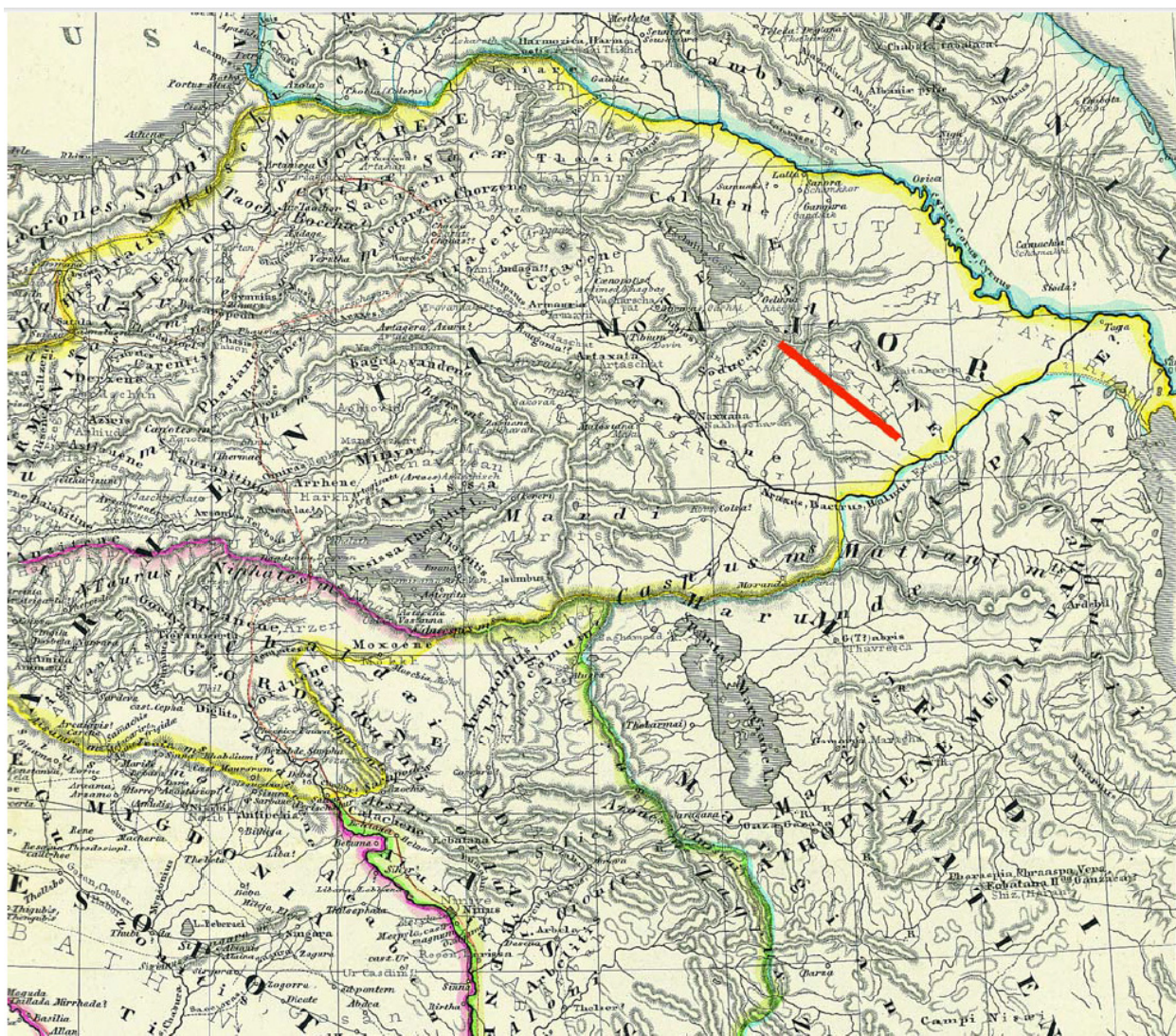


Fig. 12 – Detail from Spruner's map of the ancient lands entitled "Armenia, Mesopotamia, Babilonia et Assyria", 1855.

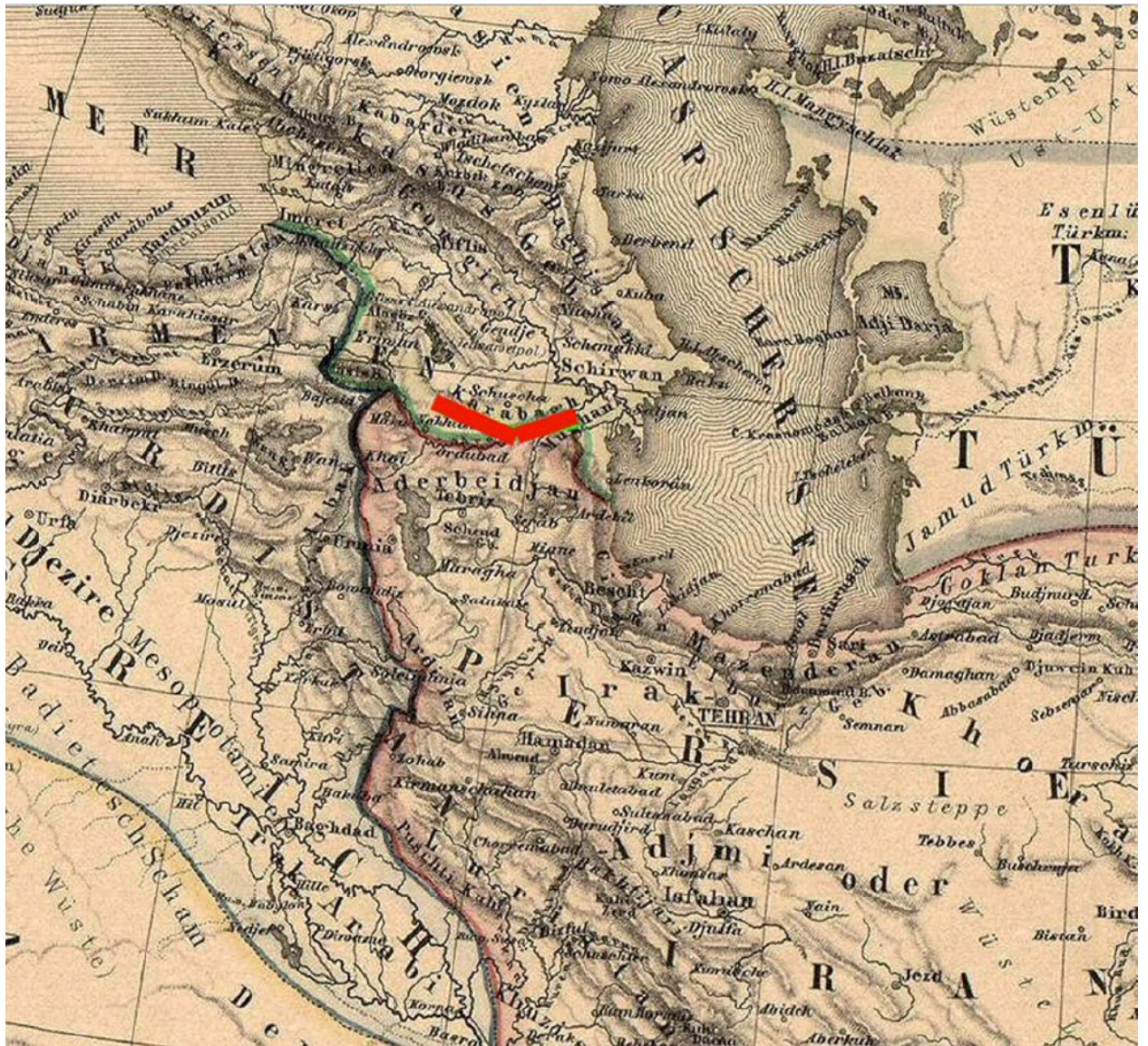


Fig. 13 – Detail from Adolf Graf's map entitled "Südwest Asien", Weimar, 1866.

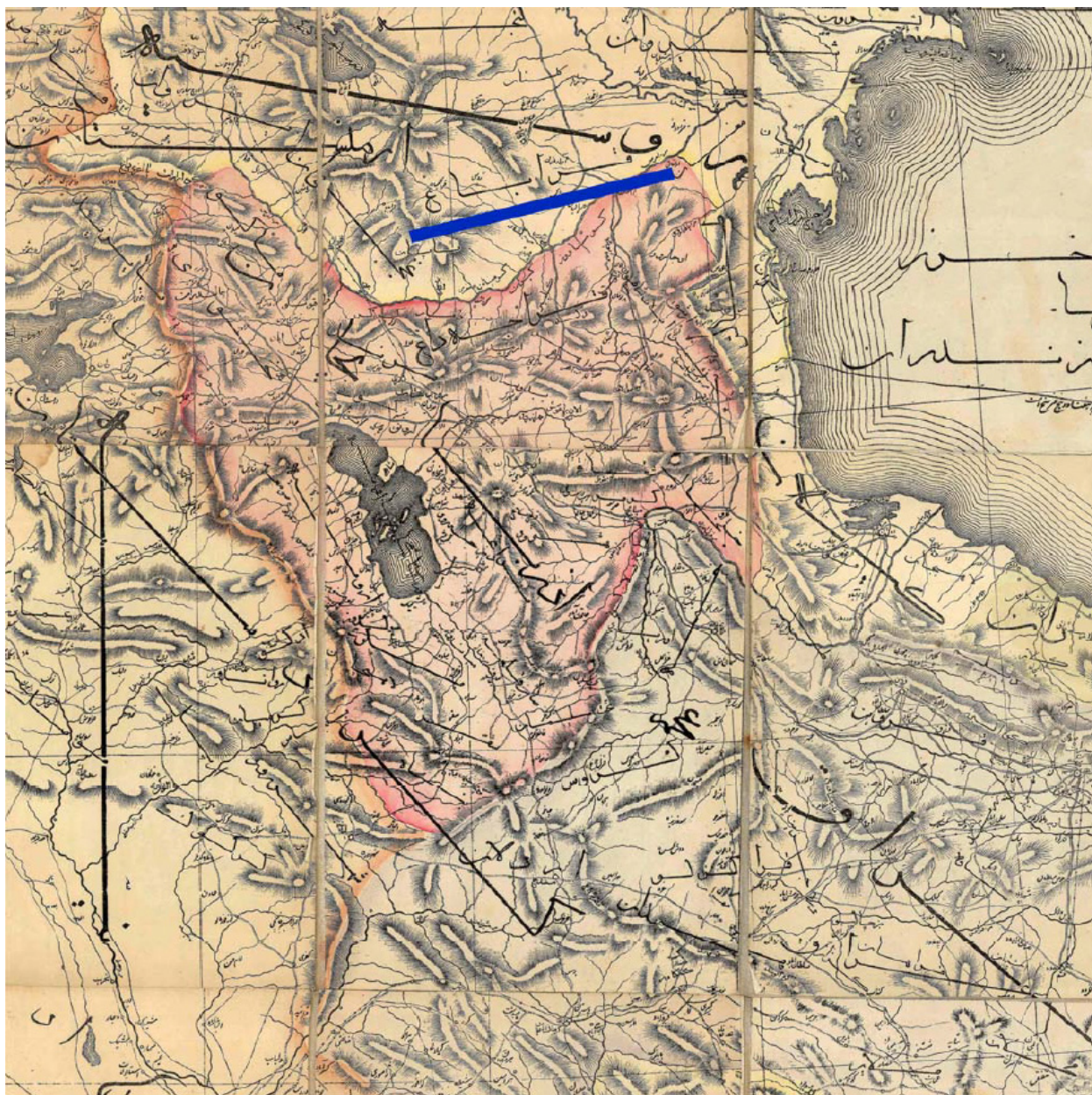


Fig. 14 – North-western part of Qarachadaghi's "The Map of All the Countries under the Protection of the Iranian Government", 1869.

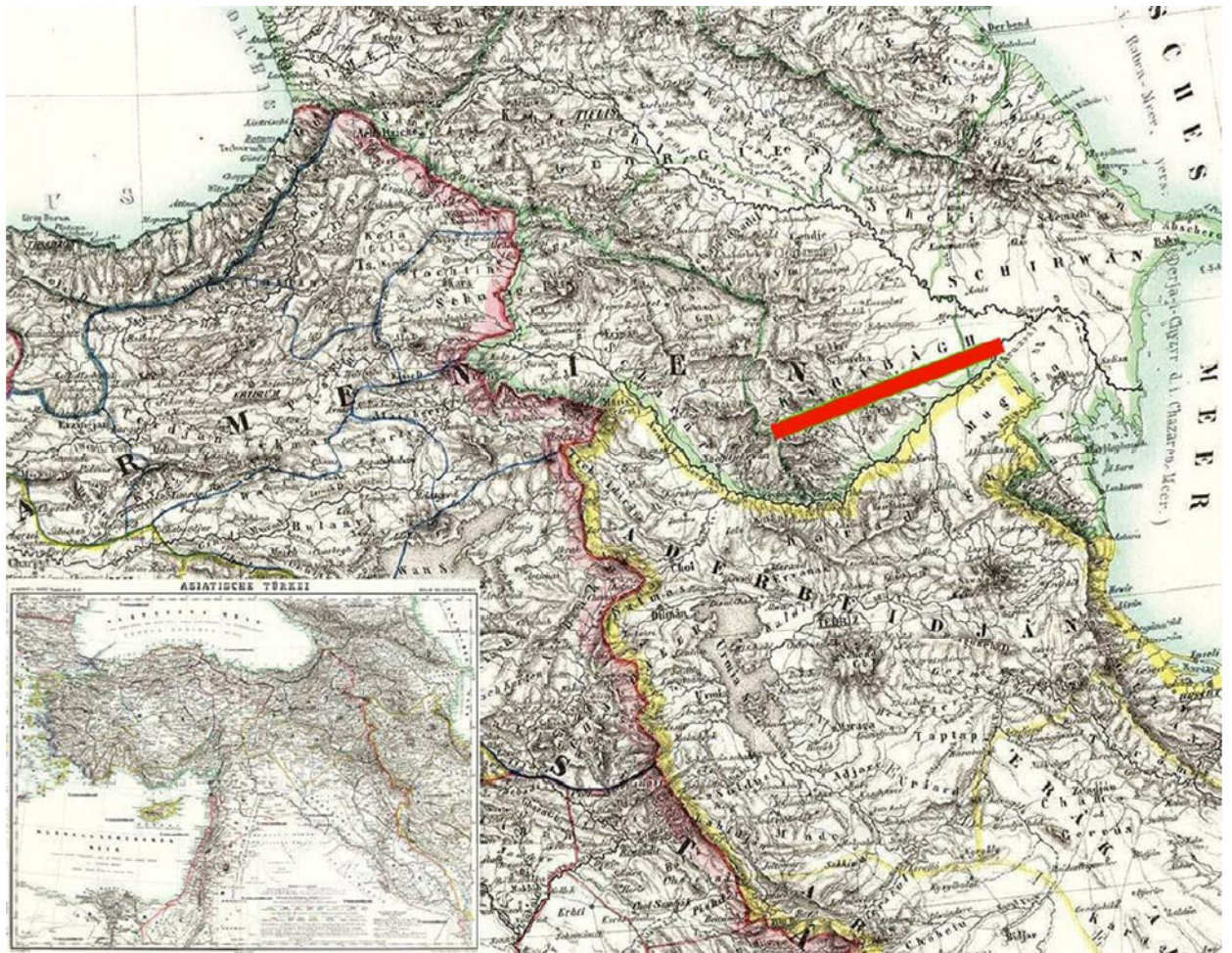


Fig. 15 – British map entitled “Turkey in Asia, Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan & Baluchistan”, 1900.

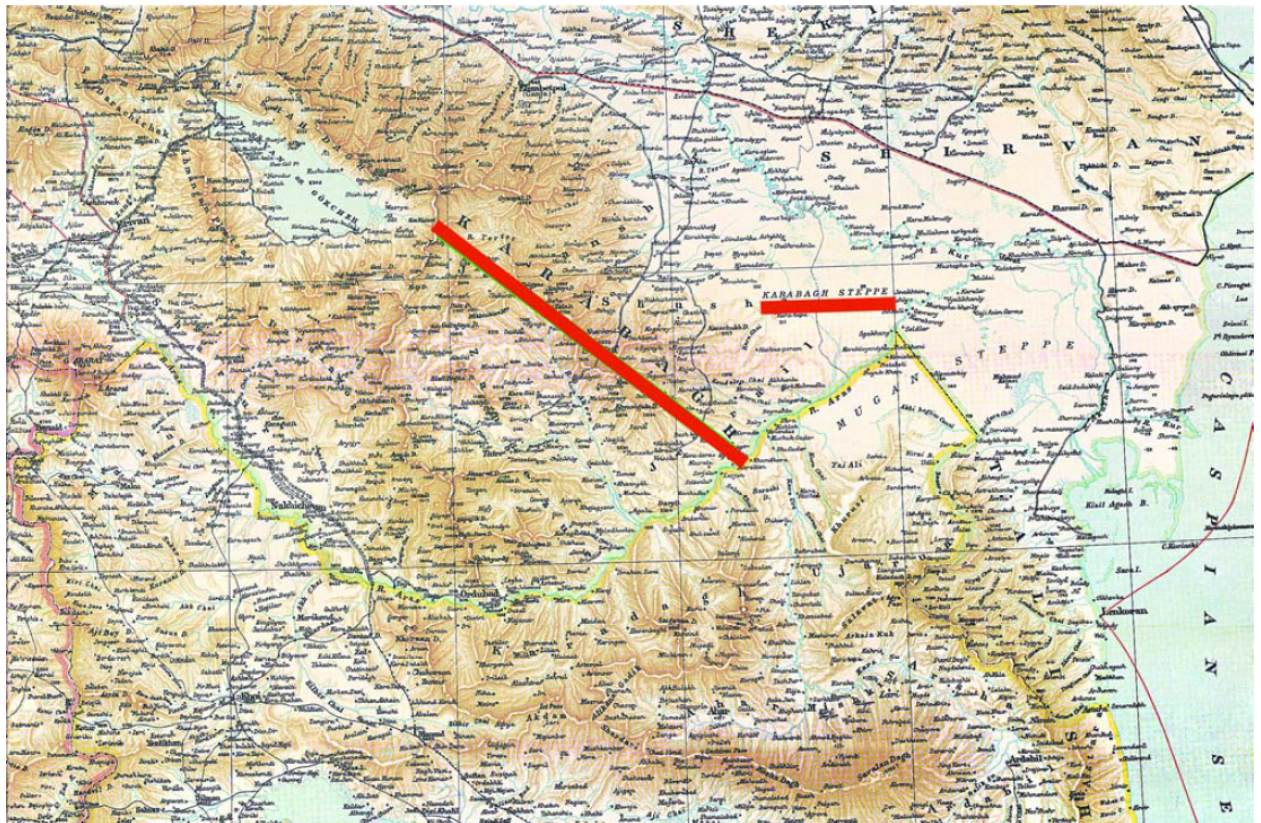


Fig. 16 – Part of Lynch's "Map of Armenia and Adjacent Countries", 1901.



Fig. 17 – Detail from "Theatre of the Turkish War" in 1916 by Kiepert, D. Reimer. Berlin.

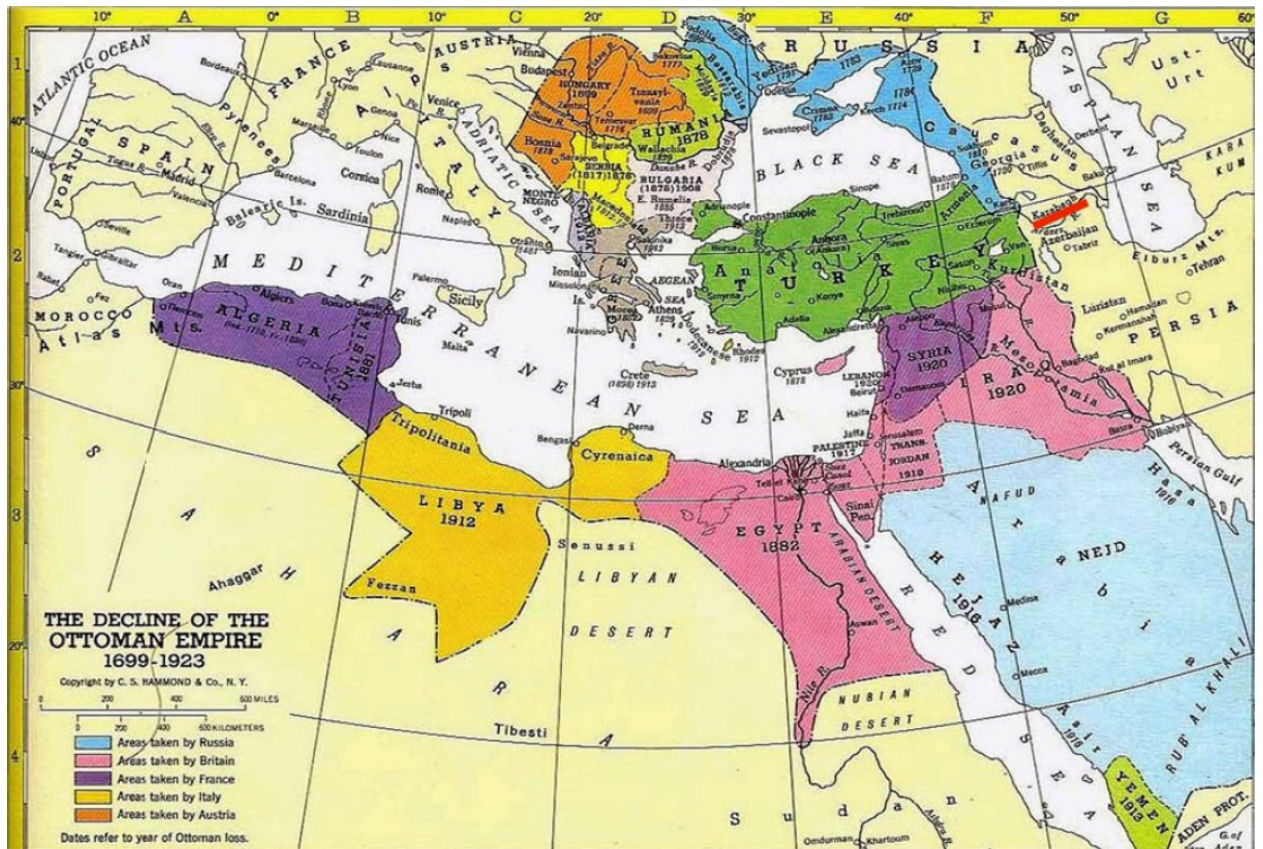


Fig. 18 –Hammonds map of the Ottoman Empire in 1923. Karabagh lies outside the Empire.

THE PLAIN OF ERZNKA IN THE II-I MILLENNIUMS BC

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Introduction

In our previous study dealing with the contact zone which proceeds along the western and southern reaches of the Armenian Highland it was mentioned that the geopolitical role of its northern section (the plain of Erznka including modern Kemakh [= Arm. Kamakh-Ani]), probably had to be determined not by its economic potential but rather by geographical factor. This part of the eastern highlands was a natural bridge linking Transcaucasia via the Erzurum plain with classical Sophene, and through the latter further with Asia Minor and Mesopotamia-Syria¹. Thus, the plain of Erznka we have entitled as the «northern gates», a determination which is proved by available textual and archaeological evidence through centuries.

In this article a general outline of the political and cultic-religious realities observed in the region under study should be presented. The chronological frames of the study covers the period from the II mill. BC until the first centuries of the I mill. AD.

During the whole historical period under study several characteristics could be distinguished in regard to the plain of Erznka:

1. The plain of Erznka represents a «highway» for different migrations at least from the IV mill. BC.
2. The plain of Erznka was not a home to more or less prominent and stable political entities.
3. The authority of any neighboring statehood over this region seem to be rather nominal than actual.
4. The plain of Erznka at least from the mid-II mill. BC until the early Middle Ages (pre-Christian and Christian Armenian periods) was known as an important cultic-religious center (see below).

The plain of Erzincan. Archaeological

Despite of the strategic importance of the plain of Erznka, strikingly it possesses only with limited number of archaeological sites located in the eastern part of the region. Besides Altintepe, Jimintepe and two sites located in their neighborhood (see below), other remains of settled life are yet to be discovered. Indeed, hardly this fertile plain lying on the main route from east to west was populated sparsely; most probably in this case we deal with insufficient archaeological surveys combined with the geological

¹ Kosyan 2010 (on the religious role of the Urartian site of Altintepe and the plain of Erznka); Kosyan 2016a (on the geopolitical role of the plain of Erznka ' p.70) u 2018 [in press]; Kosyan 2017 (on the general outline of the contact zone).

peculiarities of the plain. The latter is covered by thick alluvium, as a result of numerous rivulets originating from the mountain ranges, and also variations in the Karasu streamflow or changes in its riverbed. Thus, the traces of archaeological sites are not easy to observe².

Swampy areas could be seen everywhere, like in the neighborhood of the abovementioned site of Saztepe. Worth to refer to M.İsıklı's terminology («Bird Paradise») in regard to the mosaics discovered on the floor of the VI century Byzantine church located on the eastern slopes of Altıntepe³. References to swamps in the central, lowlying areas of the plain of Erzinka are registered by earlier visitors to this region⁴.

In this regard an important idea was put most recently by Massimo Forlanini in the study dealing with the localization of Hayaša mentioned in the II mill. B.C. Hittite texts⁵.

«In fact, the plain occupies the gap produced by a pull-apart basin along the Northern Anatolian Fault, and is filled by very deep alluvial deposits produced by the Euphrates and many small water courses flowing from the steep mountains all around it. A similar basin in the Eastern Anatolian Fault is occupied by the Hazar/Gölcük Lake. A pull-apart basin is a rhomboidal gap in the earth surface produced by slipping along a fault line having a zed shape. The bottom of the plain is completely flat with residual marshes, and the Euphrates leaves the plain through a narrow gorge; year after year the river has dig his way out in the gorge, lowering it, and discharged alluvial deposits in the plain. Therefore, if we go back in the past, we can assume the presence of a prehistoric lake that gradually silted up because of the continuous discharge of materials and the digging of the exit gorge by the Euphrates. But, since this area is subject to disastrous earthquakes, we cannot run out also a sudden, quick, transformation of the plain».

M. Forlanini's suggestion is in accordance with the description of the Taurus mountain system made by E. Huntington as early as in 1901⁶. Regarding the plains encircled by mountain ranges from Alashkert (modern Turkish Eleşkirt) to Malatya (he calls them «Interior plains»), he wrote. «I am inclined to believe that the basins, of which the plains form the floors, have been formed by depression and faulting or folding, and have been filled by waste from the mountains, brought in by streams and deposited partly by the streams themselves, but more generally in lakes, as is shown by the uniformly fine character of the deposit in the centre, and by the marshy tracts which still persist as witnesses of the former lakes. Most of the population naturally centres in these fertile, easily-tilled regions».

² İsıklı 2010: 267.

³ İsıklı 2010: 269. The mosaics pictures a swampy landscape and numerous birds (the restoration of the mosaics see in Can 2007; 2009).

⁴ Brant 1836: 202 («The centre of the plain was rather swampy, and showed indications of salt»).

⁵ Forlanini 2017: 8-9.

⁶ Huntington 1901: 302-303.

The idea that the plain of Erznka once formed a bed for a lake, recalls a suggestion made not too long ago regarding a flood happened in the XVIII century BC which was fixed archaeologically at least in two sites located in the general area of Elâzığ (Imikuşağı and Değirmen-tepe)⁷. If the waters of the Upper Euphrates (modern Karasu) could have reached a level which was enough to cover a site of about 40 meters in height, then one could only imagine what could happen in the plain of Erznka.

If the plain of Erznka once was partly under water or comprised a series of swamps, then this could explain the lack of ancient settlements. Consequently the latters should be looked on mounds or the slopes of bordering mountains.

Below we shall present an overview of archaeological investigations conducted recently in the eastern part of the plain.

Altintepe

Still the first archaeologists who had studied the mound of Altintepe, located at about 17 km to the east of Erznka⁸, mention its important strategic position⁹. The impressive columned building of Post-Urartian, Achaemenid phase (Altintepe II and Jimintepe II), fortifications, painted pottery and other features of the site had lead to a suggestion that probably this was the center of the Achaemenid administrative division (i.e. satrapy)¹⁰.

Until recently the archaeological history of the plain of Erznka mostly was considered to begin with the Urartian period, that is approximately from the end of the VIII century BC and continued, not to count the gap after the Urartian period, into the Achaemenid period. But recent discoveries and studies¹¹ prove that here exist some extensive sites dated with the Early Bronze Age (Kura-Araxes period)¹². These are Küpesik Höyük (at about 500 meters to the west of Altintepe [measurements - about 200x100 meters, depth of cultural layer – about 6 meters]), Küçük Höyük, 2 km to the north of Altintepe, towards Üzümlü¹³, and Saztepe, 2 km to the west of Altintepe (height

⁷ Sevin 1995: 2f.; Sevin 1998: 383ff.; Konyar 2006; also Kosyan 2014. It should be mentioned that the current height of the mound of Imikuşağı is 38 meters, and the thickness of the flood layer (4-5 metres) speaks of the large-scaled catastrophe. This flood is thought to have been the cause for the end of the Mesopotamian-type settlement.

⁸ On excavations of Altintepe see Barnett and Gökçe 1953; Özgüç 1961; 1966; 1969; Emre 1969; Burney and Lang 1971: 158-160; Summers 1993; Karaosmanoğlu, Can, Korucu 2007; Karaosmanoğlu, Can, Korucu 2008; Karaosmanoğlu, Can, Korucu 2012; Işikli 2010 etc.

⁹ Özgüç 1966: 38 («it seems to have been the most important administrative center of a principality within the western frontier area of the kingdom of Urartu»).

¹⁰ Summers 1993. According to the author here might have been located the centre of the XIII Achaemenid satrapy (p.96). On the early stages of excavations of Altintepe its II layer also was considered to be Urartian (Urartian = Altintepe I and the nearby Jimintepe I as well) (Özgüç 1966; 1969).

¹¹ The description of Altintepe and its neighborhood is based on the article of Prof. Dr. Mehmet Işikli (Işikli 2010 and personal communication throughout recent years).

¹² Işikli 2010: 267.

¹³ Excavations of this site had revealed a considerable number of Early Iron Age pottery (Ceylan 2005: 23).

- 40 meters)¹⁴. Besides these sites, from the fields lying between Altıntepe and the Esence mountain was discovered some portion of pottery whose provenance is difficult to establish due to its eroded condition.

Archaeological studies of the abovementioned sites and accidental finds of different artifacts in their neighborhood could be taken as a proof that this region was populated, after the Kura-Araxes period, also in the Middle Bronze Age (XX-XVIII c. BC). The pottery of this period suggests that the plain of Erznka was definitely connected with the Transcaucasian cultural world, possibly comprising its part¹⁵.

Considering the plain of Erznka from the archaeological point of view and taking into account its geographical position one encounters an essential problem – the possible route or routes of the expansion of the Transcaucasian Kura-Araxes culture from its original area which begins at the end of the IV mill. BC and continues in the next millennium¹⁶. The most visible traces of this expansion are numerous impressive sites located in the Upper Euphrates basin, on both sides of the river (Norşuntepe, Korucutepe, Tepecik, Arslantepe-Malatya etc.).

Three possible routes could be offered for the gradual expansion of the Kura-Araxes population groups towards the west and south-west (to the Upper Euphrates basin, and from here to Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Syria).

First and the most direct route is the plain of Erznka which borders the western extension of the Kura-Araxes homeland (Erzurum and Tercan). Numerous sites located in this region testify on the presence of Kura-Araxes culture in here¹⁷, which speaks in favor of this route.

The second and more difficult route is that which proceeds from Erzurum to the south, south-east. After passing the sources of the Araxes river, the plain of Khnus (modern Hınıs) and the passes of the Bingöl mountains it enters the plain of Muş, further to follow towards the west¹⁸. Despite the difficulties (mountainous landscape, cold weather etc.), archaeological evidence in favor of this route could be found not far from the northern and north-western shores of Lake Van and in the Muş plain as early as about 3000 B.C.¹⁹.

¹⁴ Like in Küçük Höyük, here also a number of the Early Iron Age ceramics was unearthed, but serious damages does not allow to reconstruct the architecture of the site (Ceylan 2005: 23):

¹⁵ This information was supplied to the author recently by Dr. Mehmet Ali Yılmaz (Atatürk University of Erzurum, pers.comm., 29.03.2018), to whom I am grateful.

¹⁶ About the causes of the Kura-Araxes expansion and its geography numerous studies are extant (Kushnareva and Chubinishvili 1970: 49-50; Sagona 1984: 99-102; Batiuk 2005: 10-45[on the theory of migrations and the Kura-Araxes migrations as well]; Kohl 2007: 86-102; Palumbi 2008: 7-12 [detailed history of this problem]; Rothman and Kozbe 1997 etc.).

¹⁷ For the map of the Kura-Araxes archaeological sites (both excavated or fixed) located in the plain of Erzurum and neighboring areas see Işikli 2015.

¹⁸ The detailed description of this route is contained in the account of the journey of the British officer J. Kinneir who travelled through this region in 1814 (Kinneir 1818: 365-380).

¹⁹ The list of the Early Bronze Age sites of Muş (Kura-Araxes II and III) established by M. Rothman and G. Kozbe (18 sites) (Rothman and Kozbe 1997: 115) shows that the Transcaucasian emigration (better to use the word outpour of population) did not bypass this route.

Indeed, the third possible (southern) route could not be excluded, that is from Ararat plain (central Armenia) to the south, and along the northern shores of Lake Van to join the second route.

Anyway, the first route leading from Erzurum directly to south-west seems more preferable due to an easy landscape.

Concluding this brief archaeological history of the plain of Khnus it should be pointed that until now we lack any evidence in favor of the Late Bronze Age occupation. It is more than strange since the II mill. BC Hittite texts contain clear references about the military undertakings of the Hittite kings in the southern part of this region (in Kamakh) against Hayaša, not to mention that the same area was at least in the XIII century BC was under the Hittite control (see below).

The plain of Erzincan. Historical scetch

General remarks

While discussing the plain of Khnus a question arises connected with the nature and contents of available written data – what was the main role of this region in the context of historical development?

Should it be determined by its position on the road connecting east and west, which could facilitate the population to be in close and constant contacts with immediate and remote neighbors, which might have influenced the political, economic and cultural life, thus leading to historical realities in the formation of a contact zone (including a wide spectrum of economic activities - agriculture, crafts, exchange of goods, transit trading, also an easy access to technological novelties, culture etc., extant in the neighboring regions), and also negative effect (migrations through its territory, campaigns conducted by neighboring countries).

Taking into account the comparatively small territory and the position between the plain of Erzurum and the Upper Euphrates basin (Elâziğ and surrounding areas), also an early involvement in the eastern expansion of the Hittite empire, it could be suggested that the political entities located in this region hardly could have possessed with significant military potential. Tentatively it could be regarded as a contact zone located on the fringes of Hittite Anatolia and the southern part of the Upper Euphrates region (Išuwa of Hittite texts). Probably, the same could be said about the following historical periods (Urartian, Hellenistic-Armenian, Armenian, from the VIII-VII c. BC until the III-IV c. AD).

The II millennium BC: The plain of Erzinka during the Hittite empire

First written sources referring to the plain of Khnus go back to the second half of the II millennium BC. These are the Hittite cuneiform texts dated with the XV-XIII centuries BC. Although this data sometimes is too scanty to allow one to offer well-founded suggestions, anyway the region under discussion appears to be the area which

during the whole history of the Hittite expansion and domination in the east had close contacts with Hatti. Here and in its close neighborhood are reported some political entities. Indeed, our poor knowledge of the political geography of this part of the Upper Euphrates basin limits the possibilities for far-going suggestions.

The Hittite cuneiform data regarding the plain of Khnus could be divided into two main spheres - military-political and cultic-religious.

When and in which political context this region fell under the Hittite political (maybe also cultural) dominance? Some indirect evidence which is dated with the second half of the XV century BC is contained in the texts of the Hittite kings Tudhaliya II and his successor Arnuwanda I.

The corresponding section of the «Annals» of Tudhaliya II, although badly damaged, mentions the conquests of the king in the Upper Euphrates basin, particularly that of Išuwa; the latter is said to have been an «extensive» country which had revolted against Hatti aided by Hurri (= Mittani) and consequently was conquered by the Hittite king²⁰. In the preamble to the treaty signed between Tudhaliya II and Šunaššura, king of Kizzuwatna²¹, some details concerning the conquest of Išuwa are mentioned. Although in both texts nothing is said about the geography of the Hittite conquest, namely the plain of Khnus, but some other texts of the same Tudhaliya and Arnuwanda prove the suggestion that this part of the eastern highlands, neighbors of Išuwa, also might have been conquered²². These are KUB XXIII 72+, IBoT I 36 և KUB XXVI 62.

Of these three especially an important data is contained in KUB XXIII 72+²³, which comprises some sort of «Instruction» given in Hattuša, the Hittite capital, to the representatives of eastern political entities, vassals of Hatti. The plot of this instruction was the revolt in Pahhuwa, one of the eastern countries; the text mentions an existing earlier treaty or treaties with Pahhuwa and eastern countries²⁴.

The location of Pahhuwa until now is a subject for discussions²⁵. All suggested localizations mostly are concentrated in two distinct regions 1) to the west of the Euphrates, near modern Divriği, 2) to the north of Išuwa, in the general area of the Bingöl massive or in its neighborhood. Leaving the question of the localization of Pahhuwa for future studies, anyway we are inclined to look for it in more easterly part of

²⁰ KUB XXIII 11/12 Rev. 27'-34' (= Carruba 1977: 161ff.): The same event is referred to in the «Annals» of Arnuwanda I (KUB XXIII 14 Obv. 1-8 = Carruba 1977: 172). On the campaigns of Tudhaliya see Houwink ten Cate 1970: 58ff.; Bryce 2005: 123ff.; Klengel et al. 1999: 109ff. etc.

²¹ The treaty (CTH 41 և 131) is preserved in two variants – Akkadian and Hittite where the conquest of Išuwa is mentioned in the former (Weidner 1923: N.7, S.88ff.; complete translation of the texts including new joins see Beckman 1996: N.2, 13ff.).

²² Houwink ten Cate 1970: 62.

²³ Sayce 1930: 5ff. (transl.); Gurney 1948: 32ff. (transl.); Kosyan 2006: 72ff. (complete edition), also Kosyan et al. 2018 (revised edition).

²⁴ The Hittite text KUB XXXI 103 (= CTH 212.1) could have been one of these.

²⁵ On the location of Pahhuwa see RGTC VI.1: 296; Kosyan 2004a: 75ff., 114ff. (attestation, references to previous studies etc.), also Kosyan 2018.

the Upper Euphrates basin. This suggestion could be supported by the next consideration; in the same text the city of Duggama is mentioned as one of the guarants for the loyalty of Pahhuwa in the future. This Duggama is listed as one of the localities of Hayaša captured by the Hittite king Muršili II during his campaign²⁶. It would be rather difficult to explain how could Hayašaeon city take a responsibility to secure the loyalty of Pahhuwa, located in the distant Divriği.

In this same text the city of Kummaha is mentioned twice as a locality where the Hittite troops had encountered the rebellious forces. Probably, before the revolt of Pahhuwa and its allies at least the southern part of the Erzinka plain should have been under the Hittite control which was fixed by a treaty.

Two other texts - IBoT I 36²⁷ and KUB XXVI 62²⁸ contain information concerning the military contingents from Kummaha and some other localities under the Hittite service.

The former text mentions the soldiers from Kummaha who serve as part of the troops located in the Hittite royal palace at Hattuša.

KUB XXVI 62 is a list of soldiers recruited from the settlements located approximately along the north-eastern and eastern periphery of the Hittite-controlled (or supposedly Hittite-controlled) regions. Here is mentioned ^{URU}Temiya, which in KUB XXIII 72+ is attested in the form of ^{URU}Timmiya²⁹; long ago this toponym was suggested to correspond to Tsimenos of Byzantine sources, located in the eastern part of the Erzincan plain (later Jimin, modern Üzümlü)³⁰.

The abovementioned Hittite data does not allow to speak about the advanced integration of the Upper Euphrates region with the Empire. Probably, it would be more realistic to suggest the existence of some obligations (military and political) imposed on the eastern principalities (loyalty, military contingents, prohibition on relations with other states on their behalf, etc.)³¹. At this early stage of the Hittite involvement in the recently conquered regions of the east (also in the Western Anatolia) hardly any should expect integrity. The best illustration to this conclusion is the case of Madduwatta, the Hittite subject from the Western Anatolian state of Zippašla³². The consequences of the limited authority over its possessions at the newly-conquered periphery were dramatic. During the reign of Arnuwanda I, the successor of Tudhaliya, and later that of Tudhaliya III the

²⁶ For attestations and suggested localizations of this city in the Hittite texts see RGTC VI.1: 435-436; Kosyan 2004a: 98-99. In connection with this locality in the fragmentary Hittite-Hayašaeon treaty (KUB XXVI 39) is mentioned its deity (^dBaltaik).

²⁷ Jakob-Rost 1965: 166ff.; Güterbock and Van den Hout 1991, also Kosyan 2002: 229.

²⁸ Von Schuler 1965: 145; also Kosyan 2004b (for the passage and discussion of toponyms).

²⁹ Textual references and proposed localizations see RGTC VI.1: 423; Kosyan 2004a: 97.

³⁰ Khachatryan 1971: 86-87; TAVO, Bd.24, Map B IV 6; ASVOA 4.3; Kosyan 2004a: 97.

³¹ For responsibilities of the Hittite vassals is fixed in treaties see Kosyan 2016b: 129-133 (with references to earlier studies).

³² The «Indictment of Madduwatta» (Götze 1928, full edition of the text); also Beckman 1996: 144ff. (translation); for the story of Madduwatta see Bryce 2005: 129-136.

separatism of conquered countries was culminated in major disaster described in the text of Hattušili III (XIII c. BC)³³. All neighboring countries began to invade the Hittite-controlled regions of the Empire, including the Hittite heartland with the capital city of Hattuša³⁴.

In the context of the relations of Hatti with the countries of the Upper Euphrates basin in the XIV c. BC and also for the purposes of our study the location of Hayaša is of utmost importance³⁵. If this principality should be looked in the plain of Erznka and to the east of it, as it was suggested recently by M.Forlanini³⁶, or even in the plain of Erzurum (not to mention the Black Sea coast according to some early authors)³⁷, then it could be in place to propose that the plain of Erznka might have had regular contacts with the Hittite empire, located along the strategically important route linking Asia Minor with the Transcaucasian world. Not excluding such possibility for the location for Hayaša, another geographical milieu could be referred to, which points on the more southerly location of Hayaša, between Išuwa and Lake Van³⁸.

Leaving aside the problem of Hayaša, it should be stated that the plain of Erznka clearly was under the focus of Hatti during the XIV-XIII c. BC. The question here arises - why in the mid-XIII c. BC the region of Kamakh was under the firm Hittite control. One of the texts of Hattušili III (KUB LV 1) mentions the «guard of the Mount of Kummaha» (Obv. II 8')³⁹. Definitely, here we deal with a mountain located in the neighborhood of Kummaha, while the “guard” should be understood as the Hittite military post or its commander.

To summarize the data provided by the Hittite texts some conclusions could be suggested.

In the context of the eastern expansion of Hatti the Hittite presence in the plain of Erznka, at least in its southern part (Kummaha) is quite visible. The problem is the next - what kind of interests were pursued by the Hittites in this region? Whether political (as a base against Hayaša or some other political entity located to the east or north-east of the plain), or its cultic-religious importance. During the Hittite expansion in the east at least two battles are reported near Kummaha. First against the rebellious city of Arhita,

³³ The full edition of the text see in Kosyan 2016b: 69-81.

³⁴ On this events see Bryce 2005: 145-148.

³⁵ Besides Hayaša, the Hittite texts sometimes mention Azzi, which often mistakenly is identified with Hayaša (for the discussion of this problem see Kosyan 2008: 264-266).

³⁶ Forlanini 2017.

³⁷ For opinions regarding the location of Hayaša see RGTC VI.1: 63-64; RGTC VI.2: 22; Kosyan 2004a: 48-50.

³⁸ Kosyan 2013: 57-60; 2011: 90-92; 2015: 273-274. For this proposal the data contained in one XIII c. B.C. Hittite oracle text (KUB XLIX 11) where, in the context of the campaign of the Hittite army against Azzi. Here two toponyms are attested (^{URU}Ut-ku-ni-ša and ^{URU}Hi-im-mu-wa), which at least linguistically correspond to two country-names - members of the Uruatri confederation according to the Middle Assyrian texts and are located in the mountainous Taurus region but not to the north of it (i.e. in the plain of Erznka).

³⁹ For this part of the text see Kosyan 2002: 233.

the ally of Pahhuwa (see above), the next in the mid-XIV c. BC against Hayaša⁴⁰. The answer to this question has to await for a while.

Along with political-military spheres, the Hittite texts contain valuable information about the plain of Erznka (probably also in the surrounding regions).

1. IBoT I 33 - The Middle Hittite oracle text (MUŠ oracle)⁴¹.

This text comprises the oracular question regarding the Hittite king. As it is told, some times before an evil omen happened in the city of Kummaha which was followed by more similar omens. The purpose of the oracular inquiry is to determine whether these signs could affect the king in subsequent years. In this regard the mountain of Darutena⁴² is mentioned. Thus, it appears that in Kummaha was located a temple where some priests were busy with oracular duties.

2. KUB LV 1 – Hittite text of cultic character⁴³.

This XIII century text mentions É.GAL hekur Pirwa («palace of the Pirwa-temple») in connection with the [(LÚ)]EN.NU.UN HUR.SAG^{URU} Kummaha («the guard of the Mount of Kummaha»). The text shows that in Kummaha or its neighborhood exists the temple of the god Pirwa, one of the prominent Hittite deities, and that the “guard” was responsible for performing the required offerings.

3. KUB XXVI 39 – A treaty between the Hittite king and the ruler of Hayaša⁴⁴.

In this defective text is preserved the list of deities, both Hittite and Hayašaean(?) - as divine witnesses to the treaty. In the case if Hayaša was the treaty partner of the Hittite king, a view which is commonly stated by scholars, could point on the plain of Erznka or its neighborhood as the place where these deities were worshipped. Two toponyms listed along with the names of deities are associated with Hayaša. [(UR)]Duggamma corresponds to^{URU} Duggam(m)a of the „Annals of Muršili II“ and KUB XXIII 72 Rev. 1, and^{URU} Arhita appears in connection with the battle near Kummaha (see above).

The list of deities:

U.GUR^{URU} Hayaša, IŠTAR, Zagga(-)[?], Tarumuš, Terittituniš, Unagaštaš, ^dU takšannaš Baltaik, Unaggaštaš, Šilli-...]. Two more names are preserved partly.

The texts quoted above could be supplemented by several others dealing with sacrifices in Hattuša where some eastern (Hayašaean and of Azzi) deities are referred to.

^dU.GUR^{URU} Hayaša – KBo IV 3 VI 33; KBo XIX 128 II 10, VI 19.

^dU^{URU} Hayaša – KUB XII 2 I 24'.

⁴⁰ Kosyan 2016b: 92-93.

⁴¹ Edited by E.Laroche (Laroche 1958).

⁴² See «The plain of Erznka in the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic periods» below in the text.

⁴³ A report of a Hittite dignitary (probably a priest) regarding cultic negligence fixed in several parts of the Empire (for transliteration see Groddek 2002: 1-5).

⁴⁴ In this fragmentary treaty the list of Hittite and Hayasaean deities is preserved (Forrer 1931: 6-8; Jahukyan 1987: 327-330; Haas 1985: 24; Petrosyan 2004: 222-224; Kosyan 2005). The consensus is still to be reached regarding the date of this treaty (a time span from Tudhaliya III until Muršili II [XIV c. BC]). Its dating with the time of Muršili II looks more probable (Anniya, king Hayaša)(Carruba 1988: 69-75).

^dU^{KUR}Azzi – KUB XXXVIII 6 IV 13, KUB XXXVIII 10a 12'.

The plain of Erznka in the Urartian period

Unlike the second half of the II mill. B.C., the following extensive time span of about half millennium (late XIII c. BC - late VIII c. BC) lacks any written source about the plain of Erznka. In addition, our poor knowledge of the archaeology of the region during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages could not fill this large chronological gap. Thus, we do not have a single clue for the study of the area after the disintegration of Hatti and the establishment of Urartian supremacy over the Upper Euphrates region.

The Urartian presence in the plain of Erznka connected with the erection of the Altintepe fortress and susi temple could be taken as an argument in favor of some interests of Urartian kings here, though until now they remain unknown. By the way, the same could be said beforehand about the following Achaemenid and Armenian periods (see below).

One thing is clear, for Urartians this region was of considerable importance, if one takes into account the impressive building activities. Urartians built inner walls, then an Achaemenid outer wall had come up into presence⁴⁵. The measurements of the latter (12 m. thick) could point on the importance of the site. The socle of the wall is composed of rectangular blocks up to 3.80 m. high with a mudbrick superstructure. The buttresses were spaced at the interval of about 11 m.⁴⁶

The arrival of Urartians into the plain of Erznka, judging by the chronology of archaeological findings⁴⁷, might have taken place later than their expansion into the Ararat plain and that of Išuwa (the region of Elâziğ and its neighborhood), which probably could be explained by the isolated location of this region.

For the discussion of the place of the plain of Erznka in the political and economic system of the Urartian empire one encounters a problem first discussed by P.Zimansky⁴⁸. He doubts the proposal that this region might have been integrated into the Empire or even regarded as its part. His main argument is the absence of symptomatic defensive system which is extant in other parts of Urartu where one could speak about their military-political and economic integration⁴⁹.

⁴⁵ T. Özgüç thinks that both were erected during the Urartian presence (Özgüç 1966: 60).

⁴⁶ Forbes 1983: 21.

⁴⁷ The chronology of the establishment of Urartians in Altintepe is debatable. R.D.Barnett and N.Gökçe, later also Ch.Burney and N.Özgüç and others had placed this event in the reign Argishti II (Barnett and Gökçe 1953 ["late 8th or early 7th century BC"]; Burney and Lang 1971: 144, 146 etc.; Özgüç 1974: 859-860; Klein 1974: 92-93), which rests on the name of Argishti appearing in the inscriptions found here. But T. Özgüç had preferred an earlier dating (Özgüç 1969: 70-71 [the period of Argishti I – early VIII c. BC]).

⁴⁸ Zimansky 1984: 10-12, 27-28.

⁴⁹ «... at the present time, Altintepe appears to be an isolated site, far removed from the nearest place that was indisputably in the hands of the Urartian crown» (Zimansky 1984: 27-28). Mentioning the existence of typical Urartian character of archaeological findings here he anyway states that they are not enough to conclude «that Altintepe was under the direct control of the Urartian monarch» (idem: 10).

It seems that this proposal rests on the existence of different models of Urartian supremacy throughout the Empire. Extensive building activities in Altintepe, the standard Urartian *susi*-temple, storerooms, plans of tombs akin to rock chambers at Van and other symptomatic Urartian artifacts by themselves could point on the existence of some interests here. Hardly the eastern part of the plain of Erznka could have functioned as a defensive facility located in the eastern limits of the Empire. The absence of fortifications along the roads leading to the plain could be explained by gaps in the archaeological studies (see above). The same could be stated for the case if here, before the Urartians had survived some local principality which was forced to adopt the Urartian hegemony; here actually everything is Urartian. Maybe the solution to this problem rests in the definition of Urartian interests forcing them to expand into this direction.

If one compares the plain of Erznka with that of the north-eastern possessions of Urartians, namely the Ararat plain, the next should be stated. The latter have solid economic potential in terms of agriculture (about 200 thousand hectares of fertile soil) and was vital for Urartians, which had to be protected from the north and east. Accordingly, here a great number of fortifications were established along the northern and eastern limits of the plain. In the case of Erznka the interests of Urartians might have been different.

The plain of Erznka in the Achaemenid period

At some period during the disintegration of Urartu Altintepe was abandoned by its residents due to unspecified causes (either as a result of the wholesale crisis in the Empire or a natural disaster)⁵⁰. That the crisis had affected negatively and significantly different regions of the Urartian empire at least during the first half of the VII c. BC are seen in several important fortresses (Argishtihinili, Ayanis, Karmir blur, Cavushtepe, Kayalidere, Bastam etc.)⁵¹. Quite a few number arrowheads found in the walls of some Urartian fortresses are not enough for the suggestion that these well-fortified cities were captured by some enemies. In the case of Altintepe we lack any trace of the enemy attack⁵². After the Urartian period, an considerable occupational gap is fixed (about 150 years if we place its abandonment by the Urartians somewhere in the mid VII c. BC and the arrival of Achaemenids - in late VI c. BC) which ended by the appearance of the typical Achaemenid Altintepe II (fortifications, apadana etc.)⁵³. Fundamental building

⁵⁰ T. Özgüç was first to suggest that the abandonment of Altintepe was a result of a disastrous earthquake (Özgüç 1961: 278-279; Mellink 1962: 79), which is normal for the plain of Erznka.

⁵¹ Archaeological studies conducted in the abovementioned sites had revealed some interesting processes which characterize these fortresses in VII c. BC - erection of additional walls, fortification of settlements existing or recently founded „outer cities“, increase in the number of garrisoned soldiers, and of significant amount of food storages, the shift of population of small settlements to the fortified cities (see Grekyan 2013).

⁵² Since no traces of destructions are extant, T.Özgüç thinks that Altintepe was abandoned by its inhabitants towards the end of Urartu (Özgüç 1966: 38; also Sinclair 1989: 431; Summers 1993: 93, 95).

⁵³ First archaeologists working at Altintepe does not regard it as such (see above footn.16).

activities held by Achaemenids seem to favor the idea that the site was abandoned by its settlers⁵⁴.

