

# FUNDAMENTAL ARMENOLOGY

ՀԻՄՆԱՐԱՐ ՀԱՅԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ

electronic journal

**ISSUE 2 (10) 2019**

History

Documents: Armenian Genocide

Philosophy and Law

Books & Book Reviews

Demography & Governance

Philology

Historical  
Cartography

Political Science & InfoSec

Arts

Archaeology



All Armenian  
Foundation Financing  
Armenological Studies

National Academy  
of Sciences of the  
Republic of Armenia



## Editorial Board

Editor in Chief  
**KOSYAN A. V.**  
*Doctor of Sciences (History)*

**AGHASYAN A.V.**  
*Corresponding Member of NAS RA*

**AYVAZYAN H. M.**  
*Doctor of Sciences (Political Sciences)*

**DEVRIKYAN V. G.**  
*Doctor of Sciences (Philology)*

**GHAZARYAN R. P.**  
*PhD in History (Executive Secretary)*

**ISAHAKYAN A. V.**  
*Doctor of Sciences (Philology)*

**MELKONYAN A. A.**  
*Member of NAS RA*

**SAFRASTYAN R. A.**  
*Member of NAS RA*

**SUVARYAN YU. M.**  
*Member of NAS RA*

**AVETISYAN P. A.**  
*Corresponding Member of NAS RA*

**BARDAKJIAN K.**  
*(Foreign Member of NAS RA, USA)*

**DUM-TRAGUT J.**  
*(Doctor of Sciences, Austria)*

**HARUTYUNYAN V. L.**  
*Corresponding Member of NAS RA*

**KATVALYAN V. L.**  
*Doctor of Sciences (Philology)*

**POGHOSYAN G. A.**  
*Member of NAS RA*

**SHIRINIAN A.**  
*(Doctor of Sciences, Italy)*

**TER-GHEVONDYAN V. A.**  
*Doctor of Sciences (History)*

**APIKYAN T. Zh.**  
*Web developer and technical coordinator*

## ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETNOGRAPHY

*Hayk Hakobyan*, ON THE ORIGIN OF ROMAN MITHREUMS ..... 6

*Aghavni Zhamkochyan, Nyura Hakobyan, Anahit Khudaverdyan*, AN ESSAY ABOUT THE THEATRE OF  
MEDIEVAL ARMENIA (BASED ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL MATERIALS  
OF THE CITY OF DVIN) ..... 33

## HISTORY

*Knarik Avakian*, THE ADANA MASSACRE AND THE ARMENIAN-AMERICANS ..... 69

*Susanna Khachatryan*, THE ARMENIAN-HUNGARIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE OTTOMAN BOOK-  
PRINTING AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 18TH CENTURY ..... 78

*Aram Kosyan*, FIRST HAYKIDES AND THE «HOUSE OF TORGOM» (an overview of tradition and new  
prospects) ..... 84

*Mikayel Martirosyan*, THE ARMENIAN QUESTION AT THE MEETING OF AMBASSADORS OF THE  
GREAT POWERS IN CONSTANTINOPLE: THE YENI-KÖY NEGOTIATIONS ..... 106

*Ruben Sahakyan, Rostom Sargsyan*, THE PROBLEM OF ILLEGAL CIRCULATION OF WEAPONS AND  
AMMUNITION IN THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA (1918-1920) ..... 118

## POLITICAL SCIENCES AND INFORMATIONAL SECURITY

*Levon Shirinyan*, MYSTERY OF DARDANELLE OR THE TURKISH “BLACK HOLE” OF THE  
STRATEGIC PR ..... 135

*Lilit Sarvazyan*, NATIONAL IDEOLOGY OF MAGHAKIA ORMANYAN ..... 140

## FOREIGN SOURCES AND AUTHORS ABOUT ARMENIA AND ARMENIANS

*Ellsworth Huntington*, THE VALLEY OF THE UPPER EUPHRATES RIVER AND ITS PEOPLE ..... 154

## DOCUMENTS: ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

The Documents regarding the atrocities of the Armenian population of the Vilayet of Van in 1915.  
Extracted from “THE TREATMENT OF ARMENIANS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1915-1916)”  
(DOCUMENTS PRESENTED TO VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS by Viscount Bryce, with a preface by Viscount Bryce), London, 1916, p. 31-77 ..... 163

## VARIA

*Anushavan Vantsyan*, DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORY OF MAGNETOELASTICITY IN ARMENIA ..... 205

## CLASSICS OF ARMENOLOGY

<b>MANUK ABEGHYAN</b> .....	210
<b>MARIE-FÉLICITÉ BROSSET</b> .....	213

## NEW BOOKS

<i>Danielyan E. L.</i> , <b>CIVILIZATIONAL FOUNDATIONS OF ARMENIA AND MODERN CHALLENGES</b> .....	216
<i>Bozoyan A.A. (Editor), Ter-Ghevondian V.A., Shukurov R.M., Danielyan G.G.</i> , <b>CILICIAN ARMENIA IN THE PERCEPTIONS OF ADJACENT POLITICAL ENTITIES (HISTORICAL-PHILOLOGICAL ESSAYS)</b> .....	216
<i>S.R. Avetisyan</i> , <b>ACTIVITIES OF THE RED CROSS SOCIETY OF ARMENIA IN 1920-1930 (COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS)</b> .....	217
<i>Zakaryan A. H.</i> , <b>THE PARLIAMENT OF THE FIRST REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA</b> .....	217
<b>JOURNAL OF ART STUDIES N 1</b> .....	217
<i>Ruben Safrastyan</i> , <b>MUSTAFA KEMAL: THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA (1919-1921)</b> .....	218
<i>Edik Minasyan</i> , <b>HOMELAND-DIASPORA RELATIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21TH CENTURY (2001-2017)</b> .....	218
<i>Vahan Melikyan</i> , <b>THE SOCIAL-POLITICAL LIFE OF WESTERN ARMENIANS IN 1917-1918. THE DEFENSE OF ERZERUM AND THE REASONS FOR THE FALL IN 1918</b> .....	219
<i>Vahan Melikyan</i> , <b>STRUGGLE FOR BAKU (NOVEMBER 1917-APRIL 1918)</b> .....	219



---

# ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

---

## ON THE ORIGIN OF ROMAN MITHREUMS

Hayk Hakobyan

Department of History,  
Yerevan State University

Among the archaeological finds known on the vast area stretching from the Eastern Mediterranean to Iranian plateau different types of temples dedicated to Mithra have been excavated. In the Hellenistic period and later with the worship of this deity are closely related those underground or semi-underground sanctuaries which are called *mithraeums*.<sup>1</sup> As it was generally accepted in special studies, these mithraeums were found only to the west of the Euphrates, not earlier than the III century BC.

Inside numerous mithraeums, along both sides of the main hall, usually are placed furnished podiums, which serve as sofas where people sat during the ritual meal. On these dwellings were placed idols, mostly in the form of reliefs, and ritual vessels as well. These details could be useful for the identification of participants of the ritual.<sup>2</sup>

The ritual building under discussion, according to the myth, is a natural cave, inside which the ritual of *tauroctony* had taken place (Fig.1a, 1b). But in practice, for example in the course of military campaigns mithraistic buildings are only artificial imitations of natural caves; in the landscape where caves are missing these are simply underground buildings where the flue on the ceiling serves as an association with the cave. In settlements or cultic centers it was not necessary to build mithraeums nearby; it could simply be darkened. This practice exists in Erebuni where the *susi*-temple was reorganized as a temple of fire during the Achemenids. Opposite the northern front part of the Urartian building, on the distance of only 1.2 meters was built a pylon. The space between the entrance of the temple and pylon was closed by an attic the purpose of which was to darken the inner part of the temple.

Hence, late mithraeums and their prototypes should be understood as natural or artificial, mostly underground spaces which has certain interior (flue, seats or podiums, an altar and iconographic representations of the Mithra legend – reliefs and statue) built or chosen for the performance of mysteries (Fig.2a, 2b).<sup>3</sup>

In the west, where the cult of Mithra as the tutelary god of Roman soldiers is best represented in Rome and its seaport Ostia, due to the social status of the worshipers of Mithra in the basins of Rhine and Danube.<sup>4</sup> In the legend of Mithra the cave is an essential factor, as well as the bull kept here and killed by the same Mithra.

While discussing the origins of *mithraeums* usually are referred historical-geographic and legendary information and the details of mithraistic ritual. More than a

---

1 Campbell 1968.

2 Beck 2008: 2; Clauss 2000: 42-59, 114-130.

3 For more detailed description of natural and artificial caves where *tauroctony* took place see Campbell 1968: 7-8.

4 Clauss 1992. Here see also the maps of the provinces of the Roman empire.

century it is not decided yet was the western Mithra the same as Iranian Mithra, or he was created in the West as a Persian god in the new context. F.Cumont was the first who suggested that mithraistic mysteries had ancient Anatolian prototypes. According to him, the late mithraism appeared in the I c. BC somewhere in Asia Minor.<sup>5</sup> But this idea was rejected by some scholars.<sup>6</sup> In particular, I.Roll demonstrated that mithraism used to have a much wider geography, from Pontus to Dacia and other Roman provinces.<sup>7</sup>

Today in the discussion of the origins of Late Mithraism prevail the view according to which it should be looked for in the west.<sup>8</sup> On the contrary, until 1930s most scholars accept the view of F.Cumont who regard western mithraism as the Romanized Mazdeism. By F.Cumont, it has Iranian core which was modified first by the influence of the Chaldaean astrology then also merged with Iranian Mithra and Babylonian Shamash. Finally this cult was modified for the second time by the Iranian *magi* diaspora in Asia Minor,<sup>9</sup> through the influence of the cosmology of Stoicism, particularly that of Eschatology.<sup>10</sup>

If we leave aside the western orientation of I.Roll's idea and accept that anyway the origins of western Mithraism should be looked in the Near East, it should be stated that here also a consensus has not been reached so far (to the west or east of the Euphrates). While F.Cumont was inclined to stress Pontus and regions to the west of the river, some had suggested more easterly location, pointing on Mesopotamia as a place of intense contacts between Semitic and Iranian cultures.

During the excavations at Uruk-Warka, Southern Mesopotamia in 1950s was unearthed a building which could be taken as an argument in favor of Mesopotamia in the discussion of the origins of the cult of Mithra.<sup>11</sup>

This is a small building, 15,5 m. long and 11.2 m. in width which has an apse in the northeast. The entrance is designed in the form of the *iwan*. Inside the building, along the walls were erected seats or podiums. The comparison with the similar buildings excavated in different parts of the Roman empire points that here we deal with the classical mithraeum (Fig.2). Despite the three reconstructive phases the general plan of the building remained untouched. Most probably it was erected during the early Parthian period (II c. BC – I c. BC). That the building under discussion is not a Christian church but mithraeum could be seen, besides its plan, also through a clay seal from Warka which depicts the Mithra-*tauroctone*.<sup>12</sup>

---

5 Cumont 1902: 10; Cumont 1899: 8; Cumont 1923: 10.

6 Widengren 1960: 51-52; Beskow 1978: 14.

7 Roll 1977: 58-62.

8 Beck 2008: 7.

9 Bidez, Cumont 1938; Beck 1991: 491-565.

10 Cumont 1931: 29-96; Beck 1995: 421.

11 Lenzen 1956: 32-34; Lenzen 1958: 18-20; Vermaseren 1960: 11, №. 7; Koshelenko 1966: 149-151.

12 Lenzen 1958: 20, Taf. 45a; Koshelenko 1966: 150.

As it became clear later, the last two centuries of the Hellenistic period are too late for the beginning of classical mithraeums, their origins should be looked in much earlier period.

During the excavations of Alalakh (Syria) L.Woolley had discovered a mysterious semi-underground temple in the mid-II mill. layer, which reminds classical mithraeum.<sup>13</sup> The first impression from this find forced some scholars to doubt the possibility of genetic relationship between Alalakh and Hellenistic mithraeum. Despite this big chronological gap some were easy to suggest such a possibility (J.Duchesne-Guillemin, G. Gropp etc.).<sup>14</sup> According to A.Bivar, western mithraism is only one of the representations of the cult of Mithra which was spread from Asia to Europe.<sup>15</sup>

J.Duchesne-Guillemin had noticed that the name of Mithra was attested in the XVI–XV c. BC theophorous onomasticon of the same Alalakh, Nuzi and Boghazkoy. This god is depicted still on the seal of the Mittanian king Šauššatar, in the same manner as on the mithraistic reliefs – with the Phrygian cap and kneeling on the back of the bull.<sup>16</sup> Sharing this view L.Lelekov thinks that if the name of Mithra and its iconography are attested during such a long period in the Near East (XVI c. BC - I–III c. AD), accordingly the existence of temples of this god could not be excluded.<sup>17</sup>

Trying to locate the center of the origins of the cult of Mithra R.Beck discusses two problems – the comparison of the western and eastern Mithras and the possibility of the existence of transitional variants between these two.

When we discuss the first problem mentioned above, it is evident that both the western and eastern ones are so close to each other that one might conclude that Mithra could not have been created anew. As to the possibilities of the transitional variants, they could be supported by means of several arguments.

- a) In his «Lives» Plutarch, in the biography of Pompeius mentions that Cilician pirates perform latent rituals of initiation which had reached until the days of Pompeius, although the term *mechri deuro* is debatable,<sup>18</sup>
- b) Mithra as Helios (Sun) exists in Commagene still in the I century BC, in the pantheon of Antiochus I of Commagene (Fig.3).<sup>19</sup>
- c) Possibly, instead of Commagene the Iranian diaspora of Asia Minor should be regarded as a transitional form of mithraism,<sup>20</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Woolley 1955: 68-69; Lelekov 1983: 62; Woolley 1986: 84-85.

<sup>14</sup> Gropp 1969: 172.

<sup>15</sup> Bivar 1998.

<sup>16</sup> Duchesne-Guillemin 1975: 11-21.

<sup>17</sup> Lelekov 1983: 62.

<sup>18</sup> Plut., Pomp., XXIV.

<sup>19</sup> Boyce, Grenet 1991: 309-351; Dörner 1975; Dörner 1978: 123-133; Duchesne-Guillemin 1978: 187-199; Jacobs 2000: 45-49; Merkelbach 1984: 50-72; Schwertheim 1979; Wagner 1983: 177-224; Wagner 2000a; Wagner 2000b: 11-25; Waldmann 1991.

<sup>20</sup> Beck 1984: 2018-2019, 2071-2073; Boyce, Grenet 1991: 468-490; Colpe 1975: 390-399; Cumont 1939: 67-76; Gordon 1978: 159-164, 169-171; Gordon 1994: 469-471; Schwertheim 1979; Will 1978: 527-528.

- d) Syria lacks any transitional form of mithraism,
- e) In his story dedicated to «Isis and Osiris» (46-7) Plutarch regards Mithra as one between the god Horomazes and evil Areimanius which forces Persians to name him as «mediator»,
- f) The account of the journey of the Armenian Arshakid king Tiridates, of Parthian origins, contains important details about mithraism.

Tiridates I, a brother of the Parthian great king Vagarsh I (Vologes)(50–76), avoids to travel by sea, if possible, in order not to desecrate the holy water.<sup>21</sup> Dio Cassius tells the next story about the speech of Tiridates held in the Forum of Rome. Tiridates spoke thus: «Master, I am the descendant of Arsakes, brother of the kings Vologaesus and Pakorus, and thy slave. And I have come to thee, my god, to worship thee as I do Mithras. The destiny thou spinnest for me shall be mine; for thou art my Fortune and my Fate».<sup>22</sup>

If this episode is not the first wave of the spread of mithraism into Rome, anyway the journey of Tiridates should have had a considerable impact on its spread in the west. It should be mentioned that Armenian Arshakids were loyal to the palace etiquette of Armenian court and religion,<sup>23</sup> despite the differences (if any) between Armenian and Parthian religious beliefs. The Arshakids continue the cults of the royal ancestors of Artashesids (offsprings of Ervandids/Orontids) and the royal tutelary deities of Mihr and Anahit.

As it was mentioned above, the place of the origins of mithraeums until now is looked for either in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, or in the Mediterranean basin. Armenia is left out of this wide geographical area.

Today usually in the western literature under the geographical term «Armenia» is understood not the historical Armenia but only the territory of modern Republic of Armenia, and Western Armenia (most part of historical Armenia) is artificially attached to Asia Minor in the west. Historical Armenia should be understood as a single historical-geographical unit including Greater Armenia, Armenia Minor and Sophene with its trans-Euphratian regions (with Commagene). With such an attitude the processes of interrelations between the neighboring Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria and Iranian world could be understood much easier.

As a result, in the discussion of the origins of mithraism Armenia was given a role of passive attendant, except the Armenian kingdom of Commagene. The pantheon and cult centers of the latter mostly are entitled by scholars as «Graeco-Iranian», the plastics of sculptures – Greek, and dress – Iranian.<sup>24</sup> The dress could be renamed as Near-Eastern which significantly changes the emphasis, and often in the discussion of stylistic peculiarities of the sculptures the idea of their Hittite ancestorship is suggested.

21 Plin., Nat. Hist., I, 6.

22 Dio Cass., LXIII.5.2-3; Plin., Nat Hist., XXX.1.6.

23 Tiratsyan 1985: 58-65.

24 Schlumberger 1985: 50, 52.

Meanwhile, in Nemrut dağı, the main religious center of Commagene, one of the supreme gods bears the name *Mithras – Apollōn – Hēlios – Hērmes*. This fact could point out that the functions of this local god did not coincide with any known Greek god, hence the names of the three gods are listed (Apollōn – Hēlios – Hērmes).

The gods of the Armenian and Iranian pantheons also are not the same. Often under the names of Iranian gods in the Armenian pantheon are hidden local gods. As to L.Lelekov, it is possible that the Mesopotamian-Indoeuropean syncretic processes in Iran and Armenia took place separately, though not completely isolated. Particularly, the Armenian-Iranian divine triad was replaced by the tetrade. Thus, the Pahlawi calendar is built on the tetrade consisting of Ormazd-Atar-Mihr-Den, while in the Hellenistic Commagene we encounter Zeus (Ormazd)–Apollo (Mithra)–Ares (Vrtragna-Vahagn)–Mother Commagene.<sup>25</sup> In this regard J.Duchesne-Guillemin thinks that, probably, the tetrade of Commagene represents the tetrade of Mittani, as a result of the one and a half millennium evolution (Fig.3).<sup>26</sup>

Then L.Lelekov assumes that Western Iran and Armenia had passed a long way of development and both should be regarded as the heirs to the II mill. BC Near Eastern cultures, including early Indo-Aryan. Hence hardly there is any reason to see in the Armenian paganism the reminiscence of exclusively Iranian ideology. The tetrade and concluding female deity were not characteristic for the Indo-European typology. Definitely they emerged in the Near East where the ancestors of Armenians and Median-Iranians had adopted this model which is unknown in India and Central Asia.<sup>27</sup>

The next exception is that the Greater Armenia is regarded as an eastern part of Asia Minor, as well as the western province of Parthian and Sassanian empires. Even under such reduced prism J.Russell had come to a conclusion that Armenia had an extremely significant role in the spread of mithraism to the west.<sup>28</sup>

The studies on eastern late mithraism were mostly focused on its linguistic and mythological aspects, and comparatively less – iconography. For example, G.Koshelenko had noticed that the religious beliefs are similar in Babylonia and Iran which facilitated the infiltration of Semitic influences into Iranian pantheon. Thus, it is possible that the sacrifice of the bull which occupies central place in the mysteries of Mithra, has a prototype in the face of the sacrifice of the bull in the Late Babylonian ritual of Kalu.<sup>29</sup> Not to mention the ritual of the New Year when, like in the mysteries of Mithra, a white bull was sacrificed.<sup>30</sup>

Besides these examples are of interest materials from the II mill. BC Hittite and Mittanian rituals and other religious texts which partly are related to the contact zone between Asia Minor and Mesopotamia as well as the western and southern regions of

---

<sup>25</sup> Lelekov 1983: 61.

<sup>26</sup> Duchesne-Guillemin 1978: 198.

<sup>27</sup> Lelekov 1983: 62.

<sup>28</sup> Russell 1978.

<sup>29</sup> Thureau-Dangin 1921: 22-27; Koshelenko 1966: 150.

<sup>30</sup> Widengren 1960: 51-52.



the Armenian Highland. In the Hittite and Hurrian rituals the bull replaces a seek man being sent to the Netherworld instead of him.

During archaeological excavations in the layers of the V-IV mill. BC sites of Armenia and Transcaucasia were unearthed figurines of animals including that of a bull which were sacrificed instead of the real animal.<sup>31</sup> Probably, the figurines were made for the ritual;<sup>32</sup> they were thrown into the fire (Arukhlo), or buried instead of the bull (Tsopi). In Transcaucasia the worship of a bull as one of the main deities continued also in the III mill. BC. This animal was worshiped in Asia Minor, Armenia and surrounding countries of the Caucasus near the removable tables which were decorated with the heads of the bulls.<sup>33</sup> Young bulls were painted with red color, or on their forehead was impressed a star.<sup>34</sup> The later reminiscence of this ritual contains in the story told by Plutarch dealing with Lucullus. He writes that an omen appeared before Lucullus. «...and a favourable sign accompanied his crossing. Heifers pasture there which are sacred to Persia Artemis, a goddess whom the Barbarians on the further side of the Euphrates hold in the highest honour. These heifers are used only for sacrifice, and at other times are left to roam about the country at large, with brands upon them in the shape of the torch of the goddess. Nor is it a slight or easy matter to catch any of them when they are wanted. One of these heifers, after the army had crossed the Euphrates, came to a certain rock which is deemed sacred to the goddess, and stood upon it, and lowering its head without any compulsion from the usual rope, offered itself to Lucullus for sacrifice. He also sacrificed a bull to the Euphrates, in acknowledgment of his safe passage» (Plut., Lucul., XXIV, 6-8).<sup>35</sup>

Returning to Transcaucasia let us mention that excavations had revealed also skulls of bulls with sawed horns (in Gudaberdka<sup>36</sup>, Hoghmik). K.Kushnareva thinks that these skulls or masks belong to bulls.

The sacrifice of an animal and eating was equal to the communion with the same god.<sup>37</sup> During the festival of Ascencion Armenians sacrifice a bull against the drought, hail and locust which endanger the harvest.<sup>38</sup> And in Trialeti twice per year a bull was sacrificed for St. Gevorg against the misery, diseases or infertility, and for the sake of good harvest.

Judging by the materials of Amiranis-gora, the Early Bronze age sanctuary-settlement near Akhaltsikhe (Georgia), participants of the funeral feast cut the head of a bull, skin and limbs and put them into the burial. It should be mentioned that the bull

---

31 Kushnareva, Chubinishvili 1970: 31, Fig. 9.17.

32 Masson (ed.) 1966: 121.

33 Kushnareva, Chubinishvili 1970: 161.

34 Piotrovskij 1949: 176.

35 Plutarch 1948: 549.

36 Nadimashvili 1963: 150.

37 Sokolova 1972: 184.

38 Bdoyan 1972: 472.

was sacrificed only in the case of the death of a male.<sup>39</sup> The same parts of the bull were found in the burials of Vanadzor, Lchashen, Adiyaman and Trialeti.<sup>40</sup>

The bull is depicted on many *vishaps* from different parts of Armenia. Here he is pictured on top of the monument in the form of a head, and the water flows from its mouth. Semantically the same motive is depicted on the golden cup found in Hasanlu, to the west of Lake Urmia. On the bronze belt from Khojalu (Karabagh) the eyes of the bull are replaced by two suns. In the Armenian ethnographic materials the bull is associated with the worship of sun.<sup>41</sup>

From Transcaucasia to the Crete-Mycenean world and Western Asia Minor is well known the ritual of the sacred battle between the wild bull and a man; in one case on iconographic, and in the second by means of ethnographic materials. On Armenian rock-carvings also figures the representation of this battle.<sup>42</sup>

For many gods of the kingdom of Van (Urartu) once per year were sacrificed bulls; for example to Haldi (6), Teišeba (6) and Šiwini (Fig.4).<sup>43</sup> Usually Haldi is depicted standing on a lion. On the bronze artifact from Western Armenia Haldi or Teišeba are pictured standing on a bull.<sup>44</sup>

After the adoption of Christianity in Armenia and Georgia the worship of bull continue to exist unofficially. It is probable that St. Gevorg, one of the saints of Christianity had some similarities with Mihr/Mithra. With the same saint is connected a habit in Mingrelia, Western Georgia. A bull was kept at the monastery of Ilori and the people say that Mihr had stolen the animal; then a young man was sent there to slaughter the bull.<sup>45</sup>

In the Armenian epos the White Devil is the symbol of evil who terrorizes people, whose strength was placed into the black bull. Mher the elder, another hero along with Lesser Mher, his grandson, sharing the image of Mithra, acts as a hunter, the slayer of the symbol of darkness and hell, who was sacrificed for the Mithra-Sun.<sup>46</sup>

Numerous other examples could be referred to which shows that the worship of a bull and the practice of the sacred killing was familiar to the peoples living to the east of the Euphrates, particularly Armenians.

**Performance of worship in the caves.** The religious functions of the caves is well known in Southern Europe and Etruria, Italy as well.<sup>47</sup> To the west of the Euphrates the sacred caves are known in Asia Minor, in the Hittite world (for example,

39 Chubinishvili 1971: 10.

40 Kuftin 1941: 81-83; Khanzadyan 1962.

41 Kushnareva 1977: 56.

42 Martirosyan, Israyelyan 1971: Table 271. Here the horns of the wild bull form a big bow in order to stress the celestial nature of the animal.

43 Melikishvili 1960: N. 27.

44 According to most scholars Haldi is depicted standing on the lion or sitting on the throne (see Piotrovskij 1959: 223), and the anthropomorph person - Teišeba (idem: 224-225).

45 Schwartz 1975: 417; Cumont 1937: 62-71.

46 Sasunci Davit 1939: 129-130.

47 Etruscan art 1972.

the monumental cave complex of Yazılıkaya, near the Hittite capital city of Hattusa), in Lycia, Cappadocia, also to the east of the Euphrates, especially in the Armenian Highland.

The important cultic function of caves in Armenia is studied thoroughly in the example of the capital city of Armavir.<sup>48</sup> In the cave complexes which were enlarged still in the Bronze and Early Iron ages we encounter the entrance into *mundus*, the Netherworld, where libations to the gods were performed. In Boshat, near Tigranakert, to the left of the entrance was pictured the relief of the sacrificer, and inside the cave - the relief of Mihr/Mithra or the king.<sup>49</sup>

The sacred function of caves is seen especially in Van.<sup>50</sup> And the ancient roots of the cult of Mihr should be looked in the period of the Van kingdom and its pantheon. It is reflected in the «Door of Mher» of the Armenian period (rock-carved niche which in Urartian texts is called «divine doors»).

Lesser Mher, one of the personages of the Armenian epos, cursed by his parents, was imprisoned in Agravakar; one day he was destined to be freed and destroy the world in order to build it anew.<sup>51</sup> Mher wounded the crow, then pursued him until the cave. Here the hoof of the hero's horse were stuck in the sand and the door to the cave was closed behind him. The cave which is known as Zmpzmp-maghara near Van is called «Mher's door».

The cult of Western Mithra where crow also figures, was performed in the temples which were called *spelaea* «caves». Armenians believe that during the Festival of Ascension the crack which was called «Mheri dur» («Mher's door») and from where black water flows, opens and appears Mher who holds the wheel of destiny.<sup>52</sup> This is paralleled with the tradition connected with the cave in Mons Victorialis, where three *magi* were waiting for Christmas.<sup>53</sup>

I.M.Diakonoff doubts the introduction of Western Mithra directly from Iran. According to him. «The religion of Mithra in the form that reached Rome in the I c. BC – I c. AD has nothing to do with Mithra of Zoroastrian Iran, except its name».<sup>54</sup> He assumes that this religion was introduced by Romans from Asia Minor, where the *spaeleum* of Mithra is known in Phrygia in the VIII-VII c. BC. Here, like in Urartu, was known also the cult of the carriage. Most probably both in Phrygia and Urartu we deal with some common ideological process. He concludes that «the birth from the rock

48 Karapetyan, Khachatryan, Kanetsyan 2004: 254-275.

49 Hakobyan 2013a: 8.

50 Hakobyan 2013b: 108-114; Hmayakyan, Simonyan 2013: 70-81; Badalyan 2013: 82-94.

51 Orbeli 1961: 317; Russell 1978: 272-273.

52 Abeghyan 1966: 351. In the beliefs of the population of the north-western part of the Sharur plain, in the plateau of Airich was located a cave «Nahara-hana» (according to T.Avdalbegyan - Mahara, i.e. Mher) where lives a giant or hero «oghuz» who rules over the steppe of Airich, mountains of Oanikh and the forest of Hors (see Samuelyan 1931: 312).

53 Russell 1978: 273.

54 Diakonoff 1983: 192-193.

(doors of the god) and some peculiarities of the system of Western Mithra (tree, lion, possibly the bull) could be traced to the east from the Roman Mithra until Haldi but not further to the east».

Thus, during the Achemenide period or later the cult of Haldi was amalgamated with the cult of Mithra and consequently the door of Haldi became «Mher's door».55 At the same time it should be mentioned that in the history of the Near East Haldi was one of those phenomenal deities which, like Greek Zeus, combined several functions, actually pretending to monotheism. In this regard it is important that later Haldi amalgamated with Mithra was also the Sun god, like Šiwini, another deity of the triad. On the fragment of the shield from Andzaf Haldi is depicted in the form of a beardless young man whose head is caught with the ray of sunlight,56 which reminds reliefs of Mithra known from the Hellenistic Commagene (Fig. 4 and 5).

In the pre-Christian Armenia Mithra was associated with caves and rocks. In the course of his description of the Araxes Pseudo-Plutarchus tells the next. «Near it (the Araxes) also is a mountain Diorphos, so called from the giant of that name, of which this story is told: Mithra being desirous of a son, and hating the race of women, impregnated a certain rock; and the rock, becoming pregnant, after the appointed time bore a youth named Diorphos. The latter when he had grown to manhood challenged Ares to a contest of valour, and was slain. The purpose of the gods was then fulfilled in his transformation into the mountain bearing the same name as he» (Pseudo-Plutarchus, De Fluviiis, XXIII, 4).57 M. Schwarz was first to notice the similarities of this story with the Hittite legend of Kumarbi.58

***Oldest architectural manifestations of mithraeums in Armenia.*** The differences or similarities of the Near-Eastern mithraeums from/with the classical western ones is not enough in the discussion of their connection and heritage. If, following the study of L. Beck, assume that the origins of mithraism should be looked in the Near East, then one might take into account that in this center of ancient civilizations different processes of religious syncretism including cultic architecture had taken place, among which the development of mithraistic beliefs was only one of them. Hence, the search for classical mithraeums in this region means little if nothing.

Chronologically the earliest example of cultic architecture of the region under discussion is the V mill. BC sanctuary of Imiris-gora (Georgia) which consists of two sections or rooms. In the first section there is a rounded hearth bordered with stones, and in the second section – a podium in the form of an apse.59 Although it is not certain that we deal with the earliest form of the mithraeum, but one thing is clear; sacral buildings with a podium are already known in the northern part of the Near East.60

---

55 Idem: 191-192.

56 Belli 2000: 34, Fig. 17.

57 Russell 1978: 271.

58 Schwartz 1975: 416. Cf. Adonts 1972: 371-372.

59 Javakhishvili 1970: 60, Tab. 9.

60 The cultic buildings of ancient Armenia were discussed in our study (Hakobyan 2012: 33-52).

The next notable but mysterious building was found by the joint Armenian-Italian team of archaeologists in 1995 in the southern basin of Lake Sevan, at the fortress of Mtnadzor, 4-5 km to the south-east the village of Geghovit, near Martuni. The eastern wall of this rectangle construction is built in the form of an apse. The entrance is located at the southern part (width – 1 m). The length of the building is 7.70 m. width 3.50 m. On the eastern side of the building was an altar whose retaining wall consists of 2 or 3 rows of stones. In the central part of the western section was made an anchor from stone. In the north-eastern corner of the building was dug a pit. From the upper horizon of the latter was found a millstone. Slightly to the south of it was unearthed a vertically standing semi-anthropomorphic idol (0.70 x 0.40 x 0.30 m).

From stratigraphical point of view it is important to mention the existence of two floors made of stones and alumina. The upper floor (width 0.25-0.30 m) was about 1.15-1.20 m below the surviving height of the walls and covers the altar. This means that during the period of the upper floor the altar was out of use. The lower floor was found directly under the upper one, about 1.40-1.45 m below the surviving height of the walls.

Surprisingly, among the finds artifacts made of iron were found which belong to late Middle ages.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, on the lower floor were found three fragments of the 13-14 c. AD glazed pottery.

According to the preliminary dating, the monument was ascribed to the Early Iron ages (11-9/8 c. BC).<sup>62</sup>

Preliminary observations show that the building was subterranean or semi-subterranean. One more observation could be useful for the evaluation of Mtnadzor monument. In the Sevan basin and elsewhere in Armenia the so-called cyclopean fortresses were reconstructed and used during later periods, hence the existence of medieval ceramics. It seems that the Early Iron age ceramic complex might be dated with the later centuries, otherwise we have to propose a chronological gap with later periods which is not characteristic for such monuments. We shall mention also that in the altar of the eastern semicircular apse stands a stone of about 0,5 meters in height which is similar to other idols registered in Armenia, and which were dated with the period reaching the end of the Hellenism.

The next important building was excavated at the end of the XIX century by the Russian scholar A.A.Ivanovskij in the middle basin of the Araxes.<sup>63</sup> On the slopes of Mount Ararat, on the mound near Tashburun was opened a large building. From west to east the building stretches about 32 meters, from the north to the south - 20 meters (Fig. 6). The building has thick walls (2,1 m in width) built of well-processed stones. The floor of the building was about 1.3 m lower than outside the walls. In the northern and southern walls were opened two doors. In the eastern part the building has a

---

61 Tumanyan, Yengibaryan, Bashikyan 1996: 29.

62 Idem: 30.

63 Ivanovskij 1911.

semicircular apse. On the photo made by A.A.Ivanovskij, before the northern wall, next to each other were placed 12 stones which form a bench or podium.<sup>64</sup>

The dating of this monumental building causes problems. S.Hmayakyan thinks that it is an Urartian temple of Haldi and should be placed in the IX c. BC.<sup>65</sup> This suggestion is based on the idea of M.V.Nikolskij who refers to the Urartian cuneiform text, according to which after the conquest of Luhiuni, the center of the country of Eridiuahi, Minua, king of Urartu had restored the doors of Haldi and other building of the palace and called them Minuahinili. This gave M.V.Nikolskij a clue to think that before Minua in the city exist both a temple and a palace. Hence, Tashburun during Minua and before him was an important cultic and political center.<sup>66</sup>

The architect K.Hovhannisyan takes the building in Tashburun as a temple and puts it into his typological scheme and regards as a late phase of Urartian «transversal» temples (VII c. BC).<sup>67</sup>

A.A.Ivanovskij, the excavator of Tashburun was inclined to see here a temple or some other important public building.<sup>68</sup>

As to M.V.Nikolskij, the Tashburun monument was a building which was submerged deep into the ground.<sup>69</sup> Further he wrote that, according to A.Uvarov, at the place of the first inscription of Minua, like in Armavir, on the edges of well-worked stones were made hollows. Most probably, these hollows in the form of the tail of a swallow were made in order to tie to each other stones without cementing.

The idea of M.V.Nikolskij was echoed by G.A.Tiratsyan and A.A.Sahinyan. They noticed that on the stones of old Armavir are seen the hollows for connecting them which were made like a swallow tail and are characteristic for ancient Armenian architecture. Such technique is absent in Urartian architecture; they came into presence later, in Armenia (for example, the walls of the early Hellenistic burial at Hasan-kala, as well as stones dated with the III-I c. BC at Tashburun, Tsolakert, Zernaki-tepe, Ani, Yervandakert).<sup>70</sup> A.Sahinyan stresses that «this peculiarity of architecture had come to Armenia, probably, from the west where it was known in the Ionian-Lybian world still in the VI c. BC». <sup>71</sup>

For the solution of our problem is important to refer to the Hellenistic temple complex of Hoghmik, located to the north of Gyumri. Here we shall focus on two buildings among dozens of rooms and auxiliary apartments. First of them is the room N.1 (Fig.7) which is about 13 m long and 9 m in width. Opposite the southern wall passes an elongated *mastaba* made of stones (0.5 meters in height and width). It is built

---

64 Ivanovskij 1911: 40-47, Fig. 24.

65 Hmayakyan 1990: 148, in the section of Tables (31.2).

66 Nikolskij 1896: 18.

67 Oganessian 1981: 91.

68 Ivanovskij 1911: 46.

69 Nikolskij 1896: 18-19.

70 Tiratsyan 1976: 154-156. Sahinyan 1996: 214.

71 Idem.



on a pavement, 2 meters in width. Opposite another wall also is made a *mastaba* but it breaks off in two places. In the center, between two *mastabas* was placed a badly preserved altar, and in the north-western corner was opened a box made of stone which contains burnt remains of an animal (probably a goat). Before the box, on the edge of the wall is seen a rectangle opening, probably for an idol. The room is divided into three parts by means of four pairs of columns. The four central columns are located at some distance from each other, in order to secure a place for the garret, a peculiarity of the main room of the Armenian traditional house. Next to the building were erected two sanctuaries and an *iwan*. Our first suggestion was that the three apartments of the room which are oriented to the east were dedicated to the supreme gods of the Armenian pantheon. They were built in the II c. BC and survived about four centuries, until the adoption of Christianity as a state religion. About twenty meters to the north of these apartments was opened an apartment with the traces of numerous animal sacrifices, *mastabas* and altars, as well as idols. Between these buildings, in one of the rooms was found a clay figurine of Mihr-Mithra (Fig. 7c).<sup>72</sup>

The next room is N. 6 (Fig. 7a, 7b) which is an extensive building whose entrance comes out to the southern edge of the vertical cliff. Inside the apartment and opposite the northern wall is made a pavement in the shape of the Latin letter «L». On the north-eastern corner an entrance leads to the apartment N.3. Along the eastern wall until the south-eastern corner above the pavement is built a *mastaba*. A *mastaba* is extant also near the eastern half of the northern wall, to the west of the abovementioned entrance. From the west next to *mastaba* is placed a box made of big plates of stone. Further to the west is erected a podium of about 20 sm in height. In the center of the apartment are placed anchors of four rectangle columns made of *tufa* stone which reach the edge of the pavement. Along the both long walls, opposite the four anchors are placed other anchors of lesser measurements. So, the apartment was divided into two sections by means of four columns, one with paved floor, the another with an earthen one. In the center of the western wall was opened an altar, a low table made of stone (52x104 sm). Slightly to the south of the north-western corner of the apartment there was an exit to outside, which was closed. From the box and podium, in the rock was dug a groove which continues outside the building; probably, its purpose, like in the temple of Haldi in Erebuni was to wash the remains of the sacrifice. In relation to two apartments located to the north and east this apartment N.6 is substantially lower. It is interesting that all buildings of Haghmik, like western mithraeums, were closed through special ritual after the adoption of Christianity.

A remarkable building was found in the province of Vayk, near the village of Yelpin. Here on the rocky terrain is dug a stairway which leads up the hill. Opposite the last step is dug out a square platform in the rock where are seen the remains of an altar. To the right of the stairway and the platform is a cave with an entrance made in the

---

<sup>72</sup> Hakobyan, Vardanyan 1994: 32-34.

shape of a triangle. Inside the cave also some work was done, since its space was enlarged. This complex reminds the sacred platforms in Van with its rock-carved building, which could be reached by means of a stairway, although the monument from Yelpin is much smaller in size.

The cultic buildings mentioned above, some monumental, some small in size, which are found in different regions of Armenia, used to serve for the performance of the worship of the Armenian Mihr or other gods; they have some similarities with the western mithraeums. But they do not repeat the classical mithraeums by the details of architecture. Even the removable mithraistic altar found in Dvin (Fig.8), which should have been present in this context, is absent; one might suggest that here was built a II c. BC classical western mithraeum.<sup>73</sup>

It is debatable to expect western mithraeums in Armenia which precedes the earliest Roman ones. Even in the places where durative Roman presence is fixed (for example, in the camps where the Roman legions were located, such as Satala and Melitene) until now mithraeums are lacking. On the other side, in the zones of close contacts between Armenians and Romans (in the Euphrates basin, Vagharshapat-Cainepolis, Erzerum) and elsewhere is expected to be found classical Roman mithraeums, at least their earliest forms, quite distinct from classical ones.

Comparing the buildings dedicated to Mithra in Armenia and in the Roman empire K.V.Trever observed in the former overground and in the latter underground architecture, thus coming to the next idea. In contrast to the western underground mithraeums in Armenia they could have also other locations. The cult of Mihr in Armenia was developed distinctly which differ from that in other countries of the Near East and elsewhere, particularly in the west. As is well known, the mithraeum at Dura-Europos also is a completely overground building. According to K.V.Trever, the temples of Mithra in the East and in Armenia are essentially different from the temples of Rome and western provinces of Rome (the so-called mithraeums) She explains this situation as the next: in the West mithraism was an introduced phenomena brought from the East by the Roman soldiers, that is why its cult could not express the peculiarities of local architecture in foreign country, as it is evident in eastern countries. The western mithraeums and temples of Mithra are not studied yet from this point of view. It could be stated only that eastern temples of Mithra differ from each other due to the peculiarities of different historical developments. As an illustration to this idea are the temples of Mithra at Dura-Europos (Mesopotamia) and Niha (Syria). The temple of Mithra at Dura-Europos is closer to the western mithraeums, but anyway it is different from them since it is an overground building and has other architectural details. The Roman legions stationed at Dura-Europos (III, IV, XVI and others) who had restored the temple were responsible for the transfer of mithraism to the west where this «military religion» very soon became popular.<sup>74</sup>

---

73 Kocharyan 1991: 64-66.

74 Trever 1953: 90-91.

One architectural peculiarity should be stressed, if it is not a mere coincidence, but a common feature for the three temples of Apollo-Mithra in the east: all they have an unusually steep fronton the height of which is equal to one fifth of the width (for example, the temple of Garni, the temple of Apollo at Sagalassus<sup>75</sup>, and the temple of Mithra in Cremna in Pisidia<sup>76</sup>).

K.V.Trever has pointed also on the builders of the temples of Mithra and the social status of its worshipers. Western mithraeums differ from the luxurious temples at Garni, Niha and Perge built by the kings of Armenia, Syria and Asia Minor by the absence of monumentalism, but also by their social content. The columned temples decorated by reliefs were built by the kings and their neighborhood and serve the court. As to the western mithraeums, they were built by unbaked clay and serve ordinary people and soldiers.<sup>77</sup>

According to written sources, the eight main temples of the pre-Christian Armenia bear the name of *mehean*,<sup>78</sup> but it should be mentioned that the cult centers dedicated to Mihr also were called *mehean*. In the Arabic version of the «History of Armenia» of Agatangelos, translated by N.Marr, the name of the settlement Tordan which was the main center of the cult of Barshamina, is referred to as *Mithrodan*.<sup>79</sup> Bagayarich, the main temple of Armenian Mihr was located in its neighborhood, not far from the modern Pekeric, in the same province of Daranali.<sup>80</sup>

It was suggested that the Armenian word *mehean* is an Iranian loanword (from *mithra-dāna* «the place of Mihr») to which was added Armenian suffix *-ean*.<sup>81</sup> According to A.Meillet, *mehean* comes from an Iranian word *māithryāna* (with the same meaning).<sup>82</sup> J.Russell has pointed on the difficulty of borrowing during the Sassanian period, since hardly the Armenian Arshakids could have taken this important word from their enemies - Iranian Sassanians.<sup>83</sup> Probably, this word had entered Armenian language earlier.

Regarding the assumption of K.V.Trever concerning the social character an addition should be in place. It seems that the Romans could have borrowed in the East not only the royal architecture and a part of the official cult along with the temples, but also everyday life and beliefs of ordinary people, those small-sized sanctuaries which serve the local population. It could be proved through the analysis of western mithraeums.

75 Lanckoronski, Niemann et Petersen 1893 II: 157, Fig. 123, Tab. XXV.

76 Idem: 179.

77 Trever 1953: 91.

78 «He came to the temple [= *mehean*] of Mihr, called the son of Aramazd, to the village called Bagayarich, in the Parthian tongue» (Agathangelos 1976: § 790, p. 329).

79 Marr 1905: 119, Ch. 5; Russell 1978: 263.

80 Hakobyan 2012b:151-168, especially p. 157.

81 Gershevitch 1975, I: 87, no.8, and II: 357.

82 Meillet 1920: 233-234.

83 Russell 1978: 264-265.

The number of people which could be placed on the podiums built along the walls of western mithraeums was limited. Mithraism was a religion of comparatively small communities. They represent «voluntary organizations» of people, and above all not always having strict religious orientation.<sup>84</sup>

If it is possible to assume that mithraeums originated from the popular ritual buildings of the Near East, then two alternative variants comes to mind. First of them is the communal sanctuary located in the settlement whose architecture should have been the same as the public house - the temple is the house of the god, probably more well-maintained and bigger than an ordinary house. The next should be sought out of the settlement or the center of worship located in an elevated terrain. Here also the building might have been located inside the cave or in some building constructed by the worshipers. If we accept that the patriarchal family represents not only a solidary community of kinsmen but also an economic, sometimes military and worshiping center, then the worship in the settlement and outside it should have been performed in relatively small buildings and caves, as in the case of the Roman mithraistic communities.

As an example for the aforementioned situation could be referred *orgions* in Athens, Greece. According to written sources foreigners, like Thracian *metoikoi*, were united in clubs around some deity, mostly Heracles or Dionisus. The members of this ritual unions were renting some buildings since they, as foreigners, could not possess with real estate including permanent ritual building. This and the performance of rituals require expenditures which was collected through membership fees. It is important to note that the ritual of *orgions* consist of the ritual proper and a daily routine. The first includes the sacrifice of an animal to the deity, opposite the building. The second part of the ritual was the last and more durative process - a feast during which the social stratification of participants disappears. As we can see, *orgions* and similar unions by their form were religious structures despite being partly secular phenomena. These clubs soon became popular and Athenians also created similar organizations.<sup>85</sup>

Probably, the aforementioned unions were the prototypes of the first Roman communities of mithraists which perform their rituals in the buildings imitating their traditional houses. Soon the spread of such groups of associates composed of civilians and soldiers gave birth to numerous worshipers of their tutelary gods.

This hypothesis also should be put into circulation until new archaeological or written data could prove or reject its credibility. At present we are inclined to favor the idea that western mithraeums had originated in the region of the Near East where the contacts between the East and Rome were more durative and intense. We mean the integrated culture of the population of the Euphrates River basin.

---

84 Beck 1996: 176-185.

85 Ustinova 1988: 192-218.

Here we find appropriate to focus on the phenomenon which until now was not touched upon regarding the origins of western mithraeums, that is Armenian popular house.

In one of the two variants of the Armenian popular house which is characteristic for the Upper Armenia (in the north-west of the Armenian Highland, the region of Erzerum) and the western part of the Euphrates basin, also Armenian settlements of Cappadocia (Fig.9, 10) the residential part of males was *oda* which often was located next to the cattle shed. From the latter *oda* was separated by 3-4 columns which sat on a wall (1¼–1½ meters in height). About such underground or semi-underground houses mentions still in the late V century BC Xenophon (Xen., Anab., IV,4,25).

It is noteworthy that Armenian *oda* was the place of assembly of «secret» unions of young people, a place where some popular games were organized («khan», «shah», «pasha»).

As is well known, the popular house used to have a considerable impact on the architecture of the temples and secular buildings in different cultures, as in the case of Armenia. The similarity of the male section of Armenian *oda* with the Roman mithraeum requires a thorough analysis in the context of the Armenian-Roman cultural contacts. Since the possibility of the influence of Roman cultic building on the Armenian traditional house planning should be excluded, one might propose an opposite variant. This process could have been originated in Rome where used to exist an Armenian diaspora (in the army, pretorian regiments, also civilians), or along the entire contact zone, from Commagene and Upper Armenia until the easternmost extension of the Roman military presence.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Abeghyan M. 1966. Works, vol. I, Yerevan (in Arm.).
2. Adonts N. 1972. The History of Armenia, Yerevan (in Arm.).
3. Agathangelos 1976. History of the Armenians, Translation and Commentary by R.W. Thomson, Albany, New York
4. Badalyan M. 2013. Rock-carved doors (niches) with Urartian inscriptions, in Capital cities of Armenia, Yerevan, 82-94 (in Arm.).
5. Beck R. L. 1984. Mithraism since Franz Cumont, in Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. II. 17.4, 2018-2019, 2071-2073.
6. Beck R. 1991. Thus Spake Not Zarathustra: Zoroastrian Pseudepigrapha of the Greco-Roman World, in A History of Zoroastrianism. (ed. by M. Boyce and F. Grenet), Vol. 3, Leiden, 491-565.
7. Beck R. 1995. Dio Cocceianus, Encyclopaedia Iranica, Vol. 7.
8. Beck R. 1996. The Mysteries of Mithras, in J.S. Kloppenborg and S.G. Wilson (eds.), Voluntary Associations in the Ancient World, London, 176-185.

---

86 Bdoyan 1974: 82.

9. Beck R. 2008. Mithraism: The cult of Mithra as it developed in the West, its origins, its features, and its Probable connection with Mithra worship in Iran // *The Circle of Ancient Iranian Studies*. <http://bit.ly/33AUJNX>.
10. Belli O. 2000. *The Anzaff Fortresses and the Gods of Urartu*, İstanbul.
11. Beskow P. 1978. *The Roots of Early Mithraism* // *Études Mitriaques*. *Acta Iranica*, Vol. 17.
12. Bdoyan V.V. 1972. *The Farming culture in Armenia*, Yerevan (in Arm.).
13. Bdoyan V.V. 1974. *Armenian ethnography. A brief scetch*, Yerevan (in Arm.).
14. Bidez J., Cumont F. 1938. *Les Mages hellénisés. Ostanès, et Hystaspe d'après la tradition Grecque*, 2 vol., Paris.
15. Bivar A. D. H. 1998. *The Personalities of Mithra in Archaeology and Literature*, New York.
16. Boyce M., Grenet F. 1991. *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 3, Leiden.
17. Campbell L. A. 1968. *Mithraic Ideology and Iconography*, Leiden.
18. Clauss M. 1992. *Cultores Mithrae: Die Anhängerschaft des Mithras-Kultes*, Stuttgart.
19. Chubinishvili T.N. 1971. *Towards the ancient history of Southern Caucasus*, Tbilisi, Caucasus (in Russian).
20. Clauss M. 2000. *The Roman Cult of Mithras*, Edinburgh - New York.
21. Colpe C. 1975. *Mithra-Verehrung, Mithras-Kult und die Existenz iranischer Mysterien*, in *Mithraic Studies* (ed. J.R. Hinnells), 2 vols, Manchester, 390-399.
22. Cumont F. 1899. *Textes et monuments figures relatives aux mystères de Mithra*, T. I, Bruxelles.
23. Cumont. F. 1902. *Les mystères de Mithra*, Bruxelles.
24. Cumont F. 1923: *Die Mysterien des Mithra*, Leipzig – Berlin.
25. Cumont F. 1931. *La fin du monde selon les mages occidentaux*, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 103, 29-96.
26. Cumont F. 1937. *George and Mithra, the Cattle Tief*, in *Papers Presented to Sir Henry Steuart Jones*, London, 62-71.
27. Cumont F. 1939. *Mithra en Asie Mineure*, *Anatolian Studies in Honour of W. H. Buckler*, Manchester, 67-76.
28. Diakonoff I.M. 1983. *On the problem of the symbol of Haldi*, *Drevnij Vostok* 4, Yerevan, 191-194.
29. Dörner F. K. 1975. *Kommagene, Antike Welt. Sondernummer*, Zürich.
30. Dörner F.K. 1978. *Mithras in Kommagene*, *Études Mithriaques* (ed. by J. Duchesne-Guillemin), Leiden, 123-133.
31. Duchesne-Guillemin J. 1974. *Le dieu de Cyrus*, *Acta Iranica* 3, Leiden, 11-21.
32. Duchesne-Guillemin J. 1978. *Iran and Greece in Commagene*, *Études Mithriaques* (ed. by Duchesne-Guillemin), Leiden, 187-204.
33. *Etruscan art* 1972. *Painting, sculpture, applied arts*, Moscow (in Russian).
34. Gershevitch I 1975. *Die Sonne des Beste*, in *Mithraic Studies* (ed.J.R. Hinnell), Manchester.



35. Gordon R. L. 1978. The Date and Significance of CIMRM 593, *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 2, 159-164, 169-171.
36. Gordon R. L. 1994. Who worshipped Mithras?, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7, 469-471.
37. Gropp G. 1969. Die Function des Feuertempels der Zoroastrier, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, Bd. 2, 147-173.
38. Hakobyan H. 2012a. The architecture of religious buildings in Armenia (From ancient period until antiquity), *Echmiatsin* 11, 33-52 (in Arm.).
39. Hakobyan 2012b. Adoption of Christianity in Armenia: Legend and Reality, in *Ireland and Armenia, Studies in Language, History and Narrative, Journal of Indo-European Studies, Monograph Series 61, Institute for the Study of Man, Washington D.C.*, 151-168.
40. Hakobyan H. 2013a. Armenian wars and art of war during Tigranes the Great, *Yerevan* (in Arm.).
41. Hakobyan H. 2013b. Van in the post-Urartian period (from Achaemenid period until early Middle ages, in *Capital cities of Armenia, Yerevan*, 108-114 (in Arm.).
42. Hakobyan H., R.Vardanyan 1994. The Hellenistic monument of Haghmk, in *Historical-cultural heritage of Shirak, First all-republican conference, theses, Gyumri*, 32-34 (in Arm.).
43. Hmayakyan S. 1990. State pantheon of Urartu, *Yerevan* (in Arm.).
44. Hmayakyan S., Simonyan L. 2013. The City of the Sun, in *Capital cities of Armenia, Yerevan*, 70-81 (in Arm.).
45. Ivanovskij A.A. 1911. Through Transcaucasia – Archaeological surveys and studies of 1893, 1894 and 1896, *Materials on the archaeology of Caucasus VI, Moscow* (in Russian).
46. Jacobs B. 2000. Die Religionspolitik des Antiochus I von Kommagene, in *Gottkönige am Euphrat: Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene* (ed. by J. Wagner), Mainz, 45-49.
47. Javakhishvili A.I. 1970. Building and architecture of the sites of the Southern Caucasus in the V-III mill. BC, *Tbilisi* (in Russian).
48. Karapetyan I., Khachatryan Jh., Kanetsyan A. 2004. Pre-Urartian Armavir (III – early I mill. BC), *Journal of History and Philology*, 2004/2, 254-275 (in Arm.).
49. Khanzadyan E.V. 1962. Kurgan N.6 of Lchashen, *Brief reports of the Institute of Archaeology* 96 (in Russian).
50. Kocharyan G. 1991. Dvin in classical period, *Yerevan* (in Arm.).
51. Koshelenko G.A. 1966. The Culture of Parthia, *Moscow* (in Russian).
52. Kuftin B.A. 1941. Archaeological excavations in Trialeti, *Tbilisi* (in Russian).
53. Kushnareva K.Kh. 1977. Ancient monuments of Dvin, *Yerevan* (in Russian).
54. Kushnareva K.Kh., Chubinishvili T.N. 1970. Ancient Cultures of Southern Caucasus, *Leningrad* (in Russian).
55. Lanckoronski Ch., C.Niemann et E.Petersen 1893. Les villes de la Pamphylie et de Pisidie, vol.I-II, Paris.

56. Lelekov L.A. 1983. On the semantics and typology of temple buildings of Armenian paganism, *Journal of History and Philology*, 1983/1, 58-64.
57. Lenzen H. 1956. Vorläufiger Bericht über die von dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut und der Orient-Gesellschaft aus Mitteln der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Berlin.
58. Lenzen H. 1958. XIV vorläufiger Bericht über die von dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut und der Orient-Gesellschaft aus Mitteln der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Berlin.
59. Marr N. 1905. The Baptism of Armenians, Georgians, Abkhazians and Alans, Saint-Petersburg (in Russian).
60. Martirosyan H.A., Israyelyan H.R. 1971. Petroglyphs of Geghama mountains (Archaeological monuments of Armenia, vol.6, issue II), Yerevan (in Arm.).
61. Masson V.M. (ed.) 1966. Central Asia in the period of stone and bronze, Moscow-Leningrad (in Russian).
62. Melikishvili G.A. 1960. Urartian Cuneiform Inscriptions, Moscow (in Russian).
63. Meillet A. 1920. Sur les termes religieux iraniens en arménien, *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 1, Paris.
64. Merkelbach R. 1984. Mithras, *Königstein/Ts.*, 50-72.
65. Nadimashvili S.I. 1963. Gudaberdka – Tsokhiagora, Gori (in Georgian).
66. Nikolskij M.B. 1896. Cuneiform Inscriptions of Transcaucasia, Materials on the Archaeology of Transcaucasia V, Moscow (in Russian).
67. Oganessian K. 1980. The Fortress of Erebuni, Yerevan (in Russian).
68. Oganessian K. 1981. Urartian roots of the ancient Armenian architecture, in *Ancient Orient and World Culture*, Moscow (in Russian).
69. Orbeli H. 1961. Sasunci Davit, Armenian folk epos, vol. II, Yerevan (in Arm.).
70. Piotrovskij B.B. 1949. The Copper age settlements of Armenia, *Soviet Archaeology* XI (in Russian).
71. Piotrovskij B.B. 1959. The Kingdom of Van (Urartu), Moscow (in Russian).
72. Plutarch 1948. Plutarch's Lives with an English translation by Bernadotte Perrin in eleven volumes. Vol. II. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London.
73. Roll I. 1977. The Mysteries of Mithras in the Roman Orient: The Problem of the Origin, *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 2, 18-52.
74. Russell J. R. 1978. Zoroastrianism in Armenia, Harvard (Harvard Iranian Series. Vol. V).
75. Sahinyan A.A. 1996. Armenian architecture during the period of slavery (VI c. BC –III c. AD), in *History of Armenian architecture in six volumes*, Yerevan (in Arm.).
76. Samuelyan Kh. 1931. The Culture of Ancient Armenia, vol.I, Yerevan (in Arm.).
77. Schlumberger D. 1985. The Hellenized East, Moscow (in Russian).
78. Daredevils of Sasoon, vol.I (ed. by M.Abeghyan), Yerevan, 1936 (in Arm.).
79. Sasunci Davit 1939. Armenian folk epos (with the introduction by H.Orbeli), Yerevan (in Arm.).

80. Schwartz M. 1975. Cautes and Cautopates, in *Mithraic Studies* (ed. J. R. Hinnells), vol. II, Manchester, 1975, 406-423.
81. Schwertheim E. 1979. *Mithras: Seine Denkmäler und sein Kult*, Antike Welt. Sondernummer.
82. Sokolova Z.P. 1972. The cult of animals in religions, Moscow (in Russian).
83. Thureau-Dangin F. 1921. *Rituels accadiens*, Paris.
84. Tiratsyan G.A. 1976. New archaeological finds of post-Urartian period in Western Armenia (Turkey) and their place in the history of ancient Armenian culture, *Drevnij Vostok* 2, Yerevan, 134-157 (in Arm.).
85. Tiratsyan G.A. 1985. Problems of the inheritance of official cult in the antique Armenia, *VON*, 1985/10, 58-65 (in Russian).
86. Tiratsyan G.A. 1988. The Culture of ancient Armenia. VI c. BC – III c. AD, Yerevan (in Russian).
87. Trever K.V. 1953. Essays on the history of culture of ancient Armenia, Moscow –
88. Leningrad (in Russian).
89. Tumanyan G., Yengibaryan N., I.Bashikyan 1996. Reconnaissance excavations at the fortress of Mtnadzor, 10th scientific conference dedicated to the 1993-1995 archaeological surveys in the Republic of Armenia. Abstracts, Yerevan, 29 (in Arm.).
90. Ustinova Yu.B. 1988. Private cultic communities among the Greeks (Attica VI– IV cc. BC), in *Everyday life and history in antiquity*, Moscow, 192-218 (in Russian).
91. Vermaseren M. J. 1960. *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum regionis Mithriacae*, T. II, Hague.
92. Wagner J. 1983. *Dynastie und Herrscherkult in Kommagene*, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 33, 1983, 177-224.
93. Wagner J. 2000a. *Gottkönige am Euphrat, Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene*, Mainz.
94. Wagner J. 2000b. Die Könige von Kommagene und ihr Herrscherkult, in *Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene* (ed. by J. Wagner), Mainz, 11-25.
95. Waldmann H. 1991. *Der Kommagenische Mazdaismus*, Tübingen.
96. Widengren G. 1960. *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischer Zeit*, Köln.
97. Will E. 1978. Origine et nature du Mithriacisme in *Études Mithriaques* (ed. Duchesne-Guillemin), Leiden, 527-528.
98. Woolley L. 1955. *Alalakh*, Oxford.
99. Woolley L. 1986. *The Forgotten Kingdom*, Moscow (Russian translation).