How long did the Achaemenids stay in Altintepe? Logically, the eastern campaigns of Alexander the Great, particularly the battle at Arbela in 331 BC could be taken as *terminus ante quem*. Although we lack any clue for the end of the Achaemenid presence after this event, it could be speculated that since this region lay beyond the route of Macedonian army, and also the absence of archaeological traces for its destruction, the palatial complex of Altintepe might have survived for some time, until the period of Artaxias I of Greater Armenia at the beginning of the II c. BC⁵⁵.

The plain of Erzinka in the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic periods

During this time span the plain of Erzinka might have been under the rule of the Seleucids, at least nominal, until the battle of Magnesia in 190 BC., then it was incorporated into the Greater Armenia⁵⁶. For the latter period, according to early medieval Armenian sources, its territory was divided between two sub-provinces of Upper Armenia (Bardzr Hayk) – Daranali and Ekeleac (Classical Akilisene).

Quite a few if nothing is known regarding the role of these provinces in the political life of Greater Armenia; all references to them are connected with religious activities⁵⁷. In the studies of the early medieval Armenian historiographers, in the passages dealing with the details of the adoption of Christianity, we find numerous references which directly point on the exceptional role of the plain of Erzinka in the religious life of the state⁵⁸.

Agatangelos (V century AD)⁵⁹.

The destruction of pagan temples by Tiridates III, king of Armenia, contains important information regarding the plain of Erzinka:

1. «In the first year of the reign of Trdat in Greater Armenia, they went to the province of Ekeleats to the village of Erēz to the temple of Anahit in order to sacrifice there. And when they had completed this unworthy deed, they went down and encamped on the bank of the river called Gayl» (par.48, p.61).

*The companion of Trdat III in the trip is St.Gregory the Illuminator, before the adoption of Christianity.

**Erēz = Arm.Erzinka, modern Erzincan.

***Anahit = chief goddess of the Armenian pantheon, the spouse of Aramazd⁶⁰.

⁵⁴ According to G.Summers, after the Urartians here exists an occupational break (Summers 1993: 94).

⁵⁵ See HZP 1971: 530-534.

⁵⁶ See the previous footnote.

⁵⁷ Neither Daranali nor Ekexac are listed in early medieval Armenian literature as belonging to any chiefdom (i.e. priestly family). On the contrary, the northern part of the plain of Erzinka is referred to as «Anahtakan gavar», i.e. «the province of Anahit (mother-goddess)» (see below in the text).

⁵⁸ This information was discussed briefly in our recent studies (Kosyan 2010; Kosyan 2018 [forthcoming]).

⁵⁹ Textual references are cited after English edition of Movses of Khorenatsi and other authors made by R.Thomson.

****River Gayl = the northern tributary of Karasu, flowing through the the plain of Erzinka, to the west of the modern city.

2. «Then he (Gregory) entrusted them to the all-protecting grace of God, while he himself, taking the king, hastened to the other regions of the whole territory of Armenia that they might sow the word of life. He came to the province of Daranalik' in order to destroy the altars of those falsely called gods, where in the village of T'ordan there was a famous temple of the glorious god Barshamin. First they destroyed this and smashed his image; they plundered all the treasures, both of gold and silver, and distributed them to the poor. And the whole village with its properties and territories they devoted to the name of the church» (par.784, p.323).

*T'ordan - location unknown⁶¹.

**Barshamin - a Mesopotamian god (Ba'alshamin) whose statue was brought by Tigranes the Great in the I c. B.C. and a temple was erected for him (se below).

3. «When he had further confirmed these people (the province of Khaltik', to the north of the plain of Erzinka - A.K.), then he went to the fortified site of renowned Ani, the site of the royal burial ground of the Armenian kings. There they destroyed the altar of the god Zeus-Aramazd, called father of all the gods. And there they set up the Lord's sign, and the town with its fortress they devoted to th eservice of the church» (par.785, p.325).

*Ani - a fortress on the right bank of Karasu (Arm. Kamakh/modern Kemakh on the opposite bank); to be distinguished from other Ani on the Armenian-Turkish border.

**Aramazd - the chief god of the pre-Christian Armenian pantheon.

4. «After this he came to the neighboring province of Ekeleats. Here the demons appeared in the places of worship of the most important shrines of the Armenian kings, in the temple of Anahit in the town of Erēz. The demons gathered together and gave battle in the form of an army carrying shields; with a tremendous shout they made the mountains echo. They were put to flight, but as they fled the high walls collapsed and were flattened. Those who had arrived, Saint Gregory, the king and the pious army, broke into pieces the golden image of the female deity Anahit, and they completely destroyed and pillaged the place, seizing the gold and silver. From there they crossed over the river Gayl and destroyed the temple of Nanē, the daughter of Aramazd, in the town of T'il (par.786, p.326-327).

*T'il - a prominent religious center located approximately in 8 km to the north-west of Erzincan. In the same IV c. became the seat of head of Armenian church (catholicos). It was donated to Gregory the Illuminator as his personal domain; here were buried several catholicoses and also the king Pap in 374 (see below)⁶².

5. «Then he hastened to the province of Derjan in order to spread there also the message of the apostolic preaching by works of labor, and to free them from the

⁶⁰ Fort he cult of Anahit and her sanctuaries see Melik-Pashayan 1963.

⁶¹ See Kosyan 2018 for a tentative attempt to identify this place-name with ^{URU}Darutena of Hittite texts.

⁶² HHSTB 1986: 449.

beastliness of their abominable and demon-possessed way of life. He came to the temple of Mihr, called the son of Aramazd, to the village called Bagayarich in the Parthian tongue» (par. 489-790, p.329).

*Mihr – Iranian Mithra

**Bagayarich – to the east of Erzincan and to the north of modern Mamahatun⁶³.

Movses Khorenatsi (V c. B.C.)

1. «After illuminating the whole of Armenia with the light of divine knowledge ... he left his own son Aristakēs as his successor and remained himself in the province of Daranalik' in the Mountain 'Caves of Mane'. Saint Gregory lives in seclusion in the Cave of Mane for many years and on his death was transposed to the ranks of the angels. Shepherds found him dead and buried him in the same place without knowing who he was. But when the faith had become firmly established in these regions, after a long time Saint Gregory's relics were revealed to a certain ascetic called Garnik, who took them and buried them in the village of T'ordan» (Book II.91, p.244-246)⁶⁴.

*Caves of Mane – in Armenological literature usually located in one of the ravines of the mountain Sepuh/Gohanam (modern Karadag, to the west of Erzincan).

2. «Tigran consented and raised the statue of Zeus Olympus in the fortress of Ani, that of Athena in T'il, the second statue of Artemis in Erēz, and that of Hephaistos in Bagayarinc. He himself went down to Mesopotamia, and finding there the statue of Barshamin, he embellished it with ivory, crystal, and silver. He ordered that it should be brought and set up in the town of T'ordan» (par.14, p.149-150).

The information contained in the abovementioned sources gives us a clue for some proposals.

1. In the plain of Erznka and to the east of it (Terjan) at least from the II c. BC onwards were located several important cultic-religious centers of pre-Christian Armenia (Erez, Til, Tordan, Bagayaric, Kamakh and Ani). Here were worshipped all main deities – the chief god Aramazd, Anahit, Nane, Mihr (= Mithra). Later on in these temples were worshipped also Greek deities – Zeus, Athena, Artemis and Hephaistos. Nowhere in ancient Armenia such a concentration of cultic centres are attested.

2. To this should be added the royal cemetery of Armenian kings (near Kamakh, on the right bank of the river.

3. After the Christianization of Armenia the plain of Erznka was given to Gregory the Illuminator as a domain, which is also symptomatic.

Taking into account the information referred to above, and also that contained in the II century BC Hittite texts, it could be suggested that it seems unlikely that the cultic landscape of the plain of Erznka had come into presence only in the Hellenistic period.

⁶³ HHSTB 1986: 531.

⁶⁴ In Book III.2 is told that the tomb of Aristakes, son of Gregory was in the province of Ekefeats, in the town of T'il and in III.8 that catholicos Nerses the Great, one of the offsprings of Gregory was also buried in T'il. The same is reported in P'awstos Buzand's (IV century) study (1989: Book III.2).

The northern contact zone: summary

Resuming the discussion of written and archaeological sources regarding the northern contact zone, several suggestions could be offered.

1. The plain of Erzinka is situated in a strategically important region. By this part of eastern highlands proceeds the easiest and most comfortable route which connects Transcaucasian region, via the plains of Kars and Erzurum, with the Upper Euphrates region. The trade routes as well as military campaigns and migrations proceeding from the east and north-east to the west and south-west and vice versa mostly does not bypass this region. The other route in this direction which passes via the northern shores Lake Van is difficult and uncomfortable due to the relief.

2. The role of the plain of Erzinka in the religious life of the Armenian Highland could not be doubted, especially in the context of the II mill. BC Hittite cuneiform data which mention at least two cultic centres in this region (an unnamed temple where the priests perform oracle procedures by the order of the Hittite king, and also the temple of Pirwa).

Further evidence for the religious status of this area is found in the Urartian period (VIII-VII c. BC *susi* temple of Altintepe). Several centuries later, in the Hellenistic period we encounter here a large number of temples of major Armenian deities which speaks about continuity.

During the II mill. BC and until the early Middle Ages the plain of Erzinka was an important religious centre, unlike the political status of the region which at present is not easy to determine.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AJNES - Aramazd. Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Yerevan (since 2017 -Oxford).

AnSt - Anatolian Studies (London).

ASVOA.4.3 - Atlante storico del Vicino Oriente antico, Fascicolo 4.3, Anatolia: l'Impero Hittita, Pavia, 1986 (M.Forlanini, M.Marazzi).

CTH - E.Laroche, Catalogue des textes hittites, Paris, 1971.

HZP 1971 - Hay zhoxovrdi patmutyun (The History of the Armenian People), hator 1, Yerevan (in Armenian).

HHSTB 1986 - Hakobyan, T. Kh., S.T. Melik-Bakhshyan and H.Kh. Barseghyan Hayastani ev harakic. šřjanneri telanunneri bařaran (The Dictionary of the Toponyms of Armenia and Surrounding regions), hator 3. Yerevan: Erevani hamalsarani hratarakčutyun (in Armenian).

PBH – Patmabanasirakan hands (Journal of History and Philology), Yerevan.

MMAEZ - Merdzavor ev Mijin Arevelqi erkrner ev zhoxovurdner (Peoples and Countries of the Near and Middle East) (Yerevan).

RGTC 6/1 - del Monte, G.F. und J. Tischler 1978. Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert (= Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes 6.1).

RHA - Revue hittite et asianique (Paris).

SMEA - Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici (Roma).

TAVO - Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orient (Tübingen).

THE INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION PROCESS OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PROBLEM OF REPARATION ISSUE

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In the year of the hundredth anniversary of the Armenian Genocide the interest of the world public in this issue has increased significantly. This was due both to the need to highlight a number of dark pages of the age-old history of the World War I, and to study in detail the issue of genocide in the modern world.

The first genocide of the 20th century, *Mets Yeghern* - Genocide, was not actually convicted at the international level, the perpetrators of this terrible crime were not punished, no serious efforts were made to eliminate the consequences of the genocide. According to experts in the field of genocide, all this created a dangerous precedent: it is no accident that 1933-1945 Nazi Germany committed genocide -Holocaust against the Jewish people. And only after the end of the World War II, mankind came to its senses and condemned Nazi leaders in Nuremberg.

Years later, West Germany began to pay compensation to the young state of Israel, and the payments continue to this day. This amount, starting with Chancellor of Germany Konrad Adenauer to Angela Merkel, today reaches several hundred billion dollars.¹

It should be noted that the famous lawyer, a Jew by birth, Raphael Lemkin, defined the crime "Genocide", referring to what happened with Armenians in Western Armenia and in other areas of the Ottoman Empire in 1915-1923.² It became the basis of the well-known UN Convention of December 9, 1948 on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

However, unfortunately, the issue of the Armenian Genocide continued to be beyond the attention of the world community. And this in the case when the Armenians were not only physically destroyed, but also lost their homeland - Western Armenia, where they lived for thousands of years.

By the way, humanity remained indifferent to the tragedy of another people - the Aysorians as well who created an ancient civilization. During the First World War this people was subjected to genocide in its historical homeland - in Assyria by the Ottoman Turks. Similarly, the world was also silent about the Turks' genocidal policy at the same period in relation to the Pontic Greeks. It can be stated with certainty that a hundred years later the situation regarding this problem has not changed.

Before the Second World War the Armenians did not have any opportunity to raise the issue of condemnation of the Armenian Genocide on the international level.

¹ <http://www.claimscon.org/>

² Hovhannisyan N., *The Genocide of Armenians in the Conceptual System of Genocidology*, Yerevan, 2002, p. 11 (in Armenian).

During the times of the Stalin regime, as well as Soviet-Turkish comparatively warm relations, this issue was actually closed in Soviet Armenia. At the same time the dispersed Armenian Diaspora around the world was not able to raise this issue, as it was itself at the stage of formation. It was only in 1945-1947, when, on behalf of Soviet Armenia, the issue of the return of Armenian lands was raised in the context of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.³

However, due to Anglo-American tough opposition, this issue was removed from the agenda. Moreover, the Soviet Union has also changed its position. On May 30, 1953 Khrushchev's leadership refused territorial claims to Turkey. The Armenian issue in the Soviet Union again became a very dangerous and closed topic.

The situation around the Armenian issue was changed after Soviet Armenia and the Armenian Diaspora officially celebrated the 50th anniversary of the genocide. In 1965, faraway Uruguay became the first country whose legislative body recognized the Armenian Genocide. Soon the Soviet leadership abandoned the previous unfavorable policy towards the Armenian question. The leadership of the Kremlin not to aggravate relations with the NATO member Turkey, did not recognize or condemn the tragedy of Armenians at the state level, but at the same time allowed to mention officially the day of the memory of the victims of the genocide in Armenia, build a memorial complex, publish scientific literature and so forth.

On June 18, 1987, the European Parliament adopted a resolution "On the Political Solution of the Armenian Question." The preamble of the document notes that "the Turkish government, refusing to recognize the 1915 genocide to this day, continues to deprive the Armenian people of their own history ... that the historically proven genocide has not received any political condemnation or appropriate compensation ..."⁴

In 1991, after the declaration of independence, the Armenian authorities did not include the issue of the Genocide in the priorities of the foreign policy of the young republic in order not to provoke Turkey's aggression against Armenia. Because of this in the first years of Armenia's independence, only three states that have close historical ties with our country recognized and condemned the crime at the level of the parliament - the Russian Federation (1995), Greece (1996) and Lebanon (1997).⁵

The position of the Armenian authorities on the issue of the Armenian Genocide radically changed after March 1998. President R. Kocharyan, Foreign Minister and other high-ranking officials repeatedly raised this issue at the OSCE summit in Istanbul, the UN, and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. From now on, this problem has become one of the priorities of Armenia's foreign policy.

³ Berlin (Potsdam) Conference of the Heads of the Three Allied Powers - USSR, USA and Great Britain (July 17 - August 2, 1945), Yerevan, 1989, p.168 (in Armenian).

⁴ Barseghov Yu. G., The Armenian Genocide - a Crime against Humanity (on the legality of the term and legal qualification), Yerevan, 1990, p.70 (In Russian).

⁵ The Armenian Genocide: Turkey's responsibility and obligations of the world community, documents and commentary. Comp. the author of the preface and commentary Yu. G. Barsegov, vol. 2, part 1, Moscow, 2003 (In Russian).

Undoubtedly, the change in the official approach of the Armenian leadership contributed to the condemnation of genocide on the highest levels in various countries. It is no accident that after that in 1998-2000 the Armenian Genocide was condemned by the parliaments of Belgium, France, the NKR, Sweden and Italy, the New York and Rome city halls, the Pope John Paul II, and dozens of USA states.⁶

Numerous attempts on the part of Turkey to prevent the process of international recognition of the Genocide, for example in 2001-2003 the activities of the so-called Armenian-Turkish reconciliation commission, only temporarily delayed the process. Soon the tragedy of Armenians was condemned by the parliaments of Switzerland (December 2003), Canada, Poland, Slovakia (2004).⁷ Until 2010, the number of countries reached two and a half dozen.

It is obvious that the Turkish policy of denying such an incontrovertible crime as the *Mets Yeghern* has completely failed. Progressive world community officially protested with condemnation. However, in the struggle against such a policy of Turkey, the Armenian side had missed an important, essential element - the problem of the need for compensation for the committed crime. Most of the aforementioned parliamentary resolutions do not reflect such a significant formulation as compensation; need to eliminate the consequences of this crime.

From this point of view, the statement-resolution of the State Duma of the Russian Federation of April 14, 1995 is singled out.⁸ Its clear legal formulation is similar to the "Declaration of Independence" of August 23, 1990, which also emphasizes in paragraph 11 that the genocide of Armenians was committed in Western Armenia and in Ottoman Turkey.⁹

It should be noted that the title of the document clearly expresses the essence of the issue. It is entitled as - "Statement of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation on the condemnation of the genocide of the Armenian people in 1915-1922." At the beginning of the statement it is stated that the conviction is based "... on irrefutable historical facts testifying to the extermination of Armenians on the territory of Western Armenia in 1915-1922."¹⁰

It means that before the adoption of this statement, a serious work was done to study the historical material, which leaves no doubt about the truthfulness of the genocidal policy of the Turkish authorities towards the Armenians. Secondly, such a

⁶ For details see Barseghyan LA., The Chronology of the Public Condemnation and Recognition of the Armenian Genocide (1915-2000), Yerevan, 2000 (in Russian).

⁷ The Armenian Genocide: Turkey's responsibility and obligations of the world community, documents and commentary. Comp. the author of the preface and commentary Yu. G. Barsegov, vol. 2, part 2, Moscow, 2003 (In Russian).

⁸ Collection of Legislation of the Russian Federation, Moscow, 1995, No. 17, p. 1497, Records of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, Moscow, 1995, No. 14, p. 1024, (in Russian).

⁹ www.gov.am/am/independence/

¹⁰ Collection of Legislation of the Russian Federation, Moscow, 1995, No. 17, p. 1497, Records of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, Moscow, 1995, No. 14, p. 1024, (in Russian).

policy was implemented by the Young Turk government not only in 1915 or throughout the entire period of World War I, as some historians often maintain, but had its own continuation after the war, already by Kemalist Turkey.

Consequently, the policy of mass extermination, that is the Armenian Genocide, which began in the 1890s since the time of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, alternately passed to the Young Turks, and then to the Kemalists. It is obvious that the change of power did not in any way affect the anti-Armenian policy of the Turkish rulers.

From the quotation cited above it also follows that the extermination of Armenians took place on the territory of Western Armenia, that is, in the homeland of Armenians. By the way, this important idea is repeated in the document in the penultimate phrase, where it is also noted that the anti-Armenian actions of the Turkish authorities were also directed against Russia. We quote "... the physical annihilation of the fraternal Armenian people **in its historical homeland** (underlined by us - A.M.) was committed with the goal of creating conditions for the destruction of Russia."¹¹

Thus, the document emphasizes that in addition to physical annihilation, the Turkish leadership, in the implementation of the policy of pan-Turkism, also aimed at depriving Armenians of their homeland. That is, in parallel with the genocide, the Patriot's policy of dispossession of the people of the Motherland was carried out.

Let us emphasize the above-mentioned thesis: the fact that the genocide was carried out on its own territories is absent in all resolutions of other states that condemned the genocidal policy of Turkey towards the Armenian people. In these parliamentary resolutions the phrase "Western Armenia" does not exist. Instead, it is stated that the extermination of Armenians occurred in the Ottoman Empire. Such a statement of the question is not accidental. Parliamentarians of more than twenty countries, avoiding the words of Western Armenia, don't want to take responsibility to the Armenian people and the world public on compensation of losses to Armenians. It's logical that this approach has a purely political background.

The authors of this important statement took care that, from the point of view of international law, it was compiled competently. Therefore, the document refers to almost all well-known international documents related to the definition of "Genocide". It notes that such a decision was made - "Following the spirit and letter of the United Nations adopted, "The Conventions on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide" of December 9, 1948 and the "Non-applicability of the statute of limitations for war crimes and crimes against humanity" of November 26, 1968."¹²

It is important that the statement also recalls Russia's role in condemning the Armenian mass pogroms as early as May 24, 1915. It was at the initiative of the Russian government that the European Great powers then issued a joint statement

¹¹ Collection of Legislation of the Russian Federation, Moscow, 1995, No. 17, p. 1497, Records of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, Moscow, 1995, No. 14, p. 1024, (in Russian).

¹² Collection of Legislation of the Russian Federation, Moscow, 1995, No. 17, p. 1497, Records of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, Moscow, 1995, No. 14, p. 1024, (in Russian).

sharply condemning the barbarian actions of the Turkish leadership against the peaceful Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire as a crime against humanity.¹³

At the end of the resolution, "The State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation condemns the organizers of the extermination of Armenians in 1915-1922, expresses its sympathy to the Armenian people and considers April 24 as a day of commemoration of the victims of the genocide."¹⁴

From the foregoing it follows that almost 20 years ago the highest legislative body of the Russian Federation adopted a very important legal document, which remained relevant in our time. Once again we recall that all the political forces of the Russian parliament on the issue of genocide had a unified approach, so all voted unanimously - "for". In those years, such results of the voting were sporadic.

However, the question arises whether this document was used to the full extent in the struggle against the Turkish shameless policy of denying the Armenian Genocide or became a means to achieve the goal of eliminating the consequences of this heinous crime. No doubt - no! Moreover, many don't even have an idea about it, and not only in foreign countries, including Russia, but also in Armenia itself. This is the fault of representatives of mass media, the political and scientific circles.

In the year of the 100th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, thanks to the joint efforts of the relevant structures of Russia, Armenia and other countries, it was finally possible to inform the world community about the principled approach of one of the great world powers - Russia on the Armenian Genocide, in the name of fraternal, strategic Russian-Armenian centuries-old relations. By virtue of one of the points of this statement, April 24 "as a day of memory of the victims of the genocide" is celebrated at the state level in Russia.

¹³ The Armenian Genocide in the Ottoman Empire, a collection of documents and materials, ed. M.G. Nersisyan, 2nd ed., Yerevan, 1983, p. 602-603 (in Russian).

¹⁴ Collection of Legislation of the Russian Federation, Moscow, 1995, No. 17, p. 1497, Records of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, Moscow, 1995, No. 14, p. 1024, (in Russian).

GENOCIDE OF THE ARMENIANS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: LAST WEEK OF MAY, 1915¹

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My discussion will be centered on the last week of May 1915. This week was largely rich in events and needed a detailed study. At the beginning of the week the Entente powers - France, Great Britain and Russia issued a Joint Declaration, sharply condemning the massacre of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. In a few days it was followed by the adoption of the "Resolution" and "The Law" of deportation by the Ottoman government. In the meantime, Turkey, led by Germany, began preparations for diplomatic response of Ottoman government to the Declaration.

The week began with the publication of the Entente powers joint Declaration about the massacres of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and personally accusing the members of the Ottoman government for this crime. The detailed prehistory of this document is well known. However, in our opinion, little attention has been paid to the fact that the initiators of this document were the representatives of the Armenians, not the Russians, as it is witnessed in Western archives.

The Armenian elite cleared up the enormity of the massacre early in March. They began to enquire into the ways to save the civilian Armenian people. At first their hopes got into touch with possible joint English-French landing operation in Cilicia. In other words, they expected armed humanitarian intervention and Armenian volunteers were ready to take part in. M. Varandyan, one of the leading representatives of the Party of "Dashnaktsutyun", who was in Sofia at that time, supported the idea. However, when the allies gave up this plan, the idea of diplomatic intervention, which intended to end the massacre, was actualized. The concept originated as a diplomatic demarche of powerful neutral countries - the United States and Italy. Russian sources give an opportunity to conclude that the author of the idea was Varandyan himself. A. Khatsov, the Mayor of Tiflis and deputy chairman of the Armenian National Bureau in Tiflis, who carried great authority with the Russian administration in the Caucasus, actively supported it. He regularly accumulated the information about the terrible massacre, which he turned over the Russian officials and The Catholicos of All Armenians Gevorg V. One of the received eyewitness accounts, which are kept in the Armenian Central Archives, said: "A terrible picture! Corpses, corpses, corpses ... men, women and babies. Maimed, mutilated, brutally abused. You can't keep the tears". In response to the telegram sent by Varandyan from Sofia he raised the question of diplomatic protests to the Russian Governor in the Caucasus. This fact was reported in Russian diplomatic sources.

¹ Paper was presented to the scientific conference "The Origins of the Armenian Genocide: The Crucial Years, 1912-1915", University of California, Berkeley, April 18, 2015.

The official initiator became Gevorg V, who surely had his own sources of information. According to the Russian diplomatic documents, on April 20th he applied to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia S. Sazonov for “humanitarian support”. At the same time the Catholicos submitted a similar proposition to the neutral United States and Italy. Sazonov’s subsequent approval to this initiative was originated from his aspiration to enlist the support of the Eastern Armenians against the Ottoman Empire. Later it turned out that Britain and France would not hasten to uphold Russia in a joint diplomatic demarche. Again the Catholicos Gevorg showed activity. This time he sent a letter to French President Poincare and British king George V.

So, the Armenians hoped to end the massacre with diplomatic intervention. That’s why immediately after the proclamation of the Entente’s Joint Declaration the prominent Armenian officials thanked the Entente countries. We can name Paris located Poghos Nubar, the head of the Armenian National Delegation, and well-known Western Armenian intellectual A. Chopanyan. The Declaration inspired the remaining Armenian activists in Constantinople with hope in justice. On June 1 Grigor Zohrab, the prominent Armenian activist and the member of the Ottoman Parliament met the leaders of the Young Turks - Tala’at and Midhat Shukri - and proclaimed that they would answer for their actions sooner or later. A day later he was arrested...

But the machine of killings was in action and cannot be stopped. The massive preplanned slaughter of the Armenian population continued in Western Armenia. Here is a brief summary of mass murder only during those days, according to Armenian sources:

May 24 - in Diyarbekir, 614 Armenians were killed.

May 25 - near Urfa, 1500 Armenian soldiers were disarmed and killed; earlier they were drafted into the Ottoman army.

On **May 28** Catholicos Gevorg received a letter from Manzikert, where the murder of thousands of innocent Armenians was described in the very town and surrounding villages. It notes that “the government leads the massacre”. The foreign diplomats also witness about those days. Particularly they survey the vilayet of Erzurum.

On **May 30** Bulgarian diplomatic sources reported the murder of 200-300 deported Armenians of Hinus.

Thousands of killings of innocent men, women, and children only during this last week of May of 1915...

Available Turkish, German, Austrian and American sources reveal a picture of events happened in Constantinople during this week. Turkish leaders took the Declaration as directed personally against them. The internal diplomatic correspondence testifies this fact. Their response was quite hot. The ambassador of Austria-Hungary to Ottoman Empire reported to Vienna that it drove Sadrazam Said Halim Pasha furious. US Ambassador H. Morgenthau described in his diary Said Halim Pasha’s state after he had become familiarized with the note as “very much annoyed”.

Tala'at was the first to familiarize with the contents of the Declaration. There is no reason to be surprised. According to his contemporaries, including his wife, Tala'at had a telegraph machine at home, and the cable connecting the Ottoman Empire with Europe, which passes through his house. He was the first to read all important telegrams received by the Ottoman government. By the way, before the Young Turk revolution Tala'at had worked as a telegraph operator for two years.

Tala'at was threatened with the Declaration, as by his orders deportations and massacres had started and were in progress. He obviously feared that the whole burden of guilt should be laid onto his and only his shoulders. In an attempt to avoid it, he initiated a process aimed to disperse the guilt for the crime among the government members, making it a matter of collective amenability, rather than his personal. As a rule, the criminal realizes very well the measure of his responsibility. Tala'at's unique confession on that subject has been preserved in the memoirs of his close friend Halil, a leading figure in the Ottoman Empire and in the "Committee of Union and Progress". According to him, Tala'at once acknowledged that he was the one to make the decision about the deportation of Armenians.

As a result of the secret Report of Tala'at submitted to the Sadrazam, the Government adopted "Provisional Law on Deportation" on May 27 and Governmental Resolution on Deportation on May 30.

I have to underline that the process of large scale Genocide was already on the way beginning from the March.

The Governmental Resolution was signed by seven members of the government: Sadrazam Said Halim Pasha, Minister of Internal Affairs Tala'at, Minister of War Enver Pasha, Minister of Social Affairs Abbas Halim Pasha, Minister of Education Ahmed Shukri, Minister of Commerce Ahmed Nesimi, and Minister of Justice Pirizade Ibrahim Hayrullah.

The next day the original text of the "Resolution" was officially copied for the purpose of sending to respective ministries. One of those copies which is kept in the Archive of the General Headquarter, was included in the collection of documents published by General Headquarters of the Turkish armed forces.

The original document being published by Turkish historians has been widely used as a proof of a hypothesis of the Turkish official historiography as if the purpose of the deportation was only the deportation of Western Armenians and not their massacre. It mentions all the "dangers" as if coming from Armenians, a number of resettlement problems connected with the deportees. At the same time, special attention was paid to the organization of their lives in the new places of their settlement, as well as questions of abandoned property in their native places of habitation etc. A lot of provisions of the Resolution obviously did not pursue the goal of having a real influence on the deportation process by imparting it a seemingly "organized" character outwardly or just formally. According to Tala'at and his accomplices, it had to create a "legal" ground that

would give them an opportunity to elude the responsibility of committing the extermination of the Armenian nation under the cover of deportation.

But the expression “to fully exterminate and liquidate” (*imhâ ve izâlesi kat’iyyen muktezî*) reveals not only the real purposes of the highest authorities of the Ottoman empire, but also, in the framework of modern conceptual approaches of Genocide Studies, gives an opportunity to reveal its intent to commit genocide under the cover of deportation.

Realizing that danger, the Turkish authors, representatives of “*resmi*” (official) historiography, resort to a number of tricks the purpose of which is to conceal the meaning of the above-mentioned expression and to delude the reader by distorting it. Thus, for example, the “classics” of official Turkish historiography, Y.H. Bayur and K. Gürün, and the representatives of the new generation unanimously avoid translating the expression “*imhâ ve izâles ikat’iyyen muktezî*” (“to fully exterminate and liquidate”) into modern Turkish and do not hesitate sometimes to use translations of the Ottoman words incomprehensible for those who knows modern Turkish.

Such a trick can certainly be described as rather “delicate”. But the Turkish authors who carry out an official order are not limited to it. The authors of the collection of documents published by the General Headquarters of the Armed Forces go even further and turn to evident falsification. This collection includes modern Turkish and English translations of the copy of the “Resolution”. Its translators have tried to “mitigate” the meaning of the expression.

For instance, the English translators who obviously made use not of the Ottoman original text, but the modern Turkish translation, unhesitatingly shortened the above-mentioned expression and presented it as: “ought to be eliminated effectively”. Let us compare the Ottoman original of the “Resolution” passed by the Ministerial council with the English translation. It is mentioned in the original: “to fully exterminate and liquidate” and in the English translation we read: “ought to be eliminated effectively”. The change of meaning is obvious; it was falsified.

Thus, it is clear that by publishing the original text of the “Resolution” of the Ministerial council, the official Turkish historians try to make its real meaning difficult to understand for the non-specialists in every possible way. By publishing that document, they try not to throw light on the poorly studied pages of the history of the Armenian Genocide, but to use it as an additional “argument” for substantiating the false hypothesis that the Ottoman authorities “showed concern” towards the Armenian people during the deportation.

The “Law on Deportation” was published by the official newspaper on June 1 and enforced immediately under the title “Provisional Law on Measures to Be Taken from Military Point of View against Those Who Act in Opposition to the Government’s Activity in Wartime”. It was signed by the Sultan, Sadrazam and Minister of War Enver and consisted of four Articles. Enver was personally made responsible for the enactment.

The “tradition” of falsification, adopted by Turkish official historians, can be discovered also concerning the “Law on Deportation”. It began back in 1916, at the time when the Armenian Genocide was still in progress. The Ottoman government, seeking to mislead the world community and avoid the potential responsibility, published a massive reference book, first in Turkish, then in the European languages, in which the reality is impertinently falsified and an attempt is made to shift the responsibility for the Armenian Genocide onto Armenians. The distorted text of the “Law on Deportation” with only three Articles is brought there; Article 4 is missing, as well as the last paragraph. The names of those who signed the Law are not brought either. It should be noted that the Ottoman government did attain its goal. Many of the contemporary and future historians based their works on the version of the “Law on Deportation”, placed in the governmental reference book, not the one in the official newspaper.

A question arises, what was such an approach of the authorities of the Ottoman Empire conditioned by? The Ottoman official documents, presently in circulation, do not give a clear answer. We may only presume that it is because that the then ruling Turkish elite, in this case Enver, strived to shake off the responsibility for the deportation of Armenians, cost what it might. As ordinary criminal...

The Joint Declaration caused an instant reaction from leadership of German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On the May 25 Under-Secretary A. Zimmermann sent a copy of the Declaration to Ambassador in Constantinople, indicating to assist the rapid preparation of the Turkish response. He wanted to publish it in the German press in conference with the Turkish response. But the Turks, certainly, did not manage to prepare the response quickly. It was ready only on June 6. Germany's reaction illustrated the Declaration importance from the point of view of War Propaganda.

Let me sum up what has been said:

1. The idea of a diplomatic intervention aiming to stop the wholesale slaughter of the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire was initiated by the Armenians. I think they were continuing the preceding experience gained in the struggle for the solution of the Armenian Question in late 19th - early 20th centuries.
2. The publication of the Declaration gave birth to hopes among Armenian leaders. They thought it would be possible to stop or, at least, to commute the massacre policy, led by the Ottoman authorities.
3. The Turk leaders took the Declaration as a serious danger. In haste they took certain steps to avoid personal responsibility for the crimes committed against the Armenian people.
4. The adoption by the Ottoman government of the “Resolution” on the deportation reveals the true aims of Ottoman leader's criminal design: to eliminate Armenian people under the cover of deportation. Although the authors targeted at a very different goal: to create an official cover for already increasing destruction of the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire.

5. Modern Turkish official historians are trying to conceal the true meaning of the above-mentioned document.
6. Germany accepted the Declaration as the Entente's dangerous attack in the War Propaganda and tried to take countermeasures, having made the Ottoman Empire to prepare a response to it.
7. On those days in May the terrible wholesale slaughter of the Armenian population continued in the Ottoman Empire, especially in Western Armenia. The policy of Genocide was increasing.

Here is a multilevel cross-section of the last week in May 1915. I think that some key features of the whole process of the Armenian Genocide in the Ottoman Empire are consolidated in it.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

NORTH-EASTERN ARMENIA IN THE VII-VI CENTURIES BC (according to archaeological sources)

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Until now the studies aimed on the elucidation of the relationship between the Urartian and Ervandid periods of the history of the Armenian Highland, due to scanty sources have brought to contradictory views. One of the main obstacles for the study of this relationship should be regarded the insufficient understanding of the periphery of both kingdoms, despite their importance. Taking into account the importance of the task¹, the present article is an attempt to bring together the results of archaeological investigations conducted in north-eastern Armenia and their supplementation with scanty written data.

The geographical area under consideration, as is well known, first was mentioned by Argishti I, king of Urartu, who describes his two campaigns. During the first campaign he had conquered Etiuni and reached Uduri-Etiukhi (according to H.Haruthiounyan Etiukhi of the Uduri tribe), while in the second campaign he defeated the country of Qiehuni located on the shores of a lake, reached Ishtikuniu and the city of Alishtu.² It was suggested that Alishtu might have been located in the general area of modern Dilijan-Idjevan. According to another view, this locality should be identified with the settlement Sari-tepe in the Kazakh region (Azerbaijan).³ There has not been reached a consensus also regarding the location of "19 countries" listed by Rusa I (735-713), said to have been on the other side of the lake; all scholars (I.Meshchaninov, G.Melikishvili, B.Piotrovski, N.Haruthiounyan, S.Esayan) locate them tentatively in the mountainous areas of Krasnoselsk, Shamshadin, Dashkesan and Lesser Caucasus.⁴

Scanty written sources and the results of excavations does not reject the possibility that Argishti I had proceeded towards Lake Sevan through Vanadzor; this could be proved by the discovery of joint appearance of Urartian and local artifacts in

¹ Tiratsyan 1980.

² Melikishvili 1960: 212, 216, 237, 248, 249, 261.

Haruthiounian 2001. According to the author Ishtikuniu should be looked to the west of Lake Sevan, probably in Hrazdan region (p.156-162).

³ The small settlement of Tevraqar, Idjevan district, where the IX-VIII c. BC burials were excavated (Dovlatbekyan, Hmayakyan, Simonyan 2009: 74-75). The fortress of Khrtanots was not studied (see Martirosyan 1954: 45). According to M.Nikolskiy, the toponym «Geghaquni» could be compared with Qiehuni (Nikolskij 1910: 106-110). According to Gr.Kapancyan and others Gegharquni originates from the toponym *Uelikuni* (*Ulikuhi*) which is identified with the Gavar region (Kapancyan 1940: 22; Jahukyan 1981: 48-63). S.Eremyan thought that the name of the modern river Aghstev comes from the Urartian toponym Alishtu (Eremyan 1969: 19). On Sari-tepe see Khanzadyan, Mkrtchyan, Parsamyan 1973: 58.

⁴ Melikishvili 1960: 329. Haruthiounyan 1985: 67.

the burials of Mayisyan, Vanadzor, Makarashen and Khrtanots.⁵ Among the latter are – vessels which has arched ornament and elongated slot reaching the central part of the handle on the upper part of the spheric body (pic. 1), which are characteristic mainly for the Ashotsq-Tavush region. In the sites located between Sevan and Gyumri, as well as to the south of Pambak range such materials are rare (burials of Kuchak; but those unearthed in the residential parts of Teishebaini and the citadel, probably could have brought with them the settlers from the north, during the construction of the city).⁶ Probably these details of the vessels could be treated as peculiarities of the local center of northern Etiuni. Extra buttons on the handles are also common. Fragments of vessels with similar decoration, along with various types (piala-type jars), were unearthed in Kosi-coter and Tagavoranist, near Vanadzor.⁷ Unfortunately, insufficient excavations of fortresses and settlements does not allow to reconstruct complete archaeological picture of the Pambak region, which could enrich our knowledge of the fortified settlements of Tavush. Mostly due to excavations conducted by S.Esayan and S.Chilingaryan we achieve certain idea regarding the «fortifications» and «cities» (as they are entitled by these archaeologists) of this area⁸; the latter comprise separate groups.⁹ S.Esayan had established that among 19 fortresses (total 56) 6 were active in the Iron age, 13 – between VII/VI-V centuries BC. The chronology of the remaining 37 fortresses is based on surface materials; 6 are dated with the Iron age (early I mill. BC), 10 were built at the beginning of the I c. BC and were active until the VI-V centuries BC. The chronology of 21 buildings is uncertain (among them are temporary stables and fortified watching posts).

The geographical distribution of sites conventionally could be grouped as:

- I - «Ayrum-Noyemberyan» (in the Debed valley),
- II - «Shavarshavan» (in the Djoghaz valley),
- III - «Yenokavan» (in Aghstev),
- IV- «Tsaghkavan» (in the Hakhum valley),
- V - «Berd-Norashen» (in the Tavush valley),
- VI - «Ghrghi-Aygedzor»¹⁰ (see the map):

Although the groups are represented by different number of sites (in groups II and

⁵ Martirosyan 1964: 202-223, p. 79-80, 84, 85, Tables XXI-XXII. Martirosyan 1954, cf. Table IV, XIII. We are grateful to L.Petrosyan for supplying us with unpublished materials from Mayisyan.

⁶ Martirosyan 1961: 101-102, p. 41. Petrosyan 2016.

⁷ Khanzadyan 1962: 75-78; Palanjyan 2008: 175-178: Along the road from Makarashen – Vanadzor the remains of two fortresses were found. See Martirosyan 1964: 202.

⁸ On the periodization and functions of “cities” and settlements see Bobokhyan 2014.

⁹ See Esayan 1976: 32-98; also Chilingaryan 1968: 221-231; Chilingaryan 1971a; Chilingaryan 1971b: 69-72:

¹⁰ Our knowledge of the historical province of Utik (between Artsakh and Kura river) could have been complete (Shirakatsi 1979: 296; Svazyan 2015: 219-220) in case if the sites of this region have been studied. According to earlier studies this region is represented by both fortified (cyclopean) and unfortified settlements. Among the latter are settlements located in the region of Aghstev-Tavush-Kura. See Earliest states of the Caucasus and Middle Asia 1985: 43-44.

V they are few), they form two large groups. 29 are located in the valleys of Debed-Aghstev (I-III), 24 in Hakhum-Asrik (IV-VI); the 3 fortresses to the east of Lake Sevan are omitted from the total 56.

At first sight it seems that both in the western and eastern parts these buildings are distributed proportionately (the difference is 5 buildings), but the chronological distribution proves it to be wrong. 7 or 8 fortresses of the early period (mostly the first quarter of the I mill. BC) (Poploz-gash, Bardzraberd, Astghi-blur, [Khrtanots?], Arcis, Berdatakh, Patashar, Arami-blur) are located in the Debed-Aghstev region, three in the Hakhum-Asrik (Tandzut, Masmalar, Seprik), which comprises 25% and $\approx 9\%$: These calculations show that the eastern part was populated sparsely. The same situation is traced also in the second quarter of the I mill. BC; in the western part this period is represented by 7 fortresses (Sb. Nahatak, Astghi-blur, Berdatex, [Idjevan?], Tkhkut dzor, Kotakar, Armunk-aghbyur), and in Hakhum-Asrik only by 2 (Tandzut, Azatavan), the total ratio is 14/15:5 or $\approx 44\%$ and 15,6%. The picture abruptly changes from the VI-Vc. BC in the Debed-Aghstev region. To this period belong Poploz-gash, Tmbadir, Shahlaman II-IV (15,6%), and in eastern section - 15 fortresses (Norashen, Pilur-pat, Kalqar, mound of Sev-sev stones, *taht* of Sev-sev stones, Bakhri cross, Berdaqar, Salqar, Tavri-pash, Srtner, Dashti, Ker-qar, Berd, Karmir Areguni, Dzoraberdd $\approx 47\%$). The data show that in the early period in the eastern section were comparatively densely populated the regions of Navur and Ghirghi, and in VI-V c. the increase in the number of fortresses ($\approx 47\%$) could not be explained but by the influx of population. It could be difficult to explain such demographic blow only by means of the natural growth of population, which one might expect also in the western section (in the latter in the VI-Vc. $\approx 15,6\%$), where it could not be traced. Indeed these calculations are preliminary, but anyway they are enough to propose that in the eastern and western sections the number of population was not equal.

In this regard it should be mentioned the density of cemeteries in the neighborhood of Dilijan in the first quarter of the I c. BC (Redkin lager, Djarkhech, Golovino, Papanino, Khrtanots). One could agree with S. Esayan that the abundance of archaeological monuments in this comparatively small region speaks in favor of the existence of a local cultural variant but also on its affiliation to the tribes of the Aghstev valley.¹¹ Another peculiarity of this region is the decrease in number of cemeteries in the VIII-VII c. BC, probably as a result of Urartian campaigns in this area if we propose that they follow the route between the ranges of Bazum-Pambak (Mayisyan, Vanadzor, Makarashen, Khrtanots, through the eastern part of the Dilijan reserve – Aghstev sector. The existence of summer pastures in nearby Dilijan reserve where we find burials of the local population (western section) are in accordance with the inscriptions of Urartian kings where are listed the numbers of captured cattle and people, also the resettlement of the latters. The resettlement of captured people could lead to the decrease of population.

¹¹ Esayan 1976: 131.

The solution of this problem might have been clarified by the study of materials excavated in about 900 burials by J.de Morgan in the neighborhood of Ayrum (Sheytan-dag), Alaverdi and Akhtala¹², in case if they were published accurately. They might have been supplemented also with materials unearthed by A.Eritsyan (23 burials), N.Marr, E.Takaishvili in Akner (40 burials) and others (the Debed valley and Lalvar). Anyway, the extant data is enough to propose that in the western section the life of local population had not suffered much. In the first half of the I mill. BC, unlike in Aghstev-Dilijan, it shows permanent development. The same is true for the cemetery of Astghiblar, near the village of Enokavan (north-west of Idjevan), and the materials of the Djarkhech cemetery belong to the VIII-VII c. BC.¹³

Judging by the distribution of cemeteries the pastures of the Idjevan region were used widely in the first quarter of the I mill. BC. Cemeteries dated with this period were unearthed also in Idjevan and in the village of Lusadzor (the monument of Paker). Unfortunately, scanty materials obtained during the excavations of cemeteries does not allow one to judge about the region of Aghstev-Masrik. Burials of the same period are known near the fortress of Qari glukh (Navur) and Choratan. The picture is changed in the neighborhood of Ghrghi, where in the first quarter of the I mill. BC some increase in cemeteries is visible (Bughaqar, Eghenkaladzor, Qari dzor, Ayghrani talan, between Qolagir-Ghrghi, big cemetery of "Pagan yal" in Azatavan in about 15 km from Ghrghi). Of some interest is the small number of burials of the VIII-VII c. BC in these cemeteries which might be a result of their abandonment (Seprik near Ghrghi-Masmalar in the VIII-VII c. BC, Azatavan - VI-V c. BC). It should not be excluded that the population had deserted their settlements in the face of the Urartian advancement. In this regard should be recalled the results of excavations at Sari-tepe ("yellow mound") in Kazakh (tentatively identified with Alishtu of Urartian texts). Among the excavated materials is a detail of the bronze bracelet with a serpent-like edge (pic. 2a), which undoubtedly is Urartian.¹⁴ The latter has parallels from Menuakhinili (Malaklu), Erebuni and other VIII c. BC sites.¹⁵ The excavator of this site refers to the Urartian influence and also the appearance of the 4-spiked wheel in the first half of the I mill. BC in Transcaucasia (although he mentions that Urartian wheels have 6-9 spikes which is pictured on one clay vessel, pic.2b). Let us mention that the 4-spiked wheel was already known in Syria still in the II mill. BC.¹⁶

Excavations show that the pre-Urartian settlement was burned down and the population had fled,¹⁷ which is evident through the burnt layer all along the floors of two buildings. The preliminary date of materials found from the buildings is the beginning of

¹² De Morgan 1889; *ibid* 1927, pic. 301-303, cf. 278-285, 305-306. For bibliography see Martirosyan 1954: 10-19.

¹³ Khnikyan 1987: 79-87.

¹⁴ Narimanov 1957: 138-142, p. 55.

¹⁵ Kuftin 1944: 28. For parallels see Martirosyan 1964, Tab. 24; Esayan, Hmayakyan, Kanetsyan, Biyagov 1991: 14, Devedjyan 1981: 29, 69 etc.

¹⁶ Gorelik 1985: 183-202, Table 2-3.

¹⁷ Khalilov 1960: 68-75.

the I mill. BC. They are represented by vessels with cords on their shoulder, a ritual pot, etc. For the sake of dating are important vessels with double and triple formed handles typical for the IX-VIII c. BC, but particularly the triangular and domino-type beads which are dated with the VIII-VII c. BC (pic. 2a): Over the burnt and then smoothed lower layer was unearthed the second one which resembles post-Urartian palatial complex which the author compares with similar buildings (apadana) from Shush (Susa), Persepolis and Hamadan (Ekbatana), dating it with the V-IVc. BC¹⁸. The complex consists of two intertwined rectangular buildings – bigger and lesser ones, divided into rooms along their perimeter. The rooms of the inner building comprise an open space (300 sq.m), where at the distance of 2,5 m two «bell-like» pedestals were opened; their lower part is decorated with vertical grooves. The walls of excavated 12 rooms are built of bricks (36x36x12 cm.), and on two pedestals were set columns. The entrance of the outer building having 9 rectangular towers standing far from the inner wall forms a corridor or yard, where total 23 rooms were unearthed. The details of this building are close to the Urartian-Assyrian style; the forms of ceramics are connected with the VI c. BC culture (see below). Worth to mention that ceramic finds are rare and all rooms of the complex are full of burnt wooden logs which testify in favor of a conflagration.

Excavated artifacts of Sari-tepe repeat those excavated at Yasti-tepe, near Aghstafa, which the archaeologists working there dated with the transition from Bronze age to Iron age.¹⁹ The peculiarities of materials (triangular openings on the handles, extra buttons, angled cuttings on the base of the handle, which is extant also at Sari-tepe), forces one to accept the proposal of E.Khanzadyan about the destruction of Sari-tepe in the VIII c. BC by Urartians. This dating could be proved not only by the materials of Sari-tepe (particularly the snake-form bracelet) but also by their parallels in the neighboring Tavush region and elsewhere where they are common. It is important also the synchronism of the conflagration of the lower layer at Sari-tepe and the end of Yasti-tepe with the decrease of the sites of Tavush (eastern section); this makes possible the proposal about the brief Urartian presence here.

The above mentioned proposal do not contradict to idea of the Urartian advance through Aghstev-Sari-tepe/Alishtu, which might have been proved if the stone block found in the village of Khachak (modern Ghushchin) was copied (according to S.Ter-Avetisyan, on this block was inscribed cuneiform text).²⁰ This could have been proved by the study of materials from the burials; among the latters there are no Urartian ones. Ya.Hummel and others who had excavated in the neighborhood of the village and in the area towards Dzvasar (also in other places) unearthed materials dated with the Iron age.²¹ Also should be mentioned the ornaments drawn on handmade, rude yellowish-

¹⁸ Narimanov 1960: 162-164; see Earliest states of the Caucasus and Middle Asia 1985: 44.

¹⁹ Muradova, Narimanov 1973: 46-55.

²⁰ S. Ter-Avetisyan who was sent to the site in order to check the «cuneiform text» mentions that this stone covers a stone chamber full of bronze artifacts (Ter-Avetisyan 1934; Ter-Avetisyan 2010: 178, 182). See also Esayan 1976: 215.

²¹ Gummel 1940; Passek and Latinin 1926: 121-150, Gummel 1949: 55-58, pic. 13₂.

reddish and greyish surfaces (maeanders, geometric figures of people and animals) covered with white material (according to Ya.Hummel – “whitish pottery culture”), which parallelly appears along with the local black surfaced ceramics in the region slightly to the north-east (Getabek, Khanlar etc.). In the burials containing such ceramics bodies frequently are laying on their back with stretched extremities which is not characteristic for the Transcaucasian burials (here bodies lay on their sides with clutched extremities); it is characteristic for the Scythians and some other northern tribes. Judging by the archaeological materials their early groups had appeared at Sakasene towards the end of the II mill. BC, later to be mixed with the local population and Scythians. This data prove the suggestion made by M.Pogrebova, according to whom the excavated burials (excavations by A.Ivanovskij) represent two chronological groups. The earlier one which is called «Getabek» (late IX c. BC - VIII c. BC) (the latter group bears the name «Kalakend»)²² shows that between the eastern areas of the region lying on the right bank of the Kura river and western part of the North Caucasus exist certain relations; they resulted from the migrations of the «pre-Scythian» period of the North Caucasian tribes.²³ It is not accidental that regarding the emergence of the toponym of “Sakasene” which some scholars connect with Scythians of Strabo, until now a consensus has not been reached.²⁴ Avoiding the discussion of this problem let us mention only that in regard to the early migrations of these tribes are of importance the results of the excavations conducted at the sites of Eastern Georgia. According to excavations prior to 1979 objects covered with white material (geometric ornaments, figures of people and animals), and fragments applied with extra buttons are known from Kvemo Kedi, sanctuary of Meligele I, Zemo-Bodbe and others, dated with later periods. Such objects like “Scythian” arrows were unearthed from Mochrili gora B, Melaani, Ikalto, Arushenda; they were found in burials where the deceased were put on their back (earliest samples are known from 3 burials of Samtavro and Kaspi). In the valley of Iori the life was continued until VII-VI c. BC (in Tskhinvali it was terminated at some earlier date), due to conflagrations and destructions (Mochrili-gora B, Meligele II sanctuary, Arushenda etc.), skeletons struck by «Scythian» arrows (Ikalto, Khashuri).²⁵ Archaeological data shows that Tavush region had not suffered due to migrations from outside; here only one vessel ornamented like those mentioned above was unearthed (Astghi blur, burial № 14), which was produced by local craftsman (pic. 3a). These materials allow us to state that at the end of the II mill. BC - early I mill. the tribes who entered the Utik steppe and settled down there (Saka?), had adopted the local burial tradition (on the back, with stretched hands and legs), at initial phases also the usage of primitive pottery and

²² We shall mention that this refers only to the burials with horses and among those containing «whitish pottery» are some belonging to earlier periods (№№ 14, 23, 26, 49 etc. have materials of the II/I mill. BC). According to A.Ivanovskij, in the excavated burials sitting bodies were also common where bones are piled on a limited space.

²³ Pogrebova 2011: 208-210.

²⁴ Strabon 2011: 40; Khnikyan 2016: 162, 172-176.

²⁵ Pitshelauri 1972: 21-25, 38, 44-48, 54-55, 70-75; the same study in Georgian (Tbilisi, 1973), Tables V, XVIII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXVI.

mobile lifestyle, later were assimilated with the locals through mixed marriages. This proposal could be proved by the joint appearance of pots belonging to different cultures, and also by the practice of different burial rites in one and the same burial (for example, according to Ya.Hummel, in the burial Khanlar № 18 the skeleton of a woman lays on her side, while the nearby skeleton - on its back with stretched hands and legs).

Archaeological data concerning the problem mentioned above might let one to propose that the Urartians did not proceed further into the steppe; probably they were beware of the possibility of sudden attacks by pastoralists. Worth to mention that in most burials containing ceramics with white cover A.Ivanovskij had unearthed «Sevan»-type daggers. Possibly the rare campaigns of Urartians into the mountains and forested terrain of Tavush was conditioned by the dense population and geographic features of this region. They prefer the comparatively sparsely populated regions. After the defeat suffered at the hands of Rusa I which was followed by the capture of the population of the confederation of 19 countries, hardly the eastern section could have been of certain importance for Urartians. In favor of the sparse population speaks the decrease of the VIII-VII c. BC fortresses (groups IV-VI). The demographic change in the VI-V c. BC and the increase of the number of fortresses (groups IV-VI) testifies in favor of the influx of population.

Here we encounter the problem of the identity of the newcomers, their relations with the local population. Whether they were Scythians, as it is suggested by most scholars, who think that exactly these ethnic element had participated in the destruction of Urartu, allied with the Medians. At present one can note only that in the fortresses where “Scythian” arrowheads were found (Astghi-blur, Norashen, Tmbadir and Berdaqar) traces of destruction or conflagration are absent, and the sherds of the pottery of local culture prevail. Worth to mention a fragment of a sherd with *oinochoe* rim, reminding the Urartian samples, (Berdaqar, pic. 6a), which is well-known from main Urartian archaeological sites (Argishtikhinili, Teishebaini, Oshakan, Aragats, Artashavan, Shamiram etc.)²⁶, iron arrowheads with rounded part on the bottom from Norashen (pic. 4) and daggers having hooked blade (plausibly Urartian) which were found in Norashen and Berd (pic. 8), could speak in favor of the ethnic element who was in close contacts with Urartians, if not Urartians themselves. Probably, the idea of conflagration was achieved due to the excavations at the fortress of Tmbadir, near the village of Achajur²⁷, which was erected on the artificial mound, the latter comprising a soil brought from other place. A Scythian arrowhead found in the pit opened in the room N. 1, taken in one context with the burnt bricks of the room № 4 could have bring to such an idea, if one neglects clear traces of metallurgical activities observed in the room N. 5 (part of a mould - pic.5, the nearby fireplace).

²⁶ Martirosyan 1974; Avetisyan, Avetisyan 2006, Tab. 73, 76, 79, 82.

²⁷ On artificial mounds were built also the fortresses of Choratan, Nerqishen (Tavri pash), Moses (Qreghants blur), Pilor pat of Norashen. For the erection of the latter about 270,000 cubic meters, and for Tmbadir – 72,000 cubic meters of soil was brought. These numbers testify in favor of numerous and well-organized working activities.

The materials of the archaeological complexes discussed above show that the Scythian military impact is overestimated. This proposal could not be doubted also in the case of the one-bladed axe found from Berdaqar which was compared with similar axes from the Northern Caucasus and Central Georgia dated with the VII-VI c. BC (pic. 6).²⁸ Anyway, even if we agree with those who argue for the active Scythian involvement, then the existence of Scythian artifacts in only 4 fortresses would cause problems. The problem is that other fortresses lack traces of destructions whereas we find them in the monuments without Scythian artifacts. For example, the fortress of Kal-qar (6 km to the east of Tsaghkavan) where are fixed traces of fire, burnt soil and wood. This and the surrounding fortified sites - Mound of Sev-sev stones, Sev-sev takht, Bakhri-khach (evidently guarding Kal-qar) are represented exclusively by local artifacts. The same picture is observed among the materials found in the fortress of Berdategh, 8 km far from Yenokavan (rooms n. 2 and 3); here were opened burnt soil, pieces of charred logs and stones falled from the walls. Worth to mention that the temple in front of which is located a square (600 m²), is not damaged although its walls are weak. Possibly this speaks against the alien attack. Another parallel to Kal-qar and Berdategh could be traced in the big fortress of Shahlama IV (the settlement of «Hakhtanak», 4.5 ha). The data obtained from excavations proves that the targets of enemy attacks were big and well fortified central fortresses of the western section which probably resisted the newcomers. But in these fortresses the Scythian arrowheads were never found which makes doubtful the Scythian version. The existence of Scythian arrowheads in some sites found by J. de Morgan in Musieri (late VII c. BC – VI c. BC), N. Marr in Akner (V-IV c. BC) and H.Mnacakanyan in Ghachaghan might speak about the existence of small groups of Scythians among the newcomers.

The idea put forward regarding the decisive role of Median participation in the «destruction» of Urartu is also doubtful. The difficulties in accepting it could be seen also in its archaeological argumentation. Even if we leave aside the Urartian impact which is evident²⁹ and regard the excavated cups of piala-type as brought here by Medians, then a question should arouse - why the Iranian «classical triangular painted» pottery is lacking in this region. On the contrary, here we encounter sherds of the prototypes of piala-type pots which are the result of distinct influences. In this regard one should refer to the sherds excavated at the settlement of Tagavoranist, in Vanadzor³⁰, also at Tandzut (VII-VI c. BC) (pic. 7). They have concaved sides in their upper part proceeding to the lower part which ended with rims looking slightly outside. On one sample the rim has a form of a sharp angle and is similar with the sherd from the same monument which has figured sides. As to the piala-type sherds, they have either concaved figured sides, or are slightly rounded forms at the bottom; both types

²⁸ Martirosyan 1961: 284, 290; Pogrebova 1969: 179 and others; Esayan 1976: 93.

²⁹ For details see Tiratsyan 1968: 18-19; *ibid.* 1957: 79; *ibid.* 1988.

³⁰ Palanjyan 2008: 175-178. We are grateful to R.Badalyan who supplied us with the C₁₄ data obtained from Tagavoranist (I half of the VII c. BC - mid-VI c. BC).

are finished with a rim stretched out. The bottoms of these cups excavated at Norashen (pic. 4), Pilor-pat, Djudjevan and Berd (pic. 8) in some cases are flat, in other cases – concaved. On some samples are horizontal, slightly bended up handles, which according to S. Esayan might have been a feature of the local hearth. These cups as it is mentioned in the literature³¹, resemble the “triangular painted” jars from Hasanlu III B, Ziviyeh, Sialk B which are dated with the late VII - early VI c. BC. For the dating of these materials with the VI c. BC points the piala-type jars excavated in the Hasanlu III A layer; they are more improved and have new forms which shows their late date. The lower date of Hasanlu III A as a «pre-Achaemenid» layer is 508 BC.³² The early date for the materials could be supported also by the daggers with hooked blade and arrows with round base; they show that the complexes under discussion belong to the post-Urartian period. The study of the materials may help to suggest that the king Yervand after besieging Teishebaini with the rest of his army proceeded further to the north and that part of his troops were descendants of Scythians of the north and people from the Urmiya region brought by him for the construction of Teishebaini. Archaeological data which consists of different cultural layers may testify in favor of that army where the local element prevails.³³ Correspondingly, we may suggest that the existence of large fortresses and artificial mounds of the eastern section is a result of the activities of such diverse ethnic troops. This haste probably was caused by the plans of Yervand to fortify the north-eastern regions of his new state and the establishment of control over separatistic tribal chieftains. Along with the evident cultural inheritance (see, for example, pic. 3a and 3b), the name of Vardges, the prince of the *gavar* Tuh of the province of Utik should be added. Here we shall recall the suggestion of Gr. Kapancyan who was inclined to consider the root *eti(u)* as an ethnic one³⁴, also the rapid advance of Yervand and the unification of territories, an undertaking which was not an easy job for the Urartian kings who lack local footing.

In this respect two questions should be asked. Does this situation contradict to Strabo's information regarding the people of Armenia who became monolingual during the reign of Artashes I and why *hay* or *armen*, two ethnonyms of Armenians does not appear in the list of the peoples of the XVIII Achaemenid satrapy. In the case of Strabo probably we deal with the existence of multiethnic enclaves due to the continuous resettlement of population (for example, the passage which tells about the resettlement of a great number of Medians). In this regard is worth to mention the similarity of the VI-V c. BC materials excavated at the village of Bars (Tigranakert), Shamkhor region with that from Meghri-Kapan;³⁵ probably, these could be true in regard to the sites of

³¹ Martirosyan 1974: 53.

³² Dyson 1999: 101.

³³ Local people could use also Urartian arrows. In this regard it is worth to mention the absence of workshops of smiths, but also large amount of raw materials which could have been given to the craftsmen residing in the city for final working (see Martirosyan 1961: 99).

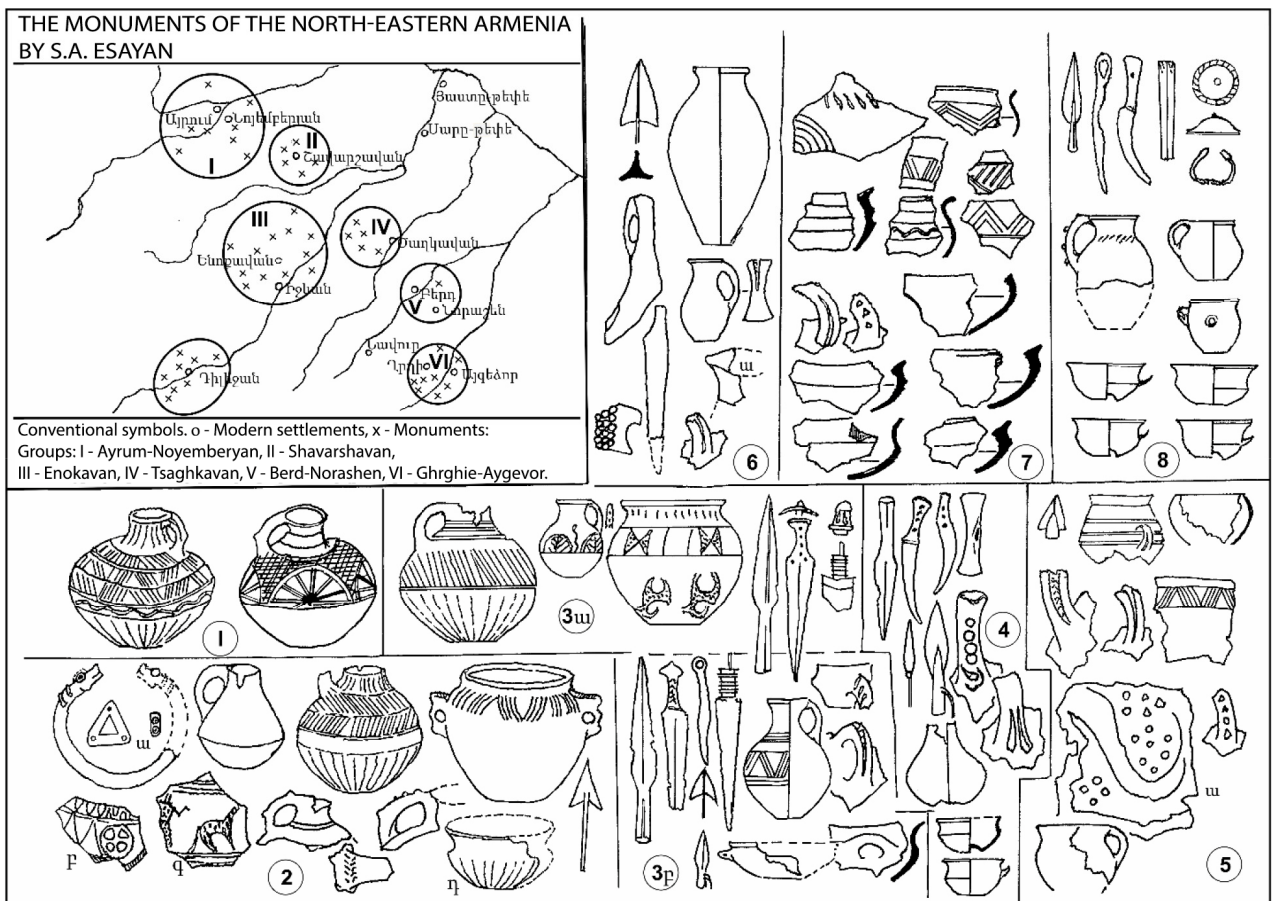
³⁴ Kapancyan 1940: 9-20. Cf. Diakonoff 1968: 17sq.

³⁵ For these materials see Khnikyan 2016: 171, n. 27.

Nakhijevan. The problem of the XVIII satrapy could not be an obstacle, since it was thoroughly studied.³⁶ It goes without saying that although the territory of the XIII and XVIII satrapies were incorporated into the Median empire already during the reign of Astiages but anyway Armenia was a vassal kingdom which was obliged to pay tribute to Medians and supply them with military contingents.

It seems that the I mill. BC burnt palatial complex of Sari-tepe which might have been the residence of Astiages's viceroy, was captured and looted by Tigranes mentioned in Cyropaedia.³⁷ To this conclusion one may come not only through written sources but also poorly incompletely published sherds of pottery (until now only one sample was published, pic. 2d). The latter repeats those from Berd and Navur by shape and the VI-V c. BC jewelry from Sheytan-dagh, Khrtanots and Karmir-blur. The early dating of Sari-tepe is evident, since several details resemble those from the Karajamirli palace and the palace of Xerxes from Persepolis (measurement of bricks - 32x32 cm., columned hall (apadana), «bell-like» decorated bases, etc.).³⁸

Further excavations shall through light on the problems touched upon in this article.



³⁶ Diakonoff 1956: 341-350.

³⁷ Hardly the «father Cyrus» had participated in the destruction of the Sari-tepe complex in order to keep a firm hand over the multiethnic population of his extending empire.

³⁸ Gagoshidze 2018: 225-230.

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Abbreviations

KSIMK - Brief reports of the Institute of the history of material culture (Moscow-Leningrad).

LHG - Lraber hasarakakan gitutynneri (Yerevan).

PBH – Patmabanasirakan handes (Yerevan).

SA – Sovetskaya Archeologiya (Moscow).

THG – Texekagir hasarakakan gitutynneri (Yerevan).

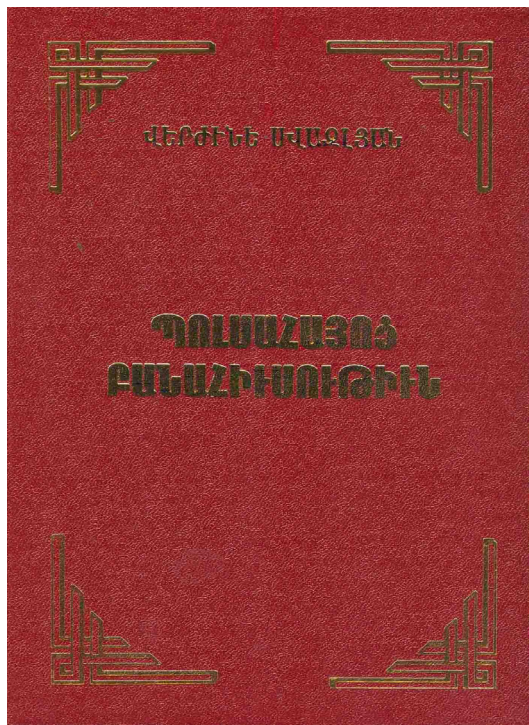
Translated from the Armenian by Aram Kosyan

**THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE
AND ITS CONTEMPORARY ORAL TRADITION
(According to the ethnographic observations in 1996 and 1997)**

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In 1996 I was invited to Istanbul to deliver a report at an International Conference of a singular nature organized on the occasion of the 535th anniversary of the establishment of the Armenian Patriarchate in Turkey and dedicated to the celebration of Vartavar, the Transfiguration of Christ. I had the opportunity there not only to get acquainted with the life and customs of the contemporary Armenian community numbering 60.000 people, the cultural events, but also, by writing down ethnographic materials and studying them, to find out the qualitative and quantitative changes that these ethnographic materials had undergone during the 150 years following Garegin Srvandziants' oral tradition studies. This research work was published in Western Armenian language in Yerevan in the year 2000.¹



**Svazlian V. The Oral Tradition of the
Constantinople Armenians (Yerevan, 2000)**

Referring to the history, it should be noted that after the occupation of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, Fatih Sultan Mehmed II proclaimed it capital of the New Ottoman State and renamed it Istanbul. He transferred there the families of Armenian masters from the inner provinces of the Turkish Empire,² who not only increased the number of the Armenian community, but also imparted beauty and radiance to the newly-built capital.

In 1461 the Armenian Patriarchate of Turkey was founded, to which the Sultan granted certain ecclesiastic and communal rights. In the subsequent years the number of the Armenians in Istanbul grew gradually due to the migration of people from Sebastia, Kayseri, Tokat, Akn, Mush, Cilicia and other

¹ Svazlyan 2000.

² Based on the idea expressed in "The History of the Ottoman State" [Von Hammer von 1834: 524] that, following the occupation of Constantinople, Fatih Sultan Mehmed II conquered Kafa (1475) and transferred from there 40.000 people to his capital, Hrachia Adjarian concludes: "The Armenians of Constantinople have emigrated from the Crimea and naturally they would have taken all these words (Turkish - V. S.) from the Crimean Tatars, consequently the letter K is pronounced Kh just as the Armenians of Nor-Nakhichevan" (Adjarian 1941: 8-9).

provinces in search of work. During the rebellion of the Jalalis (end of the XVI century - beginning of the XVII century) the Armenian community of Istanbul was supplemented not only by Western, but also by Eastern Armenian resettlers.

The Armenian community of Istanbul was not homogeneous. The densest layer consisted of craftsmen, migrating cultivators and unskilled workmen. The skilled workmen were assembled in handicraftsmen's associations. The Armenian jewelers, silk spinners, blacksmiths, tailors and watchmakers had a great fame. The wealthy class was composed of *hojas* (tradesmen), *chelebis* (intellectuals), *sarafs* (money-changers) and subsequently of *amiras* (wealthy and influential people), as well as of representatives of the trading and loan-giving class, who, owing to their finances and their business-like efficiency, had gained influential positions, had established relations with the Court and played an active role in the economic and political life of the Empire. The important State posts at the Court were trusted to the wealthy Armenians (*amiras*). For example, Harutyun amira Bezjian was the Sultan's counselor, the Duzians managed the goldsmith's art and the minting of coins, the Dadians had the monopoly of gunpowder-making and the Balian directed the architecture. These professions were transmitted by inheritance, from generation to generation. The Armenians had also ministers of the post, the telegraph, public construction, agriculture, foreign affairs, etc., in the government of the Ottoman Empire and, subsequently, deputies in the Ottoman Parliament as well. The wealthy class included also the broker-merchants, who organized the traditional Turkish-European trade.

The Armenian community of Istanbul had also famous intellectuals, such as teachers, clergymen, artists, writers, physicians, lawyers, painters, musicians, who took an active part not only in the public and political lives of the Court and of the Armenians of Istanbul, but also in those of the whole Western Armenians. The Armenian Patriarchate was recognized by the State as the leader of the Armenian community.

As in the past, all the religious, educational, benevolent, literary and cultural organizations of the Armenian community lean at present upon the Armenian Patriarchate and its dependent institutions. Referring to the churches of Istanbul, H.J. Siruni remarks: "During centuries the Armenian Church has been a rampart for the existence of the Armenian nation, has protected its spiritual heritage and has given it hope during hardships."³

The Armenians of Turkey, as an organized community, have preserved, under the direction of the Patriarchate, their religious, educational and benevolent institutions in Istanbul up to the present day. The Patriarch is the head of the Armenian Apostolic churches in Turkey and is elected by the assembly of deputies. The religious assembly is elected in a similar manner. The Armenian Patriarchate is reinforced also with efficient members, who perform various duties in different committees.

³ Sirouni 1965: 662.



The Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople

The trusteeships, which are elected for a period of four years, manage and support the general communal institutions, such as the National Hospital Soorp Prkich and the Karageuzian orphanage. The trusteeships are assisted by the Women's and Youth auxiliary commissions.

The district councils, which are also elected for a period of four years by the Armenian population of each district, are

the energetic and efficient links of the public life of the Armenian community. The district councils are the organs governing and supporting the local communities and their duty is to maintain the church and the school of the quarter in a brilliant condition.

The religious communal life is gathered around the churches. The Armenians have in Istanbul and in the provinces 42 churches which are divided into 6 dioceses: a). Old City - 16 churches, b). Western Bosphorus - 11 churches, c). Eastern Bosphorus - 7 churches, d). Prince Islands - 1 church, e). Provinces - 6 churches, f). Island of Crete - 1 church.

Recently, the St. Gregory the Illuminator Church in Kayseri (1996), the Blessed Virgin Church of the village of Vakef in Saman Dagħ (Moussa Dagħ) (1997) and the St. Gregory the Illuminator Church of the Kenali Island were renovated by permission of the Turkish government, the efforts of the Armenian Patriarchate, the financial means of the community and under the direct supervision of the previous Patriarch, His Beatitude Archbishop Mesrob Mutařian (1998-2016).

Nearly all the churches have their choir and their choirmaster elected by the general assembly of the choirs. All the churches functioning at present in Turkey are magnificent and provided with all facilities; everywhere there is a spotless cleanness and a God-pleasing atmosphere. Besides the everyday divine services and the Holy Mass of Sunday, Armenian Christian baptisms, opulent and magnificent nuptial feasts and requiem ceremonies for the deceased take often place in these churches in the presence of numerous believers.

The first regular Armenian school, where learned clergymen have been educated, was founded in 1715 by the Patriarch Hovhannes Kolot of Bagħish (1678-1741) on the Scutar (Turk. Üsküdar) height. The name of this meritorious clergyman is linked also with the creation of the Main Library and the foundation of the National Library, which is the continuation of the former; these two institutions have played a very important role in the further development of the Armenian culture.

At the present 18 schools function in Istanbul, of which 5 lyceums: the Central Lyceum in Ghalatia, the Yessayan Lyceum in Taxim, the St. Cross Lyceum in Scutar (formerly Dbrevank), the Sahakian-Nunian Lyceum in Samatia and the Viennese Mekhitarist Lyceum in Pangalti. Worthy of remembrance are the Bezjian Main School in Kumkapu, the Dadian School in Makreköy, the Merametjjan School in Feriköy, the Aramian-Oundjian School in Kadıköy, the Levon Vartouhian School in Topkapu, the Tarkmanchats School in Ortaköy, the St. Sahak-St. Mesrob School in Yeşilköy, the Nersesian-Yermonian School in Scutar, the Semerjian Academy, the Immaculate Conception Schools in Samatia and Pangalti, the Venetian Mekhitarist School in Bomonti and lastly the Kalfayan-Karageuzian orphanages.



**Armenian St. Asdvadzadzin Mother Church
(1828), adjacent to the Patriarchate of
Constantinople**

These educational institutions continue their instructive-illuminative activities according to the program of the State Educational Administration of Turkey and based on the traditional Armenian nurture principles. Nearly all the quarters, densely populated with Armenians, have their schools and kindergardens. Besides the teaching of the Armenian language and of religion, that of the Turkish language and other foreign languages is on a high level, since, upon admission to the higher educational institutions, the knowledge of these languages is of prime importance.

Next to nearly all the schools, Alumni Associations function on a benevolent basis, which endeavor to keep alight the Armenian cultural life by organizing various art events (lectures, theatrical performances, sport competitions, concerts, exhibitions) and publications.

The Armenians of Istanbul have also a number of communal organizations, among which are significant “The Institution of Armenian Teachers of Turkey” in Pangalti, “The Invigorating Centre” in Kenali Island of the Karageuzian Alumni Association, where, according to the characteristic given by the superintendent of the Prince Islands, Archbishop Mesrob Mutaftian, “the disadvantaged children of the community come in summer to profit from the pure air, the sea and the nature and to get invigorated physically.” The new generation is bound with great fervency with the Sportive and Physical training Unions of Taxim and Şişli.

The Armenian community of Istanbul sacredly preserves also, generation after generation, the 16 cemeteries, which are always maintained clean and in good order owing to the efforts of the devoted members of the community.

The Armenian press of Istanbul reflects in great detail the events occurring in the country and in the whole world, as well as the big and small problems of the community. Besides the authoritative daily newspapers “Zhamanak” (Time) (editor: Ara Kochunian) and “Nor Marmara” (New Marmara) (editor: Robert Haddejian), the bilingual (Armenian and Turkish) “Agos” (Furrow) weekly (founder: late Hrant Dink) is published since 1996 and enjoys a large popularity. The “Herald of the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul” is published every week in Armenian and Turkish languages and is distributed free of charge in the churches. This informative publication presents a detailed account of the activities of national and international importance realized by the Armenian Patriarchate during all the days of the week. This information is at present transmitted in English and Turkish languages through the Internet. The “Shoghakat” (Refulgent) periodical, which contains ecclesiastical, cultural and philological materials, is also published.

The illustrated, colorful and magnificent magazine “Soorp Prkitch” (Saint Savoir) (editor: Makrouhi P. Hagopian) provides information about the latest discoveries in universal medicine, the modern techniques introduced into practice in the various departments of the National Soorp Prkich Hospital, the daily life of the hospital-old age home and the endless donations.

The periodicals “Hopina” and “Lusatu” (Luminary) of the Gedronakan Alumni Association, “Nor San” (New Alumnus) of the Mekhitarist Alumni Association, “Zhepit” (Smile) of the Teachers’ Foundation and the literary-cultural magazine “Poondj” (Bouquet) of the Soorp Khach Lyceum students are also published.

It should be emphasized, in honor of the Armenian community of Turkey, that all the churches and the cultural organizations functioning under the management of the Armenian Patriarchate realize their daily activities owing to the benevolent donations of the thrifty, yet magnanimous representatives of the Armenian community, who, having inherited that graceful tradition from their meritorious ancestors, become the pledge of the vitality and the perpetuity of their own community.

According to official data, about 60 thousand Armenians live at present in Istanbul and barely 5 thousand live in the provinces. They are engaged mainly in trade and national handicrafts. To the intellectuals of the past, new names have succeeded, such as N. Khrakhuni, Zahrat, R. Haddejian, A. Dirazan, Igna Sariaslan, Z. Biberian, as well as devoted teachers of the new generation, renowned physicians, lawyers and architects, who have specialized in Turkey or in other foreign countries and are now contributing to the development of the country and of the Armenian community.

From the representatives of the Armenian community in Istanbul (during my sojourn in Turkey), as well as from former natives of Istanbul living now in Armenia, belonging to the various sex and age groups, I have written down about 1.570 units of large and small materials of oral tradition.⁴

⁴ A certain number of folklore materials written down by the renowned Armenian linguist H. Adjarian, a native of Istanbul, and his sister, Armenouhi Adjarian, were published in the Azgagrakan Handes 1902: 160-196.



The author writing down the narrations of the Constantinople Armenian Zaven Sofouyan (1921, Partizak)

The oral tradition of the Armenians of Istanbul, which is a constituent part of the oral culture of the Armenian people, has developed during centuries with the general principles of the folklore of the Armenian people; however, along with the generalities and the similarities, it has embraced very peculiar and original properties due to the historical-public life of the past and of the present they have lived.

Summarizing the different folklore materials I have written down, it should be noted that the heritage of the oral tradition of the Armenians of Istanbul is presented, for the first time, in a scientifically arranged order together with its genre and thematic variants. The published collection of my inscriptions includes:

- I. ORAL TRADITION IN PROSE – 300 units;
- II. ORAL TRADITION IN VERSE – 142 units;
- III. PHRASEOLOGICAL ORAL TRADITION – 1.108 units;
- IV. RITES – 3 units;
- V. SONG MELODIES – 17 units;

Total – 1.570 units

I. ORAL TRADITION IN PROSE rich in genre and thematic diversity forms a definite section in the oral creation historically developed and inherited from generation to generation of the contemporary Armenians of Istanbul migrated from the different provinces of Turkey and established there. This section includes:

1. Fables and Tales (16 units). The fables “King Aram’s son, Ara the handsome” and “The capture of Troy” reflect the real events and the characters in the ancient lives of the Armenian and Greek peoples described in supernatural and exaggerated hues. These historical events are commented with a mythological reasoning to be the effect of supernatural forces. While the theme of the meditative-philosophical tales “Do good, throw it in the sea,” “The shepherdess,” “The force of craftsmanship,” “The boy who had seen the world,” “Man’s fortune,” “The happy man” and others is the man seeking the meaning of happiness, standing, with his daily worries, face to face with the mystery of transitory life.

The real tales (“Little brother,” “The sweetest and the bitterest,” “The force of the liquor”) praise diligence and honest conduct. These tales are generally of an instructive-educational character.

2. Legends (11 units). These are the toponymic tales of the Armenians of Turkey, which interpret the various toponyms by means of attractive traditions, for instance, "The Monastery of Hope of the Heybeli Island," "The St. George sanctuary of the Large Island," "The St. John Church of the Burgas Island," "St. Karapet, the dream-giver," "The Korikos fortress in Cilicia," "Kheder Bek's plane tree," "Father Abraham's grapevine," which is as follows:

"One day, an angel came as a guest at Father Abraham's house, who had no food to offer the angel. So he went to the stable, took out a calf, slaughtered it and offered it to the angel. The calf's mother returned from the pasture in the evening and saw that the calf had disappeared and began to shed salty tears. Seeing this, the angel got much distressed and said to Father Abraham: "Fetch me the calf's hide and the bones." Father Abraham brought the remnants of the calf. The angel blessed the hide and the bones and the calf came to life again. The remnants were buried in the orchard. The following year a grapevine grew in the same place."⁵

3. Religious-Moral Tales (32 units). The theme of these tales is mainly biblical, since, according to the Armenians of Istanbul "The Bible should become the root of morality for everyone," such as "God's message," "The names God has given," "The fortune God has given," "The punishment God has given," "Providence," etc. However, the religious-moral tales of this nature are not simple reproductions of biblical episodes, but each has a particular development of its plot line, which, reaching its climax, imparts the popular work not only a moralistic shade, but also a public response. For example: "If you give, God will give you more," "God the distributor," "Mohammed's message," "Mohammed and the Armenian Hagop," "Unity is force," etc.

Here is one of the moral-advisory tales:

"One day there was a funeral procession in the street. The people were watching it in silence. An old man spoke to himself aloud.

- I wonder if this man is dead or he will still be living.

A young man, who heard him, said:

- Daddy, when someone dies, that's the end; how can he be living?

- Eh, my son, - replied the old man, - if the deceased hasn't done any good job in his life and hasn't left any good memories, then he is really dead. But if the deceased has left behind him good children, good deeds and good memories, then he doesn't die and his memory is immortal."⁶

4. Humorous Tales (53 units). Laughter has always accompanied the Armenian of Istanbul, who has condensed his lively and cheerful philosophy in the following popular meaningful aphorism: "One laughter is worth a pound of roast meat." He has also criticized through laughter the human faults, such as laziness ("The lazy daughter-in-law," "The lazy carpenter"), deceitfulness ("The shoe-maker who didn't pay his debt," "The tailor and the client"), prudence ("The prudent barber"), greediness ("The judge

⁵ Svazlyan 2000: 96.

⁶ Ibid: 137.

and the robber”), ribaldry (“The foul mouth”), larceny (“The thief of the church,” “St. Antoine and the thief,” “The newly-consecrated pastor”), vindictiveness (“The vindictive man”), lust for wealth (“The boy and the doctor,” “The young men and the wealthy”) which is more of a meditative-philosophical character than humorous:

“Two young men saw a beautiful building in a garden. One of them said to the other:

- Look! What a beautiful building!

The owner of the building heard this, came out of the building and said to the young men:

- I will give you this building, if only you give me your youth.”⁷

A special series in this section is assigned to the humoristic tales of the fools, where the crazy is ready even to count the goat’s hair provided that the doctor let him go home (“The fool’s fell”). However, the healthy man visiting the madhouse to count the number of insanes is greatly astonished by the clever language of “the mad liable to be tied up,” who says “Go and count those who are outside, they outnumber us,” an answer which considers the oddities reaching the limits of insanity of the people reputed as clever.

A particular series among the humorous tales consists in those dedicated to the well-known oriental epic character Mulla Nasrudin, which inform us that this renowned person has lived in Turkey and that his grave is found in Aksaray. Such a prevalence (11 units) of the humorous, yet instructive tales of Mulla Nasrudin among the Armenians of Istanbul is indicative of the century-old co-existence of the Armenian and Turkish peoples and of the mutual cultural influences.

5. Parables and Animal Tales (21 units). In these creations, which are compact in form and allegoric in content, the Armenians of Istanbul artistically portray, through animal characters, the people’s wicked and piteous faults, such as deceitfulness (“The wolves and the shepherd”), greediness (“The snake and the man,” “The fish and the man”), slyness (“The lion, king of the forest”), imposture (“The mournful partridge,” “The flea-louse”), arrogance (“The camel and the fly”), ingratitude (“The tortoise and the scorpion,” “The frog and the mouse”). The villain, in these parables, is always punished. Some parables praise, after the example of the kind and innocent animals, shrewdness (“The clever owner of the dog”), gratitude (“The grateful bear,” “The sensitive sea-gulls,” “The thankfulness of the dolphins”) and other moral merits. Let us see how the dolphins expressed their thankfulness:

“One day, two fishermen were catching fish with their boat. When they were drawing their net out of the water, they saw that about forty dolphins had surrounded their boat and, their heads out of the water, were screaming plaintively.

- What do they want? - asked, amazed, one fisherman to the other.

- I don’t understand their language, replied the other.

⁷ Ibid: 177.

When they drew the net out of the sea, they understood the behavior of the dolphins, since a baby dolphin had fallen into the net. The fishermen took it out and dropped it in the sea again. When the fishermen returned to the wharf they were astonished to see about forty dolphins encircling and jumping round the boat and expressing their gratitude to the kind fishermen with screams of satisfaction.”⁸

6. Custom Tales (54 units). The popular oral creations of this type have a real and local basis and depict, in a small volume and in bright, artistic colors, the distinctive life style of the Armenians living in the different provinces of Turkey, their specific customs and the various standards they have with regard to morality. Istanbul “claimed,” in the past, “to be the little Paris” and the poor provincials (the outsiders) who had come to Istanbul not knowing the Turkish language, still confused, and, coming in contact with the new environment, often lived in embarrassment, not understood and even with a complex of being deceived (“The provincial who did not know Turkish,” “The provincial in Pera,” “The Caesarean and the Istanbulite”). These psychological states, besides creating humorous situations, have provided also grounds for silent dramas.

Peculiarities characteristic to every ethnographic group are emphasized with intimate irony in these custom tales. Unforgettable pictures embellish the tales describing the skillfulness of Caesareans (“The Caesarean father and son,” “The Caesarean girl and the Jewish peddler,” “Nazar, the Caesarean”), the wittiness of Tomarzians (“The Tomarzian’s answer,” “The Tomarzians and the aeroplane,” “The Tomarzian ‘Button’ and the yoghurt-selling aunt”), the frugality of the inhabitants of Tekirdagh (“The Tekirdaghian mother-in-law”), the patriarchal character of the dwellers of Yozghat (“Pirouz from Yozghat,” “The betrothed couple of Yozghat,” “The Yozghatian girl on the beach”), the taciturnity of the Adana brides (“The Adana bride”), the naivety of the inhabitants of Akn (“The provincial and Aknian innkeeper”), the self-defensive spirit of the denizens of Moussa Dagħ (“The young asses of the granddad of Moussa Dagħ”), as well as the peculiar features of the conduct and customs, life style and habits of the Armenians living in other localities.

The tragicomic theme undergoes a further development by depicting the perplexed and embarrassed state of the Armenian provincials immigrated to foreign countries (“The provincial who didn’t know French,” “The Zeytouni in France,” “The Tomarzian in America”), where the naive ignorance of the emigrant provincial of the language, the laws and regulations of America is described in humoristic colors:

“Mr. Harutyun from Tomarza and his friend went to America. There they entered a factory to work without knowing a word of English. The chief showed, on a big clock placed on the table, the time until which they would have to work. Then, another worker came in and the chief showed the working time on his wrist-watch, saying:

- You will have to work from this hour to that one.

- You saw that, didn’t you? - said Mr. Harutyun to his friend, the chief showed us the time on the big clock, therefore he will make us work longer than the other worker.

⁸ Ibid: 210.

- This man is deceiving us, replied his friend.
And both of them fled from the factory.”⁹

Of special interest are the novel-type tales with an unexpected ending depicting the conduct and customs of various peoples, their bearing, their standards of mental and moral perceptions, as well as the behavior of the other peoples with the Armenians, such as “The Jew who helped the Jew,” “The clever Jew,” “The advice of the Jewish father,” “Mournful Mannik and the Greek neighbor,” “The traveling Laz,” “The Albanian and the oil bottle,” “The Yugoslav pastor,” “Don’t boast like a Persian,” “The foreign police commissary,” “Three friends,” “The Adapazari woman and the Turkish station-master” and other custom tales.

It is constantly evident in these tales that the Armenians had neighborly relations with the foreign inhabitants and that they also had a resolute force of will in keeping high their dignity (“The priest of Kayseri and the foreigners,” “The charm of the Armenian alphabet”) and the spirit of their national individuality, which has found its artistic expression in the following tale:

“An Armenian from Istanbul was traveling on a ship to the Far East, to China, Japan and Australia. Naturally, there were on the ship people of various nationalities. They decided, one day, that everyone of them would make a speech in his own language in order that the others could listen. The Jew stood up and made a speech in his language. The Indian rose next and spoke in Indian. Then it was the Armenian’s turn, who had not a high education, so he decided to recite all the letters of the Armenian alphabet, but he declaimed with such a strong feeling that all the spectators clapped their hands and congratulated the Armenian, saying:

- Your speech was wonderful. How beautiful is your language!”¹⁰

7. Historical Tales and Memoirs (113 units). The folklore materials I have written down include a special section dedicated to the tales and memoirs of historical importance, which artistically reproduce, in chronological order, the following historical events and characters:

= The foundation of the Armenian Patriarchate of Turkey in Istanbul in 1461 under the leadership of Patriarch Hovakim following the occupation of Constantinople, in the period of the establishment of the Ottoman Empire and on the immediate initiative of Fatih Sultan Mohamet II.

= The Sultan’s counselor, Harutyun Amira Bezjian of Armenian origin, the heads of the mint the brothers Amira Duzians, the architects Amira Balian who succeeded one another, the talented actors Mardiros Mnakian, Hagop Vartovian, Marie Nvart, the well-known musicians Tateos effendi, Kemani Sarkis, Oudi Hrant, the intellectuals Bedros Tourian and others who lived during the reign of Sultan Mahmoud II and who have greatly favored the flourishing and prosperity of Istanbul and have contributed with a

⁹ Ibid: 264.

¹⁰ Ibid: 281.

boundless devotion to the political, economic and cultural progress of their native country.

= The outrages committed in the reign of Sultan Hamid II toward the Christians, including the Armenians, during which the Armenian Patriarchs Mkrtych Khrimian, Nerses Varzhabedian, Maghakia Ormanian were able to maintain the equilibrium owing to their judicious and skilful activity, without deteriorating the created historic situation.

= During the tragic years of the World War I and especially the forcible deportation and the mass extermination of the Armenians of Turkey planned by the leaders of the government of the Young Turks in 1915, the heart-breaking memoirs and the historic tales of the Armenian eye-witness survivors miraculously rescued from these historic events and of their future generations.

= During the double patriarchy of the Patriarch Zaven Der-Yeghiayan, the sheltering of hundreds of thousands orphaned children and widowed women in the Kalfayan and the Karageuzian orphanages and the National Soorp Prkich Hospital.

= The declaration of the Republic of Turkey and the radical reforms achieved by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in all the spheres of the country; the amiable behavior of that politician towards the renowned Armenian linguist Hagop Martayan (Dilachar) and others.

= The social and life style adaptation of the Armenians living at present in the Republic of Turkey with the Turkish and other ethnic groups, and their friendly relations.

= The patriarchal activities of the Patriarchs Karekin I Khachadourian, Shnork Kaloustian and Karekin II Kazanjian.

= The visit of His Holiness Karekin I, Catholicos of All Armenians to Turkey and his cordial meetings with the Armenian community.

= The role of the Archbishops Shahan Svadjian and Mesrob Mutfian in the Armenian community.

= The effect of the God-pleasing sermons of the Archbishop Mesrob Mutfian (now Patriarch) upon the adults and the youngsters.

= The ceremonies of the reopening and anointment of the renovated churches of Kayseri and Saman Dag (Moussa Dag) by permission of the present government of Turkey and thanks to the apostle-like activity and the indefatigable efforts of His Beatitude the Patriarch Mesrob Mutfian.

This period, which is full of historical events, forms an entire chain of consecutive happenings and characters and which has been elucidated, link by link, by fully-evidenced folklore tales of historical value. It is evident in the above-cited historic tales that the century-old co-existence of the various peoples living in Turkey has perpetually prevailed, irrespective of the political circumstances; moreover, the diligent and peace-loving spirit of the Armenian community is devoted, nowadays, to the progress and the prosperity of the present day Turkish Republic.

The historical tale "Sultan Hamid and Patriarch Maghakia Ormanian" is of interest:

"One day the counselors of Sultan Abdul Hamid told him:

- Do you know, Sultan, that the Armenian Patriarch doesn't take a meal without saying grace? He crosses himself without fail before the meal.

- Honestly? If so, let us invite him to dinner, we will see if he dares to cross himself before me.

Abdul Hamid gave orders to organize a great dinner and to invite the Armenian Patriarch.

Maghakia Ormanian appeared augustly before the Sultan and saw the sumptuously laid table. All sat round the table. Before starting to eat, Patriarch Ormanian raised his right hand and, pretending to point to the various delicious dishes on the table, he unnoticeably made the sign of the cross, saying:

- At first, we shall taste that delicious dish, then eat this one, then that dainty one and then this one and finally that's all!¹¹

And he started eating. When the banquet was over, Patriarch Ormanian expressed his thankfulness for the reception and took his leave. The Sultan gladly told his counselors:

- Did you see that the Armenian Patriarch was afraid of me and didn't make the sign of the cross?

The counselors replied:

- You are mistaken, Sultan, before the dinner, the Armenian Patriarch, pointing to the dishes, already made the sign of the cross on your table, but he crossed it in such a manner that you did not notice."¹²

The following historic tale is an episode in the chain of sufferings endured by the Armenians of Turkey in the years of the First World War. This incident has happened in reality.

"One day a celibate priest came to Los Angeles from another state of America. One of our acquaintances, Mrs. Aghavni, went to the church to listen to his sermon. During the sermon, Mrs. Aghavni stared at the priest as if she was in love with him. She felt that her behavior was sinful before God and she wanted to get rid of that obsession, but she was unable to do so. She felt herself very nervous. Mrs. Aghavni's son had graduated as a psychologist. He saw his mother's strange mood and sent a letter to the Reverend Father telling him that they had liked his sermons and that they would be glad to see him and to listen to him once more. After some time, the celibate priest in question visited Los Angeles again. Mrs. Aghavni's son told her mother:

- Mother, the Reverend Father you liked so much has come again. Go to the church.

His mother, afraid of herself, did not want to go. Then his son went to the church and invited the priest to visit their house. They sat round the table. Mrs. Aghavni looked again fixedly at him, at his face, inside his eyes.

The Reverend Father asked the lady:

¹¹ In Armenian "all" means amen, which sounds like Amen in praying.

¹² Svazlyan 2000: 301.

- Madam, how did you come to America? Where are you from?

The lady started her history.

- I am from Tomarza. My parents were rich. At the time of the World War I I was a little girl, but I had also a younger brother. My brother got lost during the war. My poor mother used to weep several times a day remembering her little son and said: 'My sweet son, if I knew that I shall lose you, I wouldn't nurse you for such a long time...', since my brother Zaven had fallen into the blazing fire of the bread-baking pit and was extensively burned. My mother had nursed him with balms and soothing ointments for a long time and he had recovered.

The Reverend Father rolled up the sleeves of his cassock and showed them the scars of his burns, saying:

- I am that boy,

Mrs. Aghavni's joy was boundless. She exclaimed:

- So that was the reason that these eyes of yours were haunting me from the day I saw you first.

After losing one another for several decades, sister and brother hugged each other in a warm embrace with rapture and tearful eyes.¹³

A series of similar tales and songs of historical nature I have written down from survivors.

II. THE ORAL TRADITION IN VERSE, which artistically reflect the various impressions, the meditations and emotions, the joy and love, the sorrow and affliction obtained from the surrounding nature and public life.

Songs have always accompanied the inhabitants of Istanbul, and can be divided into the following groups:

1. Lullabies (5 units) are tender maternal songs of a peculiar genre sung for lulling a baby to sleep ("Sleep, my sweet," "Sleep, my dove" and others), among which the following is of interest:

Sleep, my dear baby,
I'll sing you a lullaby,

The bright moon is gently
Looking at your cradle.
I'll tell you many tales
And sing lovely songs,
While you rest in your bed
In a sweet sleep.¹⁴

¹³ Ibid.: 373-374.

¹⁴ Ibid.: 387.

2. Children's Play Songs (14 units) are melodious games composed by adults to amuse and entertain children of different ages, which are recited in the simplest language, such as "Eghrik-meghrik (Honey-butter)," "Dan-dan," "Clap-clap."

A beautiful example is the following:

My little boy's eye
Looks like the cross of the church,
My little boy's mouth
Looks like the altar of the church,
My little boy's nose
Looks like the rafter of the church,
My little boy's back
Looks like the door of the church,
My little boy's hands
Look like the books of the church.¹⁵

3. Children's Songs (8 unit) are composed mainly for children in a comprehensible language intended to give an idea about the interests of childhood, which form a basis for the future development and self-recognition of the individual, such as "Round and plump," "I am a pretty girl," "When I grow up," "I am an Armenian," which is satiated with a feeling of national dignity:

I am an Armenian, a highborn Haigazian,¹⁶
I speak in the language of Haig¹⁷ and Aram,¹⁸
I have no crown, gold, throne and diamond,
But my heart is rich and particularly honest.¹⁹

4. Adolescent Songs (4 units). These are songs composed for or by the pupils and are intended to disseminate the volitional and moral qualities in young boys and girls, such as "Hail, temple of wisdom," "The hymn of the Armash Seminary," "Will, labor and vigor," which is as follows:

Will, labor and courage,
Man is endowed with three skills,
That, on earth or on water,
Will bring him certain success.²⁰

5. Love Songs (23 units) are popular ditties composed by analogy of the medieval "hayrens,"²¹ which express tender and delicate spiritual feelings; while the lyric love songs "Our house is opposite yours," "You come picking roses, sweetheart," "My heart

¹⁵ Ibid.: 391.

¹⁶ Name of the race of the Armenian ancestor Haik/Haig.

¹⁷ Ancestor of the Armenian race.

¹⁸ Armenian king.

¹⁹ Svazlyan 2000: 393.

²⁰ Ibid.: 395.

²¹ Medieval Armenian songs.

is rotating like a millstone” are the echoes of the former rustic creations. A beautiful example among the love songs is the following:

The sea of Istanbul is curling in waves,
How sweet is the breeze of love blowing,
May the Lord give me the fortune to see her,
To fulfill my dream and then to fall into the sea.²²

6. Emigration Songs (15 units). In the past, Armenians who had migrated from the provinces to Istanbul, considered it as a stopping place where they came to work, to earn money and to send it to their families and the Armenian emigrant who awaited news from his native land has often sung “Call, crane, call” or has assured himself by murmuring “have patience, my soul, have patience,” while the Armenian living in the Diaspora has dreamt of his Homeland, singing:

I shall go to Yerevan,
I shall read the primer,
What shall I do in foreign lands?
I am going to Armenia.²³

7. Ritual Songs complete the ethnographic materials I have written down about baptismal, nuptial and funeral rites.

a) Nuptial Songs (19 units). These are ancient recordings of ritual songs praising the bride during her dressing and during the carrying of her dowry to the bridegroom’s house; among them are: “You are fortunate, girl,” “The priest gives nuptial blessing,” “A caravan set out from the town of Aleppo” and “They are taking away the girl, weeping, lamenting,” which depicts the sad farewell of the dressed underage bride from her father’s house:

They are taking away the girl, weeping, lamenting,
They are combing her hair with a silver comb,
And wrapping her head with the nightingale-decorated shawl,
Don’t cry, pretty girl, your eyes and brows will be spoiled,
Cursed be he who gave you in marriage so young.²⁴

b) Festive Songs (34 units). The Armenians of Istanbul holily preserve not only their ancient churches, but also their Christian holidays and the national holidays of pagan origin, as well as the popular songs performed during those holidays, such as “Song of Christmas,” “Song of Christmas eve,” “Song of the New Year,” “Easter has come,” “Lottery songs and melodies of the Ascension and of the Transfiguration of Christ,” which have been composed both in Armenian and in Turkish languages.

The following song is dedicated to the New Year:

How beautiful is this evening!
Let us light colorful candles.

²² Svazlyan 2000: 396.

²³ Ibid.: 405.

²⁴ Ibid.: 406-407.

The New Year has come as a guest
And has brought us green trees.²⁵

And this one is devoted to Easter:

Easter has come with much joy,
And has brought us baskets full of eggs,
And cakes dainty and tasty
Which mother has baked with love.²⁶

The pagan worship of the sun appears intertwined with the biblical characters, Father Abraham and the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the following Ascension or lottery song:

The key descended from the sky,
Our house was filled with sunshine,
Our bread is Father Abraham's bread,
Our water is Virgin Mary's milk,
Bride, draw your good lot!
And may Ascension fulfill your wish!²⁷

Some "Vartavar" (Transfiguration of the Christ) songs have been composed also in Turkish language:

Hey! Mentivar, Mentivar,²⁸
Mentivar has a definite time,
He who loves Mentivar
Has five sofas in Heaven.²⁹

8. Custom and Humorous Songs (11 units) are mostly amusing creations sung during merry festivities, such as "I lived quietly before my marriage," "A red dress for the daughter," "Playing the mandolin," as well as the humorous dance-songs "Wave, wave your handkerchief," "It's a lie, it's a lie," "Hala, hala, hala, Ninoyi," which are designed to raise the cheerful moods of those present.

Here is an attractive example:

On Monday, Monday, Monday,
On Tuesday I bake bread,
On Wednesday I sew,
On Thursday I wash my clothes,
On Friday I clean the house,
On Saturday I go to the bath,
On Sunday when nobody works,
Why should I?

²⁵ Ibid.: 415.

²⁶ Ibid.: 417.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ "Mentivar" in Turkish means Vartavar.

²⁹ Svazlyan 2000 425.

Therefore I go to the church.³⁰

9. Nature Songs (9 units). The Armenians of Istanbul are not only devout, but nature-lovers as well. They regard as equal sources of inspiration the blue sea of Marmara ("On the Sea"), the thickly-branched forest ("I went to the forest"), the birds soaring freely in the infinity of the sky ("The stork"), the animals grazing on the velvet pasture ("My pretty, innocent lamb") and the various crops and fruits of the fertile nature ("What place is renowned for what"). This last song praises the crops and the produces growing or manufactured in the various quarters of Istanbul stretched out on the shores bordering the magnificent Marmara Sea and in the different regions of the vast territory of Turkey:

The fish of Kumkapu,
 The mulberry of Topkapu,
 The lettuce of Yedikule,
 The plum of Yenikapu,
 The apple of Amassia,
 The cucumber of Langa,
 The fig of Izmir,
 The roast peas of Nide,
 The peach of Bursa,
 The pear of Tokat,
 The water of Tashdelen,
 The chestnut of Konia,
 The cotton of Adana,
 The pistachio of Ayntap,
 The potato of Adapazar,
 The basturma³¹ of Kayseri,
 The coal of Zonguldak,
 The honey of Erzroom,
 The apricot of Malatia,
 The watermelon of Tigranakert,
 The kishmish³² of Urgup.³³

III. PHRASEOLOGICAL ORAL TRADITION. This section includes a great number of materials.

1. Proverbs (370 units). This genre of oral tradition reflects in a concise and vivid form the historical and life-style conditions of the public life of the Armenians of Istanbul, the peculiarities of their character and temperament, their moral faculties, their national customs, their beliefs and religion, their psychology and outlook. Among the lively

³⁰ Ibid.: 430.

³¹ Dried, salted and spiced beef.

³² Raisin.

³³ Svazlyan 2000: 432.

examples are: "We went to Tokat and became disabled," "Worry for a year, work for a day," "A man of craft remains hungry till noon, one without remains hungry till night," "Whatever the size of the mosque, the muezzin will call the same 'Allahu akbar' he knows," "The searcher will find God."³⁴

2. Edifications (200 units) are moralistic aphorisms, which have an educational and instructive object and have been mainly created by the representatives of the senior generation having great life experience and sagacity. The edifications are designed for the inexperienced youth to preserve them from the imminent, threatening danger, expressed in an exhorting, imperative manner, such as "Don't rely on your force, money or beauty, since they are transient," "Before being happy, make your companion happy," "The only thing which will remain is the monument made up of your virtue and your good deeds," "Remember that you were born naked and you will leave this world naked."³⁵

3. Maledictions (50 units). The Armenians of Istanbul have not many maledictions, since the church also has always reproved the people by the adage "Don't curse!", consequently they leave the judgment of the evildoer to Providence, saying, "May God judge you!"³⁶

4. Benedictions (100 units). These concise, vivid and meaningful creations are saturated with liveliness and with warm, tender behavior toward the meritorious man. The sun, the soil, the water, the flower and the leaf, as symbols of nature and life, have become the criteria of appreciation in these small wishful formulas: "May your sun be bright!", "May the soil become green in your hands!", "May your life be endless as water!", "May roses grow on your path!", "May you live as many years as there are leaves on the olive tree."³⁷

5. Idioms (270 units). The oral tradition of the Armenians of Istanbul is overflowing with vivid, meaningful idioms and catch-words, a fact, which makes their oral language unique and colorful. Some good examples are: "To carry the water up the wall" (to complicate matters), "To play his pipe" (to have his own way), "His tongue revolves in his mouth" (he is talkative), "The price of fire" (very expensive), "To rock the cradle" (to render services).³⁸

6. Riddles (42 units) allegorically describe the object and its properties in a ciphered form to give an idea about the parts of the human body (the heart, ear, mouth, nose, eye, tongue), the phenomena of nature (the sun, moon, rain), the plants (the onion, lemon, sunflower), the animals (the fish, snake, turkey), as well as the achievements of human civilization (the church, book, watch, violin) and others, for example:

³⁴ Ibid.: 438-458.