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





Fig.1a - Mithra slaughtering a bull. A relief from the Roman Mithraeum, British museum



Fig.1b - Tauroctonia. A Roman relief, Karlsruhe museum (Germany)

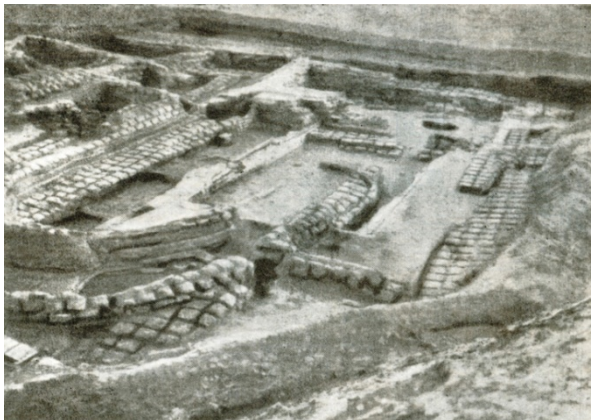


Fig. 2 - General view of the mithraeum unearthed at Uruk-Warka (Iraq)



Fig. 2a - Ostia. Interior of a mithraeum (Italy)



Fig. 2b – View of a mithraeum, III century AD, Hadrian's wall, Northumberland (England)





Fig. 3 - Tetrade of Commagenian pantheon. Above left - Zeus-Oromazdes, right - Mithra-Helios-Hermes, below left - Commagene, right - Heracles-Artagnes



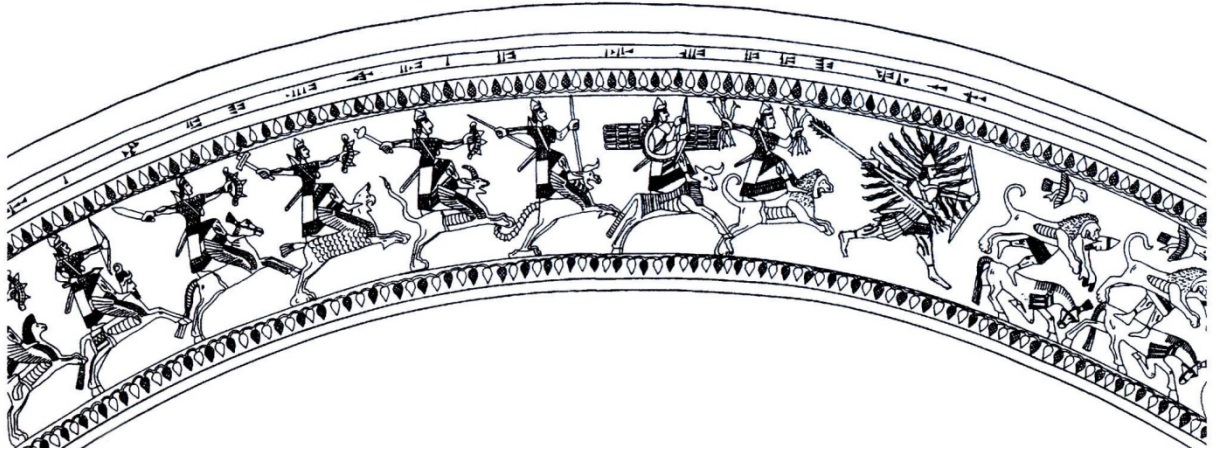


Fig. 4 - Haldi glowing to the right, riding on lion-back, armed with a javelin and bow. Anzaf, fragment of a shield (Belli 2000, Fig.17)

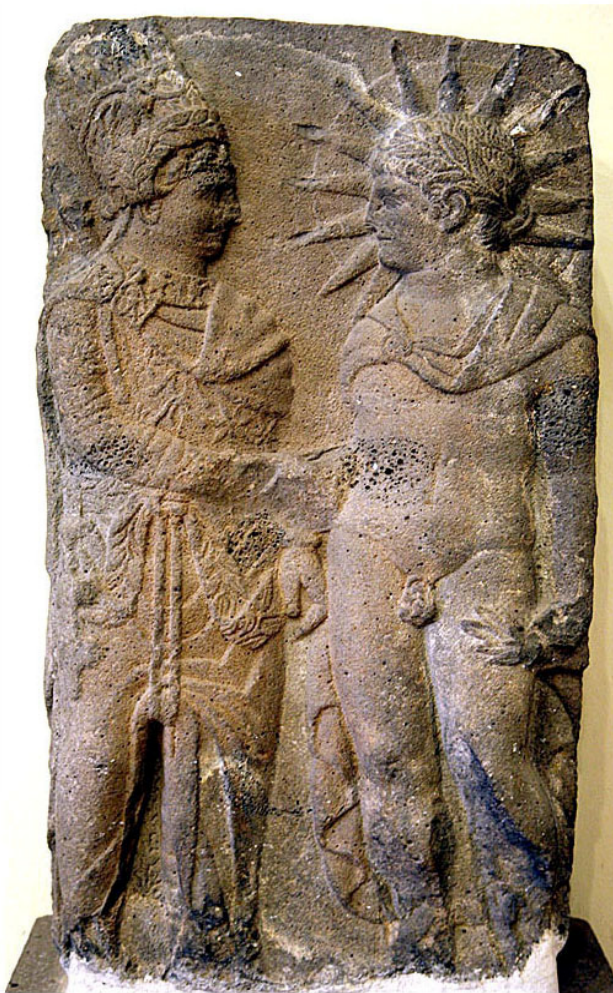


Fig. 5 - Antiochus of Commagene saluting Mithra. A relief from Sofraz, I century BC (Museum of Gaziantep, Turkey)

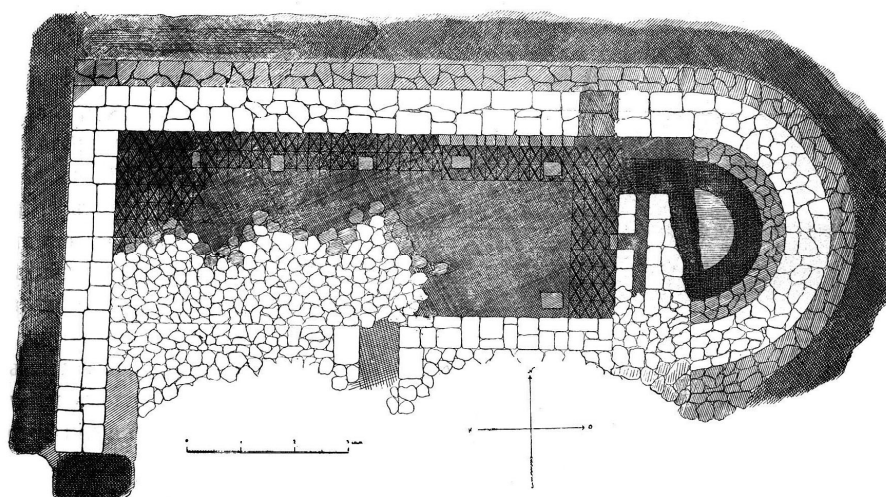


Fig. 6 - Plan of Tashburun temple with apse (after A.A.Ivanovskij)

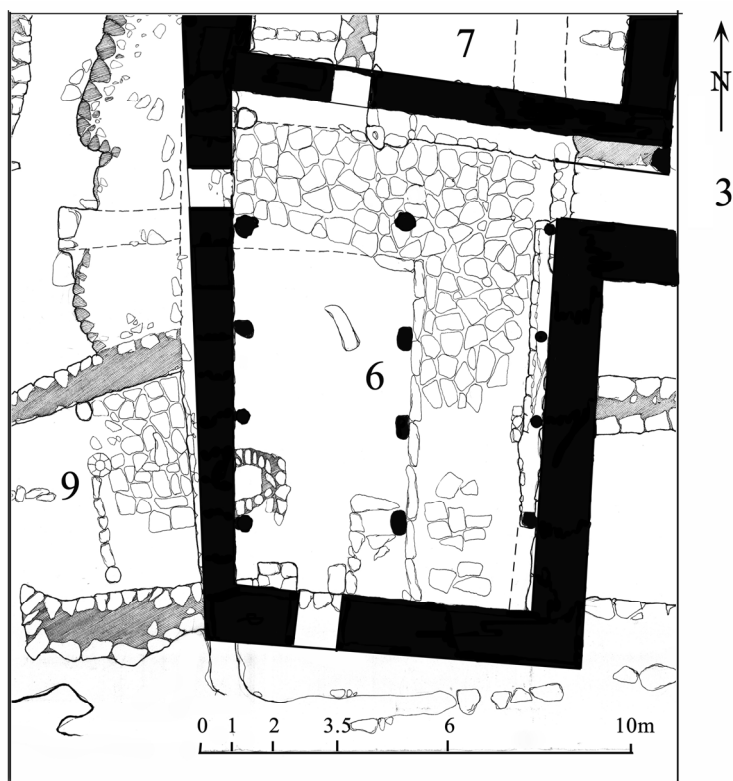


Fig. 7a - Fragment of Haghmik sanctuary complex, plan of the sanctuary nbr.6

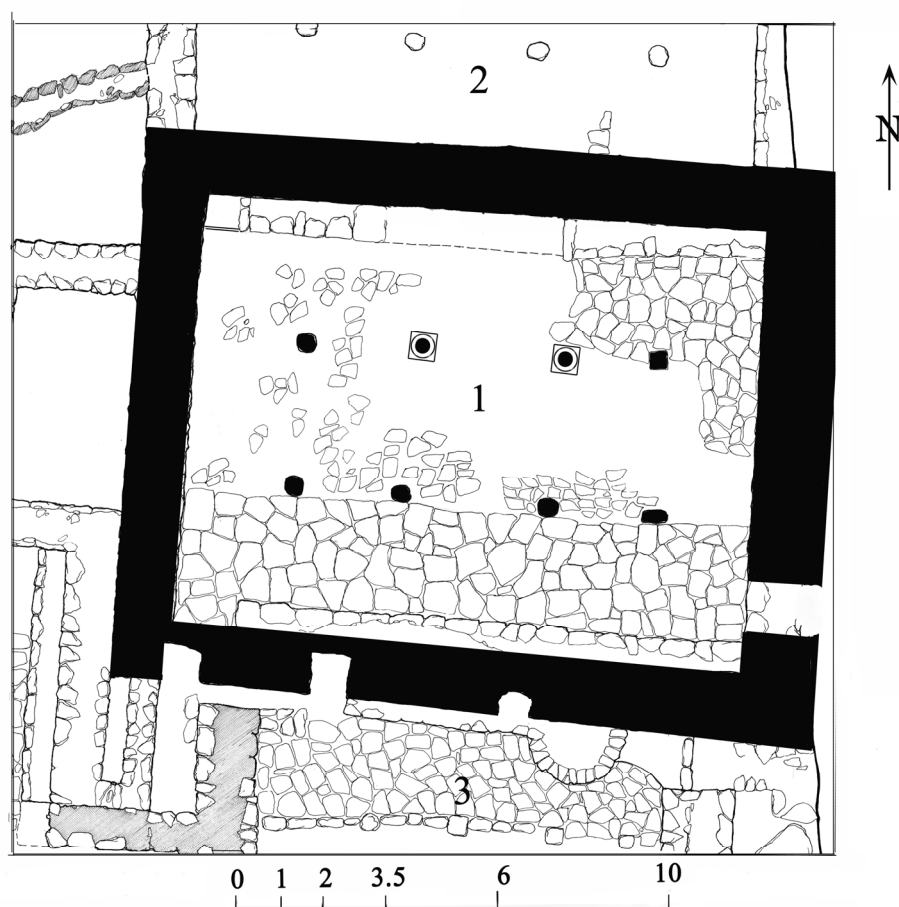


Fig. 7b - Fragment of Hoghmik sanctuary complex, plan of the sanctuary nbr.6



Fig. 7c - A terracotta figurine of Mithra. I-III centuries AD Hoghmik sanctuary complex



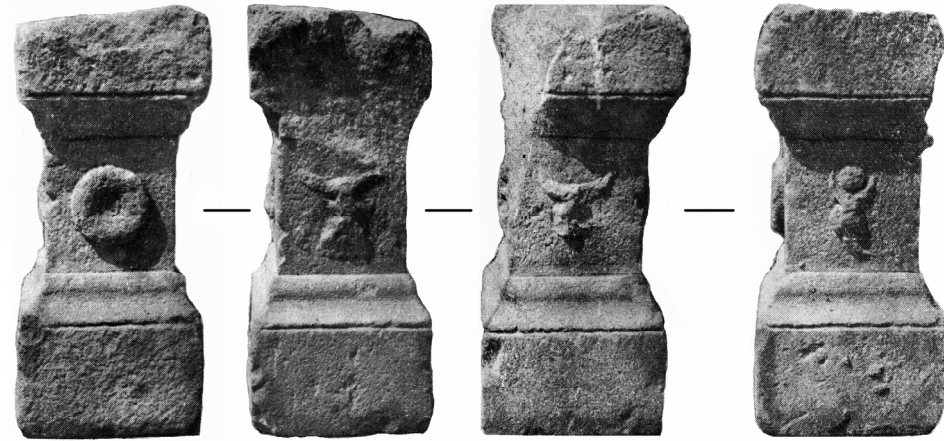


Fig. 8 - A Roman altar from Dvin with Mithraistic symbols  
SUN from the south, RAVEN from the north, BULL from the west, CANCER from the east

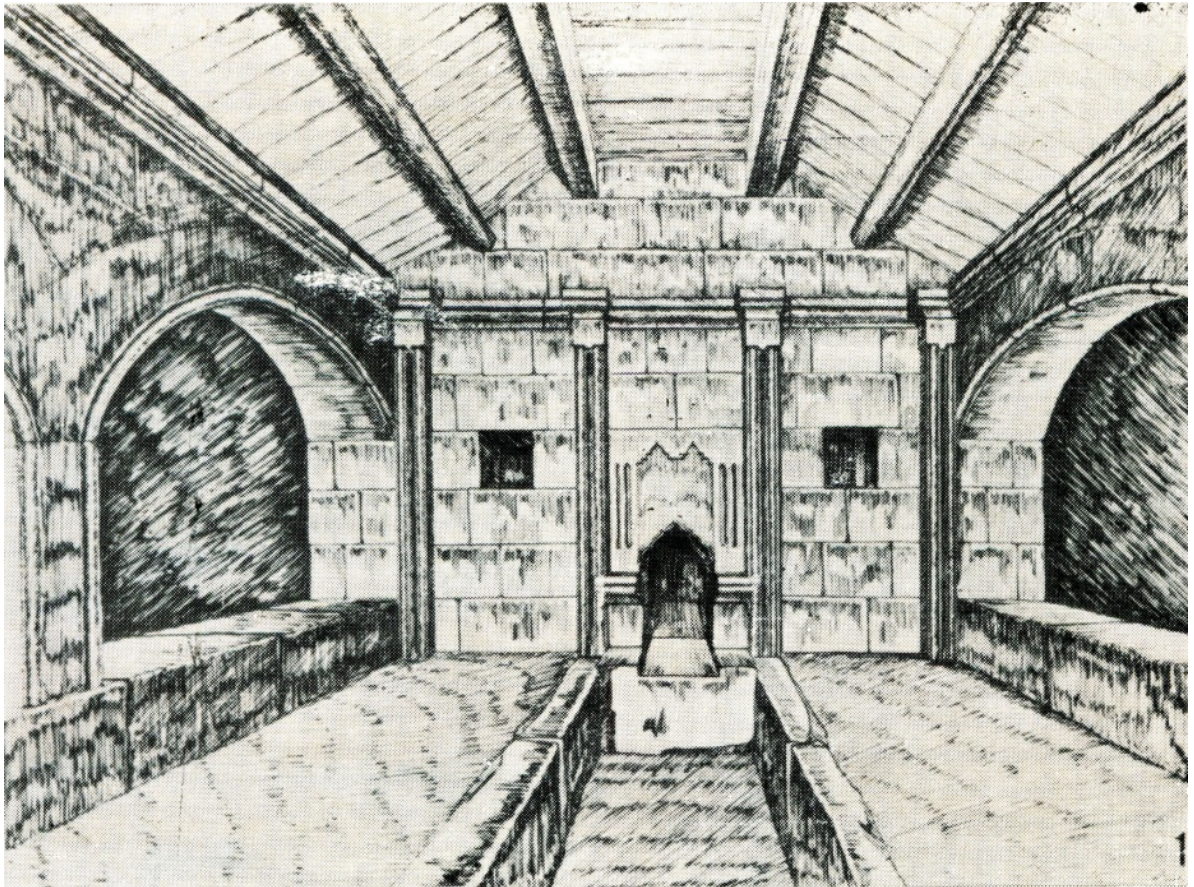


Fig. 9 - Interior of the main room or refectory - *glkhatun* in the Armenian traditional house. Type characteristic to the region of Higher Armenia (Bdoyan 1974: 80; Marutyan 1989, Pl.III.1)



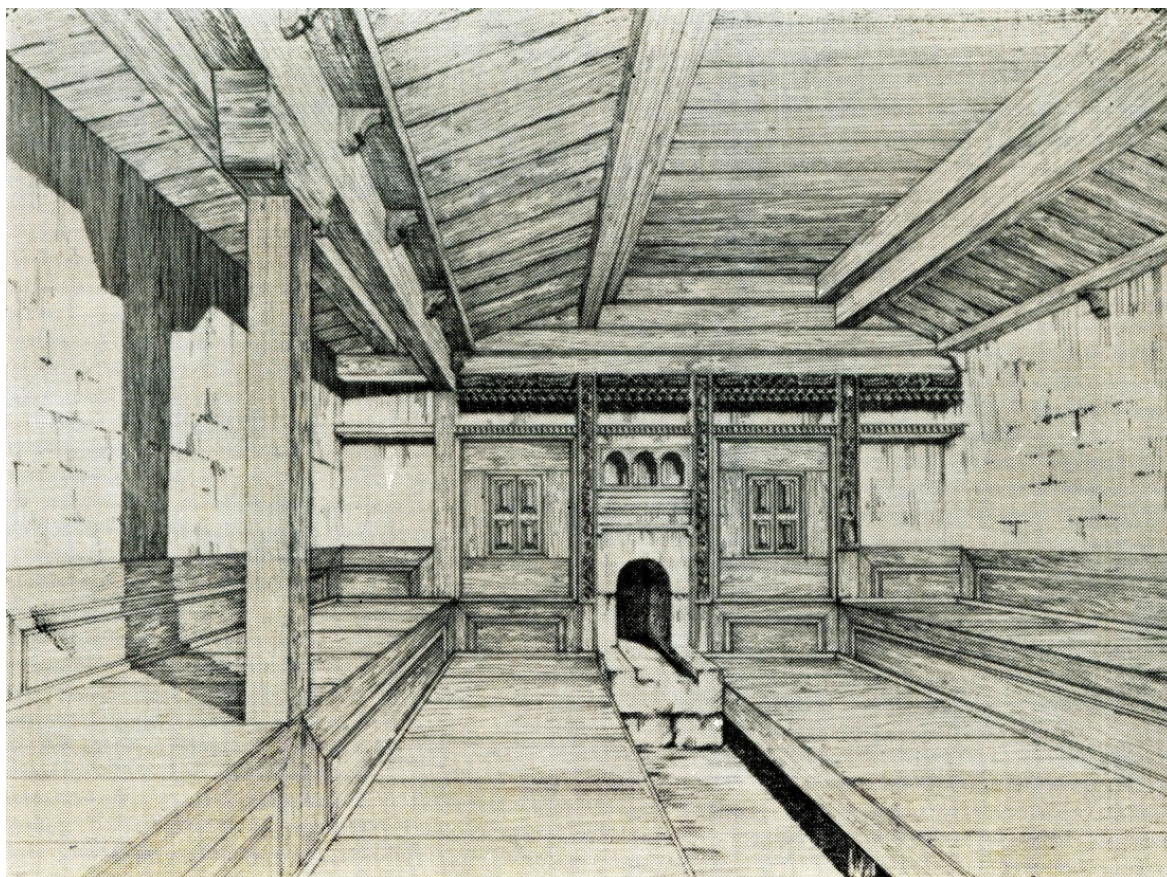


Fig. 10 - Interior of the main room or refectory - *glkhatun* in the Armenian traditional house. Type characteristic to the region of Higher Armenia (Bdoyan 1974: 81; Marutyan 1989, Pl.III.2)

**AN ESSAY ABOUT THE THEATRE OF MEDIEVAL ARMENIA  
(BASED ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL MATERIALS  
OF THE CITY OF DVIN)**

**Aghavni Zhamkochyan**

**Nyura Hakobyan**

**Anahit Khudaverdyan**

*Institute of Archaeology  
and Ethnography, NAS RA*

The ruins of the ancient city Dvin, the capital of medieval Armenia, a major cultural, trade and craft center, are situated 35 kilometers to the south of Yerevan. The first excavations of the monument was implemented in 1937-1939 (director S. Ter-Avetisyan). During the Second World War, the works were interrupted and restarted only in 1946 and were guided by Professor K. Khafadaryan up to 1977. From 1977 to 2009 the head of the excavation was professor Aram Kalantaryan.<sup>1</sup> In the period of the developed Middle Ages (XI-XIII centuries) there was a great increase in the trade, economic and cultural life of Dvin. As a specific genre of art, theatrical and aerial performances, closely connected to folklore and reflecting reality, firmly entered the mode of urban life. The city and its urban environment became the center of the social and cultural life where the spiritual world of the medieval man was formed. The social hardships and class inequality, the tendency of renouncing the problems of the surrounding reality found their reflection in theatrical performances.

Some earliest information about folk festivals, court feasts and all kinds of entertainment held in princely chambers and monasteries, can be found in the writings of the early medieval historians Agathangelos, Faustus of Byzantium, Yeghishe, Eznik of Kolb and Movses Khorenatsi. V. Hatsuni, G. Goyan, G. Levonyan, S. Lisitsyan, E. Petrosyan, Zh. Khachatryan, G. Hovhannisyan, G. Ordoyan and some other researchers of the medieval theatrical heritage thoroughly illuminated certain cultural processes of the developed Middle Ages (XII-XIII centuries) and gave the interpretation of some genres in their works. In search of information about the medieval theatre of Armenia, they appealed to various sources reflecting the urban life of the society. Their search led to the medieval Armenian miniature with paintings of theatrical performances.

However, it is worth mentioning that such sources don't always reflect the cultural environment of that period. It is proved by the fragments of ceramics, as well as complete samples discovered on the territory of the city in the result of archaeological work. Numerous fragments of fragile faience vessels decorated with various mascarons, depicting actors with high theatrical wigs, jesters with shaved heads, as well as wild animals - lions, wolves, found in Dvin, represent a whole repository of information (Fig. 1; 6; 7; 8; 9; 11).

---

<sup>1</sup> Kafadaryan 1952, vol. 1; Kalantaryan 1996.

The first part of the current publication, dedicated to the image of the jester, widely-known in the medieval folk theatre, is reflected on the faience blue-glazed vessel in the form of an alabastron discovered during the excavations of 1977 in the Lower Fortress of Dvin (Fig. 1; 6). The surface of the vessel is divided into vertical columns of various width. Three mascarons of a bald jester are placed in each column from top to bottom at an insignificant distance from each other in the form of a triangle. Wolf mascarons are similarly distributed in a harmonious combination of shape and size. A mesh vertical tape consisting of filled bud sockets is used as a separating element. The result of the creative approach of the master-potter is his ambition to choose more expressive means. The surface of the vessel decorated with stucco images of lions, bears, wolves, jester masks and various compositions can be seen on other ceramic fragments discovered in Dvin (Fig. 1; 7; 8; 11).

In this article, the characteristics of the mascarons with the images of lions, wolves, bears share a common nature. The compositional scheme on this alabastron is confidently resolved within the framework of the canons of the medieval iconography. In our opinion, the composition as a whole conveys the literary plot of some parable, saying or riddle that is clear to the audience through the jester's play. We suppose that the constant threefold repetition of a clown and a wolf depicted on alabastron reflects a certain worldview that reflects the mythology of the triad - Cosmos-Ocean-Earth<sup>2</sup>.

One can find the key to these plots in the depth of ancient ideological and cultural views, totemic beliefs and ritual ceremonies during which masks were used.<sup>3</sup> In the medieval period, however, a certain tendency of adopting cultural heritage comes up with new ideas in theatrical performances, the sources of which date back to a much earlier period. According to N.Ya. Marr, the prototypes of the images of animal planet can be found in fiction, particularly in the fables of M. Gosh (XII c.) and Aygektsi (XIII c.).<sup>4</sup> This remark is actual even nowadays.

Moreover, in applied art, wandering rope dancers, jugglers, buffoons, jesters, hunch-backs, wrestlers and animal tamers were ascribed a real human relationship in the theatrical performances due to their simple, imitative and symbolic movements. This phenomenon is characteristic of Byzantium.<sup>5</sup>

Theatrical performances of a similar genre are mentioned by Eznik Kolbatsi and David Anahaght (V c.). In his book "Refutation of the Sects" Eznik of Kolb illustrates the example of wolf-cubs that became companions of man as a result of taming. The tamer pacifies those cubs that flatter their owners and only become hostile towards strangers. A bear-cub, imitating a human being, is dancing.<sup>6</sup> Davit Anahaght (the Invincible) considers that "spatial arts" such as tightrope walking or juggling bring neither benefit

<sup>2</sup> Harutyunyan 2000: 9-18; Mifi 1987: 398 – 418.

<sup>3</sup> Ardzinba 1982:120.

<sup>4</sup> Marr 1899: 160.

<sup>5</sup> Udaltsova 1988.

<sup>6</sup> Kołbaci 1968: 63-64.



nor harm to life”.<sup>7</sup> One can assume that the master-potter has attempted to transfer the impressions gained from theatrical performances on the vessel of a wolf, bear and a lion (Fig. 1; 7; 8; 11).

The image of a jester is created by the potter not only within the canons of medieval iconography but also under the immediate impressions received from theatrical performances. This is the egg-shaped, bald head of the jester, with a sad expression on his face. It is common knowledge, the image of the bald jester dates back to the ancient Hittite and Urartian traditions.<sup>8</sup> The study of U. Seidl dedicated to the Urartian bronze belts, illustrates an example of a belt fragment in which an acrobat with a shaved head is represented.<sup>9</sup> This tradition was inherited in the ancient world, and the following expression “The theatre man is bald according to his profession and not by his nature” testifies to it.



<sup>7</sup> Anhaght 1960: 105.

<sup>8</sup> Ardzinba 1982: 120.

<sup>9</sup> Seidl 2009:163-167.



Figure 1. Fragments of vessels and alabastron from Dvin

According to some sources, the tradition of shaving the head was accounted for by the fact of wearing a leather hat as it was necessary to protect the head from the blows during duels or on battlefields.<sup>10</sup> The jester was a collective character in medieval, funny and comic areal plays. In this sense V. Aygektsi writes: “He made people laugh and happy.”<sup>11</sup> Jesters were constant participants and parodists in various ceremonies. In the Armenian language there are a series of theatrical terms for the word “jester”, such as *kheghkatak*-comedian, jester-freak, *hackatak*-jester-sycophant, *tsaghrakatak*- jester-buffoon, *katakagusan*- jester- minstrel, *ajpanak*- buffoon<sup>12</sup>. S. Syunetsi, a poet and philosopher of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, opposes the class of clowns and characterizes it in the following way: “some become comedians, fanatics or scoffers, others become jesters – freaks who have no abilities, and some others become buffoons who dance devilishly.”<sup>13</sup>

The image of the jester is characterized by its duality; both positive and negative characteristic features of his are singled out. The parable “Buffoon Zis and the Merchant” by V. Aygektsi is about a jester acting as a deceiver at the city gates. He drags the late-comer merchant through the narrow city gates, deceptively dresses him in his clothes, robs the merchant of his belongings and disappears.<sup>14</sup>

Taking into consideration the jester’s participation both in royal amusements and in town performances, he was treated as a non-class character to which J. Orbeli refers

<sup>10</sup> Ordoyan 1984: 117-125.

<sup>11</sup> Marr 1894: 26-27, 49-50, 175-177.

<sup>12</sup> Hovhannisyan 1978: 229.

<sup>13</sup> Adonts 1915: 193.

<sup>14</sup> Marr 1894.

in his article “The Buffoon and the Bathhouse of the 12<sup>th</sup> Century”.<sup>15</sup> However, as Yesai Nchetsi stated in his work “The Analysis of Grammar”, the jester was a descendant of peasantry and constituted its integral part.<sup>16</sup> Church-porches, markets and city gates, where a number of people gathered during celebrations, served as the main place for the jester’s performances. Hovhan Mandakuni, the bishop of Dvin Patriarchate, defender of the disadvantaged layers of the society, as well as a militant preacher expressed his extreme intolerance towards “the devilish theatre” in his famous speeches entitled “On the Obscene Devilish Theater” where buffoons (gusans) and dancers sang and danced. He condemns those who go to theatrical stages (by saying *stage* he means church-porch in Dvin) instead of going to church, and the booth where the church, church rituals and the clergy are ridiculed: “contempt, mockery, abuse... someone is gossiping or mocking dazzled by shame, others are lying with a respectful vanity like a brutal dog indiscriminately barking at everyone.”<sup>17</sup>

In another speech Mandakuni writes: “They mistakenly follow Satan, wizards, magicians, witches or jugglers and quit the Patriarchal Church.”<sup>18</sup> The church, not tolerating public performances on its territory, established its own laws. The twelfth canon of the fourth decree of the Cathedral of Dvin (645), which is stated by the author of the Code of Law,<sup>19</sup> contains the following passage in the Armenian Code of Law: “Although some *azats* and riders are not fit for having places in monasteries, they find shelters there on arriving at villages. However, they, staying along with their wives and maids, violated the canons of the holy fathers. It was terrible for Christians to hear, even more, to see them having supper in front of buffoons and dancers in a sanctuary. However, the theatre never opposed the church or abused its authority. Each attempt to excommunicate the medieval man from the theatre ended up with a failure as love for entertainments was formed in the psychology of a human being along with love for the church.

In this respect the following evidence by Catholicos Abraham Kretatsi (XVIII c.) about the inhabitants of Ani is worth mentioning: “Deacons, sent to the service, are expelled and made to pick up the Gospel and kiss it; having received unleavened bread, they go to the theatre, watch the performance and visit the hippodrome”.<sup>20</sup>

The analysis of the images of the mascaron buffoon on alabastrons and other fragments highlights the harmony of the color scheme and attributes alabastrons to the works of small sculptural forms. On the one hand, it can be viewed as a work of decorative art, on the other hand as the combination of the handicraftsman’s skill and taste when producing household items. It is due to cite the definition of culture proposed by Davit Anhaght: “Culture is first of all a skill, a practical aim for accomplishing the rational: to work out empirically means to verify through great experience as different

<sup>15</sup> Orbeli 1963: 316-322.

<sup>16</sup> Ncheci 1966.

<sup>17</sup> Mandakuni 1860: 127-128.

<sup>18</sup> Bishop Karapet 1913: 122.

<sup>19</sup> Mkhitar Gosh 1975: 206; Armenian Code of Law 1971: 211-212.

<sup>20</sup> Abraham Kretatsi 1870: 103.

types of art were verified through multiple representations and only then they were worth being part of art". "Destined to achieve something important in life, to distinguish from vain and vicious arts that don't aim at performing anything good in life."<sup>21</sup>

In the second part of the article we would like to pay attention to a relief ceramic fragment discovered in the Central Quarter of Dvin in 1966 (at a depth of 20 centimeters). It was preliminarily published by the head of the excavations K. Ghafadaryan and A. Kalantaryan (Fig. 1; 5). H. Petrosyan defines<sup>22</sup> the plot of the image as an illustration for the fable "The Priest and the Dog", by V. Aygektsi (XIIc.). Suchlike plot interpretation, to our minds, requires precision.

First of all it should be mentioned that on the given fragment the theatrical elements are represented artistically - in the form of dancing elements and movements. Moreover, this composition is an exception rather than a regularity. The composition, symmetrically divided into parts, depicts a priest wearing a headgear, with a cross in his hand, and naked women are performing a dynamic circular dance on his both sides. The ornamented long and narrow belt under the wreath is a rhythmically repeated composition, the content of which is distinctly legible. In our opinion, the scene is depicted from the daily life of Dvin of XII-XIII centuries (the artifact was found precisely in this layer), and it reflects cultural, ideological, moral and spiritual changes. One of the decrees of the above-mentioned cathedral of Dvin contains a passage condemning the provision of a shelter for hired dancers and buffoons on the church territory. It is logical to suppose that these meetings ended up with feasts as we can see on the described fragment. The clue to the interpretation should be searched for through the ideology and aesthetic views of XII-XIII centuries.

M. Abeghyan writes that in the given period, along with the economic and urban life revival, the secular spirit of paganism times awakens, and the new world outlook opposes the religious one.<sup>23</sup> It should be mentioned that the circumstances in which the artifact was found chronologically coincides with the above-mentioned world outlook. This plot can be viewed as the echo of the religious movement of the Tondrakids that arose in the 830s, to the north of Lake Van. The relationship between the potter and the customer towards the movement is dual: a supporter on the one hand and an opponent on the other hand. It is known that the Tondrakids rejected the cross, the clergy, the church, baptism ceremonies, sacraments, marriage ceremonies, i.e. they rejected everything divine and apostolic.

Historian A. Lastivertsi (XII c.), narrating about Monk Kuntsik and Prince Vrvr, considers them as the servants of Satan and writes that they led a dissolute life with a woman, named Hranush and two sisters, called Akhni and Kamaran who were also overwhelmed by nasty dissipation.<sup>24</sup> It is also possible that the master who had made

---

<sup>21</sup> Davit Anhaght 1960: 105.

<sup>22</sup> Petrosyan 2003: 347.

<sup>23</sup> Abeghyan 2015: 20.

<sup>24</sup> Aristakes Lastivertsi 1966: 36-38, 123,125-127, 170.



that vessel was the opponent of the Tondrakids and he had depicted the profane mode of life on purpose. On the other hand, he may also be considered as a supporter of the Tondrakid movement, making efforts to justify the presence of the representative of the clergy among them. The Tondrakids accepted the idea of free love as a symbol of marriage, and not the church marriage. The origin of the dance scene (ballroom dancing) dates back to the ancient Hurrian and Hittite traditions. In the publication of field materials Theatricologists E. Petrosyan and Zh. Khachatryan illustrate a number of examples of imitative dances with a gradual exposure and thinks that this ritual dates back to the ancient times.<sup>25</sup>

Having analyzed the fragments of the artistic ceramic vessels discovered in Dvin, we can conclude that they reflect the national characteristics and the fundamental elements of the medieval urban culture. They do confirm the theory of A. Jacobson that ceramic production, particularly glazed ceramics was characteristic of the city and met not only domestic but also aesthetic needs of the population.<sup>26</sup>

In the third part of the current article we will analyze the anthropological materials discovered in Dvin that are directly related to the issue under discussion. Anthropological material of two individuals, distinguished by some traces of growth disorders was found in the Cathedral of St. Gregory during clean-up operations. The bones of the individuals were carelessly lying over the surface at a height of about 40-50 cm. These are probably the reburial of the remains that had appeared to be in the construction zone of the cathedral.

Various types of dwarfism were repeatedly described in paleopathological literature.<sup>27</sup> Its earliest manifestations on the territory of Armenia date back to the late Bronze Age<sup>28</sup> and antiquity.<sup>29</sup> Dwarfism is the violation of growth processes among people of small stature. Dwarfs are those people who are of height of 150cm or less. Growth disorders may be divided into two types: in case of disproportionate dwarfism growth impact on limbs or on torso or on both of them is limited but to varying degrees, and in case of proportionate dwarfism all the parts of the body are equally involved in the growth disorder processes (the ratio of the size of the head to the torso, limbs).

Modern scientific tradition ascribes much importance to the morphological, including X-ray anatomical studies of the skeleton bones in the context of growth disorder processes, its development and adaptation, etc. In order to provide most information on the material in question, it is useful to scrutinize the skeletons,<sup>30</sup> as any kind of information may be of great value. We mainly aimed at a detailed fixation of the morphological features of the skeleton bone structure and the teeth. In the current study

---

<sup>25</sup> Petrosyan 2003: 336-337; Khachatryan 2014: 174.

<sup>26</sup> Jacobson 1978: 150.

<sup>27</sup> See Babakov et al. 2001: 120; Dubova, Kufterin 2014: 167; Farkas, Nagy, Kosa 2001: 80; Frayer, Horton, Macchiarelli, Mussi 1987: 61; Gladyskowska-Rzeczycka 1980: 72.

<sup>28</sup> Khudaverdyan 2016: 95.

<sup>29</sup> Khudaverdyan 2015: 220.

<sup>30</sup> Alekseev, Debets 1964: 52; Alekseev 1966: 221; Buikstra, Ubelaker 1994: 17; Goodman, Martin, Armelagos, Qark 1984: 28; Movsesyan, Mamonova, Richkov 1975: 129; Zubov 1968a: 10; Zubov 1968b: 139; Zubov 2006: 40.

the femur and tibia were exposed to a radiographic study. The study of the internal structure of the bones of individual 2 was carried out in the Republican Medical Center "Armenia". As it is known, the greatest number of Harris lines can be seen at the distal end of the tibia.

## Craniology

### *Individual 1.*

The skull belongs to an adolescent of about 17 ( $\pm 2$ ) (Figure 2). The upper wall of the left orbit and the supraorbital part of the coronal bone were posthumously broken. There was a complete fusion of the lateral parts of the occipital bone with the body and a partial closure of the occipital-main synostosis. On the skull the third left molar didn't reach its final position among other teeth, whereas the right one was deep in the cell. The upper third molars absence exists at all.



Figure 2. Skull №1 from Dvin.

The skull of the individual is characterized as brachycranic with a large transverse and longitudinal index that is on the low end of the norm. It is absolutely low and relative to the altitude-transverse index. The parameters of the length and width of the skull base are on the border of very small values. The occiput is of medium width with a small arch and chord. The external occipital protuberance is badly developed, and in the lateral norm the occiput is rounded. The parietal arch and chord are very small. The mastoid is moderately developed. The forehead is of medium width. The frontal-transverse index is middle - *mesozem*. The frontal arches and chords are of medium size. The glabella and superciliary arches are moderately developed, and molar arches are very thin. The top of the brainpan is of a spheroidal shape. The cranial sutures are serrated.

The zygomatic diameter is very small. The length of the face (as well as that of the skull) is also small. The face is low and small by the upper breadth and very small at a zygomaxillary points. At the upper level the horizontal profile angle is weakened, whereas in the middle it is quite strong. The upper facial index falls into the category of *mésos*, which indicates the upper mid-facial profile. Both the nasal height and the nasal

breadth are very small (beyond the norm). The nasal index is small (*leptorinia*). The dacryal width is very big, whereas its height is small, the dacryal index is small as well. The simotic width is medium, whereas its height and index are small. Likewise, the area of noseband may be characterized as flattened. The anterior nasal spine is middling. The lateral edges of the piriform opening go to the lower line, having a sharp size. The orbits are of medium height, narrow and gypsum conch. The palatal breadth goes beyond the lower limit of the norm. The length and breadth of the alveolar arch are very small. The projection length of the lower jaw is medium. The angles are deployed, the ramus mandible is small. Both the angular width and the frontal one are small. The tuberosity on the external surface of the angle (the reposition of the mastication muscle, m. masseter) and the internal surface of the angle (the reposition of the internal wing muscle m. pterygoideus medialis) is distinctly discerned on both sides. The symphysis of medium height, the body is short, massive and thick.

### **Individual 2.**

The cranium is heavy and belongs to a twenty-two-year-old man ( $\pm 2$ ) (Figure 3). The skull relief is poorly developed. The dental system is completely formed and in a good state. The skull of individual is also brachycranial with a small transverse and longitudinal index that is on the low end of the norm. It is very low and the height transverse diameter index is on the edge of very small and medium values (*metriocrane*). The high-rise longitudinal index is big (*gipsicran*). The height-breadth index of the skull base is on the edge of small and very small values. The occiput is of small width with a very small arch and a chord. The external occipital protuberance is poorly developed and in accordance with the lateral norm, the occiput is rounded. The parietal arch and chord are very small in size. The mastoid process is moderately developed. The forehead is very narrow and the fronto-transverse index is middle - *mesozem*. The frontal arches and chords are small in size. The upper part of the brainpan is turquoise-shaped and sharply narrowed in the temporal region. The cranial sutures are serrated.



Figure 3. Skull №2 from Dvin.

The zygomatic diameter is on the low line of the norm. The facial part of the skull is mesognate, low. The horizontal facial profile angles fall into the category of small size, i.e. the face of the Caucasoid standards is well profiled. The upper facial index falls into the category of leptins. Both the nasal height and weight are small. The nasal index is small in size (*leptorinia*). The dacryal height is big, whereas its width is small in size and the dacryal index is very big. The symotic width is small, whereas its height and index are wide. The frontal nasal spine is strong. The lateral edges of the piriform opening extend downward, forming clearly outlined fossae that separate the frontal part of the nasal tenon. The orbits are narrow and not wide (*mesoconcha*). The palatal breadth is deep and on the low line of the norm, whereas the palatal length is small. The length and breadth of the alveolar arch are very small. The projection length of the lower jaw is on the edge of very small and small values. The angles are developed, the ramus width is small. The tuberosity of the external and internal surface angle is distinctly expressed on both sides. Both the angular width and the frontal one are small. The symphysis joint is not high, the body is very short and thick.

Thus, the study of the skull puts forward a number of dimensional characteristic features that go beyond the standard variations<sup>31</sup> which testifies to significant deviations from the normal morphology of the brain and facial sections. We have already published the data of the microcephaly skull with a mechanical fracture of the occipital condyle and a damage of the mastoid process (decapitation) found during the Dvin excavations in 2013.<sup>32</sup> All the main parameters of the skull under study are characterized by very small values. With the exception of the length and width of the *foramen magnum* (the occipital foramen), the width of the alveolar arch and naso-molar angle are characterized by very big values.

### Cranioscopy

It is of great importance to take into account the kinship relations between the individuals found in Dvin. Ten of the nineteen studied discrete-varying markers are found in both individuals. No traces of twenty six discrete-varying signs are discovered on either skull. The lateral edge of the frontal process of zygomatic bone is straight (*spina processus frontalis*), and the transverse palatine suture (*sutura palatina*) is П-shaped. The unstable foreman and the venous blood passing (*foramina zygomaticofacilia*, *foramina parietalia*, *foramina mastoidea*, *canalis condyloideus*), the incisive suture (*sutura incisive*), the frontal process of the temporal bone (*processus frontalis squame temporalis*) and the processes extending from the inferior surface of the jugular processes (*processus paramastoideus*) are marked on the skulls. The zygomatic bone (*os japonieum*) separated by the suture regarded as an eastern sign was distinguished in both individuals.

<sup>31</sup> Alekseev, Debets 1964: 116.

<sup>32</sup> Khudaverdyan, Babayan, Hakobyan, Zhamkochyan 2014: 98.

Table 1. Measurements of the skulls from Dvin

Feature	<i>Individual 1</i> ♂	<i>Individual 2</i> ♂
1.Maximum cranial length (g-op)	159,5	153,5
8. Maximum cranial breadth (eu-eu)	146	136,5
8:1.Cranial index	91,54	88,93
17. Height skull	130	126
17:1.High altitude longitudinal pointer	81,51	82,09
17:8.Altitude-transverse index	89,04	92,31
20. Height skull	122,5	118
20:1.High altitude longitudinal pointer	76,81	76,88
20:8. Altitude-transverse index	83,91	86,45
5.Length of the skull base	90	95,5
9. Minimum frontal breadth (ft-ft)	96	89
9:8.Fronto-transverse index	65,76	65,21
10.Maximal frontal breadth	127,5	114
12.Occipital breadth	107	100
29.Frontal chord (n-b)	111	100
30.Parietal chord (b-l)	103	96
31.Occipital chord (l-o)	89	86
11. Width of the skull base	119	119
26. Frontal arch	128	112
27.Parietal arch	113	113
28. Occiput arch	106	101
32.Frontal profile angle (n-m)	85	85
Frontal profile angle (g-m)	84	80
45.Bizygomatic breadth (zy-zy)	122	116?
48. Upper facial height	65,5	64
48:45 Upper facial index	53,69	55,18
43.Upper facial breadth (fmt-fmt)	101?	96
46. Mid-facial breadth	83	88
60. Maxillary alveolar length (incision-alv)	48	51
61. Maxillo-alveolar breadth (ecm-ecm)	56	59
62. Palatal length (st-o)	39,5	42
63.Palatal breadth between the second molars (enm-enm)	27,2	27,8
63:62. Palatal index	68,87	66,191
55.Nasal height (n-ns)	46,5	49
54. Nasal breadth (al-al)	18,8	21
54:55.Nasal index	40,44	42,86
51.Orbital breadth (d-ec)	39,5	40,2
51a.Orbital breadth (ect-d)	36,5	36
52.Orbital height bicondylar width	34	32,5

52:51.Orbital index (mf)	86,08	80,85
52:51a.Orbital index (d)	87,5	90,28
MC. Maxillo-frontal chord	23	15
MS. Maxillo-frontal subtense	5,5	9
MS:MC. Maxillo-frontal index	23,92	60,0
DC. Dacryal chord	24,5	19,5
DS. Dacryal subtense	9,5	13
DS:DC. Dacryal index	38,78	66,67
SC (57). Simotic chord	8,8	7
SS. Simotic subtense	2,2	5
SS:SC. Simotic inde	25,0	71,43
72. Total facial angle	86	84
73.Mid-facial angle	87	81
74.Alveolar angle	88	88
75(1).Nasal protrusion angle	23	36
77. Naso-malar angle (fmo-n-fmo)	142	136
<zm.Zigo-maxillary angle (zm`-ss-zm`)	134	126

In **individual 1**, the supraorbital foramen (*foramina supraorbitalia*), the frontal foramen (*foramina frontalia*), the pterygospinous process (*pterygospinosum*), narrowing of the H-shaped pterion (*stenocrotaphia*) and the occipital condyle bipartitum (*condyles occipitalis bipartitum*) are detected, too.

In **individual 2**, the temporal process of the frontal bone (*processus temporalis ossis frontalis*), the narrowing of the X-shaped pterion (*stenocrotaphia*), the suture bones in the scaly suture (*os wormii suturae squamosum*), the inserted bone in the parietal notch (*o spost squinosquamosum*) are fixed.

#### Odontology

The shape and the degree of their attrition corresponds to the individual's age and psalidodontic character of the bite. The observed dental asymmetry is more noticeably marked in individual 2 than in individual 1.

Table 2. Cranioscopic features of individuals from Dvin

	<b>Individual 1.</b>	<b>Individual 2.</b>
Foramina supraorbitalia	+ /right/	-
Foramina frontalia	+ /right/	-
Foramina zygomaticofacialia	+	+ /right/
Os zygomaticum bipartitum	+ /right/	+ /right/
Spina processus frontalis	straight	straight /right/
Stenocrotaphia	H-shaped	X-shaped
Processus frontalis squamae temporalis	+	+ /right/
Processus temporalis ossis frontalis	-	+ /left/

Os Wormii suturae squamosum	-	+
Os postsquamosum	-	+ /right/
Foramina parietalia	+	+ /left/
Foramina mastoidea	+ /right, off seam/	+ /on and off seam/
Sutura palatina	Π-shaped.	Π-shaped
Sutura incisiva	+	+
Foramen pterygospinosum	+	-
Canalis craniopharyngeus	-	+
Condylus occipitalis bipartitum	+	-
Processus paramastoideus	+	+
Canalis condyloideus	+	+ /right/

### **Individual 1.**

The maxillary first and second molar, as well as the right lateral incisor, canine, the premolar and the first and second molars were examined. The mandibular central incisor, the left mandibular incisor and the first and second premolars were missing. The crown diameter of the maxillary and mandibular molars range from very small to large quantities and only in one case ( $M^2$ ) the width of the crown (VL) exceeds its length. According to the average module, in both rows M1-M2 (9,38 upper), M1-M3 (9,56, lower) the individual is clearly inclined to microdontism that is particularly typical of South European forms. The crown height of the maxillary second molars fall into the category of big values. In the area of crown extent, the formula  $M1 > M2 > M3$  is fixed with the reduction in the area of the last mandibular third molar.

The comparison of the mesiodistal and vestibulo-lingual dimensions of the mandibular first and second molars revealed the following regularity. According to vestibulo-lingual diameter (90), the size of the third step-index is bigger than the one calculated by the mesiodistal diameter (83.64). The data on the pan-paper distribution of the values of the third molar cited by A.A Zybov,<sup>33</sup> enable us to conclude that in most modern populations of its size, calculated by mesiodistal indicators, are greater than the one calculated by vestibule-lingual indicators. It may testify to the fact that in the considerable part of the globe, the evolutionary tendency to reduce the size of the second molars was to a greater extent covered by the tooth transverse diameter rather than the longitudinal one. In comparison with the mesiodistal diameter of the individual from Dvin, the reduction of the vestibule-lingual diameters of the mandibular second molars probably reflects the variability of the individual rather than the conservatism of the morphogenetic processes on the studied territory.

The shape of the right lateral incisor is “premolar” (Figure 4). The corono-radicular furrow on the incisor is mesially shifted, and it cuts off the lingual tubercle from the mesial marginal ridge fitting it there. The furrow separating the lingual tubercle stretches

<sup>33</sup> Zubov 1968a: Table 28.



along the root. The shovel shape most pronounced on the lateral incisor. On the right canine a poorly discernible vestibular shovel-shape is noted, and a triangular fossa is fixed at the level of the third medium lingual surface. The dimensions of the vestibular tubercle on the maxillary first premolar are bigger than those of the lingual (type 2).



**Figure 4. The right lateral incisor is “premolar”, cusp of Carabelli (point 1-2)**

According to the Zybov<sup>34</sup> scale, the odontoglyphic crown pattern ranges between 4 and 6 points. The lingual and vestibular tubercle have approximately the same dimensions on the second premolars. The odontoglyphic crown pattern is rated 4. Both the metacone (point 2) and hypocone (point 4) of the first molars are slightly reduced. The cusp of Carabelli is fixed on the first molars (point 4). The shape of the first paracone furrow can be observed on the maxillary first molar. The morphological characteristics of the second molars are the three tubercles, arranged in a chain (metacone-paracone-protocone). The whole crown is narrow, ellipse-shaped, flattened, the hypocone is missing. The tubercles are displaced in the diagonal direction of the dentition, and the cusp of Carabelli (point 1-2) has a rudimentary form. All the three roots are merged, the length is the same (14 mm). The overall height of the tooth (along the outer edge of the mesial root) is 19.2 mm. The enamel stain on the maxillary first molar is rated 4.

The mandibular central incisor is not shovel-shaped, however, a slight increase in the marginal ridges of the lingual surface can be observed on canines (point 1). The mandibular first right premolar has 4 cusps (point 6), the inter-cuspal furrow of the left premolar has a lingual twig dividing the lingual half of the tooth into two parts, forming a three-cusped type (point 5). The second left premolar has 3 cusps. The mandibular first molars have 5 cusps, the crown pattern has the shape of Y. The anterior and posterior fovea are present on the first molars and a slight lingual shift of the occlusion shape is observed. A distal trigonid crest used to be here (the crest is formed by the distal crests

<sup>34</sup> Zubov 1968b: 52.



of the protoconid and metaconid) (on the left and right tooth respectively). Among the additional features, variant 2med (II) and the anterior fossa in the mesial section are noted here. The second molars have four cusps and the pattern has the shape of X. The third left molar is strongly reduced (3 cusps) with the crown pattern that has the shape of Y. The enamel strain on the first and second molar is rated 5 points.

Table 3. Dental features individuals from Dvin

	Individual № 1		Individual № 2	
	Maxilla			
	VL <sub>cor</sub>			
	right	left	right	left
I1	-	-	6.5	6.5
I2	6.5	-	5.5	5.5
C	7.5	-	7.2	7.5
P1	8.5	-	8.2	8.2
P2	9.1	-	8.8	8.8
M1	10	10	10.2	10.2
M2	12	11	10	10.2
M3	-	-	10.2	9.2
	MD <sub>cor</sub>			
I1	-	-	8	8
I2	7.2	-	6.8	6.8
C	7.5	-	7.5	7.5
P1	6.8	-	6.5	6.5
P2	7	-	6.5	6.5
M1	10	10	10	10
M2	6	6	9	9
M3	-	-	7	7
	H <sub>cor</sub>			
M1	6	6	5	5
M2	8	8	5	5.5
M3	-	-	4.2	4.5
	MD <sub>col</sub>			
M1	7.2	7.2	7.5	7.5
M2	5	5	7	7.2
M3	-	-	7	5.5
	MD × VL			
M1	100	100	102	102
M2	72	66	90	91.8
M3	-	-	71.4	64.4

	$I_{cor} (VL / MD) \times 100$			
<b>M1</b>	100	100	102	102
<b>M2</b>	200	183.34	111.12	113.34
<b>M3</b>	-	-	145.72	131.43
	$m_{cor}MD + VL / 2$			
<b>M1</b>	10	10	10.1	10.1
<b>M2</b>	9	8.5	9.5	9.6
<b>M3</b>	-	-	8.6	8.1
	Mandibule			
	$VL_{cor}$			
<b>I1</b>	-	-	5.5	5.5
<b>I2</b>	5.8	-	5.5	5.8
<b>C</b>	7	7	6.8	6.8
<b>P1</b>	7.5	7.5	7.2	7
<b>P2</b>	-	7.2	7.8	7.8
<b>M1</b>	10	10	10	10
<b>M2</b>	9	9	9,2	9.2
<b>M3</b>	-	9	9,2	8.8
	$MD_{cor}$			
<b>I1</b>	-	-	5	4.8
<b>I2</b>	6	-	5.5	5.5
<b>C</b>	6.8	6.8	7	6.8
<b>P1</b>	7	7	6.8	6
<b>P2</b>	-	7	7	7
<b>M1</b>	11	11	11	11
<b>M2</b>	9.2	9.5	10	10
<b>M3</b>	-	9	9.9	9
	$H_{cor}$			
<b>M1</b>	6.1	5.8	5.1	5
<b>M2</b>	6.2	6.5	6	5
<b>M3</b>	-	5.5	5	5.5
	$MD_{col}$			
<b>M1</b>	8.9	8.9	9	8.2
<b>M2</b>	8	8	8.2	8.2
<b>M3</b>	-	7.8	7.5	8
	$MD \times VL$			
<b>M1</b>	110	110	110	110
<b>M2</b>	82.8	85.5	92	92
<b>M3</b>	-	81	91.08	79.2
	$I_{cor} (VL / MD) \times 100$			

<b>M1</b>	90.91	90.91	90.91	90.91
<b>M2</b>	97.83	94.74	92	92
<b>M3</b>		100	92.93	97.78
	$m_{cor}MD + VL / 2$			
<b>M1</b>	10.5	10.5	10.5	10.5
<b>M2</b>	9.1	9.25	9.6	9.6
<b>M3</b>	-	9	9.55	8.9

### **Individual 2.**

All the teeth of the upper and lower jaw were explored. Tooth dentition of the individual is four-angled (quadrangular), the frontal part of the dental arch is flattened and the entire dentition has a trapezium shape. Both the mesio-distal and vestibule-lingual (table 3) sizes of the molars fall into the category of very small and small values, and the only exception is M1 (average). The crown height is very low. According to vestibulo lingual diameter the size of the third molar is slightly higher (92) than that of mesio-distal (90, 91). This proves that the reduction rate of the longitudinal and transverse sizes of the second molars' crowns is approximately the same. In the area of crown extent, the modern formula  $M1 > M2 > M3$  is fixed with the reduction in area of the maxillary third molar.

The lingual surface of the central and lateral incisors was erased. The degree of the cited shovel-shaped incisors cannot be stated. One can observe rotation of the left lateral incisor and moderately expressed marginal ridges on the lingual surface (score 2). There is no reduction of the crowns of the maxillary lateral incisors. The marginal ridges are missing on the lingual surface of the canine teeth. The sizes of the vestibular tubercle on the maxillary first premolars are slightly larger than those of the lingual one (score 2). The lingual and vestibular tubercles on the second premolars are approximately of the same size. The furrow pattern of the maxillary premolar masticatory surface has a low level of differentiation. The first maxillary molars are not reduced. Additional morphological details are missing. On the second molars, the hypocone is strongly reduced (score 3+), and the metaconus is markedly reduced (score 30). The wisdom teeth are evidently more reduced. The enamel stain is rated 4 on the first and second molars.

One can observe rotation of the mandibular central incisor and crowding of the lateralone. In the mandibular incisors the marginal ridges of the lingual surface were missing, whereas they were slightly expressed in the canine teeth. The first premolars were not differentiated, the second ones have a 3-tubercular structure. The first mandibular molars have a 5-tubercular structure with a "Y" crown-pattern. The second molars have a 4-tubercular structure with the crown pattern "X" on the right tooth, on the left tooth one can see the pattern "+" and a simplified morphology that doesn't have any additional tubercles or ridges. The third right molar is 4-tubercular with an "X" crown pattern. The anterior fossa is highlighted in the mesial section from among additional features. The enamel stain on the vestibular side of the lower molars is rated 4.

## Osteology

### *Individual 2.*

One can observe some asymmetry: the left collarbones are slightly longer than the right one, whereas the right collarbones are slightly thicker (Figure 5). The upper scapular edge is of a horizontal or almost a horizontal shape, the upper angle slightly rises over the scapular notch (point 1). The scapular spine, becoming thinner over the base, sharply thickens and further remains more or less the same along its entire length (point 3). The glenoid cavity of the scapula is of a pyriform shape. The transition from the upper edge of the scapula to the edge of the scapular notch is quite distinct, but the notch is shallow (point 2).



Figure 5. Clavicles of the individual №2.

According to the absolute dimensions, the brachial bone is characterized by the values of all the signs that go beyond the lower line of the norm. The value of the massiveness index falls into the gradation of small values. The supracondylar process (processus epicondyloides) of the right brachial bone is fixed on the inner crest of the body above the medial condyle. The structure of the upper part of the diaphysis of the ulna is normal, the section does not have a specialized form - eurolining. The size of the ulnar and radial bone is on the low end of norm. The ulna and radius are also in all dimensions characterized by values that go beyond the lower line of the norm.

The sacral bone is homobasal. The degree of the individual's sacral curvature is 15,16mm which is considerably lower than the group average of an adult (18-24).<sup>35</sup> The length of the femur (left) also extends beyond the lower line of the norm. The section of the femur is characterized by hyperplatimeria. The kneecap has the shape of a large oval. Eight facets are observed on the articular surface (medial and lateral parts). The tibiae are characterized by small values of the longitudinal dimensions. According to platycnemic index, eurikemia is characteristic both for the right and left sides, i.e. the upper section of tibia is expanded in the transverse direction. The transverse section of tibial diaphysis is a rectangle of an irregular form. The posterior body surface is

<sup>35</sup> Roginskiy, Levin 1978: 77.

practically divided into two surfaces - posterior-medial and posterior-lateral (point 4). An even curvature of the lateral condyle (point 4) is observed in sagittal plane. There is an additional articular area on the lower articular surface of the tibia.

Table 4. Postcranial measurements of a skeleton №2 from Dvin

	<i>Individual</i>	<b>№2</b>
	right	left
<b>Clavicula</b>		
1. Maximal length	119	123?
6. Midshaft circumference	28	26
6:1 Robusticity index	23.53	21.14
<b>Scapula</b>		
1. Morphological length	119	121.5
2. Morphological width	88.5	89.5 /left/
2:1 Form index	74.37	73.67
<b>Os sacrum</b>		
5. Top width	110	
2. Front height	99?	
6. Bending depth	15	
5:2 Latitude-altitude index	111.12	
6:2 Bending depth index	15.16	
<b>Humerus</b>		
1. Maximal length	263	266
2. Total length	259	262,5
3. Upper epiphysis breadth	40.2	40.2
4. Maximal midshaft breadth	52,8	53
7. Minimal midshaft breadth	48	48
7a. Midshaft circumference	51	50
7:1 Robusticity index	18.261	8.05
<b>Radius</b>		
1. Maximal length	190	200
2. Physiological length	189	190
4. Cross-section diameter	12	13
5. Sagittal shaft diameter	10	9.8
3. Minimal shaft circumference	34	34
3:2 Robusticity index	17.99	17.895
5:4 Cross-section index	83.34	75.39
<b>Ulna</b>		
1. Maximal length	212.5	214
2. Physiological length	87	1189
11. Sagittal diameter	9	9.9

12. Transverse diameter	12	12
13. Upper transverse diameter	12	12.2
14. Upper sagittal diameter	13	13,5
3. Minimal shaft circumference	28	29
3:2 Robusticity index	14.98	15.35
11:12 Cross-section index	75,0	82.5
13:14 Platyleny index	92.31	90.38
<b>Femur</b>		
1. Maximal length	-	364
2. Natural length	-	353
21. Condylar breadth	68.8	69
6. Sagittal diameter of midshaft	21	21
7. Transverse midshaft diameter	24.5	25
9. Upper transverse shaft diameter	27	27
10. Upper sagittal shaft diameter	19	19
8. Midshaft circumference	70	69
8:2 Robusticity index	-	19.55
6:7 Pilastry index	85.72	84
10:9 Platymery index	70.38	70.38
<b>Patella</b>		
1. Maximum height	33	-
2. Maximum width	37	-
1:2 Latitude-altitude index	89.19	-
<b>Tibia</b>		
1. Full length	319	322
2. Condylar length	300.5	301.5
1a. Maximal length	323	325
5. Upper epiphysis breadth	62.5	63
6. Lower epiphysis breadth	37	37
8. Sagittal diameter at midshaft level	23	22
8a. Sagittal diameter at the nutrient foramen level	24,8	24
9. Transverse diameter at midshaft level	16.8	16.8
9a. Transverse diameter at the nutrient foramen level	18	17.8
10. Midshaft circumference	62	62
10b. Minimal shaft circumference	54	54
9:8 Cross-section index	73.05	76.37
10b:1 Robusticity index	16.93	16.78
9a:8a Cross-section index	72.59	74.17
10:1 Robusticity index	19.44	19.26
<b>Fibula</b>		
1. Maximum length	310	313
1a. Medial length	305	307
4 (1). Upper epiphysis width	22	23

4 (2). Width lower epiphysis	21	21.5
2.Maximum width of the mid-diaphyseal	10	10
3.The smallest width of the mid-diaphyseal	9.8	9.8
4. The circumference of the mid-diaphyseal	29	30
4a. The smallest circumference of the diaphysis	23	23
4a:1 Robusticity index	7.42	7.35
3:2 Secheniyaindex	98.0	98.0
<b>Skeletal proportions and body length</b>		
Brachial index (R1 : H1)	72.25	75.19
Tibio-femoral index (T1 : F2)	-	91.22
H1+R1/F1+T1 Intermembral index	-	67.94
H1+R1/ F2+T1 Intermembral index		69.04
H1:F2 Humero-femoralindex	-	75.36
Radio-tibial index (R1 : T1)	59.57	62.12
C1:H2 Clavicula-humeral index	45.95	46.86
Body length(by S. Dupertuis and D. Hadden)		
84.898+1.072 (F+T)	-	154.57
87.543+1.492 (H+R)	134.34	135.64
Average	145.11	

The reconstruction of body proportions on the basis of the dimensions of the skeleton bones revealed the following trends: the intermembral index goes beyond the lower line of the minimum values which testifies to the elongation of lower limbs with regard to the upper ones. The values of the tibia-femoral index go beyond the highest line of intergroup variation: i.e. the individual possesses the longest tibia, the maximum value of the shoulder-femoral index is also observed. The minimum value of the humeral pointer is observed, i.e the present individual has a very short forearm. The values of the radiohumeral pointer for the right and left sides fall into different categories (brachicercia /right/, mesaticercia /left/). The tibial index goes beyond the lower line of the minimum values; i.e. the forearm could be very short.

Now let's turn to the osteological length of the individual's limbs. The osteological length of the upper limbs (H1+R1:453/ right, 466/ left/; H1+U1:475,5/right/, 480/left/, as well as the osteological length of the lower limbs ( F2+T1:675; F1+T1:686; F2+ f1:666: F1+ f1:677) are located beyond the lower line of the intergroup variation.

S. Dupertuis and D. Hadden's<sup>36</sup> formulas, worked out for dwarfish Caucasoid, were used to determine the intravital growth of an individual. It is common knowledge that formulas for determining the length of various bones and the growth of dwarfs don't exist yet, therefore the formulas for people not having deviations in growth processes were used. The present individual had a disproportionate dwarfism and a height of approximately 145 cm.

<sup>36</sup> Alekseev 1966: 230

### Markers of Physical Activity

Traces of physical exertion are observed on the bones of the upper and lower limbs. The crest of the lesser tubercle, the intertubercular sulcus of the humerus and the deltoid tuberosity of the humerus are fairly well developed on the humeral bones. On these grounds, the average values are totally equal to 1,94. Suchlike development of the deltoid tuberosity of the humerus testifies to the strong development of the muscle of the same name which raises the upper limb up to a horizontal level and rotates the shoulder inward and outward which in its turn suggests a developed muscular shoulder.

On the whole, we can talk about the great significance of the working activities of the individual's muscles which raise and rotate the shoulder. The radial roughness is moderately (not weakly) developed on the radial bones which is the reflection of the corresponding development of the muscles bending its shoulder and forearm, i.e. muscles, taking part in lifting weight. The quadratus pronator muscle is attached to the distal-lateral crest that is well developed on both ulnar bones. There is also a well-developed lateral edge of the inferior limb of radius (both bones) to which this muscle is also attached. Apparently, that dwarf had to support a heavy load above his head while working. The styloid process (of both bones) of the ulna is well developed; there is a powerful groove closer to the head of the ulna. The powerful ulnar styloid may also indicate the strength of the ligamentous apparatus of the mid-carpal joint.



Figure 6. Enthesopathy on the pelvic bones, pubic symphysis

Traces of considerable functional load are fixed on the symphysis, on the pelvic bones. Traces of enthesopathy were formed at the attachment points of the superior pubic ligament (*ligamentum pubicum superius*) and the arcuate ligament of pubis (*ligamentum arcuatum pubis*). Bone lysis sectors are seen in the form of round holes with a diameter of 1-2 mm on the articular surfaces of the pubic bones (*symphysis pubica*), on the left one in particular (Figure 6). The reason for their appearance may be the pubic symphysis which is part of the multicomponent ARS-syndrome (adductor, rectus, symphysis) - a pathological condition of the tendon muscle complex that developed as a result of prolonged and similar loads associated with the asymmetric adductor brevis muscle of the thigh (*musculus adductor longus et (or) brevis*) and the distal part of the *abdominis rectus* muscle (*musculus rectus abdominis*). The gait,



requiring the body to tilt forward when fixing the tibia in a straight or bent position, may lead to trauma.

Table 5. The recording system for musculoskeletal stress

	<b>Right</b>	<b>Left</b>	<b>Right and left in total</b>
<b>Humerus</b>			
Crista tuberculi minoris, crista tuberculi majoris	2.5	2	2.25
Tuberositas deltoidea	2	2	2
Tuberculum majus, tuberculum minus	2	1.5	1.75
Margi lateralis, medialis et anterior Epicondili lateralis et medialis	1.5	2	1.75
In total	2	1.88	1.94
<b>Radius</b>			
Tuberositas radii	1.5	1.5	1.5
Margo unterossea	1.5	1.5	1.5
Sulcus musculi flexoris hallucis	1	1.5	1.25
Processus styloideus	2	2	2
In total	1.5	1.62	1.56
<b>Ulna</b>			
Margo interossea, margo posterior	1	1	1
Crista musculi supinatoris	2.5	2	2.25
Tuberositas ulnae	2	2	2
In total	1.84	1.67	1.75
<b>Femur</b>			
Trochanter major	2	2	2
Trochanter minor	2	2	2
Tuberositas glutea	1.5	2	1.75
Linea aspera	1.5	1	1.25
Epicondili	2	2	2
In total	1.8	1.8	1.8
<b>Tibia</b>			
Tuberositas tibiae	1	1	1
Margo anterior, margo interossea	1	1	1
Linea m. solei, m. soleus	1	1	1
Sulcus musculi flexoris hallucis	1.5	1.5	1.5
In total	1.13	1.13	1.13
<b>Fibula</b>			
The edges development	2	2	2

The intertrochanteric line, having the shape of a crest and strongly protruding above the bone shaft, is well developed on the dwarf's femoral bones. This is the attachment site of the iliofemoral ligament that suppresses the extension of hip joint and takes part in keeping the torso in a vertical position.<sup>37</sup> The role of the ligament increases with the displacement of the hip-joint back, a thing which is highlighted as to the present individual. Poirier's facet is fixed on the proximal articular surface of the anterior femoral neck. The gluteal rough is sufficiently developed on the thigh bones and, consequently, on the *gluteus maximus* of both legs. On the neck of the left thigh there are the so-called "facets of the rider"- structures, developed as a consequence of many years of horse-riding (Figure 7). The posterior surface of tibia corresponding to the soleal line of tibia (the third head of triceps muscle of calf) is moderately (not weakly) developed. The relief on the posterior surface of both tibias corresponding to the soleus line (third head of the triceps tibia muscle) is moderately (but not weakly) developed. It doesn't protrude much above the body level but it is quite long.