³⁵ Ibid.: 459-470.

³⁶ Ibid.: 471-473.

³⁷ Ibid.: 474-479.

³⁸ Ibid.: 480-494.

What is it?
 That is man's best friend,
 Has no evil and no malice,
 Doesn't claim bread, doesn't demand water,
 Doesn't give trouble,
 It is, on the contrary, useful. [Book]³⁹

7. Patters (5 units) are successions of similar words and sounds, which have to be recited rapidly and faultlessly, as the following one: "I eat the fish and throw the mouse, I throw the mouse and eat the fish."⁴⁰

8. Verse Aphorisms (23 units) are versified, harmonious and melodious, dialogistic adages, which are often used in the daily oral language, such as:

Glory to Thee, O Lord!
 Marry the bachelors, O Lord!⁴¹

9. Creeds (28 units). Although the Armenians of Istanbul are devout Christians, some remains of superstition persist, nevertheless, up to the present day in their daily lives, which have rather been converted into a picturesque language, for instance: "If your eye is twitching, a guest is expected," "If the salt is spilt, a fight will occur in the house," "If the sugar is spilt, love will prevail in the house."⁴²

10. Prayers (20 units). Almost all the Armenians of Istanbul, including also the Turkish-speaking ones, know the Lord's prayer and other prayers. However, the incantation-like prayers are known not by everyone, but by individuals endowed with supernatural forces. Since these prayers were placed under a taboo and the narrators believed that, upon reciting them aloud, they would be dispossessed of the grace endowed by heaven, it was, therefore, very difficult to find out and to write down the prayers of "The evil eye," "The evil Nazar," "The snakebite," "The child's colic" and others.

A special section in this series is devoted to the prayers addressed to Our Lord Jesus Christ, to the Blessed Virgin Mary, to Saint Sarkis, to Hovhan Voskeberan and to the other saints, recited in Armenian, as well as in Turkish, of which the following is an example:

I lay on my right, I turn to my left,
 May the angels witness my religion and belief,
 God is my head, Jesus is my companion,
 He who does evil to anyone
 Will have his mouth locked and his tongue turned to stone.
 Amen.⁴³

³⁹ Ibid.: 495-501.

⁴⁰ Ibid.: 502.

⁴¹ Ibid.: 505.

⁴² Ibid.: 506-507.

⁴³ Ibid.: 514.

These popular creations are, in the sense of genre, delicate entreaties-requests, which implore the Almighty God not so much for material prosperity, but rather for spiritual grace and which are not only personal, but impersonal as well:

Holy Trinity,
Give recovery to the sick
And remission to our sins,
Love and unity to the Armenians
And peace to the world.
Amen.⁴⁴

IV. RITES (3 units). This section comprises the baptismal, nuptial and funeral customary ceremonials of ethnographic character of the past which I have described in detail as far as possible together with the corresponding song citations, while the contemporary rituals, although modernized to a great degree, are always loyal to the faith of Christ and to the traditions of the 1700-year old Armenian Apostolic Church.

During my sojourn in Istanbul I felt that, irrespective of everything, the Armenian community of Turkey is traditionalist. It is traditionally bound to its millennial Mother Church and to the Christian faith and is trying to preserve also its mother tongue.

Thus, under the conditions of the present cultural disintegration of the Armenians in the Diaspora, the above-cited ethnographic fragments I have written down on my own initiative and saved them from a total loss become, owing to their historical-cognitive value, the material evidences of the traditionalistic level of the contemporary Armenians of Istanbul.

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

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⁴⁴ Ibid.

FOREIGN SOURCES AND AUTHORS ABOUT ARMENIA AND ARMENIANS

**NOTES OF A JOURNEY THROUGH A PART OF KURDISTAN, IN THE
SUMMER OF 1838. BY JAMES BRANT, ESQ., H.B.M. CONSUL AT ERZ-RÚM.
COMMUNICATED BY VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, G.C.B.**

James Brant

James Brant was British Consul first in Trebizond (1836-1840), then in Erzerum (1840-1846) and Damascus (1855 onwards). His "Journey Through a Part of Armenia and Asia Minor, in the Year 1835" (Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, Vol. 6 (1836), pp. 187-223) and "Notes of a Journey through a part of Kurdistan, in the Summer of 1838" (Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, Vol. 10 (1840), pp. 341-434) [in the second journey accompanied by A.G. Glascott - British Royal Navy] are the records of lengthy travels through Western Armenia.

The studies of J. Brant are extremely useful source for the geography, climate, demography and related aspects of Western Armenia. They also discuss interethnic relations between Armenian, Turkish and Kurdish populations, the attitude of the Ottoman government and local administration towards eastern multiethnic regions. During his journeys J. Brant meets Ottoman officials, Kurdish tribesmen and Armenians of different social affiliation. The report is a highly important source for the history of this part of the Ottoman empire, i.e. Western Armenia, particularly its Armenian population.

*The present narrative of J. Brant's journey comprises his second visit to the eastern vilayets of the Ottoman empire (the account of his first journey conducted in 1835 was published in the issue 6/2, 2017).

My arrangements being completed, and the weather having become apparently settled, after a late and wet spring, I left Erz-Rúm on the 16th of June, 1838, accompanied by Mr. Adam Gifford Glascott, of her Majesty's navy, who had volunteered - to make a map of our route, and my surgeon, Dr. Edward Dalzel Dickson.

Crossing the low range of mountains eastward of the town, called the Deveh Bóyunú (Camel's neck), which rise to about 800 feet above Erz-Rúm, we descended into the plain of Pásín. At its western extremity we passed a small stream coming from the S., which for a short space flowed to the N., but soon after took a more easterly direction. It is one of the confluent of the Aras, and before reaching Hasan Kál'eh, unites with various other rills, which descend from the mountains round the plain. At that town, the river assumes the name of Hasan Kál'eh Şú; it has there attained some size, reaching to the horse's girths in fording it, and being from 20 to 30 yards in breadth. I was informed that, twenty days previously, it had been so swollen as to have been quite impassable. Flowing still in an easterly direction, at 9 miles distance, it unites with the Bín-gól Şú, or real Aras, but is previously joined by the Kúrd (Wolf) and Ketiven Şú, both

coming from the mountains on the southern side of the plain. At the point of junction of the Զալ'eh and Բին-գոլ Տ՛ւ, is a stone bridge, called the Chóbán Koprí (Shepherd's bridge). After the union, the river is known only by the name of Aras, but, even before its junction with the Զալ'eh Տ՛ւ, the Բին-գոլ Տ՛ւ. is often called Aras by the natives. It has a longer course and a greater volume of water than the Զալ'eh Տ՛ւ, and is therefore entitled to be considered as the principal stream. It rises in the Բին-գոլ Դágh (Thousand Lake Mountain), a lofty range to the S. and W. of Khinís (or Khunus).

The district of Pásín is divided into two begliks, the Upper and the Lower.

Դասան Զալ'eh, 18 miles E. of Erz-Rúm, is the seat of the Beg of the Upper Pásín, whose beglik contains about 120 villages, inhabited chiefly by Mohammedans. The greater portion of the Armenian peasantry emigrated into Georgia when the Russian army evacuated Turkey, after the peace of Adrianople; in consequence of which emigration, the population of the villages has been much diminished, and there is a great deal of ground uncultivated for want of hands.

The Aras divides Upper from Lower Pásín, but there are a few exceptions, as some villages, which should by this rule belong to the Lower, are notwithstanding attached to the Upper Pásín. The lower division is governed by a Beg, who resides at a village called Ars, on account of its being his native place, not from its importance. This beglik contains seventy villages, and emigration has diminished their population and left lands uncultivated, as it has done in the Upper beglik.

The two divisions of Pásín extend about 40 miles in length, and the breadth varies from 6 to 10 miles. Both are fertile in grain, are in general well watered, and have excellent pastures. The villages contain from twelve to 100 families, but the greater number have thirty houses and under; the larger villages being few.

On the opposite side of the river, facing the town of Դասան Զալ'eh, there are innumerable hot springs: some are bituminous, but others appear to contain iron and lime. The hottest are 105° of Fahrenheit. There are two baths built over the warmest and most copious sources, both constantly filled with bathers. The town was one of the old Genoese trading stations, and the castle, built by these adventurous merchants, occupies the oblong summit of a spur thrown out from the main range, which rises about 1600 feet above the plain. The castle commands the town. The modern double wall encircles the town, and joins either end of the castle. This wall is said to have been built by a person called Դասան, whose name has superseded the former one belonging to the town. Some travellers have supposed the ancient Theodosiopolis to have stood here, but there are no remains of antiquity whatever. The bath is certainly not Roman, nor is the bridge close to it. The Genoese castle has long been in ruins and unserviceable; the modern walls are in so dilapidated a state as to be quite useless as a defence.

The inhabitants are exempt from Sáliyáneh,¹ in lieu of which they pay about 50/.

¹ Literally "Annuity;" the complete phrase is Sáliyáneh Muḳaṭa'ahsí, *i.e.* excise or tax to provide for the annual salaries of public servants. See Hammer's *Gesch. des Osmanischen Reichs*, VII. 575, and Meninski v. Muḳaṭa'ah.-F.S.

towards the expense of supporting the post-establishment, and are besides bound to entertain strangers, itself not a light tax, as natives seldom pay anything for lodging and food provided them. The town contains seven mosques and seven fountains, most of which are more or less dilapidated.

As I shall frequently mention the *Sáliyáneh*, I will here explain that it is a tax levied for the expenses of the public administration of the *Páshálik*. The mode of collecting it, is as follows: - When the amount is fixed by the *Páshá*, the heads of each religious sect meet at the seat of government, and apportion it among the districts *Páshálik*. In the districts, the heads of the sects living at the residence of the chief authority apportion the sum allotted to the district among the villages. In the villages the sum to be raised in each is again subdivided among the inhabitants by the heads of the village. It is in some degree an arbitrary tax, and varies in its amount according to the disposition of the Pasha, who produces no accounts to justify its amount, and no one can dispute with him the reasonableness of the charge; however, the tax cannot be exorbitantly increased, unless for some very evident cause, without exciting great complaints; and therefore the *Sáliyáneh* of one year does not much exceed that of the preceding.

21st.-On leaving *Hasan Kal'eh* we crossed the plain in a southerly direction; at about 4½ miles forded the *Kurd Şú*, flowing to the E., and 1½ mile beyond we forded the *Ketiven Şú*, at a village of the same name, situated at the entrance of a defile; these rivers unite before they fall into the *Kal'eh Şú*. We crossed the defile of *Ketiven*, and gradually ascended the mountains, until we reached a lofty limestone ridge, estimated at about 1400 feet above *Hasan Kal'eh*, or 7230 feet above the sea. From this ridge we descended into a deep, romantic, and wooded glen, following which in its descent, we were led to the banks of the *Bín-gól Şú*, at a place where there is a stone bridge over it, stated to be about 6 hours higher up the stream than the *Chóbán Kóprí*. The river comes from the S.W. and runs to the N.E.: the current was rapid, the bed full, and apparently deep, and the breadth about 40 yards. Without crossing the bridge we ascended the mountains in a S.S.W. direction, and after an hour reached the small Kurd village of *Eïpler*. The distance from *Hasan Kal'eh* I estimated at between 16 and 18 miles, which it took us 7 hours to accomplish.

Eïpler contains twenty families of Kurds, ten of which are tolerably well off, but the rest are in straitened circumstances, and serve as shepherds and herdsmen to the others. The only road open during the winter from *Erz-Rúm* to *Músh* passes through this village, the others being blocked up by snow. Its elevation by our barometer is 6260 feet above the sea. The people this year, on representing their poverty, had half their *Sáliyáneh* remitted, although the whole amount was but 12*l.*: they cultivate some fields, which give them a scanty supply of grain; their main dependence, however, is on their herds and flocks. They easily obtain an abundance of hay for their cattle during the winter, and there is pasture enough during the summer.

22nd.-The distance from *Eïpler* to *Kóï-lí* is about 12 miles direct S. On our way to it we crossed a mountainous tract, which abounds in excellent pastures: not far from

Eipler we passed near a large Kurd village, called Agh-yáz, but it was situated lower down the mountains than our route, and out of sight. An escort of ten Kurd horsemen who accompanied me came from that village. We reached Kói-lí at 9½ A.M., and procured a slight breakfast while waiting for our baggage to come up. The village is situated close under the mountains, at about 5900 feet above the sea, ½ a mile from the banks of the Bín-gól Şú, and is in the beglik of Khinis. It formerly contained a great many Armenian families. I was told that 200 emigrated to Georgia, and only about 15 Mohammedan families now reside among extensive ruins. The flat between the river and the village is rather marshy: a guide accompanied us to point out the ford. The Bín-gól Şú is here from 50 to 60 yards in width, its current rapid, the water reaching above the horses' girths. A very little more would have rendered it, if not impassable, at least dangerous and inconvenient, for, as it was, our baggage was wetted. After the passage of the river we ascended through a long grassy valley, crossed a mountain-ridge at its head, descended by a stony path, and afterwards turned due E., our course to this spot having been about S. In 3½ hours from Kói-lí, we reached Aghverán, the estimated distance being about 10 miles, and situated about 300 feet higher than that place. In the early part of the day's journey we saw the Bín-gól T́agh: it is a long flat range; the snow lay on it only in patches, but it is said to retain some the whole summer. After turning our faces eastward we had the splendid peak of Sapán (Seiban) T́agh in view, capped with snow: it was, however, at a great distance, and seen over the tops of the intervening mountains. Our baggage did not reach the village until nearly 2 hours after us, during which we were exposed to a hot sun without shelter.

The Aḡ-saḡál-lí (literally white-beard), or head of the village, was absent; he had gone to Erḡ-Rúm to obtain a supply of shoes, clothes, and other necessities for his family. The village is in the beglik of Khinís, and contains eleven families of Kurds, three of which only were in good circumstances. They had altogether about forty fields under cultivation, and a good stock of sheep and cattle.

23rd.-From Aghverán, Khinís was distant about 9 miles, over a plain cut by deep ravines, more or less broad; the sides are generally of perpendicular rock; the bottom, pastures or cultivated fields. Rills of water flow through some, while others are quite dry. At a village named Parmak-siz (Finger-less) in one of these ravines, we passed a small stream of water, which rose in a mountain near Aghverán, called Kara Kaya (Black rock); and a little distance further on, a larger stream occurs in a broader ravine of the same character; the latter river is called Kilísá Şú, from a ruined Christian church at the foot of which it passes, but higher up it goes by the name of Peig Şú, from a village on its banks; both these streams flow E.S.E. towards the Murád Chái; the last-mentioned, I believe, rises from the range of Bín-gól T́agh. We reached Khinís at 9 A.M. This day and yesterday, whenever the breeze intermitted, the heat had been very great, even as early as 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning.

Khinís² is an old town, with an antiquated castle, and hence is generally called Khinís-Ḳale'h-si. It belongs to the Páshálik of Músh. The Beg resides here: he is brother of Emín Páshá of Músh, and is named Murád Beg. He was absent; but his Kyayá sent the usual compliments and offers of service by his son, an officer in the militia, he himself being confined to his house by illness.

This most wretched town is situated at the bottom of a deep ravine, with precipitous sides of rock, at an elevation of 5686 feet above the sea: through it flows a stream, over which, within the town, two small stone bridges of a single arch have been thrown; the stream is called the Kal'eh Şú, but lower down it assumes the name of 'Arúz Şú, from a village on its banks: it rises in the Bín-gól Ṭágh, and falls ultimately into the Murád Chái. The town contains about 130 houses (100 Mohammedan and 30 Armenian) and a well-built mosque. The castle, standing on a peninsula with perpendicular sides which advances into the ravine, is on a level with the surrounding plain, and overlooks the town. A wall, now in ruins, crosses the neck of the peninsula, and once protected the entrance to the castle: the wall, right and left of the castle-entrance, extends along the edge of the ravine, and afterwards crosses it at each end of the town, uniting with two outworks or towers on the opposite side. These works, as well as the castle, have been long going to decay. The Beg resides in the castle: the apartments of the outer court are in ruins; those in the inner are tenanted by the harem of the Beg, and were unapproachable. There is no trade here, but for the supply of the most ordinary wants of the peasantry. The bazar contains about thirty stalls, in which nothing was to be seen but Aleppo handkerchiefs, used as turbans by the inhabitants; boots and shoes from Erz-Rúm; cotton cloth of the country-manufacture; tobacco, pipe-bowls, and a few other common necessities, with fruit and vegetables. The ordinary and legitimate revenue of the Beg is derived from a tenth of the produce of the soil, which yields him about 150*l.* per annum. In lieu of Sáliyáneh, the people are bound to entertain strangers; and, this being a post-station, guests are numerous, and the tax not a light one. The soil is not private property, and is never bought or sold. A person may build on any unoccupied ground, without a rent being demanded, or he may cultivate any vacant land by paying a tenth of the produce to the Beg. Anyone who neglects to cultivate his fields risks losing them, should there be an applicant for them; but that never happens, as there is more land than hands to till it. The winter is long and severe; the summer hot, succeeding rapidly to the melting of the snow. The town is situated near the foot of the Bín-gól Ṭágh: it requires, however, six hours to reach the summit, on which there are said to be the remains of a castle. This I am inclined to doubt, as I have repeatedly found that a few stones are quite sufficient to give rise to a similar report. In a N.E. direction, 7 hours distant, is situated a district called Ṭúzlah, from a deposit of rock-salt found there, which supplies all that is wanted at an extremely moderate rate to the country around. Here about fifteen lbs. could be bought for twopence. The Kyayá of the Beg was extremely civil in supplying us with lambs, milk, &c.

² Khonúus or Khanús.-Jihán Numá, p. 425.

25th.-On inquiry as to the best road to Mush, I found that the villages on the direct and ordinary route were without inhabitants, as at this season they were in the mountains for the sake of pasture. We should not, therefore, find the supplies of food necessary; and I was consequently advised to take a rather more circuitous road. By the direct one there was a large river to cross, which must have been forded, but not without inconvenience; by that recommended, however, it could be passed by a stone bridge. I therefore determined to adopt the course suggested.

On leaving Khinís we took a southerly direction, and crossed several narrow valleys, with rich grazing-grounds, and ravines such as I have already described. At $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours we passed a small Kurd village, named Mál-aḱulásh, and thence took a S.W. direction. We continued over the mountains by bye-paths, through good pastures, abounding with an infinite variety of beautiful and sweet-smelling flowers. Our course gradually became more westerly, until we finally descended by a long slope facing the W. to the village of Gúmgúm. We were $9\frac{1}{2}$ hours on the day's march; but, as we had frequently halted for our baggage, our progress was slow, and I did not estimate that we had advanced more than 20 miles. A thunder-storm broke over the mountains; and just as the people were occupied in pitching the tents a violent squall of wind occurred, but it was of a moment's duration, and no rain fell on the low ground we were on.

The village of Gúmgúm is situated in a pretty valley, at an elevation of 4836 feet, with the Bín-gól Ṭágh on the N.: from Khinís we had gone round the foot of the range. By a direct road from hence, Erz-Rúm can be reached in 20 post hours; and there is a practicable way straight across the Bín-gól Ṭágh range. The village is a Vaḱuf,³ or endowment belonging to a mosque. The chief has the title of Sheikh, and is of a sect of Dervishes. The inhabitants enjoy an immunity from Sáliyáneh, and from a contribution of men to the regular troops and militia. The place contains thirty Kurd and about 15 Armenian families. Since we left the plain of Pásín I had not seen much tilled land, and the fields I met were carelessly cultivated: in most places the grain was just appearing above the ground. In this valley more land than usual was to be seen under the plough; and I was informed that the soil is rich, the seed rendering about twelve-fold in good seasons.

26th.-From Gúmgúm we took an easterly direction, and after an hour's march passed the Kurd village of Kerbah-kúh, situated on the side of a mountain, at the foot of which runs the Chár Buḥúr river, corning directly from the Bín-gól Ṭágh. In $1\frac{1}{4}$ h., gradually descending to the stream, we crossed it by a stone bridge, beyond which, at $1\frac{3}{4}$ h. distance, the Chár Buḥúr unites with the Murád Chái: they meet in a straight line, the latter coming from the E., and the former from the W., and immediately afterwards turn off at a right angle through a narrow valley in a southerly direction: our barometer here showed 4138 feet above the sea. As I rode along the valley on the banks of the Chár Buḥúr, I supposed the Murád Chái to be a continuation of that river. The distance from Gúmgúm to the junction of the rivers I estimate at about 11 miles. The straight

³ Properly Vaḱf, i.e. Permanence; and thence an endowment for religious and charitable purposes.-F.S.

road from Khinís comes across the mountains, down to the Chár Buḥúr, before its junction, and that river must be forded; it was deep and broad. The united stream turns through a valley, which widens gradually until it becomes a part of the plain of Mush. In the valley the river might be about 70 yards wide, but its bed expands when it reaches the plain. From the junction of the rivers to a village on the plain, called Sikáwah, is about 8 miles, and 3 beyond we stopped at Kirawí, where we pitched our tents: the day's journey occupied us 8 hours.

This village was inhabited by Armenians only. In the whole plain of Músh there are not any Mohammedan peasants intermingled with the Armenians; a fact which would clearly point out this country as belonging rather to Armenia than to Kurdistán: indeed the tent-dwelling Kurds are evidently intruders, and the stationary Kurds, it cannot be doubted, belonged originally to the nomade race.

The Kyayá of the village would not give me any information; to every question I asked he replied only, "How should I know?" but I afterwards found a priest who was more communicative: he confessed to me that the Kyayá was afraid lest he should be known to have communicated anything respecting their affairs. To remove all apprehension on that point, I assured the priest that I never on any occasion disclosed from what source my information was derived: he pretended to believe this, but he showed that he was only half persuaded of its truth. There are twenty families in the village, which is the property of Murád Beg of Khinís. The villagers own about 300 cows, oxen, and buffaloes, 250 to 300 sheep, and twenty brood mares. In wet seasons grain yields ten to twelve fold; in dry, four to five only. The soil is light and sandy, and they do not irrigate it. All their wool is required for domestic use, and they have none to dispose of: they grow linseed for the sake of the oil, used for burning. The winter is not of so long duration as at Erḫ-Rúm; but it is still very severe: snow falls to a great depth; the river always freezes, and loaded carts pass over the ice. The village pays three Sáliyánehs in the year, each amounting to about 5*l.* or 6*l.*; the usual Kharáj, or poll-tax; and the share of the produce belonging to the Beg, besides the ẖishláḫ (winter quarterage), the heaviest imposition of the whole. These altogether form a load of taxation under which the people appeared very discontented; but the ẖishláḫ seemed to form the prominent grievance. The villagers are forced to give winter quarters to ten Kurd families. In the time of the Russian war the army reached Músh; and, when quitting it, the Armenians wished to accompany the invaders, but it was not allowed. The Russians were then advancing, and the encumbrance of emigrants with their families did not suit them. At that period the Kurds regarded the Armenians as partisans of the invaders, and made no scruple in plundering and often murdering them. Since the enrolment of the militia of this Páshálik, the Kurds do not venture to rob openly, and even instances of secret theft have become rare: the effect of the last measure has imposed a moral restraint on this wild race, which is extraordinary when it is considered how few the numbers of the militia are (in this Páshálik not many hundreds), how

recently the system has been introduced, and how inefficient the force yet is, from the imperfection of their equipment and discipline.

Near Sikáwah is a small hill called Osp-polur, which means in Armenian "the mountain round as a lentil". On this little rising ground 'Aláu-ddín Beg, a Kurd chief, made a successful resistance to the government forces sent to destroy the independence he was trying to establish. He was the founder of the family of Emín Páshá of Músh; and the event alluded to happened about a century ago, after which the hill obtained its name. In the country I had passed over from Erṣ-Rúm I had scarcely seen a tree, except in the dale before mentioned, and on the banks of the Chár Buḥúr and Murád Chái, near their union, where some willows and dwarf trees are found: in this feature it bore the general character of all the high table-land of Armenia.

27th.-Quitting Kirawí, we continued along the plain, having the Murád Chái at a short distance on our left. In hour we crossed the river by an ancient bridge of fourteen arches, in so dilapidated and dangerous a condition, that it is unsafe to ride over, and we all dismounted and led our horses. The breadth of the bridge is 208 paces, and it scarce extended at all over the banks: the barometer here showed an elevation of 4123 feet. The Murád does not approach nearer to Músh, which bore about S. from the bridge, whence the river takes a westerly course. Immediately on crossing the bridge we quitted the river, and passed a large Armenian village called Sulúk; thence riding over an extensive tract of meadow-land, in which hay-making was actively going on, in 2 hours we reached the Ḳará Şú. We forded it near an old bridge, the water reaching to the horses' knees, and the breadth of the stream being about 25 yards. The Ḳará Şú rises in the range of Nimrúd Tágh, visible to the eastward, distant 24 to 26 miles, and about 4 or 5 miles below the ford terminates its short course in the Murád Chái: ½ mile from the Ḳará Şú we came to the village of Chevermeh: here we encamped close to an extensive building in ruins, the residence of the former Páshás of Músh. The distance from Kirawí to Chevermeh I estimated at about 9 miles.

After we were settled in our camp I despatched a Khaváşş to the Pasha to announce my arrival, and to deliver a letter from the Ser-'asker of Erṣ-Rúm. I likewise made known my intention of passing two days in the town (to enable me to make inquiries), and requested that a house might be furnished me. Soon after the Khaváşş was gone Khúrshíd Beg, the youngest brother of the Páshá, and his Kyayá, in passing by on his return from a tour in the plain, stopped at our tents. He was attended by about ten horsemen. After paying the usual compliments, offering his services, and taking a cup of coffee, he left me for the residence of the Páshá. The Khaváşş returned with an officer of the Páshá's to compliment me on my arrival, to know what I stood in need of, and to express his desire to see me as soon as I could conveniently wait on him. He said a house should be prepared for me in the town.

28th.-This morning the Kyayá of the Armenians came to conduct us to the quarter prepared, which we reached after ½ an hour's ride.

Músh is situated in a ravine: as its opening was not in the direction of our

encampment, the city was not visible from thence. The Páshá was at the Musellim's in the town, and sent to welcome me, and to know when I would pay him a visit. I fixed 3 o'clock in the same afternoon. At that hour the Cháuśh Báśhí (head messenger) of the Páshá came to conduct me to the Serái (palace), situated at a village called Mogiyunk, rather more than a mile eastward of the town. It was a large quadrangular building, with an irregular tower at each corner, in the same style as the old residence of former Páshás near our camp. This new Serái was built by Emín Páshá a short time since, and Khúrshíd Beg had a residence close by not yet finished. I was ushered into an elevated Kiosk (Kôshk), over one of the corner towers, which was entered by crossing the terrace of the palace: the view from it was extensive, and its height made it accessible to every air that stirred, and very cool and pleasant. The Páshá was in his harem when I arrived, but he soon appeared, and welcomed me to Músh, making the usual inquiries as to my health, mode of reception everywhere, &c. I had seen the Páshá at Erṣ-Rúm, and this was only the renewal of our acquaintance.

Emín Páshá is of a family which has long held this Pásháliḳ: the founder of it was the 'Aláu-ddín Beg mentioned before (p. 348), since whose time, with few and short interruptions, some member of the family has always governed the Pásháliḳ in a state of greater or less independence. His father, Selím Páshá, was beheaded about 30 years ago by the then Páshá of Erṣ-Rúm. Emín was at that time a youth of about 15 years of age, and his youngest brother, Khúrshíd Beg, an infant in arms. He has also two other brothers, Sheríf Beg of Bitlís, and Murád Beg of Khinís. The Páshá is a handsome man, above 6 feet in height; and the other brothers, though not possessing the same commanding appearance, are yet fine men. All have the reputation of brave and skilful warriors, and, from their rank and personal qualities, the family possesses great influence in the country.

The Páshá invited me to dine with him next day at noon.

29th.-Our quarter in the town was so filthy and confined that before I went to the Páshá I had the baggage sent back to our tents, intending to go thither direct from the Serái.

At 11 a.m. the Şarráf or banker of the Páshá came to accompany us to the palace; it was mid-day when we arrived. After taking coffee and conversing a short time, the dinner was served; it was in the usual Turkish style, but, except in its abundance, without anything to distinguish it from the repast of an ordinary person. Several of the Páshá's officers were seated with us: this would not have been allowed among Turks of rank, but there is very little ceremony among Kurds.

I took my leave after having invited the Páshá to come next day to my tents, to try the effect of arms with detonating locks, which he wished to witness. I paid a visit afterwards to Khúrshíd Beg: the conversation turned on horses chiefly; he promised to accompany his brother on the morrow.

30th.-The Páshá came at 11; his suite was neither numerous nor brilliant. He tried some pistols and a rifle, and shot very fairly with both: he approved much of caps, but

was particularly struck with the rifle; he could not conceive how so small an arm could carry so far. Khúrshíd Beg made some better shots than the Páshá; he is considered as the most daring and most skilful warrior among the brothers, though all are reckoned brave. They were much esteemed by Reshíd Moḥammed Páshá, and did him good service in his operations against the Kurds. Khúrshíd Beg declined sitting at table with his brother; he said he had never presumed to sit or eat in his presence; but an officer of the Páshá's, and his scribe, vulgar, low persons, were allowed to do both. The Páshá considered the being helped, instead of helping himself out of the dishes, as a very useless ceremony. The Beg dined in another tent on the dishes which were removed from our table.

On the following day I paid the Páshá a visit to take leave, and remained conversing with him for some time; at the conclusion we parted with mutual expressions of regard.

Músh is a town as miserable in appearance as in reality; it contains about 700 Mohammedan and 500 Armenian families. The latter form the wealthiest portion of the population, and on them devolves the whole weight of the annual Sáliyáneh, amounting to about 2000*l.*, the Mohammedans being exempted from it. The present Páshá does not extort money from the r'ayah population, but he is said not to spare the chiefs of the Kurd tribes when good opportunities present themselves for levying money. Huseïn, who held this Páshálik for a year, and was replaced by Emín, whom he had superseded, was very rapacious, and was said to have been in the habit of levying sums from r'ayahs, nominally in proportion to their supposed wealth, but often so disproportionate as to have reduced many to indigence, and to have obliged most to dispose of all their little superfluities. The Kishlák párah-sí, or the sum paid by the various Kurd tribes in the Páshálik of Mósh for winter quarters to the Ser-'asker of Erṣ-Rúm, is an arbitrary tax, depending on the disposition of the Ser-'asker. The villages of the plain of Mósh are, as before observed, all inhabited by Armenians, but beyond the limits of the plain, there are both Kurd and Armenian peasants, sometimes mixed in the same, and sometimes each inhabiting separate villages: however, throughout the Páshálik, the Armenian peasantry exceed in number the Mohammedan; I mean, setting aside the tent-dwelling tribes. There are few articles produced in the neighbourhood of Mósh which would be fit for exportation to Europe. The principal products are grain and tobacco, but a large number of horses, horned cattle, and sheep, are disposed of, principally, of course, by the Kurd tribes; dealers come to buy sheep and drive them for sale into Syria, as well as to Constantinople. Some gum-tragacanth and gall-nuts are brought for sale to Mósh, but they are produced elsewhere. Cotton cloth of a coarse kind is manufactured for the use of the country, and cloths are brought from Aleppo for the consumption of the inhabitants; a very few European manufactures are used, and those to a very limited extent, for in general the people are too poor to purchase any but the commonest articles. The plain may be called a fine one, being nearly 40 miles in length and from 12 to 14 miles in its greatest breadth; it is watered by numerous

streams, but in some parts it is stony and arid. It is said to contain upwards of 100 villages, each having from 20 to 40 families; there are some few which have more. The climate is less rigorous than that of Erṣ-Rúm; as much snow, perhaps, falls, but the cold is not so severe; the summer is warmer; indeed, it is often sultry. Our barometer showed an elevation of 4692 feet, or about 1300 feet lower than the plain of Erṣ-Rúm. Grapes are grown in vineyards on the sides of hills, and a great abundance of melons are produced; there is no scarcity of any kind of common fruits. The only trees to be seen are a few planted around the villages: the recesses of the mountain-range on the S. are said to have oak-forests, but I suspect the trees are small. There are several varieties of the oak; one produces the gall-nut, and another manna: the latter is a saccharine secretion which does not possess any medicinal quality, or any peculiar flavour. It is collected by suspending the branches with the leaves on until they are quite dry; they are then shaken; the manna falls off, and is purified by boiling and skimming off the pieces of broken leaves and any extraneous matter: this manna is used for making sweetmeats, instead of sugar. It is a very uncertain product, and is often for a succession of years not to be found in sufficient quantity to be worth collecting: dry seasons are in general favourable; wet, the contrary; but still in the present summer, one of more than an average degree of heat and drought, the crop failed.

July 2nd.- Emín Páshá had appointed an escort to accompany me to the next Aghá, beyond the limits of his territory on the road to Diyár-Bekr, where I expected to meet Ḥáfiz Páshá. There were two roads from Músh, the one by going down the Murád on its right bank to Pálú, and then turning to the S. over the mountains; the other by immediately crossing the mountains on the S.: the latter was the least frequented and the most rugged; the former, the most circuitous route. I was, however, told that, with respect to the state of the road, there was scarcely a choice, and I therefore selected the shortest. I left Músh, attended by Sheríf Aghá, with nine Kurd horsemen; he is chief of a tribe named Elmán-lí, which passes the summer in the mountains bordering the plain on the S., and the winter in quarters in the villages at the foot of the same mountains. The first day we reached a village named Kizil Agháj, situated nearly at the western extremity of the plain, close under the mountains. The village stands on the banks of a copious and clear stream which runs through a ravine and flows in a direct line to the Murád Chái, which we saw winding through the centre of the plain, about 6 miles off. The distance from Chevermeh was about 10 to 11 miles due W. We passed through several villages on our way, and saw many others in the more central and fertile part of the plain.

The village of Kizil Agháj, though apparently large, contained only thirty Armenian families: the numerous buildings, which give it an appearance of some extent, are occupied by the Kurds and their cattle, as thirty families of Sheríf Aghá's tribe winter here. The people complained of extreme poverty, and, to judge by the absence of every kind of furniture from their huts, the complaint is not without foundation. Their land is arid and stony, and will not produce wheat or barley, but merely millet. They however

owned about 300 head of cattle and 600 sheep. After we had pitched our tents, Sherif Aghá came to pay his respects and take a cup of coffee. In reply to my inquiry as to the number of his tribe, he said it consisted of 180 families: he stated that nearly 200 years ago seven families only came from the neighbourhood of O'rfah, and settled here, and they had increased to their present number under the protection of the family of Emín Páshá. I think it probable that 100 years might be nearer the time of their arrival in this country than 200, but a century more or less is nothing to people like Kurds, who have no precision in their ideas on any subject. His tribe pays about 480/. for their *Qishláq*. I asked why, instead of paying such a sum annually, they did not build themselves houses; he replied that besides houses, they must have lands from which to collect their hay, and fields to raise their corn and straw, and that the whole plain was already occupied. He might have added that, being shepherds, they could not attend to agriculture without altering their habits, and that at the period when they must make their hay and cultivate their fields they were fully engaged in attending to their flocks and herds in the mountains. There might perhaps be no serious objection to the present mode of giving quarters to the Kurds, if they did not ill-treat the Armenians, if the sum fixed was a fair remuneration to the peasant for the labour and inconvenience, and if it were paid to him instead of to the Ser-'asker.

Sherif Aghá considered Háfiz Páshá as more powerful than Reshíd Moḥammed Páshá, from the former's having succeeded in subduing the Kharzán Kurds, in which the latter failed.

3rd.-From Kizil Agháj we skirted the southern side of the plain till we reached its extreme boundary in about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour; we then turned to the S. and ascended the mountains. After reaching the summit of the first range, called Koshm Ṭágh, at about 6800 feet, we saw two others; the highest, named Antógh Ṭágh, had a good deal of snow on it, but it does not remain all the summer: this mountain appeared the centre of the group, the ranges on each side being lower. There were dwarf oaks on the slopes of the mountains, but none seemed to attain the size of trees. We descended into a deep ravine, and after a few ascents and descents, not very long nor steep, reached a valley called Shín, in which there are some scattered Kurd houses; they were however all untenanted, the inhabitants being on the hills for the sake of pasture. We encamped on the banks of a stream not far from some Kurd tents, from which we obtained supplies of food. About fifty families cultivate this narrow but pretty valley, and as many as can find room in the few houses which exist, remain there during the winter; they belong to a tribe called Badiḳánlí, which consists of 550 families; the principal residence of the tribe is more to the S., and they winter near the Tigris, where those of this valley who cannot find accommodation here in the winter join them. The crops were backward, and the Kurds were irrigating the fields. This tribe refused to submit to Reshíd Moḥammed Páshá, and took up a position in this valley, where it was attacked, and, after having suffered a terrible defeat, submitted: 300 recruits were then given to the Páshá, and the tribe lost all their property and arms, and have been since very much reduced in wealth

and importance. Before their defeat, they held this mountain tract in lawless independence, permitting neither caravan nor passenger to pass through it, without having secured their protection by a present.

Sheríf Aghá came as usual to take coffee. I inquired of him respecting the Yezídí Kurds. He said they do not pretend to be Mohammedans, and they curse Mohammed. They call Satan Meliki Táúsh (King Peacock). He said they were very angry on hearing the term Sheitán (the Turkish for devil) used in their presence, and he confirmed the account I had previously heard, that, if a circle be drawn round one on the ground, he will not move from the spot until he has obliterated it. He knew nothing of their faith. The Chirágh Sónðurán (Lamp Extinguishers) are quite a distinct sect; they dress up a log of wood in fine clothes and pelisses, and adore it. When a great man dies they inter all his wealth with his body. The Mohammedans, if they hear of the burial of a chief, watch their opportunity, and open the grave at night for the sake of what is to be found there. The Dújik Kurds are most of them of the latter sect; they are called Kizil-básh (Red-head) by the Mohammedans. There are many Kurd tribes who are Mohammedans; many are Yezídís, and but few are Chirágh Sónðuráns.

4th.-Immediately on mounting, we commenced ascending the Darkúsh T́agh. It took us 1½ hour to reach the highest part of the range, which we crossed at 6490 feet above the sea, and immediately commenced the descent by the most difficult path I ever went over; sometimes it led us round precipitous hollows in the hills; sometimes it came down in a zigzag the face of a nearly perpendicular rock. Our horses, though led, often slipped off the uneven and narrow path, and risked being precipitated into the abyss, perhaps 1200 feet in depth, and it was by great caution alone that a person even on foot could keep his path. Below us ran the river, on the banks of which we had been encamped; there it had an easterly course, but after quitting the valley it turned westward, rounding the mountain up the face of which we had climbed to the S.S.W. Along our path numerous springs issued from the sides of the mountains, all of which are carefully and skilfully conducted by long channels to irrigate fields found on every spot which admits of cultivation; near them a hut was generally to be seen. After a difficult and fatiguing walk of 2 hours (for riding was seldom possible), we found ourselves opposite to the high ridge we had crossed, and scarcely a mile distant from it: we waited two hours for our baggage to come up, fearing the muleteers might require assistance. We then proceeded, winding along the mountains' sides by paths very little better than those just described. In 2½ hours we came down to the stream which we had seen so long in the valley below us; it was called the Ƙolb Şú (Handle Water), and was a pretty considerable river, reaching to the girths in fording. We crossed it, and waited under the shade of some trees, but our baggage did not make its appearance, and we proceeded on our march. In 2 hours we reached an Armenian village called Agharún by the inhabitants, but Khanzír (Hog) by the Kurds, beautifully situated in a gorge of the mountains opening to the plain, commanding a splendid view, and surrounded by magnificent walnut-trees. We here procured some food, for which a fast

and a ride of 12 hours gave us an appetite. I met here a man belonging to Háfız Páshá, named Aḥmed Aghá; he was remarkably civil, and he it was who ordered us our repast. The people complained loudly of exactions, and declared they had no longer the means of paying what was demanded of them. It was thought probable that the Kurds left with our baggage would conduct it by another and shorter road to the village we had originally fixed upon as our resting-place, and we therefore mounted again at St P.M., at the same time sending people back to tell the muleteers that we had gone on. At 7 we reached the village of Nerjkí, the residence of a Kurd chief, called Hájí Zilál Aghá. He received us very hospitably, and had a supper prepared, which, however, was quite unnecessary after the repast we had had at Agharún. Our baggage did not appear, and we slept in the open air under the trees, the weather being sufficiently warm to render any covering unnecessary. The distance we had come was called 8 hours by the Kurds; we had been 10 hours riding and walking, besides many long stoppages for our baggage; it occupied our loaded horses 15½ hours to Agharún, 1½ hour short of the village we reached. I never met in my travels so dangerous and difficult a pass: the passage of troops could be easily arrested by a small force, and it would be quite impossible to drag artillery over it. Yet I was told the Kharzán mountains are still more impracticable, and that no loaded animal, except a mule, can traverse them at all.

5th.-Next morning early our loads arrived; the horses were too much fatigued to come beyond Agharún the evening before; our people were well treated by orders of Aḥmed Aghá, Háfız Páshá's man. Many of the horses had fallen down the sides of the mountains, but fortunately none were much hurt, and no very serious damage had occurred to our baggage; as by a miracle, the case of instruments had not suffered in the least. Our host was an old Kurd chief; he had resisted Reshíd Moḥammed Páshá, and his house was in consequence burned; he himself escaped to the mountains, but was afterwards forced to surrender; he was detained as a prisoner at Diyár-Bekr for a twelvemonth, and was then sent to his home and restored to the command of his old district, but his fortunes were ruined, his house destroyed, his dependents dispersed, and his two eldest sons had fallen victims to the climate of Diyár-Bekr. He himself was almost blind from cataracts forming in both eyes, which were nearly matured; he asked Dr. Dickson for a remedy, and was much grieved to hear that he could not furnish one; he was told that an operation would alone relieve him, and to have that performed a journey to Constantinople was necessary; he said that was impossible, it was beyond his means. This Hájí could scarce speak any Turkish, and he used a native of Diyár-Bekr, his scribe, as interpreter. I inquired through him how he was so imprudent as to attempt to resist Reshíd Moḥammed Páshá, invested as he was with authority from his sovereign. The Hájí replied that neither he nor his fathers were ever subjected to Páshás, or paid taxes to the Sultán, and he could not understand why he should be forced to do so; he had therefore resisted as long as he could. Seeing most of us engaged in writing and reading (for he was always seated near the tents), he asked whether we could all write. I replied that most of our peasantry could do so. He said

such an acquirement was an useless one to a man like him: since he had been able to handle arms he had scarce been for an hour in his life without being called on to use them, either in defending the property of himself and his dependents, or in revenging the injuries inflicted on them by their enemies. He remarked, with an evident feeling of regret for his now powerless and humbled station, that in his younger days he had arms, horses, followers, and money. He was now deprived of all these things. Without doubt, his want of power, the excitement of a turbulent life, added to his loss of sight, must render his present position, as compared with his former, anything but agreeable. His wife was a tall masculine woman. I was informed that whenever attacked at home she was always to be found at his side, loading his rifles while he was firing at the assailants. Such is the usual occupation of the warlike dames of Kurdistán, and not unfrequently they take a more active part in the strife. The Hájí derived his title from his grandfather, who had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, since which, the distinction had descended to the representative of the family. He was near sixty years of age, tall and stout, and in his youth, no doubt, had been a powerful man, and well fitted for the head of a turbulent clan. One of his men had been wounded in the arm by a ball in the Kharzán affair; it was only a flesh-wound, and improved immediately by the treatment recommended by Dr. Dickson.

The Hájí had supplied us liberally with lambs, milk, bread, &c., and I gave him as an acknowledgment an English shawl, and some handkerchiefs printed at Constantinople, much prized among the Kurds: he put them all on his head, and came to take leave the evening before our departure. He apologised for his dry hospitality, as he termed it, and said he had sought in vain for a horse to present me with, but had not been able to find one worth my acceptance. I assured him I was very grateful for his hospitality and attention, and better pleased at his not having given me a horse than if he had.

The position of Nerjkí was pretty; it was under the crest of the mountain, overlooking fields which sloped down to the Kōlb Şú: there were a good many fruit-trees about it, and in a glen close by, a delightful fall of pure water, which supplied the village and irrigated the fields; the rocks were limestone, and the ground rough and stony, but wherever cultivation was practicable there the land was sown. The climate is by no means severe; the summer is hot, but tempered by a constant breeze; the winter is short, and much snow does not fall, nor does it lie long on the ground. Its elevation by our barometer only 3550 feet above the sea. The harvest had nearly terminated, and an abundance of common fruits were ripe; both melons and grapes are grown, but had not reached maturity.

I inquired of Aḥmed Aghá whether the complaints of misery I had heard from the people were just: he said, yes; they were in a state barely removed from starvation, and could not pay the impositions laid on them. He believed Háfiz Páshá was ignorant of this, and he attributed the heavy drains on the people to Sa'du-l-lah Páshá of Diyár-Bekr. No one, however, dared to state the fact to Háfiz Páshá. Aḥmed Aghá's

testimony, as that of a Turk and a stranger, and one employed to collect the Páshá's dues from the people, may be received as valid, and he appeared to me a humane man. He had been remarkably civil, and offered to accompany me, and I willingly accepted his offer. The Hájí, too, sent one of his sons.

6th.-Notwithstanding the early hour at which we departed, the Hájí made his appearance in the morning to take a last farewell, with his shawl and handkerchiefs on his head. We mounted at 5 A.M., and, taking a westerly direction, descended to and crossed the Kōlb Şú. We then rode over low mountains covered with dwarf oak-trees of several varieties. We crossed another small stream, called the Yák Şú; the climate had now sensibly changed: the oriental plane and *Agnus castus* grew on the borders of the streams, and the cotton-plant was cultivated in the fields.

At 10 A.M. we reached the village of Darakol, 2993 feet above the sea, situated on the high bank of a considerable stream, named the Şárum Şú (Sword Water), the bed of which is very broad, but the stream was divided into many channels: in the sand of the bed I remarked a number of square holes in rows, which were prepared for planting the water-melon, which is said to arrive at very great perfection. The Şárum Şú, as well as the others we had crossed, flow towards the Tigris, and unite with it in the district of Jezírah, which was called 8 days' journey from hence.

Darakol contains sixty families, eleven of which are Armenian; the latter are poor, and serve the Mohammedans; the village is in the district of the Beg of I'ljeh. I asked whether the Christians had joined the Mohammedans in resisting Reshíd Moḥammed Páshá; the Armenians replied they were forced to do so; but Aḥmed Aghá denied this, and declared that they were as pertinacious in their opposition as the Mohammedans. The soil is a whitish clay, and very arid, but there is abundance of water with which to irrigate it. The houses are all built of clay slate. The weather was sultry, and we had several strong gusts of wind, which raised most unpleasant and dense clouds of dust, some showers in the afternoon relieved us from this inconvenience.

7th.-We reached I'ljeh (Warm Spring), our next station, after an easy day's march of about 10 to 11 miles. The sky was overcast, and the air had been cooled by the showers of the preceding day. The Musellim was absent at Diyár Bekr, but his son officiated in his place, and pointed out a pleasant garden for our tents, a mile from the town, with a great number of fruit-trees, and a clear spring issuing from the limestone rock, commanding a fine view of the plain we overlooked. We found also I'ljeh to be 3779 feet above the sea. The son of the Musellim spoke very little Turkish. 'Abdí Beg paid me a visit; he was younger son of the late independent Beg, Huseîn: his elder brother, Beĩrám Beg, was in exile at Adrianople, and another was major in a regiment stationed at Diyár Bekr. A brother of the present Musellim, named 'I'sá Beg, also came to see me. This Kaşabah contains 750 Mohammedan and 213 Armenian families; the latter are not cultivators or owners of land, but are mostly engaged in manufacturing coarse cotton cloth; the cotton used is partly raised in the country, and partly brought from Kharpút and Erz-Rúm; the former is of the growth of Adanah, the latter of Khóĩ, in

Persia. The bazars are miserable stalls, and scarcely an article of European manufacture was displayed in them. The town contains four fountains and two mosques.

I inquired of 'I'sā Beg whether the people were more contented now than under the rule of the old Beg; he said they now enjoyed tranquillity, which they never did before, and the Mohammedans were certainly happier. As to the Rayáhs, they were more heavily taxed at present, and he did not positively deny their destitute condition; but, he observed, they always complained. They paid last year, as Sáliyáneh, 80/., and they pay Kharáj about 6s. 3d. per head for every male.

I will relate here what I learned respecting the independent Beks of Hazeró, 'Ilíjeh, and Khiní, in the Sanjāk of Tírikí.

The first contained about 60 villages, and was governed by Rejeb Beg. He had 300 horsemen in his service, regularly paid and well mounted and armed; besides these, he could collect from his villages about 700 horsemen, and 3000 to 4000 men on foot, armed with a sword and rifle. He was considered as the richest and most powerful of the three Beks. He derived his wealth from his having plundered three or four Páshás of Diyár-Bekr, and various rich caravans; but it is admitted that many acts of the kind, committed by others, were attributed to him. He resisted Reshíd Moḥammed Páshá, was subdued, and exiled to Adrianople, where he still resides. The government collects the revenues of his district and private property, out of which he is allowed 180/ per month. The receipts are said to be very considerably more than the pension.

The Beg of 'Ilíjeh was Ḥusein Aghá, who was succeeded by his eldest son, Beirám Beg, now in exile at Adrianople; the father died immediately after his defeat by Reshíd Moḥammed Páshá. The Beglik contains seventy villages, and the Beg could command 300 horsemen, and 4000 to 5000 men on foot, armed with sword and rifle. His revenues were considerable, but he spent them all in preserving his interest among his dependents by liberality, and he had no treasure in reserve.

Khiní was under Temir Beg, in exile with the rest at Adrianople; he could bring into the field 200 horsemen, and 2000 or 3000 men on foot, armed like the others. His Beglik contained sixty villages: he spent all his revenues among his followers.

These three Beks were always in alliance; occasionally they were at peace with my host, Ḥájí Żilál Aghá, but most generally at variance. He was less powerful in the number of his followers, but his country being in the mountains was more defensible; and he maintained himself stoutly against his foes. The three Beks were more frequently, indeed for fifteen years almost constantly, at war with Mírzá Aghá, whose residence was at a place called Bánúkah, not far from Hazeró. He had only 100 horsemen of his own, with about 5000 or 6000 riflemen; but, as chief of the tribe of the Silivánlí Kurds residing in his neighbourhood, he could command 500 horsemen more.

In their contests the forces seldom met in open field. The attack of a village being determined on, the confederates met at an appointed rendezvous, and endeavoured to surprise the inhabitants, and carry off everything they could seize. Of course defence

was made, and often a rescue attempted, in which many lives were lost. An act of aggression was revenged by a similar one from the opposite party. It was in autumn, after the gathering of the crops, that these plundering expeditions were undertaken, probably because a greater booty might then be expected. The Armenian peasants carried arms, and fought with the Moḥammedans; they were treated by their masters on an equal footing. Mírzá Aghá's peasantry were principally Armenians. The only difference observed between the Christian and the Moḥammedan was, that the former paid about 7*d.* annually to the Beg, but no other tax was exacted; the Christian now pays to the Sultan 6*s.* 3*d.* Kharáj, besides his share of Sáliyáneh. The Moḥammedans are, I believe, in this part of the country, exempt altogether from the Sáliyáneh. These Beks were defeated by Reshíd Moḥammed Páshá, and their residences burnt: on the submission of Mírzá Aghá all the others immediately tendered theirs, considering resistance hopeless.

The people now enjoy the most perfect security, which they never could ensure for an instant under the former system. It is true they pay more; but I should have imagined the exemption from robbery and murder was not too dearly purchased by their present taxes: they complain, however, of the unusual imposition, while they forget the advantages which they have acquired.

Aḥmed Aghá, and the son of Hájí Żilál Aghá, left us here, and returned home.

8*th.*-The Musellim's son came before daylight, wearing on his head a shawl which I had presented to him the evening before, in return for the supplies with which he had politely furnished us. From our garden we passed through the town, situated under lofty limestone cliffs in a ravine full of fruit-trees, and with numerous rills of water rushing down it. The view of the plain is commanding, and the position of the town seemed well chosen; but the houses looked like ruins. The remains of the burnt palace of the Beg showed it to have been a vast building, and a splendid one, considering the place. Our course was west by compass, and we kept close under the mountains, having them on our right hand. After 3 hours we passed a large Armenian village in a broad ravine occupied by fruit-trees, gardens, and cultivated fields, a clear stream watering them and spreading coolness and verdure around. But before and after reaching this village the ground was rocky, and the crops of grain very light; the reapers were everywhere getting in the harvest. After a ride of 5 hours, we arrived at the Kaşabah of Khiní, but our baggage was long before it came forward. I estimated the distance to be from 18 to 20 miles. We found a shady garden to encamp in, under fruit-trees, and the Musellim gave orders to the Kyayá of the Armenians to see that we were furnished with everything we stood in need of. The muleteers complained that the animals had not recovered from the hard day over the Darkúsh mountain, and requested I would allow them a day's repose, which I consented to the more willingly as we were in a pleasant place, and the Musellim was very civil.

The town contains 300 Moḥammedan and 150 Armenian families. The Kyayá said the Armenians were very poor, that in one way or another their taxes amounted to about

300/., and they had been much impoverished by exactions. On the score of tranquillity they were much better off now than formerly: they did not join their Beg in his struggle with Reshíd Moḥammed Páshá, but surrendered their arms when they were demanded by the Páshá. None of the Armenians are cultivators, but some own vineyards and gardens, and send their fruit for sale to Diyár-Bekr, 12 hours distant, bearing S. by W. by compass. They are all engaged in spinning and weaving cotton-yarn and coarse cotton cloths. The Kyayá calculated that there were 120 looms in the town, producing annually 30,000 pieces of cloth; they are sold among the neighbouring villages for their consumption, but some are sent to Diyár-Bekr as well as to Músh. They draw their cotton from Kharpút and Erḡ-Rúm. In the town is a most abundant spring of water, the source of a river called the Anbár Şú (Granary River). Anbár⁴ means "a barn for grain." The head of water is confined in a stone-built basin, and the supply issues from beneath several small arches. At the base of one of the sides the water is very excellent and limpid; and the thermometer put into it indicated 57° of Farenheit: as the springs issue from the rock, this should show the mean temperature of the climate; this supposition is the more probable, as the spring in the garden at l'Íjeh gave the same temperature, and that also issued from limestone rock. The people said this water was warm in winter and cool in summer - a pretty sure indication of its preserving an invariable degree of temperature. Khiní has an elevation of 2.924 feet.

The Musellim, Sheríf Beg, a native of Diyár-Bekr, had paid me a visit soon after my arrival, and had been remarkably obliging in supplying our wants. I returned his call: his residence was very miserable, but he said he was repairing some rooms in the ḥarem of the old Beg's house, which had been burned. I learned from him that Ḥáfiz Páshá, on his return from Kharzán, went from hence to Siván Ma'den, an iron-mine, which he was working by the aid of Europeans; it was situated on the road from this place to Pálú. The Beg showed me a specimen of the ore: the discovery was not a new one, the mine had been worked before; but the iron, he said, did not prove good, and the enterprise was abandoned. He made some inquiries respecting England, and asked me whether it were better than this country. I said it would not bear a comparison, since it was highly cultivated, and this a desert; there the people were industrious, intelligent, and always aiming at improvement; here they were listless, and never attempted to ameliorate things. He observed the inhabitants were very stupid, and had not introduced 'arabahs, *i.e.* carts, which were used in many other parts of the country, and were peculiarly adapted to these plains. I replied that their indolence was perhaps less owing to their stupidity than to the nature of the government. If a person gained money by superior activity and intelligence, it was seized on by some rapacious governor; so that all motive to exertion was destroyed. He admitted there was truth in the remark; but said the natives, when they became rich, were apt to grow proud and forget their duty; and he cited as an example the conduct of the Begs in this neighbourhood, who were puffed

⁴ Pronounced Ambar.

up with their riches, and turned rebels. I replied that, if the government had been a just one, and possessed a proper control, there would have been no motive to become rebels, which was probably an act of self-defence, nor could the Begs have succeeded in becoming independent. He hoped that now the country was subject to the control of the legally-appointed authorities it would enjoy tranquillity, and that prosperity would follow as a natural consequence. His idea that people must be kept poor by oppression to make them obedient, is quite a Turkish mode of keeping subjects to their duty; and this maxim, so long enforced, has reduced the country to the state in which it is. I heard from Şarráf of Diyár-Bekr, who had come hither to recover 250*l.* of the Musellim, for money advanced him to make presents on his appointment, that he expected to receive his money almost immediately, as a Sáliyáneh was about to be imposed on the people for the purpose. Thus they are taxed, not for the real exigencies of the state, but to fee rapacious Páshás or their attendants. For the civilities received from Sheríf Beg I made him a suitable present.

10*th.*-Quitting the town, and keeping a course West by compass, at about 1½ hour, we reached the extremity of the plain of Khiní. We then entered a gorge or pass in the mountains, and emerged from it into another well-cultivated plain; in 3½ hours we reached the banks of a river which came from the north through a rent in the mountains. The stream turned west for about 2 miles, and then to the southward, and passed an Armenian village named Zibeneh, whence it takes the name of the Zibeneh Şú. I was informed the source of this river was in a range of mountains, on the other side of which the Murád Chái runs, the range being parallel to the course of the river. We descended from the high bank, and crossed the stream; the water was clear, the current rapid; it was at one time confined to a narrow deep channel of 50 feet; at another it ran in several channels over a wide sandy bed. We kept along the right bank of the river: on the opposite side, where it turns off to the south, in a perpendicular cliff of rock rising from the stream, I saw a number of caverns excavated in the rock; they were high above the water, and could not have been reached without a great deal of difficulty. Leaving the river we ascended to higher ground, and continued over an extensive level, covered with large fields of grain, which the reapers were busily engaged in cutting. I saw also many fields sown with maiz. We passed near a village, and afterwards through a narrow valley, at the opposite extremity of which we came to the village of Pírán, in a ride of 6¼ hours, the distance being estimated at 16 to 18 miles.

The village is situated at the mouth of a ravine, overlooking a small but pretty plain. Below the village there are some kitchen-gardens; but we could not find a spot to pitch our tents, and we took up our quarters at the house of Aḥmed Aghá, the chief. He had just returned from Arghaná Ma'den, and informed me that Háfiz Páshá was at Kharpút. Pírán contains ninety Mohammedan and eighty Armenian families; it is one of the fifty villages belonging to the Beg of Egil. The Beg had always been subject to the governor of Arghaná Ma'den, and never robbed, as the other Begs were in the habit of doing, and the people consequently had always enjoyed tranquillity. From the

appearance of the country, I supposed the people to be well off; the Aghá said they were so formerly, but impositions had increased so much of late, that they were much fallen from their prosperous state. They were obliged to supply 5000 loads of charcoal to the Arghaná mine, which they did at a loss to the village, of about 250/. I presumed this was in lieu of the Sáliyáneh, to which the Aghá replied that the Sáliyáneh and every other usual tax must be paid as well. He told me the charcoal was made in the mountains on the north, but the wood was rapidly decreasing. Near the village are the ruins of an Armenian church; one arch standing proves it to have been a massive building, but rough in its construction. I met here two Jews of Aleppo, employed by a merchant of their own persuasion in that city to sell Aleppo manufactures, for which they receive gall-nuts in payment; these are forwarded to their masters at Aleppo.

11th.-We rose early, as the day's journey was rather long and mountainous, and there was no intermediate village between this place and the Arghaná mine. We commenced our march by moonlight, at 2h. 40m. A.M. We passed a very stony defile, and descended to a small stream flowing to the S.E.: an hour beyond it, we came to a more considerable stream having the same course; the road from hence became more mountainous. We arrived on the edge of a steep mountain, directly opposite to the mine, with the Diyár-Bekr branch of the Tigris flowing between us; descending this mountain, we crossed the river by a bridge in rather a dilapidated state, and ascended to the mine. We had seen very few traces of cultivation on our road, and those few were near the mine: the hills were of a crumbling whitish sort of clay, without vegetation, and their appearance made our day's ride monotonous and uninteresting. We got to the mine at 11½ A.M., the march having occupied us 9 hours, and the estimated distance being about 25 miles. Our baggage, however, did not reach until 3 P.M. We were lodged at the house of one of the head miners, who was remarkably civil, there not being any spot on which we could pitch our tents. The elevation is here 3644 feet above the sea.

12th.-From the town we crossed a ravine, and immediately entered a good broad road, a continuation of the military road commenced at Şamşún by Reshíd Moḥammed Páshá, but only continued to the top of the mountain overlooking the plain of Kharpút; the addition was made by Háfız Páshá, and facilitated the passage over these steep and rough mountains. In about 3 hours we got out of the mountains, and came down to a very pretty plain, crossing a small stream not far from its source; this is the chief affluent of the Diyár-Bekr branch of the Tigris; from hence it winds among the mountains, receiving in its course all the drainings of the range we had passed, and before reaching the mine it has been swollen into a large river. Crossing this plain, and entering a narrow glen, we came to the Kurd village of Kizin, situated among trees. The village stands out of the high road, but is much frequented by passengers; we reached it in 6 hours from Arghaná Ma'den, and I estimated the distance 14 to 15 miles. The village contains thirty-five Kurd families, who should be well off. I asked whether they were so. Our host, the head of the village, said the passage of travellers was a heavy

tax; they paid about £16 for Sáliyáneh. They had a large stock of cattle and sheep, and there were a great many fields under the plough, so that, not having heard the usual loud complaints of misery, I take it for granted they are in very comfortable circumstances. I had before lodged with the chief, and he recognised me when the circumstances of my visit were brought to his recollection. I found him then, as now, extremely obliging and very willing to supply our wants to the best of his power.

13th.-Descending the ravine in which Kizin is situated, we came in sight of the pretty lake of Gôljik, and immediately fell into the military road, which brought us to Kharpút. From the summit of the range of mountains a rich prospect presents itself; the plain of Kharpút is one of the best cultivated perhaps in Turkey, and the fields were waving with good crops ripe for the sickle. A range of low hills, thrown out from the mountains on which Kharpút stands, runs nearly across the plain, and divides it into two portions. At the most eastern extremity the Murád is seen entering it, and, after skirting its edge, soon again quits it through a break in the mountains on the N.E. corner of the plain. The two divisions may be about 50 miles in length; they are very populous, and there is no unoccupied ground; in fact, it is the richest and most populous part of the country. We reached the Armenian village of Kônk in 4 hours, and, while waiting there to allow my Khaváşş to go forward to announce my arrival to Háfiz Páshá, we procured a breakfast. After an hour's halt, we mounted again at 9, and reached the village of Mezirah in 2½ hours. The Páshá gave us a garden to encamp in, sent us a sumptuous breakfast in the Turkish style, offered tents, furniture, and everything we wanted, appointed persons to attend on us, and, in short, nothing could exceed his politeness and attention.

Mezirah is a small village in the plain about 2 miles from the town of Kharpút, lying 3618 feet above the sea; it was chosen by the Páshá for his residence, on account of a palace there which belonged to Iş-ğák, a former Páshá, who was decapitated by Reshíd Moḥammed Páshá. No habitation in the neighbourhood would have been extensive enough to have contained the harem and suite of the Pasha, and it possessed the additional advantage of being close to the camp.

During my protracted stay here, all my party as well as myself suffered much from fever, and, despairing of seeing the recovery of all completed while residing here, I determined to move away to a purer atmosphere; on the 25th of July, consequently, I struck my tents, and set off on my return.

My stay here would have been both shorter and more satisfactory, had not sickness prevailed to so great an extent. Not only were all our party sufferers from fever, but the Páshá was attacked, and also an agreeable European officer attached to the army. This detracted much from the satisfaction of a visit to so polite and distinguished a person as Háfiz Páshá, who did everything to render our stay agreeable.

The Páshá had made the most considerate arrangements for providing for our comfort on the journey to Músh, and deputed his Tátár Aghá to accompany me with two other Tátárs, and, encumbered as we were with several sick, we soon felt the

advantage of having with us so attentive a mihmándár.⁵

We left Mezirah at 6 A.M., and after a hot ride of 4 hours in an easterly direction reached the village of Alishán. Four attendants were very ill, and so much worse for the march, that it was impossible to move the next day. In our new position we had escaped some of the inconveniences of Mezirah, but the heat was nearly as oppressive; the soil being a whitish clay, the reflection from the sun and the dust were annoying. The Tátár Aghá proposed that the sick should be conveyed in 'arabahs, that we should travel during the cool of the night, and make one march to Palu. The air there was represented as pure and cool, and if the sick required rest it would be more beneficial at Pálú than if we remained in the plain exposed to the heat.

Alishán is situated in the plain, having to the S. the road leading to Arghaná, and on the N. the break in the mountains through which the Murád flows in its course towards its junction with the Kárá Şú, or Western Euphrates, above Kebbán Ma'den. The village is about 2 hours distant from the river, and contains 100 Moḥammedan families. A Sáliyáneh is levied annually of 6000 piasters, or 60*l.*, and besides a tax is paid of 5 piasters, equal to 1*s.*, on every kilo (kíleh) of wheat, and of 3 piasters, equal to 7¼*d.*, on the same measure of barley. The kilo here is equal to nine baṭmáns, or 148lbs. Grains of various kinds are grown, as well as cotton, and the palma christi for the sake of its oil used in lamps. Each peasant owns a pair of oxen to plough his ground, two or three cows, and a few sheep; the cattle are sent to the mountains to feed during the day, but they do not pick up sufficient to keep them, and they are furnished throughout the year with chopped straw at home. There are neither pastures nor waste lands in the plain.

Before Reshíd Moḥammed Páshá's successes against the Kurds, they often plundered the peasantry, but at present the most perfect security exists.

26th.-In conformity to the proposed plan, in the afternoon two 'arabahs were procured, and two sick placed in each. Our party mounted an hour afterwards. Rather more than a mile from Alishán we passed through a large Armenian village named Hogasúr, and close under the mountains on our right were several other villages surrounded by trees; we crossed a spur of the range round which the river ran on our left, and descended into a valley in which was the village of Tilkeh: we reached it at midnight, and rested until the dawn was breaking, when we again mounted, and in 4 hours arrived at Pálú. From Tilkeh the plain extends to the banks of the Murád, about a mile distant. We kept along the side of the mountains until we descended to the river, lower down than the town of Pálú, which is situated on the opposite bank. Rising from the stream, we ascended a mountain, on the slope of which were extensive gardens, and traversing them under the shade of fruit-trees, descended again to the river's banks, and after riding for a mile up the stream crossed a bridge, followed the right bank for half a mile, and then mounted a steep ascent to the town, placed high up the

⁵ Literally "Purveyor;" but Mihmándár is the title of an officer of rank appointed to attend upon an ambassador, and provide him with everything he or his suite can want.-F.S.

mountain under a lofty peak, crowned by an old castle.

The Beg being absent, his brother sent his şarráf (banker) to meet me at the bridge, and to excuse himself for not coming in person, being unwell.

The Beg was superintending the operations at Siván Ma'den, which was said to be 8 hours distant, by a very mountainous and difficult road. I was conducted to the şarráf's house, where I took up my quarters; it was airy, and commanded a fine view of the river. When crossing the bridge, three men plunged from its centre into the stream, and swam ashore; they met me at the end of the bridge, and claimed a present for the exhibition. The height they dropped is about forty feet; the stream is very rapid and about 100 yards wide. It is not considered safe to pass over the bridge on horseback: the buttresses (the only remains of a more ancient structure) have been united with wood, roughly and by no means solidly put together. Our barometer at the bridge showed an altitude of 2819 feet; at the town of Pálú 3292 feet. From the town up the stream, the channel is compressed into a narrow space, by mountains rising abruptly from its banks. In some parts its breadth does not exceed 30 yards, in others it is three times as much. I saw a man drive an ass through the river under our residence, but from the numerous turns he made it must require a perfect knowledge of the ford to enable a person to cross it without risk. Four keleks, or rafts, passed down the river while I was at Pálú; they were composed of boughs, supported by inflated skins, and charcoal was stacked on them. A man at each end with a paddle directed the raft. On the day after our arrival our sick rejoined us; they were all much improved in health, and in a state to continue the journey on horseback.

The town of Pálú contains 1000 families; 400 Armenian and 600 Musulmán. The former are employed either in manufacturing or in general trade; 200 looms are worked, producing cloths from native cotton, and there is a dyeing establishment and a tannery. The Armenians complained of the heavy taxation to which they are subject. The Moḥammedans are the sole owners of the gardens, and cultivators of the land; a few vineyards, however, belong to Armenians.

The direct road to Erz-Rúm is closed by snow during three months; the distance is 8 caravan days and 42 post hours. The course of the river is E. and W. I estimated the distance from Kharpút 36 miles due W. by compass.

29th.-On leaving Pálú we passed through the town under the castle, and over the crest of the ridge, from which we descended by a gradual slope into an extensive and well-cultivated plain, studded with numerous villages surrounded by orchards and vineyards. Our direction was N.N.E. by compass. In 1½ hour we came to the Armenian village of Ḥoshmat, the estimated distance 5 miles; here the Erz-Rúm road branches off from that we followed, and takes a northerly course. On the opposite side of the plain bearing N.W. is a large Armenian monastery at a village called Ḥabáb; the plain on the N. is bounded by a low range of mountains, beyond which runs the Perez Şú, rising in the Sanják of Khijí (in the Páshálik of Erz-Rúm), and falling into the Murád 3 hours below Pálú; the river was said to be a considerable one, but fordable in summer.

We left Hoshmat at 8 A.M.; in 2 hours we came to the extremity of the plain, and after an ascent of an hour reached Mezirah. A short distance from the village the chief persons of the place came out to meet me. Our baggage and sick had preceded us, having marched through the night, and on my arrival I found the tents pitched under the shade of fruit-trees.

The situation was very pleasant; it commanded a view of the valley and the mountains on the opposite side, and in the distance the lofty summits of the Dújik range, capped with snow, were visible. The cool temperature was delightful, and our convalescents experienced great benefit from the change. Mezirah is situated at 5245 feet above the sea.

The village contains fifty or sixty Musulmán families, and I should suppose them to be well off by their style of dress and cleanly streets, which were all swept before the houses, and were unencumbered by heaps of filth, as is usually the case.

A letter was brought to me from the Beg of Pálú, inviting me to visit the Siván mine; it was written in French by some of the Europeans there, and, although addressed to Russian travellers, was evidently intended for me. I wrote a reply in French, and excused myself on account of my having advanced too far on my journey.

The ore is a rich iron; the director, a French engineer, named Chatillon, fell ill in the autumn, and on his way to Constantinople died at Şámsún. Since then the works have been suspended.

30th.—We left Mezirah about ¼ to 5 A.M., and descended the mountain on the side of which it is situated; for a short time we followed the valley, then crossing it, we ascended the mountains on our left, and passed over a rough track strewn with immense boulders; on the summit were springs of water and pastures. We descended from the ridge, and a little way down came to some tents, after a march of 3½ hours from Mezirah. The persons encamped here belonged to the village of Chevli, whither we were going, and they reside here during the summer for the sake of the pasture the mountains afford. From the tents we descended to a narrow valley, having trees and meadows in its bottom with a rill of water, but not any habitations. As we advanced the trees became more abundant, and we finally entered on mountains covered with oak. I observed the usual varieties; that which produces the manna, and that which bears the gall-nut, but none of the timber was large. This wooded region is lofty, and the ascents and descents both frequent and steep. Our descent from thence was gradual, the wood continuing until we approached the village, which we reached in 3½ hours from the tents; but our baggage-horses came up long after us. The distance from Mezirah I considered about 20 miles E. by compass.

Chevli is the residence of the Beg of Jabákjúr, or Chibáķchúr, a district belonging to the Páshálik of Diyár-Bekr, which city was said to be 24 hours distant. The Murád Chái was 2 hours off to the S., and is fordable in summer at particular places. The road to it from hence is good, leading down the valley; but after crossing the stream the route to Khiní passes over very difficult and steep mountains, a continuation of the range of

Músh. Chevli is situated in a narrow ravine, evidently formed by water, and on the banks of a small stream. The village contains 150 families; half are Kurds and half Armenians; their general appearance did not give the idea of prosperity. I received a visit from the Beg, who was not a very intelligent person. He commands sixty villages, mostly small, many being inhabited by not more than from five to ten families. He said they had been always oppressed by more powerful neighbours, such as the Páshá of Músh and the Beg of Khijí, both of whom had often plundered them. He could only collect in his beglik about 100 horsemen and 1000 footmen armed with rifles. When attacked by a superior force, they fled to the mountains, taking with them all the property they could carry away, leaving the rest at the mercy of the assailants. They had been deprived of their best mares, and did not now possess any fine horses. This state of insecurity no longer exists, but the effects which have resulted will continue to be felt to a distant period. The people pay as Sáliyáneh 20/. to 30/. five times a-year, and as usual, complained of heavy taxation. The Armenian portion of the population are the principal cultivators of the soil. Barley and grain enough are not raised for the consumption of the inhabitants: hay and firewood, however, are obtained in abundance from the neighbouring mountains. Upwards of 1000 head of cattle are owned by the villagers collectively, consisting of cows, oxen, buffaloes, sheep, and goats. The poorest class gather gum tragacanth in the mountains, which, as well as the wool of the goats, petty traders from Diyár-Bekr and Pálú come hither to purchase. The oaks in the neighbouring mountains usually yield a crop of manna once in three years. It was expected this season, but, although the weather had been favourable, no manna had been found.

I went down to the river's side to bathe, and left my watch on the bank. As soon as I discovered the loss, 3 hours after, I informed the Tátár Aghá, who applied to the Beg. A child confessed to have picked it up, and an elder person had taken it from him. A promise was given that it should be restored, but an hour elapsed, and no watch was brought. The Tátár Aghá returned to the Beg, and threatened that, if the watch were not forthcoming immediately, he would bind him hand and foot, and send him by a khaváşş to Háfiz Páshá. This threat had the desired effect, and in five minute the watch was produced. The incident shows how much the authority of the Páshá is respected, even in this wild part of the country, where neither he nor his troops have yet appeared.

1st August.-The day's march being long and very mountainous, our heavy baggage was despatched at midnight, and we followed at 5 A.M. We descended the ravine to the plain, at the opening of which the stream of the village is joined by a more considerable one coming from the mountains we had traversed before reaching Chevli. The plain was very stony, and a good portion was covered with low underwood. After crossing it we entered among the mountains, and in our course passed through a pretty valley, with wood and rich meadows, and a river which runs into the Murád Chái. The stream came from the N.E., and is called the Gúnluk-Şú, from the name of the district in which it rises. From this valley we made a long ascent to the village of 'Ashághah, or

Lower Pakengog. The distance I estimated 11 miles, which occupied us $3\frac{3}{4}$ hours, on a general compass bearing of E. by N. Our baggage took another road, which, though more circuitous, was less mountainous, as it wound through the valleys. The situation of the village was beautiful. On all sides were mountains clothed with oaks; and to the S. was seen a loftier range, which, as it was said always to retain some snow throughout the summer, could not be less than 10,000 feet in height. The village contains fifty or sixty Kurd families. Seated on a green sward close by a cool spring, and surrounded by trees, we were served a most excellent breakfast.

From this place we kept gradually ascending, and in about 2 hours reached Yókáreh, or Upper Pakengog, distant from the lower between 5 and 6 miles. Our barometer here showed an elevation of 5204 feet. We found our tents pitched under some walnut-trees remarkable for their size; and many others of equal dimensions, scattered about the picturesque glen in which the village lay, added to the beauty of the scene. The inhabitants were absent at their summer pastures, but our Kurd escort brought some of them down, and after a little difficulty we procured the necessary supplies. These people are wild, and under very little control. When the Tátár arrived who was sent forward to order some preparation to be made, a savage-looking grey-bearded Kurd refused to supply anything, and, on receiving probably some abuse, said he would collect the villagers and shoot us all like pigs. This insolence was represented to the Tátár Aghá, who ordered the fellow to be bound, and threatened to send him to Háfiz Páshá. The man denied what had been attributed to him; and, after he had been thus detained for two or three hours, intercession was made for him, and he was released on a promise of more civil behaviour to travellers in future. About a month previously, the Beg of the lower village attacked the inhabitants of the upper, and obliged them to pay him about 75*l.* as a ransom, besides having slaughtered some cattle to feast his people, and having carried away many more. The chief of the village requested the Tátár Aghá to allow his son to accompany him to Háfiz Páshá, to represent the conduct of the Beg of the lower village. The two villages are perpetually at war, and the upper being the least populous suffers proportionably.

When at Chevli, in walking through the village, I happened to stop before the house of the Kádí to look at a mare standing there. He soon after sent to say that, if she pleased me, he would make her a present to me, which I declined. The Imám of this village represented to the Tátár Aghá that the Kádí had taken the mare from him, besides a gun and a sabre, because he had killed an Armenian ten years before. The Tátár Aghá promised on his return to oblige the Kádí to restore the property. These facts will give some idea of the unsettled state of this part of the country, and of the singular and loose way in which justice is administered.

*2nd.-*We quitted the village before 5 A.M., and immediately, by a rough road, commenced ascending, in a general S.E. direction, a mountain-range covered with small oak. In $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour we reached the summit, and rode on it for about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour more. I observed there a great deal of obsidian, mostly in very large pieces, and the

earth was a deep red colour. Our descent was for a long time through a wood: emerging from this, we continued down the slope of the mountain, which was stony, until we came to the Tákhtah Kôprî-Şú, or river of the wooden bridge. It flows from the northward, and falls into the Murád Chái about 3 hours below the place where we forded it. The stream runs in a ravine with steep rocky sides, and its banks are covered with trees. The current was rapid, the water girth-deep, and in breadth it might be 30 yards. After leaving the river the ground was of the same nature as in approaching it, but in the plain below the soil was rich and well cultivated. We saw two small villages, but did not approach them; and at the termination of the plain we came to Boghlán. We had been 4½ hours from Pakengog, and I estimated the distance about 12 miles. To the left of our road, among the low mountains bordering the plain, I observed a peak which appeared in form like the crater of an extinct volcano. It was lower than the mountain on which I saw so much obsidian, and several miles distant from it.

The village of Boghlán, governed by a Musellim, contains sixty Kurd families. The Musellim provided a good breakfast; and his two sons, handsome Kurd youths, attended on us. We took it in a chamber contiguous to a mosque, in which was a small reservoir of cool water supplied from a neighbouring spring. From Boghlán I was accompanied by a son of the Musellim. We ascended through a valley, passed a small village, and soon after reached the crest of the range, from whence we obtained an extensive view of the plain of Mush, and the Murád winding through it. After a ride of rather more than 2 hours we arrived at the monastery of Chángeri.

This monastery is frequented by numbers of Armenian pilgrims. It is dedicated to St. John the Baptist, called in Armenian Surp Karabed, part of whose body is said to be contained in a case placed on an altar in the church. It owes its high reputation for sanctity to the possession of this relic, which is believed to possess the power of effecting miraculous cures. The church is ancient, and is said to have been built A.D. 304. It is a massive stone structure, without any pretension to architectural beauty, and very gloomy on account of the smallness of the windows. Around the spacious court, in the centre of which the church stands isolated, are numerous rooms and stables, as well for the accommodation of the inmates as of pilgrims. The walls enclosing the buildings are lofty, solidly built, and well calculated to protect the convent against the attack of an enemy. During the Russian war the monastery was taken possession of by Kurds, who remained in it for several months. They plundered the treasures of the church, and burnt or threw into the water all the books and manuscripts. After the treaty of Adrianople, a fermán was issued by the Sultán ordering the restitution of the stolen property, but most of it had been destroyed, and very little was ever recovered. Several bishops reside here: they appeared people of uncouth manners and no learning, and complain that the pilgrims are much less numerous than formerly. The monastery owns two villages: the revenue derived from them must, however, be small; and its chief dependence is on the contributions of devout visitors. I everywhere heard persons speak of the great sanctity of the place, and the merit of performing a pilgrimage thither;

and I was therefore surprised to hear the complaints of the priests as to the diminished number of the devotees.

I had heard such exaggerated accounts of the richness of the monastery, the number of rooms devoted to the use of visitors, and the handsome treatment they received from the priests, that my disappointment was great at finding that I could not obtain a decent room to lodge in. I was shown the best, but all were dilapidated and filthy; and I preferred taking up a station on a small terrace shaded by trees, in the neighbourhood of a cool spring: it was outside the monastery, on the slope of a hill. Parts of the building were undergoing repair, and a great number of masons were employed: the work was done in a very substantial way, in cut stone. Females do not appear to be excluded from this monastic retreat, for I saw several within its precincts. An annual fair is held here on St. John's day, and is frequented by people of every religion, sect and nation, to be found in the surrounding country. This year a quarrel arose between a Kurd and a Christian: blows were exchanged, weapons drawn, and theft attempted; but on the occurrence of the dispute the people conveyed their goods within the walls of the monastery, and although there was much alarm and confusion, very little property was lost. The progress of the fair was, however, interrupted; and Khúrshíd Beg, Emín Páshá's brother, came to restore harmony between the Kurds and the inhabitants of the monastery. The Armenian who owned our hired horses had, through imprudence, a relapse of his Kharput fever: he tried (with faith, I believe) the efficacy of St. John's body, but he did not experience any salutary effect, and was forced again to apply to the more certain remedies of Dr. Dickson. Our cook was so devoutly disposed and so earnest in his devotions, that it was with difficulty he could be withdrawn from the church to prepare our dinner.

The keepers of our horses took them to graze at a village belonging to the monastery, and allowed them to stray into a field of clover which had been cut and carried. While the men were lying down to rest they were attacked by the villagers, and two of them were seriously injured by blows from heavy clubs. The Tatar Aghá having already gone forward to Músh to announce my approach to the Páshá, I sent another Tatar to seize the villagers, but the offenders had escaped. I applied to the head of the convent, who produced two innocent men, declaring that the culprits had fled to the mountains. I insisted that they should be found by the next morning, or I would take him with me to Emín Páshá.

3rd.-Only one man was this morning brought forward, and the sufferers said that, although present, he did not actually strike them. Finding the priests unwilling to give up the delinquents, on mounting I obliged the chief of the convent to accompany me. After ½ an hour's ride he promised, if he were permitted to return, to send the guilty persons to Músh within two days. I without hesitation consented to his proposal, but the promise was not kept. In 2 hours we reached Ziyáret (Place of Pilgrimage), situated in the plain, a short distance from the foot of the mountains. The village is inhabited by forty Armenians, and gives quarters to twenty Kurd families in winter. After quitting Ziyáret we

directed our course to the Murád, about 3 miles distant, and forded it where it is divided into two channels: the first was only knee-deep, the second reached to the horses' shoulders. A little earlier in the season it could not have been fordable. Where the two channels were united the river was 100 or 120 yards wide: the water was muddy and the current slow. Almost immediately after crossing we came to the village of Shekirán, containing about sixty Armenian, and affording *ķishláķ* to between twenty and thirty Kurd families. On our road after we crossed the stream which runs by *ķizil Agháj*, we passed close under the village of Pakengog: both of which were before noticed on the road to *Kharpút*.

Before reaching Chevermeh, our old encamping station, I was met by a man sent from Emín Páshá to offer the house of *Khúrshíd Beg* for my accommodation. I declined it, however, preferring our tents; and signified my intention of encamping at *Arishbán*, the village nearest to the Páshá's *Serái*. We reached this after an extremely hot ride of 4 hours from *Ziyáret*, from whence I estimated the distance full 12 miles, as the road was good, and we left our baggage far behind. I dismounted at the house of *Maħmúd Beg*, the chief of the village, who is a relation of Emín Páshá. While waiting the arrival of our tents and baggage, an excellent breakfast was served. *Maħmúd Beg* had that morning arrived from *Bitlís* with *Sheríf Beg*, who had been sent for by Emín Páshá, and *Murád Beg* was hourly expected from *Khinís*. The brothers were assembling to consult on the new position Emín Páshá found himself placed in by the transfer of his *Páshálik* to *Ĥáfiz Páshá*; and also to collect their resources in order to make such presents to their new superior as would secure to Emín Páshá his re-appointment. Soon after my arrival the *Tátár Aghá* came, accompanied by the *Khaváşş Báshí* of Emín Páshá, sent to welcome me. The former insisted, on the part of *Ĥáfiz Páshá*, on *Mahmúd Beg's* showing me every possible attention.

Two hours after our arrival the baggage came up, and our tents were pitched near the village: we found the weather unpleasantly sultry during the day; the nights were however agreeably cool, but we were tormented by mosquitoes.

I interchanged visits with Emín Páshá, who received me with great cordiality. *Sheríf Beg* also paid me a visit, and insisted on my taking up my quarters at his residence at *Bitlís*, whither he expected to arrive as soon as I should, for he intended to return home as soon as Emín Páshá should have set out for *Ĥáfiz Páshá's* headquarters, and he would make the journey in less time than I should.

7th.-We this day quitted *Arishbán* for *Bitlís*: immediately after mounting we were joined by a person belonging to *Sheríf Beg*, who acted as *Mihmándár*, but we soon discovered the change and felt regret at being deprived of the services of the *Tátár Aghá*. We took an easterly course along the southern edge of the plain of *Músh*. In 3 hours we came to a halt at the village of *Kháşş-kõĩ*. We made this short march in order to divide the distance in such a way as to reach *Bitlís* early the third day. The road from *Arishbán* was over a dead flat, and the distance between 9 and 10 miles on a bearing of S.E. by E. Near the foot of the mountains the soil is gravelly, but it improves as you

approach the river in the lower parts of the plain. I observed several fields of unripe grain, notwithstanding the summer had been dry and hot. The village contains 150 Armenian, and gives Էշլակ to forty Kurd families; there was a very large stock of hay collected for their use. It is curious to see the immense ricks which are usually placed on the flat roofs of the houses, and give the first notice of one's approach to a village. The hay is twisted into bands, and made up into large bundles, which are neatly stacked in the form of a truncated pyramid, without thatch. The peasants complained that the Էշլակ kept them in a state of poverty; but, were it not for this heavy imposition, they would be very comfortable. Last year they had to pay about 80/. to provide fodder for the cattle of the Kurds, the stock laid in having been expended from the unusual duration of the winter. Two brothers of the Kyayá of the village were killed by some of their guests in a dispute. The murderers were taken to Erz-Rúm, and the Ser-'asker would have executed them, but the surviving brother dared not to appear against them lest he should himself be murdered for having demanded their blood. The house of the Beg was the only one in the village which had two stories; its external appearance however did not promise much comfort within. The Beg had gone to Músh to attend on Emín Páshá, to whom he is related, and his son came in his stead to pay his respects.

Three hours distant, across the mountains, which here border this plain on the south side, is situated an extensive plain which belongs to the Beg of Kharzán, but he resides about 26 hours beyond. Before the late defeat of the Kharzánlís by Háfiz Páshá, the Beg's son said that I could not, without danger, have encamped on the spot where I was, but must have availed myself of the protection of a house, as the Kurds of Kharzán were constantly crossing over the mountains to plunder and carry off cattle at night. The slaughter among the Kharzán Kurds he represented as very great. Two-thirds of the population are Armenian, but they did not take part in the contest. The Kharzánlís were divided among themselves. The Beg and his party sided with the Páshá, and the inhabitants only of the more mountainous districts resisted him: had the whole population been united my informant thought the attack would have failed.

We were encamped close by a place where the grain was collecting previous to its being trodden out; and 'arabahs, or carts, drawn chiefly by buffaloes, were constantly arriving loaded with it. I observed that the wheels of some of these turned on the axle, whereas in general the axle is firmly fixed on the wheel, and revolves with it. I thought I had discovered an unusual degree of intelligence in these peasants, and I remarked the difference of the carts to a farmer; he replied that those which I considered superior were cheap, only used by the poorer peasants, and that they did not last above two or three years. The others could be used for twenty, by merely changing the axles. The wheels of the latter were strengthened with iron, and had iron tires, and cost about 5/. a pair. I called his attention to the easy draught of the cheaper carts, of which he seemed quite aware, and I pointed out how they might be improved by strengthening the axles with iron, and making iron boxes to the wheels, but the man said they had no smiths among them. The good wheels are brought ready made from Erz-Rúm, and fixed to the

carts, which are constructed on the spot. The common carts are also made here; and I think the man said they cost about 15s.: nothing but wood is used in them, not even an iron nail.

I here saw the person who was collecting the Kharáj, or poll-tax; and he told me the entire amount for the whole Páshálik was 460 purses, 2300/. I cannot judge from this of the exact number of the Rayáh population; there are various grades, each paying a different sum, and I do not know how many there may be of each class, but at a guess I should estimate the male Rayáh population 12,000 above 14 years, below which age Kharáj is not exacted. The number of children is very remarkable throughout the country; scarcely had we arrived in a village before they were seen issuing in swarms from their underground habitations; and most of them were either naked or only half-clothed with rags: in this village I think there were more than usual. If bad food, scanty clothing, a severe climate, and epidemic disease, added to the total deprivation of medical aid, did not cause a more than ordinary mortality among the children, the population ought to increase at a rapid rate.

8th.- We started by moonlight to avoid the heat of the day: in 1h. 20m. we reached the village of Irishdíř, and then crossed the Kárá Şú, which was knee-deep and 15 yards wide. A quarter of an hour beyond it, we passed Ahkevank, and forded a small stream which falls into the Kárá Şú, to which we came again in another half-hour; and, riding along its banks, soon after passed Nokh. In ½ an hour more we reached Marnik, also close to the river: all these villages are Armenian, and, except Nokh, large; the distance from Kháşş-kõĩ to Marnik I estimated about 9 miles. Leaving Marnik, after a short time we crossed a spur, thrown out from the main range, extending far into the plain: we afterwards came down upon a pretty extensive marsh, the waters of which flow into the Kárá Şú, but the river itself only skirts the marsh: we rounded this, and rode across a flat with meadows, corn-fields, and melon-grounds, when we again forded the Kárá Şú, and entered the village of Mushákshír, which is inhabited by fifty Armenian families, and is the property of Sherif Beg of Bitlís. The distance from Marnik I estimated at 6 miles, on a bearing of S.E. by E. by compass. We encamped to the eastward of the village near a threshing-floor, in a very hot and exposed situation, which we chose on account of its distance from the water, to avoid mosquitoes. Opposite us was the range of the Nimrúd Tágħ, and more southward, on the other side of a marshy plain, the Kurd village of Núrshín.

The Nimrúd range runs nearly N. and S., but at its southern extremity is terminated by a cross range, called the Kerkú Tágħ, running E. and W. The sides of the latter are green with underwood; its summit is flat, and resembles the truncated cone of an extinct volcano. The road ran through a hollow between the Kerkú Tágħ and the chain of mountains which borders the plain of Músh on its southern side, and which continues in an easterly direction along the lake of Van.

9th.- We left Mushákshír early in the morning, and went round the marshy plain intervening between that village and Núrshín; in about ½ an hour we crossed for the last

time the *Ḳarâ Şû*, here coming from the N., and skirting the base of the *Nimrúd* range, the ravines and valleys of which it drains. In an hour more we were opposite to *Núrshín*, but did not approach it nearer than a mile. It is inhabited by Kurds, and covers an extensive site, the houses being dispersed among gardens and fields. Its appearance from a distance is more cheerful and pretty than most of the villages in this part of the country. From thence we ascended a gentle slope between the two ranges of mountains, and passed a small village with a ruined *khán* near it, called *Káfir Borg*, or *Borj* (Infidel's Tower), and inhabited by *Moḥammedans*. Some *Yezídí* Kurds here overtook us; they came from their tents on the *Nimrúd Tágħ*, and were going to *Bitlís*. One among them, who spoke a little Turkish, said they were not *Moḥammedans*, and drank brandy, and from this circumstance he appeared to claim fellowship with Christians. It is a very usual opinion among *Moḥammedans* to consider the great privilege conferred by Christianity to be a liberty to indulge in intoxicating liquors, and I have often heard Turks express surprise that we used them with so much moderation. At about 2 hours from *Núrshín*, when opposite to the eastern extremity of the *Kerkú* range, we turned to the S. down a narrow valley, which by a gradual descent led us to *Bitlís*. To the point where we made the turn our course had been E. On either side were lofty mountains, and a stream flowed in a ravine with perpendicular rocky sides (apparently basalt) cut in the bottom of the valley. In two places the water fell over ledges of rock which ran across the ravine, but the volume of the stream was now too small to give any grandeur to these cascades.

In the course of our descent to *Bitlís* we met several large *kháns* of a very solid construction, but in a ruined state, and so near each other, that I was at a loss to imagine the reason, until I learned that in winter in this pass the wind often rushes through the valleys with fearful violence, and, when accompanied by snow, endangers the lives of persons on the road, for advance or retreat are then equally impracticable. The *kháns* were built to afford refuge to caravans or travellers caught in these storms, and the peasantry were bound to resort thither on the approach of bad weather, to be at hand as well to give assistance as to furnish supplies during the detention of persons, and to open a way through the snow-drifts for their release. The ruin and neglect of such useful buildings and customs, is a proof of the decay of trade and of the indifference of the local governors to the welfare of the people. The rock in the valley through which the road passes was nearly as soft and light as pumice, and the horses had worn in it deep channels; it was evidently of volcanic origin. We were 2h. 20m. from the turn in the road to *Bitlís*, and I estimated the whole distance from *Mushákshír* at 15 to 16 miles. Our Kurd guide went forward to announce our approach, and before entering the town, I was met by the *Şarráf* of *Sherif Beg*, who conducted us to the *Beg's Serái*.

The valley of *Bitlís* runs nearly N. and S. One ravine branches from it to the W., another to the N.W., and a third to the E.; at their common point of junction with the main valley, the town is situated at an altitude of 5156 feet above the sea. In the centre

of the space it occupies, rises an abrupt rock, on the summit of which are the ruins of a castle, the residence of the former Begs of Bitlís: at its eastern base lie the bázárs, while the streets lining the banks of the streams which flow through the valley and ravines, and extending up them, give an irregular form to the town, which covers a considerable area, on account of the gardens interspersed among the houses in the ravines. Bare limestone mountains rise on every side to a very considerable elevation, perhaps nearly 2000 feet above the valley, and the bottom of the ravines and valley are filled with gardens and orchards irrigated by numerous streams and springs. This antique-looking city, placed in so remarkable a situation, the severe character and great height of the mountains, and the cheerful vegetation of the valleys, viewed from the residence of Sheríf Beg, combine to form a prospect as singular as it is interesting.

The castle-rock rises perpendicularly from about 50 to 60 feet, and the walls 30 feet above the summit, which they completely encircle; they are solidly built and loopholed, and before the use of cannon, the place might have been considered impregnable. The only access to the castle is by a narrow and steep passage, defended by several strong gates. Within the external wall the whole is a mass of ruins, and the plan of the residence can scarce be traced: it is untenanted except by one or two poor families, who have sought shelter in some outhouses which have escaped the general wreck.

The bázárs are extensive and apparently well stocked; they are entirely terraced over, and the roof is used as a highway for foot passengers. The road through them runs between the shops, and is narrow, scarcely permitting more than the passage of two persons abreast, and, from the crowd which thronged the bázárs, it was difficult to make one's way through them; they are very obscure, the light being admitted only by means of perforations made for the purpose at intervals in the roof. Two good kháns afford accommodation to wholesale traders: the streams are crossed by single-arched bridges, which are sufficiently numerous to afford a ready passage from one part of the town to another.

The population consists of 2000 Moḥammedan and 1000 Armenian families. There are three mosques with minarets, and about twelve tekíyehs or convents, belonging to the Howling Dervíshes, of which sect this city would appear to be the principal seat.

The houses are all flat-roofed, and every building in Bitlís is of stone; the material used is a volcanic rock, which from its soft texture is easily worked. The blocks are squared and are cemented with mud; a few only of the houses have the joining of the stones pointed with lime.

The Begs of Bitlís were always powerful enough to preserve their independence until they were subdued by the father of Emín Páshá, since which time, the Beglik has been attached to the Páshálik of Músh. Eighty villages were said to be under the command of Sheríf Beg, and his territory forms therefore about one-third of the whole Páshálik. During their independence the Begs struck a small copper coin which is still

current at Bitlís.

The place is certainly of high antiquity, but I could not obtain any precise information as to its history or founder. An Armenian, who was reputed to be learned in the annals of his country, was introduced to me; he said he had read the history of Bitlis, but could only remember that its ancient name was Salamsur, and that of its founder Iskender, a Pagan king.

The residence of Sheríf Beg is situated on a short spur thrown out towards the S. from the mountains, and running half way across the mouth of the eastern ravine. The level summit of the spur is occupied by the building, from the walls of which the ground slopes abruptly: on the W. it overhangs the town, on the E. the ravine which unites with the main valley under the southern termination of the spur. This elevated position, upwards of 300 feet above the valley, ensures a cool breeze in summer, when the town below is oppressed with heat.

This palace was erected by Sheríf Beg, and has been finished about two years: it is a rude and extensive building. In the centre is a quadrangular court, with a copious fountain of fine water, placed on the side facing the entrance: three sides are devoted to the use of the male portion of the Beg's establishment, and his own sitting and receiving rooms; the fourth to the harem. The ground floor contains the stabling and storehouses. In that above are the rooms, which are all entered from an open gallery overlooking the court. The windows are on the outer walls of the building, and command extensive views. In the centre of the rooms are bare flag-stones, and on either side is a raised sort of bench, on which are placed felts with cushions. A sitting-room, with another within, usually occupied as the receiving-rooms of the Beg, were allotted to our party. Soon after our arrival we were served with a good breakfast, at which the Beg's son, a child of four or five years of age, attended by an Armenian, gravely seated himself and played his part. The Beg himself had not yet arrived from Músh; his Kyayá was absent, and the attendants and hangers-on were few; so that none of the bustle usually found in a Kurd Beg's residence was now perceptible.

The heat of the sun was disagreeable when it beat on the side of the house we inhabited, and the flies were numerous and troublesome; but in the shade the air was cool. The nights were brilliant, the atmosphere remarkably clear, the temperature agreeably cool; and when the sun set it was a pleasure to mount upon the terrace where we always slept. The heat is not oppressive except in situations inaccessible to the breeze which usually blows down the valley. In winter the snow falls or drifts into the valleys to so great a depth that the communication with other places is always difficult, and often interrupted.

I was told that the Beg never took his horses out of the stable for four months together. Common fruits and vegetables are in great abundance; but none indicating a hot climate are found at Bitlís itself. Though but little grain is produced in the valley of Bitlís, yet the neighbouring districts yield a superabundance, and the price is very moderate: indeed all the necessaries of life are cheap.

On the evening of Friday, a little before sunset, several parties of the Dervíshes in different quarters began to howl to the beating of drums; their tone at first was extremely loud, but after a time it became fainter, until it ended in a low moan, like that of a person quite exhausted. I think the whole time these fanatics were howling must have been full two hours. Every sound was distinctly heard, though the Tekíyehs were distant; and the wild discordant cries and monotonous beat of the drum were far from agreeable.

The second day after my arrival at Bitlís, Sheríf Beg returned. He had quitted Músh the evening before: travelling by night, he got to Núrshín in the morning; in the afternoon resumed his journey, and reached his home a little before sunset.

We had dined before the Beg arrived: his first visit was to our apartments; he chatted while a repast was preparing; after having partaken of which we repaired together to the terrace to enjoy the cool of the evening.

The next evening we conversed again with the Beg on the terrace. The following morning departed early: he came out of his harem to take leave, and I drank coffee with him. I was treated very hospitably by Sheríf Beg; every want was supplied; and I had some difficulty in persuading him to accept a present of small value. I promised, however, to send him a pair of English pistols and some fine powder on my return to Erẓ-Rúm, a present which I knew was quite irresistible.

In point of trade Bitlís is the most important among the places I visited, yet still its commercial transactions are far from extensive. The consumption of foreign articles is small in quantity and limited in variety. No coffee but that of Mokhá is used, which is brought from Baghdád. A small quantity of East India indigo is required for a dyeing establishment, which is generally supplied through Erẓ-Rúm or through Persia.

Unbleached British calicoes are sold to a moderate extent, and our shawls to a less: besides these some woollen cloths, printed calicoes, and gay-coloured silks and satins, are purchased, and a small quantity of refined sugar. I believe the above-enumerated articles will comprise the whole list of foreign goods. The principal consumption is in the manufactures of Damascus, Aleppo, and Diyár-Bekr, and coarse cotton cloths manufactured here largely, and imported also from different parts of the country, for the purpose of being died red. This place is celebrated for the brightness of the colour produced; and the cloths thus died are exported to distant parts of the country, as well as to Georgia. A few European calicoes are likewise died; but the great bulk are native. The manufacture of short heavy calicoes is very extensive throughout the whole country. The cotton used is mostly grown in the districts of Shírván to the S., and Kharzán to the W.; but it is imported likewise from Khói.

Although the raw cotton is as dear as in England, and although the yarn is spun by hand, and woven by the most ordinary process, yet the calico is sold cheap; and I doubt whether the British manufacture could be made to compete with it, on account of the low quality, the great weight of cotton used in the latter, and the great expense of a long land-carriage on an article so bulky and at the same time of so little comparative value. The production of calicoes amounts to several hundred thousand pieces; but a tolerably

exact account cannot possibly be obtained. The madder used in dyeing the red colour is produced in Shírván. Galls are brought to Bitlís for sale from the Kurdistan mountains to the eastward and southward. A considerable quantity of gum tragacanth may be collected on the mountains. There are two plants;⁶ one with a white and the other with a pink flower. The former yields a white gum, which is exported to Europe; the latter, a brown kind, of very inferior quality, which is used entirely in Turkey.

The gum is collected by persons who traverse the mountains for the purpose: they clear away the earth from the roots of the plants, and make incisions in them, from which the juice exudes, and in a day or two hardens, when the people return to gather it. The occupation affords but a trifling remuneration under ordinary circumstances, and few people follow it, except such as can do nothing else, as old men, women, and children; but when the demand is great, and the price unusually high, other labourers take to the pursuit, and then an immense quantity is collected, for the plant is most abundant on all the mountains.

13th.-On quitting Bitlís we took a northerly direction, and ascended the valley by which we arrived. As we emerged from it into a plain, we reached Rashwák Khán, sometimes called Alemání Khán, from a village of that name near at hand. The khán is in a ruined state and unoccupied; but the remains show that it has been a magnificent building of the kind. It is very spacious, and of solid structure, but through neglect its vaulted roofs have fallen in, and rubbish encumbers the chambers and passages.

As we proceeded along the plain we had on our left the Kerkú T́agh (the cross termination of the Nimrúd T́agh), and on our right a continuation of the range of mountains which bounds the southern side of the plain of Músh. Although cut by the valley of Bitlís, the range continues in its original easterly direction, skirting the shore of the lake of Van. Before descending to Tadván we came to a hollow way, in which a long line of isolated rocks, called the Camels of Tadván, protrude above the soil. I had been informed at Bitlís that they resembled exactly a string of those animals; but they proved only misshapen rocks, as unlike camels as any other living thing; and a superstitious belief in the silly tradition with which they are connected, could alone make any one perceive the similitude. The fact is, the parts of the rock which have connected these fragments have yielded to the action of the atmosphere, which the fragments themselves have resisted, although they are a soft lava, such as is found in descending the valley of Bitlís. In a ¼ of an hour we reached the village of Tadván, which is situated near the lake, and is inhabited by forty Armenian families. Close by the village a promontory juts out into the water, on which are the remains of a small fort. The distance from Bitlís to Tadván is about 10 miles, on a bearing a little E. of N. I found the water of the lake quite salt: the beach was sand and shingle; and I could not help fancying myself on the sea-shore. A great deal of pumice was visible; the pieces were very small in general, and rounded, so that they appeared like cork balls. I found likewise some obsidian on the shore.

⁶ Astragatus Tragacantha.-F.S.

Our baggage not arriving, I sent some horsemen to discover what had become of it, and they returned with the information that it had gone forward; we therefore found ourselves obliged to follow it, and at 3 P.M. remounted. We passed round the bay of Tadván, and at the head, saw the village of Ortál, situated about a mile from the shore. After quitting the lake we crossed a ridge of the mountains, and descended into the Gúzel Dereh (beautiful valley), a name it well deserves. Picturesque mountains, magnificent trees, a luxuriant vegetation, and clear rills of water, here combine to form as enchanting a scene as an admirer of nature could wish to see.

On the shores of the lake the village of Elmálí (apple ville) is placed; but, leaving that at some distance on our left, we ascended the valley, and passed the village of Kurd Khán, hid among the trees, and, after rising above the wood, the village of Sarách, close under the main range of Arjerósh Tággh. We then crossed a ridge and crune to a plain with several villages, around which were fine walnut-trees. We stopped at Avatak, which appeared the largest village on the plain, and learned that the conductors of our baggage had taken from thence a guide, and had proceeded onwards. Although the night was fast approaching, and we and our horses were fatigued with our double march, we had no remedy but to proceed. We went down to the lake, and afterwards continued along a rocky road, hanging over the water, sometimes high above the lake, at others near its margin. On the way we met the guide returning who had conducted the baggage, and we took him with us in order that we might be certain of not missing it. About 9 P.M. we reached the village where the muleteers had stopped, named Garzit. It was too late to prepare a supper; and after a cup of tea we lay down to rest without troubling ourselves with pitching tents. The muleteers said that at every village the people told them that we were in advance, and had left word that they should follow.

This deception was practised to prevent our quartering ourselves on them, as they did not feel certain they should receive payment for what they would be obliged to supply. Our people had continued their march until it was dark and their horses knocked up; and they believed we were before them. The distance from Tadván was about 18 or 20 miles. The direct distance from Bitlís by the road which the loaded horses had taken was called 10 hours. After the long ride of the previous day I should have been glad to have given ourselves and animals a rest; but the village was a miserable one, very filthy, and there seemed to be a sad want of necessaries; so we were forced to go on. Garzit contains about ten or twelve Armenian families, and, as well as another small village, called Surp, is situated in a sheltered plain of small extent, surrounded by mountains which recede in a circular form, with the lake in front: the position is very delightful, and it was with regret we found ourselves constrained to proceed.

14th.- On leaving the village we quitted the plain, the road running along the slope of the mountains, which were covered with shrubs and dwarf oak,⁷ and the lake was beneath with its deep blue waters: this part of the road was pretty. We passed a boat loading wood. She was close in-shore, with her stern a-ground, while her head was

⁷ Whence its Armenian name.-F.S.

a float. Soon after this we saw the village of Dedebekeh, near the lake, but at some distance on our left. We, however, did not approach it, but struck inland, ascending the mountains through a ravine which led us over the crest of the range into a narrow valley, which we descended until we reached the plain of Gôl-lí and the village of the same name. It is inhabited by a mixed population of Armenians and Kurds, and contains thirty or forty families. The plain was tolerably well cultivated, and there were some pastures around the village. The lake is about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour's walk distant, but hidden from sight by a low range of intervening hills. The Aghá holds his post under Khán Maḥmúd: he resides in a roughly-constructed though lofty building, without any external windows, and only one entrance: the terrace of the house had a parapet round it, and the walls were loopholed. These indications of security had become needless since Khán Maḥmúd had gained a predominant influence in the country, as he maintains an excellent police. We met here a Khaváşş of the Ser'asker of Erz-Rúm returning thither; he had with him a man belonging to Khán Maḥmúd, who volunteered to return with me, and to act as guide, in which capacity he had served the Khaváşş.