Figure 7. Facets of the rider

### Pathology

Plagiocephaly (*plagiocephalia*, greek. Πλάγιος «oblique», slanting and κεφαλή «head») of varying severity is revealed in both men (Figures 1 and 2). The asymmetry is right-sided without craniosynostosis.

Healed symmetrical cuts made with a sharp object (symbolic trepanation) were found on the parietal bones of the individuals under study (Figure 8).

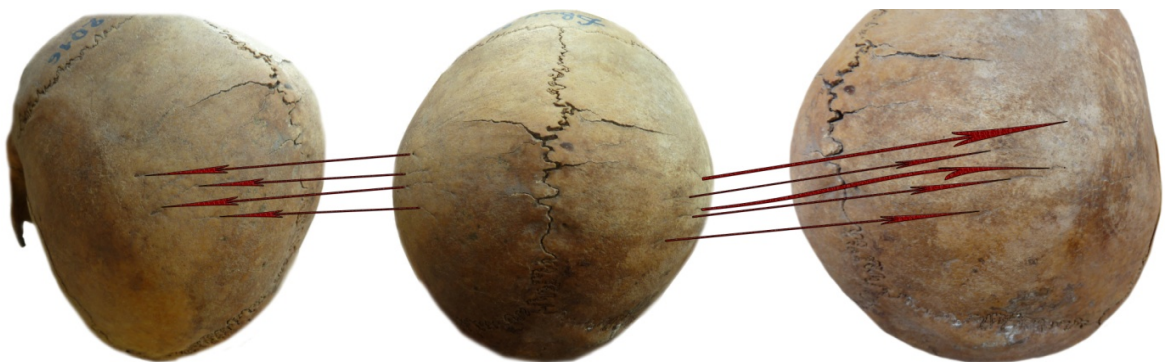


Figure 8. Symbolic trepanation. Individual №2

<sup>37</sup> Kishsh, Sentagotai 1967: 126.

Poresis (cribra) is observed on the skulls, above the external auditory canal. This is probably associated with the exposure of the body to cold winds, causing increased growth of the blood capillaries of calvarial bones for additional warming. Poresis is accompanied by the osteophyte formation in the ear canals.

Dental calculus is fixed on the teeth of both mandibular bones. The formation of dental calculus has a complex etiology and to a large extent depends on the nature of the consumed food.

### ***Individual 1.***

Porotic hyperostosis (*cribra orbitalia*) on the upper wall of the left orbit are barely discernible (point 1). The symptom is formed in childhood and is most often associated with iron deficiency anemia which develops in the chronic course of infectious and parasitic diseases.<sup>38</sup> However, slight symptoms of *cribra orbitalia* don't always serve as a manifestation of the adaptive reaction to anemia, but they may emerge in the local inflammatory processes.<sup>39</sup>

A strong form of the linear enamel hypoplasia is localized on all the incisors, canines, premolars, molars at approximately the same distance from the enamel-cementum junction. Such a position of defects excludes the possibility of their simultaneous occurrence as a result of a severe episodic stress and testifies to the presence of a buried physiological malfunction in the body, resulting in systemic violations of calcification processes.

A dental chipping associated with the characteristics of dietary intake was on the right side of the maxillary first molar and mandibular first premolar. No traces of caries were observed.

### ***Individual 2.***

On the right side of the frontal bone (closer to the temporal line), a trauma from an impact with a blunt object was revealed (length 8.2 mm, width 1.5 mm). This trauma is accounted for by a direct hit on the part of an attacker, standing face to face with the victim. The trauma was received long before the individual's death.

Quite many pathological changes were detected in the individual's dental system. Dental invagination ("tooth within tooth")(Figure 9) is fixed on the skull. The macroscopic analysis clearly demonstrates the 3A form of this developmental anomaly in the second left premolar. This anomaly is one-sided. Enamel and dentin are visible and have the shape of a drop or a bulb.

---

<sup>38</sup> Stuart-Macadam 1992: 167.

<sup>39</sup> Wapler, Crubézy, Schultz 2004: 336.

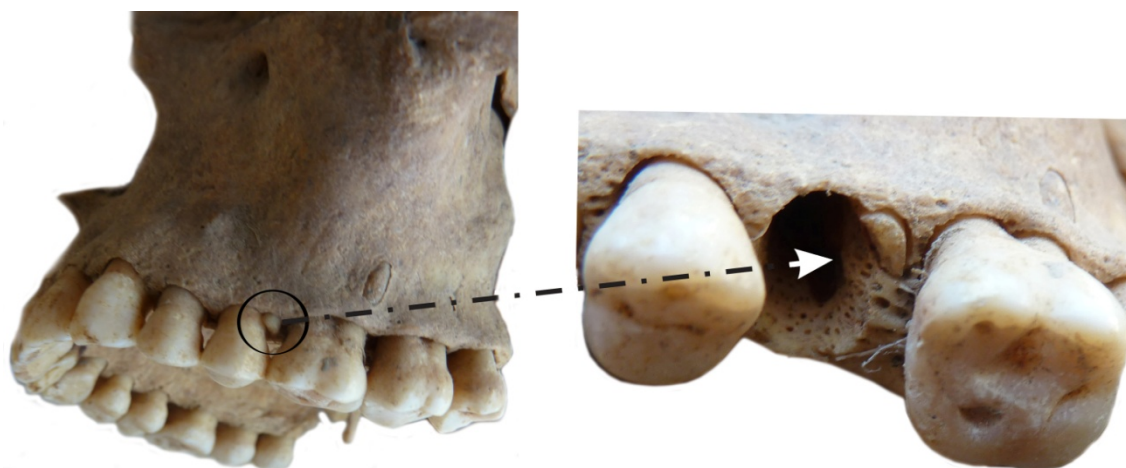


Figure 9. Dental invagination

A small dental chipping (1.5 mm) with smooth edges on the cutting edge, was detected on the upper right medial incisor. The appearance of the chip might be accounted for by the necessity of biting off threads. A weak form of the linear enamel hypoplasia was detected on some teeth (I1, I2, P2, I1, C, M2, M3/ right) which is a sign of abstemious diet (during the growth of these teeth). No caries is detected.

The shape of the individual's thorax is conical, i.e. its lower part is wider than the upper one, the ribs are slightly inclined. No decrease in the height of the bodies was detected in the vertebral region. However, the thoracic vertebrae are damaged (T 2, 4-6, 10-11) – the initial stage of the formation of vertebral hernias or Schmorl's nodes (Figure 10). A central location of the intervertebral hernias is observed. The symptom is formed because of considerable compressive load on the backbone mainly during the growth period.

Incipience tuberculosis was also detected on the thoracic vertebra (Figure 10). The disease develops as a result of tuberculosis infection mycobacterium falling into the lungs and bones through the lymphatic and blood vessels. The lytic lesions are localized on the lateral surfaces of vertebral bodies. The inner surface of the handle displays a wide-meshed trabecularism.



Figure 10. The initial stage of the formation of vertebral hernias or Schmorl's nodes and tuberculosis

Weakly developed osteophytes are revealed along the body edges and on the tops of the spinous processes (Figure 11). Multiple exostoses are fixed on the tooth-like process of the second cervical vertebra. Changes in the bone tissue of the individual under study are accounted for by a severe physical exertion. The fixed diseases of the spine, coupled with the degree of the muscular relief development, enables us to assume that the individual was systematically subjected to an intense physical exertion.



Figure 11. Osteophytes on the tops of the spinous processes

Almost all the bones of the postcranial skeleton are characterised by the presence of osteoporosis on the end sections of the long bones; porosis is also fixed on the pelvic bones, too. X-ray images also record many structural disorders in bone and cartilage tissues, a manifestation of osteoporosis in particular. It is probably connected with the lack of vitamins in food intake or with the shortage of calcium in the environment or with the iodine deficiency and consequently with the lack of thyroid gland function.



Figure 12. Periostitis appears of the tibia

It is of importance to highlight one more peculiarity of pathology spread in an individual. Periostitis appears in almost all the parts of the skeleton (sternum, long bones of the upper and lower limbs, on the pelvic bones and on the vertebrae) (Figure 12). The traces of periositis testify to an extensive inflammatory process in the body.

With the help of the tibia radiography several zones of stunting are outlined, among them-Harris lines (Figure 13), which are the consequences of impaired development of cartilage, caused by stunting in childhood and adolescence under the influence of unfavorable factors of exogenous and endogenous nature.



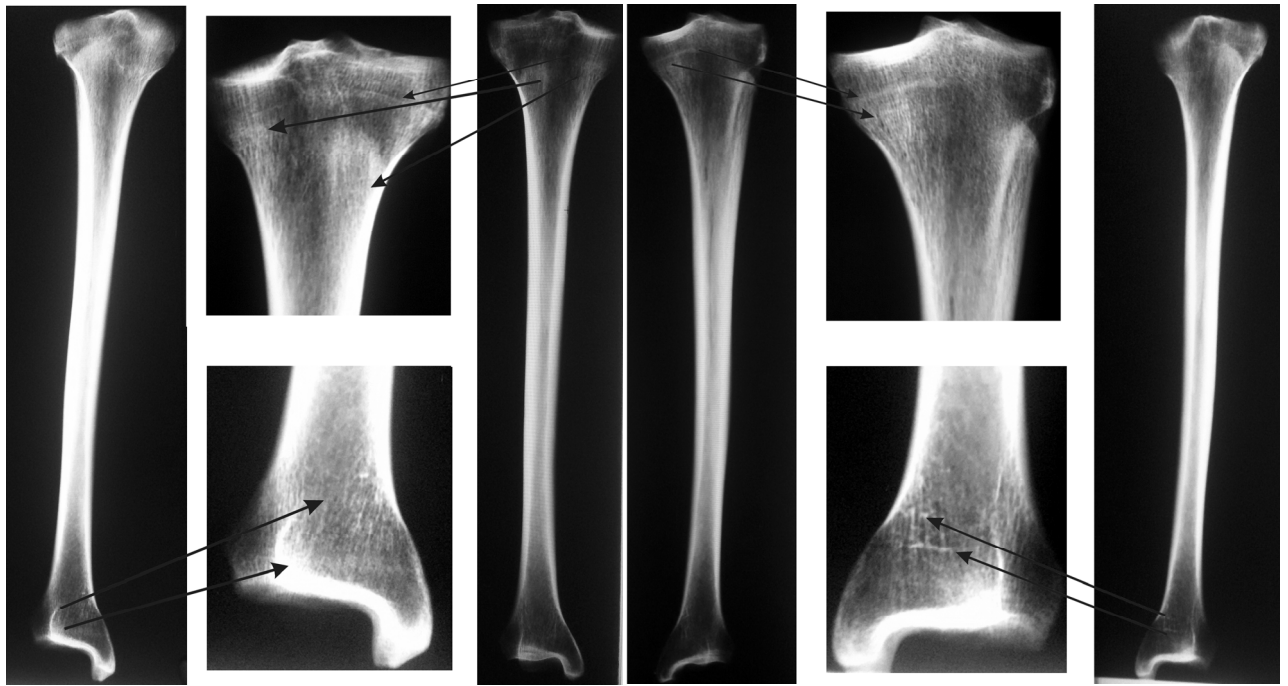


Figure 13. Harris lines

The femoral diaphysis is curved in the forward direction (arcuation begins in the upper third)(Figure 14). It testifies to rickets-a disease of a growing organism caused by metabolic disorder (first of all calcium-phosphorus metabolism), the main clinical syndrome of which is the lesion of the skeletal system (proper growth, bone mineralization, etc.) in the case of which the pathological process is localized, mainly around the epiphysial cartilage. Ractic changes of the skeletal system are very often observed by dwarfism.

Early images of dwarfs can be seen in Mohenjo-Daro (2600 BC) where they are presented in dancing poses.<sup>40</sup> Many images of dwarfs are recorded on the ornamental doorways of the cave temples of Agantha, Ellora, Aurangabad and etc. The images of dwarfs in sculpture are folk characters performing a folklore function ("providing an outlet to ensure that it cannot be spoken").<sup>41</sup> By their origin they are associated with animistic beliefs of nature beliefs. Located in the border spaces of temples, their images act as a talisman, the main function of which is to ensure prosperity. The role of court jesters and theatrical actors entertaining deities with their acting, playing music, dancing, juggling, grimacing passed on to them as well. It is rather difficult to carry out a historiographic review on the present topic using the materials discovered on the territory of Armenia, as historians and ethnographers (both domestic and foreign ones) have not practically touched upon the theme of dwarfs. I. Orbeli<sup>42</sup> narrates about a dwarf found during the excavations of Amberd (Armenia, XIIc.). The remains of a man of about 45 along with a cap like a cockscomb and bones of a rooster - an inseparable

<sup>40</sup> Mackey 1939: 279.

<sup>41</sup> Dandes 2003: 75.

<sup>42</sup> Orbeli 1938: 162.

companion of a jester of the East and the West, were discovered in an Amberd bath. Some part of the mandibular bone left side was missing which made the face curving and slanting. All the teeth of the individual's all the teeth were pulled out, probably intentionally. Moreover, the chin was operated on. Doctors, advising Orbeli, considered that a buffon couldn't keep his mouth closed during his lifetime as he always kept smiling. It is common knowledge, the trade of jesters and individuals having physical disabilities didn't occupy the last place in human trafficking which was carried out by European companies and their rights were related to human trafficking in XII-XIII centuries and they were introduced to the well-known framework of requirements and obligations imposed on the Venetian and Genoese merchants by the kings of Lesser Armenia.<sup>43</sup> The researcher admits that the man buried in the bath with his inseparable companion - the cock, was one of those wonders who had covered a long way from the Mediterranean to the slopes of Aragats in order to decorate the courtyard of the ruler of the unassailable castle of Amberd.



Figure 14. The femoral diaphysis is curved

Owing to the paleoanthropological research, we have learnt about the anthropological type, the peculiarities of physical development, and the pathologies of two individuals from Dvin. The distribution of some genetically determined (discretely varying) signs allows us to admit the presence of a certain kinship relations between the individuals. Unfortunately, because of the lack of bones of the postcranial skeleton of

---

<sup>43</sup> Orbeli 1938: 163.



**Individual 1**, we can only state microcephaly, as was the case with the isolated skull of a man found during the excavations of 2013.<sup>44</sup> Microcephaly is a disease in case of which the head is small, and it directly depends on the small size of the brain. The brain develops up to a certain point, however, because of the small size of the skull, its development slows down. The disease may be accounted for by the infections with measles, chickenpox or cytomegavirus; genetic disorders are not excluded.

**Individual 2** is characterised by pituitary dwarfism. The most probable diagnosis in the light of the obtained data is the dwarfism of Laron (or Laron syndrome). The disease is typical of children born from closely related marriages; growth inhibition occurs in the postnatal period. In the case of a normal torso length, the body build of a dwarf is disproportionate (shortening of the humerus, radius, ulnar bone and femur prevails). This is a kind of dwarfism caused by a congenital defect of the somatotrophic hormone receptor (STH) gene.<sup>45</sup> STH of the anterior pituitary gland, more precisely its somatomedins, affect the production of an insulin-like factor in the liver, promoting the growth of the chondroplastic and periosteous bone and an increase of the skeleton size. Most individuals having the syndrome of Laron descend from the Semitic Middle East, the Mediterranean, as well as from South Asia<sup>46</sup>.

Performances with the participation of acrobats, dancers, musicians and singers are clearly and convincingly demonstrated in the Armenian medieval handwritten miniatures.<sup>47</sup> In the Early Middle Age performances of histrions, equilibrists, jesters, both in courtyards and in private houses, were also popular. Individuals, in particular dwarfs, with various physical disabilities were among them. All the types of spectacular arts (dancing, singing, gymnastics, etc.) were sometimes embodied in one person. Their program included the most complicated acrobatic and juggler performances, displaying their strength and dexterity.

One of the Byzantine writers<sup>48</sup> of the Early Middle Age refers to a group of people from Egypt who put on performances in Arabia, Persia, Armenia and Georgia. «At that time people who mastered a wonderful art came to Constantinople. They descended from Egypt and displaced their art on their way to Arabia, Persia, Armenia and Georgia. Everything they did was extraordinary and wonderful; however, it wasn't a devilish obsession, but a natural activity that was the result of a long-lasting exercise. We will represent some of their actions without going into details. For example, taking two or three masts and placing them vertically into the ground, acrobats strengthened them with thin ropes. Climbing on them, one stood on the very top of the mast either on one leg, or on the other, then lifted both legs up, leaning his head against the top of the mast; afterwards, making an unexpected jump, he tightly grabbed the rope with one

<sup>44</sup> Khudaverdyan, Babayan, Hakobyan, Zhamkochyan 2014: 98.

<sup>45</sup> Riggs, Milton 2000: 226; Bykov 2001: 347.

<sup>46</sup> Rosenfeld, Rosenbloom, Guevara-Aguirre 1994: 376; Rosenbloom, Guevara-Aguirre 1998: 278; Galli- Tsinopoulou et al. 2003: 122; Besson et al. 2004: 636; Laron 2004: 1038.

<sup>47</sup> Petrosyan 2014: 31-34.

<sup>48</sup> The name of the Byzantine writer is not mentioned by the author.

hand and clung to it, after which he quickly and continuously began to spin like a wheel. Another acrobat, having saddled a horse, urged it at a full trot and stood erect either on its neck or on the mane, constantly and boldly pawed the ground, posing like a flying bird. He suddenly jumped off the running horse, caught its tail and suddenly appeared on the saddle again. Or he descended the saddle from one side, easily got on it from the other side and rode the horse again. Showing such tricks, he kept on whipping the horse. Such tricks didn't always have a happy end, they ended up with harmful consequences; quite often these people dropped off and this ended up with death. More than 40 people left their motherland and only fewer than twenty acrobats in good health reached Byzantium».<sup>49</sup>



Figure 15. Graphic illustration of a dwarf (artist Ani Sahakyan)

We assume that despite his small stature, the young man had regularly been carrying out actions associated with a great physical exertion. Probably he had constantly been lifting a long tree pole with a partner (up to a certain period of time until there arose problems with spine and pelvis), whereas the other partner (in the middle) displayed various tricks on the perch. However, he could have performed certain tricks, too. He was a horseman as well. The pelvic fracture of bones prevented him from keeping his back erect while walking. There also arose problems with the shin-bone. As far as the individual is young, such vividly expressed pathologies testify to an excessive and intensive load on the skeleton. Lameness, stiffness are the distinctive features of a person, being restored according to the skeleton under study (Figure 15).

<sup>49</sup> Petrosyan 2014: 84-85.

Thus, having carried out a possibly thorough study of the remains of two individuals detected in the ruins of St. Gregory Cathedral, we assume that they could have been touring histrionics<sup>50</sup> at the royal, princely and ducal courts of Dvin.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Abeghyan M. 2015. Yerker, Hin Haykakan grakanutyan patmutyun (The history of ancient Armenian literature), vol. 4, Yerevan (in Arm).
2. Abraham catholicos of Crete, 1870. Patmutyun (History), Vagharshapat (in Arm).
3. Adonts N. 1915. Dionisij of Thrace and the Armenian interpreters, Petrograd (in Russian).
4. Alekseev V.P. 1966. Osteometriya: Metodika antropologicheskikh issledovaniy (The methodology of anthropological studies), Moscow (in Russian).
5. Alekseev V.P., Debets G.F. 1964. Kraniometriya: Metodika antropologicheskikh issledovaniy (The methodology of anthropological studies), Moscow (in Russian).
6. Ardzinba V. 1982. Ritualy i mifi drevney Anatolii, Moscow (in Russian).
7. Aristakes Lastiverts, 1963. Patmutyun Aristakes Lastiverdsio (History of Aristakes of Lastiverd)(trans. K. Youzbashyan), Yerevan (in Arm).
8. Babakov O., Rykushina G.V., Dubova N.A., Vasil'ev S.V., Pestriakov A.P., Khodzhaiov T.K. 2001. Antropologicheskaya kharakteristika nekropolya Gonur-Depe The anthropological characteristics of the Gonur-Depe necropolis), in Sarianidi V. Nekropol' Gonura i iranskoe iazychestvo, vol.I (ed. N.A. Dubova), Moscow, 105–132 (in Russian).
9. Besson A., Salemi S., Eble A., Joncourt F., Gallati S., Jorge A.A., Mullis P.E. 2004. Primary GH insensitivity (Laron syndrome) caused by a novel 4 kb deletion encompassing exon 5 of the GH receptor gene: Effect of intermittent long-term treatment with recombinant human IGF-I, European Journal of Endocrinology, vol. 150, 635–642.
10. Bishop Karapet 1913. Hovhannes Mayragometsi, Shoghakan, Book 1, Vagharshapat (in Arm).
11. Bykov N.A. 2001. Tsitologiya i obshchaya gistologiya (Cytology and general histology), St. Petersburg (in Russian).
12. Buikstra J.E., Ubelaker D.H. 1994. Standards of data collection from human skeletal remains, Arkansas Archaeol. Survey Research Series, 44, Fayetteville.
13. Dandes A. 2003. Fol'klor: Semiotika i/ili psikhoanaliz (Semiotics and/or psychoanalysis), Moscow (in Russian).
14. David Anhakht 1960. Sahmank imastasirutyan (Limits of wisdom)(trans. from classical Armenian by S. Arevshatyan), Yerevan (in Arm).

<sup>50</sup> They had different names in different countries: Russian call them *skomorokhs* (= English minstrel, German Spielmann).

15. Dubova N.A., Kufterin V.V. 2014. Skelet karlika iz raskopok tsarskogo pogrebeniya 3230 na Gonur Depe (The skeleton of a dwarf from the excavations of the royal burial 3230 in Gonur Depe), in Trudy Margianskoi arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsii (ed. N.A. Dubova), vol. 5, Issledovaniia Gonur Depe v 2011–2013 gg., Moscow, 166–171 (in Russian).
16. Farkas G., Nagy E., Kosa F. 2001. Skeleton of a dwarf from excavations Hungarian site, *Acta Biologica Szegediensis*, vol. 45 (1–4), 79–82.
17. Frayer D.W., Horton W.A., Macchiarelli R., Mussi M. 1987. Dwarfism in an adolescent skeleton from the Italian late Upper Palaeolithic, *Nature*, vol. 330, 60–62.
18. Galli-Tsinopoulou A., Nousia-Arvanitakis S., Tsinopoulos I., Bechlivanides C., Shevah O., Laron Z. 2003. Laron syndrome. First report from Greece. *Hormones*, vol. 2 (2), 120–124.
19. Ghafadaryan K. 1952. Dvin I. Kaghaki ev nra peghumneri (Dvin I. the city and its excavations), Yerevan (in Arm).
20. Gladykowska-Rzeczycka J. 1980. Remains of achondroplastic dwarf from Legnica of XI–XIIth century, *Ossa*, vol. 7, 71–74.
21. Goodman A.H., Martin D.L., Armelagos G.J., Qark G. 1984. Indications of stress from bones and teeth. *Paleopathology at the origins of agriculture*, New York, 13–49.
22. Harutyunyan S. 2000, *Hay arasbelabanutyun (Armenian mythology)*, Beyrout (in Arm).
23. Hovhannisyan H. 1978. *Tatrone michnadaryan Hayastanum (Theatre in medieval Armenia)*, Yerevan (in Arm).
24. Kalantaryan A. 1996. *Dvin. Histoire et Archéologie de la ville médiévale*, Paris.
25. Kanonagirk Hayots 1971. (estab. by V. Hakobyan), vol. II, Yerevan (in Arm).
26. Khatchatryan Zh. 2014. *Tsisakan pari hayots havatalikneri hamatekstum (Ritual dance in the context of Armenian beliefs)*, Yerevan (in Arm).
27. Khudaverdyan A.Yu. 2015. Palaeopathology of human remains of the 1st century BC - 3rd century AD from Armenia (Beniamin, Shirakavan I), *Anthropological Review*, vol. 78 (2), 213–228.
28. Khudaverdyan A.Yu. 2016. A dwarfism skull: Excavated on the site of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age cemetery at Artsvakar (Armenia), *Journal of Paleopathology*, vol. 26 (2–3), 93–104.
29. Khudaverdyan A.Yu., Babayan F.S., Hakopyan N.G., Zhamkochyan A.S. 2014. K voprosu o dekapitatsii v Dvine: Antropologicheskaya ekspertiza srednevekovyx cherepov iz Armenii (On the problem of decapitation in Dvin. Archaeological expertize of medieval skulls from Armenia), *Vestnik arkheologii, antropologii i etnografii*, 4 (27), 96–107 (in Russian).
30. Kishsh F., Sentagotai Y., 1967. *Anatomicheskij atlas chelovecheskogo tela (Anatomic atlas of human body)*, vol. 1: *Kostnaya sistema - sustavnaya sistema -*

- myshechnaya sistema (Bone system - knuckle system – muscular system), 25th ed., Budapest (in Russian).
31. Kodjanyan M. 1974. Mayragometsi. mijnadaryan mets tcaragire (Mayragometsi. The great medieval rhetor), Haykazyan handes, Beirut.
  32. Laron Z. 2004. Laron syndrome (primary growth hormone resistance or insensitivity). The personal experience 1958–2003, Journal of Clinical Endocrinology & Metabolism, 89, 1031–1044.
  33. Mackey E.J.H. 1938. Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro: Being an official account of archaeological excavations at Mohenjo-daro, carried out by the Government of India between the years 1927 and 1931, vol. 2, Delhi.
  34. Mandakuni H. 1860. Tcarer (Speeches), Venice (in Arm).
  35. Marr N. 1894-1899. Sborniki pritch Vardana (Collection of fables of Vardan). Materiali dlya istorii srednevekovoy armyanskoy literaturi, St.Petersburg (in Russian).
  36. Mifi 1987. Mifi narodov mira (Myths of the peoples of the world), vol. I, Moscow (in Russian).
  37. Mkhitar Gosh 1954. Haykakan Datastanagirk (Armenian Book of Law), Yerevan (in Arm).
  38. Movsesyan A.A., Mamonova N.N., Richkov Yu.G. 1975. Programma i metodika issledovaniya anomalii cherepa (The program and methodology of the skull anomaly), Voprosy antropologii, 51, 127–150 (in Russian).
  39. Orbeli I. 1938. Banya i skomorokh XII veka. Pamyatniki epokhi Rustaveli (The bath and skomorokh of the XII century. Monuments of Rustaveli period), Leningrad, 159–170 (in Russian).
  40. Orbeli I. 1963. Banya i skomorokh XII veka. Izbrannie trudi (The bath and skomorokh of the XII century. Selected studies), Yerevan, 316-322 (in Russian).
  41. Ordoyan G. 1984. Smekhovie maski v Kilikiiskoi srede (Laugh masks in the Cilician background), Istoriko-filologicheskii zhurnal 4: 117-125 (in Russian).
  42. Petrosyan E.Kh. 2003. Mif i ikonographiya syujeta soshestviya Inanni na shumerskoi pechaty Myth and iconography of the motive of Inanna's descent on the Sumerian seal), in Arkheologiya, etnografiya i folklor Kavkaza, Yerevan (in Russian).
  43. Petrosyan E.Kh. 2014. Teatr v srednevekovykh armianskikh miniatiurakh (Theater in medieavl Armenian miniatures), Yerevan (in Russian).
  44. Petrosyan E.Kh. 2018. Khramovi prazdnik v strane Biainili (Urartu) The templar festival in Biainili (Urartu), in Avetisyan H (ed.), Aragatci tikunqum, hnagitakan hetazotutyunner nvirvats Telemak Khachatryani hishatakin, Yerevan, 182-199.
  45. Petrosyan H. 2003. Srednevekovii pir i zakavkazskie sosudi dlya podachi vina na stol (Medieval feast and Transcaucasian vessels for the serving of wine), Arkheologiya, etnologiya i folkloristika Kavkaza, (red. A. Kalantaryan), Echmiadzin Pervoprestolnij svyatoi Echmiatsin, 343 – 347 (in Russian).

46. Riggz L., Milton D.A., 2000. Osteoporoz: Etiologiya, diagnostika, lechenie (Osteoporoz. Etiology, diagnostics, treatment), St. Petersburg (in Russian).
47. Roginskii Y.Y., Levin M.G., 1978. Antropologiya (Anthropology), Moscow (in Russian).
48. Rosenbloom A.L., Guevara-Aguirre J. 1998. Lessons from the genetics of Laron syndrome. Trends in Endocrinology & Metabolism, vol. 9, 276–283.
49. Rosenfeld R.G., Rosenbloom A.L., Guevara-Aguirre J. 1994. Growth hormone (GH) insensitivity due to primary GH receptor deficiency. Endocrine Reviews, vol. 15, 369–390.
50. Seidl U. 2009. Rattling and clapping Urartian girls: Idiophones in Urartu, in P. Avetisyan, A. Bobokhyan, Archaeology of Armenia in regional context, Proceedings of the International Conference dedicated to the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography held on September 15-17, 2009 in Yerevan, Yerevan, 163-167.
51. Stuart-Macadam P.L., 1992. Anemia in Past Human Populations. Diet, Demography, and Disease: Changing Perspectives on Anemia, New York, 151–170.
52. Udaltsova Z. 1988. Vizantijskaya kultura (Byzantine culture), Moscow (in Russian).
53. Wapler U., Crubézy E., Schultz M., 2004. Is Cribra Orbitalia Synonymous With Anemia? Analysis and Interpretation of Cranial Pathology in Sudan. American Journal of Physical Anthropology, vol. 123, 333–339.
54. Yakobson A. 1978. Srednevekovaya polivnaya keramika kak istoricheskoe yavleniye (Medieval irrigation ceramics as a historical phenomena), Vizantiskij vremennik, Moscow, 211-233 (in Russian).
55. Yesayi Nchetsi 1966. Verlutsutyun kerakanutyan (Analysis of grammar)(trans. from classical Armenian by L. Khachikyan), Yerevan (in Arm).
56. Zubov A.A. 1968a. Nekotorye dannye odontologii k probleme evoliutsii cheloveka i ego ras. Problemy evoliutsii cheloveka i ego ras (Some odontological materials on the problem of human evolution and its races. The problem of human evolution and its races), Moscow, 5-122 (in Russian).
57. Zubov A.A. 1968b. Odontologiya (Metodika antropologicheskikh issledovaniy) (Odontology [Methodology of anthropological studies]), Moscow (in Russian).
58. Zubov A.A. 2006. Metodicheskoe posobie po antropologicheskomu analizu odontologicheskikh materialov (Methodological handbook on anthropological analysis of odontological materials), Moscow (in Russian).



---

# HISTORY

---

## THE ADANA MASSACRE AND THE ARMENIAN-AMERICANS

**Knarik Avakian**

*Institute of History of the NAS RA*

*On the Occasion of the 110th  
Memorable Anniversary of the  
Adana Massacre of Armenians in 1909.*

The Armenians left for the United States for personal, educational, economic, political, cultural, religious and other reasons. Initially it was a temporary movement of emigrants (mainly single youth, students, tradesmen, craftsmen, peasants, workers) due to educational and economic reasons, turning into a mass deportation, involving all layers of society, sex and age, deprived of the prospect of economic, political, cultural and religious life, because of the periodic massacres of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire - the Hamidian (1894-1896) and the Adana (1909) massacres and, finally, the Armenian Genocide (1915-1923), covering the entire Armenian populated regions of the empire, including Cilicia.<sup>1</sup>

So, if in 1834-1894 the number of the Armenians emigrated to the United States is considered to be 4,000, then just in the period of 1891-1895, the figure of the emigrated was 5,500, which made up 40% of the total number of emigrants from that country (11,000 people). Between 1895 and 1898, the number of the Armenian refugees increased sharply to more than 10,000 people, making up the overwhelming majority (15,913) of those, who left "Asian Turkey".<sup>2</sup> So that, if there were 15,000-20,000 Armenians in the United States, in 1900, and even 25,000 according to some estimates,<sup>3</sup> judging from the annual figures of emigrated Armenians, the number of Armenians in the United States in 1909 should have been 40,000-45,000.

The Young Turks, having come to power in the Ottoman Empire with European interference on July 11 (24), 1908, proclaimed a Constitutional order, promising "Freedom, Justice, Brotherhood, Equality" to all people living there regardless of their nationality and religion. They had publicly informed the Christian elements of their plans that, "Any nationalist movement, should be considered anti-Turkish; thus, any element seeking to obtain separate rights to its existence should not be tolerated; they will enjoy equal rights under Turkish law as Ottoman citizens."<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, the Armenian party personalities saw on the walls of the Ittihadist clubs another slogan and plan, calling to revive the Turkish nationalism. There was written: "It is obligatory to pray five times a day, and those who sin, will be rebuked and severely punished. All legal fasting shall be kept indefinitely. Those, who fail in

---

<sup>1</sup> Avakian 2000: 42.

<sup>2</sup> Malcom 1919: 64, 66, 76; Mirak 1983: 289.

<sup>3</sup> Malcom 1919: 65; Antreassian 1981: 255; Mankouni 1926: 585.

<sup>4</sup> Jizmejian 1930: 141.

religious rituals, cannot be members of our party. Every Muslim should do his best for the Holy Flag of Islam to be always victorious. This country is the land of the Ottomans, and every race and language we consider as Ottoman; there is no other nationality, but that of Ottoman. ...Amen.”<sup>5</sup>

A number of refugee revolutionaries from abroad<sup>6</sup>, including the US and Europe, entered the country thanks to the change of power the Young Turks had made, under the cover of Western democracy and supposing self-affirmation of Turkish-Islamism. Among them there were both famous and little-known figures of the Armenian political-revolutionary parties (Social-Democratic Hnchakyan Party - SDHP, Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnaktsutyun - ARFD). Their open and active involvement in the country's political life, as well as the careless and reckless calls they repeatedly made, was impossible to be of no consequence for the Turks, who were preaching Pan-Islamic and Pan-nationalistic ideology with the coming of the Ittihadists to power.<sup>7</sup>

On the day of the proclamation of the Constitution by the Young Turks, in 1908, the Turks carried out a bloody attack on the Armenians in the village of Incirlik, Adana, which should have awakened and given an idea to some of the Armenian revolutionary figures about the “savage and unconstitutional psychology of Turkish elders and mob.”<sup>8</sup>

With the rise of Turkish fanaticism and the terrifying anticipant situation of the Armenians, the prelate of the Diocese of Adana, Bishop Moushegh Serobian (1904-1909), being deeply aware that the guarantee of peaceful development of the country and peaceful coexistence between different nations are constitutional, called for solidarity on October 25, 1908 and turned to his flock with an official Pastoral (Kondak - in Arm.). The Turkish version of Kondak was read in all churches of the diocese, and the Armenian version was published in the “Azg” (“Nation” – in Arm.) magazine (1908, No. 32).<sup>9</sup>

Contrary to the calls and instructions for solidarity among the Christians and Muslims, Armenians and Turks, that the Adana's Armenian prelate made, and instead of sowing a conscious atmosphere of long-awaited peace and peaceful coexistence between the various nationalities in Adana vilayet and its environs, “the Turkish fanaticism against the Armenian people was being preached by officials, starting from *mutassarif*<sup>10</sup> to the last official.” And the Turkish mullahs, going from vilayet to vilayet, ended their sermons in mosques with the following words: “”Kyavurlar elan tirlar, soglarlar, onların paşın ezmetikke piz myslümanlar arat olaymaz” (Kiavurs are snakes, we Muslims have no rest until their heads are squeezed).<sup>11</sup> The complaints of the innocent Armenians, who were subjected to armed attacks by a Turkish mob without

<sup>5</sup> Jizmejian 1930: 146-147; Kitour 1962: 351.

<sup>6</sup> History of S. D. Hnchakian Pary 1962: 315.

<sup>7</sup> Jizmejian 1930: 144, 145.

<sup>8</sup> Moushegh, Bishop 1909: 21-22.

<sup>9</sup> Idem: 29.

<sup>10</sup> Mutassarif - Administrative authority of a certain region (in Turkish).

<sup>11</sup> Idem: 29, 31.

cause, were disregarded and ignored by the police, the governorate and other relevant institutions.<sup>12</sup>

Pro-European Cilicia, with its peaceful, prosperous and progressive Armenian population, which had achieved economic, commercial and cultural advancements, had long been in the center of the attention of the Ottoman Empire, especially as the oppressed Armenians in the provinces were gradually moving to those areas, in particular to Adana, in search of employment and prosperity. As the basis for this move the Turkish leadership wanted to see political context, instead of economic: "...The Adana Prelate is working to move Armenians from the inner provinces of Anatolia to Adana for some political purposes; that is, to cause a revolt by multiplying the number of Armenian population there"<sup>13</sup> and to proclaim the independent kingdom of Cilicia. That is why "... the blow to Adana would have been a deadly blow to the heart of Cilicia",<sup>14</sup> and thus "... the Cilician Armenians have been destroyed and so many prosperous and flourishing centers turned into ashes and cemeteries."<sup>15</sup>

As a prelude to the Adana massacre, on March 30, 1909, the Ittihadists in Constantinople brutally suppressed the anti-constitutional rally and militant rebellion of the fanatic Islam and overthrew Sultan Hamid, taking full control over the country in March 31 with a *coup d'état*.<sup>16</sup> And already two days later, less than a year before the Young Turk Constitution was adopted, on St. Easter weekend, April 1-3 (13-16), 1909, the Ittihadists organized the first massacre of Adana Armenians by the state program and leadership of the Union and Progress Committee, through the Adana Governor Jevad Bey, the Adviser of Internal Affairs Adil Bey and the Military Commander Mustafa Remzi Pasha,<sup>17</sup> in collaboration with the Turkish riots. As a result, the bloodthirsty mob attacked the Armenians for three days long, massacring the unarmed and defenseless people without exclusion, destroying, robbing and burning their stores and homes.<sup>18</sup>

The defenseless Armenian population fled their homes and took refuge in the Armenian churches, schools, as well as in some foreign religious and educational institutions, including the American Girls' College (Directress: Ms. Elizabeth Webb), the house of the head of the American missionary affairs in Adana District, since the 1900s, and elsewhere, the officials of which sheltered and protected Armenians.

Ten days later, in April 12-14 (25-27), the second massacre of Adana Armenians took place, which was carried out by a furious mob in collaboration with the "Freedom Army," arrived from Salonika.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Idem: 29-30, 34, 44-46.

<sup>13</sup> Idem: 11.

<sup>14</sup> Idem.

<sup>15</sup> Idem: 9.

<sup>16</sup> Yeghiayan 1970: 228. Jizmejian 1930: 141.

<sup>17</sup> Moushegh, Bishop 1909: 58.

<sup>18</sup> Jizmejian 1930: 173, 174.

<sup>19</sup> Simonyan 2009: 220; Yeghiayan 1970: 246; Moushegh, Bishop 1909: 4.

If the reason for the first massacre was the pretext of the Ittihadists for the alleged Armenian “rebellion” in Adana, then the cause for the second massacre under the military command were “the Armenians, who took the flag of rebellion also in Cilicia.”<sup>20</sup>

According to an eyewitness, “...without any cause or excitement, the Armenian people, quietly sitting in their homes, were passed through steel and fire; and the nation suffered greater casualties in the second massacre, during the military men attacked, than when it was on the first time, during the massacres by the Muslim mob.”<sup>21</sup> Along with the thousands of Armenian martyrs, destroyed and thoroughly burned buildings, national churches, schools, many foreigners have also lost their lives; their institutions have been destroyed and set on fire.<sup>22</sup>

As final to all this, Reshad was appointed as the new Sultan instead of Sultan Abdul Hamid, who have reigned for 33 years. A few days later, Adana’s bloodthirsty governor Adil Bey was ousted and replaced by Papan Zade Mustafa Zehni Pasha.<sup>23</sup>

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutyun) of the USA has sent financial aid to its party members in response to the events in Constantinople and Adana. This was stated in a letter to the Central Committee of America, on April 26, 1909, from Geneva: “The recent incidents have forced us to provide enough money for arming the people, and demands have been made from several places, from Constantinople and Smyrna, and a large sum of money has been shipped immediately.”<sup>24</sup>

And still on May 25, 1909, the ARF Western Bureau in Geneva called on the American Central Committee to work with the American and European public opinion, the press, the government circles in favor of the Armenians, as the Turkish constitutional government spares no effort to throw all responsibility on the Armenians in order to justify the guilty.<sup>25</sup>

More than 30.000 Armenians were killed in the massacre in Adana and surrounding areas,<sup>26</sup> and thousands of miserable Armenians who survived and mostly fled to the gardens of Adana, were in need of shelter, food, and healing.

Along with the English, American, German and other foreign organizations, as well as Armenian philanthropic organizations, the Armenians in the USA have also showed their immediate assistance to Adana.<sup>27</sup>

Donations were made in various Armenian populated cities of the USA in favor of the orphans and thousands of needy people in Cilicia by Armenian churches (Apostolic,

---

<sup>20</sup> Yeghiayan 1970: 247.

<sup>21</sup> Idem: 249.

<sup>22</sup> Idem: 249-250.

<sup>23</sup> Idem: 251, 252, 258.

<sup>24</sup> Tonapetian 1993: 646, 648.

<sup>25</sup> Idem: 656, 657.

<sup>26</sup> Teodik Arshakouhi 1910: 211.

<sup>27</sup> Yeghiayan 1970: 250, 255.

Evangelical),<sup>28</sup> national parties (ARF, SDHP, Reformed Hnchakian),<sup>29</sup> organizations, unions, clubs, as well as individuals (on the occasion of weddings, funerals and other family events) and it was shipped to the National Patriarchate of Constantinople or the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions as well as used for that purpose.<sup>30</sup>

The Armenians in the USA were mostly informed about the scale of the Adana massacre through the community and local media, as well as the eyewitnesses, party figures and so on.

Thus, if, before the Adana Massacre, the Armenian periodicals, published in the USA, were running worrying articles about the internal political situation in the Ottoman Empire and the gradual escalation of inter-ethnic relations, then almost all of the issues, published after the Adana massacre, provided columns for Cilician bloodthirsty events to unite the Armenian-Americans around the care of their Homeland, suffering compatriots and their needs, as well as introduced the details to the Armenian community through the direct writings of the American missionaries and eyewitnesses, through the analytical articles cover the cruel reality, that often seemed even exaggerated and unlikely to Armenians living under the American liberal democracy.

In early 1906, the newly established Adana Educational Society, based in Watertown, has collected 885 dollars for its needs, in three years. During the days of the massacre, the Society, raising the money to 1,000 dollars, sent the amount directly to its compatriots through the President of the Armenian General Benevolent Union, Poghos Noubar. The Evangelical Section of the Adana Educational Society has also brought its share by sending about 300 dollars.<sup>31</sup>

However, the "Aragads" weekly, based in New York, later reported in the editorial of "Our Orphans of Cilicia" (1911), that although orphanages in Turkey were opened with the help of Armenian or foreign donors, it was only in Adana that a boys' orphanage was operated for 500 people. Then the newspaper described the unhappy plight of the Armenian children in Turkish orphanages and the inevitability of being turkified, as well as reproached the Armenians for failing to free the Armenian children, the survivors of the Adana massacre, from the "care" of the Turks, who massacred their parents.<sup>32</sup>

The Armenians in North America raised 14,101 dollars just in five months (April 24 - August 8, 1909).<sup>33</sup> In all, the Armenians in the USA has sent 60,000 dollars to the

---

<sup>28</sup> Kochnak, 1909, July 10, No. 28, p. 649.

<sup>29</sup> Byuzandion, 1909, August 5-18, No. 3.897.

<sup>30</sup> Kochnak, 1909, May 1, No. 18, p. 405.

<sup>31</sup> Bulletin of the Educational Union of Adana 1929: 7, 9.

<sup>32</sup> Simonyan 2009: 328, 329.

<sup>33</sup> Tonapetian 1993: 676.



Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople.<sup>34</sup>

The massacre of Armenians in Adana was also witnessed mainly by the American missionaries, who were acting among the Christians and who reached out to the sufferers, at the same time informing the Western powers about the extent of the disaster.

The correspondents of foreign news agencies, operating in the Ottoman Empire, have regularly published detailed topography and statistics, informational telegram-messages, as well as a number of articles in the US and foreign press. The said materials were not always unbiased and impartial.

The American missionary Herbert Adams Gibbons was at the Adana government house during the first days of the massacre. He traveled to find out the truth and to instruct the Governor, Jevad Bey, and Military Commander, Ferik Pasha, that a group of soldiers could prevent the growing bloodshed. But it was all in vain. Just at the government house, where the Turkish authorities shielded him from the furious riot, Herbert Gibbons witnessed the development of incidents and the unbelievable savageness of Muslims, about which he directly testified by sending messages to relevant American and Western institutions as well. At the same time he published a number of articles in the "Times" daily.<sup>35</sup>

Although the proclamation of the Constitution by the Young Turks did not stop the flow of Armenians to the United States, nevertheless, responding to the call – "Back to the Country!" of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutyun) party, which cherished hopes for the Young Turk Constitution of 1908, hundreds of American-resident Armenians returned back, selling their possessions, yet others were preparing to come back with their saved money. Thus, between 1908 and 1914, 4,500 Armenians returned to their birthplace. Most of them were non-traders and elderly. The young people generally did not encourage the return.<sup>36</sup>

If the Ottoman Empire did not officially recognize the right of its subjects to emigrate until 1908, and thus impeded not only individual Armenian emigrants, but also their families' subsequent entry into the United States, then with the coming of the Young Turks to power in 1909, when the travel restrictions and high payments for permits ("Tezkere" – in Turk.) were abolished, the Armenians, having been distrustful of the Young Turk "democracy," and taking advantage of the opportunities offered, continued to leave for the foreign countries, now with the whole families and kinsfolk. Those, who had emigrated from the Ottoman Empire before 1908, were mainly peasants and inexperienced workers, but in this case these were skilled craftsmen, students and professionals, who left the country for economic reasons. Young women were also leaving, mainly for marriage. Few were going to reunite with their families.

The horrific massacres committed by the Young Turks in Adana, in 1909,

---

<sup>34</sup> Simonyan 2009: 322.

<sup>35</sup> Terzian 1912: 130, 131, 133-134, 135, 138-139.

<sup>36</sup> Mirak 1981: 140.

undermined the hopes of the Armenians for their “democratic” authorities, pushing them to unknown horizons. Although the massacres had taken place in Cilicia, Armenians were leaving almost all the Armenian-populated areas of the empire, as the threat of being in the same situation at any given time was too great. Having witnessed the massacre of the Armenians of Cilicia and their miserable condition, the American missionaries (Ms. Web and others) were gathering beautiful Armenian orphans, sending their data to the United States with the intention of finding parents for them and then moving them there.<sup>37</sup> And missionary Reverend Macallum was offering the organization, which provided medical, material and other assistance to the survivors of the massacre, to allocate the whole money for transferring the miraculously survivors to the United States, Canada or Brazil, because it was clear that “the next massacre was only a matter of time.”<sup>38</sup>

Hakob Papikyan, a member of the Ittihad Committee on investigating the massacre of the Armenians, also predicted the emigration from his country in an interview with a correspondent of the “Tasviri Efkâr” daily, when he was asked: “How would the injured people provide livelihood for themselves?” “There is no livelihood so far,” he replied, “Most Armenians are preparing to emigrate to America and elsewhere...”<sup>39</sup>

Thus, about 3,108 Armenians emigrated to the United States from June 30, 1908 to June 30, 1909. This figure does not differ much from that of the preceding year, but was significantly higher than the average outflow of Armenians before the Young Turks came to power.<sup>40</sup>

The total number of Armenians, emigrated to the United States after the bloody Adana outbreaks in 1909, has increased significantly, reaching 5,508. At the same time, both the youth and the few, who had returned to their Homeland with high hopes for the land, were leaving the country.<sup>41</sup>

The mass outflow following the Adana massacre, both from Ottoman Empire, as well as from Cilicia, has prompted some national and media figures, that the only way to save the Armenians of Cilicia is to make them completely emigrate to a secure foreign country, particularly to the United States. This idea was first voiced by some western people during the Hamidian massacres of 1894-1896.<sup>42</sup>

And though the Armenian Church, party and national figures have consistently and collectively opposed the idea of voluntary deprivation of Fatherland, nevertheless, the tragic developments showed that the consistent interest and organized great conspiracy (the Hamidian massacres in 1894-1896 and those of Adana in 1909) by the particular

---

<sup>37</sup> Teodik Arshakouhi 1910: 93.

<sup>38</sup> Mirak 1983: 55.

<sup>39</sup> Simonyan 2009: 299.

<sup>40</sup> Avakian 2000: 30-31.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.: 31, 45.

<sup>42</sup> Simonyan 2009: 212, 213.

world structures regarding historical Armenian territories would eventually result the widespread massacre of Christian native, the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923 by the Young Turks\*, who came to power in the Ottoman Empire through the Western countries and with the false “democratic” slogans.

In the case of Adana, for example, foreigners were settled in Cilicia instead of the massacred and expelled Armenians, including “300 Jewish families, who were to trade and farm.”<sup>43</sup>

Thus, due to historical fate, the Armenians, who emigrated to the United States, along with many Armenians living abroad, cherished the hope of repatriation – “Back to the Country!” That is why at the crucial moments for their country the Armenians abroad were always with their people. At the beginning of the last century, in 1909, the American Armenians also, responding to their compatriots’ misery and deprived situation in the aftermath of the Adana massacre, have materially and morally supported them, initiating, at the same time, a pro-Armenian movement within the US and in the American public and government circles by the intra-communal, religious, public, political and all other possible means.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Newspapers

1. Byuzandion (Constantinople)(in Arm.).
2. Kochnak (Boston)(in Arm.).

### Studies

1. Antreassian J. 1981. The Armenians in America: A Personal Viewpoint, in The Armenian Image in History and Literature (ed. R. Hovannisian), Malibu.
2. Avakian K. 2000. The History of the Armenian Community of the United States of America (From the Beginning to 1924), Yerevan (in Arm).
3. Bulletin of the Educational Union of Adana. 1929. Founded in Watertown, Massachusetts (Brief Outline of the 23<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Activity), Watertown (in Arm.).
4. Jizmejian M. 1930. History of the Armenian-American Political Parties (1890-1925), Fresno (in Arm).
5. Kitour A. 1962 (ed.). History of S. D. Hnchakian Party. 1887-1962, vol. A, Beirut (in Arm).
6. Malcom V. M. 1919. The Armenians in America, Boston - Chicago.
7. Mankouni N. 1926. The Armenian Census (Teodic. Everybody's Year-Book. Year 20<sup>th</sup>), Venice (in Arm).
8. Mirak R. 1981. Armenians, in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups (ed. S. Thernstrom), Cambridge - London.

---

\* “Most of the Ittihad leaders were Masons.” – Simonyan 2009: 218 (Footnote).

<sup>43</sup> Simonyan 2009: 215.

9. Mirak R. 1983. Torn Between Two Lands. Armenians in America, 1890 to World War I, Cambridge.
10. Moushegh (Seropian), Bishop. 1909. The Adana Massacre and the Responsibles (Previous Circumstances), Cairo (in Arm.).
11. Simonyan H. 2009. The Mass Carnage of the Armenians in Cilicia (April, 1909), Yerevan (in Arm.).
12. Teodik Arshakouhi. 1910. A Month in Cilicia. Snippy Notes, Constantinople (in Arm.).
13. Terzian H. 1912. The Cilician Calamity. vol. A, Constantinople (in Arm.).
14. Tonapetian G. 1993. A. R. Federation in North America (1895-1909), vol. A, Boston (in Arm.).
15. Yeghiayan B. 1970 (ed.). History of the Armenians of Adana, Antelias (in Arm.).

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

## THE ARMENIAN-HUNGARIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE OTTOMAN BOOK- PRINTING AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 18TH CENTURY

**Susanna Khachatryan**

*Department of Armenian History  
Armenian State Pedagogical University  
after Kh. Abovyan*

It is well known that after invading Constantinople and making it his capital city the Ottoman emperor Mehmed Fatih went for help to non-Muslims – Greeks, Jews, Armenians and other peoples of his empire to make the city appropriate for Muslim power. He brought to the city numerous craftsmen and reorganized Constantinople into Istanbul, a city of mosques and palaces.

At the beginning of the 18th century the Ottoman Empire suffered a period of hard economic and political crisis. It was a backward feudal country with decaying military-*len* system and elements of decentralization. The country was also isolated in the international arena after the defeat in the war against the Sacred League.

Nevertheless, the Ottoman Empire was still a strong and powerful state, and one of the main reasons for that, according to the American scholar Stanford Shaw, was the great number of professional officials of middle and low ranks, who did the main part of administrative work despite the incompetency and corruption of those who held higher positions in the state<sup>1</sup>. Among those officials we can highlight the future grand vizier Ibrahim pasha Nevshehirli who was Armenian by origin.<sup>2</sup> The period of his ruling was called “Laledevri” or the «Age of Tulips». It was also the period of the Ottoman Turkey's westernization. Ibrahim pasha was grand vizier during 12 years – from 1718 up to 1730. In fact he singlehandedly manages the internal and foreign affairs of the Empire because Ahmed III was not interested in them at all. The personality of grand vizier had some effect on the Ottoman history of that period. Ibrahim pasha seems not to succeed in his economic policy, but he greatly participated in the flourishing of the Ottoman culture. In 1725 there was created a special commission which began to translate the works of Arab and Persian historians into the Turkish language.

But the main event in the Turkish culture of that period was the foundation of Turkish book-printing.

At the beginning of the 18th century there were several dozens of printing houses in the Ottoman Turkey. They were founded by Jews, Armenians and Greeks. The Ottomans were introduced to the book printing long before the first book in Turkish was published. In Hungary book printing began in 1473, and in 1512 the first Armenian book was printed in Venice. As we can see, in both cases it was before the Ottoman

---

<sup>1</sup> Shaw 1975: 280.

<sup>2</sup> Schefer 1894: XXXI.

occupation of Constantinople. The peoples of central and south-eastern Europe began book-printing at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

On the Ottoman territory first printing house was founded in 1483 by Jews. Within the period of 1512-1528 more printing houses were founded in Istanbul only by Jews<sup>3</sup>.

In the sixteenth century Armenian book printing began to develop in Istanbul. The first Armenian printing house was founded here by Abgar from Tokat in 1567. Prominent Armenian scholars Arshak Alpoyadjyan and Hrachya Acharyan wrote that there was an Armenian printing house before Abgar's coming to Constantinople<sup>4</sup>, but we didn't succeed in finding their source of information. Since then up to 1922 the amount of books, newspapers and journals in Armenian and Armenian-lettered Turkish is about 6000<sup>5</sup>. But the Armenians were not satisfied only by developing their own people's culture, at the same time they also contributed to that of the Ottoman Turkey<sup>6</sup>.

The first Greek printing house was founded in Istanbul in 1627 by the monk Nikodemos Metaksas, who brought the necessary equipment from London. As Ubcini wrote, in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Greek and Armenian printing worked in Istanbul at full speed<sup>7</sup>.

Thus, non-Muslims had founded book-printing on the territory of the empire long before, and at the beginning of the 18th century the craft of book-printing, engraving, font casting, setting and publishing were on rather high level. Thanks to them the book printing became a widespread and well-known craft.

But why didn't the Ottomans themselves accept the book-printing for a long time? There were several objective and subjective reasons for that.

Some scholars write that Bayazid II and later Selim I signed *fermans* (the word means 'order' in Turkish) about forbidding book printing in the Ottoman Turkey<sup>8</sup>, but the orders were obviously about the printing in the Turkish language. The Ottoman government had only two strict rules about printing: they should not be in Turkish, Arabic or Persian and they should not print things that could invoke to any kind of disobedience in the empire.

In spite of the first rule, Turkish intellectuals had the opportunity to read books in Persian and Arabic printed in Europe. The first Quran was printed in 1542, and a book on Turkish grammar in 1612. The Ottoman sultans especially forbade the import of Quran, and Mehmed IV, for example, ordered to drown all the samples of Quran, brought to Istanbul by an Englishman. The same sultan ordered to drown the Arabic font, sent to him from Venice.

---

<sup>3</sup> Zheltyakov 1972: 13.

<sup>4</sup> Korkotyan 1964: 7.

<sup>5</sup> Tughlajyan 1985: 102.

<sup>6</sup> Tughlajyan 1985: 100.

<sup>7</sup> Zheltyakov 1972: 14.

<sup>8</sup> Zheltyakov 1972:15.



In fact, the reasons for not accepting the book printing were in the domination of the feudal-despotic reality, common cultural backwardness of the country, the population's illiteracy. Muslim clergy was a serious factor too. They were against every innovation, which could somehow reduce their influence on the Muslim population.

There was also a whole class of people, who were against the book printing: the *hattats* or scribes. In the 18th century there were no less than 15 thousand of them only in Istanbul. They were closely connected with Muslim clergymen, because their main job was the copying religious books. The book printing would take their job and craft. Besides that, the printed book could not be so beautifully decorated as the one written and drawn by hand. Handwritten books were often considered as works of art.

However, the political reality of that period made the Ottoman politicians to look more carefully on the political structure, scientific and technical achievements and culture of European countries and Russia. The advanced and educated figures of the time and Ibrahim pasha Nevshahirli among them began to understand the fruitlessness of the hostile attitude towards the non-Muslim world. The relations with European countries were improved, many European scientists, artists and writers were invited to the Ottoman court more often.

On 7 October, 1720 the Ottoman embassy went to France. In addition to the official mission Ibrahim pasha ordered the head of the delegation to «learn about the tools of civilization and education of France and to inform about those which can be applied in the Ottoman Empire»<sup>9</sup>. The delegation stayed in France for a long period (some authors say a year, others – nearly 4), and though it didn't succeed in its main mission, everybody was pleased with the reception and honor given by the French court and officials. Besides, the delegation got closely acquainted with the French political structure and social life, its scientific, technical and cultural organizations and offices, some branches of industry and particularly with activities the printing houses of Paris. Mehmed effendi, the head of the embassy had written down every detail of his journey, and soon everybody in the Ottoman court could read his report or *sefaretname*.

All these had a noticeable resonance in the Ottoman society. Mehmed efendi had brought some plans and drawings according to which Ottomans began to build palaces, houses and country cottages. It also contained a detailed report about the book-printing advantages.

Another important document of the time was the so-called "Lyahika", which was published by a Turkish historian F. Unat<sup>10</sup>. The author(s) of the document is (are) unknown. F. Unat thought the author was Ibrahim Myuteferrika because it has much in common with the text of Muteferrika's book, which was published in 1732 and soon became famous not only in the Ottoman Empire, but also in abroad. In "Lyahika" the author gives reasons for reforms in the Ottoman army.

---

<sup>9</sup> Vitol 1987: 76.

<sup>10</sup> See in Unat 1968.

The whole internal situation in the Ottoman Empire of the time was favorable for the start of the Turkish book printing. Sultan Ahmed III, his mother and grand vizier Ibrahim pasha Nevshehirli patronized not only traditional art crafts poets and chronologists, but also the spread of knowledge in science, mathematics, astronomy, etc.

Ibrahim pasha also helped to found six big libraries in Istanbul. Each sultan beginning from Ahmed III built special places for books usually beside mosques. In the 18th century there were established 40 libraries only in Istanbul<sup>11</sup>.

Intending to promote the spread of knowledge and education Ibrahim pasha create a special commission consisting of 25 well educated people to translate into Turkish or Arabic a number of books in history, mathematics, medicine, etc.

Thus, in the first decades of the 18th century we can see some changes in the Ottoman cultural life which brought to book printing in the Turkish language.

The establishment of the first printing house in the Turkish language is connected with the name of Ibrahim Myuteferrika, Hungarian by origin. He was born in 1674 in Koloshvara, Transylvania. He was very successful in learning. In 1692 or 93 he was taken prisoner by Turks, then adopted Islam, which let him to continue his studies and improve the Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages. Before that he had already known Greek, Latin and Hungarian. In 1711 he wrote «Risale-i Islamie» («Tractate about Islam»). For his unusual cleverness, intellect, good education and knowledge of 6 languages he became close to many state officials and was especially accepted and patronized by Ibrahim pasha Nevshehirli.

So Ibrahim Myuteferrika began his preparations of Turkish book printing in 1719, when he published and showed the grand vizier the maps of the sea of Marmara. In 1724 he prepared and printed the map of the Black Sea. In the same year an Ottoman politician Mehmed Said effendi joined him. Together they prepared and showed the grand vizier Ibrahim pasha Nevshehirli a note «On means of printing» in which they asked for permission to open a printing house and publish books in Turkish. They wrote that the printing of important books for the state would lead to the spread of education among Turks, that printed books are cheaper and could spread among the people more easily and they have a longer life. They also wrote that it would help to avoid mistakes which are usual in handwritten books.

Myuteferrika and Said effendi had to withstand the attacks of Muslim clergymen and *hattats*. But the grand vizier managed to get both the Sultan's *ferman* and Sheikh-ul-Islam's *fetva*. The only prohibition was the publication of religious books. On the one hand it was a concession to *hattats*, who were delighted that they would not lose their jobs. On the other hand it gave Myuteferrika an opportunity to publish more secular and scientific works of outstanding scholars.

---

<sup>11</sup> Zheltyakov 1972: 19.

The printing house was settled at Myuteferrika's place in Istanbul in 1727. The part of the equipment was ordered in France, the other part was bought from local Armenian printers. The printing house had 4 presses for books and 2 for maps.

The first book came out on 31 January, 1729. It was Arabic monolingual dictionary «Vankulu Lugati», a reference book of every educated Turk or Porte official. It was published in 1000 copies, which were sold out very quickly. In 1730 the printing house published five more books.

At the end of 1730 and beginning of 1731 Istanbul was caught in fire of a riot. Ahmed III was deposed, Ibrahim pasha Nevshihirli was killed and the printing house was closed.

In 1732 Mahmud I gave permission to reopen the printing house. Myuteferrika wrote his second tractate and its publishing gave birth to a new important age in the history of the Ottoman Turkey's social-political life of the 18th century. This second tractate was called *Usul ul-hikem fi-nizam ul umam* or «The Basics of Wisdom in Peoples' Establishment».

In 1733 Ibrahim Myuteferrika began to publish series of works of Ottoman historians and he himself was involved in this undertaking.

After Ahmed III and Ibrahim pasha Nevshehirli the Ottomans lost their interest in book printing. With the death of Myuteferrika Turkish book printing was forgotten for almost half a century.

Within the 13 years of its existence Myuteferrika's printing house had published 17 works in 23 volumes in total run of 12 700 samples. Thus, the first 13 years of Turkish book printing is connected with the names of grand vizier Ibrahim pasha Nevshehirli and Ibrahim Myuteferrika. All the books were secular, they introduced Turks to history and geography of the empire as well as the achievements of Europeans in the field of mathematics, astronomy, geography, and technics.

Turkish books-printing very soon became a powerful tool for the westernization of the country.<sup>12</sup> The start of book printing was a crucial milestone in the new Turkish culture. Within the period from 1795 to 1839 when the sultan issued Tanzimat, only in the state printing houses of Istanbul 500 books were printed. But the importance of the activities of Ibrahim pasha Nevshehirli and Ibrahim Myuteferrika were estimated long after their death.

The Age of Tulips was the first, maybe not very big, but rather courageous step towards the European civilization. In Turkish book printing the influence of France and the contribution of non-Turkish people, who were closer to European culture than the Turks, was vital<sup>13</sup>.

The Ottoman Empire's non-Muslim subjects played an active role in various cultural branches not only under Ahmed II but later, too. In our other works we showed Armenians' active contribution to the 19th century Ottoman architecture, gunpowder

---

<sup>12</sup> See in Vitol 1987: 93.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

production and monetary system. They also played active role in the democratic movements after Tanzimat (1839), when, for example, the monopoly of making Turkish letters for print houses was given to Armenians<sup>14</sup>.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Korkotyan K. 1964. Armenian Printed Book in Constantinople (1567-1850), Yerevan (in Armenian).
2. Shaw S. 1975. History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, v. 1, Cambridge - London - New York-Melburn.
3. Schefer Ch. 1894. Memoire historique sur l'Ambassade de France a Constantinople par le Marquise de Bonnac. Paris.
4. Tughlajyan B. 1985. Armenian Printing in the Ottoman Empire, and Armenians' Contribution to Turkish Printing Art, in: Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, XII, Turkey, Yerevan (in Armenian).
5. Unat F. R. 1968. Osmanlı sefirleri ve sefaretnameleri. Ankara.
6. Vitol A.V. 1987. The Ottoman empire (beginning of the XVIII century), Moscow (in Russian).
7. Zheltyakov A.D. 1972. Press in the social-political and cultural life of Turkey, Moscow (in Russian).

---

<sup>14</sup> Tughlajyan 1985: 104.