15th.- After crossing the plain of Gôl-lí we ascended the mountains, which were clothed with dwarf oak, and rode along a ridge overlooking the lake from a great height. We saw a line of bold headlands, with bays between, stretching out to the N. E., and lofty mountains rising at their back. We went inland behind them, and, descending into a valley, passed through a village named Narnigas; and we saw another lower down, called Peleú. We ascended again, still with the lofty range on our left, and after accomplishing this ascent we looked down on a narrow valley, having at its head the Armenian village and monastery of Khanjaik. By a steep descent we reached the stream in the valley below the village, and were met there by the head of the monastery, who expressed regret that we had not passed by his residence, as, hearing of a stranger travelling, he had prepared some refreshment. A traveller can seldom afford to turn back; and I could not make up my mind to do so in this instance, as we had still a good portion of our day's journey before us. In our progress along the valley we passed several villages, and a caravan resting on its way from Van to Bitlís. Our course down the valley had been about S.; but where another crossed it we suddenly turned eastward, and reached a plain of some extent running down to the lake. We halted at the village of Norkukh; but, on inquiry, learning that a boat plied between the island of Akhtamar and a village on the shore, we determined to proceed thither with the idea of visiting the Armenian monastery, situated on the island. From Norkukh I sent forward our guide to inform Khán Maḥmúd that I should visit him next day on my road to Van, and I gave the man an introductory letter addressed to the chief by Sherif Beg of Bitlís. We then again mounted, and, crossing the plain, which was marshy as it approached the lake, we came to the shore near the village of Ishkend; but proceeded from thence along the beach to another, called Akavansk, which faced the island of Ahktamar, and was the property of the monastery. We encamped on the beach, with extensive orchards in our rear and the lake in front. The superior was here superintending the

conveyance (to the stores on the island) of the produce of the lands of the monastery, for which purpose a boat of no promising appearance was employed. She came from the island in the morning, and returned in the evening with her cargo, making only one trip in the day; it would have been therefore necessary to pass the night at the convent. The uncertainty and delay which attended the movements of this frail bark, from her clumsy construction and her depending entirely on the wind to effect the passage of between 3 and 4 miles, deterred me from visiting the convent. The bishop came to see me: he spoke no Turkish; and as he was, besides, a dull ignorant man, I could not have expected to derive much information from him, and I felt little regret at giving up my visit. The bishop complained that Khán Maḥmúd extorted a good deal of money from the establishment; but he praised his excellent police and the security enjoyed within the jurisdiction of the rebel chief, previous to whose time he said the country was in a most unsettled state.

Before sunrise next day a messenger arrived from Khán Maḥmúd to request me not to give myself the trouble of coming to see him, as he would be absent on a shooting excursion. Khán Maḥmúd is the son of an independent chief of a district called Mukush, which is situated on the southern side of the Arjerósh mountains. The family possessions had descended to the son of an elder brother; and Khán Maḥmúd and other brothers had acquired for themselves by the sword the possession of upwards of 100 villages, which had belonged to the Páshálik of Ván. They had made frequent incursions over the Persian border for the sake of plunder; and by these, and the revenues derived from their villages, they had managed to amass a considerable treasure, which enabled them to attach to their interest a numerous body of desperate followers, aided by whom and their own bravery, they had defied the power of the Páshás of Ván and the vengeance of the Persian government. Latterly Khán Maḥmúd had thought it prudent to tender his submission to the Ser'asker of Erz-Rúm through Iş-ḥák Páshá of Ván, and had sent thither a brother for the purpose: he had been well received by the Ser'asker, and dismissed with honour, and he was now on his way back.

Khán Maḥmúd never ventured into the town of Ván, although occasionally he had interviews with Iş-ḥák Páshá at the villages near; but at these he was always accompanied by a party of 500 or 600 armed dependents. The brothers possessed many strong places, the chief of which was the castle of Maḥmúdiyeh, where Khán Abdál, the next brother to Khán Maḥmúd, resided. It had been in their possession only a few years. Pashvansk Kál'eh, the residence of Khán Maḥmúd, was situated under the main range of Arjerósh, about an hour distant from Akavansk, where we were encamped, but it was in a valley, and out of sight.

16th.- I here dismissed the man belonging to Sheríf Beg, of Bitlís, and the guide who had accompanied us from Göl-Ií was appointed by his master to continue as our escort to Ván. He preceded us to Vastán, as he said 800 men were assembled there in anticipation of a threatened attack on Khán Maḥmúd by the Beg of Jezírah, and he

wished to inform them who we were, to prevent the possibility of an insult. We left the village of Akavansk, and kept close to the lake: in about an hour we had reached the edge of the plain, bounded by a spur thrown out from the main range, which separated this plain from that of Vastán. Along the ridge of the mountain lay our road: at the further extremity was placed the castle of Vastán in a commanding position: we passed close under it, and then descended into the plain.

The village stands on its edge below the castle. The plain was extensive and pretty; the main range, a continuation of Arjerósh T́agh, but called here Erdosh T́agh, rose precipitously from it, without any branches at its foot: its height was probably 4000 feet above the plain, there being some patches of snow on its summit. Villages surrounded by orchards occupied all the higher parts of the plain along the base of the mountains, and lower down were cultivated fields and pastures. The troops collected by Khán Maḥmúd were quartered in these villages; but we neither saw nor heard anything of them. Near Vastán was a burying-ground, in which was a handsome Moḥammedan tomb built of sandstone; the inscriptions in Arabic characters were quite fresh; in style of architecture it resembles similar buildings found in various parts of Turkey, at Erḻ-Rúm, Kaṯsar, and Akhlát: I presume them to be of the age of the khalifs: none I ever saw were so well executed or in so perfect a state of preservation as this.

A long point running out into the lake forms the Bay of Vastán. This point seems to be the result of the continued depositions from a large river called the Anjel Chái, which rises in the mountains above Maḥmúdíyeh Kaṯ'eh. Beyond the point a sandbank extends a great distance, and it appears probable that the bay will be at some time completely filled up, as it is already very shallow. We continued along the edge of the water till we reached a village, which we passed through, and, crossing over the spit of land, came down upon a small village in the valley in which runs the Anjel Chái. The valley was narrow, the soil a deep alumine; and, although the channel of the stream is in general not more than 15 to 20 yards broad, it appeared deep. We rode along the banks to a ford, in crossing which the water reached to the girths. On the other side was a larger village than the preceding. From thence our road lay over bare limestone hills sloping to the lake. We passed another village, and then came to a small verdant valley in the shape of a theatre: at the head was an aqueduct, supported by a wall in some parts, which carried a stream of water to the city of Ván by an open canal. This useful work is attributed to Shemírám, or Semiramis, the reputed foundress of Ván; in some maps it has been converted into a river under the name of Shemírám Şú. The springs are at the head of the valley. The canal skirts the gardens of Artemid, and serves to irrigate them and to turn some mills on its way to Ván. We passed along the upper edge of a long line of orchards, which border the lake for about a mile before reaching the village of Artemid, which is placed above them, and at their further extremity going towards Ván. The inhabitants were now in their garden-houses, and the village was nearly deserted. We encamped in an orchard on turf, and under the shade of fine large fruit-trees. The quantity of common fruits produced here is considerable, and a great

many apricots dried in the sun are exported from hence. We were 7½ hours from Akavansk to Artemid, but, having made a good many stoppages to take bearings. I did not estimate the distance at more than 15 miles. I inquired whether there were any inscriptions, but was told that none existed; and there did not appear an edifice of any antiquity. I was told that 'Abdu-r-razzáḵ Beg, the brother of Khán Maḥmúd, was in the village on my arrival; but, on sending to express my wish to see him, I learned that he had already departed. The Khazínáhdar⁸ of Iş-ḥáḵ Páshá paid me a visit: he was going to Ván immediately, and I sent by him my compliments to the Páshá, requesting to be accommodated with a garden to pitch our tents in. The Musellim soon after came to pay his respects: he was a native of the Hekkáríyeh country, but had been resident at Ván for the last sixteen years. He told me Júlámerk was 40 hours from Ván, and S. of it was the Hertóshí district, governed by a chief with the title of Hertóshí Amír Aghá. The capital was named Sháh Ṭágh⁹ 3 days' journey from Júlámerk. The road to the latter place was quite safe.

The Páshá's Khazínáhdar returned in the evening with the compliments of his master to say that the house and garden of his doctor were at my service.

The village of Artemid is populous; but I omitted to record the number of its inhabitants.

16th.-In the morning early the Muhurjī (signet-bearer) of the Páshá came to escort me to Ván, and to compliment me on his part. We descended from Artemid to the shores of the lake, and rode along them. Just before reaching the town, I was met by some mounted officers of the militia and a file of six soldiers, who preceded me to the residence of the Páshá, just outside the walls of the city. He requested me to call in passing his residence on our way to our quarters. Being unprepared for a ceremonious first visit I would fain have excused myself, but I saw it was likely to give offence, so I complied with the request. I was received in an open pavilion, in which was a fountain and a large tank of water outside with two swans in it. After a short visit we proceeded to the garden allotted to us, and took up our residence in a pleasant and airy kiosk (kôshk), pitching a tent for the attendants.

Soon after we were settled in our new abode, Tifúr Beg, son of the Páshá, came to compliment me on the part of his father, and to say that he would call in the afternoon. I requested he would not give himself that trouble, as we were tired with our journey, and as I proposed paying my respects to the Páshá in the morning.

17th.-I went at 10 o'clock, and was received in the open pavilion. The Páshá was polite in his inquiries and offers of service: he is a man of about sixty years of age, a native of Ván, from which his travels had not led him to any distance, never having even been to Constantinople: his manners and behaviour indicated benevolence of character. He inquired as to the relative position of Great Britain and Hindústán, and seemed to

⁸ Treasurer.- F.S.

⁹ King's Mount.- F.S.

think they were contiguous. He asked the extent of our dominions in India, and our military force there and in Great Britain. With regard to his own city he, like others, attributed its foundation to Shemírám. He said the lake at one time extended to the mountains; an assertion unsupported either by fact or tradition. If such even were the case it must have been before the foundation of the city, or Ván could not have existed on its present site, and there is every reason to believe it must always have occupied the position it now does; the report may therefore be regarded as one of those idle tales so common in this country. The Páshá was very curious to know whether any of us could interpret the arrow-headed inscriptions. The residence he occupied was extensive, and was built by his grandfather: it was of sun-dried bricks, but had stood uninjured by half a century. The houses and walls are all built of earth, which is so tenacious that they last fifty or sixty years without repair. The Páshá politely offered us the use of the bath in his town residence. The son of the Páshá, Tifúr Beg, was present, and seated himself at a sign from his father: it is very unusual to see this among eastern nations. While I was with the Pasha, a messenger came to announce the approach of Sultán Aghá, chief of the tribe of Haïderánlí Kurds. I took occasion to ask the Páshá what sort of a person he was, and expressed my intention of visiting him, as I was anxious to see a distinguished Kurd chief in his own camp. The Páshá replied that, as he would return my visit next day, he would bring Sultán Aghá with him, that I might form my own opinion on the subject. On quitting the palace I met Sultán Aghá, just arriving with a suite of attendants.

18th.-The Páshá came, accompanied by Tifúr Beg and Sultán Aghá, both of whom he motioned to be seated in his presence. The Kurd chief said that in taking the road I proposed, I should pass by his tents, where he should be happy to see me. He was a good-looking middle-aged man, and his tribe reputed rich and powerful. He seemed under great restraint before the Páshá, and soon retired with Tifúr Beg to the garden. I made some inquiries of the Páshá respecting Khán Maḥmúd; some of the particulars have already been stated. He had agreed that the Rayahs in the districts commanded by himself and his brothers should pay to the Sultán, Kharáj and the usual taxes which until now had gone into his own exchequer, that the fixed quota of men should be furnished to the regular force and militia. He had a year or two before allowed an agent of the Porte to take a census of the population of his territory. What other concessions the Páshá of Erz-Rúm would demand was not yet determined on, but it was understood that if all were acceded to, Khán Maḥmúd and Khán Abdál would be named Musellims, *i.e.* governors of their respective districts. I mentioned the refusal of Khán Maḥmúd to receive me: the Páshá said he could only account for it by supposing that he wished to avoid suspicion of any connexion with Sheríf Beg, whom he knew Khán Maḥmúd did not esteem highly.

We had a good deal of general conversation, which is principally recorded in what follows respecting Ván.

The great charm and boast of Ván are its gardens, which cover a level area of

about 4 miles, by 7 or 8, situated between the city and the mountains to the eastward. This plain is occupied by vineyards, orchards, melon-grounds, and some fields, and nearly the whole population of the city resides there in summer. The principal roads are lined with houses, and the whole appears like an extensive village. The gardens are all surrounded by mud walls, which interrupt the view, as the ground is a dead flat. Through the main avenues streams run, which are bordered by willows, and even at mid-day one may ride in an agreeable shade.

I visited the Kôjah Básh, or chief of the Armenian community, to see the style of living of that people. He had lately built a new house, and may he supposed, from his station, to live as well as any other Armenian of the superior class. The house was spacious, but very humble in its style as well as in its furniture: both he and his brother lived in it, and each had a family. From an elevated kiosk there was a view extending for a distance over orchards and vineyards. There did not seem to be any want of necessaries about the establishment, but nothing that I saw indicated the least approach to refinement or luxury.

The women reside in their own apartments, where they cook and perform all the menial duties. No servant is kept, except perhaps a man to look after a horse or a mule, and assist his master likewise in his business. This mode of living is not peculiar to the Armenians of Ván, it is usually adopted throughout the country; and it is only at Constantinople that refinement and luxury have made inroads into these primitive and uncivilised manners.

I visited the principal Armenian church: externally it resembled any other house. The body of the edifice was a large flat-roofed apartment, supported by pillars, or trees roughly smoothed with an axe, and lighted by a sort of skylight; it was both dirty and obscure. Attached to it was a newly-built recess, in which was placed the altar, and it was as gaudy as carving, gilding, and glaring colours could make it. Passing through the gardens in their width we reached the edge of the mountains, and on the face of a large limestone rock were shown a long inscription in the cuneiform character. A flat surface had been cut to receive it, which might be from 10 to 12 feet high and about 6 broad, and at the base was a confined landing-place. There was no approach to it in front, but it was reached by climbing over a part of the rock at the side, which had been worn so much that it was extremely difficult to pass without slipping down. The rows of letters are separated by a fine line cut in the rock; the letters themselves are about 2 inches in size, and well formed. The lower part of the inscription has been much defaced by mischievous visitors, and could not, I think, be copied. The upper part appeared as fresh as if lately cut, and was uninjured by the weather. To copy it the aid of a ladder would be required. The rock is a hard, compact limestone.

19th.-A person came on the part of the Páshá to conduct us to the bath: it was small, scarcely heated, and the linen supplied was very scanty. Afterwards a breakfast was provided, and we walked through the Seráï. The summer receiving-room was in a court below - a sort of open saloon, with a fountain in the centre: it was painted gaily,

but was old and dilapidated. The harem, which I had wished to have seen, was not open. The winter receiving-room of the Páshá I entered: it was well furnished in the usual style. The Seráï is extensive, but not kept in order, and resembled the houses of great Turks in general, of which size is the peculiar characteristic rather than neatness or convenience. We walked from thence through the city: the streets are narrow, dirty, and ill paved; the external appearance of the houses in general mean: there was, however, to be seen a residence occasionally which showed that it had once belonged to a man of consequence; but the general aspect of the city indicated decay. The bazars were confined and the shops ill furnished, and I scarcely saw an article of European manufacture: there was, however, an abundance of Venetian glass beads, with which the Kurd females ornament their persons. The supply of fruit was superabundant.

We entered the town by the O'rtah Kapú, or middle gate, and passed out by the Tabríz Kapú, or eastern gate, the nearest to the Páshá's residence outside the town. There is a third gate at the opposite extremity of the city, called Iskeleh Kapúsí, or Wharf Gate - a name given to a village on the shore to the north of the city, where the boats used on the lake load and unload. The city is defended by a double wall and ditch, the inner wall being flanked by irregularly-shaped towers; but the walls would only be an effective defence against cavalry or musketeers.

Between the Tabríz gate and the Páshá's house, judging from the appearance of the ground, there must once have been a suburb. Issuing from the Tabriz gate, we went round the abrupt termination of the rock, to its sloping side at the back of the town, in order to look at an arrow-beaded inscription. Two arched recesses are cut in the rock near each other, both about 10 feet high and 6 feet deep: the sides of one are perfectly plain, but on the left side of the other an inscription has been cut, which resembles that already described, although it is much shorter, and the lower portion has been almost defaced.

20th.-The Páshá had been absent from Ván for two days, to meet Khán Maḥmúd at a neighbouring village, in order to arrange some details respecting his submission. On his return the Páshá sent me an order to visit the castle: we passed at the back of the rock. Beyond the arched recess before mentioned is a shallow cave, in which three square tablets have been cut to receive inscriptions; two were high up beyond the reach of a man, and were in a state of perfect preservation; a third was low down, and was nearly defaced. All were in the same style as that already mentioned. We proceeded to the N.N.W. end of the rock, where is the only entrance to the castle. A part of the wall here is very ancient; the stones are immense blocks worked, but irregular in shape, and they are fitted to each other like the stones in a Cyclopean wall. This is very probably part of the fortress which Tímúr, on capturing Ván, found so much difficulty in destroying, and its solidity makes the conjecture plausible. The first gateway had neither gate nor guard. Passing through it, we mounted by a steep ascent; and some way up, came to a gate where a guard was stationed, before passing which, the order for

admission was examined; thence, accompanied by a file of soldiers, we proceeded to the opposite or E.S.E. end of the rock. Here we dismounted, to descend a little way to examine the caves, the great objects of curiosity. The first is a natural cavern in the face of the rock towards the town, about 25 feet by 18: its walls have been flattened, but the roof remains in its primitive state. The external front of the cave has been smoothed, and the door cut in a regular shape. Within the cavern, on the side opposite the entrance, are two small chambers, and one on each side right and left. The doorways are regular, and appear at one time to have been built up. In one of the chambers a brick wall had been built all round, about 6 feet from the floor, and thence an arch was thrown over. This was opened by Temir Páshá, in the hope of finding a treasure; but I was informed that nothing was discovered but the rubbish lying in a heap in the cavern.

I obtained a light and examined all the chambers, but could not discover either letters or paintings on the walls. Among the rubbish I found some fragments of coarse pottery, attached to which was a woollen stuff, mixed with something like bitumen. In one of the small chambers were bones, among which Dr. Dickson discovered some of a boy and of a woman. The second cave was less artificially worked, both inside and out; and there were but two inner chambers: in the floor of one was an excavation, which from its size and shape was doubtless intended for the reception of a corpse. The examination of the caves left me in no doubt of their having been used as sepulchres. After viewing them we mounted to the summit of the rock, on which is placed the l'ch Kál'eh, inner castle or citadel; it has a separate wall and entrance: part of the wall is ancient, probably of the same age as that below. The buildings within are all in a dilapidated state and uninhabitable; but a few men are quartered here. On a platform is a battery of guns of various calibres, which are fired on the occasion of the Beírám, or the arrival of a Páshá. There is an immense number of guns on different parts of the works, but most of the pieces are of very antique shapes and unserviceable, and scarcely one among the whole has a carriage in an efficient state. Within the outer wall, although outside the citadel, is a copious spring of water. The external works are partly stone and partly sun-dried bricks, and are so dilapidated and so unscientifically constructed, that as a fortress it is quite contemptible. There were said to be 120 artillery-men for the service of the guns, commanded by a captain: the men usually follow their trades in the town, and have no uniforms; but they are to receive clothes from Constantinople.

The rock on which the castle is built is a long, narrow, isolated mass, rising out of the plain. It runs in length S.S.E. and N.N.W. The south-western face is perpendicular, but the north-eastern slopes rapidly to the plain. The S.S.E. end terminates abruptly, and the N.N.W. affords the only access. The highest part may be about 300 feet. The rock is about half a mile in length at its base: in breadth it varies; but at the summit, where the citadel is placed, it cannot exceed 100 yards, although from the inequality of the surface it is difficult to judge correctly. The whole rock is of a hard compact

limestone. The town lies at the base of the perpendicular side, and a wall encloses it, uniting with the rock at both ends.

Were the works and guns in good repair and efficiently manned, no force that could be brought against it would probably be able to reduce the place.

In returning, I passed by the Iskeleh gate into the town, and rode through its whole length. The people relate wonderful stories of the former flourishing condition of Ván, one of which states that a man was stationed a whole day at one of the city gates, and, counting only 14,000 horsemen pass through it, lament was made for its fallen greatness. I inquired of a native nearly seventy years of age, whether he recollected the city more populous or more extensive. He replied no; but that the people were richer and trade more active and prosperous in the time of a Páshá named Dervísh, who maintained his independence of the Porte. He beat in succession three Páshás sent to depose him, but was at last conquered by Sert Maḥmúd Páshá, aided by the Páshás of Erḫ-Rúm, Kársḫ and Báyzíd. Since that period Ván had gradually declined in prosperity. This event happened about twenty-two years ago, fourteen years previous to which Dervísh Páshá had governed Ván. The population of the city, including the gardens, is estimated at 5000 Moḥammedan and 2000 Armenian families. In the country throughout the Páshálik the Armenians outnumber the Muselmáns. An immense number of the former, natives of the Páshálik of Ván, migrate to Constantinople, where they employ themselves as labourers, porters, artisans, and sometimes şarráfs. Latterly a register of them has been kept by the chief of the nation, and the last year showed 31,000 absentees. About 3000 annually return to their families, and as many to Constantinople. They obtain high wages there, which enable them to support their families, and by living sparingly to accumulate something with which, after a few years, they return to enjoy themselves at home until their savings are spent, when they go back to the Capital to earn more. This practice shows how redundant the population must be as compared with the means of employment; and since the population is thin, for extensive tracts of fine land are without inhabitants or cultivation, it is evident something is defective in the administration of the affairs of the Páshálik, or migration need not be resorted to.

Insecurity on account of the Kurds is one impediment to agricultural labours; but it is hoped that evil is in gradual progress of being remedied. The Kishláḫ is about to be abolished in the district between Ván and the Bendi-máhi Şú, which falls into the N.E. corner of the lake. This, if carried into execution, will be a great relief to the peasantry of that portion of the Páshálik. After quitting the town, I called to take my leave of the Páshá: the caves were the subject of conversation. The Páshá urged me to stay a little longer, as he wished to give me an entertainment: I excused myself on the plea of my long absence from Erḫ-Rúm, and the time I should still be on my journey. The Páshá said that Sulṭán Aghá would certainly have reached home before I passed by his camp. I took leave of the Páshá after thanking him for his polite attentions. He is, from all I could learn and see, a worthy old man, but unfitted from his age and want of intelligence, for being Governor of a fine but uncivilised Páshálik, which, since the new

order of things commenced in Turkey, should be administered by a chief of activity, energy, and enlightened views.

The trade of Van is very inconsiderable, and the consumption of European goods insignificant on account of poverty's preventing people from indulging in their use. The position of Ván, however, its soil, climate and indeed every circumstance, favours its being an important place of trade. Bad government and want of security are the only impediments to the development of the natural advantages it possesses. There are about 500 looms employed in manufacturing coarse calicoes from the cotton imported from Persia: these are used in the neighbourhood, and some are sent to Bitlís to be died red, a part of which return here for the consumption of the people. Besides these, Damascus and Aleppo manufactures are usually adopted for the clothing of persons of all ranks. What other things are required and are not found at Ván, are sent for from Erz-Rúm or Persia. Shawls of Kirmán are very generally used. The country produces a few yellow berries¹⁰ gathered in the neighbouring districts, and the Hekkáríyeh mountains furnish orpiment brought hither for sale; but there is no other article for export, except it be some fruits, dried and fresh. Grains of all kinds, fruits and wine, abound and are cheap, and linseed is grown for making lamp-oil. Every person of respectability owns a house in town, a country-house with an orchard and vineyard, and perhaps a few fields. Having thus his house rent-free, and most of his very moderate wants supplied from his garden, or from the profits of a petty trade (carried on with a capital of from 20*l.* to 100*l.*), a man manages by economy to meet the expenses of a family: few, however, grow richer, excepting some who follow the occupation of şarráf or bankers, and who manage generally to improve their fortunes. Persons not possessing the above advantages resort to Constantinople to obtain a livelihood. I inquired as to the value of property, and was informed that a good large garden with a house might be had for about 150*l.*: 5*l.* would be required to pay a gardener, and the produce may be estimated at 15*l.*, leaving nett 10*l.* or 6½ per cent.; a poor employment of capital in a country where the interest of money is usually 18 per cent. per annum. The most valuable produce is that of the vineyard, which is, however, very precarious, as a premature winter cuts off the grapes. The juice is expressed and the must sold, the buyer converting it into wine. A baṭmán, by which weight it is sold, equals 20½ lbs., and fetches about 1*s.*: grapes sell at about ½*d.* per lb. for eating, apples 4*d.* per baṭmán, bread about 7*d.* per baṭmán, and mutton about 1*d.* per lb. It is evident, therefore, that subsistence costs very little.

Five or six crazy boats navigate the lake, and are sometimes employed to convey raw cotton or cotton cloths to Tádván, on their way to Bitlís. They bring on their return grain and timber from the shores of the lake. There is not a small boat on the lake, nor has any attempt been made to fish in the deep water: a small fish is caught in the spring in immense quantities, as it comes to spawn up the streams which flow into the lake. Baskets are employed for the purpose, and the people catch and salt enough for their

¹⁰ *Rhamnus infectorius.* – F.S.

use, besides what they send away as presents, and a very small quantity which they offer for sale. This fish resembles a herring, and is much esteemed. It would be a great convenience were passage-boats established on the lake. A person now has to make a journey of several days, not free from danger, which in a boat would only take a few hours, by crossing instead of going round the lake. Encouragement should be given to fish with nets in the deep water. There can be no doubt that fish abound, as is clearly indicated by those caught in ascending the streams, and by the number of cormorants, gulls, and other waterfowl which frequent the lake. This is of an irregular shape; in extreme length from N.E. to S.W., or from Arnis to Tádván, about 70 miles, and in extreme breadth from N. to S. about 28 miles. Its area may be 1000 square geographical miles. It seldom freezes at any distance from the shore, but the N.E. end, being shallow, is in severe winters frozen, and the ice can be crossed.

I estimated the level of Ván to be 1000 feet lower than Erz-Rúm, or about 5467 feet above the sea, and the climate is much milder; a considerable quantity of snow, however, falls, but the frost does not reach the degree of intensity it does at Erz-Rúm.

23rd.-On our departure from Ván we passed at the back of the Castle rock, taking a direction N. by W. Leaving Iskeleh Kôi, a small village on the borders of the lake, about a mile on our left, and increasing our distance from its shores as we proceeded, we went over undulating ground, and in 3½ hours reached Alá Kôi (beautiful village), our intended resting-place. As the road was good and we made but few stoppages, I estimated the distance between 12 and 14 miles. The village contains 100 Armenian, who afford Kishlák to 30 Kurd families. On the hill above the village is an old church in ruins: at the foot of the same hill is situated another church of small dimensions, and a larger one of modern construction is to be seen in the village. The vineyards were very extensive, and a considerable quantity of wine is made, which is sent to Ván for sale. A low range of hills intervenes between the village and the lake, which they shut out from view. The soil is a whitish clay, which, when the seasons are wet, produces abundant crops; but in a contrary case, they fail. The water descending from the mountains suffices for the vineyards and the use of the villagers, but the supply is not ample enough for irrigating the fields. In the afternoon we were joined by the Muhurdár Efendî (seal-bearer) of Işhak Páshá, who was to accompany me to Báyzíd as Mihmándár.

24th.-From Alá Kôi we first took a course about N.E.: in 4 hours we came to the shores of the lake, having had a high range on our left hand between it and our road. We passed several small villages, and saw some flocks of goats and sheep, but there was not much land under cultivation, although the soil appeared excellent. After following the lake for 2 miles we again struck inland behind a range of mountains which advance into the lake, and in about an hour reached Merek. Here is a monastery and church dedicated to the Virgin, whose festival was now celebrated. We passed a good many peasants, men, women and children, wending their way thither to join in the festivities. We were 6 hours on the march from Alá Kôi, and, the road being good, I estimated the distance at about 20 miles. Merek is situated on the side of the mountains

at a considerable elevation above the lake. Outside the village, I was met by some horsemen sent as a compliment by the Şú-Báshí, who presides at the festival, to maintain order, and several bands of the rude music of the country also came out to meet me, not to do me honour but to obtain a present. The festival attracts people from all the surrounding country: the love of pleasure, however, has quite as much to do with their assembling as devotion. Dancing seemed to be the principal amusement of the women, of whom various groups were seen treading with solemn pace the circular dance, to the sound of their usual harsh-sounding drum and fife. The women were all dressed in red cotton petticoats, with white cotton veils over their head reaching to the waist. The male portion of the assemblage were amused by the exhibition of dancing boys, or the antics of a bear. Every now and then came in a fresh party from a village, the chiefs of which were mounted on horses; the females followed on mules, asses, or oxen, with their young children clinging round them. Music and young men dancing preceded the cavalcade. By similar parties the crowd kept hourly increasing: each set as it arrived took up the station allotted for its encampment on the side of a hill. The people were all in their holiday clothing: the display of finery, however, was very moderate, and the effect of it was not much improved by the dust collected on the journey. The scene was noisy enough, and certainly extraordinary, but the separation of the sexes renders such exhibitions very tame in eastern countries. In the evening the people thronged the small church even to suffocation, and while the service was going on fanatics were crying to the Virgin for relief from ills which no aid within their reach could alleviate, and endless crossings and prostrations attested, if not the piety of the devotees, at least their superstitious belief in the efficacy of their invocations. Without the church was a rock with a smooth surface which was supposed to possess the miraculous power of maintaining pieces of rock perpetually in contact, provided the person placing them there was free from sin. Here were seen numerous persons sufficiently credulous to make the vain attempt. After holding their fragments, and trying repeatedly whether they had stuck, by removing or slackening the pressure of the hand, they were mortified to find that their hopes and endeavours were fruitless - a discovery which one would have thought their consciences might previously have led them to make. Some of the more crafty sought out slight inequalities in the rock, hoping by this device to gain a temporary triumph. What blind ignorance in the people do such attempts betray, and what debasement in the clergy who countenance them! It is quite indispensable to the success of missionary labours in these countries to enlighten the Christians, for unless that be accomplished, any progress among the Mohammedans were utterly hopeless. I was told that between 5000 and 6000 persons meet together at this festival. A great many Kurds came for other purposes than devotion. The money which the devotees deposit in the church is equally divided between the Páshá and the clergy, and I heard each party received about 50*l.*, a proof either of the poverty of the Christians, or their indisposition to be liberal to the church. The Şú-Báshí looks after the Páshá's interest, and keeps a watch over the box containing the contributions. At night

the church-doors are locked and the keys delivered to the Şú-Báshí; but he takes the additional precaution of securing the door by affixing his own seal, which would not indicate a high opinion of the honesty of the priests.

A little before sunset the Şú-Báshí mounted, and, attended by a concourse of Kurd horsemen, made the circuit of the tents. In a field below our camp, the Kurds for a short time amused themselves in their martial exercises, galloping and wheeling their coursers about, firing their pistols, brandishing their lances, advancing and retreating in mimic warfare, after which the whole cavalcade continued its progress. The dancing and music was kept up until after midnight, when the noisy crowd, exhausted by fatigue, sunk into repose.

25th.-One of our muleteers was very ill with a relapse of the Kharpút fever, brought on by indiscretion at Ván. On rising it was discovered that two of our baggage-horses had been stolen. All the horses were picketed near our tents. The keepers slept among them, and the Şú-Báshí appointed four guards to keep watch during the night, yet nobody had heard the thieves. The guards were threatened by the Şú-Báshí, but no discovery ensued, and we were obliged to depart without our horses. A Kurd who accompanied me from Ván was returning, and I wrote by him to inform Işhak Páshá of the robbery which had been committed, and to request him to oblige the Şú-Báshí to recover the animals.

The Şú-Báshí gave us six horsemen as a guard to our next station, and he himself with some men accompanied us a little way out of the village. We kept along the side of the hills, and did not descend to the level of the lake until we had nearly reached its extreme limit: we rode through pastures of coarse dried grass to the Bendi-Máshí-Şú (Fish-Bank River), intending to ford it at its mouth, but we found the water too deep. A Kurd at the first step; went above his horse's chest. The river is a considerable one, broad, and of a dark-blue colour, and the banks were covered with high reeds; it has its sources in the mountains which are traversed going direct to Báyzíd. The sources of the Murád are in the same range (but more to the westward), of which the Bendi-Máshí drains the southern valleys, and the Murád the northern. The whole course of the former stream may be 35 to 40 miles from its sources to the Lake. After our unsuccessful attempt at crossing, we kept up the Bendi-Máshí for about 4 miles, where we found a bridge in so dilapidated a state that our baggage-horses had great difficulty in climbing over it, and some were nearly precipitated into the water in the attempt. I preferred fording the stream, which reached to the horse's breast. Two hours further up the river, is Bárgír (vulgo Beġír) Ķal'eh, the seat of a Kurd Beg; the road to Báyzíd passes through it, and between the two places there are no villages whatever. The whole intervening country is a mountain track frequented only by the Kurd tribes. The distance was said to be 12 hours; but from my subsequent experience in passing a different part of the same range, I should conceive it more likely to be 20 hours. Işhak Páshá has given orders to the heads of the neighbouring villages to repair the bridge, and some materials were already collected. From a bank close by the bridge issued a spring of the

temperature of 55° Fahr., which should show the mean heat of the climate. After crossing it, we followed the stream down to the head of the lake, where we came to a Kurd encampment. Here my escort asked permission to quit us on their return, the chief having: first given orders to the Aghá of the Kurds to furnish an escort on the morrow. We went along the banks of the lake for an hour, when we turned up the side of the mountains to another Kurd encampment occupied by the inhabitants of a village beyond, named Arnis, who were here for the sake of the pastures. On the level of the lake we had been much annoyed by innumerable swarms of a small fly which left a green stain on being squeezed; but at these pastures we were above the level they seemed to inhabit. Our encamping-ground was very rough, near a small spring of good and cool water: the people appeared very poor, but they furnished us with what they possessed, and we obtained supplies for ourselves and cattle. Many of the Kurds of this tract of country are already settled in villages, and the tents we passed belonged to some who were encamped for the convenience of pasturing their cattle. The Kurds were induced to settle at Arnis by exemption from taxes, but they were charged with looking to the security of the road and the entertainment of passengers. Several Kurd chiefs came from neighbouring encampments to pay their respects to us during the course of the afternoon.

26th.-Very early two Kurd Aghás and several horsemen arrived as an escort. The chiefs, however, after riding a little way, took their leave. We descended to the edge of the lake, and were again molested by the swarms of flies. The country was quite waste, but the remains of walls which had served to inclose fields showed it had not always been so. Our Kurds said there had formerly been vineyards and gardens the whole way, but at what period they could not tell, nor were there any wild fruit-trees or vines to be seen. We passed the ruins of a large Khán, and of a village near it. I saw an opening in the mountains on our right, which looked like the side of a crater broken down, and the rocks being a black hard honeycombed lava confirmed the probability. We had started at 6, and at 9½ A.M. we met a Tátár of Işhak Páshá's on his way from Erz-Rúm to Ván; he had letters for me, but not wishing to open his packets on the road, he returned with us to the village from whence he last came. We crossed a small clear stream rolling over black lava boulders, and mounting a high bank continued along it for a short time, and then came to the village Haïdar Beg, where we stopped to get our letters. This village is not far from, although out of sight of, the lake. The stream we had crossed flows through a pretty valley which the village overlooks, and some way up was seen an old Armenian church. The distance from Arnis I estimated at about 10 miles. At 11½ A.M. we resumed our journey, and after ¼ hour came in sight of the lake and the castle of Ardîsh,¹¹ close on the water's edge. We rode along the sloping sides of the mountains, and finally descended to the plain of Ardîsh; on entering which, we crossed one considerable stream, afterwards several smaller ones, and a good deal of swampy ground, before we reached the place. The Musellim met me outside, and invited us to

¹¹ Properly Arjish; Jih. Numá., P. 412; St. Martin Mém. sur l'Arménie, i. 54-F.S.

his house; but as our tents were further on I excused myself, and he accompanied us to our camp, which I found pitched on the banks of another considerable river called the Ardísh Chái. Beyond it, on the other side, the plain extended and appeared to be a marsh. The Musellim, named Aḥmed Beg, was a fat good-humoured communicative person, and young for the post he occupied: he was a native of Ardísh, and had not been further than Erḻ-Rúm, Músh, Bitlís, and Ván. The castle, as it is called, is in a most ruinous condition. The walls had fallen in many places, and they did not reach down to the shore, so that the town was open to the lake, and may be said not to have any defences. The houses within the walls were in the style of the villages, half under ground. The Kaşabah is inhabited by about 100 Moḥammedan and a very few Armenian families; but they have a small and very ancient church. The territory commanded by the Musellim contains twenty thriving and large villages, and a few which are small and poor. The people possess a great number of cattle, sheep, and mares, and the pastures are extensive and fine. The soil is alluvial, deep, and very productive. The lake from this place to its extreme eastern end is very shallow, and the deposits from the numerous rivers which flow into it seem to be filling it up. Tradition, however, says that the lake now covers what was once a plain, with the Bendí Máhí and Ardísh rivers running through it; but I consider it as more probable that such may at some distant period be the case than that it has already occurred. The plain of Ardísh is evidently gaining on the lake; in ten years it has advanced about a mile. Formerly, along the shore there was an impassable morass, which the road to Ardísh led round: now, except in spring, when the mud is too deep, the road crosses the plain in a straight line. The water is slightly brackish only, and much less salt than at Tádván; which can be accounted for from the number of rivers so near each other falling into this shallow part of the lake. The Musellim said the peasantry would be very rich and prosperous were it not for the onerous tax of the Kishlák, and the thieving propensities of the Kurds. He remarked, it were better to live on the mountains than in a village; meaning thereby that the Kurds were better off than the poor villagers on whom they were quartered, and whom they spoiled. The tribe of Ḥaïderán-lís under Sultán Aghá pasture their cattle on the neighbouring mountains, and pass the winter in the villages belonging to Ardísh. I asked the character of Sultán Aghá: he said he was not a bad man for a Kurd, but his tribe robbed when they could. If the chief is applied to, he promises restitution, but some excuse is usually made in order to defer or evade it; either the robber is said to be absent, or the stolen property to be concealed, but it is promised to be restored on the tribe's coming to their winter quarters, when it could not be secreted: however, except the owner himself discover his lost property, and can clearly identify it, it is never recovered, and of course every artifice is used to prevent its being found by the owner. The Musellim admitted that thefts were less frequent than formerly, and that they were made by craft rather than by violence. A single traveller might be stripped, if met by a party of Kurds, but no personal injury was done to him unless in resisting, he wounded some of the robbers. He had often heard the abolition of Kishlák talked of, but he saw

no symptom of its being carried into effect.

The winter is severe, and a great deal of snow falls, but the cold is never so intense as at Erz-Rúm: occasionally the lake freezes firmly enough for people to cross over from Ardísh to the opposite side. Near our encamping ground they were collecting many heaps of grain preparatory to its being trodden out; the frequent 'Arabahs bringing it in, the swarms of children sporting in the river, the numerous herds of cattle pasturing in the marshes, together with the curious lounging about our tents, united to form an animated scene.

27th.-Westward of our tents, on the opposite side of the river, I had observed at a distant village a stone building, which I supposed to be an Armenian church; but as we were starting I inquired by chance what it was, and was told it was the tomb of a Persian king; more I could not learn of the person of whom I made the inquiry, and no one better informed could just then be found. We rode up the stream for about a quarter of an hour, and then crossed near a village; from thence we took a westerly direction over high ground, having mountains between us and the lake, and a higher range on our right: we again approached the lake, and soon after again quitting it, to round a high land, we reached the Armenian village of Ashraf, situated in a ravine. We were about three hours in making the distance, which I considered as being about 8 or 9 miles from Ardísh. After a rest of 1½ hour we proceeded. Below the village the ravine widens into a plain which extends to the lake, and has in it many vineyards: we had procured some tolerable wine at our breakfast at the village. Our road continued near the lake, with abrupt mountains on our right. After an hour they began gradually to recede, leaving between them and the water a small plain; we had a view of Sapán T́agh¹² from base to summit. The water of the lake was very shallow and stagnant, and it was here formed into a land-locked bay, on the surface of which numerous waterfowl were seen. The margin was bordered by meadows, in which were small pools of stagnant water, dark coloured, and strong smelling, and apparently impregnated with sulphur. About 3 miles from the lake towards Sapán T́agh was the village of Núrshín. Quitting the bay, we went over a rising ground, and again came in sight of water. I took it to be another bay, communicating with the main lake, but on a nearer inspection I found it was a distinct piece of water. The soil was sandy, and the crops, which the peasantry were reaping, were remarkably fine and clean, and I observed the grain was sown in drills. I learned that drill-husbandry and a careful system of agriculture was universally practised in this part of the country. A long wooden block, with a sharpened end hollowed on a slope, is drawn by two oxen, and makes a trench about 6 inches deep. A boy follows, and lets the seed fall from his hand into the trough, from whence it runs into the drill; the grain is picked over by women, and the finest heads selected for seed. After the crop is reaped the weeds are cut down and burned. Hoeing is not practised, nor from the appearance of the crops can it be required. The fields are never irrigated; and although there had

¹² Seĩbán T́agh, J. N., p.413. Sapán is probably a modern Turkish corruption, as *Urumiyah* for *Urmiyah*, and *Júlamerik* for *Júlamerk*.

not been any rain for some months, and the soil appeared dry sand, yet the bottom of the drill was quite moist, and the people said that in ten days the seed now sown would appear above the ground. I asked some of them why they sowed thus, and how long the system had been in practice; they said they learned it from their fathers, and they followed it because they saw it produced excellent crops: this was all they knew on the subject. It was curious to find practised in an uncivilised country from time immemorial, a system of agriculture which had been introduced at no distant epoch in our own country as a novelty. We reached the village of Arin, situated at about 1 mile from its lake, at 3½ P.M. We were 5½ hours from Ashraf; but our progress being slow, I did not reckon the distance more than 14 miles. The Şú-Báshí came to meet me, and invited us to his house while our tents were being pitched. He offered us some cool sherbet and water-melons, which were both very acceptable after our long and sultry ride. This village is the property of Işhak Páshá, and contains fifteen Armenian families, and ten Kurds make their Kishláḵ here. The Şú-Báshí was an officer of the Páshá's establishment, and comes hither for two months in the autumn to collect his master's share of the crops, which he ships off to Ván, and then returns himself to wait on the Páshá. He came to my tents to pay his respects: he warned the muleteers not to leave their cattle out at night, as he would not answer for their safety, offering stabling in the village. He spoke much of the productive qualities of the soil, which was well adapted to the culture of the water-melon: the peasantry formerly cultivated it, but finding the fruit was always eaten by passing Kurds, they ceased to do so. The pastures near the village are good and extensive, and the peasants own a considerable number of cattle and mares. Soda is collected on the borders of the lake, and is sold to the Kurds for making soap. A ragged Kurd was discovered prowling about our tents: he was mistaken for a man of the village by the servants; but the villagers disclaimed any knowledge of him, and he was driven away; his object was, no doubt, to have watched an opportunity of purloining something.

28th.-The Musellim of 'A'd-el-jiváz¹³ was at a neighbouring village, and the Şú-Báshí sent to inform him that I was proceeding to his Kaşabah on the morrow. The night was cold; our muleteer continued very ill; and a servant was also seized with fever. We mounted at 6 A.M., and passed between the lakes: the distance may be 2 miles; and from the character of the intervening ground, as well as from its elevation, I infer that they never have been united. The small one was only slightly brackish. The Musellim of 'A'd-el-jiváz overtook us on the road, and accompanied us: he was a fat talkative person, had travelled rather extensively in his own country, and was civilised enough to take snuff. He spoke in praise of the fertility of the soil, and the mode of cultivation, which he said was peculiar to this country; and he boasted that no place except Erḷ-Rúm could show such excellent bread. He stated that in favourable season wheat yielded twenty-five, rye fifty, and barley forty fold; a produce I never found in any other part of the country. On approaching 'A'd-el-jiváz we had on either side of our road

¹³ Jehán Numá. - p. 411.

meadows and orchards. The Musellim insisted on our dismounting at his house, where, seated under the shade of trees close by a pretty waterfall, a breakfast was served to us. The stream came from a small lake in the mountains, and served to irrigate the gardens and turn some watermills in its short course to the lake of Ván. Our baggage, on coming up, was sent to the house of a Turk, one of the chief men of the village. Our tents were pitched in an orchard on turf under fruit-trees: the inclosure was small, and the walls impeded the free circulation of the air; so that although we were in the shade, we found the heat rather oppressive.

The Musellim came to pay me his visit in the afternoon: he was very civil and obliging, and took care that we should have what supplies we stood in need of. The town contains about 250 Mohammedan and 30 Armenian families. There is an old castle in ruins, placed on a high rock above the town, which is inclosed by walls uniting with the works of the castle at both extremities, and running directly down to the lake. There is no defence on that side of the town; but the water is too deep to admit of persons getting round the ends of the walls which terminate in the lake: they are in a tolerable state of repair, and the gates serve to keep intruders out. The town is small, and many houses are in ruins: the greater part of the inhabitants live in detached houses among the gardens, with which the whole valley is filled. The rocks are limestone, and pure water runs in great abundance through the lanes, serving to irrigate the gardens. There is great plenty of common fruits; and water-melons and grapes also thrive well. On the whole 'A'd-el-jiváz is a pretty and pleasant place.

There are about twenty looms in the town, which produce coarse cotton cloths of the usual kind; and both Turks and Armenians are weavers.

30th. - I had resolved to stay here some days, to recruit the sick, as well as to afford us an opportunity of ascending Sapán Tággh.

While my companions were engaged in other pursuits I determined to visit Akhlát, which is from about 14 to 16 miles from 'A'd-el-jiváz, the road running the whole way by the shores of the lake. I took with me a few attendants and a guide, and mounted early in the morning. We first crossed the town, and then, continuing along the edge of the water, passed a small village about a mile from it, placed among orchards; thence we ascended a steep rocky path, and rode under high cliffs, far above the level of the lake: the rocks were all limestone. After an hour's ride, the mountains receded from the lake, and we entered on a plain where the limestone ceased and was followed by clay slate. To that again a coarse conglomerate succeeded, the component parts of which as we advanced gradually became smaller, until before reaching Akhlát, it was converted into a fine-grained light sandstone. After crossing the before-mentioned plain, we kept along the base of the mountains, close by the lake: at 3 hours we crossed another plain, in which were situated two villages surrounded by fine walnut and fruit trees. On approaching Akhlát we came to some more gardens, from whence, instead of going along the shore to the town, we kept higher up the hills, to visit the old town. I first passed some Mohammedan tombs, exactly like those met in so many parts of Turkey,

at Vastán, Erṣ-Rúm, and Ḳaiṣar. They were made of the light sandstone which appears to resist the effects of the weather, for the inscriptions were quite fresh. There are a great number of similar tombs and of small chapels dispersed among gardens, fields, and cottages. In a deep narrow ravine are the principal remains of the town: in the centre of the ravine there is a rock, much like that of the castle at Bitlís, on which are the foundations of a solid structure, probably a castle or palace, the stones cemented with lime. On the opposite side of the ravine is a large tomb in ruins, said to be that of a sovereign of the place. On this side was one burying-ground of immense extent, many of the graves in which had headstones, of one piece, 12 feet high; and besides this, there were several other smaller burying-grounds, evidences of the extent of the population of the town. Turkish or Arabic inscriptions are found on all the tombs, and on other buildings; and from them probably might be collected some particulars as to the history of the place. All that the people could tell me was, that it had been the seat of an ancient sovereign. It was, perhaps, this town which was besieged and taken by Tímúr in the Fourteenth Century.

From these ruins I returned to the modern Akhlát, and, entering by the western, passed through the town, and went out by the eastern gate. The town is surrounded by a double wall and ditch, the inner being flanked by irregular towers: at the higher end is the l'ch Ḳal'eh (inner castle), or citadel. The town is completely walled on all sides, even facing the lake, down to the borders of which it extends. The houses in the city are built of square stones, cemented by clay, very much in the style of Bitlís. The modern town certainly is of some antiquity, from the style of its buildings and the character of its fortifications. I did not see a living soul in passing through the place; and we went to rest ourselves and horses in an orchard on the banks of the lake. We were followed thither by the son of the Musellim, who was absent. I had seen the lad at Músh: he sent a message to his father, who was in a Village near, to inform him of my arrival: meantime a breakfast was provided, and we procured from the orchard plenty of apricots, pears, and watermelons. After resting for two hours, I was just on the eve of starting on my return when the Musellim arrived. His name was Sheïkh Ḥelvah; he had been attached to Es'ad Páshá of Erṣ-Rúm, and recollected having seen me there. The Páshá placed him as Kyayá to Ḥuseïn, when he was named to the Páshálik of Músh. After Ḥuseïn Páshá's deposition, Ḥelvah was sent to this his native city as Musellim. He derives his title of Sheïkh from his father, who was head of the order of Turling Dervishes. The Musellim pressed me to remain the night at Akhlát; but, having promised to return to 'A'd-el-jiváz, I was obliged to decline his civility. Two young Kurds accompanied the Musellim; they were named Moḥammed and Muṣṭafá Beg, sons of Aḥmed, a former Páshá of Músh, and cousins to Emín, the present Páshá. They lived in this neighbourhood, and possessed considerable landed property. Both were handsome young men, very tastily dressed in the Kurd fashion, and mounted on beautiful mares, richly caparisoned, each with a numerous suite of attendants well armed and mounted.

Moḥammed Beg, the elder brother, had a most prepossessing countenance and

manner, indicative of good nature and high breeding; but I heard that he was a most atrocious assassin. Muşţafá Beg, on the contrary, had a sullen look, but was described as a much more respectable character: he had been married to a daughter of Is-ḥák Páshá, who had since died. Moḥammed Beg was said to have himself killed, or caused to be assassinated, eighteen or twenty persons. About four years ago, he with his servants attacked a party conveying treasure, which he plundered after murdering the people. This, added to his former crimes, induced Es'ad Páshá of Erḗ-Rúm to order Is-ḥák Páshá to seize Moḥammed Beg, and send him to Erḗ-Rúm.

He got intelligence of this, and fled to Baghdád, where he remained until Es'ad Páshá's removal from Erḗ-Rúm. He then returned home, and has since remained unmolested: however, he dares not venture into any town where a Páshá resides. Another of his atrocities was related to me. A servant of his possessed a most beautiful wife, whom he saw and coveted: one day he called the husband to him in the stable, put him to death, and took his wife into his harem. Some one remonstrated with him, and asked why he could not take the woman without murdering the man: he replied coolly that he was his own servant, and no one could question his right to dispose of him as he pleased. For this deed he was never called to account. These and many other similar facts which I heard, show the impunity of assassin and robbers among these lawless Kurds. These brothers had inherited considerable property; but they had wasted a good portion of it in maintaining and attaching to them a numerous host of devoted dependents. The distance from Akhlát to Tádván was 4 hours; to Bitlís, 8; to Músh, 16; to Malázgird, 12. I returned to 'A'd-el-jiváz by the road leading all the way at the edge of the lake. Drill husbandry is in practice here: the soil was a fine and apparently arid sand, but was moist at the depth of the trenches.

31st.-Towards evening, we left 'A'd-el-jiváz to go to a small village, 6 or 7 miles distant, named Norshunjuk, situated at the foot of Sapán Tágh, where we proposed sleeping, in order that we might have as much time as possible for the ascent of the mountain. We reached the village as the evening was closing in, and, having obtained an open gallery, betook ourselves to rest. The vermin prevented our sleeping much, and we rose before dawn: we could not procure a cup of coffee in this miserable village.

1st September.-We commenced the ascent at 5h. 10m., attended by two mounted Kurds as guides. We first took a north-easterly direction along the roots of the mountain; and after about an hour's ride turned to the N. up the steep side of a conical hill, which had every appearance of having been a crater. Before reaching the summit we diverged into a hollow between it and the main part of the mountain, which we soon afterwards began to ascend. We passed over several patches of snow, hard enough to bear the horses; and finally stopped on the edge of the crater, beyond which the horses could not proceed. To reach this spot we had taken 3½ hours. Opposite to us, on the N.E., was the cone, which seemed to have been forced out of that side of the crater. We could only reach it by following the edge of the crater; for to have descended into it would have increased the height of our after-ascent very much. To reach the base of

the cone by the path we followed, the descent was considerable. The cone is formed of fragments of rock, of various sizes, not united by any earth, but all lying loosely in a heap. The rock is all of one kind, either grey or pale red, remarkably light, and, in walking over, the pieces are easily displaced, and they rattle like cinders: small bright crystals are seen in fracturing the rock. It appeared as if, after being calcined by a subterranean fire, the fragments forming the cone had been heaved up by the same force. The ascent was more laborious than any similar one I ever attempted, not only from its steepness, but from the oppression at the chest we all felt. We could not ascend more than five or six steps without stopping to take breath. The top of the cone is a level, surrounded by a ridge with numerous peaks, forming a sort of enclosure. Every part was of the same loose rock, and I perceived only a solitary fragment of a different appearance, which I took to be the rock before it had undergone the action of fire. We ascended the outer ridge of the cone and one of the highest peaks overlooking the lake of Ván. It occupied us 4 hours from the time we dismounted to attain this point. Here the theodolite was fixed, and bearings of the surrounding objects taken.

From hence we could perceive that our first steep ascent was the side of a crater, and in the hollow of the summit was a small lake called Aghrí Gôl (Painful Pool). Looking S. from our position, was an extensive field of snow lying at the foot of the cone. In the hollow between us and the place where we left our horses the snow had melted and formed a pool: this was entirely ice in the morning; but before we quitted the mountain it had thawed very much, and was covered with water. The Kurd guides had promised to show me a snow-worm, and one of them descended to this pool to find the animal, but he did not succeed. Although both the Kurds asserted that they had seen it, and although at places in this country distant from Sapán Tâgh I had been assured of the same thing, yet similar assertions among such a people are too little to be relied on, to establish a fact, of which ocular demonstration would be to me the only satisfactory proof. We saw the lake of Erjek E. of Ván - that of Náruk W. of Akhlât, another lake a little further W., as well as the small one from whence the stream of 'A'd-el-jiváz rises. The two peaks of Ararat were distinctly visible, the range of Bín-gól also, and the cone-like peak of Kôseh Tâgh, above Toprák Kal'eh, in the plain of Arishkerd. We all felt unpleasant effects from our ascent, and the Kurds said everybody experienced the same, which they attributed to the weight of the air. Dr. Dickson was quite sick at the stomach; Mr. Glascott so giddy that he could not continue taking his bearings without every few minutes quitting his work to rest; I had an intense headache; two persons were so affected that they could not proceed beyond the foot of the cone; one who mounted it descended at once, and on getting back vomited violently; even those who remained with the horses suffered from pain in the head. This could not have arisen from the mere height of the mountain, but might be occasioned by the escape of some gas from the crater; although, if so, it was quite imperceptible. Our barometer failed us at the top of the mountain: the mercury had long been gradually escaping from the tube; but we had hoped by care to have been able to preserve it in a sufficiently effective

state to assist our ascertaining the height: however, so much air had got into the mercury that no dependence could be placed on it. This being the condition of the barometer, the column of mercury descended below 20 inches. We had ascertained the lake of Ván to be 5467 feet above the level of the Black Sea. We had evidently not reached the limit of perpetual snow; but it froze every night, and we certainly could not be far below the line of congelation. At mid-day the thermometer stood at 48°, while it was about 80° at El-jiváz. A great deal of snow remained in various parts near the summit, but the very highest peaks were bare of it; there was no glacier on the mountain. Taking all these facts into consideration, I should estimate its summit to be between 4000 and 4500 feet above the lake, or from 9500 to 10,000 feet above the sea. I was told that the ascent of the mountain was only practicable from the middle of August to the first week in September, and that, had we delayed our visit, we might have been disappointed: in fact, on the 14th September, from the plain of Arishkerd, we saw the summit of Şapán Tāgh completely covered with snow. The specimens of rock which I collected prove beyond a doubt the volcanic nature of the mountain; but there is no record or tradition of its having been in a state of activity. I found neither pumice nor obsidian, although both are seen on the shores of the lake; basalt, scoria and other volcanic rocks, were in abundance. Lava has burst from many parts of the mountain beside the summit.

Supan¹⁴ means holy, and is one of the epithets applied to the Deity. There are numerous traditions respecting this mountain, but, like most Moḥammedan legends, they are childish, and without a shadow of probability. We were 1½ hour returning to our horses, and, after a short rest, mounted, and in about 2 hours descended to Norshunjuk, from whence in 1¾ hour we got back to El-jiváz. We were all relieved from our unpleasant sensations by the time we had reached the foot of the mountain.

Not a tree is to be found on the Şapán Tāgh, nor even a shrub: there are some pastures, but we did not see herds or flocks on our journey, nor any traces of tents.

We were much fatigued by our exertions and long abstinence, for we had scarcely touched food since leaving El-jiváz. We had some cold meat and bread with us, but nobody had any inclination to eat.

3rd.-We left El-jiváz at about 7 A.M., and after getting clear of the village and the surrounding gardens kept at the base of Şapán Tāgh, at some distance from the lake, whose shores we had skirted on approaching El-jiváz. We passed the remains of an Armenian village, where there is a large burying-ground and a ruined church. On our right, about 3 miles distant, was the village of Arin and its lake. We came down to the lake of Ván, at the point at which we had before quitted it on approaching Arin, and thence turning from it, took a course towards the hills on our left, having the village of Núrshín in view. At 2½. P.M. we reached the small village of Gújíyeh, situated among

¹⁴ Şapán (a plough-handle) is probably a corruption of. Síbán (apples), or Seibán (streams); but Supan, the name meant by Mr. Brant's informants, was taken by them for the Armenian *surp* or *surpazan-holy*, sacred. It does not, however, appear that the Armenian writers give that name to this mountain.-F.S.

low hills. The weather was sultry, but the road was good, and I reckoned the distance 18 or 20 miles.

The principal rock I remarked at the foot of Sapán Tāgh was a basaltic kind of porphyry, which I found likewise at the summit of the mountain; the soil is light and sandy. On our road we saw two mounted Kurds with some reapers: when they perceived our party they proceeded onwards. One of my people rode up to the reapers to procure a draught of water, and they told him that the two men were on the point of stripping them of everything they had with them, but seeing so many horsemen approaching they made off. Similar acts are of ordinary occurrence; and one of my guards observed that this was not a country for an honest man to live in. The village of Gújiyeh contains ten Armenian, and gives Kishlák to twelve Kurd families.

4th.-Having but a short ride to the tents of Sulṭán Aghá, we did not start very early. We mounted at 7½ A.M. and reached our encamping ground a little before 9. We passed the small village of Arbuzunk, situated in a hollow; thence we rode over undulating ground until we reached the tents of the Kurd chief, pitched in a grassy bottom among some hills. His receiving tent was a Turkish single-poled one of cotton, given to him by the Páshá of Erṣ-Rúm. The tent which contained his harem was pitched at a distance, and was a large black goat's-hair one in the usual fashion. There were only about ten other tents in the same valley, and I was rather disappointed at finding the chief of a powerful tribe so ill attended. The grass was now dried up, but in spring the herbage must be luxuriant, and there was a copious source of water at hand.

The chief received me in his Turkish tent, and gave me coffee and sherbet. Meantime our own tents were pitched near his, and a breakfast of the usual kind was sent-fried eggs, honey, yoghurt (curds or sour milk), and bread, all good in their kind.

In the afternoon Sulṭán Aghá paid me a visit: he was more cheerful and talkative than when I saw him at Ván. I inquired respecting the separation of the Haidarán-lí tribe into two divisions. He said the other portion had been always accustomed to frequent Persia, that lands were given to it by the governor of Azerbáján, and that at the conclusion of the last war between Turkey and Persia, it had been formally recognised by the Sulṭán as belonging to Persia. That division of the tribe had been commanded by his own brother, Kásim Aghá, until his death, when his son succeeded to the dignity. On the decease of a chief the elders of a Kurd tribe elect a successor: this is always done from the same family: either an uncle, a brother, a cousin, or some relation of the former head of the tribe, is chosen; in fact, any member of the family who is in the general opinion endowed with most bravery or judgment. To him is confided the direction of the affairs of the tribe; but he does not appear to possess great power, and may be considered as the president of the council of elders, without whose concurrence nothing of much importance is undertaken. Sulṭán Aghá is said not to be rich, indeed not more so than many of the respectable members of the tribe. When presents are to be made the elders assemble and inquire what things can be found among the tribe suitable to the occasion. Those chosen are valued, and the proprietors indemnified by a levy on

the whole community. I did not ask Sultán Aghá the number of his tribe, knowing how little the replies to such inquiries can be depended upon, but one of our party inquired whether he commanded 2000 tents, to which he assented. From others I had heard the numbers variously estimated at from 500 to 1000; and some said he had 1000, while others stated 2000 horsemen in his service. Such is the uncertainty of the information which can be gained on these points. I asked whether I might be allowed to see the interior of his private tent: he replied that it was not their custom, and I must excuse him. I said I thought that the Kurds did not conceal their women like the Turks: he answered that they did not expose theirs to view. I believe some mystery is observed among the women of the chiefs, but certainly the same rule does not hold good with those of the lower ranks.

I asked whether his tribe were good friends with the Ḥasan 'Alís, a tribe belonging to the Páshálik of Músh: he replied that last year the latter killed two of his people; that he had represented the matter to the Páshá of Erz-Rúm, by whom it was referred to Emín Páshá of Músh: he had, however, not received any satisfaction; and he remarked that the only justice he was likely to obtain was to kill two men of the Ḥasan 'Alís - a proceeding I recommended him to abstain from, as it would probably bring him into trouble. He said that his tribe receive Kishlák, but they provide hay for their own cattle, or if they are furnished with it by the Armenian peasantry, it is paid for. He did not pay the Páshá of Erz-Rúm for Kishlák, but he could not deny that he made him an annual present. This was of course a mere equivocation, and probably he did not like to a vow that he paid Kishlák money. I inquired how the Kurds, who live so many months in the pure air, could bear to bury themselves in the close and filthy stables of the Armenians. He confessed it was very disagreeable and even painful to them, and they looked upon it as an imprisonment. Why then, I asked, did they not build airy houses for themselves? - the reply was, that they did not understand house-building. He said the Zebekí and Ḥaïderánlí Kurds were sent back to Persia by force; they were very unwilling to quit the Turkish territory, and would not have done so of their own free-will. He admitted that the pastures and abundance of water in Turkey were great advantages over Persia, but the milder winter in the latter country was some compensation.

Sultán Aghá is held responsible for robberies committed in any part of the lands over which his tribe pasture. Some Eriván (Reván) Kurds lately plundered a village near Akhlát; he pursued the robbers and recovered the property stolen. During this summer, sixteen Ván-lís (people of Ván) returning from Constantinople were missed: they were known to have been at a village near Khinís, but beyond that, not a trace could be found of the people, their horses, or their property. Every possible search was made by Is-ḥak Páshá and the local governors, as well as by Sultán Aghá, but without the least success. He supposed that they must have been carried beyond either the Russian or Persian frontier by Kurds subject to those countries, and there made away with. They were known to be possessed of money, for many people at Erz-Rúm had given them packets in charge for their friends at Ván, thinking that so numerous a party would reach

it in safety. Even in a country thinly peopled as this is, it must excite surprise that so considerable a number of persons should be lost without leaving a mark by which to detect the authors or show the mode of their disappearance. It was not Sultán Aghá's custom to place patrols near his tents, unless when he apprehended an attack from a hostile tribe. These tribes have not generally many tents in the same place; five to ten may be seen together, and as many some way lower down a valley or across a neighbouring hill, just as the pasture suffices for their cattle. In spring they first feed on the low grounds, and rise towards the higher mountains as the season advances and the lower pastures are consumed. They return gradually from the high grounds as the cold forces them to descend. When danger approaches they collect their men by beating drums on the hills, and the signal is repeated from camp to camp. Sultán Aghá said that in an hour he could thus summon 150 horsemen, well equipped for battle. I requested him to collect some men, that I might witness their exercise. In the evening he and five other Kurds mounted and galloped about with their spears below the tents; but it was not a sorry exhibition of this kind I wished to witness; many times the guards who accompanied me on my journey had made a better show. In short I learned or saw very little on this visit which I did not know or had not witnessed before; and I should not have made it, had I imagined it would have been so bare of interest.

About the end of October the Kurds go into their winter quarters, where they remain between five and six months according as the spring is more or less advanced. None of the Kurds in this part of the country are in the habit of using defensive armour; they carry a lance, a brace of pistols, a small bell-mouthed blunderbuss, a sword and shield. There is sometimes to be found among them a case containing three darts, which is suspended to the saddle-bow, but this weapon is now generally out of use. The Haidaránlís have the reputation of being brave warriors, and of breeding good horses; of the latter I did not see any favourable specimens, but they said the neighbouring Páshás had taken so many from them that but few of a good breed remained.

Sultán Aghá is married to a sister of the Kurd brothers whom I met at Akhlát. In the evening at dinner-time, the chief sent us from his harem several dishes: a very excellent pilau containing a whole roast lamb, force-meat balls fried and covered with a sauce of curds and garlic, dates stewed in grease, exquisite yoghurt, and very nice white bread-cakes. The dishes were all savoury, but too greasy to please the European taste.

5th. - The night was cool, and the morning actually cold. Sultán Aghá was up before we set off, and invited us to take a cup of coffee in his tent. I had made him a present of a few trifles, and he returned me a horse, which I would fain have declined had I not wished to avoid giving offence. We mounted at 6½ A.M., accompanied by two Kurds who were instructed to collect a sufficient escort from the tents we should pass near on our road; but, although one of the men went to every encampment we saw, not a single horseman attended the summons. We went over undulating ground without cultivation, where there must be good pasture in the spring and summer. We saw, at one green spot supplied with water, a few tents and a herd of mares and colts. We passed

afterwards into a long valley, in which were numerous encampments along the waters of a small rill, of which the banks were quite verdant: from thence we crossed some hills and came to an extensive plain. Under the mountains on our left was an Armenian village, called *Ḳarā Kilísá*,¹⁵ from a church built of dark-coloured stone about 3 miles distant. We passed a very extensive Armenian burying-ground, and near it I saw the remains of a large village: a mile further on, were remains of another village with its burying-ground, of smaller size than the preceding. The plain was almost without cultivation, but the soil was by no means barren; the neighbourhood of the Kurds must have caused the desertion of the villages. Beyond the last ruins we crossed a river, that which runs into the lake under the walls of *Ardísh Ḳal'eh* on its western side: that castle was visible at a distance of about 12 miles. On the opposite side of the plain we reached a village, but, instead of entering it, turned up towards the mountains, and crossing a low ridge, descended into a deep valley: through it flow two streams, which, uniting before they quit the valley, form the most eastern river of the plain of *Ardísh*. We crossed the river and ascended the ravine with one branch of the stream in it, till we came to the village of *Kunduk*. Some of the inhabitants were encamped below the village, the remainder were at other places pasturing their cattle, and the village was left without a living soul in it. The road was generally good: although we were 8 hours on the day's march, I only estimated the distance at 20 miles, as we made several short halts and had not pushed on. A short space from the villagers' tents were those of some *Ḥaïderánlí* Kurds: as the ground near them was good, and we came last from their chief, we made no hesitation in pitching our camp in their neighbourhood; but they were very uncivil, and could scarce be persuaded to furnish us with anything. We represented that we must have supplies, and that they had better give them, and receive their full payment, rather than oblige us to seize them by force. The Kurds said they had nothing to sell or give. A *khavássh*¹⁶ said we must be provided with a lamb: a Kurd seized him by the throat; but being a powerful man, he shook off the savage, who made an attempt to get hold of the gun of another Kurd standing by the *khavássh* drew his pistol-the Kurds as well as our party interfered to prevent arms being used, and peace was restored. The *khavássh* found a drinking-cup and a handkerchief missing from his person: he discovered the thief in possession of the latter, and got it back, but the cup could not be found. The propensity to thieve seems irresistible in a Kurd. I believe he cannot help appropriating to his own use any article he covets, if the opportunity offer; and he appears to think it his privilege. After the scuffle everything we required was furnished and paid for, and the offender got friends to intercede and ask the *khavássh* to pardon him: he made the most humble apologies, and kissed the hands of the *khavássh*. The motive of their behaviour it is difficult to account for, since the men who accompanied us informed them whence we came and whom we were, and they were told at the commencement that everything should be paid for. After nightfall the uncle of *Sultán*

¹⁵ Black Church.-F. S.

¹⁶ Soldier of the *Páshás* body-guard; now attached to travellers as Janissaries formerly were.-F.S.

Aghá came with a message from him to excuse himself for having unknowingly sent me to a village, the inhabitants of which were at their summer pastures, and to see that our wants were supplied.

6th.-As we were to make a long march over high mountains we determined to commence it early, and we made preparations for moving by moonlight: the air was cold.

Before mounting I sent for the uncle of Sultán Aghá, to whom I represented the dispute of the preceding evening. I pointed out the author of the disturbance, and requested that Sultán Aghá would reprimand him severely for his conduct. I availed myself of this opportunity to return the horse Sultán Aghá had given me. He was so knocked up by the previous day's journey that I knew he could not stand that before us, and I was afraid we should be much troubled with him. I did it in a way as little offensive as possible, by praising his breeding and good qualities, but stating that his youth and low condition made it impossible for him to continue the journey, and I requested that Sultán Aghá would keep him until he had gained strength, when he might send him to me at Erz-Rúm. The old gentleman said he saw I did not like the horse; to which I repeated my former reasons: however, he seemed still to consider it as a reproof to Sultán Aghá for not having given me a better animal: if so, the reproof was not without some advantage, for, instead of only having as yesterday two men, an escort of eleven was now sent with me.

At 5 A.M. we started ascending the ravine: on the banks of the stream were small trees, and among willows, alders, and birch, were wild apple and pear trees, and currant-bushes.

At a place where the ravine branched off and two small rills met, we were offered the alternative of a shorter but very difficult road or a longer and easier one. As the latter was likely to be sufficiently mountainous for our baggage-animals, from the nature of the ground, I chose it in preference to the former. At about 10 A.M. we reached a few Kurd tents, where we procured some exquisite yóghúrt, clotted cream (ķaĩmák), and bread. The people were Ĥaiderán-lís, and said they were going to join the part of their tribe settled in Persia. An old Kurd with a handsome countenance, a dark expressive eye, and a grey beard, said this was no longer a country to live in. I asked whether it was because they were not now allowed to plunder: he declared that he had never been a thief, but that they were ruined by the demands of the Sultán's Páshás. I observed that the quantity of mares, cows, and sheep around the tents (only five in number) showed that they were not quite destitute: he replied laughingly that what I saw was of small value; a sufficient indication of his estimate of wealth, and of the unreasonableness of their complaints. Their stock, I am certain, would have constituted independence in any civilised country, to people whose wants are so small. Although among the Kurds there is positive evidence of pastoral wealth, yet one never sees the women and children well clothed, the latter being either naked or having a few rags which scarcely cover them. The women are neither neat nor cleanly in their dress. In youth both sexes are robust

and healthy, and have beautiful teeth, but their exposed and laborious life makes the females grow prematurely old, and scarcely has the youth advanced to manhood when his appearance indicates a far greater age than he has really attained.

After an hour's rest, we quitted the tents, and crossing a small rill, began a steep ascent terminating in the summit of the range.

At 2½ P.M. we had attained the highest part of the Alá Tāgh (Beautiful Mount): we soon crossed the ridge and descended into a deep valley by an almost precipitous path; the descent occupied ½ an hour. From the top of the valley (named the Zelán Dereh) came a small stream, and down its sides trickled innumerable rills of water, which, uniting at the bottom, formed a brook at almost every step augmenting in volume; these are the sources of the Murád. On the northern faces of the highest peaks of the range the snow lay in large masses, and I consider the Alá Tāgh as very little inferior in height to the Şapán Tāgh. We crossed the stream and continued by its left bank down the valley, which is generally narrow, with a grassy bottom. In our way we saw neither Kurd tents nor cattle of any kind, and only at one spot some grass cut for hay. Three or four tributary streams join the Murád before it reaches Diyádín, but I only perceived one of any size. A little before sunset we passed a ruined village, and then crossed to the right bank of the Murád. At 6½ P.M. we came to an encampment of peasants who had come hither from a neighbouring village to pasture their cattle. We proceeded onwards, and at near 9 P.M. reached Diyádín: we and our horses were fatigued with our long day's journey. The governor, a brother of Behlúl Páshá of Báyzíd, could not give us a place to rest in, but we got into a stable, and on some new hay soon fell into a sound sleep, while waiting for the arrival of our baggage and tents. About midnight they came up, and in an hour after, having procured some tea, we were in our beds.

7th.—After the long and fatiguing march of yesterday, neither men nor animals were in a condition to move onwards, but Dr. Dickson in particular was very much distressed; he had been unwell since our ascent of Şapán Tāgh, from having eaten too much snow while on the summit. I sent a messenger with a letter to Behlúl Páshá to announce my approach, and to request him to furnish me with a sufficient escort, as the road between Diyádín and Báyzíd was said to be very unsafe from Kurds.

I heard that Kásim Aghá, son of Husein Aghá, chief of the Kurd tribe of Zelán-lí, was in the village, and I invited him to come and take coffee with me, which he did. He was about 18 years of age, neither good looking nor intelligent, but he had with him a fine young man who kept up the conversation and showed a good deal of sharpness. He had been in Khorásán, and knew all the British mission by name. Kásim Aghá had just come from the Russian frontier, whither he went to bring away about sixty families of his tribe, which had been residing on the Russian territory and wished to rejoin their tribe in Persia. The Russian authorities made no objection to their departure. The young Kurds admitted that Turkey was a preferable residence to Persia: in the latter country they enjoyed many advantages which they did not in the former, but they seemed to consider these were more than counterbalanced by the abundance of water in Turkey.

The Beg of Diyádín, by name 'Abdu-r-razzáq, paid me a visit. I inquired of him as to the route from Báyzíd by the frontier, and was told that it was good and quite safe, but that there were not any villages on the line, and that I should experience difficulty in procuring food for our cattle. This circumstance, added to that of the weather becoming daily too cold to keep horses out at night, made me consider it inexpedient to follow that route.

Báyzíd is a large village, inhabited by a mixed population of Kurds and Armenians. Being on the high road to Persia, the people are subject to exactions on account of travellers, but they indemnify themselves by selling their barley and straw to caravans during the winter at exorbitant prices. The walls of the castle are partly broken down, and at present afford no protection. The residence of the Beg is most miserably dilapidated, and the harem, or female apartments, alone are habitable. He has only one receiving-room outside its precincts, which he offered us on our arrival, but my khaváşş thought a stable in the village more comfortable. This was a Genoese station, and part of the walls of the fortress show it to have been originally well built. One wall rises on the edge of a steep precipice, forming one side of a ravine in which the Murád runs: the other walls rise from the plain. It might easily be made defensive against Kurd assailants, but could not be converted into a strong position. It ought not, however, to be allowed to continue in its present dilapidated and defenceless state.

8th.-Just as we were about to mount, after having had our tents struck and our baggage loaded, my messenger returned from Behlúl Páshá, who requested that I would defer my journey until the following day, as he considered the roads not quite safe, and would send me an escort of fifty men. However, I had proceeded too far towards a move to consider it expedient to defer our march; and as our party was strong, and we had a guard of fourteen horsemen, I did not apprehend there would be any risk of an attack; but I judged it prudent to keep in sight of our baggage-horses, and our progress was therefore slow. We started at 6 A.M., and did not reach Báyzíd until 2½ P.M., although the distance does not, I think, exceed 18 miles.

We stopped on the banks of a beautifully clear stream called Gernáwuk, near a stone bridge, and from thence despatched a khavaşş to advise Behlúl Páshá of our approach, and to select a good encamping station near a village which lay at the foot of the hill on which Báyzíd stands. Midway from Diyádín, Báyzíd, or rather the palace of the Páshá, becomes first visible, placed on a crag, on the sides and at the foot of which the city is built. A plain of more than 15 miles in extent intervened between us and the foot of Aghrí Tāgh, or Mount Ararat, which elevates its snow-capped peak in majestic grandeur. By its side rises the smaller peak, without snow on it, which appeared insignificant in the neighbourhood of its gigantic brother. The two peaks are quite distinct and detached from the rest of the range, which they seem to look down upon in proud superiority. Near the point alluded to, half way to Báyzíd, the ground is strewn with fragments of lava, of which also the rocks rising above the earth are composed. The stream of lava has not come from the main peak itself, but from a part of the range

between which and Ararat intervenes a plain. That the ark, after the flood, rested on this mountain would seem to admit of doubt. Its height and its inaccessible nature is against the supposition, and the climate of the neighbourhood is too severe for the olive. I heard from Háfiz Páshá that Mount Júdí, near 'Amadíyah, is, by the Moḥammedan writers,¹⁷ stated to be the Mount Ararat of Scripture; and I since perceive, in Mr. Rich's Journal, that in the country round Mount Júdí a long course of traditionary history records this fact. It may be remarked that in the neighbourhood of Báyzíd there are no traditions respecting the ark, and the natives know the mountain by no other name than Aghrí T́agh.¹⁸ We saw no mounted Kurds on our road, but a few on foot conducting some sheep and cattle towards the frontier. They said they belonged to the Zelánlí tribe, that they came from Georgia, and were going to join their tribesmen in Persia.

In the afternoon a high wind arose, and continued during the night. It occasioned a very disagreeable dust, and the blast was so strong that I was apprehensive our tents would be carried away. Towards morning it fell calm; but at noon, or soon after, the same inconvenience occurred, and during the four days we were at Báyzíd a strong breeze regularly returned. The dust on the terrace was so annoying that we removed into a room, which, though in a dilapidated state, we found more agreeable than our tent.

The Commandant of the battalion of troops stationed here paid me a visit. He complained of inactivity in a place of so little resource as Báyzíd, and said his troops suffered in consequence. I asked him why he did not employ them to keep the Kurds in check. He was placed, he replied, under the orders of Behlúl Páshá, and could do nothing of his own accord. The same afternoon a man came from the Páshá to say that he had been named Mihmándár, and desired to know when I intended to start. I had, after some trouble, succeeded in hiring an 'arabah for the use of Dr. Dickson, as he was unable to ride; and I fixed two days afterwards for our departure, expecting he would by that time be able to bear the journey.

The insecurity of the country, the illness of Dr. Dickson, the disagreeable wind and dust, and the cloudy weather, indisposed us from visiting Ararat; and the latter rendered all observations, either astronomical or with the theodolite, impracticable. On this account our stay was most unsatisfactory in all points, and we were anxious for the moment of our departure from Báyzíd.

From the only occasional glimpses we obtained of Aghrí T́agh (Mount Ararat), I judged that the snow descended about 2000 feet below the summit, which should give 12,000 feet as the approximate height of the mountain. On the morning of our departure the lower peak was covered with a slight coating of snow, which had fallen the previous night. The city of Báyzíd is situated among the crags, and in a sort of recess of a range of mountains facing Aghrí T́agh, which rises on the opposite side of a plain about 8 or 10 miles wide. The Páshá's palace, a handsome stone building superior to any I have seen in Turkey, is built on the very summit of a peak, and looks down on the town. The

¹⁷ They only say that the ark of Noah rested on Mount Júdí.-F.S.

¹⁸ Aghrí T́agh, Painful Mount, not *Egrí*, "Crooked,"-F. S.

mountains, however, around are still more elevated: from them the Russians brought guns to bear on the palace, and after a few shots had struck it the town surrendered. It is now in a most dilapidated and ruined state, the bazars are wretched and ill supplied, and the place does not wear the appearance of commercial activity. The people appear an uncouth and ill-disposed race, and have contracted the rude manners of the Kurd tribes by which they are surrounded, and with which they are in constant contact. After Eriván (Reván) came into the possession of the Russians, and they established a quarantine on their frontier, all active intercourse between Eriván and Báyzíd ceased, and from that time the latter may date its decline, which was rendered more complete by the emigration of the greater part of the Armenian population with the Russian army.

The ancestors of Behlúl Páshá have for several generations ruled the Páshálik of Báyzíd, nominally as a dependence on Erz-Rúm; but Maḥmúd, the father of the present Páshá, established a real independence, and was a powerful though lawless chief. He built the palace, and obliged the Kurds to bring him materials at their own charge. His former residence is situated on the opposite side of a ravine, in face of the new Palace: it is half excavated in the side of the mountain, and contains immense stores: it has also a battery of guns in an unserviceable state. The place is impregnable, except by the aid of artillery; and its position and character are well chosen for the residence of a chieftain like Maḥmúd Páshá, who might be considered rather as the head of a band of freebooters than a Páshá governing a wide district. On the summit of the same mountain, on the side of which this stronghold is placed, are the remains of a more ancient castle, which I suppose to have been the last of the stations of the Genoese. It was in the more modern castle that M.Jaubert was confined. He was sent on a mission to the Sháh by Napoleon, and was known to be the bearer of valuable presents. The Páshá coveted these; and, after forwarding M.Jaubert with an escort, despatched a band for the purpose, who attacked the party, blind-folded M.Jaubert, and brought him back to Báyzíd. He was then put with his Tátár and servant into a dungeon, the mouth of which opened in the floor of an apartment of the Páshá's ḥarem. Here he and his companions were confined for about six months, and fed sparingly with bread and water. It was probably expected they would die in their confinement, and that no inquiry would be made for them, or no discovery of the mode of their death, while their valuable jewels would have become the property of Maḥmúd Páshá; but M.Jaubert and his attendants fortunately outlived their cruel treatment. The Páshá fell ill and died, and his inhuman conduct towards the prisoners was supposed by his family to have brought on his head the vengeance of Providence, and as soon as he had expired, they regained their liberty. Behlúl Páshá succeeded to his father's dignity, and has held the office ever since, except for about a year. His execution of the duty assigned to him with respect to the recovery of the plunder made by the Jelálí Kurds, from a Persian caravan in 1834, incurred the displeasure of Es'ad, Páshá of Erz-Rúm, who named Demir Páshá to the Páshálik in Behlúl's stead; but the conduct of the former was so outrageously rapacious and violent that the inhabitants petitioned for his immediate removal,

threatening that, if their demand were not complied with, they would emigrate to Georgia. Demir Páshá was in consequence displaced, and Behlúl reinstated, and has since held the office.

12th.—We quitted Báyzíd in the morning. Dr. Dickson started an hour in advance of the rest of the party, in order to give time for the buffaloes which drew his 'arabah to get forward at their slow pace. We took the direct road to Diyádín, the same by which we had reached Báyzíd. A dervish requested to join our party, to which I assented. I learned from him that he was a native of Bokhárá, that he had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and had been wandering about the world for twenty-two years, and was now returning to his country. He came last from Erz-Rúm, and had wished to have a guide from the Páshá of Báyzíd to conduct him to the Russian frontier, on his way to Eriván. This Behlúl Páshá refused, and he found himself constrained to retrace his steps to Erz-Rúm, from whence he proposed going to Gúmrí, and by Astrakhan (Azhderkhán) to Bokhárá.

About midway I turned out of the road to a pleasant spring, around which were the remains of a village. It was at this spot that a short time previously a Khavaşş of the Páshá of Erz-Rúm, returning from Báyzíd after delivering a message, was robbed. The Khavaşş was accompanied by an escort of four horsemen: they were attacked by twelve Kurds; the Khavaşş was wounded, and all were plundered. I reached Diyádín at 2½ P.M., having been 8¾ hours on the march. Our loads preceded us, and the 'arabah reached the place ½ an hour afterwards. The wind was very high and the dust very annoying. The Beg civilly sent a supply of barley and straw for my horses.

13th.—We left Diyádín at 6 A.M. The morning air was quite cold. Our road led along a plain, and we had on our left the Murád Cháí at a short distance only. After riding 3 hours we crossed the river opposite to the Armenian monastery of U'ch Kilísá (Three Churches), which we reached at 9 A.M. We pitched our tents on a piece of turf near the river, and were fortunately free from both wind and dust, by which we had been so much annoyed at Báyzíd and Diyádín. The head of the monastery paid me a visit, and tendered his services and the supply of whatever we might want. He informed me that the monastery derived its name of U'ch Kilísá, or Three Churches, from its having been the largest of three, - one of which there are some trifling remains of on the mountain above the present, and another in the plain, the traces of which have been entirely lost.

The convent was said to have been built A.D. 306, by the architect of Chángérí, after he had finished that; and from hence he went to Ech-Miadzin,¹⁹ where he erected the patriarchal church. This is a massive stone building, both larger and more handsome than the church at Chángérí; but the out-buildings here are less extensive and in a more dilapidated state. The court is surrounded by a very lofty wall. Many of the windows have been blocked up with stone in order to strengthen the walls, which show symptoms of decay; the church has thus been rendered very gloomy. One corner, which was severely shaken by an earthquake some years ago, has been rebuilt;

¹⁹ Three Churches.—F.S.

another corner is in a tottering condition, and must come down if not soon repaired. I asked why the church at Ech-Miadzin did not send money to repair the damage. The answer was, that it expected money from them. This monastery depends on the patriarch of Ech-Miadzin, and the surplus produce of its lands are remitted to him; he, however, sends in return a few necessaries. Half the body of St. John the Baptist is possessed by this church, and it is on account of the reputed miraculous powers of that relic that the monastery is a place of pilgrimage. Formerly the priests derived a large revenue from the contributions of devout pilgrims; but this source of wealth has almost failed, for the devotees are now very few. This defection has arisen from the depopulated state of the surrounding country, as well as from its insecurity. About thirty years ago, a great number of Armenian villages were scattered over the plain of Arishkerd, extending from Diyádín to beyond Móllá Suleïmán, and many of them contained from 300 to 400 houses: now there are very few, and those only holding from twenty to forty houses, with the exception of two. The Armenians form a small proportion of the present population, for nearly the whole emigrated to Georgia. Within the last two or three years five villages have been re-occupied by families from the vicinity of Eriván. They are of Persian origin, a sort of gipsy tribe, and are called Terekemeh.²⁰ They are a people of unsettled habits and doubtful honesty.

About fifteen cottages round the monastery are occupied by peasants, whom the priests employ in the cultivation of their lands, but the greater part of their estates remain untilled for want of hands. The number of buffaloes, cows, oxen, mares, and sheep which I saw returning in the evening from the pastures showed that there did not exist anything like want in this community. In former times, the monastery was often plundered by Kurds; and Ḥasan Khán, who was Serdár of Eriván when it belonged to Persia, had once completely stripped it of all its treasures: latterly it has been tolerably free from serious depredation. A month previously, however, six horses had been carried off by the Kurds; but on application to the Páshá, five were recovered, and the value of the sixth was promised to be paid. Kurds often steal things in the hope that by some expedient a part may be retained, and, as there is neither shame nor punishment attached to the act, it is no wonder that it is often repeated, even without much chance of its being productive of gain.

The Murád Şú runs about 100 paces from the monastery: it was at this time an inconsiderable stream about 20 to 30 paces broad, with the water reaching to the horses' knees. In spring it swells so much as to be perfectly unfordable, and it can only then be crossed by a solid stone bridge situated about 1 mile lower down the river.

I inquired whether there was any library or manuscripts in the convent, and was told there were a great many books, but that they were in a state of confusion. I was admitted, however, into a dark room on one side of the altar, in which the church ornaments were preserved. I found a heap of books there covered with dust; but there did not appear to me to be more than 100 volumes. All I laid my hands on were

²⁰ That is, Turkománs who live like Gipsies, but are not Chiugáneh, *i.e.* Gipsies.-F.S.

Armenian books printed at Venice, on subjects connected with the church service. I found one Armenian manuscript bound, of which I asked the title; but the head of the convent replied that it was on religion. I suspected from his manner that he could not read it, and my suspicion was soon confirmed. He had spoken of a book in the collection, both the subject and language of which was unknown, which I expected at least to be Latin or Greek. After a search it was found, and proved to be the work of Moses Chorenensis, the Armenian geographer: half the page was occupied by the Armenian original, and the opposite half by a Latin translation. Had the priest been able to read his own language he must have discovered the subject of the work, and probably what was the unknown language. The head of the convent, though extremely obliging, was a dull, uninformed person, and quite unfit for the direction of a religious establishment.

After sunset, I received a visit from M. Scaffi, an Italian Catholic priest on his way to Persia. He had intended to have visited Ech-miadzin with a French gentleman named Boré, commissioned by the Academy of Sciences at Paris to explore the East. Both were stopped on the Russian frontier. After an application to Tiflis, permission was given to M. Boré to visit Ech-miadzin, but M. Scaffi was not allowed to enter Georgia, and was forced to return from Gúmrí to Կárs, from whence he had come hither by way of A'ní and Կághizmán: he was going to Báyzíd, there to wait for M. Boré. *14th.* - It was rather a long day's march to Կará Kilísá,²¹ but all the intervening villages were inhabited by Terekemehs, and I wished to avoid stopping among them. We rose before daylight, and found the air unpleasantly cold. As I was about to mount, a caravan from Persia passed by, which had travelled through the night. A Russian major named Clemon was accompanying it: he had been purchasing horses in Persia for his government. He stopped to visit the church. I saw him for an instant, but as he spoke only Russian and German we could hold no conversation, and we had no intercourse on the road; he travelling by night and I by day, it would have been impracticable under any circumstances.

We commenced our march at 5½ A.M. At about 2 hours we passed a village named Allegúr, situated on a stream which immediately below the village falls into the Murád. Here we met a large caravan reposing after a night's march. The goods belonged to Georgian merchants, many of whom accompanied them, and were destined for Tabríz; they were chiefly of British manufacture. The muleteers were Persian, who always prefer night to day journeys; the reason of this preference in summer is obvious, but the custom is commonly followed even in winter, and its advantage at that season it is difficult to imagine. Soon after quitting Allegúr we met the Murád at a bend in the river: in descending to its banks we came suddenly upon a large party of horsemen; they were from Կárs, and were escorting about fifteen families of Zíbellí Kurds on their way to join their tribe in Persia. The Kurds were accompanied by their wives, children, cattle, tents and household furniture. We were on the right bank of

²¹ Black Church.- F.S.

the river, and kept near it, as it wound through a narrow valley with luxuriant grass. On the opposite side of the river we saw the village of Kalasúr. After a time, the Murád made a bend to the left, and we ascended a bank forming the boundary of the valley, and then rode over a sort of table-land, the river running in its valley on the left side, while on the right was a plain with several small villages. The soil of the table-land was rich, but very little cultivated; in fact, the scanty population of the plain is insufficient to cultivate half the land, and wide tracts of fine ground are waste. Below the plateau, in the valley of the Murád, we passed a village named Ziró, and towards the termination of the plateau, another named Yúnjahlí (Lucern Ville), similarly situated. All these villages are inhabited by Terekemehs. The table-land itself may be 11 or 12 miles in length, and is terminated beyond Yúnjahlí by a bluff, round which the streams of the right-hand division of the plain flow to join the Murád. We had from hence a view of Şapán Tâgh on the horizon: it was covered with snow very far down, and the mountains bounding the plain on our right had also a slight coating. About 1 hour from the end of the table-land we reached the Armenian village of Ƙará Kilísá, so called from a church in ruins built of a dark-coloured stone. The village contains thirty-five families, all Armenian. The Murád was not far distant, and, after passing through a break in the low hills which had to that point bounded its southern bank, it takes a more southerly course, from Diyádín it having been nearly W. Before the river passes through this break, it is joined by all the streams which flow from the mountains on the northern side of the plain. The distance from U'ch Kilísá to Ƙará Kilísá I estimated at about 24 miles, the road level and excellent the whole way. At Ƙará Kilísá I found Lieutenant Lynch, who had come from Baghdád by way of Erz-Rúm with despatches for Persia.

15th.—We began our journey at 5½ A.M.: the weather was chilly, cloudy, and threatening: however, it cleared off as the day advanced, and long before mid-day became hot. We met to-day several caravans, and with those of yesterday they must have been conveying at least 1500 horse-loads of European merchandise to Persia.

At 7½ A.M. we stopped at a small Kurd village named Móllá 'Oşmán to procure some breakfast; but after much difficulty a little bread, a few eggs and some milk only were produced, the caravans having consumed all the provisions. The village contained but seven families. Near it ran the Sheriýán Şú, which, coming from the low mountains bordering the plain of the same name westwards, falls into the Murád at the break in the hills before mentioned. We afterwards passed near another small Kurd village, and at 2 P.M. reached Móllá Suleïmán. The distance from Ƙará Kilísá may be called 18 miles.

The plain of Arishkerd extends 2 or 3 miles further W., and reckoned from Diyádín its whole length is not less than 40 miles, with a breadth varying from 6 to 16 miles. The soil is rich, and the plain abundantly watered, containing about thirty villages, three only of which have Armenian inhabitants. Ƙará Kilísá and Móllá Suleïmán are occupied by them exclusively, and of the 200 houses of Ʀoprák Ƙal'eh half are Armenian. All the remainder of the inhabitants of the plain, except the few at the monastery of U'ch Kilísá, are Kurds and Terekemehs. Móllá Suleïmán has thirty-five families, but the other

villages, except those particularly mentioned, are small. The plain certainly could easily maintain double the number of the existing villages, even were they all large; and it is lamentable to see so fine a country comparatively deserted. Beyond the low range of Sheryán Tāgh a plain is said to succeed, extending to Malázgerd, a distance of about 36 miles. From the latter place to Khinís I believe the country to be generally level, the distance probably 24 miles, so that from Khinís to Diyádín there is a nearly continuous plain of about 100 miles.

Toprák Kal'eh, the principal place in this plain, and the residence of the Beg, the son of Behlúl Páshá, is distant from Móllá Suleimán 4 or 5 miles E., and is situated close under the mountains. The afternoon was overcast, and the clouds at last burst in thunder and heavy rain, which lasted about four hours. During the night the rain again fell in torrents, and our tents were so saturated with water that it would have been inconvenient to have moved, so I resolved to give our horses a day's rest, and Dr. Dickson time to recruit preparatory to a long ride; for 'arabahs cannot cross the range of mountains which separates the plain of Arishkerd from that of Pásín, and we had no means of avoiding this range.

16th.-A gholám (servant) of the British envoy in Persia passed with despatches on his way to Erz-Rúm. I found we were obliged to make a long march from Móllá Suleimán to Delí Bábá (Mad Papa). The Kurd inhabitants of the villages near the road being still at their pastures, we could not have procured food there either for ourselves or our cattle. There are two passes over the mountains. One leads through the village of Dahar, and is always used by caravans, and most frequently by travellers, being open both summer and winter. The other winds under the Kôseh Tāgh; is seldom taken by travellers even in summer, never by caravans, and in winter is stopped up by snow. It is shorter than the Dahar pass, but more mountainous, and on that account, as well as from its character of insecurity, is usually avoided. I chose it, however, because it was the least circuitous.

17th.- Móllá Suleimán is directly under the peak of Kôseh Tāgh. We mounted at 6 A.M., and immediately commenced the ascent. We passed close under the peak, which is a bare cone. On account of its rising from a range in itself lofty, it did not impress me with the idea of great elevation; but, from its appearance when viewed from Şapán Tāgh and other distant points, it cannot be less than 8500 or 9000 feet. Snow does not remain on it in summer, and it was entirely free at this time. We afterwards passed through a valley called Chat Dereh-sí, from a village of which nothing is now distinguishable but the site, from some existing mounds of earth and stone. Several ravines unite at the point where the village stood, in the recesses of which Kurds used to conceal themselves, and watch unseen their opportunity of plundering caravans or travellers. This probably occasioned the ruin of the village, and the abandoning of the route. Not longer ago than in 1835, a Tátár was plundered close to the site of Chat; he was conveying jewels to Persia, and was wounded in defending his charge. No robbery has since occurred - partly because the route has been seldom frequented, and partly

because the Kurds have since that time been held in check more effectually than before. From Chat we ascended a narrow ravine, with a stream running down it, and thick underwood on its banks. At the top we crossed a bare ridge, and immediately descended into another pretty valley with fine pastures, but without either villages or cultivation. We might, by following this valley, have reached Delí Bábá; but the route was circuitous, and we therefore crossed a range to shorten it. We passed above a Kurd village, situated high up in the mountains, called Hájí Khalíl, and we descended upon Delí Bábá, reaching it at 3 P.M.: we rode 9 hours without a halt, and the distance could not be short of 26 or 28 miles. Our baggage reached us 2 hours afterwards. After passing Hájí Khalíl Dr. Dickson was so fatigued and in such pain that he could not ride further, and, an 'arabah being fortunately obtained in the fields, he was conveyed in it to Delí Bábá.

While waiting for our baggage we were entertained by the Kyayá of the village with an excellent repast: he was a civil man, and furnished us with everything we required without making any difficulties. The village is inhabited solely by Armenians, of whom there are 35 families. If I might judge by the large heaps of grain collected to be trodden out, I should say the peasants were well off; but the usual complaints of oppression were made. The Kyayá regretted much not having followed the Armenians in their emigration: he said, from the persons visiting them, they knew that their countrymen in Georgia were pleased at the conduct of the Russian government, and at the determination they had taken.

This village is the property of Selím Beg, an officer of the Sipáhís,²² at Erṣ-Rúm. He receives, as lord of the soil, 100 somars of wheat, equal to about 1100 Winchester bushels, worth between 80*l.* and 85*l.*

There is a Turkish tomb here, from which probably the name of the village is derived: it is a building of some size, and devout Moḥammedans, in passing it, stop to pray. The Armenians could not give any account of the tenant of the tomb, nor any explanation whence the name of the village was derived. The Aras flows about 2 hours north of the village.

18*th.*-Leaving Delí Bábá, we rode over the undulating surface of the plain of Pásín; and at 2 hours, passed the village of Batán Kõĩ on our right: below it runs the Aras, and on the opposite side of the river the Kaṣabah of Khorásán was visible, through which lies the road to Karṣ. A little further on, we came to the village of Yúz-veren, where we procured some breakfast, and half an hour beyond it, we passed the large village of Komasúr, and afterwards the smaller village of Mendiven. Continuing our journey, we came to the village of Emrakúm, where we encamped. The day's march occupied 6½ hours, and the estimated distance was 18 miles.

19*th.*-During the night a Khaváṣṣ arrived from Mr. Suter, who had been informed of our approach, and who intimated his intention of meeting us at Ḥasan Kal'eh. We mounted early, and in 1½ hour reached Kõprí Kõĩ (Bridge Village), so named from a

²² Cavalry; but Sipáhi (seapoy) is a general term in Persian for soldier; *Sipáh* "army;" *Sipáhi*, "belong to an army."-F.S.

stone bridge called Chóbán Kôprî (Shepherds' Bridge), which crosses the Aras. In the previous spring, part of it was washed away, and it was now undergoing repair: the new portion was built of stone, in keeping with the rest of the edifice, but it gave way soon after its completion, either from the foundations being defective, or from the frost's having decomposed the mortar before it was dry. The Bín-gól Şú and the H̄asan K̄al'eh Şú pass through different arches, and first unite their waters below the bridge. We forded the river after the junction of the branches: it was there broad, perhaps 100 yards, and it reached to the horses' girths.

From Kôprî Kôï to H̄asan K̄al'eh we were 2½ hours, and I estimated the distance from Emrakúm at 12 miles.

We pitched our tents in their former position near the baths. Mr. Suter and his party arrived soon after we were settled in our tents. During the night we were robbed: Dr. Dickson lost all his clothes, Mr. Glascott his clothes and surveying instruments. The Beg was informed of the robbery, but no detection followed. The thieves were skilful and bold; they drew the curtain-pegs, and from under it drew out the things: many were in contact with Mr. Glascott's bed, but neither he nor any individual of our numerous party heard the thieves, and the loss was not discovered till the next morning. We had had two guards to watch during the night, but they pretended not to have heard anything, and they must either have been asleep or accomplices with the robbers. Some months afterwards the principal part of the loss was repaid by the Beg, through a requisition to the Páshá.

21st.-We passed the preceding day reposing and enjoying the baths, and this morning rode into Erz-Rúm. Near the city I was met by my friends and acquaintances, native as well as European, and by an officer and party deputed by the Páshá to compliment me on my return.

DOCUMENTS: ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

**DOCUMENTS PRESENTED TO VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

By Viscount Bryce
With a preface by
VISCOUNT BRYCE

**Extracted from "THE TREATMENT OF ARMENIANS IN THE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE 1915-1916", LONDON, 1916.**

***This part of the book contains a brief description of documents included in the collection.**

PREFACE BY VISCOUNT BRYCE.

In the summer of 1915 accounts, few and scanty at first, but increasing in volume later, began to find their way out of Asiatic Turkey as to the events that were happening there. These accounts described what seemed to be an effort to exterminate a whole nation, without distinction of age or sex, whose misfortune it was to be the subjects of a Government devoid of scruples and of pity, and the policy they disclosed was one without precedent even in the blood-stained annals of the East. It then became the obvious duty of those who realized the gravity of these events to try to collect and put together all the data available for the purpose of presenting a full and authentic record of what had occurred. This has been done in the present volume. It contains all the evidence that could be obtained up till July 1916 as to the massacres and deportations of the Armenian and other Eastern Christians dwelling in Asia Minor, Armenia and that north-western corner of Persia which was invaded by the Turkish troops. It is presented primarily as a contribution to history, but partly also for the purpose of enabling the civilised nations of Europe to comprehend the problems which will arise at the end of this war, when it will become necessary to provide for the future government of what are now the Turkish dominions. The compilation has been made in the spirit proper to an historical enquiry, that is to say, nothing has been omitted which could throw light on the facts, whatever the political bearing of the accounts might be. In such an enquiry, no racial or religious sympathies, no prejudices, not even the natural horror raised by crimes, ought to distract the mind of the enquirer from the duty of trying to ascertain the real facts.

As will be seen from the analysis which follows, the evidence here collected comes from various sources.

A large, perhaps the largest, part has been drawn from neutral witnesses who were living in or passing through Asiatic Turkey while these events were happening, and had opportunities of observing them.

Another part comes from natives of the country, nearly all Christians, who succeeded, despite the stringency of the Turkish censorship, in getting letters into neutral countries, or who themselves escaped into Greece, or Russia, or Egypt and were there able to write down what they had seen.

A third but much smaller part comes from subjects of the now belligerent Powers (mostly Germans) who were in Turkey when these events were happening, and subsequently published in their own countries accounts based on their personal knowledge.

In presenting this evidence it has been necessary in very many cases to withhold the names of the witnesses, because to publish their names would be to expose such of them as are still within the Turkish dominions, or the relations and friends of these persons, to the ruthless vengeance of the gang who now rule those dominions in the name of the unfortunate Sultan. Even in the case of those neutral witnesses who are safe in their own countries, a similar precaution must be observed, because many of them, or their friends and associates, have property in Turkey which would at once, despite their neutral character, be seized by the Turkish Government. These difficulties, inevitable in the nature of the case, are of course only temporary. The names of the great majority of the witnesses are known to the editor of this book and to myself¹, and also to several other persons², and they can be made public as soon as it is certain that no harm will result to these witnesses or to their friends. That certainty evidently cannot be attained till the war is over and the rule of the savage gang already referred to has come to an end.

The question now arises - What is the value of this evidence? Though the names of many of the witnesses cannot be given, I may say that most of them, and nearly all of those who belong to neutral or belligerent countries, are persons entitled to confidence in respect of their character and standing, and are, moreover, persons who have no conceivable motive for inventing or perverting facts, because they are (with extremely few exceptions) either neutrals with no national or personal or pecuniary interests involved, or else German subjects. Were I free to mention names, the trustworthiness of these neutrals and Germans would at once be recognised.

Let us, however, look at the evidence itself.

(i) Nearly all of it comes from eye-witnesses, some of whom wrote it down themselves, while others gave it to persons who wrote it out at the time from the statements given to them orally. Nearly all of it, moreover, was written immediately after the events described, when the witnesses' recollection was still fresh and clear.

(ii) The main facts rest upon evidence coming from different and independent sources. When the same fact is stated by witnesses who had no communication with one another, and in many cases did not even speak the same language, the presumption in favour of its truth becomes strong.

¹ Memorandum by the Editor, page XLI.

² Memorandum by the Editor, page XLI.

Take, for instance, the evidence (Section VIII.) regarding the particularly terrible events at Trebizond. We have a statement from the Italian Consul-General (Doc. 73), from the Kavass of the local branch of the Ottoman Bank, a Montenegrin under Italian protection (Doc. 74), and from an Armenian girl whose family lived in the neighbourhood of the Italian Consulate, and who was brought out of Turkey by the Italian Consul-General as his maid-servant. The testimony of these three witnesses exactly tallies, not only as to the public crimes committed in the city before they left it, but also as to their personal relations with one another (for they each mention the others explicitly in their several statements). Yet they were in no touch whatever with one another when their respective testimonies were given. The Consul-General gave his at Rome, in an interview with an Italian journalist; the Kavass gave his in an interview with an Armenian gentleman in Egypt; and the girl hers in Roumania to a compatriot resident in that country. The three statements had certainly never been collated till they came, by different channels, into the hands of the editor of this book. In addition to this, there is a statement from another foreign resident at Trebizond (Doc. 72), which reached us through America.

Or take the case of the convoys of exiles deported from the Vilayet of Erzeroum, and, in particular, from the towns of Erzeroum and Baibourt. We have a second-hand account of their fate in Doc. 2, a despatch from a well-informed source at Constantinople; we have a first-hand account, which completely bears out the former, from a lady who was herself deported in the third convoy of exiles (Doc. 59); we have the narrative of two Danish nurses in the service of the German Red Cross at Erzindjan, who witnessed the passage of the Baibourt exiles through that place (Doc. 62); and finally there are three witnesses from the town of H., several days' journey further along the exiles' route, who refer independently to the arrival of convoys from Erzeroum and the neighbourhood. One of these latter witnesses is a (third) Danish Red Cross nurse (Doc. 64), one a neutral resident at H. of different nationality, and one an Armenian inhabitant of the town.

These are two typical instances in which broad groups of events are independently and consistently recorded, but there are innumerable instances of the same kind in the case of particular occurrences. The hanging of the Armenian Bishop of Baibourt, for example, is mentioned, at second-hand, in Doc. 7 (written at Constantinople) and Doc. 12 (a selection of evidence published in Germany) ; but it is also witnessed to by the author of Doc. 59, an actual resident at Baibourt who was present there at the time of the murder. Again, the disappearance of the Bishop of Erzeroum on the road to exile is not only recorded in Doc. 11, a memorandum from a competent source at Bukarest, but is confirmed, in Docs. 57 and 76, by testimony obtained from eye-witnesses on the spot after the Russian occupation of Erzeroum had left them free to speak out.

(iii) Facts of the same, or of a very similar, nature occurring in different places, are deposed to by different and independent witnesses. As there is every reason to believe-and indeed it is hardly denied-that the massacres and deportations were carried

out under general orders proceeding from Constantinople, the fact that persons who knew only what was happening in one locality record circumstances there broadly resembling those which occurred in another locality goes to show the general correctness of both sets of accounts.

Thus, the two Danish Red Cross nurses (Doc. 62) state that they twice witnessed the massacre, in cold blood, of gangs of unarmed Armenian soldiers employed on navvy work, along the road from Erzindjan to Sivas. In Doc. 7 (written at Constantinople) we find a statement that other gangs of unarmed Armenian soldiers were similarly murdered on the roads between Ourfa and Diyarbekir, and Diyarbekir and Harpout; and the massacre on this latter section of road is confirmed by German lady resident, at the time, at Harpout (Doc. 23).