## FIRST HAYKIDES AND THE «HOUSE OF TORGOM» (an overview of tradition and new prospects)

Aram Kosyan

*Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA*

### General remarks

The "*Torgomian*" hypothesis of the Armenian ethnogenesis contains a crucial phase of the history of the people and its earliest statehood, which until now remains one of the complicated problems in Armenological studies. The main obstacle in the study of the problem is the absence of authentic criterias while comparing different sources (written - cuneiform Hittite, Assyrian, Urartian, Hieroglyphic Luwian, Classical Greek, linguistic, archaeological, mythological, etc.). This concerns primarily the chronological and onomastic difficulties. The chronology of the ancient Near Eastern history which we gain from the classical and medieval authors, purely correlates with that of cuneiform and hieroglyphic Egyptian inscriptions. As to the onomastic data dealing with the *First Haykides* (= hereafter FH) which contains in the study of *Movses Khorenatsi*, one could find it impossible to trace their names in the onomasticon of the ancient oriental sources, concerning the Armenian Highland during the III-I millenniums BC.<sup>1</sup>

In the Classical Armenian historiography, since the days of *Movses Khorenatsi*, *Hayk* was regarded as the "*son of Torgom*", and the Armenians - "*the people of Torgom*"<sup>2</sup>. Nothing more about *Torgom* and the "*Torgomian era*" could find modern scholar in the medieval Armenian manuscripts, except the Biblical affiliation of the Armenian forefather; *Torgom* is regarded by *Khorenatsi* as the son of *Tiras*, grandson of *Gomer*. Unlike his "son" - *Hayk* and other *Haykides* (mostly FH, i.e. from *Aramaneak* to *Anushavan*), whose names were accompanied by narratives of certain historical events, obviously *Torgom's* role is obscure. He is not even *nahapet* (eponymous forefather), because this function is secured for *Hayk*. *Torgom* did nothing for the Armenization of the Armenian Highland. The primary homeland of *Torgom* is also unknown.

---

<sup>1</sup> The current paper is an English translation of the part of the author's monograph published over 20 years ago in Armenian (Kosyan 1998a). Since then quite a large number of studies both by him and other scholars had appear dealing with the problem of early Armenian statehood, the historicity of the *Haykides* and related issues (Ohanyan 2002; Petrosyan 2002; 2003; 2006; 2007; 2008; 2009; Kosyan 2014; 2017; Tsakanyan 2017, etc.). Needless to say that despite the new data and studies very few points in the traditional treatment of the problem under discussion has been reached so far. With this in mind, the presentation of the old problem under new outlook seems justified.

<sup>2</sup> P'awstos Buzand: Introduction, III.13, V.30; Agat'angelos: 6, 776, 796; Levond: XXXIV, Hishatakaran. Here and elsewhere citations from the „History of Armenia“ of *Movses Khorenatsi* are given after the 1978 edition by R.W.Thomson. English translations of *Hovhannes Draskhanakerttsi* belongs to the author.

Undoubtedly, the "Torgomian" ancestorship of the Haykides was borrowed by the Classical Armenian authors from the Bible.<sup>3</sup> Otherwise, Khorenatsi or one of the later historiographers could have been aware of some crucial points in this history.

Taking into account heavy western (The Upper Euphrates area) connections of the early Armenian history,<sup>4</sup> scholars mostly, beginning from Fr.Delitzsch,<sup>5</sup> were inclined to look for the "*House of Torgom*" beyond the Euphrates where since the early II millennium BC the city *Ta/egarama* (Assyrian *Tilgarimmu*) was referred to in cuneiform Assyrian and Hittite texts.<sup>6</sup>

According to H.Manandyan,<sup>7</sup> the early Armenian tribes had migrated from Northern Balkans in the XII BC, settling down in the neighborhood of *Mount Argaeus* (modern *Erdjiyas Dagı*, between the triangle of Kayseri-Gürün-Malatya, six centuries later leaving this land for the sources of Halys-Kızılırmak and their second homeland - the Armenian Highland. The same approach was demonstrated by I.Diakonoff.<sup>8</sup>

Localizing the early Armenian ethnic element near the sources of the Upper Euphrates (Hayasa and Azzi of cuneiform Hittite inscriptions), Gr.Kapantsyan had put down a theory according to which the Armenian migration into Malatya-Tegarama-Kayseri was regarded as a gradual infiltration happened between the XII and VII c. BC, which was accumulated in the VII c. BC, under the Cimmerian pressure from the east and north-east.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See, in particular, Sarkisyan 1992 and Kosyan 2005.

<sup>4</sup> According to Khorenatsi, from here begins the migration of the Haykides to other regions of the Highland (the point of departure of *Aramaneak*, son of *Hayk*); in addition, here we find 1) two ethnic designations of the Armenians (*hay* and *armen*), 2) most of the Pre-Christian Armenian sanctuaries, 3) the royal cemetery of Armenian Arsakid kings (fortress of *Ani* in the *Daranafi* district), 4) the royal of treasury of Arsakid kings (fortress of *Bnabegh* in *Tsopk Shahuni*), etc.

<sup>5</sup> Delitzsch 1881: 246 (apud Manandyan 1977: 16). The author proposed that the «*House of Torgom*» is to be associated with the Cimmerians.

<sup>6</sup> The first reference to Tegarama comes from the "Cappadocian Tablets" (XIX-XVIII c. BC). This important city is regularly mentioned in the Hittite texts during the XVI-XIII c. BC (del Monte und Tischler 1978: 383f.; del Monte 1992: 154; Kosyan 2004: 92f.).

<sup>7</sup> Manandyan 1977: 21. Here we shall mention only some earlier scholars whose ideas regarding the Armenian ethnogenesis mostly trace the Indo-European speaking ancestors of Armenians somewhere in Europe, before their advance to the Near East (through the Balkans – Tomaschek 1893: 5; Khalatyants 1910: 76; Markwart 1919: 5; 1928; the other possible route through the Caucasian passes actually was not seriously considered). The exact period of the Armenian migration is also debated. Some prefer the XII c. BC, others – the VII-VI c. BC. Gr.Kapantsyan's model is different; he localizes Armenian-speaking tribes in Hayasa (western, north-western part of the Armenian Highland), before their migrations first to the south, until Northern Mesopotamia (in the VII c. BC under the pressure of Cimmerians), then to the north and north-west (Kapantsyan 1948: 140ff.). The complete overview of all suggestions regarding the Armenian ethnogenesis see Petrosyan 2017: 142ff.

<sup>8</sup> Diakonoff 1968: 199ff.; 1981: 51ff.; 1984: 22.

<sup>9</sup> Kapantsyan 1948: 140ff.



S.Yeremyan, in contrary to most scholars, proposed that the Biblical «*Bet-Togarma*» does not correspond to Tegarama-Tilgarimmu, but rather to *Armenia Minoris* (earlier Hayasa of Hittite cuneiform sources, the same as the country of *Hate* of Urartian king Rusa II)<sup>10</sup>.

Resuming this brief summary of scholarly opinions regarding the localization of the "House of Torgom", one could guess that the land of the Haykides, before their migration to the east, was located in eastern Asia Minor, in the general area between modern Malatya and Kayseri. Hence, the chronology and original place of residence of the Armenian-speaking tribes in eastern Asia Minor before their migration is a question which requires appropriate explanation. Today two contradictory theories deal with the problem of the arrival of Armenians to their historical homeland (to the east of the Euphrates, that is to the Greater Armenia).

- 1) Until the XII c. BC the population of the Armenian Highland could not have been Armenian. The appearance of Proto-Armenian tribes here should be dated with the XII c. BC or even later.<sup>11</sup>
- 2) The Indo-European (accordingly, Proto-Armenian) ethnic element was present in the Armenian Highland since the II millennium BC, if not earlier.<sup>12</sup> The population of Hayasa and Azzi could have been partly Proto-Armenian.<sup>13</sup>

In the course of excavations conducted at different sites of the Armenian Highland during the final decades of the XX century, has come up certain archaeological data in favor of the second view.<sup>14</sup> The archaeological situation in the Armenian Highland at the close of the II millennium BC testifies upon certain ethnic and cultural shifts, but only within the Highland itself. A large-scaled migration from outside is still unrecorded for the XII-XI c. BC.

Those who support the idea, according to which Armenian-speaking ethnic groups were among the population of the II millennium BC Armenian Highland, had proposed their gradual migration (easy to say *infiltration*) towards other parts of the Highland after

<sup>10</sup> Yeremyan 1968: 109. Most of modern Armenian historians, linguists and archaeologists use the anachronistic term "*Armenian*" (in regard to language, tribes, etc.) while discussing the earliest period of Armenian history, i.e. the ethnogenesis. It should be remembered that the earlier stages of the history of any nation is an extremely complicated process in which the bearers of different languages (more correctly, "dialects") have been participating, and actually the exact place of each of these ethnic groups hardly could be distinguished.

<sup>11</sup> Khalatyants 1910: 11; Markwart 1928: 211; Diakonoff 1968: 204ff.; Mallory 1989: 34f., etc. In 1950s S.Yeremyan had suggested the XIV-XIII c. BC (Yeremyan 1958: 59), but later he lowered that date to the XII c. BC (Yeremyan 1968: 91).

<sup>12</sup> Today the scholarship has at its disposal a considerable archaeological data to suppose the presence of Indo-Europeans in Asia Minor and the Armenian Highland as early as the III millennium BC (Winn 1981: 113ff.; Yakar 1981: 94ff.; Arechyan 1988: 84ff.; Burney 1993: 311ff.).

<sup>13</sup> Kapantsyan 1947; Jahukyan 1987: 340f.; Sarkisyan 1988: 51f.

<sup>14</sup> A brief review of the results of archaeological surveys and related problems see Kosyan 1996: 207ff.; 1997a: 177ff.; 1997b: 253ff.; 1999b: 160ff.

the XII c. BC, a process accumulated during the VIII-VI c. BC, when the Urartian Empire was running to its end. This theory<sup>15</sup> could be presented as follows.

The migrations of Armenian-speaking tribes from Hayasa and Azzi (in the general area near the sources of the Euphrates)<sup>16</sup> had taken place in the XII c. BC, during the disintegration of the Hittite Empire. It follows in two main directions: 1) to the south (Malatya, then the Taurus area until Northern Mesopotamia), 2) to the east and south-east (future Urartu). The earliest attestation of these migrations is that recorded in the texts of the Assyrian king Tiglathpileser I (1114-1077 BC) - *Mushku*, *Kashku-Apishlu* and *Urumu* tribes in the Upper Euphrates area.<sup>17</sup> The "Torgomian" affiliation of Hayk, according to Gr.Kapantsyan, could have preserved memories of early Armenian migrations towards Malatya and to the west of it.<sup>18</sup> Accordingly, the author had proposed that the Armenization of eastern Asia Minor could have been dated to a certain period after the XIIc. BC.

Later, in 1960-1980s the problem of the early Armenian presence in eastern Asia Minor was thoroughly discussed by I.M.Diakonoff. Holding the view dealing with the North Balkanic origin of the Mushki, the author thought that the early Armenian tribes ("Eastern Mushki") had migrated into eastern Asia Minor in the XII c. BC. Here they seized the power in the late VIII c. BC, during the decline of local Luwian kingdoms.<sup>19</sup> Later, after the decline of Urartu and Assyria, this Armenian kingdom should have extended its territory to the east, including former *Arme-Shubria* and central Urartu.

Resuming, it must be stated that the Upper Euphrates area to the west of the river (Melid-Tegarama, later Armenia Minoris) should have played an extremely important role in the consolidation of Armenian people and statehood, in order to be commemorated in the Armenian national memory as the father of *nahapet* Hayk, the ancestor of Armenians. Therefore, the detailed study of ethnic and political history of this area is of utmost importance for the solution of the problem of the "House of Torgom". When and in which political context could the Armenian ethnic group come to power in western Upper Euphrates area (to the north of the Taurus range), and, second, which political entity of this region should be regarded as the prototype for the "House of

<sup>15</sup> Manandyan 1977: 13ff.; Kapantsyan 1948: 154ff.

<sup>16</sup> Today this important federation consisting of Hayasa and Azzi on the north-eastern boundaries of the Hittite Empire scholars are mostly looking in the general area to the north of the upper reaches of the Euphrates - 1) the *Kharshit* river valley up to modern *Giresun* (Diakonoff 1968: 81ff., n.16); 2) the valley of the *Tortum* river (Khachatryan 1971: 128ff.), 3) the valley of *Kelkit* river (ASVOA 4.3). For the complete review of proposed localizations see Kosyan 2004 and especially our latest studies (2013: 48ff.; 2015; 2016: 116ff).

<sup>17</sup> Grayson 1976: 12ff.

<sup>18</sup> Kapantsyan 1947: 140ff.

<sup>19</sup> Diakonoff 1968: 180ff.; 1981: 50ff. According to early studies, the arrival of Armenian tribes into Eastern Asia Minor took place in the VIIIc. BC, in the context of Phrygian expansion; certain Gurdi who in the times of king Sennacherib of Assyria (704-681 BC) had created a kingdom in Tilgarimmu was considered as the leader of these Proto-Armenians (Forrer 1921: 80f.; Adontz 1972: 311).

Torgom"? Was this kingdom referred to in the contemporary cuneiform and other sources?

The present study consists mostly of preliminary suggestions due to the number and character of primary sources.

### **The Sources of Movses Khorenatsi**

The problem of sources used by Movses Khorenatsi for compiling his "History of Armenia" was discussed thoroughly by most Armenologists since the XVIII century<sup>20</sup> and here we are not aimed to review them all. For the purposes of our study it will be of considerable interest to highlight some observations of the problem with the hope to be discussed in future.

Every scholar working in the field of the Armenian prehistory, is well acquainted with the debate concerning several crucial points of Khorenatsi's "History": 1) the date of its compilation (from the V to VIII century), 2) the problem of *Mar Abas Catina's* historicity, 3) obvious discrepancy between the Armenian king-list of Khorenatsi and that coming from Classical Greek and Roman authors, 4) the absence of the names of the FH in ancient Armenia (for example, *Hayk, Aram, Anushavan*), etc. Taking into account these difficulties, some Armenologists had undervalued the "History". It seems that these trends in Armenology are based primarily on obvious contradictory character of some passages of the "History".

Those who are easy to reject the historicity of Mar Abas should look upon motives leading Khorenatsi to falsify certain historical event, that is the episode dealing with the request of the Armenian king *Vagharshak* to his elder brother – the Parthian king *Arshak*. Every Iranist and even non-Iranist knows that there wasn't any Parthian king Arshak in the I century AD, when the Parthian Arsakids had managed to insert a branch of their dynasty in Armenia. On the other hand, we know that it was the Parthian king *Vagharsh* (*Vologez I* of Classical authors = Parthian *Balash*) who did this, and *Trdat I* (*Tiridates*) was the first Armenian Arsakid king<sup>21</sup>. How can it happen that Khorenatsi was unaware of this crucial historical event? It seems that the problem of Mar Abas could be clarified by the next proposal.

In a late Sassanian manuscript,<sup>22</sup> which, unfortunately, was not referred to until today in Armenological literature, it is told about a Persian king *Balash* (i.e. Greek-Roman *Vologez*, Arm. *Vagharsh*) who had ordered to collect and study the history of all provinces of his vast empire. Undoubtedly, these records were centered in his capital city, certainly in the royal archive. Did Khorenatsi know about this undertaking of Balash-Vagharsh? In the case of a positive answer we should come to an assumption that he had ascribed this undertaking of the Parthian king to his Armenian colleague

<sup>20</sup> Emin 1881: 7ff.; Thomson 1978: 10ff.; Sarkisyan 1991: 12ff., Abeghyan and Haroutyunyan 1991: LXVff. (XIX - early XX century bibliography), etc.

<sup>21</sup> For the history of this period see Bivar 1983: 79ff.

<sup>22</sup> For reference to this manuscript Lewy 1949: 29; for comments regarding this text see Kosyan 2017.

and brother. And not this single one but rather presenting Armenian Vagharshak as a mighty king fighting in the west ("**History**", **Book 2, 3-7**).

The above-mentioned new source must be thoroughly studied in order to define real motives of Khorenatsi's methods of writing the history of Armenia. But it should be said that the Parthian royal archive probably possessed with documents concerning the earlier history of Armenia, and Mar Abas or some other person could have had access into this archive by the request of Trdat I. As to the documents of the Parthian archive, hardly one should propose them to contain even a concise study of the Armenian prehistory in its full sense. Being the political heirs to the Achaemenid Empire which, in its turn, that of Babylonia and Assyria in some sense, the royal archive in *Ekbatana* could have had even possessed with translations from cuneiform inscriptions; worth to mention studies carried by *Berossus* and *Ctesias*. For example, the so-called "Babylonian Chronicles", where the narrative of the Assyrian and Babylonian history includes even the Hellenistic period as well.<sup>23</sup> Here one can find several references to the principalities of the Armenian Highland made by the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian kings.<sup>24</sup>

If one accepts the historicity of Mar Abas, then the next question is in order: what kind of information could have contained this source used by Khorenatsi:

- 1) Which principalities referred to by Mesopotamian sources could be regarded by Mar Abas as being Armenian?
- 2) Could Mar Abas compare the alien proper names with that coming up from native Armenian oral tradition?

These points are far from rhetorics and should be beared in mind in future studies.

## THE HISTORICITY OF HAYKIDES AND THEIR LOCALIZATION

In the first book of the «History» Khorenatsi gives the names of 37 forefathers (*nahapets*) of the Armenians, from *Hayk* to *Parouyr Skayordi*. The first ten (from Hayk to Anoushavan) are said to have been originated directly from Hayk. After Anoushavan there happened an usurpation of power and the alien dynasty ruled here until *Skayordi*, who restored the authority of the Haykides, being the ally of the Median king *Varbakes* (= *Ciaxes*). Among these *nahapets* the first ten stood isolated, since they are associated with the Armenization of the considerable part of the Armenian Highland, i.e. the creation of a political organization.

Until recently all attempts to etymologize the names of the Haykides, as well as to look for their possible correspondences in the onomasticon of ancient Armenian Highland or in adjacent areas, especially the FH (from Hayk to Anoushavan), mostly appeared to be futile. Such names as *Hayk*, *Aram*, *Gegham*, *Anushavan*, *Ara*, etc. are not attested in the Classical Armenian and late medieval historiography and one should

<sup>23</sup> Grayson 1975.

<sup>24</sup> Diakonoff 1981: 34ff.

definitely state that these names were not current in the ancient and medieval Armenian society. The restoration of these names in the modern period are definitely a tribute to Khorenatsi and the rise of self-conscience in the XVIII-XIX centuries.

Still N.Emin had stated that the names of the Haykides are of mixed origins, where at least four languages are represented - Armenian (*Gegham, Harma, Anoushavan*), Iranian (*Tigran*), Semitic (*Aramaneak, Aramayis, Amasya*, etc.), and Greek (*Kardos = Ara*, son of *Ara*).<sup>25</sup> The same assumption was reached by G.Jahukyan.<sup>26</sup>

How could be explained this situation? Even if one considers that the names of the FH were really Armenian, it will be very difficult to explain their absense for millennias, until modern times. The idea that these *nahapets* were Armenians bearing alien names (the situation well attested for the period of the Bagratides and Cilician Armenian dynasties - Rubenides, Hethoumides), is impossible, since we deal with forefathers who had to bear native names.

The studies carried still in 1990s by Armen Petrosyan<sup>27</sup> had opened new possibilities for this much-debated problem. Here it was demonstrated that the FH represented the primary Armenian pantheon of Indo-European origin, which existed before the secondary, Iranianized one. This important assumption is based on solid grounds, but needs some comments.

If one assumes that the relics of this ancient Armenian pantheon were preserved via the oral tradition to be fixed still in the times of Khorenatsi, then the next question is in order. While changing the names of Armenian *nahapets* and replacing them by divine names Khorenatsi must have possessed with the names of both. His tendency to hide the names of the former (*nahapets*) is open for discussion, hence we can only offer our tentative suggestion.

Actually, the names of the FH (maybe even some later ones) looked like alien, since they could have reached via Mar Abas, Classical authors (Abydenus, Cephalion, Olympiodorus, Eusebius, etc.), or the archives of Edessa and Ani (all these sources are referred to by Khorenatsi).<sup>28</sup> How could a person living at least one thousand years later choose among these contradictory data. Indeed, the Armenian oral tradition could have preserved the reminiscences of the early stages of the Armenian ethnos and political organization(s), i.e. the primary historical-geographical environment. With this in mind, Khorenatsi had to find corresponding data among external sources. At best he could have had one or two similarities if any then he had to choose between the two.<sup>29</sup> In the

<sup>25</sup> Emin 1884: 31f.

<sup>26</sup> Jahukyan 1981: 61ff.

<sup>27</sup> Petrosyan 1996; Petrosyan 1997. On mythological character of these names Abeghyan 1944: 19ff.

<sup>28</sup> The existence of these archives is doubted by some (Thomson 1978: 12f.) and accepted by others (Sarkisyan 1991: 15ff.).

<sup>29</sup> On the possibility of one such case see Kosyan 1998a: 55ff. (on the external similarity of the names of Phrygian king Gordias with Kurtis, king of Atuna [in Tabal], also legendary Ascanius, forefather of Phrygian

course of making the list of the Haykides Khorenatsi risked to create something non-Armenian (Armenian *nahapets* with non-Armenian names). We guess that he had found a much safer variant, that is Armenian *nahapets* with pre-Christian Armenian divine names (before their Iranization). That he had made use of external sources is easy to demonstrate through the next passage from the "History", which could be regarded as a key to our problem:

*"So if you were to ask: 'Whence did we thus learn the names of our ancestors and the deeds of many of them?' I reply: 'From the ancient archives of the Chaldaeans, Assyrians, and Persians, since their names and deeds were entered on the royal acts as prefects and governors of our land appointed by them and as satraps' (Book 1, 21).*

It is difficult to argue against the importance of this citation. If one proceeds from the position of formal logics, then the problem of the FH' historicity could be solved through the clearing of some points:

- 1) Localization of the FH.
- 2) Identification of the FH' neighbors.
- 3) The status of the FH' "Armenia".

According to Khorenatsi, already during Aramaneak, the son of Hayk, the Haykides possessed with a considerable part of the Armenian Highland. But even five generations later when Aram had conquered vast territories in the south (*Mount Zarasp* and "*Assyrian field*") and the west (Mazaka-Caesaria), "*Armenia*" still remains under the political influence of Assyria. The possibilities of postulating with such a "*great Armenia*" fails under the light of cuneiform sources antedating the Urartian Empire. That here the term "*Assyria*" has nothing to do with Urartu, seems doubtless.<sup>30</sup> The "*Armenia*" of the FH could have been one of the numerous and considerably small political entities located in the southern or western parts of the Armenian Highland who were under durative Assyrian control. The reference to Armavir (to the west of modern Yerevan) as the capital city of the Haykides (built by Aramayis, son of Aramaneak) should be regarded as a later reminiscence or a synchronous one along with other - western Haykides (on the alternative explanation of this problem see below).

---

king Midas with Askwisis, author of the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of *Şirzi*, in the region of Malatya; the name of the former reminds *Cardos* of Khorenatsi [the same as Ara, son of Ara]).

<sup>30</sup> Some arguments were brought in favor of Urartu: 1) the ascription of a canal in Van to Semiramis (recognized to be erected by Menua, king of Urartu), 2) the similarity of the name Aram to the name of Urartian king *A(r)rame/u*, 3) large-scaled conquests of the Urartian king Argishti I reminding one that made by Aram, etc. Though the existence of some Urartisms in the «History» are obvious, nevertheless, one shall remember that the Urartian statehood and that of the FH are typologically different, one being a developed "eastern monarchy", the second - only making its attempts to create a kingdom (this according to the «History»). If the "Armenia" of the FH was the same as Urartu, then indeed Khorenatsi would have been aware of it. The first crowned king of Armenia, according to Khorenatsi, was Parouyr, the 37th *nahapet*. See also Khachatryan 1980, where the "Armenia" of the FH is regarded as the neighbor of Urartu and under the names of several Haykides after Anushavan the author is inclined to look for the Urartian kings.



For the localization of the "*Primary Armenia*" the next observation will be useful.

Among the first six Haykides only Hayk and partly Aramaneak had contacted with Assyria (the rebellion and flight to the north + a battle in *Hayotsdzor*). The following four generations (Aramayis, Amasya, Gegham and Harma + related clans - Khor, Manavaz, Baz) were busy with settling down in different parts of the Highland; any account concerning their contacts with Assyria or other hostile country is missing. On the contrary, the next four generations have had relations with Assyria:

*Aram - Ninos*

*Ara - Ninos+Semiramis*

*Ara (son of Ara Geghetsik) - Semiramis*

*Anushavan - Zameses+Ninuas*

Again logically it could be assumed that after Aramaneak the "*Armenia*" was 1) either under Assyrian domination, loyal to its suzerain (hence, nothing "heroic" happened worth to be mentioned), or 2) was beyond its control (probably located too far to be subdued by the Assyrians).

Indeed, most probably, none of the above-mentioned Armenian *nahapets* could be regarded as real historical persons under the given names.

Before discussing the possibilities of determining the "*Armenia*" of the FH under the light of the above-mentioned criterias, one shall focus on one peculiarity of their activities.

Hayk and other FH, along with their different branches demonstrated great mobility. Thus, after his victory over Bel, Hayk had settled in Hark'. With the death of Hayk his son Aramaneak had moved to *Aragatsotn* (in modern Armenia), leaving his sons (Khor and Manavaz) in the Lake Van area. *Shara*, the son of Aramayis, had settled down in *Shirak* (in the north-west of modern Armenia), etc.

Scholars had mostly treated the mobility of the FH as an attempt of Khorenatsi to etymologize the names of Armenian *gavars* (provinces) and settlements.<sup>31</sup> At the same time it was stated that among the FH the Hayk-Aramaneak section is a possible reflection of migrations of the Armenian tribes into different parts of the Highland.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, the long march of Aramaneak from Hark' to Aragatsotn appears to be strange, as well as the far-reaching campaigns of the Armavir-dwelling Aram to Northern Mesopotamia and Central Anatolia.

Are the continuous migrations of several Haykides compatible with the postulation of a compact ethnic group and a corresponding political organization? The "History" doesn't even mention the existence of an authority of any *nahapet* over different branches of the Haykides. After Hayk, every *nahapet* ruled in the region where he dwells. This situation is easy to explain as a long-term continuous infiltration of the Armenian-speaking tribes into different parts of the Highland. Hence, the point of departure could be sought in the area where Khorenatsi locates Hayk, Aramaneak

<sup>31</sup> On these most recently Sarkisyan 1998: 113ff.

<sup>32</sup> Idem.

(before his departure to Aragatsotn) and Kadmos, the grandson of Hayk, that is in the southern and south-western parts of the Armenian Highland (the "*country of Ararat*" and *Kadmuhi* = the mountainous area to the south and south-west of Lake Van, Hark' = to the west of Lake Van). This is exactly the area affected by the Mushki migrations reported in the texts of Tiglathpileser I.<sup>33</sup> In Armenological literature the migrations of the Armenian-speaking tribes is thought to have been started from this area.<sup>34</sup> In general, the activities of the FH under the light of the above-mentioned considerations could be summarized as follows:

- 1) The hypothetic "*Armenia*" of the FH could not represent a compact political organization, including a considerable part of the Armenian Highland. It will be easy to treat this term as a conventional designation of several political entities once active within the boundaries of later "*Greater Armenia*" (most probably consisting of both Armenian and non-Armenian speaking population). At least some of them (i.e. northern ones) could not have contacts with Assyria.
- 2) The main peculiarity of the period of some of the FH should be regarded the political instability, reflected in wide migrations of peoples. Under the light of this point the existence of extensive political organizations in the Highland to that date should be excluded.

Which historical context could fit our information drawn by Khorenatsi for the period of the FH? That period should be characterized by 1) the absence of considerably big political organizations, 2) more or less durative Assyrian control over several political entities, 3) mobility of population.

If one looks for these conditions, then during the XIV-VII c. BC only two periods are in order: 1) late XIII-XII c. BC (the "XII century B.C. Near Eastern Crisis"), 2) late VIII-VII c. BC (the era of Cimmerian-Scythian migrations). Leaving the discussion of this problem for future studies, here we shall state only that, according to the genealogical tree of Khorenatsi, the "Torgomian era" is to be placed either slightly before the XII c. BC or in the IX-VIII c. BC. Do we have any clue to choose between these sections?

If the migrations of Hayk and his descendants originated from eastern Asia Minor (i.e. the "House of Torgom"), then we would have good written and archaeological background for their arrival in the area to the east of the Euphrates in the XII c. BC.<sup>35</sup> This migration could have been followed by later infiltration of this ethnic group into other parts of the Armenian Highland. It seems that this reconstruction of the Armenization of the Highland is in accordance with the account of Khorenatsi. Nevertheless, some difficulties makes such a treatment of the problem extremely difficult.

<sup>33</sup> On the itinerary of the campaigns of Tiglathpileser I see Haroutyunyan 1970: 29ff.

<sup>34</sup> S.Hmayakyan had supported the idea which brings the Armenians from the south and south-east in the times of Tiglathpileser I referring to some arguments (Hmayakyan 1992: 125ff.).

<sup>35</sup> Such a scenario was partly suggested still in 1940s by Gr.Kapantsyan (see above, n.7).

- 1) Though the XII c. BC Mushki migrations into the Upper Euphrates area were said to have originated from north-western parts of the Armenian Highland (Hayaša and Azzi of Hittite texts), the "Muški pottery" has its earlier parallels in the Transcaucasian "*Trialeti*" culture, that is in modern Armenia and Southern Georgia.<sup>36</sup> This could testify upon east-west migrations (or gradual infiltrations) before the XII c. BC.
- 2) If Hayk had migrated towards the east during the late XIII - early XII c. BC, then the activities of Aram in central Asia Minor would appear to be merely strange. How could this Aram campaign to the area of modern Kayseri, ruling somewhere in the Ararat Plain? Worth to mention that even among the mighty Urartian kings only Argišti I had operated in this distant region once in 783 BC.<sup>37</sup>

Below we shall discuss the possibilities of an alternative treatment of events dealing with the migrations of the Haykides and the "House of Torgom".

### THE HOUSE OF TORGOM: A HYPOTHESIS

The treatment of this problem rests on some considerations which needs further studies. Here we shall discuss those which will explain the obvious discrepancy between the account of Khorenatsi and other sources (both written and archaeological). Further on, the suggested treatment is going to prove that Khorenatsi had some genuine sources at his disposal, which, indeed, were used by him in accordance with his specific treatment of the Armenian history.

It seems that the "Torgomian era" in the Haykides' story should not be treated as the starting point. The "House of Torgom" could have been contemporary to the later Haykides. For such a treatment below we shall introduce some arguments which might create a considerable historical background for the Haykides' story and the early Armenian statehood as well.

### GENERAL TIME SPAN OF THE FIRST HAYKIDES

Under the light of the above-mentioned links of the FH with the Upper Euphrates area here we shall discuss further possibilities in favor of our reconstruction.

Though the author of the "History" is trying to insert the FH into the line of Yaphet, where Hayk is regarded as the contemporary of Mesopotamian Nebrowt-Bel and Aram - to Hebrew Abraham and Mesopotamian Ninos (**Book 1.5**), hardly one could trust this artificial chronology. Late in the XVIII century M. Chamchyants, the author of the first general history of Armenia, in accordance with the genealogy offered by Khorenatsi,

<sup>36</sup> First recognized by V. Sevin (1991). For further studies on this problem see Bartl 2001; Köroğlu 2003 etc.

<sup>37</sup> Melikishvili 1960: No.127 II 5ff.; Haroutyunyan 2001: N.173 II.

suggested a puzzling chronology of the FH<sup>38</sup> tracing them from 2107 BC; his calculations appeared to be arbitrary (if not actually false) since an ancient document containing a complete list of the *nahapets* referred by him still remains unknown to scholarship. Today in Armenological literature is accepted a view according to which the conflict of Hayk with Bel as well as that of Aram with Barsham reflects the history of the Assyrian campaigns into different parts of the Armenian Highland during the second half of the II - early I millenniums B.C., each of them personalizing two Armenian-speaking tribes - *hay* and *armen*. Attempts to define more precise identifications had mainly failed due the lack of solid criterias which could be referred to while choosing between different sections of this durative period, not to say about the geographical area where this could happen. Let us briefly discuss some episodes dealing with the relations of the FH with Mesopotamian rulers.

**The Clash Of Hayk With Bel.** Though Hayk is said to live in Babylon under the authority of Bel (a collective name of any Mesopotamian king), obviously he and his kinsmen had come there from other place . Hardly Mesopotamia could be sought to have been the original place of the Armenian ethnos.<sup>39</sup> After the birth of his son Aramaneak and his flight to the north and then the battle with Bel in Hayotsdzor, Hayk had settled down in Hark'. It is said that Bel was killed in the battle against him.

As long as we know from Mesopotamian written data, the only Assyrian king who had campaigned in the north and found his end in the battlefield, was Sargon II.<sup>40</sup> Though Sargon had campaigned also into the Van area 9 years before, where Khorenatsi locates the battle of Hayk with Bel, this could be an interpolation, in order to locate the activities of Hayk in the Armenian Highland proper.

**Ninos and Semiramis.** According to Classical authors, medieval Armenian ones as well, Ninos and Semiramis are to be pushed to a remote past.

Still in 1950<sup>41</sup> H.Lewy had introduced a genuine treatment of this problem, until now remaining unreferred by Armenologists. She assumed that two Semiramis should be distinguished, Semiramis proper (late IX c. BC), and the second one who lived in the VII c. BC. The latter - *Naqi'a*, the wife of Sennacherib and the mother of his successor Esarhaddon is said to have been famous for her building activities in Babylonia (second female ruler bearing the name *Nitokris* according to Herodotus (**Book 1. 185f.**)). As to Ninos, this name should be regarded as a toponymicon after the name of the last capital city of Assyria - Nineveh; it is well known that Sennacherib had removed the capital from Kalhu to Nineveh.

---

<sup>38</sup> Chamchyants 1985.

<sup>39</sup> For the Biblical motive of Hayk's primary homeland in Mesopotamia see Sarkisyan 1992: 27ff.

<sup>40</sup> See Kosyan 1999c; 2002b for the Assyrian sources and historical background of that campaign.

<sup>41</sup> Lewy 1952: 264ff.

In this respect it is worth to note the dealings of Sennacherib with Tilgarimmu in 695B.C. and Gurdi, ruler of that city.<sup>42</sup>

**Aramayis.** The IX century Armenian historiographer *Thovma Artsruni*, referring to the successors of Ninus and Semiramis, states the next: "*His seed has grown up until Senekerim (= Armenian form of Sennacherib) - the time of Hebrew Yezekiah and our Aramayis*".<sup>43</sup>

The reigns of both Assyrian and Judaeen kings are well dated, Sennacherib - 704-681 BC, and Ezekiah - 726-698 BC. So, for Aramayis the late VIII-early VII c. BC is in order.

**Aram.** In his account of the deeds of Aram Khorenatsi brings stories about his activities conducted against *Nyukar Mades*, *Barsham* of Assyria and *Payapis Kaaleay*.

One could refer to solid written data in favor of the identification of the historical background of Aram in western parts of the Armenian Highland during the VII c. BC. For instance, during the first half of the VII c. BC the kingdom of Melid represented a political entity, which in alliance with the Anatolian Cimmerians headed by *Lygdamis* (those who had managed to capture Sardis, the Lydian capital, forcing Gyges to committ a suicide), was extremely active in its relations with Assyria (period of Esarhaddon and Aššurbanapal), Lydia, and in 630's possibly had encountered with the Scythians of Madius.<sup>44</sup> Thus, here we could assume that the personification of Assyria as Barsham, Lydia - Payapis Kaaleay, and Scythians - Nyukar Mades could have had taken place.<sup>45</sup>

One more link of Aram with the late VIII-VII c. BC history of eastern Asia Minor could be sought regarding the reference of Khorenatsi:

*"Moving to the west against First [Armenia] with forty thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, he reached Cappadocia and a place now called Caesarea ..... So as he was spending a long time in the west, there opposed him in battle the Titan Payapis Kaaleay who had seized the land between the two great seas - the Pontus and the ocean. Attacking him, [Aram] put him to flight and expelled him to an island of the Asian sea. He left over the country a certain Mshak of his own family with a thousand of his troops and returned to Armenia" (Book 1.14).*

<sup>42</sup> See Grayson – Novotny 2012: № 17 Col. V 1-8.

<sup>43</sup> Thovma Artsruni: 26.

<sup>44</sup> On political affairs under discussion Spalinger 1978: 400ff.

<sup>45</sup> On this problem Kosyan 1999a: 237ff. B.Haroutyunyan most recently had suggested the same chronological time span for Aram, but he assumes that the country of *Aram* is to be considered in the general area of Urartu, that is between Lakes Van and Urmiya, and *Aram* is no one else but Urartian king *Erimena* (second half of the VII c. BC)(Haroutyunyan 1998: 72ff.). Without discussing all detailes, one should bear in mind that none of the late Urartian kings could have experienced such power to campaign into central Asia Minor and against Assyria and Scythians. To that date Urartian state had entered the final phase of his existence, probably possessing with the extremely reduced territory.

This name is similar to the ethnonym of the Mushki and its occurrence along with the name of Aram in Cappadocia fits well the proposed Mushki migration into eastern Asia Minor and the historical situation here during the late Sargon II and Sennacherib (i.e. Kurtis of Atuna, who ruled in the area of Argaeus, and Gurdi of Kulumma, operating in Tilgarimmu).

These correspondences should be taken into account in future studies concerning the history of the Haykides' cycle.

\*\*\*

The "Torgomian" version of the Armenian ethnogenesis is closely related to the native name of the Armenians (*hay*) and their country (*Hayk/Hayastan*) and that used by their neighbors (*armen* and *Armenia*). Both these terms geographically are related to the "Torgomian" area. Although some scholars in the past and now have concerns regarding the relationship between the ethnonym "*hay*" and the country-name Hayasa, as well as that of "*armen*" and the country-name Arme (and also Urme),<sup>46</sup> it should be stated that the western part of the Armenian Highland used to have extremely important place in the early Armenian statehood and culture.

Six from the attested eight sanctuaries of the pre-Christian Armenian pantheon, among them the chief god *Aramazd*, are reported by Armenian sources in this area.<sup>47</sup> Further, the royal cemetery of the Armenian Arsakid kings, as well as their royal treasury were also located here, in the fortress of *Ani-Kamakh* (*Kummaha* of Hittite texts, modern *Kemakh*),<sup>48</sup> one more treasury was located in the fortress of *Bnabegh* (Greek *Benabelion*), not far from Kamakh, in *Tsop'k Shahuni*.<sup>49</sup> It should be remembered that to this date the Ararat plain was the political center of the Greater Armenia (in the neighborhood of Yerevan).

These facts one might take as a proof for the western location of "*Primary Armenia*".

Indeed, this could not be taken as an argument for stating that the pre-Urartian population of the Upper Euphrates valley was predominantly Armenian. Here and elsewhere in our study we use the term „Armenian“ as an equivalent to the "*Proto-Armenian*". The Armenian people and Armenian language as such resulted from the process of consolidation, which was in progress during the existence of Urartu and much later, and in which different ethnic groups (both Indo-European and non-Indo-European) had participated. In this process, taking into account the continuity of the term "*hay*", some Hayasa-related ethnic group should have had experienced the political and cultural hegemony.

<sup>46</sup> See, for example, Diakonoff 1968: 211f.

<sup>47</sup> Most recently on the passages dealing with the early Armenian religious centers see Kosyan 2018: 60ff.

<sup>48</sup> Probably, Aramazd was worshipped in Kamakh-Ani still in the second millennium BC as <sup>d</sup>U URU Kummaha "Storm-god of Kummaha" of cuneiform Hittite texts (Kosyan 2004: 65f.).

<sup>49</sup> P'awstos Buzand, V.7.

The thesis about the multiethnic character of the Armenian ethnogenesis largely rests on two considerations:

1) The Armenian Highland is divided into several isolated regions due to the geographical (relief) and climatic conditions - the Ararat plain, the Van basin, mountainous area to the south of Lake Van, the Upper Euphrates region, etc. This factor should have had played a decisive role in the consolidation of any ethnic group during the III-I centuries BC.

2) The onomastic, toponymic and other written data (Mesopotamian, Hittite, Urartian, Achaemenid, etc.) dealing with different parts of the Armenian Highland, shows the multiethnic character of this vast area.

## CONCLUSIONS

Thus, it appears that the model of Khorenatsi according to which the FH are regarded to begin and finish the Armenization of the Armenian Highland, actually, hides another historical process. Trying to show that during the Haykides' era a considerable part of the Highland was already Armenian, he had included in the Haykides' genealogical tree representatives of several political entities (probably, also non-Armenian speaking components) and representing contemporary events in different chronological sections as well.

Evidently, Khorenatsi had made use of the Biblical model of the arrival of Hebrews into Israel, which in the late XIX century was treated by modern scholar as follows:

*"The history of most countries begins with an account of the arrival of a tribe or number of families from distance, and its settlement peaceably or forcibly among the weaker or less civilized inhabitants of whose yet earlier settlement no tradition remains".*<sup>50</sup>

Thus, the "History of Armenia" appears to be an attempt to show that *"For although we are small country and very restricted in numbers, weak in power, and often subject to anothers rule, yet many manly deeds have been performed in our land worthy of being recorded in writing"* (**Book 1. 3**).

Postulating the movements of *Hayk* and his seed Khorenatsi was aimed to show that the vast area from Northern Mesopotamia to *Ararat Plain, Shirak, Sevan basin, Syunik*, etc. from the remote past had composed the fatherland of the Armenians. The people who dwells here before the arrival of the FH are regarded by Khorenatsi of being small in number, who had accepted the authority of the Haykides (**Book 1.10,12**).

What then about the route of the FH movements? Does it have any historical background? Remarkably, the area affected by these migrations leaves aside all north-west, west (to the west of the Euphrates) and the region limited with Lake Van and Lake Urmiya (the Urartian homeland).

---

<sup>50</sup> Sharpe 1890: 1



1) "*House of Kadmos*", "*Country of Ararat*" and *Taron* with *Hark*, indeed, are to be sought to have been the area where operated Hayk during his relations with Bel. This is the general area where during the XIIc.B.C. extensive ethnic movements are referred to by Assyrian texts.<sup>51</sup> Here a considerable number of small principalities are recorded from the XII c. BC to VII c. BC in Assyrian and Urartian texts. This is also a region neighboring the Transeuphratian Melid in the west. If the Muški and other participants of the XII c. BC migrations have had Armenian components, then the oral tradition could have preserved memories of historical realities.

2) The movement of Aramaneak to Aragatsotn could have had historical grounds, with two possible treatments: a) migrations of some Armenian-speaking tribes to the north-east from their original place of residence in the south-west and west, or b) artificial inclusion of this area into the sphere of the Armenian ethnos and statehood (later historical reality).

Thus, we have at least three general areas of the FH activities - south-east (the Taurus region), north-east (Ararat Plain and surrounding regions - *Etiuni* of Urartian texts) and Transeuphratian area (the "*House of Torgom*" = Melid and Tabal of the late VIII – VII c. BC).<sup>52</sup> Since the postulation of such an extensive area as being the homeland of the FH is out of question, the only possible solution, to our sense, could be represented as follows.

Khorenatsi had united several Armenian (or partly Armenian) and non-Armenian principalities into one, all of them being contemporary and, possibly, politically unrelated ones. The genealogy of the FH has nothing to do with the historical reality.

It seems also that in the framework of the FH account the VIII-VII c. BC events (the period of Sargon II - Sennacherib) have had a considerable place. From this small historical period Khorenatsi created a genealogy of the FH. The idea put down in 1960's by I.Diakonoff according to which just the Transeuphratian area was the center of the early Armenian statehood referred by Khorenatsi, appeared to have solid historical ground.

Thus, the historicity of the FH cycle appears to be based on true historical sources. Whether these had come up via the Classical authors, or from elsewhere, they deserve more cautious approach.

Obviously, Eastern Asia Minor was the area of Armenian-Phrygian continuous contacts referred to by Herodotus (**Book VII.73**). The eastern element of the population of the Sangarius Valley (Muški), possibly, residing in the Upper Euphrates area before the VIII c. BC, must have been if not Phrygian then of some related origins (i.e. Thracian).

The traditional theory dealing with the Balkanic origin of the Muški tribes should be abandoned in favor of eastern localization (Transcaucasian "*Trialeti*" culture of the Late Bronze Age). Most probably, "Muški" was a collective term designating numerous

<sup>51</sup> See Kosyan 1999b: 157ff. for the Assyrian texts and secondary literature.

<sup>52</sup> On the early state-formations of the Armenian Highland see Yeremyan 1971: 423ff.

related tribes who during the second half of the II millennium B.C. were gradually infiltrating into different areas of the Armenian Highland, a process accumulated during the "XII century B.C. Near Eastern Crisis". Whether these Muški were the bearers of Armenian language, or they represented another Indo-European language, close enough to Armenian to be easily assimilated by Armenians later, is a problem for future discussions. If the Muški tribes could be disassociated from the bearers of the Armenian language, then one might expect to identify the latter under the other ethnonym - Urumu (participants of the same migration in the Upper Euphrates area), whose name has long been associated with the region to the west of Lake Van - Urme. It would then seem possible to state that after Alzi and Purulumzi the Muški or, at least a single group of the Muški federation had left for the south, while Urumu (i.e. Proto-Armenians) had occupied the area between the Euphrates and Lake van (modern province of Mush and adjacent areas).

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Abeghyan M. 1944. History of Ancient Armenian Literature, Vol.1, Yerevan (In Arm.).
2. Abeghyan M. and Harouthiounyan S. 1991. Movses Khorenatsi. "The History of Armenia" (In Arm.).
3. Adjaryan H. 1944. Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names, Vol.2, Yerevan (In Arm.).
4. Adontz N. 1972. The History of Armenia, Yerevan (In Arm.).
5. Anatolian Iron Ages. 3. The Proceedings of the Third Iron Ages Colloquium held at Van, 6-12 August 1990 (A. Çilingiroğlu and D.H.French), London.
6. Arechyan G. 1988. An Indo-European Motive in the Mythology of the Kuro-Araxes Mesopotamia in the II Millennium B.C., VDI, 1988/4, 84-102 (In Russ., ).
7. Bartl K. 1994. Die frühe Eisenzeit in Ostanatolien und ihre Verbindungen zu den benachbarten Regionen, Baghdader Mitteilungen 25, 473-518.
8. Bartl K. 1995. Some Remarks on Early Iron Age in Eastern Anatolia, Anatolica XXI, 205-212.
9. Bartl K. 2001. Eastern Anatolia in the Early Iron Age, in Migration and Kulturtransfer: Der Wandel vorder und zentraasiatischer Kulturen im Umbruch von 2. zum 1. Vorchristlichen Jahrtausend. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums, Berlin 23. bis 26. November 1999 (Hrsg. R.Eichmann und H.Parzinger), Bonn, 383-410.
10. Bivar A.D.H. 1983. The Political History of Iran Under the Arsakids, In: The Cambridge History of Iran. Vol.3(1), Cambridge, 21-100.
11. Burney C.W. 1993. Arslantepe as a Gateway to the Highlands: a Note on Periods VIA-VID, in Between the Rivers and Mountains (eds. M.Frangipane et al.), Roma, 311-317.
12. Chamchyants M. 1985. History of Armenia. 3 vols, Yerevan (In Arm.).

13. Delitzsch Fr. 1881. Wo lag das Paradies?, Leipzig.
14. Del Monte G.F. 1992. Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte, Wiesbaden.
15. Del Monte G.F. und J.Tischler 1978. Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte, Wiesbaden
16. Diakonoff I.M. 1951. Assyrian-Babylonian Sources on the History of Urartu, VDI 2, 257-356; 3, 207-252, 4, 283-305 (In Russ.).
17. Diakonoff I.M. 1968. The Prehistory of the Armenian People, Yerevan.
18. Diakonoff I.M. 1981. Asia Minor and Armenia c.600 B.C. and the northern campaigns of Babylonian Kings, VDI, 1981/2, 34-64 (In Russ., Engl. summary).
19. Diakonoff I.M. 1984. The Pre-History of the Armenian People, Delmar/New York.
20. Diakonoff I.M. and Kashkai S.M. 1981. Geographical Names According to Urartian Texts (= RGTC 9), Wiesbaden.
21. Emin N.O. 1881. Movses Khorenatsi and Ancient Armenian Epos, Moscow (In Russ.).
22. Emin N.O. 1884. The Dynastic List of the Haykides in the History of Movses Khorenatsi and their Chronological Table by F.M.Chamchyan, Moscow (In Russ.).
23. Forrer E. 1921. Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches, Leipzig.
24. Garsoïan N.G. 1989. The Epic Histories (Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'). Cambridge/Mass.
25. Garstang J. and Gurney O.R. 1959. The Geography of the Hittite Empire, London.
26. Grayson A.K. 1972-1976. Assyrian Royal inscriptions, vols. I-II, Wiesbaden.
27. Grayson A.K. 1975. Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles, Locust Valley/New York.
28. Grayson A. K., Novotny J. 2012. The Royal Inscriptions of Sennaherib, King of Assyria (704-681 BC), Part 1, The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period, vol. 3/2, Winona Lake.
29. Harouthyunyan B.A. 1998. On Some Problems of the Ancient History of Armenia, Armenian-Iranian Relations and Near East (VII-VIc.B.C.), Yerevan (In Arm.).
30. Harouthyunyan N.V. 1970. Biainili (Urartu), Yerevan (In Russ.).
31. Harouthyunyan N.V. 1985. Urartian Toponymics, Yerevan (In Russ.).
32. Harouthyunyan N.V. 2001. The Corpus of Urartian Cuneiform Inscriptions, Yerevan (In Russ.).
33. Otten S. et al. 1992 (ed.). Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp (eds. H.Otten, H.Ertem, E.Akurgal, A.Süel), Ankara.
34. Henrickson R.C. 1994. Continuity and Discontinuity in the Ceramic Tradition of
35. Gordion during the Iron Age, in Anatolian Iron Ages. 3, 95-129.
36. Hmayakyan S.G. 1992. The Legend of nahapet Hayk and the city of Kibsha in Nibur Mountains, JHP, 1992/1, 125-132 (In Arm.).
37. Jahukyan G.B. 1981. The Linguistic Origins of the Proper Names in the first book of Movses Khorenatsi's "A History of the Armenians", JHP, 1981/3, 48-63 (In Arm.).

38. Jahukyan G.B. 1987. History of Armenian Language. Preliterary Period, Yerevan (In Arm).
39. Kapantsyan Gr. 1948. Hayasa - the Cradle of Armenians, Yerevan (in Russ.).
40. Khachatryan V.N. 1971. Eastern provinces of the Hittite empire, Yerevan (In Russian).
41. Khachatryan V.N. 1980. Hayk' under the rule of Urartu, LHG 1980/6, 101-112 (In Arm).
42. Khalatyants Gr. 1910. The Outline of Armenian History, Moscow (in Russ.).
43. Kosyan A.V. 1984. The Late Hittite kingdom of Melid (according to Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions), LHG 6, 62-70 (In Arm.).
44. Kosyan A.V. 1991. Ethnic Movements in Asia Minor and Armenian Highland in the XIIc.B.C., JHP, 1991/1, 65-78 (In Arm., Engl. summary).
45. Kosyan A.V. 1994a. The Luwian Kingdoms of Asia Minor and Surrounding Regions in the XII-VIIIc.B.C., Yerevan (In Russ., Engl.summary).
46. Kosyan A.V. 1994b. Again About Ethnic Movements, JHP 1-2, 247-255 (In Arm., Engl. summary).
47. Kosyan A.V. 1996. The Problem of "Eastern" and "Western" Mushkians, JHP 1-2, 207-220 (In Arm., Engl. summary).
48. Kosyan A.V. 1997a. Išuwa (Tsop'k') in the XIII-XIIc.B.C., JHP, 1997/1, 277-292 (In Arm., Engl. summary).
49. Kosyan A.V. 1997b. The Mushki Problem Reconsidered, SMEA, Fasc.XXXIX/2, 253-266.
50. Kosyan A.V. 1998a. The "House of Torgom" (myth and reality), Yerevan (In Arm.).
51. Kosyan A.V. 1998b. Išuwa and Gordion in the XII-X centuries B.C.(a comparative study), JHP 3, 117-124 (In Arm., Engl. summary).
52. Kosyan A.V. 1999a. Aram Nahapet in Cappadocia, JHP 1, 237-259 (in Arm., Engl. summary).
53. Kosyan A.V. 1999b. The XII Century Near Eastern Crisis and the Armenian Highland, Yerevan (In Arm., Engl. summary).
54. Kosyan A.V. 1999c. Sargon II and the Countries of Eastern Asia Minor. - In: Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East (Institute of Oriental Studies), vol.XVIII, Yerevan, 219-229 (In Arm., Engl. summary).
55. Kosyan A.V. 2002b. Sargon II and Kurtis of Atuna: an Interpretation, in *Studia Linguarum*.3/1 (Fs.A.A.Korolev, eds. A.S.Kassian, A.V.Sidel'tsev), Moscow, 191-203.
56. Kosyan A.V. 2004. The Toponyms of the Armenian Highland, Yerevan (In Arm.).
57. Kosyan A.V. 2005. The Bible and the problem of the Armenian Ethnogenesis in the "History of Armenia" of Khorenatsi, in *Biblical Armenia* (ed. V.Barkhudaryan et al.), Yerevan, 146-150.
58. Kosyan A.V. 2013. From Van to the Euphrates, in *Haykazuns* (eds. V.Barkhudaryan et al.), Yerevan, 48-63.

59. Kosyan A.V. 2014. On one problem of the early Armenian statehood, Banber Hayagitutyan 2014, 1(4), 5-25 (in Arm.).
60. Kosyan A.V. 2015. Between Euphrates and Lake Van (on the Location of Hayasa and Azzi), in International Symposium on East Anatolia - South Caucasus Cultures (eds. M.İşıklı and B.Can), vol. I, 2015, Cambridge, 271-276.
61. Kosyan A.V. 2016. The XIC century BC Interstate treaties between the Hittite empire and Hayasa, Yerevan (IN Arm.).
62. Kosyan A.V. 2017. About the Historical Sources of Movses Khorenatsi's History, Fundamental Armenology 2017/2, 30-33.
63. Kosyan A.V. 2018. The Plain of Erznka in the II-I millenniums BC, Fundamental Armenology 1(7), 49-68.
64. Köroğlu K. 2003, The Transition from Bronze Age to Iron Ages in Eastern Anatolia, in Identifying Changes: the Transition from Bronze to Iron Ages in Anatolia and Neighbouring Regions. Proceedings of the International Workshop, Istanbul, November 8-9, 2002 (eds. B.Fisher, H.Genz, E.Jean, K.Köroğlu), Istanbul, 231-244.
65. Lanfranchi B. 1988. Sargon's Letter to Aššur-šarru-ušur: an Interpretation, SAAB. Bulletin II/1, 59-64.
66. Lanfranchi B. 1997. Consensus to Empire: Some Aspects of Sargon II's Foreign Policy, in Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten (= XXXIX<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. Heidelberg 6.-10. Juli 1992 [Hrsg. H.Waetzoldt und H.Hauptmann]), Heidelberg, 81-87.
67. Levine L.D. 1976/77. Sargon's Eighth Campaign, in Mountains and Lowlands. Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia (ed. L.D.Levine and T.Cuyler Young), Malibu (= Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 7), 252-271.
68. Lewy H. 1949. The Babylonian Background of the Kay Kâûs Legend, ArOr XVII, 28-109.
69. Lewy H. 1952. Nitokris-Naqî'a, JNES XI, 264-286.
70. Mallory J.P. 1989. In Search of the Indo-Europeans, London.
71. Manandyan H. 1977. Works. 1, Yerevan (In Arm.).
72. Markwart J. 1919. Die Entstehung und Wiederherstellung der armenischen Nation, Berlin.
73. Markwart J. 1928. Le berceau des Arméniens, Revue des Études Arménienne VIII, fasc.2, 211-232.
74. Melikishvili G.A. 1960. Urartian Cuneiform Inscriptions, Moscow (In Russ.).
75. Ohanyan M. 2002. About the Tribal period of the History of the Armenians, JHP, 2002/1, 221-249.
76. Petrosyan A.E. 1996. The Myth of Aram in Armenian Tradition (PhD Theses), Yerevan: Institute of Literature (In Arm.).

77. Petrosyan A.E. 1997. The Myth of Aram in the Context of Indo-European Mythology and the Problem of Armenian Ethnogenesis, Yerevan (In Arm., Engl. summary).
78. Petrosyan A.E. 2002. Armenian Epic and Mythology, Yerevan (in Russian).
79. Petrosyan A.E. 2003. Problems of Armenian Ethnogenesis in the light of traditional data, JHP 2003/2, 189-224.
80. Petrosyan A.E. 2006. Problems of Armenian Ethnogenesis. Yerevan, 2006 (In Arm.).
81. Petrosyan A.E. 2007. The Problem of Identification of the Proto-Armenians: A Critical Review. Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies. Vol. 16, 2007, pp. 25-66.
82. Petrosyan A.E. 2008. The Forefather Hayk in the light of comparative mythology, in Gift from Heaven: Myth, Ritual, and History. Studies in Honour of Sargis Harutyunyan on his 80<sup>th</sup> Birthday (ed. A.Petrosyan), Yerevan, 10-18.
83. Petrosyan A.E. 2009. On the origins of the Armenian people. The problem of the identification of Proto-Armenians (critical review), Armenian bulletin 2/3-1, 66-102.
84. Petrosyan A. 2017. The Problem of Armenian Origins. Myth, History, Hypothesis, Yerevan.
85. Piotrowski B.B. 1960. The Kingdom of Van, Moscow (In Russ.).
86. Postgate J.N. 1973. Assyrian Texts and Fragments, Iraq XXXV, P.1, 13-36.
87. Sarkisyan G.Kh. 1988. The Urartian Empire and Armenians, in Urartu-Armenia, Yerevan, 47-126.
88. Sarkisyan G.Kh. 1991. History of Armenia of Movses Khorenatsi, Yerevan.
89. Sarkisyan G.Kh. 1992. Movses Khorenatsi's "History of Armenia" and the Cuneiform Sources, JHP 2-3, 27-50 (In Arm., Engl. summary).
90. Sevin V. 1991. The Early Iron Age in the Elâziğ Region and the Problem of the Mushkians, Anatolian Studies XLI, 87-97.
91. Sharpe S. 1890. The History of the Hebrew nation and its Literature, Edinburgh.
92. Spalinger A. 1978. The Date of the Death of Gyges and its Historical Implications, JAOS 98/4, 400-409.
93. Thomson R.W. 1978. Moses Khorenats'i. "History of Armenia" (Translation and Commentary), Cambridge/Mass.- London.
94. Tomaschek W. 1893. Die alten Thraker.I, Wien.
95. Tsakanyan R. 2017. The "House of Torgom" in Written Sources, in Oriental Studies in Armenia, vol. 3, Ancient and Medieval Armenia and his Neighbors (The Collection of papers in honour of academician Gagik Sargsyan on the occasion of his 90th birthday), 161-180.
96. Winn Sh.M.M. 1981. Burial Evidence and the Kurgan Culture in Eastern Anatolia c.3000 B.C.: an Interpretation, JIES 9, Nos.1/2, 113-118.
97. Yakar J. 1981. The Indo-Europeans and their Impact on Anatolian Cultural Development, JIES 9, Nos.1/2, 94-112.

98. Yeremyan S.T. 1958. The Tribal Union of Armenians in the Land of Arme-Shoopria, JHP, 1958/3, 59-74 (In Arm.).
99. Yeremyan S.T. 1968. The Campaigns of Cimmerian and Scythian tribes and the Struggle of Urartu and Assyria against nomads, JHP, 1968/2, 89-116 (In Arm.).
100. Yeremyan S.T. 1971. The End of the Armenian Ethnogenesis and the first Armenian state formations, in HZHP, vol. 1, Yerevan, 423-443 (In Arm.).

### ARMENIAN TEXTS

Agat'angelos. Patmut'iwn Hayoc' ("The History of the Armenians"), Tiflis, 1909.

Hovhannes Draskhanakertsi. Patmut'iwn Hayoc' ("The History of the Armenians"), Tiflis, 1912.

Koriwn. Life of Mashtots ("Patmut'iwn varuts ew mahuan srboyn Mesropay vardapeti"), Tiflis, 1913.

Levond. Arshawank' Arabac' i Hayastanum ("The Arab Invasions into Armenia"), St.Petersburg, 1887.

P'awstos Buzand. Patmut'iwn Hayoc' ("History of the Armenians"), Tiflis, 1912.

Thovma Artsrouni. Patmut'iwn tann Mamikonian ("The History of Mamikonian House"), Tiflis, 1917.

### ABBREVIATIONS

JHP - Journal of History and Philology (= Patma-banasirakan handes) (Yerevan).

LHG - Lraber Hasarakakan Gitutyunneri (Yerevan).

VDI - Vestnik Drevney Istorii (Moscow).



## THE ARMENIAN QUESTION AT THE MEETING OF AMBASSADORS OF THE GREAT POWERS IN CONSTANTINOPLE: THE YENI-KÖY NEGOTIATIONS

**Mikayel Martirosyan**

*Department of World History*

*Armenian State Pedagogical University*

*after Kh. Abovyan*

Due to the vigorous efforts of Russian diplomacy, the ambassadors of the Great Powers in Constantinople were planning to convene a conference in June 1913 to discuss the issue of Armenian reforms. The initiative to raise the Armenian issue belonged to Russia. The project, authored by Andrey Mandelstam, the first translator of the Russian embassy in Constantinople, was presented for discussion. Upon learning through the German Embassy that a conference of ambassadors was to be convened in Constantinople to discuss the issue of Armenian reforms, the Young Turk Government made the last effort to prevent the discussion of the Armenian Question. On the eve of the Russian project presentation, on June 16, Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha addressed a special circular to the ambassadors of the six states in Constantinople, announcing that the Ottoman government had already completed general reforms, and, therefore, is begging them to demonstrate material and moral support.<sup>1</sup> When the Turkish request was accepted, the discussion of the Armenian reforms became redundant.

On June 19, that is the day before the opening of the Conference, the Young Turks submitted to the embassies of Constantinople a draft on the General Reforms of the Ottoman Empire, which was summarized in the "Circular Telegraph", dated March 13, 1913, as a supplement to the Provisional Law on "Provincial Governance Law", and to the articles and instructions regarding the powers of the Chief Inspector. The Turkish program was not designed specifically for Armenian vilayets. The Ittihad government had, in fact, no plan for Armenian reforms. The new plan was designed for the whole empire. It is no coincidence that there was no mention of the name Armenia in it.

The Turkish plan was to divide the whole empire into six inspection sectors. The Western Armenia or as it was said in the program, the "Eastern Vilayets" would enter into the third and fifth sectors. The third sector included the vilayets of Erzurum, Sivas, Trabzon and Janik, and the fifth included the vilayets of Van, Bitlis, Kharbert and Diyarbakır. It is noteworthy that the layout of the Armenian sectors was chosen so that they could easily access predominantly Muslim areas.<sup>2</sup> Each sector would be headed by a European inspector-general appointed by the Turkish government without the participation of the Powers. The chief inspectors would have European and Turkish

---

<sup>1</sup> See AVPRI, f. Embassy in Constantinople, inventory 517/2, file 3728, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Idem: file 3735, p. 3.

assistants. The Young Turk program reserved chief inspectors the right to appoint senior sector officials, with the exception of the financial supervisor and judges. The change of gendarmerie and police staff could only be done with the permission of the central government. The chief inspectors, after obtaining the consent of the local authorities, were entitled to submit to the central government bills arising from local needs. The Turkish government accepted the principle of mobile courts, and was obliged to set up courts in each case<sup>3</sup>.

The Turkish government acknowledged the importance of inviting foreign specialists and carrying out reforms with their help, but denied the need for European control over their use. The Young Turks were well aware that foreign specialists, going into Ottoman service, would become ordinary Turkish graduates, so they could quickly get rid of the unwanted. It is no coincidence that the Turkish ambassador to St. Petersburg assured Deputy Foreign Minister A. A. Neratov that European leaders will be in charge of the two sectors, and other European specialists will also be invited to oversee administrative work in those sectors<sup>4</sup>. The issue was different under European control, which would allow the powers to individually or collectively influence the Turkish government and oversee the implementation of reforms. It was precisely the lack of control that had given the Abdulhamid and Young Turk administrations, starting from the Berlin Summit, the opportunity to avoid reforms. Therefore, it was quite understandable that the Young Turks were stubborn in their refusal of European control. As early as May 21, the Young Turk Government had informed the ambassadors of the Powers at Constantinople that "for the reforms to be carried out in the eastern provinces it should not accept the balance of powers".<sup>5</sup> Russian diplomats held the opposite view, believing that if the powers were not allowed to participate in the process of appointing chief auditors and establishing European control over the implementation of reforms, then "Armenian reforms are practically unworkable".<sup>6</sup> The program of Ittihad did not say anything about issues of vital importance to Western Armenians, such as the land question, the participation of equal numbers of Christians and Muslims in administrations, the selectivity of state assemblies, and so on. It was obvious that the Turkish program was drawn up in a hurry to expel the Russian project, so the demands, put forward, were "unrelated and programmatic".<sup>7</sup>

It is noteworthy that the real aims of the Young Turk program of post-imperial reform have been revealed by none other than the Young Turk leaders and the masterminds of the Armenian Genocide Jemal Pasha, who confesses in his memoirs: "In an effort to weaken the influence of the Russians, we were planning to hand over control of these two regions (meaning the third and fifth sectors) to the British. Our

---

<sup>3</sup> See Reforms 1915: 116-121.

<sup>4</sup> See AVPRI, f. Embassy in Constantinople, inventory 517/2, file 3734, p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> See Buzandion, 28. 05. 1913.

<sup>6</sup> AVPRI, f. Chancellery, 1913, file 114, p. 413.

<sup>7</sup> Reforms 1915: 72.

ambassador to London Tevfik Pasha was instructed by Sir Edward Gray to clarify whether England would agree to send its officials to Turkey. The British Foreign Minister said that England would probably favor the proposal.

At that time the Grand Vizier sent an official application to the British Government. If England had accepted our proposal, the Russian program would have been doomed to failure. When we heard that England did not want to send officials to Eastern Anatolia, our hopes were finally dashed, and we realized that England was delivering us to the whims of Russia."<sup>8</sup>

The Austrian-German armament was also prepared for the ambassadors' meeting. On June 15, a meeting of the Ambassador of Austria-Hungary J.M. von Pallavicini and the Ambassador of Germany H. von Wangenheim was held, where the parties came to a joint statement to apply a common strategy Pallavicini had planned to announce at the very beginning of the meeting of ambassadors that Mandelstam's plan was unacceptable to his government and thereby abolish the convocation of the conference. However, Wangenheim advised to refrain from hasty steps. The point is that the German ambassador had met with the representatives of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople the previous day and was aware of the excitement that the failure of the conference would cause among them. So the Austrian-German alliance decided not to hinder the convention.<sup>9</sup>

On June 17, 1913, the meeting of the Ambassadors at Constantinople was held. From the outset, Russian Ambassador M.N.Giers said that "the initiative of this discussion belongs to his government, which is driven by concerns about improving the condition of the neighboring peoples of Russian territory".<sup>10</sup> The Russian ambassador pointed out that his country is more interested in Armenian reforms than any other power and urged that the negotiation process be organized expeditiously. He then presented the ambassadors with a Russian draft of Armenian reforms, which he described "not as an expression of his government's final views, but Mr. Mandelstam's own work".<sup>11</sup> Pallavicini said that "at the same time, it would be useful to discuss the Turkish draft, which will soon be presented to the embassy".<sup>12</sup> Ambassador M.N.Giers responded that his government was unaware of the Turkish plan, probably due to a lack of final intentions, so he "demanded a priority right in his government that no one objected to".<sup>13</sup> Wangenheim's approach was noteworthy, who emphasized in his speech the German "government's interest in the Armenians of both small and large Armenia",

---

<sup>8</sup> Jemal Pasha 1923: 227.

<sup>9</sup> See Mikayelyan 1995 (ed.): 67.

<sup>10</sup> Kirakosyan 1972 (ed.): 240.

<sup>11</sup> Idem.

<sup>12</sup> Idem.

<sup>13</sup> Idem.

to which Giers responded that the Article 20 of the Mandelstam project "specifically refers to Armenians living outside the six vilayets".<sup>14</sup>

Eventually the ambassadors decided to start discussing the Mandelstam project. To this end, a special committee consisting of one embassy representative was established. It included: A.N.Mandelstam (Russia), G.H.Fitzmaurice (England), R.D. de Saint-Quentin (France), Schoenberg (Germany), M. Panfili (Austria-Hungary) and Schaber (Italy). With the consent of the ambassadors, the Armenian Reform Commission convened its sessions at the Austrian-Hungarian Embassy in Constantinople's Yeni-köy district. Panfili, the Austrian-Hungarian embassy representative, was elected as president of the conference. The conference had eight sessions, from June 20 to July 11.

At the very first session, the representatives of Germany and Austria-Hungary refused to discuss the Russian draft. Taking into consideration the June 16th Circular of the Sublime Porte, they offered to base the negotiations on the Turkish program. Chaber, the Italian delegate, initially hesitated but then joined the Austrian-German view. They were well aware that with the discussion of the Turkish program the conference would never serve its purpose and would come to a dead end. The Triple Alliance agreed to attend the conference to fail its work. The representatives of England and France have argued that the Russian project should be the basis for mandate work. Mandelstam himself had to use all the tools in his diplomatic arsenal to prove that they were empowered to discuss the issue of the Armenian reforms rather than the whole empire.<sup>15</sup> Without agreeing, the parties decided to report their disagreements to their leaders. That is how the first session ended.

On June 21, Ambassador Giers met Pallavicini and tried to explain the behavior of the Triple Alliance. The Austrian-Hungarian ambassador described the incident as a misunderstanding, as if the representatives had not understood the meaning of their recommendation and promised to begin discussing the Russian program at the next session. After the meeting, Giers telegraphed S.D.Sazonov, Russian foreign minister. "Undoubtedly we had a deliberate attempt to give secondary importance to the Russian project ...".<sup>16</sup> After examining the Mandelstam project, Wangenheim came to the conclusion that regarding the Armenian province in the future "Russia would be the first to claim on it since the other half of the Armenians live in Russia. That would be the beginning of the disintegration."<sup>17</sup> In a telegram addressed to the Foreign Office, Wangenheim complained: "The Russian project on Armenia also includes the vilayet of Diyarbakır, which, by the way, is part of our zone".<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Idem.

<sup>15</sup> See Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, archive, document 288, p. 109-110.

<sup>16</sup> Reforms 1915: 73.

<sup>17</sup> See Mikayelyan 1995 (ed.): 68.

<sup>18</sup> Idem.

However, the Triple Alliance, given the growing interest of the Armenian regions in the Yeni-köy negotiations, had to change the tactics of bringing the conference work to a standstill. After granting their representatives appropriate authority, Wangenheim and Pallavicini were instructed not to "debate in principle at all and, on the contrary, to insist on a thorough discussion of certain points in the Russian program, to demand a thorough examination of Turkey's proposals. First, we need to win time for the Turkish troops, coming back home, to enter Armenia and to find out England's position in advance".<sup>19</sup> At the second meeting on June 24, the representatives of the Triple Alliance agreed to adopt a Russian draft as a starting point for discussion of Armenian reforms.

The first sessions of the conference showed that negotiations in Yeni-köy were doomed to failure. The countries of the Triple Alliance, in discussing each article of the Mandelstam draft, based on the principle of non-infringement of the Sultan's sovereignty, rejected even claims that had already been accepted by the Powers as early as 1895. Thus, for example, the representatives of the Triple Alliance considered unacceptable the Russian proposals to appoint a governor-general and give him executive power over the province.<sup>20</sup>

The following fact testifies about the biased attitude of the Triple Alliance. At the third session on June 27, Mandelstam proposed to create a post of governor-general to govern the executive power of the Armenian state. The governor-general was to be appointed by the Sultan for a period of five years, with the consent of the Powers. The representatives of England and France stated that they fully comply with local requirements. Panfili, an Austro-Hungarian representative, offered to retain the position of governor and to appoint chief foreign auditors instead of governor-general, excluding the possibility of the Powers participating. He insisted that the implementation of the Russian proposal would lead to a restriction of the Sultan's rule. Schonberg, a German representative, defended Panfili's proposal and stated that "the Russians want to make Armenia an autonomous province that, like all previous attempts, will endanger Turkey's territorial status quo".<sup>21</sup> Chaber, the Italian representative, defended the Allies' view. Mandelstam's proposition that the precedent of appointing the governor-general with the participation of the Powers was already known in Lebanon, was resisted by Schoenberg: "the structure of Lebanon", he said, "cannot be spread over a territory that is more than 80 times larger than its own".<sup>22</sup>

Seeing the outright denial of the Austrian-German alliance when discussing the Mandelstam project, the English and French diplomatic circles tried to find a way out of the impasse. In particular, French diplomacy endorsed the proposal to abandon the radical demands of the discussed version of Armenian reforms and to develop a project

---

<sup>19</sup> Idem.

<sup>20</sup> See Reforms 1915: 130-142.

<sup>21</sup> Mikayelyan 1995 (ed.): 79.

<sup>22</sup> Idem.

acceptable for the German and Turkish governments. It was assumed that France and England would jointly persuade the Russian side that their plan, sooner or later, "should go against the proposals of the government of Berlin (without talking about Turkey), so it might be more appropriate not to go ahead and thereby reduce the program of reforms and make it accessible to everyone".<sup>23</sup> M. Stephen Pichon, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs thought that even a completely new project could be drafted and submitted to Russia and the UK for approval.

In fact, the position of the Triple Alliance on the Mandelstam project in Yeni-köy caused controversy within the Entente itself. It turned out that the British diplomacy was also concerned with the creation of a united Armenian state, which, in Ed. Gray's opinion, would initiate the breakup of the Ottoman Empire, and in that case Germany would demand its share. On June 21, Gray said in a telegram to Gerald Buchanan, the British Ambassador to Saint-Petersburg that one should return to the earlier Sazonov-agreed offer, namely to send small country officers to Armenian vilayets. Gray also accepted France's earlier offer. He wrote: "I am also ready to support the French proposal to appoint a high commissioner to meet urgent demands as a temporary measure".<sup>24</sup> It was obvious that the British government was worried about the prospect of amputation of the Ottoman Empire, which in Gray's view "could have lead to nothing but painful results among the Muslim people of British India".<sup>25</sup>

Russian diplomacy faced a difficult dilemma. In fact, the Russian program was criticized not only by the rival Troika but also by its ally Entente. Adding to this the difficulty of forcing the Turkish government to reform Armenia, the failure of the Mandelstam project became real. Russia had to make a choice, either to continue the talks with the prospect of a deadlock, and to seek results after their end, or to comply with the allies' admonitions and to be satisfied with temporary and moderate measures. Russian diplomacy was convinced that half-measures would not only satisfy Armenians, but could not provide real results and would discredit them. Therefore, it decided to move steadfastly and not to deviate from the negotiated path of agreement between the powers over the Mandelstam project.

On June 25, 1913, the imperial government addressed a special circular to the German, Austrian-Hungarian and Italian ambassadors in Petersburg. The circular said that, like all other states, Russia had a negative attitude towards any option to amputate the Ottoman Empire, and its stance on reforms was based entirely on the aspiration to pacify the neighboring Armenian vilayets. Writing in greater detail the motives of Russian activities in the Armenian Question, the memorandum stated: "The imperial government cannot tolerate the chronic state of disorder and anarchy, which, due to the proximity of the Turkish border, can affect the border regions of the Caucasus in the most dangerous way. The latest news comes to confirm the impression that in the near

---

<sup>23</sup> Kirakosyan 1972 (ed.): 252.

<sup>24</sup> Idem: 254.

<sup>25</sup> Idem: 255.

future one can expect deep regrets by the Kurds. The weakness and inadequacy of the Turkish local authorities have foretold the possibility of horrific events that the imperial government can never remain indifferent to".<sup>26</sup> In the end, the circular called for full agreement on Armenian reforms to eliminate the imminent danger and the prospect of forthcoming danger of loss.<sup>27</sup>

Concerning British proposals for interim measures, in a separate memorandum to the British Embassy, the Russian Foreign Minister stated that "it is advisable, without prejudice to their practical capacity, to present them first for the consideration of the Ambassadors of Constantinople."<sup>28</sup> In fact, Russia rejected the British proposal to take temporary measures.

In response to the Russian circular, the German Embassy in Petersburg submitted a special memorandum to the Russian government on June 26 stating: "If it had been implemented (Mandelstam's project - M. M.), half of Anatolia would have been Armenia, which would have been weakly connected to Turkey, thanks to the Sultan's rule. It would be difficult to deny the rest of Turkey what is allowed to Armenia".<sup>29</sup> German diplomacy accused the Russian government of attempting to split the Ottoman Empire.

Asked about the position taken by the Troika Alliance over the Mandelstam project in Eni-köy, the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople, for its part, also sought to draw the issue of Armenian reform from the deadlock. On July 3 and 4, the Patriarchate handed over a Memorandum of Understanding to the Ambassadors of the Great Powers. The Patriarchate, analyzing the provisions of the Russian project one by one, showed that they did not contradict either the Sultan's authority or the decisions of the Powers on the Armenian Question. The Patriarchate has proven that Mandelstam's plan is not a program of autonomy for Western Armenia, but aims to improve the dire situation of the Armenian population. In the end, the Patriarchate put forward unshakable demands that could be met with positive results. These included the creation of a fully unified Armenian decentralized province, the administration of state power, the appointment of a European commissioner of the Powers, the participation of Armenians, equal to Muslims, in state assemblies and administrative boards, state administration, judicial system, the use of the Armenian language in the courts and laws, the impartial re-structuring of the judiciary, the return of administratively deprived lands to Western Armenians, and the establishment of effective European control in every place.<sup>30</sup>

Neither the circular of Russian diplomacy nor the memorandum of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople gave any real result. The representatives of the Triple Alliance in Yeni-köy persisted in rejecting Mandelstam's articles. They even considered

---

<sup>26</sup> Idem: 257.

<sup>27</sup> Idem.

<sup>28</sup> Idem: 256.

<sup>29</sup> Reforms 1915: 76.

<sup>30</sup> See the NAA, f. 57, l. 5, file 35, p. 30-37.



unacceptable such elementary demands as the inclusion of Christians, with an equal number of Muslims, in state and administrative assemblies, police and gendarmerie bodies, the recognition of Armenian schools by the supreme commander-in-chief only, the return of illegally seized lands to Armenians, non-settlement of mujahiris in Armenian provinces, etc. At the seventh session of July 10, the representatives of the Triple Alliance countries issued a statement proposing reforms that would be based entirely on the Turkish program. At the same time, they considered it possible to submit to the Turkish government some additional requirements, such as the dissolution of Hamidiye Cavalry Regiments, the deprivation of nomads, the right to establish private schools by Armenians, the establishment of European control through diplomatic intervention, the immunity of the national constitution, the inclusion of non-Muslims in the police and gendarmerie by the principle of proportionality, the translation of the published laws and court judgments into Armenian.<sup>31</sup>

The additional demands put forward by the Triple Alliance did not touch clearly the foundations of the policy of persecuting Armenians, pursued by the Turkish government. By adopting them, the Armenian reforms would be deprived of practical significance, since the proposed version of European control was the very mechanism that had eliminated the use of reforms after 1878. Therefore, on July 11, at the last eighth session of the Armenian Reforms Conference, Mandelstam declared that the Russian government had rejected all the proposals made by the German, Austrian-Hungarian and Italian representatives.<sup>32</sup> Thus the Yeni-köy Conference on Armenian Reforms ceased its work.

All the blame for the failure of Yeni-köy negotiations lies with the Troika countries and, above all, with Germany. Seeking to put the issue of Armenian reforms in the direction of the Young Turks, the German ruling districts did not take into account the vital interests of Western Armenians. They were well aware that with the adoption of the Mandelstam project the influence of Russia would finally be strengthened in Western Armenia. That is why they did everything in their power to bring the Yeni-köy talks to a standstill. As for the delegates from Austria-Hungary and Italy, they simply obeyed the will of the German representative Schoenberg. In general, the Troika countries showed enormous unity in overcoming the problem of Armenian reforms in Yeni-köy. Russian Charge d'Affaires in Constantinople Gulkevich wrote that "if the protocols of the Yeni-köy commission were ever published, Armenians would have the opportunity to become convinced of the true feelings of the Germans who, at the same time, sought to capture them with flattering promises."<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Reforms 1915: 186-187.

<sup>32</sup> Idem: 188.

<sup>33</sup> Reforms 1915: 106. And, indeed, the Russian government took due care to publish the necessary documents on the Armenian Question in 1912-1914. In 1915, the collection of documents was published in Petrograd (Reforms 1915), which included, in particular, documents that testify to benevolent attitude of Entente toward Armenian reforms and the anti-Armenian stance of German diplomacy. In that same year

It was only during the fourth session of the conference on June 30 that the opinion of the German envoy was not endorsed by Panfili and Chauber. When Mandelstam demanded that the governing councils of the Armenian state be formed with equal representation of Christians and Muslims, Schoenberg proposed to apply the comparative principle. The representatives of Austria-Hungary and Italy surprisingly supported Schoenberg's defense of Mandelstam. After the hearing, when the German embassy asked for explanations for such behavior, Panfili responded that he was following Ambassador Pallavicini's instructions. The Austrian-Hungarian Embassy felt that the rejection of the fundamental principles of the Russian program had already put the issue of Armenian reforms in a deadlock, so that "compromise on secondary issues" could be achieved.<sup>34</sup> By doing so, Pallavicini hoped to avoid the accusations of previously agreed-upon and unified tactics for the failure of Armenian reforms.

The governments England and France also had their share in the blame for the failure of the Yeni-köy negotiations. Although they were allies of Russia, they opposed to Russian monopoly on the Armenian Question. That is why they were not interested in endorsing the Mandelstam project. On June 10 1913, when the British-French-Russian negotiations had just ended, the French ambassador to Constantinople M. Bompard handed over to the Russian side a memorandum on the Armenian reforms, which suggested that Mandelstam's project be adapted to the Turkish program. In particular, the French government considered it appropriate to form two sectors, instead of a single Armenian province, to be headed by the Sultan, without the governors appointed by the states. The French government also opposed the election of provincial assemblies. The M. Bompard Memorandum was in favor of the participation of a Turkish representative in Yeni-köy negotiations.<sup>35</sup>

The Russian project was similarly treated by the British government. On June 26, the UK Ambassador to St. Petersburg Buchanan received a statement from Foreign Minister Gray to meet with Sazonov and convince Russia that two conditions must be met for the success of Armenian reforms. First, the project must be acceptable to all the powers without a doubt, and second, the nature of the project must be such that the Turkish government is willing to accept it. In other words, Gray suggested that the ambassadors of Constantinople be instructed to make the Turkish program a subject of parallel examination to the Russian program. The program adopted in solidarity of the powers and with the willingness of the Turks, would become a firm guarantee for the non-hatred between the Armenians and the Turks, to prevent the massacres and for

---

the collection was translated into Armenian and published in Tiflis. The World War I was going on, and in the military operations in the Caucasus, Russia was keen to get the full support of the two parts of Armenians. Although the ratification of the treaties was biased, that is, Russia's benevolent and German denialist stance was underscored; the compilation is an invaluable source for studying the history of the Armenian Question.

<sup>34</sup> Mikayelyan 1995: 80.

<sup>35</sup> See Kirakosyan 1972: 231-234.

moderate reforms. The forced draft of the reforms, in Gray's view, "would enforce the Ottoman government to take a hostile stance towards it and perhaps take extreme measures, even if ... it was unanimously adopted by the powers".<sup>36</sup>

Gray thought that if the primary task of the reforms was to protect the Western Armenians from the pressure and massacre, then the proposals made by the Turks should also be considered. He wrote: "Therefore, I have come to the conclusion that the best procedure to follow would be that it should be directed to Constantinople representatives to try to find a standard of reform that is acceptable to both Turkey and the Powers. That is why the two proposed plans should be discussed and not overlooked, as the first aim of the reforms is to ensure that the Armenian and Christian peoples do not deal with them in a very harsh and offensive manner and that they are not slaughtered".<sup>37</sup>

The concerns of the British Foreign Minister were appropriate, as in the absence of real gains under European control the logic of the Young Turk Government would be purely Turkish, that is, there would be no question of Armenian reforms thus far the empire had Armenian citizens. The Young Turks would accuse the Armenians of Russian interference and take revenge with all the hatred.

Gray's concerns and suggestions, however worrying they were, nevertheless did not affect the path taken by the Russian diplomacy. First, they were long overdue, to be considered during the British-French-Russian negotiations, and second, the Russian government came to a new conclusion after failing the Yeni-köy negotiations and adopted appropriate tactics. The Russian Foreign Minister assessed the situation in a different way. He realized that he was forced to act alone as a result of the denial of his opponents and the passive policy of his allies. In his later memoirs, Sazonov confessed: "Our allies and friends were pursuing ... their goals and in Istanbul they were unreliable helpers".<sup>38</sup> The failure of the Yeni-köy negotiations proved that the Russia's main enemy in the Armenian issue is Germany. Therefore, the Russian side decided to come to an agreement with Germany at the price of compromise, and then to force the compromise option on the Turkish government jointly. The new tactics would bypass the Allies' timid support and the unity of opposing armies. Russian diplomacy, by reducing key players in the Armenian issue and clarifying bilateral interests, hoped to hold the key of resolving the problem. Unfortunately, the new Russian tactics ignored Gray's warnings of the need of non-hatred between the Armenians and Turks and preventing the Armenian massacres in such a way, as well as the real danger of the Turkish version of the Armenian Question. After all, the Young Turks could have accepted the Russian-German compromise option with reluctance, thus taking revenge on the Armenians themselves. In that case, who and how would protect the Western Armenian civilian population?

---

<sup>36</sup> Idem: 259-260.

<sup>37</sup> Idem: 260.

<sup>38</sup> Sazonov 1927: 162.

The policy of the British-French governments on the Armenian issue did not miss the attention of the Young Turk Government, which, using the contradictions between the Powers, helped to defeat the Yeni-köy negotiations by its native Abdulhamid methods. In the name of post-imperial reforms, the tactics of avoiding the Armenian Question were not new to the Young Turks. On March 13, 1913, Mahmud Shevket Pasha's government had adopted the "Provincial Governance Law", the real purpose of which was to prevent the internationalization of the Armenian Question. Said Halim Pasha's government adopted the same approach. The successive Ittihadist governments had no desire at all to deal with the Western Armenian population, even with elementary problems. If the Young Turks had a desire to reform the empire, they would have had the means and sufficient time to do so by 1913. Surprisingly, it was only when the Armenian Question reached the threshold of internationalization that the Ittihadists wanted to make post-imperial reforms. The Yeni-köy conference was not an exception, during which the Young Turks again launched a post-Imperial reform program. On June 22, 1913, the newly appointed Minister of the Interior, Tala'at Bey<sup>39</sup>, was enjoying the privilege of serving as a Minister. The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutyun) issued a broad statement on the need for reforms in eastern Anatolia. Tala'at first presented the plight of the population and then concluded: "The incidents, murders, crimes and oppressions complained of by the peoples of the eastern provinces have so far been the result of insecurity in these places, where the robbers, kidnapping of girls or young women have remained unpunished; a number of *aghas* or *beys* also levied illegal taxes".<sup>40</sup> The minister said the government had firmly decided to eliminate all the causes of public discontent.<sup>41</sup>

If the Turkish government really wanted to improve the status of Western Armenians, then the moment was very convenient. It just needed to go from statements and promises to action. But it turned out that Tala'at's goal was to evade European control rather than to carry out reforms. On June 30, Tala'at summoned Grigor Zohrap and demanded that Poghos Nubar Pasha, head of the Armenian National Delegation in Europe, be invited to Constantinople and renounce European control. He said: "We must oppose absolute European control to the end. This is our duty and there are already things that are beyond our will. But we are really in control, the foot of the ambassadors of Russia and England is always on the Sublime Porte. They get interested, they dictate, they demand, and we can't tell them not to intervene. So it really does exist and it should have."

Coming to the question of the governor general, we will invite them with a very high roll of England, if need be. We must make every sacrifice to bring them. We have

---

<sup>39</sup> Following the assassination of Mahmud Shevket Pasha on June 2, 1913, a new government was formed under the leadership of Egyptian Prince Said Halim Pasha, where Tala'at took over the position of Minister of the Interior.

<sup>40</sup> Buzandion, 24. 07 1913.

<sup>41</sup> Idem.

to invite people of very high political standing, and they should not come without the consent of their state - this is the favor of the Powers".<sup>42</sup>

Zohrap said he was surprised by such a proposal. He stated he was uninformed and unaware that he could solve the problem. As for inviting Poghos Nubar to Constantinople, Zohrap explained that he was appointed by the Catholicos of All Armenians and has the power to negotiate only with European governments.<sup>43</sup> Other meetings with Tala'at and other Western Armenian figures to resolve the issue of reform within the framework of Armenian-Turkish relations were also in vain. The discrepancies in the Young Turks' speech and deeds in the Western Armenian public and political circles gave birth to a great deal of mistrust that could only be resolved through genuine reform. Therefore, the solution of the problem of Armenian reforms within the framework of the Armenian-Turkish relations depended entirely on the Young Turks.

Thus, Yeni-köy's negotiations turned into fruitless debates as a result of German, Austrian-Hungarian and Italian outright denial of the Mandelstam project, the two-way behavior of England and France and the Turkish government's policy of overthrowing the Armenian reforms. At this stage of weighing up the Armenian question, the Russian diplomacy suffered a temporary defeat and had to stop the Yeni-köy negotiations, which, in fact, was turned into "worthless comedy".<sup>44</sup>

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Archives, Memories, Newspapers

1. Archive of the Foreign Policy of the Russian empire (Moscow).
2. Buzandion (Constantinople).
3. Jemal Pasha 1923. Notes of Jemal Pasha. Tiflis (in Russian).
4. Kirakosyan J.S. 1972 (ed.). Armenia in the Documents of international diplomacy and Soviet foreign policy, Yerevan (in Arm.).
5. Mikayelyan V.A. 1995 (ed.). Armenian Question and the Armenian Genocide in Turkey in 1913-1919. Materials of the Political archive of the Foreign ministry of Kaiser's Germany, Yerevan (in Russian).
6. Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, archive (Echmiadzin).
7. National Archives of Armenia (Yerevan).
8. Reforms 1915. Collection of Diplomatic Documents. Reforms in Armenia. October 26, 1912 – May 10, 1914, Petrograd (in Russian).
9. Sazonov S.D. 1927. Memories, Berlin (in Russian).

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

<sup>42</sup> Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, archive, document n. 288, p. 183.

<sup>43</sup> Idem.

<sup>44</sup> Sazonov 1927: 172.

## THE PROBLEM OF ILLEGAL CIRCULATION OF WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION IN THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA (1918-1920)

**Ruben Sahakyan**

*Institute of History of NAS RA*

**Rostom Sargsyan**

*Educational Complex of Police of  
the Republic of Armenia*

The February revolution and interim government which took power in Russia in 1917 had made substantial changes in the state system of the country. New statesmen neglected the mixed economic, multireligious and multiethnic character of Russia, also the destructive activities of foreign intelligence services during the pre-war period. "Democratic" laws triggered the gradual collapse of the empire. The situation was especially painful in the former Caucasian viceroyalty which was restructured into the Transcaucasian special committee in March, 1917; the latter failed to acquire authority in the region.

Due to the implementation of sometimes too democratic laws the interim government was unable to secure even a primitive law and order. On the territory of Russia the forensic system was abolished which affected negatively also Transcaucasia. Under the chairmanship of D.Donskoy, Minister of War and Navy of the Transcaucasian Special Committee, in the joint session of the centers of Transcaucasian workers, peasants and soldiers it was decided to sack complete staff of gendarmerie and police and send them to field army.<sup>1</sup> From now on police was recruited from the soldiers and civilian population, and "in the case of the absense of military contingents - exceptionally the recruits from the local population".<sup>2</sup> Thus, podporuchik Arshavir Shahkhatuni was appointed as the commandant of Yerevan, and military officer Gharibyan as the head of the police.<sup>3</sup> In some cases the newly established police was not supported financially. So far the executive committee of Shushi, taking into account the fact that policemen did not receive salary during two months, had decided to eliminate it.<sup>4</sup> Understandably, such a decision could not enhance the stabilization of the situation since the population which was accustomed to the control of the police, suddenly receives a possibility of free behavior. This especially concerns the Muslim population of the region who, due to strong Pan-Islamist propaganda, immediately took advantage of the new situation.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Horizon, 13.VIII.1917. It should be mentioned that the executive committee of Karabagh, taking into account the new situation, rightly decided to employ also 12 policemen; the final decision was left to the city council of Shushi (see Paylak, 13.IV.1917).

<sup>2</sup> Melkonyan et al. 2015: 548.

<sup>3</sup> Horizon, 23.VI.1917.

<sup>4</sup> Aparazh, 1.X.1917.

<sup>5</sup> The Ottoman commanding staff was sure that it was possible to recruit into its army 300 thousand Muslims of the Caucasus (Melkonyan et al. 2015: 623).

That the muslims were intensively acquiring weapons, is seen through the message dated with May 13, 1917, which reports that in two carriages found in the Kars region, on the road to the village of Oghch-Oghlu were hidden 7 boxes containing guns and bullets.<sup>6</sup> In different places the price on arms and ammunition vary. Thus, in Enzeli (modern Bender-Enzeli) Küçük khan began to acquire arms from Russian militmen who were leaving Northern Persia, 1000 roubles for one machine gun and 200 roubles for a gun.<sup>7</sup> Sometimes Russian soldiers sell a machine gun for one bottle of vodka or a cannon for one gold coin.<sup>8</sup> Russian soldiers who return from the Russian-Turkish front prefer to sell their arms and ammunition to Turks and Kurds who offer more money.<sup>9</sup> In January 1918 Caucasian Tatars attack returning Russian soldiers in the railway station of Shamkhor;<sup>10</sup> more than 2000 Russians were killed, the bandits took over about 15 thousand guns, 70 machine guns and 20 cannons. In February two muslim bands attack the train which delivers arms and ammunition to Nachijevan.<sup>11</sup>

The situation became even worse after the Treaty of Batumi in June 4, 1918, when the Republic of Armenia was forced to accept the Ottoman terms of the peace treaty. The Republic of Armenia was in a difficult social and economic condition. Many thousands of homeless refugees from Western Armenia were seeking means of existence. The prime-minister H.Kajaznuni describes the situation as «shapeless chaos and a pile of ruins».<sup>12</sup>

Illegal circulation of arms and ammunition is one of the main factors which destabilizes the criminogenic situation in the state and social security, leading to the expansion of murder, robbery, and political retribution. These in their turn were used by the enemies of the republic who propagated anti-national slogans saying that Armenian people could not have independent state and secure its population.<sup>13</sup> Consequently the population was trying to obtain arms by any means.<sup>14</sup>

The population did not accept that the holding of illegal weapons is a violation of law, and also dangerous. The hidden gun one day could fire<sup>15</sup>, and the grenade might

---

<sup>6</sup> Horizon, 23.VI.1917.

<sup>7</sup> Arev, 18(31). III.1918. A.G.Yemelyanov, the plenipotentiary of the central committee of the union of All-Russian *zemstvo* in the Russian-Turkish front, mentions: "In the East the arms in the hands of people could not remain long without usage. It burns the hands" (Yemelyanov 2007: 37).

<sup>8</sup> Vazgen 1930: 161.

<sup>9</sup> Valadyan 1962: 66.

<sup>10</sup> Virabyan 2003 (ed.): 12-16, 29-30.

<sup>11</sup> Simonyan 1996: 202.

<sup>12</sup> Melkonyan et al. 2015: 29.

<sup>13</sup> NAA, f. 199, l. 1, f. 16, p. 40.

<sup>14</sup> A-Do (H.Ter-Martirosyan), one of the national-public activists, writes. "weapon is an evil, war is one of the greatest evils of mankind which arises from the ... to solve international problems by means of fire and sword, but until the weapon remains as such, until the relations of tribes and peoples are limited with the might of the weapon, it perforces the apologist of the weapon" (A-Do 1919: 132).

<sup>15</sup> Quite a substantial number of casualties connected with the use of weapons are reported in the media of that period (Zang, 2.X.1918, 9.X.1918).

blow up in the hand. Unfortunately, such tragic examples were not few; the eagerness of some people to keep weapons increases the possibility of their repetition. Weapons were used also during the domestic quarrels. Thus, in August 18, 1918 in the park of Yerevan the quarrel between the representatives of Yerevan and Surmalu ended in the armed clash and murder of two innocent bystanders and a child.<sup>16</sup>

The government tries to hold up the growth of armed crimes which was the consequence of illegal circulation of arms and ammunition. Unfortunately, the difficult situation of the republic, actually the absence of media, lets the internal and external enemies as well as criminals to spread disinformation among the population and steal arms and ammunition. Thus, in July 1, 1918 in Nerqin Akhta (modern Hrazdan) some unspecified people distribute false rumors that the Turks are advancing. This was enough for immediate action; 28 soldiers based in the village and the population attacked armory and took over 100 French guns "Lebel" along with 38 thousand bullets and 70 Russian guns "Mosin" with 14 thousand bullets. During the investigation it became clear that, besides the aforementioned arms, an additional 20 guns and 20 thousand bullets are missing.<sup>17</sup> Due to operative action 70 from the 170 stolen guns were confiscated. It was established that refugees had participated in the attack on the armory; more important to note that the military authorities were unaware of the quantity of guns kept in the armory.<sup>18</sup>

The aforementioned case shows that local authorities were weak, and the military command failed to secure the inviolability of the armory. Investigators even did not take care to identify who were the authors of these false rumors and initiators of the attack on the armory. It could be assumed that the attack was planned beforehand since, besides ordinary soldiers, in this action besides ordinary soldiers participated also civilians.

Local authorities, especially the law-keeping system was established just recently and they lack experience of operative and intelligence work, thus were forced to overcome numerous difficulties, including various armed bands operating in the provinces and cities of the republic which destabilize the situation.<sup>19</sup> To the solution of this problem was aimed the draft law submitted to the parliament by Aram Manukyan,<sup>20</sup> the Minister of the Interior,<sup>21</sup> in August 23, 1918. In his speech he pointed that a similar

---

<sup>16</sup> See Zang, 17.VIII.1918. About the problem of segmentation see more detailed in Hayrapetyan 2018: 164-209.

<sup>17</sup> Virabyan 2010 (ed.): 98.

<sup>18</sup> Idem.

<sup>19</sup> S.Vracyan mentions in his memories. "Along with hunger and epidemic in the country was disturbed also security. Deserted soldiers, refugees and local population deprived of the means of subsistence, by groups or individually were attacking travelers, rob houses, disturb the social order. The so-called "mauzerism" became a social evil, people armed with mauzer operate with impunity even in the streets of the capital city and the population suffer by their hands" (Vracyan 1958: 192).

<sup>20</sup> The detailed study see in Asryan 2019; also Asryan 2009.

<sup>21</sup> The Ministry of the Interior was the biggest in RA, under the subjection of which were "not only administrative-police system but the spheres of the transport, food supplies, social care, immigration,



undertaking met difficulties in Georgia, but Armenia lacks such social and political problems.<sup>22</sup>

A.Manukyan supports his initiative through some examples which prove that the presence of weapon not always help people in its self-defence. The minister refers to the accident in Akhta (the murder of three families for a lamb) where in order to pacify the population a battalion was brought from the front. He was confident that the armed crowd is not a military unit. As an example he refers to the attack of more than 300 Kurds on 10 Armenian villages of Nor Bayazet three weeks ago. Although in the district reside about 8000 armed men, the robbers succeeded in their undertaking and stole the sheep of the villagers. The district of Ghamarlu (now Artashat) has about 4000 armed men but instead of to fight back Muslim bands they prefer to ask Yerevan for aid.<sup>23</sup>

According to the information of the minister the population of the republic has 60-150 thousand weapons of war.<sup>24</sup> And this in the case when the army lacks arms and ammunition and needs colossal finances which the government does not possess with.<sup>25</sup> People pay 1500-2000 roubles for a gun,<sup>26</sup> which sometimes appear to be stolen.<sup>27</sup>

A.Manukyan thinks that "Along with the disarming of the population a strong militia should be organized and the borders of the country must be defended against the

---

public health, education, local autonomy, post-telegraph and others. ... Later, after the disintegration of the ministry several new ministies were established" (Ghazakhecyan et al. 2010: 28; Sargsyan, Sahakyan 2013: Appendix 1, p. 92). Some historians regard the establishment of Armenian army and especially special services as the main pledge for the creation of the independent Armenian statehood. It should be stated that the aforementioned is not enough in the case of the state. The problem of external security is closely interwaved with the internal one, the latter being completely entrusted to the police. In the case of misorganization of this system neither the army, nor special services could act effectively.

<sup>22</sup> Virabyan 2010 (ed.): 24.

<sup>23</sup> Idem. It is difficult to understand how could the people who in May 1918 fight back the enemy, but after that had failed to defend their own settlements. One shall recall the case of the newly established local authorities of Ghamarlu which, being told about the treaty of Batumi, in June 8 wrote to general M.Silikyan. "The people of the district of Ghamarlu is ready to shed the last drop of its blood and defend the motherland with his weapons, bullets and bread" (A-Do 2015: 409). The national council of Ghamarlu took responsibility for supplying the government with 3,000 soldiers, and the first battalion arrived in Yerevan in June 9. Soldiers lined up before the building of the parliament. Aram addressed them a brief speech. "The Armenian is set to motion when the knife reaches his bones, but better late than never" (Idem: 411).

<sup>24</sup> Virabyan 2010: 23. Let us mention that in August 6, 1918, from the district of Nor Bayazet was received a request to send 100 guns of the "Mosin" type and 20 thousand bullets (Virabyan 2009: 329).

<sup>25</sup> The shortage of weapons and ammunition was actual during the December 1918 Armenian-Georgian war and the government asked the population to hand over the guns of the type "Lebel" (French), "Mauzer" (Turkish) and bullets for the Russian 3-line rifle "Mosin" (Zang, 25.XII.1918).

<sup>26</sup> Already at the fall of 1919 the German revolver "Mauzer" was sold for 8000 roubles (NAA, f. 198, l. 1, f. 2, l. 10).

<sup>27</sup> Virabyan 2010: 24. In February 1919 the salary of the militiaman was 300 roubles (idem: 213), like that of the soldier who receives also food, wear and shoes (Ashkhatanq, 8.V.1919).

enemy".<sup>28</sup> He suggests to imprison the people who has illegal weapons for the period of 3 months or fine with 3000 roubles; hunting guns and cold steel should not been confiscated.<sup>29</sup>

Arshavir Melikyan, the member of the Social-democratic (bolshevik) party and a deputy of the parliament, argued against saying: "Every citizen has a right to keep weapon and defend his revolutionary rights",<sup>30</sup> so he suggests not to hurry and, in the case if the law should be accepted, let the people to keep the weapons only at home as an "inalienable right".<sup>31</sup> The law was adopted in the form as it was formulated by Armenian Revolutionary Federation - ARF(16 votes against 12) and the legislative commission was requested to submit its resolution within two days.<sup>32</sup>

In the 10th session of the parliament (August 27, 1918) Sirakan Tigranyan (ARF) made a report about the draft law and suggested to read it paragraph by paragraph and vote, which was opposed by Hayk Azatyan and Tadevos Avdalbekyan, the social-democrat deputies. In his report the latter disputes the idea of the minister that the great quantity of weapons in the country should be regarded as one of the causes of anarchy. As an example he referred to Persia whose population is armed but where rules exemplary order. The deputy recalls the army where the people are also armed but at the same time they are disciplined. According to T.Avdalbekyan, the people is armed because they did not trust the government. Since in the provinces happen abuses he suggests to regulate the judicial and legal system, "organize strong militia ... and only after it get on with the problem of disarming. But until that the people should remain armed".<sup>33</sup> He was convinced that the armed people has shown its heroism in the spring of 1918 in Nor Bayazet, Surmalu and Sardarapat.

It goes without saying that the aforementioned example of T.Avdalbekyan does not fully describe the true situation. During the heroic battles against Turkish forces in May 1918 volunteers also had participated but the regular army leaded by its commanders was the main actor. It should be stressed that some local battles such as in Nor Bayazet and Surmalu could not justify the necessity of armed population. One of the solutions to this problem could have been the recording of the weapons on the hands of the population in the frontier zone, organization of forces of self-defence which was done later.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> Virabyan 2010 (ed.): 24.

<sup>29</sup> Virabyan 2009: 198. In December 13, 1918 a new draft law was submitted to the parliament according to which cold steel also was regarded as a subject for confiscation (Virabyan 2010 (ed.): 127. In November 1919 the fine reached 10 thousand roubles (Socialist Heghapokhakan, 23.XI.1919).

<sup>30</sup> Virabyan 2010: 24.

<sup>31</sup> Idem.

<sup>32</sup> Idem.

<sup>33</sup> Idem: 25.

<sup>34</sup> In the 42nd session of the parliament (December 6, 1918) general H.Hakhverdyan, the Military minister, was given 25406 roubles for the organization of military police – militia (Virabyan 2010 (ed.): 114).

St.Malkhasyan who represents the Armenian People's party (APP) in the parliament informed that his party accepts the draft law of disarming but has some objections. He mentioned that the desire of population to acquire weapons in places for the sake of self-defence is a consequence of weak administering in the provinces. This situation is visible not only in Armenia but in the whole Caucasus as well. At the same time he says that in the neighboring Georgia and Azerbaijan the governments mostly had succeeded to confiscate the weapons kept by the population. The deputy informs also that his party principally shares the idea of disarming but APP is concerned with the next problem - only the peaceful people shall hand over weapons, while the criminals would hide it in any cost, which shall harm the formers.<sup>35</sup>

Garegin Yengibaryan of APP argued against Social-democrats saying that he is amazed that being a socialist A.Melikyan "in this regard defends the idea of private property, especially in the case of arms".<sup>36</sup>

A.Manukyan held a speech at the end of the discussion. He argued against the deputies of the Social-democratic party disproving their "solid arguments" one after another. The minister once more pointed on the necessity of disarming, saying that. "The arming of a peaceful people who does not have brigandish propensity, is now an evil but it also is not a goodness since he could not defend himself from the bandits. Presenting the draft law to the parliament we have a great desire to establish authority in the state, eliminate the anarchy and fight against bandits".<sup>37</sup> By the suggestion of Avetik Sahakyan, the speaker of the parliament, after its discussion article after article the draft law was put to a vote; it was accepted by 15 voices against 7.<sup>38</sup>

In August 29, 1918<sup>39</sup> the parliament again discussed the draft law on disarming. Tigran Musheghyan from Socialist-revolutionary fraction (SR) informed that they wish to accept it with the condition of some corrections, but S.Tigranyan rejected this suggestion since comments should have been presented during the previous session and he suggested to hand over the draft law to the editorial commission "where, perhaps, it should be possible to make some corrections".<sup>40</sup> Finally, in that same day the parliament accepted the draft law presented by the Minister of the Interior.<sup>41</sup> At the same time it was allowed to keep a part of the weapons under the control of officials in the settlements which are endangered by the attacks of the enemy or bandits.<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Virabyan 2010 (ed.): 26.

<sup>36</sup> Idem.

<sup>37</sup> Idem: 26-27.

<sup>38</sup> Idem: 28.

<sup>39</sup> Law № 6. About the arms and ammunition which belong to private people (Karavarutyan Iraber, 6.IX.1918, էջ 2). At the same day when the parliament works, in Nor Bayazet took place a real battle between police and local population (Virabyan 2009 (ed.): 341).

<sup>40</sup> Virabyan 2010: 28.

<sup>41</sup> Official part. Law № 6 (Karavarutyan Iraber, 6.IX.1918, p. 2).

<sup>42</sup> Idem. In December 14, 1918 by the order of A.Manukyan the Russian community of Michayelovski, district of Dilijan (today Lori province) was given right to have 10-15 military guns, except that of "Lebel" and "Mosin" (Virabyan 2009 (ed.): 403).

In September 1, 1918, the gazette of the government had published the order number 1 from August 21 issued by general Hovhannes Hakhverdyan where he expresses his negative attitude connected with the irregular shooting often happening in Yerevan, especially by nights. The general orders the commandant of the city and the chief of the police to inform the population that such behavior is prohibited and should be punished. He warns that in such cases the weapons should be confiscated. Only those citizen could keep weapons who had permission given by the Military ministry and militia.<sup>43</sup>

The peculiarity of the aforementioned order is the next. The Order number 1 of the Military minister shows that the scale of the circulation of illegal weapons and ammunition had reached a great extent, also its inappropriate use which had forced the minister to mention irregular shooting on the first place of his order.

Regardless the argumentation and aims, the situation described above testifies in favor of the assumption that the government of the republic was not able yet to take control over the situation in the country, as disorder reigns even in the capital city, not to mention the provinces where actually it was unbearable.

Anyway, the government continue to work on the prohibition of illegal weapons' use; under the leadership of captain Popunts in Yerevan was established a special commission dealing with the confiscation of weapons.<sup>44</sup> In the order it is said: "Every citizen, regardless of nationality and religion, is obliged to bring all his firearms, except those which do not have clips and hunting guns, to Doktorskij street 66 and hand over to the commission, in order to avoid problems. ... The last day of voluntary handover expires in Sunday, September 15, those who bring after that date should be punished according to law, that is 3 months of imprisonment or fined by 3000 roubles".<sup>45</sup>

Irregular military units continue their illegal actions on the territory of the republic. For the sake of success joint operations of the police and army were necessary to find out and confiscate illegal weapons and ammunition. Unfortunately, after the June 4, 1918 treaty of Batumi the Armenian army was significantly downsized. The army was forced to take care of the borders but also fight against internal enemy as well, that is Muslim bands and settlements which did not recognize the authority of the government. That is why initially the struggle for the confiscation of weapons and ammunition could organize only the newly created Armenian police.

A.Manukyan ordered the chief of the police of Yerevan to undertake urgent actions directed against shootings in the capital city, as well as to confiscate weapons.<sup>46</sup> Simultaneously he warns the population through published written order (in Armenian and Russian languages) that those people who did have a right to own weapons, are prohibited to carry them in public and other places.<sup>47</sup> By the order of September 18,

<sup>43</sup> Orders of the Military minister, № 1, (Karavarutyan Iraber, 1.IX.1918, p. 1).

<sup>44</sup> AZD (Karavarutyan Iraber, 17.IX.1918, p. 1).

<sup>45</sup> Idem.

<sup>46</sup> Zhoghovurd, 5.IX.1918.

<sup>47</sup> Idem, 27. IX.1918.

1918, A.Manukyan specifies which types of weapons should be confiscated. People who were authorized to confiscate should compile protocols with the participation of two eyewitnesses. The minister again reminds that only the fighting guns having clips should be confiscated. Ministers, the speaker of the parliament, his assistants and members of families were exempted from the search of weapons.<sup>48</sup>

In order to avoid the illegal circulation of weapons through army officers general H.Hakhverdyan, the Military minister ordered them to have "relevant permission given by their commanders regarding the right to carry arms, mentioning the number and system of the weapon; the handover of weapons to other person is prohibited" in regard to the acquired personal weapons.<sup>49</sup> From this order it could be deduced that some irresponsible army officers also were guilty in the illegal circulation of weapons, who use their position and acquire them without permission. It should be mentioned that a part of people involved in the illegal selling of weapons and ammunition were deprived of subsistence but this did not exempt them from responsibility, especially in case if the arms were sold to Muslims living on the territory of RA. The arms represent danger at the hands of those who used to serve in the army and have military experience.

In some cases the authorities were forced to involve military units in the disarming actions since those who should have been disarmed were armed better than policemen. For example, in Garni in November 1918 the operation of disarming was organized under the command of Garegin Nzhdeh whose detachment was supplied with machine guns and artillery,<sup>50</sup> and in the same month the punitive squad of Tigran Baghdasaryan forced the Muslims of Mets Mazra to hand over 450 guns.<sup>51</sup>

Unfortunately, during the operations of disarming sometimes took place negative moments (actions of violence and robbery).<sup>52</sup>

A strange position was adopted by the British command, the so-called ally. Facts show that the British authorities frankly favor Muslims and did not give Armenian law enforcers chances to establish order in the provinces. After the victory of Entente Ottoman troops were withdrawn from Armenia including the province of Kars. When arose the question to establish order here the British suggested to organize a militia of 1000 people exclusively consisting of Ossetians and former Russian policemen, since, as wrote S.Tigranyan, the Minister of the Interior in his letter addressed to the parliament in March 1919: «the local Turks are irritated against Armenians but it seems that England did not rely on any Armenian force since is sure that ... Armenian is more Russian than the Russian himself and Armenian could not be trusted when something is planned against Russia".<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> Virabyan A. 2009: 353.

<sup>49</sup> Zhoghovurd, 27. IX.1918.

<sup>50</sup> Virabyan 2009 (ed.): 371, 515.

<sup>51</sup> Virabyan 2009: 228.

<sup>52</sup> See Zang, 12.X.1918.

<sup>53</sup> Vrcyan 1958: 246. The duplicitous behavior of the British is evident by the next fact: they hand over money and 300 French firearms of the "Lebel" type to Simko, the leader of the Shikak tribe, the well-known Kurdish bandit (Martirosyan 1961: 80). Simko did not hesitate and very soon, in March 3, 1918,

After the withdrawal of Ottoman army was begun the mass immigration of refugees to motherland. Due to the large scale of this process it was decided to organize in the provinces mounted units of police consisting of 100-200 people.<sup>54</sup>

In spite of the difficult situation, anyway, the police fights against the illegal circulation of weapons. Thus, only in the district of Zangibasar (today the community of Massis in the province of Ararat) in January-May 1919 from the population were confiscated 762 revolvers of "Nagan" type, 13124 gendarmerie guns,<sup>55</sup> 10276 firearms of "Browning" type, 30151 infantry guns and about 3,5 million bullets of different calibres.<sup>56</sup>

In February 18, 1919, the session of the parliament again discussed events connected with the police. The social-democrat Bolshevik fraction criticized those policemen who did not perform their duties accurately and fail to help threatened citizens. S.Torosyan, the acting officer of the Minister of the Interior clarified the situation as the next. First of all the salary of the policemen is small, but even that minor sum was not paid already several months.<sup>57</sup> This in its turn forces them to abuse their position, although it could not freed them from responsibility; offenders should be withdrawn from their service. The minister said with sorrow that "It should not be forgotten that police does not possess with conscientious people".<sup>58</sup> As an illustration for the aforementioned is the case of the restaurant "Bomond" in Yerevan. A group of policemen leaded by H.Amatuni, the chief of the criminal intelligence service, after a feast<sup>59</sup> began to fire in the street.<sup>60</sup> As to April 1919, the number of policemen in Yerevan reaches 79 people.<sup>61</sup> Some of them sometimes show irresponsibility towards their duties. For example, Hmayak Margaryan and other policemen of Yerevan police department, after using spirits had left their office, for which were discharged and punished.<sup>62</sup>

---

cunningly killed Mar Shimun, the religious leader of Assyrians, his brother Davit and 75 bodyguards, among them also some Russian officers. In March 28 Simko attacked the refugees who were retreating from Vaspurakan to Persia and killed or wounded about 150 people and 60 soldiers of the escort (Sahakyan 2011: 348).

<sup>54</sup> Vracyan 1958: 249.

<sup>55</sup> During World war I the confronting sides, including Russia, feel a strong need of guns with clips, so it was decided to supply gendarms with the French rifles of the "Gra" type, and the 3-line "Mosin" to send to the field army.

<sup>56</sup> Virabyan 2003: 109.

<sup>57</sup> The illustration to this is the next report. In March 6 the Kurds living on the foothills of Mount Massis attacked the Yezidis of the village of Kuluk, kill the shepherd and steel 40 sheep. This was already the second attack. The last time the robbers had stolen 400 cattle and about 2000 sheep. The reporter tells also that "The Yezidi policemen, like Armenian, did not receive salary" (Zang, 14.IV.1919).

<sup>58</sup> Virabyan 2010: 213.

<sup>59</sup> Most of the so-called "debauchers" own significant finances for whom the payment of fines was not a problem (Haraj, 30.VI.1920).

<sup>60</sup> See Zang, 16.II.1919.

<sup>61</sup> Zhoghovurd, 11. IV.1919.

<sup>62</sup> See Zang, 9.X.1918.

The authority of police was difficult to hold on desired level since rumors circulate that the government uses public security organs for its political goals. Thus, as though during the June 21-23, 1919 parliamentary elections policemen demanded from people to vote in favor of ARF.<sup>63</sup>

It should be mentioned that the government tried to deal with those policemen who were involved in illegal actions, including high officials. For example, only in January 1919 against the personnel of administration and police were initiated 23 and in February - 29 criminal charges. Were arrested chiefs of the city administration and criminal investigation departments of the police.<sup>64</sup>

The newly established police lacks skilful and ideologically trained commanders who could not only inspire but also be a case in point for their subjects. One of such people was Garegin Nzhdeh, chief of the police of Nakhijevan. In his letter addressed to the Minister of the Interior M.Silikyan, the commander of the Armenian division, describing the military operations which took place in the district of Davalu (now Ararat), mentions that "It would be useful and appropriate to leave the police of Nakhijevan in Bash-Gyarni (now Garni) for which I seek your order. I find it necessary to report about the brilliant military operation of Nakhijevani police in the district of Gharalar (now Aralez) and especially the heroism of Nzhdeh, its chief".<sup>65</sup>

According to the July 24, 1919 decision of the government in regard to the confiscation of weapons it was considered to give the refugees flour for the handed weapons and bullets, but by the October the latters did not receive the promised flour.<sup>66</sup> This indeed was a reason for mistrusting the government, so many people hide their weapons and ammunition and some prefer to sell it in order to survive.<sup>67</sup> At the same day the government adopted a law implementing death penalty. Those persons who "hijack, waste or steal weapon or gunpowder belonging to the state" also could be subject to capital punishment.<sup>68</sup>

In their turn the military also conduct some actions in order to return the weapons kept by the population to the army. For example, Sepuh (Arshak Nersisyan), the commander of the Armenian 4th separate brigade declared that the soldiers of his detachment who entered the military service with their private guns of "Mosin" type and

---

<sup>63</sup> Zhoghovurd, 1.VIII.1919.

<sup>64</sup> Virabyan 2009: 29.

<sup>65</sup> See Zang. 7.IV.1919.

<sup>66</sup> NAA, f. 198, l. 1, f. 44, p. 1.

<sup>67</sup> Armenian army strongly lacks shortage of ammunition which becomes clear through the decision of the government issued in September 6, 1919, to give the military ministry 2.500.000 roubles for the production of 50 thousand bullets daily (Virabyan 2010 (ed.): 293). This enabled to turn down the practice of bying bullets anymore (Idem: 297). In the September 12, 1919 session the government endorsed the memorandum of the military minister "to open a credit of 6,000,000 roubles for the workshop of the production of bullets and cartridges and working staff" (Idem: 298).

<sup>68</sup> Ghazakhecyan 2000: 115.

bullets shall receive 500 roubles, the price of the gun.<sup>69</sup> Simultaneously police keep arresting those citizens who had fired without necessity.<sup>70</sup>

In July 29 the government made a change in the July 24 law: "During the collection of weapons every citizen is obliged to pay tribute by means of guns, bullets or money, according to the size established by the special commissar".<sup>71</sup>

In September 11, 1919, Ruben Papikyan who was appointed as the chief of the Yerevan police,<sup>72</sup> informed the citizens that the weapons of those who have not allowed to keep them should be confiscated and those "who have such right, cannot carry them over the dress".<sup>73</sup>

The performance of duties by policemen in their struggle against the illegal circulation of weapons and ammunition was seriously hampered by armed groups whom the people call "Mauzerists". They appear in the public with revolvers of "Mauzer" type with silver-plated handle and could fire in crowded places and even kill people.<sup>74</sup> Thus, in October 7, 1919, the city commissar Vardanesyan was killed while he was trying to warn the Mauzerists.<sup>75</sup> Police succeeded to disarm the band led by Dali Ghazo; were confiscated 215 guns and about 4000 bullets.<sup>76</sup>

The commission of the parliament during his inspection in the district of Dilijan in December 1919 revealed a number of serious shortcomings. As Armenak Maksapetyan, the member of the commission mentions, here robbery and thievery were widespread since "Police is in difficult situation from both sides; first is its economic situation, and the second is that it is composed of the people having the age of military service, the salary is received on irregular basis, and their applications are neglected".<sup>77</sup> A.Maksapetyan registers that one of the most common crimes is the selling of weapons. "weapons which could be found here go to Azerbaijan".<sup>78</sup> Besides that, as Sahak

<sup>69</sup> Ashkhatanq, 24.VII.1919.

<sup>70</sup> Idem, 24.VII.1919. Amazingly, one of the aforementioned people was arrested for 20 days, and the another for 30 days, while for such misdeed the person should have been sentenced for 3 months or pay a fine of 3000 roubles, as it was decided by the parliament.

<sup>71</sup> Virabyan 2010: 268. In December 1918 the tax equals to 5 roubles for every firearm (Virabyan A. 2009: 403).

<sup>72</sup> R.Papikyan had come from the French army quartered in Cilicia. He was lieutenant of military police (gendarmerie)(NAA, f. 201, l. 2, f. 123, p. 10).

<sup>73</sup> Zhoghovurd, 24. IX.1919.

<sup>74</sup> Vahe Artsruni writes. "Mauzerist's, except a small percent who really symbolize the modern chivalry of Armenia, number only several dozens in the country, but their life, viewing it from inside or outside, had a worst reflection on the image of our country. ... The appetite of Mauzerist's in regard to robbery was unlimited ... . Any opportunity to become rich, or to commit personal vendetta or to fish in troubled waters, they were always ready" (Artsruni 2002: 31).

<sup>75</sup> Virabyan 2003: 216.

<sup>76</sup> See Zang, 19.X.1919.

<sup>77</sup> Virabyan 2010: 412.

<sup>78</sup> Idem.



Torosyan, the assistant (deputy) of the Minister of the Interior has mentioned, policemen partly "are armed with accidentally acquired weapons, often without bullets, etc."<sup>79</sup> At the same time in the republic was very active the Muslim population who was guided by special services of Azerbaijan and Ottoman Turkey, thus creating dangerous situation by secretly sending weapons to the Muslims of Armenia.<sup>80</sup> It should be stated that the great majority of those who buy weapons were Muslims,<sup>81</sup> which hampers the activities of the police. Large sums of money regularly comes from Azerbaijan and Turkey. Besides that they were trying to introduce also false Armenian banknotes.<sup>82</sup>

The illegal circulation of weapons greatly affects the desertion which reached its highest peak at the end of 1919. The number of deserters has reached 17665, and in the army between 16-18 thousand people.<sup>83</sup> Some of them escape taking with them their weapons and ammunition. A part of those who avoid military service appear in the police which "leaves demoralizing and oppressing impression on the population".<sup>84</sup> This circumstance negatively affects on the authority of the police and its further duties.

A.Gyulkhandanyan, the minister of the Interior informs the population that "If he (the deserter – Auth.) in the course of his desertion has stolen a military uniform and sold it, along with being convicted should reimburse thrice the cost of the stolen calculated by market prices, and in the case if he is insolvent - his family".<sup>85</sup>

The deserters through illegal means acquire passports of different countries, mostly of Persia. In some cases they are "assisted" by the "numerous reckless, unconscientious" officers of the ministry and police,<sup>86</sup> administrators and even deputies of the parliament.<sup>87</sup> Unfortunately, even the severe laws against desertion did not give expected results. Definitely the desertion has more fundamental causes which needs special study.<sup>88</sup> In order to survive the armed deserters cause serious problems since

---

<sup>79</sup> Virabyan 2003: 79. According to the newspaper "Ashkhatanq". "Every citizen could receive certificate from the police if he pays 300 roubles to the clerk residing there ..." (Ashkhatanq, 12.VIII.1919, N 55).

<sup>80</sup> Virabyan 2003: 89.

<sup>81</sup> The acquirement of weapons and ammunition in RA gives the Azerbaijani authorities a possibility to send money in order to buy it in Armenia. In April 10, 1920 A.Gyulkhandanyan, the Minister of the Interior in his special order lauded Hambartsum Hakobyan, the mounted senior policeman, in that he has arrested three Azerbaijani envoys who were escorting 500 thousand Azerbaijani bones to Zangibasar and who offered the policeman 100 thousand roubles as a bribe but H.Hakobyan refused to take it. By the order of the minister the senior policeman was rewarded with 20 thousand roubles (Ghazakhecyan 2000: 181).

<sup>82</sup> Virabyan 2003: 104.

<sup>83</sup> Idem: 62-63. Unfortunately, like during the World war I, in the RA most of the deserters were the citizens of Yerevan and Aleksandrapol (Haraj, 30.III.1920).

<sup>84</sup> Virabyan 2003: 66.

<sup>85</sup> NAA, f. 201, l. 1, f. 490, p. 144.

<sup>86</sup> Virabyan 2003: 62.

<sup>87</sup> See Hakobyan 2005: 72.

<sup>88</sup> More detailed about that see Virabyan 2009: 148-190.

they have to conduct illegal actions, that is robbery or other criminal deeds.<sup>89</sup> Definitely, after the untimely death of A.Manukyan the system of the Ministry of the Interior failed to be completely organized. Even twice were made attempts to organize courses for the staff of the police,<sup>90</sup> but we could not find any information whether these courses were initiated. The government provided finances, appointed teachers, compiled schedules, and regulations about the duties of the police.<sup>91</sup>

Different ethnic minorities of the republic, taking into account the current situation, continue to keep weapons and ammunition.<sup>92</sup> In October 7, 1920, A.Shakhhatuni, the commandant of Yerevan several times warned the population in that the citizens could be arrested for the period between 1 to 6 months or fined (30.000 roubles) in the case if they do not have a right to carry arms.<sup>93</sup>

One of the productive guarantors of the illegal circulation of weapons and ammunition could be the organization of the frontier military units and the control over the borders facing neighboring countries, but the parliament only had succeeded to discuss the problem of the frontier military detachments in the June 11, 1920 session.<sup>94</sup>

As in 1918, in 1920 the illegal circulation of weapons and ammunition continues, as well as the firing at the streets. Thus, one of the articles published in the official newspaper "Haraj" of ARF was entitled as "Hail of bullets in Yerevan".<sup>95</sup> As a result of the shortsighted policy corruption and protectionism were flourishing in the police. As a rule, during the searching and confiscation people were robbed, even if they were aware that might have been punished.<sup>96</sup> First of all the government had failed to subside police,<sup>97</sup> since in the current situation the latter shares the responsibility of the army, which could help in the struggle against the criminals. One of the causes of such

---

<sup>89</sup> In favor of the widespread character of desertion speaks the statement of captain Muradyan, "Special commissar of the struggle against desertion". "Those who deserts for the second time or more should be handed over to the military court and suffer a DEATH PENALTY, about which I inform everyone (Ashkhatanq, 9.VIII.1919).

<sup>90</sup> See NAA, f. 199, l.1, f. 16, p. 369-370, 372-379.

<sup>91</sup> See NAA, f. 201, l. 2, f. 123, p. 6-10, NAA, f. 199, l.1, f. 16, p. 370, 372-373.

<sup>92</sup> Haraj, 29.VI.1920.

<sup>93</sup> Haraj, 7.IX.1920.

<sup>94</sup> Virabyan 2010 (ed.): 487.

<sup>95</sup> The newspaper writes. "Every day, beginning from 5 PM Yerevan represents a battlefield due to the voice of firing from guns and revolvers. I could not be mistaken if I shall say that every day a great number of bullets are being wasted in the air" (Haraj, 30.VI.1920).

<sup>96</sup> See the order of A.Jamalyan, the temporary acting officer of the Minister of the Interior dated with May 13, 1920, according to which the officer of the ministry could have been sentenced even to execution by the Emergency Court if during the search he had used force or took bribe (NAA, f. 201, l.1, f. 490, p. 212).

<sup>97</sup> In the memorandum of Pavel Sitin, the former general of the Russian imperial army who later joined Bolsheviks, the agent of the Bolshevik residency in Georgia dated with November 9, 1920, writes the next about the Armenian army. "The officers are young, in the military aspect not enough educated .... High command, that is commanders of regiments lack experience and are interested in economics and are busy with it" (Ganin 2014: 225, <http://orenbkazak.narod.ru/PDF/Sytin1.pdf>).

situation was the absolute rule of ARF, although this party twice had composed a government along with the Armenian peoples' party and Social-revolutionaries; but this could not change the situation essentially.<sup>98</sup> The anti-government activities of Bolsheviks also should not be forgotten, who in May 1920 had organized the coup which was a heavy blow on the republic. To this should be added the destructive activities of Turkish-Azerbaijani agents who acquire weapons and ammunition from the population of RA and supply their bands.

### Summary

1. In the unfavorable economic and political situation of the Republic of Armenia, despite some successes, the Ministry of the Interior had failed to act productively against the illegal circulation of weapons and ammunition due to the lack of professionals.
2. The problem was not solved also due to the segmentation of the society.
3. Most of the refugees and their authorities did not accept the Republic of Armenia as a single Armenian statehood, the segmentation was strong.
4. The Republic of Armenia was not able to eliminate irregular military units.
5. After the death of A.Manukyan police did not became the force which could have overcome the problem of different armed groups.
6. The RA could not supply the police with dutiful and disciplined personnel.
7. Police employs people who belong to some party but who often were not related to that same party.
8. The bodies of counterintelligence could not completely prevent the supply of weapons and ammunition from Azerbaijan and Turkey for the Muslim population residing in Armenia.
9. The destabilization of the situation was greatly triggered by the apolitical activities of Bolsheviks.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

#### Periodicals

1. Ashkhatanq (Yerevan)
2. Arev (Baku)
3. Aparazh (Shushi)
4. Zang (Yerevan)
5. Zhoghovurd

---

<sup>98</sup> According to V.Virabyan, in his struggle against the crimes, including the illegal circulation of weapons and ammunition the police failed also because "often the Ministry of the Interior frivolously replenishes its staff taking into account affiliation to a party" (Virabyan 2003: 213). The same idea had expressed Vahe Artsruni, one of the leaders of the national-liberatory movement. "The desire to acquire a position and place, to secure the supremacy of the party step by step became greatest goal, first for the private persons then for the parties" (Artsruni 2002: 28).