Again, there is frequent mention of roads being lined, or littered, with the corpses of Armenian exiles who had died of exhaustion or been murdered on the way. If these allusions were merely made in general terms, they might conceivably be explained away as amplifications of some isolated case, or even as rhetorical embellishments of the exiles' story without foundation in fact. But when we find such statements made with regard to particular stretches of road in widely different localities, and often by more than one witness with regard to a given stretch, we are led to infer that this wholesale mortality by the wayside was in very deed a frequent concomitant of the Deportations, and an inevitable consequence of the method on which the general scheme of Deportation was organised from headquarters. We hear in Doc. 7, for instance, of corpses on the road from Malatia to Sivas, on the testimony of a Moslem traveller; we hear of them on the road from Diyarbekir to Ourfa in Doc. 12 (a German cavalry captain), and on the road from Ourfa to Aleppo in Doc. 9 (an Armenian witness), in Doc. 135 (an interned Englishwoman), and also in Doc. 64 (a Danish Red Cross nurse). The latter gives the detail of the corpses being mangled by wild beasts, a detail also mentioned by the German authors of Docs. 12 and 23. Similar testimony from German officers regarding the road between Baghdad and Aleppo is reported independently in Docs. 108 and 121.

(iv) The volume of this concurrent evidence from different quarters is so large as to establish the main facts beyond all question. Errors of detail in some instances may be allowed for. Exaggeration may, in the case of native witnesses, who were more likely to be excited, be also, now and then, allowed for. But the general character of the events stands out, resting on foundations too broad to be shaken, and even details comparatively unimportant in themselves are often remarkably corroborated from different quarters. The fact that the Zeitounli exiles at Sultania were for some time prevented by the local Turkish authorities from receiving relief is attested in Doc. 4 (Constantinople) and Doc. 123 (the town of B. in Cilicia), as well as in Doc. 125 from Konia. The malicious trick by which the exiles from Shar were deflected from a good road to a bad, in order that they might be compelled to abandon their carts, is recorded independently in Docs. 12 and 126.

(v) In particular it is to be noted that many of the most shocking and horrible accounts are those for which there is the most abundant testimony from the most trustworthy neutral witnesses. None of the worst cruelties rest on native evidence alone. If all that class of evidence were entirely struck out, the general effect would be much the same, though some of the minor details would be wanting. One may, indeed, say that an examination of the neutral evidence tends to confirm the native evidence as a whole by showing that there is in it less of exaggeration than might have been expected.

Docs. 7 and 9, for instance, both of which are native reports at second-hand, refer in somewhat rhetorical terms to the corpses of murdered Armenians washed down by the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates. Yet their words are more than justified by many concrete and independent pieces of evidence. The description in Doc. 12 (German material) of how barge-loads of Armenians were drowned in the Tigris below Diyarbekir, renders more fully credible the accounts of how the Armenians of Trebizond were drowned wholesale in the Black Sea. Doc. 12 also contains the statement, from a German employee of the Baghdad Railway, that the Armenian exiles who reached Biredjik were drowned in batches every night in the Euphrates; and similar horrors are reported from almost every section of the Euphrates' course. Docs. 56, 57, 59 and 62 describe how the convoys of exiles from the Vilayet of Erzeroum were cast into the Kara Su (western branch of the Euphrates) at the gorge called Kamakh Boghaz, and were then either shot in the water or left to drown. The author of Doc. 59 was present at such a scene, though she was herself spared, and the information in Docs. 56 and 57 was obtained direct from a lady who was actually cast in, but managed to struggle to the bank and escape. The authors of Doc. 62 received their information from a gendarme who had been attached to a convoy and had himself participated in the massacre. Doc. 24 records the experiences of an Armenian woman deported from Moush, who was driven with her fellow-exiles into the Mourad Su (eastern branch of the Euphrates), but also managed to escape, though the rest were drowned. Doc. 66 describes corpses floating in the river in the neighbourhood of Kiakhta, and Doc. 137 the drowning of exiles in the tributaries of the Euphrates between Harpout and Aleppo. These are evidently instances of a regular practice, and when we find the exiles from Trebizond and Kerasond being disposed of in the same fashion in a comparatively distant part of the Turkish Empire, we are almost compelled to infer that the drowning of the exiles *en masse* was a definite part of the general scheme drawn out by the Young Turk leaders at Constantinople.

Perhaps the most terrible feature of all was the suffering of the women with child, who were made to march with the convoys and gave birth to their babies on the road. This is alluded to in Doc. 12, from a German source, at second-hand, but in Docs. 129 and 137 we have the testimony of neutral witnesses who actually succoured these victims, so far as the extremity of their plight and the brutality of their escort made succour possible. It should be mentioned that in Doc. 68 an Armenian exile testifies to

the kindness of an individual Turkish gendarme to one of her fellow-victims who was in these straits.

(vi) The vast scale of these massacres and the pitiless cruelty with which the deportations were carried out may seem to some readers to throw doubt on the authenticity of the narratives. Can human beings (it may be asked) have perpetrated such crimes on innocent women and children? But a recollection of previous massacres will show that such crimes are part of the long settled and often repeated policy of Turkish rulers. In Chios, nearly a century ago, the Turks slaughtered almost the whole Greek population of the island. In European Turkey in 1876 many thousands of Bulgarians were killed on the suspicion of an intended rising, and the outrages committed on women were, on a smaller scale, as bad as those here recorded. In 1895 and 1896 more than a hundred thousand Armenian Christians were put to death by Abd-ul-Hamid, many thousands of whom died as martyrs to their Christian faith, by abjuring which they could have saved their lives. All these massacres are registered not only in the ordinary press records of current history but in the reports of British diplomatic and consular officials written at the time. They are as certain as anything else that has happened in our day. There is, therefore, no antecedent improbability to be overcome before the accounts here given can be accepted. All that happened in 1915 is in the regular line of Turkish policy. The only differences are in the scale of the present crimes, and in the fact that the lingering sufferings of deportations in which the deaths were as numerous as in the massacres, and fell with special severity upon the women, have in this latest instance been added.

The evidence is cumulative. Each part of it supports the rest because each part is independent of the others. The main facts are the same, and reveal the same plans and intentions at work. Even the varieties are instructive because they show those diversities of temper and feeling which appear in human nature everywhere.

The Turkish officials are usually heartless and callous. But here and there we see one of a finer temper, who refuses to carry out the orders given him and is sometimes dismissed for his refusal. The Moslem rabble is usually pitiless. It pillages the houses and robs the persons of the hapless exiles. But now and then there appear pious and compassionate Moslems who try to save the lives or alleviate the miseries of their Christian neighbours. We have a vivid picture of human life, where wickedness in high places deliberately lets loose the passions of racial or religious hatred, as well as the commoner passion of rapacity, yet cannot extinguish those better feelings which show as points of light in the gloom.

It is, however, for the reader to form his own judgment on these documents as he peruses them. They do not, and by the nature of the case cannot, constitute what is called judicial evidence, such as a Court of Justice obtains when it puts witnesses on oath and subjects them to cross-examination. But by far the larger part (almost all, indeed, of what is here published) does constitute historical evidence of the best kind, inasmuch as the statements come from those who saw the events they describe and

recorded them in writing immediately afterwards. They corroborate one another, the narratives given by different observers showing a substantial agreement, which becomes conclusive when we find the salient facts repeated with no more variations in detail than the various opportunities of the independent observers made natural. The gravest facts are those for which the evidence is most complete, and it all tallies fatally with that which twenty years ago established the guilt of Abd-ul-Hamid for the deeds that have made his name infamous. In this case there are, moreover, what was wanting then, admissions which add weight to the testimony here presented, I mean the admissions of the Turkish Government and of their German apologists³. The attempts made to find excuses for wholesale slaughter and for the removal of a whole people from its homes leave no room for doubt as to the slaughter and the removal. The main facts are established by the confession of the criminals themselves. What the evidence here presented does is to show in detail how these things were effected, what cruelties accompanied them, and how inexcusable they were. The disproof of the palliations which the Turks have put forward is as complete as the proof of the atrocities themselves.

In order to test the soundness of my own conclusions as to the value of the evidence, I have submitted it to the judgment of three friends, men for whose opinion everyone who knows them will have the highest respect - a distinguished historian, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher (Vice Chancellor of the University of Sheffield); a distinguished scholar, Mr. Gilbert Murray (Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford); and a distinguished American lawyer of long experience and high authority, Mr. Moorfield Storey, of Boston, Mass. - men accustomed in their respective walks of life to examine and appraise evidence; and I append the letters which convey their several views.

This preface is intended to deal only with the credibility of the evidence here presented, so I will refrain from comment on the facts. A single observation, or rather a single question, may, however, be permitted from one who has closely followed the history of the Turkish East for more than forty years. European travellers have often commended the honesty and the kindness of the Turkish peasantry, and our soldiers have said that they are fair fighters. Against them I have nothing to say, and will even add that I have known individual Turkish officials who impressed me as men of honesty and good-will. But the record of the rulers of Turkey for the last two or three centuries,

³ For instance, the conversation of a German officer reported in Doc. 108, p. 420. For the general attitude of the Turks and Germans towards the treatment of the Armenians, see "Historical Summary," chapter V.

On the 11th January, 1916, Herr von Stumm, Chief of the Political Department of the German Foreign Office, gave the following answer in the Reichstag to a question from Dr. Liebknecht:

"It is known to the Imperial Chancellor that revolutionary demonstrations, organised by our enemies, have taken place in Armenia, and that they have caused the Turkish Government to expel the Armenian population of certain districts and to allot to them new dwelling-places. An exchange of views about the reaction of these measures upon the population is now taking place. Further information cannot be given."

from the Sultan on his throne down to the district Mutessarif, is, taken as a whole, an almost unbroken record of corruption, of injustice, of an oppression which often rises into hideous cruelty. The Young Turks, when they deposed Abd-ul-Hamid, came forward as the apostles of freedom, promising equal rights and equal treatment to all Ottoman subjects. The facts here recorded show how that promise was kept. Can anyone still continue to hope that the evils of such a government are curable? Or does the evidence contained in this volume furnish the most terrible and convincing proof that it can no longer be permitted to rule over subjects of a different faith?

BRYCE.

Letter from Mr. H. A. L. Fisher.

LETTER FROM MR. H. A. L. FISHER,
VICE-CHANCELLOR OF SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY, TO VISCOUNT BRYCE.

The University,
Sheffield,
August 2nd, 1916.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE,

The evidence here collected with respect to the sufferings of the Armenian subjects of the Ottoman Empire during the present war will carry conviction wherever and whenever it is studied by honest enquirers. It bears upon the face of it all the marks of credibility. In the first place, the transactions were recorded soon after they took place and while the memory of them was still fresh and poignant. Then the greater part of the story rests upon the word of eye-witnesses, and the remainder upon the evidence of persons who had special opportunities for obtaining correct information. It is true that some of the witnesses are Armenians, whose testimony, if otherwise unconfirmed, might be regarded as liable to be over coloured or distorted, but the Armenian evidence does not stand alone. It is corroborated by reports received from Americans, Danes, Swiss, Germans, Italians and other foreigners. Again, this foreign testimony comes for the most part from men and women whose calling alone entitles them to be heard with respect, that is to say, from witnesses who may fairly be expected to exceed the average level of character and intelligence and to view the transactions which they record with as much detachment as is compatible with human feeling. Indeed, the foreign witnesses who happened to be spectators of the deportation, dispersion, and massacre of the Armenian nation, do not strike me as being, in any one case, blind and indiscriminate haters of the Turk. They are prompt to notice facts which strike them as creditable to individual members of the Moslem community.

I am also impressed with the cumulative effect of the evidence. Whoever speaks, and from whatever quarter in the wide region covered by these reports the voice may proceed, the story is one and the same. There are no discrepancies or contradictions of

importance, but, on the contrary, countless scattered pieces of mutual corroboration. There is no contrariety as to the broad fact that the Armenian population has been uprooted from its homes, dispersed, and, to a large though not exactly calculable extent, exterminated in consequence of general orders issued from Constantinople. It is clear that a catastrophe, conceived upon a scale quite unparalleled in modern history, has been contrived for the Armenian inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire. It is found that the original responsibility rests with the Ottoman Government at Constantinople, whose policy was actively seconded by the members of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Provinces. And in view of the fact that the representations of the Austrian Ambassador with the Porte were effectual in procuring a partial measure of exemption for the Armenian Catholics, we are led to surmise that the unspeakable horrors which this volume records might have been mitigated, if not wholly checked, had active and energetic remonstrances been from the first moment addressed to the Ottoman Government by the two Powers who had acquired a predominant influence in Constantinople. The evidence, on the contrary, tends to suggest that these two Powers were, in a general way, favourable to the policy of deportation.

Yours sincerely,

HERBERT FISHER.

Letter from Professor Gilbert Murray.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY, REGIUS PROFESSOR OF
GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, TO VISCOUNT BRYCE.

DEAR LORD
BRYCE,

82, Woodstock Road,
Oxford,
June 27th, 1916.

I have spent some time studying the documents you are about to publish relative to the deportations and massacres of Armenians in the Turkish Empire during the spring and summer of 1915. I know, of course, how carefully a historian should scrutinize the evidence for events so startling in character, reported to have occurred in regions so far removed from the eyes of civilized Europe. I realize that in times of persecution passions run high, that oriental races tend to use hyperbolical language, and that the victims of oppression cannot be expected to speak with strict fairness of their oppressors. But the evidence of these letters and reports will bear any scrutiny and overpower any scepticism. Their genuineness is established beyond question, though obviously you are right in withholding certain of the names of persons and places. The

statements of the Armenian refugees themselves are fully confirmed by residents of American, Scandinavian and even of German nationality; and the undesigned agreement between so many credible witnesses from widely separate districts puts all the main lines of the story beyond the possibility of doubt.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
GILBERT MURRAY.

Letter from Mr. Moorfield Storey.

LETTER FROM MR. MOORFIELD STOREY,
EX-PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN
BAR ASSOCIATION, TO VISCOUNT BRYCE.

MY DEAR SIR,
735, Exchange
Building, Boston, U.S.,
7th August, 1916.

I have examined considerable portions of the volume which contains the statements regarding the treatment of the Armenians by the Turks, in order to determine the value of these statements as evidence.

I have no doubt that, while there may be inaccuracies of detail, these statements establish without any question the essential facts. It must be borne in mind that in such a case the evidence of eye-witnesses is not easily obtained; the victims, with few exceptions, are dead; the perpetrators will not confess; any casual spectators cannot be reached, and in most cases are either in sympathy with what was done or afraid to speak. There are no tribunals before which witnesses can be summoned and compelled to testify, and a rigid censorship is maintained by the authorities responsible for the crimes, which prevents the truth from coming out freely, and no investigation by impartial persons will be permitted.

Such statements as you print are the best evidence which, in the circumstances, it is possible to obtain. They come from persons holding positions which give weight to their words, and from other persons with no motive to falsify, and it is impossible that such a body of concurring evidence should have been manufactured. Moreover, it is confirmed by evidence from German sources which has with difficulty escaped the rigid censorship maintained by the German authorities - a censorship which is in itself a confession, since there is no reason why the Germans should not give full currency to such evidence unless the authorities felt themselves in some way responsible for what it discloses.

In my opinion, the evidence which you print is as reliable as that upon which rests

our belief in many of the universally admitted facts of history, and I think it establishes beyond any reasonable doubt the deliberate purpose of the Turkish authorities practically to exterminate the Armenians, and their responsibility for the hideous atrocities which have been perpetrated upon that unhappy people.

Yours truly,
MOORFIELD STOREY.

Letter from Four German Missionaries.

LETTER, DATED ALEPPO, 8th OCTOBER, 1915, FROM FOUR MEMBERS OF
THE GERMAN MISSIONS STAFF IN TURKEY TO THE IMPERIAL GERMAN
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AT BERLIN.⁴

We think it our duty to draw the attention of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the fact that our school work will be deprived, for the future, of its moral basis and will lose all authority in the eyes of the natives, if it is really beyond the power of the German Government to mitigate the brutality of the treatment which the exiled women and children of the massacred Armenians are receiving.

In face of the scenes of horror which are being unfolded daily before our eyes in the neighbourhood of our school, our educational activity becomes a mockery of humanity. How can we make our pupils listen to the Tales of the Seven Dwarfs, how can we teach them conjugations and declensions, when, in the compounds next door to our school, death is carrying off their starving compatriots-when there are girls and women and children, practically naked, some lying on the ground, others stretched between the dead or the coffins made ready for them beforehand, and breathing their last breath!

Out of 2,000 to 3,000 peasant women from the Armenian Plateau who were brought here in good health, only forty or fifty skeletons are left. The prettier ones are the victims of their gaolers' lust; the plain ones succumb to blows, hunger and thirst (they lie by the water's edge, but are not allowed to quench their thirst). The Europeans are forbidden to distribute bread to the starving. Every day more than a hundred corpses are carried out of Aleppo.

All this happens under the eyes of high Turkish officials. There are forty or fifty emaciated phantoms crowded into the compound opposite our school. They are women out of their mind; they have forgotten how to eat; when one offers them bread, they throw it aside with indifference. They only groan and wait for death.

⁴ A copy of this letter was communicated to the Berner Tagwacht by Dr. Forel, a Swiss gentleman, and reproduced in the journal de Geneve, 17th August, 1916. It was signed by four persons - Dr. Gräter (of Swiss nationality), Dr. Niepage (of German nationality), and two others whose names have been withheld by Dr. Forel.-EDITOR.

"See," say the natives: "Taâlim el Alman (the teaching of the Germans)."

The German scutcheon is in danger of being smirched forever in the memory of the Near Eastern peoples. There are natives of Aleppo, more enlightened than the rest, who say: "The Germans do not want these horrors. Perhaps the German nation does not know about them. If it did, how could the German Press, which is attached to the truth, talk about the humanity of the treatment accorded to the Armenians who are guilty of High Treason? Perhaps, too, the German Government has its hands tied by some contract defining the powers of the [German and Turkish] States in regard to one another's affairs?"

No, when it is a question of giving over thousands of women and children to death by starvation, the words "Opportunism" and "definition of powers" lose their meaning. Every civilized human being is "empowered" in this case to interfere, and it is his bounden duty to do so. Our prestige in the East is the thing at stake. There are even Turks and Arabs who have remained human, and who shake their heads in sorrow when they see, in the exile convoys that pass through the town, how the brutal soldiers shower blows on women with child who can march no farther.

We may expect further and still more dreadful hecatombs after the order published by Djemal Pasha. (The engineers of the Baghdad Railway are forbidden, by this order, to photograph the Armenian convoys; any plates they have already used for this must be given up within twenty-four hours, under penalty of prosecution before the Council of War.) It is a proof that the responsible authorities fear the light, but have no intention of putting an end to scenes which are a disgrace to humanity.

We know that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has already, from other sources, received detailed descriptions of what is happening here. But as no change has occurred in the system of the deportations, we feel ourselves under a double obligation to make this report, all the more because the fact of our living abroad enables us to see more clearly the immense danger by which the German name is threatened here.

MEMORANDUM BY THE EDITOR.

As far as their contents are concerned, the documents collected in this volume explain themselves, and if any reader wishes for an outline of the events they describe, as a guide to their detail, he will find it in the "Historical Summary" at the end of the book, especially in Section V. In this preliminary memorandum the Editor has simply to state the sources, character and value of the documents, and to explain the system on which they have been edited.

The sources of the documents are very varied. Some of them were communicated to the Editor directly by the writers themselves, or, in the case of private letters, by the persons to whom the letters were addressed. Several of those relating to the distribution of relief in Russian Caucasia have been placed in his hands by the courtesy of the British Foreign Office. Others, again, he owes to the courtesy of individuals, including

Lord Bryce, who has superintended the work throughout, and given most generously of his time and thought towards making it as accurate and complete as possible; several members of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief⁵; the Rev. G. T. Scott, Assistant Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; M. Arshag Tchobanian; Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons; Dr. William Walter Rockwell, of the Union Theological Seminary of New York; the Rev. Stephen Trowbridge, Secretary of the American Red Cross Committee at Cairo; the Rev. I. N. Camp, a missionary in the service of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at present stationed at Cairo; Aneurin Williams, Esq., M.P.; the Rev. Harold Buxton, Treasurer of the Armenian Refugees (Lord Mayor's) Fund; Mr. J. D. Bouchier, correspondent of the London *Times* newspaper in the Balkans; Mrs. D. S. Margoliouth, of Oxford; the Rev. F. N. Heazell, Organising Secretary of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission; Mr. G. H. Paelian, an American citizen resident in London; Mr. A. S. Safrastian, of Tiflis; and Mr. H. N. Mosditchian, of London. Another source of material has been the Press. Despatches, letters and statements have been reprinted in this volume from the columns of English, American, Swiss, French, Russian, Italian and also German newspapers, and from Armenian journals published at Tiflis, London and New York. The editors of *Ararat*, *Gotchnag* and the *New Armenia* have shown the Editor of this volume every possible kindness, and have courteously presented him with free copies of their current issues.

⁵ AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ARMENIAN AND SYRIAN RELIEF.

70, Fifth Avenue, New York.

Including work of the Armenian Relief, the Persian War Relief, and the Syrian-Palestine Relief Committees.

James L. Barton. Samuel T. Dutton. Walter H. Mallory.

Chairman. Secretary. Field Secretary.

Charles R. Crane, *Treasurer.*

Arthur J. Brown.	John Moffat.
Edwin M. Bulkley.	John R. Mott.
John B. Calvert.	Frank Mason North.
John D. Crimmins.	Harry V. Osborne.
Cleveland H. Dodge.	George A. Plimpton.
Charles W. Eliot.	Rt.Rev.P. Rhineland.
William T. Ellis.	Karl Davis Robinson.
James Cardinal Gibbons.	William W. Rockwell.
Rt. Rev. David H. Greer.	George T. Scott.
Norman Hapgood.	Isaac N. Seligman.
Maurice H. Harris.	William Sloane.
William I. Haven.	Edward Lincoln Smith.
Hamilton Holt.	James M. Speers.
Arthur Curtiss James.	Oscar M. Straus.
Frederick Lynch.	Stanley White.
Chas. S. MacFarland.	Talcott Williams.
H. Pereira Mendes.	Stephen S. Wise.

The documents are all rendered here in English, but they reached the Editor's hands in various languages-not only English but French, Italian, German and Armenian. The translations from the French, German and Italian have been made by the Editor with the assistance of his wife. For the translation of documents from the Armenian he is indebted to Mr. Paelian, who has devoted a large part of his scanty leisure to doing the Editor this most valuable service. But for Mr. Paelian's promptness and good will, the work might have been considerably delayed.

The character of the documents varies with the writers. Some of the witnesses are native Armenian or Nestorian inhabitants of the Near East, who were either victims of the atrocities themselves or were intimately connected with others who played a direct part in the scenes described. A majority of the witnesses, however, are foreign residents in the Ottoman Empire or the Persian Province of Azerbaijan, and nearly all these, again, are citizens of neutral countries, either European or American-missionaries, teachers, doctors, Red Cross nurses or officials. A few witnesses (and these are the weightiest of all) are subjects of states allied to Turkey in the present war.

The value of the documents of course depends upon the witnesses' standing and character, and upon the opportunities they possessed of knowing the facts. The Editor is certain in his own mind that all the documents published here are genuine statements of the truth, and he presents them in this assurance. Errors will, doubtless, be here and there discovered, but he believes that any errors there may be have been made in good faith, and that they will prove to touch only points of detail, which do not affect the truth of the whole. At the same time he realises that, considered as legal evidence before a court, the documents differ considerably in probative value. From this legal point of view, they can be tabulated in several classes:-

- (a) Evidence published by the editor of a German journal in Germany, and suppressed by the Imperial German Censorship (Doc. 12). This evidence is, of course, above any suspicion of prejudice against the Turks.
- (b) Documents written by German eye-witnesses of the events they describe (Docs. 18, 23, 91, 145), or by neutral eye-witnesses resident in Turkey in the service of German missionary or philanthropic institutions, or of the German Red Cross (Docs. 62, 64, 117, 142). This evidence is equally above suspicion of partiality against the Turks or in favour of the Armenians.
- (c) Documents written by other neutral eye-witnesses, principally American and Swiss, who have no connection, either public or private, with the Turco-German Alliance or with the Entente, and who are presumably without bias towards either party. Documents of such authorship constitute the bulk of the material in this volume, and practically all of them are written at first hand. There are no apparent grounds for not reposing full confidence in them.
- (d) Documents written by Armenian or Nestorian natives of the regions concerned. This native evidence may be thought to have somewhat less cogency than the rest, as the witnesses have suffered personally from the horrors they describe,

and are open to stronger influences of prejudice and emotion than foreign observers. Errors of detail are more likely to occur here, especially as regards estimates of numbers. The Editor wishes to repeat, however, that, after comparing the different statements of these native witnesses with one another, and with the documents in the three preceding classes, he is convinced of the substantial accuracy of all the evidence, of whatever class, that is presented in this volume.

The total body of evidence is large, as the considerable bulk of the volume shows, and this is the more satisfactory because the Ottoman Government has taken every possible precaution to prevent any knowledge of its proceedings from reaching the outer world. Private postal and telegraphic communications were suspended between Constantinople and the provinces, and between one province and another. There was a stringent censorship of outgoing mails, even the consuls of neutral countries were forbidden to telegraph in cypher, and travellers leaving Turkey were searched and divested of every scrap of paper, whether written upon or blank, in their possession. A quotation from a letter, written by the author of one of our documents^{6*} just after she had safely passed beyond the Ottoman frontier, will give some idea of the severity of this official embargo upon news of every sort:

"As I was coming out from under the hands of the censor, I was asked to write to you, telling you something of the real situation in our part of the world. In my opinion the censorship now is worse than it was in the olden days, for now they have such highly trained men. One of our censors had a five years' training in the New York Post Office. If our letters seem to tell you little, please remember that there are the strictest orders against the censor's passing anything on politics, war or even poverty. Any sentences that even touch on these subjects are either cut out or marked or blotted out with ink. A German lady even wrote to a friend of hers in Germany, telling her of poverty in BM. and asking her to send relief funds. She purposely mentioned no causes for this poverty, but only said there was such a condition. The only parts of the letter that reached her friend were the opening and closing sentences. The knife had claimed the rest. So, as Mrs. E. said: 'Please tell our friends in America that when we write about concerts and field meets and such things, that does not show that the country is safe or that work is as usual. We write about that simply because there is nothing else about which we are allowed to write.' "

Nearly all our evidence, therefore, comes from residents in Turkey who witnessed, like this lady, the events that occurred in some particular district or districts, and subsequently left Turkey for some other country, where they could record what they had seen without endangering their lives. Yet, even on neutral ground, these witnesses are not beyond the reach of Turkish resentment. Many of them are anxious to take up their work again in Turkey at the earliest opportunity, and nearly all of them still have interests in the country, or fellow-workers, or friends, who are so many gages in the Ottoman Government's hands. That Government is known to have agents in Europe,

⁶ Doc. 121.

and possibly in America as well, whose business it is to inform against anyone who exposes its misdeeds; and the Young Turkish gang, by whom the Ottoman Government is controlled, have no shame and no scruple about wreaking vengeance by any and every means upon accusers whose indictments they are wholly unable to answer before the judgment seat of the civilized world. It is, therefore, absolutely essential to withhold in many cases the names of the witnesses themselves, and of people, or even of places, mentioned in their testimony. In fact, some of the documents have only been communicated to the Editor on this express condition—for instance, the document enclosed with the letter quoted a few lines above. "May I ask you, however," continues this very letter, "not to publish my name or that of any missionary from BM., not even the name of BM. itself or any of the places which I shall mention, as the censorship is so strict and terrible now that the mention of names brings us under suspicion at once. May I instance? Dr. E. and Dr. L. have been under such suspicion or ill-will that they have not been able to get a simple family letter through to members of their family in America for months, and the whole station of AC. is under sufficient suspicion to prevent most of the letters they write to you and Mr. N. from reaching their destination. The reason, we feel quite certain, is a report on Moslem work which was sent to you."

And the same considerations are urged even more emphatically by Miss A., the author of Doc. 137, who is our chief witness for the occurrences at AC. Itself: -

"For the sake of the people left in Turkey, and especially my orphan children, I hope nothing will be published as from me. If any word of it should get into Turkey, it might have very serious consequences for them.

"Although very few magazines or papers were allowed into the interior, yet occasionally we saw one. In the coast towns, pieces are being cut from the papers, and sold at high prices to Turks. I left my post just because I thought my presence there might make it hard for those under my charge; but if anything that I am supposed to have told gets back into Turkey, I fear the whole of my community may have to suffer. I do not think that those outside Turkey fully realise what danger there is, even in letters, to those left in the country. The local authorities seemed to be always on the watch for something to find as a cause of complaint against both missionaries and Armenians.

"The poor refugees that we saw in BF. as we passed through begged us to help them., but, when we got to BJ., the missionaries there said they had been forbidden to give aid. One woman had been taken to the Government Building because she had been found helping some poor families in her own district that she had been visiting for years. There were many sick at BF., and the pastor and others sent post-cards, begging us to send help quickly. One man asked me to lend him some money, saying I could get it back from his brother in America. It was the danger to him that made me hesitate. The money was finally sent, but one feared to think what it might be an excuse for. And so over all the country.

"All the time when people were in great need, the question was in one's mind: 'Will relief endanger their lives?' New rules were constantly being sprung upon us. A person

would write a letter, but before it reached its destination it would be 'against the regulations.'

"All money in banks and all property belonging to the exiles was confiscated by the Government. The people who were deported from AC. did not know it, but when they had used up all that they had taken with them, they would write to us. It was in this way that we found out that they had neither money nor property left; but we were powerless to let them know what the difficulty was, so they would write again and again.

"All the time, we felt we were in a trap. The most courageous Armenians dared not come to see me, nor could I go to their homes. We had to meet at some public building if they wanted to see me about anything.

"No one living in freedom can understand what it feels like to be in Turkey these days."

In face of this, the reader will see for himself that the publication¹¹ of names, under present circumstances, would often be a grave and perilous breach of trust, and the Editor has, therefore, (though only where absolutely necessary, and without making any change whatever affecting the substance of the documents), substituted arbitrary symbols for the names of persons and places in the text, in the manner shown in the preceding quotation. A complete key to these symbols has been prepared and communicated, in confidence, to the British Foreign Office, Lord Bryce, Dr. Barton, and the Rev. G. T. Scott; and this key will be published as soon as circumstances permit, or, in other words, as soon as the dangers which would threaten the persons referred to have ceased to exist.

The Ottoman Government and its allies, whose good name is almost as seriously compromised as the Ottoman name by the facts, may be expected to make what capital they can out of the precautions imposed by their own treatment of their Christian subjects, and to impugn the genuineness of the documents that have been edited in the way here described. That was the course they adopted in the case of the evidence relating to the conduct of the German Army in Belgium, which was published with the same, equally necessary, reservations. The Editor can best forestall such disingenuous criticism by stating clearly the principles on which this suppression of names has been made:

- (a) Names of persons are not published in this volume unless they have already appeared publicly, in the same connection, in print, or unless the person in question is clearly beyond the reach of Turkish revenge.
- (b) Names of places are published wherever possible. They are only withheld when they would be certain to reveal the identity of persons mentioned in connection with them.
- (c) All names withheld are represented in the text by capital letters of the alphabet or combinations of capital letters. These letters are not the initials of the names in

question, but were assigned in an arbitrary order, as the various documents happened to come into the Editor's hands.

- (d) The name of a place is always represented by the same symbol throughout the volume, *e.g.*, "X." stands for the same place, whether it occurs in Section I. or Section XI.
- (e) In the case of the names of people the same symbol only stands for the same person within a single section, *e.g.*, "Miss A." stands for the same person, in whatever document it occurs in Section XVII.; but in the documents of Section XI. "Miss A." represents someone different.

The Editor wishes to state, once more, that these documents in which names are represented by symbols are not a whit less valid, as evidence, than the documents in which no such substitutions have had to be made. If the reader desires confirmation of this, the Editor would refer him to the gentlemen mentioned above, who have been placed in possession of the confidential key.

There are other documents, however, where the names have, on similar grounds, been withheld from the Editor himself, either by the authors of the documents or by those through whose hands the Editor obtained them, or where the ultimate source of the testimony is for some reason obscure. The Editor has been careful to indicate these cases as conspicuously as possible. Where there is any name, either of a place or of a person, unknown to him in the text, he has represented it by a blank (-----). Where the name of the author of the document is unknown to him, he has stated this in a footnote to the title by which the document is headed⁷.

The Editor is, of course, aware that these documents which he only possesses in a defective form cannot be presented as evidence in the strict sense by himself, and can plausibly be repudiated by the parties whose crimes they describe. He is the more content to admit this legal objection to them because they merely confirm what is established by the other evidence independently of them. They constitute no more than twenty two out of the 150 documents in the whole collection, and, if they are passed over, the picture presented by the far larger mass of documents that cannot be impugned remains perfectly precise and complete. The Editor has chosen to publish them, in their natural order, with the rest, because he has no more doubt about their genuineness than about the genuineness of the others-and with good reason, for, out of the twenty-two documents in question, not less than eleven have been communicated to him by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief citizens of high standing in a neutral country and gentlemen of unimpeachable good faith. He repeats, however, that these Twenty-two documents are in no way essential to the presentation of the case as a whole.

The documents are arranged in groups, in a geographical order, which is adjusted

⁷ In other words, wherever the title of a document is given without such a footnote, that means that the Editor is in possession of the author's name, even if the name is not published but represented by a symbol (*e.g.*, "Dr. L."), or by such periphrases as "A foreign resident," &c.

as far as possible to the general chronological order in which the different regions were affected by the Ottoman Government's scheme. The first group or section contains documents that do not confine themselves to any one region, but give general descriptions of events occurring throughout the Ottoman Empire. These documents are for the most part earlier in date than those relating to particular districts, and are therefore placed at the beginning. The second section opens the geographical series with the documents relating to Van, the northeastern most province of the Ottoman Empire in the direction of the Caucasus and Azerbaijan. The third section deals with Bitlis, the province adjoining Van on the west, which suffered next in order; the fourth with Azerbaijan, the Persian province on the eastern side of Van, which suffered during the Turkish offensive in the winter of 1914-5; the fifth with Russian Trans-Caucasia, where the refugees from Van and Azerbaijan sought refuge in August, 1915. The succeeding sections follow one another in geographical order from east to west, beginning with Erzeroum, the border province adjoining Van on the north-west along the Russo-Turkish frontier. Erzeroum constitutes the sixth section, Mamouret-ul-Aziz the seventh, Trebizond the eighth, Sivas the ninth, Kaisaria the tenth, the town of X. the eleventh, Angora the twelfth, Constantinople and the adjacent districts the thirteenth. From this point the sections run in reverse order from north-west to south-east, following the track of the Baghdad Railway. The fourteenth section deals with places along this route between (but excluding) Adapazar and Aleppo; the fifteenth deals with Cilicia, the region through which the Baghdad Railway passes half-way along its course, and this is the only case in which the chronological and geographical arrangements seriously conflict, for the Cilicians were the first to suffer - they were already being deported twelve days before fighting broke out at Van. The sixteenth section is Jibal Mousa, a group of villages adjoining Cilicia on the south; the seventeenth the Armenian colonies at Ourfa and AC., two cities on the Mesopotamian fringe; the eighteenth Aleppo, upon which nearly all the convoys of exiles converged; and the nineteenth Damascus and Der-el-Zor, the two districts where the greater part of the survivors were finally deposited. A twentieth section has also been added for documents received while the volume was in the press.

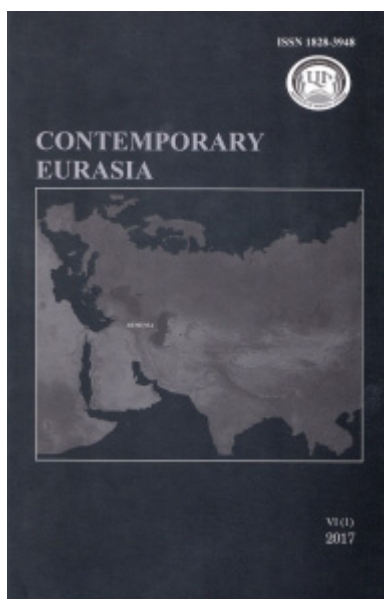
Wherever a date is given without further indication, it may be assumed to be in "New Style." - where two alternative dates are given (e.g., 26th September /9th October), the first is "Old Style" and the second "New." Dates are never given in "Old Style" alone. Where sums of money are given in Turkish or Persian units, the English equivalent is usually added in brackets. Sums given in dollars have always been translated into English pounds sterling.

The names of places have not been spelt on any consistent system, there being no recognized system in general use. The Editor has merely endeavoured to standardise the spelling of each particular name wherever it occurs.

An index of all places referred to by name in the documents that are in the Editor's possession, whether the name has been withheld in the text or not, has been compiled

for him most accurately by Miss Margaret Toynbee, to whom he is grateful for this important addition to the usefulness of the book. This index is printed at the end of the volume. The map which accompanies it has been compiled by the Editor himself from various sources, chiefly from Kiepert's excellent sheets of Asia Minor, in the Map Room of the Royal Geographical Society, where he has received most kind and valuable assistance from the staff.

NEW BOOKS



CONTEMPORARY EURASIA, VOL. VI (1)

Editor in chief Ruben Safrastyan, Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA, Yerevan, 2017, "Printing house of National Polytechnic University of Armenia", 125 p.

The current issue of the "Contemporary Eurasia" VI (1) (in English) is devoted to the ongoing developments and processes in the Eurasia. The volume includes analyses of the key political developments, economic and security issues in the Middle East, South Caucasus and Central Asia. The volume also contains references on roundtable discussions at the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA

held on several occasions. The publication may be of interest for social scientists, experts and students.

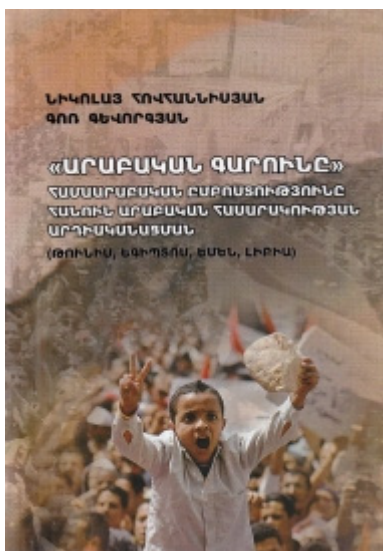


HOVHANNES AYVAZOVSKY - 200. Proceedings of the Conference (3th of November 2017)

Yerevan, 2018: Gitutyun Publishing House (163 p.).

The Institute of Art of NAS RA by financial support of the State Committee of Science, of MES of RA had held a conference dedicated the 200th anniversary of the birth of Armenian-Russian outstanding seascape painter - Ivan Ayvazovsky (Hovhannes Ayvazyan). During the Conference was presented a distinguished seascape painter's creative heritage.

The collection of articles is addressed to art critics, musicologists, Armenologists and wide circle of readers.



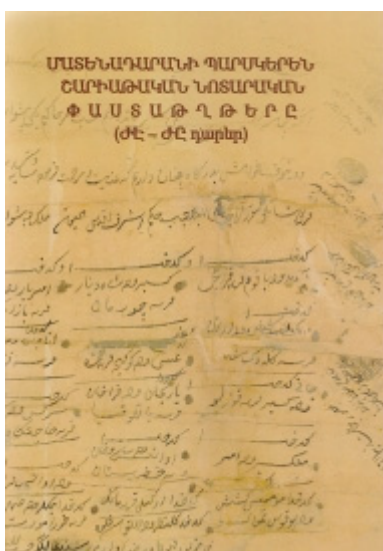
**“THE ARAB SPRING”: THE ARAB UPRISING AIMED
AT THE MODERNIZATION OF ARAB SOCIETY
(TUNISIA, EGYPT, YEMEN, LIBYA)**

**By: Hovhannisyan Nikolay
Gevorgyan Gor**

*Yerevan, “Gitutyun” Publishing House of NAS RA, 2018,
153 p. (in Arm.).*

The collective monograph is devoted to the study of Arab uprisings, also known as the Arab Spring that began in 2011. The emerged nationwide movements were targeted at transforming the various exhausted tribal, social and political institutions that were inherited from the medieval period and establishing modernized political systems for transforming state institutions and forming modernized system of values. The research on Arab revolutions was made using the examples of Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, and Libya. The preference is given to countries where the Arab Spring brought to the change of powers.

The book may be of interest for political analysts, experts, students, specialists of Middle Eastern studies, and a wide range of readers.



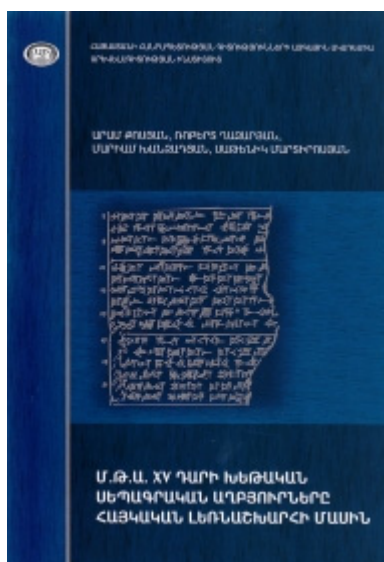
SHARI'A NOTARIAL DOCUMENTS (XVII-XVIII CC.)

**By: Kostikyan Kristine
Khecho Movses**

*Yerevan, 2018, “Gitutyun” publ. house, Institute of Oriental
Studies of NAS RA, Persian Documents of the
Matenadaran, III, 224 p. (in Arm.).*

This volume continues the publication of Persian documents of the Matenadaran collection. It presents 25 Shari'a Notarial documents with Armenian translations and textual comments supplied with Persian originals and photocopies.

The title of this group of Persian documents is associated with the creation of their administrative instance - the Shari'a Notarial offices. Created on the basis of various civil agreements - Shari'a Notarial documents mainly reflect facts and phenomena related to the socio-economic history of that period.



THE THE XV CENTURY HITTITE CUNEIFORM SOURCES ABOUT THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND

By: **Kosyan Aram**
Ghazaryan Robert
Khanzadyan Mariam
Martirosyan Satenik

Yerevan, 2018: Gitutyun Publishing House, 180 p. (in Arm.)

The collective monograph is part of the long-termed study aimed on the publication of the Hittite cuneiform texts about the Armenian Highland (II mill. BC), sponsored by

the State Committee of Science, RA.

The study includes the texts of two treaties concluded between the Hittite empire and the countries of the Armenian Highland, as well as several other texts related to these treaties.



THE ARMENIAN QUESTION AND THE ARMENIAN DIASPORA BEFORE THE COLLAPSE OF THE USSR

By: **Melkonyan Christine**

Yerevan, 2018, "Chartaraget", 168 p.

The research is devoted to the study of the Armenian question and the Armenian diaspora before the collapse of the USSR. In 1921-1991 the Armenian diaspora had the exclusive «monopoly» in pursuing the Armenian cause in international arena although after World War II USSR made it clear to Turkey that the issue of the Armenian

territories is not taken off the table and if necessary it can be brought back to agenda. Moreover, Moscow was greatly highlighting the role of the Armenian Church and Diaspora in resolving the issue.

Meanwhile «Cold War» started in 1946 had a negative influence on the process. Turkey gained new allies in face of the USA and the Great Britain who pledged to protect the territorial integrity of Turkey. In these conditions the Armenian cause was deadlocked and in 1950s there was no progress towards its resolution. The struggle of the diaspora Armenians became more productive starting mid-1960s on the eve of the 50th memorial date of the Armenian genocide.

Before 1970s the Armenian cause had been perceived by Armenians around the world as an issue of struggling for returning Armenian lands: later it expressed itself as a movement aimed at international recognition of the genocide and compensation getting the name «Hay Dat» (The Armenian Cause).

In 1960-1970s Armenian national parties, organizations, Hay Dat Committees operating in Diaspora and the Armenian Church conducted a wide range of activities towards the propaganda of the Armenian cause seeking to bring it into the agenda of international relations. In USA, France and other countries this was expressed in cultural penetration and trying to shape the world public opinion in favor of the Armenian cause as well as through direct impact on the public administration system of countries. Besides, the need to resolve the Armenian cause and to recognize the Armenian genocide gradually led to radical sentiments among some circles of the Armenian diaspora as a result of which in 1970s the phase of armed struggle began in the Diaspora which continued till the 2nd half of 1980s.

At the same time, in 1970-1980s, there was a significant growth of interest among world community towards the Armenian cause; new discussions began in different international organizations, scientific and social conferences. Moreover, in all above-mentioned cases Diaspora organizations - parties, Hay Dat committees, centers for Armenian studies, individual scientists etc. have had a maximum participation on state, social and scientific levels.

The processes aimed at recognition of the Armenian genocide in diaspora during those years made Turkey take some counter-measures which short time later became the basis for the Turkish denial policy and anti-Armenian propaganda. That same policy with some transformations and additions continues at present, too.

Thus, despite some success gained by Diaspora Armenians, there was no radical change in the struggle for the Armenian cause and the recognition of the Armenian genocide. However, as a result of their activities in 1940-1980s the issue of the Armenian genocide, becoming a topic of hot discussions for international organizations, parliaments, governments of different states as well as means of mass media, turned into an issue of international diplomacy starting the process of recognition and condemnation of the Armenian genocide (Uruguay, Cyprus, Council of Europe etc.).



THE ONE BELT, ONE ROAD INITIATIVE AND ARMENIA

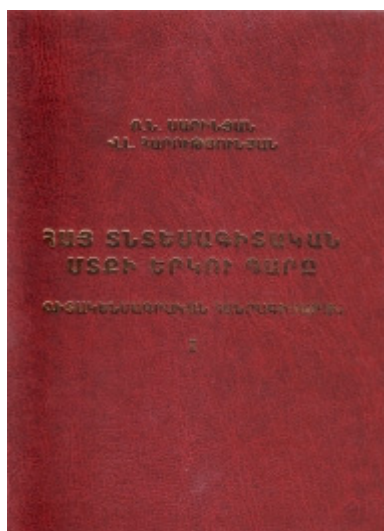
By: Sahakyan Mher

Yerevan, 2018, "Noravank", 144 + 20 p.

In the monograph has been analyzed the influence of China's "The One Belt, One Road" initiative on the global political-economic situation. It has been evaluated its initiative from the point of view of China's national security. A number of recommendations has been given, through which Armenia will be able to engage in this initiative as well as.

The study is intended for foreign policy officials, diplomats, experts of international relations, orientologists, sinologists,

economists, students and wide range of readers.



TWO CENTURIES OF ARMENIAN ECONOMIC THOUGHT. SCIENTIFIC-BIOGRAPHIC ENCYCLOPEDIA

By: Sarinyan Robert
Haruthyunyan Vladimir

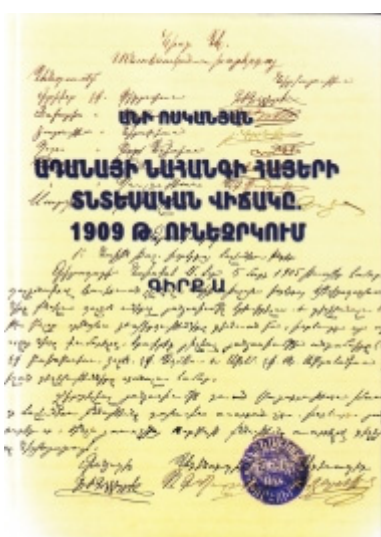
Yerevan, M. Kotanyan Institute of Economics NAS RA.

vol. I - Yerevan, 2017: Gitutyun publishing house, 464 p.

vol.II - Yerevan, 2018: Gitutyun publishing house, 424 p.

Two volumes of encyclopedia contain bio-bibliographic information about Armenian economists, both from Armenia and other countries, in alphabetic order, from the

mid - XIX century until today.



THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE ARMENIANS OF ADANA PROVINCE: 1909 DEPRIVATION OF PROPERTY, Book I,

By: Voskanyan Ani

M. Kotanyan Institute of Economics, Yyerevan, 2017:
Gitutyun Publishing House 208 p. (in Arm.)

The monograph is devoted to the economic situation of Armenians in the province of Adana, Ottoman empire in the late XIX - early XX century. The author presents the economic activities of Armenians, 1909 massacres, the following deprivation of Armenians and its impact on their

economy.

The study is addressed to historians, economists and wide circle of specialists in other fields.

CLASSICS OF ARMENOLOGY

ANTOINE MELLIET (1866-1936)



Biography

A. Meillet was an outstanding French linguist, the author of numerous of studies in the field of Indo-European linguistics, comparative linguistics, Latin and Greek languages, Slavistics, Iranistics, Armenology. In 1885-1889 he studied at the Paris-Sorbonne University. Among his teachers were M. Bréal, F. de Saussure and O. Carriere. From 1903 until 1936 A. Meillet worked at College de France where he taught comparative grammar of Indo-European languages and General linguistics.

After graduating Sorbonne A.Meillet continued his education in different Armenological institutions. In 1890-1891 he visited the Armenian Mechitarist congregation at Vienna where he deepened his knowledge of Armenian under the supervision of H.Tashean. In 1891 and 1893 he carried studies in the Matenadaran of Echmiadzin, Armenia.

Armenological heritage of A. Meillet is impressive. His monographs and numerous articles (about 150), along with that of O. Carriere, H. Hubschmann and others paved way for further studies of Armenian language throughout the world. His studies cover a wide spectrum of Armenian linguistics, as well as history.

A. Meillet was active also in the organization of Armenological institutions. With his colleagues A.Meillet founded «Société des Études Arméniennes» (1919) and «Revue des Études Arméniennes» (1920), both active today. He was one of the teachers of the prominent Armenian linguist Hrachia Adjaryan.

Along with linguistics A.Meillet was involved in political affairs regarding current events of the history of Armenia. He responded to the massacres of Armenians in 1915, the position of European countries in Armenian question, developments in the First Republic of Armenia, the treaty of Lausanne regarding its position towards Armenia, etc. Along with Anatole France he compiled a letter addressed to famous French intellectuals and political figures in order to support Armenia.

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HAKOB MANANDYAN (1873-1952)



Hakob Manandyan was a prominent Armenian historian, one of the makers of modern Armenian historiography, whose studies are widely referred by Armenian and foreign historians, philologists and philosophers.

Biography. H. Manandyan was born in November 10, 1873 Akhaltsikhe region of Georgia (then Russian empire). After graduating the local Armenian school he studied in the Tbilisi gymnasium N.1. His professional education H. Manandyan received in Europe (universities of Jena, Leipzig and Strassburg). In 1898 he graduated the faculty of Oriental languages, university Saint-Petersburg, and in 1909 – the faculty of law in the University of Dorpat (modern Tartu, Estonia).

In 1900 H. Manandyan returned to Armenia and for some period worked as a teacher in the Etchmiadzin seminary, then in the gymnasiums of Tbilisi. After the Sovietization of Armenia he briefly was elected as rector of Yerevan State University (1921-1922), Dean of the faculties of Orientalistics and History. In 1931 he quitted with teaching in order to devote himself to scholarship.

Studies. H. Manandyan's scholarly heritage is impressive. He wrote about 150 studies dealing with the ancient and medieval history of Armenia and its historical geography, philosophy and culture; his studies were published in Armenian, Russian and German.

Selected bibliography of Hakob Manandyan

1. Beiträge zur albanischen Geschichte, Leipzig, 1897 (in German).
2. Die Scholien zu fünf Reden des Gregor von Nazians: Zeitschrift für armenische philology, Marburg, 1902, Band I., Heft 3; S. 220-272, Heft 4, S. 273-306 (in German).
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PERSONALIA

YURI SUVARYAN

Yu. Suvaryan was born in May 15, 1943 in the village of Sghnakh, Askeran region of Nagorno-Karabag. After graduating the primary school of the village Avetaranots he entered the Faculty of Economics, Yerevan state university. Soon after concluding his post-graduate scholarship Yu. Suvaryan defended Candidate of Sciences dissertation in 1970. In 1983 he defended the Doctor of Sciences dissertation.



From 1968 Yu. Suvaryan devoted himself to scholarship and teaching activities, first at the Yerevan state university and from 1975 onwards at the Yerevan Institute of Economics. In 1984 he became professor. Due to active nature and organizational skills Yu. Suvaryan was appointed as vice-rector of the Yerevan Institute of Economics responsible for scholarly activities (1987-1994). This difficult and amenable job he combined with the post of the Scientific consul for rewarding scholarly degrees of the same institute. From 1994 until today Yu. Suvaryan holds the position of the Chair of Management.

From 2006 until 2011 Yu. Suvaryan held the position of rector of the Yerevan Institute of Economics. During this years he succeeded to carry into life several reforms which enabled the university to become a modern institution of higher education in the field of economics.

In 2006 Yu. Suvaryan was elected as Corresponding Member of the National Academy of Sciences and as Member of the Academy in 2010. From June 2011 he was appointed on the post of Academic-Secretary of the Department of Armenology and Humanitarian sciences, National Academy of Sciences. Due to considerable participation in the promotion of Armenological programs, organization of Armenological foundation in 2014 he was awarded with Honored person of the Republic of Armenia.

Yu. Suvaryan is author of 44 monographs, textbooks and more than 200 articles devoted to different aspects of economics, mostly that of management. An essential place in th studies of Yu.Suvaryan occupy evaluation of the productivity of labor, management of science, two-grade system of the administrative division of the Republic of Armenia and local self-governance. Yu. Suvaryan is the initiator and editor of the first Armenian textbook on management.

For his prominent impact in the field of scholarship, teaching and the management of science Yu. Suvaryan was awarded with several state orders and medals - «Anania Shirakatsi», «Vachagan Barepasht», «Davit Anhaght» etc. He is the member of editorial boards of several academic journals and periodicals - «Public management», «Armenia. Finances and Economics», «Journal of Armenian Studies», «Fundamental

Armenology», honorary professor of the Rostov-on-Don university, Artsakh state university etc.

The editorial board of «Fundamental Armenology» wishes all the best to Yuri Suvaryan in his far-going activities for the sake of humanitarian science and Armenian studies.

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