6. Karavarutyan Iraber (Yerevan)
7. Horizon (Tiflis)
8. Haraj (Yerevan)
9. Socialist Heghapokhakan (Yerevan)
10. Paylak (Shushi)
11. National Archive of Armenia

### **Studies**

1. A-Do 2015. My memories (Preface and commentaries by Ruben Gasparyan and Ruben Sahakyan), Yerevan (in Arm.).
2. Artsruni V. 2002. The Armenian-Turkish war. Armenian officers. Shatakh, Yerevan (in Arm.).
3. Asryan A. 2009. Aram Manukyan. Life and Deeds (in the liberation movement and restoration of independent state), Yerevan (in Arm.).
4. Asryan A. 2019. Aram Manukyan. A National-state Figure, Patmabanasirakan handes, 2019/1, 76-91 (in Arm., Russian English summary).
5. Ganin A.V. 2014. The Soviet military intelligence in Georgia in 1920–1921. The Mission of Pavel Sitin, Electronic bulletin, № 43, Moscow, April 2014 <http://orenbkazak.narod.ru/PDF/Sytin1.pdf> (in Russian).
6. Ghazakhecyan V. 2000. Republic of Armenia in 1918-1920 (Political history). Collection of Documents and Materials (eds. G.Galoyan, V.Ghazakhecyan, V.Melikyan, S.Mirzoyan, A.Virabyan), Yerevan (in Arm.).
7. Ghazakhecyan V. et al. 2010 (ed.). History of Armenia, vol. 4, Book I: Modern period (1918-1945), Yerevan (in Arm.).
8. Hakobyan A.S. 2005. The Parliament of Armenia and political parties, Yerevan (in Arm.).
9. Hayrapetyan K.P. 2018. Resolving the Problem of segmentation in the Republic of Armenia, VEM, 2018/4, 164-209 (in Arm., English summary).
10. Martirosyan A. 1961. Victorious retreat, Hayreniq, 1961/1 (in Arm.).
11. Melkonyan A. et al. 2015 (ed.). History of Armenia, vol. 3: New Period (second half of the XVIII century – 1918), Book II: (1901-1918, Armenian colonies, periodicals and culture in the XIX and early XX centuries), Yerevan (in Arm.).
12. Sahakyan R.O. 2011. The Retreat of Armenian population of Van in March 1918, Lraber hasarakakan gitutyunneri, 2011/1-2, 336-362 (in Arm.).
13. Simonyan H.R. 1996. The Time of Andranik. In two books, Book 2, Yerevan (in Arm.).
14. Sargsyan R.H., R.O.Sahakjan 2013. From the History of Armenian Police, Part 1, Yerevan (in Arm.).
15. Valadyan V. 1962. Kosti of Vaspurakan, Hayreniq, Boston, № 11-12, 66 (in Arm.).
16. Vazgen 1930. The Struggle of Atrpatakan, Hayreniq, Boston, 1930/12 (in Arm.).
17. Virabyan A. 2009. Aram Manukyan. Collection of documents and materials, Yerevan (in Arm.).

18. Virabyan A. 2003 (ed.). The massacres of Armenians in the provinces of Baku and Yelizavetpol in 1918-1920, Yerevan (in Arm.).
19. Virabyan A. 2010 (ed.). Protocols of the sessions of the parliament of the Republic of Armenia. 1918-1920, Yerevan (in Arm.).
20. Virabyan V.H. 2003. Militia and Interior ministry of the First Republic of Armenia (1918-1920), Yerevan (in Arm.).
21. Virabyan V.H. 2009. The Intelligence service of the Republic of Armenia and army 1918-1920, Yerevan (in Arm.).
22. Vracyan S. 1958. The Republic of Armenia, second edition, Beirut (in Arm.).
23. Yemelyanov A.G. 2007. Cossacks in the Persian battlefront (1915-1918), Moscow (in Russian).
24. A-Do 1919. The Struggle of Armenians, Yerevan (in Arm.) (manuscript, prepared to publication by V.Ghazakhecyan, R.Gasparyan, R.Sahakyan, H. Suqiasyan).

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

---

# POLITICAL SCIENCES AND INFORMATIONAL SECURITY

---

## MYSTERY OF DARDANELLE OR THE TURKISH “BLACK HOLE” OF THE STRATEGIC PR

**Levon Shirinyan**

*Department of Politology,  
Armenian State Pedagogical University  
after K.Abovyan*

“Russia, depending on what is the position of Turkey in the issues of Straits towards Russia, it can be “either first friend of Turkey or its first enemy”. [...] Mostly, because of Straits’ traces, Russia was becoming either a friend or an enemy to European countries: Russia became friends with the ones being together with it in the Straits’ issue, and became enemies with the ones being against it. ...when they [European countries] wanted to ally with Russia, they became compliant in the Straits’ issues. And when the need for this friendship was not strongly felt, they got united to drown Russia in the water of the Straits”.<sup>1</sup>

In the documentary is presented Vehib Pasha, the Turkish military-political figure of the World War I, and his memories and evaluations on the events related to the knots of the world’s political game of the “Turkish waterways”. From the bottom of the author’s Judgments the operating regularity in the nature and society is becoming vivid (everlasting aspiration of affirming balance) bringing one of the sides to death, giving happiness to the other one, even temporarily. Reliable words and expressions: balance, straits, Bosphorus, Dardanelle, England, France, Germany, Russia and Turkey.

With regard to the 100th anniversary of the First World War, in its context, in respect to the non-reimbursed crime of the Armenocide by Turkey, many events which took place (implemented) in the historical past are important: sometimes to uncover the historical truth and sometimes to reinforce the chain of distortions. Among those events there are actions developed around the “Turkish waterways”: the deep motives of Major (interested) Powers to possess waterways, including the victory of Turks, Entente alliance - studying the motives and causes of disastrous defeat of England and France.

In this regard, a lot has been written in the past, but, as we can suppose, it will be written more in the upcoming months, especially until April 23, 2015 - the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide (April 24, 2015). “The fact of victory, according to the Turkish traditions, will be distorted and speculated unlimitedly, even though substantiating objective inevitability of Armenocide (massacre of the Armenian people). And so on, and so forth. Therefore, considering the great importance of the question, we draw attention to one of the Turkish military-political figures of the period, Vehib Pasha's confession-monologue to the thoughtful reader posted and transmitted to the Historical science by unique Ruben’s interpretation as a documentary, a unique example in its kind, much more reliable, than any large-scale research.

---

<sup>1</sup> Navasardyan 1947: 125.

And so. Rotosto, a small, beautiful city made of sacred stones with modest and narrow streets reminding the past, yet is lost in the souls of the present. The ornament of the city is the sea, which is located as a mirror between Black and Archipelago seas. That sea is Marmara. One end of the sea is Bosphorus with its Constantinople, and the other end is Dardanelle with its hole. Marmara islands are risen up in the center of the sea looking at the straits of Bosphorus and Dardanelle and also looking at Tekir Tagh mountains risen along the European shore, on the top of which the city of Rotosto is located. If Marmara islands are in the center of the sea, Rotosto is also on the seaside center. Tekir Tagh chain will begin from that point, being included into the Archipelago sea occurring Gallipoli narrow peninsula and its eastern coast creates Dardanelle canal, and Xeros bay joining Archipelago through the western coast. Thus, Rotosto is a guard standing by the side of Dardanelle possessing the worldwide meaning with its Tekir Tagh Mountains. There is a middle ridge on the other side of Bosphorus and Dardanelle straits which can be found in the middle of the road. It takes to Chorlu and Chattha through the easy roads controlling Bosphorus holes and closing Europe and Asia's doors or opening them the way they want it.

In this regard, it is not odd to mention Vehib Pasha's unique views about Dardanelle fights in 1914. Esat Pasha, Vehib Pasha's elder brother, was the head of the upper military of Constantinople and Dardanelle during the First World War, and Vehib Pasha was the commander of Gallipoli and Xeros area. So, they led the Turkish heroic battle where Mustapha Kemal Pasha was heroized, and the whole Europe was defeated. When Vehib Pasha has been hosted by me for two weeks, I asked: "What was the main reason of the victory in Dardanelle and what was the reason of the defeat of Europe? May be your preparedness, the superiority of weapons, your courage, and quantity superiority? He replied:

"Either there is no need to answer you, or I should tell you the truth, as it is very difficult to lie to you. I will tell the truth, but probably, no one will like it. Our preparedness or the supremacy of weapons? No, certainly. That is a myth. The fortifications of Dardanelle are old and adjusted to ironclads of a century old. They would explode from the bombs of the new ironclads. Being an indication, they would be harmful, not beneficial. We did not have and do not possess fortifications adjusted to the new ironclads. The battle of Gallipoli became a war in trenches for us. "We disarmed their ironclads, as our cannons would not hurt theirs: our bullets would reach their ironclads, when armed forces had been approached close to us voluntarily ignoring us, they would approach close to our cannons. Yet, our bullets were not capable to shatter their armor. We possessed broadcast and murderous German weapons, when allied powers decided to leave Dardanelle and went away". Believe me, the reason of our success was not the superiority of our weapons. Quantity superiority? No, certainly. That is a legend as well. I told you that the battle of Gallipoli became a war in trenches. The space of Gallipoli is so small that it was possible to fill the trenches with maximum 40-50.000 people in troops there was neither space for army, nor opportunity for the reserving of food.



The enemy would be able to efficiently deploy the troops of the same amount, or may be less. Both of the sides would not be able to defeat each other taking into account the quantity advantage. Both sides possessed almost equal forces being able to tear each other apart, but it would be impossible to exterminate each other completely. Maybe the quantity was not important in Gallipoli, but it was necessary for both sides to always have 40.000 soldiers, and to bring new forces every day instead of killed and wounded ones. In this regard, each side had half of million victims in the battle of Dardanelle, if not one and a half million for both sides. "In this terrible massacre, the most terrible thing was when Englishmen were playing football during the break of every battle having pressing impression on us. "It is very hard to answer your 3<sup>rd</sup> question" smiled Vehib. "If I tell the truth, everybody will label us as both a hero and a betrayer". You would like to know which side did possess wisdom, heroism and courage during 147 battles of Dardanelle? Do not believe, if I tell you that our side didn't need wisdom, heroism and courage. All were necessary, but to our opponents: they did not possess such things".

Our conversation was held in winter. The fire of the Salamander was burning quietly. I apologized and went to add some coal. Vehib asked: "Is the Salamander stove a good one?" That's a wonderful stove. "Do you know its construction or the principle of its mechanism?" - I do not know its construction and I am not interested in its mechanism of burning, but I know in practice, that it works great. "But is it easy to manage?" - He asked. "There is nothing to manage. You should be attentive that there is enough coal, and you should put some coal, if there is a chance for it to run out". One more question: "Can the Salamander stove burn any kind of coal?" - "It burns any kind of coal" - I answered. One more question, and I would not have questions anymore. When you put some coal into the stove, has it ever happened that coals have rebelled, wanted to escape from the stove or complain from burning? When I looked at his face with a surprise, he laughed. Did you think that I have seen the stove for the first time? I know its construction better than you do. I have used it before. With my questions I wanted you to understand the answers of your questions about Dardanelle. But you did not understand. As a punishment, fill the glass with some brandy and I will explain.

He drank the glass of brandy and started explaining: "Notice, Gallipoli peninsula is a bottle. It is washed by the waters of Marmara and by the width of Murad Chai, through the hall of Dardanelle which is full of mines. The other side is washed by the waters of Archipelago and Xeros Seas that are full of French, English and other ironclads". The thin neck and mouth of the bottle connecting the land are Tekir Tagh Mountains hardly having few kilometers dimension widening over Xeros and being united with the land. They are comfortable for the battle and will open the path of the struggle for the surrounding. I was sitting right on that point: on one hand, I was waiting for every second that the enemy will do landfill and try to take away the mouth of Gallipoli, and on the other hand, I would fill the mouth with the bottle (Gallipoli) through the land, through the Marmara sea, 10-30.000 troops for a day to burn. The one being in the bottle, could not come back. He ought to be burnt, and the burnt ashes would come back as a corpse or a wounded one. The only happy ones are the ones being fallen in Gallipoli, as in case of getting severe wounds, they would be useless for the fight".

After a small time breathing fresh air and smoking a cigarette, he resumed his story strangling his emotions. "You seem to be delighted with the battle of Gallipoli and 148 heroes, especially with Kemal. I am not jealous, as they had been under my control and the attribution will come eventually back to me. But if we judge without any emotion, the one who is in the bottle, no matter how good or bad he is, cowardly or brave, smart or foolish, he is condemned to be equally burnt without any discrimination, the battle would not show any mercy. When it is predetermined where to sit, where to fight, how to fight, to kill and to be killed, it will turn into mechanical work, where no heroism, no sense, no courage is needed. All of this was necessary for those who were close to the armors: while our side holding the mouth of Gallipoli, and will wait for the landfill of Xeros, and we did not have a convenient moment to show any mercy while the enemy was lacking in it. Here is Gallipoli".

When I was looking at him with confusement, he said "Sure, my words would seem unbelievable and horrible for you", he smiled and smoked the cigarette. "Your words are not convincing, I am sorry, as it seemed to me as the drowned ironclads had been sunk on their own. It seems that you have brought 6 million troops in vain and scarified them without any purpose. It seems that England and France have not wanted to win and they have played a bloody game to their army as perpetrators. Have not you won them? Was it worthless to have half of million victims? Was the Dardanelle battle an incalculable crime for both sides? Vehib replied irritable: "Your first expression is right, but the second one is wrong. I have already told you that the allies acted foolishly, and even if they were not foolish, they were conscious perpetrators to their own army." Dardanelle was a closed door. In order to come into the straits, you should either break the door and enter, or you should find the key of the door, open and enter. There was no other way. Without the key, it was possible to break the doors and enter the straits, as we did not have expansive cannons. The enemy would be able to make us silent in faraway places and enter the straits, requiring removing the mines. The enemy knew that and tried it, after having every pledge of success, they failed their achieved success on their own. Firstly, they silenced our fortifications with centralized float fire, secondly, French armors luckily were the heads of the naval forces, and the British ones were behind theirs. Thirdly, taking forward French armors providing our success in Dardanelle. But, unexpected thing happened to us. During their success they left the straits with their armors. Do you know, why? The French leadership, as more sophisticated, would like to be the first owner of Dardanelle and to enter Constantinople first, and the English authority would treat with unrevealed intensions. When the French ironclads were damaged and became useless, - so much damage was inevitable, Englishmen immediately concluded that it is impossible to manage Dardanelle with fleet, though it has been managed with little efforts. "They ordered to be pulled off in contrast to the French's complaint that you put forward us leaving your cultivated program. The English army did not want to enter Dardanelle and Constantinople. Why should we own Dardanelle, as Constantinople and straits are promised to Russia? So, their sacrifice will serve to Russia's domination. Let me tell you more. Germans would

like the Englishmen as well to own Dardanelle and enter Constantinople, even though they were our companions. How many expansive cannons we wanted for Dardanelle, they would delay because of technical and other reasons. But when it was clear that Englishmen would no longer come, the cannons came abundantly. Do you know why? Germans hoped that there would be a gap between Russians and Englishmen because of English army's access to Constantinople". "One thing is clear: The impossibility of entering Dardanelle was spread being a legend and myth in the first period of time, and it was real when there was no one to attack using the sea. It was clear for us, that at least Englishmen would not like to enter Dardanelle via the sea. "And the Gallipoli peninsula was not the way to occupy Dardanelle via the land, but it was the top of the peninsula, where I was sitting guarding the sea breeze on the top of Tekir Tagh. It was the place by which it was possible to go through the land and own the Gallipoli peninsula, where our forces were centralized, as there was hidden the key of dominating. But I was waiting in vain on the fatal road for us. They would leave us alone. If they were not stupid, or more precisely, if they wanted seriously to possess Dardanelle, they would allocate these troops to Xeros bay attacking the top and neck of the peninsula instead of sacrificing 20-30.000 people in the Gallipoli peninsula. In that case, sending our troops there, our food provision ought to be impossible, and Gallipoli would be fallen on its own, and the straits ought to be opened. But I told that the main purpose of Englishmen is not to possess the straits, but to hold us destroyed there. We noticed that. I was convinced in that. That was the reason that we reduce our troops in the region of Dardanelle, and I wanted to leave to the new front, where it was possible to win and defeat. And I came to the Caucasus front for winning you and Russians". I tried to take out Vehib Pasha's mentioned judgments in order to mention the great significance of Rotosto for Constantinople and the straits.<sup>2</sup>

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Korbett Y. 1997. The operations of the English fleet in the World war, vol. 2, Moscow (in Russian).
2. Narochnitskaya N. 2014. "Eastern issue" and world politics (<http://nash-sovremennik.com/p.php?y=2004&n=10&id=3 / 07/07/2014 />)(in Russian).
3. Navasardyan V. 1947. Straits (Bosphorus and Dardanelle): Turkish waterways and Armenian National Committee. Cairo.
4. Ruben (Ter-Minasyan) 1982. Memories of the Armenian Revolutionary Activist, from Kars to Constantinople (1909), Teheran (in Arm.).
5. Shamlyan S. 1930. The War of Dardanelle, Constantinople (In Arm.).

---

<sup>2</sup> Additional literature about the operation in the Dardanelle - Korbett 1997: 470 (in Russian); Narochnitskaya 2014; Shamlian 1930 (in Arm.).

## THE NATIONAL IDEOLOGY OF MAGHAKIA ORMANYAN

Lilit Sarvazyan

*Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law of NAS RA*

*"Today, the Armenians do not lack any element  
necessary to form a civilized nation".*

*Maghakia Ormanyan*

At the core of the national ideology of prominent Armenian theologian, philosopher, jurist, diplomat, educator Maghakia Ormanyan (1841-1918) are his historical-philosophical, political, ecclesiastical, constitutional-legal concepts, which are reflected in the works of great thinker. The scientific outlook, national thinking, as well as political, civic, and religious orientations of Ormanyan gain meaning by his liberal-minded conservatism. For this reason, he has been praised as a liberal and progressive revolutionary or criticized as a traditionalist conservative and anti-revolutionary. The ambiguity of this assessment is compounded by Ormanyan's national ideology, the key of which is the Armenian-Homeland relationship, with their unbreakable unity and the idea of the nation's political self-determination.

Rejecting the views of European political philosophy according to which the bases of nationalism are state-law organizations or that the nation is "an artificial category" and has "no roots either in nature or in history,"<sup>1</sup> Ormanyan argues that the existence of nations as mankind is defined by divine law, which derives from their inalienable right to exist. According to the thinker, a full society is formed in the very sense of coexistence that has already been formed as a nation by its social and political nature. "The first step, the result, and the meaning of friendship, is nationality, whereby people will realize their social nature in legitimate, moderate, feasible and beneficial terms."<sup>2</sup>

Ormanyan also evaluates the nation as a natural, substantive-ontological basis of the state; the nation is the source, the holder and the political entity of state sovereignty. And if the basis of national consciousness is state-political integrity in the European mind, then the self-consciousness of the Armenian nation is the starting point that led to the ideas of political self-organization and state unity of Armenians. This idea of the Armenian thinker is in line with the observation of the German philosopher J.Habermas, "The national self-consciousness of the people is the cultural context that has contributed to the growth of citizens' political activism."<sup>3</sup>

Maghakia Ormanyan interprets the existence of a nation by its constitutive life-forms - history, population, language, and homeland, which interweave the components

---

<sup>1</sup> See Khrokh 2002: 122; Smith 2002: 338.

<sup>2</sup> Ormanyan 1880a: 20.

<sup>3</sup> Habermas 2002: 368.

of the spiritual essence of the nation; "... the nation ought to have a tradition, a multitude, a language, a center, an organization and a purpose for existence."<sup>4</sup>

**Tradition (history)** is evidence of the existence of a nation. According to Ormanyan, the national history of Armenian people should be understood and interpreted not only as a tragedy of decline and destruction, but also as a history of a glorious political past, which has rightly become the historical-political basis of national preservation, for "...the nation who has a history of forty centuries and has not perished, will not be perished from now on."<sup>5</sup>

In examining **ethnicity** as a key element of a nation's existence, Ormanyan refuses to call Armenians a "minority" or a "community", especially in their own homeland. According to him, there has been no definite number of people in the historical period of the genesis of nations, and in the modern world there are large and small numbers of peoples recognized as separate nations by their own statehoods. Therefore, four million Armenians "... always had and now also have a large population, enough to form a nationality, and one can say boldly that the Armenians are one ethnicity."<sup>6</sup>

The **homeland-center** is the natural basis of national existence, the cradle where the Armenian people became nationalized. Consequently, the Armenians are the natural heir of their homeland and the legal entity; and Armenia is indivisible from the nation, even under foreign rule. According to Ormanyan, the Armenian nation is a patriotic and one-centered idea by nature.

Ormanyan values **language** as a means of communication, a way of social and political communication, as well as a unifying factor for various segments of the nation. In order not to deviate from the natural patterns of preservation and development of the national language itself, he demands to study all the provincial dialects to filter out the traditional distortions, to avoid the mechanical introduction of grammar of foreign languages, to preserve the national nuances of the Armenian language, which are conditioned by national linguistics.

Thus, history, population, homeland, and language are the **objective** foundations of nationalism that constitute the physical existence of the nation. According to Ormanyan's observation, the **spiritual** components of the nation - national organization, national purpose and national unity - are also embedded in this being. The Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople was a national structure in Western Armenia, with its jurisdiction over the subjects of Armenian faith of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, Ormanyan combines the factor of national unity with the National Center as a factor of national preservation.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup>Ormanyan 1880a: 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ormanyan 1879a: 2240.

<sup>6</sup> Ormanyan 1880a: 19.

<sup>7</sup> For a detailed analysis of this problem see Sarvazyan 2011: 60-64.

Commenting on the European understanding of the idea of national unity, the Armenian thinker draws attention to the fact that in Europe "... the union of nationality is established at the beginning of a political union, in which, if other divisions exist in a nation, its union is not divided into such unequal divisions; they are locked in some content, and the union of nations is not false at all."<sup>8</sup> That is, the national unity and the civic unity are alike, and in this case the religious, national and other features are ignored.

It should be noted that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the political status of Armenians was extremely dangerous to defend the idea of both state and national unities, which presupposed the unity of the subject nation. The idea of **Ottomanism** as a citizenship, circulated within the Ottoman government, pursued that very purpose. Considering this circumstance, Maghakia Ormanyan emphasizes that the problem of the national unity must be resolved in accordance with the political realities of the time. As he pointed out, it was possible to form a complete unity in all social elements, who recognized their Armenianness and wished to remain in unity with the Armeniency.<sup>9</sup> For example, according to him, discussing the issue of the **religious divisions** of the nation does not imply freedom of conscience, denial of church rights, or a call for unification of churches. If the religious choice of some people is not conditioned by political considerations, their freedom of will must be respected. But it is also preferable the nation's confessional union, which has always been valued as one of the foundations of national unity, for the defense of national interests was also carried out in partnership with the nation's spiritual authority when being subjugated by foreign powers. Consequently, the unity of the Armenians with the Mother See "... has such profound effects *that it is not the Armenians who form a church, but the Armenian Church converts to nationality* (emphasis added - L.S.)."<sup>10</sup>

The religious and administrative divisions of the Armenians were carried out forcibly, regardless of the will of the nation. According to Ormanyan, the national unity is also possible in the case of these divisions. To do this, one must first reject fatalism as a political ideology and oppose nationwide violence as a national fate. The unity of the Armenians must be achieved by national consent and will.

The **nation-wide goal** is valued as the main spiritual factor of nationalism, without which the national aspirations and activities are groundless. According to Ormanyan, the goal is the direct consequence of the nation's existence. But this being is perceived and evaluated unequivocally, which is the reason for the difference between the choice of national goals and their priority. "... While some move in moderation in praise of modest purpose, others are bolder in the pursuit of a higher purpose."<sup>11</sup> The realistic and far-sighted national figures attach importance to the idea of the Armenian nation as

---

<sup>8</sup> Ormanyan 1879b: 25-26.

<sup>9</sup> Ormanyan 1880a: 27.

<sup>10</sup> Idem.

<sup>11</sup> Idem: 28.

an acting nation, rejecting the image of a "sick and miserable" people, and displaying the political will to legally reform the national life.

It is noteworthy that Ormanyan does not mention religion among the foundations of nationalism, for it is "... according to its meaning and political science, a condition of substance, and of human society, whose nationality is a relic, or is born of a very new nature."<sup>12</sup> He does not accept the idea of a "lawless" society. As for national religion, the thinker affirms the unity of nation and religion: "What was religious to us was and really is a national."<sup>13</sup>

The goal of the constitutional movement of the XIX century in Western Armenia was the **national self-determination of Armenians**, according to Maghakia Ormanyan; the natural basis of the legitimacy of the political self-governance of the nation is the existence of the Armenian nation, since if **there is no nation, there cannot be a state**, but not vice versa. In this context, his explanation of the political meaning of the term "**nation**" is noteworthy, according to which the "nation" is not identical to the concept of "people". The point is that the nation is different from other ethnic communities in terms of being **politically self-organized and self-governed**, which has manifested itself in all periods of the Armenian history.

Ormanyan conceives of the existence of the Armenianness by the spiritual abilities of the nation ("talents"). According to him, the national spirit encompasses the totality of spiritual attributes and relationships of Armenian individuals. The beginning of the knowledge of the national spirit is the self-consciousness of the Armenian individual, because "One part of the spirit of the Armenians is within each of us, and the soul of most of us is, in some way, the soul of the Armenian majority, and the spirit of the Armenians is the soul of the Armenian majority."<sup>14</sup> **The national soul is the basis of the nation's identity**, in which the Armenian self differs from other nations and peoples in affirming its inimitability, the **National Self**. In this reality, Ormanyan stresses the impossibility of merging Armenians with other nations, because "... the Armenian was always excellent in preserving his authenticity over another universal nation. And he/she has shown so much power and ability that it is indispensable that he/she should be saved from the waves of worldly people, if not without injury, at least without a restrained sinking, to free his/her national ship."<sup>15</sup> Thus, the nation has solved the problem of her existence and, consequently, she is capable to be developed through civilizational factors.

The basis for the determination of the identity of national civilization is the philosophical understanding of history. Criticizing the theories that "the Armenian nation is merely a historical and non-political community" and that Armenia is "in a phase of decline or collapse",<sup>16</sup> Ormanyan asserts that the Armenian civilization is in continuous

---

<sup>12</sup> Idem: 54.

<sup>13</sup> Idem: 55.

<sup>14</sup> Ormanyan 1879c: 5.

<sup>15</sup> Ormanyan 1879a: 2231.

<sup>16</sup> Nalbandyan 1980: 317; Gevorgyan 2005: 66.

existence, which is conditioned by the continuous transformation of the Armenian nation and cultural-political aptitude. According to him, the Armenian nation has been able to establish national-administrative structures of self-governance under the statehood, in the national-liberation struggle and under foreign rule. Despite the fact that the Armenian nation has lost its statehood, it has also preserved its national identity through non-political means, giving them a hidden political shade. The proof of this is that the Armenian nation not only survived, but also permanently participated in national and regional cultural and civilization movements. Consequently, "the Armenians do not lack an element today that is required to form a civilized nation."<sup>17</sup>

The right to national self-determination is interpreted in Ormanyan's ideology as the right to determine one's own political life or to define one's political personality. According to him, **the right of nations to self-determination should be exercised exclusively in the homeland of the self**, which rejects the principle of administrative autonomy, on the basis of which the mechanical segregation of the national-historical territories is carried out, as a result of which the nations are deprived of their national sovereignty. Ormanyan puts forward important assumptions that should become an irreplaceable basis for diplomatic negotiations over the issue of national sovereignty. They are as follows:

- the genesis and existence of the nation are conditioned by tribal origin and historical homeland;
- the natural individuals of self-identified nationality are: "... those related to it by descent and relationship; the use of language is not essential; the difference of religion is not a negative condition;"
- a nation cannot be deported from its homeland by any international law, and the international law must not contradict the natural and historical rights of nations;<sup>18</sup>
- the objective conditions for the actual and legal recognition of national political rights are "...historical existence, political life and civilized power"<sup>19</sup> as well as the spiritual-cultural value system;
- the relatives who have emigrated from their home country should not be considered as nationalist elements alienated from the national life;
- the territories, occupied by foreign states, must be returned to their rightful owner by the international law;
- the Armenian state does not exclude the residence and peaceful coexistence of foreign nations. But there is no doubt that "Armenia is the land of Armenians, and the Armenian land owner is Armenian";<sup>20</sup>
- the Alliance of Nations is acceptable for establishing diplomatic relations, unifying common interests and co-operating the means, necessary for political reforms;

<sup>17</sup> Ormanyan 1879a: 2231.

<sup>18</sup> Ormanyan 1931: 370.

<sup>19</sup> Idem.

<sup>20</sup> Ormanyan 1880a: 47.



○the subjects violating the right of political immunity of the nations on the way to self-determination or independence should be tried in the International Supreme Court, composed of representatives of military-political powers and representatives of the neighboring states of the region, where any action, prohibited by law, shall be condemned;

○inter-ethnic and inter-state disputes must be resolved through political and legal processes, ending them with mutually beneficial agreements and excluding military conflicts.

In fact, Ormanyan sets out the principles of international law protecting the right of nations to self-determination in the historical homeland, regulating international relations, and asserting the political responsibility of dominant states that were essential in the 19th century and have a contemporary sound in the context of present political realities.

The important components of the national ideology, Ormanyan confessed, are interpretations of the **historical role of Armenian Church** as a national foundation as well as the foundations of sovereignty, the political significance of the doctrinal struggle, the legislative, advisory, political, judicial, and diplomatic activities of the Armenian spiritual authority. According to him, preserving the administrative sovereignty of the Armenian Church could solve many national problems, especially in the case of Armenian subjects. In this context, he argues for the origin, mission and self-governance of Patriarchal Seat, as well as the legal inheritance, the inalienability of the Church's administrative independence and national rights.

It is no coincidence that Ormanyan conducts the examination of national history on the basis of the unity of history of both the Armenian Church and Armenian political life with the aim of revealing the spiritual and secular realities of national being. According to him, with the officialization of Christianity in Armenia, "... church history was closely linked to political events."<sup>21</sup> Rejecting the notion that spiritual power and its rights derive from political authority, Ormanyan affirms that the church is Christ-centered and that "... the existence and origin and life of Patriarchal Seats are governed by ecclesiastical laws and can only be changed by ecclesiastical laws. Spiritual jurisdiction does not derive from political authority, nor can it be a source of political authority ... Consequently, the encroachment on political authority is contrary to legal principles."<sup>22</sup> He criticizes pro-Greek and pro-Latin views on the origins of the Armenian Church, as well as the denial of Armenian Church's sovereignty.<sup>23</sup>

Ormanyan's concept of the **relation between secular and spiritual authorities is essential**. As an important historical testimony, he recalls that Armenians have always moved the Catholicosate to the center of political power. The Armenian kings sought to have the Patriarchate seat. And in the state-free periods, the nation's spiritual

<sup>21</sup> Ormanyan 1912: 71.

<sup>22</sup> Ormanyan 1931: 340; See also Ormanyan 1886: 14-15.

<sup>23</sup> See the analysis of this problem in Sarvazyan 2008a: 70-85; Sarvazyan 2008b: 24-34 .

independence has been the basis of its political self-organization and self-governance. "The patriarchal office, in addition to religious affiliation, enjoyed political and national rights, and occupied an important place within the royal authority."<sup>24</sup> Without claiming to theocracy, the sovereign administration of the Armenian Church was able to be a legislative body in the national life, defining the rights and duties of the nation with the power to enforce the laws.

Ormanyan rejects the views of both spiritual and secular authorities on merging or absolute separation. According to him, the key to resolving the problem is to accurately differentiate the essence, powers, and functions of the authorities, excluding the domination or subordination of any of them. He defines **secular** (state, political, or patriarchal) authority as "... the power or ability to impose laws on the relations of members and to make orders for the protection of society."<sup>25</sup> That is, the essence of secular power is manifested in law-making, administrative and judicial functions. **Spiritual** (ecclesiastical) authority "... is a gradual order of the various classes, and is a devoted state or authority governed by divine and spiritual rule."<sup>26</sup> It is designed to prescribe church rules, monitor their application, protect and unite the people, preserve spiritual values, implement national rituals, etc. Investigating the historical-political and spiritual activity of the national authorities and its results, the thinker asserts that national figures should be called those who never made the basis of the nation's existence subject to enforced concessions, being "*a worker in preserving the Armenian Kingdom and the Armenian Church* (emphasis added – L. S.)."<sup>27</sup>

The policy of resolving inter-ethnic conflicts in the religious struggle of the V-XIX centuries has been based on true faith-based arguments and attempts to reach agreement on them. When commenting on the **policy of the Armenian Church**, Maghakia Ormanyan substantiates the relationship of Christological issues to legal and political issues, the Armenian Church's national position in the doctrinal struggle, the equality of churches in inter-church relations, the irrevocability of the ideology of Armenian religion as preserving national identity. According to him, the rapprochement of churches is possible only with the necessary and acceptable principles. Does he criticize the Catholic Church's intolerant policy of "... eternal salvation in the Roman Church," or the Greek Church's policy of refusing to recognize the national forms of church counseling? In contrast to these churches, the policy of the Armenian Church is based on the principles of **forgiveness, freedom, and tolerance**. "According to Ormanyan," Our Church sums up the amount of core beliefs necessary for unity, upholding the freedom of each Church in secondary affairs, dyophysitism, habits, and conveniences. ... ».<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Ormanyan 1912: 308.

<sup>25</sup> Ormanyan 1985: 20.

<sup>26</sup> Ormanyan 1886: 2.

<sup>27</sup> Ormanyan 1913: 1924.

<sup>28</sup> Ormanyan 1956: 6.

Not avoiding negotiations with other churches, the Armenian Church has pursued a compromise on the issues that were not essential to the nation and the church. For the sake of political ends, the idea of uniting the churches as **equal and independent entities** is considered acceptable only, when considering Christian solidarity as the basis, for peaceful resolution of legal, political and spiritual issues, for the security and welfare of the nation.<sup>29</sup>

Apart from political and religious reasons, the complexity of inter-church relations is conditioned by the fact that despite the Christian moral laws, which are universal and acceptable to all mankind, church rules operate within the framework of national co-existence, defining the rights and responsibilities of particular church members. Emphasizing this fact, Ormanyan affirms: "Christ never put his faith in an anti-national situation; and that the ancient and primitive church respected each nation's principle of governing by national church administration."<sup>30</sup> Consequently, church regulations vary in different societies, and the laws of any church are not necessarily applicable to others.

Thus, the Armenian Church differs from other Christian churches in its freedom of ideas, nationalism, democratic principles of administration, and national activity. Maghakia Ormanyan's national ideology is essential to the foundations of the political organization of the society, the state structure, the essence and forms of governance, the subject of power, and the tendencies of national politics.<sup>31</sup> According to the thinker, the granting of power is a natural rule established by divine laws, which derives from the rights of nations to equality and self-government. Whereas in European philosophies the idea of state sovereignty is emphasized, Ormanyan sees the sovereignty not only as an attribute of the state, but also as a **natural right of the nation and the foundation of national-political independence**. In this connection he assures: "Every authority must be the property of the company that seeks protection, because if any company does not have its own power and is governed by the power of another company, it means that it is under the control of that company."<sup>32</sup>

Confirming the history of the forms of government, Ormanian argues that these forms are either right or wrong, based on the consideration of legitimacy of state formation, security of both the people and the state, moral description of the rulers, and other factors. He considers **democratic-constitutional governance** the best, and excluding the success of revolutionary movements in the history under discussion, he points out the constitutional way of resolving national issues to be more realistic, based on the system of values of national constitutional and political culture.

The principles of separation of powers, balances and restraint are essential in the constitutional governance system. According to Ormanyan, they operate not only in the

---

<sup>29</sup> See the detailed analysis of the problem in Sarvazyan 2008c: 34-50.

<sup>30</sup> Ormanyan 1879b: 29.

<sup>31</sup> Lloyd 2002: 193; Mirumyan 2004: 163; Mirumyan 2006: 194, 319.

<sup>32</sup> Ormanyan 1985: 20.

administration of state but also in spiritual authority, since "Church authority contains the **legal, tyrannical** (executive-L.S.), **and judicial law**."<sup>33</sup> The constitutional power also presupposes the interdependence, balance, disparity and harmony of the functions and policies of the individual branches of power.

Ormanyan conditioned the efficiency of the operation of the state by a **democratic constitutional system**, whose standard and guarantee of legitimacy and fairness is the maximum participation of the people in public administration. "It should be subordinate to the government ... it will be made up of members of the public. It is only a question of which member is going to do the job or exercise that right."<sup>34</sup> He attaches importance to the **principle of national agreement** in the process of formation of authorities. The application of the **principle of justice** begins with the nomination of candidates, taking into account not only their personal merits, but also their national interest, political wisdom, experience in defending national and state rights and interests, popular authority, and so on.

In the legal and philosophical conception of Maghakia Ormanyan, **national conservatism** has emerged as a political creed. It is most evident in the arguments for the relationship between laws and rights, freedom and responsibility. He urges not to confuse the meaningful appreciation of the idea of freedom with political and legal definitions. In a meaningful way, freedom is a supreme value given by God. **Freedom is the natural basis of human dignity, the primary attribute of human identity and sovereignty**, but freedom in social and political life is manifested by other standards in relation to laws, rights, and obligations. From this perspective the thinker explains: "When I summarize the issue in such a narrow and definite context, I see the use of Freedom under the present conditions, rules, and laws as a basic principle, because the activity of pleasure, of living in pleasure, will become a violation of Freedom."<sup>35</sup> The boundary of one's freedom in national (social) relations is the freedom of other individuals, and the arbitrariness of one is countered by the arbitrariness of others. Therefore, the legalization of freedom is possible only by established laws, since "...the idea of freedom does not mean being free of chains and rules. The rule and order, the size and weight, the manner and conditions are the educators and guardians of Liberty."<sup>36</sup>

Ormanyan makes an important observation on the problem of law enforcement, noting that copying is easier when it is voluntary and not coercive. However, it should not be ignored that the **free man is subject to just laws**, and "... It is enough that there is no doubt about the existence of Order and Law, because even a scientifically incorrect law is not a law and does not give rise to any obligation."<sup>37</sup> On this plane, the

---

<sup>33</sup> Idem: 24.

<sup>34</sup> Idem: 25.

<sup>35</sup> Ormanyan 1931: 39.

<sup>36</sup> Idem: 40.

<sup>37</sup> Idem.

balance of the right and responsibility of freedom of public officials is also valued. According to the political scientist, the administrative freedom of the manager should be limited by **civil laws**, because the just, the legitimate and the useful are restricted to individual and national-state interests and rights.

Ormanyan's concept of legislative activity and the variability of laws are of particular importance. According to him, the basics of law making are: 1) Recognize the historical and political realities of the time, the current state and affairs of the nation, state interests, public needs, national rights and the peculiarities of the country; 2) study the spirit of laws, the ability of people to understand their purpose and put them into practice; 3) study foreign law codes and constitutions, but always remembering that "Very good things (theories - L.S.), very good laws ... are being established ... in various worlds and nations. It is inappropriate to argue that they should be applied in our own nation and world in the same way, and expect immediate benefits from it..."<sup>38</sup> Therefore, some laws can be borrowed if they are absent from the national law, and the necessity of their implementation in national life is substantiated. In addition, it is very important for the law making process to be on a legal way but not vice versa.

By proclaiming the Christian slogan "**Laws are for man**", Maghakia Ormanyan reveals the essence of the laws, the spirit and the principles of application. If divine and natural laws are eternal, then positive laws can be changed for the sake of human welfare. The lawmaker explains the relationship between the **external** (formal) and **internal** (essential) aspects of the law as a relation of **law** and **morality**. The moral principles embodied in the hearts of nature are that "... the spirit of the law will be embodied as a spirit that in itself is nothing but an inanimate, inactive and uninfluential body."<sup>39</sup> Acknowledging the **unity of the Old and New Testaments**, the theologian affirms that the literal definitions of the Old Law are complemented by the spiritual-moral principles of Christianity, which give new meaning and spirit to the laws.

Ormanyan's assessment of civil and national virtues places special emphasis on the **LOVE LAW**, which is the essence and summary of all Divine commandments, "And he said unto them, 'Whatsoever ye would, that men should do unto you, even so do ye them', for this is the law and the prophets."<sup>40</sup> The Golden Rule is the spiritual basis of constitutional laws, regulating public and national relations, from which administrative, civil, marital, inheritance, procedural, and other rights derive. He rejects "unwise judgments" based on the Christian commandment: "Do not judge that you will not be judged. For by what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged by him; and by what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you."<sup>41</sup> With this command he criticizes both the wrongdoings of individuals and the invasive policy of the Homeland and the nation.

---

<sup>38</sup> Ormanyan 1879c: 31.

<sup>39</sup> Ormanyan 1880b: 61.

<sup>40</sup> Matthew. Ch. 7. 12.

<sup>41</sup> Matthew. Ch. 7. 1-2.

According to Ormanyan, secular laws are the opposite of Divine definitions, unless they come from the latter. In this context, he explains: "There are so many external and carnal interests, they can never be a ransom for the release of inner and spiritual harm."<sup>42</sup> The divine law can be blessed in two ways: by **observing the commandments and by charity**: the first is a prerequisite and the second is a perfect degree, but human capacity is limited and insufficient for self-control and salvation. "Above all, there is a divine power, before which nothing is impossible, and which is a helper to mankind in all its gifts and graces."<sup>43</sup> At the same time, the importance of the truth, the supreme help, the application of the Divine laws are harmonized with the free activity of man in accordance with those laws. It is obvious that the thinker combines the ideas of Divine providence, human will and freedom of choice, which are valued not only in interpersonal relations but also in the national and inter-ethnic plane.

Summarizing the main points of Maghakia Ormanyan's national ideology, we can conclude:

The national issues are argued in his conception of the libertarian-conservative position, viewing nation and national existence as methodological starting points.

The existence of a nation is conditioned by the constituent foundations of history, population, language, and homeland, embodying the components of the spiritual essence of a nation (national organization, national purpose, and national unity).

Contrary to European views on civilizations, it is proved that Armenian civilization is not in a state of decline or collapse, but in continuous existence, which is manifested by the constant transformation of the nation and its cultural potential. Armenian civilization is a culture of realization of the nation's sovereignty, self-organization and self-governing abilities.

The right of national self-determination is interpreted as the right to determine one's own political life or to define one's political personality. Moreover, the right of nations to self-determination must be exercised in the homeland of an entity on the way to self-determination.

The unity of the history of the Armenian Church and the unity of the Armenian political history reveals the spiritual and secular realities. It is argued that the nation's spiritual independence in the periods of statehood was the basis of its political self-organization and self-governance.

The policy of the Armenian Church is interpreted in the context of Christological problems and legal-political issues. The Armenian Church's national position in the doctrinal struggle, the administrative equality of the churches in inter-church relations, and the immutability of the ideologies of the Armenian religion as a spiritual basis for the preservation of national identity are emphasized.

When arguing the foundations of the political organization of society, the power is regarded as the natural law prescribed by the Divine laws, from which the rights of

---

<sup>42</sup> Ormanyan 1911: 332.

<sup>43</sup> Idem: 540.

nations to self-governance derive. Whereas in European philosophical theories the idea of state sovereignty is emphasized, Ormanyan's concept of sovereignty is argued not only as an attribute of the state, but also as a natural right of the nation and a condition of national political independence.

Excluding the success of the revolutionary movements in the history under discussion, Ormanyan considers the constitutional way of solving national problems more realistic, based on the constitutional system of national and political culture.

The efficiency of the operation of the state is conditioned by a democratic constitutional system, operating on the basis of the constitution, whose standard and guarantee of legitimacy and fairness is the maximum participation of the people in public administration through the principle of national consent.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Gevorgyan H.A. 2005. Philosophy. History. Culture, Yerevan (in Arm.).
2. Habermas J. 2002. European national state. Its achievements and territory. About the past and future of the sovereignty of the citizen, in *Nation and Nationalism*, Moscow, 364-380 (in Russian).
3. Khrokh M. 2002. From national movements to the completely formed nation. The process of the nation-building in Europe, in *Nation and Nationalism*, 121-145 (in Russian).
4. Lloyd D. 2002. *The Idea of Laws* (transl. from English), Moscow (in Russian).
5. Nalbandyan M. 1980. Notices, in *Complete works*, vol. 2, Yerevan (in Arm.).
6. Mirumyan K. 2004. *The History of Political Science*, part 1. Classical period, Yerevan (in Russian).
7. Mirumyan K. 2006. *History of Political doctrines*, Yerevan (in Arm.).
8. Ormanyan M. 1879a. Past, present and future of the Armenian, Massis, Constantinople, 2230- 2240 (in Arm.).
9. Ormanyan M. 1879b. *The Union of the Armenians* (Speech), Constantinople (in Arm.).
10. Ormanyan M. 1879c. *The Soul of Armenians* (Speech), Constantinople (in Arm.).
11. Ormanyan M. 1880a. *Armenian Nationality* (Speech), Constantinople (in Arm.).
12. Ormanyan M. 1880b. *Armenian youth* (Speech), Constantinople (in Arm.).
13. Ormanyan M. 1886. *Mother See of Armenia*, Vagharshapat (in Arm.).
14. Ormanyan M. 1911. *Hamapatum. The Contents of four Books of gospels binded, harmonized and explained*, Constantinople (in Arm.).
15. Ormanyan M. 1912. *National History. Events of the Armenian Orthodox church from the beginning to the present told through national circumstances*, part 1, Constantinople (in Arm.).
16. Ormanyan M. 1913. *National History*, part 2, Constantinople (in Arm.).

17. Ormanyan M. 1931. Thoughts and speeches on his last period of life, Jerusalem (in Arm.).
18. Ormanyan M. 1956. The luminous belief of Armenian church (two kondaks), Anthilias-Lebanon (in Arm.).
19. Ormanyan M. 1985. Rudiments of Theology. Theoretical theology, Jerusalem (in Arm.).
20. Sarvazyan L. 2008a. The problem of foundations of the Armenian church's autonomy in the doctrine of Maghakia Ormanyan, Bulletin of the Russian-Armenian University, Yerevan, 2008/1, 70-85 (in Arm.).
21. Sarvazyan L. 2008b. Historical-political and juridical argumentations regarding the authenticity of the «Charter of Friendship and Concord», Armenia. Finances and Economics, 2008/10, 24-34 (in Arm.).
22. Sarvazyan L. 2008c. National policy of the Armenian Church in the context of the attempts to unification of churches and theological struggle, Armenia. Finances and Economics, 2008/11-12, 34-50 (in Arm.).
23. Sarvazyan L. 2011. The Idea of national unity in the doctrine of Maghakia Ormanyan, Armenia. Finances and Economics, 2011/8, 60-64 (in Arm.).
24. Smith E. 2002. Nationalism and Historians, in Nation and Nationalism (transl. from English), Moscow, 236-263 (in Russian).

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



---

# FOREIGN SOURCES AND AUTHORS ABOUT ARMENIA AND ARMENIANS

---

## THE VALLEY OF THE UPPER EUPHRATES RIVER AND ITS PEOPLE

Ellsworth Huntington, Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, Vol. 34, No. 4  
(1902), pp. 301-310.

-----

**Ellsworth Huntington** (1876 –1947) was professor of geography at the Yale University (USA) during the early 20th century, known for his studies on environmental determinism/climatic determinism, economic growth and economic geography. He served as President of the Ecological Society of America in 1917, the Association of American Geographers in 1923 and President of the Board of Directors of the Society for Biodemography and Social Biology from 1934 to 1938. E.Huntington participated in several geographical expeditions to Central Asia, Palestine, travelled in different regions of Western Armenia and Asia Minor.

The article published in the «Bulletin of the American Geographical Society» is devoted to the physical-geographical and climatic characteristics of the vilayet of Harput (Armenian Kharberd), as well as discusses briefly the mode of life of its population.

---

On account of the mountainous character of the country, and the obstacles to travel imposed by the Government, many of the most interesting parts of Turkey are almost unknown to foreigners. One of these is the «vilayet» or province of Harput, about as large as the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut combined. It contains not only the fertile plains of Harput and Malatia, the rugged mountains of Shiro, and the wild fastnesses of Dersim, where the Kurds are still independent, but also the meeting-place of the two streams which form the famous Euphrates river. Elsewhere I have described in detail the great river and its cañon, the archaeology of the region, and its climate; in this paper it is my purpose to give a general description of the geography, using the word in a broad sense to include the physical features, the inhabitants, and the relation of the two.

**TAURUS MOUNTAINS.**- On the south lie the Taurus Mountains, which run nearly east and west from the northeastern angle of the Mediterranean Sea to a point south of Lake Van. The rather flattened, square-shouldered summits vary in height from 5,000 to 8,000 feet, and are separated from the waste-floored intermont basins by slopes which are usually steep even when covered with soil, and almost everywhere show ledges and cliffs of naked rock. In the very middle of the range is a great longitudinal valley, containing Lake Gyuljuk, which lies high in the neck of a great bend of the Euphrates river, and gives rise to the longest branch of the Tigris river. At this point the mountains

contract from a width of a hundred miles, and a height of 6,000 feet or more at the passes, to a width of only thirty miles, and a height of but little over 4,000 feet, so that there is an opportunity for easy communication between the people of Mesopotamia and those of the series of elevated plains which form the floors of the intermont basins. The important road which here crosses the mountains from north to south forms the only much-used wagon route in an east and west distance of over four hundred miles. In ancient times this physiographic feature seems to have been as important as now. A comparison of the pre-historic mounds found in the plains just north of the contracted portion of the mountains, on the one hand, with those still farther to the north and at a distance from the low, narrow part of the mountains, on the other, shows that while the latter are of purely Thraco-Armenian style, the former - i. e., those near the break in the mountains - by their size and composition, and by the bricks and burial urns which they contain, indicate that at this place of easy passes Babylonian influence crossed the mountains, which elsewhere interposed an almost impassable barrier.

**INTERIOR PLAINS.-** The plains of the interior, like those of the Basin region of the western United States, are typical examples of deformed basins, partly filled with waste from the surrounding mountains, under the influence of a somewhat dry climate. They lie in several longitudinal series, between great mountain ranges. The series which lies just north of the Taurus Mountains stretches from Alashgerd, north of Lake Van, to Malatia, and contains eight main plains. Those that I have seen are very smooth, although they have a general slope toward and with the streams which drain them, and the line where they abut against the mountains is so marked that, when seen from an elevation, it suggests a shore-line, with bays and promontories. 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.

**ANTI-TAURUS MOUNTAINS.-** North of the plains lie the Anti-Taurus ranges, the highest and most rugged of which are the Dersim Mountains, which, when seen from the south from the mountains around Harput, show a number of parallel ridges, which gradually grow higher toward the north. My one journey across them made it clear that they become much more rugged and, perhaps, more youthful in the northern portion. The southern ranges have rounded, gently-domed summits of varying height, with moderately steep, usually soil-covered slopes, supporting a growth of oak scrub, and are separated by broad valleys. The highest ridges, which reach an elevation of from 10,000 to 11,000 feet, present a crest-line of comparatively even height, with few detached peaks, but very many smaller elevations, producing a roughly-jagged,

serrated sky-line. The tops of the mountains are naked rock, chiefly limestone, and the sides are, for the most part, barren ledges, bordering steep, inaccessible valleys. On the north the highest ridge of the Dersim Mountains falls off steeply 6,000 feet or more to the plains and valley of the western branch of the Euphrates. The wildness of the mountains has prevented the Government from fully subduing the lawless Kuzzilbash Kurds who inhabit them.

**DRAINAGE.-** Except for the strange angle around Lake Gyuljuk, where the branches of the Tigris rise within five miles of the great encircling curve of the Euphrates, the whole region is drained by the latter stream. Numerous wet-weather mountain torrents bear immense quantities of waste down their steep valleys to the larger, imperfectly-graded streams, which, in turn, give it to the Euphrates to use in building up the fertile plains of Mesopotamia. The main rivers flow characteristically in large, right-angled zigzags, where the east and west part parallel to the mountains is a quiet river flowing usually on or slightly intrenched in one of the plains, while the other part, transverse to the mountains, leaves the open valley and flows over rapids through a steep gorge or cañon. Almost universally the streams are so young that they have not yet had time to broaden their valleys and develop flood-plains. Accordingly, as in all such countries, the people find it easier to climb over the mountains than to clamber along the steep sides of the rocky valleys. Communication is, of course, very slow and rare, and the effect of this is seen in the provincialism of the people and the great number of local dialects and customs.

**THE CAÑONS OF THE EUPHRATES RIVER-EVIDENCES OF YOUTH.-** Near the centre of the Harput vilayet the two main branches of the Euphrates unite and form the stream which has for so long been famous. It enters at once into a cañon, from which it emerges into the Malatia plain, only to plunge into the deepest and wildest of all the cañons. This immense cutting through the Taurus Mountains is, in certain places, almost as deep and grand as that of the Colorado, and the two resemble one another in many ways, although the Euphrates cuts across a folded mountain range, while the other is incised in a flat plateau. The extreme youth of the Euphrates is indicated by the numerous great rapids, the swift current, the steep walls and narrowness of the V-shaped valley, and the little hanging valleys which open into the cañon high on its sides. Below the mouths of these latter the main stream has cut so fast that the little ones could not keep pace with it, and are obliged to fall into the river in a series of lovely cascades. These hanging valleys are interesting as furnishing one of the very few examples of the normal type, although the glacial type is characteristic of many northern countries. The latter open at a high level into steep-sided but very wide and flat-floored U-shaped valleys with meandering streams. Those of the Euphrates and the Colorado, on the contrary, open into narrow, precipitous, V-shaped valleys, where the river not only has no room to meander, but has not even a flood-plain, and washes the solid rock

at the base of the sides. Other streams tributary to the Euphrates in this part of its course flow in steep-sided, narrow, new valleys cut in the bottoms of broader, flatter, older valleys. These seem to show that the Taurus Mountains have been re-elevated and the streams tilted in very recent geological times, so that the slope of the streams has been increased, and they have rapidly cut narrow valleys in the bottoms of the old ones.

**CLIMATE AND IRRIGATION.**- In climate the Harput vilayet somewhat resembles the State of Colorado. The long dry season lasts from the middle of June to the middle of October, and dries up all vegetation, except where there is running water. During summer the long-continued heat is trying in the lowlands, but on the mountains the nights are always cool. Spring and autumn everywhere enjoy a delightful climate, and the winters, with some snow and a temperature ranging from 10<sup>0</sup> F. to 40<sup>0</sup> F., are cold enough to be bracing, but are not severe. The rainfall of twenty inches or more is sufficient for all sorts of crops, but, owing to its uneven distribution through the year, irrigation is everywhere necessary. It is carried on in the most primitive way by small open ditches, and no attempt is made to conserve the supply of water, either by making reservoirs or by planting trees on the deforested mountains. Many, perhaps half, of the fields that are in use have no water supply, and are planted on the chance that the rain may be abundant; consequently in dry years the crops fail and there is much distress. Most of the larger streams are slightly intrenched in the plains to a depth of from twenty to a hundred feet or more, and, so far as I have seen, are never utilized for irrigation, although they might easily be used if several villages would combine. No one trusts his neighbour, however, and no one cares to work when he fears that the profit of his labour may be taken from him by violence or fraud. In the Malatia plain I saw a hundred square miles of the finest black soil lying unused, although surrounded on three sides by rivers, which might easily be turned on the land by canals a few miles long. As far as possible, villages are located on the edges of the plains, where water is abundant and pure; but where the plains are too large for the centre to be reached daily by farmers living on the edge, villages grow up wherever there is water at the surface. In such villages some wells are dug. The size of a plain may often be gauged by the location of its villages.

**THE DESTRUCTION OF FORESTS.**- Previous to the Christian era the whole country, except the plains, seems to have been well wooded; but now the mountains are bare, except in the remoter districts of Shiro and Dersim, where there are so-called forests, which consist mostly of oak scrub, with some large oak trees. Even this growth is fast being cut away; and when it is once gone, new trees have great difficulty in starting, because here, as in so many other cases, the soil is washed away very rapidly, and the goats eat up the young sprouts, which might otherwise start new forests. Only the gnarled, inhospitable, thorn apple tree is able, by means of its spines, to defend itself.

**WILD ANIMALS.-** Among the mountains but few animals are found, although insects and birds are abundant. Long-legged jerboas hop over the stony ground; hares are hunted during the winter; foxes and wolves are sometimes forced to approach the large towns by the stress of winter, and the latter are said to engage in fierce fights with the half-wild dogs which roam the streets of every city and town. Among the rougher mountains ibex are numerous, while in the more level regions there are a few gazelles. The people of the open plains and treeless mountains have a strange fear of the forests and of the fabulous snakes and wild beasts which they are supposed to contain, although the only dangerous animal is the comparatively harmless brown bear. He is held in great respect because of a certain impish hostility which he is supposed to entertain toward man. One night, when floating through the cañon of the Euphrates on a raft of skins, I decided to camp on the only available site - a little ledge of rock at the foot of an overhanging precipice. The Armenian raftsmen were much alarmed. «Don't stop here,» they said, «the bears will come in the night and throw stones upon us from the top of the precipice.» The only game bird that is much shot is the partridge, although wild pigeons, ducks, snipe, bustard, and other birds are abundant. Snakes are very rare, but turtles are found everywhere.

**VEGETATION OF THE PLAINS.-** The plains have probably worn nearly their present appearance ever since the dawn of history. That of Harput, in the centre of the country, is fairly representative of the larger and richer ones. For four years I saw it spread out like a map at the foot of the mountain on whose top the houses of the city cluster round the ruined castle, twelve hundred feet above the plain. Each year the wonderful change from season to season was more impressive. No dweller in a green land like the eastern part of America can fully realize the beauty of the brief snatch - of spring verdure which in this semi-arid land is gone from the lower mountains almost as soon as it comes, and stays on the plains but two or three short months. During the time of the spring showers, from the middle of March to the middle of June, the plains resemble our prairies, except for the universal background of mountains, which are never out of sight in Asia Minor. In the early spring broad stretches of waving grain are brightened by red tulips and big blue grape hyacinths, and later are gay with yellow mustard and red poppies. Occasionally unsown stretches are covered with a veritable sheet of purple, blue, yellow, red, or white flowers. Seen from above, these, with the far more numerous green grain fields and the brown ploughed land, give a strangely-checked plaid effect. Before the end of June the last showers have fallen, the bright flowers have given place to thistles and a few other hardy inconspicuous composite, the wheat and barley are turning yellow, and soon the plains assume the same dull grayish or yellowish-brown which the mountains always wear. After the long cloudless summer a few heavy autumn rains in October bring out such flowers as the yellow crocus, and the winter wheat gives some verdure to the plain, but in general the brown remains until it is covered with snow in late December or January.

**CHANGES IN THE APPEARANCE OF THE VILLAGES FROM SEASON TO SEASON.**- In early spring, before the leaves of the trees come out, the villages, with their flat-roofed houses of sun-dried brick, crowded together as closely as the cells of a wasp's nest, look like unsightly gray daubs of mud breaking the smooth verdure of the surrounding fields. Later, this ugliness is masked by the dark green of the encircling gardens, with their fruit trees (chiefly mulberries), their vineyards, and their slender, closely-trimmed poplars, which are planted in stiff rows, and form the only timber of the country. May and June are the time of greatest beauty, when the light green of the fields, the dark green of the vineyards, and the still darker green of the trees make the villages look like bits of Eden, set most of the time beneath the bluest of skies against a background of imposing brown mountains tipped with glistening snow. It is at this time that the real value of the omnipresent mulberry tree is evident. The leafy branches are cut for silkworms, and the berries are not only eaten at almost every meal, but some are dried, and either kept as a sort of raisin or powdered into flour for sweet-meats; while others are boiled to make molasses or *bastegh* - a sweet leathery gum, which is kept indefinitely in the form of great thin sheets and is eaten like candy. When the mulberry season arrives the number of beggars in the cities is materially decreased, for many of them go to the villages, where they camp under the mulberry trees and literally live on the fruit. With the mulberries come the hot days of summer, when the villages are dusty green patches set in a frame of fields of stubble; then follow the gray days of autumn, when villages, trees, plains, mountains, and sky seem at first sight indistinguishable. And lastly, in the winter the villages once more seem to be what they are -clusters of miserable mud hovels, soiling the purity of the snow, and often shut in for two or three weeks by a benumbing valley fog which keeps out all the sun's heat and makes the plains inexpressibly dismal, although the higher mountain slopes above the sea of fog are rejoicing in the most perfect winter weather, with a temperature ten or fifteen degrees higher.

I have spoken of the mountains and of the plains, but the most attractive region lies between the two, at the mouths of the little valleys where the mountains join the plains and send out numerous springs. Water is here abundant all the year, and so, in spite of the perfect chaos of boulders, pebbles, and sand brought down by floods, the villagers clear the stones away on the two sides of the channel and make gardens in the midst of a very desert. It is in such places that the finest vineyards, orchards, and vegetable gardens are found; and it is there that one realizes what a splendid country this might be if it were properly developed.

**THE PEOPLE - KURDS** -These rugged mountains and level plains, with their fine climate and splendid possibilities, are inhabited by three races-Armenians, Kurds, and Turks - the remnants of successive migrations. Of these races the most primitive is the Kurds, probably the Carduchi of Xenophon, who comprise three main divisions - Kurman, Zaza, and Kuzzilbash - differing in language and customs, and probably in

race, although all are usually spoken of as Kurds. The Kurmans, in the few places where I have seen them, are an avaricious, suspicious people. Farther south they are partly nomadic, and have retained their own character and customs, but here among the Turks they are sedentary, and have assumed many of the traits and habits of their neighbours. The Zazas are more interesting, perhaps because I know them better. They are largely shepherds, and either live among the mountains or are nomads wandering to Mesopotamia in winter and to the high mountains in summer, giving a simple illustration of climatic control of mode of life. In character and habits they much resemble the third division - the Kuzzilbash - although they are much better Moslems.

**THE KUZZILBASH - ORIGIN AND RELIGION.**- Kuzzilbash means «red head,» but whether it was applied to the people whose centre is in Dersim because of their fair complexions, or because of the red turbans which they often wear, is uncertain. They seem to have come westward from Persia, and to have brought with them a language related to Persian, some traces, possibly, of Persian fire worship, and the Persian or Shiah doctrine of Mohammedanism. The orthodox or Sunni Turks consider this Shiite doctrine the rankest heresy, and regard its professors as even more contemptible than Christians. The migrating Kuzzilbash found in the mountains a population of Christian Armenians, with whom, in course of time, they mingled, so that Armenian words and names are common in their language, and their religion has become a strange mixture of Shiite Mohammedanism and Christianity, with a trace of Paganism. Accurate information is hard to obtain, because, in talking with a Christian, they try to make their religion appear like Christianity. A prominent "agha" or village chief said to me:

We have four great prophets - Adam, Moses, David, and Jesus - of whom Jesus is the greatest. We have four holy books. [He used the word that is always used for the four Gospels.] All religions are but different roads to the same end-one long, one short, one easy, one hard. You go yours, and we go ours.

When I tried to talk about Mohammed he avoided the subject as though it were unpleasant, and others who were present insisted on changing the subject, so that I could learn nothing. The Kuzzilbash are said never to pray in private, but only when led by one of their sehids or religious chiefs, who have great influence among them. At certain times they observe a sort of sacrament, which closely resembles the Christian communion service. I have heard of this many times from Armenians who lived among them, but no competent observer seems to have witnessed it. The Kuzzilbash reverence all Christian sanctuaries and churches, and will even go into a church where service is being carried on and take part, kneeling and bowing with the Christian Armenians. To be sure, they will do the same thing in an orthodox or Sunni mosque; but in the latter case it is for fear of persecution, while in the former it is a matter of their own choice.



**RELATION OF KUZZILBASH AND TURKS.-** Wherever the Kuzzil-bash live in open, easily-accessible regions the Turks oppress them. I stopped one night at a village whose inhabitants I knew to be Kuzzilbash, and after we were seated in the dark, dirty, mud-floored, mud-walled room of the agha, I addressed them as such, in Turkish. By the light of the smoking, ill-smelling linseed oil taper I could see that their faces looked troubled, and they all asserted that they were Sunnis, not Kuzzilbash. A little later, when my escort, a Turkish soldier, left the room, an old man pointed to the whip which the Turk had left on the floor.

"What is that for?" he said.

"For his horse," I answered.

"No, it is for men, for us Kuzzilbash," and he went on to tell me a long story of how the soldiers had of late years come every year at harvest time and beaten them in order to extort more taxes. (To be continued.)

---

# DOCUMENTS: ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

---

**The Documents regarding the atrocities of the Armenian population of the Vilayet of Van in 1915. Extracted from "THE TREATMENT OF ARMENIANS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1915-1916)" (DOCUMENTS PRESENTED TO VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS by Viscount Bryce, with a preface by Viscount Bryce), London, 1916, p. 31-77.**

## II.

### VILAYET OF VAN.

*The Vilayet of Van had a higher percentage of Armenians in its population than any other province of the Ottoman Empire; it was also the border province of the north-eastern frontier, towards Russian and Persian territory, and as such was the earliest to be exposed to invasion after the breakdown of the Turkish offensive against the Caucasus in the winter of 1914-1915.*

*The documents contained in this section give a detailed and perfectly self-consistent account, from five independent sources, of those events at Van which led to the first open breach between the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and the Turks, and which gave the Government a pretext for extending the scheme of deportation already operative in Cilicia to the whole Armenian population under its jurisdiction.*

*The evidence makes it clear that there was no unprovoked insurrection of the Armenians at Van, as the Ottoman Government asserts in its official apologia. The Armenians only took up arms in self-defence, and the entire responsibility for the outbreak rests with Djevdet Bey, the local governor-whether he was acting on his own initiative or was simply carrying out instructions from Constantinople.*

#### **15. THE AMERICAN MISSION AT VAN: NARRATIVE PRINTED PRIVATELY IN THE UNITED STATES BY MISS GRACE HIGLEY KNAPP (1915).**

*The first part of this narrative, down to and including the sub-section headed "Deliverance," has been transcribed almost word for word by Miss Knapp from a letter she wrote at Van, on the 24th of May, 1915, to Dr. Barton, and has, therefore, all the value of contemporary evidence.*

*The period of the (first) Russian occupation of Van is also covered by two further letters from Miss Knapp to Dr. Barton-a long one written piece-meal on the 14th) 20th and 22nd June, and a second dated 26th July. These contain much more detail than the three corresponding sub-sections of her narrative, but the detail is principally devoted to personal matters and to the care of the Moslem refugees. As neither subject was strictly relevant to the purpose of the present collection, it seemed better to reprint the narrative rather than the letters in the case of these sections also.*

*There is also a letter (published in the Eleventh Report of the Women's Armenian Relief Fund) from Miss Louie Bond to Mrs. Orpin, written on the 27th July, almost the eve of the evacuation; but this, too, is practically entirely devoted to personal matters.*

*For the period of the retreat there are no contemporary letters, but only an undated memorandum by Miss Knapp, which agrees word for word with the latter part of her present narrative, from the beginning of the section headed " Flight " to the end.*

### **THE SETTING OF THE DRAMA AND THE ACTORS THEREIN.**

Van was one of the most beautiful cities of Asiatic Turkey- a city of gardens and vineyards, situated on Lake Van in the centre of a plateau bordered by magnificent mountains. The walled city, containing the shops and most of the public buildings, was dominated by Castle Rock, a huge rock rising sheer from the plain, crowned with ancient battlements and fortifications, and bearing on its lakeward face famous cuneiform inscriptions. The Gardens, so-called because nearly every house had its garden or vineyard, extended over four miles eastward from the walled city and were about two miles in width.

The inhabitants numbered fifty thousand, three-fifths of whom were Armenians, two-fifths Turks. The Armenians were progressive and ambitious, and because of their numerical strength and the proximity of Russia the revolutionary party grew to be a force to be reckoned with. Three of its noted leaders were Vremyan, member of the Ottoman Parliament; Ishkhan, the one most skilled in military tactics; and Aram, of whom there will be much to say later. The Governor often consulted with these men and seemed to be on the most friendly terms with them.

The American Mission Compound was on the south-eastern border of the middle third of the Gardens, on a slight rise of ground that made its buildings somewhat conspicuous. These buildings were a church building, two large new school buildings, two small ones, a lace school, a hospital, dispensary and four missionary residences. South-east, and quite near, was a broad plain. Here was the largest Turkish barracks of the large garrison, between which and the American premises nothing intervened. North and nearer, but with streets and houses between, was another large barracks, and farther north, within rifle range, was Toprak-Kala Hill, surmounted by a small barracks dubbed by the Americans the "Pepper Box." Five minutes' walk to the east of us was the German Orphanage managed by Herr Sporri, his wife and daughter (of Swiss extraction) and three single ladies.

The American force in 1914-1915 consisted of the veteran missionary, Mrs. G.C. Raynolds (Dr. Raynolds had been in America a year and a half collecting funds for our Van college, and had been prevented from returning by the outbreak of war); Dr. Clarence D. Ussher, in charge of the hospital and medical work; Mrs. Ussher, in charge of a philanthropic lace industry; Mr. and Mrs. Ernest A. Yarrow, in charge of the Boys' School and general work; Miss Gertrude Rogers, principal of the Girls' School; Miss Caroline Silliman, in charge of the primary department, and two Armenian and one Turkish kindergarten; Miss Elizabeth Ussher, in charge of the musical department; Miss Louise Bond, the English superintendent of the hospital; and Miss Grisel McLaren, our touring missionary. Dr. Ussher and Mr. Yarrow had each four children; I was a visitor from Bitlis.

## **BETWEEN THE DEVIL AND THE DEEP SEA.**

During the mobilization of the fall and winter the Armenians had been ruthlessly plundered under the name of requisitioning; rich men were ruined and the poor stripped. Armenian soldiers in the Turkish army were neglected, half starved, set to digging trenches and doing the menial work; but, worst of all, they were deprived of their arms and thus left at the mercy of their fanatical, age-long enemies, their Moslem fellow-soldiers. Small wonder that those who could find a loophole of escape or could pay for exemption from military duty did so; many of those who could do neither simply would not give themselves up. We felt that a day of reckoning would soon come—a collision between these opposing forces or a holy war. But the revolutionists conducted themselves with remarkable restraint and prudence; controlled their hot-headed youth; patrolled the streets to prevent skirmishes; and bade the villagers endure in silence—better a village or two burned unavenged than that any attempt at reprisals should furnish an excuse for massacre.

For some time after Djevdet Bey, a brother-in-law of Enver Pasha, minister of war, became Governor General of Van Vilayet, he was absent from the city fighting at the border. When he returned in the early spring, everyone felt there would soon be "something doing." There was. He demanded from the Armenians 3,000 soldiers. So anxious were they to keep the peace that they promised to accede to this demand. But at this juncture trouble broke out between Armenians and Turks in the Shadakh region, and Djevdet Bey requested Ishkhan to go there as peace commissioner, accompanied by three other notable revolutionists. On their way there he had all four treacherously murdered. This was Friday, the 16th April. He then summoned Vremyan to him under the pretence of consulting with this leader, arrested him and sent him off to Constantinople.

The revolutionists now felt that they could not trust Djevdet Bey, the Vali, in any way and that therefore they could not give him the 3,000 men. They told him they would give 400 and pay by degrees the exemption tax for the rest. He would not accept the compromise. The Armenians begged Dr. Ussher and Mr. Yarrow to see Djevdet Bey and try to mollify him. The Vali was obdurate. He "must be obeyed." He would put down this "rebellion" at all costs. He would first punish Shadakh, then attend to Van, but if the rebels fired one shot meanwhile he would put to death every man, woman and child of the Christians.

The fact cannot be too strongly emphasized that there was no "rebellion." As already pointed out, the revolutionists meant to keep the peace if it lay in their power to do so. But for some time past a line of Turkish entrenchments had been secretly drawn round the Armenian quarter of the Gardens. The revolutionists, determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible, prepared a defensive line of entrenchments.

Djevdet Bey said he wished to send a guard of fifty soldiers to the American premises. This guard must be accepted or a written statement given him by the

Americans to the effect that it had been offered and refused, so that he should be absolved from all responsibility for our safety. He wished for an immediate answer, but at last consented to wait till Sunday noon.

Our Armenian friends, most of them, agreed that the guard must be accepted. But the revolutionists declared that such a force in so central a location menaced the safety of the Armenian forces and that they would never permit it to reach our premises alive. We might have a guard of five. But Djevdet Bey would give us fifty or none. Truly we were between the devil and the deep sea, for, if both revolutionists and Vali kept their word, we should be the occasion for the outbreak of trouble, if the guard were sent; if it were not sent, we should have no official assurance of safety for the thousands who were already preparing to take refuge on our premises. We should be blamed for an unhappy outcome either way. On Monday, when Dr. Ussher saw the Vali again, he seemed to be wavering and asked if he should send the guard. Dr. Ussher left the decision with him, but added that the sending of such a force might precipitate trouble. It was never sent.

Meanwhile Djevdet Bey had asked Miss McLaren and Schwester Martha, who had been nursing in the Turkish military hospital all winter, to continue their work there, and they had consented.

### **WAR! "ISHIM YOK, KEFIM TOHOK."**

On Tuesday, the 20th April, at 6 a.m., some Turkish soldiers tried to seize one of a band of village women on their way to the city. She fled. Two Armenian soldiers came up and asked the Turks what they were doing. The Turkish soldiers fired on the Armenians, killing them. Thereupon the Turkish entrenchments opened fire. The siege had begun. There was a steady rifle firing all day, and from the walled city, now cut off from communication with the Gardens, was heard a continuous cannonading from Castle Rock upon the houses below. In the evening, houses were seen burning in every direction.

All the Armenians in the Gardens-nearly 30,000, as the Armenian population of the walled city is small-were now gathered into a district about a mile square, protected by eighty "teerks" (manned and barricaded houses) besides walls and trenches. The Armenian force consisted of 1,500 trained riflemen possessing only about 300 rifles. Their supply of ammunition was not great, so they were very sparing of it; used pistols only, when they could, and employed all sorts of devices to draw the fire of the enemy and waste their ammunition. They began to make bullets and cartridges, turning out 2,000 a day; also gun- powder, and after a while they made three mortars for throwing bombs. The supply of material for the manufacture of these things was limited, and methods and implements were crude and primitive, but they were very happy and hopeful and exultant over their ability to keep the enemy at bay. Some of the rules for their men were: Keep clean; do not drink; tell the truth; do not curse the religion of the enemy. They sent a manifesto to the Tu ks to the effect that their quarrel was with one

man and not with their Turkish neighbours. Valis might come and go, but the two races must continue to live together, and they hoped that after Djevdet went there might be peaceful and friendly relations between them. The Turks answered in the same spirit, saying that they were forced to fight. Indeed, a protest against this war was signed by many prominent Turks, but Djevdet would pay no attention to it.

The Armenians took and burned (the inmates, however, escaping) the barracks north of our premises, but apart from this they did not attempt the offensive to any extent-their numbers were too few. They were fighting for their homes, their very lives, and our sympathies could not but be wholly on their side, though we strove to keep our actions neutral. We allowed no armed men to enter the premises, and their leader, Aram, in order to help us to preserve the neutrality of our premises, forbade the bringing of wounded soldiers to our hospital, though Dr. Ussher treated them at their own temporary hospital. But Djevdet Bey wrote to Dr. Ussher on the 23rd that armed men had been seen entering our premises and that the rebels had prepared entrenchments near us. If, at the time of attack, one shot were fired from these entrenchments, he would be "regretfully compelled" to turn his cannon upon our premises and completely destroy them. We might know this for a surety. We answered that we were preserving the neutrality of our premises by every means in our power. By no law could we be held responsible for the actions of individuals or organisations outside our premises.

Our correspondence with the Vali was carried on through our official representative, Signor Sbordone, the Italian consular agent, and our postman was an old woman bearing a flag of truce. On her second journey she fell into a ditch and, rising without her white flag, was instantly shot dead by Turkish soldiers. Another was found, but she was wounded while sitting at the door of her shack on our premises. Then Aram said that he would permit no further correspondence until the Vali should answer a letter of Sbordone's, in which the latter had told Djevdet that he had no right to expect the Armenians to surrender now, since the campaign had taken on the character of a massacre.

Djevdet would permit no communication with Miss McLaren at the Turkish hospital, and would answer no question of ours concerning her welfare, though after two weeks he wrote to Herr Spörri that she and Schwester Martha were well and comfortable. Dr. Ussher had known the Vali as a boy and had always been on the most friendly terms with him, but in a letter to the Austrian banker who had taken refuge on the German premises, the Vali wrote that one of his officers had taken some Russian prisoners and cannon and that he would cause them to parade in front of "His Majesty Dr. Ussher's fortifications, so that he, who with the rebels was always awaiting the Russians, should see them and be content." This letter ended with the words: "Ishim yok, keifim tchok" ("I have no work and much fun.") While he was having no work and much fun, his soldiers and their wild allies, the Kurds, were sweeping the countryside, massacring men, women, and children and burning their homes. Babies were shot in their mothers' arms, small children were horribly mutilated, women were stripped and beaten. The villages

were not prepared for attack; many made no resistance; others resisted until their ammunition gave out. On Sunday, the 25th, the first band of village refugees came to the city. At early dawn we heard them knocking, knocking, knocking at our gate. Dr. Ussher went out in dressing gown and slippers to hear their pitiful tale and send the wounded to the hospital, where he worked over them all day.

### **THE MISSION'S FIRST-AID TO THE INJURED.**

Six thousand people from the Gardens had early removed to our premises with all their worldly possessions, filling church and school buildings and every room that could possibly be spared in the missionary residences. One woman said to Miss Silliman: "What would we do without this place? This is the third massacre during which I have taken refuge here." A large proportion of these people had to be fed, as they had been so poor that they had bought daily from the ovens what bread they had money for, and now that resource was cut off. Housing, sanitation, government, food, relation with the revolutionist forces, were problems that required great tact and executive ability. The Armenians were not able to cope with these problems unaided. They turned to the missionaries for help.

Mr. Yarrow has a splendid gift for organisation. He soon had everything in smoothly running order, with everyone hard at work at what he was best fitted to do. A regular city government for the whole city of thirty thousand inhabitants was organised with mayor, judges, and police-the town had never been so well policed before. Committees were formed to deal with every possible contingency. Grain was sold or contributed to the common fund by those who possessed it, most of whom manifested a generous and self-sacrificing spirit; one man gave all the wheat he possessed except a month's supply for his family. The use of a public oven was secured, bread tickets issued, a soup kitchen opened, and daily rations were given out to those on our premises and those outside who needed food. Miss Rogers and Miss Silliman secured a daily supply of milk, and made some of their school-girls boil it and distribute it to babies who needed it, until 190 were being thus fed. The Boy Scouts, whom thirteen-year-old Neville Ussher had helped organize in the fall, now did yeoman's service in protecting the buildings against the dangers of fire, keeping the premises clean, carrying wounded on stretchers, reporting the sick, and, during the fourth week, distributing milk and eggs to babies and sick outside the premises.

Our hospital, which had a normal capacity of fifty beds, was made to accommodate one hundred and sixty-seven, beds being borrowed and placed on the floor in every available space. Such of the wounded as could walk or be brought to the hospital came regularly to have their wounds dressed. Many complicated operations were required to repair the mutilations inflicted by an unimaginable brutality and love of torture. Dr. Ussher, as the only physician and surgeon in the besieged city, had not only the care of the patients in his hospital, the treatment of the wounded refugees and of the



wounded Armenian soldiers, but his dispensary and out-patients increased to an appalling number. Among the refugees exposure and privation brought in their train scores of cases of pneumonia and dysentery, and an epidemic of measles raged among the children. Miss Silliman took charge of a measles annex, Miss Rogers and Miss Ussher helped in the hospital, where Miss Bond and her Armenian nurses were worked to the limit of their strength, and after a while Mrs. Ussher, aided by Miss Rogers, opened an overflow hospital in an Armenian school-house, cleared of refugees for the purpose. Here it was a struggle to get beds, utensils, helpers, even food enough for the patients. Indeed all this extra medical and surgical work was hampered by insufficient medical and surgical supplies, for the annual shipment had been stalled at Alexandretta.

### **DARK DAYS.**

At the end of two weeks the people in the walled city managed to send us word that they were holding their own and had taken some of the government buildings, though they were only a handful of fighters and were cannonaded day and night. About 16,000 cannon balls or shrapnel were fired upon them. The old-fashioned balls sunk into the three-feet thick walls of sun-dried brick without doing much harm. In time, of course, the walls would fall in, but they were the walls of upper stories. People took refuge in the lower stories, so only three persons lost their lives from this cause. Some of the "teerks" in the Gardens were also cannonaded without much damage being done. It seemed the enemy was reserving his heavier cannon and his shrapnel till the last. Three cannon balls fell on our premises the first week, one of them on a porch of the Usshers' house. Thirteen persons were wounded by bullets on the premises, one fatally. Our premises were so centrally located that the bullets of the Turks kept whizzing through, entered several rooms, broke the tiles on the roofs, and peppered the outside of the walls. We became so used to the pop-pop-pop of rifles and booming of cannon that we paid little attention to them in the daytime, but the fierce fusil-lades at night were rather nerve-racking.

A man escaping from Ardjish related the fate of that town, second in size and importance to Van in the vilayet. The kaimakam had called the men of all the guilds together on the 19th April, and, as he had always been friendly to the Armenians, they trusted him. When they had all gathered, he had them mown down by his soldiers.

Many of the village refugees had stopped short of the city at the little village of Shushantz, on a mountain side near the city. Here Aram bade them remain. On the 8th May we saw the place in flames, and Varak Monastery nearby, with its priceless ancient manuscripts, also went up in smoke. These villagers now flocked into the city. Djevdet seemed to have altered his tactics. He had women and children driven in by hundreds to help starve the city out. Owing to the mobilisation of the previous fall, the supply of wheat in the Gardens had been very much less than usual to begin with, and now that 10,000 refugees were being given a daily ration, though a ration barely sufficient to

sustain life, this supply was rapidly approaching its limit. The ammunition was also giving out. Djevdet could bring in plenty of men and ammunition from other cities. Unless help came from Russia, it was impossible for the city to hold out much longer against him, and the hope of such help seemed very faint.

We had no communication with the outside world; a telegram we had prepared to send to our embassy before the siege never left the city; the revolutionists were constantly sending out appeals for help to the Russo-Armenian volunteers on the border, but no word or sign of their reaching their destination was received by us. At the very last, when the Turks should come to close quarters, we knew that all the population of the besieged city would crowd into our premises as a last hope. But, enraged as Dj evdet was by this unexpected and prolonged resistance, was it to be hoped that he could be persuaded to spare the lives of one of these men, women and children <sup>1</sup> We believed not. He might offer the Americans personal safety if we would leave the premises, but this, of course, we would not do; we would share the fate of our people. And it seemed not at all improbable that he would not even offer us safety, believing, as he seemed to believe, that we were aiding and upholding the "rebels."

Those were dark days indeed. Our little American circle came together two evenings in the week to discuss the problems constantly arising. We would joke and laugh over some aspects of our situation, but as we listened to the volley firing only two blocks away, we knew that at any hour the heroic but weakening defence might be overpowered; knew that then hell would be let loose in the crowded city and our crowded compound; knew that we should witness unspeakable atrocities perpetrated on the persons of those we loved, and probably suffer them in our own persons. And we would sing:

"Peace, · perfect peace;        the future all unknown!

Jesus we know and He i8 on the throne,"

and pray to the God who was able to deliver us out of the very mouth of the lion.

On Saturday forenoon a rift seemed to appear in the clouds, for many ships were seen on the lake, sailing away from Van, and we heard that they contained Turkish women and children. We became a "city all gone up to the housetops," wondering and surmising. Once before such a flight had taken place, when the Russians had advanced as far as Sarai. They had retreated, however, and the Turkish families had returned.

That afternoon the sky darkened again. Cannon at the Big Barracks on the plain began to fire in our direction. At first we could not believe that the shots were aimed at our flag, but no doubt was permitted us on that point, Seven shells fell on the premises, one on the roof of Miss Rogers' and Miss Silliman's house, making a big hole in it; two others did the same thing on the boys' -school and girls' -school roofs. On Sunday morning the bombardment began again. Twenty-six shells fell on the premises before noon.

When the heavy firing began Dr. Ussher was visiting patients outside and Mrs. Ussher was also away from home at her overflow hospital, so I ran over from our own hospital to take their children to the safest part of the house, a narrow hall on the first floor. There we listened to the shrieking of the shrapnel and awaited the bursting of

each shell. A deafening explosion shook the house. I ran up to my room to find it so full of dust and smoke that I could not see a foot before me. A shell had come through the three-feet-thick outside wall, burst, scattering its contained bullets, and its cap had passed through a partition wall into the next room and broken a door opposite. A shell entered a room in

Mrs. Raynold's house, killing a little Armenian girl. Ten more shells fell in the afternoon. Djevdet was fulfilling his threat of bombarding our premises, and this proved to us that we could hope for no mercy at his hands when he should take the city.<sup>1</sup>

### DELIVERANCE.

In this darkest hour of all came deliverance. A lull followed the cannonading. Then at sunset a letter came from the occupants of the only Armenian house within the Turkish lines which had been spared (this because Djevdet had lived in it when a boy) which gave the information that the Turks had left the city. The barracks on the summit and at the foot of Toprak-Kala were found to contain so small a guard that it was easily overpowered, and these buildings were burned amidst the wildest excitement. So with all the Turkish "teerks," which were visited in turn. The Big Barracks was next seen to disgorge its garrison, a large company of horsemen who rode away over the hills, and that building, too, was burned after midnight. Large stores of wheat and ammunition were found. It all reminded one of the -seventh chapter of II. Kings.

The whole city was awake, singing and rejoicing all night. In the morning its inhabitants could go whither they would unafraid. And now came the first check to our rejoicing. Miss McLaren was gone! She and Schwester Martha had been sent with the patients of the Turkish hospital four days before to Bitlis.

Mr. Yarrow went to the hospital. He found there twenty-five wounded soldiers too sick to travel, left there without food or water for five days. He found unburied dead. He stayed all day in the horrible place, that his presence might protect the terrified creatures until he could secure their removal to our hospital.

On Wednesday, the 19th May, the Russians and Russo-Armenian volunteers came into the city. It had been the knowledge of their approach that had caused the Turks to flee. Some hard fighting had to be done in the villages, however, before Djevdet and his reinforcements were driven out of the province. Troops poured into the city from Russia and Persia and passed on towards Bitlis.

---

<sup>1</sup> *The shelling of the mission buildings is also described by Mr. Yarrow, in an interview published in the New York "Times," 6th October, 1915, the day after his arrival in America: -*

"For twenty-seven days 1,500 determined Armenians held Van against 5,000 Turks and Kurds, and for the last three days they were shelled with shrapnel from a howitzer brought up by a Turkish company headed by a German officer. I myself saw him directing the fire of the gun. "Two days before the Russians came to Van, the Turks deliberately fired at the mission buildings. They stood out prominently and could not be mistaken, and also flew five American flags and one Red Cross flag as a protection. The firing was so accurate that the shots cut the signal halyards and brought the flags to the ground."

Aram was made temporary governor of the province, and, for the first time for centuries, Armenians were given a chance to govern themselves. Business · revived. People began to rebuild their burned houses and shops. We re-open ed our mission schools, except the school in the walled city, the school-ho use there having been burned.

### **THE TABLES TURNED.**

Not all the Turks had fled from the city. Some old men and women and children had stayed behind, many of them in hiding. The Armenian soldiers, unlike Turks, were not making war on such. There was only one place where the captives could be safe from the rabble, however. In their dilemma the Armenian s turned, as usual, to the American missionaries. And so it came to pass that hardly had the six thousand Armenian refugees left our premises when the care of a thousand Turkish refugees was thrust upon us, some of them from villages the Russo-Armenian volunteers were "cleaning out."

It was with the greatest difficulty that food could be procured for these people. The city had an army to feed now. Wheat- the stores left by the Turks-was obtainable, but no flour, and the use of a mill was not available for some time. The missionaries had no help in a task so distasteful to the Armenians except that of two or three of the teachers of the school in the walled city, who now had no other work. Mr. Yarrow was obliged to drop most of his other duties and spend practically all 4is time working for our protégés. Mrs. Yarrow, Miss Rogers and Miss Silliman administered medicines and tried to give every one of the poor creatures a bath. Mrs. Ussher had bedding made, and secured and personally dispensed milk to the children and sick, spending several hours daily among them.

The wild Cossacks considered the Turkish women legitimate prey, and though the Russian General gave us a small guard, there was seldom a night during the first two or three weeks in which Dr. Ussher and Mr. Yarrow did not have to drive off marauders who had climbed over the walls of the compound and eluded the guard.

The effect on its followers of the religion of Islam was never more strongly contrasted with Christianity. While the Armenian refugees had been mutually helpful and self-sacrificing, these Moslems showed themselves absolutely selfish, callous and indifferent to each other's suffering. Where the Armenians had been cheery and hopeful, and had clung to life with wonderful vitality, the Moslems, with no faith in God and no hope of a future life, bereft now of hope in this life, died like flies of the prevailing dysentery from lack of stamina and the will to live.

The situation became intolerable. The missionaries begged the Russian General to send these people out to villages, with a guard sufficient for safety and flocks to maintain them until they could begin to get their living from the soil. He was too much occupied with other matters to attend to us.

After six weeks of this, Countess Alexandra Tolstoi (daughter of the famous novelist) came to Van and took off our hands the care of our "guests," though they remained on our premises. She was a young woman, simple, sensible, and lovable. We gave her a surprise party on her birthday, carrying her the traditional cake with candles and crowning her with flowers, and she declared she had never had a birthday so delightfully celebrated in all her life. She worked hard for her charges. When her funds gave out and no more were forthcoming and her Russian helpers fell ill, she succeeded where we had failed and induced the General to send the Turks out into the country with provision for their safety and sustenance.

### **THE PESTILENCE THAT WALKETH IN DARKNESS.**

Our Turkish refugees cost us a fearful price.

The last day of June Mrs. Ussher took her children, who had whooping cough, out of the pestilential atmosphere of the city to Artamid, the summer home on Lake Van, nine miles away. Dr. Ussher went there for the week-end, desperately in need of a little rest. On Saturday night they both became very ill. Upon hearing of this I went down to take care of them. On Monday Mr. and Mrs. Yarrow also fell ill. Ten days yet remained till the time set for closing the hospital for the summer, but Miss Bond set her nurses to the task of sending the patients away and went over to nurse the Yarrows. This left me without help for five days. Then, for four days more, two Armenian nurses cared for the sick ones at night and an untrained man nurse helped me during the daytime. Miss Rogers had come down on Thursday, the day after commencement, for the cure of what she believed to be an attack of malaria. On Friday she too fell ill. Fortunately, there was at last a really good Russian physician in town, and he was most faithful in his attendance. The sickness proved to be typhus. Later we learned that at about the same time Miss Silliman, who had left for America on her furlough on the 15th June, accompanied by Neville Ussher, had been ill at Tiflis with what we now know was a mild form of the same disease. Dr. Ussher might have contracted it from his outside patients, but the others undoubtedly contracted it from the Turkish refugees.

Mrs. Yarrow was dangerously ill, but passed her crisis safely and first of all. Miss Bond then came to Artamid, though Mr. Yarrow was still very ill, feeling that the Usshers needed her more on account of their distance from the doctor. Miss Ussher took charge of the Yarrow children up in Van; Mrs. Raynolds managed the business affairs of the mission.

Mrs. Ussher had a very severe form of the disease, and her delicate frame, worn out with the overwork and terrible strain of the months past, could make no resistance. On the 14th July she entered into the life eternal.

We dared not let the sick ones suspect what had happened. Dr. Ussher was too ill at the time and for more than two weeks longer to be told of his terrible loss. For three months preceding his illness he had been the only physician in Van, and the strain of

over-work and sleeplessness told severely now. After he had passed his typhus crisis, his life was in danger for a week longer from the pneumonia which had been a complication from the first. Then followed another not infrequent complication of typhus, an abscess in the parotid gland which caused long-continued weakness and suffering, at one time threatened life and reason, and has had serious consequences which may prove permanent. Mr. Yarrow was so ill that his life was quite despaired of. It was by a veritable miracle that he was restored to us.

### **FLIGHT.**

Meanwhile the Russian army had been slowly advancing westward. It had not been uniformly successful as we had expected it to be. Indeed, the Russians seemed to fight sluggishly and unenthusiastically. The Russo-Armenian volunteers, who were always sent ahead of the main army, did the heavy fighting. By the last week of July the Russians had not yet taken Bitlis, only ninety miles distant from Van. Suddenly the Turkish army began to advance towards Van, and the Russian army to retreat.

On Friday, the 30th July, General Nicolaieff ordered all the Armenians of the Van province, also the Americans and other foreigners, to flee for their lives. By Saturday night the city was nearly emptied of Armenians and quite emptied of conveyances. Nearly all our teachers, nurses, employees had left. It was every man for himself and no one to help us secure carriages or horses for our own flight. We at Artamid, with a sick man to provide for, would have had great difficulty in getting up to the city in time, had not Mrs. Yarrow risen from her sick-bed to go to the General and beg him to send us ambulances. These reached us after midnight.

There was little question in our minds as to our own flight. Our experience during the siege had shown us that the fact of our being Americans would not protect us from the Turks. Had not - our two men, Mr. Yarrow and Dr. Ussher, been absolutely helpless we might have debated the matter. As it was, women could not assume the responsibility of staying and keeping them there, and even if we had stayed we could have found no means to live in a deserted city.

We were fifteen Americans and had ten Armenian dependents - women and children - to provide for. The head nurse of the hospital, Garabed, plucky and loyal little fellow that he was, had sent on his mother and wife and had remained behind to help us get out of the country. Dr. Ussher's man-cook, having been with us at Artamid when the panic began, had been unable to secure conveyance for his sick wife. We greatly needed his help on the journey, but this involved our providing for a third sick person. We had three horses, an American grocer's delivery cart really not strong enough for heavy work on rough and mountainous roads, and a small cart that would seat three. Our two other carts were not usable.

We begged the General to give us ambulances. He absolutely refused - he had none to spare. But, he added, he was to be replaced in a day or two by General Trokin;

we could appeal to him when he came; the danger was not immediate. Somewhat reassured and not knowing how we could manage without help from the Russians, we made no effort to leave that day. But the next day, Monday, we heard that the volunteers who were trying to keep the road open to Russia would not be able to do so much longer-there was no time to lose. We set to work.

One of our teachers who had not succeeded in getting away before Monday morning, kindly took a small bag of clothing on his ox-cart for each of us. We spread the quilts and blankets we should need on the way on the bottom of the delivery cart, intending to lay our three sick people on these. Garabed, who had never driven a team in his life, must drive two of our horses in this cart. Mrs. Raynolds would drive the third horse harnessed to the small cart, and take the babies and what food there was possibly room for; no provisions could be bought on the way. The rest of us must walk, though Mrs. Yarrow and Miss Hogers were newly risen from a sick bed and the children were all under twelve. We put loads on the cows we must take with us for the sake of the babies and the patients. But the cows were refractory; they kicked off the loads and ran wildly about the yard, tails up, heads down, whereupon the single horse broke loose and "also ran," smashing the small cart.

At this moment, the "psychological moment," two doctors of the Russian Red Cross rode into our yard. Seeing our plight they turned and rode out again. They returned a little later and on *their own responsibility* promised to take us with the Red Cross caravan. Thank the Lord!

We now put our loads on the delivery cart; put the wheels of the smashed cart on the body of a wheelless cart, and now that we might take a little more with us than food and bedding, packed in bags what we felt to be absolutely necessary. What we left behind we should never see again; we felt certain that the Russian soldiers before they left would loot our houses and perhaps burn them to forestall the Turks.

The Red Cross provided us with two ambulances with horses and drivers, and a stretcher carried between two horses for Dr. Ussher. He was usually taken into one of their sick tents when we camped at night; most of the rest of us slept on the ground in the open.

We left on Tuesday, the 3rd August. The Russians appeared to have received news that made them very uneasy, and, indeed, General Trokin himself left Van that very afternoon, as we learned later. The next day at sundown we heard the firing between the Kurds and the volunteers who were so gallantly trying to keep them at bay, to keep the road to Russia open as long as possible. It sounded startlingly near. We travelled till two a.m. that night in order to reach Bergri, where we should be, not safe, but beyond the line along which the Turks would try to intercept travellers. We were just in time. General Trokin's party, that had left Van only a few hours later than we, were unable to reach Bergri, and had to return and get out by the longer route through Persia. Had we with our slower rate of travel been obliged to do this, we might not have been able to get out at all.

### **THE ARROW THAT FLIETH BY DAY.**

That afternoon-Thursday afternoon-we forded a wide and deep river, then entered a narrow valley, from the mountains commanding which Kurds suddenly began to fire down on the Red Cross caravan and the thousands of foot travellers. One man in an ambulance was killed, others wounded. The drivers of ambulances and litters whipped up their horses to a mad gallop. It was a race for life. The sight of those gasping, terror-stricken thousands was one never to be forgotten. The teacher who had taken our bags of clothing threw everything off his ox-cart in order to escape wj.th his life. The Armenians on our long wagon threw off much of the luggage to lighten it, and thus we lost most, of what we had brought with us.

Once out of the valley we were comparatively safe. We met a force of volunteers and Cossacks who entered the valley to engage with the Kurds. Mrs. Raynolds had been riding in the small cart. After the danger was-over, while getting out of the cart, she fell and broke her leg below the knee. The Red Cross physicians set it at once, but she suffered greatly during the remainder of the journey over the rough roads, though lying at full length in one of our ambulances. She was quite helpless. Mr. Yarrow lay, too, in his ambulance, which he was unable to leave day or night during the journey, except when he was carried into a Red Cross tent on Sunday.

On Friday all but the four helpless ones and the babies walked over Mt. Taparez. On Saturday we again climbed on foot a high mountain, from sundown till three o'clock the next morning. The caravan rested on Sunday at a Red Cross camp near the top of Tchingli Mt. at the foot of Mt Ararat. Here Dr. Ussher had two severe operations on his face without anesthetics. On Monday at sunset we reached Igdir. Dr. Ussher was taken to a military hospital for officers, and the military sent him on to Tiflis on Thursday. We could not secure carriages until Wednesday morning to take us to the railway station at Etchmiadzin. We arrived in Tiflis the next morning.

### **SAFE!-BUT SORROWING.**

Most of us had lost nearly everything but the clothes we stood in, and these we had worn day and night during the ten days' journey. Small wonder that the first hotel we went to had "no rooms." Mr. Smith, the American Consul, was most kind and did everything he could for us. He secured a room in a private hospital for Mrs. Raynolds and a bed in the city hospital for Dr. Ussher.

Dr. Ussher was again brought to death's door by very severe dysentery contracted on the road. He had become a nervous and physical wreck and in appearance the ghost of himself.

Dysentery was epidemic among the scores of thousands of refugees from Van Province who had crowded into Transcaucasia. The very air seemed poisoned; our children were all ill, and it seemed to us that they would not get well until we could leave



Tiflis.

Mrs. Raynolds' broken bone refused to knit. She seemed also to be suffering from a collapse of her whole system. She would lie there patient, indifferent to what was going on about her, sunk in memories of the past, perhaps-who can say?

On the 24th August we were astounded at receiving a telegram from Dr. Raynolds. We had not heard of his leaving America and here he was at Petrograd! It seems he had started for Van as soon as he had heard of the Russian occupation, in company with Mr. Henry White, who was to teach in our college. At Petrograd he learned from the ambassador that the Van missionaries were in Tiflis, but of the reason therefor he had heard not a word, nor had he heard of his wife's condition.

Mrs. Raynolds brightened for a moment when told that her husband was on the way to her. Then the things of earth seemed to slip away from her; she might not tarry even for the dear one's coming. On Friday, the 27th August, her tired spirit found rest. Two days later Dr. Raynolds arrived to find wife gone, house gone, the work of his lifetime seemingly in ruins, the people he had loved exiles and destitute.

On Tuesday Mrs. Raynolds was laid to rest in the German Lutheran cemetery, and around her were gathered many of those whom she had lived to serve'.

Then Dr. Raynolds and Mr. White decided that there was nothing left for them to do but return with us to America, and we left that week for Petrograd. There the American managers of what corresponds to our Y.M.C.A. were exceedingly kind and helpful. The city was so full of refugees from Poland that we had to sleep on tables in the Association halls the first night, but succeeded in securing rooms the next day. The children recovered, and Dr. Ussher's improvement in health from the time of our arrival in Petrograd was simply wonderful. Mr. Yarrow seemed now quite himself again, although in reality he had not fully regained his strength.

Travelling up by rail round the Gulf of Bothnia, we spent a few days in Stockholm and sailed from Christiania on the 24th September, on the Danish ship "Hellig Olav."

We had had absolutely no news from any station in Turkey since the middle of April, and from America only what information Dr. Raynolds had brought us. On our arrival in New York, on the 5th October, we heard of the massacre of the Armenians in Bitlis by Djevdet Bey as soon as he had reached there after having been driven from Van. We heard of Miss Ely's death there in July, and of my brother's death, on the 10th August, in Diyarbekir<sup>2</sup>; we heard that Miss McLaren was ill with typhus in Bitlis, and later that she was well; we learned of the massacre of Armenians all over Turkey and of their deportation. The Van refugees have been fortunate by comparison in that they could flee. Money for their relief has been sent to Transcaucasia; a few of them have succeeded in securing passports and getting to America.

---

<sup>2</sup> See Doc. 23, page 89.

**16. VAN: LETTER DATED VAN, 7th JUNE, 1915, FROM MR. Y. K. RUSHDOUNI;  
PUBLISHED IN THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN," 2nd AUGUST, 1915.**

The day after Germany's declaration of war on Russia, martial law was proclaimed in Van, and the Turkish Government set about the work of mobilisation. The Armenians responded to the call in a better mood than the Moslems, many of whom either ran away or did not present themselves for service. But from the very beginning the authorities adopted a harsh attitude towards the Armenians in the Vilayet. Under the pretence of requisitioning, they ruthlessly plundered and looted the Armenians. Business was brought to an absolute standstill, and the import and sale of wheat in the city was forbidden on the plea that it was needed to provision the armies-though ways and means were always found if the applicant was a Moslem. As for the Armenian soldiers in the Turkish army, they were neglected, half-starved, set to do all the menial work, and, worst of all, disarmed and left over to the mercies of their Moslem comrades, who managed to kill a few hundreds altogether in various parts. It became evident that the Government was bent on the systematic destruction of the Armenian population. A feeling of despondency seized hold of all.

When Turkey went into the war the distress of the people reached an even higher pitch, especially when the Government armed all the males of the Moslem population between the ages of 15 and 60 and gave up Christian villages to fire and sword at the slightest pretext. Pelou, the largest village of the Kavash district, was reduced to a heap of ruins. Twelve villages in the Gargar district, on the Persian frontier, Bashkala, and Sarai, with the Nestorian and Armenian villages round, were ruthlessly wiped out after the Russian retreat<sup>3</sup>\*, and of their population only a few old crippled women were left as survivors. News of this sort was constantly being brought to the town by refugees from distant places like Boghaz-Kessen, Hazaren, Nordoz, &c. This pouring in of the refugees aggravated the problem of living in the city of Van.

On the other hand, the three leaders of the former Revolutionary Party called Dashnagists, who since the proclamation of the Constitution had been changed into a political party and had come to an understanding with the Young Turks, exhorted the people to endure in silence. Better, they said, that some villages be burned and destroyed unavenged than give the slightest pretext to the Moslems for a general massacre. One of the first villages to defend itself was Bairak, whose inhabitants succeeded in keeping the soldiers and Kurdish mob from entering the village. The Turkish Government sent a peace commission composed of Armenians and Turks to quiet down matters there, which was done. At the same time a message was sent to the Governor-General, Djevdet Bey, a brother-in-law of Enver Pasha, then on the border, to come to Van. Djevdet Bey, on his arrival, demanded 4,000<sup>4</sup> soldiers from the

---

<sup>3</sup> The Russians had made a preliminary incursion over the border after the Turkish declaration of war.-  
*Editor*

<sup>4</sup> Miss Knapp gives the number as 3,000 (Doc. 15)

Armenians. The Armenians were so anxious to keep the peace that they promised to accede to this demand under an altered form approved by the Government. But at this juncture trouble broke out between Armenians and Turks in the Shadakh region. Some say that this was started at the instigation of Djevdet Bey. This Governor had requested Ishkan, one of the three Dashnagist leaders, to go there as peace commissioner, accompanied by three other notable Armenians. On their way there, however, on Friday, the 16th April, all four were treacherously murdered.

The Armenians now felt that they could not trust the Governor, and instead of giving him the 4,000 men, they told him they would give 400 and pay the exemption tax for the rest, in instalments. In the meantime they asked the American missionaries, Dr. Ussher and Mr. Yarrow, and the Italian agent Signor Sbordone, to try to mollify the Governor. The attitude of the Governor was wavering. At times he would be moderate and swear that peace would be kept. At other times he was harsh and irreconcilable, declaring that he intended to put down "rebellion" at all costs. First he would punish Shadakh, then he would attend to Van; if the rebels fired one shot it would be a signal for him to attack, and neither Turks nor Armenians would be left in the Vilayet<sup>5</sup>.

Things continued in this suspense till the 20<sup>th</sup><sup>6</sup> April, when some Turkish soldiers tried to seize some village women on their way to the city. The women fled. Two Armenians came up and asked the Turks what they were doing. The Turkish soldiers fired on the Armenians and killed them. This served as a signal. The booming of cannons and rattle of rifles began from every side, and it was realised that the Armenian quarter was besieged. In the evening houses in the Armenian quarter could be seen burning in every direction. The Governor-General had sworn that not a single house should be left in Van, except the one where his father had lived as Governor-General. Under the command of Armenag Yegarian, of the Ramgavar Party, the Armenians, nearly 30,000 in number now, began to man and barricade houses and open trenches. Eighty such barricaded positions, called in Armenian "teerks," were held by the Armenians, and the enclosed area of about two square miles was gradually connected in between by deep trenches. To assure regularity, a Provisional Government was set up, and a military court was appointed to deal with military affairs. Everyone capable of doing something, male or female, young or old, was set to work. Women and girls were busy cooking, mending, sewing, making bedding for homeless refugees and soldiers, and nursing wounded people and motherless children. About 1,300<sup>7</sup> young men were under arms day and night trying to hold the enemy at bay. Lads were employed as

---

<sup>5</sup> Miss Knapp makes the following observation at this point: –

"The fact cannot be too strongly emphasised that there was no 'rebellion.' As already pointed out, the Revolutionists meant to keep the peace if it lay in their power to do so. But for some time past a line of Turkish entrenchments had been secretly drawn round the Armenian quarter of the Gardens. The Revolutionists, determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible, prepared a defensive line of entrenchments."

<sup>6</sup> At 6.0 a.m. (Miss Knapp).

<sup>7</sup> *About 1,500 trained riflemen possessing only about 300 rifles.* (Miss Knapp).

messengers between the "teerks." The rest of the men were used as workmen to dig trenches and build new walls and barricades, as the old ones crumbled before the cannon-fire. About 16,000 cannon-shots were fired at the handful of inhabitants in the old city under the Castle Rock.

After some days, refugees began to pour in from near and far.<sup>8</sup> The Government had not succeeded in besieging the eastern side of the Armenian quarter, and it was still possible to enter the city. On the 16th May no less than 12,000 bread-tickets were issued to refugees. At the same time, owing to privation and exposure, an epidemic of measles broke out among the children, and dysentery and pneumonia among the adults, and many who had escaped the sword of the Moslem fell victims to disease.

As the supply of ammunition was very meagre and the intention of the Armenians was to prolong their defence till help might come from Armenian volunteers, they were very sparing in its use. They used pistols when they could, and employed all kinds of devices to draw the fire of the enemy and waste his ammunition. At the same time they began to devise means of making bullets and cartridges, and manufacturing smokeless gunpowder and bombs, and succeeded in turning out daily 4,000<sup>9</sup> cartridges, and even in making three mortars for throwing bombs and bursting shells. In the meantime the Provisional Government issued strict orders for keeping the neutrality of foreign institutions and premises, forbidding armed men to pass through these parts or carry the wounded Armenian soldiers to the American Mission Hospital. A manifesto was also sent to the Turks to the effect that the quarrel was with one man, Djevdet Bey, not with their Turkish neighbours. Governors come and go, but the two races must continue to live together. Gradually, however, the Armenians succeeded in ousting the Turks from their positions. On the 17<sup>th</sup> May, after nearly four weeks' resistance, it became obvious that the enemy was putting forward his last efforts.

At sunset a daring dash put to flight the remaining Turkish soldiers in the two northern barracks on Toprak-Kale Hill and below. These two barracks were at once burnt. About midnight another attack put the southern great barracks in Armenian hands, and these, too, were set on fire. Towards morning the news spread that the Turks and soldiers had left the city. It was understood that the Government, on hearing of the approach of the Russian army and the Armenian volunteers, had ordered a systematic retreat some days before, and the last regiment, with the Governor, had evacuated the town on the night of the 18th May. Immediately hungry and starved people rushed toward the Turkish quarters to satisfy their feelings of justice by

---

<sup>8</sup> "A man escaping from Ardjish related the fate of that town, second in size and importance to Van in the Vilayet. The Kaimakam had called the men of all the guilds together on the 19th April, and as he had always been friendly to the Armenians they trusted him. When they had all gathered, he had them mown down by his soldiers. Many of the village refugees had stopped short of the city, at the little village of Shushantz, on the mountain side near the city. Here Aram bade them remain. On the 8th May, we saw the place in flames, and Varak Monastery nearby, with its priceless ancient manuscripts, also went up in smoke. These villagers now flocked into the city." (Miss Knapp).

<sup>9</sup> 2,000. (Miss Knapp).

plundering and burning. Shortly after, news came that the Russian army, with Armenian volunteers, was in sight. The joy of the people was boundless; tears of gladness and of emotion for what they had suffered during the past month, rolled down their cheeks as they made them welcome. The keys of the captured city and of the castle were immediately taken and laid at the feet of the Russian General, who gave orders to the Armenians to organise a Provisional Government for the affairs of the town.

#### **17. VAN: NARRATIVE BY MR. Y. K. RUSHDOUNI, PUBLISHED SERIALY IN THE ARMENIAN JOURNAL "GOTCHNAG," OF NEW YORK.**

Van is a city built on a level plain, and has at the present time an area of about ten or twelve square miles.

The Old City is small (scarcely a single square mile in area); its centre is the market place and an ancient rock fortress. The real Van is the Aikesdan (the Vineyards), which rises slowly towards the East on an imposing scale. In Aikesdan each house, with few exceptions, has a vineyard and a garden. Its streets are broad and tree-lined. On each side of these trees run small rivulets, which are bordered by rows of willow and poplar trees. Van is in reality a beautiful, extensive and attractive garden. On its western side, about two or three miles distant, there stretches the beautiful blue lake of Van, surrounded by high, snow-clad mountains, the most prominent of which are Sipan, Nimroud, Kerkour and Azadk.

On the eastern side of Van rise the mountains of Varak, on the slopes of which stand the village of Shoushantz (named after Shoushanig, the daughter of Sennacherib), and also the famous monastery of Varak, with its seven altars, where Khramean Hairik published his "Ardsouig Vaspouragani" ("The Eagle of Vaspouragan"). On the slopes of these mountains are also found the monasteries of Garmeror and St. Gregory, the chapel of St. Lousavorich (The Illuminator), and Gatnaghpur, Khachaghpur, Salnabad and Abaranchan, fountains of historical fame. There are also the Upper Varak villages-the historic summer resorts of Sultan Yailassi and Keshish Göl.

On the north side of Van there is the ancient and famous Toprak-Kale (Earthern Fort). Again in the same direction are the villages of Shahbagh and Araless, behind which extends the district of Van-Dosh.

On the southern side of the city, beyond the hills of Artamid, one reaches the Valley of Haig; Vostan, the capital of Rushdounik; and the mountains of Ardosr, with the tomb of Yeghishe on their slopes.

The Armenian and the Turkish quarters in Van were divided, and, except for a few streets, were all at some distance from each other. These two elements in the population had no relations with each other except those of a commercial nature. The Market and the Old City were in the hands of the Armenians, but were surrounded by Turkish quarters. There were Armenian houses which were eight miles away from the

market-place, and to go there and back it was necessary to pass through the Turkish quarters. The Armenians covered this distance on foot, horse- back or spring-wagons- these being the only means of transportation.

The day after war had been declared by Germany against Russia, Turkey declared a "state of war" in Van, and called all the young men between 21 and 45 to the colours, without distinction of race or religion. For the needs of the Army the Government requisitioned all the goods and provisions in the Market. In some cases they made partial payments, but afterwards they gave promissory notes to all the owners, which were payable after the war. This was a heavy loss to the Armenians, as the whole Market was practically in their hands. They lost all their petroleum, sugar, raisins, soap, copper, European clothing and various other commodities, besides almost half their remaining goods.

Owing to the sudden declaration of war and the requisitioning of the Market, it was impossible for the Armenians to transfer their goods elsewhere or to hide them, especially as the Market was an hour-and-a-half's distance from the Armenian quarters of Aikesdan.

All the tradesmen, shopkeepers, farmers and men of all vocations immediately answered the call to arms. A crowd gathered in front of the Government Building in such a way that it was impossible to keep order. There were some people who waited for three days continuously, from morning till night, and were unable to get a chance to register their names. The Dashnakist party encouraged the Armenians to do their duty faithfully as citizens. Mr. Aram, one of their leaders, collected together 350 to 400 fine young men, and, to the accompaniment of Turkish music, songs and dances, led them to the Government Building to register. The Government officials were considerably surprised at this willingness on the part of the Armenians; they held them up as an example in upbraiding the Turks, and particularly the Kurds, who had answered the call very reluctantly.

The Government treated the Armenians very liberally, exempting all the Gregorian and Protestant teachers of 25 years of age, and allowing them to continue their schools, on the condition that they would all go to the Government Building and register, so that in case of necessity they might be called up as militia for the protection of the City.

During the first two weeks this impartial treatment by the Turkish Government filled the Armenians with gladness and trust, and the Armenian soldiers that had deserted returned and gave themselves up. The only thing which gave rise to anxiety was the financial crisis. Trade and farming had completely stopped. The merchants were robbed, and all the traders were in the hands of the Government. It was the time to prepare for the annual taking of stock, but there were no available means.

Under the pretence of supplying the needs of the Army, the Government confiscated all the provisions. This was the first symptom of injustice and partiality. The understanding was that every man would be entitled to buy a certain amount of food and wood after informing the Government of the number and needs of his family, and

after obtaining permission from them, and that every month those families whose men were on active service would receive 30 piastres (5s.) per head.

At this time the Armenians' claims were very often ignored; and because the Government was aware that the Armenians would not, whatever happened, go hungry and without clothing or wood for fuel, it collected from all the Armenian quarters and villages, in the form of a heavy tax, a certain quantity of wheat, wood, sheep, fat, and clothing. In addition the majority of the Armenian and Syrian soldiers were left without arms and clothing, and very often without anything to eat, under the pretence that the clothing and the arms were not yet ready, and that they had no means of transporting food in so short a time. This caused the desertion of many from the Army, and some remained away altogether. Others borrowed money and asked the Government, through influential officials, to be allowed to pay exemption money, and it seems that the Government also was trying to find a means to come to an understanding with the Armenians. It therefore published a special notice announcing that all the non-Moslems above 26 years of age would be exempted from the Army by payment of a special fee. The Armenians sold everything to pay the Government, that they might profit by this occasion. The period of exemption was extended by the Government to the following spring.

It is worth mentioning here that, according to the Turkish officials, there were about the same number of deserters among the Turks and Kurds, but they never paid as much exemption money as the Armenians did.

The Government sided with the Germans even when they were neutral, whereas the Armenians-unfortunately-sympathised with the Allies. But even then no special injustice was done. The Government showed kindness to the Armenians, at least on the surface, while the Governor, Tahsin Pasha, had such close relations with the leaders of the Dashnakist party that people thought he was their special friend. Besides this, it was arranged that two Armenian Members of the Ottoman Parliament who were the representatives of Van, Messrs. Vahan Papazian and Vremyan, should stay with the people to keep them and the Government on good terms with one another.

After the entry of the Turks into the war, however, the situation assumed a different aspect. The Government began to adopt a cold and suspicious attitude towards the Armenians, who had performed their duty towards the Government to the best of their ability, and even after the abolition of the "Capitulations" had joined the Turks in their celebrations of the event. In spite of all this, the coolness between them was very marked, and this became especially apparent after it was found that the Armenians had supplied volunteers to the Russians, and that they were the very troops who had occupied Bayazid. It was then, reported that all the Kurdish tribes had gone over to the side of the

Russians and had caused great prejudice to the Turks. This terrified the Turks to such a degree that many rich women went to the American missionary ladies of Van to ask their protection, saying: "We are not afraid of the Russians as much as we are of

the Kurds." But the unfortunate part was that, in Government circles, the dominant topic of conversation was the Armenian Volunteers.

It was before this that Tahsin Bey summoned the heads of the Dashnakists (the heads of the Hunchakists were already in prison) and pointed out to them that the Armenians had begun a volunteer movement, and that this movement would be dangerous to them; and afterwards in a special letter he suggested to them, and especially to Mr. Vremyan, that they should write to the heads of the Dashnakists of Bayazid and stop this movement. This letter was sent to Mr. Toros, the head of the Dashnakists of Ardjish, but Mr. Toros was killed by a Turkish gendarme. At the same time it was stated that the Turkish Government had made special overtures to the Dashnakists and proposed that they should form bands of chettis composed of Turks and Armenians and raid Caucasia, but I do not know how it happened that this was refused by the Armenians<sup>10</sup>.

A short time after the Turks intervened in the war, all the Armenians in the Turkish Army were disarmed and employed as ordinary labourers. The arms of the Armenian gendarmes in the local districts were taken and given to the Turks, while the latter were left free on the understanding that they would be called up, though this never actually took place. This general disarming filled the Armenians with fear and suspicion. Those of the disarmed Armenians who found means of escape, deserted, and some whom I knew personally were sent back by the officials.

Turkey had not yet declared war, but she was mobilising her forces, when the members of the Armenian Reform Committee came to Van with M. Hoff, the Inspector-General. The Government did not carry out the plan, which was prepared and announced to the Armenians, for receiving the Inspector-General and his party with pomp and ceremony, but they sent them to the beautiful little village of Artamid on the southern side of the city, situated on the shore of Lake Van. After they had stayed there a few days they were sent back again, carrying with them the scheme of Armenian Reforms.

Shortly after Turkey had declared war, Tahsin Pasha was called to Erzeroum, and in his place Djevdet Bey, the brother-in-law of Enver Pasha, was selected as Governor for Van.

About the end of the autumn, when the Russian Army had annihilated the Turkish Army on the Persian border, had taken Bashkale and Sarai, and was moving towards Van, there was a violent panic among the Turkish officers and general public. Many of the officers sold their property and transferred their families by boats to Bitlis. Other prominent families, like the Hamoud-oglou-who had done great harm to the Armenians-took the same course. Among the rank and file those that were afraid addressed themselves to the Armenians, who received them very kindly. The object of the Armenians was to teach some dangerous officers a good lesson, but they had no intention whatever of harming the innocent officers and the Turkish public.

---

<sup>10</sup> See Doc. 21.



I met many who said very plainly: "Here is a good opportunity for us to show our Turkish compatriots and neighbours that we Armenians never harboured any bad intentions towards them, but had always demanded simply a state of equality, which would be beneficial to all who wished to live a peaceful life."

At the time when the Turkish army was annihilated on the Persian border, and there was not even the militia in Van and less than 400 gendarmes between Van and Bitlis, it would have been very easy for the Armenians to occupy the greater part of the provinces of Van and Moush, if they had wanted to revolt and massacre the Turks (who were in fear of their lives) or do what the Turks had done in the past to the "Giaours" ("Infidels").

The Government knew this, and for this reason treated the Armenians very flatteringly. The Armenian people was thankful to be able to live without fear and to have friendly and sincere relations with their Turkish neighbours. The Dashnakist Party also, who had been in close touch with the Government, were content with this situation, and were satisfied now that the Government considered them of importance and asked their advice on the welfare of the "Vatan" (Fatherland).

Unfortunately this state of affairs was of short duration. Suddenly the Russian army retreated. The different fragments of the Turkish Army rallied again, and instead of pursuing the enemy, they exterminated the Armenian and Syrian population of Bashkale, Sarai and all the surrounding villages. They had massacred all the male population, and in certain places-according to the reports of a Turkish commander who was a Russian subject-had thrown them into wells. The most beautiful of the women had been distributed among the Moslems, and some of them were even sent to Van; the old and weak women who remained were collected together and driven to various places like a herd of cattle. The Armenian Bishop of Van sent a Turco- Armenian delegation to the Government to ask its help for the sufferers, but the Government entirely ignored the request, or postponed it from day to day.

The Governor of Van went to the front, leaving an assistant in his place, and by his patriotic exertions he re-organised the Turkish Army. He succeeded in winning to the side of the Turks the rebellious Kurds and even Smgo the Chief, who lived under Russian protection. This news was immediately telegraphed to Van and Constantinople. Djevdet Bey, the lion general of the Turks, with his reorganised army, followed the Russians up to Tabriz, and occupied it. It is unnecessary to repeat that the Turkish Army, wherever it went, carried with it fire and sword and all kinds of terrible tortures, which were inflicted upon the "*Infidels*." Regarding this, the American missionaries are the best informed eye-witnesses.

Owing to these Turkish successes on the frontier and the Armenian volunteer movements, the Government and the Turkish public changed their attitude towards the Armenians. The Government was more civil in its demands and asked all the deserters to appear before it, although without actually promising them arms and their restoration to the Army. To all questions concerning this; the answer was: "That is for us to decide."

The war taxes were doubled, and to all the petitions and objections regarding this, the answer was: "The Army is more important than the populace."

The Government began now not to attach much importance to their friends the Dashnakists, and there was a time when the Assistant Governor refused even to receive Mr. Vremyan in audience, saying: "I cannot stand his rudeness and blustering." A little distance from Van all the country places like Nordouz, Hazaren and Boghaz-Kessen were destroyed. Part of the inhabitants were massacred, others found refuge in Van, and the remainder altogether disappeared. The horrors spread to the other districts and villages round Van. Garjgan was evacuated; the village of Pelou, which had 120 houses, and the ten villages of Gargar were sacked.

In a semi-civilised country it is an easy matter for a Government to find pretexts for its acts, when the Governor so desires. For instance, in Pelou a drunken young man had a fight with a gendarme, pulled out his revolver and killed him. In the mountains above the village of Shoushantz, six Kurdish deserters were killed-but none of the authorities ascertained by whom they were killed, or who they were. These and similar events gave cause and pretext to the Turkish Government for censuring the Armenians. But no one was censured for the massacres and general unrest at Sarai, Bashkale, Nordouz, Hazaren and Boghaz-Kessen. Then new army corps and machine guns were brought up to Van to be transferred to the frontier; all the Turkish and Kurdish citizens from 15 to 60 years of age were armed with these weapons, and when the Armenian Bishop protested to the Government, the answer was: "We are arming them to organise them into militia; after a little while we will collect them all and put them into barracks. If the Armenians are also willing to volunteer and come to the barracks, let them come and we will give them arms."

After the events at Pelou and Gargar, it was reported that a Turkish mob from Bitlis had devastated the district of Garjgan with fire and sword, and was advancing on Kavash and Haiotz-Tzor, and that after destroying these places they would 'proceed towards Van. Upon the arrival of this report, some Dashnakists went out towards Ankegh and Antanan in Haiotz-Tzor and destroyed the bridge near Ankegh, to prevent the Turks sending help to the mob which was advancing from Bitlis, and also to stop the mob from marching upon Van. After this the Armenians also killed a few gendarmes and Kurds. Among those killed was reported to be the Judge of Vostan. As far as I remember, seven persons were killed at this time. This event caused fear among the Turks and Kurds. The Government therefore sent Mr. Vremyan as a mediator. Mr. Vremyan settled the question, putting the blame on the Kaimakam of Vostan, who had sent for the mob from Bitlis. The Government superseded the Kaimakam of Vostan and promised to find and return the booty from Pelou and to restore the people who were deported to their homes. This was never done. An Armenian proverb says that "A thief is afraid of himself," and the Turks also were afraid of themselves on account of what they had done. While travelling through Haiotz-Tzor and Kavash they assumed Armenian names. Yet the officials, whenever they got a chance, protested to foreigners

that the Armenians were ungrateful, that they furnished volunteers to the Russians, and wanted autonomy; "And therefore," they said, "we will not leave this country to them. Let the Russians take the country, but we refuse to let the Armenians rule over our families and our kin." It is unnecessary to add that there were as many Moslem volunteers as Armenian in the Russian forces.

The Turkish Government was very prudent. So long as it was weak it flattered the Armenians and praised them to their faces; the leaders of the Dashnakists, Vremyan, Aram and Ishkhan, were treated as advisers of the Government. The Armenians on their part tried not to be the cause of any disturbance in the country. The only ground for anxiety in the relations between the Government and the Armenians was the question of the Armenian deserters. After the Armenian soldiers were disarmed, they did not dare to remain in their posts, and used to desert. When it was discovered that the Turkish Government had armed all the male Mohammedans from 14 to 60 years of age, they were no longer willing to give themselves up, and decided to die with their wives and children. A few Turkish officials confessed that it was wrong to disarm the Armenians because there were more Kurdish deserters than Armenian, but the Government refrained from attaching as much blame to the Kurds as they did to the Armenians.

To consider all these problems, a meeting was called under the presidency of Yeznig Vartabed, the Assistant of the Bishop, in which all sections of the Armenian population of Van were represented. The meeting was held at the house of Kevork Agha Jidajian, and came to the following conclusions: That the Turkish Government was treating the Armenians with suspicion; that all work, trade, and farming had stopped; that certain districts such as Nordouz, Gargar and Garjgan had been cleared of their inhabitants, and that the Armenians of Sarai and Bashkalé had been annihilated when the Russian army retreated; finally, that in case of a revolution the Armenians at Van would be able to hold out for some time, but that taking into consideration the whole of Armenia, it was necessary to maintain peace with the Turks at all costs.

As certain deserters could not give themselves up at the moment for important reasons, they decided to ask the Government to accept exemption money for them. The meeting decided to negotiate on these lines through Mr. Vremyan as their Deputy, with Avedis Effendi Terzibashian as an adviser experienced in Turkish psychology. The meeting also proposed to open negotiations through some merchants on similar lines. A week later the Armenians held a joint conference with the Turks at Jidajian's house. At this conference they decided to live together as neighbours without taking account of any changes of policy in the Government. The Turks promised to ask the Government not to give any cause for revolution.

However, the situation was far from being satisfactory, and unrest was in the air. All the workmen were working for the Government; the tradesmen would go to their shops, hear rumours, and go home again, to stay at home for four or five days; and the attitude of the Government kept changing like a weathercock, in conformity with the successes or failures at the front. Some- times it was very severe and unreasonable,

and sometimes very smooth and peaceful. Everyone was uneasy, as they did not know how long such a situation would last. We were afraid of massacres. We were afraid of the retreating Turkish army, which would undoubtedly devastate everything on its way. We were afraid of famine, as the Government had not given the people a chance of provisioning themselves, and we knew that the villages and farms had been robbed. A part of the working class was in the army. The cattle and sheep belonging to the refugees had been confiscated and sold. Many people confided to me that they wished that whatever was going to happen would happen quickly and relieve them from their suspense. Meanwhile, the people of Van armed themselves, and kept secret watch day and night at different street corners, to be prepared for any eventuality.

About the beginning of spring, rebellion started in the district of Van-Dosb, or Timar, a few hours' distance from Van. The inhabitants of the village of Erer in this district were massacred. When the turn came for the village of Bairak, the local Armenians defended themselves with the help of the Armenians in Van against the Kurds and the gendarmes. When the Government saw that people were getting ready and that things would drift from bad to worse, it went to the Bshop and expressed its regret for the events that had taken place, and asked the Armenians to send their representatives to stop the fighting at Bairak. This was immediately done. Some blamed the Vice-Governor, who had taken Djevdet's place, for these affrays. Mr. Vremyan and the Vice-Governor fell out, the Vice-Governor having refused to receive Mr. Vremyan in audience, but as Mr. Vremyan was a Deputy (Member of the Ottoman Parliament) he was allowed to remain in the district with the sanction of the Government. Mr. Vremyan blamed the Vice-Governor for the situation, and sent a telegram to this effect to the Governor, Djevdet, who was at the front. Djevdet answered him thanking him, and asking him to preserve peace until his return, when he would put everything in order, "Inshallah" ("God willing").

It was the last week of Lent when Djevdet Bey reached Van with 400 trained soldiers, called Lez<sup>11</sup>, and a few field guns, and was received by the Armenians with royal honours; but while passing through Armenian villages he shut his eyes to the barbarous behaviour of his soldiers towards the Armenian women. In the new village of Upper Haiotz-Tzor a number of women were violated, a man was killed, and others were beaten almost to death, on the pretence of having arms. For this, one of the young men wanted to follow Djevdet and kill him, but the Armenian revolutionists did not allow him to do so. As soon as Djevdet Bey reached the city, he thanked Vremyan and all those who had done their best for the peace of the city, and started negotiating with the Armenians concerning the deserters. He persuaded the Armenians to give themselves up, or at least a certain part of them, so that he might have less difficulty in getting back the Turkish and Kurdish deserters.

During Passion Week the negotiations with the Government were postponed on account of a terrible snowstorm. At this time there was an army of 4,000 with some

---

<sup>11</sup> *Of Lazic nationality (?) - Editor.*

artillery in Van. There was no special cause for anxiety, but everybody felt there was something in the air, which turned out to be the case. After Easter, when the negotiations were taken up again with the Government, it was reported that there had been conflicts at Shadakh. The general impression was that the Government was behind it. The Government wanted to arrest a member of the Dashnakist party called Joseph. The Armenians would not allow him to be arrested, and that started the trouble. Shadakh is about 24 hours' journey from Van, towards the south, on one of the tributaries of the Tigris. During the massacres of 1895 and 1896, the Armenians of Shadakh had succeeded in defending themselves with great success and honour. After that, the Government had wanted to trap the Armenians and massacre them, and fill their places with Kurds and Turks, but it was not successful, and now in April the massacres had started from there. The liberty-loving Armenians of this place defended themselves bravely for about two months, until the end of May, when the Volunteers went to their assistance.

Djevdet Bey asked the Dashnakists to send a delegate and put a stop to these occurrences. The members of this deputation were Mr. Ishkhan and three young Armenians, a Turkish Prefect of Police, and a few gendarmes. On the evening of the 16th April, in the Kurdish village of Hirj, the Armenian delegates were all assassinated - a trap laid by the Government. Some trustworthy people from Haiotz-Tzor (Armenian Valley) reported that the very day that Mr. Ishkhan was going to Shadakh as a peace delegate, the Armenians of Upper Haiotz -Tzor came to him and said: "For how long shall we endure it? They have not spared anything. There was only Shadakh left, and they massacred even the people of Shadakh." Mr. Ishkhan, who was fighter by nature, had declared to the Armenian villagers that they must keep the peace *at all costs*) and had ordered them to give the Government everything that was asked for; if one village was burnt, they were ordered to escape to another village.

Here I would like to explain in parenthesis the reason why I always mention the Dashnakist party. They were the people who were mixed up with politics; they were the friends and advisers of the Young Turk Party, and, having formed a "bloc" with them, they always sided with the Turks in parliamentary conflicts. The Government on their part wanted to keep them on their side, knowing that they had great influence over the villagers, in the Episcopal Court, and in the Chancery of the Catholics of Aghtamar. The Ramgavars (Democrats) were not mixed up with politics. They had their own paper, "Van-Dosp," and were busy with their own propaganda and their own trade and teaching, only once in a while fighting against the Dashnakists. They did not, like the Dashnakists, have special members who gave all their time to political affairs. The Hunchakists were very few in number, and during mobilisation their leaders, Messrs. Ardashes Solakhian and Proudian, were arrested and afterwards killed.

On Saturday morning, the 17th April, Djevdet Bey asked the following leaders of the Dashnakists-Messrs. Vremyan, Aram) Avedis Effendi Terzibashian (a merchant), and Kevork Agha Jidajian-to visit him for a conference. Aram could not go, for one reason or

another; the others went and were retained. After that it was reported that all those that went as peace delegates were killed by the Government. This started a panic among the Armenians, and young men under arms took up special positions. Father Nerses of the New Church, Set Effendi Kapamajian and myself went to the American missionaries to ask them to intercede with the Government on our behalf to maintain peace. Before the missionaries had reached the Government Building, Terzibashian and Jidajian were freed, so that they could advise the Armenians to go and surrender, but Vremyan was kept to be sent to Constantinople. Djevdet Bey told the missionaries that he had already sent for them. He also added that: as the peace of the country was disturbed, the American missionaries must make room for 50 soldiers for their own protection. If they could not do that, then they must all go to the Government Building, with their whole households. The missionaries came back with the impression that everything was over, and that Djevdet Bey had changed altogether. The same night the Armenians had a meeting in the New Church, where Terzibashian Effendi told them what Djevdet Bey had said and communicated to them the result of the negotiations. He said that it was impossible to influence Djevdet; sometimes he was quite reasonable, and at other times he was harsh and immovable and wanted all the deserters to surrender either that day or the following, and all the Armenians to give up their arms. Again it was decided to ask him to accept part of the deserters and receive exemption money for the rest. Signor Sbordone (the agent of the Italian Consul), the American missionaries and the Armenian merchants made proposals to Djevdet Bey to this effect, but they were unable to find out what his intentions were. Sometimes he declared on oath that he would not bring dishonour on his father, Tahir Pasha, who ruled over Van in peace during a time of great disturbances, and sometimes in a fury he would say: "There will either be nothing but Turks or nothing but Armenians left in this city. After I have finished Shadakh I will overthrow Van. I will not leave a single house standing except the house of my father. I will not spare either male or female, youth or old age. The Armenians must give up their arms and their deserters, and they must pass in front of my window to go to the barracks. If I hear the report of a gun or revolver, I will consider that a signal to carry out what I have just told you."

On Monday, the 19th April, Djevdet Bey was in a slightly different mood. He issued an order for everybody to go about their business, saying that nothing would happen. We had been isolated for a whole week from the districts outside the town and were ignorant as to what was going on there, and we did not even know that we were surrounded by Turkish trenches and troops. On the very day that Djevdet Bey told us that "All was well," Agantz, a big town in the district of Van, was sacked and ruined.

Prominent inhabitants of Agantz, like Abaghtzian, Housian and Shaljian, were invited to go to the Government Building to receive orders from the Kaimakam. The other Armenians were collected from the streets and from their houses. At night, after dark, they took these men in groups of fifty with their hands tied behind their backs, brought them to the river bank at the back of the city, and there killed them all. Only

three were able to unloose their hands and escape at night, after pretending to be dead. One of them went to an Armenian village nearby and was the cause of this village's escape; another of them went to the boats that were on the shore and saw that most of the sailors had been killed, but told the rest about it, who thereupon launched their boats into the open lake and rowed for the Monastery Island. The third disappeared altogether.

Haroutune Agha Housian was wounded in three places, but escaped to his home. When the Turkish officers counted the wounded, however, they found, by their list, that Mr. Housian was missing, and when they found him in his house they killed him. All the male inhabitants of Agantz were killed except these three, and, by the permission of the Government, the Armenian households—that is, the women and children and property—were divided among the Turks. In order to secure their property, the Turks betrothed themselves to Armenian girls and women, with the intention of marrying them.

Djevdet Bey announced to everybody that "Asayish ber Kemal der" ("Peace was perfect"), and at the same time he put pressure on the American missionaries either to sign a statement that they had refused the protection of the Government, or agree to accept a guard of 50 soldiers for the missionary compound. He laid more emphasis on this latter proposition, saying that he would send the same number of soldiers to the German missionaries. The American missionaries were so considerate as to ask the advice of the Armenians, and the latter, especially Mr. Armenag Yegarian, saw in the proposal a plot to seize the Armenian quarters and homes. Accordingly they made the missionaries understand that the only thing which would protect them would be the American flag and the order of the Government, and that, even if 5,000 soldiers were there, it would be impossible to be protected against the Government. With this in view, they told the missionaries that, if Djevdet sent more than 10 or 12 soldiers, they would be obliged to open fire on them and would not let one into the Armenian quarters. Taking all these points into consideration, the missionaries informed the Government that they were willing to accept as many soldiers as the Government sent them, but that they would not be responsible for their safe arrival and were very unwilling to start a conflict on that account. "We are not afraid of the Armenians," they said, "and we think that 10 or 12 soldiers and an order from you will be sufficient to protect us."

On Tuesday morning, the 20th April, at six o'clock, some Turkish soldiers saw a few Armenian women coming to the city from the village of Shoushantz, half-an-hour's distance from Van. They attempted to violate them, and when two Armenian young men went to remonstrate with the Turkish soldiers, the latter opened fire on them and killed them. This was not very far from the German Mission, and the Principal of the German missionaries, Herr Spörri, and his wife witnessed this incident. He also was kind enough to write explicitly to Djevdet, stating that it was the Turkish soldiers who attempted to violate the women and then killed the Armenian young men who had tried to save the women's honour.

But Djeddet had received his signal, and as soon as the reports were heard from Ourpat Arou (where the women had been violated), artillery fire was opened upon the Armenian quarters of Aikesdan, and was also turned upon the inhabitants of the Market-place, which was surrounded by Turkish quarters.

Then we understood that we were really surrounded, and so the armed Armenian young men held the street corners and did not allow the Turkish or Kurdish mobs to enter. The Armenian lines protected an area of about two square miles, which was held by 700 Armenians, 300 only of whom had regular arms and a certain amount of military training. The others were simply civilians who had revolvers and a few ordinary weapons. All the fighters had decided to fight to the bitter end in defence of their families.

Even the American missionaries confessed that they could not conceive how a Government could display such meanness and treachery towards citizens who had been so faithful in their duties. It is important to mention that the sympathies of the American missionaries had been with the Armenians at all times. They not only opened the doors of their compounds and houses, but also placed families and property in security, and began to give their personal services to the sick and the children.

All the people of Van, without exception, began to work with one soul. Those who had arms and were able to fight rushed to take their stand and stop the Turks from entering the Armenian quarters, and those who were able to work took spade and shovel to go and strengthen the fighting men's positions by constructing trenches and walls. The little boys worked as scouts, the women and girls undertook the care of the sick and the children. Besides that, the women did all the sewing and cooking for the fighters.

With the object of caring for the wounded, a Red Cross detachment was raised with the assistance of Dr. Sanfani (Khosrov Chetjian) and Dr. Khatchig. To secure law and order, a local Government was formed, with judicial, police and sanitary branches. Its administration was conducted in perfect order the whole month through. The Americans said that Van had never had such a good Government under the Turkish rule. An end was put to revolutionary disputes; only such expressions as "Armenian soldier," "Armenian Self-defence Committee" and the like were heard; and they named their positions "Deve Boyi," "Dardanelles," "Sahag Bey's Dug-out," and so on.

For the better organisation of the defending forces they appointed a military council, which was formed of the representatives of the revolutionary parties and the non-party Armenians, and which carried on the work very successfully. This body was in communication with the lines and supplied soldiers wherever and whenever it was necessary. The Supply Committee also did good work in supplying food and beds for those who were working in the different stations. Under the presidency of Bedros Bey Mozian, the ex-Mayor of Van, and with the leadership of Mr. Yarrow, they formed a Relief Society whose object was to collect supplies and provide the necessaries of life



for those who were destitute and had lost their homes. This committee was a great assistance to the fighting forces.

One of the local papers began to publish the news of the fighting and distribute it to the people. The Normal School band, under the leadership of Mr. K. Boujikianian, played Armenian military airs, the "Marseillaise," and other tunes, to hearten the fighters. The greater the intensity of the Turkish artillery fire and the louder the roar of the guns, the louder the band played, and this made Djevdet more furious than the bullets of the Armenians; he did not even restrain himself from expressing his feelings in his bulletins.

During the first days of the fighting, the Military Committee, by special bulletin, made a public appeal to the Turks, reminding them of their pledges to one another, and proclaiming that Governments change but the people always remain neighbours, and that there was no reason why they should be at enmity with one another. By this they put the whole of the blame on Djevdet, who possessed nothing else in Van but a horse, "and he could ride off on that and escape." After making this point, the proclamation suggested to the Turkish inhabitants that they should force Djevdet to desist from the bloodshed. I do not know the result of this announcement.

The Military Committee also gave orders to the Armenian soldiers not to drink, not to blaspheme the religion of the enemy, to spare women, children and unarmed men, to respect neutrals, and to prevent anyone from entering their compounds under arms. They also ordered that all the wounded should be taken to the American Hospital, and that only true reports should be given.

During these dark days the Armenian people were very full of life. Everybody did his or her best. They all had good hope that Djevdet would not succeed in annihilating the Armenians of Van. The spirit of the fighters was enough to inspire those that were in despair. I have seen young men who had fought the enemy day and night, without sleeping. Their eyesight had been so affected that they were practically blind, and they were transferred to the Red Cross Station to be treated. Even then they were very cheerful. While the shrapnel was raining upon Van, the Armenian children were playing soldiers in the streets.

Armenag Yegarian, with his cool and able leadership; Aram, with his constant presence and advice; P. Terlemezian, with his great heart; Krikor of Bulgaria, with his indefatigable industry and inventive genius-they were very able leaders. To save their lives and honour all the Armenians of Van had placed their services at the disposal of the Military Council, who awarded crosses and medals to encourage those who were worthy of them. I was present when a little girl received one of these medals. During the retaking of a position in Angous Tzor she bravely went ahead, spied out the ground and brought back news that the Turks had laid no traps for the advancing Armenian soldiers.

From the very first day of the fighting the Turks burned all the Armenian houses that were outside the Armenian fighting zone, but the village of Shoushantz and Varak Monastery were still in the hands of the Armenians. Mr. H. Kouyoumjian was in charge

of the entrenchments at Varak, and he came down to Aikesdan once in a while to report everything that was going on there.

After a week all the Armenians in the surrounding country came in to Aikesdan by way of Varak and Shoushantz, bringing with them famine, sickness and terrible news. Those that came from Haiotz-Tzor (Armenian Valley) reported that two Turkish armies had passed through the Armenian villages with artillery. The first army paid for everything that they took, and the people were encouraged by this act to issue from their retreats, but the second army surrounded them and massacred them. The Government carried out its work on such a well-planned system that villages were massacred without having had warning of the fate of their neighbours only a mile away. All the inhabitants of the villages that surrendered were massacred. There were villages that succeeded in removing their people and taking them to the mountains, but in general we must confess that the villagers did not prove very brave. They were not able to co-operate for their common defence, and there were even some who did not like to oppose the Government. In comparison with the city people they were short of ammunition, and they managed to convoy their families into the city by simply firing in the air, which was one of the reasons why the city people rather looked down on them. But the fact is that if they had had enough ammunition and the right leaders, they would have been able very easily to drive the enemy out of Haiotz-Tzor, Kavash and Tamar.

During the first two weeks the Government massacred the men and had all the women kidnapped, and deported the remainder from village to village to give the Turkish population a chance of wreaking their vengeance. But afterwards, in order to strike at the defensive powers of Van and to starve the Armenians into surrender by making them use up their provisions, they collected all the survivors from the villages and sent them to Aikesdan and to the city proper. The people in the city refused to pass anybody through the lines of defence; the enemy therefore sent them to Aikesdan, telling them that those who returned would be shot. The people of Aikesdan recognised their terrible straits and took them in; there were a large number of wounded among the women and children. I saw a woman from the village of Eremer, whose husband was serving in the Turkish army and whose twelve-year-old boy was slain before her eyes. She was wounded herself, as well as her two remaining children, one four years and the other eleven months old. I shall never forget the drooping look of the little one and the wounded arm that hung by his side, nor the woman herself, who was almost mad. All these were given over to Dr. Ussher, who treated them immediately. I also remember a woman who had lost seven of her children and had gone out of her mind. She lay on the ground clutching her hair. She threw dust on her head and cursed the Kaiser all the time.

The American 'Hospital, which could accommodate only 50 patients, had 150 sick and they were obliged to fill every available place with the wounded. Scarlet fever, whooping cough and smallpox carried off many of the little ones.

Besides the fighting and working forces, we had to supply food for about 13,000

people. At the beginning it was possible to give one loaf of bread to each individual every day, but afterwards we were obliged to cut it down to half a loaf, supplemented with other food. All the oxen and cows in the city were slaughtered, and when we had lost all hope of procuring cattle from outside there were even people who suggested killing the dogs. The lack of ammunition was also severely felt, so that in Aikesdan for every thousand rounds fired by the Turks the Armenians could only reply with one.

After a few days the Turks occupied the positions of Shoushantz and Varak, and burned the library of old manuscripts at Varak Monastery. All the Armenians and Syrians from these occupied villages came over to the city and consequently increased the famine and plague. Up to this time women between 65 and 70 years old carried letters backwards and forwards between Djevdet and the Austrian banker Aligardi, Signor Sbordone, and the German and American missionaries. These women carried a white flag in one hand and the letter in the other, and passed to and fro in safety, with the exception of one who was shot by the Turks because she was unfortunate enough to fall down and lose the flag, and another one who was wounded by the Turks. Djevdet tried to discourage the Armenians by descriptions of Turkish successes, and also suggested that they should give up their arms and receive a complete amnesty, like the people of Diyarbekir. In a letter addressed to Mr. Aligardi, the Austrian, he wrote: "Dear Aligardi, Ishim yok, keifim tchok" ("I have nothing to do but amuse myself"). In another, addressed to Dr. Ussher, he said: "I will parade the prisoners and guns I have taken from the Russians in front of His Majesty Dr. Ussher's fort, so that he may see and believe."

But the Armenians did not let Djevdet do as he pleased. They severed communications and did not allow any more letters to pass through the lines. Then, under the direction of Professor M. Minassian, they succeeded in making smokeless powder, cartridges and three guns, whose reports were heard with great rejoicings by all the Armenians. They made about 2,000 cartridges a day, and the blacksmiths made spears, so that, if necessary, they could fight with spears when the ammunition was all gone. The Armenians also dug underground passages, through which they blew up certain Turkish barracks and entrenchments.

Thus they burned and destroyed the great stone barracks of Hamoud Agha; the Telegraph and Police Station of Khatch Poghotz (Cross Street); half the police station of Arar, and the English Consulate, which was one of the chief Turkish strongholds. This encouraged the Armenians a great deal, so that there was a time when Djevdet was obliged to send 500 soldiers against a position held by only 44 Armenians, who after fighting for three or four hours left 33 dead on the field and retired. A young man called Borouzanjian, the only son of his widowed mother and the support of his orphan sisters, resigned his post as hospital orderly and went to fight in the trenches. He killed four Turkish soldiers and was finally killed himself. He praised God while dying that he had done his duty, and asked his comrades to sell his revolver and other personal belongings and to give the proceeds of them to his mother, so that she could live on

them for a little while.

During this time they sent word to the Armenian Volunteers in Russia, asking them to come to their aid.

When the villagers came to Aikesdan and thus increased the number of labourers and fighters, the trenches were elaborated and increased in number, so that they now covered two square miles. When the Turkish artillerymen destroyed one line they found a second fortified line at the back, which was stronger than the first. Besides this, the Armenians had organised a body of cavalry, so that they could send help in all directions. Not only Aikesdan was defended with success, but also the city proper and Shadakh. The Americans, seeing the spirit of the Armenians, declared that it would not be far wrong to say that this beat Marathon.

The Turkish soldiers were good shots, especially the artillery- men, who could direct their shrapnel by accurate sighting upon the desired point. Who could imagine that their commanders were civilised and Christian Germans! This fact became known to the Armenians after the fall of Van.

On the 9th and 10th May we saw the white sails of boats on the Lake of Van. Without heeding the flying bullets, the people flocked on to high ground to watch them. We did not know whether they were some of the Turkish population or officers who were escaping. They continued the shooting until next morning. After the 10th May the fighting became more intense, both during the daytime and at night, and on the 15th and 16th May the guns were directed upon the American Institutions, where all the people were. Although during the whole period of fighting they had fired upon the American compound, the Hospital, the Church and Dr. Ussher's home, and wounded thirteen people, it was only during the last two days that the bombardment was confined to the compound alone. It was then that a bomb struck Dr. Raynold's house and killed Mr. Terzibashian's three-and-a-half-years-old daughter.

On the evening of the 17th May the Armenians succeeded in destroying the upper and lower barracks of Toprak Kale, which raised their spirits vastly; but in the evening the joy of the Americans surpassed that of the Armenians. About midnight, in a strong attack, the Armenians seized and burned the largest Turkish barracks, Hadji Bekir's Kushla, which dominated the American compound. At midnight the town criers went through the town crying victory: "We have taken all the Turkish positions; they have run away: come out." On this report the Armenians, especially those who were in a starving condition, came out and attacked the Turkish quarters to rob and burn them. The revenge of centuries was being taken. The Armenian soldiers did not participate in this movement for twenty-four hours, but held their positions so that the enemy might not take them by surprise. The booty that the people took from the Turks consisted mostly of wheat, flour and bread.

I asked one of the villagers to show me her booty. She did so, and I was surprised to see that it consisted of clothing that the Turks had robbed from Armenian women and girls. They found in the house of Mouhib Effendi, a member of the Ottoman Parliament,

a chalice and other sacred vessels from an Armenian Church. The Turks were in such a panic that some left their tables laid and took to flight. The hungry women of yesterday were carrying away booty without stopping, with a new strength. It was the story of the seventh chapter of the Fourth Book of Kings that was repeated word for word. The American compound was now deserted except for the boy scouts, who, with the help of one of our teachers and Neville Ussher, remained to look after the sick. The whole city was in an uproar. Some went to look at the entrenchments; others went to look at the burned Turkish quarters, and others to look at the booty. There were others also who visited the fortress, which was captured that same night, and over which a flag with a Cross on it was waving. No Government was left, no authority: The soldiers had marked out their position from Arark to Khatch Poghotz as a military centre. They took away all the valuable vessels and property from the people. They were afraid that there would be fighting, but fortunately nothing happened. In Aikesdan there were still armed Turks in certain positions, who killed some Armenians, but they were finally found and killed. It was very pitiful to see Armenian soldiers leading Turkish women and children and unarmed men to the American compound for safety, and saying to them: "Do not cry; nothing will happen to you; we are only looking for Djevdet, who destroyed both your homes and ours." Nobody touched these Turkish women, some of whom had from £30 to £95 (Turkish) on their persons. Some of the Armenians went to look for their wounded in the Turkish hospitals, and when they did not find them they were so infuriated that they killed some of the Turkish wounded and burned the building. Mr. Yarrow asked me to go and wait there until he came. I stayed there. The scene was dreadful. For four days the Government had given them no bread and no care, so that many of them had already died from neglect. Interspersed among the dead there were also some still living, but the Armenians did not raise their hands to touch them. Before the arrival of the Americans, many came and helped me to put out the fire and attended to those that were alive. Mr. Yarrow, seeing all this, said: "I am amazed at the self-control of the Armenians, for though the Turks did not spare a single wounded Armenian, the Armenians are helping us to save the Turks-a thing that I do not believe even Europeans would do."

The scene in the prison was dreadful, as all the Armenian prisoners had been massacred. The wife of Mr. Proudian had completely lost her reason, and cried out: "Show me at least the bones of my dear one." The unveiling of these dreadful deeds of the Turks so hardened some of the Armenians that they followed the doctrine of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," to the great sorrow of the others.

**18. VAN AFTER THE TURKISH RETREAT: LETTER FROM HERR SPORRI, OF THE GERMAN MISSION AT VAN, PUBLISHED IN THE GERMAN JOURNAL "SONNENAUFANG," OCTOBER, 1915.**

There lies Artamid before us, adorned by its delicious gardens; but how does the village look? The greater part of it is nothing now but a heap of ruins. We talked there with three of our former orphan protégées, who had had fearful experiences during the recent events. We rode on across the mountain of Artamid. Even in time of peace one crosses the pass with one's heart in one's mouth, because the Kurds ply their robber trade there. Now it is all uncannily still. Our glance swept over the magnificent valley of Haiotz-Tzor. There lay Antananz before us, now utterly destroyed like the rest. We gave shelter, at the time, to the people from Antananz who had managed to escape. Further on in the magnificent green landscape lay Vostan. At first sight one might call it a paradise, but during these latter days it has also been a hell. What rivers of blood must have flowed there; it was one of the chief strongholds of the armed Kurds. At the foot of the mountain we came to Angegh. There again there were many houses destroyed. We found here a young woman who, after many years of widowhood, had married a native of the village. Things have been going well with her; now her husband, too, was slaughtered. One hundred and thirty people are said to have been murdered thus. We pitched our camp here in face of the blackened ruins. Straight in front of us stood an "amrodz," a tower built of cakes of manure-a common enough sight in these parts. We were told that the Kurds had burnt the corpses of the slaughtered Armenians in it. Horrible! And yet that is at least better than if the corpses of the slain, as has happened in other places, are allowed to lie for an indefinite period unburied, so that they are devoured by dogs and poison the air. There we were met by some soldiers; they were Armenian "Volunteers" who had come from Russia and were now fighting on the side of the Russians for the liberation of their Haiasdan. They were coming now from the neighbourhood of Bitlis, where heavy fighting was in progress. They had brought some sick back to the town, and proposed to rest here awhile. After that we rode on to Ten, where people we already knew came out to meet us from the village and informed us of what had happened there. There, too, the scenes of our former activity, the school and the church, lay in ruins, and many dwelling houses as well. The man who used to put us up was also among the slain; his widow is still quite distraught. Here about 150 are said to have been murdered. There were so many orphans in the place, they said to us-Should we now be inclined to take charge of any again? We were unable to give them any definite answer. As we rode on and on over the mountain s, the splendid air did us much good and we thanked God for it, for little by little we have come to be in sore need of recuperation. We had a wonderful view from the mountain heights, but everywhere in the villages one sees blackened and ruined houses.

**19. VAN AFTER THE MASSACRES: NARRATIVE OF MR. A.S. SAFRASTIAN, DATED VAN, 2nd DECEMBER, 1915, AND PUBLISHED IN THE ARMENIAN JOURNAL "ARARAT" OF LONDON, JANUARY, 1916.**

"I have seen the ravages of the Crimean war, the Russo- Turkish war of 1877-78, the Armenian massacres of 1894-96, and the reign of terror which then followed until the year 1914; but the massacres which have been going on since April of the current year are simply appalling, and by far the most terrible blow which the Armenian nation has ever been subject to throughout the course of its long history."

So spoke to me Hagop Boghossian, an old Armenian peasant of Van, a sturdy octogenarian who, after three forced flights from his home in the rear of the Russian Army, was once more returning to his home to tide over the winter in his native village north of Lake Van; and as he was walking along the muddy pathway, he was telling me the story of the recent massacres as he knew them, and as he understood them from his own point of view. His account in its main outline corresponds with what has been proved beyond all doubt. Before arousing any suspicion among the Armenians residing in the central provinces of Asiatic Turkey about its intentions, the Turkish Government wanted to dispose of the "rebellious" Armenians of Van, which lay far away from its grip, and the Armenian element of which had generally been considered by the Turks as a doubtful quantity. One Djevdet Bey, a brother-in-law of Enver Pasha, happened to be the governor and the military commander of Van. In February he was routed in the battle of Diliman and Khoi, in Azerbaijan, a battle in which the Armenian volunteers under Andranik played some part. When he returned to Van, he told his friends that while he was at the front he had to battle throughout the time against Armenians, both as regular troops of the Russian army and as volunteers. The report says that Enver Pasha, the Minister of War, expressed almost the same opinion when his army was defeated early in January in the battles of Sarikamysh and Ardahan. However exaggerated these estimates may have been, they seem to have served well the purpose of the Turkish Government in its efforts to destroy the Armenian population within its territory; and Djevdet Bey was commissioned to begin the massacres at Van, where the best relations existed between the Armenians under Vremyan, the Deputy for Van in the Turkish Chamber, and Djevdet himself, who for years had enjoyed the hospitality of the natives.

On the 15th April the young Armenians of Akantz, north of Lake Van (Ardjish), were mustered by the gendarmes to the sound of the bugle, to hear the recital of an order which had just arrived from the Sultan. At sunset these 500 young men were shot outside the town without any formality. During the following two days the same process was carried out with heartless and cold-blooded thoroughness in the 80 Armenian villages of Ardjish, Adiljevas, and the rest of the district north of Lake Van. In this manner some 24,000 Armenians were killed in three days, their young women carried away and their homes looted. After that, Djevdet Bey immediately proceeded to destroy

the able-bodied Armenians on the south side of the Lake in the same way. Kurds were let loose upon the peasants of the *Kazas* of Moks and Shatakh, but there these hardy mountaineers proved somewhat hard nuts to crack. They put up a stout resistance and frustrated the Turkish plan.

In the town of Van itself the Armenians had already made all the concessions they possibly could to conciliate the Government in the matter of deserters from the army and the military requisitions. Djevdet, however, demanded unconditional surrender; he treacherously caused the death of four Armenian leaders, and detained Vremyan, who was killed later. These acts, in combination with the massacres of Ardjish, cleared up all doubts. The Turks had made up their minds to annihilate the Armenians by all the means in their power, as they had shown by killing thousands of absolutely innocent peasants in Ardjish. The experience of the past had taught the Armenians of Van that an appeal to arms was the only argument which could save their life, honour and property, and they collected together all the arms they possessed. From the middle of April they were besieged by a Turkish army of about 6,000 men, equipped with artillery and reinforced by numberless Kurds of all types. Twenty-five thousand Armenians of the town, who had only some 400 good rifles and double that number of arms of a medley character, fought for four weeks against great odds. They organised all their resources through an improvised staff and various committees for medical help and distribution of relief. They constructed some mortars and made smokeless powder to repel the furious Turkish attacks. Every man, woman and child did their bit to help in the work of liberation; they held their positions to the last and captured several enemy positions by blowing up barracks in which the Turks had entrenched themselves in the middle of the Armenian quarters. After seeing something of their positions and walking over the scenes of the fight, one can well understand that it must have been a heroic battle indeed. The Turks under Djevdet despaired of overcoming Van and fled hastily at the approach of the Armenian volunteers followed by the Russian army. Van was captured by the Armenians, who saluted the entry of the Russian army by the booming of the guns they had taken from the Turks. An Armenian provisional government was established in the town and the province from early June. Excesses of an avenging nature could scarcely be avoided under the circumstances; yet such excesses by no means overstepped the passion excited at the moment.

During June and July, almost the entire Armenian population of Bitlis, Moush, Diyarbekir, and the remaining provinces of Turkish Armenia was ruthlessly massacred or deported. Of this unparalleled tragedy the later events at Van, which suffered the most lightly of all, may serve as an illustration.

After two months of self-government in Van, the fortunes of war turned against the Armenians. Towards the end of July the Turks took the offensive on the Transcaucasian front. The Russians retreated from the Euphrates and Moush towards their own frontiers in order to counter-attack the enemy under more favourable conditions. But in this game of strategy, the quarter of a million Armenians of Van, Alashkerd, etc., the last remnant



of the Armenian element in Eastern Turkey, had also to retreat towards the Russian frontier. Men, women and children, who had bravely defended themselves against the Turks, fled in a panic under the most adverse circumstances. There were no means of transport, except a few ox-carts, horses, donkeys and cows, and the distance to be traversed varied from 100 to 150 miles through a waterless and trackless country; while only a few hours' notice was given to the unsuspecting people to quit their homes, abandon all they possessed, and walk to Transcaucasia. Every one burdened himself with some clothing and provisions, and, followed by exhausted women and children, walked for 10 days under the burning August sun, smothered in dust and overcome by thirst and fatigue. On the Bergri bridge (north of Lake Van) the rear of the caravan was attacked by mounted Kurds. A frightful panic ensued, in which women and girls threw themselves into the river Bendimahu, while others threw away their infants in the effort to escape, and entire families were precipitated into the waters owing to the rush caused by the panic. The sick, the infirm, and hundreds of children were abandoned on the roadside, where they died in lingering agony or were massacred by the Kurds.

On my way to Van along the north-eastern shore of the Lake, I witnessed revolting evidence of the recent events. Several search parties had already buried the dead and cleared the ground; nevertheless, here and there I saw remains of human bodies, of men and women, under piles of stones or scattered about the roadside. I discovered decomposing and horribly disfigured bodies of children; and on the shores of the lake and on the banks of streams skeletons, pieces of clothing, bones of human beings and animals lying all around. The stench of putrefaction was simply sickening. The country from Igdir to Van had indeed been a slaughter-house but a few months before. Entire villages had been completely wiped out. Except for some casual travellers, not a single human soul was to be seen there- there were but vultures and howling dogs who fed upon the putrefied human remains.

The town of Van itself is mostly a heap of ruins. Since last August it has changed hands several times; all churches, schools and the best houses have been burnt down. The pulse of life seemed to have ceased from beating, where a few months ago the natives had turned it into a beehive after capturing it from the Turk. On the other hand, the remnant of the Armenians from Turkey is being greatly diminished owing to destitution and sickness across the borders of Transcaucasia. The whole country is devastated beyond any description. Perhaps nowhere on the European battlefields has the civil population been so sorely tried as in the Armenian highlands, and no race has suffered so much as the Armenians in Asiatic Turkey. At present only some 200,000 of them can be accounted for; and these are dying by hundreds in Transcaucasia in consequence of the terrible sufferings they have gone through since last spring.

## **20. VAN: INTERVIEW WITH A REFUGEE, MRS. GAZARIAN, PUBLISHED IN THE "PIONEER PRESS," OF ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA, U.S.A.**

A story of the flight of terror-stricken Armenians from the city of Van, from the persecution of the Turks who massacred thousands of Armenian women and children and forced the men into their armies, was told last night by Mrs. Sylvia Gazarian. She has just arrived from Armenia after suffering great hardships and persecution during a journey through Russia, and is with her son, Levon Gazarian, a North St. Paul piano builder.

Mrs. Gazarian during her flight saw her husband die of typhoid fever, and left seven of her grandchildren lying along the roadside, victims of starvation and exhaustion. Her son Edward, a Red Cross surgeon, made the journey with Mrs. Gazarian: He is at his brother's home here.

Mrs. Gazarian founded the Christian school at Van, and devoted many years to educating Armenian children. Her story, which is perhaps the first uncensored news of the cruelties inflicted by the Turks in Armenia, was told through Arsen K. Nakashian, an interpreter: -

"I spent a month in Van while our school was the target of the Turks. I saw them kill, burn and persecute," she said. "I saw our town become a part of a barren waste. I saw Turks bury Armenian victims with the dogs, divide the women among them as wives and throw babies into the lake. The school was burned, the missionaries fled, and 35,000 of the 75,000 inhabitants of the Van district were killed or starved "to death.

"Djevdet Bey, Governor-General of Van, started the whole trouble when, early in April, 1915, he demanded that the Armenians should support the Turkish army.

"When the Armenians resisted, Djevdet Bey ordered them to be shot. He demanded that we and the American and German missionaries should leave Van and seek protection from the Turkish Government. We all refused. Our valley had been a garden. The Turks did their worst to make it a morgue.

"For miles around the Armenians congregated at Van, drove out the Turks and made trenches. Stones, earth and sand-bags were piled over the school buildings. The Turks attacked, and for more than a month in April and May kept up a steady fire.

"Finally the Russians came. We were under their protection for a month. The Turks, fleeing before the Russians, killed all Armenian prisoners and wounded.

"Russian treachery became evident when they evacuated the town. They pillaged every standing home. When we demanded that they should stay and protect us, the general said: 'If you don't want us to leave you, come along.'

"Only old men and feeble women refused the invitation. Fifteen grandchildren of mine, three daughters and their husbands, my son and myself made up our forlorn party. We travelled towards Russia on foot. There was no other way to go. We walked for twelve days-like dead men and women. As far ahead as we could see, there were women carrying or dragging their babies and wounded men staggering along at their sides. Death was common.

"First one and then another of the children died. Typhoid was doing its work everywhere. We buried the babies where we happened to be. Seven of them in all died on the journey. When we arrived at Tiflis my husband died.

"More than a month ago my son and I started for Northern Russia. Round the Caucasus mountains, across the Russian steppes and into Moscow, where the Russian troops were assembled in thousands, we went by train.

"Every Russian official wanted money, and we paid. We reached Archangel on the Arctic ocean and started for America."

Just as the woman finished her story her son Edward came in.

"Germany is responsible for the cruelty in Armenia," he declared: "She is not a friend but an enemy of Turkey. She covets the Dardanelles. She aims at making Turkey a German province; but she knows the power of the Armenians, and she wants Turkey without them. That is why she permits the Turks to burn, murder and ravage. The young Turks are educated criminals. They are worse than the older ones. America is beautiful and peaceful. We will always live here."

---

# VARIA

---

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORY OF MAGNETOELASTICITY IN ARMENIA

**Anushavan Vantsyan**

*Institute of Mechanics, NAS RA*

One of the essential directions in Armenology is the study of the impact of the Armenians in the development of world science. Already during the Golden Age of medieval Armenian literature were laid rudimentary concepts of natural sciences.

Studies of mathematical materials and archaic mathematical surveys which are kept among the manuscripts of Matenadaran, Institute of Manuscripts (Yerevan) showed that mathematics and other natural sciences (astrology, medicine, etc.) had an essential place in the intellectual development of ancient and medieval Armenia.

The study of numerals which are referred to in the cuneiform inscriptions of the kingdom of Van (Urartu) clearly shows that still in this early period was used the decimal system of calculation which was basically different from that in Egypt, as well as parallel arithmetical systems known from other countries.<sup>1</sup>

The medieval Armenian sources dealing with mathematical sciences show that the Armenians already in the fifth century had mastered the Greek art of calculation.<sup>2</sup> From the information concerning David Anhaght, the prominent Armenian philosopher (V century AD), one can conclude that his works contain interesting ideas about astronomy, mathematics, biology, medicine and other scientific fields.

David Anhaght finds that mathematics rests on physical objects, but mathematics abstracts their materialism and makes the mental developments as object of the study. This conclusion could be supported through his idea that mathematics deals with material entity, but as an idea - with immaterial one.<sup>3</sup>

David Anhaght considers also the methods of scientific investigations regarding the necessity of the classification of ideas. He found that not all phenomena could be directly and simply understood. The recognition of different phenomena is not carried out on the same level: "Because the nature did not conceal all objects from us, – says David Anhaght, - otherwise nobody can discover anything, and not anything became evident and nobody could study something, even to fire a single candle".

Rightly considered as Armenian Aristotle, David Anhaght built a platform on which the genius ideas of Armenian authors rested henceforth, developing different directions of science, through which Armenian people was renowned worldwide.

The next prominent figure of Armenian genius was Anania Shirakatsi. Indeed, the humanity could not jump and bypass three centuries through emptiness of ideas. Certainly, some genius people used to exist, because the difference between the scientific levels of Anania Shirakatsi and David Anhaght is very large. Here one must

---

<sup>1</sup> Abrahamyan et al. 1979.

<sup>2</sup> Petrosyan 1959.

<sup>3</sup> Brutyan 2004.

quote the well-known phrase ascribed to Isaac Newton. "I managed to see further than others since I stood on the shoulders of the giants". But because we do know nothing about such giants in Armenia, we are forced to take Shirakatsi as a starting point in evaluating the mathematical thought in Armenia, since this field yet lacks summarizing studies. From the V century AD when Armenia had lost its independence until the times of Shirakatsi hardly one could not expect the existence of solid attitude towards mathematics.

Despite this, regardless the statehood and nationality, scientific thought always has a possibility to break through different obstacles, thus developing scientific ideas worldwide. The brilliant evidence of the aforementioned is the book of arithmetics written by A. Shirakatsi (VII century AD), which is the oldest book reached to us. It contains the tables of four arithmetical functions, which fundamentally is different from Greek mathematical works.

In Armenia the mathematical science reached its height during the Bagratid Kingdom. The study of the mathematical works of Nikoghayos Artavazd, a XIV century author, shows that the works of Anania Shirakatsi and his followers later were spread into the Byzantine Empire, hence promoting the development of mathematical sciences there.<sup>4</sup>

In favor of the highly developed mathematical ideas during the Middle Ages speak the fact that the Armenians had passed to the decimal system of calculation still in the second half of the XV century, parallel with the countries of Western Europe.<sup>5</sup>

The printed Armenian mathematical literature of the XVII–XVIII centuries include textbooks written in Grabar (Classical Armenian) and spoken Armenian languages, some of which, due to their simple style and accessibility, could be ranked as one of the best among the educational literature of the time being.

Mathematics as a queen of the sciences paved the way for the promotion of natural sciences. It gave a possibility for the development of numerous adjacent sciences. In Armenia the hard sciences began to develop faster later when the Armenians established contacts with scientific and cultural centers of the time.

The complete history of the development of hard sciences in Armenia could be written only after the evaluation of the impact of Armenian scholars.

In this article is made an attempt to present one of the fields of hard sciences which has reached a fairly high level in Armenia, particularly the influence of the electromagnetic fields on the dynamic phenomena carried out in the deformable media. The interaction of the electromagnetic fields with the electroconductive thin bodies first was investigated in 1960s by the Polish scholar S. Kaliski.

In Armenia the founders of the magnetoelasticity were S.A. Ambartsumyan, G.E. Baghdasaryan, and M.V. Belubekyan. They had formulated the theory of the electromagnetism for thin bodies. They had suggested effective methods for the applied

---

<sup>4</sup> Vantsyan 2013: 218.

<sup>5</sup> Vantsyan 2012: 287.

problems regarding electroactive shells and plates. Using the theory of S.A. Ambartsumyan, were revealed new phenomena regarding the interaction of thin bodies and strong electromagnetic fields.<sup>6</sup> Numerous results of studies authored by scholars mentioned above have been published in several monographs.<sup>7</sup> The exact solutions of the problems of magnetoelasticity for the bodies by finite measurements and electroconductivity are connected with serious difficulties.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, the approximate methods, particularly the hypotheses of non-deformable normals receives special importance.

The hypotheses suggested by the abovementioned authors gave a possibility for the solution of essentially difficult problems, and “to fire a candle instead of cursing the darkness”, thus turning Armenia into one of the renowned scientific centers of the world in this field.

The studies of G.E. Baghdasaryan, Z.N. Danoyan and their students are devoted to the propagation of electroelastic waves through bodies having different physical properties.<sup>9</sup> The problems of the vibration of current-carrying plates and shells in the magnetic field were studied by K.B. Ghazaryan, and that of A.A. Avetisyan - to the propagation of waves in piezoelectric media.

The problems of the another class of the interaction of electromagnetic fields and deformable media in Armenia, particularly the penetration phenomena of the rigid bodies into other media were initiated by A.G. Bagdoev and the current author, beginning from 1978-1979, on the basis of plate section hypotheses. Despite some shortcomings, this hypotheses laid a background for revealing some peculiarities of the problem. Particularly, theoretical formulas for calculation of the depth of penetration and crater dimensions in the problem of penetration of the projectiles and bullets into targets were obtained, which secure required exactness for the practical problems.<sup>10</sup> Here arises a question of defending the properties of the armor.

In 1978–1979 we had suggested the usage of electrodynamic method for defending of the armor (later named after the author). In 1988–1990 we directed the joint program between the Institute of Steel and Alloys, Russian Federation, and the Institute of Mechanics, Armenian National Academy of Sciences. The results were more than satisfactory; the armor became invulnerable.<sup>11</sup>

In 1990 A.A. Vantsyan and his co-author A.G. Bagdoev were awarded with the second prize of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia. Later, in 1990s we, trying to explain the obtained phenomenon, on experimental basis had discovered a new law dealing with the discharge currents in metallic media. According to this law, in metallic media the densities of discharge currents are transformed into the Furye series.

---

<sup>6</sup> Ambartsumyan, Baghdasaryan, Belubekyan 2012.

<sup>7</sup> Ambartsumyan, Baghdasaryan 1996.

<sup>8</sup> Baghdasaryan 1999.

<sup>9</sup> Baghdasaryan, Danoyan 2006.

<sup>10</sup> Vantsyan 2004.

<sup>11</sup> Vantsyan, Moravej 2011.

In agreement with the obtained results the harmonics of low frequency proceeds receiving minimal resistance, and the high frequency harmonics are forced towards the surface of the media (the famous spin effect).

On the basis of theoretical and experimental investigations one can conclude that the influence of the electromagnetic fields on numerous phenomena carried out in the nature and human organism is very essential, a problem which should be studied in future.

One must mention also that in 1998 we found a new method regarding the solution of algebraic and transcendental equations. From the point of convergence of the iteration processes the new method surpasses all existing methods.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Abrahamyan A.A. et al. 1979. Anania Shirakatsi, Yerevan (in Arm.).
2. Ambartsumyan S.A., G.E. Baghdasaryan 1996. The electroconducting plates and shells in the magnetic field, Moscow (in Russian).
3. Ambartsumyan S.A., G.E. Baghdasaryan, M.V. Belubekyan 2012. Problems of deformable rigid bodies, Yerevan in (Arm.).
4. Baghdasaryan G.E. 1999. Vibrations and Stability of Magnetoelastic Systems, Yerevan (in Arm.).
5. Baghdasaryan G.E., Z.N. Danoyan 2006. Electromagnetoelastic waves, Yerevan (in Arm.).
6. Brutyan G. 2004. Armenology and Metaarmenology, Yerevan (in Arm.).
7. Petrosyan G.B. 1959. Mathematics in Armenia in ancient period and Middle ages, Yerevan, 1959 (in Arm.).
8. Vantsyan A.A. 2004. Influence of the electromagnetic fields and anisotropic properties on the dynamic processes in continua, Yerevan (in Russian).
9. Vantsyan A.A. 2012. Influence of Discharge current on the perforation of plates, M., Naulaa.
10. Vantsyan A.A. 2013. The Influence of Electromagnetic field and Anisotropic Properties of Media on Dynamic phenomena in Continuous Media, Yerevan (in Arm.).
11. Vantsyan A.A., M. Moravej 2011. Electrodynamic method of increasing defense properties of the armoure IIR, B.P. Press.

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



---

# CLASSICS OF ARMENOLOGY

---

## **MANUK ABEGHYAN**

### **(1865-1944)**



M. Abeghyan was one of the classics of Armenian philology. His fundamental studies devoted to Armenian literature, language, lexicography and oral tradition paved way for the development of different areas of modern Armenian scholarship.

M. Abeghyan was born in March 17, 1865, in the village of Tazakend, near Astapat (in modern Nakhijevan), famous for its monastery of St. Stepanos (Karmirvank). After a brief study at the newly opened school of Astapat in 1876 he was selected to continue his further education at the Gevorgyan seminary in Echmiatsin. After graduating the seminary in 1887 M. Abeghyan was appointed as a teacher at the school in Shushi, Karabagh, where he works for two years.

Still in this early period were revealed M. Abeghyan's passion and abilities in the field of ancient Armenian oral tradition. In 1888 he presented a variant of the "Daredevils of Sasoon" which he had found during his travels through different parts of Karabagh. In the next year in Shushi was published the second variant of the national epos, "Davit and Mher" which the young scholar had heard from an old man still in Echmiatsin. In 1889 was published the first study of M. Abeghyan in the journal "Murch", entitled as "National novel".

In 1889 M. Abeghyan was invited to Tiflis, Georgia where he works at the Hovnanyan school as a teacher of Armenian language and literature. Here he continued his Armenological studies publishing articles in the journal "Nor Dar" dealing with medieval Armenian literature, and translating from Russian literature. During two years (1891-1892) he became the editor of this journal.

Through the financial support of Aleksander Mantashyan, the famous Armenian oil magnate, in 1893 M. Abeghyan went to Germany where at the universities of Jena, Leipzig and Berlin he studied German philology, history and philosophy (1893-1895), then to France where he attends the courses of philology at Sorbonne. Numerous studies were published in "Nor Dar" by M. Abeghyan during his education in Germany and France. Besides philological problems here he became an expert in the field of the mythology and beliefs of European peoples which gave him an opportunity to undertake studies devoted to the Armenian comparative mythology.

In 1898 M. Abeghyan completed his dissertation at the university of Jena entitled as «Armenian folk beliefs» which was published in Leipzig in German.

M. Abeghyan returned to Tiflis in 1898 and in that same year was invited to the Gevorgyan seminary as a teacher of Armenian language, literature, history, geography

and German language. During his stay at Echmiatsin (until 1914) M.Abeghyan had published numerous studies dealing with the old Armenian literature and language ("Armenian folk epic stories in the 'History of Armenia' of Movses Khorenatsi", "Armenian national epos", "Sasna Tsrer" ["Daredevils fo Sassoon"], "Grammar of modern Armenian", "Consize grammar of Old Armenian", "History of Armenia by Movses Khorenatsi" [original text compiled through all extant variants], etc.). In collaboration with Komitas, the outstanding Armenian composer, M.Abeghyan had published two volumes of Armenian folk songs (1903, 1905).

From 1916 M.Abeghyan became a teacher in Armenian language and literature at the Nersisyan school in Tiflis where he worked until August 1, 1919, when he was invited to Yerevan as a lecturer in the newly established university of Yerevan and a dean of the faculty of history and philology.

After the Sovietization of Armenia in November 1920 M.Abeghyan continued his scholarly activities. Still in 1921 he was put at the head of reforms in the orthography of the Armenian language, in order to fight against illiteracy in the republic. He successfully completed that job and the modern orthography of Armenian was established.

With the establishment of the Peoples' university, instead of the closed university of Yerevan, M.Abeghyan became lecturer of Armenian folklore, old Armenian literature ant the theory of Armenian language. In 1926 M.Abeghyan became professor in the History of Armenian literature.

In 1925 M.Abeghyan was elected as a vice-president of the newly established first academic institution of the republic – Institute of Sciences and Arts. Few months later he became president of this institution and held this position until 1930.

Due to health problems from 1931 onwards M.Abeghyan quitted teaching activities, but continued his studies. With the active participation of M.Abeghyan in 1939 was published the complete original text of the "Daredevils of Sassoon", which was translated into Russian in that same year. During the last years of his life M.Abeghyan published several studies dedicated to the medieval Armenian literature ("The life of Mashtos" of Koriwn, "History of old Armenian literature, vol.I, etc.).

### **Selected bibliography of Manuk Abeghyan**

1. Davit and Mher. Heroic novel, Shusi, 1889 (61 p.).
2. The Orthography of Armenian language, Tiflis, 1892 (146 p.).
3. Der armenische Volksglaube, Leipzig, 1899 (127 S.).
4. Armenian folk epic stories in the «History of Armenia» of Movses Khorenatsi (critics and texts), Vagharshapat, 1899 (602 p.).
5. Consise grammar of Old Armenian, Vagharshapat, 1907 (207 p.) (second edition - Yerevan, 1936).
6. Armenian national novel, Tiflis, 1908 (212 p.).
7. Russian-Armenian military dictionary, Yerevan, 1925 (724 p.).

8. Orthographic reform, Yerevan, 1925 (116 p.).
9. The theory of Armenian language, Yerevan, 1931 (378 p.).
10. Davit of Sassoon and Mher (on the dialect of Moks), Yerevan, 1931 (268 p.).
11. Daredevils of Sasoon. Armenian national epos (editor, in collaboration with K.Melik-Ohanjanyan), vol. I, Yerevan, 1936 (1128 p.), vol.II, part I, Yerevan, 1944 (404 p.), part II, Yerevan, 1951 (1005 p.).
12. Davit of Sasoon. Armenian national epos (original text) (M.Abeghyan, G.Abovyan, A.Ghanalanyan), Yerevan, 1939 (XXXI+385 p.)(Russian edition Moscow, 1939 and 1958).
13. "History of Armenia" of Movses Khorenatsi (transl. and edit. By M.Abeghyan and S.Harutyunyan), Tiflis, 1913 (396 p.).
14. Koriwn, The life of Mashtots (original text in Classical Armenian with translation and commentaries), Yerevan, 1941 (126 p.)(Russian edition – Yerevan, 1962, English edition – Boston and New York, 1964, edition in modern Armenian – Yerevan, 1962).
15. History of old Armenian literature, book I (until X century), Yerevan, 1944 (647 p.) (Beirut, 1955).
16. The history of old Armenian literature, book I (until X century), Yerevan, book II (XI century-1830s), Yerevan, 1946 (599 p.)(Russian edition – Yerevan, 1948).
17. Studies, 8 volumes, Yerevan, 1966-1985.

## MARIE-FELICITE BROSSET (1802-1880)



M.-F.Brosset was a prominent orientalist whose studies were devoted also to different problems of Armenology.

Brosset studied classical and oriental languages (Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Chinese), first in the theological seminary at Orleans then at the College de France. But soon after, from 1826 onwards Brosset switched on two other oriental languages and cultures and fully devoted himself to Armenian and Georgian languages, history and culture.

By the invitation of Count S.Uvarov, the president of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences, in 1837 he went to Saint-Petersburg. His studies on Georgian language and history carried out in 1840-1850s became long-standing authority in Georgian history.

Still in 1838 Brosset had published some Armenian inscriptions on gravestones, later to be continued by studies on the medieval Armenian city of Ani. In 1848 he visited Armenia, particularly the citadel of Yerevan and the church of St. Sargis. Here, in Echmiatsin Brosset studied Armenian manuscripts. Later, in 1848 he published in French the list of Armenian manuscripts compiled by H.Shakhhatunyants; in that same study figure also several inscriptions found in Ani.

In 1861-1870s Brosset was focused mainly on Armenian studies, primarily on medieval Armenian historiographers. He translated from classical Armenian and published works of Stephannos Orbelian, Mkhitar Airivanetsi and Arakel Davrizhetsi. M.-F.Brosset was elected as a member of the council of Lazaryan gymnasy in Moscow and Armenian congregation of San-Lazzaro, Venice (Italy).

M.-F.Brosset was one of those scholars whose highly professional pioneering studies had laid firm grounds for the formation of scientific Armenology in Europe.

### **Selected Armenological studies of M.-F.Brosset**

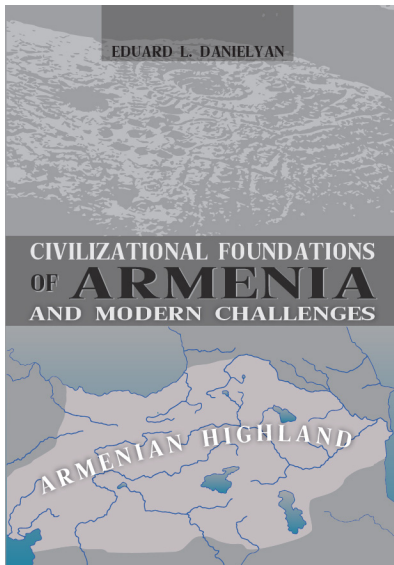
1. Catalogue de la bibliothèque du d'Edchmiadzin, St.-Pétersburg, 1840.
2. Rapports sur un voyage archéologique exécuté dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie en 1847-1848 sous les auspices du Prince Vorontzof Lieutenant du Caucase, St.-Petersburg, 1851.
3. De Quelques inscriptions arméniennes remarquables au point de vue chronologique, St.-Petersburg, 1859.

4. Les ruines d'Ani, capitale de l'Arménie sous les rois bagratides aux Xe et XIe siècle: histoire et description, 2e volumes, St.-Petersburg, 1860-1861.
5. Analyse critique de la *Всеобщая история de Vardan*", p. 1, Saint-Pétersbourg, vol. 4, issue 9, 1862.
6. Notice sur l'historien arménien Thoma Ardzrouni, X<sup>e</sup> s., St.-Pétersbourg, 1862.
7. Histoire de la Siouni par Stéphanos Orbélian, St.-Pétersbourg, 1864.
8. Études sur l'historien arménien Mkhitar d'Airivank, XIII<sup>e</sup> s., St.-Pétersbourg, 1865.
9. Études sur l'historien arménien Oukhtanés, X<sup>e</sup> s., St.-Pétersbourg, 1868.
10. Sur l'histoire ancienne de l'Arménie, d'après les textes hiéroglyphiques et cuneiformes, St.-Pétersbourg, 1869.
11. Deux historien arméniens Kiracos de Gantzag, XIII s., Histoire d'Arménie, Oukhtanés de Ourha, X s., Histoire en trois parties, St.-Pétersbourg, 1870.
12. Des historiens armeniens des XVIIe et XVIIIe siecles. Arakel de Tauriz. Registre chronologique. Annote, St.-Pétersbourg, 1873.
13. Collection d'historiens Armeniens, vol.1, St.-Pétersbourg, 1874.

---

## NEW BOOKS

---

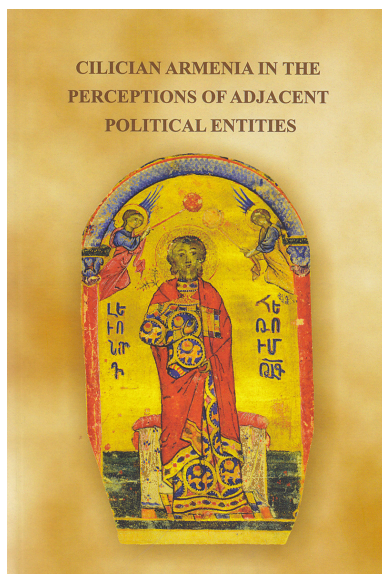


## CIVILIZATIONAL FOUNDATIONS OF ARMENIA AND MODERN CHALLENGES

By: **Danielyan E. L.** Doctor of Sciences (History)

Yerevan, "Gitutyun" publishing house, 2019, 240 p. + 9 p. pictures and maps.

This book which is written on a vast array of primary and secondary sources, is an overview of the long history of Armenian civilization. It focuses on three crucial aspects of that extraordinary civilization: 1 - Where, when and how it originated in the ancient Armenian Highland; 2 - The fundamental characteristics of Armenian civilization as shown particularly in the time of Tigranes the Great and in subsequent centuries; 3 - How this civilization became enmeshed in the Turkish state machine in the modern era, culminating in the horrific Genocide of 1915-22.



## CILICIAN ARMENIA IN THE PERCEPTIONS OF ADJACENT POLITICAL ENTITIES (HISTORICAL-PHILOLOGICAL ESSAYS)

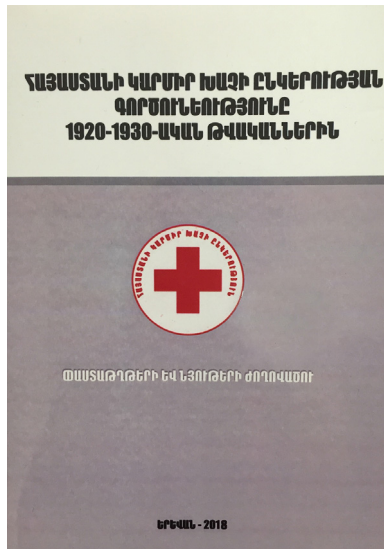
**Bozoyan A.A. (Editor), Ter-Ghevondian V.A., Shukurov R.M., Danielyan G.G.**, Yerevan, "Gitutyun" Publishing house. NAS RA, 2019, 282 p.

One of the most important achievements in Armenology is over two hundred years of multilateral study of Cilician Armenian history. The main sources, first brought out by the efforts of M. Chamchian, É. Dularurie, V. Langlois, Ł. Ališan, Gr. Mikaelyan, S. Bornazian and others, created discussion on the turning points of Cilicia's internal and foreign policy. Scholars began comparing information in the official Cilician historiography with that of Byzantine, Latin, Syriac, Arab and Persian sources. The history of Cilician Armenia was being discussed more frequently within the broad context of world history.

The present collection includes the results of scholarly research conducted in 2013-2015 within the framework of the project "Cilician Armenia in the Perception of the Adjacent Political Entities (12th - 13th cent.)."

The book consists of three parts. The first part is dedicated to the analysis of the Byzantine sources (A. Bozoyan); in the second part R. Shukurov reveals the data of the Seljuqid Persian sources relating to contacts between the Iconium Sultanate and the Cilician Armenian State, while V. Ter-Ghevondian and G. Danielyan deal with the ruling house of the Cilician kingdom and the peculiarities of perception of that state's civil and ecclesial heads in major Near Eastern documents.





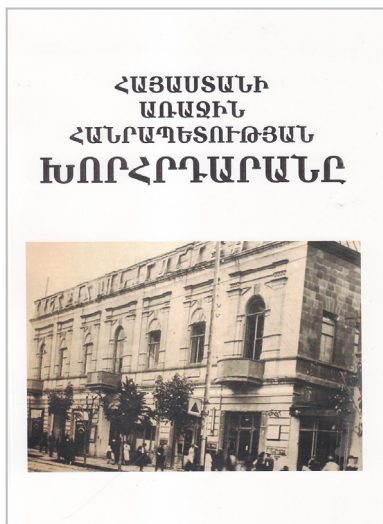
## ACTIVITIES OF THE RED CROSS SOCIETY OF ARMENIA IN 1920-1930 (COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS)

By: **S.R. Avetisyan**

*Yerevan, The Institute of History of NAS RA, 2018, 408 p.*

The documents in the collection cover the humanitarian activities of the Red Cross in Armenia in 1920s and 1930s. The book presents the relations between the authorities of Soviet Armenia and the Armenian Red Cross's broad branches, as well as the partnership with Amercom (American Committee for Relief in the Near East, ACRNE),

Anglcom (English Committee for Relief in Armenia) and the Committee of Aid to Armenia (HOC). The overwhelming majority of the documents are being published the first time.

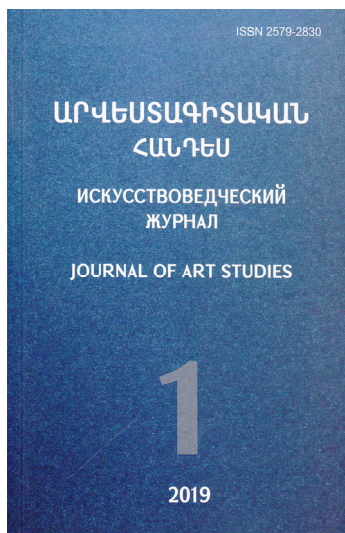


## THE PARLIAMENT OF THE FIRST REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

By: **Zakaryan A. H.** Doctor of Sciences (Philology)

*Yerevan, 2018, National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia, 144 p. (in Arm.)*

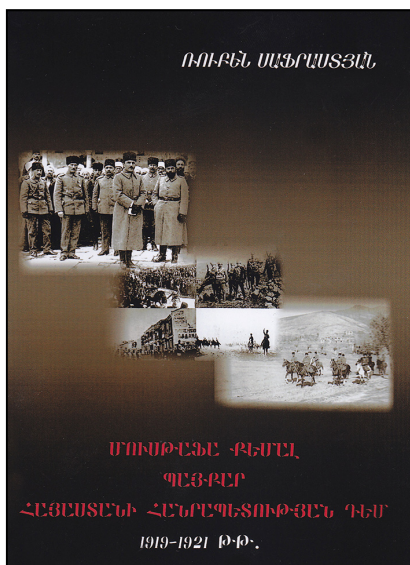
The book presents the history of the First Parliament of the First Republic of Armenia (1918-1920), the press reports dealing with its first sessions, the Rules of Procedure, the Law on Elections, Names of the Members of Parliament, the biographies of Parliament Speakers and women MPs.



## JOURNAL OF ART STUDIES

*2019, N 1, "Gitutyun" Publishing House of the NAS RA, 248 p. (in Arm.)*

The Journal of Art Studies is the first Armenian academic journal aimed on the study of different fundamental and aspects of Armenian art, from antiquity until the modern period (architecture and arts, the theory of art criticism, cultural relations between Armenia and other countries). Besides articles the Journal includes discussions, publications, reviews, latest events in the field of art.



## MUSTAFA KEMAL: THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA (1919-1921)

By: **Ruben Safrastyan** Institute of Oriental Studies, NAS RA

*Yerevan, Tir Publishing House, 2019, 140 p. (in Armenian)*

The monograph is devoted to the analysis of the leading role of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, being at the head of the nationalist movement in Turkey in 1919-23, in the war against the Republic of Armenia in September - November 1920.

The book is based on the wide use of Turkish primary sources. Translations of some of them into Armenian are contained in the "Turkish Documents" section of the book.



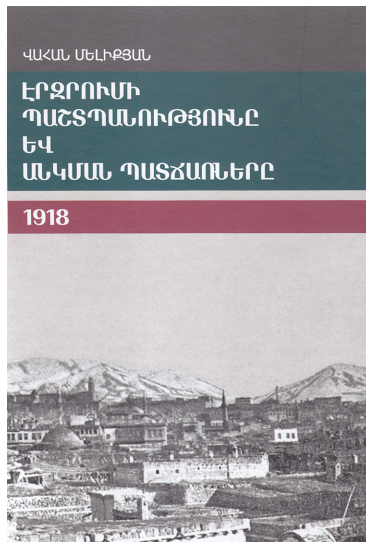
## HOMELAND-DIASPORA RELATIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21TH CENTURY (2001-2017)

By: **Edik Minasyan**

*Yerevan, Yerevan State University Press, 2018 (in Armenian), 446p.*

Based on the widely available literature and primary sources, an attempt has been made to fill the gap in the study of the Homeland-Diaspora relations at the beginning of the 21th century. In the monograph, the relations between the Republic of Armenia and Diaspora are analyzed in almost all spheres of public-political and socio-economic life and relevant conclusions have been made.

This study will be a help to have a complete picture on strengthening and developing of the Homeland-Diaspora relations and ties since the independence of Armenia in 1991.



## THE SOCIAL-POLITICAL LIFE OF WESTERN ARMENIANS IN 1917-1918. THE DEFENSE OF ERZERUM AND THE REASONS FOR THE FALL IN 1918

By: **Vahan Melikyan** Institute of History, NAS RA

*Zangak Publishing House, Yerevan, 2019 (in Armenian), 248p.*

The monograph deals with social-political life of Western Armenians in 1917-1918, particularly the problem of the defence and causes of the fall of Erzerum, under the light of the the policy of Transcaucasian governments (Commissariat and Seim), Armenian national organizations, political parties and individuals. The author had made use of all available primary sources, mostly archival documents.



## STRUGGLE FOR BAKU (NOVEMBER 1917-APRIL 1918)

By: **Vahan Melikyan** Institute of History, NAS RA

*(in Russian), Zangak Publishing House, Yerevan, 2019, 218p.*

One of the key targets of the massive anti-Armenian propaganda by the authorities of the modern Republic of Azerbaijan is the events in Baku which took place in March 1918. The goal of the monograph, first and foremost, is a complete reconstruction of military-political events in Baku during this period, and to highlight the interrelated and specific nature of several developments simultaneously occurring within this process as well as.